"THAT PLACE PEOPLE TALK ABOUT":
THE PETROGLYPH NATIONAL MONUMENT
ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPE REPORT

By:

Kurt F. Anschuetz
T. J. Ferguson
Harris Francis
Klara B. Kelley
Cherie L. Scheick

Submitted By:

Kurt F. Anschuetz
Program Director
Río Grande Foundation for Communities and Cultural Landscapes
P.O. Box 8617
Santa Fe, NM 87504-8617

Tel. & Fax: 505/983-5829
kanschuetz@aol.com

Prepared For:

National Park Service
Petroglyph National Monument, Albuquerque, New Mexico
Tammy Gallegos, Contracting Officer, Intermountain Support Office, Santa Fe
Michael Quijano, Contracting Officer's Technical Representative, Petroglyph National Monument

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In appreciation of

William F. Weahkee

for helping us to listen and to respect "that place that the people talk about!" (Cajete 1993–1994:9)

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This Ethnographic Landscape Report (ELR) documents how a variety of traditional and historical communities, including Pueblo, Navajo, Apache, Nuevomexicano, Hispano, and Anglo, associate with, and ascribe meaning to, the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa. The review of documentary sources prepared by outsiders provided both rich and invaluable cultural-historical information about how particular communities associate with this imposing landform of sloping grasslands, volcanic summits, lava flows and escarpments, caves, and deeply incised canyons. Although these data form the contextual framework of this ELR, they were insufficient within the application of a landscape approach for documenting how the people of affiliated communities associate with and ascribe meaning to the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa today. Because the landscape lives in the stories that people pass along from one generation to the next, and includes contemporary ideas and values about the meaning of place and time, providing community members with the opportunity to remark upon their relationships with this locality also was necessary.

Our invitation to many traditional and historical community groups to participate in this endeavor was met with uneasiness, if not suspicion. Despite their statements of the special qualities of this place for their people, many affiliated communities have witnessed a rapidly accumulating loss of places—whether through their physical destruction, their becoming inaccessible public or private property, or their diminution of needed privacy—within their landscapes during the unrelenting urban development of the West Mesa. Given these experiences, many traditional and historical communities saw our request for information about their culturally significant affiliations for this ELR both as a further intrusion into their privacy and as a demonstrable lack of respect for what people already had shared. Moreover, several individuals remarked to me over the course of the project that their communities were confronting withering pressure locally, regionally, and nationally to remain quiet and not to voice their objections to current development proposals.

In recognition of the extremely difficult social and political milieu across northern New Mexico during the time of this ELR work, all of the Río Grande Foundation for Communities and Cultural Landscapes (Río Grande Foundation) team members (see below) are grateful for having been the recipient of such good will, patience, and grace. We recognize that our writing letters, making phone calls, and paying visits to people sometimes caused discomfort. We also are thankful that people were generous with their tolerance whenever we asked questions, which participants could not be answered without betraying traditional community knowledge that is not to be shared with outsiders.

Even though many communities declined to participate in the ELR study in a formal capacity, these refusals always were courteous. Most negative responses also were accompanied by the expression that the issue indeed was important to the community, although it was inappropriate to participate in further dialogue at this time.

Despite their discomfort and concerns, some individuals decided to participate in these proceedings as consultants while many others identified sources of relevant information offered by other community members previously. Their generous sharing of insight and information allowed the project to fulfill major aspects of its mission. Although the body of we work we have compiled does not provide the kinds of detailed site-specific commentaries needed for the informed management of particular cultural resources properties, the community consultants offer us fuller understandings of the dynamic cultural processes of landscape making. Moreover, through their commentaries the participants have illustrated how their respective communities' relationships with the West Mesa not only are relevant but also necessary among many of the affiliated communities. In doing so, these project participants have shared perspectives to comprehend more fully what people from the region's traditional and historical communities mean when they say, "The past is alive." I will forever carry a debt of gratitude to these people for their heartfelt observations and comments. I am certain that each of the other Río Grande Foundation team members who interacted with community representatives feel similar senses of gratefulness.

Before acknowledging the many the community representatives with whom the other Río Grande Foundation team members and I communicated over the course this endeavor, I wish to express my great

indebtedness to William F. Weahkee, then Executive Director, Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, Inc., for his wisdom in challenging me directly during the early stages of the project. I had talked on the phone several times with Mr. Weahkee before we actually met at his office late in the summer of 1999. After he offered me a chair and waited until I had introduced the ELR project, he stated bluntly in his deep, gruff-sounding voice, "I don't know what you possibly want me to say. Everything that needs to be said has been said. Why don't you people listen?"

Mr. Weahkee, I quickly realized, was not being antagonistic in phrasing his question so directly; rather, he had employed an effective oratory strategy to underscore the points that he was going to articulate shortly. During our ensuing conversation, Mr. Weahkee asked me to go back to community members' commentaries made in recent years and to hear what the people were saying about the meaning of place and time. He also instructed me not to focus on things (e.g., archaeological sites or petroglyphs) per se; instead, he requested me to consider relationships among seemingly disparate parts that create a greater whole. Lastly, he appealed to me to think about how things and relationships can change over time while sustaining a unifying thread of continuity.

Although Mr. Weahkee and I conversed several more times over the phone, we never met again in person. I was following up on preliminary plans to meet again in the Fall of 2000 to discuss the project's Phase I findings in detail when I was stunned and saddened to learn of Mr. Weahkee's sudden passing.

It is with extreme gratitude for his profound influence in shaping the structure and content of the Río Grande Pueblo landscape essay (Chapter 3) in this volume that I acknowledge Mr. Weahkee's contributions to this ELR.

Other community representatives, with whom the other Río Grande Foundation team members and I had contact and for whom we now wish to extend our appreciation for their assistance, follow:

- Pueblo of Cochití—former Governor Isaac Herrera; and José Herrera
- Pueblo of Isleta—Ben Lujan, Joe Lujan, and the other Land Council Elders
- Pueblo of Jémez—William J. Whatley, Archaeologist
- Pueblo of Nambe—John Perez, Historic Preservation Office
- Pueblo of Picurís—former Governor Eagle Rael
- Pueblo of Pojoaque—Lt. Governor George Rivera (still serving)
- Pueblo of San Felipe—former Governor Anthony Ortiz
- Pueblo of San Ildefonso—Bruce García, Council Member
- Pueblo of San Juan—Herman Agoyo, Council Member and Realty Officer
- Pueblo of Sandía—Mary Sanchez, Executive Secretary to the Governor
- Pueblo of Santa Ana—Sharon Lujan, Executive Secretary to the Governor
- Pueblo of Santa Clara—former Governor Walter Dasheno; and Alvin Warren and Gilbert Gutierrez, both of whom formerly were with the Cultural Rights Office
- Pueblo of Santo Domingo—former Lt. Governor Julian Coríz; Ernest Lovato (now serving as Governor of the Pueblo); and Felix Calabaza
- Pueblo of Taos—Gilbert Suazo, Jr., Agricultural Program
- Pueblo of Tesuque—former Governor Milton Herrera
- Pueblo of Zía—Celestino Gachupin, Natural Resources Manager; and Peter Pino
- All Indian Pueblo Council—William Toribio (now serving as Governor of the Pueblo of Zia); and Chris Moquino
- Eight Northern Indian Pueblo Council—former Executive Director Bernie Teba
- Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, Inc.—Patricia Sandoval-Cata, former Executive Secretary to the Director
- SAGE Council—Director Sonny Weahkee; Laurie Weahkee; Pam Malone; and Ozawa Binshi Albert
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• Hopi Tribe—Leigh J. Kuwan-wisiwma and Clay Hamilton, both of whom serve with the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office; and Don James, Val Jean Joshevama, Wilton Kooyahoema, and Morgan Saufkie, all of whom are Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team Members

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• Navajo Nation, Alamo Chapter—Vice–President Laura Guerro, and Wanda Apachito, Chapter Coordinator

• Navajo Nation, Ramah Chapter—President Martha Garcia; and Chapter Planning Board Members

• Navajo Nation, *Tó Hajiileeh* Chapter—Leon Secatero

• Navajo Nation, Diné Medicinemen's Association—President Sammie Slivers; Vice-President Taylor Dixon; and Association Members

• Navajo Nation, Elders—Joe Dennison, Sr.; Nancy Dennison; Ronald Largo; Henry Kinsel; and Rosie Francis

• Jicarilla Tribe—Merton Sandoval, Director, Cultural Preservation Office; and Adelaide Paiz, Cultural Resource Specialist/Archaeologist

• Mescalero Tribe—Donna Stern-McFadden, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer; Naida Natchez, Tribal Historic Preservation Technician; and Holly Houghton, Tribal Archaeologist

• Mescalero Apache Tribal Council Members—Sidney Baca; Glenda Brusuelas; and Oliver Enjady

• Mescalero Apache Tribal Members—Wynette Baca; Jackie Blaylock; Arden Comanche; and Harrison Toclanny

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Still other individuals who contributed to the ELR project through informal conversations and/or offered assistance by facilitating introductions to other knowledgeable people include: Ralph Francis, Director, Public Affairs Office, Kirtland Air Force Base, U.S. Air Force; Miguel Gandert, Assistant Professor of Journalism, University of New Mexico; Louie Hena; Isaac Eastvold; Gabriel Montoya; Dr. Tito Naranjo; Susie Poole; Polly Schaafsma; Dr. Rina Swentzell; Henry J. Walt; Michael Welsh; and Stefanie Zuni. I also wish to express my gratitude to Laura Holt, Librarian, Laboratory of Anthropology for her invaluable help in locating reference materials.

The Petroglyph National Monument ELR project was possible only because of both the financial support of the NPS (Contract No. NPS 14431CX712098003) and the commitment of its people at both the Intermountain Support Office in Santa Fé and the Petroglyph National Monument in Albuquerque over the past three and one-half years. Tammy K. Gallegos, Division of Administration, Intermountain Support Office, is the project Contracting Officer (CO). Eric Brunnemann, who was then an Archaeologist at the Petroglyph National Monument, served as the Contracting Officer's Technical Representative (COTR) during the first months of the endeavor before transferring to a new duty station in January 1999. Michael Quijano, Chief Ranger, Division of Protection and Resource Management, Petroglyph National Monument, subsequently assumed the COTR duties. Ms. Gallegos, Mr. Brunnemann, and Mr. Quijano made every effort to keep the project progressing despite innumerable hindrances that arose beyond anyone's control and foresight. Their resiliency and creativity helped us overcome these what seemed at times to be insurmountable obstacles.

I also wish to use this opportunity to thank Mr. Quijano specifically for his unflagging support and hospitality whenever team members came to the monument with community groups to conduct onsite consultations. By ensuring we received whatever information and facilities that were requested, these consultations were both productive and comfortable for all participants. Moreover, Mr. Quijano facilitated introductions and productive information exchanges by organizing panel discussions at the *A Mosaic in Motion 2000: The National Park Service—Embracing and Engaging All People* and the *Cultural Resources 2000* meetings. These forums, held in Santa Fé, included community, Río Grande Foundation, and NPS representatives.

Other NPS personnel who contributed toward this effort by freely offering information and supporting materials during work sessions and/or by sharing valuable insights during their reviews of draft project documents include: Judith Cordova, Superintendent, Petroglyph National Monument; Diane E. Souder, Management Assistant, Petroglyph National Monument; Jill Cowley, Historical Landscape Architect, Intermountain Support Office; Cheryl Ford, Park Ranger—Interpretation, Petroglyph National Monument; Phillip LoPiccolo, former Cultural Resource Specialist, Petroglyph National Monument; Michael Medrano, Natural Resource Specialist, Petroglyph National Monument; Kerri Mich, GIS Specialist, Intermountain GIS Support Center, University of New Mexico; Ed Natay, Office of Indian Trust Responsibilities, Intermountain Support Office; and Alexa Roberts, former Ethnographer, Intermountain Support Office.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the people who contributed their considerable skills and expertise in completing the ELR project through their service directly to the Río Grande Foundation. I am extremely fortunate to have been able to enlist a team of anthropologists and archaeologists (Dr. Charles M. Carrillo, Dr. T.J. Ferguson, Dr. Klara B. Kelley), cultural rights consultants (Harris Francis), ethnohistorians (Glenda Deyloff and Dr. Frances Levine), historians (Thomas W. Merlan), and sociologists (Dr. Tessie Naranjo) with experience working with traditional and historical community groups. The many substantive contributions of each of these persons are identified fully in chapter 1 of this document.

Although they did not play major roles in the compilation of information or essay writing, several other individuals helped tremendously in the completion of this project. Cherie L. Scheick, Río Grande Foundation President, gave essential advice in the organization and implementation of project activities, reviewed project research and report preparation strategies, and co-authored the landscape theory discussion. Jane V. Sandoval acted as my administrative assistant and was primarily responsible for report production. Sheron Smith-Savage served as technical editor.

Once again, my sincere thanks to all.

K.F.A.
Santa Fé, New Mexico
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ADMINISTRATIVE SUMMARY

The National Park Service (NPS) contracted with the Río Grande Foundation for Communities and Cultural Landscapes (the Río Grande Foundation) in October 1998 to prepare an Ethnographic Landscape Report (ELR) for the Petroglyph National Monument on the Albuquerque West Mesa. Conceived as a two-part undertaking, Phase I—a documentary review and Phase II—ethnographic fieldwork, the ELR has seven goals. These include identifying and documenting: (1) the historical and contemporary land use histories associated with Albuquerque's West Mesa and the Petroglyph National Monument; (2) the contemporary people that associate themselves with or ascribe meaning to the lands within and immediately surrounding the Petroglyph National Monument; (3) the lands and interrelated places that stakeholders define as meaningful because these locations are linked to their local or regional cultural histories and cultural identifies; (4) the relationships that exist between stakeholders and their landscapes; (5) the changes in cultural landscapes that have resulted from the physical modification of the natural and social environments over time; (6) community-based recommendations concerning the management of the monument's various landscape resources; and (7) ideas for the development of long-term relationships between the Petroglyph National Monument and the interested stakeholders.

The NPS specifically stipulated three objectives for Phase I: (1) identify and characterize contemporary stakeholders that have modified the landscape over time, and associate themselves with, or ascribe meaning to, the lands within and immediately surrounding the Petroglyph National Monument; (2) identify specific landscapes and places that stakeholders define as meaningful because these locations are linked to their local or regional cultural histories and cultural identities; and (3) describe relationships and histories between stakeholders and their landscapes. The NPS defined Phase II as consultation and interviews with the stakeholders identified in Phase I. The objectives of this work are to compile information concerning groups' customary associations with, and contemporary uses of, the Monument and West Mesa by allowing stakeholders the opportunity to provide information about their relationships with the lands both surrounding and within the monument in their own words.

The Río Grande Foundation assembled a team of anthropologists and archaeologists (Dr. Kurt F. Anschuetz, Dr. Charles M. Carrillo, Dr. T. J. Ferguson, Dr. Klara B. Kelley, and Cherie L. Scheick), cultural rights consultants (Harris Francis), ethnohistorians (Glenda Deyloff and Dr. Frances Levine), historians (Thomas Merlan), and sociologists (Dr. Tessie Naranjo) with experience working with traditional and historical community groups. To fulfill the Phase I project requirements, Río Grande Foundation personnel placed emphasis on the collection of ethnographic and historical information from primary sources that offer insight into stakeholder community landscape constructions. These data sources, include ethnographies, land claim adjudication documents, land survey plats, and oral histories, congressional and environmental testimonies, and formal essays by members of stakeholder communities. Team members consulted sacred places records whenever such were available. The focus of the Phase II work largely was ethnographic. Team members collected information about the associations that stakeholders maintain with places in their landscape in the people's own words. They compiled narratives and commentaries about how the landscape also lives through relationships with certain qualities and characteristics that people maintain with the Petroglyph National Monument and the Albuquerque West Mesa environments. Team members also asked participating stakeholders for their views and concerns about natural and cultural resource management, as well as visitor interpretation.

Río Grande Foundation personnel complied lists of identified stakeholders (Table 1.1) and documentary sources (Table 1.2) used to in their research. They prepared six substantive stakeholder community essays: Río Grande Pueblo (chapter 3 [Anschuetz]), Western Pueblo (chapter 4 [Ferguson]), Navajo (chapter 5 [Kelley and Francis]), Apache (chapter 6 [Anschuetz]), Nuevomexicano and Hispano (chapter 7 [Anschuetz]), and Anglo (chapter 8 [Anschuetz]).

In preparing their essays, authors made extensive use of interview quotes and reference citations, include page numbers, in their texts to document the origin of essential concepts and interpretations in their literature summaries. To integrate these diverse observations into a synthetic argument, the authors also offer their interpretations of the literature.

Interpretive ideas that lack specific supporting literature references are the products of this synthesis of the collected historical, ethnohistorical, and ethnographic information. In addition, Anschuetz and Scheick collaborate on an essay introducing and defining the cultural landscape and ethnographic concepts underlying this research program (chapter 2). In this undertaking, they examine the formal properties of cultural landscape perspectives, which include ethnographic landscape as a subset. Anschuetz also provides a critical evaluation of the project findings in chapter 9. He defines a matrix of stakeholder community relationships that should be considered during the design of future land-use management consultations and planning efforts. Appendix I provides the requisite annotated bibliography, whose entries are critical evaluations of literature sources relevant to questions of cultural and ethnographic landscapes. To enhance the bibliography's usefulness, contributing team members provided key words for each entry.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE PETROGLYPH NATIONAL MONUMENT ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPE REPORT

KURT F. ANSCHUETZ

Introduction

Situated on the West Mesa that forms the visually striking physiographic divide between the Río Grande and Río Puerco of the East watersheds, the Petroglyph National Monument and its surrounding environs are becoming incorporated into the rapidly expanding Albuquerque metropolitan area. (For a detailed locational map of the Petroglyph National Monument, see the following four USGS 7.5 minute series topographic quadrangles: Albuquerque West [1990], La Mesita Negra SE, NM [1990]; Los Griegos, NM [1990]; The Volcanoes, NM [1990].) The urban development of the West Mesa for a myriad of residential, commercial, industrial, transportation, active recreational, and open space uses has spurred a diverse assembly of interest groups to voice widely ranging concerns and needs for responsible growth management.

These interest groups, or stakeholders, represent disparate economic, social, political, and cultural interests. They come from individual households, neighborhood associations, the metropolitan area community, housing and business development corporations, local and regional urban planners, politicians with constituencies from local to national scales, and numerous Indian, Nuevomexicano, Hispano, and Anglo communities with meaningful cultural heritage ties to the West Mesa environment. (The reader should note that the terms *Pueblo*, *Navajo*, *Apache*, *Nuevomexicano*, and *Hispano* refer to ethnic identities. [See chapter 7 for a discussion of the distinction between *Nuevomexicano* and *Hispano* ethnic identities.] The term *Anglo*, in comparison, refers more consistently to dominant elements in U.S. national culture rather than a particular construction of cultural identity [after Klara B. Kelley and Harris Francis to Kurt F. Anschuetz, Río Grande Foundation for Communities and Cultural Landscapes (Río Grande Foundation), memo, January 6, 2000; see also chapter 8].) While all these stakeholders articulate their management interests in the West Mesa environment in terms of the day-to-day needs of their respective memberships and constituencies to build and to sustain efficient, integrated, productive, and emotionally fulfilled society, their worldviews and value systems for structuring and organizing their interactions with the West Mesa environment are divergent. Given the many different ways of understanding and interacting with the physical world and the fundamental differences in value systems held by stakeholders, as informed by their markedly contrasting cultural-historical experiences with the West Mesa environment, it is unsurprising that proposals for managing West Mesa and the Petroglyph National Monument development and use have spawned increasingly vocal controversy. Actions that satisfy economic, social, political, and/or cultural needs of one or more stakeholder almost invariably conflict with the necessities of another. The Albuquerque metropolitan area's future now has to look west of the city's historic core, where the bulk of privately owned and publicly administered lands needed to accommodate urban growth is available. This area includes the West Mesa environment and the Petroglyph National Monument.

From an urban perspective formed principally on Anglo economic and social values, the idea that the West Mesa and the Petroglyph National Monument should become the objects of such controversy seems inexplicable. Earlier this century, Anglos considered the West Mesa and the monument area together as an expansive wasteland ill-suited even for livestock. During World War II, these areas were used as a precision bombing practice range. On the one hand, West Mesa urban development and calls by urban local, regional, and national publics to transform the Petroglyph National Monument from open space into a formally built parkland environment provide invaluable amenities for creating and sustaining urban lifeways. On the other hand, criticisms by Indian, Nuevomexicano, and Hispano communities accompanied by concerns expressed by members of environmental and preservation communities, among others, forewarn not only of the loss of particular natural and cultural resources but also the irreplaceable

loss of cultural identity among some traditional stakeholders.

How can such heartfelt, and increasingly emotionally charged, debate arise in recent years? As the cultural geographer David Lowenthal observes, "What makes one landscape appear harmonious, another incongruous, is the entire experience of the viewer" (1971:235). This Petroglyph National Monument Ethnographic Landscape Report (ELR) investigation, through the critical review of archival materials and ethnographic consultations, provides a foundation for understanding how different stakeholders representing Indian, Nuevomexicano, Hispano, and Anglo cultural groups associate with and ascribe meaning to the lands within and surrounding the Petroglyph National Monument.

Project Background

Natural Environment (after Froeschauer 1994:11–14; Schmader 1987a:6–13)

The landform known today by most Albuquerque area residents as the "West Mesa" is a nearly 67-square-kilometer (26-square-mile) ridgeline of striking volcanic terrain that separates the Río Grande and Río Puerco of the East watersheds. Formed by a series of volcanic eruptions between approximately 150,000 and 190,000 years ago, the mesa features 5 large cinder cones and 6 major lava flows that spread primarily eastward toward the Río Grande.

From the Río Grande Valley bottomlands within the Albuquerque metropolitan area, the West Mesa dominates the western horizon, with the cinder cones sharing recognition with the 27.2-kilometer-long (17-mile-long) basaltic escarpment as the landform's most readily distinguishable geological and topographic features. Three large peninsulas, which jut out from the main escarpment (Mesa Prieta, Rinconada, and Marsh), formed when erosion-resistant lava traveled down existing drainages toward the Río Grande. Closer inspection of the West Mesa's surface reveals two major geological windows in the lava flows, created by the faster erosion of earlier, soft Santa Fé formation sedimentary deposits left uncovered during the volcanic eruptions when the molten rock flowed around hills extant in the primordial physical environment. An undetermined number of caves, representing remnants of flow tubes in the molten lava masses, also exist.

With its moderate elevation (between approximately 1,524 and 1,830 meters [5,000 and 6,000 feet]), a dry climate (202–228 millimeters [8–9 inches], warm average winter (1.2 degrees C [34.1 degrees F] and summer temperatures (24.8 degrees C [76.7 degrees F]), and 198-day-long mean annual growing season, the West Mesa is within the Upper Sonoran Life Zone (Dick-Peddie 1993). The Plains-Mesa Grassland constitutes the major plant community, and the Juniper Savanna community occurs in scattered better-watered upland locations. The Riparian community occurs along the nearby Río Grande floodplain. While most West Mesa upland portions today show the adverse cumulative effects of nearly four centuries of intensive livestock grazing, the volcanic caprock and the numerous canyons in the escarpment microclimate retain warmth and moisture to enhance the growth of certain plants that normally occur only farther south.

Cultural Environment (after Froeschauer 1994:11–14; Schmader 1987b:26–29; Carrillo 1987:30–33)

Archaeological studies show that West Mesa has been an integral part of the human environment since at least the latter Paleoindian period (ca. 10,000/9500–5500 B.C.). Even though Paleoindian hunters and gatherers periodically visited and modified these environs, these people left relatively few durable traces of their occupation (see Cordell 1979; Judge 1973; Judge and Dawson 1972). The broad spectrum Archaic period (ca. 5500 B.C.–A.D. 400/600) hunters and gatherers that followed left a more evident archaeological record, including limited activity sites, open-air camps, and even habitation complexes with architectural remnants on the northern West Mesa (Brandi and Kennedy 1994; Johnson 1976; Reinhart 1968; Rodger and Neal 1980; Schmader 1990; Ward 1985; see also Anschuetz 1995:27–28 for a comprehensive summary). A small portion of the approximately 20,000 pecked images on volcanic rock faces in the Petroglyph National Monument locality also date to this period (e.g., Brandi 1999).

With the development of recognizable Pueblo agricultural adaptations in the northern Río Grande region, the archaeological record of the West Mesa and the neighboring Río Grande Valley becomes increasingly rich through the subsequent course of pre-Columbian history. Archaeologists define three major cultural-temporal periods: Developmental (A.D. 600–1200), Coalition (A.D. 1200–1300), and Classic (A.D. 1300–1600) (after Wendorf 1954; Wendorf and Reed 1955). We refer the reader to Anschuetz (1995:28–38) for a summary of major cultural-historical patterns documented archaeologically in the Albuquerque district.

Of primary importance to the Petroglyph National Monument is the virtual explosion of petroglyphs on the West Mesa escarpment after the beginning of the Classic period (Bain 1976; Eastvold 1987; Hagan 1987; Lamb 1993; Schaafsma 1980, 1987, 1992, 1997;

Slifer 1998, among others). Importantly, the Piedra Marcadas ruin (formerly known as the Zuris-Mann site), which is in the Petroglyph National Monument, was one of the largest (4.6 hectares [11.5 acres]) Classic period (A.D. 1300–1600) villages in the Middle Río Grande Valley (Marshall 1984). Other Classic period archaeological properties documented in the monument area include resource procurement and processing activity loci, camp sites, agricultural water and soil control features, fieldhouses, and consecrated shrines varying informal and formal construction (Brandi 1999; Froeschauer 1987:15; Schmader and Hayes 1987).

Extant archaeological methods and theory do not allow the association of specific sites and features with particular Pueblo communities or even general linguistic groups. Moreover, ethnographic consultations with contemporary communities reveal a pattern of overlapping associations with the monument's natural and cultural resources. For example, representatives of Sandía Pueblo (a southern Tiwa language community) and the Pueblos of Cochití, Santa Ana, and Zía (all Keresan language communities) identified the Piedras Marcadas Ruin as an ancestral village (Evans et al. 1993:25–26; Marshall 1984; see also chapter 3).

This point is important given the great importance of population movement as traced in Pueblo oral histories (e.g., see Naranjo 1995; see also chapters 3 and 4) and in the archaeological record (e.g., see Anschuetz 1998a; Cordell 1998; Levine and Anschuetz 1998). With the far-ranging movement of people over time, all 20 contemporary Pueblo communities, including the 16 Río Grande Pueblos (Cochití, Isleta, Jémez, Nambé, Picurís, Pojoaque, Sandía, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, and Zía [see also chapter 3]) and the 4 Western Pueblos (Ácoma, Hopi, Laguna, and Zuni [see chapter 4]), trace cultural-historical associations with the West Mesa in their landscape constructions. Various documentary sources specifically identify active pilgrimage by representatives of these communities, both near (e.g., Sandía Pueblo [see chapter 3]) and far (e.g., Zuni Pueblo [see chapter 4]).

The Pueblos were not alone in occupying the West Mesa during late pre-Columbian times. Navajo (as represented by the contemporary Alamo, Canyoncito, and Ramah communities) and Apache (as represented by the contemporary Jicarilla and Mescalero) forebears most likely simultaneously began incorporating this physiographic feature—and its natural and cultural resources—into their own cultural landscape constructions in the time preceding Spanish contact in 1540.

The arrival in the Southwest of the Athapaskan from northwestern North America is not well dated, but archaeologists traditionally date their arrival in the region sometime during the 16th century. Some investigators (Hogan 1989, in Winter et al. 1993) have obtained radiocarbon dates that indicate the Athapaskans arrived in the *Dinétah*, a region surrounding the San Juan River near the Gobernador and Largo drainages in northwestern New Mexico, as early as A.D. 1450.

Even though the time of the Athapaskan's entry into the northern Southwest is uncertain, Spanish chronicles record Navajo and Apache forebears in the Middle Río Grande Valley during the early part of the 16th century (e.g., see Carrillo 1987:33; Simmons 1982:98; see also chapters 5, 6, and 7). These documents report not only raiding depredations but also trading relationships between Athapaskan and Pueblo communities. These documentary sources make no mention of Athapaskan land use practices or landscape constructions.

Navajo oral traditions imply (1) the communities with different histories, languages, and customs coalesced to become the Navajo people and (2) the Navajo forebears had become familiar with the Middle Río Grande Valley during the period between A.D. 1300 and 1600. The West Mesa figures in their Beautyway ceremonial repertoire (see chapter 5). Mescalero Apache and Jicarilla Apache forebears similarly established relationships with the West Mesa environs during the same general time span (chapter 6).

Foundations for Nuevomexicano and other Hispano relationships with the West Mesa environment were established formally during the early 17th century. Some soldier-settlers accompanying Governor Antonio de Oñate to found Spain's New Mexico colony, including don Pedro Gómez Durán y Chávez, took land in the *Valle de Atlixco* (see Domínguez 1956:154, n. 12), which today is the portion of the Río Grande Valley between present-day Bernalillo and Isleta Pueblo (Sánchez 1998:1; see also chapter 7). The *Atlixo* place-name, a Nahua language term introduced by *la gente indios mexicanos* (the Mexican Indian people who accompanied Governor Oñate in establishing the colony) meaning *upon the water*, became *Atrisco* (Domínguez 1956:154, n. 12; see also Julyan 1996:25; chapter 7) in its reference to the principal Spanish corporate community land grant in the immediate West Mesa environs after the 1692 Reconquest. Atrisco land grant heirs, some of whom recall their *indio mexicano* heritage through their identification as both Atrisqueños and Nuevomexicanos, maintain ties with the West Mesa through the Westland Development Company, the Atrisco Land Rights Council, individual family

histories, or some combination of the above (chapter 7).

The Anglo relationship with the West Mesa environment was formally established by (1) the opening of the Santa Fé Trail in fall 1821, (2) New Mexico's incorporation as a U.S. territory in 1846, and (3) the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 (chapter 8). Through their history of interaction with this environment, the Anglo community has been instrumental economically, socially, politically, and culturally in transforming the West Mesa environment. The Anglo community has helped redefine this imposing landform from severely depleted overgrazed habitat in the late 19th century into a U.S. War Department practice bombing range during World War II and into a prime urban habitat for Albuquerque's fast-growing metropolitan area population in the last decades of the 20th century. Anglo community members also played major roles leading to the 1990 legislation (PL 101–313) that set aside 2,898 hectares (7,244 acres) of the West Mesa landscape to protect approximately 20,000 pre-Columbian and Historic period petroglyphs and other significant natural and cultural resources as the Petroglyph National Monument.

Project Goals

As defined by the National Park Service (NPS 1998:11), overall purposes of ELR are to identify and present

1. the historical and contemporary land use histories associated with Albuquerque's West Mesa, including the Petroglyph National Monument;

2. the contemporary people that associate themselves with or ascribe meaning to the lands within and immediately surrounding the Petroglyph National Monument;

3. the lands and interrelated places (both specific places and types of places) that stakeholders define as meaningful because these locations are linked to their local or regional cultural histories and cultural identifies;

4. the relationships that exist between stakeholders and their landscapes;

5. the changes in cultural landscapes that have resulted from the physical modification of the natural and social environments over time;

6. community-based recommendations concerning the management of the monument's various landscape resources;

7. ideas for the development of long-term relationships between the Petroglyph National Monument and the interested stakeholders.

Designed as consisting of two parts, the NPS (1998:11–12), stipulated the specific objectives for Phase I of the project are to

1. identify and characterize contemporary stakeholders that have modified the landscape over time, and associate themselves with, or ascribe meaning to, the lands within and immediately surrounding the Petroglyph National Monument;

2. identify specific landscapes and places that stakeholders define as meaningful because these locations are linked to their local or regional cultural histories and cultural identities;

3. describe relationships and histories between stakeholders and their landscapes.

Phase II includes consultation and interviews with the stakeholders identified in Phase I to compile information concerning groups' customary associations with, and contemporary uses of, the Monument and West Mesa. These efforts are to allow participating stakeholder communities the opportunity to provide information about their relationships with the lands both surrounding and within the monument in their own words (NPS 1998:8).

Project History (adapted from NPS 1998)

The Petroglyph National Monument ELR is the fourth in a series of studies requested by the NPS to document the history, ethnohistory, and traditional community associations with the greater West Mesa environment and the monument itself. The Rapid Ethnographic Assessment by Evans and others (1993) represents the first step in identifying stakeholder communities and persons maintaining direct affiliations with the monument. Their work almost exclusively considers the landscape associations of the 19 New Mexican Pueblos.

The second study is Froeschauer's (1994) Cultural Landscape Overview. This study describes and analyzes the cultural landscape associations of Pueblo, Nuevomexicano, Hispano, and Anglo communities with the Petroglyph National Monument. Froeschauer implements a formal typology—Prehistoric Vernacular, Historic Vernacular, Historic Designed, and Ethnographic—to define and evaluate the locality's contrasting landscape layers.

The third investigation is Sánchez's (1998) comprehensive historical study of the Atrisco Land Grant. This account traces the land community from its early 17th-century origins through the 1905 patent signed by President Theodore Roosevelt confirming the lands approved by the Court of Private Land Claims and defined by the Town of Atrisco land survey.

The present ELR builds on these previous studies. The Río Grande Foundation for Communities and Cultural Landscapes' (Río Grande Foundation) official involvement in the project began with the implementation of Phase I of the project on October 27, 1998, when Dr. Kurt F. Anschuetz, Program Director, and Cherie Scheick, President of the Board, met with National Park Service (NPS) representatives to discuss approaches to project implementation and to finalize the schedule for project deliverables (Anschuetz 1998b). The NPS team included (1) Eric J. Brunnemann, Archeologist and Contract Officer's Technical Representative (until January 14, 1999), Petroglyph National Monument; (2) Jill Cowley, Historical Landscape Architect, Intermountain Support Office; (3) Tammy K. Gallegos, ELR Contracting Officer, Bandelier National Monument; (4) Michael Quijano, Chief Ranger, Division of Protection and Resource Management and Contract Officer's Technical Representative (since January 21, 1999), Petroglyph National Monument; and (5) Alexa Roberts, Ethnographer, Intermountain Support Office.

In November 1998, Harris Francis and Dr. Klara B. Kelley applied for a Class C permit to conduct ethnographic research for the project generally and to obtain permission from the Navajo Nation to examine archival resources containing sensitive cultural heritage materials (e.g., the Correll Collection). All other ELR team members formally began their research after December 2, 1998, at which time Río Grande Foundation personnel (Anschuetz and Scheick) and available consulting team members (Dr. Charles M. Carrillo, Dr. T. J. Ferguson, Francis, and Kelley) met with principal monument staff (including Brunnemann, Quijano, and Diane Souder) and other key contacts (including James Brandi, Consulting Archaeologist, and Matthew Schmader, Assistant Superintendent, Open Space Division, City of Albuquerque) for an on-site orientation.

NPS stipulated that the Río Grande Foundation would not proceed with direct Native American community contacts (other than to submit permit applications to conduct ethnographic research and to obtain authorization for access to restricted cultural heritage files) until it prepared and mailed formal government-to-government letters of introduction. As further requested by NPS, the Río Grande Foundation submitted draft text on January 11, 1999, for possible inclusion by Petroglyph National Monument personnel in their subsequent letter. After fulfilling internal NPS protocol, monument staff mailed the requisite official government-to-government letters of introduction to the 20 autonomous Pueblos, the Navajo Nation, the Jicarilla and Mescalero Apache Tribes, the All Indian Pueblo Council, the Eight Northern Indian Pueblo Council, and The Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, Inc., on February 18, 1999. On March 2, 1999, Quijano formally authorized Río Grande Foundation team members to proceed with their full range of activities without delay (Michael Quijano to Kurt F. Anschuetz, Río Grande Foundation, letter, March 2, 1999).

The Río Grande Foundation proceeded with the project through the winter of 2000. Anschuetz submitted the final Phase I reports, *"That Place People Talk About:" Ethnographic Landscape Literature Essays, Petroglyph National Monument*, by Kurt F. Anschuetz, T. J Ferguson, Harris Frances, Klara B. Kelley, and Cherie L. Scheick) and *Community Involvement Report, Ethnographic Landscape Project, Petroglyph National Monument*, by Kurt F. Anschuetz), to the NPS on February 15, 2000.

The Río Grande Foundation's conduct of the Phase II of the ELR began officially on March 15, 2000, when Dr. Kurt F. Anschuetz, Program Director, and Cherie Scheick, President of the Board, consulted with NPS representatives in a teleconference. The NPS team included (1) Tammy K. Gallegos, ELR Contracting Officer, Intermountain Support Office; (2) Michael Quijano, Contract Officer's Technical Representative and Chief Ranger, Division of Protection and Resource Management, Petroglyph National Monument; (3) Jill Cowley, Historical Landscape Architect, Intermountain Support Office; (4) Ed Natay, Office of Indian Trust Responsibilities, Intermountain Support Office; (5) Alexa Roberts, Ethnographer, Intermountain Support Office; (6) Cheryl Ford, Park Ranger—Interpretation, Petroglyph National Monument; (7) Michael Medrano, Natural Resource Specialist, Petroglyph National Monument; and (8) Phillip LoPiccolo, Cultural Resource Specialist, Petroglyph National Monument. The discussion covered the following topics: (1) the Phase II project approach and final schedule; (2) the schedule of deliverables; and (3) the availability of funds. Meeting participants considered addressed seven substantive topics concerning practical project implementation: (1) the issue of Stakeholder subcontracts revisited; (2) the Phase II invoice schedule; (3) the issue of informant confidentiality revisited (4) Phase II project structure and implementation; (5) Hopi Tribe participation and funding support; (6) final ELR structure and functions; and (7) Phase II information use guidelines and protocol.

In the attempt to accommodate stakeholders' often full schedules, Río Grande Foundation assembled team members kept the consultation period open through early June in the attempt to maximize community input. Stakeholders had the opportunity to inspect and comment upon the Phase I ELR report throughout this period.

Project Implementation

The Río Grande Foundation assembled a team of anthropologists and archaeologists (Dr. Kurt F. Anschuetz, Dr. Charles M. Carrillo, Dr. T. J. Ferguson, Dr. Klara B. Kelley), cultural rights consultants (Harris Francis), ethnohistorians (Glenda Deyloff and Dr. Frances Levine), historians (Thomas W. Merlan), and sociologists (Dr. Tessie Naranjo) with experience working with traditional and historical community groups. Each of these individuals also is familiar with the principal documentary and photographic archives in the Southwest. We believed a team approach was necessary because of the cultural diversity represented among the stakeholders and the vast distances separating stakeholder communities. No single individual, or small assembly of investigators, possesses the breadth of training, experience, or community contacts necessary to fulfill the project goals.

While team members have diverse backgrounds and interests, all hold the threads of communities and cultural landscapes in common. All possess extensive training and experience in ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and historical research among one or more stakeholder communities. Besides possessing close working relationships with many of the stakeholders and being versed in the etiquette of particular communities, they also have direct access to different archives across the northern Southwest. Together, the team members contribute to the preparation of a landscape whole that is greater than the sum of its parts.

Research Team Responsibilities

Dr. Kurt F. Anschuetz, archaeologist and anthropologist, led the archival and ethnographic research of Río Grande Pueblo, Nuevomexicano and Hispano, Anglo, and Apache community stakeholder associations during both phases I and II. As the Río Grande Foundation's Program Director, Anschuetz's role in the ELR was as Principal Investigator. He authored the Río Grande Pueblo (chapter 3), the Apache (chapter 6), Nuevomexicano and Hispano (chapter 7), and Anglo (chapter 8) community essays. Anschuetz also is the sole or senior author of the ELR introductory (chapter 1), landscape theory (chapter 2), and concluding (chapter 9) sections. While the theory chapter examines the formal properties of cultural landscape perspectives, which include ethnographic landscape as a subset, the concluding section provides a critical evaluation of the project findings and offers a matrix of stakeholder community relationships that should be considered during the design of future land-use management consultations and planning efforts. Anschuetz also is a contributor to the project's annotated bibliography (Appendix I).

Assisting Anschuetz during Phase I were Dr. Charles M. Carrillo, Glenda Deyloff, Dr. Frances Levine, Thomas Merlan, and Dr. Tessie Naranjo. Naranjo originally was to serve as the principal consultant working with the Río Grande Pueblos and the Jicarilla and Mescalero Apache tribes. For personal and professional reasons unrelated to the ELR, Naranjo withdrew from the active research effort in mid-June 1999, although she continued to offer technical advice and guidance through the remaining term of the project, including serving as an interviewer during the Tonantzin Land Institute consultation meeting during Phase II.

Deyloff provided research assistance in searching Santa Fé, Albuquerque, and Denver archives for relevant ethnohistorical documents and records during Phase I. She is a contributor to the annotated bibliography (Appendix I).

Merlan helped with the review, summary, and translation of Spanish language transcripts included in the Atrisco Oral History Project file housed in the Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico during Phase I. He assisted in making stakeholder contacts among several Río Grande Pueblo communities where he has active ties, and in contacting Atrisco Land Grant heirs and Albuquerque South Valley residents knowledgeable in the Atrisco Land Grant community history at this time. During Phase II, Merlan worked with Anschuetz in conducting interviews with representatives of the Pueblo of Zía, the All Indian Pueblo Council, the Eight Northern Indian Pueblo Council, the Mescalero Apache Tribe, and the Tonantzin Land Institute. He also conducted interviews with various Atrisco Land Grant heirs, several individuals knowledgeable of Albuquerque South Valley culture and history, and U.S. Air Force personnel.

Levine and Carrillo provided technical assistance in discussing archival research strategies and identifying potentially knowledgeable consultants in efforts to track down specific information during Phase I. Levine also inspected the Spanish language transcripts in the Atrisco Oral History Project file and helped determine those documents with potential to yield useful information concerning the Atrisco Land Grant community's traditional uses and associations with the West Mesa environment. Moreover, she helped design a strategy for efficiently reviewing the documents, summarizing their contents, and selecting particular passages for translation. Carrillo shared firsthand knowledge of the West Mesa archaeology and history through his own past work at the monument (1987). In

addition, he talked with his father, Rafael Abeyta Carrillo, who as a St. Joseph College (later renamed University of Albuquerque) student in the late 1950s, was one of the individuals responsible for painting the original "J" on JA Volcano. Neither Levine nor Carrillo were active researchers during the second part of the study.

Ferguson conducted the ethnographic and archival research for the Western Pueblo communities during both project phases. He prepared the Western Pueblo community ethnographic landscape essay (chapter 4) and contributed to the annotated bibliography (Appendix I). Throughout the project Kelley and Francis shared the ethnographic and archival research responsibilities for preparing the Navajo community ethnographic landscape essay (chapter 5). They also were key contributors to the annotated bibliography (Appendix I).

Although they did not play major roles in the compilation of information or essay writing, several other individuals fulfilled key roles in the completion of this report. In her capacity as the Río Grande Foundation President of the Board, Cherie L. Scheick gave essential advice in the organization and implementation of project activities. She reviewed project research and report preparation strategies. Scheick also co-authored the landscape theory discussion (chapter 2). Jane V. Sandoval acted as Anschuetz's administrative assistant and was primarily responsible for report production. Sheron Smith-Savage served as technical editor.

Methods and Procedures

During Phase I Río Grande Foundation personnel placed emphasis on the collection of ethnographic and historical information from primary sources that offer insight into stakeholder community landscape constructions. These data sources include ethnographies, land claim adjudication documents, land survey plats, and oral histories, congressional and environmental testimonies, and formal essays by members of stakeholder communities. Team members consulted sacred places records whenever such documents were available.

The focus of the Phase II work largely was ethnographic. Whereas Phase I was a review of documentary materials characteristically written by observers of traditional and historical communities since colonization, team members during Phase II attempted to collect information about the associations that stakeholders maintain with places in their landscape in the people's own words. The idea of the landscape was not limited to historical buildings, archaeological sites, or even petroglyphs. Team members collected narratives and commentaries about how the landscape also lives in people's stories and experiences. By soliciting people's ideas and values about the meaning of place and time that they use to create and to sustain their community traditions, team members compiled information about how stakeholders believe the Petroglyph National Monument and the Albuquerque West Mesa environments possess qualities and characteristics warranting protection or other consideration in the face of rapidly expanding development pressure and visitor use. Team members also asked participating stakeholders for their views and concerns about natural and cultural resource management, as well as visitor interpretation.

In presenting these materials in the community essays (chapter 3—Río Grande Pueblo, chapter 4—Western Pueblo, chapter 5—Navajo, chapter 6—Apache, chapter 7—Nuevomexicano and Hispano, and chapter 8—Anglo), authors made extensive use of quotes and reference citations, include page numbers, in their texts to document the origin of essential concepts and interpretations in their literature summaries. To integrate these diverse observations into a synthetic argument, the authors offer their interpretations of the literature. Interpretive ideas that lack specific supporting literature references are the products of this synthesis of the collected historical, ethnohistorical, and ethnographic information.

Río Grande Foundation personnel attempted to locate and to inventory ethnographic photographs illustrating traditional landscape associations of stakeholder representatives with the West Mesa and Petroglyph National Monuments during Phase I. These efforts ultimately proved fruitless, however; researchers located no appropriate ethnographic photographic records. After consulting with NPS staff, Río Grande Foundation personnel terminated this effort.

Table 1.1 summarizes the list of stakeholder communities and groups identified and contacted during this project. We also refer the reader to the accompanying "Community Involvement Report" (Anschuetz 1999) for a comprehensive reporting of the Río Grande Foundation team members' activities during Phase I. Table 1.2 identifies the archival resources visited by one or more project personnel to obtain primary data used in the following community ethnographic landscape essays for this ELR.

TABLE 1.1: List of Stakeholder Communities and Groups Identified and Contacted during the Petroglyph National Monument ELR Project (see Anschuetz 1999 for details)

STAKEHOLDER COMMUNITY OR GROUP	OFF-SITE CONSULTATION		PHASE II ON-SITE CONSULTATION	TEAM MEMBER(S)
	PHASE I	PHASE II		
RÍO GRANDE PUEBLOS				
Pueblo of Cochití	X			Merlan and Anschuetz
Pueblo of Isleta	X	X		Anschuetz
Pueblo of Jémez	X			Anschuetz
Pueblo of Nambe	X			Anschuetz
Pueblo of Picurís	X			Anschuetz
Pueblo of Pojoaque	X			Anschuetz
Pueblo of San Felipe	X			Merlan and Anschuetz
Pueblo of San Ildefonso	X			Merlan and Anschuetz
Pueblo of San Juan	X	X		Anschuetz
Pueblo of Sandía	X			Anschuetz
Pueblo of Santa Ana	X			Anschuetz
Pueblo of Santa Clara	X			Anschuetz
Pueblo of Santo Domingo	X			Merlan and Anschuetz
Pueblo of Taos	X			Anschuetz
Pueblo of Tesuque	X			Anschuetz
Pueblo of Zía	X		X	Anschuetz
All Indian Pueblo Council	X	X		Merlan and Anschuetz
Eight Northern Indian Pueblo Council	X	X		Merlan and Anschuetz
Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, Inc.	X	X		Anschuetz
SAGE Council		X		Anschuetz
WESTERN PUEBLOS				
Pueblo of Ácoma	X	X	X	Ferguson
Hopi Tribe	X	X	X	Ferguson
Pueblo of Laguna	X	X	X	Ferguson
Pueblo of Zuni	X	X	X	Ferguson

TABLE 1.1 (cont'd.)

STAKEHOLDER COMMUNITY OR GROUP	OFF-SITE CONSULTATION		PHASE II ON-SITE CONSULTATION	TEAM MEMBER(S)
	PHASE I	PHASE II		
NAVAJO				
Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department	X			Kelley and Francis
Alamo Chapter	X			Kelley and Francis
Tó Hajiileeh (formerly Canyoncito) Chapter	X			Kelley and Francis
Ramah Chapter	X			Kelley and Francis
Diné Medicinemen's Association (formerly Diné Spiritual and Culture Society)	X		X	Kelley and Francis
Other Knowledgeable Navajo Individuals	X			
APACHE				
Jicarilla Tribe	X			Anschuetz
Mescalero Tribe	X		X	Merlan and Anschuetz
NUEVOMEXICANO AND HISPANO				
Atrisco Land Grant Council				Merlan
Westland Development Company				Merlan
Tonantzin Land Institute				Anschuetz and Merlan
Other Knowledgeable Individuals				Merlan and Anschuetz
ANGLO				
City of Albuquerque				Anschuetz and Merlan
Kirtland Air Force Base, U.S. Air Force				Anschuetz and Merlan
NPS				Anschuetz and Deyloff
St. Joseph College/University of Albuquerque				Carrillo
Sophie Aberle Estate/Associates				Anschuetz and Merlan
City of Albuquerque West Side Neighborhood Associations				Anschuetz

TABLE 1.2: List of Archival Resources.

ARCHIVE	TEAM MEMBER(S)
NPS	
Library, Intermountain Support Office, Santa Fé	Deyloff and Anschuetz
Eric Brunnemann's files, Petroglyph National Monument, Albuquerque	Deyloff and Anschuetz
Diane Souder's files, Petroglyph National Monument, Albuquerque	Deyloff
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, ALBUQUERQUE	
Zimmerman (General) Library	Anschuetz, Deyloff, and Merlan
Spanish Colonial Research Center, Zimmerman (General) Library	Anschuetz
Catron Papers and Atrisco Oral History Project Collections Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman (General) Library	Deyloff, Anschuetz, Levine, and Merlan
Government Publications, Zimmerman (General) Library	Deyloff and Anschuetz
STATE OF NEW MEXICO	
Archaeological Records Management Section Historic Preservation Division and Laboratory of Anthropology Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fé	Deyloff and Anschuetz
Archives Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fé	Deyloff
New Mexico History Library, Santa Fé	Deyloff and Merlan
Southwest Room, New Mexico State Library, Santa Fé	Deyloff and Merlan
New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fé	Deyloff and Merlan
OTHER	
Photographic Archives, Brancroft Library, University of Colorado, Denver	Deyloff
Alameda Land Grant, Atrisco Land Grant, and Master Title Plats Survey Notes and Plats, Public Room, Bureau of Land Management, Santa Fé	Deyloff
Correll Collection, Navajo Land Claims, Navajo Nation Museum, Window Rock	Kelley and Francis
Regional Branch, National Archives, Denver	Deyloff
Archives, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff	Ferguson
Anthropology Library, University of Arizona, Tucson	Ferguson
Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson	Ferguson
Navajo Sacred Places Research Records, Klara B. Kelley's files, Gallup	Kelley and Francis
Archives, Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fé	Kelley and Francis

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCING CULTURAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC LANDSCAPES

KURT F. ANSCHUETZ AND CHERIE L. SCHEICK

Introduction and Background

The National Park Service (NPS) formally identified cultural landscapes as a type of cultural resource in its management policies in 1988 (Page et al. 1998:7). It defines *cultural landscape* "as a geographic area (including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein) associated with a historic event, activity, or person, or that exhibit other cultural or aesthetic values" (2000:1; see also Page et al. 1998:12). These values, in turn, allow the evaluation of cultural resource eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) (Evans et al. 2001:53). Moreover, the NPS uses the term *cultural landscape* as a conceptual umbrella to encompass four principal landscape types warranting recognition and protection (after NPS 1994; see also NPS 2000; Page et al. 1998:7).

The first landscape type is the *historic site*, which is significant for its association with important activities, events, and/or persons. Examples include battlefields and presidential properties (NPS 2000:2). The second is the *historic designed landscape*, which represents deliberate artistic creations that manifest recognized design styles. Aesthetic values play a significant role in designed landscapes, which include parks, campuses, and estates (NPS 2000:1–2). The third is the *historic vernacular landscape*, whose use, construction, and layout expresses cultural values and illustrates people's patterns of land use. Function plays a significant role in vernacular landscapes, which include rural historic districts and agricultural landscapes (NPS 2000:2). The last cultural landscape type is the *ethnographic landscape*. As defined by the NPS, ethnographic landscapes contain "a variety of natural and cultural resources that associated people define as heritage resources" (2000:1). The NPS (2000:1) remarks further that examples of ethnographic landscapes include contemporary settlements, sacred religious sites, and massive geological structures. Moreover, plant communities, animals, subsistence, and ceremonial grounds often are principal landscape components. Evans and others add, "Ethnographic landscapes within the NPS context are broader and do not depend on NRHP eligibility criteria for their existence, and importantly, are identified and defined by the cultural groups associated with them rather than by historic preservation professionals" (2001:53). For this reason, and to better serve the purposes of its service-wide Ethnographic Resources Inventory Database, the NPS's Applied Ethnography program has defined the term *ethnographic landscape* as:

> …a relatively contiguous area of interrelated places that contemporary cultural groups define as meaningful because it is inextricably and traditionally linked to their own local or regional histories, cultural identities, beliefs, and behaviors. Present-day social factors such as a people's class, ethnicity, and gender may result in the assignment of diverse meanings to a landscape and its component places. [in Evans et al. 2001:54]

With this definition, Evans and others (2001:54) report that the NPS acknowledges ethnographic landscapes are not merely a cultural landscape category but can represent distinct types of landscapes in their own right that might overlap with or contain historic cultural landscapes. People of communities affiliated with an ethnographic landscape determine the significance of a given space within the physical environment and are empowered with the authority to identify and describe these places with which they sustain relationship(s).

The NPS recognizes landscapes (1) represent the interaction of active cultural and historical processes, and (2) are not simply an assemblage of quantifiable material resources or even normative behavioral patterns (e.g., see Mitchell and Page 1993:49; Page et al. 1998:7; see also Levine and Merlan 1993:56). With this understanding, the NPS has adopted the goal to clearly identify "the landscape characteristics and features, values, and associations that make a landscape historically significant (according to the National Register [of Historic Places] criteria)" (Page et al. 1998:4). The NPS also comprehends that contemporary peoples often identify and interact with places with which they maintain associations "for their history and for the amenities they provide" (Patten 1991:3; see also Mitchell and Page 1993:53; Travis

1994). Cowley (1991:10, 1994:28) observes further that landscapes can represent a multitude of cultural-historical associations and values among the people of different communities.

The NPS's recognition of the essential role of contemporary cultural associations in the documentation, evaluation, and interpretations of landscapes is illustrated further through its seminal work in defining the traditional cultural property (TCP) concept. Although the TCP concept also was developed for use documenting and evaluating heritage resources eligible for listing in the NRHP (Parker 1993a; Parker and King 1990; see also Evans et al. 2001:54–55), its conceptual framework is applicable to cultural landscapes generally and to ethnographic landscapes specifically. According to *National Register Bulletin* 38 guidelines, traditional cultural properties are those "eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of…[their]…association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community" (Parker and King 1990:1; see also Parker 1993b:1).

The four widely published NPS cultural landscape type definitions convey major aspects of this concept. These terse, static descriptions, if viewed in isolation, however, offer relatively little to help us understand how the NPS cultural landscape idea relates to dynamic cultural and historical processes.

The expanded ethnographic landscape definition offered recently by the NPS Applied Ethnology Program (Evans et al. 2001; see also above) both is recognition of the shortcomings inherent in the four-part cultural and an important step toward their resolution. On the one hand, the four-part typology—historic site, historic designed landscape, historic vernacular landscape, ethnographic landscape—serves usefully in assisting managers to distinguish the values that give landscapes their significance and aiding them to determine how the landscape should be treated, managed, and interpreted (Page et al. 1998:9). On the other hand, rigid adherence to this classification threatens the conceptual segmentation of the landscape concept in ways that are not fully congruent with the effective implementation of a holistic approach. As Page and others (1998:9) observe, these landscape types are not mutually exclusive. Landscapes may be associated with significant events, possess vernacular and formally designed characteristics. They also may be considered differentially significant by contrasting cultural groups. Thus, although the purpose of the present investigation of the Petroglyph National Monument is to produce an ethnographic landscape report (ELR), historic site, historic designed, and historic vernacular landscape types still are applicable, even if less directly so.

The language used by the NPS to define landscape types in terms of static cultural resource management property categories perhaps poses the greatest practical obstacle to fulfilling its goal of developing a comprehensive understanding of the dynamic processes that underlie how people interact with their environments (see Evans et al. 2001 for further discussion of this problem). Page and others note that the landscape typology and "terms are defined in the context of cultural resource management and in particular, cultural landscape management in the national park system" (1998:125). They acknowledge further that NPS terminology sometimes departs from standard dictionary definitions to enhance its usefulness as a tool for resource management purposes.

In practice, through its emphasis on objective (i.e., quantifiable) historic events, activities, persons, or other cultural or aesthetic values, NPS landscape terminology frequently has resulted in the portrayal of cultural landscapes as a collection of materially-based resource commodities in service to National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) protocols for determining the eligibility of historic properties (Evans et al. 2001:54). For example, while acknowledging that cultural landscape preservation encourages a holistic approach to resource management and possesses relevance to present communities, Birnbaum and Page cast this understanding primarily in terms of "the inter-relationships *between cultural and natural resources within a property*" (1994:3, italics added). In a subsequent comment, they give priority to "the physical evidence, including traces of the past…[as]…an integral component of the daily lives of those that live in or move through the landscape today" (1994:4). Friedman similarly calls for discussions "of how the people associated with the site shaped the land to serve their needs and reflect their culture"(1994:6) in implementing landscape approaches for new kinds of interpretation. Even though Friedman implicitly recognizes the importance of including ideational issues in interpreting how people manifest their needs and their cultural expressions in their landscapes, materialist concerns organize the content of her remarks: "Landscape, including trees, plants, shrubs, and walkways, are [*sic*] comparable to cups, chairs, tables, paintings, and candlesticks. All are part of the collections of a historic site" (1994:6).

The NPS's four-part landscape typology and their definitions work efficiently in producing the kinds of observations that it needs to fulfill its management responsibilities for natural and cultural resources with

materially demonstrable historical contexts and associations. As such, these tools are well suited for a particular task. As Moore and Keene observe, however, "methods, like tools, can be abused. The most obvious form of abuse involves using methods not because they fit the task at hand, but because they are methods we know and can easily apply" (1983:4). Tools designed for managing for natural and cultural resources with materially demonstrable historical contexts and associations are not necessarily equally well suited for management of other resources whose historical values are based on less tangible contexts and associations through which a community sustains its cultural identity (after Cushman 1993:50) in a living, ever-changing world. Therefore, it is fair to ask whether we are being unrealistic in our expectation that adherence to NPS cultural resource management concepts and methods alone can yield the kinds of insights needed to achieve the objective of obtaining a comprehensive understanding of landscapes' dynamic processes. Documentation of historical contexts that identify and justify significance to cultural resource specialists is much less relevant to traditional communities primarily concerned with contemporary social issues concerning their cultural survival (Levine and Merlan 1993:55).

The disjunction between the NPS's landscape philosophy and its applied practice is more one of emphasis rather than substance, however. As we discuss below, the NPS ethnographic landscape concept actually is closely aligned with general cultural landscape ideas derived from the social sciences and the humanities.

Management of cultural landscape resources and comprehension of cultural landscape processes both are fundamentally important components of a holistic landscape approach. Nevertheless, these contrasting tasks emphasize qualitatively different landscape aspects. Moreover, management of cultural landscapes resources and comprehension of cultural landscapes are not mutually exclusive but that each contributes information needed to build an even fuller understanding of landscapes.

Given the task of this ELR to assess the ways with which diverse communities have created and sustained meaningful associations with the Petroglyph National Monument, the purpose of the following discussion is to introduce the cultural landscape concept more broadly. By identifying the theoretical bases that the NPS drew from, albeit implicitly, in developing its landscape typology and definitions, we provide a framework for comprehending the holistic logic that unifies the NPS's landscape philosophy and its applied practice. Our purpose also is to illustrate how the landscape approach can encourage and enable practitioners to consider more fully the cultural-historical traditions through which people occupy and modify their community lands, materially and ideationally, in their own terms. We conduct this endeavor especially in reference to the principles embodied in the NPS Applied Ethnology Program's ethnographic landscape concept and the TCP idea.

To achieve our goal, this discussion has four major parts. The first considers the ubiquity of cultural landscapes and their significant cultural meanings in the world in which we live, using the intimacy of the relationship between traditional, land-based communities and their environments in the southwestern U.S. as an illustration. The purpose of this discussion is to convey more fully how significant cultural-historical associations can be manifest in landscape even though material traces of human occupation are rare or subtle in appearance.

The second section considers the challenges to researchers and managers in recognizing landscapes and comprehending these cultural constructs within appropriate contexts. We open by addressing issues concerning landscape analyses of the way communities occupy their landscapes, and that these analyses will never yield a comprehensive understanding of the ideational systems communities use to ascribe particular meanings to places within their landscapes. We next define the landscape concept and review its formal properties. Lastly, we consider how landscapes constitute cultural-historical memories with which communities interact in their day-to-day living.

The third part defines the concepts of community and communion. We argue these ideas are relevant to evaluations of landscapes because they help condition people's patterned perceptions and interpretations of the spaces they inhabit. This discussion also appraises how the idea of communion, which is an emotional tie to place, is more strongly manifest among the Southwest's rural communities (which sustain land-based traditions) than among its urban communities (which tend to possess a sense of time and place informed by romanticized views of nature rather than by direct historical-ecological experience).

The final section is a review of the approach used in the present study to implement the ethnographic landscape concept. We introduce the idea of the "storied landscape" (Kelley and Francis 1996) as the principal means for applying the landscape perspective introduced in this chapter.

Ubiquity of Landscapes and Cultural Meaning in the World in Which We Live

In a recent exposition on the Southwest's landscape and history, John Brinckerhoff Jackson, one of the country's foremost landscape essayists and a longtime New Mexico resident, observes,

> What comes first: the blessing or the prayer? It is not easy in this landscape to separate the role of man from the role of nature. The plateau country has been lived in for centuries, but the human presence is disguised even from the camera's eye. [1994:17]

When people intimately familiar with the Southwest reflect upon the region's diverse mountain, mesa, valley, and desert settings, most are struck by the insightfulness and poetry of Jackson's rhetorical question. In noting that humans and their natural environments are fundamentally intertwined, Jackson recognizes that the region's many historical communities have interacted with the landscape in profound, albeit subtle, ways. Even though their interactions might leave few readily visible material traces, the Indian, Nuevomexicano, Hispano, and Anglo communities trace countless generations of occupation in the Southwest, as subsistence hunters, gatherers, farmers, ranchers, miners, and developers; each has transformed the landscape's ecology. In addition, through each community's intimate relationships with the land and its resources in every aspect of its material life, including economy, society, polity, and recreation, the landscape has come to occupy a revered place in community cosmologies.

Just as the NPS has discovered first-hand in defining concepts, developing guidelines, and applying methods related to traditional cultural properties, the understandings that the region's traditional communities have of their historically-informed interactions with the landscape often challenge, if not confound, comprehension by outsiders. In some instances, communities identify themselves in terms of the places their families have lived since before living memory. Over time, the land and its people have become inseparable through historical-ecological processes, which are "dialectical relations between human acts and acts of nature" (Crumley 1994:9). Moreover, traditional land-based communities often possess "a view of history based on cyclical time in which the past is recreated in the present through traditional beliefs and practices" (Parker 1993b:4).

Regardless of history, culture, or tradition, people everywhere "project culture onto nature" (Crumley and Marquardt 1990:73) through their interactions with their physical environments. In this process, the land, its physical resources, and people's perceptions, actions, and expectations of their environments not only contribute to the patterns of ecological change identifiable in the record of the past. They also structure the opportunities and the constraints that are available to cultural communities in the present, as well as the choices and means that will be accessible to the groups' future generations.

Thus Jackson, through his rhetorical question, grasps the understanding that the Southwest's landscape is simultaneously—and incontestably—both a blessing and a prayer. It is through these understandings that the people of the traditional communities explain how "they became who they are" (Peckham 1990:2) culturally and historically. These understandings also lend cogent meaning to claims by contemporary generations that their communities sustain the occupation of their traditional homelands through historically based patterns of cultural action and cognition. It is in reference to these constructions of landscape meaning through which cultural communities construct identities for themselves that the NPS developed its cultural resource management policies and methods, especially the ethnographic landscape (after Mitchell and Page 1993; Page et al. 1998) and traditional cultural properties concepts (after Parker and King 1990; see also Parker 1993b).

Recognizing and Comprehending Tierra Incognita

The challenge for landscape practitioners is to develop interpretive and management guidelines that recognize the existence of landscapes' often subtle cultural-historical meanings. In the case of the present ELR, the goal is to provide frameworks for comprehending how New Mexico's many different publics each occupy the landscape through their physical and metaphysical cultural constructions to create and sustain senses of community identity.

Before proceeding further, we ask what cultural landscape studies generally and ethnographic landscape investigations specifically can do, and what they should not presume to undertake. Comprehending that communities occupy their perceived landscapes to sustain their identity is not the same as comprehensively understanding the ideational systems through which communities traditionally ascribe particular meanings to places within their landscapes (see Anschuetz et al. 2001 for an expanded examination of this issue). On the one hand, a landscape perspective enables researchers and managers to identify and to assess the historical significance of the natural and cultural resources that contemporary peoples identify and interact with

physically or metaphysically within their landscapes. On the other hand, full comprehension by outsiders of a community's specific historical associations with places in their landscapes, which depends on a person's intimate relationship with the group's cultural traditions, is usually both impossible and unnecessary.

Even more important, many societies define behavioral norms and social structures to guide a person's acquisition of often highly specialized and sanctified cultural knowledge needed to comprehend specific meanings of the physical and metaphysical relationships ascribed to particular places. Thus, expectations that a landscape analysis should document and decipher privileged knowledge are unrealistic and disrespectful of a community's established traditions and systems of cultural knowledge (e.g., see Cushman 1993; Ferguson et al. 1993; Parker 1993b; Sebastian 1993; see also Anschuetz et al. 2001). This call for respect in ethnographic landscape studies rests on an ever-expanding body of social science findings about the long-term benefits of sustaining cultural diversity (after Sebastian 1993:26) in ongoing historical-ecological processes of which humans are an integral part.

Defining Landscape

In one of its simplest, yet most elegant, definitions used in the social sciences and humanities, the term *landscape* refers to the interaction of nature and culture (after Zube 1994:1; see also Ingold 1993:152; Tuan 1977:passim; Tuan, in Thompson 1995:xi). Karl Sauer, a renowned geographer who most influential work dates to the first part of the twentieth century, offers a more comprehensive definition. Even though his definition is almost 75 years old and lacks Zube's elegance, it remains relevant today given its recognition of the organization of people's interactions with their environments as a uniquely evolving cultural-historical process:

> The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result. Under the influence of a given culture, itself changing through time, the landscape undergoes development, passing through phases, and probably reaching ultimately the end of its cycle of development. With the introduction of a different—that is, alien-culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on the remnants of an older one. [Sauer 1925:46]

Sauer's explication of landscape represents a hallmark in interpretation, because he stressed human agency "as a force in shaping the visible features of delimited regions on the Earth's surface" (Cosgrove 1994:115) and culture specifically as "the impress of the works of man upon the area" (Sauer 1925:38). He cites three factors as basic to the study of landscape: "the physical environment, the character [i.e., culture] of the people, and time" (in Norton 1989:37).

Although an explicit linkage of nature with culture is uncommon among most Anglos today (Jackson 1984:5), these definitions follow an ancient Indo-European tradition of referring to places on the physical landscape as possessing an integral human element, a space defined by people through their interactions with their environment (Jackson 1984:5–8). Importantly, traditional land-based communities in the U.S., including both Native American and non-Native American cultural groups, characteristically do not distinguish between nature and culture in their understandings of landscape. Rather, they highlight the idea of fundamental relationship between people and the world in which they live (e.g., see Cajete 1993-1994, 1994, 1999; see also chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6).

A prominent contemporary geographer has gone as far as to suggest "landscape is most at home in the cultural context" (Wagner 1995:5). In this sense, *landscape* is intelligible only as human habitat given that *Culture* with a capital "C" is a uniquely human cognitive and behavioral system for producing, storing, and transmitting information over time (e.g., see Anschuetz 1998a:31–80, after Ford 1977; Hall 1959, 1969; Kirch 1980; Rappaport 1979a; Trigger 1991, Tylor 1871; White 1949; among others). Just as natural environmental variation, the ways in which people perceive the land and its resources through their cultural traditions helps structure how they interact with their landscapes and define their associations with their heritage resources.

The recognition that landscape is based on interaction between cultural communities and their environments also implicates the existence of historical-ecological processes within human habitats (after Crumley 1994; see also Zube 1994:1). In scientific constructs, therefore, the landscape concept foremost relates to a processual relationship between natural and cultural systems over time.

As we consider earlier, NPS landscape definitions, especially that offered by the Applied Ethnography Program (see Evans et al. 2001), subscribe to the understanding that landscapes derive from the interaction of nature and culture over time. Importantly, its landscape concepts actually are closely aligned intellectually with general cultural landscape ideas derived from the social sciences and the humanities.

Discussion

As language tools go, the term *landscape* possibly is exceptional given the great variability in meanings that people encode in the term when discussing the environment. As a language tool of many meanings and uses, *landscape* has an extremely high potential for abuse, not because the term itself is "slippery" but because persons using *landscape* in a dialogue tend to "slip" the concept among contradictory contexts that obscure its meaningfulness. Consequentially, in using *landscape* to discuss a particular idea in any dialogue, but most especially in discourse based on the systematization of observations, methods, and interpretive principles, practitioners need to define the concept clearly and apply this meaning consistently.

Especially troublesome is today's widespread adoption of the vernacular use of *landscape* as a graceful synonym for *natural environment*. This use is problematic because it casts the concept in opposition to the very topic that researchers and cultural resource managers together share primary concern: the interpretation and evaluation of the dynamic relationships between cultural communities and their environments over time.

Should landscape practitioners lapse and mix their scientific and management landscape tools with the vernacular Anglo view of landscape as an "expanse of naturally occurring physical space viewed from afar" (see above), they run the risk of conceptually segregating the domains of nature and culture in ways that violate the term's ancient etymology. In equating natural environments, which are ever changing, with landscape, researchers are susceptible to casting culture as a dependent variable in their explanations of ecological change. If culture change is viewed primarily in a linear manner as a reactive mechanism to external natural environmental change, recognition and comprehension of how a community's traditional landscape constructions (1) are rooted in its history and (2) continue to important in sustaining its cultural identity are obscured (see expanded discussion by Anschuetz et al. 2001). That is, we can become blinded to the landscape concept's intrinsic integrative and synthetic functions (after Jackson 1984:8; see also below). More problematical still, the conceptual separation of nature and culture into distinct realms also is incompatible with how many land-based communities view the relationship between people and the world in which they live, as well as their relationship with history (e.g., see Cajete 1993-1994, 1994, 1999). For example, many authors who have worked with the NPS cultural resource management tools have commented how the partitioning of nature and culture within a linear chronology poses great obstacles to consultation with traditional communities (e.g., Cushman 1993; Downer and Roberts 1993; Ferguson et al. 1993; Parker 1993b; Sebastian 1993; see also King 1993). These are key issues that the NPS Applied Ethnography Program's recently revised ethnographic landscape definition helps to address by empowering the people of communities affiliated with an ethnographic landscape with the authority to identify and describe these places with which they sustain significant relationship important to their heritage and identity (see Evans et al. 2001).

Landscape's Formal Properties

The landscape perspective outlined above, just as any paradigm, is a set of working assumptions, procedures, and findings that define a pattern of inquiry about the nature of our knowledge of the world or some aspect of the world (see Clark, 1993; Masterman, 1970; cf. Kuhn, 1970). As a paradigm, the landscape approach is neither a formal theory nor a particular technique; it is a way of looking at and integrating data. Specifically, the landscape approach corresponds to the realm of a base construct paradigm rather than Kuhn's (1970) overarching metaphysic paradigm or the intermediate level sociological paradigm (Masterman 1970:65). While metaphysical paradigms generally consist of a way of seeing that organizes perception to affirm or assert the content of a scientific discipline (Masterman 1970:65, 68–76), sociological paradigms refer to concrete scientific achievements accepted by divergent communities (Masterman 1970:66–68). Construct paradigms, in comparison, are methodological that they are a system of strategies and tools for approaching particular kinds of scientific inquiry as well as interpreting what they do (Masterman 1970:70). In this capacity, a landscape paradigm "is defined more by what it *does* than what it *is*" (Whittlesey 1997: 20, emphasis in original; see also Masterman 1970:70).

Four interrelated premises provide the principal foundations for a landscape paradigm (adapted from Anschuetz et al. 2001:160–161):

1. Landscapes are not synonymous with natural environments. Landscapes are synthetic constructions (Jackson, 1984, p. 156), with cultural systems structuring and organizing peoples' interactions with their natural environments (Deetz 1990; see also Ingold 1993:152; Tuan 1977, *passim*; Thompson 1995:xi; Zube 1994:1). As Cosgrove notes, "landscape denotes the external world mediated through subjective human experience" (1998:13). Knapp and Ashmore add that by mediating between nature and culture,

landscapes are "an integral part of Bourdieu's *habitus*" (1999:20, italics in original).

2. Landscapes are worlds of cultural product (after Boone 1994:7; see also Norton 1989; Thompson 1995b; Tuan 1977; Wagner 1995:5). Through their daily activities, beliefs, and values, communities transform physical spaces into meaningful places. Taçon notes, "Experience, history, value systems, relationships, circumstance, and individual choices all play a part in how landscapes are…described" (1999:34). Accordingly, a "landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world" (Cosgrove 1998:13). Thus, landscapes are not the same as "built environments," which refer to designed physical constructions (after Domosh 1995:48–49; Foote 1995:294–295). Landscapes represent "a way in which…people have signified themselves and their world through their…relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature" (Cosgrove 1998:15).

3. Landscapes are the arena for all of a community's activities. Thus, landscapes not only are constructs of human populations, they are the milieu in which those populations survive and sustain themselves. A landscape's domain involves patterning in both within-place and between-place contexts (Binford 1982:5; Deetz, 1990:2; see also Hubert 1994). Observable patterns of both material traces and empty spaces come from interactions between culturally organized dimensions and nonculturally organized resources and life-space distributions (Binford 1983:380). With landscapes organizing perception and action, economy, society, and ideation are not only interconnected, they are interdependent (see Anschuetz 1998a; Anschuetz and Scheick 1998).

4. Landscapes are dynamic constructions, with each community and each generation imposing its own cognitive map on an anthropogenic world of interconnected morphology, arrangement, and coherent meaning (Anschuetz and Scheick 1998:6; Jackson 1984:156; see also Hoskins 1955; Parcero Oubiña et al. 1998:174). Because landscapes embody fundamental organizing principles for the form and structure of peoples' activities, they serve both as a material construct that communicates information and as a kind of historical text (Hugill and Foote 1995:20). Moreover, the landscape, as a system for manipulating meaningful symbols in human actions and their material by-products, helps define customary patterned relationships among varied information. Processes of behavioral change across space and over time necessarily result in an ever-changing landscape, however. Landscape, therefore, fundamentally is a cultural process (Hirsch 1995; *contra* Cosgrove 1984:32).

Discussion

Until the recent addition of the Applied Anthropology Program's expanded ethnographic landscape definition (Evans et al. 2001), the landscape approach developed by the NPS was defined primarily by its cultural resource management responsibilities. Although this management emphasis supercedes the complementary objective of a comprehensive understanding of landscapes' dynamic processes in most day-to-day practice, the NPS's cultural landscape typology and definitions, in concert with its traditional properties concept, clearly conforms with the landscape paradigm's central tenets. As we have seen, landscapes: (1) represent the interaction of dynamic cultural and historical processes (after Mitchell and Page 1993; Page et al. 1998); (2) are associated with cultural practices or beliefs that are rooted in the histories of living communities and are essential in how communities sustain their cultural identities (after Parker and King 1990; see also Parker 1993b); (3) were shaped by people to serve their needs and reflect their culture (after Friedman 1994); and (4) are simultaneously seen through the eyes of the people of different cultural communities (after Cowley 1991, 1994).

Landscape as Memory

Anthropologists, geographers, and historians, among others, document a common characteristic among all humans: the remembrance and celebration of rich historical memories through oral traditions. Human history started not with writing but with shared stories from one generation to the next at the beginning of human time.

Every community imbues its landscape with intrinsic meaningfulness based on its cultural patterns of perception and interpretation (see Anschuetz 1998a:44–58). These perceptions include not only the community understandings of its physical environment and resources, but also the passage of time and how people interact with their cultural-historical memories. For example, Anglo communities characteristically view history and landscapes in terms of enduring images inscribed on the land. Many non-Western, land-based communities, in comparison, view history as part of a living process that make the past a referent for the present and the landscape as memory itself (Anyon et al. 1997; Küchler 1993; Morphy 1993; see also Anschuetz et al. 2001; Ferguson et al. 1993;

Jackson 1980; Parker 1993; Roberts 1997; chapters 4 and 8). Given that landscape concepts held by the people of traditional communities characteristically are land based and process oriented, the landscape immediately is understood to be more than the present built environment (Tallbull and Deaver 1997) or simply a protected cultural resources site (Cleere 1995).

It takes time to "get to know a place." Consequently, physical space in an environment "becomes a place" only when people set down roots and acquire a certain knowledge of its essential characteristics, through their daily activities, beliefs, and values over time. But time alone is not enough. Experiences with the land, its resources, and one another as they live their lives influences how people learn about a place and understand their relationship with the landscape. Through physical modifications and the experience of history, people reshape the natural environment to legitimate the meanings they imbue on the land and to create an identity in terms of the land. Through the intimacy of experience and the sharing of memories over the passage of time, a community transforms its geographical spaces into valued places of meaning through which people sustain their identity.

Important sources of knowledge from the past about the material consequences of how people traditionally used, occupied, and transformed their landscapes are embedded in each community's cultural-historical narratives. History is continuously re-enacted in the present through the group's customary beliefs and practices, thereby continually reaffirming the community's cultural-historical associations with its landscapes (after Parker 1993:4). Landscapes, in turn, become a mirror of a community (Anschuetz et al. 2001:190). Landscapes are products of communities' relationships with their surroundings, as each generation lives its life and bestows meaning on those surroundings.

Landscapes become a legacy of the past because they result from the cultural choices and modifications made by past generations. As such, they are not only an organization of space; they are an organization of time. Importantly, each generation is the custodian of the community landscape, which is firmly rooted in tradition. Traditions derive from people's understandings about how they became who they are and how they perceive and understand the world (after Anschuetz 1998a:47, citing Peckham 1990:2).

Comprehension that the physical spaces, including tracts of rangeland, surrounding formally built community centers are neither natural nor exclusively part of nature is an indispensable first step. A landscape's physical spaces are not silent on questions of community history and cultural heritage. Through its goal to identify the values and associations that make a landscape historically significant in terms of NRHP criteria (Page et al. 1998:4), the NPS has demonstrated the understanding that people do not need to build visually striking villages or great monuments across their natural environments to construct richly featured cultural landscapes. The places in which we live, raise families, work, and die are more than just scenery. Landscapes are the quintessential product of human presence over time and represent evidence of historical-ecological processes. Through his life-long work, the renowned landscape essayist, John Brinkerhoff Jackson (e.g., see 1980, 1984, 1994), has adopted the metaphor of the landscape as a living map that people are forever reorganizing.

Community and Communion

Because landscape constructions are cultural constructions deriving from people's patterned perceptions and interpretations of the spaces they inhabit, the concepts of community and communion are relevant to this discussion. As such, these ideas warrant definition. Social scientists simply define *community* as "a matter of custom and of shared modes of thought and expression, all of which have no other sanction than tradition" (Johnson 1994:81). For example, ethnic/cultural groups may define themselves as communities, irrespective of whether they occupy clearly defined territories. Community definition similarly is applicable to economic, social, and political groups. In all these cases, the idea of community belonging is cast in terms of social action, guided through tradition and played out in the arena of a group's interrelationships with their environments to create their landscapes.

Whenever a network of interacting individuals is concentrated in—and associated with—a particular territory, however, community often carries a particular sense of belonging. This sentiment is defined by the group's understanding of the locality in terms of their perceptions of place and time. Such an emotional tie, defined by social scientists as *communion* (Johnson 1994:81), generally characterizes the relationship between the Southwest's historic rural communities with their cultural landscapes. Given their sustained, intensive, and subsistence-based interactions with the land, experiences of the region's traditional rural communities provide contexts for developing communion based on intimate historical-ecological relationship (e.g., Levine and Merlan 1993; see also chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7).

Because the people of urban communities emphasize contrasting aspects of social interaction with their environments, their sense of communion is qualitatively different. Urban dwellers whose interactions with the land and its resources are not sustained, intensive, or subsistence-based tend to have senses of time and place based on romanticized views of nature rather than on direct historical-ecological experience. This generalization appears to apply to urban communities both within and outside the Southwest. As illustrated in chapter 8, Anglo urban communities today overwhelmingly understand landscape as an expanse of naturally occurring physical space viewed from afar. Equated with *scenery* (see Hirsch 1995:2; Zube 1994:1), this view derives from the 16th-century painterly tradition of using the term *landscape* to describe their depictions of rural (i.e., putatively "unoccupied") scenery (Hirsch 1995:2). An uncritical acceptance of subsequent ideas derived from "the world of art and make-believe" in the constructions of theatrical stage sets (i.e., scenery) (Tuan 1977:133), in turn, underscores and reinforces the inappropriate correlation of *landscape* with *scenery*.

Implementing an Ethnographic Landscape Study of Petroglyph National Monument

Our approach for implementing the Petroglyph National Monument ELR study derives from and builds upon the preceding landscape perspective. Specifically, we will use the idea of the storied landscape presented by Klara Kelley, an anthropologist who works among the *Diné* (the people of the Navajo Nation), and Harris Francis, a *Diné* cultural rights consultant, in their work with Navajo communities (Kelley and Francis 1996; see also chapter 5). As Kelley and Francis recognize, our understanding of the Southwest's landscape derives from more than the study of archaeology, history, geography, and anthropology.

Archaeologists, through their surveys and excavations, "learn to read the past" by using the observed archaeological record as a form of historical text. Yet, facts do not speak for themselves. Archaeologists interpret the artifacts, features, old houses, plant remains, and bones of the archaeological record to tell one kind of cultural-historical story and to explain changes in lifeways.

Historians read written texts, often provided by first-hand witnesses of events, to tell another kind of story about key players, events, and processes. Historians, too, author rich interpretations of the past.

Geographers offer useful tools for reading landscapes and for evaluating how past human actions help condition contemporary land use practices and cultural relationships with the land. Following Sauer's lead, geographers have played instrumental roles in developing methods for studying the interplay of the physical environment, the culture of the people, and time in communities' landscape constructions.

Ethnographers use information provided by living peoples as one kind of historical text, supplemented by the archaeological and historical records visible on the ground. Ethnographers also provide cultural frameworks that others can use to interpret the process of culture change over time.

The idea of the storied landscape acknowledges the rich oral histories maintained among traditional communities as necessary elements in landscape history. To be fully understood, physical spaces within an ecological setting must be related to cultural ideas of place, time, and human community. Oral accounts can bridge the difference between small places on the landscape used for particular purposes and general stories that outline culture history and evaluate change.

People of traditional and historical communities must be active participants in the Petroglyph National Monument management process: they can contribute valuable historical-ecological lessons obtained through their intimacy with the landscape. In addition, they can offer invaluable insights concerning the application of these lessons to guide management decision-making about the future of the monument's landscape.

CHAPTER 3

A HEALING PLACE: RÍO GRANDE PUEBLO CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND THE PETROGLYPH NATIONAL MONUMENT

KURT F. ANSCHUETZ

Introduction

This essay examines the general ethnographic landscape associations that the 16 Río Grande Pueblo communities maintain with the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater West Mesa environment. This discussion is based on a review of ethnographic, ethnohistorical, archaeological, and educational literature that considers general Pueblo landscape concepts and traditional land use relationships. I also draw from testimonies offered by Río Grande Pueblo representatives in recent years in a variety of contexts. Their accounts include written and oral statements in favor of the proposed congressional legislation to create the Petroglyph National Monument in the late 1980s, written and oral statements opposing proposed development projects in and around the monument since its creation in 1990, and written and verbal consultations with stakeholders during the present project.

For a variety of reasons, this review does not provide detailed, quantitative (i.e., objective) information about specific Río Grande Pueblo associations and uses of either the West Mesa or the Petroglyph National Monument. This lack of such objective documentation is due in part to the location of the West Mesa beyond the physical boundaries of land grants issued since the early Spanish Colonial period (1598–1680). The Spanish colonial government used a variety of administrative policies, especially *reducción*, to physically remove the Pueblos from major parts of their traditional homelands and to make these spaces available for Nuevomexicano settlement. The lack of objective information also is due partly to traditional bias in ethnohistorical and ethnographic documentary sources, which until recent decades characteristically were unconcerned with the Pueblo's customary relationships with their landscapes beyond the politically recognized grant boundaries. Studies of Río Grande Pueblo cosmology conducted before the late 1960s presented general structural ideational principles, such as direction and simultaneity of levels in the Pueblo cosmos (e.g., see White 1935, 1942, 1960, 1962). These studies did not consider systematically the Pueblos' place-making processes or their senses of place and time.

Most importantly, the lack of specific detail about the Río Grande Pueblos' traditional associations and interactions with the West Mesa and the Petroglyph National Monument environments is a product of the highly sensitive qualities of the communities' relationships with these places within their landscapes. As we examine further below, the sharing of detailed information involving special knowledge about religion and ceremony with outsiders is highly inappropriate even though Río Grande Pueblo stakeholders repeatedly have voiced their continuing associations with the Petroglyph National Monument area and have great concerns over the management, development, and interpretation of this locality. Secrecy is required to sustain the very qualities of places and their importance to communities that imbue them with high-level intrinsic meaningfulness.

The dilemma facing the Río Grande Pueblo stakeholders is multilayered and is extremely difficult for the people both as individuals and as representatives of their respective communities. People with whom we talked formally and informally commonly expressed their concern that disclosing yet more culturally sensitive knowledge with outsiders about their belief systems and the actions through which their communities sustain their traditional associations with the monument area threaten a significant dissolution and usurpation of their power. This potential loss of power ultimately could further erode the cultural identity and community cohesiveness in ways even more damaging than the loss of particular landscape features (see below). Citing the Río Grande

Pueblos' participation in previous development consultation projects over the past decade, stakeholder representatives often stated that their communities already have shared a body of information relevant to the present activity. Over the course of this project, more than one individual either explicitly or implicitly challenged us to "listen" and to "hear" what Río Grande Pueblo representatives already have shared about the importance of the Petroglyph National Monument to their communities.

For these reasons, this discussion's objective is to construct a contextualized ethnographic landscape framework for identifying classes of relationship that the Río Grande Pueblo communities maintain with the Petroglyph National Monument. I rely on statements by Pueblo people, laymen, administrators, authors, and scholars concerning the structure and meaning of their landscapes to communicate these landscape understandings and traditions of associations in the words of Stakeholder representatives whenever possible.

The insight and wisdom shared by these many individuals readily demonstrates that the Petroglyph National Monument constitutes an essential landscape composed of a web of interlocking relationships founded on deep-seated spiritual connections. While encompassing countless objective landscape elements, including petroglyphs, built shrines, volcanoes, caves, ancestral villages, archaeological sites, trails, plants, animals, and vistas, the whole of the landscape, as a focal point for secular and sacred physical and metaphysical interactions, is greater than the sum of its parts. For these communities, the Petroglyph National Monument unquestionably is a sanctified place imbued with spiritual (i.e., qualitative) qualities, which not only exist in relation to these groups' understanding of their worlds but also can have substance and power even though they are not visible to people.

An important issue warrants consideration: the Pueblo people's understanding that they are integral parts of their landscapes. As such, the people's history, culture, and the very essence of their spiritual being is intrinsic to the land. Author Leslie Marmon Silko eloquently expresses this view:

> Pueblo [people]…, the creators of petroglyphs and oral narratives, never conceived of removing themselves from the earth and sky. So long as the human consciousness remains *within* the hills, canyons, cliffs, and the plants, clouds, and sky, the term *landscape*, as it has entered the English language, is misleading. "A portion of territory the eye can comprehend in a single view" does not correctly describe the relationship between the human being and his or her surroundings. This assumes the viewer is somehow *outside* or *separate* from the territory she or he surveys. Viewers are as much a part of the landscape as the boulders they stand on. [Silko 1995:156, italics in original]

Although unfamiliar and difficult to comprehend by outsiders, this perspective is valid and deserves acceptance and respect in all dialogue concerning the West Mesa environment.

The Cultural Environment: Landscapes People Talk About

The Río Grande Pueblos are in the relatively high (1,494 m [4,900 ft] at Isleta Pueblo in the south and 2,165 m [7,100 ft] at Taos Pueblo in the north), semiarid country of north-central New Mexico. This physical landscape constitutes an extremely diverse province. The Río Grande and its tributaries variously cut narrow to broad valleys through three rift basins—the San Luis Valley, the Española Basin, and the Albuquerque Basin—from the New Mexico–Colorado state line to the present-day community of Belén. Great uplifts, now known as the Jémez Mountains on the west and the Sangre de Cristo, Sandía, and Manzano mountains on the east, encompass great geological, physiographic, and ecological variability.

Since the early half of the 20th century, anthropologists characteristically have used the Río Grande's name to distinguish the 16 contemporary Pueblos in this province (Cochití, Isleta, Jémez, Nambé, Picurís, Pojoaque, Sandía, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, and Zía) from the Western Pueblos (Ácoma, Laguna, Hopi, and Zuni; see also chapter 4). Earlier classifications used to differentiate the Río Grande (or Eastern) Pueblos from the Western Pueblos relied on descriptive criteria, while somewhat later typologies used historical explanations to justify groupings (Dozier 1970:123). Eggan (1950) used kinship, other social factors correlated with kinship, and historical constructions to devise the Western Pueblo–Río Grande Pueblo classification that generally prevails to this day. Nonetheless, these communities exhibit notable cultural and historical diversity, just as the physical environments they occupy are varied. Despite centuries of interaction, including marriage and intermixed residence, each Pueblo maintains a unique sense of community (see also chapter 4).

The Río Grande Pueblos speak two unrelated language families: (1) Tanoan, which consists of Harrington's (1910, 1928) tripartite classification: Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa, and (2) Keresan. These language families in turn embody notable linguistic variability.

In the Tanoan language family, the Tiwa branch consists of two language subgroups: the northern (the Pueblos of Picurís and Taos) and the southern (the Pueblo of Isleta), which lie at opposing ends of the contemporary Río Grande Pueblo country. The people of the Pueblos of Nambé, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, and Tesuque speak the Tewa language branch. These communities are centered in the Española Basin between Santa Fé and the mouth of the Río Chama north of Española. (Tewa Village [a.k.a. Hano] on First Mesa at Hopi is a seventh Tewa-speaking Pueblo [see chapter 4].) Linguists characteristically view the Tewa branch as a single language with significant mutual intelligibility that unifies even the most divergent dialects (Hale and Harris 1979:171). The Río Grande Tewa Pueblos have two dialect groups, with Santa Clara Tewa distinct from the dialect at the other five Tewa-speaking pueblos (Trager 1967). Towa is spoken at Jémez Pueblo.

The Río Grande Pueblos of Cochití, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, and Zía speak the Keresan language. (The Western Pueblos of Ácoma and Laguna are two additional Keresan-speaking Pueblos [see chapter 4]). Although the Keresan language family exhibits considerable internal variation across geographic space, it lacks formal subgroup distinctions, unlike the Tanoan language family. The greatest linguistic divergence is manifest between Cochití and Ácoma pueblos (Hale and Harris 1979). Nevertheless, Río Grande Keresan speakers are highly cognizant of language differences among their communities and are able to distinguish the Pueblos of one another's birth during common conversation.

The diversity evident among Río Grande Pueblo language families and family subgroups is one of the most tangible manifestations of each community's underlying conceptualization of itself as a center in its landscape, as defined by its constructions of place and time (e.g., compare Ortiz's [1969] iconographic constructions of the Tewa world (Figures 3.1 and 3.2) with White's [1935, 1942, 1960] schematic representations of the Keres world (Figure 3.3), and Hewett and Dutton's report that the Jémez consider the world round and flat "like a pancake" (1945:23].) Each community traces a unique history of dynamic interrelationship with its physical, social, and cultural environments. Because of the large number of Río Grande Pueblos (n=16), I do not present factual summaries of each community's culture history but refer the reader to the historical reviews included in Ortiz (1979), Evans and others (1993) and Appendix I (this report) for identification of specific references.

The linguistic structure of Pueblo languages, just as each Pueblo community's traditional histories, serves to differentiate community. Pueblo culture is distinguishable from all that is non-Pueblo culture through the organization of certain ideas about the cosmos, just as it is through the cultural traits that anthropologists and archaeologists traditionally use to classify Pueblo adaptation and society.

Their ideas of the universe focus on the interrelated processes of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness. These concepts occur ubiquitously in Pueblo traditions that explain "how they became who they are" (Peckham 1990:2) within "the place that Indian People talk about" (after Ortiz 1992:321–324). Together, these themes constitute the "pattern which connects" (Bateson 1978) ideational aspects of Pueblo culture. "Through story, humor, and ritual, people 'remember to remember' who they are, where they come from, and the spirit they share with all creation" (Cajete 1994:45).

Breath, Center, Emergence, Movement, and Connectedness: The Building Blocks of Pueblo Landscapes

I emphasize the themes of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness in developing this landscape framework because they are fundamental to the Pueblos' understanding of their landscapes. These themes also are axiomatic to the way Pueblos construct and sustain coherent senses of place and time within these landscapes today, despite the ever-changing conditions that characterize their worlds. These ideas are relevant for more fully comprehending the cultural logic and the meanings embodied in statements shared by Pueblo people concerning their traditional associations with the Petroglyph National Monument locality and its greater West Mesa setting.

Breath

Dr. Gregory Cajete, an educator from Santa Clara Pueblo concerned with culturally formed alternatives for teaching in Native American communities, observes,

> American Indians believe it is the breath that represents the most tangible expression of the spirit in all living things. Language is an expression of the spirit because it contains the power to move people and to express human thought and feeling. It is also the breath, along with water and thought, that connects all living things in direct relationship. The interrelationship of water, thought (wind), and breath personifies the elemental relationship emanating from "that place that the Indians talk

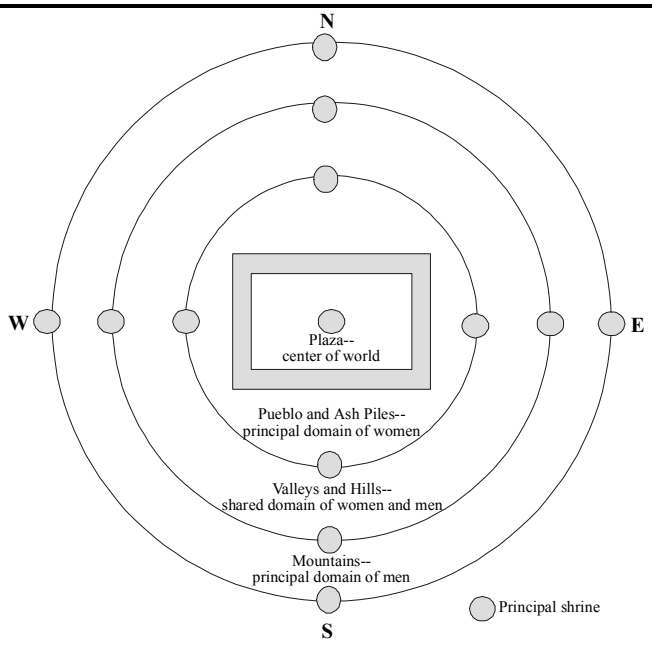

Figure 3.1: The Tewa world, version 1 (adapted from Ortiz 1969).

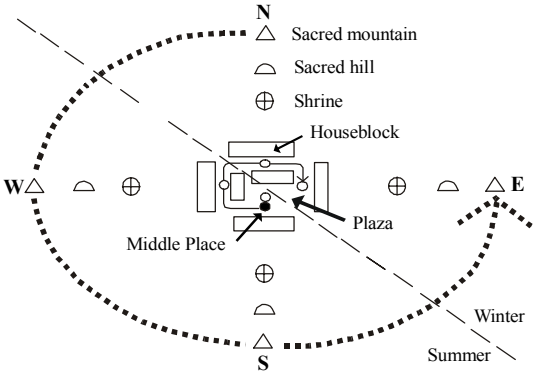

Figure 3.2: The Tewa world, version 2 (adapted from Saile 1977: Figure 3).

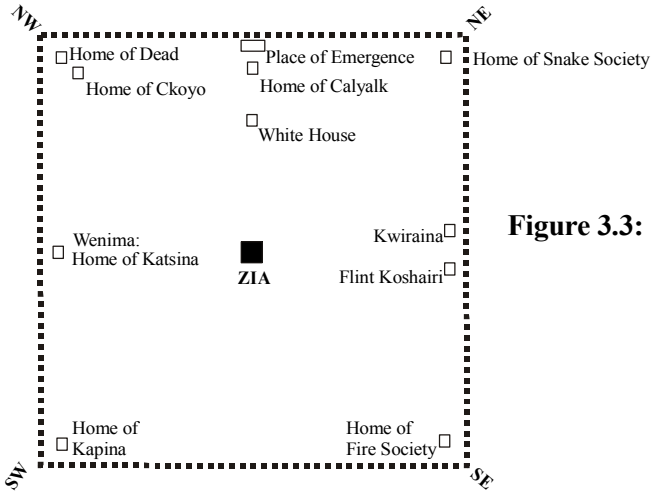

Figure 3.3: The Keresan world, as seen from Zia Pueblo (adapted from Saile 1977: Figure 2).

> about," that place in the Center where all things are created. [1994:42]

Elsewhere in his volume, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*, Cajete (1994:43) expands on the idea of breath in relationship to language, learning, and senses of place by referencing the poem, *That's the Place Indians Talk About,* written by the Ácoma poet, Simon J. Ortiz (1992:321–324). Ortiz's poem examines the spiritual connections that Native Americans have with special places in their lives and on their landscapes.

> By talking about those special places, they connected their spirit to them through their words, thoughts, and feelings. I remember thinking about how beautifully simple, yet how profound, this metaphor was. It illustrates the special quality and power the spirit has to orient us through the breath of its manifestations in language, song, prayer, and thought. [Cajete 1994:43]

He elaborates, "Breath—consciously formed and activated through language, thought, prayer, chanting, ritual, dance, sport, work, story, play, and art—comprised the parameters of communication" (1994:43).

Based on his work among the Hopis, linguist Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956), whose work cyclically falls in and out of favor among academicians, suggested nearly 60 years ago that language simultaneously conditions how people perceive the reality of their landscapes and helps structure their activities. In speaking of breath and language, Cajete observes, "As is true in all languages, Indian metaphors reflect the nature of reality they see and to which their mind has been set through experience and cultural understanding" (1994:45). Cajete extends Whorf's logic of breath and language beyond humans when he writes that for Native Americans, including the Pueblos, "Language as prayer and song has a life energy that can influence other energy and life forms toward certain ends" (1994:44).

In retelling a lesson she learned from her grandmother, Swentzell offers an explanation in support of Cajete's point:

> Gia Kuhn said that a place breathes in and incorporates thoughts and feelings of all beings who enter its space. She said that we remain a part of any place we visit—any place we breathe or leave our sweat. That is why we must think and move carefully wherever we go, because we become one with the place and, therefore, influence its spiritual quality. [1993:144]

An additional aspect of language warrants further elaboration. Language is a physical expression—a tool, really, for all cultural learning and experience. Through his identification of the fundamental linkages between language and breath, however, Cajete recognizes that Native American languages are expressions of spirit. He adds that Indian languages, including the Tewa of his home Pueblo, lack a specific word for religion (1994:43). Rather, the idea of spirit that is so deeply ingrained in the processes of language, learning, and experience underlies an understanding of the world through a perspective that Cajete terms *spiritual ecology*.

According to Cajete, the essence of spiritual ecology is the traditional relationship and participation of Pueblo people with place that includes not only the land itself but also the way people perceive the reality of their worlds and themselves (1993–1994:6). Through breath and language, "The land has become an extension of Pueblo thought and being because, as one Pueblo elder states, 'it is this place that holds our memories and the bones of our people…this is the place that made us!'" (Cajete 1993–1994:6). Rather than an espoused and objectified religious doctrine, spiritual ecology, in Cajete's view, is an expression of spirit as an orientation toward a living process; it is not a static intellectual structure (1994:43–44). As Naranjo and Swentzell illustrate,

> In the Tewa Pueblo language there is a word which means "seeking life." That word incorporates the most basic concept of Pueblo thinking, that human life is about the search for harmony and balance, about breathing and walking carefully and sensing the connectiveness between polarities in the human and natural worlds. [1989:257–258].

In conceiving of themselves as a "People of Place," Pueblo people draw upon the spiritual power of breath and language to sustain paramount traditions of relationship, not only for renewal and for remembering but also to perpetuate the spiritual ecology of the world as a whole (Cajete 1993–1994:7). People make a place as much as a place makes people. Through the intense, long history of their interactions with the places in which they lived, the Pueblo's landscape has become "a reflection of their very soul" (after Cajete 1994:84). Cajete refers to this projection of the human sense of soul and the archetypes contained therein as "ensoulment" (1994:83).

Center

As I note previously, Cajete and Ortiz express the idea of center as both "that place Indians talk about" and "that place where all things are created." From the

Pueblos' inherent spiritual ecological perspective of their being, center has inseparably intertwined physical geographical and spiritual referents.

The idea of center necessarily depends on a comprehension of orientation, which Cajete (1999:6) identifies as a key and sacred concept among Native Americans. "Orientation is more than physical context and placement…It is about how the human spirit understands itself" (Cajete 1994:49). The comprehension of sacredness among many cultures, including the different Pueblos, is a quality inherent to places as a metaphysical process based on timeless tradition; it is not strictly associated with some particular feature or object (after Hubert 1994:12; see also below). Within such cultures, sacred locations defined through orientation cannot be deconsecrated or made secular and profane.

In defining center, community traditions transmit ideas regarding the "*rightful orientation* to the natural world" (Cajete 1994:37, italics in original) through reference to seven elemental directions: East, West, North, South, Zenith, Nadir, and Center (Figure 3.4). Thus, the Pueblos' purpose in "building mental orders seems less to control the environment than to control the world within" (Johnson 1996:200). By defining direction and placement, the people constructed a knowable world out of sometimes capricious, often dangerous, and ever-changing surroundings. Silko explains:

> The land, the sky, and all that is within them—the landscape—includes human beings. Interrelationships in the Pueblo landscape are complex and fragile. The unpredictability of the weather, the aridity and harshness of much of the terrain in the high plateau country explain in large part the relentless attention the ancient Pueblo people gave to the sky and the earth around them. Survival depended upon harmony and cooperation not only among human beings, but also among all things—the animate and the less animate, since rocks and mountains were known on occasion to move. [1995:157]

Drawing from the perceptions and experiences of its people with their physical and spiritual worlds, each community traces its orientation by associating symbols, ranging from mountains, hills, other natural phenomena, colors, animals, plants, spirits, and holy winds (kinds of breath/thought), with each direction. Ortiz identifies "the dominant spatial orientation" (1972:142) inward, toward the metaphor of center. For the Pueblos, "all things are defined and represented by reference to a center" (1972:142) (see Figure 3.1).

The Pueblos ascribe the cardinal directions (East, West, North, and South) to the physical world in which the people live. Besides directions, all the Pueblo communities recognize that their cosmos consists of three realms (Saile 1977:76; 1989:173). Zenith refers to the upper spirit world in which supernatural beings and powers associated with the sun, sky, clouds, eagles, and other birds live. Nadir is the lower world, home of the spirits of the ancestors and supernatural beings and powers associated with lakes, springs, caves, and some burrowing animals.

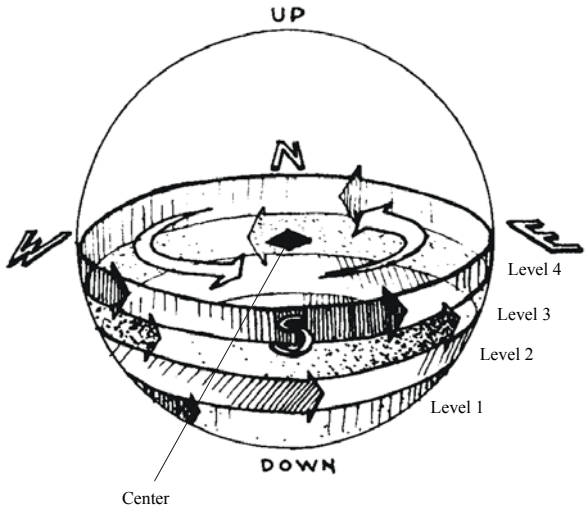

Figure 3.4: The seven directions and the four levels of the Pueblo world (from Swentzell 1990a: Figure 3-4).

Many kinds of physiographic features (e.g., mountains, hills, lakes, caves, and springs) and culturally constructed features (e.g., houses, plazas, and shrines) in the natural world serve as conduits through which people communicate with the upper and lower world realms (Saile 1989:173). Rising from the ground and reaching into the sky, mountains, and hills represent physical intersections between the earth and the sky (Saile 1977:76) (Figure 3.5). As an ecological metaphor and symbol of higher thought, mountains and hills often co-occur with ideas of trails, pilgrimages, and cardinal orientations that define both the web of relationships within and the boundaries of a sacred place (after Cajete 1994:92; see also below). Trimble summarizes his many conversations with Pueblo friends and others who discussed their connections with the mountains of direction with him:

> On the horizons stand the sacred mountains in all their strength. They bound the Pueblo world. They are snowy and therefore holy; the katsinas [supernatural beings who serve as intermediaries between the Creator and humankind] live on them. Within their shelter, the Pueblo people live enmeshed in a network of reciprocal relationships with each other, with every being of the Earth,

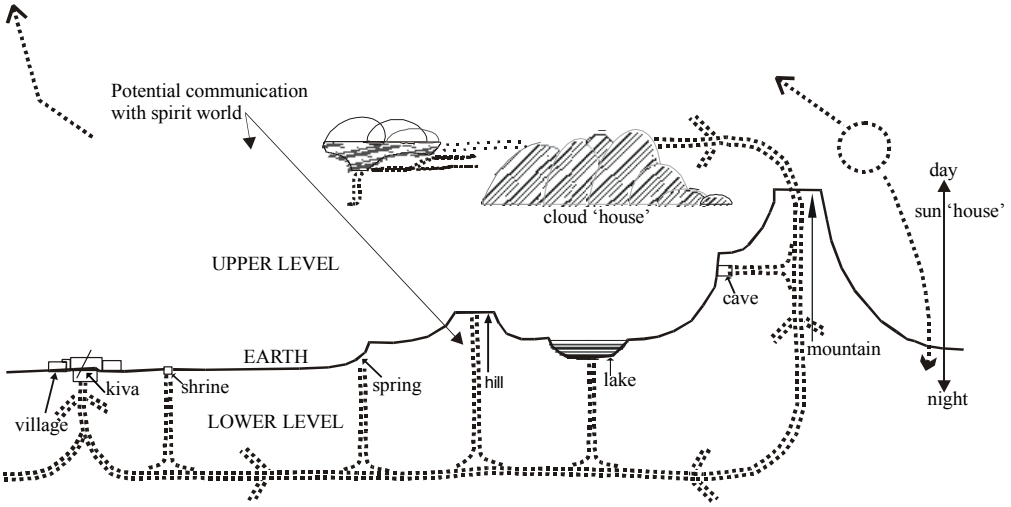

Figure 3.5: Cross section of the Pueblo world (after Saile 1977: Figure 4).

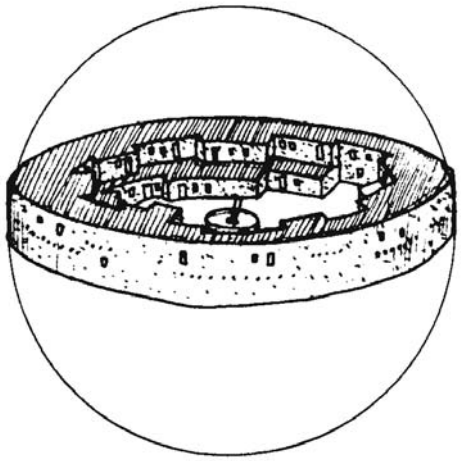

Figure 3.6: The plaza, enclosed by terraced houses and with a kiva in the middle, as a center in the Pueblo World (from Swentzell 1990a: Figure 3-8).

> animate and inanimate, and with the cloud-spirits of the sky. [1993:54]

Pueblo people understand caves, with their underground chambers in which one often can feel cool air move, as physical manifestation of portals through which blessings and life's energies flow between the natural world and the lower world and through which they emerged to occupy the earth's surface. Somewhat more abstractly, the Pueblos associate lakes and springs with supernatural beings of the underworld (e.g., see Ellis 1964:32), and they view these water sources as conduits fed by the great underground ocean that is the source of all moisture in the natural world.

As I discuss further below, architectural features such as houses, plazas, and shrines, are not just for human activity. People's physical constructions (no matter how simple technologically or unobtrusive to the eye), just as mountains, hills, lakes, caves, and springs, are centers for communication that unify the realms of the cosmos. Through a creative, meaningful process based on its traditions of relationship with its natural and supernatural worlds, each community places its people at the center of its cosmos (Cajete 1994; Naranjo and Swentzell 1989; Ortiz 1969; Swentzell 1988) (see Figures 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3). Swentzell explains that a community's comprehension of its center represents "the intersection of the horizontal and vertical regions of the physical and symbolic Pueblo universe" (1988:15). A center thus becomes a middle place in the Pueblo world (Figure 3.4).

In the living world, the physical manifestation of a Pueblo's center is its plaza (or oldest plaza if the Pueblo has several) (Figure 3.6). As expressed in Pueblo architectural traditions, plazas are enclosed in the horizontal dimension by terraced house structures (Figure 3.6), just as the nearby rising hills surround a village and the distant mountains embrace the whole of the Pueblos' physical world (Figures 3.1 and 3.7).

In this sense, the Pueblo concept of space is manifest primarily in an objective (i.e., quantitative) reality. "It includes all that is or has been accessible to the senses, the present as well as the past, but it excludes everything that we call the future" (Tuan 1977:120). This objective realm has certain other fundamental conceptual limits. The Pueblos' conceptualization of the world includes a subjective realm that is knowable through the communities' coherent bodies of qualitative cultural-historical knowledge. Tuan notes, "As the objective horizontal plane stretches away from the observer to the remote distance, a point is reached at which details cease to be knowable. This is the borderland between the objective and the subjective realms; it is the timeless past, a country told about in myths" (1977:121) (Figure 3.8).

The idea of plazas as vertical centers embodies a subjective (i.e., qualitative) reality because it lacks directly observable material (i.e., quantitative) analogues, such as architecture and physiography. The upper and lower worlds are understood through the "inner" aspect of experience (Tuan 1977:120). Tuan (1977:120, after Whorf 1950) suggests that the Pueblo's subjective reality lies in the realm of expectancy and desire; this subjective reality is the future. Swentzell notes that in the Pueblos' world view, the plaza "is the vertical center because it brings together the up and down through the *nansipu* ([a Tewa term meaning] earth-belly-root) or symbolic emergence hole which is located in the bupingeh [a Tewa term meaning] plaza" (1988:15, italics in original) (Figures 3.9 and 3.10).

Importantly, the architectural, physiographic, and ideational contexts of the community plaza distinguish the "center of all centers." Through the physical (objective) creation of negative space through architectural features mimicking the structure of the natural and built of the same material people use to make pottery, the plaza is understood as a container that contains life (see Naranjo 1994:47). Through the ideational creation of negative space through thought processes that complement its architectural form, the plaza is a portal through which life energy moves.

> Through the nansipu, which is within the void of the Pueblo form, flows the creative energy, or breath, of the universe…The breath, or that which gives life flows into and out of the nansipu into the bupingeh and connects the underworld with the sky and all that lies in between. Human existence, then, is at the energies of the cosmos. Because of that, the bupingeh is also a breathing place. As the breath…flows through the voids of our human bodies, so does it flow out of the nansipu and into the bupingeh, giving life to the physical, social, and religious community. The bupingeh is alive and gives life… [Swentzell 1988:15–16]

Swentzell continues that the plaza, representing the center of all centers, is "where the heartbeat of the earth is felt; where the water of the sky is welcomed; where laughter is easy; where people meet the outside world" (in Trimble 1993:53). The center, therefore, is a place of life energy and great power (Saile 1977:77).

Figure 3.7: The Tewa world, version 3 (from Ortiz 1991:12-13). Note how the terraced houses, hills, and mountains, and their associated shrines (represented by the dots on the hills and mountains of cardinal direction) encircle the whole of the Pueblo's objective world.

In the Pueblos' conceptualization of center, place "is not 'cut out' from the whole" (Ingold 1993:155). Rather, place is an essential component of the whole, just as a bottom and sides are needed to form a bowl. Naranjo and Swentzell state that Pueblo people recognize dialectical forces "as elemental principles of the whole [Figure 3.11]. It may also be understood as the space enclosed within a sphere [Figure 3.12]. The harmonious whole, then, is made up of dichotomies and polar energies. They are part of the conception of the social, political, and religious worlds" (1989:259).

Because Pueblo understandings of their cosmos—and hence their landscapes—incorporate subjective realities in their natural and supernatural realms alike, their ideas of center and periphery possess the quality of timelessness (Tuan 1977:121; see also above). Pueblo authors observe their kin "believe that past and

future come together in the present—or in the center" (Naranjo and Swentzell 1989:257).

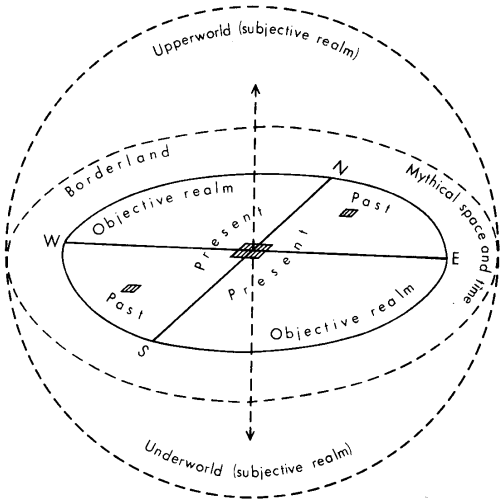

Figure 3.8: The objective and subjective realms of the Pueblo world (from Tuan 1977: Figure 15). As Tuan explains in his figure notes, the objective realm is the horizontal space within the cardinal grid. At the distant edges, the objective realm merges with the subjective realm, which is represented by the vertical axis. In this schematic diagram, Petroglyph National Monument is in the borderland area west of the south cardinal direction.

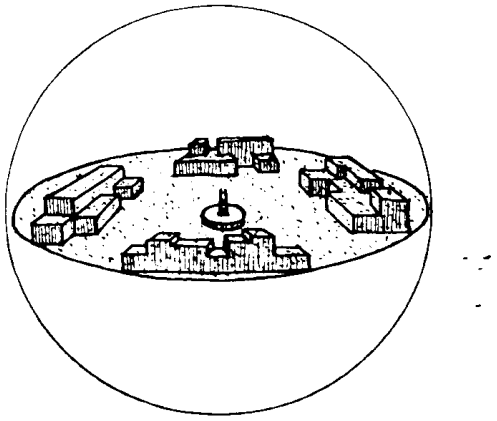

Figure 3.9: The Pueblo plaza as a vertical center (from Swentzell 1990a:Figure 3-8).

Through ritual traditions that sustain the way the people have lived in relationship with their world since time immemorial, the Pueblos maintain an "indefinable sense of well-being" (Jackson 1994:158) among community members. With the power of life most controllable at the center within the Pueblos' landscapes, "with proper prescribed ritual and prayer the power would benefit and ensure the survival of the village" (Saile 1977:77). A center is understood as a "healing space" where "the feminine principles of connectedness, inclusiveness, and flowingness [of breath, of all life energy in the cosmos]" (Naranjo and Swentzell 1989:262) are shown in between the human and natural environments.

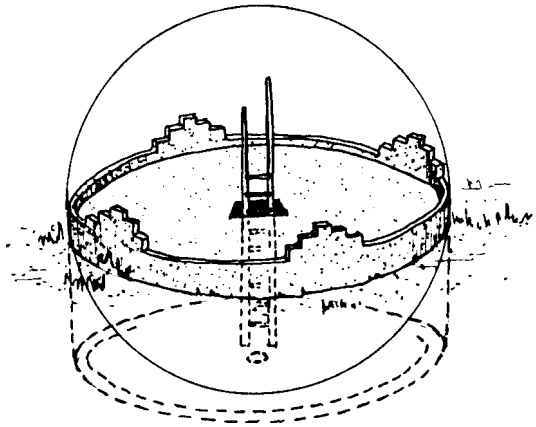

Figure 3.10: The idea of the Pueblo plaza as a vertical center, as expressed through the metaphor of a kiva (from Swentzell 1990a: Figure 3.9).

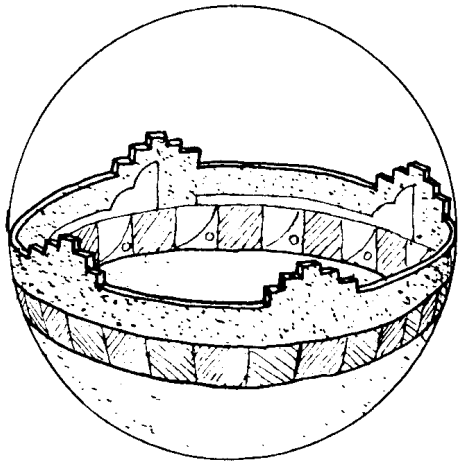

Figure 3.11: The Pueblo worldview of the Earth-Mother as a bowl. (from Swentzell 1990a:Figure 3-2).

Cajete offers additional general insights about the essential relationship between Pueblo people and centers as healing places:

> Healing traditions provide a benchmark expression of the intimate relationship that Indigenous people established with their environments. Every cultural group establishes this relationship to its place over time. Whether that place is a desert, a mountain valley, or along the seashore, it is in a context of natural community. Indigenous people came to understand themselves as part of a natural community, and through that understanding they

> established an educational process that was practical, ultimately ecological, and spiritual. In this way they sought and found their life. [1994:113]

Pueblo plazas do not constitute the only centers within Pueblo understandings of their landscapes, however. A center occurs wherever "harmony, balance, and grounding happen. It is where opposites come together to create cyclic movement and flowingness" (Naranjo and Swentzell 1989:257). That is, symbolic openings (e.g., caves and shrines) and other portals to the supernatural realm of the Pueblos' cosmos (e.g., lakes and springs) occur throughout the landscape that embraces each community (Figure 3.5).

> These openings represent, again, an effort to connect this level of existence with that below. Each of the openings…is a special healing place. Each is the primary point of energy flow between the simultaneous levels of the Pueblo world. [Naranjo and Swentzell 1989:262]

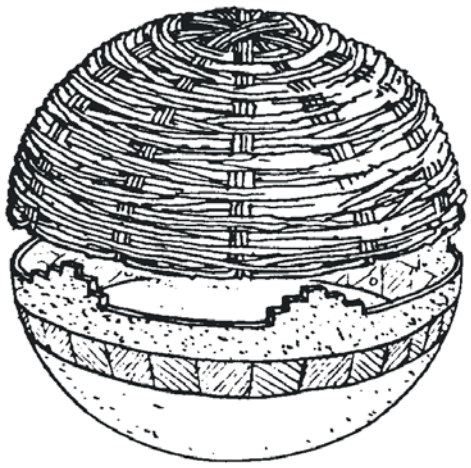

Figure 3.12: The Pueblo world as a sphere. In this landscape construction, the Earth-Mother bowl supports the Sky-Father basket with her mountains of the cardinal directions (from Swentzell 1990a:

As we have seen in the preceding commentary, the abstract conceptualization of the horizontal periphery of the Pueblo world is quantitatively and qualitatively different from the physical representation of each Pueblo's symbolic plaza center. Nevertheless, the underlying theme of center unifies these landscape constructions whereby the genesis and the maintenance of the Pueblos' ideas of centeredness and flowingness through a web of interconnected healing places depend on the interaction of these contrasting landscape realms. The center cannot be comprehended without reference to the periphery and vice versa.

Emergence

As we have seen, the Pueblo concept of center refers to a place on the landscape with a point of connection and a flow of life energy between the many levels of the Pueblo world (Figure 3.10). The idea of center simultaneously refers to the place where people emerged from the underworld (Naranjo and Swentzell 1989:262).

The relevance of the idea of emergence in Pueblo landscape constructions is much deeper than simply equating center with the beginning of human time in the physical world that we know today. A concept embedded with a sense of timelessness through the sanctity of ritualized tradition, emergence refers to both the becoming of the people and of their landscape.

The origin myths of all the Pueblo communities (e.g., Boas 1928; Ortiz 1969; Parsons 1994 [1926]; White 1935, 1942, 1960, 1962, among others) exhibit striking similarities, of which the idea of world levels and their intrinsic ahistoricism are particularly important. Each origin myth "in some fashion, tell[s] of the emergence of crude unfinished people from the lower levels until they reach the light of the upper and present world [Figure 3.4]. Supernatural beings and spirits helped the people in their ascent and showed them how to undertake the tasks necessary for their survival" (Saile 1977:76). Just as with the people, the succession of worlds, in which the people lived and passed through, became increasingly complete in form. "Each world metaphorically represents a stage of natural evolution through which human beings learn how to become more human. Pueblo people believe that they emerged from an earth navel, a place of mountains looked upon lovingly by the sun and the moon" (Cajete 1999:15).

In reference to the idea of becoming, or fully formed, Ortiz (1969:16) emphasizes how Pueblo origin myths contrast the world before emergence as moist, green, and unripe with the present world after emergence as dry, hardened, and ripe. In referring to the time of emergence, Ortiz informs that there is a period of transition during which the earth hardens the arrival of people unto the present world. The process of becoming complete (for the people and the land alike) is a gradual one that "is said to have continued long after emergence" (Ortiz 1969:17).

As one might anticipate from the earlier discussion of the subjective realm of knowing that Pueblo people use in their ideational constructions of the cosmos and the landscape, the Pueblos' sense of time may be characterized as ahistorical (Ortiz 1969:143; Tuan 1977:121–122, after Whorf 1950). Even while tracing the process of becoming through the successive levels

of their world and their movements through the present-day world in their myths and community histories, the Pueblos are not concerned with questions addressing objective facts of beginnings or origins. Rather, their historical constructions focus on movement according to traditional patterns (Parsons 1996, 1:17 [1939]; see also below). Parsons adds, "A formula such as 'it came up with them' or 'thus it was from the time they came up' gives authenticity to precious things as well as starting point back of which there is no call to search" (1996 [1939], 1:102–103).

From a Pueblo perspective, the sense of timelessness that obtains from the ahistoricism of emergence is a quality associated with the process and power of healing spaces. Swentzell explains, "Simultaneous levels of existence, as told in Pueblo emergence stories, are a part of daily reality and understanding" (1991:178). Moreover,

> sensing and feeling the whole more easily satisfies the Pueblo person's curiosity. To know the details is extraneous. To sense the large relationships that exist between the parts if a defined whole and to feel their relevance is enough. To know through feeling, intuiting, is to be a strong Pueblo person. [Swentzell 1991:178]

With its unalienable association with a healing space, then, emergence is not only the center of space but also the center of time (after Ortiz 1969:143).

Movement

In a recently published archaeological text, Linda Cordell writes of the dynamic occupational histories of early Pueblo villages:

> Their inhabitants seemed to come and go, the settlements themselves changing both size and configuration in response to social forces we barely understand. In my mind, the shifting locations of population and the modification of community layout that suggest the incorporation and dispersal of groups of people are signs of a social landscape with far fewer constraints than any we know in the region today. They are mirrored in the fluidity and lack of formality that seem to characterize the patterns of exchange in ceramics. They seem to be part of a larger but much more open social world in which the notion of abandoning a dwelling or a site may have been of minimal importance, perhaps something to have been embraced rather than resisted. [1998:64]

If we look back upon the Pueblo's past from an objective, "scientific" perspective, we can view these repeated cycles of people's movement in and out of the big villages as productive and organizational strategies for sustaining their populations through perpetual change. Moreover, we can characterize such movement as the people's responses to natural environmental vagaries, changing agricultural productivity because of soil depletion, and/or patterns of intergroup conflict.

Movement also is one of the big ideological concepts maintained in Pueblo culture (Naranjo 1995:248). Pueblo traditions characteristically employ the concepts of rest and renewal when referring to population movement, houses, agricultural land, and foraging and collecting areas. We may easily interpret the Tewa understanding of movement in terms of Anglo materialist preoccupations. That is, concepts of rest and renewal coincide nicely with the idea of fallow cycles for hunting-and-gathering territories, as well as agricultural land.

A more powerful meaning is embedded in the Pueblo idea of movement, however. As stated by Tewa authors in a variety of documentary contexts, "movement is the revered element of life" (Naranjo and Swentzell 1989:261). Naranjo adds, "Movement, clouds, wind and rain are one. Movement must be emulated by the people" (1995:248). In talking about the process of people's movement through a sequence of places, Swentzell observes,

> They did not settle in place for a long time, but rather emulated the movement of the seasons, winds, clouds, and life cycles by moving frequently. They responded to the movement of floods, droughts, and social tensions. The movement of clouds told them how they should move on the ground. [1993:145]

The task now at hand is examination of the Pueblo idea of movement as both a cosmological and landscape concept. Pueblo authors identify two vital aspects of movement: (1) the movement of people across their landscapes in accordance with traditional patterns of relationship with their worlds, and (2) the movement of life energy among the many centers, and healing places, defined by the people on their landscape that interconnect the natural and supernatural worlds of the cosmos.

With regard to the cosmological aspect, Cajete observes that Pueblo people recount their forebears' movements in their oral traditions to sanctify the timeless principles of spiritual ecology that underlie their respective communities' senses of place.

> In the stories Pueblo elders tell, the ancestors journeyed many times and settled in many places, including Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and Canyon de Chelly. And each time they stopped they established a relationship to the place in

> which they settled, and they learned from each of these places. They came to understand something about the essence of these natural places and something about the delicate environmental balance of nature in such places. They settled by lakes and came to understand the nature of water and its importance and sanctity in an arid environment. They came to understand that water was one of the foundations for maintenance of life on earth. They settled near mountains and came to understand the nature of mountains in terms of the way they provide a context, an environment in which Pueblo people and other living things could live. [Cajete 1999:13–14]

Silko notes that in tracking their movements, "Whatever the event or the subject, the ancient people perceived the world and themselves within that world as part of an ancient, continuous story composed of innumerable bundles of other stories" (1995:158). Cajete adds, "In this sense, the landscape is like a textbook of ecological meaning, interpreted through the traditional stories and activities of tribes" (1994:91). The oral narrative, based on metaphor and ritual performance, "became the medium through which the complex of Pueblo knowledge and belief was maintained" (Silko 1995:158) across the generations. Through these stories Pueblo people hear who they are (after Silko 1995:128; see also Peckham 1991).

Importantly, the identification of prominent geographic features and landmarks in each Pueblo's narratives exist primarily for ritual purposes (Silko 1995:162). To pursue Cajete's (1994, 1999) and Silko's (1995) reasoning, these narratives are crucial for their affirmation of spiritual ecological principles and not for their comprehensive environmental or historical detail.

Rappaport observes that use of metaphor embodies the highest level of meaningfulness: "the significance of every term that participates in a metaphor is transformed into more than itself, into an icon of other things" (1999:71). Because oral traditions of movement lie in the subjective realm of Pueblo knowledge and understanding, they also are timeless. Within the contextual realm of ritual performance (see below), whether or not the people actually journeyed through the places at a particular time identified in a communities' oral traditions is irrelevant. For example, Naranjo notes, "With migration, movement is the essential element, not where they stopped or which path they took" (1995:248). Silko adds, "the continuity and accuracy of the oral narratives are reinforced by the landscape—and the Pueblo interpretation of that landscape is maintained" (1995:161).

For the Pueblos, the relationships between the people and their landscape in their histories of movement within their landscapes are what is truly important in these constructions and are beyond questioning (after Swentzell 1991). Silko explains, "the web of memories and ideas that create an identity, is a part of oneself. This sense of identity was intimately linked with the surrounding terrain, to the landscape that has often played a significant role in a story or in the outcome of a conflict" (1995:167).

The Pueblos' identification of themselves in terms of the land complies with Rappaport's definition of metaphor as high-order meaning; this meaning "is grounded in identity or unity, the radical identification or unification of self with other" (Rappaport 1999:71). To recognize the great inherent meaningfulness of this landscape construction, we now are able to comprehend that the Pueblo's use of movement in describing their relationship with the land since time immemorial is a kind of ritual performance. Drawing again from Rappaport's (see especially 1999:35–36) seminal analysis of ritual, we also can see that for the Pueblos, landscapes are products of the formal, stereotyped aspect of actions, including specific acts and sequences of acts that constitute the liturgical orders through which communities define, legitimize, and sustain the occupation of their traditional homelands.

The second aspect of the Pueblo's concept of movement—namely, the flow of life energy among the many centers defined in their landscape constructions—reinforces the essence of spiritual ecology as the traditional relationship and interactions of the people with their places. Nowhere is this countenance more overtly manifest than in the Pueblos' conceptualization of the relationship among movement, breath, and center in the Pueblos' process of "seeking life" (see Cajete 1994:45–46; Naranjo and Swentzell 1989:257–258; see also Laski 1959; Swentzell 1989).

On the one hand, a Pueblo's plaza (or oldest plaza), as the center of all centers for the community and a focal healing place, is the terminus of all blessings that emanate from the shrines scattered across the landscape. The plaza is one part of the link between the supernatural and natural realms of the Pueblo cosmos. On the other hand, the people, through the sacred power and solemn petitions of their public and individualistic rituals in their subscription to a living process (see above), channel blessings back across the landscape through a hierarchy of shrines of direction even as they receive blessings from the supernatural world. The plaza healing space thus simultaneously opens to the village, the community's landscape

enclosed by the four sacred mountains, and the supernatural realms of the cosmos (Figure 3.7).

In this metaphorical ebb and flow of energies between the cosmos' natural and supernatural realms, the blessings that emanate from the living world and intersect the underworld undergo a transformation in power through the renewal of their supernatural associations (Figure 3.13). Upon their return to the community, these strengthened blessings renew the cycle of movement from the plaza center. On the subsequent outward flow of ritual from the villages, the power of the blessings builds upon itself yet again through goodness, as manifest in public ceremony, private ritual, and everyday action that people demonstrate in their conduct. Just as the power of Pueblo ritual accumulates through the act of controlled, repetitive action (e.g., see Whorf 1956b [1939]), the power contained in blessings apparently also accumulates within itself through its renewing cycles of movement between the cosmos' natural and supernatural realms. Therefore, through this system of continually reproducing, continually invigorating life-force energies, people's actions help sustain harmony between contrasting/complementary realms of the cosmos. Ortiz explains, "By the system of ideas at work here, everything good and desirable stays within the…world" (1969:22).

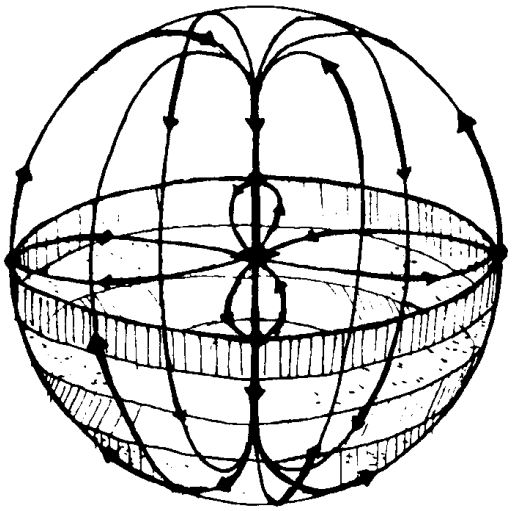

Figure 3.13: The movement of life energy throughout the realms of the Pueblo world. (from Swentzell 1990a: Figure 3-5).

Connectedness

As we have seen in the preceding discussion, the sense of intrinsic connectedness between the Pueblo people and the world in which they live is the general basis of their spiritual ecology and the specific basis of their understandings of healing and seeking life. Naranjo and Swentzell clearly articulate the importance of the idea of connectedness, lying in the Pueblo's subjective realm of knowing (after Swentzell 1991), as a building block in traditional community cosmological and landscape constructions:

> For Pueblo people, the building, the landscape, the region, all together are the physical expressions of their beliefs. These things form the invisible link between the spiritual and material parallels of their lives. The building, the landscape, the region make up the world within which people live. It is a holistic and symbolic world. It is a description of the physical environment in terms of what it should be like or what feels right, rather than what makes sense or what is rational. [1989:261]

Because connectedness is another of the Pueblos' ideational concepts, it is not surprising that they communicate these perceptions of their life in relationship with the land in their oral traditions and through their ritual, symbols, and everyday activities. Cajete introduces the focal understanding of connectedness in terms of the Pueblos' "theology of place":

> It is through these symbols and participating with the land in a kind of symbolic dance that Pueblo people have traditionally maintained the memory of their relationship to the places. Through traditional art forms…, which are replete with designs based on their relationship to the land, its plants, animals, Pueblo people have symbolized their sense of identity as a people of place. This continual establishing of relationship is not only for renewal and for remembering to remember who they are as a people, but is also an attempt to perpetuate the spiritual ecology of the world as a whole. This is the complex of relationship, symbolism, attitude, and way of interacting with the land that comprises the Pueblo theology of place. [1999:15]

Ortiz communicates his understanding of the Pueblos' theology of place in his poem, *We Have Been Told Many Things but We Know This to Be True*:

> The land. The people.
> They are in relation to each other.
> We are in a family with each other.
> The land has worked with us.
> And the people have worked with it.
>
> This is true:
> Working for the land
> and the people—it means life
> and its continuity.
> Working not just for the people,
> but for the land too.
> We are not alone in our life;
> we cannot expect to be.

The land has given us our life, and we must give
life back to it.

The land has worked for us
to give us life—
breathe and eat and drink from it
gratefully—
and we must work for it
to give it life.
Within this relation of family,
it is possible to generate life.
This is the work involved.
Work is creative then.
It is what makes for reliance,
relying upon the relation of land and people.
The people and the land are reliant
upon each other.
This is the kind of self-reliance
that has been—
before the liars, thieves, and killer—
and this is what we must continue
to work for.
By working in this manner,
for the sake of the land and people
to be in vital relation
with each other,
we will have life,
and it will continue.

We have been told many things,
but we know this to be true:
the land and the people. [1992:325]

Viewing the various statements of the Pueblo authors through an anthropological perspective, we begin to grasp some of the meaningful elements embedded in Pueblo landscape constructions. To understand the Pueblos' ideas of center and healing requires an explicit recognition of periphery in the relationship between the natural and supernatural realms of their cosmos. By uniting their world through a system of social and symbolic dualism, they create a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts (after Ortiz 1969).

The analogy of the Earth-Mother bowl and Sky-Father basket (Figures 3.11 and 3.12) referred to previously, helps convey the idea of connectedness. As wholes, bowls and baskets are efficient containers. Together, they form a coherent, protective sphere. The breakage and subsequent loss of a bowl's rim and body sherds and the tearing of the basket's woven fabric, however, compromise the vessels' forms and functions. Such damage also ruins the sphere's integrity and its ability to sustain its contents. So, too, the fragmentation of a Pueblo landscape transforms a construction whose parts sustain relationships and connectedness in the harmony of a whole to one that loses power because the spiritual thought process is rendered incomplete and healing is obstructed.

Cajete has commented extensively on the ill effects that plague Pueblo communities when the wholeness of their landscape constructions is not respected and the people lose their connection with their traditional principles of spiritual ecology (1993–1994, 1994, 1999). While acknowledging the world is inherently ever-changing, Swentzell observes, "Transformation is a part of life, and is a very part of life, but it has to be transformed in terms of continuing…When you leave behind the past it is detrimental not just to yourself but to the world at large. Because you leave behind respect, connectedness—which is love" (1989:28).

Discussion

In struggling to sustain their senses of cultural identity since Spanish colonization, the Pueblos both have honored the timelessness of their cultural traditions and have participated in material and organizational transformations. Pueblo landscape constructions, built on the ideas of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness, therefore, represent "an impressive display of devotion to common customs and of an inexhaustible ingenuity in finding short-term solutions" (Jackson 1984:151) to cope with change in their perceived worlds. The integration of the seemingly opposing concepts of timelessness and transformation into everyday life is itself a long-lived Pueblo cultural tradition that allows resiliency in the face of extreme uncertainty.

Pueblo people's perception of their landscape is itself a ritual act of the remembrance of their community's history and traditions. Through the intrinsic quality of temporality, time is inherent in the passage of actions and events on the landscape (Ingold 1993:157). As we have seen repeatedly throughout the preceding discussion, this point neither is overlooked nor unrecognized by Pueblo people. What needs to be emphasized, however, is the continued pervasiveness of the ideas that (1) people are inseparable from their landscape, and (2) these landscape relationships date back to time immemorial as a living, still-evolving process within the Pueblos, including the very youngest members of these communities. Naomi Naranjo, a 12-year-old from San Ildefonso, acknowledges both the timelessness and continuity of her community's landscape traditions: "I think our ancestors are really important in our lives because they set the tradition [with the land]. They set the pace for us" (in Hucko 1996:16).

Another formal attribute of the Pueblos' landscape concept warrants further consideration. As typified by the Pueblos' conceptualization of each community occupying the center of the cosmos, the Pueblo world embraces the idea of multiple "centers of all centers," given the contemporary cultural geography of the Río

Grande Valley with its 16 sovereign communities (not to mention the four Western Pueblos of northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona [chapter 4]). While challenging Anglo understandings, the concept of multiple "centers of all centers" is readily comprehensible through a landscape approach. Ingold states, "each place embodies the whole at a particular nexus within it, and in this respect is different from every other" (1993:155). According to Ortiz, among the Pueblos "since all space is sacred and sacred space is inexhaustible," there usually are "many different centers because sacred space can be recreated again and again without ever exhausting its reality" (1972:142).

The description of the Pueblos' cultural landscapes as *multilayered* conveys the idea that each community with an interest in some natural environmental setting imbues its own senses of time and place on the spaces they occupy, regardless of the purpose, frequency or intensity of use. In this process, each group introduces its own patterns of physical and cognitive occupation upon particular physical spaces, including those that have material traces of prior or concurrent use by members of other cultural communities. As Ingold (1993:171) warns, the notion of manifold cultural landscape constructions *covering over* the physical world threatens to obscure comprehension of the more significant idea that meaning cannot be separated from place. Landscapes, after all, are the dynamic interaction of nature and culture, not just a superficial imposition of culture upon nature.

Concerning these overlapping understandings of occupations, the cultural landscape possesses the quality of simultaneity among contemporaneous peoples. Because human actions and events are not isolated happenings on the landscape, temporality and historicity merge in the experiences of those who create order in their communities and reproduce society (Ingold 1993:157; see also Jackson 1995:43). Therefore, Pueblo people of different communities simultaneously associate with spaces in common in their respective landscape constructions, with each drawing useful—though possibly contrasting—values from the places they perceive and signify.

Contrasting Realities: Aboriginal Use Areas and Their Relation to Río Grande Pueblo Cultural Landscapes

Aboriginal Use Areas

As Ferguson discusses more fully in chapter 4, the definition of aboriginal use areas used by the United States government to determine financial compensation for grant lands previously taken from the Pueblo tribes without payment depends on two essential points. First, only those areas used and physically occupied when the federal government assumed control of the New Mexico territory in 1848 were considered. Second, the areas represent places used and physically occupied only by particular tribes. Importantly, while this judicial process considered tribes' habits, customs, and ways of life, it neither recognized areas used by Indian peoples in the pre-Columbian past nor places used jointly by two or more tribes (Akins 1993:3–4).

Given these legal parameters, neither the Indian Claims Commission nor the U.S. Claims Court defined aboriginal areas in ways that correspond with the Río Grande Pueblos' conceptualization of their landscape as including Sandía Mountain or this range's relationship with the Albuquerque West Mesa locality (see below). Figure 3.14 illustrates this disjunction for the eight Río Grande Pueblos (Jémez, Nambé, San Ildefonso, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, and Zía) determined judicially (see USGS 1978). Table 3.1 presents a summary of Akins' findings of traditional use areas, as compiled from available historical and ethnohistorical documentary sources.

Although she identifies some of the areas to which communities claim ancestry and keen interest, Akins does not consider "areas that might be claimed on the basis of remote ancestry" (1993:9) using communities' oral traditions and archaeological materials. This task was beyond the scope of her project. Contrary to the broad body of ethnographic documentation establishing the importance of Sandía Mountain in communities' conceptualizations of their landscapes (see below), Akins found specific mention of these mountains in the traditional use area boundaries of only Isleta, Sandía, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, and Zía Pueblos (see Table 3.1). Identification of Albuquerque West Mesa is even more restricted. Akins encountered references to this general locality for only the four southernmost Pueblos of Isleta, Sandía, Santa Ana, and Zía. These references range from specific (e.g., the West Mesa volcanoes [Zía]) to general (e.g., Petroglyph National Monument [Sandía and Santa Ana] and the Río Puerco Valley of the East [Isleta]). (Welsh [1998:3.33, 3.38–3.40], however, specifically identifies Sandía Pueblo's traditional occupation of the West Mesa.)

Río Grande Pueblo Landscapes

The cultural landscape of each Río Grande Pueblo is the area of the natural world embraced by the four mountains of direction—East, West, North, and South—and oriented around the community's plaza (or oldest plaza). In the process of becoming Pueblo through acculturation into their communities of birth, "children learn about connections to the earth through

TABLE 3.1: Summary of Rio Grande Pueblo Traditional Use Areas (TUA) and Potential Areas of Interest (adapted from Akins 1993:Table 1)

Stakeholder Community (see also reference)	Source of TUA Boundary Lines	Potential Areas of Interest	Assessment
Cochiti Pueblo (Akins 1993:36-57)	Harrington (1916:Map 28); and ICC case Cochiti's Map 16	The area south of Jemez to the Rio Grande and east to San Marcos Pueblo in the Galisteo Basin; and the area between Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde in the San Juan Basin	Lines are approximate because of map scales; boundary lines might extend too far west
Isleta Pueblo (Akins 1993:58-61)	Ellis (1979:351)	The area extending east to the Manzano and Sandia mountains (Montogmery-McGovern 1932:62) and west to the Rio Puerco; and the area included within the Jornada Mogollon archaeological district in south-central New Mexico	Boundaries appear reasonable but might be too conservative
Jemez Pueblo (Akins 1993:62-69)	Sando (1982:64)	Pecos Pueblo Grant in the upper Pecos Valley; and Navajo Reservoir archaeological district in the Four Corner area, including localities with Rosa, Sambrito, Los Pinos, and Gallina phase sites	Good—but details might not be accurate
Nambe Pueblo (Akins 1993:101-106)	ICC case, unnumbered exhibit; and combination of Nambe Pueblo's and the U.S. government's boundary lines	Chaco Canyon in the central San Juan Basin; Aztec Ruin in the upper San Juan drainage; and Mesa Verde in southwest Colorado	Good—Harrington's (1916) information supports the boundary lines
Picuris Pueblo (Akins 1993:117-118)	No sources describe a Traditional Use Area	Jicarilla Peak	Grant boundary probably is too conservative
Pojoaque Pueblo (Akins 1993:119-120)	No sources describe a Traditional Use Area	Might include areas claimed by other Tewa and Tiwa Pueblos	Grant boundary probably is too conservative
Sandia Pueblo (Akins 1993:121-123)	Ellis (1979:353) and Simons (1969:23); eastern boundary are the Sandia Mountains, while the Rio Grande defined the western boundary because Spanish settlers occupied the land west of the river since at least the Pueblo Revolt of 1680-1692	The Pueblo maintains shrines in the Sandia Mountains (Brant 1979:347; Simons 1969:28); and the Petroglyph National Monument one of the community's other principal shrine locations (Parker 1993:4)	Good—boundaries appear reasonable but details vary and might be too conservative
San Felipe Pueblo (Akins 1993:124-125)	Composite of the current grant, joint reservation with Santo Domingo, and early land claims (Brayer 1939:78-79)	Chaco Canyon in the central San Juan Basin; Aztec Ruin in the upper San Juan drainage; and El Rito de los Frijoles in Bandelier National Monument	Defined boundary probably is too conservative

TABLE 3.1 (cont'd.)

Stakeholder Community (see also reference)	Source of TUA Boundary Lines	Potential Areas of Interest	Assessment
San Ildefonso (Akins 1993:126-132)	ICC case, verbal description of area of aboriginal title; and Harrington (1916)	Upper San Juan drainage; lower Rio Chama and Ojo Caliente valleys; Galisteo Basin; and the Middle Rio Grande, including the Sandia Mountains (Friedlander and Pinyan 1980; Hewett and Dutton 1945:34-40)	Fair—some boundary areas are estimated and the defined boundary line probably is too conservative
San Juan Pueblo (Akins 1993:132-138)	Composite of the current grant boundary and Harrington (1916)	Chama Valley; Mesa Verde in southwest Colorado; other areas north and northwest of the pueblo grant; and the Sandia Mountains are the Pueblo's South Mountain (Harrington 1916; Ortiz 1969)	Fair—boundary details are estimated and the defined line probably is too conservative
Santa Ana Pueblo (Akins 1993:139-144)	ICC case, estimate derived from Ellis' identification of Santa Ana's ancestral sites	Galisteo Basin; Paa-ko Pueblo in Tijeras Canyon; Chaco Canyon in the central San Juan Basin; Mesa Verde in southwest Colorado; and Petroglyph National Monument (Logan 1993:1)	Fair—boundary details are estimated; no map shows the area claimed
Santa Clara (Akins 1993:145-149)	ICC case, Santa Clara Exhibit 1	Areas north and east of the defined boundary line; the pueblo's traditional route to Pecos Pueblo in the upper Pecos Valley; and the Sandia Mountains (Hewett and Dutton 1945:34-40)	Fair—but boundary probably might extend farther east
Santo Domingo (Akins 1993:150-153)	Composite from the ICC case, verbal description form the original case and general map of the enlarged southeast turquoise mine claim area, and the current grant boundary	The Galisteo Basin; the area between Chaco Canyon in the central San Juan Basin and Mesa Verde in southwest Colorado; El Rito de los Frijoles in Bandelier National Monument; and the Middle Rio Grande	Fair (?)—the verbal descriptions are difficult to map and boundary lines characteristically are estimates
Taos Pueblo (Akins 1993:156-162)	ICC case, U.S. Exhibit 101	South to and including the Ojo Caliente Valley and the Black Mountains	Good—based on ICC testimony
Tesuque Pueblo (Akins 1993:163-165)	ICC case for Nambe Pueblo—verbal description and grant boundaries	Chaco Canyon in the central San Juan Basin; Mesa Verde in the southwest Colorado; and El Rito de los Frijoles in Bandelier National Monument	Defined boundary probably is too conservative
Zia Pueblo (Akins 1993:181-187)	ICC case, defendant's exhibit showing joint use area maintained by the Pueblos of Zia, Santa Ana and Jemez, and the Zia Pueblo grant boundary	From Chaco Canyon in the central San Juan Basin to Mesa Verde in the southwest Colorado; the Albuquerque West Mesa volcanoes (Ellis 1979; Logan 1993); and the Sandia Mountains (Ellis 1979)	Fair to good—based on distributions of ancestral Zia archaeological sites

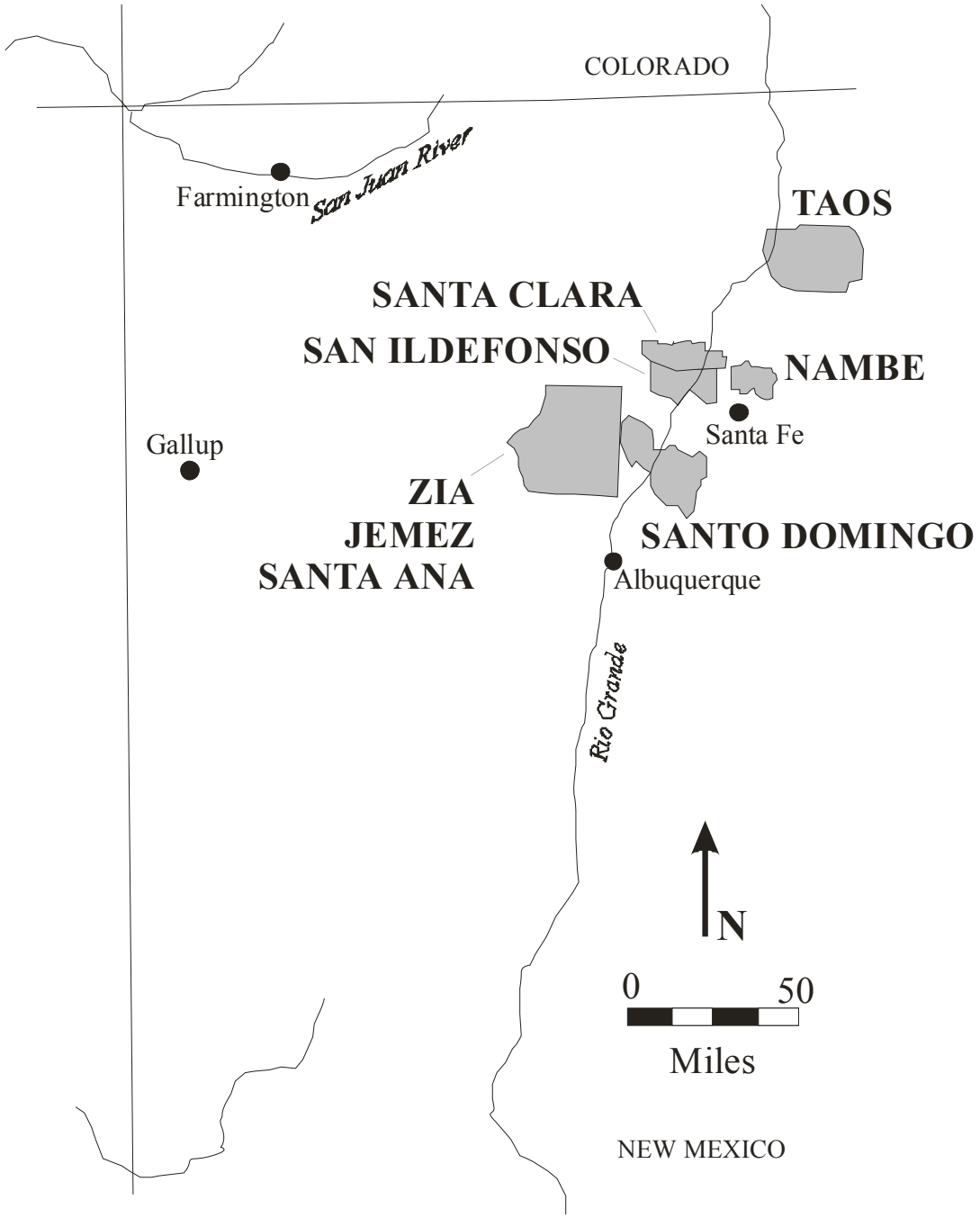

Figure 3.14: Rio Grande Pueblo traditional land areas, as judicially determined (adapted from USGS 1978).

virtually every experience in their culture" (Trimble1994:170). So pervasive is this world view that children comprehend ideas of center and periphery, along with their interdependence to form a whole, early in their lives. A young Santa Clara Pueblo girl, Rose Bean, remarks, "A pueblo is more than physical buildings and landscape…It's living in a circle with a kiva in the middle" (in Hucko 1996:44).

In becoming adults and contributing members of their communities, Pueblo people acquire sophistication in their knowledge and understanding of these traditional themes and apply them to their everyday activities. Nora Naranjo-Morse, a Santa Clara Pueblo artist, "speaks of the circle that connects her with her clay people—a circle that takes in thousands of years of history and connections to clouds and mountains, spirits and underworlds. The Pueblo people live and pray and dance and shape pots to maintain these connections" (Trimble 1993:119).The earlier discussion of center examines several crucial aspects of the Pueblos' conceptualization of the spatial and timeless characteristics of middle places in terms of cosmological and landscape processes. The present narrative considers more fully the relationships (1) between centers and peripheries, and (2) among the various centers that communities recognize and maintain within their landscapes.

With respect to the primacy of center in the principle of rightful orientation (after Cajete 1994; see also above), the definition of middle places is based on centripetal reasoning, whereby all things are "represented by reference to a center" (Ortiz 1972:142). That is, when symbolically depicting their centrist orientation and the idea of movement of wind, clouds, rain, and people, the Pueblos characteristically first set out the boundaries (establish the periphery) and subsequently work their way inward toward the center (see Ortiz 1972:142–143; see also Laski 1959). With regard to their understanding of healing processes as the movement of life energy, however, the Pueblos are centrifugal in orientation.

> As a way of knowing, thinking, and orientating, it [the spiritual ecology of place] proceeds in concentric rings from the location of the family household, to the segment of the village the household is located in, to the village as a whole, to the land immediately surrounding the village, then to the mountains and other geographic features that form the recognized boundaries of each Indigenous group's territory. [Cajete 1994:47]

The duality embedded in the organization of Pueblo landscape thought, therefore, complements other aspects of the social and symbolic dualism through which the Pueblos simultaneously divide and unite their world (see Ortiz 1972). This idea of ever-renewing interdependent movement from center to periphery, and vice versa, continually reinforces both the necessity and the strength of this fundamental relationship among these seemingly opposing, but inherently complementary, landscape realms in sustaining harmony.

The pueblo, with its plaza, lies at the center of each community's objective realm. By directly participating in healing processes within their plazas, people can effectively redirect and amplify life's power for sustaining goodness; they can influence the orientation of relationship. The periphery, as demarcated by the four mountains of direction, represents the borderland between the objective and the subjective realms (Tuan 1977:120). As Ortiz explains, the "further one ranges outward from a particular village or group of villages, the greater is the tendency to attribute characteristics opposite of normal to anything of symbolic value, even if only by surrounding it with an aura of sacredness and mystery" (1972:157). At greater distances from the village and at greater depths or heights, the power inherent in the physical landscape becomes potentially more dangerous and uncontrollable (after Saile 1977:77). For the Pueblos, just as many other indigenous communities, "mountains have been the homes of the highest earth spirits and the boundaries of the sacred cosmos. The mountain, as ecological metaphor and symbol of higher thought and attainment, is often integrated with the metaphors of pathway, pilgrimage, and cardinal orientations forming the boundaries of a sacred place" (Cajete 1994:92).

The relevance of periphery and the mountains of direction to this discussion becomes increasingly clear with the recognition that Sandía Mountain is the South Mountain to all of the Río Grande Pueblos in their landscape constructions (Hewett and Mauzy 1940:86; see also Harrington 1916:44, 514, Map 29; Ortiz 1969:19; White 1935, 1942, 1960). (Pueblos farther west of the Río Grande consider this landform as their East Mountain [see chapter 4]). Hewett and Mauzy (1940:86) report that the Río Grande Pueblos associate the mountain as a whole, including the clouds that rise above its peaks, as the dwelling place of numerous powerful supernatural beings, including the Father of Deities, the Warrior Twins, Wind Woman, and Spider Woman. Ortiz (1969) says these mountains possess additional special qualities because a pond and a cave are associated with each.

The Sandía Mountain, therefore, helps establish essential parameters for comprehending the Río

Grande Pueblo people's statements concerning the ethnogeography of the Middle Río Grande Valley, the West Mesa, and particular landscape features within these places. The identification of Sandía Mountain as a principal cardinal referent demonstrates a community's general association with the greater Albuquerque locality even though the people might not see the peaks from their villages or directly visit shrines and other associated healing spaces with any frequency. In fact, communities at great distances from Sandía Mountain, such as San Ildefonso (see Curtis 1926; see also below), apparently define physiographic analogues within their immediate home territories for purposes of most regular pilgrimages and prayers. Pilgrimage to an analogue, while saving people travel and affording privacy, in no way diminishes the importance of the archetype in either the objective or subjective realms of the Pueblos' thought and understanding (see chapter 9).

The associations of caves, the Warrior Twins and other supernatural beings, and water with Sandía Mountain implicate the existence of many-layered metaphorical relationships between these peaks and the West Mesa's caves, volcanoes, and lava flows to define the periphery of the Pueblo world more fully. Pueblo people, in fact, confirm the existence of relationships among Sandía Mountain, the West Mesa, and other nearby prominent physiographic features visible from West Mesa in their assessments of the importance of Petroglyph National Monument (Evans et al. 1993:19, 21, 33; W. Weahkee 1996:13; see also below). Although people have not explained these relationships in public testimony, generalized summaries of several salient aspects of these associations may be compiled from Río Grande Pueblo and Western Pueblo ethnographic texts and narratives.

As I note earlier, caves are portals to the underworld through which life energy from the Pueblo plaza and other healing places passes into the supernatural realm of the cosmos, undergoes transformation, and redirects energy back to the communities. Perceptible air movement in and out of caves is understood as the earth breathing (Brunnemann 1995:29; Schaafsma 1987:4; see also Simmons 1982:8). Grottoes are connected physically and metaphysically by passages through the underworld (e.g., Curtis 1926:172; Usner 1995:16; see also Evans et al. 1993:33; Page and Page 1982:187) (see also Figure 3.5). Also, people emerged from the world below through openings in the earth's crust. As told, the people of Sandía Pueblo entered onto the earth's surface in the central Río Grande Valley near their present-day home (Ferguson 1931:34).

Today, the Río Grande Pueblo people understand that the Warrior Twins live on Sandía Mountain and watch over the communities below as their protectors. In the past, the Warrior Twins lived directly among the people. Giants (witches or gigantic monsters in some stories) terrorized the people, who sought the Warrior Twins' assistance. The warriors chased the giants and fought them. When they finally killed the evil beings, the people saw nearby volcanic peaks and their caves belch smoke, if not also lava and fire, which hardened the earth (e.g., Curtis 1926:172; cf. Cushing 1896:398, 1967:14 [1883]).

The underworld is the source of all water (i.e., the material essence of all life) in the world in which people live (e.g., Parsons 1996:passim [1939]; see also Hewett and Dutton 1945:29). The underworld is manifest variously as breath, wind, clouds, rain, snow, seep moisture, spring water, and rivers. Cloud flowers grow over mountains. Springs feed ponds found below the summits of the mountains of direction. Rivers are umbilical cords from the mountains, through which the underworld helps sustain life energy in the living world (after Anschuetz 1998a:450; see also Simmons 1969:39). Returning to the Pueblos' metaphorical characterization of their physical landscape as a bowl (cf. Figures 3.11 and 3.15), because rivers flow through the vessel's bottom, with the slopes and mountains surrounding the valleys in the four cardinal directions providing the stream's sustenance.

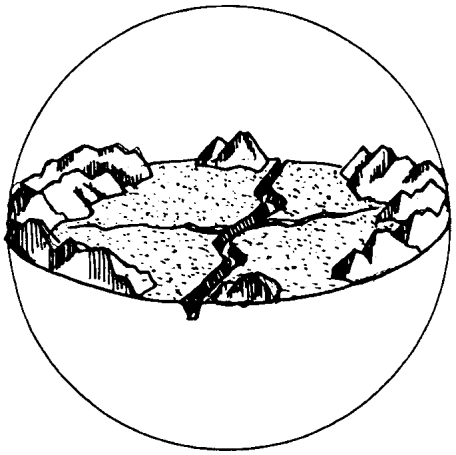

Figure 3.15: The Pueblo world as a bowl, revisited (from Swentzell 1990a: Figure 3-5). Water flowing down from the hills and mountains along the bowl's rim feeds the rivers that run through the valleys where the Pueblo people maintain their villages at the center of the world.

Importantly, Pueblo oral traditions indicate that lava, which usually flows from definable peaks, is associated with water, moisture, life's essence, and movement. First, when people emerged onto the surface of the living world, they found it still was moist

(unripe), moving or flowing, and in need of hardening so the people might occupy the land (Cushing 1967:14 [1883]). Second, Río Grande Pueblo people conceptualize flowing lava as "hot water." For example, Johnson recounts the Tewa story that "fire and water rose from the ground" (1995:300) from the volcanic peaks at Black Mesa (between the Pueblos of San Ildefonso and Santa Clara), Cabezón Peak in the Río Puerco Valley of the East, and Tsimayo in the Santa Cruz Valley after the Warrior Twins killed one of the monsters that stalked the earth (see also Cushing [1896:398] and chapter 4 for a similar story maintained by Zuni Pueblo). Third, the people characterize lava flows as the hardened blood that gushed from the lethal wounds inflicted on the giants by the Warrior Twins (Cushing 1896:398–399; see also chapter 5 for similar Navajo oral traditions). Considered as an assemblage, these accounts indicate that Pueblo people recognize lava once was a flowing liquid. Moreover, they interpret the patterns of movement frozen in the rock in terms of the flow of water that they observe in streams and rivers in their everyday lives. Through this system of associations, lava beds combine with mountains, water, and caves in the Pueblos' subjective realm of knowledge to form complexly interwoven cosmological relationships that help explain the ideas of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness in their landscape constructions.

Petroglyphs in Río Grande Pueblo Culture

In her article prepared in support of the National Park Service's (NPS's) creation of the Petroglyph National Monument, Schaafsma (1987) argues for the significance of the West Mesa petroglyphs as both a vulnerable cultural heritage resource and a major concentration of Río Grande style imagery. She contends that the petroglyphs contribute to our collective understanding of Río Grande Pueblo religion, ideology, and culture history. The petroglyphs are "a distinctive art form in which imagery incorporating rock, sunlight, and shadow enhances the landscape in which it occurs. It is an *unintentional* statement, but a powerful one, nevertheless, of the Pueblo's close relationship to the land" (Schaafsma 1987:9, emphasis added; see also below).

When Schaafsma suggests the similarities between the West Mesa petroglyphs and those in the core Keresan homeland in the Cochití Reservoir imply "that regional relationships were more important than linguistic ties" (1987:8), she acknowledges that petroglyphs are an essential element for Río Grande Pueblo people to create and maintain their landscapes. She further notes that as a record of another way of being and as a document of other cultural communities' ways of interacting with the same location, petroglyphs are a valuable manifestation of past peoples' ideational systems (1987:11). Together, these statements seemingly contradict her earlier position that Pueblo petroglyphs at the Petroglyph National Monument, through their incorporation of rock, sunlight, and shadow to enhance the landscape, make an *unintentional* statement concerning the people's intimate relationship with the land. In their conceptualizations of the timeless qualities of the principles of the landscape relationship—as embodied in the ideas of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness—symbolized by the petroglyphs, however, Pueblo people make clear that the images are much more than an art form whose referent to the land is unintentional.

In the more than century-long history of cultural anthropologists' work among the Río Grande Pueblo communities, the study of the peoples' relationships with petroglyphs as a formal landscape element has never been a focus of systematic inquiry. The absence of substantive dialogue between the Río Grande Pueblo people and anthropologists about the specific meanings of petroglyphs unquestionably is attributable, at least in part, to the usual great secrecy maintained by these communities concerning their cosmologies and rituals (see also below). As Eastvold observes, the metaphorical referents in petroglyph images "involve the inner workings" (1987:116) of what anthropologists describe as the intellectual structure and digital information content of the Pueblos' religion. Consequently, most cultural-historical study of Río Grande Pueblo petroglyph complexes has a materialist focus emphasizing temporal identification, description and classification of styles, and general interpretation (e.g., Bain 1976; Eastvold 1987; Hagan 1987; Lamb 1993; Schaafsma 1980, 1987, 1992; Slifer 1998, among others; cf. Schaafsma 1997). Schaafsma's work, in particular, has contributed to the comprehensive definition of the Río Grande Style, a distinct tradition recognizable since the early 14th century that persists with remarkable continuity to this day despite four centuries of great economic, social, and political change following Spanish colonization of the New Mexico territory.

Where researchers offer specific interpretations of individual motifs and motif complexes (e.g., Patterson-Rudolph 1993), they rest their constructions on direct analogical reasoning. While strong cultural traditions exist and deep-level meanings documented in the ethnography have great antiquity, direct analogy imposes highly specific meanings from ethnographic accounts onto past cultural communities for which the investigators have no direct knowledge. Evaluations of the evolution of the ideational relationships contained

in the Pueblos' traditional constructions of spiritual ecology and healing over time are beyond non-Native American investigators' consideration.

This matter is not trivial. Even Pueblo youths recognize that their forebears' understandings are not completely congruent with the principles maintained within the communities today. In speaking of the organization of petroglyphs near her home at San Ildefonso Pueblo, 12-year-old Naomi Naranjo implicitly recognizes the inherently dynamic characteristic of tradition when she states, "I think that they were kind of confused, because it was a new land. They were trying to decide 'Where should we stay?' or 'Should we move on?' They liked to travel, but once they found a place to stay they stayed there and started the tradition. That's what I think" (in Hucko 1996:16).

Given the paucity of discussion that anthropologists engaged with Río Grande Pueblo people about their associations with petroglyphs, investigators characteristically have turned to Western Pueblo communities, especially Hopi and Zuni, for ethnographic details (e.g., Bain 1976; Eastvold 1987; Hagan 1987; Lamb 1993). Using similarities in design motifs between Río Grande Pueblo and Western Pueblo areas to justify their use of direct ethnologic analogy, they commonly interpret pre-Columbian and early Historic period petroglyphs in the Río Grande Valley from Hopi and Zuni perspectives.

Ferguson formally considers the role of petroglyphs in Western Pueblo culture in chapter 4. The reader should consult his essay for ethnographic information about these interpretations of the ideational underpinnings of the Río Grande Pueblo's associations with petroglyphs within their traditional homelands.

Before discussing general statements offered by Río Grande Pueblo people regarding their associations and understanding of petroglyphs, we consider the Pueblos' conceptualization of art. Of foremost importance is that Pueblos lack a specific term for the word *art* (e.g., see Hucko). Cajete explains, "The creative act of making something with spiritual intent, what is today called art, has its own quality and spiritual power that needs to be understood and respected. Art is a result of a creative process that traditionally for American Indians, was an act and expression of the spirit" (1994:44).

Recognition that the Pueblos lack a singular, objective word for *art* is crucial for grasping how the communities comprehend petroglyph imagery as an element of their landscape constructions. More than symbolic images of the many levels of interaction between people and other natural forces, petroglyphs and special places of connection, such as shrines (see below), were created where people could leave offerings and recite prayers (Swentzell 1993:146).

Swentzell explains how the idea of art is synonymous with all work, thoughts, and expressions embodied in the Pueblos' everyday lives, including their relationships with the land:

> Pueblo culture has strong philosophical precepts which govern the way people live and relate to other human beings, to other life forms, and to the universe. Those precepts give expression to all human activities. Art is an expression of those philosophical precepts, and did not traditionally exist outside Pueblo social and religious purposes. In other words, there was not "art for art's sake" in the traditional pueblos because art was an extension and reinforcer of the social and religious life. Pueblo philosophical precepts gave expression to traditional Pueblo life, and art was an integral part of that way of living. [1989:24]

Herman Agoyo, former All Indian Pueblo Council Chairman (1986–1990) and San Juan Pueblo Governor, uses a cosmological referent to explain the connective qualities of petroglyphs in a "Cavalcade of Enchantment" film documentary:

> all the dancers, the birds, and the animals that are depicted on the rocks, and it just reminds me of being at home or in another Indian village where ceremonial life is going on, and where everybody is celebrating, everybody is happy.
>
> We express gratitude for the Great Spirit and recognize the spirits that surround us…I think the petroglyphs represent a medium, a kind of intervention between the spirit world and the current world that we're in.
>
> The petroglyphs is [*sic*] the reaffirmation, a reminder of who we are, where we came from. And being that they were left here for a reason, it just connects us to the spirit world. [Phelps Dodge Corporation 1993, n.p.]

In her narrative, Silko provides an example of how petroglyphs facilitate cosmological interactions. She considers how the motifs' characteristic abstract qualities are an imperative property enabling connection between the natural and supernatural realms of the cosmos:

> petroglyphs of constellations or [*sic*] elk or antelope draw their magic in part from the process wherein the focus of all prayer and concentration is upon the thing itself, which, in its turn, guides the hunter's hand. Connection with the spirit dimensions requires a figure or form that is all-inclusive. A "life-like" rendering of an elk is too restrictive. Only the elk *is* itself.

> A *realistic* rendering of an elk would be only one particular elk anyway. The purpose of hunt rituals and magic is to make contact will *all* the spirits of the Elk. [Silko 1995:157, italics in original]

In speaking of Pueblo pottery decorative elements, which have structural and organizational analogues with petroglyph motifs, Naranjo offers a useful elaboration of Silko's commentary:

> design always refer[s] to the cosmic view of the world. They continually re-state the connectedness of all natural elements, including humans. Mountains, clouds, lightning, water, raindrops, seeds, corn, flowers, water-serpents, bears, and feather are incorporated into spirals and lines of continuous movement which represent the connective breath of the universe. All represent the complex system of interrelatedness within which humans dwell. [1994:47]

While the preceding observations serve well to establish the Pueblos' understandings of the connective qualities of petroglyphs in terms of their cosmologies, they emphasize the aspects of petroglyph design corresponding to a formal intellectual structure. In his testimony before the Blue Ribbon Panel of Experts for Petroglyph National Monument, Phillip Lauriano, Sandía Pueblo Tribal Councilor and Turquoise Kiva Chief, offered important insights into both the Pueblo's understandings of the petroglyphs' dynamic essence and how people still interact ritually with the images in the efforts to sustain healing processes within their cosmos. In identifying these capacities, Lauriano specifically associates the West Mesa petroglyphs, which possess historically documented associations with his ancestors among others (see Welsh 1998:3.33), with centers as healing spaces on the landscape.

> The petroglyphs are the nerve center of Pueblo culture, religion and tradition. They are there to guard, to protect, to teach, to advise, to doctor, to cure. When anything is planned in the way of ceremonies, there are certain areas there [among the images] where you make your announcement in the form of prayer. And that is channeled into the petroglyphs,…somewhere beyond the great divide to a reservoir of strength and power, and the spiritual is awakened. It authenticizes the ceremony. [Lauriano 1998:8]

Pueblo elders and writers are not the only community members who reflect upon the meaning of petroglyphs and about the people who made the images. As Hucko (1996:17) observes, a sense of continuity, of sustaining the community's traditions and meanings, are important to people of all ages. Comments offered by three San Juan Pueblo children (ages not given) serve as illustrations:

> I think that they really, really loved art, 'cause you find all kinds of Indian designs…Maybe they are saying, "Here is my pueblo. These are the animals that we respect." [Jackie López, in Hucko 1996:18]

> They draw to tell you about who they are and maybe what their name is. They tell what kind of animals lived around here and what animals they hunted. They prayed to the animals, thanking them for giving meat and hides so the people could eat and make something to wear, just like we do now. [Daniel Archuleta, in Hucko 1996:18]

> When I look at the drawings I wonder who drew them. Was it a lady, a man, or an animal?… Maybe there was nobody to talk to so they made pictures for somebody else to discover and to try and figure out where they went. [Lydia Martínez, in Hucko 1996:18)]

Elements of Río Grande Pueblo Cultural Landscapes at Petroglyph National Monument

The greater West Mesa area, with its five prominent volcanoes, numerous lava flows, and approximately 20,000 pre-Columbian and Historic period petroglyphs scattered along the 27.2-kilometer-long (17-mile-long) rock escarpment that dominates the west horizon of the Albuquerque area Río Grande Valley, clearly is an imposing physiographic feature with many layers of cultural occupation and referent. As shown during previous archaeological (e.g., Schaafsma 1987; Schmader and Hayes 1987), ethnographic (e.g., Evans et al. 1993), and landscape management (e.g., Froeschauer 1994), the West Mesa generally and the Petroglyph National Monument specifically constitute a cultural landscape important to many Río Grande Pueblo communities.

Earlier sections of the present discussion provide the ethnographic context for understanding more fully how this place is an essential component of the Río Grande Pueblos' landscape. The Pueblos simultaneously incorporate the objective and subjective realms of their experience and history into their community traditions to explain "how they became who they are" (Peckham 1990:2) within "the place that Indian People talk about" (after Ortiz 1992:321–324). In this process, the Pueblos use richly textured metaphor to imbue physical features within their natural, social, and cultural environments with high-level cultural meanings that transcend the dimension of time to sustain their respective communities. The themes of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness underlie these landscape constructions.

The natural and cultural resources of the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater West Mesa locality, including petroglyphs, shrines, volcanoes, caves, ancestral villages, archaeological sites, trails, plants, animals, vistas, and personal attachments, contribute in substantive ways to the definition of the whole of the Pueblo world. These landscape features serve to define the periphery, which in turn enables the Pueblo communities to define not only their physical centers but also to sustain the healing places needed for spiritual ecology and ensoulment within their worlds.

The following discussion considers common Río Grande Pueblo landscape elements present within the Petroglyph National Monument that contribute to the conceptualization and understanding of each Pueblo's world as a whole. Whenever ethnographic and other commentaries are available, I refer to these works to help establish how Río Grande Pueblo representatives view these features within their landscape constructions. The categorization of particular feature types for the purposes of structuring the discussion is troublesome in the sense that it breaks a unified whole into its major constituent elements. This organizational device, therefore, creates the potential that important connective relationships, which define a whole clearly greater than its parts, will be lost.

Petroglyphs

Joe and Ted Jojola, a father and son from Isleta Pueblo, identify at the most general level the timeless significance of the Petroglyph National Monument petroglyphs, as well as the many hundreds of similar images extending along the Black Mesa volcanic escarpment south of the I-40 corridor destroyed during I-25 construction. "The petroglyphs represent a great heritage which has considerable religious and cultural importance to Pueblo Indian people today. They were created for the benefit of all unborn generations" (Jojola and Jojola 1988:1–2).

In three of his many statements concerning the special qualities of the West Mesa petroglyphs, William Weahkee, Executive Director, Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, Inc., offers both economic and ideational contexts for why early Pueblo people selected this escarpment as a focal point for their petroglyph iconography. Drawing from the traditions maintained at his home community, Cochití Pueblo, Weahkee identifies the West Mesa setting as a place that (1) offered economically and culturally useful plant and animal resources, and (2) stood in fundamental relationship with the mountain peaks that define the conceptual boundaries of the Pueblos' worlds. With regard to the West Mesa's ideational importance, Weahkee identifies the West Mesa as a kind of center or healing place in which the petroglyphs serve to transmit the energy of the peoples' thoughts and learning into the underworld and across time into the future:

> Our ancient ancestors chose the area to be a sacred site because it was born with Mother Earth's great labor and power. For centuries, the Pueblo people have used this area for hunting small game, gathering seeds and medicine plants and as a stopping-off place on journeys to the Manzanos [the mountain range south of the Sandía Mountain] to hunt big game and make offerings and sacrifices. [in Doherty 1996:13; see also below]

> The petroglyph area is where messages to the spirit world are communicated. It is here that our Pueblo ancestors "wrote" down the visions and experiences they felt. This special place is central to the great protector mountains of Sandia, Mount Taylor, Jemez, Manzano, and Santa Fe. It is the center of great spiritual powers!…We consider each of these petroglyphs to be a record of visions written here of some spiritual being, event or expressions attesting to and/or guarding a person's sacrifice or offering [1996:2, in Slifer 1998:129–130]

> Each of these rocks is alive, keeper of a message left by the ancestors…There are spirits, guardians; there is medicine. [in GPO 1997:1]

Herman Agoyo, while serving as the Chairman of the All Indian Pueblo Council, similarly offered testimonies emphasizing the Pueblos' associations with the West Mesa petroglyphs as an ongoing cultural process that dates backs to time immemorial rather than the interpretation of the meaning of particular iconographic symbols. With respect to his comments concerning the role that petroglyphs play in Río Grande Pueblo culture (see above), Agoyo refers to the underlying connective qualities of the petroglyphs as one of the vital mediums through which healing takes place and for which the Petroglyph National Monument area is held in reverence.

> Needless to say, the land and the petroglyphs are sacred to the Pueblo Indians because of the spirituality that exists there. I believe the etchings made by our ancestors were used as a way of reaffirming the beliefs and the way of life of the Indian people, and to communicate with the higher spirits. Thus, through these ritual drawings, our ancestors created a temple of worship. [Herman Agoyo, Statement before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 28, 1989, in U.S. Senate 1989:118]

Voicing her objection to the proposed expansion of Unser Boulevard at a public hearing, Christina Otero of Sandía Pueblo supports Agoyo's commentary that the West Mesa is a healing place. She identifies the escarpment's—and the petroglyph images'—important quality as a medium through which people can influence control over natural environmental factors through thought processes:

> It is the belief of Indian people that when we pray we pray for the world. We pray for peace, good health, harmony among all people and a long and happy life. Our ancestors thought of the petroglyph area as a very sacred area and a protected barrier against the catastrophic forces of nature. By praying in this area we believe that is an insurance of protection against violent forces of nature, not only for the people of Sandia but for all people of this area. [Christina Otero, Statement before Environmental Planning Commission, Albuquerque, February 9, 1993, in Environmental Planning Commission 1993:19]

Laurie Weahkee, a member of Cochití Pueblo and the former director of the Petroglyph Monument Protection Coalition (now the SAGE Council), explains the general importance of the West Mesa area petroglyphs to the Río Grande Pueblos and other Native American stakeholders using language and examples more familiar to the people of the dominant Anglo community:

> Each petroglyph represents a religious inspirational event of the past which is comparable to the Christian concept of epiphany. The petroglyphs also project that event into the future for following generations…The place occupied in Pueblo cultural and religious tradition by the long line of the escarpment, with its thousands of petroglyphs and other sacred articles and tokens of personal piety, is comparable to the place occupied in the traditions and beliefs of Judaism by Jerusalem's Wailing Wall, with its many inscriptions and personal declarations of faith. [1997:6]

Celestino Gachupin, states that the West Mesa petroglyphs, which include images known to have been made by Zía Pueblo's people, fall into several categories. Gachupin notes that some are "religious in nature," while others are "art, if you will, for enjoyment, for viewing" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). He adds that still others are "educational" and that "the young people" were allowed to draw petroglyphs while people were in the area for farming at times past. Although Gachupin observes that the petroglyphs might "vary in importance" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000), he stresses that they are significant, nevertheless, both individually and collectively. With implicit reference to the theme of the connectedness among parts to create a whole, he emphasizes that significance of the assemblage was greater than the sum of the individual images.

In response to the question whether any given area in the entire escarpment is associated particularly with Zía Pueblo, Gachupin replied that only the religious leaders of the Pueblo would know. He added that they have no understanding of areas as "owned" by particular Pueblos; the idea of exclusive right of ownership is contrary to Pueblo ideas. He stated further that although the religious leaders will identify an area and particular petroglyphs as being used by people of Zía Pueblo, they will not claim an exclusive use or association. They will not say that Zía people were the only ones to associate with certain areas or petroglyphs within the monument.

During our conversation Gachupin conveyed his considerable discomfort, both as a representative of his community and as a Pueblo person, whenever we raised questions about the meanings of petroglyph images. On the one hand, Gachupin noted that the religious leaders in his community placed restrictions on the kinds information that he could share, including the meanings of petroglyphs. He identified the widespread "fear that if the symbols are revealed, then the importance of why they were placed there would be lost" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). On the other hand, Gachupin explained that for the NPS and other outsiders to seek out or to convey specific explanations of the meaning of petroglyphs either individually or collectively is inappropriate. By stating that such special knowledge is restricted even among his Pueblo's people to the leaders of religious societies, Gachupin made clear that issues involving the secrecy and propriety of privileged information are universal and not just limited to the interactions between the Pueblos and the outside world. (As we shall see later in this chapter, the universality of issues about the secrecy and propriety of privileged information carry multiple significant implications for the management of the Petroglyph National Monument.) When Gachupin simply stated, "We don't need to try to find answers" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000), he signaled both his acceptance of his community's conventions limiting the knowledge that he may possess about petroglyphs (and other activity, organization, and meaning) and the time to redirect our conservation toward other topics.

Having helped establish the West Mesa petroglyphs as a healing place, Agoyo relates how the rock images relate back to the Pueblos' history of becoming since their emergence unto the present world. Even though the escarpment as a whole is a nexus of communication

between the natural and supernatural realms of the Pueblos' cosmos, he also refers to the continuing importance of pilgrimage to the Petroglyph Monument area for sustaining community traditions.

> These petroglyphs are the symbols and legends of Pueblo life and culture of those times, and they were recorded on the volcanic stone of the West Mesa escarpment in order to stand the test of time to remind us of who we are and where we came from as Indian people. In continuing to uphold our past traditions and religion that is embodied in the petroglyphs, we still use certain areas of the escarpment for sacred ceremonies that have been going on for centuries before the time of the Spanish Conquistadors and the White Man, and certain of our societies and clans regularly visit these sites or shrines in the way of our ancestors. To us, these petroglyphs are not the remains of some long lost civilization that has been dead for many years, but a living continuous reminder of our past, our present and our future, and they are part of our living culture. [Herman Agoyo, Statement before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 11, 1988, in U.S. House of Representatives 1989:8]

> Our culture is stored in these petroglyphs, and we need to return to them to teach our own sons and daughters of it. What is stored in the petroglyphs is not written in any book or to be found in any library, and the Pueblo people need to have an ongoing contact with them in order that the meanings can be passed from generation to generation. [Herman Agoyo, Statement before U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 11, 1988, in U.S. House of Representatives 1989:9]

Agoyo's mention of pilgrimage provides a context for explicating other important aspects of William Weahkee's comments about the Pueblos' relationships with the Petroglyph National Monument images. As I present above, Weahkee (in Doherty 1996:13) identifies the West Mesa as a stopping-off place on longer journeys into the mountains. In talking about the sanctity of offerings made at various locations along the West Mesa escarpment to accompany the journey of deceased persons to the underworld from which all life came, Weahkee also reveals, "The genuine and most ancient petroglyphs are an inherent part of the rituals used to signal the spirit world that one is on this journey" (Statement before the Joint Planning Commissions, City of Albuquerque and County of Bernalillo, New Mexico, September 28, 1995, in NPS 1996:258).

Following an analysis of Pueblo pilgrimages offered by Anschuetz (1998a:446; see also Ortiz 1969), the Río Grande Pueblos' visits to West Mesa petroglyphs entail four kinds of relationship. First, pilgrimages to places associated with passages to the supernatural realm of the cosmos honor the supernatural beings who watch over the natural world. Second, such journeys remind the people of their ancestors whose souls now reside in the underworld. Third, pilgrimage, along with attendant prayers and offerings, engages the supernatural beings' and the deceased ancestors' assistance in sustaining the flow of water needed to sustain natural life into the community's physical landscape. Lastly, the return journey to the villages in the latter part of a pilgrimage represents a reenactment of a community's traditional migration accounts. In ritually retracing their ancestors' journeys, pilgrims verify the truthfulness of their community culture histories explaining how the community's people became who they are today. Given the high-order meaning embedded in acts of pilgrimage, we can say that visits by the Río Grande Pueblo people to the West Mesa petroglyphs constitutes sacred tradition that acts as a bridge to spiritual experiences and facilitates learning about spiritual matters (after Cajete 1994:44). In this process, the past merges with the present, thereby reaffirming the timelessness of tradition and enabling history to be lived by the people today (Schaafsma 1997:13).

Shrines

In her discussion of shrines and other special power points on the Pueblos' landscapes, Ellis offers several relevant observations. Foremost, "shrines clearly are central to the practice of Pueblo religion, whether located within the village or at a distance" (1994:104). She adds, "Communication with Earth Mothers and other types of [supernatural beings]…is primarily through shrines. They are locations where the spirits are believed to be at hand, or possibly live, thus a shrine area may be small like a sipapu in a kiva or quite large" (Ellis 1994:103). In this definition, Ellis implicitly refers to the ideas of center, healing place, and the healing process that Pueblo authors (e.g., Cajete 1994; Naranjo and Swentzell 1989; see also above) identify as critical to understanding their communities' traditions and relationships with the land and its resources. That is, careful consideration of "rightful orientation" (after Cajete 1994:37; see also above) within the complexity of the Pueblos' understandings of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness imbue places with special qualities, such as (but not necessarily limited to) sacredness, and mark them as middle places or shrines.

Several other important aspects of the Pueblos' conceptualizations of their shrines warrant comment. First, within the Pueblos' views of their worlds, the physical visitation of places on their landscapes held with reverence as places where communication with the supernatural realms of their cosmos occurs is not a precondition for maintaining the special, reverent quality of a place. Ellis reports that shrines "may be directly addressed from afar by reverently placing one[']s thoughts in the location of the distant shrine or by visiting its…substitute" (1994:105) located closer to home or in a less public location. Second, buffer areas that are "necessarily and consistently" (Ellis 1994:110) free from trespass are required to maintain the sanctity of the power points that the Pueblo perceive and sustain on their landscapes. Finally, Ellis observes, "Shrines that have fallen out of present use remain sacred and revered, since each shrine is like a telephone receiver, whose line communicates with the supernatural switchboard even when rarely employed. Each shrine contains a sacred power to be respected and never desecrated" (1994:104). According to Pueblo people, shrines are loci of powers until they are destroyed or their vital contextual associations, which are inherent to the place they occupy, are altered (see Hubert 1994:12).

When Ellis characterizes Pueblo shrines as places "where the spirits are believed to be at hand" and recognizes shrines are not defined by size or construction criterion, she departs from traditional materialist anthropological constructs (e.g., Fewkes 1910:558) that view shrines as formally defined features (either by geology or cultural construction) within which people physically deposit sacred offerings or erect certain kinds of markers. Rather, Ellis contributes to a refined anthropological definition of Pueblo shrines that recognizes (1) the prayers directed outward from the community's plazas represent offerings, and (2) the idea that whole localities can be understood by Pueblo people as special places where communication with the supernatural powers of the cosmos can converge, transform, and reradiate outward. In this sense, the framework that Ellis provides enables us to grasp the essential idea commonly contained within Pueblo commentaries.

Rather than identifying the sanctity of the West Mesa in terms of this landform representing a location for a series of individual shrines, the Pueblos understand the Petroglyph National Monument escarpment as a whole to be a nexus—a nerve center—of communication between the natural and supernatural worlds since time immemorial (e.g., Herman Agoyo, Statement before U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks, and Forests of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 28, 1989, in U.S. Senate 1989:118; Lauriano 1998:8; W. Weahkee 1996:2, in Slifer 1998:129–130; see also Amadeo Shije, former Chairman of the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, Inc., and member of Zía Pueblo, in Enson 1995:8; L. Weahkee 1997:3). William Weahkee explains this idea further:

> The religious importance of this area is not limited to the petroglyphs themselves. Messages to the spirit world are communicated throughout the entire volcanic escarpment, with the petroglyphs being one form of communication to the third world. Our medicine people who are trained and our clan people who are trained to use these methods of communication are the ones who come to talk to the world below. [1998:9]

In describing the significance of the West Mesa's petroglyphs, Phillip Lauriano, a Sandía Pueblo elder, adds that the Petroglyph National Monument area "is a symbol, a shrine. Where the shrine is, it is set in there down to the water, so to speak" (in Schwingendorf 1995:1). Celestino Gachupin of Zía Pueblo, identified the Petroglyph National Monument as "a church. The whole escarpment is a religious area" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

Within this general conceptual framework of healing places, the Pueblos recognize specific portals through which communication between the natural and supernatural realms of the cosmos occurs. As I note previously in the West Mesa petroglyphs discussion, individual images are understood as a medium for the transmission of life's energy in the healing process generally and prayers specifically (e.g., Herman Agoyo, in Phelps Dodge Corporation 1993; Silko 1995:157; see also W. Weahkee 1998:9). In addition, people recognize certain natural and cultural features within the general escarpment as focal shrines for particular society, familial, and possibly, individualistic observances. For example, Jojola and Jojola note, "There exist shrines within the west escarpment which are still visited by some of our [Isleta Pueblo] clans and secret societies" (1988:4). Phillip Lauriano recounts accompanying his 90-year-old great grandfather in a pilgrimage to a "sacred place" (in Doherty 1996:13) by the volcanoes in 1927. This trip began his own intimate relationship with the West Mesa area, which he has maintained since his youth on behalf of his community, the Pueblo of Sandía. Ellis (1956), Schaafsma (1987), and Evans and others (1993) similarly report particular shrines still are visited by people from the Pueblos of Sandía, Santa Ana, and Zía (see also below). The Pueblos seemingly have a hierarchy of shrines within the Petroglyph National

Monument area, with the focal shrines augmenting the special qualities of this place overall.

Concerning specific shrines, Reinhart (1968:157) noted the use of Boca Negra Cave which is the JA Volcano, as a shrine more than three decades ago. During archaeological excavations of the grotto, he recovered shell beads, pendants, turquoise, hematite, selenite, mica, colored pebbles, and concretions. These items might represent offerings. In another finding, Audrey Hobler, a University of New Mexico anthropology student, uncovered a bell-shaped opening in the north volcano area in the late 1950s; this hollow contained prayer sticks, various traditional offerings, and canned goods (in Schaafsma 1987:5).

Schaafsma (1987:4–5, 10) identifies constructed rock cairn and cobble ring shrines within the monument. She also presents evidence that natural features, such as Boca Negra Cave (after Reinhart 1968:157) and the volcanoes (after Ellis 1956:57), represent other kinds of religious places used by people from the Pueblos of Sandía, Santa Ana, and Zía, among others. Evans and others (1993:19) found the morphology of shrines identified near Vulcan Volcano to be congruent with descriptions of earth navel or middle-place portals (Ortiz 1969; Parsons 1929; Stevenson 1913). Other rock rings occur around the edge of the Marsh Peninsula; however, consultants from Sandía and Zía Pueblos offer contrasting interpretations of the features' functions. They variously suggest these features represent hunting shrines or ceremonial hunt and fasting signal fires (Evans et al. 1993:25).

Over the past century, anthropologists have become increasingly adept at recognizing, evaluating, and interpreting small habitation sites, disparate field features, and many other subtle material traces of past human activities. Judging from recent work, archaeologists are adopting increasingly rigorous methodological approaches for incorporating shrines into their studies (Anschuetz 1998a; Snead 1995, 1996; Snead and Preucel 1997; Steen 1977). Despite these advances, shrines unquestionably will forever pose tremendous challenges to archaeological recognition and interpretation. Also, ethnographic information about shrines and other sacred places is not easily obtained because of a long history of past religious persecution, robbery of objects and offerings, and the loss of power that arises if Pueblo people divulge their understanding of ritual concepts and ceremonial observances to outsiders (Ellis 1994:101; James Hena, Statement before Environmental Planning Commission, Albuquerque, February 4, 1993, in Environmental Planning Commission 1993:101–102; Suina 1992; W. Weahkee, in Doherty 1996:15; see also below for further discussion of the communities' need to maintain secrecy over culturally sensitive knowledge).

Some archaeologically identifiable shrines consist of cobble alignments, rock art, boulders with pecked and ground facets of various shapes and sizes, or stone piles. Many others, however, manifest no overt material traces recognizable to the archaeologist (or ethnologist) because they consisted of perishable materials (e.g., wood, twine, and feather prayer sticks) or were placed in physiographic settings where they were subject to erosion damage (e.g., cairns on pinnacles tend to topple). Moreover, shrines may be defined by naturally occurring physiographic or geological features, such as prominent boulders or rock spires (Ellis 1994).

Even if constructed of durable materials, shrines might have extremely enigmatic spatial forms. Just as Jeançon noted more than 80 years ago, "It is hardly safe to say every time one comes across a group of stones arranged in a square or circle that it is a shrine" (1923:71). On the other hand, specific landscape features recognized by certain Pueblo persons as extremely important portals for the exchange of communication and blessing with the supernatural realms of the cosmos might possess material manifestations unintelligible to individuals uninitiated into a particular community or society.

Ethnographically, representatives from Sandía, Santa Ana, and Zía Pueblos informed Evans and others (1993:20) that the Stag Horn Drive Site is a ceremonial location. The igneous rocks at this place have large hollows that trap rainwater. Large grinding slicks also are common here. Upon seeing the water-filled holes and the grinding slicks, Zía Pueblo consultants told Evans and others that they "believed it was reasonable that previous users would have placed important religious symbols" (1993:21) at such a place because it certainly would have supported the growth of plants with medicinal, religious, and economic uses.

Sandía and Zuni Pueblo consultants identified the Morning Star Panel site north of the Marsh Peninsula as a sacred location (Evans et al. 1993:21; see also chapter 4). The special qualities of this petroglyph panel far exceed iconography. According to Evans and others' informants, this site's importance has geographical and regional contexts, including the nearby volcanoes and the somewhat more distant Sandía Mountain.

Celestino Gachupin, Natural Resources Manager, Zía Pueblo, offered rich insights about his community's uses of shrines throughout the West Mesa area during the ELR consultations. Grounding his

commentary with the stipulations that people cannot be "specific in saying this shrine is this or this shrine is that" and "we are forbidden to show exactly where these shrines are" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000), Gachupin noted that Zía Pueblo's people variously visited shrines and selected natural features within (and possibly around) the present-day Petroglyph National Monument as part of direct pilgrimage and as one in a series of stopping points during long distance hunting expeditions.

With regard to the topic of direct pilgrimage, Gachupin confirmed Zía Pueblo's uses of "shrines that are located in the volcano area west of the petroglyphs" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). He notes that the volcano area shrines are special places for making offerings and asking for blessings significant to livestock by individuals and certain religious leaders alike. When individuals go there on personal pilgrimage, "their requests or their prayers are usually for the health of the livestock that they have" (Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000). When religious leaders undertake formal early summer pilgrimages to volcano area shrines as part of their solstice observances, "its with that in mind also: for the health and well-being of the tribally-owned livestock, but all animals as well, all livestock" (Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

Gachupin identifies the Petroglyph National Monument volcanic escarpment generally "as a place where the hunters from Zía Pueblo stopped to camp on their way down to the Gila Wilderness and the southern New Mexico hunting areas" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). During these stays at the West Mesa campsites, people would make offerings and ask for blessing "relating to success in hunting."

> There are several shrines along the way—the trail system leads from Zia through Petroglyphs and on down south—every camp site has been blessed. There are shrines placed there that are specific to a successful hunt, so the shrines that are there, usually the shrines are placed there with the intent that periodically the hunters will gather there and the caretaker of the animals to be hunted will have that shrine, and then they in turn when they camp, they chant, they sing the songs, the chants, asking for a successful hunt, and they would go to those shrines, ask for the blessings, place their offerings, and head further down south then, to another camp, where there would be another shrine…so those shrines are placed in periodic locations along the trail system… [Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000]

Gachupin adds, "If the spirits feel that your prayers are genuine, they will bless you with the game" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). The genuine, or proper, offerings of blessings and requests for assistance depend in part on privacy and noninterference. Gachupin reports that Zía Pueblo hunters, as well as people from other Pueblo and Indian communities, on pilgrimages to the West Mesa area in times past, would avoid direct encounters with others and respect their privacy to avoid spoiling one another's prayers and petitions for hunting success. He remarked further that avoidance today is "practically impossible" (Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000) because so many people are at the petroglyphs throughout the monument.

Even though pilgrimages to the volcanoes and stays along the volcanic escarpment are very different activities and are not linked formally in the organization of pilgrimages, Gachupin notes that hunters sometimes would visit the volcano area shrines. "In recent years" Zía Pueblo hunters traveled on horseback to the volcanic escarpment camps and shrines relating to hunting, and also might go to the volcano area to "ask for good healthy horses, and come back down and go to this other shrine and ask to be a good hunter" (Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

Gachupin emphasizes that Zía Pueblo, just as other Pueblo communities, does not focus their ritual activity at particular shrines at particular places and times (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). Some Pueblos conduct rituals in the canyons at shrines and in other special places on the mesatops, or as noted previously, along the escarpment and near the volcanoes.

As I note above, the leaders of the communities' religious societies and individuals variously make pilgrimages to the West Mesa to offer prayers in different physiographic settings at different times of the year. Gachupin elaborates:

> One pueblo or one tribe could have a ceremony in this location—another tribe could have a ceremony in that location…and when they left it wasn't an abandonment—and there were no dates that they were tied down to, say they would have to perform a ceremony or use an area in a certain year—they may not come back to that place for four or five years—but when they come, the area was there and available. [ELR interview, December 12, 2000]

Gachupin continues that the scheduling of pilgrimages to West Mesa shrines for whatever purpose is subject to many variables. Religious leaders sometimes engage in four-day and eight-day fasts to obtain a "vision" about what pilgrimage or ceremony

to undertake and when to complete this ritual to address a need within the community (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). At other times, the War Chief might assemble the religious leaders and generally request a pilgrimage or ceremony on behalf of the community. After sending the War Chief out of the chamber, the religious leaders determine what type of pilgrimage or ceremony to perform.

> How to explain it? If the signal (during a fast or society discussion) comes stronger from the petroglyph area, then that's where they would go. If it comes stronger from the mountains up by Redondo Peak, then that's where they will go. That's why I say there's no specific time or date. I don't think they know [until] the ceremony starts—a ritual starts—where they're going to go. [Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000]

Volcanoes, Caves, and Lava Flows

Evans and others (1993:17) report that consultations with seven different (but unnamed) Pueblo community groups yielded the identification of the entire Petroglyph National Monument locality as "the volcanoes." (As Kelley and Harris note in chapter 5, Navajo place names similarly employ the general gloss, "the volcanoes," to identify the West Mesa locality.) The importance of volcanoes, caves, and lava flows in Pueblo cosmology, with their embedded references to breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness, underlies use of this general landscape referent to identify the volcanoes specifically as a healing place. For example, Evans and others report that Sandía Pueblo consultants identified "the volcanoes" as a location that members of their community visit physically for ceremonies and pilgrimage. The consultants stated the volcano area has "specific healing powers" (Evans et al. 1993:17).

In talking about how the religious importance of this area is not limited to just the petroglyphs themselves and why the whole volcanic escarpment possesses qualities sacred to the Pueblos, William Weahkee observes, "There are five majestic volcanoes aligned in a straight row on the west side of present day Albuquerque. This area was recognized by our ancestors as an important place of worship, for five volcanoes in a straight row is not a commonplace occurrence" (1997:2).

Laurie Weahkee elaborates on the reasons the Río Grande Pueblo communities value the West Mesa volcanoes:

> A central feature of the religious beliefs and practices of many Native Americans is that selected unique geological features of the earth are sacred. They are viewed and worshipped as manifestations of a deity. With the repeated use of these areas for worship over centuries, these sites become imbued with enormous religious and cultural significance. The sites are neither fungible nor transportable; their theological and cultural significance is rooted in their place on Earth. These aspects of Native American religion cannot be understated in the case of the volcanic escarpment to the west of Albuquerque. [1997:2–3]

Regarding the lava bed, which flows from the volcanoes toward the Río Grande Valley, William Weahkee observes, "The entire lava bed and the volcano's shafts are of equal importance because those who are chosen and trained have the means to communicate with our people and animals yet to come" (1997:2). Laurie Weahkee again elucidates some of the elder Weahkee's meaning in his statement explaining the importance of the volcanoes, their associated caves, and the escarpment formed by great lava flows, as a process integral to Pueblo culture and history:

> In the view of Pueblo religions, the rugged, jagged escarpment is a physical manifestation of how Mother Earth labored in a painful birthing process. Just as Roman Catholics attach enormous religious significance to relics that are believed to bear the images or remains of Christ or saints, so too the Pueblo peoples attach enormous religious significance to the impressive workings of holy Mother Earth throughout the entire escarpment area. [1997:4]

> This volcanic escarpment is the centerpiece of a larger belief structure incorporating the highest peaks of surrounding mountain ranges, all of which can be seen from the escarpment. On these high points, young Pueblo men hold four-day fasts and conduct vision quests. Because of the centrality of this site in the universe of other sacred sites, it has long been the object of what other religions would view as pilgrimages. There is increasing archaeological evidence that this area is connected by ancient pathways to a larger network of pilgrimage routes throughout the Southwest, including routes leading to the structures in Chaco Canyon. [1997:5]

> The spirit world, a world all around us and above is populated by different types of spirits, including spirits of deceased human beings on their journey to the next world. The volcanic escarpment and the area to the west perform a critical role in the functioning of this belief structure. As befitting an area of great volcanic activity, with crevices and channels leading down from the surface to places deep within the Earth, it is a location through which the creatures of the

> underworld gain entrance into this world…The escarpment is the equivalent of a church for the Pueblo peoples inhabiting this world, and their connection with the faithful generations that have gone come before and continue to exist in spirit form. It is a place where carefully hidden religious tokens and symbols protect and guide the spirits of deceased human beings. [1997:6–7]

Brunnemann reports the archaeological survey of a lava tube shrine in the north volcano area that "principally dates to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and probably much earlier" (1995:1). Artifacts include a variety of cut and carved prayer sticks, some with remnant raptor and waterfowl feathers, as well as corncobs. In addition, the quills visibly projecting from cracks in the cave's ceiling suggest pilgrims inserted the feathers to show the motion of the tube's air currents. Drawing from several of Phillip Lauriano's (in Brunnemann 1995:29; Schwingendorf 1995:1) and William Weahkee's (in Brunnemann 1995:29) published testimonies, Brunnemann concludes,

> The lava tube is a passage, where prayers and artifacts-of-prayer are closer to the great divide [between the natural and supernatural realms of the cosmos], and can be more efficiently channeled to the underlying waters; channeled to the most sacred of the four mountains which lies "somewhere beyond the great divide…where all the communications come in to permit, to initiate, to officiate anything that is asked by prayers" (W. Weahkee: March 6, 1993; cf. Young 1988:121–129). [Brunnemann 1995:29]

Celestino Gachupin reports that within Zía Pueblo's relationship with the West mesa area, the lava rocks and the lava flows exposed along the Petroglyph National Monument's sinuous escarpment, around the volcanoes, and in the incised geologic windows are valued because, "Some of the prayer sticks and offerings can only be embedded in the crevices of lava rocks" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). He also reports that the Zía (and other Pueblos) maintained fire signal points along the escarpment to communicate with one another. "If you're on the west side and want to communicate with the east side of the river, you did that along the ridge of the petroglyphs" (Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

Ancestral Villages and Archaeological Sites

The Piedra Marcadas ruin (formerly known as the Zuris Mann site), is one of the largest Classic period (A.D. 1300–1600) villages in the Middle Río Grande Valley (Marshall 1984). Although the Spanish conquistadors visited the village during their entradas into the New Mexican territory, Piedra Marcadas inhabitants moved from this pueblo before the major Spanish colonial settlement occurred in the Middle Río Grande Valley in the early 17th century. The architectural remnants of the adobe roomblocks, the subterranean kivas, an unknown number of pithouses, and the vast ash pile deposits (usually referred to as trash dumps or middens by archaeologists; see also below) are among the most notable material culture traces at the pueblo.

Representatives from Cochití, Sandía, and Santa Ana Pueblos identified the Piedras Marcadas Ruin as an ancestral location (Evans et al. 1993:25–26). Zía Pueblo consultants also identified pottery fragments that they observed at the village as identical to those found around their Pueblo's ash piles (Marshall 1984).

Piedra Marcadas ruin, with its rich history of occupation manifest by the village's architectural traces and ash piles, facilitates discussion of Pueblo people's relationships with the ancestral villages and other archaeological sites within their landscapes. Old villages and their ash piles, even though no longer actively in use, retain great significance.

Archaeological sites are important components of the contemporary Pueblo landscape even if the people retain no active knowledge of their precise locations. The general knowledge that the people's ancestors once occupied a location as part of their movement since the time of emergence is sufficient to imbue places within a landscape with cultural importance. Naranjo explains,

> It is the overall framework or conceptual understanding that is important. It is the general idea that is important. With migration, movement is the essential element, not where they stopped or which path they took…
>
> The idea was to have boundaries to create a place—to fix a place—temporarily within the larger idea of movement. The overarching motions of movement and stasis are the primary ideas. Moving and settling were the ways things happened. [1995:248–249]

From this perspective, the fact that the Río Grande Pueblo communities possess general knowledge of Piedra Marcadas ruin and the many other archaeological sites within the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater West Mesa is all that is necessary to impart significance. Abstract knowledge that sites exist within a particular area of physical landscape indicates tangible ties to the past; the validity of traditional community understandings are beyond dispute. With this knowledge, the people sustain their oral traditions containing the central metaphor of their ancestors' journeys through a sacred landscape (after

Cajete 1994). Piedra Marcadas ruin and the West Mesa's many other archaeological sites, therefore, provide a framework for the communities to comprehend the stories concerning how earlier generations "established an abiding relationship with the land and all things therein" (Cajete 1994:91). In this sense, the archaeological landscape is a textbook of meaning for sustaining the lessons of the communities' traditions based on spiritual ecology.

Archaeological sites have other dimensions of significance. For example, Ellis (1966, 1994) notes that ash piles are highly sacred places for two reasons. First, the Pueblos traditionally buried their dead in these locations. Habitation sites with their attendant ash piles, therefore, characteristically denote sanctified places where their ancestors lived their lives and were buried with reverence. Not surprisingly, the people of traditional Pueblo communities often know where seemingly "unmarked" graves occur (written Statement by Kurt F. Anschuetz and Cherie L. Scheick, Río Grande Foundation of Communities and Cultural Landscapes, to Tessie Naranjo and Committee Members, 16th Meeting of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Review Committee, Santa Fé, December 11, 1998).

Second, ash piles are the accumulations of material residues that people produced during the course of their everyday lives. Pueblos consider the life force invested in the old material culture of ash piles still resides within these locations, where its goodness is available to sustain the contemporary world (after Anschuetz 1998a:484). The Pueblos extend this logic to all places where their people physically interacted with their environment, as well as to the material traces they left behind.

To elaborate, this second point implies that in Pueblo belief old sites continue to be occupied, both in terms of the breath of life and in healing thought processes. Within this world view, the Anglo idea of *abandonment* is neither applicable nor appropriate (Anschuetz 1998c; Levine and Anschuetz 1998). Through their ideas of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness, the Pueblos view archaeological sites as part of an ongoing transformational process within which the current generations act.

Trails

Archaeologists and historians recognize that trails connected the large villages along the Río Grande floodplain with one another, the valley slopes and escarpments, and the mesas and mountains farther beyond. "No doubt...these areas were vital to the existence of Puebloan peoples for hunting, gathering, agriculture, procurement, processing, and traditional and cultural activities" (NPS 1993:112). Little is known about the trails that linked the Petroglyph National Monument with these surrounding places, however (see also chapter 4). Colonel James and Ann "Nan" Bain identified "a foot trail through Paradise Hills that led from the Río Grande some 15 miles [9.4 km] west to the Río Puerco" (Welsh 1998:6.29).

Drawing upon their subjective realm of knowing, Sandía Pueblo consultants identify the West Mesa landform extending back from the petroglyph-covered escarpment as the location of spirit trails that recently departed souls travel on their way to other places (Brody 1998:26; Evans et al. 1993:17; see also L. Weahkee 1997:7). These spirit trails, the escarpment petroglyphs, and the volcanoes are understood to form an interrelated communication nexus (see above). Also, as I note previously, Agoyo (Statement before U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 11, 1988, in U.S. House of Representatives 1989:9), Lauriano (in Doherty 1996:13), and William Weahkee (in Doherty 1996:13) associate the movement of people to and from the West Mesa's escarpment, lava flows, volcanoes, and caves as a part of ritual pilgrimage.

It is useful to note that Harrington (1916) provides sufficient information about the linguistic structure of the Tewa language about the ideas of breath, water, people, and trails to suggest that Tewas (if not other Pueblo peoples) conceptualize the movement of people and their breath along trails as a phenomenon analogous to the movement of water along a stream course. L. Weahkee confirms the existence of such an association among the Río Grande Pueblos generally when she notes, "Spirit pathways, used by both spirits and worshippers, crisscross the entire area" (1997:7).

Archaeologists suspect that a 1.2-kilometer-long (.75-mile-long) trail linked the Piedras Marcadas ruin with Los Metates, a milling and processing area near the petroglyph-rich volcanic escarpment in Piedras Marcadas Canyon (NPS 1996:112; see also Schmader and Hayes 1987:64–65; Welsh 1998). This trail apparently continued across the escarpment to parts beyond.

Zía elders identified the volcanoes as an "obvious guidepost and visual marker for people traveling between the Santa Fé Mountains, Sandía Mountain, Mount Taylor, the Ortiz Mountains, and the Magdalena Mountains" (Evans et al. 1993:18). As I note previously, Celestino Gachupin reported during an interview for the ELR project that the Petroglyph National Monument escarpment was a node in a trail system leading from Zía Pueblo to the Gila Wilderness

and hunting areas in southern New Mexico. He questions whether Zía Pueblo's trail system to the Petroglyph National Monument still would be detectable because the people from his community now pilgrimage to the West Mesa by car. Together with the ethnographic inference that trails have cosmological referents sanctified in traditional histories and in pilgrimages and the archaeological supposition that an actual trail system physically crossed the West Mesa, these final observations reveal that trails figuratively and symbolically unified the distant objective and subjective realms of the Pueblo world.

Plants and Animals

As I note above, Weakhee's (in Doherty 1996:13) identification of the Pueblos' use and occupation of the West Mesa includes the collection of wild plant products and the hunting of small game (see also chapter 4). Archaeological documentation of sites, such as Los Metates (NPS 1996:112; Schmader and Hayes 1987:64–65), offers material evidence of the importance of plant gathering and processing in the monument area.

As a part of pilgrimage, through the characteristic act of carrying certain plant and animal products back to their villages, Pueblo people brought the life energies of material resources from the distant realms of their natural world to mix with those of their communities' centers (after Swentzell 1990). Using selected products from particularly revered locations in village ceremonies, community members gave new life energies in exchange for those they harvested from their landscape's periphery; their intent was to preserve the whole of the cosmos (after Anschuetz 1992).

Celestino Gachupin explains that at Zía Pueblo the collection of plants or other resources from the Petroglyph National Monument area is carried out mainly by members of religious societies (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). While he notes that laypersons are not privy to specific information about which plants (and animals and minerals) are collected or how they are used in ceremony, Gachupin reports generally,

> When the [Petroglyph National Monument] pilgrimage is conducted, then they would take some plants and materials from the area and then leave the prayers, prayer sticks, the offerings. It's like an exchange of use: they would take something but they would leave something also. And when they bring it back, and their ritual is finalized, the plants that they use benefit the entire pueblo, the community and the term that they use, as far as the spirits go, "anybody and everybody", so anybody and everybody benefits from that. Again, its really not important to feel that you [as an individual need to] go out there and pick this and that. We're tied into a community, communal system, and our benefit is derived from that one pilgrimage, down to myself, my kids and my grandkids, so they all benefit, as such they all use the area [ELR interview, December 12, 2000].

Gachupin (ELR interview, December 12, 2000) also reports that, within his community's history, the people of Zía Pueblo farmed on the West Mesa and possibly even maintained homes at this place over the growing season. During these stays, the Zías interacted with other peoples who passed through the area for their own purposes, including individuals from Sandía and Isleta Pueblos and from the more distant Apache homelands.

Vistas

As I note above, Evans and others (1993:18) recount statements by Zía Pueblo consultants that the West Mesa volcanoes are an obvious guidepost and visual marker for people moving between their homes and the mountains on the conceptual edges of their world (Evans et al. 1993:18). In return, the Jémez Mountains, Sandía Mountain, Mount Taylor, and the Magdelena Mountains are visible from the volcanoes. Although we might anticipate that vista is a contributing Pueblo landscape element, the available Río Grande Pueblo ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature offers no direct insights into this question.

Personal Attachments

The available literature again lacks formal substance for addressing the question of the significance of the views of these mountains. Recent testimonies, however, offer substantive clues about the importance that Pueblo people attach to the West Mesa landscape. The testimonies offered by various Pueblo representatives at Environmental Planning Commission hearings concerning the Unser Middle Transportation Corridor Study are emotionally charged and express concerns regarding the loss the people will suffer, both as community members and as individuals (see chapter 9). Using Cajete's (1994:84; see also above) terms, this portending sense of personal loss derives from the people's projection of the sense of soul onto the land.

Two examples convey the regard held by community representatives for the Petroglyph National Monument locality. Phillip Lauriano, whose personal association with the West Mesa spans seven decades, speaks of the personal pain highway construction would cause him: "If we let the cement fall it would open up wounds because I can feel it" (Statement before Environmental Planning Commission, Albuquerque, February 9, 1993, in Environmental

Planning Commission 1993:20). Transcending generations, Loren Gutiérrez, a Sandía Pueblo 10th-grader, also opposes the road: "I am very sad because we, the younger generation of the Pueblo will not be able to have our history and our culture of the petroglyphs. If we don't know our history and culture, why call ourselves Native Americans" (Statement before Environmental Planning Commission, Albuquerque, February 9, 1993, in Environmental Planning Commission 1993:17).

In a recent interview, Laurie Weahkee offers similar sentiments of heartfelt personal attachment:

> in terms of who we are as a people and where we come from as a people, there's a lot longer significance to that in terms of "I am a part of a whole history of people that utilize that area, know how to pray in that area." Although I'm not a medicine person to be talking about specific things like these, I do know that it's a very fundamental part of who I am. To be able to exist in this world with some sort of optimism or some sort of understanding of place, it [Petroglyph National Monument] becomes very important to me… [ELR interview, March 5, 2001]

Not All Landscape Stories Can Be Told in Detail or Demonstrated in Act

As identified throughout the chapter discussion previously, Río Grande Pueblo communities, as a whole, cannot share intimate detail of the structure, organization, or meaning of their interrelationships with their West Mesa and Petroglyph National Monument landscapes. Representatives of all the Río Grande Pueblo stakeholder groups, however, are unanimous in their opinion that the Petroglyph National Monument represents an important place in their communities' cultural landscapes. This place's significance is heightened because the Petroglyph National Monument remains largely intact despite the widespread transformation of the West Mesa's physical environment in recent decades. After all, Nuevomexicano and Anglo-American groups have occupied and modified much of the Río Grande region, including many of the Pueblos' most sacred places, for their own purposes over the past four centuries. The cumulative loss of sacred places and the concomitant disruption of the Pueblos' traditional relationships with places on their peripheries that define and reinforce ideas of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness threatens to erode their cultural identity and community cohesiveness.

William Weahkee expounds, "Our [Pueblo] religion depends on the existence and preservation of sacred sites. We have already lost so many of these sites" (1997:1). As illustration, he identifies two losses his family has suffered already: "My people in Cochiti have suffered the loss of important shrines as a result of the construction of a dam. My people in Zuni are fighting to protect the sacred salt lake which is an important and vital part of Zuni religious life" (1997:1). In identifying the West Mesa as a healing place, Weahkee (in Doherty 1996:13; see also above) refers to powerful principles, which inform all claims by Río Grande Pueblo stakeholders about why they need the Petroglyph National Monument for sustaining their spiritual ecology and ensoulment within their worlds.

Despite their great concern over the loss of features important to how the Pueblo's construct, occupy, and understand the landscape surrounding—and giving meaning to—their communities, Río Grande Pueblo stakeholders were reluctant to participate in the ELR consultations. The interplay of three factors underlies this hesitancy: (1) the need for the Río Grande Pueblos' to maintain control over sensitive cultural information; (2) the communities' renewed mistrust of the dominant Anglo society in the light of recent development projects proposed for the West Mesa area; and (3) the stakeholders' uncertainty about the NPS, as a national institution, in honoring protocols, policies, and agreements made by Petroglyph National Monument staff over the long term.

The issues of secrecy, mistrust, and uncertainty highlight certain dynamic properties of the contemporary Pueblo landscape that warrant consideration. In particular, these issues draw attention to perceptions and understandings commonly held among the stakeholders about the appropriateness and relevance of the cultural resource management process as it now is implemented to their communities.

Secrecy

The need for secrecy arises from a multitude of factors, including a long history of past religious persecution, theft of objects and offerings, and the loss of power that arises if Pueblo people divulge their understandings of ritual concepts and ceremonial observances to outsiders (e.g., see Suina 1992). While outsiders often judge the Pueblos' unwillingness to speak in detail about their cosmologies and ritual observances as unfriendly, uncooperative, or evasive, the communities consider the matter basic to their cultural survival.

James Hena, former Chairman of the All Indian Pueblo Council, and Laurie Weahkee, former Director of the Petroglyph Monument Protection Coalition, explain:

> I think it's because of this experience, in taking our religion underground, that we have preserved from the secrecy that surrounds our religion that's why we have continued to persevere in times like this…the secrecy that surrounds Indian religion is the way that we survive. I think that's the reason you don't hear us coming out in the public and discussing our religion with anyone else who is not a Pueblo Indian [James Hena, statement before Environmental Planning Commission, Albuquerque, February 4, 1993, in Environmental Planning Commission 1993:101–102]

> Unlike many other religions, Native American religions, particularly the Pueblo religions, neither advertise the details of their religion nor proselytize in order to gain converts. There are no known instances of the use of force to garner conversions to Pueblo religions. Rather, the converse has been the case: Pueblo peoples were tortured and murdered by Imperial Spain in an effort to exterminate their culture and religion. As a result, in order to survive, Pueblo religions went underground. For hundreds of years they have been practiced in secret. In recent times, the secrecy of their beliefs and practices has also protected them from those who view Native American religious artifacts as collectible kick-knacks and curios. Maintaining the secrecy of the practices and beliefs of their faith is viewed as a religious obligation. [L. Weahkee 1997:3]

Sonny Weahkee, Director, SAGE Council, emphasizes that a community's decision not to participate in the project or to respond to a specific topic should not be interpreted as either (1) the people lack information or (2) they are not concerned about the subject.

> We just want to make sure that kind of stuff [i.e., communities' decisions to decline answering certain kinds of questions because of secrecy concerns] gets spelled out. Usually when it comes time for consultation, it means that you're going to compromise it [i.e., sensitive information]. That's the reality: when they [traditional communities] enter the consultation process, it means that one side is going to give up something. [ELR interview, March 5, 2001]

Río Grande Pueblo representatives repeatedly have identified the need to maintain control over highly sensitive cultural information in terms of their interactions with people outside their respective communities. Just as James Hena (in Environmental Planning Commission 1993), Phillip Lauriano (in Environmental Planning Commission 1993), William Weahkee (in Doherty 1996), and others, Celestino Gachupin, in serving as Zía Pueblo's authorized representative in the ELR project, was unable share specific information about the practice and meaning of Zía Pueblo ritual with outsiders beyond that which the religious leadership of his community had authorized. For this reason, "it is commonly believed that Pueblo secrecy is a defensive tactic reflecting centuries of external interference in the free exercise of religion" (Brown 1998:198).

To view secrecy as strictly a response to protect sensitive community knowledge from outsiders constitutes an oversimplification. It is necessary and important to note that secrecy is equally an intracommunity issue. For example, Gachupin also notes carefully that religious leaders typically are the only persons within his community to possess specific knowledge about the ceremonial observances held by Zía Pueblo's societies. Secrecy, therefore, plays an instrumental role in maintaining the social and political systems within individual Pueblo communities (after Brown 1998:198).

Anthropologist Elizabeth Brandt (1980) provides a compelling analysis of secrecy's roles in the functioning of society and polity at Taos Pueblo. Brown succinctly summarizes Brandt's (1980) key points:

> the primary motivation for closing religious knowledge to outsiders and for objecting to the collection and permanent storage of this information by non-*Pueblos* is to prevent it from cycling back to Pueblo individuals who are not authorized to possess it. Strict compartmentalization of knowledge is necessary to maintain the community's religious hierarchy and ultimately the integrity of traditional institutions, which are based on theocratic principles. Of equal importance is the conviction that in the wrong hands religious knowledge loses power or assumes destructive forms. [1998:198, italics in original]

Peter Whiteley, an anthropologist who has worked extensively at Hopi, makes similar observations about secrecy and power within a Pueblo society:

> The desire for privacy and autonomy is a function of both the inundation of inquisitors and the internal sociology of Hopi knowledge. Knowledge conferred by initiation simultaneously endows instrumental power over actions and events in the world (Whiteley 1987). Much ritual power/knowledge is held secret within specific sectors of Hopi society: secrecy and the attendant social care and respect accorded to esoteric knowledge guarantee both authority conferred by initiation and instrumental efficacy when the power/knowledge is activated. Prescriptions for individual conduct in ritual—namely, a purity of thought, emotion, and

> intention—and proscriptions against the misuse of ritual knowledge, which specify supernatural retribution, are utterly central in Hopi discourse. Dissemination of ritual knowledge, either orally to unentitled parties or *ipso facto* in published accounts, violates ritual sanctity and effectiveness, or may damage the spiritual health of the community. [1997:188]

Because Brandt's (1980) and Whiteley's (1997) findings are broadly applicable to the Río Grande Pueblos, it becomes possible to grasp why requests for information about these Pueblos' traditional associations and uses of the Petroglyph National Monument are troublesome. Although the Pueblos might be extremely concerned about the management and development of the West Mesa landscape, their decision to participate in cultural heritage consultations might entail important social and political costs within their communities.

In simple terms, traditional knowledge often conveys and legitimizes power and authority within these communities (Brandt 1980; Whiteley 1997). Calls for stakeholders to share increasingly specific cultural knowledge, therefore, potentially can result in destabilizing the very institutions required to sustain a community's traditional affiliations with the Petroglyph National Monument across the generations.

William Weahkee reminds us that the Pueblos already have shared much meaningful information about their history, culture, and continuing relationships with their traditional homeland areas. He chides researchers who continue to request Pueblo people to share their traditional cultural knowledge for review and validation by outsiders.

> Indian people are always being asked to prove whether this or that site is sacred. In the case of the petroglyphs, the Pueblos maintain that there is overwhelming evidence that sacred sites are here. According to archaeologists and anthropologists, the petroglyphs are a record of Pueblo history and religious beliefs. Any proficient anthropologist will tell you that the pottery, prayer sticks, carvings, grinding stones found there are part of religious ceremonies which are still being practiced today. Most, if not all, Pueblo rituals performed today are centuries old and are always preceded by prayer, offerings and ceremony.
>
> We have abundant proof that this entire area is sacred. The real question should be the converse: "Where is the evidence that the site is not sacred?" [1997:3]

Mistrust

Despite their deep-seated concerns about maintaining secrecy, the Río Grande Pueblos' religious leaders altered their policies in the 1990s and share information about their traditional associations and uses of the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater West Mesa area. When examined in light of the landscape themes of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness, we can see that the Pueblos revealed much substantive information during public hearings, in written letters, by participating in cultural heritage resources consultations, and in responding to news media queries.

Although Pueblo commentators tend to emphasize the coercive aspects of their participation in these varied forums (e.g., "Native Americans have been forced to violate the principle of religious secrecy and reveal much about the sacred nature of this area" [L. Weahkee 1997:9] and "This isn't something we should have to say" [W. Weahkee, in Doherty 1996:15), the Río Grande Pueblos clearly made strategic decisions weighing the benefits and costs to their communities. Such sharing "includes powerful elements of volition and cultural resistance…that merit acknowledgement and respect" (Brown 1998:200).

From the Pueblos' perspective, these disclosures were "slow and painful" but necessary to save a landscape that continues to form "the foundation of their religious practices" (L. Weahkee 1997:4). William Weahkee explains further, "The reason for the shift is this,…we have to give the white world something to think about. The white man says, 'Show me and I'll believe'" (in Doherty 1996:15). Celestino Gachupin "somewhat uncomfortable in this…allowing to share things…it's been like this throughout history, and I don't know how else to explain it—damned if we do, damned it we don't—you need to share something…" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

A series of development projects proposed for the West Mesa area, especially the proposed expansions of the Double Eagle II Airport, Unser Boulevard, and the Paseo del Norte road, have led the Río Grande Pueblos to question their decision to explain their traditional associations with the Petroglyph National Monument environs by sharing qualitatively and quantitative new information not normally shared outside religious society chambers. Often negative public opinions (e.g., Johnson 1997) in the greater Albuquerque metropolitan area to ongoing land claims by two of the Petroglyph National Monument's closest neighbors, the Pueblos of Isleta and Sandía, to whom more distant communities defer concerning issues involving the West Mesa, only complicate matters. During preliminary discussions with stakeholders about their possible participation in

the ELR project, representatives commonly voiced their frustrations with what they experience to be a never-ending consultation process. One individual, who wishes to remain unidentified, noted that I represented just one in long series of anthropologists and government agents over the past decade to contact him about his community's relationships with the West Mesa area. This person bluntly said, "I don't know what more you possibly want me to say. Everything that needs to be said has been said" (ELR interview, September 7, 1999).

Based on their recent experiences in providing sensitive traditional cultural information to demonstrate their continuing close affiliations with the West Mesa, communities have become increasingly mistrustful of the sincerity of policies and programs to solicit stakeholder input. William Weahkee, in his capacity as Executive Director of the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, Inc., articulated this view when he responded to the finding by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) that the proposed expansion of the Double Eagle II Airport would have no significant impacts on West Mesa cultural heritage resources important to area Pueblo communities.

> we have found serious omissions and allegations about our purported support that are blatantly false. Furthermore, the reports [sic] severely minimizes Indian religious concerns. Also, the time allowed for review by your office was severely limited which indicates to us that you are not sincere in your desire to get true public input.
>
> The report glosses over our concerns for religious use of the volcanoes and other sites in the immediate vicinity of the airport. Airplanes will be flying low overhead on a twenty-four hour basis year in and year out. Your flight paths will repeatedly cross where we may be conducting ceremonies, rituals and prayers. These ceremonies are conducted in secret and the constant intrusion of low flying aircraft will mean that religious leaders will no longer be able to hold these ceremonies. It is quite apparent that none of the writers of this report or promoters of the project are anywhere near understanding the emotional impact this would have on the Indian people who use it. Your procedures for assessment are supposedly objective but seen through the lenses of scientists who cannot see or feel the significance and reverence of that land to us.
>
> Stop your plans long enough to listen to the indigenous people and *HEAR* what they are really telling you. [William Weahkee, letter to Lacy Spriggs, Manager of NM/Oklahoma, Airport Development Office, Federal Aviation Administration, September 20, 1994, in Spriggs 1995, capitalization and italics in original]

Participants in the ELR project offered other examples where local, state, or federal agencies solicited dialogue with the Río Grande Pueblos but failed to properly acknowledge or respect their viewpoints when making management decisions. Such negative experiences contribute to palatable cynicism that many cultural heritage consultations are only lip service by land managers to some legislated process. Consequently, stakeholders are unwilling to share potentially sensitive information and to absorb potentially high social and political costs within their communities if they suspect the motives of a land management authority are insincere or disrespectful of their viewpoints.

For example, Celestino Gachupin reports that the burden on the tribes, and the community members serving on consultation committees, is extremely heavy (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). These costs are incurred, in part, professionally through the time the representatives are required to prepare for these dialogues at the expense of their other employment obligations. These undertakings also entail high personal costs, with representatives and religious leaders feeling great discomfort in being asked to evaluate their community histories and traditions for the preparation of commentaries appropriate for public discourse. Gachupin stresses that these activities are "not what people usually do" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). He adds that it is not for community members to question their beliefs and faith, but consultation "often requires them to do this" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

Because cultural heritage consultations commonly cast traditional communities in advisory roles rather than as partners, Gachupin (ELR interview, December 12, 2000) states that people feel land administrators do not really value their participation. As illustration, Gachupin points out that Zía Pueblo advocated closing Casa Rinconada in Chaco Canyon National Historic Park; the park did not implement Zía Pueblo's request, citing various legal impediments ("this law and that law"). Subsequently, the NPS closed Casa Rinconada on its own initiative without citing the Pueblo's concerns, thereby leaving Zía's consultation committee with the impression that NPS does not value its advice. "We like to feel that when we go to these consultation meetings that our words are a little bit stronger than just recommendations. Maybe that's the reason that a lot of the tribes choose not to get involved" (Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000) even though they have a stake in an issue.

Pueblo people also often feel little positive incentive when taking part in cultural heritage consultation proceedings. They feel they must respond to a specific query within a narrowly prescribed manner or they risk forfeiting their right to provide commentaries on an issue in the future.

Laurie Weahkee is skeptical of the cultural heritage process in general. She characterizes institutions' usual approaches toward fulfilling their consultation obligations to stakeholders as a kind of mechanical undertaking that really does not value what communities choose to share: "So, now we've consulted, or we're going to different tribes,…asked their *two cents* about this, that, or the other" (ELR interview, March 5, 2001, italics added). She asks how communities can be assured "that this information can be useful and the information can be considered important…[because once the NPS asks everybody their opinion]…they check the little box off and then go and do what they want to do anyway" (ELR interview, March 5, 2001).

Celestino Gachupin identifies overly optimistic assurances by land managers about what they can achieve in using the traditional cultural information shared by Río Grande Pueblo stakeholders in the past as a further source of mistrust.

> They [land managers] need to be realistic in what they ask of the Pueblos…They should not mislead them in thinking that, "We want this information, so we can do this" if they know they can't do that. I think that's where a lot of the frustrations from the Pueblos come from. Cause on one hand, they're told, "If you tell us this, we'll do this." And then at the end somebody else decides or determines that we'll make this decision contrary to the wishes of the tribes… [Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000]

The Río Grande Pueblos' feelings of mistrust in sharing sensitive cultural knowledge during cultural heritage consultations are based on more than just instances of disrespect, insincerity, or misleading promises. William Weahkee, speaking as an authorized spokesperson on behalf of the Pueblo of Sandía, attributes the rising mistrust among stakeholders' also to the misuse of sensitive information by non-Indians for their own purposes. "Presently, a few people are deliberately trying to mislead the general public into thinking that the Indians want exclusive use of the monument for religious ceremonial purposes" (W. Weahkee 1997:3). In a series of commentaries, Laurie Weahkee observes,

> Due to this tradition of secrecy, little is publicly known about Pueblo religions. As ignorance so frequently breeds bigotry, this dearth of public information about Pueblo religions has led to not only misunderstanding, but outright hostility to the Pueblos' consideration of the volcanic escarpment as the equivalent of their church. [1997:4]

> People will say, "Well, you don't want to grow. What kind of blanket Indian are you? What's your problem?" [ELR interview, March 5, 2001]

A recent exchange aptly illustrates the bitterly contested cultural landscape in which the Río Grande Pueblos have shared important aspects of their traditional cultural knowledge. Barbara Page, Atrisco heir and president and Chief Executive Officer of the Westland Development Company, and Robert Simon, Westland's corporate counsel, recently wrote that Nuevomexicano farmers living around the Petroglyph National Monument have not observed any Pueblo ceremonial activity in the locality for over 75 years (Page and Simon 1999). Page and Simon suggest that the Pueblos and their supporters exaggerated the West Mesa's religious importance to block development. Laurie Weahkee finds such arguments "offensive" (Robbins 1999:7). She counters that such reports are not satisfactory evidence to support the developer's insinuation of conspired contrivance; Pueblo ritual on West Mesa or directed toward this locality from afar are intensely private. "Just because her (Page's) folks didn't see it, that's her issue" (L. Weahkee, in Robbins 1999:7).

In this example, outsiders either did not comprehend, or choose to ignore, the complexly layered cultural context in which the Río Grande Pueblos' situated their commentaries about the importance of their affiliations with the West Mesa environment in sustaining their landscapes. The Pueblo's strategy of sharing traditional cultural knowledge failed to promote understanding and respect for cultural diversity. Instead, the information offered with careful consideration of sensitive internal community dynamics was used by competing outside interest groups to discredit the Pueblos' claims.

Consequently, stakeholder representatives now ask why they should trusts a process in which "[t]heir pleas for tolerance and respect have been met with distressing expressions of bigotry and intolerance" (L. Weahkee 1997:9). The irony that such overtly racist dismissals of the Pueblos' traditional cultural knowledge should prevail at the same time international discussion of human rights is commonplace is not lost among these communities: "You hear all over the world [about] people trying to preserve their ethnic and cultural heritages. And here, that's happening. It seems, if that's happening in

Australia, that's fine because that's far away. But if it's happening in our backyard, then is it OK not to preserve it?" (L. Weahkee, ELR interview, March 5, 2001).

Celestino Gachupin's participation in the ELR consultations demonstrates that Zía Pueblo (1) has not abandoned the cultural heritage management process despite concerns about its implementation, and (2) is committed to working to achieve the recognition of stakeholders as full partners in the protection of cultural resources. Nevertheless, he demonstrates understanding and empathy for those communities that have chosen not to participate actively in Petroglyph National Monument ELR consultations.

> A lot of times with…the non-Indian community, that [i.e., the communities' spoken word] in itself isn't acceptable to them, and when you talk about the…spirituality of the area, for some reason, they can't…understand that. All they expect is the physical. They need to see a person there. They need to see a group of people doing this, doing that. And then only do they know. They are satisfied that "OK, this area is being used." They don't think in terms of the spirits making the journey to these places, or the spirits coming from Carlsbad, from these other—and Salinas, and stopping off there, and coming to Zia. They can't comprehend that. And how do you, or how do we, explain that? Or do we even try to explain that? Do we try to explain the concept…? But they don't want to accept it. They don't want to understand that. So much easier just to say, "Well that's your problem. You don't understand that, so what?" [Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000]

Uncertainty

Several participants talked of their uncertainty regarding NPS honoring protocols, policies, and agreements during the ELR consultations. Their concerns about NPS's assurances to maintain the confidentiality of whatever new traditional cultural knowledge that the Pueblos otherwise might choose to share in contributing to the responsible management of the Petroglyph National Monument are germane to the present discussion (however, see also below).

In their view, the NPS policy to shift personnel frequently among different parks and monuments is a liability in building and maintaining productive partnerships based on trust and respect. In forwarding their comments, discussants carefully distinguished between individual monument staff members with whom they have maintained working relationships and the NPS as a national institution.

> At this point, we're fortunate…There's Park Service folks who have been very helpful and willing to be of assistance to us. But if they were to get new jobs and then we were to get new folks in, again we're looking at what's the future generation of National Park Service itself. Does it continue to get progressive? Does it continue to keep an open mind, open door to communities, whether indigenous communities, Hispano communities, or whatever? Or does it constantly sway back and forth between being very conservative and progressive?…
>
> …I could honestly [say]—with the folks I know at the Park Service right now—I probably have a lifelong relationship with folks and I could trust them in the future. But the entity itself—National Park Service—is a whole other story. For me, I don't know that I'm so into cutting a deal with National Park Service. We tried. If you look at it, in 1990, when they created this as a National Monument, that was…a good relationship. "We don't have any jurisdictional pies out there." "It's important." "Yes, let's do it." Then a few years later, of course, they took out a slice of the land, took it back to the City [of Albuquerque].
>
> I think on some levels that's why folks get so hesitant about putting their two cents forth…what happens when we get new folks in? Does [good will] continue, or is that suddenly cut off?…These are some of the concerns in terms of relationship. It is a lot about consistency [L. Weahkee, ELR interview, March 5, 2001]

The Challenge of Learning to Listen: Managing the Petroglyph National Monument Ethnographic Landscape

During consultations for the preparation of the present ELR, one Río Grande Pueblo consultant made clear what many other individuals referred to indirectly in formal and informal discussions: "We have a living tradition to the area, as such, we are concerned whatever happens to the Petroglyph Monument" (Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000). William Weahkee opines, "The need for protection of this area has not decreased. The Pueblo tribes have not abandoned their religion or culture, or this sacred site" (1997:4).

Representatives of the Río Grande Pueblos repeatedly have stated how and why their communities need to sustain their traditional affiliations with the Petroglyph National Monument over the past decade: It "is one of the last remaining sacred sites for Pueblo people" (W. Weahkee 1997:3); it is one of the few surviving healing places in the Río Grande Pueblos' cultural landscape outside the confines of their grant

holdings needed for ceremony. William Weahkee explains,

> The purpose of our ceremonies are to take care of the People. "Hano" which means "the people" have always had a holistic system of living which includes the individual, the community and the total environment. Inherent in this holistic system is an elaborate and profound religion. Through our clan systems and medicine people, our teachings, rituals, religious tenets are promulgated from generation to generation. We wish to continue our beliefs and practices, which means we must protect the volcanic escarpment that is so integral to our religious and cultural life. [1997:2–3]

> The continuing loss of sacred sites poses a great threat to the continuation of our religions…we now face the desecration and loss of integrity of the last sacred site near Albuquerque. More ominous to us, the Indian people, is the effect this will have upon the chosen few, those members of our Pueblos who preserve and pass on our religions from one generation to the next. With the loss of yet another, perhaps our last intact sacred site, there is a very real danger that chosen ones may simply lose the ability or will to carry on our religion. The turmoil and constant assaults on our religion and being forced to go public with the very confidential details of our faith, leads to the weakening of our religion. [1997:4]

William Weahkee asserts further that any actions that "destroy the integrity of sacred sites and disturb the practice of our religion in this area…violate our ability to provide spiritual and cultural knowledge to our children…[and] profoundly contribute to and hasten the cultural and spiritual genocide of our people" (1997:2).

Several observations provide relevant context for comprehending more fully the significance of Weahkee's comments about the Pueblos' need for continuing their sacred rituals at the Petroglyph National Monument and the threat to the communities if they are unable to perform their obligatory rites appropriately. First, in the Pueblos' understandings of their world, power derives from within the world's structure and within its related phenomena, such as weather and astronomical observances (Saile 1977:79). That is, the connections, and the inner workings of their relationships, among all the world's parts are significant and warrant respect to sustain power and harmony within the world.

Second, the world's structure needs "to be reconstructed, or at least restated, periodically" (Saile 1977:79) to maintain the cohesiveness of the whole within the process of "becoming" (i.e., the inevitable changes in the state of existence). These traditional conceptualizations of the world's structure, including the formal organization of a people's landscape, specify the framework with which communities "remember to remember" (Cajete 1994:45; see also above) their culture, their history, and their place within the world.

Third, given that "precise rituals prescribe proper living" (Trimble 199), communities need to conduct their sacred observances in accordance with guidelines carefully outlined by traditions dating back to time immemorial that link the past with the present and provide foundations upon which the people prepare for the future. The Petroglyph National Monument assumes importance in the proper conduct of the Pueblos' ritual, which consists of many interwoven layers of community and personal observance, because it represents a healing place at the conceptual periphery of their world. The monument is sanctified because it represents, as I discuss previously, a focal point of communication with the spirit world (after Saile 1977:79).

This anthropological context enables us to comprehend that William Weahkee's feared loss of the Petroglyph National Monument area as a place for the Pueblos to conduct their requisite ceremonies in an appropriate manner, if realized, concomitantly would represent the further disruption of sacred landscape relationships (*qua* the interactions of people with their natural, social, and cultural environments [see chapter 2]). The Pueblo people perceive this threat as real and imminent because the spatial organization specified within their conceptualizations of the world's structure complements the very process of "becoming" within human existence itself. The disturbance of yet another sacred place substantially violates the Pueblos' perceived structure of their world. The loss of this place very well could lead, behaviorally, socially, and culturally, to the eradication of the very traditions upon which the Pueblo communities depend to sustain the fabric of their societies and culture.

Management Issues

Respect and Privacy

In the view of the Río Grande Pueblo stakeholders, their land use traditions, which date back into time immemorial, define guidelines for managing the use of the Petroglyph National Monument today. The principle of respect for the Pueblo people fundamentally underlies the communities' commentaries for responsible management of the West Mesa landscape.

Celestino Gachupin stresses that Zía Pueblo's continuing occupation of the Petroglyph National Monument, just as with the other Río Grande Pueblos, is not defined by fixed residence (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). Rather, their physical occupation is a tradition of periodic visits primarily for pilgrimage by religious leaders as part of society ceremonies and for the offerings of blessings by men in route to distant hunting grounds. He observes further that this tradition historically was based not on "a concept of ownership…it was a right to use" (Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000), with the people of many different communities (not just the Pueblos) sharing the area, performing ceremonies there, and respecting one another's privacy to do what was needed.

As a general observation throughout the Pueblo world today, the people find, "Prayers grow ever more difficult to complete. Tourists steal prayer features" (Trimble 1993:54). Moreover, development desecrates shrines (e.g., see Ellis 1994). The problem of securing the privacy that pilgrims need to conduct ceremonies properly is particularly acute at the Petroglyph National Monument, however. Participants in the ELR consultations various cited the expansion of the Albuquerque metropolitan area now engulfing the Petroglyph National Monument, the building over of many of West Mesa's remaining parts, the proposed extension of El Paso del Norte across the monument, and the development of the monument itself to accommodate the access, interpretation, recreation, and other amenity needs of an ever-growing number of visitors as continual concerns. Elsewhere, Río Grande Pueblo representatives raised privacy issues in forums considering the benefits and liabilities of extending the Unser Boulevard transportation corridor (Environmental Planning Commission 1993:*passim*; see also above) and expanding the Double Eagle II Airport (W. Weahkee, letter to Lacy Spriggs, September 20, 1994, in Spriggs 1995; see also above).

William Weahkee identifies and summarizes the problem:

> Since our use of the monument is done secretly, it is in our best interest to use the sites in a discreet and unannounced manner, thereby causing no conflict with normal public use of the monument. [1997:3]

> Do you think if we told people that we were going to have a ceremony that we'd be left alone? Who do you get permission from to use the land? We never had to do that before. This is a church. We want to go out there and pray. But those houses are right up to the edge there now. When you just make a little noise, and there are dogs barking and motion detecting lights, there is no privacy. [in Dougherty 1996:15]

Laurie Weahkee similarly observes that the number of visitors inside the monument makes worship nearly impossible and the lack of privacy "harms the ability of medicine clans to do their practices" (in Robbins 1999:12). Recently, a resident of one of the neighborhoods abutting the monument accosted her when she parked her car on the street (not an officially designated parking area) and attempted to visit a special place to pray in privacy after hours (ELR interview, March 5, 2001).

Tradition and Development:
The Old and New Sides of the Preservation Coin

In talking about preservations issues from the perspective that history and tradition are alive and are an essential part of a living process (i.e., "becoming") for both the community and the individual within their community, the ELR project participants expressed a general, subtle uneasiness with the idea of preservation. While people talked about cultural resource and cultural heritage preservation in the ELR consultations, they clearly did so because the term *preservation* is intrinsic to the cultural resource management process. Nevertheless, in recent years numerous residents of northern New Mexico's culturally diverse traditional and historical communities—both Indian and Nuevomexicano—have remarked that federal, state, and local legislative and stewardship roles in preserving cultural resources threaten death to history because the dominant Anglo community holds an intrinsically antihistorical perspective of the past (Anschuetz 2000; Hena and Anschuetz 2000; see also chapter 9).

In stating their relationship with their history, Río Grande Pueblo community members reveal that they live their history not only to learn from it but *also to repeat it*. In this way, the past is a referent for the present and the landscape is memory itself (e.g., see discussions by Anyon et al. 1997; Küchler 1993; Morphy 1993, 1995; see also Anschuetz et al. 2000a; Ferguson et al. 1993; Jackson 1980; Parker 1993; see also chapter 2). The people sustain their heritage and identities in the present and into the future by interacting during their lifetimes with their traditions, including their landscapes. Moreover, many Río Grande Pueblo people (among others) advised me not to use *heritage* with *preservation*. The people observe, "You preserve pickles, not people. We are living" (Anschuetz 2000; Hena and Anschuetz 2000; see also chapter 9). Thus, they are urging the cultural resource management process to consider formally and respectfully how their communities can *sustain* their

landscape traditions within ongoing, dynamic historical processes.

A second concern, the seeming preoccupation of the Anglo community on the "primitive," the "exotic," or the "other" (as identified specifically by SAGE Council members in a ELR March 5, 2001 interview) underlies such statements. This trepidation arises from a perceived ethnocentricism fundamentally embedded within the goals, methods, and conduct of the cultural resources management process itself.

According to Biolsi, the intellectual apparatus of the dominant Anglo society (including most anthropologists and cultural resource managers alike) is based on "the negative (heathen) and romantic (noble savage) representations of Native Americans that are a fundamental part of American culture and, more broadly, Western civilization" (1997:136). Within this prevailing intellectual milieu, the idea of *primitivity* prevails.

> Primitivity is, by definition, diametrically opposite to modernity: the primitive may represent for modernity, negatively, the depths from which have advanced and back to which we are in danger of regressing without continued vigilance, or, positively, the world we have lost that represents human possibilities undamaged by the oppressive disciplines of modernity. [Biolsi 1997:135-136]

Native American stakeholders, when interacting with the cultural resource management process, routinely confront stereotypic images that ignore contemporary circumstances. Celestino Gachupin touches on this issue in expressing frustration with his perceived expectation by the NPS (as an institution) for the people from Zía Pueblo to disclose the details of their traditional ceremonial pilgrimages not only for management purposes but also to validate materially the community's traditional use of the monument.

> They [NPS] want us, or [the other] Pueblos to go down every summer, like they used to?…We go to the superintendent's office and say we're gong to be conducting a ceremony, June 21st to 25th, here at the petroglyphs, we're going to be bringing seven medicine men down, we're going to be in that canyon, by that petroglyph, you know, can you restrict access to that canyon? Can you place patrols, patrolmen, or rangers to keep people out? Is that the scenario that they want, where physically we're there? Because I think if that's what they want, it's never going to happen. [ELR interview, December 12, 2000]

People from indigenous communities often are left feeling that they first have to defend themselves from the expectations, both negative and positive, of the "prepackaged images" held widely by the American public (see King 1997; see also chapter 9). On the one hand, if the communities fulfill the negative expectations, then their consultation commentaries can be dismissed as unsophisticated or irrelevant, thereby allowing decision makers to feel justified in maintaining or reinforcing the status quo in assigning significance to cultural resources and making decisions about what to preserve. On the other hand, when the communities fail to fulfill the material and behavioral expectations of the romanticized Indian of the ethnographic present (that hypothetical construct born of the U.S. Territorial Period [ca. 1846–1918] in the West) by showing any signs of acculturation and mixing with Anglo society, then the people and their points of view can be dismissed as inauthentic (Biolsi 1997; see also chapter 9). Again, land managers can position themselves to feel justified in assuming the authority role of determining what aspects of the past are valid and worthy of "preservation."

Celestino Gachupin directly addressed the issue of how the preservation of specific material products as objects from the past can impinge on the concepts through which living traditional communities understand their landscape heritage and the practices with which they actively maintain their affiliations with meaningful places in their environment during an ELR discussion at Zía Pueblo on December 12, 2000. In his commentary, Gachupin notes that understandings of "use" and "the future" were different when only native people lived in the area and interacted with the Albuquerque West Mesa. People recognized the right of many different communities to visit and use the West Mesa for their purposes, and people respected one another's activities, including the making of new petroglyphs and the modifying of previously existing images, as necessary for sustaining life into the future. He observes that the laws that created parks and monuments now prevent native people from making new petroglyphs and from removing petroglyphs. Such activities, he remarks, "would be the natural process" (ELR, December 12, 2000).

Gachupin also considers the NPS's management of cultural resources with the intent to preserve the material traces of the past for viewing by future generations problematical. He explains that the continual use of "prevention techniques" to halt the natural deterioration of old objects and features is contrary to Pueblo ideas (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). He states that while the Pueblos do not condone the vandalism of cultural resources or their elective destruction for development, the people believe that petroglyphs live and die like all other things, a powerful natural process that warrants respect. He identifies the "preservation" techniques, which include

the additions of foreign materials to a place or structure to prevent its natural decay as inappropriate (ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

Commenting generally on proposals made by cultural resource managers to move petroglyph boulders from construction rights-of-ways to facilitate development, Gachupin says, "There are instances where it would be allowable to move a rock, depending on why you move it" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). In his ensuing commentary, Gachupin implies that a decision to move a cultural feature depends on the judgment that the action would benefit all interests. The conduct of such an action would be accompanied by a ceremony. By way of illustration, Gachupin notes that when a road at Zía Pueblo was widened to accommodate school buses, the community finally agreed to move a boulder shrine, which previously had been struck several times by cars. Community members accepted that moving the shrine both accommodated the road and protected the shrine from further harm. The Pueblo performed a ceremony when the shrine was moved (ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

Gachupin, however, makes clear that the Pueblo's decision to move a shrine to accommodate the widening of a community road was neither analogous to nor support for proposals forwarded recently by planners to move petroglyph boulders from harms way in the Paseo del Norte road corridor across the West Mesa escarpment. (Based on Gachupin's previous comments about petroglyphs [see above] within the cultural context of the framework that I have presented in this chapter, the importance of the West Mesa petroglyph boulders rests in a complex web of landscape relationships. The petroglyph boulders are not merely products from the past that can be understood in isolation; they are part of a living process that imbues them with a meaningful sense of place. In landscape terms of being located within a healing place at the periphery of the Pueblos' conceptualized world, they also are parts of landscape relationships that are very different qualitatively from those in which the village shrine is a part. [See also William Weahkee's commentary below.]) Gachupin stresses that the removal of boulders from the Paseo del Norte construction right-of-way corridor should be considered only "as a last resort" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

> If worst comes to worst…if that battle is lost…if Paseo [del Norte] ever goes through…[then] we would need to do something along those lines [hold a ceremony and remove the endangered petroglyph boulders from the construction right-of-way]...But that's not the answer…it's the last thing considered [Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000].

William Weahkee (1997), in testimony offered in opposition to the proposed Paseo del Norte extension, offers additional insights into the powerful life processes inherent at places where people have gone since time immemorial to pray to accompany the spirits of the deceased persons to the underworld. Even though land managers cannot materially see the significance of such patterns of traditional activity, Weahkee challenges the adequacy and appropriateness of preservationists' traditional focus on materialistic concerns.

> The Paseo del Norte extension will harm the prayers that have already been planted in the area where the road would go. No matter what the rationale for digging up artifacts or people, Indians feel that the worst thing one can do is to disturb the resting place of the ancient ones. Anything in a grave was deliberately placed there to be used for the journey and livelihood of that individual in the spirit world. Disturbing these resting places and these sacred articles denies that person of his or her food, water, dressing and entrance into the next world. There can be no greater evil done to a spirit! [1997:3]

Lastly, Celestino Gachupin argues that preservation legislation and management policies that protect flora, fauna, and minerals within NPS parks and monuments by universally prohibiting their collection do not necessarily conform with the traditional interests of the people of native communities.

> An individual can also go to collect materials from an area, but it goes back to this question of well, as an individual—we have that discretion more like well, if I can get it over here, as opposed to the petroglyphs, I'll get it there, and again because most of the restrictions that's placed on this Park Service land and monuments—if that same plant, that same mineral can be found, especially within the reservation boundary, then that's where people will go, just to avoid any complications… [Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000]

On the one hand, the proper performance of rituals performed by individuals might not require the use of products from specified locations. Under this circumstance, persons often elect to gather their plant, animal, or mineral materials in easily accessible places close to home and where they do not directly confront resource management issues. On the other hand, the appropriate celebration of certain traditional society- or community-wide ceremonies might depend on the use of resources from specified places on the landscape.

Moreover, such ceremonies might further stipulate that the religious leaders harvest these materials within ritually prescribed schedules and procedures. From a traditional community's point of view, ritual conducted outside the prescribed guidelines at best might be ineffectual. The improper conduct of rituals actually might cause harm. Therefore, where preservation legislation and management policies of local, state, or federal agencies prohibit resource collection or require adherence to schedules or methods at odds with a community's ritual obligations, the preservation of material products might adversely effect a people's ability to sustain their cultural heritage and their community identity.

Consultation

When Celestino Gachupin was the War Chief for the Pueblo of Zía, he was involved in "pilgrimages with the societies…back into the Four Corners area and in the parks" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). While he was inclined as a tribal official to inform NPS personnel of such pilgrimages, he notes such action is not customary among the Pueblos. As I discuss above, the issues of secrecy, mistrust, uncertainty, respect, and so forth often cause a community-wide uneasiness that impedes full participation of traditional stakeholders, even in what many land managers consider to be relatively straightforward aspects of the consultation processes.

The ELR project raised another important consultation issue. When cultural resource management consultation invites or requires comprehensive discussion of cultural knowledge to substantiate a stakeholder's claims of affiliation, community members may feel significant uneasiness when they choose or are assigned to participate in ways that do not respect the topics of secrecy, mistrust, uncertainty, respect, and so forth. This personal unease arises when people are required to examine their personal beliefs or those of their communities.

Celestino Gachupin acknowledges his personal discomfort and that of other consultation committee members in participating in cultural resource management consultation proceedings that examine their community histories and traditions to fulfill legal or administrative requirements. He stresses, "It's not what people usually do. It's not for community members to question" (Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000). The consultation process might seek answers for the management that can result in destroying the mystery and the belief that the people have in their communities. Gachupin states, "the intrigue and mystery" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000) should be left alone. People should not have to be placed in a position of examining, and possibly even finding themselves questioning, their personal faith or the teachings of their community's religious leaders.

Turning his discussion toward administrative aspects of the consultation process, Gachupin supports creation of consultation committees to establish and to maintain communication between the NPS and stakeholder tribes (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). He observes, however, that the existence of a consultation committee for each park and monument poses a significant administrative problem in itself, because the need to conduct multiple consultations can severely strain the resources of tribal governments and those of the individuals participating in these proceedings. In fact, Gachupin questions the necessity of forming so many different consultation committees when general issues are often similar among the different parks and monuments within the region.

As many other Río Grande Pueblo representatives voiced during informal interviews (e.g., see Anschuetz 1999), Gachupin went on record asking that his community, Zía Pueblo, be included as part of a formal protocol on distribution lists for environmental and cultural resource management documents about the Petroglyph National Monument. He similarly emphasized that the NPS should not expect his community to guarantee that it will respond to each document, because of the heavy pressure they face in conducting day-to-day Pueblo business. Sonny Weahkee stated further that because communities do not respond to a particular cultural resource document or request does not necessarily signify a lack of interest (ELR interview, March 5, 2001; see also above); the consultation burdens, on top of secrecy concerns, sometimes simply are too great.

Returning to the issue of the administrative request by the NPS to notify park or monument staff of a community's intent to visit a NPS unit for special uses, Gachupin believes that this ordinary process is unacceptable to Zía Pueblo. This administrative requirement does not serve the Pueblos because it "runs counter to Pueblo practice and morale" (Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

ELR discussions briefly touched on the subject of "New Age" practices, including instances where practitioners have used and left offerings at the Pueblos' sacred sites. Gachupin states that the Pueblos object to these activities because they defame sensitive Pueblo places (ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

Finally, Gachupin reports that he and other committee members invariably are asked by land managers during consultation proceedings, "Is there an

answer, do you see an answer to all these problems?" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). Gachupin simply shared his usual reply, "Give it back."

Research and Interpretation

On the topics of research and interpretation, participants in the ELR proceedings focused their commentaries primarily on the issue of interpretation. Not only are Pueblo people uncomfortable with monument visitors expecting the NPS to provide unequivocal answers to their questions, they desire the NPS to challenge visitors to look inside themselves and to consider what the petroglyphs and the Petroglyph National Monument mean to them.

Celestino Gachupin recognizes that people come to see the petroglyphs because of their "mystery," but he feels that "it should be left at that" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000). He says that it is inappropriate for the NPS to seek out or to convey specific explanations of the petroglyphs.

Returning to the Pueblos' general uneasiness with efforts, whether by outsiders or even community members, to examine, explain, and validate issues of faith, Gachupin states, "We don't need to try to find answers." Visitors should make their own interpretations. "Let them go to work and try to visualize how this area was used, what this symbol means. They don't need to have someone to explain to them what it is, this is what that is" (ELR interview, December 12, 2000).

Laurie Weahkee expressed similar sentiments during a meeting with members of the SAGE Council:

> I know people want to know, "What's this mean?" "What's this certain petroglyph mean?" "What's it all about?" On the one hand, I think that's really good for people to wonder about those sorts of things, but I also think sometimes too much emphasis is placed on some sort of mysticism about culture—"exoticism."
>
> …I know…they [NPS] have to do all that kind of stuff, but I also think that's it really important for people to come to these places to understand their role and their places as a visitor to this area…People don't think about that. They might come for their own [reason]. "It was such a beautiful site to see." But politically, …what are they doing there? How are they there? What are they looking at while they're there? To me, that just seems a lot more [important] in terms of people understanding place.
>
> …We go visiting all these places and get all these pictures, but we don't know what…we're doing there or what happened [there], as opposed to having some sort of purpose and understanding about how and why we were visiting or what we're looking for. In that, looking at our own assumptions about what we're doing there…I know there needs to be a balance there, but I always feel like it is always very lopsided. "The Indians were doing this, that, or the other." [ELR interview, March 5, 2001]

Conclusions

Through their reliance on the ideas of breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness, the Río Grande Pueblos emphasize subjective knowledge in their West Mesa landscape constructions. They view the whole Petroglyph National Monument environment as a sanctified place imbued with spiritual qualities. The West Mesa, with its five volcanoes, great lava flows, and more than 15,000 pre-Columbian and Historic period petroglyphs distributed along a great escarpment, dominates the west horizon of the Río Grande Valley opposite Sandía Mountain. Through a refined system of cultural logic that places great emphasis on orientation within a matrix of inseparably intertwined physical geographical and spiritual referents, the Río Grande Pueblos associate the West Mesa with Sandía Mountain, which represent the South Mountain in their landscape constructions.

Together, Sandía Mountain and the West Mesa define the conceptualized periphery of the Río Grande Pueblo communities' natural worlds where objective experience and subjective traditional knowledge blend at the timeless intersection of the simultaneous levels of the cosmos. In the Pueblo's understanding of their cosmos, periphery is crucial for the identification and maintenance of each community's economic, social, and cultural core. Having defined the center in terms of the periphery, people highlight the dynamic relationship based on their mutual obligation with the spiritual powers inherent throughout the natural and supernatural realms of their cosmos. The people understand this relationship as a sanctified healing process based on the movement and continual retransformation of spiritual energies among the simultaneous levels of the Pueblos' cosmos to sustain harmony for the benefit of all creation.

Through complexly structured liturgical orders organized around the principles of initiation and privacy (see below), the Río Grande Pueblos ritually interact with the West Mesa landscape both from afar and on-site to reaffirm both the sanctity of the place and of their relationship with this place within the realm of their cosmos. Pilgrimage, just as any other sacrament, depends structurally and organizationally upon compliance with a precisely prescribed liturgical order, which stipulates particular conditions for

behavior and environmental context to ensure appropriate ritual performance (after Rappaport 1999).

We can use anthropological analyses of ritual to build an objective framework for critically assessing the Río Grande Pueblos' ethnographic landscape constructions (after Rappaport 1999). Examination of available ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature collected over the past century documents patterns of action and thought that identify the Petroglyph National Monument as truly an essential physical component of the communities' religious practices. Numerous natural and cultural resources, such as the petroglyphs, built shrines, volcanoes and caves, ancestral villages and archaeological sites, trails, plants and animals, and vistas, serve as focal points for physical and metaphysical interaction.

By imposing our own objectified material reference on this cultural process by focusing on particular landscape features, we, as outsiders, discount a community's reality of a greater spiritual essence. This essence resides in the underlying spatial and temporal contextual quality of the West Mesa environment, not in a collection of quantifiable natural and cultural resources. As identified in chapter 2, such subjective cultural and ethnographic landscape understandings can be judged only in a communities' own terms. Importantly, the religious significance of this place does not depend on large-scale public ceremonial observances.

In their landscape constructs, the Río Grande Pueblos understand themselves to be an integral part of the historical-ecological process of their world. This understanding includes the projection of the human sense of soul into the process such as to constitute ensoulment (see Cajete 1994:83). The people tend to conceptualize the past as intrinsic both to the landscape and to themselves as individuals and community members. History is not experienced selectively but is lived in everyday life.

As author Stephen Trimble observes, Pueblo people carefully remind outsiders when phrasing their commentaries "that much of what they believe is indeed comprehensible and far from esoteric" (1993:47). The challenge to outsiders, especially those who work in cultural resource management and those who exercise the privilege to visit or to talk about the Petroglyph National Monument, is to listen.

In concluding this discussion, it is worthwhile to consider two stakeholder commentaries expressing the hope that the Petroglyph National Monument will persist as a healing place in the present and in the future:

> The petroglyphs…it belongs to all of us now, not only the native people but more so, or just as much as that individual family that has a home that abuts the monument—in a sense, to us, they are our eyes and ears now, as far as ensuring that nothing bad happens to the place. They have become the caretakers of the area, because they are the ones who are there now, and it is incumbent on them to realize and understand the importance of it to all people…we all have a stake in what happens to the petroglyphs…The one thing we can do, rather than trying to gain all this knowledge of the petroglyphs, is just to respect them…If one goes there with the right intentions, it doesn't matter who that person is, the spirits that dwell there will know…their prayers will be answered. Just because my ancestors were the first ones there doesn't mean that my prayers are the only ones that are going to be considered…the same is true for the people who live in Albuquerque and Río Rancho—I'm sure there are people who go there with that in mind also—it's fine. [Celestino Gachupin, ELR interview, December 12, 2000]

> In the future…what will our young people and the generations not even yet born understand how much we love them? How much we fought for their rights, their heritage?…We can say, "It got put in this ethnographic report that…we did love them, and we care for them for them, and we're doing our best to make sure that they had something in place in the future"…I think most of us see ourselves as trying to call on the past with one arm and really reach to the future with the other arm and really put into place something that is very strong. [L. Weahkee, ELR interview, March 5, 2001]

CHAPTER 4

WESTERN PUEBLOS AND THE PETROGLYPH NATIONAL MONUMENT: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPES OF ÁCOMA, LAGUNA, ZUNI, AND HOPI

T. J. FERGUSON

Introduction

This essay explores how the Petroglyph National Monument figures into the cultural landscapes of the Western Pueblos of Ácoma, Laguna, Zuni, and Hopi. Given our current state of knowledge, it is not possible to make a definitive statement about the Petroglyph National Monument as a Western Pueblo landscape. To date little has been written about Pueblo beliefs and values pertaining to the monument, and the Western Pueblos conducted only limited fieldwork during this project to assess how the cultural and natural resources of the monument function as ethnographic landscapes. Lacking such comprehensive fieldwork to develop specific information about landscapes, the essay has the modest objective of simply identifying the general elements of Western Pueblo landscapes known to exist at Petroglyph National Monument. The goal of the essay is to provide a foundation for future research, research in which tribal members take the lead in documenting how they associate themselves with and ascribe meaning to the lands within and surrounding the monument.

Zuni Pueblo was the only Western Pueblo to participate in fieldwork in an earlier ethnographic study of the Petroglyph National Monument (Evans et al. 1993). Consequently, more published information is available about how the monument forms a landscape for Zuni than for other tribes. Ácoma and Laguna Pueblos were contacted only through intertribal organizations in the earlier study and had no direct participation in the project. No apparent contact was made with Hopi.

In the earlier study, Evans and others (1993:1) found tribal groups met their research with "cautious optimism." Native Americans in general, and the Western Pueblos in particular, have a long history of reticence to participate in scholarly studies (Parsons 1918a:162, 1920:56), resulting in often fragmentary and incomplete data for the Western Pueblos. Consequently, the absence of published information about Western Pueblo use of the Petroglyph National Monument cannot be interpreted as actual absence of their use. Western Pueblo peoples traditionally choose to reveal very little information about their culture to outsiders.

Tribes have valid concerns about improper dissemination of esoteric information and its subsequent appropriation and misuse by non–Native Americans. In a contemporary framework of research and management, Western Pueblo tribes have demonstrated a willingness to participate in research projects where benefits for tribes are well defined, tribal members are active participants in the research process, and tribes control the release of information. Hopefully, future research into Western Pueblo ethnographic landscapes at the Petroglyph National Monument will be structured such that the Western Pueblos continue to elect to participate actively in the endeavor.

In the meantime, as this essay demonstrates, many natural and cultural resources within the Petroglyph National Monument are elements of Western Pueblo landscapes. The monument is best known for the thousands of petroglyphs pecked into the dark rocks that form the basalt escarpment of the West Mesa (Figure 4.1). The monument contains many other archaeological sites, including Pueblo room blocks, rockshelters, grinding slicks, artifact scatters, water control features, stone rings, cairns, manuports, corrals, and historic camps (Schmader and Hays 1987). The majority of the petroglyphs and archaeological sites date to ancient Pueblo periods, but historic resources are Navajo and Hispanic. Thus, the monument is imbued with a multicultural character.

Tribal Participation in Study

The first phase of this project entailed library research to prepare an annotated bibliography and essay about Western Pueblo associations with the

Petroglyph National Monument. We sent the bibliography and draft essay to the four Western Pueblos for review, but they returned no comments to us. The second phase of the project included fieldwork with tribal representatives.

Figure 4.1: Animal petroglyphs at Piedras Marcadas. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 3, 2000.

We conducted Phase II fieldwork and interviews using a similar protocol for all four tribes. Each tribe sent a research team to conduct a one-day tour of the monument, accompanied by Michael Quijano, Chief of Resource Protection and Management at the monument, and T. J. Ferguson. Quijano outlined the managerial issues of concern to the National Park Service (NPS) and solicited advice from the tribal representatives. The tours of the monument began at the volcanoes, which provided an overview of the surrounding landscape. The tours then proceeded to Piedras Marcadas, Boca Negra, the Visitors Center, and Rinconada. In addition, the Zuni field team inspected petroglyphs at the North Geological Window. At each place visited during fieldwork, we conducted informal interviews to elicit information about petroglyphs, landscape features, and management issues pertinent to the study. We documented information in field notes and photographs and later provided copies of these to each participating tribe for their review of the appropriateness and accuracy of the hand-written documentation.

On the day following fieldwork with the Laguna, Hopi, and Zuni research teams, we conducted follow-up interviews with project participants to review information collected in the field and to obtain additional recommendations concerning the management of the monument. We displayed digital photographs on a notebook computer during these group interviews to focus the discussion on specific landscape features and to review the images used in this report. An interview format developed by the Río Grande Foundation guided the interviews, but we allowed tribal cultural advisors to contribute information about the topics of interest in a sequence meaningful to them. Participant commentaries were recorded only through hand-written field notes. We submitted copies of these notes to participants for their review.

Considerable overlap in the issues discussed by all of the Western Pueblos occurred during fieldwork and interviews. For instance, all of the tribal representatives were interested in open space, volcanism, and petroglyphs as elements of their ethnographic landscape. In addition to these common topics, each research session also tended to accentuate different tribally specific themes. For example, the Laguna representatives were concerned with plants and ethnobotany, the Zuni cultural advisors were interested in a specific shrine area, and the Hopi cultural advisors spent considerable time discussing Hopi clan migration histories revealed in petroglyphs. All of the tribal representatives probably are interested in ethnobotany, shrines, and ancestral migration, so the varying emphases in different field sessions is most likely due to the exigencies of time limitations and the natural progression of dialogue once certain topics were broached. The representatives of all four tribes agreed substantially on the managerial issues.

On September 14, 2000, we conducted fieldwork with four officials from the Pueblo of Laguna's Native American Graves Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) Committee: Lester Arkie, Michael A. Lucero, Robert E. Mooney, Sr., and Anthony Silva (Figure 4.2). These men were visiting the monument for the first time.

Figure 4.2: Laguna research team discussing management issues with Michael Quijano at one of the volcanoes in the monument. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, September 14, 2000.

We directed the follow-up interview at the Pueblo of Laguna tribal offices on September 15, 2000. The Laguna representatives who conducted the fieldwork were joined by Victor Sarracino in the group interview.

On October 3, 2000, we conducted fieldwork with Todd Scissons, Research Assistant with the Ácoma Historic Preservation Office, Pueblo of Ácoma (Figure 4.3). This session was Scissons' first visit to the monument. A team of Ácoma cultural advisors scheduled to participate in the fieldwork cancelled at the last moment so they could participate in traditional activities in their village.

Figure 4.3: Todd Scissons from the Pueblo of Ácoma inspecting petroglyphs with Michael Quijano at Piedras Marcadas. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 3, 2000.

On October 14, 2000, four Zuni advisors from the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team sponsored by the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office of the Pueblo of Zuni visited the monument (Figure 4.4). These advisors were Leland Kaamasee, Wilton Niiha, Eldrick Seoutewa, and Perry Tsadiasi. Tsadiasi had participated in fieldwork at the monument during an earlier study (Evans et al. 1993), but the other research team members were visiting the area for the first time. We conducted the group interview with the Zuni advisors who participated in the fieldwork at the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office in Zuni Pueblo on October 15, 2000.

On November 9, 2000, four Hopi cultural advisors from the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team and one staff member from the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office visited the monument (Figure 4.5). The four cultural advisors were Don James, ValJean Joshevama, Wilton Kooyahoema, and Morgan Saufkie. Clay Hamilton accompanied them. This on-site consultation was the first visit to the monument by these Hopi. A group interview with the Hopi participating in fieldwork took place on November 10, 2000, at the Hopi participants' hotel in Albuquerque.

Figure 4.4: Zuni research team inspecting petroglyphs at the North Geological Window. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 14, 2000.

All project participants completed interview consent forms at the outset of fieldwork and interviews. All project participants granted permission to use the information they provided in the preparation of this report. In this chapter all information not attributed to scholarly sources using citations to published literature is derived from notes taken during fieldwork and interviews of tribal representatives.

Figure 4.5: Hopi research team discussing open issues during field work at the volcanoes. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, November 9, 2000.

Western Pueblos: Geographic, Ethnographic, and Historic Contexts

Anthropologists use "Western Pueblo" is a theoretical construct to group Ácoma, Laguna, Zuni, and Hopi together as a comparative unit on the basis of similarities in geography, ethnography, and history (Eggan 1950). In actuality, the unique combination of language, religion, and history in each of the Western Pueblos provides a distinctive tribal identity. The four Western Pueblos exhibit a substantial amount of

diversity, a fact that should be borne in mind in comparative discussions of their histories and cultures.

The Ácoma and Laguna Pueblos are on the Río San José, a tributary of the Río Puerco of the East. Zuni Pueblo is on the Zuni River near the border between New Mexico and Arizona. The 12 villages that constitute the Hopi Tribe are located on three mesas in northeastern Arizona. Geographically, the Western Pueblos are spatially separated from the other Pueblo tribes in New Mexico, which live along the Río Grande.

The people of Ácoma and Laguna Pueblos speak a dialect of Keresan, a language also spoken at the Eastern Pueblos of Zía, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochití (Hale and Harris 1979:170–173). Zuni is a linguistic isolate, unrelated to all other languages spoken in the Southwest. Hopi is a member of the Uto-Atztecan language family, a large group of languages spoken in an area extending from Central America to the Great Basin.

Matrilineal clans and lineages are a fundamental part of the social organization of all Western Pueblos, although the way these clans are integrated with religious organizations and other social groups varies among the tribes (Eggan 1950:291–304). All of the Western Pueblos have religious groups (e.g., kivas, medicine societies, and priesthoods) whose membership crosscuts that of clans. The social organization of the Western Pueblos thus produces well-integrated societies possessing a "marvelous complexity" (Kroeber 1917:183).

Each Western Pueblo has a long history that led to the settlement of the pueblo village they currently occupy. In general, this history entails migrations over large parts of the Southwest, including the region encompassing the Petroglyph National Monument.

The Ácoma and Laguna people emerged from Shipapu in the Four Corners region and migrated southward to their present village, living for time in a series of settlements (García-Mason 1979:454–455; Sedgwick 1927; Stirling 1942; White 1932:142–190). The Ácoma people eventually reached the site of their current pueblo where they have resided for more than 800 years. Some Ácoma traditions recount that Laguna Pueblo was founded as a colony of Ácoma Pueblo.

Laguna traditions indicate that Ácoma and Laguna Pueblos were founded by two distinct groups at two separate times (Dillingham and Elliott 1992:19–21). The Laguna acknowledge that the Ácoma people migrated to the Río San José first and that the Laguna subsequently followed a westerly route through Zía Pueblo to the current site of Laguna Pueblo. At the invitation of the Ácoma, the Laguna settled in the San José Valley. Some historians date the founding of Laguna Pueblo between 1697 and 1699, at which time refugees from Cochití, Santo Domingo, Jémez, Santa Ana, Zía , Cieneguilla, and Ácoma joined the pueblo (Gunn 1917). Other scholars suggest a settlement existed in the vicinity of Laguna in ancient times and historic migrants joined this already existing community (Ellis 1979:439–441). According to Ellis (n.d.:1–4; 1974a:211–213), "Old Laguna" was founded about 1400 and even earlier ancestral pueblos exist in the vicinity.

Zuni traditions recount an emergence in the Grand Canyon, followed by a long migration to the "Middle Place" at Zuni Pueblo, where the Zuni people have resided for 800 years or more (Cushing 1896; Ferguson and Hart 1985:21–22; Parsons 1923; Tedlock 1979:501). During the Zuni migration, part of the tribe migrated eastward to Zuni Pueblo. At the same time, another group of Zuni ancestors migrated northeast, passing through the San Juan Basin and Río Grande Valley before joining their relatives at Zuni Pueblo. The group of Zuni who migrated from the Río Grande Valley were associated with Medicine Societies that originated at Shipapulima, a sacred place in what is now Bandelier National Monument.

In Hopi traditional history, the place of emergence often is described as Sipapu, near the Grand Canyon. The Hopi also have a tradition about a set of clans at the same time that migrated northward from Central or South America (Washburn 1995:20–22). Hopi traditional history is embedded in the narratives of many individual clans, and these clans arrived at the Hopi Mesas after a complex series of overlapping journeys that took them throughout the Southwest (Fewkes 1900; Mindeleff 1891:16–38; Voth 1905). The various clans arrived at Hopi from all of the cardinal directions and included a set of clans that migrated from the Río Grande. The complex ceremonial system of the Hopi derives from the varied contributions of these clans that migrated to the Hopi Mesas (Frigout 1979).

Tewa Village (a.k.a. Hano) on First Mesa was founded by Tewa people who migrated to Hopi from the Río Grande in the 17th century. These Tewa have been integrated into the Hopi Tribe but retain a distinct cultural identity and language (Kroskrity 1993; Stanislawski 1979). The Hopi-Tewa maintain a number of traditions that derive from their earlier residence in the Río Grande Valley.

The close historical ties among the Eastern and Western Pueblos result from patterns of migration, co-residence, and intermarriage that began in the distant past. For instance, Parsons (1936) describes several ethnographic parallels in the ceremonial organization

of Hopi and Ácoma. Citing these similarities, she infers that long before the arrival of the Spaniards, a group from Hopi migrated to Ácoma and introduced some Hopi elements to the Keres. As a result of a continuing communication with their Hopi kindred, Keresan elements diffused to Hopi in return. After Spanish colonization Keresans migrated to Hopi, introducing additional Keresan ceremonial traits.

A number of migrations of Río Grande people to the Western Pueblos are documented during the historic period. Refugees from Cochití, Santo Domingo, Jémez, Santa Ana, Zía , and Cieneguilla joined Laguna Pueblo in the late 17th century. About the same time, the *Aasa* (Tansy Mustard) Clan left their original home in New Mexico and migrated through the pueblos of Santo Domingo, Laguna, Ácoma, and Zuni before arriving at the Hopi Mesas, where they took up residence in villages on First and Second Mesa (Hodge 1907:99–100).

During the Pueblo Revolt of 1680–1692, a number of people fled from the Río Grande Pueblos and sought refuge at Hopi and the other Western Pueblos. People from Sandía Pueblo, for example, migrated to Hopi during this time and resided there for two generations before returning to the Río Grande (Brandt 1979:345; Eggan 1950:307). Other migrants from the Río Grande made sojourns to Hopi as well during the tumultuous late 17th century.

One result of inter-pueblo migrations was a substantial cultural exchange among the Eastern and Western Pueblo communities. In the Western Pueblos, ritual and cultural information obtained during interaction with other tribes added to knowledge inherited directly from the ancestors who migrated throughout the Southwest. As a result, the Western Pueblos have ethnographic landscapes that extend far beyond the relatively small reservations where their villages are located.

Cultural Landscapes as Memory and Process

As discussed in chapter 2, the cultural landscape concept encompasses both land itself and how land is perceived by individuals given their particular cultural values and beliefs. Sauer notes that, "The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result" (1963:343).

The word *landscape* was introduced formally into the English language in the late 16th century as a technical term used by painters to describe depictions of rural scenery (Hirsch 1995:2), even though older vernacular Indo-European traditions referred to places on the physical landscape as being defined by people (Jackson 1984:5–8; see also chapter 2). In common usage today, the term landscape continues to evoke a painterly view of a pictorial representation of natural scenery. Cultural or ethnographic landscapes, however, are more than natural vistas: they have both visual and cultural components produced through local practice (chapter 2).

In a European or Western perspective, land is part of a historical process that produces enduring images, place names, and events. Land use and the people using the land change through time. For many other peoples, however, place and place names are "integrated in a process that acts to freeze time; that makes the past a referent for the present. The present is not so much produced by the past but reproduces itself in the form of the past" (Morphy 1993:239–240).

Küchler (1993) contrasts European landscapes *of memory* and non-European landscapes *as memory*. Europeans envision landscapes as having "an inscribed surface that can be measured, described, and depicted. Defined in terms of landmarks of ecological, historical, or personal validity, landscape is a widely shared and accessible means to transmit cultural knowledge regarding the past and future" (Küchler 1993:85–86). The concept of the landscape as an inscribed surface is related to a long European tradition of producing maps and pictorial images. As landscapes *of memory*, these artistic representations validate personal and social memories.

In contrast, many non-Europeans engage in landscapes *as memory*. These non-European landscapes are a template in the processes by which traditions are constructed and transmitted. Rather than validating pre-existing memories by inscription, non-European cultural landscapes form an essential part of the memories themselves. They do not represent memory; they are memory. In this view, the land is as important as the human activities that occurred on and marked the land in the past.

As Ingold (1993:738) observes, landscape is a cultural process entailing interaction between a relatively static representation of geographical space and the cultural and social factors involved in the creation of that representation. In conceiving of landscapes, Native Americans often have "maps in the mind" (Basso 1996:43). Anthropologists and land managers, however, usually coming from different cultural traditions, often seek to reduce these landscapes to topographic maps inscribed with interpreted or inferred meanings.

Landscapes have complexity and power because they are created by people through experience and

engagement with the world. As Bender (1993:2) notes, "Landscape has to be contextualised. The way in which people—anywhere, everywhere—understand and engage with their worlds depend on the specific time and place and historical conditions." In this regard Mitchell suggests changing "landscape" from a noun to a verb, because "we think of the landscape, not as an object to be seen or a text to be read, but as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed" (Mitchell 1994:1). In this view the objective of study is not to describe what the landscape *is* or what it *means* but what it *does* (i.e., how it works as a cultural practice).

Native American landscapes often are conceptualized in a verbal discourse that has moral dimensions. Place names and stories associated with landscapes serve as metaphors that influence how the members of a society view themselves. In so doing, landscapes influence patterns of social action. This aspect of landscapes is well documented in Basso's (1996) studies of Western Apache storied landscapes.

Western Pueblos use storied landscapes in a similar fashion. Points on the land are taken as metonyms of narrative, evoking the image of the place named, the emotions and moral values associated with it, and the stories that it embodies (Young 1987a:4–9). Natural features, places, and landscapes are metonymic because they have the power to symbolize and recall the ancient past. Thus, they serve to project the ancient past into the contemporary, human world. Places and landscapes evoke stories of the beginning in an affective manner by evoking the emotions associated with these stories.

Landscapes, and the names of places within those landscapes, help situate people in historic time and space. Landscapes thus entail spatial conceptions of history. The places where Western Pueblo ancestors lived during their migrations mark the directions they traveled across the land to fulfill their destiny. When Western Pueblo people visit ancestral sites, the history of their migrations is called to mind. In some instances, the very form of the land itself was shaped during events believed to have occurred in the past, especially events surrounding the actions of spiritual beings. In this case the land itself is part of the memory of the past, and it forms part of the conceptual framework of historical knowledge. Religious pilgrimages to shrines embedded in the landscape constitute an active reenactment of Pueblo traditional history. The ability to identify places in oral narratives with actual geographic locations is a form of historical validation. Past and present coexist, and ancient stories are one with current existence (Schaafsma 1997:13; Young 1987a:4–7).

Pueblo scholars often discuss landscapes in a way that resonates with an anthropological view. Leslie Marmon Silko of Laguna Pueblo, for instance, argues that Pueblo people do not see the land as "landscape," because that implies that people are exterior to or apart from the land. In a Puebloan perspective, people are a part of the land. Silko explains,

> Pueblo potters, and the creators of petroglyphs and oral narratives, never conceived of removing themselves from the earth and sky. So long as the human consciousness remains *within* the hills, canyons, cliffs, and the plants, clouds, and sky, the term landscape, as it has entered the English language is misleading. "A portion of territory the eye can comprehend in a single view" does not correctly describe the relationship between the human being and his or her surroundings. This assumes the viewer is somehow *outside* or *separate from* the territory he or she surveys. Viewers are as much a part of the landscape as the boulder they stand on. [1986:84; italics in original]

In writing about the Zuni, Young expresses a similar idea when she observes, "Because they regard the land as a living being and themselves as part of this living being—according to Puebloan origin myths the people are born from the womb of Mother Earth—the Puebloans see themselves as having a responsibility for the land" (1987a:2). The stewardship Western Pueblo people feel for the land is an important motivation in participating in studies directed toward land management.

Landscapes and people cannot be separated; one entails the other. The processes through which ethnographic landscapes are created and maintained are part and parcel with the processes by which culture instills values, beliefs, and historical memory in people belonging to a community. As Basso observes, landscapes are "a venerable means of *doing* human history…a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities" (1996:7).

Members of local communities use the landscape in at least three ways: (1) observation of its appearance, (2) use for physical activities that may leave a mark on the land, and (3) communication by formulating descriptions and representations of the land shared in the course of social gatherings (Basso 1996:73). Non–Native Americans, particularly archaeologists, often focus on the second use, i.e., continuing and productive use of landscapes with concomitant human modification. Landscapes can be sustained for long periods without physical use, however. When these landscapes are revisited after a long physical (but not conceptual) absence, the cultural processes of memory

and history associated with these places are brought into play once more.

Morphy (1995:186) documents how Australian Aborigines visiting a landscape for the first time find it significant in terms of their understanding of traditional history and religious concepts. This perception is not a reinterpretation of landscape but a process of discovery and revelation in which ancestral presence is palpable and immutable. At the same time, mechanisms exist for renewing links with places that were forgotten or irregularly visited, or that were occupied by other groups (Morphy 1993:239–240).

Similar cultural processes exist among the Western Pueblos. When members of a Western Pueblo visit the Petroglyph National Monument for the first time, the landscape with its petroglyphs has ancient cultural meanings that are drawn forth into consciousness and brought to bear as the land is experienced. When these people return home, the landscapes they experienced are described to friends and relatives, and thus other members of the community share in the cultural processes of memory and history.

The effective study of landscapes requires that ethnographic description and interpretation be documented during fieldwork (Hirsch 1995:2). This information is necessary because landscapes involve a phenomenological component that considers how people subjectively experience and understand the world (Tilley 1994:11–12). In the absence of such fieldwork with Western Pueblos, the ideas in this essay are preliminary and subject to revision after future collaborative fieldwork.

Western Pueblo Cultural Landscapes in Relation to Aboriginal Use Areas

Discussion of the relationship between Western Pueblo landscapes and aboriginal use areas is important to clarify why ethnographic landscapes extend far beyond the boundaries of "aboriginal land." Each tribe's aboriginal lands were defined by adjudication with the United States government as part of a policy to provide monetary compensation for lands taken from the people without payment. Many federal land managers use maps of Native American aboriginal areas (e.g., Akins 1993; USGS 1978) as a guide in consultation with Native American groups. While these maps can be useful, the aboriginal areas must be understood in their historical context to interpret what is depicted.

Two points are salient in interpreting aboriginal areas. First, the aboriginal areas were used and physically occupied by Native Americans when the United States government assumed sovereignty over the New Mexican Territory in 1848. Second, they represent the areas that the Indian Claims Commission or United States Claims Court determined were used and occupied exclusively by tribes (Kaplan 1985:73–74; Rosenthal 1985:51–52). The judicial process did not recognize aboriginal areas used by tribes in the pre-Columbian past or areas used jointly by several tribes.

As a result of the Anglo-American legal standards used to define aboriginal areas, many archaeological sites occupied by the ancestors of the Western Pueblos lie outside their aboriginal areas. Moreover, religious shrines and other cultural sites in areas occupied by more than one tribe often lie outside of judicially determined aboriginal areas. Thus, as Atkins (1993:4) notes, the boundaries of aboriginal areas identified in the Indian Claims Commission are not equivalent to a Tribes' traditional use areas.

Figure 4.6 depicts Western Pueblo aboriginal areas and Indian Reservations. The Laguna Indian Reservation comprises three main parcels of land west of Albuquerque. The Ácoma Indian Reservation is immediately west of the Laguna Indian Reservation. (Note that the Ácoma and Laguna reservations actually abut each other, and the space shown between them in Figure 4.6 is only a cartographic device to permit their differentiation.) The main body of the Zuni Indian Reservation lies on the boundary between New Mexico and Arizona. The Hopi Indian Reservation is in northeastern Arizona.

The Ácoma, Laguna, and Hopi tribes have aboriginal areas defined in adjudication with the Indian Claims Commission (Dittert 1959; Ellis n.d., 1974a, 1974b, 1974c; Indian Claims Commission 1974; Jenkins 1974; Rands 1974a, 1974b; Ruppé 1990). The Zuni land claim was litigated in the United States Claims Court after the expiration of the Indian Claims Commission (Hart 1995a, 1995b). The Zuni and Ácoma aboriginal areas overlap because the Zuni claim was authorized by a special act of Congress that precluded litigation to obviate overlap with earlier claims. With the exception of Zuni Pueblo, which was awarded aboriginal title to all the land it claimed, the aboriginal areas of the Western Pueblos as determined by the Indian Claims Commission were smaller than the areas actually claimed by the tribes. None of the Western Pueblos claimed exclusive use of the West Mesa of Albuquerque, so the record of their land claims contains little information pertinent to Petroglyph National Monument.

In discussing 49 Ácoma shrines in or near the Ácoma land claim, Rands states, "Only a few of the shrines claimed by the Ácoma are mentioned by name in previous ethnographic reports—a lack of corroboration which seems primarily to reflect the

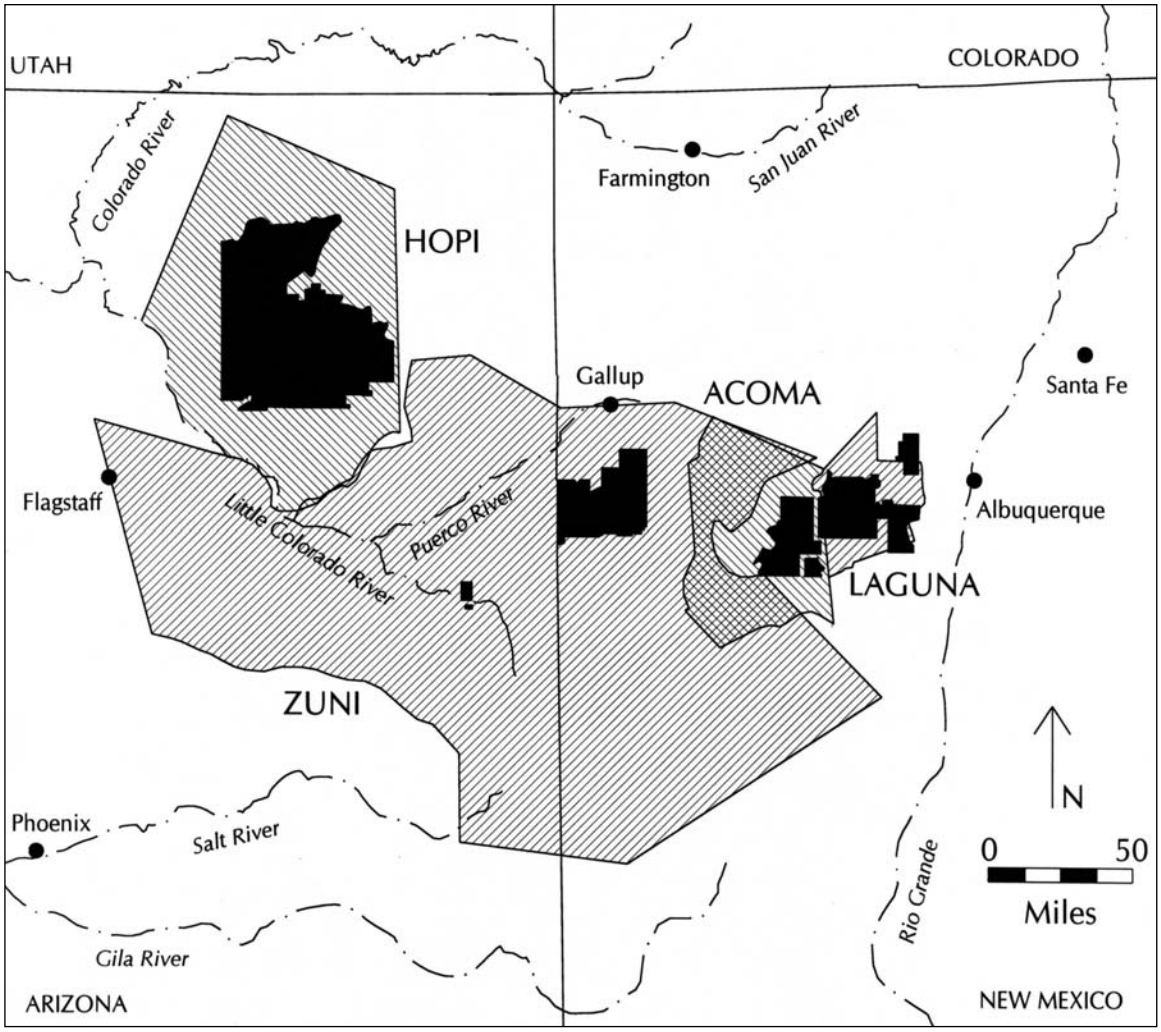

Figure 4.6: Western Pueblo Indian Reservations (solid black) and aboriginal areas (hatched), as judicially determined (adapted from USGS 1978).

secrecy in which their locations have traditionally been held" (1974a:313). This secrecy is a good example of how Ácoma (and the other Western Pueblos) reveal no esoteric information until they have a specific and well-defined reason to do so. Rands (1974a:350) notes additional sacred areas are located far outside the area of the Ácoma claim.

Rands (1974a:313, 337) also reports the Sandía Mountain is visible from a shrine used by both Ácoma and Laguna. The line of sight between this shrine and the mountains places the West Mesa containing the Petroglyph National Monument within the larger landscape of both the Ácoma and Laguna Indians. The traditional lands of the Pueblo of Ácoma are bounded by the Sandía Mountain to the east, Mount Taylor to the west, and the Sangre de Cristo Mountains near Santa Fé to the north. The Petroglyph National Monument lies within the center of these sacred mountains. This location increases its cultural importance to the Ácoma people.

The Laguna Pueblo representatives participating in fieldwork informed us that their ritual songs mention mountains. Traditional Laguna territory includes all the terrain that can be seen by an observer standing on top of the church in the pueblo. Their territory encompasses an area extending from Sandía Mountain to the east, Mount Taylor and the Zuni Mountains to the west, and the Sawtooth Mountains to the south. All these mountain peaks are associated with religious activities. The traditional use area of the Laguna thus goes well beyond their aboriginal lands as judicially determined by the Indian Claims Commission.

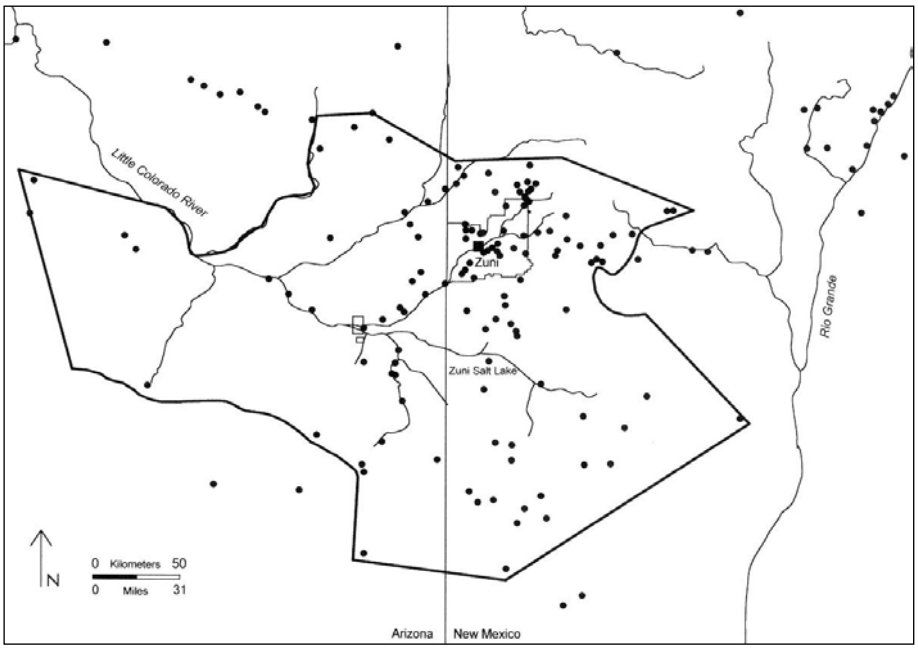

Figure 4.7: Traditional Zuni land use sites extend beyond Zuni aboriginal lands, as judicially determined, and include a number of religious shrines in the Río Grande Valley.

The Laguna people consider the land within the Petroglyph National Monument to be part of a sacred landscape extending from their pueblo to the top of the Sandía Mountain crest. The Laguna association with this landscape is explained in a story about "Little Giant Person," who used to visit Laguna Pueblo to challenge the young men to contests to determine the leader. One challenge involved throwing a spear from Laguna Pueblo to Sandía Mountain. A young Laguna man, assisted by his grandfather, a religious leader, succeeded in throwing a spear all the way to Sandía Mountain and thus won claim to this land.

During the litigation of the Zuni land claim, researchers documented 234 land use sites, including shrines, ancestral villages, and resource collection areas (Ferguson and Hart 1985; Hart 1995b). As Figure 4.7 demonstrates, more than 30 of these land use sites occur outside judicially established Zuni aboriginal lands, which extend from Mount Taylor in the east to the San Francisco Peaks in the west, and from the Puerco River of the West in the north to the Mogollon uplands in the south. One of the Zuni shrine areas outside judicially established Zuni aboriginal lands, *Chi:biya Yalanne*, is on the crest of Sandía Mountain (Stevenson 1904:407). This shrine area is associated with several Zuni religious societies, including the *Shu'maakwe*, *Ma"ke' hlan'nakwe* (Great Fire Society), and one of Great Fire Society's orders, the *Kok'kothlan'na* (Large God); and the *Ma"ke' San'nakwe* (Small Fire Society), which is now extinct. Stevenson (1904:485-569) describes these three religious groups. The Great Fire Society continues to collect medicinal plants on Sandía Mountain, and society members collect galena, malachite, and azurite pigments nearby (Ferguson and Hart 1985:125). According to Zuni cultural advisors, *Koko* (Kachina), in an area associated with these three societies, used to visit Zuni Pueblo from their homes on Sandía Mountain. *Chi:biya Yalanne* also is associated with the *Ahayu:da* (Twins).

A pilgrimage trail connects Zuni Pueblo with *Shipa:bulima* in Bandelier National Monument west of Santa Fé, with stops at shrines that mark ancient routes of migration used by Zuni ancestors led by the *Hlewekwe* (Sword-swallower Society). Extant religious societies still recite the names of these shrines, including *Chi:biya Yalanne*, in their esoteric narratives and prayers. Zuni pilgrimages to shrines and resource collection areas in the Río Grande Valley take the pilgrims across the West Mesa. These pilgrimages actively place the Petroglyph National Monument area within the ethnographic landscape of the Zuni. The Zuni name for the area now included in the Petroglyph National Monument is *Deshok'da Dina*, a name that refers to the volcanoes and petroglyphs.

The Petroglyph National Monument is included in a Hopi ethnographic landscape that extends beyond its

judicially determined aboriginal lands, because Hopi traditional history recounts clan migrations through the Río Grande. In addition, the Tewa immigrants that joined the Hopi Tribe migrated from the Río Grande, and the Hopi-Tewa thus have close cultural ties to Central New Mexico, including area now contained within the monument. Hopi-Tewa cultural advisors report that cultural information about this area of New Mexico is contained in the narrative forms of kiva talk and religious prayers. The Tewa narratives' descriptions of specific places give lasting cultural importance to these places.

Western Pueblo pilgrimages to shrines from which the Sandía Mountain or West Mesa are visible traditionally are limited to a relatively small number of religious leaders. That only selected tribal members experience a landscape located far from their pueblo, however, does not diminish its cultural importance for the entire tribe.

In addition to traveling across the West Mesa to visit shrines, Western Pueblo leaders made trips to Albuquerque and Santa Fé to meet with Spanish, Mexican, and United States officials. Jenkins (1974:62, 72–73) documents trips by Laguna Pueblo officials who traveled to Río Grande settlements to meet with Spanish officials about land matters and other issues. Similar trips were made by officials from the other Western Pueblos. Travel during the conduct of governmental affairs thus probably provided another means of renewing the West Mesa landscape in the minds of Western Pueblo leaders.

Role of Petroglyphs in Western Pueblo Culture

The petroglyphs on the West Mesa are the core feature of Petroglyph National Monument. It is useful to consider the general role that petroglyphs play in Western Pueblo culture. Silko (1981:60) points out petroglyphs tell stories, and stories help form cultural identity. In the perspective of the Western Pueblos, stories cannot be separated from their specific, physical geographical locations.

Most of what is known about petroglyphs in Western Pueblo culture derives from studies conducted at Zuni and Hopi Pueblos. While these studies do not directly address the Petroglyph National Monument, they provide a useful framework for interpreting the images on the West Mesa.

Young's research at Zuni Pueblo provides many insights into the symbolic power of petroglyphs and their continuing cultural significance (Young 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1988; Young and Bartman 1981; Young and Williamson 1979). Young found that Zuni verbal and visual arts constitute interrelated communicative codes. Several factors affect the placement of images on rocks. These factors include landscape features identified as locations of culturally important events in the past and the prior existence of other images. Some petroglyphs or pictographs mark the locations of shrines, and images on rocks can strengthen the power of a religious site. Images themselves have power, and that power is imparted to the places where they are made (Young 1985:30).

In classifying petroglyphs, Zuni people group known images by content and unknown images by form. Young (1988:121) notes that contemporary Zuni regard pictographs and petroglyphs as meaningful "signs from the past" made by their ancestors. Petroglyphs often have referents in the narrative poetry of Zuni religious societies, including images of the plumed serpent, sacred frogs, beast gods, spirals, and geometric figures. The rocks on which images are pecked or painted are also metonymic devices for evoking cultural narratives, and thus the physical setting of images is an important landscape element.

Young notes the Zuni produce petroglyphs for many reasons. Images on rocks have iconic power based on similarity and association, and religious activities are based on a relationship between action and desired results. Images of water beings thus bring rain, and game animals and their predators are associated with successful hunts. Young discusses the indexical power that results from the interaction of rock images and their site. "There is evidence that Zunis do indeed regard some rock art sites as sacred *because* of the pictographs and petroglyphs there and not because of any other factors extrinsic or prior to the rock art. That is, the power of the site is derived solely from the image or cluster of images found there" (Young 1988:177). Repetition of images is significant, and superimposition and juxtaposition of images have powerful resonances (Young 1988:185).

Zuni value ancient petroglyphs because they were made by their ancestors. These "messages from the ancestors" are often ambiguous in form and meaning, imparting the multivocality that Young says is characteristic of traditional Zuni imagery. All images on stone are not perceived as powerful, however; some are interpreted as graffiti and others as beautiful but not efficacious imagery executed in secular contexts.

The Zunis don't claim to know what all images on rock mean (Roberts 1932:149–152). In explaining this, Young (1988:154) observes, "The power of these images derives not only from their ability to project the past into the present, but also from their ambiguity." The particular meaning of an image at a given moment depends on the context and not the form of a petroglyph. Petroglyph sites remain powerful places in

Zuni culture, even when their iconographic meaning is obscure to contemporary tribal members.

In discussing the landscape context of petroglyphs, Young concludes

> It is likely that the ability of certain rock art depictions to evoke the past is related to their location in a landscape that *was* the scene of events of the myth time and *is* now the setting for contemporary Zuni life and stories that describe those past events. The landscape in itself is an affecting presence for the Zunis; various features of the landscape are emotionally charged symbols that stand for significant events in Zuni myth and history. [1988:233; italics in original]

According to Young (1988:238–239), petroglyphs reinforce the Zuni's perception of themselves as a people linked to their landscape, a place where powerful beings live, and where significant events of the past took place. Images pecked into stone at the time of beginning are a record of the events that took place after the emergence of people into the world where they are now located (Young 1987a:4–7). At Zuni, petroglyphs are mentioned in the origin and migration account narrated by the religious personage of Kiaklo, who chants, "*A'tsina'kwi a'wikîa*; *îs'ko thluwal'emaku* (We come to stone-picture place, here we get up and move on)" (Stevenson 1904:87). Similarly, in describing the "Northward Eastern Journey of the Winter Clans" of Zuni, Cushing reports that along their route they left "the marks of the rites of their fathers and of their kin-names on the rocks thereabout" (1896:426). Images of petroglyphs and pictographs are integral in the complex symbolic system entailed in the Zuni world view.

For the both the Zuni (Parsons 1939:214,359; Stevenson 1904:42) and Hopi (McCreery and Malotki 1994:35; Patterson 1992; Reagan 1920:387; Weaver 1984:14), many petroglyphs represent clan totems or symbols. These clan symbols often are used as signatures to identify individuals (Fewkes 1897). The famous Hopi petroglyph site of Tutuveni, near Tuba City, Arizona, provides a well-documented example of this use of petroglyphs (Colton 1946; Colton and Colton 1931; Mallery 1886, Michaelis 1981). Don Talayesva provided a first-person description of his production of a petroglyph at Tutuveni, undertaken in the ritual context of a pilgrimage from Third Mesa to the Hopi Salt Mine in the Grand Canyon (Simmons 1942:232–246). The profuse repetition of clan symbols at Tutuveni signifies multiple pilgrimages undertaken by the same individuals.

Many Western Pueblo petroglyphs have ritual significance, depicting ceremonial personages and religious symbols (Cole 1992; Fewkes 1892; Parsons 1939:359–360). Petroglyphs thus often are found at or near Western Pueblo shrines (Eggan 1994:15; Stevenson 1904:232–233). The association between petroglyphs and sacred places is an important element in Western Pueblo culture, and dense concentrations of petroglyphs often are interpreted as special places in the landscape. Petroglyphs at sacred sites validate the continuity between the ancient past and contemporary ceremonies, thus reinforcing the connections between sacred landscapes and petroglyphs (Schaafsma 1997:13–14).

Some petroglyphs serve as maps representing the routes followed during migrations across the land. For instance, a petroglyph near Zuni Pueblo depicts a map of the migration of the Hle'wekwe ("Sword Swallowers") after they separated from the main body of Zuni at this location and commenced travel to Shipapulima in the Río Grande Valley (Stevenson 1904:232–233). Petroglyphs symbolizing migrations also are found at Hopi (Geertz 1994:198-201).

Another use for petroglyphs at Zuni and Hopi is boundary markers of landownership (Geertz 1994:175–192; Parsons 1939:359). Also, they sometimes commemorate historical events, including armed conflicts with Utes and Apaches (Parsons 1939:360).

Use of petroglyphs and pictographs by Ácoma is less well known but similar to that of Hopi and Zuni. Parsons (1939:359) notes that Ácoma people place clan signs on house walls when salt is to be distributed. White (1932:131–132) and Stirling (1942:55–56) document that petroglyphs at Ácoma are sometimes produced as part of ceremonial practices, including images on a cliff near Ácoma Pueblo.

In a study of ancient ancestral Hopi petroglyphs in Glen Canyon, Arizona, Turner (1963:28) identifies eight reasons petroglyphs were produced in the past. These reasons provide a useful summary of the role of petroglyphs in Western Pueblo culture. Petroglyphs were produced to (1) depict astronomical events; (2) practice sympathetic magic for hunting; (3) practice, create, and remember designs for blankets, sandals, pottery, and basketry; (4) teach novitiates about the ceremonial elements of the ancient Pueblo world (in a way analogous to how katsina dolls currently are used); (5) depict clan symbols; (6) fulfill creative impulse; (7) effect propitiatory gestures, "fetishtic" reverence, or fertility tokens; and (8) engage in idle "doodling."

It is clear petroglyphs in Western Pueblo culture serve a variety of purposes, many ceremonial in nature. Petroglyphs have an abiding association with their physical setting and form an important element of Western Pueblo landscapes. Petroglyphs are an important means of connecting the past, present, and

future in Western Pueblo cosmology. In so doing, they help anchor contemporary Western Pueblo people in their culture.

Scholarly Interpretation of Iconography at Petroglyph National Monument

The methodology used by scholars to interpret the iconography of petroglyphs in the Petroglyph National Monument demonstrates how these features can be interpreted as Western Pueblo landscapes. In the first comprehensive archaeological survey of the lands now incorporated into the monument, Schmader and Hays note that "it is fortunate that there are modern puebloan analogs that can be used for the study of prehistoric rock art…In the case of the escarpment petroglyphs, many promising leads can be followed in researching the possible meanings of the rock art" (1987:62).

"Underlying this bewildering array of explanations is a unifying religious principle: that the rock art consistently relates to the sacred history, or mythical time, of the Zuni. Clan totems, religious fraternities, altars, and ceremonies were instituted during this time of emergence" (1987:112).

According to Eastvold (1987:119), the diversity of functions Western Pueblo peoples assign to their petroglyphs is understandable if they are viewed as symbols related to events in the origin traditions. Hopi and Zuni ethnographic literature contains a substantial amount of information useful for the identification of specific Katsina images found in the West Mesa petroglyphs. In Eastvold's opinion, sufficient documentation confirms the presence of *Koyemshi* (Mudhead) images in the West Mesa locality, and other information suggests the occurrence of images of

Figure 4.8: Example of Hopi imagery used to interpret petroglyphs in the Petroglyph National Monument. Adapted from Eastvold (1987:135).

This statement lays the foundation for a more intensive analysis of the ethnographic background of the petroglyphs of the West Mesa by Eastvold (1987). Eastvold's interpretative methodology is based on direct ethnographic analogy to Zuni and Hopi iconography (Figure 4.8). The basic interpretive method characteristically involves three steps: (1) identification of Katsina and *Koko* iconography with ethnographically documented meanings, (2) identification of petroglyphs with documented Zuni and Hopi interpretations, and (3) comparison of the ethnographically documented images and the petroglyphs on the West Mesa. Eastvold infers that morphologically or stylistically similar images have similar cultural meanings.

Eastvold found Zuni and Hopi ethnographic materials provide a rich source for interpretation of West Mesa petroglyphs. Zuni petroglyphs are associated with depictions of clans, deities, altars, maps, sacred events associated with specific landscapes, and shrines. Eastvold observes, *Yamuhakto*, *Kianakwe*, *Hehea*, *Ma'saw*, *Koolowisi* (Plumed Water Serpent, a.k.a. *Paalölöqangw*, *Awanyu*), *Kokopelli*, *Nangasohu*, beast gods associated with shamanism, and clan symbols (including Bear, Badger, Crane, and various birds). Eastvold concludes that the West Mesa petroglyphs have a tremendous research potential, and an "underlying religious principle…unifies the diverse cultural functions Pueblo people assign to their rock art" (1987:117).

Other scholars interpreting the West Mesa petroglyphs use methods similar to those of Eastvold. In her comprehensive surveys of Southwestern petroglyphs and pictographs, for instance, Schaafsma (1980, 1992) effectively uses ethnographic analogy to make inferences that these images served a variety of functions, including marking clan lands, identifying shrines, and depicting religious iconography. Schaafsma (1992:87–103) classifies the majority of the West Mesa petroglyphs as the Río Grande Style popular from the 14th through 16th centuries. According to Schaafsma (1992:115–137), the Río

Grande Style was important in the origin of the Katsina cult and the history of Pueblo religion. Schaafsma concludes with the observation that, "Today, rock art continues to communicate to Native Americans as it confirms ancestral presence in the sacred landscape" (1987:160).

Other writers commenting on the West Mesa petroglyphs also use ethnographic analogy with the Western Pueblos (Bain 1976; Lamb 1993). Hagan, in discussing the enduring cultural resiliency of Pueblo culture, observes, "Today it is still possible to identify in the petroglyphs on the West Mesa the same kachinas of the Zuñi and Hopi people" (1987:20).

Elements of Western Pueblo Cultural Landscapes at Petroglyph National Monument

Petroglyph National Monument constitutes a striking landscape embracing significant natural and cultural resources. The dark escarpment of the West Mesa and the volcanoes to the west (Figure 4.9) form visually dominant features that encompass numerous and more subtle natural resources within the monument, including plants and animals. Cultural resources, including petroglyphs (Figure 4.10) fit into this natural setting and have become an integral part of it. Community-based studies needed to articulate the Western Pueblo landscapes in the Petroglyph National Monument have been initiated but are not complete. Consequently, now it is possible to discuss only common elements of Western Pueblo landscapes found within the monument and to consider in a preliminary fashion how these constituents figure into Ácoma, Laguna, Zuni, and Hopi landscape constructions.

Figure 4.9: West Mesa of Albuquerque.
Photograph by Isaac Eastvold, adapted from Schaafsma (1992:99).

Petroglyphs

Given the role of petroglyphs in Western Pueblo culture, the petroglyphs in Petroglyph National Monument unquestionably are an important part of the landscape. This fundamental association is demonstrated both in earlier fieldwork conducted at the monument with Zuni cultural advisors (Evans et al. 1993) and in the Phase II fieldwork conducted for this project. In the earlier work, the Zuni assigned religious significance to a grouping of petroglyphs, including a star-shaped symbol, at the northern geological window

Figure 4.10: Petroglyphs and volcanic landforms at Boca Negra on the West Mesa of Albuquerque. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 14, 2000.

that they thought had religious significance. The petroglyphs "they saw there were specific, recognizable, and currently relevant images used in religious dances" (Evans et al. 1993:33). The Zuni consultants thought the repetition of animal and track petroglyphs was important, and they identified several katsinas. Evans and others conclude, "The combinations of symbols marked this area as being a special place of high religious and cultural significance to Zuni Pueblo" (1993:20). The Zuni cultural advisors thought the northern geological window was sufficiently sensitive that they recommended closing it to the public.

A Zuni consultant in the earlier study also said one petroglyph at Mesa Prieta might symbolize rain, clouds, and stars placed above the earth (Evans et al. 1993:24). The number of petroglyphs in Rinconada Canyon indicated to Zuni advisors this location had cultural significance in the past (Evans et al. 1993:23).

According to Brunnemann (1997), a large triangular-shaped zoomorph in an isolated petroglyph panel in Rinconada Canyon is characteristic of the Zuni Shalako. Adjacent to the Shalako image are images of a four-pointed star zoomorph and a serpent, both associated with crosses. Stevenson (1904, cited in Brunnemann 1997) reports that Pueblo cross imagery originated in ancient times, before the Spaniards arrived, and in some instances symbolize the four regions or directions. Brunnemann suggests the east orientation of the Shalako panel relates to the winter solstice, which occurs soon after the Zuni Shalako. As reported previously, Zuni consultants said the star-shaped petroglyph panel is symbolically connected to other petroglyphs on the same rock (Evans et al. 1993:22). Brunnemann thinks this statement is "extremely meaningful" because the panel contains the triangular image that Young identified as a Shalako. Parenthetically, it is interesting that the Zunis who visited this site with Evans and his colleagues either did not interpret the petroglyph as a Shalako or chose not to divulge that interpretation if they did. Brunnemann also notes that some scholars sought to interpret the four-pointed star at the panel in Rinconada Canyon in terms of the Hopi Nangasohu Katsina and the Soyal ceremony.

Zuni cultural advisors identified the Stag Horn Drive site as a ceremonial and religious area in their prior visit to the Petroglyph National Monument. At the Morning Star Panel site, Zuni consultants pointed out that the panel with the stars is "symbolically connected" to other petroglyphs on the same rock and with other nearby panels (Evans et al. 1993:22). Viewed as a landscape, this group of panels is connected symbolically to other petroglyphs, to the volcanoes, and to Sandía Mountain. The context in which these petroglyphs are found figure prominently in their meaning. From these statements, clearly the Zuni view the landscape as a well-integrated entity containing multiple elements. Petroglyphs make sense only when they are viewed in relation to the panel they are part of, in relation to adjacent panels, and to other landscape features.

During this study's Phase II fieldwork, Zuni cultural advisors noted that petroglyphs are called *atsinna:wa*, "inscriptions on rocks." Many of the petroglyphs they viewed were interpretable with reference to Zuni cultural symbols. These petroglyphs include turkey tracks, snakes, lizards, wildcats, turtles, parrots, doves, wolves, various footprints and other animal symbols, sacred plants such as datura, celestial elements such as the north star and the sun, ceremonial figures wearing ritual regalia, a *Hlewekwe* (Sword-swallower), and flute-players. Zuni advisors explained that many of these petroglyphs recall Zuni origin and migration. For instance, human figures with tails represent an early stage of development of the Zuni people. Similarly, the parrot images within the monument evoke an incident where the Zuni people were given a choice of eggs during their migration. The Zuni chose the brightly colored egg, from which a raven hatched. The group that chose the dull-colored egg, from which a parrot hatched, migrated to the south, never to return. Other petroglyphs, like left handprints, are associated with ritual activities of the medicine societies. The Zuni cultural advisors interpreted one petroglyph as depicting the route of migration from *Shipa:bulima* down the Río Grande (Figure 4.11).

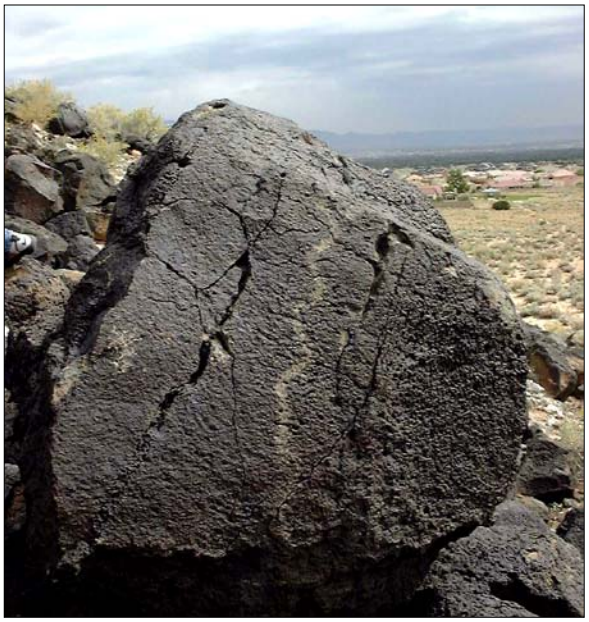

Figure 4.11: Petroglyph at Piedras Marcadas interpreted by Zuni cultural advisors as a map showing the route of migration from *Shipa:bulima* down the Río Grande.
Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 14, 2000

In general, Zuni cultural advisors report that the petroglyphs in the monument reference the entire regional landscape and history of the *Enotedekwa*, the ancient Zuni people. For the Zuni, these petroglyphs represent knowledge given to them by their fathers and grandfathers. This knowledge encodes information about migration, medicine societies, and other aspects of Zuni culture, including everyday life as well as ritual. As such, the petroglyphs represent pieces of the past that are used to verify oral traditions. In this sense, petroglyphs are signs ancient ancestors left for future generations. The petroglyphs at the Petroglyph National Monument are like a library that contemporary Zuni people can use to remember their grandparents' legacy. Zuni cultural advisors reported that viewing the petroglyphs in the monument gives

rise to feelings and emotions associated with the ancestors. In prayers and in daily life, these ancestors continue to accompany the Zuni. The petroglyphs are thus a powerful form of communication across the generations.

During our Phase II fieldwork, the Pueblo of Laguna representatives were reticent to interpret specific petroglyphs because they consider this proprietary information not to be shared with the general public. These representatives explained that tribal elders use petroglyphs to teach young children about their Puebloan history and culture. In general, Laguna advisors identified animal, lizard, bird, rainbow, flute-player, and Kachina images. They identified some petroglyphs as representing clan symbols, including the Parrot Clan, Water Clan, and Sun Clan. At a shield petroglyph, one Laguna representative sang a portion of a ritual song to illustrate how this image relates to the Harvest Dance.

The Laguna research team interpreted petroglyphs as signs of the past comprising a historical record. They explained, "All of these images have direct meaning to modern tribes. They were put there for a purpose. That's our writing; that's how we keep our history." Some petroglyphs refer to folklore, calling forth stories of dragons and water serpents. Other petroglyphs have spiritual references associated with origin and migration, and religious personages that Laguna leaders prefer to keep confidential. The Laguna advisors drew comparisons between petroglyphs at the monument and images in other traditional Laguna use areas, including El Morro National Monument. The Laguna people have known about the petroglyphs in the monument for a long time. The grandfather of one Laguna representative herded sheep as far east as Sandía Mountain, in the days before roads and fences divided the land, and he described "rocks with writing" in this area.

The Pueblo of Ácoma representative also views petroglyphs as a form of writing. He notes that stars are important in Ácoma culture, and that spirals and concentric circles are migration symbols (Figure 4.12). Petroglyphs often point towards something important, like a water source. Other petroglyphs record events or clan migrations. Additional fieldwork with Ácoma cultural advisors is needed to provide more specific interpretation of the petroglyphs within the monument.

The Hopi cultural advisors who visited the monument during Phase II fieldwork interpreted many Hopi symbols. These include animal symbols such as bear claws and paws, mountain lions, horned toads, mountain goats, pronghorn antelopes, turkeys, lizards, snakes, parrots, eagles, and butterflies, as well as plants, including corn. They interpreted the spiral petroglyphs as depicting migration; concentric circles represent time markers, with each circle representing four years (Figure 4.12). the advisors observed abundant celestial symbols, including the sun, morning star, and *Soongwuqa* (Milky Way). The advisors pointed out images of maidens with hair whorls, which are distinctive markers of Hopi ethnicity. They interpreted one distinctive petroglyph panel at Boca Negra as a type of a map that uses pottery designs and other symbols to represent where the ancestors traveled and what they saw (Figure 4.10).

Figure 4.12: Petroglyph at Boca Negra interpreted as a migration symbol by the Ácoma and a time marking symbol by Hopi. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 2, 2000.

While not all animal depictions are clan marks, numerous Hopi clan symbols are represented in the petroglyphs in the monument. These Hopi Clan marks include symbols of the Bear, Corn, Coyote, Deer, Eagle, Fire, Flute, Lizard, Parrot, Sand, Snake, Sun, and Water Clans. Exactly how these clan marks fit into the complex history of Hopi clan migrations needs further study, but Hopi cultural advisors said the marks provide evidence that Hopi ancestors passed through the monument on their migrations to the Hopi Mesas.

Many petroglyphs have ceremonial meaning, including images that show animals wearing ritual regalia. Deities or spiritual personages the advisors observed in the petroglyphs include *Kokopelli*, *Ma'saw*, *Kooinina*, *Koyemshi* (Mudhead), *Lenghoya* (Flute-player), *A'alataqa* (Two-Horn), and the Star Katsina. Based on these images, the Hopi cultural advisors concluded that the ancient occupants of the monument were "Katsina Pueblos" (i.e., they had katsina religion). The ceremonial images in the

monument evoke ritual songs associated with specific ceremonies.

The Phase II fieldwork clearly demonstrates that Western Pueblo people can and do interpret the petroglyphs in the monument in terms of their tribal culture and history. These petroglyphs are an essential part of the landscape as history, connecting the ancestors with present and future generations of the Western Pueblos. Based on the insights shared by community participants, we recommend additional fieldwork to document the rich association of the Western Pueblos with specific petroglyphs in the monument.

Shrines

The use of shrines is an essential part of Western Pueblo land use. These shrines connect the Western Pueblo people with their ancestors and perpetuate the fecundity of the environment for present and future generations. In the Western Pueblo perspective, people established shrines under divine instruction in ancient times. Thus, shrines are immutably tied to the landscape wherever they are located.

Fewkes defines Indian shrines in general as "places where sacred offerings are deposited or cult images or objects are set up" (1910:558). Western Pueblo shrines usually embody enclosures, either natural or constructed by humans, in which ceremonial objects and ritual offerings are placed (Ellis 1974c:171–187; Fewkes 1906; Parsons 1918b). Shrines occupy a wide variety of topographic settings, ranging from mountain peaks to caves in mesa escarpments to springs on valley bottoms. Many shrines are on elevated landforms, such as buttes and hilltops that command a view of the surrounding landscape. As Fewkes (1906:350) observes, even a shrine that no longer is actively used is still regarded with reverence. For the Western Pueblos, all shrines remain sacred forever.

Previous studies have documented Pueblo shrines within the Petroglyph National Monument. Brunnemann, for instance, describes a Puebloan religious shrine in a lava tube that "principally dates to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and probably much earlier" (1995:1). Artifacts associated with this shrine include a variety of cut and carved prayer sticks, some with remnant raptor and waterfowl feathers, and corncobs. These artifacts all were in place when archaeologists recorded the site. Brunnemann uses Hopi ethnography to invoke ideas of "movement" and "motion," which he interprets as evidence of animism. He also refers to Jane Young's work at Zuni Pueblo in describing the "power of place" and "power of image" (Brunnemann 1995:22). The shrine is under federal jurisdiction at the Petroglyph National Monument, and no further studies will be conducted without consultation with Pueblo representatives.

During Phase II fieldwork, Zuni cultural advisors visited a shrine area within the Petroglyph National Monument associated with the *Shu'maakwe*, a Zuni medicine society. (We do not disclose the shrine area's exact location in this report to protect its integrity.) The *Shu'maakwe* shrine is conceptually and physically aligned between Zuni Pueblo and *Chi:biya Yalanne* (Sandía Mountain), and was a stopping place on a religious pilgrimage tracing the routes used during the migration from Shipa:bulima to Zuni Pueblo. Place names associated with the origin talk of this society are in the Tiwa or Tewa language. Zuni traditional history refers to the *Shu'maakwe* shrine area in the monument. *Shu'maakwe* members described this shrine's location to the Zuni cultural advisors prior to fieldwork; their description was sufficient to locate and confirm its associated cultural and natural features. Zuni use of this shrine in the past was associated with initiations and other esoteric activities that tribal members kept private. This quiet and respectful use did not attract the attention of anthropologists or historians.

Stevenson (1904:530-549) describes the *Shu'maakwe* as a Zuni medicine society that ritually treats convulsions, swelling, and cramps. The challenge of this sickness is manifested in the presence of twisted trees on the landscapes of Sandía Mountain, Mount Taylor, and the Zuni Mountains. The patron gods of the *Shu'maakwe* are the *Shumai'koli* of the six regions and their attendant *Sai'apa* warriors. These gods live at *Chi'pia* on Sandía Mountain, which is also home to *Po'shaiyänki*, another religious personage. The *Shumai'koli* introduced the *Shu'maakwe* to the Zuni when they were invited to visit Zuni Pueblo at the special invitation of the Sun Priest. The supernatural deities shared their powers to cure people with the Zuni. Only members of the *Shu'maakwe* can collect and apply the medicines used in their rituals. Zuni cultural advisors observed these medicinal plants growing in the vicinity of the shrine area.

The *Shumai'koli* is distinguished by a sharply curving chin with distinctive facial features and upright feather headdress (Stevenson 1904:Plate CXXIII). The numerous *Shumai'koli* petroglyphs at the Petroglyph National Monument are sufficient to identify definitely this religious personage. The *Shumai'koli* petroglyphs within the monument are found in association with images of the *Sai'apa Koko* and with sacred symbols related to the *Shu'maakwe*. Zuni cultural advisors consider the co-occurrence of several symbols related to the iconographic complex of the *Shu'maakwe* at the shrine, and in other areas of the monument, to be significant. The *Shumai'koli* also are part of the

religious traditions at the Pueblos of Hopi and Zía (Stevenson 1904:531).

Pueblo of Laguna representatives report that in the past their religious leaders used the monument as a place to conduct rituals. Although we identified no specific Laguna shrines within the monument in Phase II fieldwork, Pueblo of Laguna officials expect religious use to continue into the future. At present they decline to discuss specific Laguna religious practices or frequencies.

Similarly, Ácoma religious leaders in the past are said to have conducted pilgrimages to areas now within the monument. Because of the recent development surrounding the monument, prayers now are sent from kivas in lieu of physically visiting shrine areas. Scissons of the Ácoma Historic Preservation Office noted, "Just because we don't go anymore doesn't mean we don't pray to them. We do." The religious shrines and sacred landscape remain important.

Hopi cultural advisors said that their religious activities are conducted with secrecy and that only a few Pueblo religious leaders would know when prayers are delivered to shrines. Given this, cultural advisors are not surprised at the scant documentation of Pueblo religious activities within the monument. The Hopi clans associated with the monument are thought to have had shrines in the area, which retain their importance to the Hopi Tribe even if they have not been visited in recent years.

At the stone structure on a hilltop above Boca Negra, considerable discussion ensued among the Hopi about this feature. Some cultural advisors think it might be a shrine or ceremonial structure while others think it resembles a defensive lookout. The opening of the structure to the east is consistent with Hopi shrines. The advisors do not think it was a corral because it is open on one side. The Hopi left prayer offerings inside the structure, indicative of the respect they accord the feature.

Volcanoes and Other Landforms

The volcanoes in Petroglyph National Monument are a type of geological feature that has significance in Western Pueblo culture. These landforms are believed to have been shaped by the actions of spiritual beings who lived in the ancient past.

Volcanic rock has many cultural associations for the Western Pueblos, including (but not limited to) use in the base of bread ovens at Laguna, in ancient sweat lodges associated with the Zuni, and in kiva fireplaces at Hopi. Lava does not occur on the Hopi Mesas, so this mineral is imported from other locales. Zuni advisors explained that volcanoes are prominent land forms and thus were used in the past as monuments to guide travel across the landscape.

Volcanic eruptions have special significance in Hopi culture (Anyon 2001). Eruptions represent punishment and send a message to the Hopi to reorient themselves back to the true Hopi path. *Paalölöqangw*, the Plumed Water Serpent, who moves underground and causes earthquakes, may cause volcanic eruptions. All volcanic features are regarded as spiritual sanctuary areas, where tranquility should exist. "Breath" or fog sometimes can be seen rising from volcanoes, and this meteorological feature has cultural and spiritual significance because it is associated with weather.

During Phase II fieldwork, Ácoma and Laguna representatives explained that lava flows are important and that the cultural significance of volcanic cones might explain why few petroglyphs occur on them. Ancient peoples probably put petroglyphs in areas surrounding the cones but not on them. The Ácoma people have names for the volcanic cones in the Petroglyph National Monument, and Ácoma stories refer to the volcanoes as the "three sisters."

In a 19th-century monograph on the origin narratives of Zuni, Cushing (1896) describes the role volcanoes played in the "Hardening of the World." This narrative is quoted at length below to provide a sense of the rich eloquence of Western Pueblo conceptualization of volcanism. After a period of earthquakes, the Beloved Twins took counsel with the Sun-father. The narrative continues:

> That the earth be made safer for men, and more stable,
> Let us shelter the land where our children be resting,
> Yea! the depths and the valleys shall be sheltered
> By the shade of our cloud-shield! Let us lay to its circle
> Our firebolts of thunder, aimed to all the four regions,
> Then smite with our arrows of lightning from under
> Lo! fire shall belch outward and burn the world over,
> And floods of hot water shall seethe swift before it!
> Lo! smoke of earth—stenches shall blacken the daylight
> And deaden the senses of them else escaping
> And lesson the number of fierce preying monsters!
> That the earth be made safer for men, and more stable. [Cushing 1896:389]

Cushing continues the account in a narrative style:

> Dread was the din and stir. The heights staggered and the mountains reeled, the plains boomed and cracked under the floods and fires, and the high hollow places, hugged of men and the creatures, were black and awful, so that these grew crazed with panic and strove alike to escape or to hide more deeply. But ere-while they grew deafened and deadened, forgetful and asleep! A tree lighted of lightning burns not long! Presently thick rain fell, quenching the fires; and waters washed the face of the world, cutting deep trails from the heights downward, and scattering abroad the wrecks and corpses of stricken things and beings, or burying them deeply. Lo! they are seen in the mountains to this day; and in the trails of those fierce waters cool rivers now run, and where monsters perished lime of their bones (*áluwe*—calcareous nodules in malpais or volcanic tuff) we find, and use in food stuff! Gigantic were they, for their forms little and great were often burned or shriveled and contorted into stone. See are these, also, along the depths of the world. Where they huddled together and were blasted thus, their blood gushed forth and flowed deeply, here in rivers, there in floods; but it was charred and blistered and blackened by the fires, into the black rocks of the lower mesas (*ápkwina*, lava or malpais). There were vast plains of dust, ashes and cinders, reddened as is the mud of a hearth-place. There were great banks of clay and soil burned to hardness—as clay is when baked in the kiln-mound,-blackened, bleached, or stained yellow, gray, red, or white, streaked and banded, bended or twisted. Worn and broken by the heavings of the under-world and by the waters and breaths of the ages, they are the mountain-terraces of the Earth-mother, "dividing country from country." Yet many were the places behind and between these—dark canyons, deep valleys, sunken plains—unharmed by the fires, where they swerved or rolled higher—as, close to the trace of a forest-fire, green grow trees and grasses, and even flowers continue to bloom. Therein, and in the land sheltered by the shield, tarried the people, awakened, as from fearful dreams. Dry and more stable was the world now, less fearsome its long places; since, changed to rock were so many monsters of prey (some shriveled to the size of insects; made precious as amulets for the hunter and warrior, as told in other talks of our ancient speech). [1896:389–390]

In other publications, Cushing (1920:32–33, 1967:12 [1883]) and Stevenson (1904:58) elaborate on the cultural importance of the "beast gods" created during the hardening of the world. These beast gods were the great monsters and prey animals that subsequently shriveled and turned into stone. The resulting petrified forms, concretions, and eroded rocks became revered by Zunis as powerful fetishes. Each of these beast gods has a special gift of strength or sagacity.

Ácoma people also have narratives that explain volcanism. According to White (1943:314), spiritual beings built fires on the mountains all around to heat Mother Earth and make her more fertile. One of these fires produced the lava beds near Grants. In a related account of the *Año de la Lumbre*, or "Year of Fire," Lummis described an Ácoma account of the "Rivers of Stone" (lava flows) (1925:241–242).

In the Petroglyph National Monument Rapid Ethnographic Assessment fieldwork, Zuni consultants alluded to the cultural importance of the volcanoes when they pointed out that the rocks in the monument were "alive" so that they can take care of the plants. The Zuni felt that people coming to the volcanoes in the ancient past for medicinal plants left offerings for the rocks and volcanoes because of the sacred relationship between the volcanoes, the rocks, the mountains, and the medicinal plants (Evans et al. 1993:18). Zuni and other Pueblo consultants thought the volcanoes were "an obvious guidepost and visual marker" for people traveling to Sandía Mountain and other mountains (Evans et al. 1993:18). "Given the sacredness of the Sandía Mountains, the Zuni Pueblo consultants felt it was highly likely that there are other specific prayer, religious, and sacred areas immediately surrounding the mountains, probably in the area of the volcanoes" (Evans et al. 1993:18). The Zuni consultants thought protection of the Petroglyph National Monument resources was important for their continued religious use.

In Western Pueblo culture, volcanoes are powerful places because of their relation to the Warrior Twins, beast gods (fetishes), and other religious beings and events with historical and cultural importance. Future research can anticipate to document additional ways in which the Petroglyph National Monument volcanoes recall ancient aspects of Western Pueblo origin and migration and thus constitute integral elements of the landscape.

In addition to volcanic features, other landforms within the monument have cultural importance to the Western Pueblos, including rincons, canyons, caves, and lava flows. Laguna, Zuni, and Hopi advisors noted that the caves within the monument are important landform features, often used as shrines for religious offerings. Laguna representatives also pointed out that canyons are important landforms, comparable to a Sun House. Zuni advisors said the Zuni collected minerals from the monument, including fine sands, for ritual use and other Western Pueblos most likely also collected minerals.

The two "geological windows" in the monument have special importance for the Zuni people and are described in oral traditions. The geological windows constitute links in the ethnographic landscape connecting Zuni Pueblo to Sandía Mountain. The geological windows are similar to kivas, with the breeze blowing down the canyons analogous to air coming in a ventilator shaft. The geological windows "breathe" hot and cold air.

Ancestral Villages and Archaeological Sites

Western Pueblo peoples understand their traditional history as a series of migrations over the land. In this perspective, the temporal component of history is subsumed by a spatial order that locates individual clans, religious societies, and other social groups at various places in the past. While archaeologists are concerned with time as an absolute chronology, Western Pueblo peoples operate with time as a relative frame of reference embedded in a spatial context (e.g., see Tuan 1977:120–122). For example, what is important is that one clan migrated through an area after another clan, or that a religious group migrated from the north, passing through a number of ancestral sites. Knowledge about the year or even the century that a particular migration occurred is less important than the relative sequence of events and the spatial dimensions of traditional history. This perspective enables Western Pueblo people to affirm their ancestral inheritance when they visit ancestral sites.

All of the Western Pueblo representatives participating in fieldwork consider the ancient Puebloan occupants of the Petroglyph National Monument to be ancestral to their tribe. The Laguna representatives said, "We were all together as one, and then we split." Today 19 Pueblo languages are spoken; the Western Pueblo consultants do not know which language was spoken by people who inhabited the monument. The Western Pueblos' association of archaeological sites in the monument with their ancestors makes the sites culturally significant and warrants their preservation.

Zuni cultural advisors noted that grinding slicks at some petroglyph panels indicate their longevity of past use because these features take a long time to form. The grinding features might have been used to grind food while people were at a panel, or they may have been used to grind other things in them. Zuni advisors also thought the archaeological sites within the monument are related to ancient hunting, gathering, and farming activities.

The Zuni cultural advisors visiting the monument during the earlier Rapid Ethnographic Assessment (Evans et al. 1993) thought that the Piedras Marcadas Ruin should be protected from archaeological excavation. Evans and his colleagues note, "The site was identified by Zuni Pueblo consultants as having sacred value because of the belief system Pueblo people have regarding the locations their ancestors chose to live" (1993:34). This instance is another example of the values Western Pueblo people have for ancestral sites.

The Hopi view ancestral archaeological sites as monuments that provide physical evidence they set their footprints on the landscape in accordance with a sacred pact they entered with the divine guardian of the earth (Ferguson et al. 1993:27). Ancestral villages, artifact scatters, and other types of ancient archaeological sites thus are important components of the landscape through which the Hopi know their history.

Ácoma, Laguna, Zuni, and Hopi people all have their own cultural context for comprehending ancestral archaeological sites. Even though the context differs, ancestral sites are an integral part of the landscape for all of the Western Pueblos.

Trails

Little is known ethnographically about the ancient and historic trails within the Petroglyph National Monument. A trail network must have connected habitation sites, agricultural fields, shrines, and petroglyph panels. On other projects, Zuni and Hopi cultural advisors noted that Pueblo trails have many historical values, including associations with Pueblo culture, spiritual properties, ceremonial and religious use, and clan migrations (Ferguson et al. 1995:141). Prehistoric and historic trails physically link together a multiplicity of places into a landscape.

Pueblo trails are associated with shrines and trail markers that imbue the routes with a spiritual meaning that continues to be important for contemporary Pueblo religious leaders. Although transportation modes change, the spiritual essence of the Pueblo trails remains. The physical manifestation of Pueblo trails provides historical evidence of past Pueblo use of the landscape.

Even if trails are not used currently for travel, they retain cultural and historical significance. Zuni cultural advisors state they hold sacred trail segments that are part of ancient trail systems. These trails were blessed by religious leaders in the past and should not be desecrated. According to Hopi cultural advisors, these trails are used for spiritual communication, even if tribal members no longer walk their surface.

In earlier fieldwork, Zuni consultants suggest their ancestors used trails in the Petroglyph National

Monument while traveling to sacred areas on and around Sandía Mountain. In describing Zuni comments, Evans and others report

> They pointed out that people would not simply have walked a straight line from their home to the mountains, but would have stopped at places along the way. The volcanoes are an obvious place these travelers would have stopped, due to the volcanoes' proximity to the Sandia Mountains, the unique nature of the rock outcroppings, and the location of the petroglyphs along the escarpment. If they did stop at the volcanoes on these religious journeys, they would have left offerings at significant places on and around the volcanoes. [1993:18]

During Phase II research, Zuni advisors pointed out that in the past Pueblo people engaged in a substantial amount of trade and commerce, with frequent trips between the Western Pueblos and the Río Grande villages. This activity, in addition to religious pilgrimages, must have involved the use of trails that ran by or through the monument. The Zuni advisors recommend additional research to document trails. Given their cultural associations, all ancient Puebloan trails located will be elements of the ethnographic landscape.

Plants and Animals

In her review of the ecology of the West Mesa Escarpment, Stiner (1987) indicates the monument is rich in plant and animal species that were attractive resources to past human groups. Dense stands of squawbush and Indian rice grass probably were collected for their seeds, and other plants might have been used for medicinal purposes. The Pueblo people who used the area in the past knew these wild plant properties (e.g., see Dunmire and Tierny 1995 for a discussion of Pueblo relationships with common wild plants). Lamb notes, "Worn patches on the rocks show where healers ground seeds and herbs on the boulders of the West Mesa, apparently a special place for herbs" (1993:11). The soil conditions at the base of the escarpment, combined with water runoff, give the area a high potential for agriculture (Schmader and Hayes 1987). Abundant water control features in the monument appear related to ancient agriculture.

Rabbits are abundant in the Petroglyph National Monument today and were probably important food sources in the past. Squawbush berries and wax currants today attract many birds. Foxes, hawks, barn owls, snakes, and other animals are dense. All these plants and animals have important cultural associations in Western Pueblo culture (Tyler 1975, 1979) and thus are important elements of Western Pueblo landscapes. During fieldwork Western Pueblo consultants noted that animals such as coyotes are an important part of the natural landscape. The Ácoma, Zuni, and Hopi have many Coyote stories that figure prominently in their oral literature. Zuni advisors also pointed out that insects such as the millipede and others have cultural significance.

Laguna representatives were particularly interested in plants and ethnobotany and identified several plants with traditional uses in their community (Figure 4.13). These plants include *Yaiina* (wolfberry; *Rhus trilobata*), *Gaschta* (Mormon tea; *Ephedra* sp.), *Ha'ush* (*Yucca* sp.), *Hashpas* (four-wing saltbush, (*Atriplex* sp.), snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*), sand sage, various grasses, and cacti. The orthography of Laguna plant names documented during fieldwork is based on rudimentary phonetics that need confirmation and refinement. Medicine men use several of these plants in rituals and ceremonies, and the plants contain elements of strength that contribute to longevity. Other plants are used for food, dyes, utilitarian purposes, and traditional medicines. Yucca, for instance, is used to make a gentle soap, and saltbush provides both fertilizer and mulch. Ancestors of the Laguna are believed to have used the monument's resources.

Figure 4.13: Yucca and grasses at the volcanoes are important ethnobotanical resources for the Western Pueblos. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, September 14, 2000.

The Hopi cultural advisors also are interested in ethnobotany. They pointed out *saya'vi* (wild dock, possibly *Rumex hymenosepalus*) growing in the vicinity at the volcanoes. *Saya'vi* is used to produce a red dye for wool and basketry, and is used medicinally to treat colds and ant bites (Whiting 1966:73). The advisors also commented on the *hova'kpi* (sand sagebrush, *Artemsia filifolia*) and *tavo'tka* (sagebrush,

Artemesia spp.), noting these plants have many utilitarian, medicinal, and ritual uses (see also Whiting 1966:94). These and additional Hopi medicinal plants observed merit an intensive ethnobotanical study in the future. Hopi passing through the monument on trips to the Río Grande pueblos most likely would have collected medicinal plants.

The Hopi expressed interest in the agricultural potential of the monument and the surrounding area. They note the fertile appearance of the farmland bordering the Río Grande. The Hopi advisors believe the sand dunes at the base of the West Mesa escarpment could be farmed using traditional Hopi water control techniques.

During Phase II fieldwork, all of the Western Pueblo consultants explained that cultural values for plants are universal and are not contingent on their recent use. That is, all plants are important wherever they grow, regardless of whether specific plant areas have been used for collection in the contemporary period.

Vistas

Striking views of Sandía Mountain and other prominent landforms are visible from Petroglyph National Monument. During fieldwork all of the Western Pueblo consultants explicitly described how open space and vistas are important components of their ethnographic landscapes. One of the Zuni advisors pointed out that areas like the monument are known in songs, which provide a point of reference when they are visited. Because of the increasing partition of the landscape by fences and other constraints to free access, Zuni tribal members often do not have opportunities to visit important cultural sites and to know and experience them as their ancestors did. This advisor thinks retention of open space within the monument will help preserve the opportunity for future generations of Zuni to know these places as they are described in traditional narratives.

Personal Attachments

This essay focuses on elements of landscapes related to Western Pueblo culture aspects widely shared by tribal members. In addition to these communal elements, other landscape elements no doubt are of personal or familial importance to Western Pueblo tribal members. For instance, Brunnemann notes that Rosco Paquin, a Zuni Indian, served as an attendant of Sophie Aberle in the 1960s, and the road in front of the triplex now housing the monument staff offices is named the Paquin Trail after him. According to Brunnemann, Rosco Paquin "was apparently a religious person at Zuni, and I feel (based on testimony from Susie Pool and Theda Rushing's son) that many images at the back of Rinconada Canyon were made by Rosco" (1998). The Paquin family at Zuni Pueblo most likely has personal attachments to the Petroglyph National Monument comprising important elements of the family's landscape.

People at the Pueblo of Laguna remember Sophie Aberle as a good friend to the community. For instance in the Phase II research interview, Sarracino described how he conducted research for Dr. Aberle. During visits to her in the house that now serves as the monument's Visitor Center, he would look at the petroglyphs on the escarpment behind the house.

Many Western Pueblo tribal members either worked in Albuquerque or attended the Albuquerque Indian School (Hart 1995b; Peters 1994:35–37,52; White 1943:326–337). For these people, the West Mesa escarpment and volcanoes comprise dominant features of their western horizon during their sojourn in Albuquerque. Past traditional uses of the monument by Laguna tribal members include visits to the area for "Forty-Niner" gatherings during the State Fair. At that time the area was isolated and contained few houses; the road ran through open desert. Don James, a Hopi-Tewa who attended Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute (SIPI), noted the city was away from the monument area at that time and the monument was a place where SIPI students traditionally went for social activities. They valued the area for its natural setting and open space.

Managing the Ethnographic Landscape

During Phase II fieldwork, considerable discussion centered on the management of the Petroglyph National Monument. All of the Western Pueblo consultants remarked about the clearly evident environmental changes at the monument. The presence of petrified wood evidences the desertification of ancient forests in many regions of the Southwest, due to climatic change. The great increase in the pace of human development on the West Mesa in the last two decades also concerns the cultural advisors.

Management Issues

Representatives from Laguna, Zuni, and Hopi are concerned about the rapid urban development of Albuquerque in the area surrounding the Petroglyph National Monument and by the construction of Paseo del Norte and other roads that might bisect the monument in the future. The tremendous amount of housing and commercial development on the West Mesa in recent years already has impinged on the Western Pueblo advisors' experience of the monument. These cultural advisors also are concerned about

impacts from the increasing public visitation to the monument.

All of the Western Pueblo representatives think the federal government should acquire all private inholdings within the monument and add them to the public lands managed by the NPS. Ácoma, Laguna, Zuni and Hopi representatives think the best stewardship of the land will occur under NPS ownership, with management according to federal laws and regulations that also require tribal consultation. Laguna and Hopi representatives explicitly stated their preference that the land within the monument be owned by the NPS rather than the City of Albuquerque.

Laguna representatives pointed out that the sacredness of the area to Native Americans must be addressed in the management plan. Only generalized information about shrines and religious sites should be released to the public, however; no specific information about Native American religious use of the monument should be divulged. All of the Western Pueblo cultural advisors agree no commercialization should be allowed of the monument's petroglyphs, especially images depicting ceremonial figures like Katsina or *Koko*.

Zuni and Hopi representatives are dismayed by bullet hole damages and admonish monument authorities to stop this vandalism. They support NPS policy forbidding the discharge of firearms within the monument.

Advisors were that total avoidance of all adverse impacts to cultural and natural resources should be the management goal. This goal would obviate the need for mitigation of impacts. Hopi cultural advisors think the NPS policy discouraging scientific excavation of archaeological resources is appropriate, with Ancestral Pueblo sites preserved in place rather than through excavation.

Laguna thoughts about management are guided by the principle, "Do whatever is going to preserve the monument." This sentiment is shared widely among all the advisors who visited the Petroglyph National Monument. As one Hopi representative noted, Native Americans want to protect all their ancestral sites so they can return to them as needed. In the words of a Laguna representative, "The Land is Number 1."

The Western Pueblo consultants universally agree that open space within the monument should be protected (Figure 4.14). The entire monument should be fenced and additional signage installed to protect its resources. Roads intrude upon open space, so no vehicles should be allowed off existing roads and no new roads built. Parking areas should be developed only at the monument edges, and all access within the monument should be restricted to pedestrian traffic. Pedestrian trails in the monument need to be maintained to protect the health and safety of elderly users. Wildlife within the monument needs to be protected before development occurs. Noise from the Double Eagle Airport is intrusive and annoying to the enjoyment of open space, and Western Pueblo consultants suggest any airport expansion should occur towards the west, away from the monument. Ácoma and Hopi representatives thought the NPS should undertake restoration of the mined areas within the monument, but this work should not entail any new borrow pits. The advisors agree unanimously that Paseo del Norte and other roads should not be developed if they bisect open space within the monument.

Figure 4.14: Todd Scissons and Michael Quijano discussing the encroachment of housing developments on the open space of Piedras Marcadas. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 3, 2000.

All the tribal representatives think admission to the monument, including the Boca Negra area managed by the City of Albuquerque, should be free to tribal members. The Laguna representatives consider the monument a part of their homeland and feel they should not be denied free access simply because their lands were taken historically by Spain, Mexico, and the United States.

Hopi cultural advisors recommend a Memorandum of Understanding be developed to facilitate planning, with the tribes as signatories to guide management of Petroglyph National Monument. All of the Western Pueblo consultants think that long-range, holistic planning is required to provide protection of the monument. The primary focus of the Western Pueblo cultural advisors is on the entire landscape rather than on individual resources. Consideration of specific resources should not be separated from their association with larger ethnographic and cultural

landscapes. As Zuni cultural advisor Wilton Niiha said, "We see the land as a whole; we call it Mother Earth. We came from her womb, the Fourth Underworld. I see her as a living thing. All the resources are alive."

Consultation

Western Pueblo tribal officials want to be consulted about all aspects of development and management of the Petroglyph National Monument. This consultation should be conducted on a government-to-government basis and should entail meetings where NPS employees travel to the reservation to meet with tribal officials. Correspondence and documents regarding consultation with the Pueblo of Laguna should be sent to the Governor, with copies to the NAGPRA Committee and the Department of Natural Resources. At the Pueblo of Ácoma and the Pueblo of Zuni, correspondence should be addressed to the Governor, with copies sent to the respective tribal Historic Preservation Offices. Correspondence to the Hopi Tribe should be sent to the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, with copies to the Tribal Chairman.

Western Pueblo consultants think formal consultation should be conducted as often as development occurs, and that additional consultation is needed immediately about the issue of the public interpretation of petroglyphs. The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office representative expressed concern about the NPS's ability to protect sensitive information collected about traditional cultural and religious activities. This information is needed for management but should not be divulged to the general public.

Zuni cultural advisors recommend that future consultation be associated with additional fieldwork to allow more tribal members to gain first-hand experience of the petroglyphs and resources of the Petroglyph National Monument. Reading about the monument in reports and documents is a poor substitute for visiting the areas of concern and talking about them with NPS employees in the field. While this issue was not raised explicitly with the other tribes, all of the Western Pueblos probably agree with the suggestion that more fieldwork is needed as a part of future consultation.

Several cultural advisors suggest annual meetings between their tribe, the NPS, and the City of Albuquerque to review management of the Petroglyph National Monument. In addition to these individual meetings with tribes, the NPS should sponsor inter-tribal meetings to allow tribal representatives to consider issues in deliberation with other Native Americans associated with the monument. A Hopi representative recommends that the NPS form a Tribal Advisory Group to provide formal input about managerial issues.

Research and Interpretive Activities

All of the Western Pueblo consultants think additional research undertaken in association with their tribes would produce valuable documentation for NPS interpretive activities. They identified ethnobotanical research, iconographic study of petroglyphs, and historical research as three topics needing further study.

Representatives from all four Western Pueblos think that their tribes' historical and cultural associations to the Petroglyph National Monument should be mentioned explicitly in public interpretive programs. Cultural advisors recommend the NPS collect additional ethnographic information for use in educating the public about Native American ties to and respect for the land. Tribal members' participation in the design and implementation of interpretive activities is essential. Representatives from the Pueblos of Laguna and Zuni explicitly ask that their tribal members be included in cultural demonstrations and other interpretive activities.

Western Pueblo cultural advisors suggest organized field trips to take Pueblo students from their tribes to the monument so tribal elders can use the petroglyphs to teach young tribal members about their history and culture. Tribal interpreters are needed on these field trips to provide the cultural context and historical details unique to their pueblo.

Cultural advisors participating in Phase II fieldwork offered preliminary guidance regarding the interpretation of petroglyphs at the Petroglyph National Monument. This guidance is subject to refinement during future consultation. In general, cultural advisors think it is appropriate to use images of petroglyphs in interpretive programs only if the petroglyphs are not associated with religious activities. Zuni advisors, for instance, find it acceptable to show petroglyphs of animals, spirals, and geometric figures to the public, but recommend that images depicting humans or *Koko* (Kachina) should not be used in public interpretive programs. None of the Western Pueblo advisors want images depicting religious themes or activities to be divulged to the public, but some tribes, like Zuni, want these images to be documented by their tribe for internal research purposes. Zuni cultural advisors reviewed the *Boca Negra Canyon Trail Guide* (Southwest Parks and Monument Association 1999), and recommend the removal of the images on pages 4, 5, and 10 when the guide is reprinted. The Zuni and Hopi advisors advise restricting visitation to the possible shrine feature on top of the hill at Boca Negra.

Hopi advisors discussed the ambivalence they feel about sharing interpretive information. Secretive policies about historical information must be balanced with making true information available to the public to increase understanding of and appreciation for cultural resources. Exploitation of Hopi information for commercial endeavors insults Hopi people and must be avoided. Hopi cultural information is a birthright; appropriation and use of this information by non-Hopi people is wrong. This sentiment also is evident in comments from the representatives of Ácoma, Laguna, and Zuni.

All of the Western Pueblo cultural advisors think that proceeds from the Visitor Center gift shop should be used to support educational programs with descendant communities. These communities include the Western Pueblos.

Conclusions

This essay demonstrates that Western Pueblo people have meaningful attachments to places mediated by their ancestral past. These places constitute landscapes as memory, and Western Pueblo people use these landscapes as vehicles of discourse to recall their history and culture. The Petroglyph National Monument contains many cultural and natural resources whose specific roles in Western Pueblo landscapes warrant further consideration and study. The active participation of Western Pueblo tribal members in future research is essential to the phenomenological studies needed to articulate how and why the cultural and natural resources of the Petroglyph National Monument constitute meaningful ethnographic landscapes.

Traditional landscapes of the Western Pueblos probably transcend the boundaries of the Petroglyph National Monument. The Petroglyph National Monument, as it is currently configured, constitutes a landscape of another culture—a monument of the United States, with boundaries defined by non–Native Americans based on Native American cultural resources and constraints of the rapid urban development in Albuquerque. Thus, the Western Pueblos have concerns regarding the monument, because landscape is defined by local, regional, and national political processes outside their communities, and it is managed by a federal agency that controls access to and preservation of the cultural resources important to tribal members.

In this regard, it is helpful to recognize that landscape does more than signify power relations; landscape is an instrument of cultural power (Mitchell 1994:1–2). As a cultural medium, landscape naturalizes social constructions, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable. In many parts of the world, landscapes have a political component because landscape is a "high tension" concept that operates at the juncture of history, politics, social relations, and cultural perceptions (Bender 1993:3). We expect these factors will be expressed in future community-based ethnographic research at the Petroglyph National Monument. Understanding landscape as a process in the widest possible terms is essential to conducting and interpreting the results of future research for multiple audiences.

The direct participation of Western Pueblos, just as other interested communities, is essential for all future research about the monument's landscape. As Schaafsma advises, interpretation of Southwestern petroglyphs must be grounded in ethnographic information, because "if we throw out ethnographic information that relates to the cultures under investigation, we are free to cast the past into our own terms, and it becomes a mirror of ourselves" (1997:16).

In discussing growth, development, and other issues related to petroglyph landscapes, Schaafsma notes,

> In the case of the West Mesa outside of Albuquerque, monied interests and an emotionally charged belief in the rightness of, and economic need for, unlimited growth and expansion of secular space collide with a landscape of shrines and thousands of petroglyphs. This landscape is invested with spiritual powers necessary for the perpetuation of a culture that has taken thousands of years to evolve with its own definitions of truth. [1997:16]

As Schaafsma (1997:18) points out, the appropriation of rock art images for commercial use is a form of trivialization and desecration. Over-visitation of rock art sites can contribute to their material and spiritual degradation.

Collaboration among Western Pueblo people, other Native Americans, interested Nuevomexicano, Hispano, and Anglo communities, and scholars conducting research for the Petroglyph National Monument is needed to articulate the many meaningful elements that constitute landscapes. With a multicultural definition and understanding of the landscape, interested parties will have a factual basis to determine how these landscapes should be managed responsibly for the benefit of all.

CHAPTER 5

CHÉZHIN SINIL (ROCK-THAT-DEFENDS): NAVAJO CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND THE PETROGLYPH NATIONAL MONUMENT

KLARA KELLEY AND HARRIS FRANCIS

A cultural landscape is a kind of social memory (after Küchler 1993:86; see also chapter 2), a set of geographical features interlinked by the stories or practices of a particular community. The Petroglyph National Monument lies within cultural landscapes delineated by Navajo ceremonial, clan community, and family histories. Our research on the significance of the Petroglyph National Monument in Navajo cultural landscapes has two phases: first, consulting previous historical and ethnographic documentation, and second, consulting contemporary Navajo traditionalists.[1]

Phase I

Previous documentation is of two types: (1) non-Navajo documentation of Navajo oral tradition and (2) non-Navajo documentation of direct observations of Navajos (including observations of the archaeological traces left by past Navajos). Although non-Navajos produced almost all of this documentation, the oral tradition reflects Navajo ways of knowing the past (historical epistemology), whereas the direct observations reflect the historical epistemology of the people of colonizing European-based cultures.

Navajo oral traditions are of three main types: (1) Navajo ceremony histories, (2) individual clan histories, and (3) community-family histories. Ceremonial and clan histories offer few or no specific dates. Ceremonial histories are set in pre-Columbian times, however, before the arrival of non-Indians, domesticated animals, wheels, or forged metals. Clan histories span these times and link ceremonial stories with family-community histories. Ceremonial and clan histories, furthermore, record active use of what are now archaeological sites, the documented dates of which help date the stories. Embedded in all three types of oral histories are events of specific times and places, although such events are easy to recognize only in the community-family histories. In the ceremonial and clan histories, such events tend to merge with mythic prototype events of cosmogenesis. One reason for the merging is that people find not only history but also prophecy in their stories. Thus, they might identify an event, even as it unfolds, with mythic prototypes. Several events locked onto the same mythic prototype may be distinguished according to the different geographical locations of the event. The events at each location might have been ritual dramas of the mythic prototype event or unique natural or sociopolitical events. To distinguish mythic prototype events from events at specific times and places requires evidence outside the story, such as archaeological evidence or observations (stories) of others with different historical epistemologies.

We have covered available documentation as thoroughly as possible within the practical constraints of the present research phase. Lacking time to scour every primary source that might mention the landscape in and around the Petroglyph National Monument, we favored compilations of primary documentation. For ceremonial and clan histories, we used mainly our own research records (Kelley and Francis 1995a), which identify every place named in virtually all published (and some unpublished) ceremonial and clan origin stories and in geographical studies of Navajo sacred places (e.g., Van Valkenburgh 1941, 1974). Our records also summarize the story context in which each place figures. For this report we also consulted an unpublished manuscript version of a ceremonial story that seemed to refer most likely to the Petroglyph National Monument (Wheelwright 1932). For the clan histories, we focus on clans named in family histories from the Navajo communities nearest the Petroglyph National Monument. For community-family histories, we relied on the Navajo Oral History Statements in the Correll Collection at the Navajo Nation Museum and Library (Navajo Nation n.d.c); this collection consists of all research compiled for the Navajo Land Claim before the Indian Claims Commission. Again, we focus on statements by residents of the Navajo communities nearest the monument. In addition, to

establish groundwork for Phase II, we contacted four Navajo ceremonialists and local government officials of the Navajo communities nearest the monument. The oral history information they offered is included here. For observations by non-Navajos, we relied on chronicles of the Eastern Navajo region that the Navajo Nation filed with the Indian Claims Commission for its land claim (Navajo Nation 1963, n.d.a, n.d.b), supplemented by other historical works.

The summary of previous documentation that makes up this chapter is organized chronologically. Because the Navajo oral tradition and non-Navajo historical observations differ epistemologically, we treat them separately within each period. We foreground the Navajo oral tradition and follow it with supplementary non-Navajo observations. The earliest stories are those about Navajo ceremonies clearly rooted in pre-Columbian times. The clan stories are next, spanning late pre-Columbian and early post-Columbian times. Community and family histories follow, set mainly in the 19th century. These sources cover the period before the U.S. government conquered the Navajos in the 1860s. We found little postconquest recorded oral tradition; postconquest non-Navajo observations of the nearest Navajo communities similarly are rare. Readily available sources, therefore, offer only a glimpse of more recent Navajo history near the Petroglyph National Monument. We cover the recent history in the last part of the section for Phase I.

In the sources we consulted, the Petroglyph National Monument appears explicitly only in ceremonial origin stories, set in pre-Columbian times. Information about later periods places Navajos in the surrounding region and indicates changes in the societies and cultures whose 20th-century Navajo heirs tell these stories. The stories came to the present through the historical process of Navajo ethnogenesis. In ethnogenesis (as Anderson [1999] describes), ethnic groups come apart because of internal and external political, natural, or other forces; the fragments coalesce with various other groups to form new communities. The coalescing groups meld their disparate cultural traditions into a more-or-less coherent cultural system for the new community, and this melded cultural system then contributes to an ethnic identity for the new community. Throughout this essay, we describe aspects of this process.

Stories Connected with Navajo Ceremonies, Pre-1200s–1500s?

Oral Histories

Stories That Mention the Petroglyph National Monument. In all the written works and documentation on Navajo life, history, and culture, we found only one source that directly refers to the site of the Petroglyph National Monument:

> She started west; passed through a valley and came to a ridge called Rock-that-defends. There was a house, and four people lived in it; Big Bear Man, Monster Slayer, Thunder Man, Big Snake Man…Four people are still there in the rocks. Navahos always would scratch off a piece of the rock and carry it in their pockets when they went on a war party, that is why it is called Rock-that-defends. [Wyman 1957:137]

The storyteller locates these figures west of the Río Grande Valley. The landform referred to clearly encompasses the Petroglyph National Monument: the five volcanoes and their lava flow, on the east escarpment of which are the petroglyphs, including images of bear tracks; shield- and knife-(?) bearers (the Twin War God named Monster Slayer in Navajo iconography); spirals, zigzags, and horned or plumed serpents (Big Snake); and figures with spread wings and legs (Thunder in Navajo iconography) (Newcomb and Reichard 1975[1937]; Reichard 1977[1939]; Roessel 1983; Schaafsma 1980:316, 1995:254–255; Schmader and Hays 1987; see also Copeland 1998; Copeland and Rogers 1996).

The place name Rock-that-defends constitutes a small cultural landscape in itself. The story also delineates a larger cultural landscape that incorporates Rock-that-defends into a whole (Wyman 1957:129–142). According to this story, a mother at Hosta Butte south of Chaco Canyon says she will give her two daughters as prizes to raiders who go to Pueblo Bonito and kill two "Non-Sunlight-Struck" men, one with scalp full of whiteshell, the other with scalp full of turquoise, plus 32 others.[2] (In other versions of this raid [Haile 1938; Wheelwright 1932, 1951; Wyman 1957, 1975], the target of the raid is the Aztec Great House or *Towoł*, Gurgling Water or whirlpool, identified with Taos Pueblo or with a large body of water, ocean).

On the apparently roundabout way home with the successful war party, the girls are seduced by a pair who had joined the party earlier, Big Snake Man and

Big Bear Man.[3] The girls run from the two men. Big Bear Man chases Older Sister, who along the way learns ceremonial lore constituting the Mountaintopway ceremonial repertoire. Big Snake Man chases Younger Sister, who in her travels learns ceremonial lore constituting the Beautyway ceremonial repertoire.[4] The Beautyway ceremonial origin story identifies many places important to the Navajo cultural landscape (see Figure 5.1).

Younger Sister comes to Rock-that-defends after fleeing south and west and meeting Snake People all along the path of her flight. The route of her escape took her from a starting point at La Plata Mountains (north of the San Juan River) south by the home of Snake People (probably Jémez Red Mountain west of Jémez); along the Jémez Mountain Ridge to Mesa Cortada on the "south" [north] side of Mount Taylor; between the two peaks of Mount Taylor, down a canyon on the east side of the mountain (probably Water Canyon) to a Black Rock (probably near Cubero), and then to *Tółáanii* (Laguna Pueblo); then down Red Rock Ridge (probably Mesita area) to the Sandía Mountains; to Coiled Mountain (possibly the volcanic hill near Isleta); and finally to a mountain with many peaks near Belen (probably Ladrones). This many peaked mountain thus ends the inventory of Snake People's homes that Younger Sister visits on her flight. The area encompassed by the Snake People's homes delineates the middle Río Grande and the western edge of the Río Puerco of the East watershed to its junction with the Río Grande.

Younger Sister next starts up the Río Puerco of the East Valley on a food quest (probably signifying a home). The first place she stops is Rock-that-defends, where the four people (Big Bear Man, Monster Slayer, Thunder Man, and Big Snake Man) tell her they have nothing for her to eat. (This place might stand for the east side of the Río Puerco East watershed or perhaps the middle Río Grande Valley.) She goes southwest to Small Mountain (probably Correo) and an oak canyon where Deer People, who subsist on grass, cannot feed her. Younger Sister continues westward to Big Reed Canyon where Antelope live but have no food that she can eat; then to Mogollon Baldy, where she discovers that Gila Monster People also have food different from hers; to various locations in the Zuni area; to San Francisco Peaks; to the Grand Canyon; to Black Mesa; to the Carrizo Mountain where her path intersects with that of Older Sister (the one pursued by Big Bear Man); down the east side of Chuska Range, into the Gallup area where she meets more snake people, and White Rock; and lastly, over the Chuska Mountains at Cove to Canyon de Chelly.

In Canyon de Chelly, Younger Sister meets Snake People and the Big Snake Man, from whom she later will learn the core of the Beautyway ceremony and with whom she will make her home. But first, Big Snake Man sends her back by way of Beautiful Mountain in the Chuska Valley to her starting point, La Plata Mountains, where her route again intersects that of her older sister. Younger Sister comes down the upper Chama Valley through Wide Cornfields, which possibly is the area for which Fr. Benavides in 1630 named the Navajo Apaches near Jémez Pueblo (see below); to Mount Taylor where she again meets her older sister. The two sisters then go to their final homes, with Older Sister returning to Hesperus and Younger Sister traveling by way of the Upper Río Puerco of the West ridge near Gallup back to Canyon de Chelly. Younger Sister's travels delineate watersheds and identify the immortal beings who claim each watershed as their home.

In Navajo belief, local humans sustain immortals through offerings. Younger Sister, promised to the Great Snake by her mother for his assistance, fails to find a home with anyone, including the beings at Rock-that-defends (who presumably were fed by Río Puerco East Valley humans or those of the Middle Río Grande or both), until she reaches Canyon de Chelly. Her final home here, like her mother's home at Hosta Butte, is in the zone dividing the San Juan and Little Colorado watersheds.

Willito Wilson, a Navajo ceremonialist from Mariano Lake on the Continental Divide, told the preceding Beautyway story in 1942–1943 (Wyman 1957:129). Other recorded versions of the Beautyway origin story (Wheelwright 1932, 1951; Wyman 1957:45–125) do not mention Rock-that-defends nor the surrounding landscape. A Navajo ceremonialist we consulted, who lives near Willito Wilson's former home, knows a version of this story. (See Phase II discussion of this chapter below.) The places where Younger Sister hid from the Snake Man include Rock-that-defends, which our consultant calls *Chézhin Sinil* or *Tł'ohiichíí* (Lavabuttes-In-Formation), and other landmarks delineating the middle Río Grande Valley.[5] Consequently, we refer to the five volcanoes and their lava flow as *Chézhin Sinil*, the name that Navajos apparently use most today. According to Navajo ceremonialists we consulted for this project, *Chézhin Sinil* also figures in songs and stories of the Enemyway and Windway ceremonial repertoires.

Stories About the Surrounding Landscape. Recorded versions of Enemyway and Windway ceremonial stories do not specify the Petroglyph

National Monument location. One of the four origin stories recorded for the Windway repertoire (Wyman

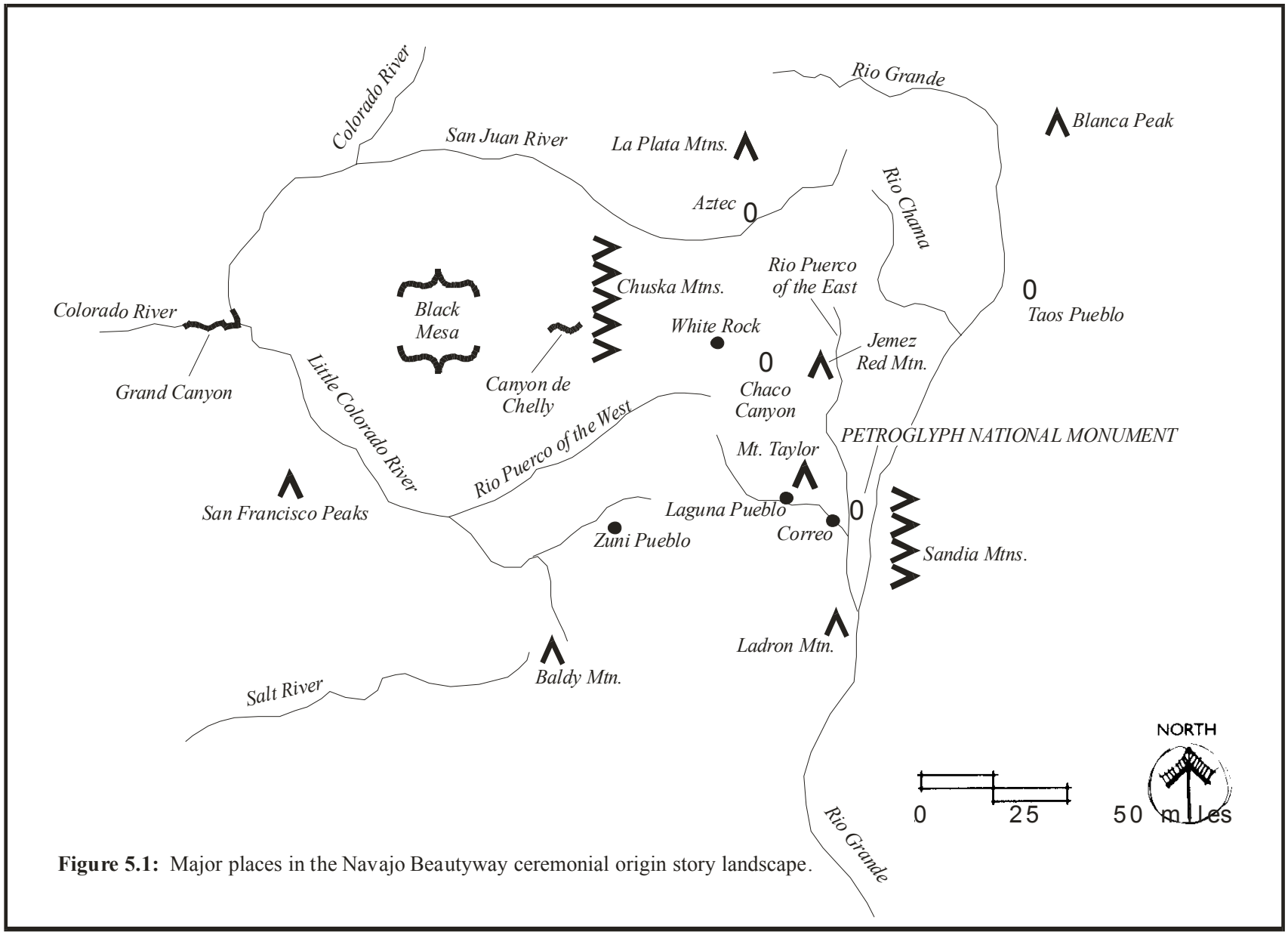

Figure 5.1: Major places in the Navajo Beautyway ceremonial origin story landscape.

1962:86–213) might refer to some of the same places in the Río Grande and Río Puerco of the East watersheds as does Willito Wilson's story. These places include Coiled Mountain, the Jémez Mountains, and the mysterious Bulging Sagebrush Ridge (*Ts'ah Násk'id*). The geography in this narrative is vague, however. Another recorded Windway story (Wheelwright 1946b) centers on Jémez Red Mountain. Origin stories recorded for Older Sister's Mountaintopway ceremonial repertoire do not mention *Chézhin Sinil*, but they do delineate the cultural landscapes around it. Of the two dozen Navajo ceremonial repertoires, only the four mentioned here specify landscapes around the Petroglyph National Monument in their origin stories, although stories of other repertoires (e.g., Nightway and Shootingway) touch places nearby. Other Navajo origin stories recorded without specified links to ceremonial stories also delineate these landscapes.[6]

Both Beautyway and Mountaintopway origin stories start with the sacking and burning of Aztec, Pueblo Bonito, Taos, or a town beside a big body of water of uncertain location. This part of the story overlaps with Enemyway origin story. The published version of the Enemyway story, like the other versions of Beautyway, is confined to the San Juan River Basin west of the Continental Divide (Haile 1938; Wheelwright 1932, 1951; Wyman 1957).

In one version of the Mountaintopway story (Wheelwright 1951), in the war between the people of Aztec and those of Narrows Lake (Horse Lake) in the upper Río Chama Valley near the Continental Divide, the brothers from Narrows Lake promise their sisters to whoever takes the jeweled scalps of Non-Sunlight-Struck Twins of Aztec. Big Bear Man and Big Snake Man win the girls, but the girls flee. Older Sister, promised to Big Bear Man, eventually travels with four Holy People from the Upper San Juan to assemble much of the Mountaintopway ceremonial repertoire. The people teach Older Sister partly by showing her ceremonies in different places, starting with Taos and stopping at other places down the Río Grande: Santa Fé Mountain, where the Turquoise clan performs; a place near La Bajada Hill where the Bluebird People (an association with Cerrillos turquoise?) perform; a place near Sandía Mountain (probably Isleta Pueblo) where people perform who later move to Hopi; and finally, someplace near Los Lunas (Pottery Mound?) where Mountain Sheep people (an icon of the La Plata Mountains?) perform. Older Sister continues traveling west of the Río Grande: first to Laguna-Ácoma and Mount Taylor; then vaguely west and south before reaching an area southwest of Zuni; then to the San Francisco Peaks, the Chuska Mountains, the Chuska Valley, Mancos Creek, La Plata Mountains, White Mountain, Emergence Place, and Horse Lake; and ultimately, to her final home north of the Upper San Juan drainage. This story thus features the Río Grande Valley proper rather than its edges (as in our consultant's story) or its tributary, the Río Puerco Valley East (as in Willito Wilson's story).

In another version of the Mountaintopway story (Wyman 1975:237–244), after people of the upper San Juan–Chama rivers watersheds overrun the allied Aztec and Salmon great houses, the two sisters flee seducers Big Bear Man and Big Snake Man. The girls travel west down the San Juan River to Carrizo Mountain near the present Four Corners. They separate, and the girl promised to Big Bear Man stays north of the San Juan River, particularly around Mancos Canyon. The last part of the story tells of the prototype Mountaintopway ceremony.

The climax of a full-scale Mountaintopway ceremony requires two meal sprinklers to travel across the landscape summoning people of outlying settlements, especially masked dancers and magicians, to perform on the last night. The meal sprinklers are One Who Lies Underneath (a Mountain) (name translated in other versions as Lazy Boy) and Valley Boy. The object of their journey is to see who gets back to the starting point first. From *Dził Łichíí'* (Jémez Red Mountain), they go to their starting point "behind Black Mountain" (possibly Valle Grande). Reordering the storyteller's apparently garbled sequence of places, we suggest that Lazy Boy's course loops north and back through the fields of the "real Navajos" (probably northwest of Jémez).

Valley Boy is the favorite of the Pueblos, because he was raised by Antelope (an icon for the Keres Pueblos?). He runs first toward the river, sighting on a rock pinnacle where a Shootingway Singer lives. (The Shootingway story includes a trip northeast to the buffalo homeland—Great Plains, so this place might be a landmark on the indigenous trail through Pecos, possibly a pinnacle on Sandía Mountain as seen from the north.) Valley Boy's loop passes through Santo Domingo, Zía, and Jémez Falls (?). Lazy Boy wins the race back to the start in Valle Grande or wherever "behind Black Mountain" is.

Besides these related ceremonial stories, Luckert (1977:120) reveals that Rincon Ridge (or Sandía Mountain in general?) is paired with *Dził Łichíí'* (Jémez Red Mountain) for rainmaking. Rincon Ridge, curving from the north end of Sandía Mountain west

before turning south, is the male rattlesnake, facing southeast. Jémez Red Mountain is the female, facing northwest. The two call forth moisture. Jémez Red Mountain also is the home of snake ceremonialists in Mountaintopway, Beautyway, and Shootingway ceremonial stories. Rincon Ridge (or Sandía Mountain as a whole) and Jémez Red Mountain frame a zone encompassing the Petroglyph National Monument.[7]

One of our consultants connects his community, *Tó Hajiileeh* (formerly known as Canyoncito), with the Petroglyph National Monument through war ceremonialism. *Tó Hajiileeh* is the Navajo community nearest the monument. For this consultant, several Navajo ceremonial repertoires originated in a sacred landscape between the Río Puerco of the East Valley and the tributuary canyons descending from Mount Taylor farther west. These repertoires include not only war ceremonies but also the Nightway and Mountaintopway repertoires. [8]

The *Tó Hajiileeh* community sacred landscape contains a place of emergence from the earth, according to our consultant. This person did not mention the pre-Columbian petroglyphs that suggest a game emergence place, previously recorded in this landscape (Slifer 1998:146–147). The *Tó Hajiileeh* community sacred landscape includes certain unusual petroglyphs, however, that our consultant photographed near an ancestral farming place. Although the consultant did not say so, these petroglyphs (see Slifer 1998:149) resemble certain unusual images, including (1) motifs at the Petroglyph National Monument (Schmader and Hays 1987:131–132), (2) the corn-ripener in Navajo iconography (Newcomb and Reichard 1975:66–67, plate I [1937]), (3) "insect figures" near the pre–A.D. 1150 Village of the Great Kivas at Zuni (Roberts 1932:Plate 61a), (4) an outlined cross that hypothetically represents the earth's womb found at the Petrified Forest National Monument in Arizona (Patterson 1992:62; Schaafsma 1980:Figure 118), and (5) outlined four- and six-armed crosses at Sinaloa on Mexico's West Coast that hypothetically represent Quetzalcoatl as the Morning Star in Toltec iconography between A.D. 900 and 1100 (Patterson 1992:76–77, 163). Finally, the *Tó Hajiileeh* sacred landscape includes Big Bead Mesa, an important Navajo defensive archaeological site of the late 1700s.

Supplementary Information

Events in these ceremonial stories, like most oral traditions, are hard to date. These stories, like the enormous recorded body of Navajo ceremonial stories, clearly are set in pre-Columbian times. The question remains how far back do they go? We believe ceremonial stories carry evidence of their own histories in their geographies and iconographies. Figure 5.2 depicts the locations of Navajo landscape places mentioned in various documentary records.

Geography. The stories of interest here start with the looting and burning of the Aztec ceremonial complex (abandoned ca. A.D. 1300), Pueblo Bonito (abandoned ca. A.D. 1300), and Taos (founded by A.D. 1450) (Bodine 1979:258; Stein and Fowler 1996:120, 123). Other sites mentioned in the stories include the modern Río Grande pueblos, most of which are at or near sites or site clusters established between the A.D. 1300s and 1400s (Cordell 1979). Thus, the stories seem most clearly set in the period between the late A.D. 1200s and the Spanish *entrada* of Cabeza de Baca and Coronado (1536–1541). During this time, population and ceremonial centers shifted eastward across the Continental Divide from the San Juan Basin to the Río Grande (Adler 1996; LeBlanc 1999).

The Río Puerco East watershed landscape of Willito Wilson's story encompasses a group of late A.D. 1200s to 1300s archaeological sites with "Mesa Verde"–type ceramics (Ellis 1979:439). The successor to these sites is Pottery Mound near the Río Grande confluence, with a large A.D. 1300 to 1475 "Mexican style" platform mound and possible ballcourt. (Pottery Mound might correspond to one of the lower Puerco landmarks in various versions of the Beautyway story). Late Pueblo Bonito also has "Mesa Verde"–type ceramics during the A.D. 1100s and 1200s heyday of Aztec, after it apparently superseded Chaco Canyon as the dominant regional ceremonial center (Stein and Fowler 1996:116, 123, 126). Aztec, just as the Mountaintopway stories recall, was sacked and burned (LeBlanc 1999:326), while "Largo Gallina" villages in the upper San Juan–Chama watersheds along the Continental Divide (home of Aztec's adversaries in the Navajo stories) were burned during Aztec's heyday (LeBlanc 1999:349). The upper San Juan–Chama region is now known as *Dinétah* (among the Navajos), and its A.D. 1400s to 1500s dwelling sites have the highest concentration of early material culture like that documented historically for Navajos (Brown 1996; Brugge 1996; Ford 1979; Reed et al. 1988; see also Kelley and Francis 1998a).

The archaeological record of the late A.D. 1200s to 1500s period appears to correspond with the Beautyway and Mountaintopway stories. Both these stories and archaeology start with pre–A.D. 1300 ceremonial centers at Chaco and Aztec and end with post–A.D. 1300 ceremonial centers in the middle and

upper Río Grande Valley. The stories, however, might conflate this time with the pre–A.D. 1150 time when Chaco was the dominant ceremonial center (Stein and Fowler 1996). We also emphasize that material culture

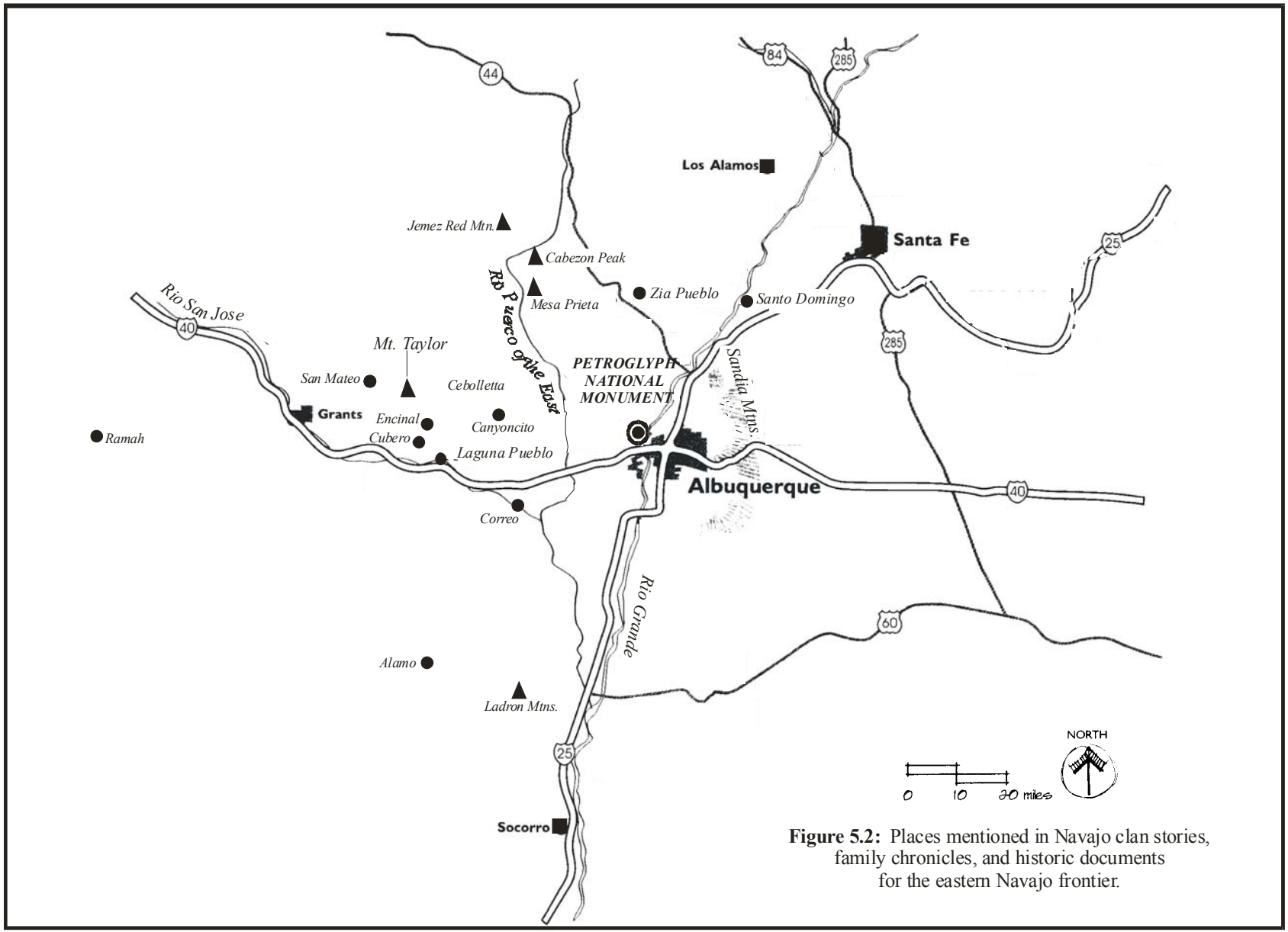

Figure 5.2: Places mentioned in Navajo clan stories, family chronicles, and historic documents for the eastern Navajo frontier.

assemblages do not necessarily correspond to sociopolitical or ethnic groups or even to other aspects of culture such as language or ceremonialism (Jones 1997). This caution is especially for hypothesized correspondences unconfirmed by members of the sociopolitical or ethnic groups that supposedly produced the assemblages. We believe people can occupy an area "since time immemorial" while changing their material culture, political alliances, ethnic identity, and language in response both to nature and to changes in other groups around and among them. What the changes in the distributions of material culture might signify awaits theory building.

Iconography. Navajo ceremonial stories linked to the Petroglyph National Monument and the region around it contain iconography in the form of conventionalized attributes of the immortals and other people, places, and things. In particular, the sandpaintings that are part of the ceremonial repertoires of each story illustrate these people, places, and things. Verbal imagery contained in the Beautyway, Mountaintopway, Navajo Windway, and Shootingway origin stories, as well as the sandpaintings for these repertoires, share iconographic elements with Navajo petroglyphs generally. For example, iconographic parallels are found among the images at the Petroglyph National Monument; other iconography of the same time (e.g., the Pottery Mound [Hibben 1975], Awatovi [Adams et al. 1990; Brew 1979], and Kuaua [Dutton 1963] kiva murals); Navajo petroglyphs found to date to the 1700s (including some from the nearby Río Puerco of the East Valley [Slifer 1998:146–149]); and the iconography in Navajo oral tradition about *Chézhin Sinil*, surrounding landscapes, and volcanoes and lava flows from the 1700s in general. Here we merely note a few iconographic parallels. The comparative iconography deserves a systematic study of its own.

If one accepts Schaafsma's petroglyph style classification and accompanying dates, most Petroglyph National Monument images correspond to Schaafsma's "Río Grande" style category, which postdates A.D. 1300 (1995:160), the period most evident in the Navajo ceremonial stories connected with the monument and its surrounding landscape. Schaafsma also illustrates continuity in petroglyph style and content (1995:256–257) from the pre–A.D. 1300 "Jornada" of the lower Río Grande through the post–A.D. 1300 "Río Grande" style of the middle and upper Río Grande, and the post-1700 "Gobernador" style of Navajo *Dinétah* (1995:303).

To Schaafsma (1995:251–252) the Río Grande petroglyph style also evokes contemporaneous kiva murals at Pottery Mound. The Pottery Mound murals, like the petroglyphs, prominently feature horned or plumed serpents, perhaps equivalent to the Big Snake Man in the Navajo Beautyway story (not to mention the Pueblo *awanyu* [Plumed Serpent]). Bears also appear in the murals, including one with a young gourd-woman (Hibben 1975:106), reminiscent of the Zuni Chakwaina, a bearlike female war deity whose life is in her rattle (Cushing and Wright 1988:90) and of her Navajo counterpart, Changing Bear Woman, whose story is embedded in the Mountaintopway ceremonial origin story (Wyman 1975:177–182). Pottery Mound shield-bearer images resemble figures at the Petroglyph National Monument and others (presumably later) in *Dinétah*. The shield bearers and other war scenes at Pottery Mound remind one in a general way of the war that starts the Navajo Beautyway and Mountaintopway stories. A more specific parallel is the Pottery Mound mural image of paired heads of "spirits of the dead" streaming with beads (Hibben 1975:17). Parrots are ubiquitous in the Pottery Mound murals and are common at the Petroglyph National Monument. Moreover, Parrot People appear once in Willito Wilson's Beautyway story, though the place is near Zuni (Wyman 1957:138), evidently to evoke the parrot feathers used in performances as medicine.

The Pottery Mound murals also include double-armed cross figures among corn plants (Hibben 1975:53, 114). These figures resemble not only outlined cross petroglyphs in the Petroglyph National Monument and the *Tó Hajiileeh* community sacred landscape, but also dragonfly, big fly, and corn-ripener figures in most Navajo sandpaintings (Wyman 1983:134–135). A Rainbow Person on a Pottery Mound mural has counterparts not only in the sandpaintings of Navajo Beautyway, Mountaintopway, Male Shootingway, Nightway, Windway, and Male Plumeway but also possibly in a Navajo petroglyph in *Dinétah* (Schaafsma 1980:319; Wyman 1983:41, 117).

The Pottery Mound murals closely resemble those at Awatobi (Hibben 1975), a village on Antelope Mesa east of the present Hopi villages that was most active from about A.D. 1300 to 1700. Awatobi, called *Táálához* in Navajo, along with several other villages on Antelope Mesa, between approximately A.D. 1300 and 1500 was a major ceremonial center (perhaps *the* major center) in the Little Colorado watershed (Adams et al. 1990; Brew 1979). At least

some people of Laguna Pueblo on a tributary of the Río Puerco East might have come from this center (Courlander 1971; Ellis 1974). The route of the girl in Willito Wilson's Navajo Beautyway story links the Little Colorado watershed with the Río Puerco and the middle Río Grande. Though neither Beautyway nor Mountaintopway stories mention *Táálahooghan*, many other Navajo ceremonial stories connect it with Canyon de Chelly (e.g., Matthews 1902:paragraphs 784–884; O'Bryan 1956:143–166; Wheelwright 1946a:55–90), the final home of Younger Sister and the Big Snake Man in the Navajo Beautyway stories (see above).

Navajo ceremonial stories also connect *Táálahooghan* with the enslaving Great Gambler of Chaco Canyon through the figure of Picker-Up/Downy Home Man, whose equivalent among Keresans, Hopis, and Zunis is *Payetamu* (Sun Youth), a possible avatar of the planet Venus (i.e., the morning and evening stars) seemingly linked to macaw iconography (Kelley and Francis 1995b; Parsons 1996:179 [1939]). Figures in both *Táálahooghan* and Pottery Mound kiva murals evoke Picker-Up/Downy Home Man and his storied exploits (Hibben 1975:53; Slifer and Duffield 1994:117). Finally, macaw iconography, architecture, and ceramics connect Pottery Mound with a much larger contemporary ceremonial center, Casas Grandes (a.k.a. Paquimé) in northern Mexico. Casas Grandes residents raised macaws on a large scale (Hibben 1975:4–11, 60).

The petroglyph figures at *Chézhin Sinil* that Willito Wilson emphasizes in his story and that appear also in Schaafsma's historical sequence of petroglyph styles are among the motifs associated with lava buttes, volcanoes, and lava flows named in various Navajo ceremonial stories (Kelley and Francis 1995a).[9] More specifically, volcanic places variously represent (1) upright knives that guard sacred mountains (Klah 1942:51–69; O'Bryan 1956:20–38; cf. Twin War God Monster Slayer's icon, the knife [Copeland 1998]); (2) corral posts for wild game or homes of deer and antelope, all of which consequently are places for hunt offerings (Fishler 1953:85–91; Haile 1978:paragraphs 81–90; Luckert 1975:32–51, 1978:69–73; Wyman 1957:137–140); (3) places where jeweled canes tapped to create springs, which therefore are places for rain offerings (Fishler 1953:91–102); (4) home of Big God or the place (i.e., the Mount Taylor lava flows) where the Twin War Gods Monster Slayer and Born for Water killed this personage (Haile 1938:109–139); (5) places of the tracks of Great Bear (Haile 1938:109–139); (6) home of Great Snake (Luckert 1975:32–51, 1978:69–73; Wyman 1957:137–140); (7) the place where Great Frog emitted smoke during a race from Chaco and brought on violent hailstorms (Reichard 1944:23–29); (8) the final home of Downy Home Man, who possibly personifies a rain ceremony bundle with macaw feathers (Haile 1978:Paragraph 174; Kelley and Francis 1995b); and (9) a grinding slick where, according to a war-related ceremonial origin story, Monster Slayer ground medicine that grows nearby to renew his strength (Haile 1938:19).

Navajos of two or three centuries ago left many petroglyphs, which resemble Schaafsma's A.D. 1600s and 1700s "Gobernador" style, in the upper San Juan River drainage system. By the late 1800s, when non-Indians first became aware of Navajo sandpaintings, Navajo ceremonialists said that the immortals forbade permanent images of sacred things and portrayed them only in ephemeral sandpaintings.[10]

Navajos might have made such paintings while still making petroglyphs. Archaeological evidence of sandpainting materials antedates 1800 (Olin 1972:41), and one icon for their home, on which the Holy People stand in some sandpaintings, signifies cliff dwellings, according to some Navajos (Wyman 1983:74).

Sandpainting in northern Mexico (i.e., the greater Southwest) is documented from early post-Columbian times (Wyman 1983:5, 36, 42).[11] Sandpainting seems likely to date back to a pre-Columbian pan-Southwestern ceremonialism, perhaps elaborated among mobile groups, such as Navajos, but simplified and combined with ceremonial objects ("fetishes"), altar screens, and permanent wall paintings among sedentary groups, such as Pueblos (see Wyman 1983 for descriptions). If the pueblito-building Navajos of the *Dinétah* in the 1600s and 1700s were more sedentary than either their hunting predecessors or their herding descendants, then the celebrated *Dinétah* petroglyphs might have been a temporary supplement to an older and longer-living sandpainting practice.

Comparisons of Navajo and Pueblo sandpaintings, therefore, should consider all the paraphernalia and other images laid out on and around the sandpaintings. Many Pueblo sandpainting designs are like the underlying geometry of the Navajo designs, but the Pueblos embellish the geometry with added objects, while the Navajos embellish the geometry with additional intricate images in the sand. Other Pueblo sandpaintings are of clouds upon which the people place objects. Navajos say that sandpainting designs were originally on folded or rolled clouds, as well as on spiderwebs or cotton (textiles?) and deerskin (Olin 1972:44), media reminiscent of Mesoamerican

screenfolds and *lienzos* (i.e., cloth woven from flax, hemp, or cotton).

As we might expect, the various visual media within such a shared ceremonialism have common iconography. Shared iconographic elements appear among a variety of cultural-historical contexts, including: (1) Navajo sandpaintings recorded between the 1880s and the present; (2) sandpaintings of other Southwestern Indian communities of the same period; (3) Navajo petroglyphs of the 1600s and 1700s; and (4) the A.D. 1300s to 1500s kiva murals at Antelope Mesa to the southwest and at Kuaua and Pottery Mound to the southeast. Other similarities occur among the media of pre-Columbian and Historic period Pueblo petroglyphs, and Navajo and Pueblo painted pottery (Olin 1972:40; Smith 1952:104, 304; Wyman 1983:41, 158–161, 211, 216; see also Dutton 1963, including appendix, and Hibben 1975). Importantly, modern Navajo ceremonialists themselves recognize these similarities (Dutton 1963:40, n. 27; Olin and Hadlock 1980).

The pre-Columbian Pueblo petroglyphs at the Monument, most of which are probably contemporary with the A.D. 1300s to 1500s kiva murals at the pueblos of Pottery Mound, Awatovi, and Kuaua, share many iconographic elements with Navajo sandpaintings from the 1800s and 1900s, including sandpaintings for ceremonial repertoires associated with the Río Grande Valley (Beautyway, Mountaintopway, Navajo Windway; also Shootingway). The following list of petroglyphs depicted by Schmader and Hays (1987) identifies major comparable elements in Navajo iconography (see also Newcomb et al. 1956 and Wyman 1983:80–141 for other sandpainting examples and discussion of their meanings). The reader should note, however, that most of the figures listed below not only appear in the main part of Navajo sandpaintings but also can serve as guardians of a sandpainting's east-facing opening. In addition, as we note previously, the Navajo sandpaintings and pre-Columbian Pueblo petroglyphs differ in how they combine elements.

- Bear paws with dots above toes (Schmader and Hays 1987:135); cf. Mountaintopway (Wyman 1975:75) and Beautyway sandpainting images (Wyman 1957:12). Similar images are in sandpaintings of most other Navajo ceremonial repertoires.
- Canelike mountain sheep horns on a humanlike figure (Schmader and Hays 1987:90); cf. hunchback sandpainting images (Newcomb et al. 1956:40). Costumed mountain sheep dancers also are important in various Navajo ceremonies, including Mountaintopway, Beautyway, and Shootingway.
- Thunderbird with spread legs and rain dripping from spread wings and tail (Schmader and Hays 1987:136); cf. Thunder in Beautyway (Wyman 1957:Plates 13 and 15) and Windway (Wyman 1962:Figure 45) sandpaintings; also eagle sandpainting images (Newcomb et al. 1956:27) and a *Dinétah* petroglyph (Schaafsma 1963:Figure 51).
- Bird head in profile with two eyes (Schmader and Hays 1987:129); cf. eagle sandpainting figure (Newcomb et al. 1956:27)
- Outlined two-barred crosses (Schmader and Hays 1987:131–132); cf. dragonfly in Beautyway sandpainting (Wyman 1957:Plate 11). Other sandpainting dragonflies have the wide rectangular head form (Newcomb et al. 1956:29) or spotted body (Wyman 1983:134–135) that especially resemble the two-barred crosses in Pottery Mound murals (Hibben 1975:53, 114).
- Two-horned serpent (Schmader and Hays 1987:125); cf. Mountaintopway (Wyman 1975:75), Beautyway (Wyman 1957:Figure 1), and Windway (Wyman 1962:numerous plates and figures) sandpainting images.
- Spirals (Schmader and Hays 1987:numerous illustrations); cf. the coiled snake Beautyway sandpainting (Wyman 1957:Figure 3). The coiled snake image also is in sandpaintings of other Navajo ceremonial repertoires.
- Four-pointed star (Schmader and Hays 1987:112, 131), cf. Big Starway sandpaintings illustrated in most plates in Wheelwright (1988 [1956]) and the many stars depicted in Newcomb and associates (1956:25).
- Frog (Schmader and Hays 1987:133); cf. Beautyway sandpainting frog (Wyman 1957:Plate 10).
- Elongated mountain lion with one line forming back and tail (Schmader and Hays 1987:128); cf. sandpainting mountain lion image in Newcomb and associates (1956:33).
- Multipointed caps on humanlike figures, such as the petroglyph of spiral-shield bearer at southeast rim of Boca Negra Canyon (Schmader and Hayes 1987); cf. Female Shootingway sandpainting image of Monster Slayer (Newcomb and Reichard 1975

[1937]:Plate 15), the flint caps of Windway Wind People (Wyman 1962, numerous sandpainting plates); and the Big Starway Monster Slayer and Star Warriors (Wheelwright 1988 [1956/1988]).

- Crescent-bodied porcupine ("badger" in Schmader and Hays 1987:128); cf. sandpainting image of porcupine in Newcomb and associates (1956:33).
- Headdress of upright tall feathers on "mask" with sunlike rays around the bottom (Schmader and Hays 1987:118); cf. Sun and Moon images in Beautyway sandpainting (Wyman 1957:Plate 16).
- Horizontal line above head of humanlike figure or "mask" (Schmader and Hays 1987:120–121); cf. Holy People in Mountaintopway sandpainting (Wyman 1975:9-10).
- Divided face and pointed cap on "mask," such as a petroglyph in North Geologic Window (Schmader and Hays 1987); cf. Nightway ceremony Fringemouth masks and Nightway sandpaintings (Matthews 1902:Plates 3 and 8; see also Olin 1979:152 for illustration of a Pueblo adoption of a Navajo icon). Pointed red tail-feather (which one might wonder if it were obtained from macaws) caps distinguish figures on most Male Shootingway sandpaintings, as well as dancers' costumes. A Navajo story tells how Two-Faced Woman originally made these caps, which First Man and Fringe Mouth forced her to give up to whomever could perform Male Shootingway, along with her costume and half-black, half-red face paint (Wyman 1970b:41).
- V-necked figures with extended arms and neckline that form a zigzag lightning-like line (Schmader and Hays 1987:124); cf. Wind People motifs in Windway sandpainting (Wyman 1962:Figure 5), *Dinétah* petroglyphs (Schaafsma 1980:Figure 257), and Lightning figures in Male Shootingway sandpainting, whose V-necks connect with birdlike wings (Wyman 1970b:63).
- Figures with hourglass-shaped bodies (Schmader and Hays 1987:129); cf. numerous Navajo sandpainting figures, such as Whirlwind People in Windway sandpaintings (Wyman 1962, figure 36).
- Pinnacle with thunder (bird) icon above and fish below (Schmader and Hays 1987:50); cf. Male Shootingway sandpaintings (Wyman 1970b:39–41, 59–66), in which Sky-Reaching Rock, along with Thunder figures (denizens of upper atmosphere), is on the north and Fish figures (denizens of belowground water) are on the south. Because the Sun is the major power that the Male Shootingway ceremonial repertoire addresses, the sandpainting cosmograms and, by extension, the petroglyph in the Monument, might refer to the sun's annual positions.

All these figures correspond in iconographic detail to many figures in various Pueblo and Mesoamerican traditions, and less so to Plains cultures, such as the Wichita, and even farther afield (e.g., see Graulich 1997; Mallery 1972 [1893]; Parsons 1996:1016–1024, 1042–1064, 1029–1037 [1939]; Thompson 1966 [1929]).[12] Some southwestern icons, however, are much more restricted in time. Macaws, for example, outside of Willito Wilson's story, appear in ambiguous contents in Navajo stories centered on Chaco Canyon (A.D. 900–1300) and *Táálháhooghan* (A.D. 1300–1700) (see Haile 1979:paragraphs 39–46; Kelley and Francis 1995b, 1998b).

Oral tradition might spread globally and regionally much as Nichols (1992) says that language does, though less by population migration and displacement than by new economic and political relationships among neighboring populations. Iconography might spread through "cults" that gain members in different geographic and speech communities. Iconography also might spread when one community tries to control trade or political domination by ceremonially manipulating the icons of other communities and their deities.

The variation in execution and combination of common iconographic elements among communities at various times presumably reflect differences in media (petroglyphs, murals, pottery, sandpaintings, ceremonial paraphernalia, and human skin). Differences in execution and combination also might signal ethnic or other distinctions among communities that shared ceremonialism. These contrasts furthermore might reflect shifts in community (ethnic?) identities during periods of population upheaval, such as the late A.D. 1200s–1400s and the 1600s–1700s. In any case, as the results of Phase II show (see below), Navajos recognize iconographic similarity between petroglyphs at the Petroglyph National Monument and modern Navajo sandpaintings. This recognition is one reason that Navajos feel connected to this place, which they consider sacred to all American Indians.

As we have shown above, one may glimpse histories of the Navajo Beautyway and Mountaintopway stories from the places they interlink and from the iconographies. Other sources tell more

about the histories of these places and of the people who have passed down the story.

Clan Stories, A.D. 1200s–1700s?

Oral Histories

In Navajo society, clans are named groups of people related through their mothers, and clan members cannot intermarry. Besides belonging to one's mother's clan, Navajos also are affiliated with father's clan, mother's father's clan, and father's father's clan. One should not marry into any of these clans. In traditional social settings, one's clan affiliations frame social relations with other people. About 60 Navajo clans exist (Young and Morgan 1987:351–352), each with its own history. Most clans also are linked through shared histories into groups of three to six or so (what anthropologists call phratries or linked clans) whose members cannot intermarry. Members of most Navajo clans are spread widely all over Navajoland, although they might predominate in only a few localities and might be rare or absent in others. Therefore, Navajos can travel widely and find members of their own clans or of their father's or grandfather's clans, or of a clan historically linked to one of these clans.

Considered as a whole, Navajo clan histories and Pueblo stories of clans converging on a home resemble one another. Clan histories show that the Navajos and Pueblos alike became cultural communities as small groups from various speech communities, localities, and culture-historical traditions, and regions formed alliance networks and/or converged geographically. Colonialism is one cause of ethnogenesis among formerly disparate people. Other sociopolitical forces surely encouraged ethnogenesis in pre-Columbian times, when forebears of probably every modern Indian "tribe" belonged to other ethno-polities that long ago split or merged into newer groupings in post-Columbian times.

Navajo clan histories seem to bridge pre-Columbian and early post-Columbian times. Below we summarize the histories of the clans represented in *Tó Hajiileeh*, the Navajo community nearest the Petroglyph National Monument. We also compare *Tó Hajiileeh* to the two other nearest Navajo communities, Alamo and Ramah. Clans in these communities appear in records from 1952 to 1961 documenting statements of 26 elderly residents in *Tó Hajiileeh*, 21 in Alamo, and 6 in Ramah (Navajo Nation n.d.c).[13] Figure 5.2 shows places mentioned in these various clan stories.

Clans of most *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears born before 1864, when the Navajos were still politically independent, are *Tábąąhá* (Edgewater; 9 people) and the linked *Ts'ahask'idnii* or *Ts'ah Yisk'idnii* (Sagebrush Knob; 13 people), *Áshįįhí* (Salt; 10 people), *Kiiyaa'áanii* (Towering House; 8–9 people), and *Tsi'naajinii* (untranslatable; 6–7 people [Young and Morgan 1987:352]). Other clans represented by 1 to 4 members include *Deeshchíí'nii* (Red Streak [usually considered western Apache]), *Hashtł'ishnii* (Mud), *Haltsooí* (Meadow [originated from "Mexicans" near Mount Taylor]), *Ma'iideeshgizhnii* (Coyote Pass [Jémez]), *Naakaií Dine'é* (Travelers in a Group [Mexican]), *Tóbaazhní'áázhii* (Two Came to Water), *Tódích'íí'nii* (Bitter Water), and *Tł'ógí* (Gunnysackers [Zía]).

Alamo and Ramah have similar clan inventories, but in these communities *Haltsooí* (Meadow), rare at *Tó Hajiileeh*, is prominent. Also present is *Tsénahabiłnii* (Crane Rock [place in Magadelana Mountains, Van Valkenburgh 1974:66]), absent from *Tó Hajiileeh* genealogies. Apaches from Dusty in the Mogollon Mountains also are represented.[14] According to a 1930s Alamo headman, Navajo slaves escaped from Mexicans at Socorro and fled west to the big spring in the northern part of the present Alamo reservation (Field Ranch). Later, Mescalero and Chiricahua (Mogollon or Gila) Apaches and "Mexicans" married into this community (Van Valkenburgh 1941:117–118).

Oral tradition recorded by Haile (1981:174) says that the two largest *Tó Hajiileeh* clans, *Áshįįhí* and *Tábąąhá*, as well as *Ma'iideeshgizhnii* (Jémez), *Dibé Łizhinii* Black Sheep (San Felipe), and *Tódik'□□zhii* joined at the mouth of Chaco Canyon.[15] The *Áshįįhí* clan was based at *Kin Dootł'izh* (Turquoise House [*Wijiji*, an A.D. 1100s Chaco site]).

Tábąąhá and *Ts'ahask'idnii*. Navajo oral histories place the *Tábąąhá* clan originally in the Gallina area between the San Juan and Chama watersheds (Van Valkenburgh 1941:61). Matthews (1897) records the most detailed oral history, which ties the clan to *Dinétah* 1700s defensive sites (*pueblitos*) and to about one-third of the clans represented at *Tó Hajiileeh*, Alamo, and Ramah. The *Tábąąhá* forebears joined a group of clans that converged on the upper San Juan watershed to become the Navajo people. According to Matthews, they were

> a numerous band who came originally from a place called *Tábąąhá Haalgai*, White Valley among the Waters [White Shores of the Water], which is near where the city of Santa Fe now

stands [the White Valley might be the Piedra Alumbre area north of Abiquiu]. These people had long viewed in the western distance the mountains where the Navahoes dwelt, wondering if any one lived there, and at length decided to go thither. They journeyed westward twelve days till they reached the mountains, and they spent eight days travelling among them before they encountered the Navahoes. Then they settled at *Tó Ndoots'os* [Tapering Lake, Lake with a Waist—Stinking Lake—see Van Valkenburgh 1941:152] and lived there twelve years, subsisting on ducks and fish, but making no farms. All this time they were friendly to the Navahoes and exchanged visits; but, finding no special evidences of relationship with the latter, they dwelt apart. When at length they came to the San Juan to live, marriages had taken place between members of the two tribes, and the people from Among the Waters became a part of the Navajo nation, forming the gens of *Tábąąhá*. They settled at a place called *Ha'atiin* (Trails Leading Upward) [in Campanero Canyon 7 miles east of junction of Campanero and Largo near Salt Point—see Van Valkenburgh 1941 and 1974], close to the Navahoes. Here was a smooth, sandy plain, which they thought would be good for farming, and the chief, whose name was *G□ Tsoh*, or Big Knee, had stakes set around the plain to show that his people claimed it. The people of the new gens were good hunters, skilled in making weapons and beautiful shirts, and they taught their arts to the other gentes.

395. The *Tábąąhá* then spoke a language more like the modern Navaho than that which the other gentes spoke. The languages were not alike. The chief of the *Tsi'naajini* and *G□ Tsoh* often visited one another at night, year after year, for the purpose of uniting the two languages and picking out the words in each that were best.

396. While the *Tábąąhá* lived at *Ha'atiin* they had always abundant crops, —better crops than their neighbors had. Sometimes they could not harvest all they raised, and let food lie ungathered in the field. They built stone storehouses, something like pueblo houses, among the cliffs, and in these stored their corn. The storehouses stand there yet [the pueblitos]. The *Tábąąhá* remained at *Ha'atiin* thirteen years, during which time many important events occurred, as will be told, and then they moved to *Azdeltsígii* [untranslatable as transcribed by Matthews].

397. *G□ Tsoh* had twelve wives; four of these were from the gens of *Tsi'naajinii*, four from the gens of *Dziłtł'ahnii*, and four from the gens of *Táneeszahnii*. [Matthews' account says that all three clans were already living along the San Juan before the *Tábąąhá* arrived; *Tsi'naajinii* had farms on the north side, a leader named *Nabineestání*, One Who Tries, and a language hard to understand.] He used to give much grain from his abundant harvests to the gentes to which his wives belonged; but in spite of his generosity, his wives were unfaithful to him. [1897:142–143]

G□ Tsoh mutilated four wives, each in a different way. The first three wives died, but the fourth, whose nose he cut off, lived, so he marked the remaining eight wives the same way. These wives were secluded during a nine-night ceremony. During the last night, in a public dance with masking and magic, as performed in present Mountaintopway, the wives danced with knives, cursed the people, and ran off to the north, from which they now send cold weather, storms, and lightning.

More people joined the *Tábąąhá* s. Utes harvested corn for them and became progenitors of the *Ts'ah Yisk'idnii* or *Ts'ahask'idnii* clan, which cannot marry *Tábąąhá*. Others continued to join the expanding group on the San Juan, including Zunis, Apaches, and Mexican captives from Socorro who become the *Naakaií Dine'é* (Mexican clan). Matthews continues:

411. *G□ Tsoh*, or Big Knee, chief of the *Tábąąhá*, was still alive and was a famous old man; but he had become feeble and had many ailments. There was a great ceremony practiced in those days called naach'id, which lasted all winter, from harvest-time to planting-time; but the Navahoes have long ceased to celebrate it. This ceremony was held one winter for the benefit of Big Knee at the sacred place of *Tó Aheedl□*, the home of the War Gods [former crossing where the Los Pinos joins the San Juan]. One night, while the rites were being performed, some strangers joined the Navahoes coming from the direction of the river. Adopted by the Navahoes, they formed the gens of *Tó Aheedl□*, and became closely allied to *Nóóda'í Dine'é* [Utes] and *Naakaií Dine'é* [Mexican clan]. [1897:146]

Most of the clans that various sources link to *Tábąąhá* are found in *Tó Hajiileeh*, Alamo, and Ramah, or (like *Na'asht'ézhí* [Zuni]) originated in the region nearby.[16]

*Áshįįhí***.** Matthews (1897:158) says this clan originated with girls whom Navajos captured from a pueblo called *Séí Bee Hooghan* (Sandy Home) near a salt lake. *Séí Bee Hooghan* is San Felipe Pueblo

(Young and Morgan 1987:997), but compare *Séí Kiní* (Sand House People), which refers to both Pimas and "cliffdwellers" (Forbes 1966). *Tsénjikiní* (Cliffdweller clan people, originally a Mancos Canyon clan created in the A.D. 1100s [Matthews 1897:137–138], which sounds suspiciously like *Séí Kiní*) captured the girls. Later the population abandoned the pueblo and joined *Tábąąhá*, because *Tábąąhá* already was present among them. Sapir (1942) alternatively states that the girls captured by *Tsénjikiní* were from Hopi, and that the *Áshįįhí* clan of their descendants is linked to *Tsénjikiní*, *Dibé Łizhinii* (San Felipe), and *Ma'iideeshgizhnii* (Jémez).

Others (Winnie 1982; Wyman 1970a:325–334) say that *Áshįįhí* descended from a Pueblo girl whom Navajos "found" at *Áshįįh Náá'á* (Salt Point in *Dinétah*, junction of Largo and Blanco Washes [Van Valkenburgh 1941:130; 1974:30]). Klah (1942:107) states that this clan originated at the Navajo central sacred mountain (Huerfano Mesa) west of *Dinétah* between Chaco and Aztec. *Áshįįh Náá'á* has a large ceremonial enclosure originally built in the A.D. 800s and later reused by Navajos after A.D. 1500 (Marshall et al. 1979:277).

Kiiyaa'áanii. This clan figures in the main Navajo clan origin story, which tells how Changing Woman, the patron deity of the Navajo people, appeared in the San Juan Basin and made her home on Huerfano Mesa when cannibal monsters were ravaging the Navajo forebears and their neighbors, whom Navajos call *Anaasází* (denizens of what are now pre-Columbian ruins in Navajoland). Her twin sons killed the monsters, a flood cleansed the earth, and then Changing Woman moved into seclusion on an island off the west coast. There she used her bodily residues to create four or six male and female pairs, who ate shells until she sent them to repopulate the land that she had left. These are the progenitors of four or six new clans. *Kiiyaa'áanii* is one of these clans in some versions.

With packs on their backs and canes made of turquoise, of two kinds of shell, and of jet, the clan forebears move inland by routes that vary in different versions of the story. The four or six clan pairs traveled through Death Valley or up the Verde Valley to the San Francisco Peaks. They then followed routes that took them through a series of stopping places, such as Canyon de Chelly or A.D. 1100s to 1200s archaeological sites around Kayenta, until they reached the Continental Divide. At each stopping place, local people linked up with one or another of the new clan pairs. One version (Matthews 1897) identifies Big Bead Mesa in the Río Puerco of the East Valley north of *Tó Hajiileeh* as the next-to-last stop before the group reached *Dinétah*. Other versions make the mouth of Chaco Canyon the group's final destination. The most common destination is *Kin Yaa'á*, an A.D. 1100s ceremonial great house south of Chaco Canyon. In these stories, *Kin Yaa'á* is the home of the *Kiiyaa'áanii* clan (e.g., see Klah 1942:144–122; Mitchell 1978:181–185; Wyman 1970a:325–334; also Kelley and Francis 1999). Preston reports,

> There are many Kin Yaa'aanii (*Kin Yaa'ánii)*. They are Pueblos (*Kiis'áanii*). Some of them are White Mountain Apaches (*Dzilgh□'á*) because some of these Apaches came to live with the Pueblo group. For them (the *Kin Yaa'ánii*) it appears that their relationship is not well known. Some of them claim the Salt people (*Áshįįhí*) as their relatives, but even so they intermarry with them. [1954:23]

Western Apaches also have a *Kiiyaa'áanii* clan (Forbes 1966; Goodwin 1942:607).

Tsi'naajinii. According to Matthews (1897), this group migrated to *Dinétah* in the upper San Juan watershed before *Tábąąhá* clan. They settled along the river and kept gardens near their houses. Some families also farmed on the north side of the valley.

Linked clans are *Kin Łichíí'nii*, *Deeshchíí'nii*, *Tłáashchí'í*, *Tsénahabiłnii* (Matthews 1897:146–147, see also Franciscan Friars 1910:430; Preston 1954:24). These linked clans tend to be identified with the southern Apache country west of the Río Grande. They exist among Western Apaches (Goodwin 1942:613–617). Western Apaches have several clans related to Navajo *Tsi'naajinii* and to a Hopi clan of the same name (Forbes 1966:340; Goodwin 1942:617–621); these sources do not say whether the names are "the same" semantically, phonologically, or both. These and other Western Apache clans originated at a place, probably *Táálához̨ghan* (Awatobi) where the Navajo, Hopi, and Western Apache clans all were living together (Goodwin 1942:608, 620).

Supplementary Information

Navajo clan histories in general, especially the migration of the Water People from the west and their linking with local groups along the way (see *Kin Yaa'ánii* story above), place these people at archaeological sites in present Navajoland mainly west of the Continental Divide. The sites at these stopping places tend to date to the A.D. 1100s and 1200s. It is tempting to wonder whether the migration story of the Water People and their variants, the Corn People and

Bead People (Haile 1981:162–175; Luckert and Cooke 1979:paragraphs 2–8, 16–17; Matthews 1897; O'Bryan 1956:166–175; Preston 1954; Reichard 1977:26 [1939]; Wyman 1970a:327–333, 447–459), encode a system of trading partnerships with groups of traders moving inland from the Gulf of California. Similar migration stories are important in Mesoamerica and South America (Graulich 1997:158–164; Tedlock 1996:145–160; Urton 1990). Mexico's west coast in the Gulf of California was an active trade zone between A.D. 900 and the 1500s, and at times even harbored Colombian boat traders seeking Spondylus (red spiny oyster shell) (Anawalt 1997; Vargas 1995).

Places linked to the other principal *Tó Hajiileeh* clans, however, tend to occur along and east of the Continental Divide, perhaps reflecting the general population shift east of the Divide during the A.D. 1300s. By the time of the first Spanish contacts with what is now the United State's Southwest, the Apachean forebears of Navajos already were in this zone. Hickerson (1994:14) thinks that the people Cabeza de Vaca encountered in 1536 near the present Mescalero Apache Reservation were Apaches, as were the Querecho traders with dog teams that Coronado encountered northeast of Pecos Pueblo in 1541.[17] So-called Querechos traded buffalo hides and wintered with the Pecos people (Castañeda 1990:60 [1904]; Hickerson 1994:23, 28).

Espejo encountered other Querechos (Corechos) 15 kilometers (10 miles) north of Laguna in 1583. These Corechos both fought the Ácomas and traded with them (deerskins for cotton textiles). They farmed south of Mount Taylor near Acomita (Correll 1976:3; Hammond and Rey 1966:180–181, 200–201). Spanish chroniclers reported "Apaches" were living near Jémez Pueblo in 1598 (Correll 1976:4).[18] Forty years later, the Spanish distinguished the Apaches in this area by the term *Apaches de Nabaju*, Navajo Apaches. The group had wide fields and ranged westward a vast but unknown distance (Benavides 1965 [1916]).[19]

Whether the Navajo fields produced a surplus for trade is unknown. Since late pre-Columbian times, a network of routes, including those traveled by Younger Sister in Willeto Wilson's Beautyway story (above), existed in the region around the Petroglyph National Monument. Over long distances along these routes Southwestern peoples traded rare shell, turquoise, other minerals, macaw feathers, and buffalo robes and meat, exchanged marriage partners, shared ceremonial relations and stories, and absorbed members of other communities as new clans. In short, the routes played a part in ethnogenesis (Anderson 1999; Ford 1983:712; Hickerson 1994; Kelley and Francis 1998b).[20]

The Navajo Apaches living dispersed around various pueblo clusters exchanged hides and later livestock (especially horses) and blankets for agricultural products. Wool for Navajo weavings came from sheep that were a Navajo mainstay by 1700 (Hendricks and Wilson 1996:31; Hill 1940). Both Pueblos and Navajos traded other commodities with other groups. Navajos, like other groups, seem to have traveled great distances for such trading (Ford 1983, Hill 1948).

Meanwhile, the Spanish colony's demand for slaves and horses affected the indigenous trade, ceremonial, and political relations, and thereby Navajo ethnogenesis, as reflected in the clan histories. An alliance of Pueblo Indians and their mobile neighbors drove the Spanish south of El Paso in 1680, but by 1696 the Spanish regained control. Spanish slaving parties raided the non-Pueblo groups while Spanish governors and missionaries taxed or forced the Puebloans into labor and even military duty against the Apacheans (including Navajos), Utes, and Comanches. Apaches, Utes, and Comanches raided the Spanish for livestock and raided each other and the Pueblos for livestock and for captives to sell to the Spanish colony. These groups also took captives to replace losses in war and epidemics, to acquire children to act as interpreters, and to find women for guides (Anderson 1999:221–223; Hickerson 1994).

Histories of some Navajo clans, such as the Salt clan at *Tó Hajiileeh* (see above), begin with such captive women. The histories of the main *Tó Hajiileeh* clans, as we summarize above, also suggest that they absorbed people from the trade network to the south. The homeland of Salt clan forebears is said to be the salt deposits and sands of the south. This description suggests the present Mescalero Apache–Saline pueblos, who were allies of Jumano traders of the lower Río Grande in early Spanish times (Hickerson 1994).

The *Tó Hajiileeh* clan histories also show these clans absorbed people from various pueblos. Spanish documents suggest that Pueblo families joined the Navajos (and other Apachean groups) before the Pueblo Revolt–Reconquest period (1680–1692), presumably to escape forced labor. Pueblo immigration intensified after this unsettled period of 1680 to 1692. Between Vargas' 1692 reconquest and the late 1700s, including the time of Spain's war with France, 1719–1763, the Spanish colony and the Navajos usually were at peace. The Spanish

encouraged this peace, at least in part, because the Navajos formed a buffer between the Spanish settlements and the alliance of Comanche-Ute warriors attacking from the north (Correll 1976:22–44; McNitt 1972:23–28; Weber 1992:168–198).

The *Tábąąhá* clan history of *Tó Hajiileeh* Navajo forebears seems to reflect all these forces that caused people to leave their home communities and seek alliances with Navajos. The *Tábąąhá* clan history covers *Dinétah*, where Navajos built defensive pueblitos in the 1700s to withstand the allied Ute-Comanche attacks. An important trail to Abiquiu and Taos, and presumably on to the Plains, passes through this part of the *Tábąąhá* clan territory (Ford 1983:719; Matthews 1897:142–143).

Big Bead Mesa in the *Tó Hajiileeh* community sacred landscape (see above) was a defensive site by 1705 (Navajo Nation 1963:185), presumably against Spanish raiders. Local Navajos built a pueblito there in the middle 1700s (Keur 1941; Stokes and Smiley 1965; Towner 1996:161); Navajos evidently were starting to abandon the *Dinétah* pueblitos to move south.

Pueblitos like Big Bead seem to form a connection between the 1700s Navajo landscape and that of the A.D. 1200s, just as some versions of the Navajo ceremonial story about war substitutes Taos for Chaco or Aztec of other versions. Warfare is evident in *Dinétah* in archaeological sites dating to the A.D. 1100s to 1200s, but not again until the 1700s pueblitos. Similarly, pueblitos south of *Dinétah* along the Continental Divide and farther west are the first defensive sites constructed since the compounds of the late A.D. 1100s to 1200s (LeBlanc 1999:Appendix; Towner 1996:161). Many pueblitos are located near these earlier structures (John Stein, personal communication 1996; cf. Stein and Fowler 1996; Towner 1996:158–161). For example, Big Bead is near the earlier Guadalupe Ruin; these sites are between the homes that Big Bear Man and Big Snake Man left to attack Pueblo Bonito in Willito Wilson's story.

In summary, Navajo ceremonial stories about the eastern Navajo frontier and the region around the Petroglyph National Monument appear to manifest mainly A.D. 1200s to 1300s developments. Local clan histories apparently manifest mainly 1600s and 1700s developments, except the history of *Kin Yaa'ánii*, which manifests both pre-Columbian and post-Columbian eras.

In the middle 1700s, Navajos moving south from *Dinétah* collided with nuevomexicano settlers spreading west from the Río Grande Valley. The area was very near the Camino Real that ran from Santa Fé, around the north and west sides of Mount Taylor (Ebright 1996:218), and presumably on to Zuni. In the vanguard were the short-lived missions of the 1740s at Cubero and Encinal southwest of Big Bead (Correll 1976:35–37).[21] In the 1750s and 1760s, Spanish land grants encroached on Navajos (Correll 1976:38–42), who tolerated the Spanish presence because they needed allies against the Utes. In the Río Puerco East watershed from Cuba south to the mouth of the San José River (near Suwanee—at the Río San José and Río Puerco East confluence) and west to San Mateo, nuevomexicano colonists occupied land grants interspersed with Navajo homes and farms located both on and off the grants (Navajo Nation 1963:195).[22]

The San Fernando (1753), Quelites (1761), Las Nutrias (1764), and Atrisco (1692/1768) land grants extended westward from the general vicinity of Albuquerque into the eastern Navajo country to form a frontier along the Río Puerco of the East. The settlers on the grant included nuevomexicanos, *genízaros* (hispanicized Indians), Indios (local Indians of unidentified groups), and at least one "Apache" (Ebright 1996). The 1753 San Fernando grantees settled on the east side of the Puerco above the junction with the Agua Salado (west of Mesa Prieta toward Big Bead Mesa in the Río Puerco East Valley). Their community might have included some Navajos (Ebright 1996:216–17). The Quelites grantees settled south of the present-day *Tó Hajiileeh* community, evidently at the junction of the Puerco and San José rivers. The Las Nutrias and Atrisco grant settlers lived along the Río Grande.[23]

Ute-Comanche raiding subsided in the late 1750s (McNitt 1972:23), and in 1763 the French ceded Louisiana to Spain (Weber 1992:198). The Spanish colony cajoled the Comanches into an alliance against the Apaches (McNitt 1972:30–35). The Spanish took up slave raiding where the Utes and Comanches left off (Brugge 1972:97), ending peace between the Navajos and the Spanish colony. A combined force of Spanish Militia and Pueblo warriors attacked Big Bead (Correll 1976:45).

During the 1780s, Antonio El Pinto, a headman of the Big Bead area and perhaps the earliest documented member of a rico stratum in Navajo society, led eastern frontier Navajos in an alliance with the Gila (Mogollon) Apaches who lived south of the Río Puerco of the East Valley. With a garrison at Laguna in 1786

and with bribes of horses and threats of attack from Comanche allies, Spanish colonial officials pressured another local headman, Don Carlos, to oppose El Pinto. Eventually, the Spanish colonial officials jailed El Pinto to break the Eastern Navajos' alliance with the Gila Apaches (Correll 1976:54–70; McNitt 1972:30–35).

In the 1790s Navajos started raiding Comanches on the buffalo plains, while Comanches raided Navajos west of the Río Grande. The Spanish colony was caught in the middle. By 1800 the Eastern Navajos, again allied with Gila Apaches, drove the Spanish settlers from the grants along the eastern frontier. These Navajos continued to farm along the Río Puerco East Valley beyond the Albuquerque West Mesa Divide (McNitt 1972:35–36).[24]

Family Histories, 1800 to 1864

Oral Histories

The family histories that identify the main clans among *Tó Hajiileeh* people (Navajo Nation n.d.c) also tell about land use, residence, geography of marriage alliances, and political leadership from the early 1800s to the Navajo surrender in 1864. Figure 5.2 shows places identified in traditional family chronicles.

The forebears of *Tó Hajiileeh* people lived from *Tó Hajiileeh* north to Cuba and south to Alamo. Some of their forebears ranged north to *Dinétah* and west to San Mateo, Borrego Pass, and Smith Lake. People lived on the west slopes of Sandía Mountain in the Río Grande Valley until the "war with the Kiowas," when these Navajos moved to a spring at *Lók'aa' Deeshjin* (Black Reed Patch), 8 to 9.6 kilometers (5–6 miles) north of the *Tó Hajiileeh* Day School.

The *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears lived and farmed west of Mesa Prieta along the west side of the Río Puerco East Valley; along *Tó Hajiileeh* Day School Wash; in the canyons on the east side of Mount Taylor, especially Cubero Canyon (*Né'éshjaa' Baghan*, Owl Home) and Marquez; and around McCartys and Cebollita Mesa west of Ácoma. These people grew crops of corn, squash, melons, and cantaloupes, and planted with a digging stick. They also raised large livestock herds and gathered wild potatoes, yucca fruit, cacti, wild grain, seeds, berries, mescal, and mesquite. They went to Mesa Prieta for piñon and plant medicines, and they crossed or went around the West Mesa Divide to harvest piñon in the Sandía Mountain foothills.

The *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears hunted deer, antelope, small game (with bow and arrow or ball-and-powder rifle). They hunted antelope in the flats around *Tó Hajiileeh*, in the Río Puerco East Valley, around Mount Taylor, and as far south as Sawtooth Mountains and Pie Town. They also hunted south around Lucero Mesa, the Ladron Peaks, Alamo, *Ts'ah Násk'id* (Bulging Sagebrush Ridge, whose location is unclear), Magdalena, and the Mogollon Mountains. These people also hunted east in the Sandía and Manzano mountains. They went west to sacred Zuni Salt Lake for salt.

Several local groups, probably occupants of several core residence-farming places, whose headmen met regularly, occupied this large region. Headmen were leaders of local groups whose members belonged to several different clans. Headmen tended to be leading members of the largest clans in their respective local groups. The Navajos had no institutionalized political authority above the local headmen. The headmen could not force anyone to conform to group norms, although public opinion often did so. Nevertheless, through kinship and clanship networks, many communities could act together temporarily for diplomacy, defense, and other purposes.

One of the first, if not the first, headmen remembered in the history of *Tó Hajiileeh* is Cebolla Sandoval, who lived in the early 1800s. Sandoval went to Mexico and brought back a sword and badge, suit and cap, and documentary confirmation of the lands of his constituents. Sandoval belonged to either the *Ts'ahask'idnii* or *Tsi'naajinii* clan. As we note above, these clans were two of the largest among the *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears in the early to middle 1800s. One elder recalled that Sandoval's successors were his brother Sandovalito, Chatito (*Tsi'naajinii* clan), Castillo (also called *Naat'áanii Sání* [Old Headman]), *Diné Nééz* Tall Man (*Kiiyaa'áanii*), and Orito Platero. Other names (some or all of which might be alternate names for the headmen just listed) are *Wáalii* or *Welo* (Guerro or Huero?, who possibly was part of the Alamo group), *Nií' Ditł'oí* (Fuzzyface) (*Ts'ahask'idnii* clan), *Diné T'aa'í* (Thin Slablike Man), and *Hastiin Dilwo'ii* (Mr. Runner), both of whom were of the *Hashtł'ishnii* clan. Mele, Tonto, and Colorado or *Aní'□□híchíí'* (Red Thief) are other headmen remembered in *Tó Hajiileeh* histories. Welo was a scout in the war with Mexico, helped drive the Mexicans from Santa Fé in 1846, and received a pension from Washington. Most leaders named by Alamo elders are different. Viejo, Monte, and *Chíshí Yázhí*, of the *Tóbaazhní'áázhii*, *Kiiyaa'áanii*, and *Haltsooí* clans, respectively, are the most commonly

remembered individuals. These differences in named leaders suggest that Alamo people were politically separate from the *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears' local groups, although these people presumably were allies much of the time.

Almost half of the *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears born before 1864 were born in the heart of the *Tó Hajiileeh* land-use area (n=15) or on the east side of Mount Taylor (n=12). Many others were born at Alamo (n=6), outside the *Tó Hajiileeh* land-use area near the Continental Divide, or in areas farther west (n=19). Still others identified Jémez, Torreón, and places farther north (n=7) as their birthplaces. This pattern results mainly from marriages between *Tó Hajiileeh* residents and people along the Continental Divide—Smith Lake, Crownpoint, and farther west. The eastern Navajo families evidently allied themselves through marriage with western communities for refuge. The many clans that Alamo and Ramah share might signify the same strategy among Alamo families. Alamo Navajo marriages with Gila Apaches might be rooted in the alliances between the eastern Navajos and Gila Apaches between the 1770s and early 1800s.

Supplementary Information

In the early 1800s, the nuevomexicano settlers pushed west into the core of the *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears' range to west of the Albuquerque West Mesa in the Río Puerco of the East Valley and beyond, to reclaim their grant lands that they had lost to the Eastern Navajos in the 18th century. The Mexican revolution between 1810 and 1821 and entrepreneurs establishing trade between the U.S. and Santa Fé disrupted Comanche trade and political alliances in the Southern Plains (Anderson 1999:251)**.** Comanche raids in 1816 drove Navajos westward, leaving the *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears' core area to a remnant group under the colonial patronage that started with Antonio El Pinto and Don Carlos in the late 1700s (McNitt 1972:46–49). The Comanche raids, and a rumored 1818 alliance of Kiowas, Comanches, and "Anglos" (Correll 1976:95), are probably the "Kiowa" attacks that also drove *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears from the Sandía Mountain foothills to *Tó Hajiileeh*. The remnant group around *Tó Hajiileeh* and east of Mount Taylor subsequently maintained alliance with nuevomexicano settlers against Navajo groups farther west; this alliance lasted for nearly three decades after Mexican independence in 1821. Other Navajos therefore called the *Tó Hajiileeh* people *Diné anaa'ii* (Enemy Navajos) (Correll 1976:95, 243; McNitt 1972:50).

Navajos from farther west intensified raids on nuevomexicano settlements along the Río Grande. Atrisco and Alameda were among the targets of raids closest to the Petroglyph National Monument (Correll 1976:97–98). If raiders' routes did not cross the Petroglyph National Monument, at least one came close, with Navajo warriors traveling down the Jémez River (McNitt 1972). The Eastern Enemy Navajos perhaps were something of a "Rock-that-defends," because they could have deflected raiders north of the corridor between Albuquerque-Isleta and Laguna-Ácoma.

The Mexican government's war against the Navajos escalated in the 1830s. In 1833 Nuevomexicanos from Albuquerque settled at Cubero in the *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears' range. Within two years Cebolla Sandoval, the local leader, dealt with the territory's governor.

The U.S. Army seized control of what is now New Mexico in 1846. The army, following the lead of their Mexican predecessors, placed a garrison in the *Tó Hajiileeh* forebears' core area at Cebolleta, on the east slopes of Mount Taylor. This garrison was placed to control one of the Navajo raiders' main corridors to the Río Grande Valley. Sandoval cooperated with the U.S. Army as he had with the Mexican authorities. In December 1858, at a treaty council at Fort Defiance, a post established in 1851 far inside Navajo country, the army proposed a draft treaty to set the eastern Navajo boundary far west of *Tó Hajiileeh* but to allow Cebolla Sandoval and his constituents to keep their customary range. Sandoval did not sign this treaty, and he died a few months later after falling from a horse. One of the several signatories, a man named Huero, perhaps was the *Tó Hajiileeh* headman *Welo*. This man also might have been one of several "Hueros" who signed an 1861 treaty at Fort Fauntleroy (later renamed Fort Wingate) (McNitt 1972:73, 97, 361n, 415n; see also Correll 1976).

Observations of non-Navajos throughout the early and middle 1800s corroborate the *Tó Hajiileeh* Navajo forebears' residence and farming locations described by their descendants.[25] In addition, Navajo fields were reported in 1859 between Atrisco and the Río Puerco East (Navajo Nation 1963:231), presumably near the road from Isleta west to Laguna, which passed a few miles south of the present-day Petroglyph National Monument. The presence of Eastern Navajo fields in this area suggests that Navajo raiders from the west did not use this route to launch their attacks against the Atrisco and other nuevomexicano settlers living along the Río Grande.

The treaties between the U.S. and the Navajos, never ratified by Congress, are products of the army's intensified efforts to conquer the Navajos. The U.S. deployed more troops in New Mexico during the Civil War, and after these forces quickly defeated the Confederate Texan Army units in the state, the Union forces turned on the Navajos. Kit Carson, accompanied by Ute auxiliaries, led a scorched-earth campaign against the Navajos between 1863 and 1864. This harsh military campaign brought perhaps half of all Navajos to surrender (Kelly 1970). From military posts far inside the Navajo country, the U.S. Army marched groups of Navajos several hundred miles east to an internment camp at Fort Sumner on New Mexico's Llano Estacado.[26]

Because Albuquerque was the supply point for the military posts in the Navajo country, the U.S. Army must have used the Albuquerque garrison's supply routes to march prisoners to Fort Sumner. The road between the pueblos of Isleta and Laguna probably was one of the supply routes. Surrendered Navajo groups thus probably passed near the Petroglyph National Monument.

Did these captives actually cross through the Monument? Ackerly (1998) offers perhaps the most detailed account of the various routes.[27] At least 53 separate military columns moved groups of Navajos to Fort Sumner. Albuquerque was one of the camping places for parties that passed through Atrisco and Alameda. None of these columns evidently camped at the site of the Petroglyph National Monument, nor did any of the reported Army routes cross the monument.

The United States military basically used one route, a well-traveled wagon road west of Albuquerque. This road led from old Fort Wingate south of present-day Grants and eastward through Laguna to "Sheep Spring" or "Big Spring" near present-day Correo.[28]

The road forked at this spring. The east-southeast fork evidently approximated present State Route 6 from old US Route 66 to a location near Los Lunas. The east-northeast fork evidently passed a couple of miles south of old US Route 66 to Atrisco, thereby passing a short distance south of the Petroglyph National Monument. This fork might date to pre-Columbian times: the sequence of places along the route corresponds to that in Willito Wilson's Navajo Beautyway ceremonial origin story (see above). Moreover, the Beale and Whipple military expeditions found both forks of the road well traveled in the 1850s.

After four years of catastrophe-ridden farming at Fort Sumner failed to support the Navajos incarcerated there, the U.S. Army escorted the Navajos back to their homelands. These caravans evidently followed the earlier route through Albuquerque and across West Mesa, south of the Petroglyph National Monument (Simmons 1982:194).

Aftermath, 1868 to Early 1900s

Tó Hajiileeh Navajo family histories show that most, if not all, of their forebears went to Fort Sumner. That Navajos continued to use parts of both core and periphery of the pre–Fort Sumner *Tó Hajiileeh* range between the late 1800s and the early 1900s is evident from tree-ring dates of archaeological sites in various localities (Stokes and Smiley 1965).

> The boundaries of the [*Tó Hajiileeh*] reservation were first surveyed in 1910 and 1915, and again in 1954. The reserve was consolidated into its present dimensions through a series of land exchanges and purchases by the government and the Navajo Tribe. These, with the individual Navajo Indian allotments made previously [1920s; Simington to Trockur, June 20, 1925, University of Arizona Special Collection 500, Box 29], and the Act of August 13, 1949, establish the present boundaries for the Canoncito Reserve. [Correll and Dehiya 1978:59]

The Alamo Reservation has a similar history (see Correll and Dehiya 1978:59).

Phase II

Research Methods

To learn more about the significance that Navajos today find in the Petroglyph National Monument and its surroundings, we consulted with several Navajo individuals and organizations during the summer and fall of 2000. Before beginning this work, we applied for and received an ethnographic research permit from the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (NNHPD) along with names of several ceremonialists who might know and be concerned about the Petroglyph National Monument cultural landscape. These names included one person contacted during Phase I and six others. All the people recommended by the NNHPD know something about Beautyway, Mountaintopway, or Enemyway ceremonialism. Four individuals live in New Mexico (Whitehorse Lake, Coyote Canyon, Continental Divide, and Sanostee), and three live in Arizona (Tsaile, north of Ganado, and Canyon del Muerto).

After securing NNHPD approval to proceed with the consultations, we contacted the *Diné*

Medicineman's Association, Inc. (DMAI), the only formal and independent organization of Navajo ceremonialists. The DMAI asked that Petroglyph National Monument staff present information about the monument at a general membership meeting. Once this meeting was scheduled, we mailed announcements to all the representatives of *Tó Hajiileeh*, Ramah, and Alamo chapters whom we had contacted during Phase I. We included a letter to update them on our work. Of the ceremonialists recommended by the NNHPD, only one individual is on the DMAI mailing list for meeting announcements. We tried, therefore, to contact the other ceremonialists in person to invite them to the meeting and to discuss possible future private consultations. We succeeded in contacting one of these specialists in person; we left messages with family members of two others.

The DMAI met in Crownpoint on August 12, 2000, at which time Petroglyph National Monument Chief Ranger Michael Quijano made a presentation. After a discussion the members scheduled a group visit to the monument, affirmed two members consulted during Phase I as our contacts, and passed a resolution supporting the efforts of the National Park Service (NPS) to protect American Indian cultural resources in the monument (Appendix II).

Because no chapter representatives attended the August DMAI meeting, we decided to focus on scheduling future consultations only with the ceremonialists. DMAI members toured the monument with Michael Quijano on August 28, 2000. (One of the two DMAI ceremonialists designated by the group to serve as a primary contact could not join this group tour because of illness.) The other contact person, Joe Dennison, and his wife Nancy, both of Nageezi, New Mexico, enriched the tour with their many insights.

We tried to schedule other tours with the non-DMAI ceremonialists recommended by the NNHPD. One ceremonialist, Henry Kinsel of Tsaile, Arizona, made a tour on October 7, 2000. We ultimately succeeded in contacting four of the other six ceremonialists recommended by the NNHPD, two of whom offered some information on the West Mesa landscape. None of these individuals could schedule extensive consultations or visits to the monument, however.

After completing the tours, we held follow-up consultations with Joe Dennison and Henry Kinsel. These consultations followed the checklist of topics that all researchers for this project agreed to use; this checklist is hereafter called the Interview Questionnaire. We did not read off each question and record the answers on the forms, however. Instead, we simply asked each person what Navajo oral tradition has to say about the landscape that encompasses the monument and how the NPS might best protect this landscape. After a consultant finished discussing these two questions, we then asked him about any Interview Questionnaire topics he had not covered.

We prepared a written report of the two in-depth consultations and the shorter contacts with other ceremonialists. We provided a copy of this document to each consultant. Consultants signed consent forms giving us permission to use certain information in this report and specifying whether we could give their names. We also requested their permission to file more detailed information from the consultations with either the NPS or the NNHPD. We compiled the statements of DMAI members, including that of Joe Dennison, according to Interview Questionnaire topics and attached the compilation to the resolution, which DMAI officers signed on October 14, 2000.

Throughout the consultation period, we maintained contact with the NNHPD. We first provided a copy of the Navajo-related chapters of the Phase I report for NNHPD review and comment. After finishing the Phase II consultations, we gave the NNHPD a written report of the results. We learned from these contacts that the NNHPD maintains its own consulting relationship with the monument. Therefore, the NNHPD chooses to advise the monument directly and wishes not to work with consultants contracted by the NPS.

Results

This section organizes the statements of various consultations according to the 10 major topic headings of the Interview Questionnaire. It includes information from the following sources: (1) Phase I preliminary consultations with ceremonialist Ronald Largo and a *Tó Hajiileeh* representative; (2) Phase I and II consultations with the DMAI, including Joe and Nancy Dennison; (3) consultations with Henry Kinsel; (4) the ceremonialists recommended by the NNHPD; and (5) an informal consultation with Rosie Francis, the mother of one of the authors. Because we did not tape record any of these consultations in accordance with people's wishes and because most statements were in Navajo, we paraphrase the consultants' statements. Moreover, we condense the stories presented in Item 2 to protect confidential details they wished not to share with outsiders.

1. Customary Associations with, and Contemporary Uses of, the Petroglyph National Monument and the West Mesa

All of the Navajo consultants who participated in this project are members of the Navajo Nation, a federally recognized tribe. Consultants stress that the cultural resources of the Petroglyph National Monument and the Albuquerque West Mesa have various kinds of historical and spiritual significance to all American Indians. Therefore, they recommend that all Indians, by working together, should have control over the management of these resources. Navajos from *Tó Hajiileeh* and elsewhere are known to use locations and resources in and near the monument. All of our consultants make traditional use of the types of resources and places found in and near the monument. (We are uncertain whether any of our consultants had visited the monument for ceremonial purposes before the consultations.)

2. Traditions

a. Navajos have a historic relationship with the volcanoes:

When the U.S. Army released the Navajos from captivity at Fort Sumner, the volcanoes signified to the people returning that they were near their homeland. [DMAI, attachment to the resolution of August 12, 2000]

b. Sandía Mountain is a sacred peak for the Navajo:

Navajos came back through this area from Fort Sumner on their way home. Prayers now are done in this area. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, August 3, 2000]

c. Given that *Tó Hajiileeh* is the farthest east Navajo community:

The volcanoes and the Petroglyph National Monument are like the portal to the *To Hajileeh* homeland. Long ago, when local ceremonialists disposed of sandpaintings, they carried the material over to a place across the river [Río Puerco of the East], probably in or near the monument. [Anonymous consultant, ELR interview, March 2, 1999]

d. Going farther back in time, the Monument is within cultural landscapes delineated in Navajo ceremonial origin stories:

i

Albuquerque's West Mesa, including the volcanoes and the petroglyphs, goes by the name of *Tł'ohiichíí'* (Red Grass) in a Navajo story. The story concerns the origin of Navajo war ceremonies. It tells how the two sons of Changing Woman went to the home of their father, the Sun, to get weapons with special power to kill the cannibal monsters that were ravaging the countryside. The two brothers, Monster Slayer and Born for Water, started from their mother's home at Huerfano Mesa. They traveled southeast, creating and naming several springs and landmarks, until they came to the home of Spider Man and Spider Woman near present-day Torreón. Spider Woman gave the brothers certain items that would protect them during their mission.

They next stopped at the place they named *Tł'ohiichíí'*. The two brothers put images of themselves on the rocks for humans to find later. American Indians of all different tribes respect the two brothers and their power. These images are for all of them.

From *Tł'ohiichíí'* the two turned west. They crossed the Puerco River around Big Bead Mesa and went to the top of Mount Taylor, then southeast again across *S□ Siłtsooz* (Wildhorse Mesa, Mesa Lucero) to *Séí Bídaagai* (Socorro Peak). They crossed several obstacles in their path until they reached White Sands. Far to the south they saw the house of their father the Sun.

From here the story tells how they got past the terrible guards of the Sun's House, how they passed their father's tests, and how they got the weapons. Then they went back to Mount Taylor to kill the first of the monsters. [Joe Dennison, ELR interview, August 25 and 31, 2000].

ii

The volcanoes are called *Chézhin Sinil* (Lava Rock in Formation). They are mentioned in Enemyway ceremony songs. A pueblo was near there but was destroyed. The Holy Bird People (Bluebird People) came from the north and joined other Holy People, the Mud People (*Hashtł'ish Dine'é*), at the pueblo. They became human and drew pictures on the rocks there.

The place also is associated with the Navajo Windway and Beautyway (*Hoozhónee*) ceremonies.

In the origin story of the Beautyway ceremony, the young woman who first learned the ceremony fled from Great Snake (*Tłiistsoh*) into the volcanoes. The snake looked in each volcano, but the girl managed to hide from him. Every time he tried to find her in a volcano he failed, and she came out and made another

mark on rock. The snake couldn't find her so he destroyed part of the pueblo.

Then the girl fled down toward Socorro. She left marks on the rocks so she could claim the land. The places where she hid from the snake are:

Chézhin Sinil or *Tł'ohiichíí* (Lava Rock in Formation/Petroglyph National Monument volcanoes)
Naakaií Bikéé' Náádááh (Mexican Return Trail)
Dził Nááyisii—Sandía Mountain
Náátsoo Dziil—Manzano Mountains
Náásisii (has a belt of white earth)—Nine Mile Hill
Séí Bídaagai—a mesa near Belen
Tsék'i Haadzo (Chéch'i Haadzo)—Ladron Peak, near Socorro.

Tooh—Río Grande (The Pueblos call it by same name.) [Ronald Largo, ELR interview, June 1, 1999]

iii

A long time ago—that's how our stories begin—a long time ago, people were becoming extinct. There were giants, monsters, like dinosaurs: Big God, Horned Monster, Monster Rock Eagle. The stories can only be told in winter, so I'll only give you a summary. Monster Slayer and Born for Water. Big God was going around with a bundle. Monsters were slaughtering. The Two went to their Father. The father, Sun, said, "Big God is your brother too. Don't let his blood run into the water [or he will come back to life]." Blood ran toward Petroglyph National Monument. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, August 3, 2000)

iv

Lava rocks are good for the sweat [ceremony]. At the beginning of life, at the Place of Emergence, the first people used these types of rocks for sweat. They offered to Bighorn Sheep for use of the rocks. They asked the stars for fire. They asked porcupine for the sweathouse structure. They asked raccoon for water. From these they created a sweathouse. And the structure of the sweathouse is like the figure of a person sitting in the sweathouse, leaning forward with bent knees up, elbows on knees, forearms together. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, October 7, 2000]

3. Descriptions and Characterizations of the Landscape

The Petroglyph National Monument and the Albuquerque West Mesa also have certain types of places and resources that DMAI members and other Navajos use ceremonially. They make offerings at these places and mention them in ceremonial stories, songs, and prayers. These kinds of places include petroglyphs, volcanoes, lava flows, and other places that might be homes of Holy People or places where Holy People visit.

a. Petroglyphs:

i

All petroglyphs are sacred and all are of interest to Navajo people. [Anonymous consultant, ELR interview, May 16, 2000)

ii

Petroglyphs are offering places for Navajos. [DMAI President, January 25, 1999]

iii

Petroglyphs were made by the Holy People in their own images. Monster Slayer made his image on the rocks here by thinking the image and mentally projecting it onto the rock. [Joe and Nancy Dennison, ELR interview, August 25, 2000]

iv

Monster Slayer, Talking God, and Calling God made marks on the rocks, left images of themselves there to protect. People (Navajos) say prayers at petroglyphs; offer corn pollen, sacred stones. We offer corn pollen there, sprinkle it. When we make trips away from the reservation, we do protection prayers [offerings at certain petroglyph images for safe travel]. Holy People drew themselves for us to recognize. I recognized some of them [at the Petroglyph National Monument]. They're in our prayers. Humans didn't make these images. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, October 7, 2000]

[Note: The consultants recognized the following images in the rocks during their visit to the Petroglyph National Monument: Monster Slayer (a figure with bear-like hands and feet, and flint armor; the concentric circles above the head are the Sun); Two War Gods (paired circles with faces); Big (Morning) Star (a four-pointed star wearing a feather headdress with an arrow on the left side of the headdress that shows the Star is a protector); Talking God (a face with a feather headdress like that of the star); parrot (a bird image used to symbolize the monument {the Navajo consultants think that this image does not represent a macaw, which would have a longer tail}); and Sun (a

figure with a simple bow and arrow in one hand, a big arrow in the other hand, a single feather aslant from the top of the head, and bared teeth).]

v

The Holy People made the petroglyphs. They are *Yé'ii* [masked deities]—Calling god, Talking god. People make offerings in the morning with corn pollen and white cornmeal to petroglyphs in the east part of Navajoland. Some petroglyphs are also in the west; offerings are made to them at dusk with yellow cornmeal. [Talking god is at home in the east at dawn; Calling god is at home in the west at dusk.] At noon, we use corn pollen. Yellow corn meal is female and white is male. Corn pollen is both. When the petroglyphs first were made, the rock was soft, enabling them [the Holy People] to draw on them. Today you can't do it. Ceremonies related to the petroglyphs are Lightning Way and Shooting Way. All are related to lightning. (If one is hurt by water or drowned, Waterway is the ceremony). If you are traveling, do an offering there [at the petroglyphs]. Prayers were said with them when they [petroglyphs] were created. Same as [trail shrine type] rock cairn. [Rosie Francis, ELR interview, July 1, 2000]

vi

Petroglyphs were like ABCs for people of the past, but we have lost the ability to interpret them. [Norris Nez, DMAI meeting, August 12, 2000]

[Note: The two Navajo ceremonialists who toured the monument with us seem to identify particular elements in individual petroglyphs with elements in sandpaintings and paraphernalia, body painting, and dance costumes used today in Navajo ceremonies. They find the combinations of these elements the petroglyphs unfamiliar, however.]

b. Volcanoes and lava rock in general:

i

Volcanic outcrops are invoked in Enemyway ceremonial songs. They have to do with protection. [Ronald Largo, Phase I meeting, June 1, 1999]

ii

Navajos are known to offer sacred stones at the volcanoes in the Park, and Navajo stories are attached to them [Joe and Nancy Dennison, Phase I meeting, March 8, 1999]

iii

Lava rocks are the best kind to use in sweathouse. [Joe Dennison, ELR interview, August 25, 2000]

iv

All the lava rock is monsters' blood. So all lava rock is sacred. Also, lava rock is used for sweathouse. At the lava rock place, you can't just rush in without a reason. You say a prayer first. Even when you use rocks for sweathouse, you do a prayer [with an offering] first before you take them. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, October 7, 2000]

Lava tube remnants:

Navajos offer prayers in places like this. [Joe Dennison, ELR interview, August 25, 2000]

Fossils (including bone-shaped rocks and tracklike impressions in rocks):

Fossils are the petrified remains of monsters and are holy places. People offer prayers there. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, October 7, 2000]

4. Resource Use

Navajos use ceremonially certain types of plants, minerals, and wildlife that exist in the Petroglyph National Monument and the Albuquerque West Mesa areas. Besides the volcanic rocks used in ceremonial sweathouses mentioned above, these resources include eagles and certain plant medicines (e.g., winterfat, wolfberry, and yarrow, among others).

5. Changes in the Landscape over Time

Over the last 20 to 30 years, the Albuquerque West Mesa, where the Petroglyph National Monument now is, has changed from mostly open undeveloped grasslands to land covered with houses, house lots, and pavement. The Navajo consultants stressed that this rapid development already has degraded the qualities of the West Mesa that are significant to Native American generally. They view continued urban development as a threat that similar degradation will continue into the future.

6. Access to Landscapes

DMAI representatives and members, as well as other Navajo consultants, want access to the monument in the future for ceremonial purposes without having to specify the purpose or schedule of their visits. One consultant (Henry Kinsel) expressed his willingness to check in at the Chief Ranger's office, however.

7. Resource Protection

a. General:

i

All American Indians should speak out and act to protect Petroglyph National Monument and sacred places on the Albuquerque West Mesa from Albuquerque's expansion. [Norris Nez, DMAI meeting), August 12, 2000]

ii

Fence the external boundaries of the park against non-Indian encroachment, just as other parks have been fenced to exclude Indians, even those who formerly lived there. [Mary Jane Harrison, DMAI meeting, August 12, 2000]

iii

Fence the entire park and leave the area inside fence as natural as possible. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, October 7, 2000]

iv

We note that for fencing to be effective, the Park needs to acquire inholdings owned by the City of Albuquerque and private interests, especially the volcanoes.

Air traffic at West Mesa airport west of the Park now disrupts ceremonial uses of the Park with noise and overflights, which intrude on the quiet and privacy necessary for ceremonial acts. Expanding the airport will worsen the already bad conditions. If the airport cannot be closed entirely, DMAI advocates that the airport be moved as far west as possible away from the Park. [DMAI resolution, August 12, 2000]

[Note: On one of our visits to the monument, the constant helicopter traffic prompted one ceremonialist to say only half-jokingly as he prepared an offering, "They're spying on us."]

b. Abandoned gravel pit, Vulcan Volcano:

i

Leave the hole as a lesson to the public about damage by White People. [Joe Dennison, ELR interview, August 25, 2000]

ii

Leave it unfilled. Let nature fill it up. Maybe also put a sign explaining this as an example of disturbance of a sacred place. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, October 7, 2000]

c. Parking lot at Vulcan Volcano:

The proposal to move the parking lot out to the park boundary near the paved road is good. Put an interpretive sign at the parking lot so people can learn about the volcanoes without necessarily walking up to them. That way human use of the area will be more limited. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, October 7, 2000]

d. Roads within the monument:

Older ceremonialists who can't walk to places could use access roads that park personnel use. They should check in with the Chief Ranger first. This way, the park can screen out people who are not truly ceremonialists. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, October 7, 2000]

8. NPS Management of the Petroglyph National Monument

The NNHPD already has a direct consultative relationship with the monument. Neither the NNHPD nor any of the consultants individually discussed how they would coordinate such consultations. Henry Kinsel specifically expressed his interest in being part of an intertribal network of consultants for periodical consultations as needed in the future.

The DMAI requests that the administration of the Petroglyph National Monument consult DMAI periodically about access, resource use and protection, interpretation, and other issues. DMAI representatives want to be part of a group representing all interested Indian communities that advises the monument on management and interpretation (see also below).

9. Interpretation

i

A consulting group of American Indians, including DMAI representatives, should have control over interpreting to the public the Park's relationship with American Indians in general and with specific tribes. [DMAI, attachment to resolution of August 12, 2000]

ii

Interpretive materials for park visitors should mention Navajos. The park should

- make a new video that has Navajos speaking about their connection with the park
- have a network of traditional consultants, including Navajos, to screen books, videos, and so forth, for content and to make recommendations. [Henry Kinsel, ELR interview, October 7, 2000]

10. Continuing Consultation

The DMAI said the most about the organization of continuing consultations. The DMAI has designated certain members to represent the DMAI in issues of access to the Petroglyph National Monument, resource use, and special needs or requests. The following persons are the DMAI's representatives for the Petroglyph National Monument: Joe Dennison, Board Member; Taylor Dixon, Board Member; and Thomas Morris, President.

The DMAI recommends that the first round of detailed consultation should be a week-long session involving DMAI representatives and other Navajo experts together with knowledgeable people from other interested Indian communities. The DMAI suggests further that the group of Indian traditional consultants formed by such a gathering then would serve as an advisory network on specific issues.

The group would visit specific locations within the monument during the day and discuss interpretation and management of each days' places during the evening. This should be done as soon as possible, preferably in late fall when stories can be told but before bad weather sets in. The DMAI advises that the NPS would need to pay travel expenses and honoraria to participants, as well as reserve a block of motel rooms near the monument during scheduled consultations.

Summary and Conclusions

History of Navajo Stories

Our consultations with Navajo ceremonialists and knowledgeable elders for this project indicate that Navajos today continue to invoke *Chézhin Sinil* or *Tl'ohiichíí* (the Petroglyph National Monument and the Albuquerque West Mesa) in ceremonial stories, songs, and prayers. They also may make offerings there and return ceremonial materials to the earth. Some of these Navajos are from *Tó Hajiileeh*, the Navajo community nearest the monument. Others are from farther west in the New Mexico and Arizona parts of Navajoland, especially people whose ceremonial songs and stories invoke the landscape of the monument and the Albuquerque West Mesa. The volcanoes, furthermore, are icons of the eastern edge of the homeland that Navajos resettled in 1868 after their conquest and captivity under the U.S. Army.

From the geography and iconography in the Navajo ceremonial stories, supplemented by Navajo clan and family histories, archaeology, and colonial documentation, we suggest the following history for the Navajo ceremonial stories linked to the Petroglyph National Monument. First, these stories probably developed approximately their current form between the A.D. 1300s and 1500s.[29] During that period the population shifted from the San Juan Basin eastward over the Continental Divide and set up new ceremonial centers in the Río Puerco East and the middle Río Grande watersheds. The ceremonialist caretakers-tellers of these stories at that time, therefore, probably began to emphasize the connection of the stories to those watersheds. The geography and iconography of the stories suggest that one of the new ceremonial centers was Pottery Mound south of the Monument near present-day Belen, a trade conduit for story elements from Antelope Mesa, Casas Grandes in northern Chihuahua, Mexico, and even perhaps western Mexico.

The tellers also kept the parts of the stories that are linked to watersheds west of the Continental Divide, where some people stayed after A.D. 1300. Perhaps to validate the post–A.D. 1300 emphasis on the ceremonial landscape east of the Continental Divide, the tellers also emphasized the connection of that landscape with the earlier ceremonial places and iconography of their forebears in the San Juan Basin.

Post-Columbian upheavals surely wrought changes in the stories, but some continuity with pre-Columbian forms also is possible. Pueblo and Apache communities broke up and the fragments formed new communities of mixed origins, including hybrid Pueblo and Apache communities. Ceremonial specialists within such communities might have preserved old, esoteric stories and practices, but people also would have synthesized their traditions to some degree. If the pre-Columbian communities of their forebears had shared a region-wide ceremonialism, these post-Columbians already had much in common anyway.

Furthermore, post-Columbian population disruptions might have intensified upheavals that started in the late A.D. 1200s. The defensive landscape of the late A.D. 1200s possibly fit the geographical and logistical needs of people and their war ceremonialist–story caretakers again in the 1700s, the next time of intensive warfare. A correlation is evident between locations of Navajo 1700s defensive sites and locations of A.D. 1200s sites that might also have been for defense.

According to eastern Navajo ceremonial and clan histories, the eastern Navajos have pre–A.D. 1300 roots in the San Juan Basin and along the Continental Divide. Navajo traditionalists claim that their forebears have been there since time immemorial. Some archaeologists (John Stein, personal

communication 1996) suggest that the Navajo-like material culture first evident in the A.D. 1400s grew in place from earlier material cultures like Largo-Gallina. Glottochronolgists believe that the Apachean-speaking part of Navajo forebears came into the Southwest sometime between A.D. 1000 and 1500 (Young 1983:393; most historical linguists consider glottochronology unreliable [Campbell 1997:112]). Regardless of the calendrical date of their origins, the eastern Navajo clan stories given here, like many other Navajo clan stories, show that Navajo forebears originated with diverse groups that most anthropologists believe were in present Navajoland since pre-Columbian times. These diverse groups came into the area between the Albuquerque West Mesa and Mount Taylor between the late A.D. 1200s and 1700s. There they became part of the emerging Navajo people and the area became part of the Navajo eastern frontier.

In the early and middle 1800s, nuevomexicano settlers and Comanches pushed many Navajos from this eastern frontier westward across the Continental Divide. Many who stayed east of the Divide married into families farther west. Perhaps such marriages gave Willito Wilson of the Continental Divide his Beautyway story. His story begins when Big Bear Man and Big Snake Man from the upper Río Puerco East Valley help people of Hosta Butte near Kin Yaa'a on the Continental Divide raid Pueblo Bonito. One Navajo consultant for this project sketched a version of the story. Another consultant told another story of warfare and boundary marking, the monster slaying by the two Sons of Changing Woman, which also touches the monument and the Albuquerque West Mesa. Today, these stories and others linked to them, along with corresponding ceremonial practices, connect Navajos to the Petroglyph National Monument. The history around these stories shows how that connection might have developed.

Meanings of the Petroglyph National Monument as a Navajo Cultural Landscape

The Petroglyph National Monument occupies a place that Navajos call *Chézhin Sinil* or *Tł'ohiichíí*. *Chézhin Sinil* encompasses the five volcanoes, the lava flow, and the petroglyphs on the lava flow rim, which Navajo ceremonial stories interlink to form a cultural landscape. *Tł'ohiichíí* refers to the entire Albuquerque West Mesa. These landscapes are the homes of immortals who protect travelers, guard, and help in war.

Navajo ceremonial histories also show the landscapes as part of a boundary zone between watersheds. In these histories, watersheds are the homes—the territories—of different types of immortals as well as humans. The divides between watersheds are boundary zones between these different territories.30

Navajo ceremonial stories and practices show that volcanic places in general are homes of game and of the same protectors of travelers, guardians, and powers of war and water who live at *Chézhin Sinil* or *Tł'ohiichíí*. As homes of these great powers, volcanic places are not for human homes. They are boundary zones not only between human communities but also between humans and immortals.

Navajo ceremonialists consulted for this project emphasize that the volcanic landforms of the monument are icons of defense and protection and the homes of guardian powers for Navajo and other Indian communities. The petroglyphs on these landforms include a vast multitude of images of immortal guardians and other immortal powers. Although the petroglyphs do not depict immortals exactly as current Navajo sandpaintings do, petroglyph and sandpainting images are alike in many details. Whereas Navajos make sandpainting images to attract the immortals to a ceremonial procedure and obliterate the image when the procedure is done, our consultants said that the immortals themselves made some, if not all, of their petroglyph images. Because all Indian communities recognize and respect these immortals and their volcanic rock homes, the monument is a place of great significance to all American Indians.

The watershed, guardian, and war associations of the monument and the Albuquerque West Mesa, then, combine to suggest that watershed divides are actual or potential political commons or boundary zones. Societies in which ceremonialism governs political relations within and between groups encode political ideas in ceremonial stories. Controlling watersheds is clearly important in arid country, where rainfall is scarce, flowing water brings life, and human communities that share a watershed form an interdependent whole. Irrigation might increase conflicts for such control. Navajo clan and family histories, archaeology, and colonial documentation show that the watersheds straddled by the Monument and West Mesa, the middle Río Grande and Río Puerco East, from about A.D. 1300 until the U.S.' conquest of the Navajos in 1864, were zones of war, trade, and ethnogenesis. Today, the landscape is still in a zone of immigration and political conflict.

The Navajos consulted for this project stress conserving the Petroglyph National Monument (just as Chaco and Mesa Verde) for all American Indians because it is connected to their shared histories and ceremonies. Certain Navajo ceremonialists and representatives of the DMAI would like to be part of an intertribal group or network to advise the monument on management and interpretive issues. The Navajo Nation government, through its Historic Preservation Office, already has an ongoing consultative relationship with the monument. From the Navajo perspective, a practical way that Navajo ceremonialists, the Navajo Nation government, and other tribal government representatives and ceremonialists could work together in such a network is the logical next step in intercultural management of the monument.

Endnotes

[1] Orthography throughout this paper follows standard Young and Morgan (1987). Navajo words in quoted material are retranscribed in standard orthography unless we could not determine the Navajo that the nonstandard word or phrase represents.

[2] Compare Pepper's (1996 [1920]:129–177) description of turquoise-wrapped burials in rooms 32 and 33 at Pueblo Bonito.

[3] Big Bear Man and Big Snake Man reappear in many places, because they embody powers (immortality through renewal) and natural forces (storms and earth movement in the case of Big Snake Man) that occur in different places at different times.

[4] A Navajo ceremony lasts from one to nine nights and consists of a series of performances, including various combinations of songs, prayers, meditations, sand and body paintings, costumed dancing, offerings, and so forth. A single ceremonialist, the *hataałii* (singer), with or without helpers, orchestrates the whole performance over one or a small number of people being sung over. The purpose is to restore health to the one(s) sung over, or to restore or perpetuate the continued well being of the person(s) or the group the person(s) represents. Each ceremony is a unique combination of elements that include various possible constituent performances plus necessary paraphernalia and raw materials, with rules for combining the elements into a particular ceremony and stories of how the entire repertoire originated. The typical origin story starts with a young adult receiving treatment from Holy People (personified immortal powers of nature), then traveling widely to gather various parts of the repertoires, returning home to teach a younger sibling, and disappearing into a permanent home in the sky or in a landmark. Beautyway is a rarely performed repertoire, not to be confused with the preeminent Navajo ceremony, Blessingway.

[5] Compare Cuevas's (1996) Río Grande Pueblo (?) story of the woman in the stone (the Petroglyph National Monument site) who tried to make peace among neighboring tribes.

[6] This statement is based on information in our Navajo sacred places research files (Kelley and Francis 1995a), in which we compiled references to all places named in virtually all published versions of Navajo ceremonial stories.

[7] *Dził Łichíí'* (Red Mountain) is a prototype name. A prototype name is a name of a location in an origin story that is attached to more than one geographical location to identify it with the story (e.g., see Kelley et al. 1998). In this case, Red Mountain signifies a place of origin, and Jémez Red Mountain is one of its geographical referents. Other Navajo ceremonial stories attach the name to other landmarks.

According to Van Valkenburgh (1974:47), Jémez Red Mountain is a mesa between Torreón and La Ventana that figures in many ceremonial origin stories. For example, Jémez Red Mountain is the original home of people who retaliate against the Aztec ceremonial center in one version of the Mountaintopway origin story (Wyman 1975). The girl from Jémez Red Mountain who was promised to the Big Bear Man repeatedly sights her home from what seems to be the south end of Mesa Verde (Kiva Point?). People of the Navajo *Táchii'nii* clan from Jémez Red Mountain are refugees at Mancos Canyon after the great house war (Wyman 1975).

Jémez Red Mountain also is the home for initiates of Eagle-Bead ceremonialism who often are in contact with Jémez Pueblo (Hill and Hill 1943:31; Reichard 1977:26–29 [1939]; Wheelwright 1945:11). Jémez Red Mountain is on the route of travel of initiates who originated several other ceremonies (Newcomb 1940:51–54; Wyman 1957:136–137). Jémez Red Mountain or a nearby cave is both the home of *Tł'iistsoh* (Great Snake) from whom various initiates learn ceremonial procedures (Wheelwright 1946b:2–5; 1951:13–16) and *Diyoosh* (female serpent or "bull snake"). Downy Home Man (who has much in common with the Pueblo's Sun Youth, *Payetamu*) visits Jémez Red Mountain on his fertilizing travels among settlements in and near Chaco Canyon (Haile 1978:paragraphs 159–163).

[8] A *Tó Hajiileeh* elder (not our consultant) reported in 1961 that a home of the *Yéii Bicheii*, an important creator deity who leads Nightway masked dancers, is in a spring within this landscape (Navajo Nation n.d.c:Statement 151). Though the consultant we talked with did not say so, this landscape also contains a configuration of sacred places and archaeological sites similar to another landscape on the eastern footslopes of the Chuska Mountains. The Chuska landscape contains places mentioned in Willito Wilson's Beautyway origin story and various other versions of Mountaintopway or Beautyway stories. In fact, a Chuska Valley ceremonialist spontaneously noted this parallel during a consultation about another project (Kelley and Francis, field notes, June 22, 1999). The Chuska landscape includes analogues to Jémez Red Mountain (Matthews 1887:paragraphs 39–58) and Big Bead Mesa, and both landscapes contain late A.D. 1200s defensive sites as well as late 1700s Navajo defensive sites. Big Bead/Jémez Red Mountain and Chuska Mountain both might represent the same prototype landscape (see Kelley et al. 1998; see also Note 6).

[9] The citations provided in the rest of this paragraph are exemplary, not exhaustive.

[10] Some ceremonialists may keep private reference copies of sandpaintings on paper or flour sacking; others have devised private systems of pictographic notation to record certain narrative or ritual sequences on paper (Newcomb et al. 1956; Olin 1972:50.)

[11] The sipapu, the place where humans emerged from the flooded underworld, is a small hole in the floors of pre-Columbian Pueblo ceremonial chambers and dwellings. In modern Pueblo ceremonial chambers, the hole is also at the center of certain sandpaintings, and is reminiscent of the cup of water sunk into the center of many Navajo sandpaintings (Wyman 1983:72–73, 202–203, 207, 210).

[12] Some of these correspondences extend to Asia. For example, the Navajos' paired Big Bear Man and Big Snake Man resemble not only the pre-Columbian Mesoamericans' linked Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl beings, but they also have much earlier dragon and tiger Chinese counterparts (Birrell 1993:155–159; Pankenier 1998:30). Navajo sandpainting icons for Big Fly, Ripener, and Dragonfly, and the Navajo emergence story episode in which Cicada sticks two arrows crosswise through his body, all resemble not only a pre-Columbian Mayan icon, but also "ancient" Chinese calligraphic symbols for the cicada (Newcomb et al. 1956:87). Presumably, these correspondences reflect spreads of oral traditions and iconography around the Pacific Rim over great time spans.

[13] These interviews were conducted for the Navajo Land Claim before the Indian Claims Commission (Navajo Nation 1963).

[14] Clans at Alamo and Ramah but not at *Tó Hajiileeh* are Bi̲i̲h Bitoodnii (Deerwater); *Dibé Łizhinii* (San Felipe); *Dziłtł'ahnii* (Mountain Cove); *Táchii'nii* (Red Into Water); *Táneeszahnii* (Tangle); *Tłáashchí'í* (Red Bottom, identified with western Apache country); *Tóaheedl□i̲nii* (River Junction, historical ties to *Tábąąhá* and *Haltsooí*); and *Tsénahabiłnii* (Crane Rock, another clan tied to western Apache country).

[15] All of these clans are represented at *Tó Hajiileeh*, Alamo, and Ramah.

[16] Other sources corroborate Matthews's details. Preston (1954:250) says *Tábąąhá* (1) is a clan "of Pueblo origin," (2) gave rise to *Naaneesht'ézhí* (Zuni), (3) is derived from *Áshi̲i̲hnii* (Salt), (4) is related to *Kiiyaa'áanii* (Towering House), and (5) includes Pueblo peoples named *K'ai' Ch'ebáanii*, *Tóbaazhní'áázhii*, *Ts'ah Yisk'idnii*, and *Haltsooí Dine'é*. Franciscan fathers (1910) identify the following clans as linked to *Tábąąhá*: *Haltsooí*, *K'aanáanii* (Living Arrow), *K'ai'Dine'é*, *Chézhin Ndii'áí*, *Ts'ahask'idnii*, *Ma'iideeshgizhnii* (Jémez), *Naaneesht'ézhí* (Zuni), and *Dziłgh□'í* (White Mountain Apache), as well as the "spurious" clan *Anaasází Dine'é*.

[17] *Querechos* is a Pecos term for Apacheans (Young 1983:393).

[18] *Apache* is a Zuni term (Opler 1983a:385).

[19] Benavides (1965 [1916]) describes the eastern Navajo boundary in the 1620s as running from Gila Apaches on the south through Jémez northward to a point one and a half days travel west of Santa Clara Pueblo, or even farther north. Sites in these areas have tree-ring dates of this time (Navajo Nation 1963:179; Stokes and Smiley 1965). Subsequent Spanish documentation further places Navajos around the pueblos of Jémez, Ácoma, and Zia, and in *Dinétah* and upper San Juan (Navajo Nation 1963:179–185).

[20] In earliest Spanish colonial times, Navajos and other Apacheans were links in trade networks from the Pacific and Gulf of California to the southern Plains and Gulf of Mexico (Anderson 1999; Ford 1983:712; Hickerson 1994). These east-west trade networks were flourishing at Spanish contact. They must have developed in pre-Columbian times, perhaps after the

late 1200s, when the drying, cooling climate brought large buffalo herds southward into the southern plains east of the Río Grande (Anderson 1999), coincident with the first appearance in the Southwest of buffalo hide shields and also the compound bow that was common earlier farther north (LeBlanc 1999:101, 297–298; see also Hickerson [1994:224, 229] about pre-Columbian south Plains buffalo-hunter assemblages with obsidian, turquoise, and western seashells). In the 1300s and 1400s, Pottery Mound on the lower Puerco East/Middle Río Grande must have been a node in these networks. Pottery Mound is connected iconographically and ceramically not only to Antelope Mesa in the west, but also to Casas Grandes on the Continental Divide in Chihuahua, Mexico. Casas Grandes in turn seems to have been an intermediary in the flow of marine shells and perhaps copper bells from the west coast of Mexico to the Río Grande and of turquoise from Cerrillos (middle Río Grande) to west Mexico (Vargas 1995; LeBlanc 1989:192; Mathien 1996:12).

At first Spanish contact, these trade networks included Apaches but were dominated by the Jumanos of the lower Río Grande, who mediated among South Plains Caddos, Middle Río Grande Pueblos, and northern Mexico. The Jumano "trade brigades" and pre-trade ritual gifts of precious stones (Hickerson 1994:12) are reminiscent of the Navajo Water People's (clan) migration story and of certain Pottery Mound murals (Hibben 1975:26–27, 32–33, 68–69). In the 1620s eastern Apaches had trade alliances with Taos, Picuris, and perhaps Jémez and Pecos, while Jumanos traded with Puebloans farther south: Keres, Tiwa, Tewa, Piro, and the Saline Pueblos, where some Jumanos lived (Hickerson 1994:85, 89). As Spanish inroads and epidemics weakened the Jumanos, and as the climate warmed and the buffalo retreated north, Plains Apaches, now mounted, took control of the networks, absorbing many Jumanos and other trade allies (including Puebloans) between the middle 1600s and early 1700s (Anderson 1999:105–127). Just as the Plains Apaches were the link from the Río Grande Pueblos to the east, the Navajo Apaches, along with the Western Pueblos (Ácoma, Laguna, Zuni, Antelope Mesa–Hopi) were among the links to the west.

[21] In April 1744 priests visited Navajos by crossing the Santa Ana and Puerco East rivers and continuing to a spring, Nuestra Señora, 2.5 miles from the first Navajo settlement. One of the settlements visited was called Los Coyotes, apparently because its residents included people with *genízaro* and Spanish parents. The priests also visited Navajos living near the pueblos of Jémez, Ácoma, and Laguna. In 1748 Franciscans established missions at Cebolleta and Encinal to serve local Navajo families as well as others the clergy expected to arrive in flight from besieged *Dinétah*. The alcalde of Zia Pueblo acted as government agent in the trade for Navajo skins and baskets. In 1750 Encinal Navajos asked that the mission be moved to Cubero; Lagunas and Ácomas helped build it but told the Navajos not to convert to Christianity (Navajo Nation 1963:189–190).

[22] The earliest tree-ring dated archaeological sites in this area of the Navajo Land Claim date to this time (Stokes and Smiley 1965).

[23] The San Fernando grant's boundaries were "the Camino Real from Zia to Laguna on the north, the Cerro Colorado [Mesa Gigante according to Navajo Nation 1963:Appendix A-2] on the south, the Ceja of the Río Puerco on the east, and the Mesa Prieta on the west" (Ebright 1996:218). In 1767 San Fernando residents complained of Navajo encroachment and "asked that the Indians be ejected because they were occupying one of the few springs on the grant, where water was extremely scarce" (Ebright 1996:220). A survey of the grant boundaries located Navajo cornfields along the west side of the grant (Ebright 1996:220). Hispano settlers abandoned San Fernando by 1800. By 1877 the grant contained settlements of La Cueva, San Francisco, Duran, and San Ignacio, some of which were resettled 1700s communities (Ebright 1996:219 n. 73).

Governor Tomas Velez Cachupín established the San Fernando grant to provide a buffer settlement on the Navajo frontier. Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta handled the grant differently when its common lands were under attack. Two years after taking office, Mendinueta privatized to absentee owners much of the land in the Río Puerco watershed around the San Fernando grant, making seven private grazing grants to politically well-connected individuals in the area. These grants included Felipe Tafoya and others in the eastern and northern footslopes of Mount Taylor (Ebright 1996:224–225).

The Quelites Grant was made in 1761 to a group of 18 families who were mostly landless "vagrants" (Ebright 1996:214). The name of the grant suggests these grantees were *genízaros* or *mestizos*. "Quelites" might come from the Nahuatl word "quilitl," a potherb resembling lambsquarters (Ebright 1996:214 n. 54). Nahuatl presumably was the language of the *genízaro* settlers or their forebears. One wonders if the phonetically similar Navajo clan name *Haltsooí*, which has many members at Alamo and a few at *Tó Hajiileeh*, also is associated with the place known as

Quelites. *Haltsooí* clan is said to be of Mexican origin, although its origin place is the later settlement of San Mateo (Mitchell 1978:18). The 1692 Atrisco land grant and settlement derives its name from the Nahuatl word *Atłixco*, which means "Upon the Water" and probably refers to the Valley of Mexico (Domínguez 1956:154 n. 12; Metzgar 1977:270). A similar connection might exist between the phonetically similar Navajo clan name *Tóaheedl□įnii* River Junction, another clan of Mexican origin linked to *Haltsooí* (Matthews 1897:146; Mitchell 1978:17–18, 188).

Las Nutrias Grant was made south of Tomé in 1764. Settlers included *genízaros*, one Apache (a man named José), and one Coyote (*genízaro* and Spanish parents) (Ebright 1996:203, 231). Settlement persisted through 1779 (Ebright 1996:208).

The descendants of the 1692 Atrisco Grant settlers received additional grant lands west toward the Río Puerco East Valley and south of San Fernando in 1768. These people earlier attempted to settle these areas, but the San Fernando settlers drove them off (Ebright 1996:221).

[24] Grants from which Navajos drove Hispano settlers include, but are not limited to, (1) San Blas (San Fernando) in the Río Puerco East Valley, (2) Lagunitas, (3) the Garcías at Guadalupe, (4) Montoyas near Cabezón and the junction of Arroyo Chico, (5) others near Cuba and Lagunitas, and (6) Quelites, Encinal, and Cebolleta around Mount Taylor (Navajo Nation 1963:196–197). By 1772 (Ebright 1996:202) or 1800 (Ebright 1996:219 n. 73), Navajos forced the colonists to abandon all the Río Puerco East Valley settlements. In the 1780s Navajos lived around the pueblos of Ácoma and Laguna, Cebolleta, and Encinal. In 1780 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza reported Navajos in the Río Puerco of the East Valley between the pueblos of Santa Ana and Laguna. In 1808 Navajos maintained ranches and fields in the Río Puerco East Valley (Navajo Nation 1963:197–202).

[25] According to the Navajo Nation (1963:207–210; see also Correll 1976), Navajos were living at or near Jémez Pueblo in 1825. In 1826, James O. Pattie (who with his father operated Santa Rita copper mines in southwest New Mexico) met Navajos, apparently in the Lower Río Puerco Valley, to establish friendly relations. In 1834 Mexicans chased Navajos to Mesa Prieta, where fortifications for that purpose are among Navajo Land Claim archaeological sites (Navajo Nation n.d.a, b:E-RP-MP-CC). (On a field visit June 22, 1999, for an unrelated cultural resource issue, a consultant identified the north end of Mesa Prieta as a smoke signal point during warfare.) In 1844 Navajos farmed around Jémez Pueblo and near the Hispano settlement of Tomé, south of present-day Belen along the Río Grande.

Around 1846 (Navajo Nation 1963:217–231), Navajos occupied settlements along the Río Puerco East and near the ruins of San Fernando in this valley, evidently near the mouth of Salado Creek and near Big Bead. Navajo families also lived in the mountains west of Río Grande as far south as Valverde Magdalena Mountains. Navajos were observed around Cubero, Cebolleta, and Laguna Pueblo in the late 1840s. In 1856 the Navajo country included the Río Puerco of the East Valley, with Navajo families living at Big Bead and west of Cebolleta. During 1858 and 1859, Navajos lived in the northern Río Puerco East Valley toward Jémez Pueblo, near the mouth of Río San José (i.e., the Correo vicinity), and near Laguna Pueblo. In 1859 Navajos farmed between Atrisco and the Río Puerco East.

[26] These marches constitute the "Long Walk" (not a translation from today's Navajo term for the episode, "when they went to Fort Sumner").

[27] Ackerly's (1998) report lacks a map; therefore, one must consult his sources (Foreman 1941; Kelly 1970; Lesley 1929; McNitt 1973). See also the following Navajo oral history sources that Ackerly does not cite or that contain additional information not in his paper: Bighorse (1990), Etsedi (1937), Mitchell (1942), and Roessel (1973).

[28] Though Ackerly does not identify this spring, it may be the same as The Geyser, a Navajo sacred place (Van Valkenburgh 1974:65).

[29] Based on petroglyphs and ceremonial paraphernalia at archaeological sites in the *Dinétah*, some scholars think that at least five Navajo ceremonial repertoires, including two that incorporate these stories, Mountaintopway and Enemyway, acquired their present form by the 1700s (Olin 1972:40).]

[30] Compare the Beautyway girl's delineating watershed homes with the following Zuni concept:

> "Behold!" said the Earth Mother, and a great terraced bowl full of water appeared at hand. "This is how the homes of my tiny children shall be upon my body. On the rim of each country they wander in, terraced mountains shall stand, making one space into many different countries and separating one place from another." [Cushing and Wright 1988:5]

CHAPTER 6

A PLACE OF POWER AT THE EDGE: APACHE CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND THE PETROGLYPH NATIONAL MONUMENT

KURT F. ANSCHUETZ

Introduction

This essay considers both how the people of the Mescalero and Jicarilla Apache tribes have interacted with the Petroglyph National Monument historically and how the people construct an affiliation with the Petroglyph National Monument and Albuquerque West Mesa as a cultural landscape. In comparison to the Río Grande Pueblo (chapter 3), Western Pueblo (chapter 4), Navajo (chapter 5), or Nuevomexicano and Hispano (chapter 7) communities, only sparse information is available about either the Mescalero or Jicarilla Apache tribes' historical associations with the Middle Río Grande Valley (let alone the Albuquerque West Mesa) or the communities' landscape conceptualizations.

This undertaking admittedly is incomplete because only the Mescalero Apache Tribe chose to participate actively in the Ethnographic Landscape Report (ELR) project. The tribe sent four representatives for an on-site tour of the Petroglyph National Monument on December 11, 2000. Donna Stern-McFadden, Mescalero Apache Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, then hosted a community meeting at the Mescalero Apache Tribal Offices on January 24, 2001. Table 6.1 summarizes these activities, which served primarily to introduce the project, the key Petroglyph National Monument and Río Grande Foundation for Communities and Cultural Landscapes (Río Grande Foundation) personnel, and the available historical and cultural information that might be of interest to the community. As I show below, these consultations also were useful in providing the Mescalero Apache Tribe an opportunity to identify what kinds of natural and cultural resources within the Petroglyph National Monument and the Albuquerque West Mesa that have significance to the community. (During the January 24, 2001, meeting, the Petroglyph National Monument staff offered to host Mescalero community members to a second on-site visit. Persistent scheduling difficulties throughout the winter and spring, however, prevented the tribal members from returning within the ELR project timeline).

Although representatives of the Jicarilla Apache Tribe declined to participate in the ELR undertaking, the community is on record as generally acknowledging the West Mesa as a place within its traditional use areas. The tribe also has requested that they be kept informed of all actions regarding the management of cultural and resources at the monument, including the results of the present ELR (Anschuetz 1999).

Neither the review of available archaeological, historical, ethnohistorical, and ethnographic documentary literature nor the Mescalero Apache Tribe consultations allow the comprehensive documentation and discussion of the community's continuing affiliations with the Petroglyph National Monument as a cultural landscape. Nevertheless, the Mescalero community members expressed interest in the monument's volcanic peaks, their associated caves, various petroglyph motifs, and igneous rocks within the regional landscape of the Sandía and Manzano mountains, Mount Taylor, and the Río Grande Valley. When viewed in combination with the findings of the literature review, the structure and content of the Mescalero's interest allows the identification and evaluation of generalized principles and referents of highly meaningful affiliation. We currently lack quantified, objective information about the structure and organization of the Apache occupation and interaction with the Petroglyph National Monument. Nevertheless, the available data for these many disparate sources, when viewed as whole, are unequivocal in showing that both the Mescalero and Jicarilla communities' statements of affiliation are founded on a significant and internally consistent body of traditional cultural knowledge. That is, these communities' statements of affiliation are intelligible in terms of fundamental references to Apache Creation as well as the dialectical relationships of the cosmos' constituent elements that structure Apache landscape

TABLE 6.1: Petroglyph National Monument Mescalero Apache Tribe ELR Consultations.

CONSULTATION DATE: DECEMBER 11, 2000		
Participants	**Affiliation/Role**	**Comments**
Donna Stern-McFadden	Mescalero Apache Tribal Historic Preservation Officer	• Introductory on-site project visit in which participants discussed the project scope and design, visited the volcanoes, Boca Negra Canyon, Piedras Marcadas Canyon, and the "Mule Corral." • Medrano prepared database summaries of petroglyphs of specific interest to the Mescalero representatives, including stars, diamonds, crescent moons, triangles and/or tipis, reversed swastikas, dancers, burden baskets, shields, bison, horses, and horses and riders. • Medrano also filled the Mescalero delegation's request for an inventory of plants known to occur within the monument.
Naida Natchez	Mescalero Apache Tribal Historic Preservation Technician	
Arden Comanche	Mescalero Apache Tribe, Medicine Man	
Holly Houghton	Mescalero Apache Tribal Archaeologist	
Michael Quijano	Petroglyph National Monument, Chief Ranger	
Mike Medrano	Petroglyph National Monument, Natural Resource Specialist	
Kurt F. Anschuetz	Río Grande Foundation for Communities and Cultural Landscapes, interviewer	
Thomas W. Merlan	Consulting Historian, interviewer	
CONSULTATION DATE: JANUARY 24, 2001		
Participants	**Affiliation/Role**	**Comments**
Donna Stern-McFadden	Mescalero Apache Tribal Historic Preservation Officer	• Quijano described the monument and showed the locations of its major holdings and natural and cultural environmental features on maps. • Anschuetz discussed the ELR project and introduced the ethnographic landscape concept. • Together Quijano and Anschuetz emphasized the goal of the project to help people understand the many layers of meaning and connection as a whole. • Córdova commented on the monument's history and the NPS' continuing efforts to consult with affiliated tribes for appropriate management and interpretation. • Quijano showed an Endpoint demonstration of selected petroglyph images previously identified as of interest by Mescalero Apache Tribe representatives (see 12/11/00 consultation. He shared two CD ROM copies of Endpoint document with the Tribe. • Mescalero community members reaffirmed their affiliation with the monument and identified the need to continue dialogue with the NPS. • Córdova and Quijano extended an invitation to the community to return to the monument at their convenience for a second on-site visit and to continue discussions.
Sidney Baca	Mescalero Apache Tribal Council	
Wynette Baca	Mescalero Apache Tribal Member	
Jackie Blaylock	Mescalero Apache Tribal Member	
Glenda Brusuelas	Mescalero Apache Tribal Council	
Arden Comanche	Mescalero Apache Tribal, Medicine Man	
Oliver Enjady	Mescalero Apache Tribal Council	
Holly Houghton	Mescalero Apache Tribal Archaeologist	
Naida Natchez	Mescalero Apache Tribal Historic Preservation Technician	
Harrison Toclanny	Mescalero Apache Tribal Member (identifies himself as Chiricahua)	
Judith Córdova	Petroglyph National Monument, Superintendent	
Andre Perea	Petroglyph National Monument	
Michael Quijano	Petroglyph National Monument, Chief Ranger	
Kurt F. Anschuetz	Río Grande Foundation for Communities and Cultural Landscapes, interviewer	
Thomas W. Merlan	Consulting Historian, interviewer	

constructs and organize these people's interactions with their environments.

Despite the limitations created by the present lack of information, the essay still provides a foundation with which the National Park Service (NPS) can engage with the Mescalero and Jicarilla Apache tribes in the future in direct government-to-government relationship about how their respective tribal members associate with, and ascribe meaning to, the lands within and surrounding the monument.

The following discussion has five major sections for organizational purposes. Given the high degree of variability in Apache group names reported by the Spanish explorers and early colonial officials alike, the first part reviews the historical basis of the names for the Mescalero and the Jicarilla found in the early documentary literature. These written sources provide an informed basis for establishing that the forebears of these groups indeed were in the greater Albuquerque vicinity historically. The second part of the chapter in turn documents that the Middle Río Grande Valley generally falls within the Mescalero and the Jicarilla traditional use areas. The third section then shows that Apache bands, specifically including Mescalero forebears, regularly occupied the Sandía and Manzano mountains and made forays into the Middle Río Grande Valley, from the early years of the Spanish colony through at least the late 18th century. Importantly, these data indicate that the Apache groups were more than interlopers and raiders. Apache groups interacted with other area communities as traders.

The fourth part of this discussion examines the ideational foundations of Apache cultural landscapes offered in the work by Claire R. Farrer (1991, 1992), who studied Mescalero cosmology and ethnoastronomy with the invaluable assistance of Bernard Second, a Mescalero medicine man, and David L. Carmichael, who studied Mescalero sacred sites and places of power. These contributions allow the application of a visually simple, albeit many layered, metaphor—a quartered-circle—to evaluate the connectedness and complementarity understood to exist among Apache landscape elements.

The fifth part of this discussion looks at aspects of the Apache cultural landscape that are relevant to understanding the Mescalero and Jicarilla Apache tribes' stated affiliations with the Petroglyph National Monument. Following Farrer's, Second's, and Carmichael's leads, I suggest that these communities' statements are comprehensible with reference to the cultural logic held by Apache peoples generally about the origin of power in the universe and how people may appropriately obtain this power for living their lives in balance and harmony. Within this system of understanding, the Petroglyph National Monument apparently represents a place of great power at the interface between the spiritual and physical worlds. Relevant West Mesa landscape elements through which life's power may move, transform, and build, at the minimum include (1) mountains and caves, (2) petroglyphs, (3) lava rocks, and (4) plants, animals, and minerals.

The Historical Basis of the Names for the Mescalero and the Jicarilla Apache Tribes

A comment about the Apache ethnic names that appear in documentary records is useful. The groups and band names that have passed down to us since the Spanish Colonial period are based on what the Spanish administrators perceived as propensities in adaptation (i.e., Plains hunters and gatherers vs. mountain-valley hunters, gatherers, and farmers) or selected items of material (i.e., pottery). The names associated with the Mescalero and Jicarilla Apache tribes are not the peoples' names for themselves.

Castetter and others (1936) report that the Mescalero Apache, who were named formally as such by the Spanish in 1653 (Thomas 1974:1; see below), derive their name from their association of the preparation of one of their foodstuffs, mescal. They note, however, "While agave has been a staple food among the Apache, its importance has often been exaggerated, and it is a mistake to suppose that they depended almost entirely upon it" (Castetter et al. 1936:27). Another band name associated historically with the Mescalero is *Natagé* (from *Nataina*), which applies principally (though by no means exclusively) to Mescalero bands in southern New Mexico (Opler 1983b:438). In addition, many researchers associate *Faraon* (a.k.a. *Faraone* or *Pharaone*) bands in the Santa Fé and the Sandía-Manzano localities of northern and central New Mexico with the Mescalero (Basehart 1974:111; John 1975:235; Schroeder 1974:504–506, 514; Thomas 1974:7–8; cf. Cortés y de Olarte 1989:49–53 [1799]; see also below).

The term *Jicarilla Apache* formally became part of the Spanish colonial documentary record in 1700. At this time, Governor Pedro Rodríguez Cubero identified the mountain-valley Apache living in the Taos province as "apaches of la Xicarilla" (D. Gunnerson 1974:167).

The Spanish term *jícara* denotes a small chocolate cup made from a tree gourd, and *jícaro,* the tree (*Crescentia cujete*; also, Aztec *xicalli*) that produces the "gourds, that Europeans observed in the Valley of Mexico" (Velázquez de la Cadena et al. 1985:414). The term *jicarilla* also potentially can mean "little basket." At contact, the Spanish observed that the

Jicarilla ancestors used demitasse clay vessels molded from vine gourds (Felipe Ortega, personal communication 1999) and small baskets (Tiller 1992:5). Depending on context, therefore, the appellation *Jicarilla Apache* variously signified northern New Mexico's Apache populations as people who used small hemispherical clay or gourd vessels (i.e., *jícaras*) for food and beverages, or who made little baskets (Tiller 1992:5). Some Jicarilla strongly dismiss the "little basket" appellation as a mistaken translation of the Spanish term *xicarilla*, however. They suggest that the Spanish used *jicarilla* to refer to the people's pine-pitched baskets and well-used micaceous pottery that "looked sort of like chocolate" (Tom Vigil, in Trimble 1993:286–287).

Llanero and *Ollero* are associated Jicarilla band names. Tiller (1992:4) contends the Llanero (i.e., Plains people [see also D. Gunnerson 1974:228; Schroeder 1974]) and Ollero (i.e. mountain-valley people [see also Schroeder 1974; Tiller 1992:4] or pottery-making people [Felipe Ortega, personal communication 1999]) band distinction has antiquity. For example, Cortés y de Olarte 1989:49–53 [1799] referred to the Llanero in 1799. These band names, however, were not formally accepted among the region's Nuevomexicano and Anglo populations until the beginning of ethnographic research among the Jicarilla in the late 19th century. Moreover, because Llanero band members at times apparently used pottery and farmed while seasonally occupying mountain-valley settings, while Ollero band members clearly are known to have ventured out onto the Plains to hunt buffalo, investigators need to use caution in constructing the historical movements and cultural landscape affiliations of these groups over time.

Members of the Faraon band also might be associated historically with the Jicarilla. For example, Cortés y de Olarte identifies the Faraones, as "a very large group…believed to be a branch of the *Xicarillas*" (1989:52 [1799]). Nevertheless, Tiller (1983:44), just as many other anthropologists and historians (e.g., Basehart 1974; John 1975; Schroeder 1974; Thomas 1974), however, clearly distinguishes the Jicarilla from the Faraon.

Mescalero and Jicarilla Aboriginal Use Areas

Castetter and Opler describe the traditional Mescalero homeland:

> The land which the Mescalero claim was theirs in aboriginal times lay principally in what is now New Mexico. The eastern limit of their recognized territory was the flat country to the east of Hondo, but expeditions for salt, or to hunt antelope and buffalo often took them far beyond this point and many times east of the Pecos. Occasionally they wandered as far north as Santa Fe. On the south their range extended into northwestern Texas and into Chihuahua and Coahuila, Old Mexico. The Rio Grande was their western boundary. The favorite Mescalero haunts were to be found in the San Andreas, Sacramento, and Guadalupe mountain ranges. [Castetter and Opler 1936:5]

Opler (1983b:419) adds that that the Mescalero continuously occupied essentially the same territories from the middle of the 17th century, at which time the Mescalero were first distinguished as a separate tribe, until the beginning of the reservation period in late 19th century. He adds,

> Their western boundary was the Rio Grande, and though their settlements were located west of the Pecos River, buffalo and antelope hunts, expeditions for salt and horses, and forays against enemies frequently took them farther east. Their living sites and main activities lay south of 34° north latitude, but they have been known to travel farther north for short periods on economic errands. On the south their domain extended into northwestern Texas and the northern parts of the Mexican states of Chihuahua and Coahuila to the arid Bolsón de Mapimí. [Opler 1983b:420]

Basehart, in turn, provides detail of the Mescalero's northern territorial expanse:

> Features of the [Mescalero] country north of the Sierra Blanca include a series of mountain ranges roughly continuous with the former, and a high plains region, extending with some mountainous interruptions from the Manzano-Sandia mountains in the west to the Pecos river in the east. Historical evidence suggests that the more northerly reaches of this territory, as far as the neighborhood of Las Vegas, were utilized by both Jicarilla and Mescalero Apache...in 1851..."Cuento Azule" (Cuentos Azules), a Mescalero chief, and his people were at La Cuesta (on the Pecos below San Miguel)...The town of Manzano was a favored trading center for Mescalero…[1974:85]

As Akins (1993:95) observes, Basehart's descriptions of traditional Mescalero land use areas extend farther north than depicted in Indian Claims Commission or the U.S. Claims Court documents defining the Mescalero aboriginal land area (USGS 1978; see also Figure 6.1). In this historical construction of traditional land use area, the Mescalero occupation extended only north to the area of Manzano, New Mexico, on the east side of the Manzano Mountains. This depiction appears to exclude the area of legislated late Spanish colonial

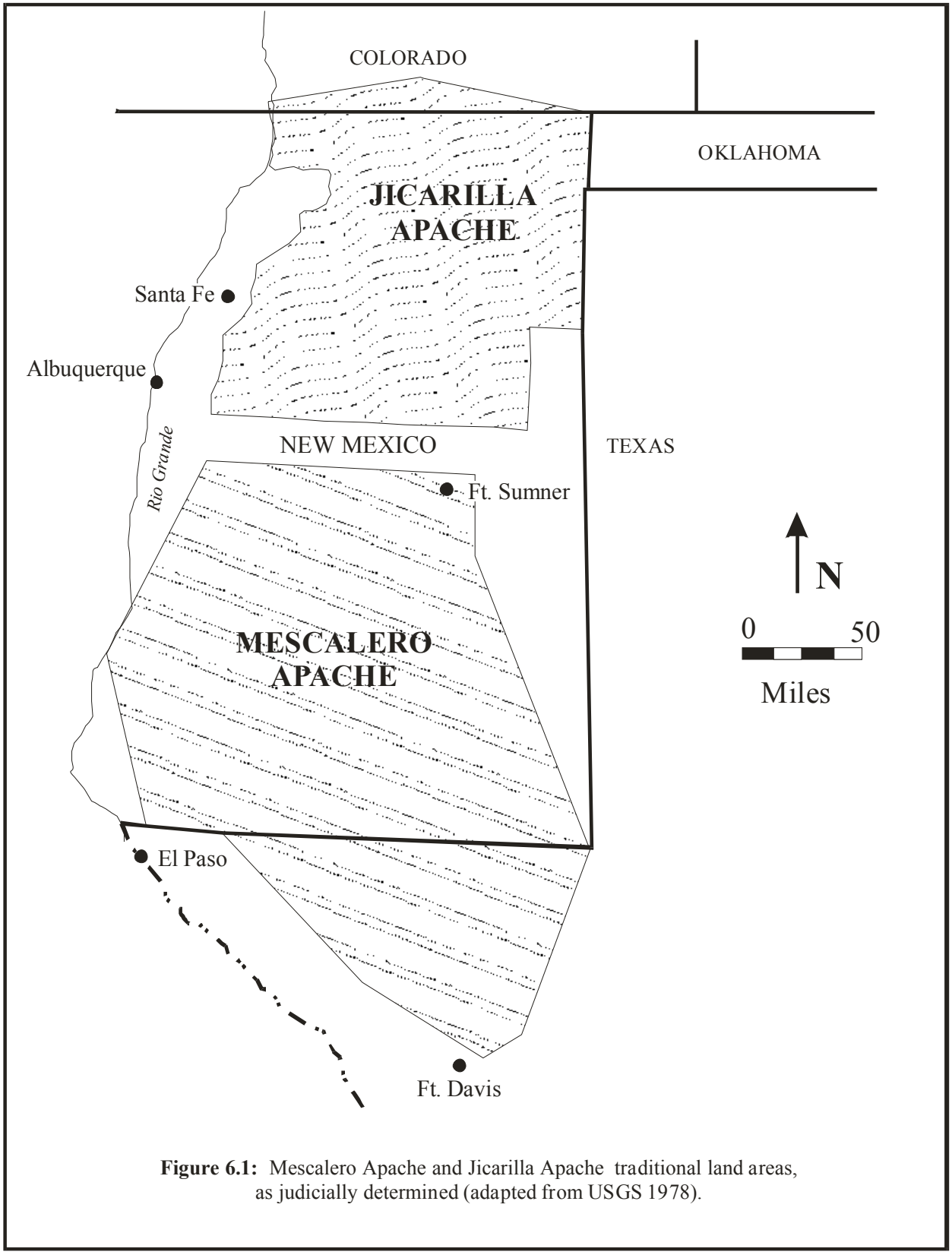

Figure 6.1: Mescalero Apache and Jicarilla Apache traditional land areas, as judicially determined (adapted from USGS 1978).

settlement along the Río Grande Valley south of Belén and the Albuquerque West Mesa (see below).

By 1870, however, Mescalero territory was confined largely to the area among the Sierra Blanca, Sacramento, San Andres, and Organ mountains (Bender 1974a:274). Some Mescalero people occasionally lived in the Guadalupe Mountains and on the west side of the Río Grande (Akins 1993:94). Small numbers of people also periodically traveled east of the Río Pecos to join Lipán bands during buffalo hunts and entered Jicarilla territory north of their traditional homeland.

Tiller (1976:2) describes the traditional Jicarilla homeland as consisting of the area bounded on the north by the Arkansas River, on the west by the Sangre de Cristo Mountains near Leyden, New Mexico, on the south by the Upper Pecos Valley and the southern foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and on the east by the Big Cimarron River and the Llano Estacado. The Jicarilla's four principal sacred rivers—Arkansas, Canadian, Río Grande, and Pecos—effectively delineate the boundaries of their country (Tiller 1992:3). This core area is north of the Santa Fé and Albuquerque areas.

Bender describes the Jicarilla homeland at circa 1850 as the mountain country of north-central New Mexico extending north in Colorado, west to the Río Grande beginning at the 37th parallel, and reaching east into Texas (1974b:25). By 1868 the Jicarilla's territory shifted westward: the people claimed the major parts of the country between the Río Grande and the San Juan River (Bender 1974b:141). Again, Albuquerque is well south of either of these 19th-century claims.

Indian Claims Commission and U.S. Claims Court documents defining the Jicarilla aboriginal land area (USGS 1978; see also Figure 6.1), however, show the people's traditional territory extending as far south as the Plains east of the Sandía Mountains. The Río Grande Valley and the Albuquerque West Mesa are excluded from this historical traditional land use area construction.

Of Apache Traders, Interlopers, and Raiders in the Northern Río Grande Valley: Cultural-Historical Framework for Petroglyph National Monument Affiliation

The Mescalero and the Jicarilla are just two of seven Southern Athapaskan culture groups, including Navajo, Kiowa Apache, Lipán, Western Apache, and Chiricahua, residing today in the greater North American Southwest. These populations traditionally occupied a broad territorial expanse. The former Southern Athapaskan homeland includes a large portion of eastern Colorado; southeastern Wyoming; western Nebraska, Kansas, and Texas; northern, eastern, and southwestern New Mexico; central and southeastern Arizona; and northern Mexico. The Mescalero and the Jicarilla (and their forebears) culturally and historically are associated with eastern and northern New Mexico, respectively.

Questions concerning the path and timing of the Southern Athapaskan populations' entry into the northern Southwest region remain unresolved. Many investigators, however, believe ancestral representatives of at least one of the culture groups arrived in the region sometime between ca. A.D. 1300 and 1500 (Dittert et al. 1961; Hester 1962; Hester and Shiner 1963; Schroeder 1974). J. Gunnerson (1979:162; see also D. Gunnerson 1974:5), however, suggests Southern Athapaskans did not enter the region until after ca. A.D. 1525.

Wedel (1959) suggests the archaeological complexes designated as the Dismal River aspect (A.D. 1600–1700) in western Kansas, southeastern Wyoming, western Nebraska, and eastern Colorado might be associated with Plains Athapaskans. Using archaeological evidence along with Spanish documentary information, J. Gunnerson (1959, 1960, 1968, 1979; J. Gunnerson and D. Gunnerson 1971; see also D. Gunnerson 1974; Opler 1971) more forcibly links Dismal River aspect sites with ancestral Southern Athapaskan occupation. J. Gunnerson (1979:163), however, dismisses the common archaeological interpretation that Dismal River aspect populations might represent the undifferentiated early ancestors of all Southern Athapaskans based on their location along the probable Apachean migration route. That is, as I discuss below, differentiation among Apachean groups existed before the first arrival of Spanish explorers in the region in 1541. In recording his disagreement with the supposition that the Dismal River aspect people were undifferentiated Apache forebears, Gunnerson notes the earliest reported Dismal River aspect tree-ring dates postdate 1650 (1979; see also Young 1983).

The entry of Southern Athapaskan populations into the southern Plains of eastern New Mexico apparently is congruent with the Dismal River aspect settlement of areas farther northeast and northwest. With the beginning of Spanish exploration of the northern Southwest in the mid-16th century, it is clear that Apache groups already inhabited the southern Plains. Moreover, the documentary records suggest that substantive differences already existed among the Apache populations that coincide generally with the territories with which the Mescalero and the Jicarilla are associated traditionally in historical constructions.

While venturing onto the Plains from their bases in the northern Río Grande in 1541, the men of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's expeditionary force reported encountering nomadic Indians between the Canadian and Red rivers in northeastern New Mexico, as well as in southeastern Colorado and places farther east on the Plains (Tiller 1983:447; see also 1992:5). Scholars suggest these skilled buffalo hunters were "a branch of the great Apache people so conspicuous in the same region at a later date" (Bolton 1964:245). Nevertheless, the ethnic identity of these people is not certain.

Coronado's chronicler, Pedro de Castañeda, reports the Pueblo people living in the Tiquex province referred to these Apache as Querechos, because of their trading relations with the Keres Pueblos. The Plains Querechos not only supplied the Río Grande Keresans and the other Pueblos with buffalo hides and meat, they also over-wintered near the Pueblos' villages. Overwriting Harrington's (1940:510) dissenting argument, D. Gunnerson (1974) argues the early northeastern New Mexico Apache traded with the Pueblos of Picurís, Taos, and Pecos. D. Gunnerson also promotes the interpretation that the Querechos were ancestral Jicarilla. Citing geographic associations, Tiller (1983:447) ventures the opinion that the Querechos that Coronado and Castañeda describe were the ancestors of the Llanero band of the Jicarilla (D. Gunnerson 1974:228; Schroeder 1974; Tiller 1983:450, 1992:4).

In 1598 Juan de Oñate, who was occupied in establishing his Spanish colonial capital at the confluence of the Río Grande and the Río Chama, sent Vicente de Saldívar to reconnoiter the Canadian River area. Saldívar encountered buffalo-hunting Plains nomads whom he called Vaqueros. Given the great similarity between Castañeda's description of the Querechos and Saldívar's account of the Vaqueros, Thomas (1958) and D. Gunnerson (1974:62) conclude these people were "one and the same" (Tiller 1983:447). Nevertheless, the Jicarilla were not distinguished formally from any of the Apache ethnic groups until 1700 (see above).

Oñate subsequently assigned Fray Francisco de Zamora to Christianize the people of the Picurís province, including Apache populations in the mountain-valley country around Taos, Raton, and the Arkansas River Valley localities during the first years of the 17th century. These people were distinguished by settlement in seasonal villages. Their subsistence economy also incorporated farming along with hunting and gathering. Oñate similarly delegated missionizing duties to Fray de San Miguel for the people of the Pecos province. Besides the Pecos Pueblo's residents, Fray de San Miguel's charges included the buffalo-hunting Vaquero nomads who lived out on the nearby Plains. Tiller notes, "This is the first time that a distinction was made between the…[mountain-valley]…Apaches and the Vaqueros to the east" (1983:447) in the very region where Jicarilla populations were specifically identified by name nearly a century later.

Two decades later Benavides (1916, 1996) similarly noted the differentiation of subsistence and settlement adaptations among the Jicarilla forebears living along the Sangre de Cristo front range: the semisedentary subsistence farmers of mountain-valley settings (i.e., ancestors of the Ollero band) and the nomadic buffalo hunters of the southwestern Plains margin (i.e., ancestors of the Llanero band). This divergence partly is a product of the close interaction between the mountain-valley groups and the Río Grande Pueblos. Benavides also observed the Mescalero forebears, a people to whom he referred as the *Apaches de Perrillo* after a local landmark, in the area known today as the Jornada del Muerto (Hodge 1895:234).

Apache groups, cast by Spanish administrators in the role of raiders even though the Apache already had maintained trading ties with the Río Grande Pueblos for decades, if not centuries (see above), clearly were in the greater Albuquerque area in the early decades of the colonization. A major entry point was around Bernalillo. Snow reports that in 1643, Governor Alonzo de Pacheco de Herédia confiscated the place of Juan Ramirez

> which said property was situated on the banks of the Rio del Norte, between the Pueblos of San Felipe and Sandia, which being the central place of the most important and populous part of the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico, and being also the best and most popular crossing by which the Indians of the Apache nation, the common enemy of our Holy Catholic Faith, committed their assaults, depredations and murders on our country and people, he established there a fort which he called the Fort of San Antonio and left there a garrison of one captain and 15 soldiers…[1976:167]

Snow (1976:169; see also Simmons 1982:38) adds that Las Angosturas de Bernalillo is between the mouth of the Jemez River and San Felipe Pueblo. He speculates that Fort San Antonio, a temporary military post, was in this vicinity to guard a ford on the Río Grande frequented by Apache raiders.

Metzgar (1977:269) also reports the presence of unspecified Apache raiders in the immediate Albuquerque vicinity during the decade before the

Pueblo Revolt of 1680–1692. He notes that Governor Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa attempted to found a villa in the Atrisco Land Grant area during the 1660s in order to pacify the area against Indian raiders.

The 17th-century Apache raiding of Spanish colonial settlements in the Albuquerque area clearly was tied to regional processes fueled in part by global European politics. The Comanche were entering northern and eastern New Mexico from areas to the north to compete with the various Apache groups for access to the Plains and its resources. The Comanche held a great technological advantage at the onset of their interactions with the Apache because they were able to obtain guns from the French through their traditional northern trade and exchange relationships. The Apache, in comparison, were unable to procure firearms from their Spanish neighbors because of strictly enforced policies designed to maintain the struggling colony's military advantage over the territory's native peoples. The westward expansion of the French frontier directly into New Mexico from the Mississippi Valley between the 17th century and into the early 18th century reinforced the Comanche's ability to out-compete the Apache for land (Tiller 1983:449). By the 1770s, "the Comanches had actually pushed these Apaches to the Río Grande and were occupying their hunting grounds in the Sierra Blanca" (Sonnichsen 1968:77). Sonnichsen notes further that in face of the heavy pressure from the Comanches, the Eastern Apaches "retreated farther and farther south, endangering the Spanish communities wherever they found themselves" (1968:77). Some Mescalero bands even drifted far into Mexico and lived there for many decades.

In re-establishing control over the New Mexican territory following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680–1692, Governor Diego de Vargas and his colonial government dealt with hostile Apache and Navajo groups, as well as rebellious Pueblo communities. As the colony solidified its control over the heartland areas of its Río Grande settlement, officials turned increasing attention to the problem of Apache and Navajo raiders. In his edict of March 27–April 2, 1704, Governor Vargas identified livestock thefts in the Bernalillo and Cieneguilla areas by Mescaleros and other Apache groups:

> The Faraon Apaches and those of the Seven Rivers and others of the Frontier and other parts of this said province having committed during the Moons of the months, since I came again to govern, various thefts of cattle and flocks from Captain Miguel Garcia on his farm at Cieneguilla and from Don Fernando Duran y Chaves, alcalde mayor of the Post of Bernalillo, asking that I, on my side, should make offensive war... [in Twitchell 1914, 2:127]

As a response to these petitions, Governor Vargas, who was then 60 years of age, set out with 50 Spanish soldiers and a contingent of Pueblo warriors to pursue hostile Apaches who had been raiding in the Middle Río Grande Valley. His scouts ranged through the Sandía and Manzano mountains looking for signs of the Apache marauders (Simmons 1982:46). Governor Vargas fell ill while on this expedition. He died back at Bernalillo on April 8, 1704 (Sonnichsen 1968:71–72).

In 1706, two years after Governor Vargas' death, Governor Francisco Cuervo y Valdés reported that "the country south of Bernalillo was alive with hostile Apaches" (Simmons 1982:83). Moreover, later that year "an Apache arrived in Albuquerque...he said that members of his band camping in the Sandías had a vision in which they were encouraged to accept Spanish authority" (Simmons 1982:97).

Over the subsequent decade, the split between Apaches friendly and hostile to the Spanish colony widened. Some Apache groups, suffering from predations by both Comanches and other Apache bands, even formed alliances with the Spanish. Together they attempted to drive away raiders in the mountains east of Albuquerque and elsewhere along the Front Range. Tiller reports,

> There is no further mention of the Jicarilla until the Faraones Apaches began rampaging along the eastern frontier of New Mexico in 1714 [including the Sandía Mountain area {see Simmons 1982:99}]. They were harassing both the Spanish and Pueblo settlements but "wreaked their worst havoc upon their northern neighbors, the Jicarillas, who were gravely weakened by the Ute-Comanche onslaught and thus vulnerable to any foe" (John 1975:235). In this same year the Spanish included the Jicarilla among the friendly Indians in their campaign against the Faraones. This was also the beginning of the use of Jicarillas as auxiliaries to the Spanish army. [1983:449]

The Spanish colony subsequently entertained the idea of establishing a *presidio* (garrison) at a location known as La Jicarilla Apache, and the Jicarilla and Carlana Apaches pledged themselves as vassals of the King of Spain in the 1720s in exchange for military protection. After government officials decided against incurring the costs of constructing and maintaining a new garrison, they advised the Jicarilla to take the responsibility of enhancing their own defensive capabilities by settling still closer to the Pueblos (D. Gunnerson 1974:202; Thomas 1935:42; Tiller

1983:450). The fact that the Spanish colonial ecclesiastical administration founded a mission for the Jicarilla near Taos Pueblo evidences that some bands followed this advice (Tiller 1992:8).

This social and political landscape effectively constrained the Jicarilla's movements farther south and led to *syncretism,* the melding of the structure and symbolic content of Apache and Pueblo spiritual ecologies. On the one hand, the more mountain-oriented Jicarilla, whose descendants became known as Ollero (Schroeder 1974; Tiller 1992:4; also, Felipe Ortega, personal communication 1999) band members in the late 19th century, developed particularly close interactions with the Pueblos. For example, Opler (1944; 1983a:373) notes commonalities between certain Jicarilla and Picurís ceremonial observances and suggests diffusion of cultural traits from northern Tiwa Pueblo sources. On the other hand, because of continued depredations by the Comanche, some Carlana, Cuartelejo, and Paloma Apache band segments spent increasing amounts of time among the Jicarilla in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains near the Pueblos of Taos, Picurís, and Pecos (see Tiller 1983:450). Evidently, some of these people merged fully with Plains-margin Jicarilla groups who became known as the Llanero band after 1850 (D. Gunnerson 1974:228; Schroeder 1974; Tiller 1983:450, 1992:4).

Even though Jicarilla movements down the east faces of the Sandía and Manzano mountains east of the Petroglyph National Monument largely were curtailed following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680–1692, the Mescalero continued to come northward into this area well into the 18th century. For example, the Marqués de Rubí reported in 1766

> that the Mescalero lived along the Rio Grande River from the mouth of the Pecos southeastward to the San Diego River in Coahuila, a stream which flowed into the Rio Grande near the Mexican village of Jimenes of today, located a few miles south of Del Rio, Texas. From the junction of the Pecos and Rio Grande, the Mescalero extended northwestward along the latter to El Paso, and northward from the Rio Grande along both sides of the Pecos River, and inhabited the mountains, Organ, Sierra Oscura, Sacramento, Sierra Blanca, and Seven Rivers. *They communicated, he continued, along the Sandia Mountains and up the Pecos River with the Jicarilla Apache who lived in that region*, and westward from this New Mexican area, they occasionally visited the Gila Apache, while eastward there were indications that with the Natage, Mescalero had been seen at San Saba, Texas. [Thomas 1974:6, italics added]

According to Schroeder (1974:529), however, the Mescaleros apparently no longer attempted to maintain their traditional seasonal residences in the Sandía and Manzano areas after ca. 1760 because of pressure by Spanish defensive land grant settlement policies. These administrative actions included the founding of settlements along the periphery of the Río Grande Valley by *genízaro* (hispanicized Native American) and Nuevomexicano groups as a first line of defense for Albuquerque and Bernalillo.

During this period the Mescalero, with their Gila allies from southwestern New Mexico (see Opler 1983a:388), continued to raid in the Bernalillo area. For example, Simmons (1982:108) states that Atrisqueños argued in their 1768 petition to Governor de Mendinueta for an additional land grant to support their ranching economy that their "presence would serve as a bulwark for the defense of both San Fernando and the Albuquerque area, since along the Puerco 'barbarous Apaches'...were as thick as thorns on a cactus" (Simmons 1982:108; see also chapter 7). Metzgar refers to "Apache-Navajo marauding" (1977:274) in the first half of the 1770s. Thomas tells that Gilas (1) raided Santa Clara Pueblo and stole "mares and horses" (1940:45) on May 3, 1775, (2) killed 15 people and captured 10 head of livestock at Belén and Tomé on July 26, 1775 (1940:46), (3) stole a horse herd from Laguna (1940:46, 183), (4) stole additional livestock and killed 1 settler on the frontiers of the jurisdiction of Albuquerque and Laguna during 3 separate attacks (1940:172), and (5) stole livestock from the villa of Albuquerque and from Bernalillo area residents (1940:179). Because of these many continuing predations, the Marqués de Rubí recommended after his 1766 inspection that the colonial government transfer the presidio from El Paso to Carrizal and establish a detachment at Robledo north of El Paso to block the communication of the Mescalero, Natagée, Jicarilla, and other eastern Apache groups with the Gilas (Thomas 1940:37).

Opler (1983b:421) observes that Spanish colonial policy toward the Mescalero alternated between military action and attempts to settle them in specified areas during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Governor Fernando de la Concha, in his *Instruccíon de 1794* to his successor, Fernando Chacón, stated:

> different bands of Apache named Natages, Faraones, Mimbres, and Gilenos, occupied the territory from the Pecos River to the territory of the Navajo and that he had succeeded in locating a large number of these Apaches near El Sabinal, a point some miles south of present-day Belen, on the Rio Grande. In December, 1793, some three hundred souls of all the above bands were gathered there. [Thomas 1974:14]

With Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, the new government awarded expansive land grants to its citizens in the attempt to transfer the obligation to provide protection to the region's Nuevomexicano population to private hands in exchange for the privilege of property ownership. Commonly, these land grants included tracts traditionally used by Native American groups, including the Mescalero and the Jicarilla. For example, the 1841 award of some 1.7 million acres to Carlos Beaubien and Guadalupe Miranda in northeastern New Mexico was the largest of the grants affecting Jicarilla occupation. Beaubien and Miranda subsequently sold their holdings to Lucien B. Maxwell in 1847; this expansive tract since has been recognized as the Maxwell Land Grant. Other Mexican governmental policies were used to remove indigenous peoples from vast tracts of their traditional use areas. The Mexican Colonization Law of 1828 allowed territorial governors to make private grants of traditional Indian lands to the region's recognized Nuevomexicano citizenry. This legislation did not require consultation with indigenous groups even though the legislation was supposed to allow Native American groups continued use and occupation of their traditional holdings until the time they voluntarily quit all ties to the tract to the land grant holders.

During the years following the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, which brought the titles of lands in New Mexico and Texas under U.S. control, large numbers of settlers of northern European descent began moving directly into the core of the remaining Apache homeland. The new government assumed that Spanish and Mexican administrative precepts, which did not recognize Indian land claims, prevailed; therefore, Native Americans "were considered squatters, obliged to move at the convenience of the Whites" (Opler 1983:421). For example, Opler (1936:202; see also Schroeder 1974:411) reports that even though federal authorities recognized that the Jicarilla's traditional hunting territory extended from the Arkansas River south to Mora and from the Canadian River west to Chama, they worked systematically to dispossess these people from the whole of this expansive tract over the next three decades.

Dispossessed of their traditional lands, the Mescalero and Jicarilla were unable to maintain their active affiliations with many of the places they held as sacred within their landscapes (see discussions by Opler [1983b; Farrer 1991] and Tiller [1983, 1992] for historical summaries for the Mescalero and the Jicarilla, respectively). The Mescalero were confined to a small, mountainous reservation consisting mostly of the eastern slopes of the White and Sacramento mountains in 1873. The Jicarilla eventually received a reservation in 1887 in Río Arriba County, which is northwest of their traditional homeland.

Before concluding this discussion of the cultural-historical framework for the affiliation of Apache populations with the Petroglyph National Monument, it is important to emphasize that, contrary of the above documentary reports, the Apaches' interactions with the Albuquerque area were not simply as interlopers and raiders. As I note above, the Apache, identified by Río Grande Keres groups as *Querechos*, supplied the Río Grande Keresans and the other Pueblos with buffalo hides and meat as traders and over-wintered near the Pueblos' villages (after D. Gunnerson 1974).

With the severe disruptions of aboriginal economic, social, and political relationships brought by the Spanish colonization of the New Mexican territory and the movement of Comanche groups into the region assisted by superior French armaments, the web of landscape interactions among the area's culturally diverse peoples underwent rapid transformation. Even though the periodic outbreak of hostilities dominate Spanish historical texts, the continuance of trading partnerships and peaceful interactions in the Albuquerque area is mentioned occasionally. For example, Simmons reports in ca. 1770 that "some of the less belligerent Apache bands...were willing to trade peacefully at Carnué" (1982:109). Thomas also tells at roughly the same time (1768), "the Natages sought peace in Albuquerque at this time, and with them were Apaches from the Sierra Blanca" (1940:162).

Information compiled during Río Grande Pueblo stakeholder consultations for this Ethnographic Landscape Report (ELR) project also reveals a continuing memory of peaceful trade relationships between Apache and Pueblo peoples. Celestino Gachupin, Natural Resources Manager, Zía Pueblo, who was the designated community representative for the ELR consultations, stated that the people of the Pueblos of Sandía and Isleta traded at the petroglyphs with an Apache leader whom they later learned was Geronimo, the Chiricahua leader. One of the religious societies still has a gift—an arrow or spear—given to them by the Apaches. Gachupin said further that the Río Pueblo communities remember that Geronimo and his band camped near the petroglyphs along the volcanic escarpment.

Foundations of Apache Cultural Landscapes

Just as we have seen with the discussion of the Pueblo (chapters 3 and 4) and Navajo (chapter 5) community essays, Apache languages are tools through which the people learn and experience all aspects of their existence, including their landscapes. Cajete's

(1994) concept of *spiritual ecology* again necessarily underlies this discussion, given that the Apache idea of spirit is intrinsic to their comprehension of the dynamically intertwined processes of language, learning, and experience within life itself.

The Apaches' traditional relationships with places within their landscape, therefore, not only include the land itself but also the way people perceive the reality of their worlds and themselves (after Cajete 1993–1994:6). As Basso (1996) notes, traditional Apache wisdom often is tied to places that people talk about, thus the landscape is full of history, legend, knowledge, and power that help structure activities and organize relationships. Basso's work (1996) addresses how Apaches creatively fashion themselves and their landscapes through their occupation of spaces, thereby illustrating the interdependence of the physical and the ideational within their environments.

The idea of *ensoulment*, which Cajete (1994:83) uses to refer to the projection of the human sense of soul and the archetypes contained therein upon the landscape, similarly is applicable among the Apache given that people make a place as much as a place makes people (see chapter 3). Basso explains:

> features of the Apache landscape, their richly evocative names, and the many tribal narratives that recall their mythical importance are viewed as resources with which determined men and women can modify aspects of themselves, including, most basically, their own ways of thinking. And because changes in ways of thinking are mirrored by changes in patterns of conduct, these same individuals actually can be seen to alter who they are. As Apache men and women set about drinking from places—as they acquire knowledge of their natural surroundings, commit it to permanent memory, and apply it productively to the workings of their minds—they show by their actions that their surroundings live in them. Like their ancestors before them, they display by word and deed that beyond the visible reality of place lies a moral reality which they themselves have come to embody. And whether or not they finally succeed in becoming fully wise, it is this interior landscape—this landscape of the moral imagination—that most deeply influences their vital sense of place, and also, I believe, their unshakable sense of self…—selfhood and placehood are completely intertwined. Having developed apace together, they are positive expressions of the other, opposite sides of the same rare coin, and their power to "bind and fasten fast" is nothing short of enormous. [1996:146]

"Living Life's Circle": A Base Metaphor with Which Apaches Occupy an Ensouled Landscape

Apaches imbue their landscapes with a sense of ensoulment through the idea of the power obtained when people live their lives in balanced harmony within the explicitly structured order of their cosmos. Moreover, the Apache maintain the belief that the sacred character of specific landscape features from which the people draw power is an essential component of Apache self-identity (after Carmichael 1994:96).

Carmichael explains the Apache idea of power as "a spiritual energy or life force that enables an individual to interact with the forces of the natural and supernatural worlds" (1994:91). As reported previously by researchers (e.g., Basso 1971a:270; Opler 1935:66–67, among others), the acquisition of power through dreams and visions, derived from a person's special relationship with particular supernatural beings, gives a person the ability to influence those aspects of nature associated specifically with those spirits. Carmichael explains, "For the Mescalero, supernatural power is inherently dual in nature: it can either be beneficial or harmful, depending on how it is used. Beneficial power, sometimes glossed as holiness, is call *diyi'*…" (1994:91, citing Basso 1969, 1971b; Opler 1935:69).

In her work with the Mescalero, Farrer has shown how a seemingly simple metaphor—a quartered circle (Figure 6.2), which represents the richly textured and multilayered idea of *^{n}da¶bijuuɬ si□¶*, "life/creation—its circularity/completion—sits/is there" (1992:69; see also Farrer 1991:26–32, 60–61)—proscribes how people may live appropriately to draw and build upon beneficial power. She observes, "Any message that is so important as to provide an order to, and harmony for, life is not to be repeated only once and then set aside. Rather, it is a message that must be reinforced" (1992:69). As such, this idea underlies almost all aspects of the day-to-day lives of the Mescalero (see Farrer 1991:62, 100), thereby providing "an ever and predictable order that in its very existence speaks eloquently of the harmonious universe of Creation" (1992:69). Farrer (1991:61) maintains further that to understand the genesis of this fundamental metaphor, which she refers to as *the base metaphor* (1991:passim, 1992:passim) of Mescalero ideation, as well as understanding the consequent value that the people place on this idea, illuminates aspects of highly patterned behavior among Athapaskan groups in general.

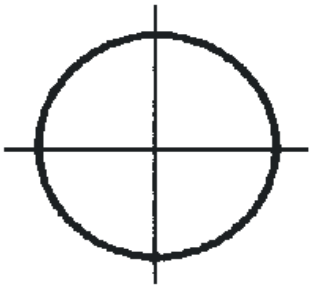

Figure 6.2: A visual representation of the base metaphor (from Farrer 1991:Figure 4.17).

The primacy of the base metaphor in Apache thought and action is rooted firmly in Athapaskan peoples' understandings of Creation. As told by the Mescalero in their origin stories, a spiritual being associated with eternal power created the world in four days, thereby laying down an invariant order through which the people were placed in positions of vulnerability in relationship to all other Creation. Farrer reports, "Apaches aver that people do not and cannot exist without all that preceded our becoming into being…People are inherently weak, because they require the entirety of creation for their lives" (1991:27). Moreover, the number four is imbued with power because it refers to the number of days it took the Creator to fulfill the act of Creation itself. The base metaphor's quartered circle, therefore, demonstrates for people that the whole of creation, as founded on relationship and interdependence, is greater than the mere sum of its parts.

The base metaphor also establishes the meaningfulness of sound and silence, directionality, and balance and harmony in structuring Apache life. The relationship between sound and silence, in part, refers respectfully to the prominence of Old Man Thunder and wind in the process of Creation (Farrer 1991:27–28). Nevertheless, sound is not a general manifestation of the power that was embodied in the process of Creation. The Apaches' Creator was silent in his labors; rather than calling the world into being, he brought it forth and empowered it through thought and action (Farrer 1991:28). This "second aspect of the base metaphor…is thus engendered with silence revered and associated with Power personified. The most powerful have no need of sound to do their bidding; as they think, so it is" (Farrer 1991:28).

The relationship between sound and silence is manifest most clearly during speech and song throughout both Apache daily and ritual life, with some people speaking or singing and others listening quietly in fulfilling the no-voice roles of conversation and ritual. Even those individuals with vocal roles incorporate silence into their dialogue or prayer to allow time for contemplation, time for composing the next utterance, and time to allow the wisdom of what already has been said or sung for listeners to comprehend (Farrer 1991:28; see also Basso 1971b).

The theme of sound and silence is significant to the conceptualization of Apache landscapes because places of power occurring where the structure of the cosmos and physical geography coincide, such as mountains and caves, characteristically are silent. Moreover, through their association with the idea of periphery, they surround and embrace the people's sound-filled homeland centers (see also below).

The theme of directionality is discernible in the patterns of cardinal and intercardinal association with which Apache people enumerate the natural forces and animals that "have specific jobs in supporting the existence of their weak relative, people. Each of the natural objects and animals mentioned has a symbolic association known to Apache people but requiring explanation for non-Apaches" (Farrer 1991:28). Farrer develops Apache directional symbolic associations in reference to an elaboration of the base metaphor diagram (Figure 6.3):

> East is symbolically linked with *sha*¶ (the sun) with the spring of the year, with wisdom, and with enlightenment. South is symbolically linked with women's ways and the moon, with summer, with rains, and with generosity. West is symbolically linked with men's ways and the way of the warrior, with the fall season or changing, with strength, with death, and with stars. North is symbolically linked with *nahakus biyaaa*¶ (from under the Big Dipper), with winter, with the original home of strength, with the height of a warrior's life, as well as with Rainbow and Eagle [that provide the segue between the inanimate and the animate]. Taking the east and south together, the primary associations include qualities suggesting femininity, passivity, and inactive nature, while taking west and north together, one finds a masculine, active, animate nature. [Farrer 1991:30–31]

The complementarities inherent among these many levels directional association highlight the theme of balance and harmony. All of these aspects in combination complete a balanced and harmonious circle, which Farrer refers to throughout her work as both "living life's circle" and "life's living circle" (e.g., Farrer 1991). No association or set of associations is complete in isolation of the whole, in which resides all power. Farrer quotes Bernard Second, a Mescalero

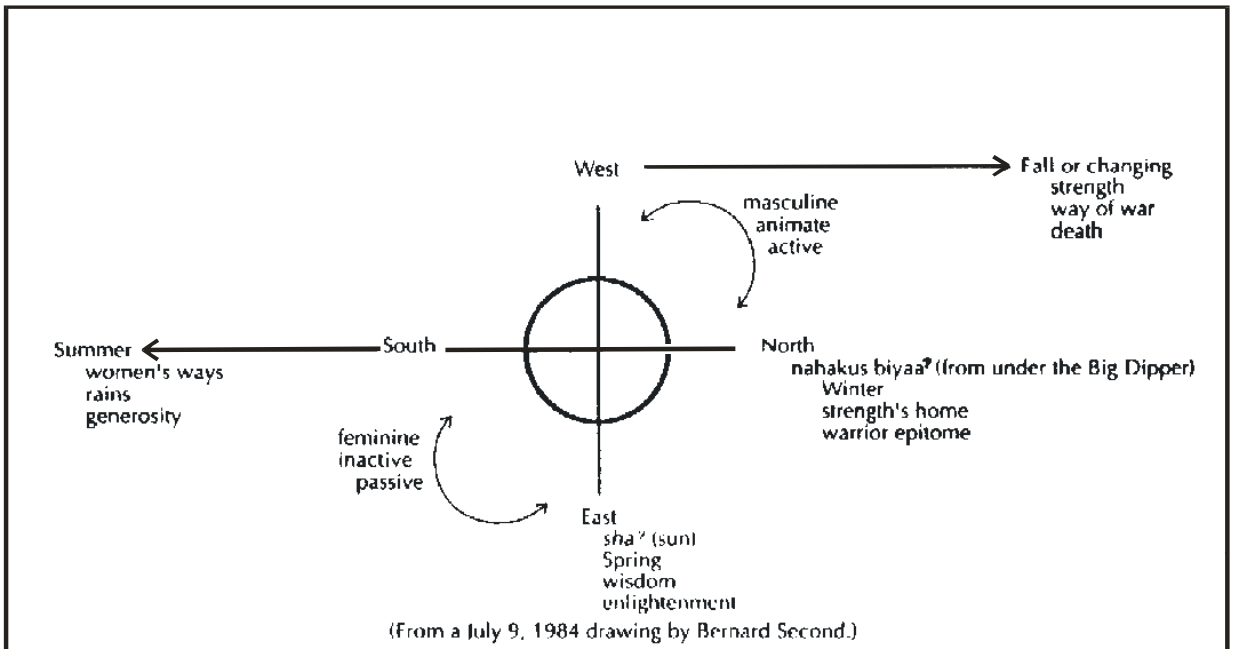

Figure 6.3: The symbolic associations of the base metaphor (from Farrer 1991:Figure 2.1).

singer and medicine man who was Farrer's principal consultant during the 1970s and 1980s:

> and to us a cross is the four directions of the universe coming together, converging; that's the cross to us. And then the circle,…that means all the Powers of the universe encircled makes God, for all His Powers are spread out but you put all that together again and there's one God. So that's why they bless it (i.e., perform a pollen blessing sequence) like that (sprinkling pollen to the east, to the south, to the west, to the north, and then from south to north and from west to east, forming a quartered circle anchored at the cardinal points). [in Farrer 1991:31]

Discussion

The seemingly simple Apache base metaphor, the quartered circle, provides guidelines for living every day appropriately. By subscribing to these guidelines of thought and action, the Apache people believe that they can sustain their families, their communities, and the whole of their world into the future. Farrer provides a succinct summary of the power of the pattern in the lives and experiences of the Mescalero:

> It provides a template by which to order experience and even to perceive experience. The pattern for living a proper life can be seen all around, whether in interpersonal actions, in the shape of the round corrals that dot the reservation, in the idea of four-stages-of-life, or on baskets in the cases holding Mescalero Apache artifacts in Anglo museums. The pattern is *h^{n}zhúne* [beauty, harmony, balance, and grace], and it is the base metaphor that generates what is perceived as being *h^{n}zhúne* and even generates *h^{n}zhúne* itself. The pattern is there in the sky and there on the ground, where it is lived and enacted daily. [1991:100]

The base metaphor is enacted all around Apache people. Farrer maintains further that "seeing its enactment all around, whether in one's own life, in those of one's fellows, or *in the very universe and celestial sphere*" (1991:100, italics added), helps the people live in *h^{n}zhúne.* Equipped with recognition that the conceptualization of the cultural landscape is a part of the Apaches' view of the universe and celestial sphere, we now can examine aspects of how the people rely on the base metaphor of the quartered circle.

Through this undertaking, we can understand their use of the base metaphor to structure their interactions with their environment and to imbue it with a meaningfulness rooted in the process of Creation itself that stipulates people's relationships with all upon which their livelihood depends. This framework, in turn, allows comprehension of why Apache communities, specifically the people of the Mescalero Apache Tribe today, maintain an affiliation with the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa and regard this composite landscape as important.

A Quest for Power for Sustaining Life: Aspects of the Apache Cultural Landscape Relevant to the Petroglyph National Monument

In traditional Apache belief, the physical and spiritual worlds are parallel dimensions of existence (Carmichael 1994:91). As documented for the Chiricahua, "Ideas concerning the relations of the earth, the heavenly bodies, and the forces of nature are often mixed with those about personal supernatural power or folk beliefs" (Mails 1974:236–237). Farrer and Second (1986:71–72) notes that the interface between these two cosmic realms is like that of a mirror: the physical world is a reflection of the spiritual dimension from which the "real world" obtains all power.

In this conceptualization the Apache view everything on earth as a personification of the supernatural power that created the world, and the people who inhabit the earth are in a subordinate and vulnerable position. This fundamental idea is most explicit in the Jicarilla story of Creation. For the Jicarilla *hą·ščín* is the supernatural spirit born of the union between Black Sky and Earth Mother at the beginning. *Hą·ščín* subsequently created Ancestral Man and Ancestral Woman from which the first people descended. Tiller writes,

> all natural objects and living things became representation of his [*hą·ščín*] powers. The rocks and mountains were equated with bones of the human body, a structure necessary to life. The flowing rivers and streams are the lifeblood of all existence just as plant life is necessary to sustain life. [1983:445]

By embracing such a view, Apaches demonstrate their understanding that their landscape is an organic, living whole imbued with the power of life. The landscape's features and places may not be segregated materially or conceptually without disrupting balance and harmony of the cosmos.

The Apaches' understanding of the position of vulnerability imposed upon people during the Creation effectively structures their interactions with their landscapes and its features in other ways, both ideationally and materially. Although they are inherently weak given their dependency upon the whole of Creation that preceded them, "The People are of special consequence to Creator" (Farrer 1992:73); therefore, the universe is alive with supernatural power that is eager to be involved in human affairs to assist people in maintaining balance and harmony (after Mails 1974:324). Within this cultural logic, people solicit and receive power from the beings of the spiritual world by either undergoing a personal transformation, which takes place when people make spiritual journeys to the "real" world, or actually visiting places where the two dimensions of the cosmos intersect.

The latter issue, pilgrimages to places of power where the spiritual and physical worlds intersect, is relevant to the examination of the significance of the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa to traditional Apache landscape constructions. This topic provides a cultural contextual framework for more fully understanding the surviving fragments of the documentary record placing the Mescalero and the Jicarilla in the greater Albuquerque area historically.

Power of the Edge

In an insightful overview, Carmichael considers "some of the kinds of sites and places considered sacred or sensitive in traditional Mescalero thought" (1994:89).

> A fundamental aspect of traditional Mescalero thought is the belief in the sacred character of specific geographical places. Some are important because of the roles they played in the mythic time of Mescalero tribal history. Others are sources of natural resources required in traditional ceremonies. Most appear to be important because they are places of power… [Carmichael 1994:89]

Carmichael's observation, "Belief in the sacred character of specific features of the landscape is an essential component of Mescalero self-identity" (1994:96) enables us to grasp the gist of how Apache people ensoul their physical worlds through their acquisition of power in accord with the structured order of the base metaphor. Carmichael similarly allows us to begin unpacking key aspects of the ideational organization of places of power within the landscape that structure how Apache people obtain the power needed for sustaining balance and harmony.

Carmichael found, "Powerful places are areas where power is received or where power is needed for protection from spiritual danger" (1994:91). The physical places associated with the receipt and use of power occur where the structure of the cosmos and physical geography coincide (Carmichael 1994:91–92). As I consider further below, such places are understood to be powerful through a set of ideas whereby power builds upon itself through the interrelationships that unfold at edge between the spiritual and physical worlds. Although the physical places associated with the receipt and use of power are dependent on the relative potency of the powers involved, particularly powerful places include mountains, which support the sky, provide homes to the powerful Mountain Spirits, and encircle the homeland—the center place—of the people themselves. Carmichael notes that other intersections with great inherent power occur at caves and springs, which provide physical portals to the spiritual world (1994:91–93). Springs represent powerful places because the flow of water carries power from the spiritual world into the physical realm. Caves allow direct communication with the spiritual world through their chambers that reach into the earth. The power inherent in this physiographic association is further manifest in Apache color symbolism: the Western Apache view black as symbolic of "holiness" (Buskirk 1986:171).

Thus far, this discussion emphasizes the physical morphologies of the principal powerful places. A metaphysical characteristic also occurs among places of power in the Apache landscape that extends beyond the base logic that power exists inherently in the supernatural world. The power intrinsic to places where the supernatural and natural worlds coincide builds upon itself, and even generates the goodness of beauty, harmony, balance, and grace, through the interaction of the spiritual and physical realms of the cosmos that sustains the pattern of "living life's circle" and "life's living circle" (after Farrer 1991:100; see above).

To better access the idea contained within these Apache landscape relationships that power builds upon itself and generates greater goodness, a lesson from the discipline of permaculture is useful (Mollison 1988:35). A key permacultural concept is that the interface of unlike, yet complementary, ecological niches forms an edge (a.k.a. an ecotone). Importantly, within biological systems the dynamic interaction across the edge defined by the juxtaposition of harmonizing ecological niches enhances the concentration of productive energy beneficial to all life at the ecotone.

The Apache clearly have long understood that the intersection of the complementary realms of their cosmos where great power resides are places where people can simultaneously draw upon life's power and contribute to an even greater goodness by fulfilling the mandate of their Creator for living their lives. This understanding is analogous to how permaculturalists use edge to explain the operation of natural life systems. The Apache definition of a system of harmonious relationships across the edge at the intersection of the spiritual world recognizes the dialectical relationship between periphery and center within the landscape, as made comprehensible through the pattern of the base metaphor of the quartered circle (Figure 6.2).

With respect to Bernard Second's earlier discussion of the base metaphor (in Farrer 1991:31, see above), the cross at the center of the Apaches' conceptualization of their landscape represents power converging from the four directions of the universe to assist the people living at the center. The circle defines the periphery, which represents the ultimate source of power in the cosmos: the Creator. Just as with the Pueblos' conceptualization of center (see chapter 3), the Apache understand that the center "is not 'cut out' from the whole" (Ingold 1993:155); rather, this indispensable part of the whole gives meaning to and receives meaning from the edge.

Elements of an Apache Cultural Landscape at the Edge

During their visit to the Petroglyph National Monument on December 11, 2000, the Mescalero Apache Tribe delegation agreed that the greater West Mesa area is an imposing physiographic feature with many layers of cultural occupation and referent. During this informal introductory on-site visit, delegation members variously expressed interest in the locale's 5 volcanoes, numerous lava flows, and approximately 20,000 petroglyphs scattered along the 27.2-kilometer-long (17-mile-long) rock escarpment dominating the west horizon of the Albuquerque area Río Grande Valley.

Neither this site visit nor the subsequent community meeting at the Mescalero Apache Tribal Offices (Table 6.1) resulted in comprehensive discussion of the group's continuing affiliations with the Petroglyph National Monument as a cultural landscape. Nevertheless, the community members' interest in the monument's volcanic peaks, their associated caves, various petroglyph motifs, and igneous rocks within the regional landscape of the Sandía and Manzano mountains, Mount Taylor, and the Río Grande Valley, is understandable in terms of the base metaphor's

reference to Creation and the dialectical relationships of the cosmos' constituent elements.

Mountains and Caves

As discussed previously, mountains and caves represent two types of intersection between the spiritual and physical worlds, with mountains supporting the sky, providing homes to the Mountain Spirits, and encircling the center place of people, and caves providing physical portals for the natural realm to communicate with the supernatural realm. While caves can occur outside mountainous settings, the association of caves with mountains is strong in traditional Apache thought.

For example, the *gan* are connected intimately with mountains and caves in Apache mythology (Schaafsma 2001:17; see also Buskirk 1986:13). The Western Apache say that the *gan* live inside mountains that they access through caves. Buskirk (1986:86) reports that the Apache specifically refer to the *gan* as the "Cave People." Similarly, the Mescalero believe that the Mountain Spirits live in mountains, from which they act from caves to protect the people (Mails 1974). In mythic stories told by Western Apache, the Hero Twins discovered the *gan* dancing in the mountain caves (Mails 1974:129–130, in Schaafsma 2001:17).

Among the Western Apache generally, some of the most sacred of ceremonies are held at caves (see Buskirk 1986:195–196). The Mescalero maintain that individuals who have a vision experience at some critical point in their life are led by "power" to a "holy home, such as a cavern, somewhere in the mountains" (Mails 1974:325; see also Opler 1983b:436). Farrer reports, "there is a tradition of the Mescalero going to the mountains and to caves to rededicate groups of Mountain God dancers" (personal communication 2001, in Schaafsma 2001:17). Schaafsma suggests that rock images relating to ceremonial Apache iconography found near caves might represent traces of past ritual activity.

Apache hunting lore also reveals the association of mountains and caves. The Chiricahua believe in "animal homes," places within caves or mountains where game animals hide from hunters. Chiricahua power acquisition stories commonly describe the "holy homes" of the Mountain People as richly populated with game animals. For this reason, and for the reason of protection, anyone near a home of the Mountain People prays and makes an offering of pollen to engage their assistance (Mails 1974:240; Opler 1946).

The Petroglyph National Monument, with its volcanic peaks and caves, possesses the potential to be a portal of communication with the spiritual world generally and with the powerful Mountain Spirits specifically. The juxtaposition of other features and resources that possess power with the Apaches' conceptualizations of their world (see below) and the Albuquerque West Mesa's geographical relationships within the regional landscape of the Sandía and Manzano mountains, Mount Taylor, and the Río Grande Valley, provide support for the interpretation that the Petroglyph National Monument area is a place of great power within the Apache landscape.

Petroglyphs

The significance of the Albuquerque West Mesa petroglyphs to Apache communities is easier to grasp with reference to traditional Western Apache stories about the origin of the *gan* and their responsibility to assist people by providing them with the power and knowledge to live appropriately. The *gan* were sent by the

> Giver of Life to teach the Apache how to live a better way. Now they learned in plain terms how to live decently and honorably, how to cure the sick, how to govern fairly, how to hunt effectively and responsibly, how to plant and harvest, and how to discipline those who failed to live as the Giver of Life wished them to.
>
> The Gan also revealed that they had the power to assist or to harm the Apache, and the awed people responded by seeking to live as they were instructed to. Once again, though, they gave in to temptations, and gradually backslid into wicked ways. By now, the Gan were most unhappy with them, and decided to abandon the Apache and let them reap the bitter harvest they justly deserved. However, they were benevolent spirits and maintained some hope for the people, so before they went away they drew pictures of themselves on rocks near the sacred caves and within the caves themselves. These drawings can still be seen there today. Then the Gan returned through the sacred caves in the sacred mountains, to the place where the sun shone even when the earth was darkened by man's ignorance, and where there was pleasantness and serenity. [Mails 1974:129]

During the ELR on-site visit to the Petroglyph National Monument and the follow-up off-site consultation at the Mescalero Apache Tribal Offices, community members and tribal representatives expressed interest in learning more about the presence and the design of specific petroglyph motifs, including stars, diamonds, crescent moons, triangles and/or tipis, reversed swastikas, dancers, yucca, shields, burden baskets, bison, horses, and horses and riders. The community's request to obtain information from the monument staff about the final four motifs is readily understandable because these images refer to important

aspects of traditional Mescalero lifeways. On the other hand, the tribal representatives' various identifications of stars, diamonds, crescent moons, triangles and/or tipis, shields, and reversed swastikas as motifs important to the community seemingly are informed by the base metaphor of the quartered circle (Figure 6.2).

Farrer reports that the simple visual metaphor of the quartered circle "is transformed into a variety of designs that are said to be 'all the same thing'" (1992:70; see also Farrer and Second 1981), namely the idea of goodness and completeness intrinsic to the balanced harmony of Creation. Its omnipresence "is partially what makes life worth living, what gives beauty and organization to the mundane" (Farrer 1991:100). By way of illustration, Farrer (1992:70) states,

> by connecting a few points, the quartered circle generates both a four-pointed star (symbolic of men) [see Figure 6.4] and a crescent moon (symbolic of women) [see Figure 6.5]. Then, by cutting along the horizontal axis and following the points of the star, a mountain range appears [Figure 6.6]. [Farrer 1992:70; see also Farrer 1991:96–100; Farrer and Second 1981]

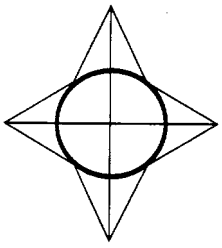

Figure 6.4: Transformation of the base metaphor into a four-pointed star (from Farrer 1991:Figure 4.18).

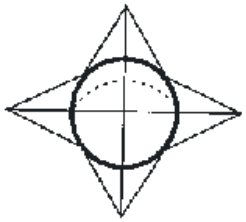

Figure 6.5: Transformation of the base metaphor into a crescent-moon (from Farrer 1991:Figure 4.23).

Figure 6.6: Transformation of the four-pointed star into mountains (from Farrer 1991:Figure 4.21).

Clearly, diamonds and reversed swastikas are other simple geometric transformations of the base metaphor. Based on the analysis she completed with Bernard Second, Farrer concludes, "It no longer seems quixotic to suggest that the based metaphor is 'the same thing' as a four-pointed star [or any other of the geometric transformations of the base metaphor]…" (1991:98).

Carmichael (1994) and Farrer (1991) reveal the meaningfulness of selected iconographic images. Carmichael explains the meaning inherent in the tipi motif: "The universe is conceived of as a tipi, a hide-covered lodge built on a conical framework of evergreen poles. The lodgepoles support the male sky elements which surround and enclose the female earth elements" (1994:92). In using the Holy Lodge built for the all-important Girl's Puberty Ceremony (Farrer 1980:131: 1991:40–57), Carmichael (1994:92) imparts that the lodge's four foundation poles—the Four Grandfathers—simultaneously represent the four principal sacred peaks that encircle the Apache homeland. The triangle, just as the base metaphor from which it derives, is a complexly textured motif whose meanings might refer to the principal mountains of direction and/or to the tipi as a dwelling, a ceremonial lodge, or the physical world (or all of the above in a series of nested metaphors depending on the contexts of place, time, and activity).

Farrer suggests the base metaphor motif and its transformations also are meaningful because of their reference to subtle aspects of Apache society. She explains,

> Women, for example, are associated with the moon, since the moon changes…As the dotted line…[see Figure 6.5]…illustrates, the crescent moon is easily generated from the base metaphor. The darkly outlined circle can be seen as a full or new moon, as well as the circle of life, the circle of the universe, or the form that the stars and constellations describe as they move through the seasons of the year. Crescent moons beaded onto or cut into the top fabric of *tsąął* (cradles, or cradleboards as they are usually termed in English) indicate that there is a baby girl in the cradle; if the baby is a boy, the design will be of four-pointed stars. [1991:98–100]

Lava Rocks

The power associated with volcanic rocks in Apache ideation similarly might have reference to the time of Creation. In her retelling of the Jicarilla origin story, Tiller reports, "After their emergence, the people and animals discovered that the earth was covered with water, symbolizing that life on earth was not to be easy" (1992:2). Tiller continues that Wind offered his

assistance by rolling up the waters in the four directions to form the oceans and to dry out the land.

This historical construction resembles some Pueblo (see chapters 3 and 4) origin stories in that upon their emergence unto the earth's surface, the world was moist and was not fully formed (i.e., unripe) and that the people needed the assistance of a supernatural power to solidify the ground for the people and other forms of terrestrial life. Within the Apache's system of cultural logic, the power invested in hardening the earth invests the land with power. What is not revealed in the documentary record or through conversations with Mescalero community members during the ELR study, however, is whether Apache people associate the ripples and currents frozen in volcanic rock with the movement of flowing water (or other liquid) (see chapters 3, 4, and 5).

Western Apache ethnographies provide references to the power contained within volcanic rocks. For example, among the Cibecue Apache, "a large lightweight red pumice stone was kept at one camp to ward off lightning" (Buskirk 1986:106). Other associations of rocks of volcanic origin as protection against harm include the observance among the White Mountain Apache of people placing obsidian "at the four corners of a field to keep away lightning and 'bad things'" (Buskirk 1986:106).

Plants, Animals, and Minerals

The members of the Mescalero delegation visiting the Petroglyph National Monument requested information on the local flora. While the people revealed no information about their specific interest in what biological surveys at the monument have documented, the delegation members generally are interested in learning what plants occur. The community will use this information to determine which species have cultural significance for their community.

Carmichael (1994:94) notes that source locations for materials used in traditional ceremonies are culturally sensitive by virtue of their ritual associations. Resource areas are important to communities not because the locations contain power (*diyi'*) per se, but because they are locales where native plants, soils, rocks, and so forth may be collected, following certain prescribed schedules and methods, for use in ceremonies at sacred sites. Ceremonies conducted without prescribed materials would be ineffectual at best; the improper conduct of rituals actually could cause harm (Carmichael 1994:94).

Summary and Conclusions

Documentary sources suggest that no Apache group inhabited the West Mesa in late pre-Columbian or Historic times. Nevertheless, Apache people—most certainly including the Mescalero and the Gila or their antecedes, and quite likely also the Jicarilla forebears—passed through the area periodically as traders and raiders. Some bands maintained seasonal camps in the Sandía and Manzano mountains. The Spanish colony, in recognizing the historical presence of the Mescalero bands in the Middle Río Grande corridor, even attempted to settle some of these people south of Belén.

This essay also demonstrates that the West Mesa, which represents an edge formed by the intersection of the spiritual and physical worlds, is potentially a place of great power to the Apache. As such, this landscape possesses cosmological referents dating back to the time of Creation and, therefore, has significance to the whole realm of Apache belief about how people are to live to obtain the power needed to sustain their lives and to contribute to harmony and balance throughout the cosmos. These referents, unified by the multilayered meaningfulness of the quartered circle, are the vehicles through which the Apache ensoul their landscape and render it inseparable from their identity as a people. With its volcanic mountains and caves, petroglyphs, lava rocks, and various plants, animals and minerals, the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa contain numerous cultural and natural resources whose specific role in Apache cultural landscapes warrants consideration and respect. The Mescalero and Jicarilla tribal members request direct dialogue with the NPS about the management of the Petroglyph National Monument based on the communities' government-to-government relationships. The communities want to contribute to the development of protocols for protecting and sustaining this meaningful ethnographic landscape and its resources.

CHAPTER 7

CONTESTED COMMONS: NUEVOMEXICANO AND HISPANO CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND THE PETROGLYPH NATIONAL MONUMENT

KURT F. ANSCHUETZ

Introduction

Enson (1995) wrote an article about the rapid metropolitan development of Albuquerque's West Mesa, the creation and institutionalization of the Petroglyph National Monument, and the Nuevomexicano heirs (*los Atrisqueños)* of the Atrisco Land Grant. She specifically examines the challenges confronting Atrisqueños concerns over sustaining both the Atrisco Land Grant and their sense of community in the face of the above processes, which are radically redefining people's interactions with the West Mesa's environment. In introducing the background to the present conflict among some Atrisqueños and the Westland Development Company, real estate industry representatives, and city, state, and federal agencies, Enson states,

> Looking up at the West Mesa from Albuquerque, the eyes encounter stillness, pure lines of earth, a place to rest. To some, this open space is a needed respite from the visual chaos of urban sprawl; for others, it is the beckoning prize in the real estate game of king of the mountain, the object of a commercialized "manifest destiny." But in either case, the West Mesa denotes an edge, a limit, the outer boundary of the city's psychological territory.
>
> For the community of Atrisco in the South Valley west of Albuquerque, however, the West Mesa is not a boundary, but center. The quiet, massive presence of the volcanoes, and the escarpment of petroglyph carvings over which they preside, form the nucleus of a spiritual and cultural territory which has held integrity for millennia…
>
> For *Atrisqueños*, as for other local indigenous Pueblos, the West Mesa is the active site of religious ceremonials and a living reminder of a heritage based on powerful spiritual ties to the earth. [1995:2, italics in original]

With its reference to the concepts of center, periphery, and spirituality, Enson's observation provides a useful starting point for considering Nuevomexicano and Hispano stakeholder communities' landscape relationships with the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater West Mesa locality. Her identification of the Atrisqueños' view of the West Mesa as a center of "a spiritual and cultural territory" within their landscape is especially relevant. It implies that the Atrisqueños have a system of cultural values and beliefs that generally corresponds to the understanding of landscape that forms the structure of Native American worldviews and is based on spiritual ecology (after Cajete 1993–1994, 1994, 1999; see also chapter 2).

According to Cajete, the essence of spiritual ecology is a traditional relationship of people with their landscapes that includes not only the land but also the way people perceive their worlds and themselves (1993–1994:6). While spiritual ecology is readily manifest in the thoughts and actions of indigenous peoples (e.g., chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6), Cajete recognizes this perspective is not exclusive to Native Americans. Cajete's essays support Enson's assertion that the Atrisqueños resemble the area's Pueblo communities by maintaining a cultural heritage based on powerful spiritual ties to the land. The basis of this belief derives from the mixing of indigenous and Spanish cultures through the processes of *mestizaje* and syncretism over the centuries since Spanish colonization (see below).

Cajete acknowledges that the Nuevomexicano and Hispano people of northern New Mexico "share many of the same orientations to place" (1993–1994:9) as Native Americans, and they structure their thoughts and organize their interactions with their landscapes through the principles of spiritual ecology. Just as the region's Pueblo peoples, northern New Mexico's land-based Nuevomexicano and Hispano communities have developed landscape constructions whose embedded relationships are a reflection of their being, their very soul (after Cajete 1994:84). Petronila (Lila) Armijo Pfeufer, an Atrisqueña, expresses the intimacy of these

relationships during an interview: "Atrisco yes, Atrisco is the mother land of many, many people, isn't it?" (Atrisco Oral History Project [AOHP] 1981–1984, folder 10, p. 4).

Pfeufer's observation from 20 years ago that the Atrisco Land Grant is an ensoulded motherland that has nurtured many people still applies today. A relative newcomer to the Albuquerque South Valley community, the Tonantzin Land Institute (henceforth referred to as the Tonantzin Circle), a religious and advocacy organization for various southwestern cultural communities, similarly expresses ensouled feelings and an unalienable tie to the Albuquerque West Mesa and its natural and cultural features. The Tonantzin Land Institute's members, just as their Atrisqueño neighbors, embrace and celebrate their *mestizo* cultural heritage, as inherited through their communities of birth, as well as through their affiliation with the Tonantzin Land Institute.

The following essay explores both the ethnographic landscape associations and the cultural-historical bases upon which the Albuquerque area traditional Nuevomexicano (e.g., Atrisco Land Grant heirs) and contemporary Hispano (e.g., members of the Tonantzin Land Institute) communities maintain with the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater West Mesa environment. I draw from reviews of historical, ethnohistorical, ethnographic, and recent media literature that documents northern New Mexican Nuevomexicano landscape ideas and traditional land use relationships. I also draw from testimonies offered by a number of Nuevomexicano and Hispano stakeholders during interviews conducted by Río Grande Foundation team members (Thomas W. Merlan and Kurt F. Anschuetz) during the preparation of the present Ethnographic Landscape Report (ELR) (see Table 7.1).

The following essay has five major parts. The first considers the cultural-historical bases for the sense of ensoulment that underlies and informs the content of many traditional Nuevomexicano community members' commentaries. I begin this discussion by considering the Iberian cultural underpinnings of Nuevomexicano land occupation and community formation. I then examine the practical realities of Spanish colonization in the territory that organized Nuevomexicano land-use behavior before providing a review of the processes of *mestizaje* and religious syncretism that underlay and legitimized the Nuevomexicano sense of ensoulment.

I review the culture-history of the Atrisco Land in the second section. While the primary gist of this discussion is historical in content, I also trace the process of *mestizaje* and the sense of ensoulment that contributes to the traditional Atrisqueños' perception and understanding of the West Mesa as an essential part of their community landscape.

The third part of this chapter evaluates the Atrisco Land Grant-Westland Development Company controversy, in which traditional Atrisqueños' corporate community ideals for sustaining Atrisco's community identity clash with the views of other land grant heirs who seek to use the economic value of the group's West Mesa holdings to benefit the heirship within economic, social, and political realities of defined by the dominant Anglo community. I consider the material bases of the dispute over the sale of grant lands to outsiders and revisit the processes of *mestizaje* and syncretism revisited to show that the ideational basis of traditional Atrisqueño spiritual ecology remains intact within the commentaries offered by heirs opposed to the sale of grant lands.

Drawing heavily from testimonies offered by traditional Nuevomexicano (e.g., Atrisco Land grant heirs) and contemporary Hispano (e.g., the Tonantzin Circle members) stakeholders, I appraise the elements of Nuevomexicano and Hispano cultural landscapes at Petroglyph National Monument in the fourth section of this chapter. Relevant landscape elements, through which people construct their respective affiliation with the greater West Mesa environment and maintain their community identities include (1) petroglyphs, (2) shrines, (3) lava rock, (4) archaeological sites, (5) plants, animals and minerals, (6) vistas, and (7) personal and corporate attachments.

The final section of this chapter provides concerns raised by Nuevomexicano and Hispano stakeholders over the management of the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa ethnographic landscape. These comments, which resemble issues raised by Native American stakeholders, include the impacts associated with the growth by the Albuquerque metropolitan area that impinge on the qualities of solitude and remoteness that has characterized this place of power and worship since time immemorial.

The Cultural-Historical Bases for the Nuevomexicano Sense of Ensoulment

To understand the Nuevomexicano communities' landscape relationships with the natural and cultural resources of the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater West Mesa locality, it is necessary to examine the cultural-historical bases for the traditional Atrisqueño descendants' imposition of a sense of ensoulment upon the land. Of the three principal considerations, the first issue involves the Iberian underpinnings of Nuevomexicano culture, which help

TABLE 7.1: Petroglyph National Monument Hispano Stakeholder ELR Consultants.

Part I: Individuals

Name	Affiliation(s)	Consultation Date(s)	Interviewer(s)	Comments
Miguel Gandert	Photographer and Assistant Professor of Journalism, University of New Mexico	February 1, 2001	Thomas W. Merlan	Gandert, a native of Espanola, NM, has observed the Fiesta de San Ysidro, as celebrated by the people of Atrisco, several times over the past decade. Merlan recorded and transcribed the interview. Gandert reviewed the interview notes. He also received the draft ELR Nuevomexicano and Hispano community essay.
Ramón S. Herrera	Atrisco Land Grant Heir and former President of the Westland Development Company	February 1 and May 8, 2001	Thomas W. Merlan	Merlan recorded and transcribed these interviews. Herrera reviewed the interview notes. He also received the draft ELR Nuevomexicano and Hispano community essay.
Carlos Lopopolo	Atrisco Land Grant Heir	February 1, 2001	Thomas W. Merlan	Lopopolo sat in on the interview with Ramón S. Herrera. Merlan and recorded and transcribed this interview. Herrera reviewed the interview notes and received a copy of the draft ELR Nuevomexicano and Hispano community essay.
Msgr. Joaquin Ricardo Serrano Perez Bazan	Pastor (Franciscan), Holy Family Church, Atrisco	February 9, 2001	Thomas W. Merlan	Msgr. Bazan is knowledgeable of the South Valley Penitente brotherhood's relationships with the West Mesa. Merlan recorded and transcribed the interview. Msgr. Bazan reviewed the interview notes. He also received the draft ELR Nuevomexicano and Hispano community essay.
Jaime Chávez	Atrisco Land Grant heir, Water Information Network member; and former President of the Atrisco Land Rights Council	February 9 and March 21, 2001	Thomas W. Merlan	Chávez did not give his permission for the tape recording of his commentary. Chávez reviewed synopses of Merlan's interview notes. He also received the draft ELR Nuevomexicano and Hispano community essay.

TABLE 7.1 (cont'd.)

Part I (cont'd.)

Name	Affiliation(s)	Consultation Date(s)	Interviewer(s)	Comments
Juan Sandoval	Hermano Mayor, La Capilla Vieja Morada in Atrisco	April 26, 2001	Thomas W. Merlan	A native of Puerto de Luna, Sandoval came to Atrisco in 1951. He is knowledgeable of the Albuquerque South Valley Penitente brotherhood. Merlan recorded and transcribed the interview. Sandoval reviewed the interview notes. He also received the draft ELR Nuevomexicano and Hispano community essay.
Jaime Chávez and Jesse Anzures	Atrisco Land Grant heirs (see also Chávez's additional affiliations above)	November 20, 2001	Kurt F. Anschuetz	Chávez and Anzures did not give their permission for the tape recording of their commentaries. The interview took place after Chávez reviewed the draft Phase II community essay.

Part II: Community Organizations

Organization	Consultation Date(s)	Representatives	Interviewer(s)	Comments
Tonantzin Land Institute	January 8, 2001	Davíd Lujan Jorge García Louie García Pablo Lopez Paz Arturo Sierra Davíd Velarde and Wat-li	Thomas W. Merlan, Tessie Naranjo and Kurt F. Anschuetz	The interview was held in the Albuquerque South Valley at Pablo Lopez's home. Lujan served as the group's principal spokesperson and contact. Anschuetz and Merlan recorded and transcribed the interview. Lujan received copies of the interview notes to review with the other participants. Lujan also received the draft ELR Nuevomexicano and Hispano community essay.

condition how the people interact with the land organizationally and how they form community. The second topic concerns the practical economic, social, and political realities of the Spanish colonization of New Mexico. I examine the history of the Atrisco Land Grant within this cultural perspective. The third subject considers the processes of *mestizaje,* the general hybridization of Indian, Mexican, and Iberian cultures through intermarriage (e.g., see Anzaldúa 1987:5; see Lamadrid and Gandert 2001:66; see also Mörner 1967; Wolf 1959), and *syncretism,* the specific melding of the structure and symbolic content of Indian (i.e., spiritual ecology) and of Iberian (i.e., Catholic) ideologies (e.g., Anzaldúa 1987:25–39; Ingham 1986:180–193; Rodriguez 1994:143–148).

Iberian Underpinnings Structuring Land Occupation and Community Organization

The pueblo (an inclusive term referring to all small, rural Spanish communities) historically was the primary social and political unit of Iberian society, especially within mountainous settings (Van Ness 1979:25). Among Spanish people, the term *pueblo* traditionally embraces a conceptualization of a land-based social community (after Pitt-Rivers 1971:1–7). This idea also helps define an individual's identity throughout his or her life, by defining the particular geographic place of birth. Because people, society, and geographical places all are integrated into the concept of pueblo, it is not surprising that Iberian traditions of land-use, land occupation, and landscape-making revolve around the economic, social, and political organization of corporate ownership (after Van Ness 1979:25).

Communal landownership was a key feature, with most persons living in clustered residences surrounded by open spaces. Historically, Spanish villages were economically and socially self-sufficient (e.g., see Freeman 1968). The political basis of the 16th-century pueblo model rests in the Spanish reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moslems, with the Castilian monarchs making land grants to individuals who participated in military campaigns to expel the Moors.

Practical Realities of Spanish Colonization in the New Mexican Territory

Following on the heels of the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula and the unification of great geographical and cultural diversity into a distinctive nation-state, the Spanish occupation of the New World represented a "conquest culture" organizational strategy (after Foster 1960:1). Faced with the need to simplify administrative structure and norms governing their economic, social, and ideational interactions with their new environments, the Spanish Crown and colonial administrators initially embraced the utopian ideal of forging "pure and uniform" (Van Ness 1979:27) forms of economy, society, and religion throughout New Spain. Their goal was to create truly a "new world" quite separate from the economic fragmentation, political factionalism, and religious heterodoxy of the Old World. As Van Ness observes, given these prevailing economic and sociological conditions, it is not surprising "that much attention was given to the founding and governing of towns and villages for Indian and Spaniard alike, nor that the model of community organization was based on an idealized version of the Castilian corporate landholding community" (1979:27, citing McBride 1923:107). These administrative ordinances and their underlying legislative acts eventually were codified in 1681 with the publication of *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos del las Indies*. Drawing from the practice's success in enabling the Spanish royalty to pacify and hold new frontiers during the Iberian reconquest, colonial administrators made corporate community land grants to Spanish, *mestizo*, and *criollo* soldiers/settlers and their families (Van Ness 1979:28).

The practical ecological constraints imposed on intensive agriculture by the many relatively cool, dry upland settings contained within the Crown's territories of New Spain and New Mexico favored the implementation of corporate community organization. Economically, socially, and politically these settlements largely depended on their own means of agricultural production, whose modes included irrigation farming on the floodplains of the region's well-watered valleys and pastoralism in the surrounding hills.

Mixed agricultural and pastoral corporate community grants especially attracted *mestizo* and *criollo* settlers into New Spain's northern frontier in ever larger numbers throughout the late 17th and early 18th centuries (Van Ness 1979:31–32). The Spanish colonial policy of *mercedes*, Royal land grants made to a leading individual (*poblador principal*) and groups of colonists who wished to found a new community, fueled the settlement of New Mexico following the Vargas reconquest of the Pueblo Indians in 1692 (Simmons 1979:99–100; Van Ness 1979:34). Each prospective colonist received the government's promise of a house lot of sufficient size to sustain a dwelling, a kitchen garden, and an orchard. They also obtained cropland and communal pasturage for livestock (Van Ness 1979:31). Given these provisions, most settlements were alongside streams capable of supporting irrigation agriculture, and families also subsisted by running livestock in the open hills surrounding the communities' centers.

During the colonial settlement process, the Castilian term *pueblo* became associated exclusively with the sedentary Indian agricultural populations—the *Pueblos*. The colony's Iberian and Mexican settlers developed a nominal tripartite classification of community forms to characterize their own settlement system: *villas*, *poblaciones*, and *plazas* (see Simmons 1979:104–107). The Spanish colonial government recognized only three villas, administrative centers smaller than *ciudades* (cities) in northern New Mexico: Santa Fé, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, and Alburquerque (original spelling of Albuquerque). *Poblaciones* and plazas represent variations of rural corporate community organization. Simmons (1979) distinguishes these organizational units by residential consolidation: *poblaciones* characteristically were loosely clustered *ranchos* ("houses of the field" consisting of small farmstead and ranching complexes of one or more households [Simmons 1979:105–106]) while plazas represented a cluster of *ranchos*, which might be architecturally enclosed (Simmons 1979:106).

The distinction between *poblaciones* and plazas is not always clear in historical documents and ethnohistorical texts, however, given the great variability inherent in the history, sizes, and permanence of the Nuevomexicano settlements. Dispersed *ranchos*, including Atrisco (see below), sometimes are identified as plazas even though they were not tightly clustered, physically integrated residences (after Van Ness 1979:36). Small groups of *ranchos* sometimes even received recognition as *placitas* (little plazas) or *lugares* (places) in Nuevomexicano landscape nomenclature.

Spanish colonial settlement throughout northern New Mexico between the late 17th and early 19th centuries encompasses notable variability. Residents of *ranchos* and plazas living in areas where agricultural irrigation was most extensive and economically reliable increasingly exercised individual control over farmlands. This socioeconomic pattern occurred most often in the Middle Río Grande Valley, where its broad, well-watered alluvial bottomlands supported the development of large private landholdings. These elite landowners came to dominate the people of economically and socially dependent *población* and plaza communities (Van Ness 1979:38).

The Middle Río Grande Valley's position along the Camino Royal linking Santa Fe with Mexico City also enabled entrepreneurs to engage in regional commerce, especially with the markets of northern Mexico's Zacatecas mining district. Although the balance of market trade generally was unfavorable to New Mexico's populations, interregional trade generated personal wealth that threatened to undermine corporate community structure. In addition, imported European goods, especially those of Spanish manufacture, symbolically allowed the region's wealthier *mestizo* populations to display Iberian aspects of their cultural identity (Van Ness 1979:38–39).

Despite various factors that threatened to weaken the cohesiveness of corporate community culture, the position of Middle Río Grande settlements along the principal transportation and information corridor linking New Mexico with New Spain ensured scrutiny by the colony's administrators. Although their adaptations to their economic, social, and political environments varied, the Middle Río Grande settlements did not deviate far from the major structural and organizational principles of Iberian conquest culture. Importantly, jurisdiction over the disposition of the *ejido*, which includes a community's grazing and woodlands, was considered the inalienable prerogative of the *vecinos* (citizens of the community) as a group and could never be bought or sold on the market for individual gain. Situated on New Spain's northern frontier and surrounded, and often threatened, by nomadic Indian raiders, the Nuevomexicano population depended on extensive intercommunity cooperation to provide its economic, social, religious, and defensive needs.

In his analysis of northern New Mexico corporate community forms, Van Ness concludes:

> One's place of birth and marriage figured importantly in defining community membership and rights. To a recognizable extent, plazas were often bounded social systems, particularly with regard to the corporate control exercised over land and water resources. In spite of the networks of extra-village ties created by the cooperative efforts to meet the exigencies of daily frontier life, communities prescribed large segments of their members' behavior and maintained social control through informal means (gossip, innuendo, etc.). In all, plazas generally constituted well-integrated political, economic, and religious systems despite some dependence on individuals and institutions beyond the boundaries of the community itself. [1979:40]

Corporate community organization played a much more important role in conditioning the structure and content of northern New Mexico cultural-historical process than just within the objective realms of economy, society, polity, and institutionalized Catholic religion, however. The corporate community helped condition how Nuevomexicano people structured their subjective thoughts about their relationships with their landscapes and used these ideas to motivate and organize their day-to-day interactions with their environments.

This assertion receives strong support by the way community membership helped shape a person's identity (after Van Ness 1979:42). Ethnographic research shows corporate community organization exerted great influence in structuring interpersonal relations among the people of different plazas (Weigle 1975). Ethnohistorical documents indicate this pattern also occurred in the 18th and 19th centuries (Van Ness 1979:42). The geographic location of one's birth, involving the whole complex psychology of how people create and maintain their sense of place and time (chapter 2), therefore, is an important component in Nuevomexicano traditions that explain "how they became who they are" (Peckham 1990:2) and define *"that place that the people talk about"* (Cajete 1993–1994:9, italics in original).

Van Ness observes, "As in Latin America and Spain, strong sentiments and spiritual values were attached to the community land. The merging of individual identity, community, and physical place has a good deal to do with this value orientation" (1979:42). Snow elaborates: "Without roots, without *costumbre*, the individual is homeless; without land the community ceases to exist" (1979:52, italics in original). The processes of *mestizaje* and religious syncretism (see below) underlay and legitimized this ideational system.

Mestizaje and Syncretism

From their Iberian roots, the Europeans, *mestizos*, *criollos*, and many other mixed-blood people making up a large proportion of the Spanish colonist population (e.g., see Anzaldúa 1987:5; see also Mörner 1967; Wolf 1959) almost immediately gave rise to a distinctive cultural tradition, to which we refer to as *Nuevomexicano* in this ELR. This new constellation of behavioral and ideational patterns obtained from the colonists' intimate interactions with the region's indigenous communities.

Before proceeding, it is important to note that some authors (e.g., Lamadrid and Gandert 2001) use the term *Indo-Hispano* to distinguish the distinctive, mixed Iberian, Mexican, and Indian cultural heritage of the colonists and their descendents. An anonymous Atrisqueño consultant, however, observes the mixed blood colonists referred to themselves as *la gente mexicana* (the Mexican people), not Spaniards. The term *Hispano* of use in reference to the colony's *pobladores* (original settlers) and their descendents is problematical because it emphasizes the Spanish contribution to this cultural heritage, thereby obscuring the recognition of the integral contributions of the indigenous Mexican cultures that organized and structured the lifeways of these people. (We, however, retain the use of *Hispano* in discussions of the Tonantzin Circle community, which is not of Nuevomexicano origin and heritage.) Lamadrid and Gandert further observe, "In the context of New Mexican culture, mestizaje has always linked us with our Indianness, whether as a denial or an affirmation of our native legacy" (2001:66). Mörner identifies how the term *mestizaje* is itself potentially problematical, given that the word

> has become sublimated to an extreme in political rhetoric and literary prose, meaning acculturation in general or nothing concrete at all…If cleverly expressed, the apologetic enhancement of mestizaje values may even represent the continuation of the old Hispanidad movement to fight leftist indigenismo, because the utter sterility of pure Hispanism has become increasingly obvious. [1967:148–149]

The dimensions of interaction and cultural blending among the New Mexican colonies colonial and indigenous populations were fourfold. First, local systems of production under went intensification in the face of new farming and ranching technologies, overtly defined political land bases, and the Spanish imposition of obligations for labor and goods upon the region's indigenous peoples, especially the Pueblos (e.g., Levine and Anschuetz 1998). Second, the economies, societies, and cosmologies of indigenous peoples and the colonists alike underwent reorganization. In this process, the indigenous and colonial populations learned to accommodate one another (e.g., Van Ness 1979:42). Third, and perhaps the most influential medium of change over the long-term, colonists and Indians frequently intermarried (e.g., Anzaldúa 1987:5; see also Mörner 1967; Wolf 1959). The New Mexico colony was on New Spain's northern frontier, and migration was never great through the time of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680–1692 (or even after the Pueblo Reconquest of 1692 in terms of overall demographic processes once Spanish colonial settlement was securely reestablished). For example, on the eve of the Pueblo Revolt, nearly 90 percent of the colonial population was New Mexican–born (Gutiérrez 1991:103).

> In such a closed and isolated population pool, few Spaniards, whatever their pretense, could have demonstrated racially pure ancestry, and most had undoubtedly become mestizos. Those families that cleaved to the biological fiction that their blood lines were of Old Spanish origin, free of Indian, heretic, gentile, or Jewish stain, did so predominately to legitimate their privileges as a dominant class. [1991:103–104]

The resulting changes in the economy, society, and cosmology of the colonial community through *mestizaje*, therefore, occurred despite the attempts of

some administrative officials and persons of influence with strong Spanish roots to sustain, if not reinforce, their Iberian traditions for personal socioeconomic advantage.

Syncretism, fueled by the mixed blood descent of many Nuevomexicanos, undoubtedly was an elemental part of the *mestizaje* process in the colony. Comprehensive study of this cultural process has not been undertaken for the Middle Río Grande Valley. Brunnemann (1997:47), however, observes that Spanish colonial studies elsewhere have documented the melding of indigenous cosmology and the folk Catholicism brought northward by the colonists (see Anzaldúa 1987:25–39; Ingham 1986:180–193; Rodriguez 1994:143–148).

As I note previously, syncretism refers to the reconciliation, if not large-scale melding, of the structure and symbolic content of the indigenous and colonial systems of religious belief. Both the indigenous and the colonial populations added to and elaborated their ideational systems. Speaking of the formal properties of the transformation of religious belief through acculturation and syncretism, Rappaport notes,

> it is much easier and more agreeable to augment than to reject, and it makes it possible for religious transformations to be understood by those going through them to be intensifications of acceptance, not denials or abandonments of what had been accepted in favor of something new. [1999:339]

From this perspective, the Nuevomexicano colonists' integration of Native American tenets of spiritual ecology (Cajete 1994) into their folk Catholicism is readily understood as a mechanism through which they could draw upon—and possibly exert positive influence over—the goodness inherent in their perceived cosmos (see chapter 3). By incorporating indigenous ideologies into their Catholic ritual, which reaffirmed their understandings of their worlds and motivated their activities, the colonists refined tactics and strategies to interact and cope with their often difficult and always uncertain natural, social, and cultural environments.

The Atrisco Land Grant: The History and Culture Underlying Traditional West Mesa Place-Making

Atrisco Land Grant history begins soon after Juan de Oñate entered New Mexico in late summer 1598 to establish the first permanent Spanish colony at the Río Grande–Río Chama confluence. Among Oñate's 129 soldier-colonists was don Pedro Gómez Durán y Chávez, who helped the colonial government formally establish Santa Fe as its capital in 1610, became commander of the King's troops in New Mexico, and later became a landowner in the *Valle de Atlixco* (see Domínguez 1956:154, n. 12), which was area between present-day Bernalillo and Isleta Pueblo (Sánchez 1998:1).

According to Domínguez (1956:154, n. 12; see also Julyan 1996:25), Atlixco (a Nahua language term meaning "upon the water" [Julyan 1996:25] or "where the water shows its face [Brinton 1969:171 {1890}] [see Figure 7.1]) was named for the *Valle de Atlixco* in the state of Puebla, Mexico. Sánchez (1998:1) thinks this place-name derived from the initial settlement of the area by Mexican Indians who accompanied Oñate northward. Today, Atrisqueños maintain oral traditions that Tlascaltecan *pobladores* were among those colonists who first occupied the locality in the seventeenth century (anonymous, ELR interview, March 21, 2001).

Figure 7.1: The Xolotl Codex for *Atlixco* (from McGowan and Van Nice 1984:6). The glyph translates as "upon the water" or "where the water shows its face."

Garland Bills, Professor of Linguistics and of Spanish and Portuguese, University of New Mexico (personal communication 1999), states that, except for people remembering place-names and terms, the linguistic structure of the Spanish among present-day Atrisco heirs reveals no indication of mixing with Nahua or other indigenous communities from Mexico. Nevertheless, the Atrisco place-name represents an important piece of language evidence of *mestizaje* among the colonist population that predates their arrival in the Middle Río Grande Valley. Moreover, the early colonists' retention of Nahua place names in their occupation of the South Valley and West mesa locality is part of a cultural historical process in which time, land, and resources are linked and given meaning in a way that "defends against the cultural

disappearance…that operates in tandem with literal removal' (Hufford 2001a:pt. 5, 1).

Atrisco community members (Anonymous, ELR interviews) cite other terms borrowed in whole or derived from Nahua speakers. These terms include the Nahua word *chiche*, which means wetnurse. Moreover, the Spanish word *matachines* similarly might derive from the Nahua term *matachin* (e.g., see Stephenson 2001:40; Treviño and Gilles 1994:119). Treviño and Gilles suggest that colonists of Tlaxcalan origin might have introduced the *matachin* dance to New Mexico. The character, *Malinche* (see Lamadrid and Gandert 2001 for photographic illustrations), might correspond to the Nahua supernatural being, *Malinche*, who resides in a volcanic mountain in the central Mexican state of Tlaxcala (Stephenson 2001:40–41; Treviño and Gilles 1994:120–121).

Later renamed *Atrisco*, this settlement was considered by 17th-century colonial officials to occupy a fertile site, because the river flowed east along the broad valley bottom. The river's morphology afforded the people a broad expanse of alluvial bottomlands for irrigation-based agricultural development.

In 1680 the Pueblo Revolt drove the Spanish colony and many of its Indian allies from New Mexico. The Spanish did not return until 1692, when Governor Diego de Vargas reconquered the territory.

Within the ranks of Governor Vargas' all volunteer army were individuals with family histories in New Mexico and economic interests in helping to reestablish the colony, including Fernando Durán y Chávez II, the second son of Pedro Gómez Durán y Chávez (Brunnemann 1997:5; Sánchez 1998). Following the long-established Iberian tradition of giving grants to individuals for services rendered to the Spanish Crown during military campaigns to expand its colonial holdings or to reclaim its lost lands, Governor Vargas awarded Fernando his petition for two tracts sometime after 1692. (Pallidini [1990] indicates that Fernando submitted his petition in 1692; however, Metzgar [1977] reports that the Atrisco Land Grant investiture ceremonies were not held until 1703, three years before the settlement of the Villa de Albuquerque).

In his petition, Fernando describes the requested Atrisco Land Grant (Figure 7.2), which apparently coincides with the Atrisco area where his father lived previously (Brunnemann 1997; Sánchez 1998). Fernando states the grant is "agricultural land (de labor) with a main irrigation ditch, beginning at a hill where a certain Juan de Perea lived, extending south along the western side of the Río Grande to some corrals claimed by his brother-in-law maese de campo Juan Dominguez" (in Pallidini 1990:9). Clearly, Fernando recognized the land's agricultural qualities; Pallidini argues his early petition was an act to obtain the land before anyone else could establish a claim.

The Atrisco Land Grant founding members, namely, Fernando, his family, and the other families that made up his entourage, built their homes along the Río Grande. In describing the original land-use patterns of the Atrisqueños, Metzgar reveals the settlers adhered to the strictures governing Spanish colonial corporate community economic structure and social organization. With their mixed agricultural, pastoral, and trade economy, they also generally were representative of Middle Río Grande Nuevomexicano populations:

> Atrisco settlers established three or four functional areas of grant land to provide for their needs. Atrisco proper and what became Ranchos de Atrisco contained individually owned grant lands in the valley, the former comprising the village nucleus, the latter the better bottomlands, determined by unpredictable floods and course changes of the river and the people's adjustment to them. Lands were used for irrigated cultivation of corn, beans, wheat, and alfalfa. As population grew, Atrisqueños brought a third element of the grant into use, namely, the common lands of the west mesa where the increasing number of sheep and other livestock could graze more freely. Atrisco, like other villages in New Mexico was closely knit and largely self-sufficient. Its economy was closely tied to the Chihuahua–New Mexico trade. [1977:270]

With regard to the question of the community's trade with northern Mexico, Pallidini supposes that the Atrisco Land grant community was a "prestige suburb" (1990:58) of Albuquerque. This higher socioeconomic status subsequently afforded the Atrisqueños significant advantages when the community sought to expand its holdings westward, thereby physically redefining the West Mesa geographic placement within the corporate community's holdings as closer to the center (see below).

Don Fernando's will, written in 1707 and executed by colonial officials upon his death in 1715, offers additional insights into the pervasive nature of the Iberian conquest culture ideals in structuring and organizing how the colonists interacted with the land, its resources, and one another. According to Pallidini (1990:30; see also Sánchez 1998), Fernando exhorted his nine surviving children and the children of his deceased son, Bernardo, to keep the land in the family to benefit all heirs as a community. Apparently, Fernando did not want any one individual to prosper at another's expense in the future.

From the beginning, the Atrisqueños "viewed the grant as a combination of private agricultural property and *communal* water and grazing land" (Pallidini 1990:31, italics in original). The common pasturelands included both the willows and cottonwoods along the river's edge and the high mesa country farther west (Pallidini 1990:32).

In the ensuing years, most Atrisco land sales were among kin, whether by marriage or blood, true to don Fernando's wishes (Pallidini 1900; Sánchez 1998). The sales invariably described the parcels as agricultural (*de labor*), not pasturage.

With local population growth and an increased demand for wool and other livestock products from the prospering Zacatecas silver mine industry in northern Mexico, the Atrisqueños ran their sheep ever farther westward (Metzgar 1977). In addition, Pallidini (1990) suggests this westward expansion partly resulted from sustained overgrazing of the West Mesa commons in the early 17th century, when conflicts with nomadic Indians prevented them from cycling their herds across a broader geographical area. Also, the Atrisqueños were bordered on the north and south by other land grants.

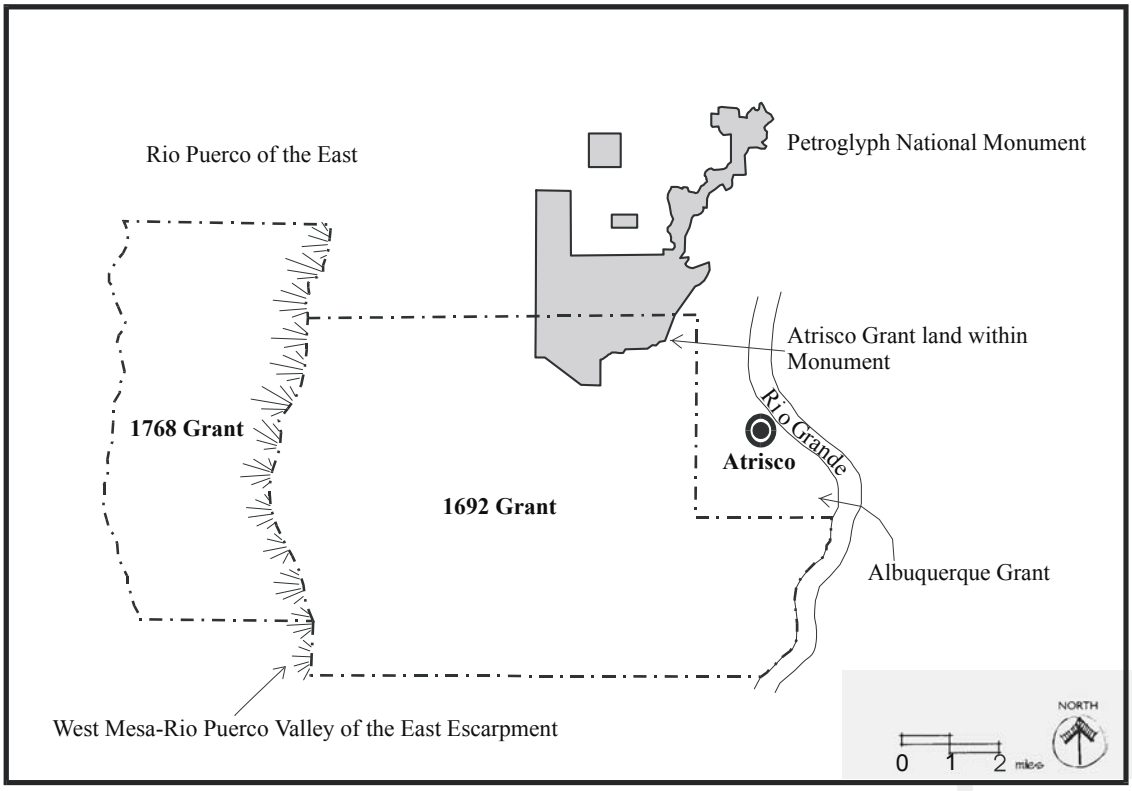

Figure 7.2: Atrisco Land Grant boundaries, 1692 and 1768.

As I discuss further below, community residents quickly challenged individuals who did not comply with don Fernando's communal land ethic. Civil issues, in turn, addressed concerns over access to communal land and water. Two key ideals are clearly articulated in the recorded legal proceedings. First, "No individual had the right to take what he had not produced himself. Those resources produced by nature were reserved for the common good" (Pallidini 1990:31). Second, "Water was public property, intended to benefit the entire community. Individuals had equal access to water, but the municipality controlled its access and use" (Pallidini 1990:34).

With Navajo-Nuevomexicano peace negotiations between the 1720s and the 1770s, the Atrisqueños at last were able to expand their range westward to the Río Grande Valley. In attempting to settle the land for their own use, however, they regularly impinged on other communities, particularly the newly established San Fernando *rancho*.

Given the increasingly hostile nature of the conflict with San Fernando community residents, the Atrisqueños petitioned Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta in 1768 for additional grant lands beyond West Mesa and south of San Fernando (Figure 7.2). They argued their petition on the grounds that their

lands to the west were insufficient for grazing their livestock (Ebright 1996; Metzgar 1977:272), thereby supporting Pallidini's (1990) assessment of the West Mesa range as unable to sustain year-round ranch operations. Clearly, the Atrisqueños preferred the tract between Cerro Colorado and the Río Puerco of the East for pasturage and wood. The Atrisqueños challenged the legality of the southern boundaries of the San Fernando Grant, "arguing that it had not been settled according to royal laws" (Ebright 1996:221).

The outcome of the petition demonstrates again the persistence of the Nuevomexicano communal land-use tradition. It also shows Governor Mendinueta's tendency to make grazing grant decisions in favor of established, elite individuals (i.e., the Atrisqueños) at the expense of *pobladores* (i.e., the San Fernando Grant holders) (after Ebright 1996:195).

Having reviewed the Atrisqueños' petition, Governor Mendinueta stated that he understood their need to expand their pasturage. Noting the Atrisqueños lacked title to a tract south of San Fernando's putative (but disputed) boundaries, he nevertheless acknowledged their customary use of the land for their herds (Sánchez 1998:42) and conditionally conceded their request. He ordered Alcalde Mayor and War Captain of the Villa de Alburquerque, Francisco Trébol Navarro, to prepare to deliver possession of the land to the Atrisqueño grantees. The governor, however, first asked Trébol Navarro to review the San Fernando grantees' documents showing prior claim to the disputed land (Ebright 1996).

Trébol Navarro studied the San Fernando grant documents. After raising questions about crude alterations of key words defining the southern boundary of the claim, he concluded that the papers exhibited malicious tampering (Sánchez 1998:43). Thus, he declared, in an apparent abuse of his authority in this particular case (Ebright 1990:222), that for this offense the San Fernando settlers forfeited any rights they might have to the land.

Having made this decision, Trébol Navarro fulfilled Governor Mendinueta's directive to award the grant to the Atrisqueños. The alcalde mayor, however, sternly admonished both the Atrisco and the San Fernando land grant communities during the investiture of the grant. He also passed along Governor Mendinueta's pointed stipulation that the Atrisqueños' new commons were intended to sustain and to benefit the expanding community for all time (Metzgar 1977:273). Together, these statements emphasized principles contained within the corporate community tradition. Sánchez summarizes the proceedings:

> Trébol urged them to live in peace. He explained that no one settler had the authority to cross his livestock into any other's property under any circumstances. Under the terms, the required permission…must be unanimous among the Atrisqueños, even if it involved a brother, a parent or a neighbor. He emphasized that this land was not one that had been inherited from a parent or relative, but specifically, it was a land grant for the benefit of a community of people....No settler would be allowed "to sell, nor alienate his ranch through any entitlement be it his relative, friend or neighbor as this land is conceded by his Lordship, the Governor, so that it would be productive and enjoyed for stock raising by the grantees. It was not intended for gain by sale." [1998:44–45]

To further illustrate the grant's communal purpose and the heirs' internal struggles to maintain the tradition, Sánchez (1998:50–51) cites a 1786 court battle among heirs over water rights. Francisco Cháves and Bartolomé Montoya, both residents of the Sitio de Atrisco, represented themselves and several others before Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in the Villa de Santa Fe to file suit against Diego Antonio Cháves. Their complaint stemmed from Cháves' actions that blocked entrances and exits to the Atrisqueños' traditional livestock watering places when he opened new farmlands for his personal use and profit. Governor Anza ultimately decided in favor of the plaintiffs, citing Fernando Durán y Chávez's will that all Atrisqueño heirs would have free access to pastures and watering places without exception. The Governor ordered Diego Antonio Cháves to make the entrances and exits to the spring again accessible to Atrisco community members, and he forbade Cháves to charge a fee for incidental damages caused by livestock (Sánchez 1998:51).

The 1768 grant (Figure 7.2) of additional lands allowed the Atrisqueños to maintain their livestock herds at economic, yet sustainable, levels for roughly a century. According to Brunnemann (1997:5, citing Jenkins and Schroeder 1974), Atrisco community organization remained essentially unchanged even in the face of the rapid succession of four major geopolitical events: (1) New Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, (2) the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in the fall of 1821, (3) New Mexico's incorporation as a U.S. territory in 1846, and (4) the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.

The arrival of the railroad in 1880–1881, however, pushed regional livestock populations to unprecedented levels as New Mexico ranchers offered livestock to the highly profitable markets of the Midwest and East. During the final two decades of the 19th century, both the sheep and cattle industries increased in magnitude,

with sheep populations growing from over 2 million to nearly 5 million animal units, and cattle herds expanding from 160,000 to almost 1 million animal units across the territory (Metzgar 1977:274–275). These economic changes launched a cycle of fierce land competition that challenged traditional land grant boundaries. In addition, the adverse long-term ecological consequences of this unprecedented intensified ranching instigated important social and political shifts in the way corporate communities interacted with their historical landscapes.

Many Atrisqueños today struggle to sustain their traditional lifeways in the face of this multitude of ecological, economic, and social changes. Their adherence to corporate community tradition, however, apparently is more a practical reality given the lack of wage labor alternatives than some unwavering devotion to maintaining a subsistence-level agrarian economy. Demetria Tenorio explains:

> When I was little, there weren't all these jobs that they have now, the people just sowed or had their sheep, and that's the way they lived. They used what they needed and sold what was left over. There were no paved roads, no telephones, or electric light, just oil lamps and oil for home heating or just wood. People maintained themselves just by working with their animals and their harvests, sowing enough to harvest enough for the whole year. [AOHP 1981–1984, folder 2, p. 1; translated by Thomas W. Merlan]

When asked specifically about sheep ranching on West Mesa, Tenorio responded, "Everyone could pasture his sheep or cows. Everywhere on la loma [the hill, the community's place-name for West Mesa], from the top of the hill and beyond that was public for us…for the heirs" (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 2, p. 5; translated by Thomas W. Merlan).

Another Atrisqueño, Federico Abeyta, born in 1921 in the land grant community, recalled his neighbors ran cattle and horses loose in the Río Puerco Valley, while keeping their sheep in the grant's common lands. At the age of 11, he was hired by a community member, Isidro Sandoval, to help handle *tajitos* (little bunches) from his herd of about 2,000 sheep on the grant. He saw Navajos from Canyoncito (now known as *Tó Hajiileeh* [see chapter 5]) in the same general area (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 9; translated by Thomas W. Merlan). (Ramón S. Herrera notes that the Atrisqueños and the Navajos had become "good friends" by this time, "especially the ones that are near to us...[the people from]…Cañoncito" [ELR interview, February 1, 2001]. He explains, "The Cañoncito Navajos were the ones that the Navajo Nation didn't want, because they were scouts for the American army, so they shied away from the gringos, and they kind of came towards us…" [Ramón S. Herrera, ELR interview, February 1, 2001].)

Petronila Armijo Pfeufer's grandfather (whose surname was Armijo) ran sheep on the West Mesa from a *rancho* near the volcanoes at the turn of the century (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 10, p. 4). Pfeufer refers to the magnitude of ecological change at Rancho de San Ignacio in the 1768 Atrisco Land Grant in the Río Puerco of the East Valley:

> [And] San Ignacio was adjacent to it [San Fernando]. And it's, it's really amazing you go out there and it's all dry sand and new cacti and when you read that it was like a bosque. People had orchards out there and…there were trees and grass and you don't see any of that now. [AOHP 1981–1984, folder 10, p. 11]

Matias Sánchez, born in 1890 at San Ignacio in the Río Puerco Valley of the East, describes the economic devastation of the land's degradation on area residents. The people were no longer farming at San Ignacio by the time of his birth. Because no work was available in San Ignacio or elsewhere within the land grant, families left for Arizona. "They left with a burro in front and they took their *camitas* {bedrolls] or whatever they carried" (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 31, p. 1; translated by Thomas W. Merlan).

The late 19th century also saw an onslaught of legal challenges to the Atrisco Land Grant's integrity, ranging from petitions to oust squatters to land grant claims proceedings within a court system based on an adversarial system of adjudication (see Metzgar 1977:275–281). The community formed a commission of 6 heirs in 1884 as an immediate outcome of these legal actions. In January 1892, Atrisqueños filed a petition to incorporate their grant, listing 225 names of people claiming interest in the Atrisco grants (Metzgar 1977:277). That April, Judge William D. Lee decreed the Atrisqueños had fulfilled all the requirements for incorporation under the Territorial Act of 1891, and he granted the community's petition, creating the corporate body known as the Town of Atrisco.

During the compilation of the various legal actions initiated by the Atrisqueños, a number of observers compiled notable accounts of the grant. Surveyor George Pradt authored the most complete description of the physical holdings, including limited references to land-use practices:

> The soil in this tract is a rich sandy loam in the valleys of the Rio Grande and Rio Puerco. On the hills and plains it is sandy or gravelly and produces a good growth of grama grass. The soil is all productive with irrigation. There is very

> little timber on the grant, the growth being confined to a narrow belt of cottonwood and willow along the Rio Grande and a few scattered cottonwoods along the Rio Puerco.
>
> There are some scrubby cedar bushes along the divide between the two rivers, but nothing that can be called timber. There is no valuable mineral deposit on the grant.
>
> The tract is watered along its eastern border by the Rio Grande and a considerable area of land is cultivated in the valley of that river. The Rio Puerco has no permanent water supply, but a few fields are plated to corn each year.
>
> The settlements are all in the eastern part of the grant, in the valley of the Rio Grande. They are Atrisco and two other villages, called Ranchos de Atrisco, in all containing about 800 people. There are a few houses in the western part of the grant, in the valley of the Rio Puerco, but they are not permanently occupied.
>
> A large number of cattle, horses and sheep are pastured on the hills and plains between the two river valleys. [1896:page number missing]

Manuel Antonio Jaramillo, 1 of 6 Atrisqueño witnesses, testified in a proceeding that the 3 extant plazas (Atrisco, García, and Cháves), with a total population of 200 persons, were "named after their 'conquerors' or owners" and are in the Río Grande Valley. The "annex" or west side of the grant (Río Puerco Valley of the East) "has been treated as common lands for all the settlers of Atrisco [and is] used for pasturage of cattle, for agriculture, and for everything for cows and sheep and horses…we are all heirs in the tract" (Court of Private Land Claims, Santa Fe District, 1894).

In separate proceedings, other Atrisco heirs testified that their homes and crops mainly were in the Río Grande Valley along the river. The West Mesa was the community's common lands for grazing and gathering wood (U.S. Surveyor General 1881).

President Theodore Roosevelt completed the land grant confirmation process on May 5, 1905, with his signing of the U.S. patent. Metzgar notes that the patent designated

> the lands approved by the Court of Private Claims and delineating the officially surveyed and approved boundaries. The patent invested the Town of Atrisco with the lands and all appertaining rights "in trust for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of said original and additional grants as their respective interests may appear, and to their successors in interest and assigns forever." [1997:280]

The patent process, however, resulted in the loss of 5,000 hectares (12,000 acres) of the land grant's 35,304 hectares (84,729 acres) of its common lands. This acreage encompassed nearly half of the 1786 grant and represented a 14.2 percent reduction in the grant's overall size. The divestiture, handled through a "peculiar trustee arrangement" (Metzgar 1977:279), was necessary to cover the costs incurred for the Town of Atrisco survey and other fees for clearing the land title with the Court of Private Land Claims. Not only did these proceedings result in the loss of once important pasturage, they signaled renewed erosion of the community's corporate solidarity. Metzgar reports that the sold lands "passed into the hands of private interests, mostly heirs and officials of the Atrisco grant" (1977:280).

With the depletion of range vegetation (e.g., the grazing capacity of the Río Grande watershed declined almost 50% between 1900–1930) through overgrazing, cattle and sheep production decreased by 50 to 60 percent, and closed range practices developed (Metzgar 1977:281). The latter practice further eroded the corporate community, as the commons became increasingly segmented. Wage labor also influenced the movement of people away from their traditional land-based economies. "The last extensive grazing of sheep on the common lands of Atrisco occurred in the depression of the 1930s, although small irrigated farms of a few acres continued to operate along the river for some time thereafter" (Metzgar 1977:281–282).

Meanwhile, the Atrisqueños sought new ways to obtain economic benefit from their common land, notably the West Mesa and the 1768 grant in the Río Puerco Valley of the East. These endeavors were constantly plagued by the problem

> of preventing "inside" interests from gaining rewards and acreage for themselves without regard to the interests of all heirs. Indeed, the corporation failed seriously in several aspects. First, it did not establish definitive and complete heirship listings. Second, it did not keep secured and adequate records of all land transactions. Third, it did not provide official accounting of funds. Finally, it did not maintain a record of the minutes of the trustee meetings. That kind of free and easy organization fostered wheeling and dealing of acreage, monies, and influence among "inside" politicos, and often the most uninformed and busy heirs, struggling to make a living, felt powerless to do anything to stop the machinations. Considering the circumstances, it seems surprising that that so much of the common lands remained intact and integrated. [Metzgar 1977:281]

With these economic and social trends as background, Metzgar (1977:282) traces how Town of Atrisco officials began leasing the community's land grant commons for commercial development, including the mining of volcanic ash, the construction of the West Mesa Airport, and the building of U.S. Highway 66 during the 1920s and 1930s. Interestingly, Frederico Abeyta also reveals that some grant members tried to sell land to help support their families. For example, Abeyta's father tried to sell land in 1920, but he was told by the grant's governing board that this sale was forbidden because "the land belongs to all the heirs" (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 9, p. 16; translated by Thomas W. Merlan).

An increasing number of heirship proceedings, legal actions by some Atrisqueños against the sale of grant lands, and land tax cases through the 1940s and 1950s pitted heirs against one another and continued to undermine the traditional corporate community ideal (Metzgar 1977:283–289).

Albuquerque's post–World War II economic boom brought 15 years of ever-greater land development opportunities to the now-empty West Mesa commons. Some Atrisqueños began advocating legislation to allow a more economically progressive land grant corporation that could bring greater benefits to the heirs (Metzgar 1977:290). Community members recognized that the Atrisco Land Grant holdings were acquiring economic value given its location next to the growing Albuquerque metropolitan area (Ramón S. Herrera, ELR interview, February 1, 2001).

The passage of New Mexico state law enabling a community land grant corporation to acquire the legal status of a domestic stock corporation occurred in early 1967. In July of that year, a mass meeting of Atrisco heirs voted to organize the Westland Development Company as the modern, corporate manifestation of the Atrisco Land Grant. As explained by one of the proponents of incorporation, Ramón S. Herrera, he and other Atrisqueños were concerned by the loss of land to non-heirs without benefit to the land grant community as a whole (ELR interview, February 1, 2001). The Westland Development Company was to bring an end to land distribution by individuals, with heirs receiving shares in the corporation. The incorporation proceed included a measure to prevent the sale of company shares except to other heirs. "Heirs could sell or give away to an heir. They could give away to a non-heir, but the non-heir could not sell. He'd have to sell it back to the heirship" (Ramón S. Herrera, ELR interview, February 1, 2001)

After losing a challenge by the Trustees of the Town of Atrisco against the Westland Development Company before the Supreme Court of New Mexico, the fiduciaries "executed a quit-claim deed transferring grant land" (Metzgar 1977:291) to the new corporation on November 15, 1969. As of 1997, the Westland Development Company recognized 3,737 stockholders (Eastman 1991:107).

Under the leadership of Ramón S. Herrera, President, the Westland Development Company Board of Directors immediately worked to clear titles to the grant land, to trace the genealogies of all heirs, and to create a profitable business enterprise, including a business park and residential development. Talking about his experiences for the AOHP, Herrera describes the changes in the heirs' relationship to the grant lands:

> we are trying…to develop it the best way we have to motivate this…in order to have the dividend paid to the heirship, you know. The only hold-up you have in the land grant now is not aspiring for the land because you're not going to get land anymore but they are aspiring for dividends on the honorship of their shares…according to what the dividends declare to be for that particular year. [AOHP 1981–1984, folder 5, pp. 11–12]

Lauro Silva, an Atrisco Land Rights Council Board Member, offers an explanation why traditional Atrisqueños are displeased by this fundamental redefinition of their relationship with the Atrisco Land Grant:

> People were no longer recognized necessarily as heirs, but as stockholders, and in that process a lot of people were screened out and eliminated and cut off, violating the rules of heirship under the land grant. They were supposed to be protected under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo [but] that conversion process really disenfranchised thousands of people. [in Enson 1995:3]

Petronila Armijo Pfeufer expressed complementary concerns. Her poignant statement also reveals how some Atrisqueños still maintain a traditional relationship with the land that transcends ownership of dividends in the landholding corporation:

> I think it's [the Westland Development Company] unique. They have board meetings and so on but I, my belief, is that it is no regular corporation. It's too different. Its origins were too different and it shouldn't be very much like a board and shareholders because the Atrisquenos are more than shareholders. It's part of their, their life. [AOHP 1981–1984, folder 10, p. 4]

The Atrisco Land Grant-Westland Development Company Controversy: Traditional Corporate Community Ideals for Sustaining Heritage through a Sense of Place

The Material Bases of Land Sale Disputes

Given the economic downturn that plagued the U.S. economy generally throughout the 1970s and 1980s and the concomitant volatility of the real estate market specifically, the Westland Development Company suffered huge fiscal losses "through a pattern of faulty speculative investments" (Enson 1995:3). To reduce its debt, which measured in the millions of dollars, Westland Development Company hired a new management team in the mid-1980s that began selling off huge tracts of land to other private (i.e., Atrisqueño) development interests. The company also endorsed the sale of land to the National Park Service for inclusion in the Petroglyph National Monument, arguing that the profits will benefit all the Atrisco heirs (Alberto Candelaria, Vice President, Westland Development Company, Statement before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 28, 1989, in U.S. Senate 1989:141–142).

The traditional corporate community ethic over the issue of land disposition again was manifest publicly in the commentaries of concerned Atrisqueños. According to Enson,

> Atrisco elders and community members, dismayed at the sale of what they felt was their birthright, called for a new watchdog organization to monitor the corporation's actions. The Atrisco Land Rights Council—the Concilio—was founded in 1982 to hold the corporation accountable to a development strategy that would benefit the *Atrisqueños*, instead of Albuquerque's real estate industry. [1995:3]

The Atrisco Lands Rights Council and traditional Atrisqueños do not oppose development per se. Enson reports, "they advocate for a community-based, sustainable development model that respects the land, particularly the traditional sacred sites of the Albuquerque West Mesa" (1995:4). Jaime Chávez, Executive Director of the Atrisco Lands Rights Council, explains further, "The type of development we're advocating is respectful of the native landscape from historic, archaeological, cultural, and environmental viewpoints" (in Enson 1995:4). He adds that Westland Development Company should focus its attentions on finding ways to promote small business ventures that can offer lasting benefit to all of the land grant heirs (in Hartranft 1989:E2) rather than pursuing development that benefits a few large shareholders and outside interests (in Enson 1995:4).

The criticisms offered by Atrisco Lands Rights Council and traditional Atrisqueños focus on the question of the Westland Development Company's continuing sales of the Atrisco Land Grant common lands for large residential development projects. For example, Atrisco Land Rights Council Attorney Richard Rosenstock stated in a letter (dated May 16, 1999) to Tom Rutherford, Chairman, Bernalillo Board of County Commissioners, that the Westland Development Company lacks the authority to sell property that was part of the Atrisco Land Grant before 1967. The Atrisco Lands Rights Council also stridently opposed the sale of 833 hectares (2,000 acres) to the Petroglyph National Monument (see below).

Lauro Silva, with his training as an attorney, questions the legality of these sales given that

> Historically, the common lands were not to be sold. They were supposed to be held in common by the heirs themselves, and for the young people, for their use down the road. The common lands were basically community-owned, and they were used for the common good of the entire community, the Town of Atrisco. And if you look at it historically, the Town of Atrisco was a town long before New Mexico ever became a state. [in Enson 1995:4]

Similarly, Atrisco Lands Rights Council Attorney Rosenstock argues that the incorporators of the Westland Development Company, in enumerating the powers of the corporation, excluded the power to sell common land (letter to Tom Rutherford, Chairman, Bernalillo Board of County Commissioners, May 16, 1999).

Westland Development Company officials view the matter differently. They maintain the company, as a legal business enterprise, has the right to sell its assets (Enson 1995:5). To defend their position, Barbara Page, the company's Chief Executive Officer and President, stated that the land grant and its commons no longer exist (in Enson 1995:4). In the company's opinion, legal precedents for these statements are twofold. First, the 1969 Supreme Court of New Mexico decision supports the legal challenge by the majority decision of the Atrisco heirs to authorize the Westland Development Company as the corporate manifestation of the Atrisco Land Grant in 1967. Second, although the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo recognizes the private ownership of lands granted previously by the Spanish and Mexican governments, it does not acknowledge their property laws specifying

the common land rights of the corporate community membership.

A recent initiative by the Westland Development Company eventually will result in the annexation of 2,917 hectares (7,000 acres) by the City of Albuquerque in exchange for utility and road services (Turnbell and Smallwood 1998:A1). These legal proceedings represent the final steps toward the formal termination of the once corporate community's historical status as a distinct economic, social, and political entity autonomous of *La Villa de Alburquerque*. At present, Westland Development Company is turning 2,570 hectares (6,424 acres) of the remaining former land grant holdings into residential neighborhoods that will becomes the homes for some 50,000 people over the next 25 years (Turnbell and Smallwood 1998:A1). The proposed project will include a combination of residential, resort, commercial, and industrial uses. Development also will feature parkland, trails, and open space.

As I note above, traditional Atrisqueños and the Atrisco Land Rights Council have opposed the sale of 833 hectares (2,000 acres) of grant land to the National Park Service for incorporation into the Petroglyph National Monument. The proposed sale of Mesa Prieta [Black Mesa], which represents the most pristine area within the Atrisco unit of the Monument, has been the focus of the Atrisco Land Rights Council's criticism.

> Although the prospect of Mesa Prieta's ownership and management by the Park Service might at first seem preferable to the numerous other development schemes currently being hatched for the West Mesa, the opposition by the Atrisco heirs to this sale must be viewed in the historic context of land taking in New Mexico by the federal government during the past century, during which huge portions of land holdings were taken, often stolen, to create public lands. Furthermore, by retaining ownership of the land through some form of alternative land-use agreement with the Park Service, such as a land trust, conservation easement, or reserved interest deed, Atrisco heirs will be able to insure that Park Service development plans for the monument do not destroy the very character of the place that it purports to preserve. Entrance fees, roads, concessions, signage, fencing and the incursion of potentially huge crowds of tourists from across the nation could threaten in a very real way the access of Atrisco residents to the landscape that holds so much of their history and identity. [Enson 1995:7]

Mestizaje and Syncretism Revisited: The Ideational Basis of Atrisqueño Spiritual Ecology

Miguel Gandert, a photographer and Assistant Professor of Journalism, University of New Mexico, has observed the Fiesta de San Ysidro, as celebrated by the people of Atrisco, several times over the past decade (ELR interview, February 1, 2001). Although he does not know the specific source of Indian elements of ritual at Atrisco, he finds that Indian influence is an inseparable part of these *mestizo* people.

> When we're talking about these cultural confluences we're talking about communities where people are half, or they're mestizos, or they're mixed, and that's where it happens, it's inside the people, it's not a specific external influence... (ELR interview, February 1, 2001)

A worldview—a whole system of beliefs for perceiving and understanding the world—structured by *mestizaje* and syncretism are the "it" to which Gandert refers as being "inside" traditional Atrisqueños. The question that remains is how this worldview organizes the people's attitudes about their affiliation with the Atrisco Land Grants West Mesa (and other) holdings.

In the final part of her essay, Enson (1995) develops a *mestizo* model of land-based culture. She begins by contrasting a commentary by Amadeo Shije, then Chairperson of the Five Sandoval Pueblos, with statements made by Atrisqueños. This comparison shows that the people of these different cultural communities, through the processes of *mestizaje*, share an association with the land, "which incorporates a reverence for the earth and for life into modern existence" (in Enson 1995:9).

As I discuss earlier, syncretism unquestionably was an essential part of the *mestizaje* process in the rural New Mexican colony. Brunnemann (1997) suggests that the personal mixture of Pueblo and Catholic ideology has come to the forefront because of recent local political debate concerning the disposition of the Atrisco Land Grant. He states, "Petroglyph National Monument has, in the words of Park planners, provided a forum from which Spanish and Mexican land grant heirs have been able to publicly investigate their social and religious ties to the land" (1997:47).

Although the Petroglyph National Monument serves as a vehicle for articulating highly charged economic, social, and political dialogue, available commentaries offer a logical and coherent explanation of the traditional Atrisqueños' close relationships with the land grant's West Mesa commons. Their testimonies also provide a basis for examining the traditional Atrisqueños' associations with particular

landscape elements within and around the Petroglyph National Monument.

Several passages by land grant heirs illustrate both the ontogeny of their system of belief and its continuing relevance to present and future generations of Atrisqueños.

Lauro Silva offers an explanation of *mestizaje*'s origins. He talks about why it is now assuming greater importance to the Atrisqueño community as a way of introducing Jaime Chávez's argument about the reverence traditional Nuevomexicano culture holds for the land.

> Chicanos themselves are a mixture of Indians from Mexico and Indians from the Southwest, with actually very little original European blood in them. Church historical records clearly define the ancestry of the individuals who were married or baptized through the church. So some of the records that we find clearly indicate that's much more Indian culture and Indian genes that flow through our veins than the European aspect. We've been misled through history, through the current history books, and through the denial of the learning of our language and our traditions; we were made to feel that being Indian is some kind of a lower form of humanity. We need to reevaluate that among our people and to be able to honor and respect that part of us who we really are. [Lauro Silva, in Enson 1995:8]

> The Mestizo culture can be seen in the blending of the Catholic and Pueblo deities, *La Virgen de Guadalupe* who also embodies Tonantzin; and in the earth-based religious practices of pilgrimage and blessings. We bless our waters and our fields. That blend is the Indo-Hispano culture we share. The misnomer "Spanish" has been applied to us to justify colonization without looking at who we are. New Mexican people eat corn, we are a corn-based culture. We eat beans, squash, chile. We're connected to our indigenous roots through diet, through ritual, through our earth-based approach to religion. This is difficult for the people of the dominant culture to see or understand, because their religion is not earth-based. [Jaime Chávez, in Enson 1995:9]

Hermán Romero, President of the Atrisco Land Rights Council, links *mestizaje* and syncretism in his discussion of the land's sanctity.

> This land, to us is sacred. In our mind, divergent interests, seeking to preserve the escarpment, can best be served by forging constructive relationships that are sensitive to the historical land tenure patterns. These patterns, established in prehistoric and colonial times by those communities already formed as historical land trusts, are based on the notion of common land usage. [Statement before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 11, 1988, in U.S. House of Representatives 1989:137–138]

Mario Elizondo, another land grant heir, provides another illustration of the *mestizaje* adoption of a worldview that incorporates elements of indigenous spiritual ecology in his remarks about the Atrisqueño ethic of sustainable land use. "It's a way of showing the younger generations how to work the land and how to give back at the same time as you take from the earth. We've always been strong believers that you have to protect Mother Earth" (in Enson 1995:9).

Finally, in a newspaper commentary, renowned author Rudolfo Anaya weaves together ideas expressed by the other Atrisqueños in a reflective essay highlighting the timelessness and sanctity of land-based community tradition.

> The land belonged to the community, it was cared for, it was the mother earth which nurtured us. It provided firewood, grass and water for grazing animals. Over the centuries the people developed a spiritual attachment to the land…
>
> The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, who taught us so much about the land, believe the land is sacred. It is the mother which provides our nourishment. Can anyone imagine the Isleta Pueblo, our neighbors to the south, selling their pueblo land? No, because they know if they did in a few short years their way of life would be erased from the face of the earth.
>
> I now live on the West Mesa, I live on the original lands of the old Merced de Atrisco. I bought the land for my home, it was not given to me. The pull of history has brought most of my family back to the original lands of the old grant. Or maybe we remember the stories of the old people, stories which admonished us to hold on to the land of our ancestors.
>
> The value of my inheritance as represented by my shares means nothing to the stockbrokers of Wall Street. The value of my shares means everything to me. They are a thread I hold to my history. I would not give them up. I will not put my history and culture for sale on Wall Street. [Anaya n.d.:1. Reprinted by permission of Rudolfo Anaya]

Without question, Anaya refers to a sense of ensoulment when he speaks of the Atrisqueño people sustaining an inseparable spiritual attachment to the land. As I show in the following discussion of readily identifiable Nuevomexicano and Hispano cultural

landscape elements at the Petroglyph National Monument, the members of the Tonantzin Circle similarly express the ensouled feelings of an unalienable tie to the Albuquerque West Mesa and its natural and cultural features. Although the Tonantzin Circle arrived in the Albuquerque South Valley only a decade ago and does not represent either the Atrisqueño or any other traditional Nuevomexicano community, its members, just as their Atrisqueño neighbors, embrace and celebrate a *mestizo* cultural heritage that is informed by the processes of *mestizaje* and syncretism over the centuries since Spanish colonization.

Elements of Nuevomexicano and Hispano Cultural Landscapes at Petroglyph National Monument

Traditional Atrisqueños and the Tonantzin Circle membership, just as the local indigenous Indian peoples, view the entire West Mesa as an active site of religious ceremonials and a living reminder of a heritage based on powerful spiritual ties to the earth (Enson 1995:2). Jaime Chávez states that the land "contains the religious signatures of our people" (in Enson 1995:7). Clearly, the West Mesa is an important cultural landscape to traditional heirs of the old Atrisco land grant, as well as other contemporary Hispano communities that ascribe to a land-based ethic.

In the chapter's introductory section, I offered Enson's statement that the West Mesa remains a center for the traditional Atrisqueño community. I also linked this idea with a system of traditional land-based community cultural values and beliefs based on spiritual ecology. In the ensuing discussion, I considered the many-layered cultural-historical processes, including *mestizaje* and syncretism among the Indian peoples and *los pobladores* of the New Mexico colony, which contributed to the development of this ethic among the Atrisco Land Grant citizenry. I also examined why the transformation of the corporate community into a legal corporation dedicated to economic development for the benefit of the land grant heirs has proven controversial. For traditional Atrisqueños, land incorporates the objective and subjective realms of their experience and history into their community traditions. Although not articulated as clearly as documented for the Río Grande Pueblos, among others (see chapter 3; cf. chapters 4, 5, and 6), the traditional Atrisqueños generally conceptualize the West Mesa as a timeless center that helps sustain their spiritual ecology and ensoulment. Objective elements of the West Mesa landscape, in turn, serve as focal points for maintaining and assigning meaning to the subjective realm of their world.

The following discussion considers common Río Grande Nuevomexicano and Hispano landscape elements present within the Petroglyph National Monument. Whenever ethnographic and other commentaries are available, I refer to these works to help establish how Nuevomexicano and Hispano representatives view these features within their landscape constructions. Just as with the Pueblo communities, the categorization of particular feature types for the purposes of structuring the discussion, is not altogether satisfactory. By breaking a unified conceptual whole into its principal constituent elements, this device creates the potential that comprehension of essential connective relationships will be lost.

The testimony by Rosa María Moya de Chávez, an Atrisqueña elder, illustrates the interrelationships among the petroglyphs, volcanoes, plants, and animals that contribute to the people's land-based heritage:

> The volcanoes are very valuable because of the many stone writings made by the ancestors of the Indians and ourselves. We are Spanish, Indian, and Mexican. The petroglyphs have power, and how! Over there, we used to collect many remedies handed down by our ancestors. We collected herbs of healing, for teas, for everything there. We are part of the land. [in Enson 1995:7; also in Debra Lett-Nuanes, President, Atrisco Land Rights Council, letter to Bob Grant, Chairman, Petroglyph National Monument Commission, October 18, 1995, in National Park Service 1996:314]

Petroglyphs

Among the approximately 20,000 petroglyphs identified within the Petroglyph National Monument area, a relatively large number of images pecked, scratched, or abraded into the dark, patinated volcanic rock date to the Historic period (see Brunnemann 1997; Eastvold 1987; Schaafsma 1987; Schmader and Hayes 1987). The motifs commonly include Christian crosses, Nuevomexicano and Iberian initials, and possible animal brands (see Brunnemann 1997). They characteristically cluster in small *rincones* and other sheltered enclaves along the West Mesa's prominent escarpment.

Brunnemann (1997) supposes many of these images were made by *mestizo* shepherds. He argues further that the cross-glyphs might have served both "the more general purpose of demarcating a particular *rincón*, as well as sanctifying a particular area" (1997:47, citing Carrillo 1987:40) to protect the shepherds and their flocks. Brunnemann suggests that the assemblage of Historic period glyphs, which evidence a mixture of Indian and Nuevomexicano

design motifs, "could easily predicate the evolution, adapting, appropriating, rejecting, and synthesizing that is *mestizaje*" (Brunnemann 1997:48, citing Rodríguez 1994:9–10).

Commentaries offered by present-day Atrisqueños indicate that the Historic period petroglyphs are much more than the melding of iconographic styles among culturally distinct peoples. While some images probably fulfilled only utilitarian functions and others were an individual's way to pass the time while tending a flock, it seems likely that most images represent the syncretism of worldview and landscape belief. With cultural-historical patterns demonstrating a clear pattern of *mestizaje* and syncretism, the meaning imbued in the petroglyph images refers to land-based traditions that rest on ideas of spiritual ecology and ensoulment. According to respondents, the images are not merely the material products of some past behavior, they exemplify dynamic—and still-living—cultural-historical processes.

> The West Mesa Petroglyphs, (Las Piedras Marcadas), are a cultural reservoir of dreams and memory inscribed in rock, the legacy of Indo-Hispano spirituality and a true sense of historical continuity. The nearly 2,000 acres of Atrisco common lands proposed to be included within the National Petroglyph Monument offers Atrisco heirs the opportunity to exercise our rights to preserve and protect consistent with the intent of the grant, that which we view as sacred. [Jamie Chávez, Atrisco Land Rights Council, Statement before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 28, 1989, in U.S. Senate 1989:140]

Rudolfo Anaya, an Atrisco heir, author, and University of New Mexico professor, considers the *mestizo* tradition linking the land with human spirit in his article, *Petroglyphs and Cultural History*. He argues the first Spanish colonial settlers, many of whom apparently were of mixed blood ancestry (see above), of the Río Grande Valley not only observed but also emulated the Native Americans' spiritual relationship with the land:

> It is no mystery that the Petroglyphs came to be incorporated into the Atrisco Land Grant when the land was requisitioned as a community land grant from the Spanish crown in 1692. Those ancient leviathans of the desert [petroglyphs] appear poised to rise and move, had no practical use to the farmers of the valley. But they had spiritual and cultural value.
>
> The mestizo farmers of the valley had learned from their Native American neighbors that the symbols carved into the rocks were part of the continuous spiritual history of the valley. It was a responsibility to preserve for the community the ancient markings. Those symbols have lost their literal meaning to many mestizos, but they have not lost their spiritual significance.
>
> I have stood at the foot of the petroglyphs celebrating in song, dance and prayer with Chicano and Native American brothers and sisters the significance of these ancient rocks. [Anaya, in Brunnemann 1997:47]

Lastly, Brunnemann reports the outcome of another conversation with an unidentified Atrisqueño. According to the consultant, all the images, regardless of the date of their origin, are important to Atrisqueño community traditions because "the petroglyphs are all part of the same thing, they're all part of our religion" (1997:87).

During the ELR project, Ramón S. Herrera shared his recollections of how the Atrisqueños thought or, and interacted with the West Mesa petroglyphs when he a boy growing up on the grant.

> We used to go out there to hunt, liebres, and just to look around. We were cautioned by the oldsters, by the elders, not my mother or anybody like that in my family that I can remember, but by others: "Cuidado con las piedras brujas"…at one time [the Nuevomexicanos thought] los nativos eran brujos…because of their petroglyphs, and because of their beliefs, and actually, don't forget that we were all Catholic people, and Catholic people at that time were died-in-the-wool Catholics. I mean they used to, nos metian miedo, to contain us, a police action if you may, they used to say, "Si no te sosiegas, vamos a llamar al padre a que te eche un huevo hirviendo en la boca"…So I was terrified. [ELR interview, February 1, 2001]

Herrera responded to a question about the presence of Nuevomexicano crosses among the Indian petroglyphs:

> at that time no eran los buscadores ni los primeros, ya era much later. Ya eran borregueros, y la gente que andaba traficando for whatever the reason, y eran de aqui a Atrisco, y maybe de Albuquerque tambien, y nos decian, cuando iban pallá, cuidado. I guess it was about the mid-1800s or earlier that they were known as "las piedras marcadas," y ellos marcaban las piedras tambien [that is, the sheepherders and other Hispanics created petroglyphs]. The only marcada que the Spanish people did, borregueros or whatever they were, were cruces--that was an exorcism. [Carlos Lopopolo interjects: "The brands also."] Well, maybe the brands, pero la cruz era la mas importante. It was an exorcism

> against those brujos… [ELR interview, February 1, 2001]

Herrera relates that elder Atrisqueños commonly warned children, "*cuidado con las piedras brujas*" to stay away from the Indian petroglyphs. The elders offered these warnings because they associated the rock images with witches and other evil powers. "They used to make the sign of the cross right away" [ELR interview, February 1, 2001].

> You have to remember that people at that time saw anything that was Indian as evil...they even had myths about la sierpe [a snake that plagued people with evil and tried to eat them]...So they started carving crosses right next to them, here and there...as an exorcism...As long as they had the cross there they couldn't harm anyone, but if they weren't there, you were venturing into the petroglyphs, you could come down with some kind of sickness and you may even die, so…they prayed a rosario… [Ramón S. Herrera, ELR interview, February 1, 2001]

Herrera explains further that the source and kind of sickness that might befall a person who went near the Indian petroglyphs: "…the evil eye, it could be that. It could be, mostly stomach. At that time they didn't know, it could be cancer...or empacho...it means bloated, I guess, constipation..." (ELR interview, February 1, 2001).

While often viewed as sources of evil power and harm, Herrera recalls that not all of the Atrisco elders of his childhood viewed the Indian petroglyphs negatively or with fear. He notes, "Sometimes, not always, sometimes a lot of the old-timers used to bow to the petroglyphs. And I asked an old-timer one time why he was doing that to the Indian piedras marcadas, he said, 'respeto', respect" (Ramón S. Herrera, ELR interview, May 8, 2001). Herrera remembers that one old Atrisqueño, Carmelito Sarracino, "Kind of nodded, not bow like a Japanese. Kind of nodded" (ELR interview, May 8, 2001) to show his respect of the petroglyphs.

Herrera offers one more remembrance about how the people of Atrisco traditionally interacted with the petroglyphs during his final interview. He says that the people on the Atrisco Land Grant sometimes used the petroglyph rocks as foundations in their constructions (ELR interview, May 8, 2001).

Davíd Lujan (ELR interview, January 8, 2001), who is of mixed Llanero Apache (a Jicarilla Apache band [see chapter 6]) and Mexican descent and who identifies himself as Chicano, said that he first learned about the petroglyphs when he moved to the Albuquerque area as a young man. He learned from elders in the South Valley community that the orientation of Atrisco Road is due to its having been a wagon road to the petroglyphs.

Lujan talks about the significance of the petroglyphs in terms both a "site specific" perspective and a "broader" to establish foundations for discussing why this place is special to the Tonantzin Circle, as well as to the Atrisqueño community, the Pueblos, the Apaches, and to many other peoples (ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

> The petroglyphs represent this to us…a place where we can go honestly and say...these are sacred markings of our ancestors, and we have a lot of ancestors, who are Pueblo, Spanish, Navajo, and Apache, and they left those sacred markings as an expression of being one with the earth… [Davíd Lujan ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

Lujan (ELR interview, January 8, 2001) tells that other people of other tribes, including Hopi, Havasupai, Ojibway, Micmac, and Oneida, have visited the West Mesa petroglyphs to make offerings in honor of this place and its power. Other Indian people have come from Alaska, Chile (Mapuche), and Panama (Cuna). Havasupai visitors noted similarities between the West Mesa petroglyphs and those they know in the Grand Canyon (Davíd Lujan ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

Another member of the Tonantzin Circle, Arturo Sierra, who identifies himself as Chicano, similarly conveys his reverence and respect for the power inherent in the West Mesa escarpment. He states that he has never been "to the petroglyphs" because no one who performs ceremony has yet taken him there. Given that he views the West Mesa as a place of great sacred power, he expresses concern that he might not do all that he needs to do in such a special place without proper guidance. In making this statement, Sierra reveals his concern that one needs to know how to behave appropriately in approaching such power. To Sierra, the escarpment and the petroglyphs are not mere objects but are part of a life process.

Lujan states that these many peoples are aware of the West Mesa. People increasingly are "recognizing how special, how beautiful…[this place is. They are]…recognizing also the threat to it" (ELR interview, January 8, 2001). With this recognition, many people have asked to accompany members of the Tonantzin Circle to the West Mesa petroglyphs. The Tonantzin Circle, in fulfilling its role as a bridge between northern and southern nations, feels a responsibility toward the petroglyphs and toward these communities (Davíd Lujan, ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

Shrines

Bunting and others report finding "numerous records of private *oratories* [private chapels] within mansions of the 18th and 19th centuries," and identified references stating the presence of *moradas* (Penitental chapels) "in such places as the Atrisco area of Albuquerque" (in Brunnemann 1997:54). Brunnemann thus concludes it is conceivable that some of the cross-glyphs and historic archaeological sites in Rinconada Canyon, on Rinconada Mesa, and on Mesa Prieta, are *morada* or *descanso* complexes used for individualistic or group religious observances. Importantly, Penitente *moradas* usually occur in remote locations where privacy is assured (Brunnemann 1997).

Brunnemann (1997:27) reports the documentation of an intriguing archaeological property (PETR Site 4 [LA124589]) in a small *rincón* (little side canyon) on the south-facing side of Rinconada Canyon. This site includes an activity area evidencing ash-stained sandy sediment with remnants of hearth stones and an "unusually high number" of cross-glyphs on nearby large basalt boulders. The petroglyphs exhibit three distinctive cross motif styles. Tin cans that predate 1905 and the inscription "1934" potentially place the site's use between the turn of the century and the early years of the Depression. Brunnemann (1997:32) notes further that this particular locality remains in use by Atrisqueños and members of the Tonantzin Circle for religious convocations.

Lastly, a building foundation near the northeast end of Rinconda Canyon might mark the location of a religious structure, such as either a *morada* or a *descanso* (Eric Brunnemann, personal communication 1999). The foundation remnants include traces of blue-painted concrete block walls.

Juan Sandoval, an *hermano* (brother) in *El Sociedad de Nuestro Padre Jesus* (*Los Penitentes*) states that the brotherhood organization leases land from the Westland Development Company for religious ceremonies (1990, in Brunnemann 1997:48). He did not identify either Black Mesa or the Petroglyph National Monument in his comments, however. Nevertheless, Brunnemann (1997:48) suggests that personal shrines, dedicated places, *oratorios*, *moradas* (Penitental chapels), or *religiosos* (sacred places) possibly once existed in the locality. These features and their use either might have been affiliated loosely with *El Sociedad de Nuestro Padre Jesus*. Alternatively, the shrines and other places of worship might have been completely independent of any organized brotherhood fraternity (Brunnemann 1997).

José Miguel Baca remembers seeing Penitentes during Lent and at other religious observances. He recalls that one of their *moradas* was in Marquez, a small settlement near Cebolleta in Juan Tafoya Canyon to the northwest. Juan A. Sandoval (ELR interview, April 26, 2001), who is the caretaker of the Capilla Vieja *morada* in Atrisco, confirms that there was a *morada* in Marquez, up to circa 1950s, but it was no longer active when he arrived in the Atrisco community in 1951. Sandoval states, "I don't know exactly where it was—it was before my time [1951]—bit I talked to the people around Cebolleta…they referred to it" [ELR interview, April 26, 2001].)

José Miguel Baca states that there was a *morada* on Salvador Road in Atrisco (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 21, p. 5; translated by Thomas W. Merlan). This *morada* remained in use until 1970, at which time Sandoval helped oversee over its closure (ELR interview, April 26, 2001). Ramón S. Herrera adds that this *morada*, which was near Perez and Bridge Streets, was known as *La Morada de San José de los Ranchos de Atrisco* (ELR interview, May 8, 2001). Sandoval reports further that a second Atrisco *morada* was on Arenal Road and that a third *morada* was on the Alameda Land Grant (ELR interview, April 26, 2001).

Alcario Jaramillo also states the Penitentes maintained *oratorios* in Marquez and Cebolleta, but he did not recall seeing the *hermanos* directly within Atrisco (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 26, p. 7; translated by Thomas W. Merlan). Sandoval states that the Cebolleta *oratorio* still was active in the early 1950s. Of the last two members of this *cofradía*, one *hermano* passed away within the past five years and the other gentlemen is "a crippled man in his eighties" [Juan A. Sandoval, ELR interview, April 26, 2001]).

Davíd Lujan (ELR interview, January 8, 2001) says that that a former *morada*, located along La Vega Road, was on a trail that the Penitentes used traditionally during their spiritual visits to the West Mesa escarpment. For some reason, the members had to move up to the West Mesa volcanoes until the Westland Development Company asked them to move. The *cofradía* moved to the vicinity of the Río Puerco; however, the Westland Development Company subsequently required the *hermanos* to move again. Today, these Penitentes conduct their religious practices at an undisclosed location along the extension of the volcanic escarpment south of the I-25 away from the Petroglyph National Monument's boundaries. At the invitation of this relocated *cofradía*, Tonantzin Circle members have participated in religious observances along this section of the escarpment (Davíd Lujan, ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

Lava Rocks

Brunnemann suggests that one reason the Atrisco Land Rights Council opposed sale of land to Petroglyph National Monument was that Atrisco heirs would lose "access and rights to use the land for religious and cultural activities" (1997:51). Some of these activities include religious ceremonies and the gathering of medicinal plants (see below). Brunnemann (1997:51, 86), citing a statement by Jaime Chávez (in Hartranft 1991), also reports the common use of volcanic rock from the escarpment to adorn local graves, shrines, and churches in the Atrisco community. He identifies Santa Clara Cemetery near the intersection of Sunset Gardens Road SW and Corregidor Drive NW in the present-day Albuquerque South Valley as a probable example of the use of West Mesa volcanic rock. Importantly, Brunnemann recognizes this practice shows "a spiritual connection between the community [of Atrisco] and [the] lava rocks" (1997:51).

The Tonantzin Circle also uses volcanic rock in ceremonies. For example, in a letter dated October 24, 1997) to Steve Thomas, Open Space Division, City of Albuquerque, two Tonantzin Circle members, Pablo A. Lopez (a.k.a. Wiwang Wacipito, who is of Mescalero Apache and *genízaro* descent) and Phil Crazy Bull (a.k.a. Eck Che Wicha Cha, who is Sicangu Lakota), request a permit to gather lava rocks from Open Space lands. They state that the *Sacred Tunka* (the lava rock) is a vital part of the *Inipi* (sweat lodge) ceremony. They describe using these stones, which Tonantzin Circle members characteristically refer to as *Rock Relatives* or *Grandfathers* (see below), to provide the "breath of our ancestors" during their rituals. "The *Inipi* provides our relatives with a place to pray and practice their traditions and customs" (Pablo A. Lopez and Phil Crazy Bull, letter to Steve Thomas, Open Space Division, City of Albuquerque, October 24, 1997).

Davíd Lujan talks further of the importance of the lava rock:

> So when we prepare ourselves to do those things [the Tonantzin Circle rituals], we take these sacred Grandfathers…as an expression of honor, as an expression of where we come from, they know where these rocks, these Grandfathers come from, and they're like that. But it's also understanding the importance, that the rocks were made from the fire that comes from our mother earth, that it had the same meaning that that small fire [burning at the site of this interview] has for us today, and it's recognizing those things in everyday life and paying tribute to them in that way… [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

The Tonantzin Circle has conferred with "a Sandía elder that keeps that song—that fire song—that comes from those volcanoes" (Davíd Lujan, ELR interview, January 8, 2001). This elder has sung those songs that relate to the volcanoes and has prayed and offered cornmeal at these mountains areas. Lujan states that the Tonantzin Circle harvest rocks from the West Mesa to bring back to Atrisco in ways consistent with the age-old teachings that they have learned, "not just emotion" (ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

Louie García, a young man of mixed Ysleta del Sur Pueblo (Tiwa), Jémez Pueblo (Towa), and Hispano descent, describes use of lava rocks in Tonantzin Circle sweat lodge ritual to learn humility:

> These Grandfathers teach. They come from the earth…they take out life but to create life, that's why they are so sacred…Take back to the womb of our mother where they came from. You see them glowing red. You see the faces of the…medicine men. [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

García adds people humble themselves and purify themselves during these sweat baths through the heat given off by the fired stones and the steam produced by the water that the celebrants pour on the rocks.

Arturo Sierra describes harvesting lava rocks from the West Mesa for use in Tonantzin Circle ceremonies:

> when we go out there I offer food, and I offer smoke, I offer water, and when I gather them [Grandfather Rocks] I offer some tobacco again when I pick them up. And then when I leave. I thank the family that has given me their brothers and sisters to come here to teach us—in the ceremony that we have here. [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

Sierra also recalls that on one occasion a ranger from the Open Space Division, City of Albuquerque, stopped him from removing rocks and that he subsequently met with city representatives. When the officials learned that he was removing the rocks from private land, they said it was not their concern. This practical opinion contrasts with Sierra's general belief, "The whole area is a very special place to pray" (ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

Archaeological Sites

The petroglyph assemblage of Christian crosses, Nuevomexicano and Iberian initials, and possible animal brands represent one type of Historic period archaeological site found on the West Mesa. *Morada* or *descanso* complexes in sheltered locations in the walls and valleys of *rincones* along the volcanic escarpment also are historic archaeological sites. Still

others include the "remains of corrals, smaller structures assumed to be lambing pens, and artifacts from campsites" (Schaafsma 1987:15–16; see also Schmader and Hayes 1987) and isolated basaltic cairns thought to be *mojoneras* (boundary stones) (Brunnemann 1997:7).

I previously considered the Atrisqueños' associations with petroglyphs, *moradas*, and *descansos*. The Atrisqueños also acknowledge the presence of archaeological features related to the West Mesa's use for grazing livestock (e.g., Petronila Armijo Pfeufer, in AOHP 1981–1984, folder 10, p. 4). Existing interview data do not indicate that the Atrisqueños ascribe great significance to particular features. Instead, the ranch land site and feature assemblage as a whole assumes cultural-historical importance because it is material evidence of the community's common lands pastoral tradition.

Plants, Animals, and Minerals

The Atrisco Land Rights Council maintains, "both Indian and Spanish occupants of the area have utilized the abundance of over 100 species of herbs and flora…as medicinal, edible and used for artistic expression" (in Haug 1993:6). Brunnemann (1997:51) reiterates the Atrisqueños' traditional use of the West Mesa commons for plant gathering and the heirs' concerns that land sales would deprive them of access to floral resources for food and medicines.

Seven Atrisqueño elders—Luisa Cruz (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 3), Rafalita García Aragón Cruz (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 4), Felicita Griego (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 16), Juanita Armijo Sánchez (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 20), José Miguel Baca (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 21), Alfred A. Lovato (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 27), and Matias Sánchez (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 28)—talk about various *remedios mexicanos* (Mexican remedies) in Spanish language interviews (translated by Thomas W. Merlan, 1999). Wild plants include:

- *Alozema*—unidentified plant
- *Azafrán—Carthamus tinctorius* L., for the fever and rash from measles (Ford 1975:137)
- *Copalquín—Cinchonona* sp.?, for tuberculosis (Ford 1975:171)
- *Escalia*—unidentified plant
- *hierba (yerba) buena—Mentha spicata* L., for indigestion, parturition, and postpartum hemorrhage (Ford 1975:337)
- *hierba (yerba) del manso—Anemopsis californica* (Nutt), for abrasions, blood purification, digestive upsets, dysentery, piles, sore throat, and stomachache (Ford 1975:341)
- *jerente*--unidentified plant
- *manstranzo*—apple mint (José Miguel Baca, in AOHP 1981–1984, folder 21; see also below)
- *manzanilla—Matricaria* sp., for earache, gonorrhea, heartburn, kidney troubles and cloudy urine, neuralgia, parturition, stomachache (Ford 1975:232–233)
- *mastránso* (or *marrubio*)—*Marrubium vulgare* L., for boils, chillblains, coughs, fever, frozen feet and rheumatism, infections, pneumonia, sores, stomachache and colic, and throat ailments (Ford 1975:237–338)
- *rama de Sabina—Juniperus monosperma*, for gripes in the intestines, parturition, and stomach inflammation (Ford 1975:286)

Felicita Griego (in AOHP 1981–1984, folder 16) specifically mentions use of *mastranso* by women to wash during menstruation [*mala de su tiempo*]. According to Juanita Armijo Sánchez (in AOHP 1981–1984, folder 20), *copalquín* was a cancer treatment, and herbs were used for medicine, not cooking. José Miguel Baca (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 21) reports *manstranzo* and *ramo de sabina* were used for stomachaches. Alfred A. Lovato identifies *malpais* as a treatment for kidney ailments, while *hierba buena* helps settle stomach problems. When asked where the people gathered their medicinal plants, he stated simply, "They went out to the fields to look for them" (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 27). When asked the same question, Matias Sánchez reported that people gathered medicinal plants "from the plains to the mountains" (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 28).

Ramón S. Herrera (ELR interview, February 1, 2001) relates crossing the West Mesa and going into the hills ["*las lomas*"] in the Río Pueblo area to hunt and to gather plants: "…we went all the way up there, that's where we used to go hunting, and levantar tepolcates, amansar, and then the Rio Puerco pabajo". In responding to a request to identify the animals and plants that he would seek, Herrera responded, "Liebres, and then occasionally...antelope, talpas [badger], and los animales arrastrados [snakes]...and then we also went a buscar chimajá...wild parsley…it's a root about that big at the bottom, it's very sweet" (ELR interview, February 1, 2001).

In the ensuing conversation, Herrera talked about gathering mushrooms "en el bosque", as well as amole, which he identified as a "wild root para lavar la cabeza—cabellos] and caña agria, which people used

to tighten loose teeth (ELR interview, February 1, 2001). He adds that one could find caña agria, "All over, and amole as well, chimajá as well, cebollín, verbena. Verbena was something we boiled. It was an herb—it was supposed to be a cure for cancer. Cebollín is like cebolla [onions], wild cebolla…For soups! [laughs] (ELR interview, February 1, 2001).

Davíd Lujan (ELR interview, January 8, 2001) reports that the wood sacred staff kept by the Tonantzin Circle comes from the West Mesa. In their role as a bridge between northern and southern nations, the members of the Circle have carried this staff to Mexico.

The information about plants, animals, and minerals represents an important part of the landscape traditions that Nuevomexicanos and contemporary Hispanos maintain with the Petroglyph Nationnal Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa. These resources, even if harvested in small quantities or only if talked about, to adopt an argument offered elsewhere by Hufford, play "a vital role in imagining and sustaining a culture of the commons…Over generations of social construction in story and in practice, places on the commons accrue a dense historical residue" (2001a:pt. 6, 1–2).

> Such stories [of resource interaction, harvesting, and use] conjure the commons as a rich social imaginary. Through narrative the commons becomes a public space, its history played out before audiences who know intimately its spaces whether they have been there together or not. Inhabiting the commons through practice and narrative confers social identity and makes a community of its occupants. [Hufford 2001b:pt.6, 4]

Vistas

Simmons describes the predominance of the West Mesa to the Río Grande Valley residents.

> Looking west from the Rio Grande anywhere within Albuquerque's city limits, one sees an ascending river terrace representing the remnant of an old floodplain. The feature is now spoken of as the west mesa, but Hispanic folk long referred to it as La Loma, "The Hill." [1982:12]

Carrillo adds,

> Hispanic folk of the middle Rio Grande valley historically referred to the mesa or ridge between the Rio Puerco and the Rio Grande as "La Ceja" or the eyebrow/ridge. Therefore, the Ceja is not the black volcanic escarpment but rather the flat country and ridge to the west that divides the two river valleys. The term "ceja" is often used by Hispanic New Mexicans to refer to a flat country that lies above a formation such as the escarpment. [1987:36]

Personal and Corporate Attachments

Ramón S. Herrera recalls his affiliation with the Atrisco Land Grant, including the Petroglyph National Monument area, in terms of being an Atrisqueño with an inherent right to the use of the commons. He cites family history, tradition, and his direct personal experience as a one who has lived on the land grant his entire life to legitimize right to the Atrisco Land Grant's commons.

> Being Atrisco, and being la Merced de Atrisco, the land grant, everybody had the right to graze, to water, the wood, the fields, the acequias, las leñas, for fuel, and apparently there were some wooded areas there at one time. So they sustained that for a long time, and the grazing, most Atrisco people tenian partidas…de borregas. And when they outgrew the [range], then they would go past the badlands—el malpais—and close to Arizona or into Arizona to graze…
>
> These people used the land for grazing, and they also used it for lana, which was the industry. And for example, Felipe Herrera, one of my primos, had a big, big partida, he had...more or less a ton of lana. And Francisco Chavez lived here, Feliciano Chavez...[Carlos Lopopolo interjects that Jesus Demecio Chavez also was out there.] That was my great-great grandpa...Feliciano Sanchez y Chavez…
>
> Being a child [at that time that he was with his grandfather, Feliciano Sanchez y Chavez], I was jumping and playing, I could care less about things like that [shepherding]. But what we used to do, we ourselves used to go out there levantar tepolcates...tepolcates are the shards of the ollas quebradas of the Anasazis, and arrowheads...we even found several hachas.
>
> [Responding to a question about the location of the area that he was talking about:] En la loma...las lomas, and then they also referred to it as la loma atrevesada. And where, como se llama, de onde queda…Rio Pueblo area, and we went all the way up there. [ELR interview, February 1, 2001]

Alberto Tlakuilo, a Tonantzin Circle member, has lived in the Albuquerque South Valley since childhood. He recalls playing throughout "that whole area, the petroglyphs, the volcanoes…I broke ponies out on the site. I hunted rabbits out there, and caught tarantulas and rattlesnakes when I was out there as a child. I spent a lot of time out there" (ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

As these and other examples previously provided readily illustrate (e.g., Anaya n.d.), traditional land grant heirs feel deep attachment with the Atrisco Land Grant's former commons. Even though her example does not refer directly to the Atrisco Land Grant, Petronila Armijo Pfeufer explains why she won't sell her landholdings in the Río Puerco Valley of the East to the Pueblo of Laguna. "You see they are very anxious to buy that property, but I won't sell mine simply because I like to keep just a little bit of it knowing that it's been in parts of the family for almost three hundred years" (AOHP 1981–1984, folder 10, p. 11).

Enson (1995) identifies the principal source of personal attachment by stating that some Atrisqueños are concerned that changes in the administration or ownership of the commons, including the West Mesa, might result in the loss of history and identity. Anaya's story from his family illustrates the personal cost of the transfer in land title:

> My mother struggled to keep that [1940s] inheritance of land, but in the end the lots had to be sold to pay the taxes and debts. My mother regretted the day. I remember bitter arguments between my father and my mother. To her death she blamed him for letting go of the land. How bittersweet is the memory of her words: Hold on to the land. [Anaya n.d.:1, reprinted by permission of author]

Anaya concludes warning what will happen if communities continue to subdivide and sell common lands for some short-term material benefit. He suggests that people might eventually realize their land transactions came at the expense of sustaining their history and traditions (Anaya n.d.).

The members of the Tonantzin Circle refer to traditions, which many of the members have inherited through their families and communities of birth, as well as by becoming part of the Tonantzin Circle, when they spoke of their affiliations with the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa. Through their embrace of age-old traditions, informed through the processes of *mestizaje* and syncretism, the Tonantzin Circle members view their inheritance as a tradition, which transcends time. Pablo Lopez succinctly summarizes the view of the timelessness of the Tonantzin Circle traditions: "What the petroglyphs represent to me is our connection to our past, to all of our pasts" (ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

Davíd Lujan refers to traditions established by previous generations, Nuevomexicano, Hispano, nd Indian peoples alike. For a long time, people

> came here to fish, and that's why the river is special to us, that's why these willows [referring to the sweat lodge frames] come from there, they came there [the volcanoes and the escarpment] to hunt, to make their offerings before going to those mountains where we go and do our vision quests today.
>
> So when we talk about these petroglyphs, we have learned from elders of many, many places how important that fire is, and we've now embraced it into our group...and there are places up there where we make an offering of a simple turquoise nugget or a simple prayer feather, or the ashes of our fire, they're there, they will be there forever. And that's why when we see the threats [posed by development], we get real concerned
>
> Smetimes we don't know the answers, but we may not know what we'll do until that day, but our prayers, and our continued connection to that [West Mesa] is what…keeps our heart open to whatever happens. And not being able to forecast or project, or determine, it's just going to happen, but what makes it right is the continuance of these things that we carry out. And that's what we're passing on to ourselves, to those that are older, the medicine people that come here and provide us with those teachings, with those prayers, and that's what we're passing on to our children. [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

Wat-li, who referred to himself as Raramuri and Mexíca, recalled his childhood in Copper Canyon of Chihuahua, Mexico during the consultation. He corroborates Lujan's testimony on the importance of cultural heritage in informing his relationship with the West Mesa and the petroglyphs. Wat-li also returns to the theme of broad foundations of this cultural tradition: "I practice these spiritual beliefs because I know I'm Indian…that spot right there, that mesa, I know is real sacred because those same markings are…around different areas of Mexico where my people are from" (ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

Moreover, Wat-li says that his Raramuri ancestors used to run to the West Mesa from their homeland in northern Mexico and that the petroglyph escarpment has historic significance to his people because it is along the path of migration recounted in his family's oral traditions. "When I come up here to those mesas, to me they're real special and sacred because I know that maybe at some point…the [Raramuri] runners, they used to come up here…It connects me to the path that goes to those echoes of my ancestors" (Wat-li, ELR interview, January 8, 2001). In concluding his commentary, Wat-li reiterates, "The area is important not only for all of us as human people who need to be

there, but the relations that we have with the different energies, the different other people, the different communities that exist out there" (ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

Davíd Lujan speaks of the timelessness and purity of the traditions that establish and sustain people's sacred relationships with the Albuquerque West Mesa:

> In the medium of ceremony, all of that is put to the side. All of the historical part—it doesn't matter any more if it's five years, or a thousand or a million years, but there's a connection there. It's the purity of the moment—when he [the keeper of the sweat lodge] lights that fire, then we know that all of those other things, the Spirit of the Grandfathers, the fire that may have come out of there millions of years ago. And tomorrow, when we go there to offer a prayer for them, then those spiritual and those ceremonial doings, is what then levels, makes right all those other complexities. [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

Lujan, in summarizing the organization of the Tonantzin Circle's relationship with the Albuquerque West Mesa, establishes the foundations of the intrinsic spiritual ecology upon which the Circle's activities are founded and given their meaning:

> In the springtime, all those men and women that come here, we come to this mountain [Sandía Mountain] and we face that area [the West Mesa]. In the wintertime [in December, the Day of the Tonantzin], we go to the area [the West Mesa] and we face the other way [toward Sandía Mountain] to make those offerings. Really, that's all we can do. First pray for the world. And that's it. That's really how our relationship to that area is that simple. [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

Pablo Lopez explains the metaphysics and motivation of the Tonantzin spiritual ecology that underlies and informs the community's attachment to the West Mesa and the petroglyphs:

> We also have intergenerational spiritual connection that goes back as far as time immemorial…So do these rocks here. We come here because they're teaching us about how we're connected to the Earth…As human beings, we can't be connected to something else. We're connected to the Earth. That whole formation out there, that was put there to teach us about what our connections are.
>
> We have connections to the bottom, inside the earth, everything's on top of the earth, everything in the sky. [Our connections]…to this place are far deeper than just "I came here 10 years ago," "I was born here," or [to Arturo Sierra] "You coming from Iowa" or [to Davíd Lujan] "You coming from Jicarilla." It's far deeper than words can express. There's something spiritual here."
>
> We have total communication to the place, because it's the astrological, geological, cultural place that we can go to pray…If you're connected enough, you know those designs are out there. They talk about Man when he first came here. They talk about the Creation of Man. They talk about the plant life. They talk about the creations of everything that's about because we're related to all things.
>
> Our connection to the Earth is to the Creator…We're governed by natural law…that's why we come here to learn this natural law. [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

Arturo Sierra shares his feelings of personal attachment that rise from the spiritual ecological foundations that Pablo Lopez had spoken of:

> That whole area for me is sacred. When you walk out to the mesa and you look towards the volcanoes, and if you could somehow kind of remove the powerlines that are there, you know, [as] it has looked the same for a thousand years. But you look toward the Sandia Mountains as our Grandfather Sun is setting, and you see the rose-colored mountains and you understand why they're called Sandias. And you kind of somehow are able to do away with all of Albuquerque, that's how it looked a hundred years ago or a thousand years ago, when our ancestors were walking…
>
> And so for me this whole question…the National Park Service said, "Do a report."—For what?…I tell Pablo, all we need to do is take the mayor out there, or take the governor out there at sunrise, to see the beautiful [place]—hear the birds singing, and talking to the Spirits. And having them come touch you. And see the sun set. We wouldn't have to have a discussion about whether or not there's going to be a road [Paseo del Norte] that goes through there
>
> If you've seen a sunrise, if you've [seen] a sunset on the mesa, then it becomes a mute point in terms of what we talk, because then you understand. You have heart, you have felt, the uniqueness and the speciality of that place. [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

Managing the Ethnographic Landscape

None of the Nuevomexicano and Hispano participants in the ELR consultations choose to comment comprehensively on the management of the

Petroglyph National Monument even though they had had the opportunity to review both the Phase I Nuevomexicano and Hispano community essay (in Anschuetz et al. 2000) and a copy of Interview Questionnaire. While the former document identified some people's concerns over the NPS' purchase of the Atrisco Land Grant holdings, the latter invites the consultants to provide their thoughts and concerns on specific NPS management issues, including the protection of cultural resources, the development of visitor amenities, and the topic of interpretation.

The members of the Tonantzin Circle members briefly voiced several concerns, however. Their comments resemble issues raised by some Native American stakeholders (see chapters 3, 4, and 5). The Tonantzin Circle commentaries also address the impacts associated with the growth by the Albuquerque metropolitan area that impinge on the qualities of solitude and remoteness that has characterized this place of power and worship since time immemorial. For example, Pablo Lopez notes that light pollution impinges on the people's ability to trace and affirm their relationship with astronomical phenomena, and, hence, the totality of their being in relation to the cosmos since Creation.

> For us, this place—the petroglyphs—that represents an astrological and geological formation that was put here before we [meaning all human beings, not just the members of the Tonantzin Circle] even came here…
>
> Some of the ceremonies that [William Weahkee] talked about, they needed pitch blackness when they're out there to see the connections…They had constellations out there that related to the mesa. And those constellations told us where we came from, where we're supposed to be…People came here to learn about connections. [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

The Tonantzin Circle clearly conceives of the West Mesa as a spiritual place, which is broadly recognized by geographically and culturally diverse peoples who share a land-based ethic. Moreover, they see the goodness of the West Mesa as deriving from its demonstrable relationships to Sandía Mountain, the Río Grande Valley, the center of the earth (through the volcanoes and the lava rock), and to the heavens revealed by the night sky. With urban development now encircling the monument, private houselots abutting the sacred escarpment, and ever-increasing visitor traffic and regulations governing the harvesting of natural resources, especially volcanic rocks and plants, the special qualities of the West Mesa are increasingly threatened. The Tonantzin Circle members voice concerns about privacy and access to materials required for the proper conduct of ritual to reaffirm sacred relationships and to solicit power for sustaining balance and harmony.

The Tonantzin Circle members also express their dissatisfaction and mistrust of the NPS during the ELR interview. They were specifically critical of procedures and policies that questioned the validity of the Tonantzin Circle's statements of affiliation because the community and many of its members are comparatively new arrivals to the Albuquerque area. As I discuss earlier, however, the members insist that their affiliation with the West Mesa is defined by more than direct residence as defined by either a strict chronological or geographical presence. They repeatedly state that their affiliation is informed and legitimized through their traditional knowledge of spiritual ecology, which they have inherited by becoming members of the Tonantzin Circle and through their families and communities of birth through the processes of *mestizaje* and syncretism.

Jorge García, who was born in Mexico, questions the legitimacy of any decision maker to position themselves as an authority in determining whether the Tonantzin Circle's statements of affiliation possess a cultural-historical substance warranting formal recognition. He asserts that the Tonantzin Circle's actions, as informed through the traditional knowledge possessed by its members, should be all that is needed to show the truthfulness and sincerity of its associations with the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater West Mesa.

> We might be considered natives to the land? Who can be considered native to our land? Who has the right to ask someone else to validate?…What they tell, how is it that I feel there was a place?
>
> Our purpose is not to prove but just to show that there is love for what we do, love for who we are. There is no need to prove it. And those places shouldn't either have, shouldn't be a reason to validate a spiritual value to it…how is it in our hearts. [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

As noted previously, Davíd Lujan asserts that the structure of the Tonantzin Circle's beliefs toward the West Mesa and the organization of their interactions with this place and its natural and cultural resources is consistent with the timeless teachings that they have learned, "not just emotion" (ELR interview, January 8, 2001). Pablo Lopez states, "[The] National Park Service…is trying to fit us into some kind of multiuse agenda" (ELR interview, January 8, 2001), which does not respect the Tonantzin Circle's spiritual ties to the land.

> At some point in our history we have all used this area…We have place names for these areas. And for us—for them to build a road through there—it's like chipping away at our heritage, chipping away at our connection to the past, to those who came before...It represents our connection to our past, to our heritage. [Davíd Velarde, ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

Davíd Lujan summarizes the Tonantzin Circle's position, "We may not be able to say to you, 'I have twenty years or a hundred years of historical connection to that area.' I want to feel right to say to you, 'for the last ten years I've been praying, and I want to'…" (ELR interview, January 8, 2001). The issue to the Tonantzin Circle is not one of sovereignty; in fact, they do not believe "that sovereignty has to be pursued or embraced in the context of years" (Davíd Lujan, ELR interview, January 8, 2001).

The Tonantzin Circle members see the issue of management as one based fundamentally on respect for a community regardless of their history. They ask for land managers to recognize the sincerity and truthfulness of the Tonantzin Circle's actions and to accept that it is important when their members ask to pray at the Petroglyph National Monument and the West Mesa.

Davíd Lujan concludes,

> We might not be able to help what happens to that area, but all we can do is live and keep in our hands what it represents to us…If it's not good enough for us just to pray…for the world, then that's the way that'll be. [ELR interview, January 8, 2001]

Summary and Conclusions

The Atrisco Land Grant community differentially manifests relationships with the West Mesa landscape. On the one hand, Atrisco Land Grant heirs who associate strongly with the goals and policies of the Westland Development Company tend to structure their interactions with the West Mesa environment in objective ways that are nearly identical to the general Anglo community pattern (chapter 8). The landscape comprises a definable set of natural and cultural resources, with measurable economic, social, and political values. On the other hand, more traditional land grant heirs who affiliate strongly with the objectives and conduct of the Atrisco Land Rights Council tend to maintain landscape relationships based on the subjective ideas of spiritual ecology and ensoulment. Unquestionably, the differences in these landscape relationships is strongly conditioned by a conscious orientation of the Atrisqueños to either their traditional *mestizo* cultural roots, which includes the syncretism of folk Catholicism and aspects of Native American cosmology, or their participation in the economy and society of the dominant Anglo community.

Traditional Atrisqueños find culturally significant value in retaining their direct access to the land that constituted the corporate community commons historically. With their projection of the human sense of soul onto the landscape, they see their relationship with the land, as sanctioned by community tradition, as essential in sustaining their community identity as Atrisco Land Grant heirs and residents. The other group of land grant heirs tends to favor the redefinition of the land grant corporate community into a domestic stock corporation and the development of the West Mesa as a way of using the grant to benefit the land grant descendents. Under this arrangement, as approved by a majority of eligible land grant heirs in 1967 and sanctioned by New Mexico law, Atrisqueños no longer are in possession of communal land rights. Instead, they are individual stockholders vested with the privilege to receive dividends on their shares.

The members of the Tonantzin Land Institute share the sense of ensoulment that underlies and informs the content of the traditional Atrisqueños members' commentaries about the meaning and importance of their continued affiliation with the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa. Tonantzin Circle members base their affiliation with the West Mesa and the importance of their continuing relationship with the natural and cultural resources of this landscape on the *mestizo* cultural heritage that many individual members have inherited through their communities of birth. Because the system of landscape perception and understanding through which the Tonantzin Circle constructs its landscape affiliation derives from the mixing of indigenous and Spanish cultures through the processes of *mestizaje* and syncretism over the centuries since Spanish colonization just as that of the traditional Atrisco Land Grant heirs, they insist that the use of narrowly defined direct historical approaches to validate their claim are inappropriate and irrelevant. They insist that the sanctity of their interactions with the West Mesa environment, which are consistent with the age-old teachings that they have learned through their birth communities and subsequent membership in the Tonantzin Land Institute, shows that their affiliation is more than superficial emotion, that their landscape relationship is who they are both as members of the Tonantzin Land Institute community and as individuals. As such, their pilgrimages to the West Mesa for prayer and for the harvesting of resources needed for ritual are important for sustaining their collective and individual identities.

CHAPTER 8

THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDGE INTO CENTER: ANGLO CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND THE PETROGLYPH NATIONAL MONUMENT

KURT F. ANSCHUETZ

Foreword

Throughout this report, we use the terms *Pueblo*, *Navajo*, *Apache*, *Nuevomexicano*, and *Hispano* to refer to particular ethnic identities. In this discussion, however, we use the term *Anglo* to refer generally to dominant organizational and ideational elements in U.S. national culture rather than a particular coherent construction of cultural identity (after Klara B. Kelley and Harris Francis to Kurt F. Anschuetz, Río Grande Foundation for Communities and Cultural Landscapes, memo, January 6, 2000). In this usage, the term *Anglo* is a residual general category that takes its identification from the historical roots of these predominate U.S. culture elements in the English language and the national culture of 18th-century England.

Introduction

The Anglo community historically has defined the structure and organization of its interactions with the West Mesa qualitatively and quantitatively very differently than have Indian, Nuevomexicano, and Hispano communities (see chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7). Even though some families earned their living through direct relationship with the West Mesa's physical landscape and its resources as ranchers, miners, and, most recently, developers, relatively few members of the Anglo community maintained an intimate relationship with the land for their material or spiritual subsistence.

Overall, the Albuquerque metropolitan area's Anglo population has never constituted a land-based community. Rather, the Anglo community, since its formal founding in the Middle Río Grande Valley 150 years ago, characteristically has looked to other parts of the U.S. for its economic, social, and cultural sustenance. The Anglo community historically also has never accommodated—let alone melded with—the economic, social, political, or cultural traditions of the region's indigenous Indian and Nuevomexicano communities in any way resembling the Indio-Nuevomexicano processes of *mestizaje* or syncretism (see chapter 7). In their relationships with the Middle Río Grande Valley landscape generally and the West Mesa landscape traditionally, the Anglo community has drawn from its northern European cultural heritage, based on Judeo-Christian and Western philosophical principles. Thus, Anglos tend to view their physical landscape in objective terms and determine the value of place in the realms of practical economics and demonstrable ownership. The subjective element of the Anglo communities' philosophy, in turn, guides—and offers legitimization—for tactics and strategies of landscape occupation, whereby the people create civilization through the conscious domestication of the physical environment and the imposition of culture onto nature. In this process, the Anglo community transformed the West Mesa, originally understood as a profane edge of their urbanized world, into a sanctified center, through which the national community can experience a distant past.

This discussion traces the history of the Anglo community's conceptual and physical transformation of the Petroglyph National Monument environment from edge into center. In this essay, I examine how the Anglo community's intellectual traditions have conditioned the organization of cultural perceptions of space and time, which then motivate and structure the people's physical interactions with this landscape.

The narrative has three major parts. The first considers traditional Anglo cultural-historical perceptions of the West Mesa environment. I begin with a review of the history of the Anglo community's interaction with the West Mesa environment, whereby people treated this setting, spatially removed from the emergent Albuquerque urban core, as an edge. I then

review, following Polly Schaafsma's (1997) lead, the Anglo community's ideational structures that cast the physical edges of their landscape as profane, natural places as opposed to the inner, sanctified cultural core of their civilization.

In the second part of the chapter, I consider the Anglo community's physical domestication of the West Mesa environment for residential use after World War II. By imposing their civilization onto nature, the Anglo community introduced amenities for household life. Following the national trend, urban development proceeded with little regard to the landscape and its history. Consequently, the residential developments tend to lack relationships with either their physical setting or among their parts. In the absence of coherent integration, residential developments also characteristically fail to provide the bases that promote a conscious sense of community identity (see below).

The third section examines how creation of the Petroglyph National Monument has occasioned a sanctified landscape, conceptually transforming a profane edge in the Anglo communities' physical environment into a revered center. I draw from landscape analyses by John Brinkerhoff Jackson (1980) and Alexandra Roberts (1997) to assess the social and cultural bases of this Anglo community sanctification of the monument. I find the Anglo idea of the Petroglyph National Monument is as a constructed historical monument that enables individuals to experience "nature," conceived broadly as a time in the past before Anglo civilization was introduced. This experience, in turn, provides a mechanism for the rootless present to incorporate the past.

Despite the Río Grande Foundation's efforts to invite the participation of Anglo community representatives, including persons officially representing the 34 Westside Neighborhood Associations recognized by the City of Albuquerque and persons that have worked in the protecting the petroglyphs and the escarpment, none of these people choose to share their views and concerns about the West Mesa landscape. This essay, unlike the other community-based chapters (chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7), therefore, does not benefit from people's perspectives and commentaries shared first-hand during the Petroglyph National Monument Ethnographic Landscape Report (ELR) project.

Defining the Edge as a Marginal Place: Traditional Anglo Cultural-Historical Perceptions of the West Mesa Landscape

Anglo history in the Middle Río Grande Valley began with a succession of events during the first half of the 19th century, including (1) the opening of the Santa Fé Trail in the fall of 1821, (2) New Mexico's incorporation as a U.S. territory in 1846, and (3) the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. The coming of the railroad in 1880–1881, which linked New Mexico to the middle and eastern U.S., greatly facilitated Anglo immigration. Huge tracts of previously open rangeland were fenced with the importation of barbed wire. Unscrupulous land deals and legal challenges to land rights through the U.S. Court of Land Claims sometimes divested indigenous peoples of their traditional holdings.

Through the early 20th century, Anglo ranching operations on the West Mesa generally followed the boom and break livestock cycle discussed previously for their Nuevomexicano neighbors (see chapter 7). In terms of the culture-history of land-use relationships, however, the year 1917 marks a watershed that soon fueled a substantive redefinition of Anglo occupation of the West Mesa. On the eve of World War I, the Santa Fe Railway finally received the legal patent for the "checkerboard land" around the volcanoes and across the mesa top (National Park Service [NPS] 1996:113) north of the Atrisco Land Grant boundary.

The railroad did not make great changes immediately; instead, it leased and sold its holdings to ranchers that homesteaded public lands within the railroad checkerboard area. Despite generally poor rangeland conditions, some homesteaders acquired sizable holdings over time. Of the 15 homestead claims filed between 1921 and 1955, 9 (by 7 individuals) received patents, ranging from 15.3 to 266.7 hectares (36.7–640 acres), with an average homestead claim of 188.8 hectares (453 acres) (Bureau of Land Management 1929–1940). Declining ranchland productivity and the development of the City of Albuquerque soon caused the West Mesa to become valued for economic enterprises other than sheep and cattle ranching. With Albuquerque's growth as a regional railroad hub, the West Mesa offered building materials for construction in the urban area. Beginning in the 1920s and continuing through the 1980s, the Santa Fe Railway and other private landowners leased land for surface mining of scoria, a vesicular basalt thrown out of vents during volcanic eruptions (NPS 1994:113) and useful for cinder blocks and railroad bed ballast (Froeschauer 1994:27). The largest pit quarry was opened southwest of the Vulcan volcano, and mining operations almost completely denuded the small cone near Black Volcano. A second small pit harvested cinders south of the JA Volcano. Oil and gas explorations also began during the first decades of the 20th century. The National Guard developed a shooting range in the area south of Rinconada Canyon in 1919 (Froeschauer 1994:19).

Between 1941 and 1945, the U.S. War Department leased 6,098 hectares (15,246 acres) on West Mesa for use as a day and night precision bombing range by trainees stationed at the Kirtland Air Force Base Bombardier School (see Alberts 1987). The practice range extended from just east of the five volcanoes, which are sacred to the region's culturally diverse Indian populations (see chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6), to the Río Puerco Valley of the East escarpment. On the north was the Alameda Land Grant, while the Atrisco Land Grant defined the range's south boundary (Froeschauer 1994:27, citing Gary Burroughs, letter to Robert Gurule, Director of Public Works, City of Albuquerque, April 16, 1992). One large four-concentric-ring "bull's eye" target (designated N-4) is immediately east of the Bond Volcano. Three other target areas, designated N-1, N-3, and New Demolitions, occur within the monument's boundaries (Froeschauer 1994:Appendix II). As Welsh observes, "The frequent pattern of bombing flights circling the volcanoes and escarpment reinforced in many people's minds the bleakness and limited value of land on the West Side" (1998:6.9). Welsh adds that all economic productivity ground to a halt on the West Mesa during the war years. Following World War II and the closing of the bombing range, livestock once again ranged on the land.

Just as its Nuevomexicano neighbors, Albuquerque's Anglo community members viewed the volcanoes and the vast plain of the West Mesa and assigned them meaning through their own landscape stories. Kenneth Balcomb, who spent his youth in Albuquerque at the turn of the century, offers a passage and an illustration (Figure 8.1) from the 1880s that conveys much of the Anglo community view of West Mesa as their physical edge:

> The view of the western horizon has changed little since I first came to Albuquerque; the five volcano cones across the river made the western sky a complement to the eastern horizon, where the Sandía Mountain peaks "lifted their heads on high." They were a never-ending conversation piece, and furnished a descriptive note in the Alma Mater song of the University (since rapaciously abandoned for some nondescript substitute). The volcanoes were, of course, extinct—but were they really? One time, some pranksters lugged a quantity of old rubber tires through the twelve miles of sandy country leading to the volcanoes, and set fires in two of the cones, causing a dense cloud of black smoke to rise in the western sky. This caused considerable consternation, and people began to wonder whether the volcanoes were awakening from their centuries-old nap. [1980:90]

A group of University of New Mexico students reprised this antic in the 1960s. Just as 80 years earlier, the dense black smoke produced by the burning tires "again startled many of the city's residents. It is said that Edward Abbey—a well-known author of environmental books—was a participant in the 1960s prank" (Froeschauer 1994:39).

A 1928 visitor's guide to Albuquerque lists the West Mesa "Extinct Volcano Craters" as a part of a scenic drive (Crans 1928). Besides extolling the scenic qualities of the locality, the commentary again raises the question of the volcanoes' dormancy:

> A local legend of these extinct craters is—believe it or not—that some time ago an exploring traveler explored the interior of one of the craters until he fancied he could feel volcanic heat coming up from its depths, and hastily clambered out and away, lest the volcano should come to life again. That may have been merely our wonderful sunshine, bottled up as it were and magnified in the crater's interior. [Crans 1928:27]

The West Mesa, as viewed in the late 19th- and early 20th-century, seemingly had connotations of great power and potential danger. The physical edge potentially lay in wait to destroy the civilization being created between the Río Grande and the Sandía Mountain. As I discuss further below (after Schaafsma 1997:10), these ideas are based on long-lived northern European traditions that cast boundary areas of their landscapes as unpredictable, potentially deadly, and something to be feared and conquered rather than embraced in their pristine state.

In the decades following World War II, the rapidly growing Albuquerque metropolitan area (see below) looked to the West Mesa for recreational outlets to provide a physical spatial buffer from the existing residential centers. Individuals and organizations alike saw the locality as suitable for shooting range and dirt bike facilities. These recreational outlets included the Shooting Range State Park near the Atrisco Land Grant Boundary, a motocross track on the mesatop north of Rinconada Canyon in use between 1966 and 1984, a second motocross track at the Northern Geological Window, and a model airplane field maintained by the Albuquerque Radio Control Club since 1955. Froeschauer (1994:330) reports that a radio-controlled car track and an equestrian center currently also are proposed in public open spaces near the boundaries of the Petroglyph National Monument.

Froeschauer (1994:33) notes several groups of individuals whitewashed or painted the letters "J" and "JA" on the visible east slopes of the Vulcan and JA volcanoes, respectively, during the mid-20th century.

Figure 8.1: A "Look to the Mountain" in Anglo History. In the late 19th century, Albuquerque's Anglo community viewed the West Mesa as an ominous place with potentially dangerous volcanoes (abstract illustration from Balcomb 1980:90).

Kelley (1982:102) traces the "J" to students from St. Joseph College, since renamed the University of Albuquerque. Charles M. Carrillo (personal communication 1999) identifies his father, Rafael Abeyta Carrillo, as one of the pranksters. Froeschauer adds that the painters and the signification of the letters "JA" remain to be identified (1994:33). The Vulcan and JA volcanoes, with their prominence on the city's western horizon, apparently represent a raw canvas for some groups within the greater Albuquerque metropolitan area to signify and promote their existence to the community. Although the underlying meaning, just as the paint, of the "J" and "JA" markings on the volcanoes has faded over time, the still-visible letters represent vernacular landscape elements because they continue to give these landforms their common place-names.

Assigning Landscape Meanings from the Inside Out

Concerning the more abstract realm of cosmology, the early Albuquerque Anglo community's definition and use of the West Mesa as a marginal place on their physical landscape periphery embeds traditional Northern European and derivative Anglo perceptions of their world. Although usually subtle in their expression, these views historically and culturally conditioned how the Anglo community regards its landscape.

In an insightful essay, Schaafsma suggests, "that we examine our own myths to discover the bases of our own belief system that structure [*sic*] the way we view the world as well as the way we view other peoples' cultures and the artifacts thereof" (1997:9). Especially relevant to this discussion is the Anglo community's usual conceptualization of time as a linear sequence and the dichotomy with which it distinguishes secular and sacred spaces.

In terms of the latter, Schaafsma specifically links the sacred domain with the inside and the secular domain with the outside. Drawing from an argument forwarded by Scully (1992:78), Schaafsma observes that from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance,

> It was the architect's preoccupation to build an image of heaven on earth—inside. Nature, on the outside, is deadly, unpredictable, and thus to be feared, but inside the walls of buildings it is possible to construct a vision of perfection created by man. This basic premise is still extant and manifest in churches, temples, and so forth everywhere where members of the Judeo-Christian faith go inside to communicate with their Supernatural. To quote Scully (1992:78): "Who would go outside to wrestle with imperfection?" [1997:10]

The foundations of this inside/outside dichotomy extend even further back in Western cultural-historical traditions, however: Schaafsma shows this conceptual split is manifest in Judeo-Christian mythology. People encapsulated the sacred within man-made spaces, while "the landscape…devoid of God, was, in essence, secularized" (Schaafsma 1997:10). She continues, "At the same time 'good' versus 'bad' spiritual powers came to be linked with this dual concept of space. Anything left outside after God had been 'domesticated' was necessarily evil (and a competitive entity) or *fair game for absolutely anything man wanted to do with it*" (Schaafsma 1997:10, italics added). With humankind's expulsion from Eden, the stage immediately was set for people to dominate nature through their physical constructions to recreate and to be close to the realm of the Holy (after Schaafsma 1997:11, citing Solnit 1989).

Regarding the prevailing understanding of time as a linear sequence, Schaafsma writes that Sir Isaac Newton, the renowned English philosopher and mathematician, contributed to the idea of history as a string of beads "that extend from a certain point in the past into an endless future" (1997:11). Combined with the ideas that humanity's purpose is to enslave nature through science (after the English philosopher Francis Bacon) and that people live within a mechanistic universe (after the French philosopher René Descartes),

Northern Europeans authored the intellectual traditions of Enlightenment and Progress. Charles Darwin's famous work on biological evolution not only explained "*in purely physical terms, the existence of design and purpose in the world*" (Popper 1972:267, italics in original), but it also became the justification for a body of social thought and political action that became known as social Darwinism. This theory implicitly, if not explicitly, legitimized privilege upon the predominant agents of society under the guise of natural law (see Hofstadter 1955).

These understandings, in turn, legitimized and fueled the evolutionary trajectory of Western intellectual tradition, upon which Anglo culture derives. These understandings are based on the idea that a singular "Truth" can be discovered only through an adherence to science (after Schaafsma 1997:11–12; see also Swentzell 1991; chapter 9). The dichotomies of sacred::secular and inside::outside gave the people in Western culture the freedom to explore new ways to look at nature and their place in relation to nature (after Crowe 1997:21).

Living on the Edge: Imposing Anglo Civilization at the Expense of a Sense of Identity

In large measure, the above historical events and land-use practices instilled a sense among Albuquerque's Anglo community that the West Mesa was a remote and empty place with comparatively low economic value or usefulness to the community in its natural state. It was raw. It was awaiting domestication.

Except for a small number of ranching families, few of Albuquerque's Anglo—and other immigrant residents—sustained their livelihood through direct interaction with the land. Gordon Bond and Albert F. Black, whose influential families held the most extensive West Mesa ranch land holdings, reported difficulty in making their livings by running livestock and developing agricultural land along the Río Grande during the two decades before World War II and Albuquerque's post-war residential boom (see Welsh 1998:6.13-6.14). Their troubles lent credence to the prevalent view that the West Mesa was unfit for grazing (Bob Grant, in Welsh 1998:6.21).

With the arrival of the railroad and the construction of Albuquerque's urban infrastructure, the town was dependent on mechanical transportation for its principal commerce. Its Anglo community members primarily traced their cultural-historical connections, and land-use traditions, to areas farther east. While marriages occurred among Anglos, Indians, and Nuevomexicanos, processes resembling the *mestizaje* and syncretism characterizing the Spanish colonial experience notably are absent. In fact, as I discuss in detail below, Anglo ideational traditions have tended to reject the validity of alternate worldviews, and efforts to accommodate disparate belief systems characteristically similarly are missing.

Because they did not possess first-hand cultural-historical and economic relationships with the West Mesa's physical landscape, Albuquerque's Anglo urban dwellers tended to understand the land as primarily useful for extracting resources with which to construct their new community on the Río Grande Valley's east side. That the empty land also permitted certain kinds of recreational opportunities was an additional perceived benefit.

From its beginnings, land values in the Anglo landscape tradition were expressed in objective economic terms (U.S. currency) with concrete and quantifiable meanings. The Anglo system of metes and bounds, which enables the tracing r. Direct personal experiences, which often (but by no means exclusively) involved an individualistic relationship with the land (see below), were characterized generally in terms of active personal benefit, both economic and recreational. The idea of a land-based tradition emphasizing community responsibility over individualistic prerogative for sustaining corporate senses of place and time on the landscape largely was absent. Consequently, the West Mesa landscape was not something that many people of the expanding Albuquerque metropolitan area conceptualized in the subjective terms of spiritual ecology or ensoulment. The landscape traditions established by Albuquerque's early Anglo generations stood in stark contrast to those held by the region's indigenous Indian and Nuevomexicano communities. In their way of thinking, the land did not nurture the people as a mother sustains her child (cf. chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7). Rather, the land was a resource for the people to use in building their city; thus, it expressed the civilized life that they perceived to exist within themselves (after Nairn 1971).

In the early 1950s and 1960s, demographic growth gave land speculators and developers the impetus to think of the West Mesa as a new business enterprise. Welsh (1998:6.9–6.40) ably documents the complicated history of West Mesa development. While a recapitulation of Welsh's detailed argument is beyond the scope and purpose of the present essay, it is worth noting that he provides important insights into the historical processes underlying the consolidation of huge West Mesa land tracts by development interests and the unstoppable spread of residential areas west

and north of U.S. Highway 66. Together, these processes are transforming the once-remote West Mesa from the City of Albuquerque's periphery to a future focal point within a prominent regional metropolitan center.

Lack of transportation routes from the city's center across the Río Grande initially posed a formidable barrier. This factor, along with the West Mesa's seemingly insurmountable distance from the heart of the Albuquerque urban core made this setting unattractive to the city's established residents, given the "hybrid of residential subdivisions and speculate lot sales" (Jerry Widdison, in Welsh 1998:21).

In a recent newspaper series, Hill (1999a, 1999b; see also Welsh 1998) traces the history of north West Mesa land speculation, which emphasizes maximum profits for developers over the short term and creates huge challenges for community residents and urban planners over the long term. The superposition of .2-hectare (.5-acre) lot grids on the West Mesa's physical environment without concern for topography, roads, utilities, and services poses obstacles for community integration and identity today. As Vern Hagan observes, "People bought dreams" (in Hill 1999a:A4), a commercial promise for a future lifestyle. Land speculators harvested profits and left the area without making a commitment to community or place, leaving only "paper" subdivisions. Hill (1991b) notes further that the challenge of forming community on the West Mesa (and other parts of the Albuquerque metropolitan area) is hampered not only by past concerns driven by individuals' interests in maximizing profits but also by the scores of nonresident landowners with no practical stake in forming community in this place. Planners and developers now hope to form community in these often-empty places by repurchasing and reconsolidating the many parcels so that coherent development may attract residents.

The pattern of urban sprawl that manifest on the West Mesa had its historical precedents in Albuquerque's Northeast Heights area, where planners, when they attempted to influence developers' activities, generally "showed little sensitivity to historical traditions and patterns of community maintenance" (Welsh 1998:6.10). V. B. Price described the result as "an eclectic midden, filled with corpses of national fads and urban solutions, as well as with the remains of a turbulent and eccentric local history" (in Logan 1995:108). Rabinowitz argues that the Albuquerque metropolitan area's eccentric sprawl stems from the belief that "the ideal situation to city life …[is] to enjoy its benefits while at the same time avoiding the burdens that city residents must bear" (1983:261). Despite efforts of well-intentioned planners (e.g., Jerry Widdison) working within the jumbled web of a bureaucracy unwilling to orchestrate often competing economic, social, and political interests, Albuquerque, as an urban institution, acquired the reputation that it would not address either the structure or organization of its future landscape (after Welsh 1998:6.11). Its growth in the decades following World War II "was gung-ho, optimistic, self-righteous, and unstoppable" (Logan 1995:108). Critical of the Albuquerque metropolitan area's failure to accept its responsibilities and to provide a coherent framework for sculpting an urban landscape based on relationship and a conscious sense of community identity, the geographer Ian Nairn wrote,

> Albuquerque, for my money, is one of the stupidest wastes of human endeavor on this earth. It occupies a magnificent site between the Río Grande and the Rockies, it pays no attention whatsoever to either, but simply goes on sprawling and spewing across the countryside to an endless repetitive pattern: without relationship, without identity. [1971:226]

In vernacular Anglo use, then, the *community* in the greater Albuquerque metropolitan area, just as elsewhere in many parts of the U.S., became associated merely with the idea of physical residence (see chapter 9). Notably lacking in the Anglo community's urban experience is a coherent sense of community as place over time, which geographers define as "a matter of custom and of shared modes of thought or expression, all of which have no other sanction than tradition" (Johnson 1994:81).

The people's approach to their urban landscape was that *either* they can allow development to provide the amenities they desire in their day-to-day living *or* they can sacrifice desired physical comforts to sustain a sense of continuity and connectedness (Hiss 1990:178). Importantly, Hiss adds that the contemporary sociological school of regionalists thinks that this "either/or" approach to landscapes

> was an early by-product of the environmental and social dislocations created during the first years of the industrial revolution, two hundred years ago, and that ever since, often without realizing it, Western Europeans and Americans have been carrying around with them as part of their mental baggage a deeply felt and despairing assumption that progress demands degraded surroundings. You put up with such surroundings as long as you have to, and you run away from them as soon as you can afford to; but this belief has it, deteriorated landscapes and debased communities…are simply a given—something we all have to live it. [1990:178-179]

Decrying the lack of relationship, connectedness, and identity among contemporary urban areas' parts and the physical landscape they occupy, Norman Crowe, a landscape architect, asks a general question that is resonates with meaning in terms of today's West Mesa development:

> Has…[such] sensibility failed us, and we no longer quest for harmony among things of our world and nature? How has it come to be that we now are confronted with a worldwide environmental crisis and that the modern city that has succeeded the traditional city is proving itself to be such a misadventure? The so-called Neolithic revolution was driven by a search for a means to free humankind from nature's unpredictability. Now, many millennia later, we have returned to a place where we must deal with powerful forces that lie beyond our control, and this time it is not the forces of nature but forces we have created ourselves. [1997:235]

Transforming Edge Into Center: The Necessity for Ruins

In the face of the West Mesa's haphazard urban residential development and its integration economically, socially, and politically into the greater Albuquerque metropolitan community, the U.S. created the Petroglyph National Monument in June 1990 (PL 101-313) for the benefit of the country's local, regional, and national publics. In the process of legislating this property as a national monument, the federal government codified the Petroglyph National Monument as a kind of sacred center within the national psyche (see Sears 1989). A recent statement by David J. Simon, former Southwest Regional Director, Southwest Regional Office, National Parks and Conservation Association, exemplifies this view.

> Petroglyph National Monument is a wonderful place, a complex of natural and cultural resources that should be carefully protected, managed, and nurtured. A rich, multicultural heritage, much of which is still a living heritage, is present. The monument is a "sacred landscape" because of its significance to the Pueblo community, and it also has tremendous value to the Atrisco heirs. By virtue of its inclusion in the National Park system, however, Petroglyph National Monument is truly sacred to all Americans. [Letter to Doug Eury, Acting Superintendent, Petroglyph National Monument, November 6, 1995, in NPS 1996:345]

The task now at hand is to examine the social and cultural milieu underlying the conceptual transformation of this place from a profane edge to a center in the Anglo landscape, considered sacred by many of the nation's people. How could this place—historically considered potentially dangerous because of the uncertainty of the dormant West Mesa volcanoes, having extremely low economic and social values until domesticated for residential use, and increasingly defiled by disconnected urban sprawl that favored physical amenities over a sense of community identity—become imbued with such high-level cultural meaningfulness? That such a transformation occurred in less than five decades after the West Mesa's use as a bombing range seems to make this cultural redefinition of the Anglo landscape even more remarkable. This cultural process, however, has long historical precedents and is representative of a dynamic landscape tradition with roots in the last four decades of the 19th century and in the environmental movement that swept across the nation a century later.

A review of the stated goals of the creation of the Petroglyph National Monument and the NPS's assessments of the property's significance to the country's people are instructive at this juncture. The stated purposes for creating the monument for the benefit of the nation's people are fourfold:

- Preserve the integrity of the cultural and natural resources in the context that gives them meaning.
- Provide opportunities for diverse groups to understand, appreciate, and experience the monument in ways that are compatible with the monument's significance.
- Cooperate with affected American Indians and Atrisco land grant heirs in perpetuating their heritage.
- Function as a focal point for the collection, analysis, and dissemination of information relating to Río Grande style and other forms of petroglyphs and pictographs. [NPS 1996:16]

The enabling legislation identifies five issues concerning the monument's significance:

- The monument contains one of the largest concentrations of petroglyphs in North America and represents an extensive record of peoples for whom we have few written records.
- The monument has outstanding research potential because the petroglyphs are numerous, have retained their integrity, are an outstanding example of Río Grande style, and are close to other associated archaeological resources.
- Places in the monument have traditional, cultural, and importance to American Indians and Atrisco land grant heirs.

- The Piedras Marcadas Pueblo ruin is one of the largest pueblos of its time period in the Río Grande Valley.
- The monument's natural and cultural landscape (escarpment, volcanic cones, and surrounding open space) and long vistas are major elements that define Albuquerque's western horizon and provide opportunities and experience contrasts with a growing urban environment. [NPS 1996:16]

The essential theme unifying the monument's stated purposes and significance is that this expansive West Mesa parcel represents part of an historical environment predating the arrival and imposition of Anglo civilization in the Middle Río Grande Valley. Equally important, motivation for the monument's creation does not commemorate a particular past obligation that the Anglo society made to guide its future. The action explicitly sought to "preserve" selected reminders of a former time and place and to provide a forum through which the country's people could comprehend symbolically a prior existence.

As I illustrate below, following the outline of an important study by Jackson (1980), comprehension that the greater West Mesa landscape had been defiled by overgrazing, aerial bombing, and unconstrained urban development since the region's domination by the Anglo community is essential for the Anglo community's recent sanctification of the general idea of the Petroglyph National Monument. Once violated, now in the process of restoration, the sanctity of the Petroglyph National Monument as a landscape element relates directly to contemporary society's popular perceived need to experience first-hand—and to reconnect with—a reconstruction of the past (no matter how idealized or romanticized) when the country's forebears were a part of their natural environment.

The Social and Cultural Bases of the Petroglyph National Monument's Landscape Sanctification

Welsh (1998, especially see his chapter 6 and 7 discussions) provides a comprehensive historical review of the many actors and their work in the intricately interwoven web of economic, social, and political processes that resulted in the U.S. Congress' creation of the Petroglyph National Monument a decade ago. A recapitulation of Welsh's study is beyond the scope of the present essay; however, he identifies several issues that warrant emphasis.

First, the key actors include a mixed cast of planners (e.g., Jerry Widdison, Chamber and Campbell, Inc., and Ruth Eisenberg), developers (e.g., D. W. Falls and Westland Development Company), avocational and professional archaeologists (e.g., Colonel James Bain, Ann "Nan" Bain, Florence Hawley Ellis, Albert H. Schroeder, and Matthew Schmader), art historians (e.g., Polly Schaafsma), environmentalists (e.g., Isaac Eastvold, Sharon Eastvold, and the membership of Friends of the Albuquerque Petroglyphs), and politicians (e.g., Pete V. Domenici [first as Albuquerque City Councilor and later as U.S. Senator], Bob Grant, former State Senator and member of the Petroglyph National Monument advisory committee, and State Representative Ray García), among others. Representatives from various Native American (e.g., Herman Agoyo, Phillip Lauriano, and William Weahkee) and Nuevomexicano (e.g., Alberto Candelaria, Jamie Chávez, Richard González, and Hermán Romero) communities provided relevant public commentaries about their peoples' traditional associations with West Mesa and about the proposed Petroglyph National Monument during these proceedings (e.g., see U.S. House of Representatives 1988; U.S. Senate 1989; see also chapters 3 and 7). These people offered their statements in support of initiatives to protect and sustain the locality's natural and cultural resources. Nonetheless, the majority of public players in the proceedings were from the Anglo community.

Second, formal efforts to preserve the West Mesa's petroglyphs and open space began primarily as a local initiative in the late 1960s and was cast within the budding nationwide environmental movement that frequently focused its attentions on the excesses of urban development and growth (see Welsh 1998:6.29–6.36). Locally, the movement's roots were firmly established in concerns related to the widespread destruction of great petroglyph complexes, primarily those in the Cochití Reservoir (Schaafsma 1987) and secondarily those along the southern Black Mesa escarpment during construction of the I-25 highway corridor (Jojola and Jojola 1988). The idea of open space that Albuquerque area residents might use for "scenic-recreational" (Welsh 1998:3.39) purposes, however, assumed ever greater prominence over time and related to explicit quality of life issues (e.g., see Eleanor Mitchell, in Welsh 1998:3.35–3.36; Pete V. Domenici, in Welsh 1998:7.1).

The Necessity for Ruins

Landscape essayist John Brinkerhoff Jackson used the phrase "the necessity for ruins" for titles of both a collection of thoughtful articles and an exposition considering Anglos' relatively recent penchant for creating monuments. The preservation of monuments is based on what they are perceived to be—"reminders of a bygone domestic existence and its environment" (1980:90). Talking about the ubiquity of consciously constructed historical environments, Jackson adds,

> There are examples which are in fact cultural achievements, contribution to our national heritage, and even the simplest of the [constructed] historical environments often betrays a respect for our past…The best explanation I can find for the nation-wide popularity of these environments is that they appeal to a radically new concept of history and of the meaning of history, and that they represent a radically new concept of monument. [1980:91]

Traditionally, monuments were objects, culturally in actions or words, that were supposed to remind people of something important. Monuments were erected or defined "to put people in mind of some obligation that they have incurred: a great public figure, a great public event, a great public declaration which the group had pledged itself to honor" (Jackson 1980:91). Jackson (1980:93) argues that Anglo monuments were intended to fulfill advisory functions, restate sacred covenants, and serve to confer kind of immortality upon those people who have gone before. Monuments were built to remind citizenry of commitments that they, as a society, should carry into the future.

The idea of the constructed historical environment, on the other hand, is no longer a reminder of a past obligation or a plan of appropriate conduct for the future. Its purpose more or less is to offer an explanation of a past event (Jackson 1980:93). Jackson observes,

> I think this kind of monument is celebrating a different past, not the past which history books describe, but a vernacular past, a golden age where there are no dates or names, simply a sense of the way it *used to be*, history as the chronicle of everyday existence. [1980:95, italics in original]

Jackson states further that it is more than simple coincidence that in Anglo history public buildings began losing their monumental, palatial qualities (1980:95) at the same time of the shift in the conceptualization of monuments. That is, public spaces were becoming increasingly secularized. In considering these manifold changes in Anglo perceptions of history and society, Jackson suggests the architect Leopold Eidlitz was correct in his assessment "that public life was no longer ruled by traditional religious or political principles, and that private decisions had become the important ones" (1980:95).

Jackson argues the way the Anglo community now chooses to create new monuments suggests that society perceives a marked separation between the past and the present. The present no longer is viewed as "the continuation, the re-enactment of the past, modified of course by intervening events" (1980:98) whereby it can sustain its identity. Instead, in fulfilling the Anglo public's expectations, the creation of monuments "suggests that the past is a remote, ill-defined period or environment when a kind of golden age prevailed, when society had an innocence and a simplicity that we have since lost;…a time without significant events, and a landscape without monuments" (Jackson 1980:98). In this process, the contemporary Anglo conceptualization of the past commonly is expressed in romanticized terms and through its conscious construction of idealized historical environments.

Jackson asks the fair and obvious question why Anglo society has embraced this particular redefinition of its monument traditions for commemorating the past. "Is it simply nostalgia, is it simply a touristic instinct in search of the unusual, or does it have deeper significance?" (Jackson 1980:99). While admitting that he has no easy answer, Jackson suggests that the Anglo community perceives its environment cosmologically and relates to it in their day-to-day lives. Jackson provides ethnographic comparison of the conceptual bases of Anglo monuments with the ideational systems of land-based communities, such as those we already have considered among the region's Indian, Nuevomexicano, and Hispano communities that maintain significant cultural-historical associations with the Petroglyph National Monument and the West Mesa (see chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7).

> Several years ago, the geographer of religions, Erich Isaac, wrote an article in *Landscape Magazine* entitled "The Impact of Religions on the Landscape." Most geographers have discussed this topic largely in terms of orientation, sacred mountains, sacred wells, the taboo on certain plants and animals, and so on. But Isaac had a different approach. In the article he described the landscape of a small, remote tribe in southern Rhodesia, and noted the impact—or rather the lack of impact—of religious practices and beliefs on the environment. He came to the following conclusions: religions which conceive of the creation of the world as marking the beginning of human existence and human society have a much greater impact on the landscape than religions which perceive the real beginning of existence as deriving from divine character or covenant. To phrase it differently, Isaac said that a society which dates its beginning from the very creation of the world, which sees itself as the direct product of the cosmic plan, is likely to believe that the way to achieve harmony with the environment in imitation of its original condition. [Jackson 1980:99]

As I have discussed previously (after Schaafsma 1997), Judeo-Christian traditions, which characteristically underlie Anglo culture, rest on the central tenet that the meaning of existence depends on the sacred covenant between people and God to dominate nature through their physical constructions to recreate and to be close to the realm of the Holy. Jackson further observes that when a cultural community's view of its world derives on a set of sacred postulates, which refer to the existence and power of spirit (see Rappaport 1999:263–265), contained within the covenant between humankind and divinity, "then that religion is concerned with man's keeping the terms of the covenant, with his obeying the divine law" (1980:100).

As I discuss earlier, the development of the West Mesa for residential use conforms, in part, with the imposition of physical structure that domesticates the outside realm to create sanctified internal order at the cost of a coherent sense of community identity. Given that the experience of such disjunction has occurred both on a national scale and an ever-increasing magnitude since the Civil War, Jackson's (1980:100) uncertainty about why Anglos abandoned their traditional approach to constructing a sense of their history in favor of an evolutionary perspective that explains past events can be resolved. As Jackson recognizes (but apparently does not fully grasp the importance), Anglos' romanticized construction of idealized historical environments is tied to "that other concept of existence" (1980:100). As the U.S. came to understand itself as a unique and great society that had evolved over two centuries, the Anglo community consciously sought a redefinition of its traditions that explain, "how they became who they are" (after Peckham 1990:2).

In Jackson's mind, Anglos' motivation "to restore as much as possible the original aspect of the landscape" (1980:101) rests upon "the necessity for ruins." In contrast to land-based communities that explicitly locate their cultural-historical traditions within "the place that people talk about" (after Ortiz 1992:321–324), the Anglo community, in part, is creating a cultural tradition that imposes itself into a romanticized construction of the "natural" (i.e., characteristically cast as the time before the arrival of Anglo) environment. Jackson explains:

> It seems clear that the whole preservation and restoration movement is much more than a means of promoting tourism or a sentimentalizing over an obscure part of the past—though it is also both of those things. We are learning to see it as a new (or recently rediscovered) interpretation of history. It sees history not as a continuity but as a dramatic discontinuity, a kind of cosmic drama. First there is that golden age, the time of harmonious beginnings. Then ensues a period when the old days are forgotten and
>
> the golden age falls into neglect. Finally comes a time when we rediscover and seek to restore the world around us to something like its former beauty.
>
> But there has to be that interval of neglect, there has to be that discontinuity; it is religiously and artistically essential. That is what I mean when I refer to the necessity for ruins: ruins provide the incentive for restoration, and for a return to origins. There has to be (in our new concept of history) an interim of death or rejections before there can be renewal or reform. The old order has to die before there can be a born-again landscape…That is how we reproduce the cosmic scheme and correct history. [1980:101–102]

In an analysis that complements Jackson's efforts, Roberts (1997) considers how national parks and monuments help Anglo society create a sense of identity through the conscious design and sanctification of newly defined tradition that transcends our ever-changing economic, social, and political worlds. Through her analysis, Roberts (1997:6) provides support for Jackson's inferences that the nation's parks and monuments (1) unify national identity, and (2) provide a mechanism through which the rootless present can incorporate the past into itself. Roberts draws a third conclusion that makes explicit an essential point that Jackson left understated: the nation's proclivity for creating consciously constructed historical environments within its landscape also serves to "provide a point of contact between the physical and spiritual worlds" (1997:6) for individuals.

On the one hand, Jackson (1980) fully recognizes the conscious quality that the dominant Anglo community has brought to the definition of its symbolic landscape. Just as Roberts (1997:6–7, citing Deloria 1994:273), Jackson understood that the sanctity the Anglo community imbues into its landscape's constructed historical monuments generally is objectified through the actions of people rather than a subjective quality that is intrinsic to places. On the other hand, Roberts contributes substantively to a fuller understanding of the Anglo community's relationships with their symbolic landscape monuments with the apperception that both the idea of sanctity and the act of pilgrimage are highly individualistic in these constructions. Importantly, a person's interrelationships with that which is understood to be sacred by the national community in its collective historical environmental constructions does not constitute his or her engagement in a reciprocal

relationship with a supernatural realm for the benefit of the living community as a whole (see Roberts 1997:7–9).

Conclusions

While all cultures are selective in their definition of sanctified monuments within their landscapes (after Jackson 1980), the qualitative properties of the relationship through which community members identify and interact with their sanctified places can vary along a continuum between communalism and individualism. The sanctity of landscape symbols is communicated variously through subjective and objective criteria and knowledge. In Anglo society, the community at large deliberately selects certain objective qualities, such as battlefields, buildings, archaeological sites, or petroglyphs, as the bases for its constructed historical environments to provide its members with highly individualistic experiences with the past.

Given its conceptualization of its constructed historical environments as a collection of certain kinds of material products, Anglo society has qualitatively and quantitatively different thresholds for physical modification than other communities that view their landscapes subjectively as an ongoing cultural process (see Lippard 1998:42). Because of these fundamental differences in the perception of their landscapes and the corpus of cultural-historical experiences, we might also anticipate the Anglo community has very different perceptions of the extent of subsequent landscape modification permissible before alienation and a sense of loss is realized, before the essence of sanctity is violated.

Because the Anglo community places great emphasis on material objects, whether of natural or cultural origin, in constructing its historical landscapes and imbuing them with meaning, it believes it can substantially alter the physical characteristics of the environment without disrupting the sanctity of revered places. Jackson (1980:102) acknowledges the Anglo community characteristically changes the physical properties of its constructed historical environments into scenes that other communities might perceive as unreal and disrespectful to their sense of place and community tradition. In the worldview of the Anglo community at least, its idealized historical environments remain

> places where we can briefly relive the golden age and be purged of historical guilt. The past is brought back in all its richness. There is no lesson to learn, no covenant to honor; we are charmed into a state of innocence and become part of the environment. History ceases to exist. [Jackson 1980:102]

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS:
THE CHALLENGE OF LEARNING TO HEAR THE STORIED LANDSCAPE

KURT F. ANSCHUETZ

A Multiplicity of Ethnographic Landscapes, a Multiplicity of Landscape Truths

The series of community essays presented in this volume (chapter 3—Río Grande Pueblo, chapter 4—Western Pueblo, chapter 5—Navajo, chapter 6—Apache, chapter 7—Nuevomexicano and Hispano, and chapter 8—Anglo) illustrate that landscapes are richly textured and highly meaningful cultural constructions deriving from people's patterned perceptions and interpretations of the spaces they inhabit. The essays also show that landscapes are more than the visibly built environment. A community's modification of places within their perceived landscapes is ideational as well as material. Moreover, the ascription of meaningfulness and the inculcation of special qualities, such as a timeless sense of sanctification, occur within the culture group's own worldview and terms (see below). Such traditional ideas, which invariably express how a community's people "became who they are" (Peckham 1990:2), are not easily translatable into another culture's language, even when a community easily sanctions the sharing of its traditional cultural knowledge.

The various essays provide compelling evidence that numerous communities maintain markedly—and remarkably—different cultural associations with the West Mesa landscape. These essays provide insights into how communities conceptualize their landscapes as an essential element of their cultural heritage. Landscape constructions, through which contemporary peoples physically or metaphysically identify and interact with various natural and cultural resources, provide communities with particular senses of place and time.

Each group perceives its cultural landscape in qualitative and quantitative terms that are fundamentally different from those used by other groups. Meaning is culturally defined and culture is arbitrary; each community perceives and understands its world through their unique heritage, tradition, and history (Anschuetz et al. 2001; Evans et al. 2001). From an anthropological perspective, cultural relativism, which is "the argument that the behavior in a particular culture should not be evaluated using the standards of another" (Kottak 1987:209), is appropriate to the study of cultural and ethnographic landscapes.

In this process, communities selectively create and sustain significant relationships with landscape features whose form, function, and meaning are intelligible only to group members who possess certain preferential cultural knowledge. The fact that culturally significant meanings might be ascribed to landscape places although material traces of human occupation are rare or whose physical morphology defies quantitative description poses a significant challenge to effective landscape dialogue.

A second obstacle to landscape management discussions is that each community recognizes particular traditional landscape relationships as inviolate when identifying what they understand to be the important aspects of their community's cultural heritage (see Anschuetz et al. 2001; Evans et al. 2001). Through their landscape constructions, each group creates and sustains a sense of identity, with some groups more dependent on an emotion bond of *communion* (Johnson 1994:81; see chapter 2) than others in defining the sentiment of community for its membership (chapter 2).

A third challenge to cross-cultural land management warrants consideration. As the cultural geographer David Lowenthal observes in his eloquent essay, "Not Every Prospect Pleases," "What makes one landscape appear harmonious, another incongruous, is the entire experience of the viewer" (1971:235). Physical land alterations favored by one community, therefore, might be viewed as desecration by members of another community whose relationships with the same environmental setting are qualitatively very different. One community's material benefit can result in a significant cultural loss and alienation for another.

After identifying the preceding three issues, a fundamental point warrants reiteration. Environments, such as the Petroglyph National Monument and the whole of the West Mesa, might represent a multitude of contrasting landscapes, whose collective cultural meanings, values, and relationships potentially engender layers of emotionally charged cultural conflict (chapter 2; see also Evans et al. 2001).

Confronted with the frustration that "not every prospect pleases," people invariably want answers about why such formidable obstacles exist and how people from different cultural communities might engage in respectful and meaningful dialogue to resolve issues of landscape discord. Social scientists can talk endlessly about fundamental differences in timeless traditions and cultural-historical experiences. Oftentimes, however, these explanations are cast in language that the layman finds difficult to comprehend. In his thoughtful consideration of Pueblo communities' perceptions and comprehension of their cosmos, George Johnson, a science writer for the *New York Times*, offers an accessible explanation of such cultural divergence:

> Like the keepers of the laws of physics, the…[Pueblos'] ancestors were seeking their own compressions, a system to distill the essence of their variegated, capricious, often dangerous world. And so, in their attempt to explain the strange patterns of the familiar, they took what they knew and arranged it into a harmonious whole, an inner religious world that exists, though slightly faded, to this day. Having no familiarity with concepts like mass and energy, they began with their own fundamentals: the six directions, the colors, the seasons, the creatures that inhabited their land. [Johnson 1996:185]

> Dig deep enough through the layers of the mind and surely you will reach rock bottom, an impenetrable floor: the architecture of the brain as it was molded by evolution to find patterns, even if they are not always there. We all find ourselves in a world of randomness, where some reasons are wet while others are dry, where bad things happen to good people and enemies prosper. Surely the world isn't meant to be this way. We all share a belief in symmetries, and finding ourselves in a world where the symmetries have broken, we imagine a time before the fall from perfection, whether we call it Eden, the underworld, or the big bang. [Johnson 1996:198]

Based on fundamental premises of how the world works (see Johnson 1996), all communities create and trace logically coherent histories that answer the same general questions—"Where do we come from?" and "Why did we come here?"—for their current generations to use in the present and to draw from as they prepare for the future. As we have seen, landscapes, which variously represent the historical ecology (after Jackson 1980) or the spiritual ecology (after Cajete 1994) of people's interactions with their natural, social, and cultural environments over time, figure prominently in communities' cultural-historical constructions.

As the community essays illustrate, one group's landscape construction seldom fulfills the material or ideational expectations held by another whose system of traditional cultural knowledge is fundamentally different. The idea of traditional cultural knowledge requires further explanation. Traditional cultural knowledge refers to, and cognitively structures the consideration of, perceivable facts (after Atran 1990, p. 1–4). As such, traditional cultural knowledge is an essential property of culture (after Anschuetz 1998a:44–58; see also Anschuetz et al. 2001:183). As sacred propositions held by members of a society, the validity of such beliefs is beyond question (see Rappaport 1999:263-265; see also Johnson 1996:199). Peoples' intimate relationships with incidental properties of certain worldly phenomena allow them to understand and describe accurately the essence of the things they experience. On one level, vernacular knowledge "is just the way humans are constitutionally disposed to think of things" (Atran 1990:2). On another level, vernacular knowledge defines and informs their worldview. As defined by Geertz, *worldview* is "a people's picture of the way things, in sheer reality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order" (1973:127 [1957]).

In relation to Petroglyph National Monument, cultural landscape and ethnographic landscape studies, by definition, address the way communities traditionally interact physically and metaphysically with a variety of natural and cultural heritage resources. Thus, within an anthropological perspective, a community's vernacular beliefs, informed through the logic embodied in their system of traditional cultural knowledge, help us recognize that a world having multiple cultural communities includes multiple landscape truths (see also Evans et al. 2001:55).

Swentzell offers an illuminating illustration of how multiple systems of cultural truth exist in the world:

> Truth is *not* absolute in the Pueblo world. There never is one truth. The world, the cosmos, the whole is multifaceted and expresses many truths at once. Simultaneous levels of existence…are a

> part of daily reality and understanding. Wholes (the cosmos, the community) are what must be experienced, because parts (which can be wholes in their own contexts) give only a partial sense of understanding. There is, then, no set truth, because contexts always change, given any particular stance or reality. Because wholes are ever changing, the effort necessary to perceive wholes is unending; therefore, absolute truth is never attained.
>
> Western…[scientists], on the other hand, focus on the parts of any whole and work to put the details together. They operate with the assumption that facts, if appropriately collected and fastidiously recorded will uncover the truth. Absolute truth is, for the most part, taken for granted. It is there to be uncovered. The search for the particular truth reinforces the…[scientists'], peculiar level of comfort about the world and satisfies their rational, intellectual needs. The process of…[scientific], work is described in the most logical and rational manner possible. Myths and stories…are without scientific relevance and are not to be taken seriously, because there cannot be…simultaneous truths. Besides, only tangible facts, or hard evidence, will suffice as scientific proof. [1991:178]

As we note previously a community expresses its landscape constructions in their own terms, which cannot be understood fully within another culture group's perspective. Johnson's study of how different cultural communities construct their worldviews again is useful for summarizing what invariably when Anglo communities attempt to explain another group's worldview:

> Confronted with an alien system, all we can do is lay our own conceptual grid over it and explain it in our own terms—build models of their models. But there will always be a gap between our theories and the phenomena we are trying to formalize. Even if so much of the...[Pueblo] religion were not secret, there would still be no way to think with the brain of a…[Pueblo], to erase our own network of beliefs and immerse ourselves in another. In the end, two different world views can be as immiscible as oil and water: their structure holds them apart. [Johnson 1996:198]

Contrasting landscape views inherently are based on different mixes of subjective and objective criteria and unique cultural-historical experiences and memories. In the sense that ethnographic landscapes inherently are cultural products sanctified by traditions of common sense belief, landscape constructions based on subjective criteria do not fulfill the expectations of understanding based on objective criteria (and vice versa). Thus, individuals of one community might be tempted to judge one construct as more truthful or more valid than accounts offered by others when considering a cross-cultural array of landscape interpretations. Imbued with meaning for use by its people to sustain their cultural identity, one community's storied landscapes and cultural heritage places are not reducible to the status of folk art or commodities intended for quaint recreational entertainment.

Incompatible landscape meanings and cultural values, when coupled with members of one community judging landscape views of another cultural group in terms of their own worldview and failing to find behaviors and meanings that fulfill their particular common sense criteria, invariably leads to discord. As we note previously, landscape constructions can be assessed comprehensively only in terms of a group's own worldview. Ethnographic landscape reports (ELRs), however, can provide an informed framework for dialogue among different communities. The bottom line is that one public cannot specify the reality of another community's landscape. Consequently, the issue of with whom the authority and knowledge to identify and describe the significance of meaningful places across geographic space is relevant (see Evans et al. 2001:54), with communities sometimes voicing openly critical commentaries on what they perceive to be land mangers' usurpation of power to their statements of affiliation (e.g., see chapters 3 and 7).

Similarly, one community cannot justly redefine another people's traditional relationships with their cultural heritage resources through physical modifications of the environment. Ensuing outcries cannot be dismissed as irrelevant (e.g., see Spriggs 1995; see also Environmental Planning Commission 1993), a contrived conspiracy by outsiders to impede progress (e.g., see Page and Simon 1999; see also Environmental Planning Commission 1993), or a form of racism (e.g., see Brooke 1998).

Such statements arise in part through cultural ignorance. Lifelong relationship with a particular locality does not qualify expert opinion in any community except that of one's immediate peers. Broadly dismissive attitudes such as those above also rest in ethnocentrism, whereby people view their community's "familiar explanations, opinions, and customs are true, right, proper, and moral" (Kottak 1987:209). Different behavior is regarded as strange or uncivilized. In the extreme, individuals might resist learning about the cultural contexts that would allow them to grasp particular key elements of meaning

embedded in what people representing other cultural points of view choose to say.

Through inability, inattention, or resistance to hear what people of different cultural backgrounds and cultural-historical experiences are willing and able to share about their storied landscapes within the strictures of their communities, dialogue can break down. Consultations mandated by legislation can become mechanical in procedure, and although they fulfill the formal terms of the statutory requirements, they can fail to achieve their intended purpose. Frustrations with an ineffective landscape consultation process clearly are inevitable where the different parties do not comprehend one another's points of view. The Rio Grande Pueblo (chapter 3) and the Nuevomexicano and Hispano (chapter 7) community essays provide documented examples of communication breakdowns during consultations.

A second set of obstacles that traditional community stakeholders might confront during consultations are stereotypic images that ignore contemporary circumstances. This issue includes the perception held by many land-based community groups that they first have to defend themselves from prepackaged expectations, both negative and positive, of "images" held widely among the American public (see King 1997; see also below). As we report in chapters 3 and 7, communities may feel that if they fulfill manager's negative expectations, then their consultation commentaries might be dismissed as unsophisticated or irrelevant. Decision makers, in turn, might feel justified in maintaining or reinforcing the status quo in assigning significance to cultural resources and making decisions about what cultural resources warrant protection or mitigation. Alternatively, should communities believe that if they fail to fulfill the material and behavioral expectations of stereotypic images during consultations, then they face the threat that their points of view can be dismissed as inauthentic (after Biolsi 1997). Under such circumstances land managers again feel justified in assuming the authority role in determining what aspects of the past are valid and worthy of "preservation."

The present ELR, especially the passive role adopted by most Rio Grande Pueblo communities in this process (chapter 3), highlights a third substantive obstacle inhibiting the active participation land-based communities in the consultation process. In particular, traditional communities that possess sovereign status under federal legislation might be more agreeable to participate actively in cultural resource management consultations if they (1) are brought into the process as equal partners and acknowledged experts in the management process instead of serving simply in an advisory roles, and (2) are engaged directly through government-to-government protocols instead of being asked to work with agents working under contract for federal (or state or local government) agencies.

A fourth impediment is that the documentation of cultural resources, including ethnographic landscapes, significant to preservationists preoccupied with the management of cultural resources from the past and to other researchers focused on constructing and explaining the past simply is not considered relevant among traditional and historical communities concerned with contemporary social issues governing the survival of their identities (Levine and Merlan 1993:55). Moreover, more broadly successful cultural resource management that serves—and elicits truly lasting participation from—traditional and historical communities depends on the embrace of a more overtly historical perspective. As discussed in chapter 8, the creation of monuments, and their concomitant management, is an enterprise primarily undertaken by the dominant national Anglo community. Within this cultural milieu, the relationships with the past tend to be cast in terms and through actions that, in many ways, still exhibit aspects of the antihistorical bias that drew much criticism during the 1970s and 1980s in anthropology (e.g., Trigger 1978, 1989:312–319; Wolf 1982; see also Knapp 1996:141).

Defining a Matrix of Stakeholder Community Relationships

This ELR cannot resolve the formidable and vitally important issue of how to implement a meaningful landscape dialogue among such a diverse assemblage of Indian, Nuevomexicano, Hispano, and Anglo communities that maintain significant—albeit often conflicting—associations with the Petroglyph National Monument and the West Mesa. We can provide a preliminary outline, however, that identifies several critical key variables in the complex matrix that underlies cultural landscape and ethnographic landscape consultation.

For the purposes of organizing this discussion, we recognize four principal continuums along which community members variously situate themselves depending on context. That is, the variables are not mutually exclusive but serve to define a continuum of physical and metaphysical interaction with landscapes. Because they characteristically situate themselves variously along these continuums, community members possess qualitatively different mixes of landscape associations and behaviors defined by the polar extremes. Importantly, the poles are stereotypic

extremes; we do not intend to imply that community groups subscribe fully with any of these poles. The classification of people by these stereotypes obscures an understanding of the elements of the complex matrix of associations and behaviors that are focus of our interest. Worse, by excluding areas of common interest within the continuums, stereotyping creates false dichotomies that can cast members of different community groups in seemingly irresolvable opposition with one another (after Jill Cowley, Historical Landscape Architect, Intermountain Support Office, National Park Service, personal communication 1999).

The continuums are (1) objective and subjective knowledge, (2) urban and rural community orientation, (3) individualistic and communal relationships with the landscape, and (4) active and passive organization of day-to-day physical relationships with the landscape. We recognize three additional variables: (1) spatial-temporal scale, (2) dimensions of community interaction, and (3) inevitability of change.

A Continuum of Objective and Subjective Knowledge

The Anglo community tends to understand their landscapes in general—and the Petroglyph National Monument in particular—through systems that favor objective over subjective knowledge (see chapter 8; see also Cushman 1993; Parker 1993b). Consequently, Anglos tend to emphasize quantifiable things and products without comparatively little appreciation of their intangible connections. They often view the environment as a collection of definable natural and cultural resources. In experiencing their landscapes, Anglo people tend to project themselves onto their environments for a desired end, and in doing so, generally consider themselves as standing outside the historical-ecological process (see below). To view history, Anglos are inclined to construct idealized historic environments with which they can interact, more or less as individuals, as a kind of "point of contact between the physical and spiritual worlds" (Roberts 1997:6; see also chapter 8). In this way, they tend to experience the past through explanations they impose on the landscape.

On the other hand, Native American communities tend to emphasize subjective over objective knowledge in their West Mesa landscape constructions, whereby they highlight ideas of connectedness and process (chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6; see also Cushman 1993; Downer and Roberts 1993; Ferguson et al. 1993; Parker 1993b). In these constructs, they conceptualize themselves as an integral part of the historical-ecological process. In traditional communities, this projection of the human sense of soul and the archetypes contained therein into the landscape process can be so profound that it creates a sense of ensoulment (see Cajete 1994:83). People tend to conceptualize the past as intrinsic both to the landscape and to themselves, as both individuals and community members. History is not something to be experienced selectively, but something to be lived in everyday life.

Nuevomexicanos of the contemporary Atrisqueño community visibly manifest a particularly wide range of relationships with the West Mesa landscape (chapter 7). Toward the pole of the continuum that relies most heavily on objective knowledge, land grant heirs who associate strongly with the Westland Development Company approach their interactions with the West Mesa environment ways that similar to the general Anglo community pattern. Toward the more subjective pole of the continuum, land grant heirs who affiliate with the Atrisco Land Rights Council possess landscape relationships that include the ideas of spiritual ecology and ensoulment. These ideas are strongly conditioned by the people's orientation to their traditional *mestizo* cultural roots, which includes the syncretism of folk Catholicism and aspects of Native American cosmology. Although the scope of the present study did not permit comprehensive ethnographic consultations, it seem probable that many Atrisco Land Grant heirs have mixed opinions that fall between the more polarized views expressed by Westland Development Company's and Atrisco Land Rights Council's public representatives.

These differences in emphasis between objective and subjective knowledge poses a significant challenge to cross-cultural landscape dialogue not only for how it organizes the content of cultural perception but also for how it structures the substance of speech itself. The poet Simon Ortiz offers a compelling observation of how language differences can form yet another formidable obstacle to effective communication of important ideas:

> when I learned English well and began to use it fluently, at least technically and intellectually, I found myself "objectifying" my native language, that is, in translation. And it felt awkward, almost like I was doing something I was forbidden but doing it anyway. I've posed myself the frequent question: Is it possible to translate from the Acoma language to another? Yes, I've insisted, but I'm not sure I am convinced of it or how complete the translation is. Since we're all human with the same human feelings and responses to feelings, we understand and share hurt, love, anger, joy, sadness, elation, a gamut of emotions. However, human languages are different from each other, and

> unique, and we have different and unique languages; it is not easy to translate from one language to another though we egotistically believe and *think* we can. And that is when I found myself objectifying my Acoma language and at emotional odds with myself. [1992:6, emphasis added]

Cecil King (1997), an Algonquin-speaking Odawa, explicates this problem in his forceful essay, *Here Come the Anthros*. Although King's essay addressed the issue of relationships between Native American and anthropologists specifically, the following excerpt is relevant to the cultural resource management process in that it is a consumer of anthropological constructs.

> The language that anthropologists use to explain us traps us in linguistic cages because we must exchange our ways through alien constructs and theoretical frameworks. Our *ezhibemahdizowin* [lives] must be described as material culture, economics, politics, or religion. We must segment, fragment, fracture, pigeonhole that which we hold sacred…
>
> We have to describe our essence, *d'ochichaugwunan*, to fit academic conceptual packages, and we have become prisoners of what academics have done to our words to verify their words. We want to be given the time, money, luxury, and security of academic credibility to define our own constructs from within our own languages and our own worlds and in our own time.
>
> …How can we learn how our language is structured, how our world of languages was created, if we must parse, analyze, and chop them up to fit the grammar of other languages? How can we define who we are, what we see, and what we think when the public, politicians, and policy makers have accepted the prepackaged images of who we are, as created by anthropologists?
>
> …Having to define ourselves from the start with inappropriate English terms is not sufficient for our understanding. It is confining, and it is wrong. It seems that we must first defend ourselves against scholarly categories. We must find a way to break out of these cages. [King 1997:116–117, italics in original]

Ortiz's (1992) and King's (1997) commentaries deserve careful consideration when cultural resources planners, managers, and consultants propose landscape consultations with community groups for whom English is not their first language and whose worldviews, as conceptualized and expressed through languages other than English, are different from that of the dominant Anglo community. King states, "We want to be given the time, money, luxury, and security of academic credibility to define our own constructs from within our own languages and our own worlds and in our own time" (1997:116). He adds,

> Creative approaches must be discussed and debated by aboriginal communities, academic institutions, and individual researchers to reach a working relationship that neither constricts the advancement of knowledge nor denigrates the aboriginal communities' legitimate authority over the integrity of their own intellectual traditions. [King 1997:118]

In calling for dialogue among peoples of culturally diverse communities whose languages and ways of knowing fundamentally are different, however, King asserts the need for respect of difference. King makes a statement that complements warnings made by cultural resource specialists that expectations by managers that the cultural resource management process should document and decipher privileged knowledge are unrealistic and disrespectful of a community's established traditions and systems of cultural knowledge (e.g., see Cushman 1993; Ferguson et al. 1993; Parker 1993b; Sebastian 1993; see also chapter 2). He observes, "The dictates of Western science and the standards of behavior enshrined by associations of researchers dedicated to the advancement of social science may or may not be compatible with the code of ethics of our aboriginal communities" [King 1997:118].

A Continuum of Urban and Rural Community Orientation

As presented in chapter 2, traditional rural communities' experiences provide contexts for the development of an emotion communion to the West Mesa landscape based on intimate historical-ecological relationship (see also chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7). In comparison, urban-oriented communities whose interactions with the land and its resources are not sustained, intensive, or subsistence-based tend to possess senses of time and place that are informed by romanticized views of nature rather than by direct historical-ecological experience (see chapters 7 and 8). For urban dwellers, the idea of landscape carries connotations of rawness, art, and the naturalness of place before the time of civilization.

A Continuum of Individualistic and Communal Landscape Relationships

In general, we conclude that communities that base their relationship with their landscape in terms of subjective knowledge tend to interact with the Petroglyph National Monument and similar places that

possess close associations with the supernatural powers in the cosmos for the benefit of the living community as a whole. In addition, although not necessarily absolute, we find that interaction with such places is based on an individual's experience and participation in the community's cultural traditions. As Cajete observes for Native American communities,

> initiation rites occurred at graduated stages of growth and maturation…Ceremony was a life-long introduction to sacred and environmental knowledge, graduated so individuals were presented new levels of knowledge when they were physically, psychologically, and socially ready to learn them. [Cajete 1994:34]

In this sense, some intensely private, infrequent, and highly structured Native American (see chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6) and, possibly, Nuevomexicano (e.g., Penitente observances; see chapter 7) and contemporary Hispano (e.g., Tonantzin Land Institute ceremonies informed by community's members embrace of their *mestizo* heritage; see chapter 7) activities at the monument represent rituals that reaffirm both the sanctity of the place and of the community's relationship with that place within the realm of the cosmos. When involving physical visitation, such activity can constitute the sacrament of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage ritual, by a few individuals for the benefit of all the people within their community, depends structurally and organizationally upon a precisely prescribed liturgical order to ensure appropriate ritual performance. For land-based traditional communities, sanctified pilgrimage often is necessary for the people to reaffirm and sustain communion with the special qualities of the landscape as a whole (after Rappaport 1999).

If we impose objective anthropological perspectives on this sanctified process of interaction informed by subjective cultural knowledge, we could say that the Petroglyph National Monument is an essential physical component of a community's religious practice. By imposing a materialist reference on this process by focusing on a specific location, however, we risk discounting a community's reality of a greater spiritual essence. Through pilgrimage by certain ceremonialists on behalf of the community, the group reaffirms its ascription to tradition to sustain its senses of place and time. Moreover, as identified explicitly in the chapters 3 and 4 essays, the return of pilgrims from sanctified places on the conceptual periphery of a community's natural world represents a reenactment and verification of the group's traditional migration accounts.

Among urban residents, most people's understandings and relationships with the Petroglyph National Monument tend to be highly individualistic (chapter 8). In total, these relationships, person by person, help foster a coherent sense of national identity. They also provide a mechanism through which the rootless present can incorporate the past into itself (after Jackson 1980; Roberts 1997). On the other hand, while land-based communities use prayer for a distance and pilgrimage to sustain their reciprocal relationships with a supernatural realm for the benefit of the living community as a whole, this idea is largely nonexistent among people living in urban centers (after Roberts 1997:7–9).

A Continuum of Active and Passive Structure in Landscape Relationships

In their association of landscape with open space, urban communities, especially those situated closest to undeveloped tracts, often place a high emphasis on the development of empty areas into parklands for active recreational pursuits, such as trails, metropolitan parks, soccer and baseball fields, golf courses, and so forth. Although they can overlap in terms of physical space, the concepts of landscapes and parklands (i.e., formally designed recreational tracts with amenities) are not synonymous. Similarly, the ideas of open land and parkland are not synonymous.

Open space and parkland specify, qualitatively and quantitatively, very different kinds of relationships between people and their landscapes. Open space favors passive, vernacular interrelationships between community members and the land. It is neither physically constructed nor dependent on large numbers of visitors to justify its existence objectively. Open space sometimes is a requisite for sustaining the subjective elements of a community's landscape constructions and metaphysical interrelationships with particular places within the landscape.

According to Native American community representatives, the need for open space to sustain the sanctity of their landscape constructions and the physical context for the proper performance of ritual is especially true for the Petroglyph National Monument. Because the West Mesa overall represents a healing place where the various spatial and temporal dimensions of the cosmos intersect (e.g., see chapter 3), Indian communities believe that the whole must be maintained to sustain the relationships and connectedness among its many individual parts. In the Native American worldview, fragmentation of the physical landscape threatens the indigenous communities' underlying sacred liturgical orders.

On the one hand, urban dwellers often seem to consider open space as a kind of commons, a concept

extremely familiar to traditional rural communities. On the other hand, transformation of open space into parkland, which is by definition a designed landscape, exists for active land use and depends on demonstrated visitation to justify its existence. Other than providing visitors with avenues to experience the past through a constructed historical environment of selected objects and formal explanation, subjective elements of landscape relationship are de-emphasized. Consequently, urban community residents tend to have qualitatively and quantitatively higher thresholds for physical landscape modifications permissible before alienation and a sense of loss is realized (see chapter 8).

Spatial-Temporal Scale

Five spatial-temporal community scales further structure the matrix of stakeholder community interactions with the Petroglyph National Monument and the West Mesa. These scales are (1) local historic rural communities, (2) local metropolitan/urban communities, (3) regional communities, (4) the national community, and (5) the international community.

As the chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 essays have shown, traditional rural communities that have cultural-historical associations with the West Mesa environment characteristically have intimate familiarity and maintain strong emotional ties with the land and its resources. Consequently, these communities form a primary spatial-temporal unit. Importantly, given the great cultural diversity extant among and within these stakeholder communities, we can expect to encounter a multiplicity of viewpoints about the appropriateness of the structure and organization of the monument's planning documents.

Albuquerque, as the Middle Río Grande Valley's local metropolitan/urban community, form the second spatial-temporal tier of stakeholder relationships with the West Mesa. This urban community also has important historical associations with the landscape (chapter 8). Nonetheless, the people of the urban center substantively redefined their relationships with the land, its resources, and the area's traditional communities during the latter half of the 20th century in the face of urbanization and the incorporation of huge numbers of immigrants from other parts of the U.S.

Rather than interacting with the land directly for their subsistence, Albuquerque's residents primarily look to the West Mesa for housing and recreation (see chapter 8). Because their interactions with the West Mesa usually do not include land-based economic activities, the Albuquerque metropolitan community follows a national trend of increasingly interpreting the landscape through romanticized views of nature (see below, see also chapter 8). Rather than looking to the landscape for sustaining a sense of community identity, individualized senses of renewal are characterized by people's relatively limited experiences with the constructed historical environment, as offered by the Petroglyph National Monument specifically, in recreational contexts.

Regional, national, and international communities, in turn, possess progressively abstract, stereotypic understandings of the West Mesa environment and of its natural and cultural resources. Distance, of course, plays an essential role in structuring and organizing how people living outside the Middle Río Grande Valley perceive and experience its landscape. Generally, individuals living outside the region experience the Southwest either directly as short-term, possibly episodic, amenity migrants or indirectly through various media representations. Truly viewed from afar, the Petroglyph National Monument landscape characteristically is portrayed as an ecosystem without people, even though various urban and rural community groups maintain significant associations with the place. Moreover, regional and national policies that redefine people's interactions with the Petroglyph National Monument and West Mesa environments characteristically emphasize particular aspects of people's behavior to achieve certain material ends that can be documented quantitatively and/or assigned economic value. Decision-makers, however, when they design policies, do not necessarily consider the accumulative effect of their management policies on the ability of historical rural communities to sustain their culture heritage traditions. People visiting from abroad truly are amenity migrants. During their travels, they cherish the opportunity to experience the places made possible by the commitment of this country's citizenry to protect and sustain their national monument and park landscapes.

Dimensions of Community Interaction

As the preceding discussion implies, multiple dimensions exist in the way communities, regardless of their cultural identity, rural or urban organization, and spatial-temporal scale, interact with their landscapes. In fact, there are four principal—and overlapping—dimensions: (1) economic, (2) social, (3) political, and (4) cultural. Given their interrelatedness, all four dimensions factor into landscape dialogue.

Decision-makers often recognize, either explicitly or implicitly, objective economic, social, and political

dimensions in developing environmental management policies and legislation. The cultural dimension, which encompasses tremendous diversity and is much more subjective in conceptualization, seldom is easily recognized, let alone accepted or understood. Because landscapes represent historical-ecological systems in which humans are an integral part, the cultural dimension has four essential aspects: (1) history/time, (2) place-making, (3) tradition, and (4) ethnicity. Given the particular characteristics of local historical-ecological sequences, the ad hoc generalization of the cultural dimension is neither possible nor appropriate. The uniqueness of cultural-historical narratives calls for land managers to implement existing policies and tools for incorporating meaningful rural community participation on a broader scale.

Inevitability of Change

As a simple empirical generalization drawn from natural and social science studies, change characterizes all historical-ecological systems in which humans are a part. The tremendous growth of the Albuquerque metropolitan area ensures that environmental change on and around the West Mesa will continue to accelerate.

Change is an essential part of living and of landscape definition. At present, West Mesa land-use management plans include the preservation of certain types of natural resources, such as the volcanoes and the geological windows, and cultural resources, such as archaeological sites and petroglyph panels. The strict but static "preservation" of cultural landscapes to suppress change beyond the limits of some idealized archetype environmental model, however, can become the death of history. As residents of both traditional Indian and Hispanic communities in the Southwest commonly have remarked in various cultural heritage forums in recent years throughout northern New Mexico, "You preserve pickles. We are living" (Anschuetz 2000:9). Land-use planning in the face of development, to be successful, needs to consider how to *sustain* extant landscape traditions within an ongoing historical process.

In the U.S. we cherish the past, as signified by the voluminous body of legislation that our elected representatives have passed in recent decades to protect cultural resources. As a national society, we want to know and experience the past (see chapter 8). The common saying, "Those who fail to remember the past are doomed to repeat it," however, starkly reveals the natures of our perceptions and preoccupations (Anschuetz 2000). We can learn from the past. We can even honor the past in our collective memories. We view history, however, as a thing of the past that resides outside our everyday experience. *We do not live our history, however.*

The challenge to sustain extant landscape traditions within an ongoing historical process is not a sterile intellectual exercise. We can learn from the past to prepare for a future of ever-greater material demands on the land and its resources in the face of growing population needs. We also can decide what aspects of the region's diverse cultural traditions we intend to pass on to subsequent generations. These decisions must consider many challenging economic, social, and political concerns. This undertaking will not be easy. Communities, ranging in scale from the local to the national level, collectively will need to consider the many-layered, sometimes contradictory values, of the West Mesa's storied landscapes.

A Few Concluding Thoughts about Landscapes

Three important points warrant reiteration. First, cultural landscape approaches provide remarkable insights into the ideational systems and lifeways of the people responsible for them. Second, as a kind of historical text, landscapes provide compelling documentation of who we all are and how we became who we are today. Third, landscapes are evolving, dynamic features with each culture and each generation adding another layer of meaning, leaving another story to be remembered and told.

Across the nation, many different publics embrace the spirit of the ideas of cultural heritage sustainability and diversity. New Mexico is no exception. As Tom Joles, a host of the "Cavalcade of Enchantment" television documentary notes in each program's introduction,

> and truly New Mexico itself is a treasure…Our history, our cultures, our traditions, our attitudes, and our feelings all meld into this land, and that land is indeed enchanted, casting a spell over all. The environment in which we live, the history, the traditions, the land which we revere, and the future for which we prepare, all are key elements of the Enchantment we call New Mexico. [Phelps Dodge Corporation 1993:n.p.]

The Petroglyph National Monument and the West Mesa landscapes possess many different levels of cultural meaning and value for many different communities. These meanings, some of which are crucial for sustaining community identity, now are threatened by urban sprawl and demands to transform the remaining West Mesa open space into an increasingly built environment for active recreational use and other designed amenities for people who bought homes or wish to build homes in this

environment. A highly publicized focus for opposing value systems and still the most visible high place, *la loma*, on the Albuquerque's western horizon, the West Mesa cultural landscape, with its volcanoes, lava flows, and great escarpment, is both physiographically and metaphorically a cultural acropolis.

The geographer Norman Crowe recognizes the importance of an acropolis as a cultural landscape:

> Especially in our own time we need an equivalent to the embodied memory of an acropolis to remind us that the man-made world is a thing of our own creation and its flaws and triumphs are directly accountable to human agency alone. [Crowe 1997:237]

Adoption of a cultural landscape perspective requires subscription to a perspective that truly recognizes, accepts, and values diversity as something that contributes economically and socially, as well as culturally, to the qualities that makes New Mexico *The Land of Enchantment*. If communities, locally, regionally, and nationally, urban and rural alike, can broaden their perspectives and consider their reciprocal obligations to one another as members of a society larger than themselves, we collectively might be able to view the "JA" Volcano from afar and heed Cajete's call to *"look to the mountain"* and to learn to respect *"that place that the people talk about!"* (1993–1994:9).

APPENDIX I

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aberle, Sophie D.

1948 The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico: Their Land, Economy, and Civil Organization. Memoirs 70. Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association.

In the introduction, Aberle emphasizes the importance of the relationship between the Pueblos and their ethnographic landscapes:

> Land being the basis of Pueblo economy, to understand the Indian's relation to his soil is vital. The years of contention over boundaries, titles to grants, and legislation influence the Indian's habit of thought as well as his laws…Land in the eyes of the Indian is his most precious possession. [p. 5]

Aberle adds that before the Europeans' introduction of legal concepts for the private ownership of land, "Land was probably owned communally as is all the range and some agricultural land today, with small farms controlled by generations of the same family, but always with the tacit approval of the head man of the tribe" (p. 7).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *History, *Society, *Economy*

Compiled by: kfa

Ackerly, Neal W.

1998 A Navajo Diaspora: The Long Walk to Hweeldi. Silver City: Dos Rios Consultants.

Ackerly reconstructs various routes over which the U.S. Army marched Navajos to the internment camp in Fort Sumner after the Kit Carson campaign of 1863–1864. This reconstruction seems to be the most detailed available and is based on military records from the National Archives supplemented by other primary historical documents, secondary historical sources, and previously recorded Navajo oral histories. Ackerly finds documentation for at least 53 separate episodes of Navajos moved to Fort Sumner, all under military escort. Albuquerque was one of the camping places for these parties, which also passed through Atrisco and Alameda, but this source gives no evidence of parties camping at the site of Petroglyph National Monument. Nor did any route pass through present Petroglyph National Monument, although one might have passed a short distance south of present highway I-40.

One route west of Albuquerque was a well-traveled wagon road from Fort Wingate, south of present Grants, eastward through Laguna to "Sheep Spring" or "Big Spring" (approximate location of present Correo named in Navajo Land Claim sources; though author does not identify this spring, it may be The Geyser named in Navajo Land Claim). At this spring the road forked, the east-southeast fork evidently approximating present state Route 6 to near present Los Lunas, the east-northeast fork evidently two miles south of old Route 66 to Atrisco, thereby passing a short distance south of the Petroglyph National Monument site. Ackerly notes that the Beale and Whipple parties found both forks of this road well traveled in the 1850s. Unfortunately, this report lacks a map, for which one must consult the author's sources (see Foreman 1941; Kelly 1970; McNitt 1973 below). See other entries in this section for Navajo oral history sources that author does not cite or that contain additional information not in this paper.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *History, *Long Walk, *Albuquerque, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Akins, Nancy J.

1993 Traditional Use Areas in New Mexico. Archaeology Notes 141. Santa Fé: Museum of New Mexico, Office of Archaeological Studies.

This report addresses traditional use areas of aboriginal groups in New Mexico based on the available literature. Materials generated by land claims litigated by the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) served as the primary source of information. For a number of reasons, "The boundaries identified in the ICC cases are not always equivalent to an aboriginal or traditional use area" (p. 4). Ácoma and Laguna Pueblos agreed on a boundary, so no litigation was required to determine use and occupancy. Because this boundary overlapped that claimed by the Navajo Tribe, the government and tribes presented evidence on the exclusiveness of Pueblo land use. Within the area claimed by Ácoma and Laguna, the ICC found Navajo use was either raiding or temporary occupation, and thus could not defeat the Pueblo claim of title.

The ICC found that ancestors of Ácoma occupied a broad area from the Río Grande west to El Morro, and from Mount Taylor to a point south of Ácoma Pueblo. The eastern boundary of the Laguna claim was the Río Puerco of the East and Salado Creek. "In the past, the Laguna sacred mountains were the Sandia Mountains to the east, Zuni Mountain to the west, Petaco Pinto to the south, and a peak north of Casa Salazar for the north" (p. 79).

These land claims were based on exclusive use and occupancy of an area at the time the U.S. assumed political sovereignty over it. In the Southwest, this area was owned by tribes in 1848. Akins implicitly recognizes this and notes, "No attempt was made to include areas that might be claimed on the basis of remote ancestry" (p. 9). For the Zuni land claim, "the Zunis could claim an even larger area of interest, especially to the north and south" (p. 189). In considering traditional cultural properties associated with traditional use areas, Akins considers only shrines and ancestral villages.

The importance of Petroglyph National Monument to Western Pueblos is based in a history that extends much further back in time than 1848. Aboriginal areas or traditional use areas based on land claims thus have an inherently limited meaning in terms of Native American cultural landscapes.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Navajo, *Apache, *History, *Aboriginal Land Use, *Land Claims*

Compiled by: tjf

Alberts, Don E.

1987 Balloon to Bombers: Aviation in Albuquerque, 1882–1945. History Monograph. Albuquerque: Albuquerque Museum.

This book, nicely written for the layperson, traces Albuquerque's early aviation history. Of interest to the West Mesa landscape evolution is Alberts' discussion of the founding, use history, and abandonment of the West Mesa Airport, near present-day West Mesa Airport. Alberts provides ca. 1930 photographs of the West Mesa Airport (p. 39) and a 1931 flight line, when this was the principal airport (p. 47).

Western Air Express (WAE), in heated competition with Transcontinental Air Transport (TAT), constructed a series of runways radiating in fanlike fashion and a two-story administrative services building in 1929. During the Depression, WAE and TAT merged to form Transcontinental and Western Airline, Inc. (TWA). The revamped company kept the West Mesa Airport busy for eight years (1931–1939), and the facility acquired the name Albuquerque Airport because its mail service and passenger service outstripped the original East Mesa Albuquerque airfield. Following TWA's departure to a new municipal facility on the East Mesa, air service pioneers Bill Cutter and Clark Carr transformed West Mesa Airport into a general aviation service facility. The Cutter Flying Service persisted in this location until 1962, when the airfield's buildings were razed for West Mesa urban development.

Alberts also details the historical relationship between the City of Albuquerque and the U.S. military, which eventually led to the founding and development of what is today Kirtland Air Force Base on East Mesa. Between 1941 and 1945, the Albuquerque Army Air Base hosted a number of training schools, including the Air Corps Ferry Command Four-Engineer School and a Bombardier School. Later training included development and use of 27 target sites west and southwest of Albuquerque, including an unidentified number within the Petroglyph National Monument boundaries. Alberts provides a photograph, dating to the 1940s (p. 70) of a Beechcraft AT-11 training crew bombing a practice target on West Mesa.

*Keywords: *Anglo-American, *History, *West Mesa, *U.S. Air Force*

Compiled by: kfa

Anaya, Rudolfo

n.d. Sale of Atrisco Land Grant Means Loss of History, Tradition. Atrisco Land Grant File. Santa Fé: New Mexico State New Mexico State Records Center and Archives. Copyright by Rudolfo Anaya.

In this reflective essay, renowned author Rudolfo Anaya weaves together ideas commonly expressed by Atrisqueños about the timelessness and sanctity of their land-based community traditions. Selected highlights include:

> My mother struggled to keep that [1940s] inheritance of land, but in the end the lots had to be sold to pay the taxes and debts. My mother regretted the day. I remember bitter arguments between my father and my mother. To her death she blamed him for letting go of the land. How bittersweet is the memory of her words: Hold on to the land. [Anaya n.d.:1, reprinted by permission of author]

> The land belonged to the community, it was cared for, it was the mother earth which nurtured us. It provided firewood, grass and water for grazing animals. Over the centuries the people developed a spiritual attachment to the land…

> The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, who taught us so much about the land, believe the land is sacred. It is the mother which provides our nourishment. Can anyone imagine the Isleta Pueblo, our neighbors to the south, selling their pueblo land? No, because they know if they did in a few short years their way of life would be erased from the face of the earth.
>
> I now live on the West Mesa; I live on the original lands of the old Merced de Atrisco. I bought the land for my home, it was not given to me. The pull of history has brought most of my family back to the original lands of the old grant. Or maybe we remember the stories of the old people, stories which admonished us to hold on to the land of our ancestors.
>
> The value of my inheritance as represented by my shares means nothing to the stockbrokers of Wall Street. The value of my shares means everything to me. They are a thread I hold to my history. I would not give them up. I will not put my history and culture for sale on Wall Street. [Anaya n.d.:1. Reprinted by permission of Rudolfo Anaya]

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco, *Land Use*

Compiled by: kfa

Anderson, Gary Clayton

1999 The Indian Southwest 1580–1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Although this book does not deal specifically with Petroglyph National Monument, it discusses shifts in ethnicity and culture in the lower Río Grande and South Plains and links to the middle Río Grande Pueblos during Spanish colonial times. The book focuses on Jumanos, Plains Apaches, and Comanches, with attention also to Caddos and Wichitas. Anderson demonstrates how a political-economic network of allied communities developed on the periphery of the Spanish colonial state ("ethnogenesis") to trade with the state or to raid it. The buffalo, a mainstay of the trade that fueled these social formations, started wintering on the South Texas Plains between A.D. 1200 and 1700 because of climate changes.

Anderson describes Jumano and other "trade brigades." In 1580 the Jumanos were centered at La Junta, at the confluence of the Río Grande and the Conchos River. As key intermediaries in the buffalo-corn-horses–luxury goods trade between Caddos and others farther east and Río Grande Pueblos (especially Piros) and north Mexican settlements, the Jumanos pulled other groups (other speech communities, polities) into their political-economic network; thus, the Jumanos may have been a multilingual polity. Epidemics, the retreat northward of buffalo after 1700, and changes in Spanish borderlands presence made Jumanos vulnerable to attacks from Plains Apaches, who constructed a new political economic network to replace the Jumano network (and absorb at least parts of the Jumano configuration).

Jumanos illustrate Friedman's peripheral independent expansive/predatory social formation in its hierarchical mode (as do Caddos farther east). This study emphasizes how each of these dominant groups absorbed various political and speech communities in its heyday ("ethnogenesis") and reconfigured its culture ("cultural re-invention").

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Plains Indians, *History, *Trade, *Ethnogenesis*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Anschuetz, Kurt F.

1998 Genesis of Centers within a Whole: Considering Community Formation within the Tewa Cultural Landscape. Paper presented at Representing Common Destinies: History and the Social Construction of Community in the Southwest, sponsored by Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, and the Southwest Center, University of Arizona General Library, Albuquerque, November 6.

In this short paper, Anschuetz elaborates upon the Tewa concept of center in traditional community landscape constructions. Centers are formally understood negative spaces, such as plazas and caves. In the Pueblos' worldview, centers are understood and sustained through their many-tiered relationships and connectedness to peripheries.

*Keywords: *RGF, *Tewa, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Centers, *Caves, *Movement*

Compiled by: kfa

Anschuetz, Kurt F.

1998 Not Waiting for the Rain: Integrated Systems of Water Management by Pre-Columbian Pueblo Farmers in North-Central New Mexico. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

This archaeological study deals primarily with the tactics and strategies of agricultural production by Tewa Pueblo people in upland settings of the Tewa Basin. Anschuetz's evaluation of the settlement dynamics observed archaeologically in the Lower Río Chama Valley, one of the places of intensive Tewa

occupation between the late 13th and 16th centuries, is germane to the Petroglyph National Monument landscape study: it develops a landscape framework for considering archaeological traces in terms of what Pueblo people say about their world.

Anschuetz draws from a variety of Tewa ethnographic literature for ideas about Pueblo people's understandings of their cultural landscapes and their senses of place and time across expansive homelands in the face of ever-changing natural, social, and cultural environmental conditions (chapter 8). The Tewas' understandings about movement as an intrinsic part of all life in their cosmos is congruent with the people's material need to shift residence in response to changing conditions for agricultural production. Fallow cycles to sustain agricultural productivity, as well as natural climatic factors, apparently required the people to incorporate short-term sedentism strategies into their agricultural lifeways.

Anschuetz traces cycles of occupation and seeming disuse that build upon traditions of agricultural land use and settlement organization manifest in the archaeological record. These continuities in archaeologically visible patterns over time are congruent with the Tewas' understanding of movement as integral to a process of renewal. The movement of people out of a place enables them to return to the location in the future. Through established cycles of material renewal and reuse, as well as the demarcation of their communities' traditional homeland areas with markers such as petroglyphs, the Tewas, just as other Pueblo people, sustain occupation of their homelands both materially and cognitively, even though they might not physically live there.

This study also provides a useful review of the Pueblos' concepts of center, periphery, process, and connectedness. Anschuetz briefly considers the importance of caves as a kind of negative space in Pueblo landscape constructions.

*Keywords: *RGF, *Tewa, *Archaeology, *Petroglyphs, *Shrines, *Cosmology, *Movement*

Compiled by: kfa

Anschuetz, Kurt F.

1998 The View from Atop Tsi Mayoh: Reflections on Spanish Colonial History; Refractions of Pueblo Tradition. Paper presented at 1998 Pecos Conference, Pecos National Historical Park, August 13–16.

Anschuetz critiques traditional archaeological and historical constructions that characterize late pre-Columbian Pueblo and early Historic period Pueblo landscape occupation in terms of the abandonment of major tracts of the communities' traditional homeland areas. He offers a landscape approach as an alternative perspective for viewing the archaeological record of Pueblo history. The paper neither casts static descriptions of Pueblo architecture, features, and artifacts as sufficient measures of culture nor depends on interpretive frameworks that view the Pueblos' continued occupation of their traditional homelands only in terms of habitation sites (see also Levine and Anschuetz 1998 below).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Anschuetz, Kurt F., and Cherie L. Scheick

1998 Unveiling Archaeological Tierra Incognita: Evaluating Time, Place-making and Tradition through a Cultural Landscape Paradigm. Paper presented at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Seattle.

Anschuetz and Scheick examine how the cultural landscape construct, as defined in explicitly anthropological terms, provides an umbrella for integrating diverse studies of human behavior, both past and present. They suggest that this construct provides a framework for evaluating the ideationally informed grammars that helped structure the composition and distribution of the material traces making up the archaeological record. They frame the argument that landscape, as a material construct that communicates information and serves as a kind of historical text, embodies fundamental organizing principles that refer to the forms and structures of activities as people interact with the land, its waters and other resources, as well as one another. They suggest further that the cultural landscape offers an integrative framework for examining how past communities of people organized time, space and activity in their day-to-day interactions with their physical, social and ideational environments.

*Keywords: *Cultural Landscape Theory*

Compiled by: kfa

Anschuetz, Kurt F., Richard W. Wilshusen, and Cherie L. Scheick

2001 An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions. Journal of Archaeological Research 9:157–211.

The authors, building upon the preliminary framework offered by Anschuetz and Scheick (1998) contribute further to a comprehensive landscape

approach in explicitly anthropological terms. They trace the development of the landscape idea over its history in the social sciences and examine the compatibility between this concept and traditional anthropological practice. They call for practitioners to adopt a common terminology and methodology to build a construct paradigm that will allow them to use a landscape approach as a "pattern which connects" human behavior with particular places and times. They suggest understandings of settlement ecology, ritual landscapes, and ethnic landscapes not only will contribute toward the definition of a construct paradigm but also will facilitate dialogue with traditional communities.

*Keywords: *Cultural Landscape Theory*

Compiled by: kfa

Arnon, Nancy S., and W. W. Hill

1979 Santa Clara Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 296–307. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Santa Clara Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Santa Clara, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Atrisco Oral History Project

1981–1984 Oral History Interviews. MSS 565 BC (2 boxes). Albuquerque: Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

This collection of oral history interviews includes 31 interviews with 35 residents of the Atrisco area in Albuquerque's South Valley. Of interest to the Petroglyph National Monument Ethnographic Landscape Report are the insights that participants offer about the traditional relationships, interactions, and understandings that they maintain with the greater West Mesa area.

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Oral Traditions, *Land Grant, *Atrisco, *Land Use*

Compiled by: kfa

Bain, James G.

1976 Art on the Rocks. El Palacio 82(2):1–11.

This article for a general audience describes the prolific petroglyphs of the West Mesa. Bain notes the difficulty in dating the petroglyphs, saying "they were probably made over a long period of time" (p. 10). He gives the prevailing scholarly opinion that the petroglyphs are visual rather than phonetic symbols, and "no one interpretation or function could account for the number and variety of the symbols or for the variations in style and technique that are so evident" (p. 11). Bain uses the Western Pueblo figure of Kokopelli as an example of an image with multiple meanings: Kokopelli can represent either the Hopi Flute Clan or one of the "Pueblo fertility gods." This example "illustrates the dilemma facing one who is searching for the meaning of rock art" (p. 11).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *West Mesa, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: tjf

Bain, James G.

1977 New Mexico Rock Art: Some Thoughts on Interpretation. Avanyu 5(1):26–29.

Bain outlines three steps for interpreting images on rocks: identification, situation represented, and purpose. *Identification* means stating what the image looks like; *situation represented* means describing associated images, if any; and *purpose* means guessing why the creator of the image made it. Bain points out difficulties in all three steps and casts doubt on researchers' success in comprehensive interpretation. The article contains an illustration, two deer pierced with spears, from the Paradise Hills area of the Albuquerque West Mesa.

*Keywords: *Archaeology, *Art, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Balcomb, Kenneth C.

1980 A Boy's Albuquerque, 1898–1912. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

This minor work of Balcomb's childhood in Albuquerque around the beginning of the 20th century illustrates how much the city has changed. Balcomb offers one passage and an illustration concerning West Mesa; it conveys much about the people's relationship with their physical setting:

> The view of the western horizon has changed little since I first came to Albuquerque; the five volcano cones across the river made the western sky a complement to the eastern horizon, where the Sandia Mountain's peaks "lifted their heads on high." They were a never-ending conversation piece, and furnished a descriptive note in the Alma Mater song of the University

(since rapaciously abandoned for some nondescript substitute). The volcanoes were, of course, extinct—but were they really? One time, some pranksters lugged a quantity of old rubber tires through the twelve miles of sandy country leading to the volcanoes, and set fires in two of the cones, causing a dense cloud of black smoke to rise in the western sky. This caused considerable consternation, and people began to wonder whether the volcanoes were awakening from their centuries-old nap. [p. 90]

*Keywords: *Anglo-American, *History, *West Mesa, *Volcanoes*

Compiled by: kfa

Bandelier, Adolf F.

1892 Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885, pt. 1. American Series IV. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America. Cambridge: John Wilson and Son.

Usually perceptive in his studies of Indian culture history and archaeology, Bandelier misunderstood the significance of the West Mesa in his account of Pauray's abandonment. Given the absence of substantive mention of the West Mesa's volcanoes, lava flows, and petroglyphs in his journals, Bandelier almost certainly never visited this place when he wrote,

> It [the Pauray village remnants] is to-day a bleak and desolate spot, treeless and barren, exposed to the high winds that sweep through the Rio Grande Valley and to a scorching sun. The view from it eastward is highly impressive and grand; to the west it embraces only arid plateaux and forbidding crests of black scoriae and lava. [p. 230]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Archaeology, *West Mesa*

Compiled by: kfa

Basso, Keith

1996 Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

A definitive work about Western Apache landscape ideas and relationships, this book serves as a compelling example of how people interact with their physical and social environments and how these relationships resonate through the structure and organization of a group's social institutions. Basso embraces the premise "what people think about the environment—how they perceive it, how they conceptualize it, or…how they 'actively construct' it" (p. 67) with meaning is relevant. Basso adds that people, not their social institutions, make and act on cultural meanings. He addresses the issue of landscape constructions as the nexus of the intersection of a group's senses of place and time.

*Keywords: *Apache, *Ethnography, *Place Names, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: kfa

Bighorse, Tiana

1990 Bighorse the Warrior. Noel Bennett, ed. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Bighorse includes her grandfather's story of the Long Walk to Fort Sumner, but does not tell the route. A map (pp. 36–37) shows alternative routes without citing the source (probably Frank McNitt 1973; see below).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *History, *Ethnography, *Long Walk, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Bodine, John J.

1979 Taos Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 255–267. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Taos Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tiwa, *Taos, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Brandt, Elizabeth A.

1979 Sandia Pueblo. *In* Handbook of the North American Indians, vol. 9, Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 343–350. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Sandía Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tiwa, *Sandía, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Brew, J. O.

1979 Hopi Prehistory and History to 1850. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest, Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 514–523. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the pre-Columbian and early Columbian history of the Hopi Tribe.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Archaeology, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Britt, Claude

1975 Early Navaho Astronomical Pictographs in Canyon de Chelly, Northeastern Arizona, U.S.A. *In* Archaeoastronomy in Pre-Columbian America. A. F. Aveni, ed. Pp. 89–107. Austin: University of Texas Press.

This article examines one type of pictograph, the "star ceiling," at Canyon de Chelly that consists of groups of cross-shaped pictographs rendered in black paint on rock shelter ceilings. (Other star ceilings, often painted in red or orange pigment, occur in the *Dinétah* and near Cuba.) Britt believes these images are Navajo in origin and date from the 1700s to the 1800s. He reports that Navajo ceremonialists make offerings of prayer sticks at these sites. Britt has little understanding of Navajo history or culture, however; his many implausible statements create doubts about his interpretations in general.

An illustration on page 94 depicts the most common types of cross designs found among the Canyon de Chelly star ceiling panels. At least one of the motifs resembles crosses in the Petroglyph National Monument (see Government Printing Office 1997 below).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Art, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Brooke, James

1998 Sprawling Albuquerque Hopes to Cut through Monument. New York Times, January 25: A12.

Brooke examines the Paseo del Norte road extension controversy. Brooke notes, "On one level, the debate is over what modern America holds more sacred. Commuter drive times or Indian religious practices? Golf courses or rock carvings." Brooke considers the pros and cons of highway development and addresses the issues of Indian religious freedom and the threat that the road's development potentially poses for other national parks.

Brooke provides several useful pieces of information about why Pueblo communities believe the West Mesa escarpment is a special place and should not be disturbed in any manner. The repositioning of a dozen petroglyphs and the sacrifice of 3.4 hectares (8.5 acres) of the 2,897 hectares (7,244 acre) monument area constitutes a clear violation of Pueblo religious beliefs and the sanctity of this place.

To defend the monument, Pueblo representatives have begun sharing additional information about their religious beliefs and practices.

> Mr. [William F.] Weahakee states, …shrines in these parched black hills draw Indians from across the Southwest, including Zunis from western New Mexico, Hopis from Arizona, and tribe members from California. These shrines and the West Mesa's significance rests in "strong creation beliefs about their ancestors emerging from the earth." [p. A12]

For this reason, the Pueblos consider a proposal to tunnel below the monument unacceptable. On the other hand,

> feelings [by present-day area residents] over future traffic flow have become so pitched that Bill Fuller, President of the Paradise Hills Civic Association, wrote last summer to a Congressman about the highway standoff: The National Park Service has been such a terrible neighbor that many people would like to see the Petroglyph National Monument declassified and removed from the National Park system. [p. A12]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Anglo-American, *Ethnography, *West Mesa, *Development, *Paseo del Norte*

Compiled by: kfa

Brooke, James

1998 With a Mountain at Stake, Tiny Tribe and New Mexico Neighbors Do Battle. New York Times, September 8: A14.

This article concerns the controversy arising from a federal judge's order in August 1998 for the U.S. government to transfer ownership of 3,760 hectares (9,400 acres) of wilderness area on Sandía Mountain' west face under the administration of the Cibola National Forest to Sandía Pueblo. Brooke reviews land grant documents, a community's claims to its traditional land, and the concerns of present-day Anglos living in private enclaves within the disputed lands. Tom Stribling, an area resident, offers

comments that resemble remarks commonly raised by people living on and around West Mesa:

> Are we so self-deceived we presume the tribes "know" what sacred is, and we do not?…
>
> Taking this public resource solely on their private religion diminishes and deprives us all of something sacred. [p. A12]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Anglo-American, *Ethnography, *Sandía Mountain, *Development*

Compiled by: kfa

Brown, Donald N.

1979 Picuris Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 268–277. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Picurís Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tiwa, *Picurís, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Brugge, David M.

1977 Motivation and Function in Navajo Rock Art. American Indian Rock Art 4:141–147.

Brugge speculates on the processes through which Navajos might have adopted Pueblo ceremonial iconography after the Pueblo Revolt. He suggests that refugee Pueblo ceremonialists, whose daughters married Navajo men, taught their sons-in-law their rituals rather than see their sacred observances die out. He suggests further that the people might have used petroglyphs as mnemonic devices to bridge different languages and iconographic traditions. Brugge argues that the eventual transfer of the rock iconography to the sandpainting medium resulted in the elongation and geometricization of figures. He rests his argument, in part, on the Pueblo principle that length equals power. He also suggests that geometrical forms are more easily rendered by the untrained artists who might have been the only sandpainters present among small Navajo social groups.

A critique of Brugge's speculation is that, in the real world, at least before the advent of commercial advertising, iconographies, especially for ceremonialism, are unlikely to transfer so cleanly from donor to recipient groups with different histories. Brugge himself also allows elsewhere that Athapaskan-speaking ancestors of Navajos might have appeared in the Southwest during the A.D. 1300s. Such an early arrival of Athapaskan people opens the possibility of 300 to 400 years of Pueblo-Athapaskan intermarriage, language shift, and cultural syncretism *before* the Pueblo Revolt.

Brugge also mentions another visual medium, painted buckskin, that might have affected both petroglyphs and sandpainting iconography. No painted buckskin examples survive to support Brugge's speculation, however. Brugge offers another important point that incised petroglyphs probably superseded pecked images after ca. 1700, at which time metal tools became common.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *History, *Art, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Brugge, David M.

1977 The Ye'i or Holy People in Navajo Rock Art. Awanyu 5(3):8–16.

By ordering Navajo rock images of *Yéii* (immortals) according to inferred dates of creation, Brugge finds that they form a developmental bridge between deity images depicted on the late pre-Columbian Pueblo kiva murals documented at Kuaua (ca. A.D. 1500; e.g., see Schaafsma 1963) and those in Navajo sandpaintings dating after the late 1800s. This trend is manifest as increasing stylization through elongation and "geometricization." At some point Navajos stopped depicting *Yéii* on rocks and restricted use of such images to temporary sandpaintings, after which time Navajo rock images show only human dancers impersonating *Yéii*. The "Modern Dancer" style is so naturalistic as to constitute a reversal of the Kuaua mural-to-sandpainting stylistic continuum.

Just as in the previous bibliographic entry ("Motivation and Function in Navajo Rock Art" [Brugge 1977]), Brugge believes that *Yéii* came into Navajo culture after the Pueblo Revolt/Reconquest (1680–1696) through close contact and intermarriage with Pueblo refugees "who introduced the Kachina Cult [to the Navajos] at the very end of the 17th century" (p. 14). Moreover, Brugge believes, "the [Navajo] Holyway ceremonies were introduced by the refugees and changed little more than to the degree necessary to permit performance by an individual practitioner in a hogan in the Navajo language" (p. 15). Brugge also acknowledges the possibility that the Holyway ceremonies could be "a culmination of trends exhibited in the sequence of the Kuaua murals to the late *Yéii* [rock images]" (p. 15). This somewhat opaque statement seems to imply that Navajo ancestors might themselves have partaken of the region's

ceremonial iconography as far back as late pre-Columbian times (ca. A.D. 1500s).

Finally, Brugge notes that *Yéii* figures with rectangular or hourglass-shaped bodies and with straight legs and feet are relatively common in Blessingway and Windway sandpaintings. These images contrast with *Yéii* with elongated bodies, pronounced calves, and stylized feet depicted in other sandpaintings. He tentatively suggests that the Blessingway and Windway figures might "preserve some aspects of an older Apachean art style" (p. 15).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *History, *Art, *Ethnography, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Brunnemann, Eric J.

1995 Archeological Reconnaissance of a Lava Tube Shrine Located within the Boundary of Petroglyph National Monument. Park Papers Petr-03, National Park Service.

Brunnemann interprets artifacts in a lava tube at the Petroglyph National Monument as a 19th- and early 20th-century Puebloan religious shrine that may date much earlier. The artifacts include a variety of cut and carved prayer sticks, some with remnant raptor and waterfowl feathers, and corncobs. All artifacts were left in place when the site was recorded. Brunnemann refers to Hopi ethnography in discussing notions of "movement" and "motion" as evidence for animism. He also refers to Jane Young's work at Zuni in noting the "power of place" and "power of image" (p. 22). The shrine is under federal jurisdiction at the Petroglyph National Monument, and no further studies will be conducted without consultation with Puebloan representatives.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Caves, *Cosmology, *Movement*

Compiled by: tjf

Brunnemann, Eric

1997 Chronology of Events That Associate Sophie D. Aberle and William Brophy to Significant National Events Which Were Directed from the Home of Aberle and Brophy from 1957 through about 1978. Albuquerque: Petroglyph National Monument, unpublished MS.

This paper is a synopsis of the highlights of Sophie Aberle's and William Brophy's careers. Of interest to the Petroglyph National Monument study is the description of their house on West Mesa, presently used as the monument's Visitor Center. Brunnemann notes the position of the Aberle home. "Not more than five feet away from the home where two of this century's most accomplished Indian policy reformers once lived and worked, is a National Register site that includes over 10,500 prehistoric and early historic petroglyphs. Not only are the petroglyphs still part of an active puebloan culture, but the story of Dr. Sophie Aberle adds 20th century continuity to a cultural landscape."

*Keywords: *Anglo-American, *History, *Sophie Aberle, *William Brophy, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph National Monument*

Compiled by: gd

Brunnemann, Eric

1997 Historic Cross-Glyphs on the Albuquerque West Mesa. Petroglyph National Monument.

Brunnemann argues that the cross-glyph is historic. Several previous scholars have suggested that cross-glyphs were produced by Nuevomexicanos or Hispanicized Indians as oppositional messages (exorcism) to surrounding Puebloan images. "Schaafsma's contention that the placement of 'Hispanic' cross-glyphs among Puebloan petroglyphs in order to extricate any latent empowerment that exists in the former demonstrates the assumption that prehistoric and historic imagery is mutually exclusive." In contrast, Brunnemann suggests the cross-gylphs illustrate integration of cultural ideologies rather than their segregation.

Brunnemann first argues that many sites with cross-glyphs are near sheltered areas, a few of which are along the escarpment. The multiple cultural occupations of these sites are "evidenced by the appearance of cross-glyphs mixed with 'probably' prehistoric petroglyphs—which are just as often mixed with contemporary graffiti."

Brunnemann then presents several alternative meanings for the historic cross-glyphs and supports his arguments with archaeological, documentary, and historic evidence. One possible meaning is as boundary markers or *mojoneras,* which typically were a mound of stones or a cross. These markers, sometimes in combination with monogram-glyphs, might mark an area used by a particular person. The markers also might sanctify a particular area and protect the shepherd and his flock from harm.

According to Jane Young, a large triangular-shaped zoomorphic in an isolated petroglyph panel in Rinconada Canyon is characteristic of the Zuni

Shalako. Adjacent to the Shalako image are images of a four-pointed star zoomorph and serpent, both associated with crosses. Stevenson (1904) documents the origin of Puebloan cross imagery in ancient times, before the arrival of the Spaniards; in some instances, the cross symbolizes the four regions or directions. Brunnemann suggests the panel with the possible Shalako image faces east to relate to the winter solstice, which occurs soon after the Zuni Shalako. Zuni consultants in an earlier study "pointed out that the panel with the star-shaped petroglyph is symbolically connected to other petroglyphs on the same rock." Brunnemann thinks this is "extremely meaningful" because the panel contains the triangular image identified by Young as a Shalako. [It is interesting that the Zunis who visited this site either did not interpret the petroglyph as a Shalako or chose not to divulge that interpretation if they did.] Some scholars interpret the four-pointed star at this panel with the Hopi Nangasohu katsina and the Soyal ceremony.

Some of the crosses might be associated with *Penitente* ceremonies or sacred places. Brunnemann argues that the brotherhood probably was active in the area at one time and "many of the individual cross-glyphs located along the mesa's escarpment might be *descansos,* designated resting places or stops along processional routes." Other crosses associated with possible structural remains might mark the location of *moradas*, while some might represent personal shrines of individual Penitente brothers.

Brunnemann suggests the crosses are not for exorcism of pagan symbols but represent syncretism between Hispanic Catholicism and the Puebloan spiritual world, due to the *mestizo* heritage of the Atrisco heirs. In Rudolfo Anaya's article, "Petroglyphs and Cultural History" (Anaya 1990), Anaya, who is an Atrisco heir, specifically addresses the *mestizo* connection between land and spirit, and how the first Mexican and Hispanic settlers of the Río Grande Valley not only observed but emulated the Native Americans' spiritual relationship with the land:

> It is no mystery that the Petroglyphs came to be incorporated into the Atrisco Land Grant when the land was requisitioned as a community land grant from the Spanish crown in 1692. Those ancient leviathans of the desert [petroglyphs] appear poised to rise and move, had no practical use to the farmers of the valley. But they had spiritual and cultural value.
>
> The mestizo farmers of the valley had learned from their Native American neighbors that the symbols carved into the rocks were part of the continuous spiritual history of the valley. It was a responsibility to preserve for the community the ancient markings. Those symbols have lost their literal meaning to many mestizos, but they have not lost their spiritual significance.
>
> I have stood at the foot of the petroglyphs celebrating in song, dance and prayer with Chicano and Native American brothers and sisters the significance of these ancient rocks.

Brunnemann suggests that one reason the Atrisco Land Rights Council opposed sale of land to the Petroglyph National Monument was that Atrisco heirs would no longer have "access and rights to use the land for religious and cultural activities." Some of these activities include religious ceremonies, the gathering of medicinal plants, and the "frequent use of volcanic rock from the escarpment area to adorn local gravesites and church sites, showing a spiritual connection between the community [of Atrisco] and lava rocks."

Some crosses might not be Nuevomexicano or *mestizo* but might represent historic Pueblo use or possibly the presence of *genízaro* shepherds. Through intermarriage, local Pueblos probably continued traditional use of the symbols. The *genízaro* shepherds were present, although in low numbers; the 1790 census indicates two *genízaros* were herding sheep on the Atrisco grant. Finally, Brunnemann argues that the best approach to interpreting cross-glyphs is to examine them in a multicultural context.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Zuni, *Nuevomexicano, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History, *West Mesa, *Land Grant, *Atrisco, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: gd and tjf

Brunnemann, Eric

1998 Eric Brunnemann's List of Names. Albuquerque: Petroglyph National Monument, unpublished MS.

Brunnemann, an anthropologist who worked at the Petroglyph National Monument, prepared this list of names associated with the monument. For example, Rosco Paquin, a Zuni Indian, served as an attendant to Sophie Aberle in the 1960s, and the Paquin Trail in front of the triplex is named for him. Brunnemann feels "many images at the back of Rinconada Canyon were made by Rosco." Rosco is buried at Zuni (supposedly in a Kiva) and his family is still known."

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Sophie Aberle*

Compiled by: tjf

Bureau of Land Management

1929–1940 Master Title Plats, Bureau of Land Management, Public Room, Santa Fé.

The Master Title Plats for four townships surrounding the park (T11NR1E, T11NR2E, T10NR1E, and T10NR2E) reveal that most patented claims were for oil and gas exploration, mining, or incorporation into government tracts later used for the Kirtland Air Force Base Bombardier School precision bombing range. Most homesteads occurred in T11NR2E. Of the 15 homestead claims filed, only nine were patented, all between 1921 and 1955. Most of the claims are Stock Raising Homestead Entries (SRHE) containing over 200 hectares (500 acres) and were patented in the 1930s. The 9 patented homesteads were claimed by 7 people:

Camilo Lucus - 1929 - #1023634 - SRHE - Section 24 – 255.32 hectares (638.3 acres)

Manuel Sanchez y Aranda - 1933 - #1061843 and #1066245 - SRHE and HE, Sections 35 and 26 – 218.76 hectares (546.91 acres)

Sidney John Ash - 1936 - #1083853 - SRHE - Section 25–219.48 hectares (548.69 acres)

Frances Johanna Sharp (formerly Genrich) - 1938 - #1097972 - HE - Section 34 – 14.68 hectares (36.7 acres) and 1955 - 1154643 - HE - Section 34 – 40 hectares (100 acres)

Van Robert Turner - 1939 - 1103819 - SRHE - Section 22 – 256 hectares (640 acres)

Willie Delbert Turner - 1939 - 1104544 - SRHE - Sections 13, 14, 23 – 252.42 hectares (631.04 acres)

Walter C. Riner - 1940 - 1106866 - SRHE - Section 26–192 hectares (480 acres)

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *Anglo-American, *History, *West Mesa, *Land Title Plats*

Compiled by: gd

Cajete, Gregory

1994 Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education. Durango: Kivakí Press.

Cajete, a Santa Clara Tewa educator, is concerned with sustaining traditional cultural knowledge as a way for communities to maintain their cultural identity and sense of well-being. Cajete explores indigenous education as an attempt "to develop insights into the community of shared metaphors and understandings that are specific to Indian cultures, yet reflect the nature of human learning as a whole" (p. 21). Cajete never refers to Petroglyph National Monument or its surrounding environs, but his work provides a framework for comprehending statements made by Native Americans about the special qualities of the West Mesa petroglyphs and ethnographic landscape. Chapter 3, The Spiritual Ecology of Indigenous Education, and Chapter 4, The Environmental Foundation of Indigenous Education, are especially relevant to an understanding of the importance of place held by traditional communities in their ethnographic landscape constructions.

To Cajete, indigenous education is an exploration of spiritual ecology. Traditionally, "the ultimate goal of Indigenous education was to be fully knowledgeable about one's innate spirituality" (p. 42). The medium for attaining this knowledge is the many-layered spiritual connections Indian people feel with special places in their lands and in their lives. These connections have roots in mythic times and do not necessarily require material use to sustain their validity. "By talking about those special places,…[Indian people] connected their spirit to them through their words, thoughts, and feelings" (p. 43). Cajete explains further,

> American Indians believe it is the breath that represents the most tangible expression of the spirit in all living things. Language is an expression of the spirit because it contains the power to move people and to express human thought and feeling. It is also the breath, along with water and thought, that connects all living things in direct relationship. The interrelation of water, thought (wind), and breath personifies the elemental relationship emanating from "that place that the Indians talk about," that place of the Center where all things are created. [p. 42]

By understanding themselves as part of a natural community and an ecological process, Indian people express their relationships to the natural world in ways "that only can be called 'ensoulment'" (p. 83). Cajete defines *ensoulment* as the projection of the human sense of soul on particular entities, phenomena, and places in their natural environments. Moreover, by tracing their respective communities' metaphorical journeys across their landscapes, whereby people learned about themselves in relation to their natural world, indigenous groups view the landscape as "a textbook of ecological understanding, interpreted through the traditional stories and activities of tribes" (p. 91). Disruptions of the intensity and intimacy of the relationship between the people of traditional Indian communities and their ethnographic landscapes historically resulted in the disastrous loss of meaning and identity for individuals, families, and communities as a whole (see p. 85).

Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Breath, *Centers, *Emergence, *Movement, *Connectedness, *Healing Spaces, *Spiritual Ecology

Compiled by: kfa

Cajete, Gregory

1999 "Look to the Mountain": Reflections on Indigenous Ecology. *In* A People's Ecology: Explorations in Sustainable Living. Gregory Cajete, ed. Pp. 1–20. Santa Fé: Clear Light Publishers.

This essay is condensation of Cajete's (1994) larger work, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*. He introduces essential principles about the spiritual ecology of Pueblo people, including the ideas of breath, center, emergence and movement, and in a clear and cogent manner.

Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Movement, *Connectedness, *Healing Spaces, *Spiritual Ecology

Compiled by: kfa

Carmichael, David L.

1994 Places of Power: Mescalero Apache Sacred Sites and Sensitive Areas. *In* Sacred Sites, Sacred Places. David L. Carmichael, Jane Hubert, Brian Reeves, and Audhild Schanche, eds. Pp. 89–98. London: Routledge.

In an insightful overview, Carmichael considers "some of the kinds of sites and places considered sacred or sensitive in traditional Mescalero thought" (p. 89). He observes,

> A fundamental aspect of traditional Mescalero thought is the belief in the sacred character of specific geographical places. Some are important because of the roles they played in the mythic time of Mescalero tribal history. Others are sources of natural resources required in traditional ceremonies. Most appear to be important because they are places of power… [p. 89]

Carmichael examines the thesis that the Apache believe the sacred character of specific landscape features from which the people draw power is an essential component of Apache self-identity. He explains that the Apache idea of power as "a spiritual energy or life force that enables an individual to interact with the forces of the natural and supernatural worlds" (p. 91). His observation, "Belief in the sacred character of specific features of the landscape is an essential component of Mescalero self-identity" (p. 96), imparts to the reader the gist of how Apache people ensoul their physical worlds through their acquisition of power in accord with the structured order communicated through the base metaphor (see Farrer 1991). Carmichael similarly provides a framework for unpacking key aspects of the ideational organization of places of power within the landscape that structure how Apache people obtain the power they need for sustaining balance and harmony.

Keywords: **Apache, *Mescalero Apache, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Cosmology
Compiled by: kfa

Cole, Sally J.

1992 Katsina Iconography in Homol'ovi Rock Art, Central Little Colorado River Valley, Arizona. The Arizona Archaeologist 25. Phoenix: Arizona Archaeological Society.

Cole describes and interprets petroglyphs found at and near Homol'ovi. She investigates the role of the "katsina cult" in the development of large, complex pueblos in the 13th and 14th centuries. Cole concludes that the iconography in petroglyphs communicated "socioreligious alliances of the katsina cult, which enjoyed a high degree of social cooperation over time" (p. 153).

Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography
Compiled by: tjf

Colton, Harold S.

1946 Fools Names Like Fools Faces—. Plateau 19(1):1–8

Colton derives the name of his article from his observations that humans have a propensity to mark their names in the places they visit. Colton finds the study of Southwest rock art challenging because it is hard to date and difficult to place in a cultural context.

The Hopi site at *Tutuveni* near Willowsprings provides an important analogy for interpreting some of the West Mesa petroglyphs. Colton suggests *Tutuveni* is one of the most important rock art sites in the Southwest, second only to the inscriptions on El Morro in New Mexico. The petroglyphs at *Tutuveni* are important because the people who made them were still living and thus could provide their interpretation. The petroglyphs occur on large Mesozoic sandstone boulders that have rolled to the bottom of a talus slope at the edge of a mesa. Many of the boulders are covered on the tops and sides with images. Colton

observes that some of the petroglyphs at Tutuveni are similar to those found near archaeological ruins, while others have different subject matter and their images are placed in rows.

The geologist G. K. Gilbert "discovered" the petroglyph site in 1878 and called it Oakley Springs. Colton quotes Chief Tuba's comments on the significance of the rock art from Garrick Mallery's 1886 article, "Pictographs of the North American Indians":

> Mokis make excursions to a locality in the canyon of the Colorado Chiquito to get salt. On their return they stop at Oakley Springs and each Indian makes a symbol on the rock. Each Indian draws his crest or totem, the symbol of his gens. He draws it once and only once each visit.
>
> There are probably some exceptions to this but the etchings show the general truth. There are many repetitions of the same design, from two to ten will often appear in a row. In several instances I saw the end drawing quite fresh while the others were not so. Much of the work appears to have been performed by pounding with a hard point, but a few of the pictures are scratched on. Many drawings are weather-worn beyond recognition, and others are so fresh that the dust left by the tool has not been washed away by the rain. [p. 3]

Hopi Edmund Nequatewa identified many, but not all, of the clan symbols at *Tutuveni*. Colton states

> In one place, depending upon the skill of the artist, different forms of the same symbol appear. In other places different symbols stand for the same clan. This use of apparently unrelated symbols for the same group is explained in the clan legends which all Hopis know. As a example, the symbol for the cloud clan may be a cloud, a rainbow, lightning, a duck, a tadpole, a frog or any aquatic animal or bird; for the corn clan a corn plant is most common but a picture of the Germ God will do as well; the Kachina clan may be represented by a Kachina mask, but just as well by a branch of Douglas fir. [p. 4]

Nequatewa told Colton, as Talayesva later told Titiev, that a symbol repeated with the same elements represented repeated visits by the same individual (p. 5). Nequatewa recognized the symbols for two clans that recently had become extinct at Hopi (i.e., the Moon and Oak Clans), suggesting to Colton that the other drawings he did not recognize were symbols of other extinct clans. Colton (pp. 5–6) thinks a petroglyph site similar to *Tutuveni* that also functioned as "registration book" occurs at Inscription Point, about eight miles northeast of Wupatki Pueblo. Unlike *Tutuveni*, however, the petroglyphs at Inscription Point do not occur in repeated rows.

Colton notes that rock art is hard to date. He suggests that the rock art of different "tribes" can be distinguished by looking at the petroglyphs that occur on the frontiers of different cultures. Colton illustrates rock art elements from the Kayenta, Sinagua, and Cohonina areas as an example. He concludes:

> To try and draw general conclusions on rock drawings in northern Arizona is still dangerous at the present time. We can say with confidence only that rock art drawings have been made for three general purposes, as "doodles," as fetishes, and as signatures of travelers so perhaps the old adage is not always true, that "He is a fool and ever shall, who writes his name upon a wall." [p. 8]

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*
Compiled by: tjf

Colton, Mary Russell, and Harold S. Colton

1931 Petroglyphs, The Record of a Great Adventure. American Anthropologist 33:32–37.

The Coltons describe the Hopi petroglyphs at "Picture Rocks" (*Tutuveni*), one mile south of Willowsprings and six miles west of Tuba City. This site provides an important analogy for interpretation of West Mesa petroglyphs. The Coltons discuss this petroglyph site's use in relation to the Hopi pilgrimage to the Salt Mines at the mouth of the Little Colorado River in the Grand Canyon, and they interpret the petroglyphs as providing a physical record of the Hopi men who participated in this precarious pilgrimage from prehistoric times. The Coltons state:

> When the early salt gatherers trotted down the trail by the red Echo cliffs, they felt a great urge to leave a record of their daring. They came upon a great sandstone boulder close beside the way and here they stopped and each man, with the point of a sharp rock, laboriously pecked into the smooth surface of a boulder the symbol of his clan, that all who passed might read.
>
> Through the centuries many brave men came down the old trail upon the same errand, an unending line into the dim past. Each man paused beside the boulder and placed his clan symbol beside those of his clan brothers who had preceded him. Finally the great boulder became crowded with an intricate record of the clans, an overlapping network which covered every surface of the rock...And the record moved on to another boulder and to another, and who can say they do not still pass that way? There are

> symbols there of recent date, whether idly placed or with ceremonial intent. [p. 37]

Edmund Nequatewa assisted the Coltons to identify the petroglyphs as clan symbols. Symbols representing 26 clans were identified on "Picture Rock": Badger, Bear, Bluebird, Bow, Butterfly, Cloud, Corn, Coyote, Crow, Eagle, Horn, Katchina, Lizard, Moon, Oak, Parrot, Rabbit, Red Ant, Reed, Sand, Sivapi (rabbitbrush), Snake, Snow, Spider, Strap (rope), and Sun. The Coltons compare these symbols with lists of clans in Mindeleff (1900) and Fewkes (1900). Representative drawings of each clan symbol presented in Figures 1 and 2 provide a useful guide to the range of variation in the petroglyphs (pp. 34–35). The authors interpret unrecognized symbols as extinct clans.

Keywords: **Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

Copeland, James M.

1998 Navajo Hero Twin Ceremonial Art in Dinetah. *In* Dine Bikeyah: Papers in Honor of David M. Brugge. Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick, eds. Pp. 57–68. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico 24. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico.

This article discusses petroglyph images of the Navajo Warrior Twins, Monster Slayer, and Born for Water around the upper San Juan River (*Dinétah*). Copeland assumes the images date to ca. 1700s. Images compiled suggest certain distinguishing characteristics for each twin: Monster Slayer consistently holds a knife and has a headdress of one to three feathers, while Born for Water consistently has some kind of flat or horizontally projecting headdress and holds two sticks [which, though Copeland does not say so, probably represent the "cigars" that lit up when his older brother was in danger while slaying the monsters]. Copeland suggests these images reflect or are prototypes for ceremonial impersonators' costumes. He makes the important point that the iconography in these images uses some of the attributes that define the Twins in sandpaintings, but the images do not duplicate the inventory of defining attributes for each Twin found in the sandpaintings. In other words, iconographies in petroglyphs and sandpaintings overlap but do not coincide.

Copeland perhaps unintentionally gives the impression that these are all the images of the Twins in *Dinétah*. However, other images identified as one or both Twins appear in other sources, including images with shields (e.g., Roessel 1983:6, 114; Schaafsma 1963:Cover).

Keywords: **Navajo, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Oral Traditions, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Copeland, James M.

2000 Dinetah Ceremonial Rock Art and Cultural Affiliation in Northwest New Mexico. Paper presented at the 27th Annual Conference of the American Rock Art Research Association, May 27, 2000, Phoenix, AZ.

Copeland tries sorting early post-Columbian *Dinétah* petroglyphs into images and image clusters that (1) are uniquely Navajo, (2) are uniquely Pueblo, (3) exhibit a mixture of Navajo and Pueblo characteristics, and (4) lack counterparts in either Navajo or Pueblo iconography. Copeland attempts this task by comparing rock images with Navajo and Pueblo iconography in other media, mainly sandpaintings for the Navajos and kiva murals for the Pueblos.

He tentatively concludes that uniquely Navajo rock images include certain "supernatural personages" called *Yéii* (e.g., the Two War Gods, Humpback, Fringe Mouth, Female God of the Nightway, Black God, and possibly Talking God, Mountain Chant, and Shooting Chant personages, among others). He identifies the recurved bow, the hourglass hairbun (which signifies the Two War Gods), and "a particular style of bat, star ceilings, star dot patterns, crooked corn plants, horses with and without riders, game animal tracks (deer, antelope, elk, rabbit), predator tracks (mountain lion?), bison, and possibly a form of shield figure where the body is visible behind the shield" (p. 7) as other uniquely Navajo images.

The relatively rare uniquely *Dinétah* area Pueblo images include:

> shield bearing figures where the body is hidden behind the shield or the shield is held off to one side..., katsina like masks and katsina like figures..., human forms with Pueblo style hair styles and "red locks"...., "v-necked" human forms without lower torsos…, star beings, hocker posed or receptive females, most bird forms, mountain lions..., and the use of terraced or stepped framing lines similar to those found on kiva walls... [pp. 7–8]

(We note, however, that documented Navajo sandpainting iconography includes a mountain lion

motif resembling one of the "uniquely Pueblo" types that Copeland illustrates. We note further that "v-necked" figures occur in Navajo Windway sandpaintings [see Wyman 1962:Figure 5] and in *Dinétah* petroglyphs identified by Schaafsma [1980:Figure 257].)

Images with mixed Navajo and Pueblo iconographic elements include:

> zig zag lightning in a multitude of forms and combinations with other designs, spirals, dragon flies, terraced and key stone shaped cloud images, straight corn plants, interlocking crescent figures, snakes, large circular designs that may or may not be shields, animal forms with heart lines, and animal forms with ceremonial (?) arrows protruding out of the back. [p. 8]

Images without clear Navajo or Pueblo counterparts mainly are varied geometric forms.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *History, *Art, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Copeland, James M., and Hugh C. Rogers

1996 In the Shadow of the Holy People: Ceremonial Imagery in *Dinétah*. *In* The Archaeology of Navajo Origins. Ronald H. Towner, ed. Pp. 213–230. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Copeland and Rogers summarize the history of research on Navajo "rock art" in *Dinétah* (Largo-Gobernador canyon systems in the Upper San Juan drainage) and discuss in detail two images (illustrated) that suggest pre-Hispanic Navajo-Puebloan ceremonial interaction. The authors also classify and tabulate those rock images in *Dinétah* recorded by the Hadlocks (see Hadlock 1979; and Olin and Hadlock 1980) and others.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Correll, J. Lee, and Alfred Dehiya

1978 [1975] The Navajo Nation and How It Grew. Window Rock: Navajo Times Publishing.

Starting with the 1868 treaty between the Navajos and the U.S. government and the reservation thereby established, this work shows successive additions to that reservation through a series of maps and the texts of the documents that created or modified each addition. The authors include very brief sketches of how lands at Canyoncito, Alamo, and Ramah were set aside.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *History, *Reservation*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Crans, E. Grant

1928 The Book of Albuquerque. Privately printed.

This visitor's guide to Albuquerque lists the Extinct Volcano Craters as a scenic drive. The vistas are extolled, and the following legend is presented:

> A local legend of these extinct craters is—believe it or not—that some time ago an exploring traveler explored the interior of one of the craters until he fancied he could feel volcanic heat coming up from its depths, and hastily clambered out and away, lest the volcano should come to life again. That may have been merely our wonderful sunshine, bottled up as it were and magnified in the crater's interior. [p. 27]

*Keywords: *Anglo-American, *Oral Traditions, *West Mesa, *Volcanoes*

Compiled by: tjf

Cuevas, Lou

1996 In the Valley of the Ancients: A Book of Native American Legends. Albuquerque: Petroglyph National Monument.

This small book is a collection of 11 common oral Native American stories. One, "The Sacred Stone" (pp. 24–26), contains references to petroglyphs and the Petroglyph National Monument locality. In his introduction to the piece, Cuevas notes,

> Tribes of the Rio Grande Valley, like their ancestors, have always believed no one owned the land—it belonged to everyone. They knew the four corners of the earth arose from here. Their religious mythology centered on numbers, colors and stages of life. To them the desert valley, which is called the Rio Grande, was the very essence of all they held sacred. [p. 24]

The story tells about a woman who was sealed inside a great round stone while she worked to make peace among tribes that raided and stole among one another. The stone became the woman's home and is the platform upon which all peace eventually will be made.

> Today she [the woman inside the stone] is considered to be a sign of good fortune. Among some petroglyphs you will see animals enclosed in protective shields. It is told that the shields are their homes. [p. 26]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *West Mesa, *Oral Traditions, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: kfa

Curtis, Edward S.

1926 The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska, vol. 17. The Tewa, the Zuni, Mythology. Norwood, MA: Plimpton Press.

Curtis often is criticized today for his staging of many of his artistically acclaimed photographs. The ethnographic observations contained in the volumes often are overlooked in comparison.

In this volume Curtis provides information that Tewa communities at great distances from Sandía Mountain, such as San Ildefonso, apparently define physiographic analogues within their immediate home territories for purposes of most regular pilgrimages and prayers.

Curtis retells a San Ildefonso story about the Warrior Twins who now live on Sandía Mountain and protect the communities they watch over. The story , "The War-Gods Destroy Tsimayó" (p. 172), is of interest to the Petroglyph national Monument landscape project because of its references to the Warrior Twins, giants, mountains, caves, and volcanism. Although the story is a San Ildefonso Tewa account and never mentions either Sandía Mountain or the West Mesa volcanoes, it contains the structural and metaphorical elements found in Keresan and southern Tiwa story texts for the Río Abajo country.

The Warrior Twins drove the giant that had been plaguing the people of San Ildefonso Pueblo to *Shuma*. This place is the high volcanic mesa south of the village at the beginning of the Río Grande Gorge.

> There they destroyed him, and smoke was belched forth from Shúma, from Tsimayó [Chimayo mountain northeast of the village], from a large cave in a northern Mountain, and from the cave in Tú^{n}yo. [p. 172]

Curtis adds that all these smoke-belching features are of volcanic origin. He infers that the tale points to the Tewas' presence in the region at the time these craters were active.

The story also is useful because it reveals the traditional understanding among the Tewa that lava rock was once a liquid that flowed from the earth. According to Curtis' informants, the Warrior Twins lived directly among the people. Giants terrorized the people, who sought the Warrior Twins' assistance. The warriors chased the giants and fought them. When they finally killed the evil beings, the people saw nearby volcanic peaks and their caves belch smoke, if not also lava and fire, which hardened the earth.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Tewa, *Zuni, *Mountains, *Volcanoes, *Caves, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: kfa

Cushing, Frank Hamilton

1896 Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths. *In* Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Pp. 321–447. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

In this classic ethnographic report from the 19th century, Cushing recounts and discusses the Zuni origin and migration narrative. The account is primarily narrative, with only a few sections containing literal translation in a Zuni poetic style, and its structure and organization were designed to be coherent to a non-Indian audience. Two elements in the account are pertinent to the Petroglyph National Monument cultural landscape study: Zuni concepts of volcanism and cultural-historical ties between Zuni and the Río Grande.

In a section on the Hardening of the World, Cushing describes how the Beloved Twins took counsel with the Sun-father to harden the world after a period of earthquakes. This section contains the following poetic treatment of volcanism:

> That the earth be made safer for men, and more stable,
> Let us shelter the land where our children be resting,
> Yea! the depths and the valleys shall be sheltered
> By the shade of our cloud-shield! Let us lay to its circle
> Our firebolts of thunder, aimed to all the four regions,
> Then smite with our arrows of lightning from under
> Lo! fire shall belch outward and burn the world over,
> And floods of hot water shall seethe swift before it!
> Lo! smoke of earth—stenches shall blacken the daylight
> And deaden the senses of them else escaping
> And lesson the number of fierce preying monsters!
> That the earth be made safer for men, and more stable. [p. 389]

Cushing continues the account in a narrative style:

> Dread was the din and stir. The heights staggered and the mountains reeled, the plains boomed and cracked under the floods and fires, and the high hollow places, hugged of men and the creatures, were black and awful, so that these grew crazed with panic and strove alike to escape or to hide more deeply. But ere-while they grew deafened and deadened, forgetful and asleep! A tree lighted of lightning burns not long! Presently thick rain fell, quenching the fires; and waters washed the face of the world, cutting deep trails from the heights downward, and scattering abroad the wrecks and corpses of stricken things and beings, or burying them deeply. Lo! they are seen in the mountains to this day; and in the trails of those fierce waters cool rivers now run, and where monsters perished lime of their bones (*áluwe*—calcareous nodules in malpais or volcanic tuff) we find, and use in food stuff! Gigantic were they, for their forms little and great were often burned or shriveled and contorted into stone. See are these, also, along the depths of the world. Where they huddled together and were blasted thus, their blood gushed forth and flowed deeply, here in rivers, there in floods; but it was charred and blistered and blackened by the fires, into the black rocks of the lower mesas (*ápkwina*, lava or malpais). There were vast plains of dust, ashes and cinders, reddened as is the mud of a hearth-place. There were great banks of clay and soil burned to hardness—as clay is when baked in the kiln-mound,—blackened, bleached, or stained yellow, gray, red, or white, streaked and banded, bended or twisted. Worn and broken by the heavings of the under-world and by the waters and breaths of the ages, they are the mountain-terraces of the Earth-mother, "dividing country from country." Yet many were the places behind and between these—dark canyons, deep valleys, sunken plains—unharmed by the fires, where they swerved or rolled higher—as, close to the trace of a forest-fire, green grow trees and grasses, and even flowers continue to bloom. Therein, and in the land sheltered by the shield, tarried the people, awakened, as from fearful dreams. Dry and more stable was the world now, less fearsome its long places; since, changed to rock were so many monsters of prey (some shriveled to the size of insects; made precious as amulets for the hunter and warrior, as told in other talks of our ancient speech). [pp. 389–390]

Cushing also describes the "Northward Eastern Journey of the Winter Clans," led by *Hléeto-kwe* and *Mátsailema*, who split off from the main body of Zunis and traveled through the valley of the Río Puerco of the West to Shipapulima. Along the route, they left "the marks of the rites of their fathers and of their kin-names on the rocks thereabout." From *Shipapulima* (which Cushing identifies as the Hot-Springs in Colorado), the Winter Clans returned westward to Zuni, "building everywhere they tarried, along the River of Great Water-flowing (Río Grande del Norte) even back to the mountains of Zuñiland..." (p. 426). The "Winter Clans" include Bear, Coyote, Deer, Crane, Turkey, and Grouse (p. 386).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Oral Traditions, *Volcanoes, *Lava*

Compiled by: tjf

Cushing, Frank Hamilton

1920 Zuni Breadstuff. Indian Notes and Monographs Vol. 8. New York: Museum of the American Indian.

In this masterpiece of ethnobotany, Cushing writes about the Zuni's use of corn to provide a rich interpretation of the broad patterns of Zuni culture and history. He presents a perspective on Zuni concepts of volcanism that restate the information in his "Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths."

> Then said the twin brothers: "Men, our children are poorer than the beasts, their enemies; for each creature has a special gift of strength or sagacity, while to men has been given only the power of guessing. Nor would we that our children be webfooted like the beings that live over the waters and damp places."
>
> Therefore, they sent all men and harmless beings to a place of security; then laid their water-shield on the ground. Upon it they placed four thunderbolts, one pointing north, another west, another south, and the other eastward. When all was ready they let fly the thunderbolts. Instantly the world was covered with lurid fire and shaken with rolling thunders, as is a forest today burned and blasted where the lightning has fallen. Thus as the clay of vessels is burned to rock, and the mud of the hearth crackled and reddened by fire, so the earth was mottled and crackled and hardened where now we see mountains and masses of rock. Many of the great monsters and prey-beings were changed in a twinkling to enduring rock or shriveled into twisted idols which the hunter and priest-warrior know best how to prize. Behold! their forms along every mountainside and ravine and in the far western valleys and plains still endure the tracks of the fathers of men and beings, the children of earth. Yet some of the beings of prey were spared, that the world might not become over-filled with life and starvation follow, and that men might breathe of their spirits and be inspired with the hearts of warriors and hunters. [pp. 32–33]

Cushing recounts how a group of Zuni ancestors traveled to *Shipapulima* during the migratory period.

Here they met the *A'-tâ-a*, or Seed People, who journeyed with them to the middle of the world at Zuni Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Oral Traditions, *Volcanoes, *Lava*

Compiled by: tjf

Cushing, Frank Hamilton

1967 [1883] Zuni Fetishes. Las Vegas: KC Publications.

In discussing Zuni fetishes, Cushing recounts a portion of the Zuni "Iliad," an epic oral narrative "of great length, metrical, rhythmical even in parts, and filled with archaic expressions nowhere to be found in the modern Zuñi" (p. 12). This piece of "aboriginal literature" was closely guarded by the priests, and Cushing had an opportunity to listen to only one-fourth of it during a recitation in 1881. This portion includes the account of the "Drying of the World," which includes information presented in more detail in his later "Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths." This account evokes images of volcanism. The world was covered with water, damp and unstable, with earthquakes disturbing its surface. Strange beings and animals of prey rose up through it, and the Zuni ancestors, who recently had emerged into the world, were on an island in the middle of a great water, blinded by the sunlight. Two children leading the ancestors to the Sun-father saw that the earth must be dried and hardened because the earth was still soft, and there were monsters that devoured the children of men. By ritual means, they "shot the arrows of lightning in every direction, and fire rolled over the earth" (p. 14). The earth's surface was scorched and hardened, and the prey animals were shriveled and turned into stone. The resulting petrified forms, concretions, and eroded rocks became revered by Zunis as powerful fetishes.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Oral Traditions, *Volcanoes, *Lava*

Compiled by: tjf

Cushman, David W.

1993 When Worlds Collide: Indians, Archeologists, and the Preservation of Traditional Cultural Properties. Patricia L. Parker, guest ed. Pp. 49–54. CRM 16 (Special Issue). Washington, DC: National Park Service.

In considering the issue of traditional cultural property preservation, Cushman makes the important observation that existing management tools are best suited for natural and cultural resources with demonstrable historical contexts and associations. These methods and procedures, however, are not necessarily equally well suited for management of other resources whose historical values are based on less tangible contexts and associations through which a community sustains its cultural identity (p. 50). Because existing tools typically partition nature and culture within a linear chronology, the management process often poses great obstacles to meaningful consultation with traditional communities who view their world quite differently, as a web of ongoing interrelationships. Moreover, Cushman warns that expectations that a landscape analysis can and should document and decipher privileged knowledge are unrealistic and disrespectful of an indigenous community's established traditions and systems of cultural knowledge. Cushman concludes his essay with a series of recommendations to tribes, State Historic Preservation Officers, and federal agencies that offer the potential to resolve these difficulties by encouraging the more active participation of indigenous communities in the management process (pp. 51–53).

*Keywords: *Preservation, *Cultural Resources Consultation, *Traditional Cultural Properties*

Compiled by: kfa

Department of the Interior, U.S. Surveyor General

1881 Town of Atrisco. Santa Fe, New Mexico Territory. Case No. 145, File No. 184. Roll 26, Frame 1036. Filed by Chaves and Wade, claimant attorneys. Santa Fé: New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.

This document contains testimony of Atrisco heirs before the U.S. Surveyor General regarding the grant and the validity of their claim. The document contains a few names of grant residents, mainly the witnesses, who discuss the boundaries of the grant and how long people have been there. Witnesses testify that homes and crops are mainly in the Río Grande Valley along the river, while the mesa is common lands for grazing and gathering wood. Although no references are made to the petroglyphs or the use of the lava along the ridge, the document is useful for studying the Atrisco Grant, and it has been referenced, sometimes indirectly, by many researchers.

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco, *Land Use*

Compiled by: gd

Dillingham, Rick, and Melinda Elliott

1992 Acoma and Laguna Pottery. Santa Fé: School of American Research Press.

This study of Ácoma and Laguna pottery includes many illustrations of historic pottery. The book is a useful source of information regarding stylistic changes and artistic iconography that can be applied to analysis of petroglyphs at the Petroglyph National Monument. The authors summarize the migrations of Ácoma and Laguna from the Four Corners region to their present location. The Ácoma say they moved from Mesa Verde via Chaco Canyon to their present location, where they later colonized Laguna. Laguna traditions, however, suggest that Ácoma and Laguna were founded by two distinct groups at two separate times (pp. 19–21). The Laguna acknowledge the Ácoma migrated first, and that they then followed a westerly route through Zía to Laguna. At the invitation of the Ácoma, the Laguna settled in the San José Valley. Ácoma was a venerable site when the Spaniards arrived in 1540. Many historians date the founding of Laguna between 1697 and 1699 by refugees from Cochití, Santo Domingo, Jémez, Santa Ana, Zía, Cieneguilla, and Ácoma. The authors think some sort of settlement most likely existed at Laguna in ancient times and the historic migrants simply added to it.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Iconography, *Oral Traditions, *Movement*

Compiled by: tjf

Dittert, Alfred E.

1959 Culture Change in the Cebolleta Mesa Region, Central Western New Mexico. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona.

Dittert explains how the Ácoma Culture Province was defined based on the territory claimed by the Pueblo of Ácoma during the Indian Claims Commission. "The borders of the Acoma Land Claim were accepted as the limits of a postulated Acoma Culture Province" (p. 4). Archaeological research was undertaken to formalize the culture province concept and outline the cultural content. The homogeneity of the archaeological record affirmed the spatial construct of a province.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Archaeology, *History, *Aboriginal Land Use*

Compiled by: tjf

Doherty, Brendan

1996 A Road Runs through It: This Special Place. Weekly Alibi, December 4–10: 12–13, 15.

In this second installment of a two-part series, Dougherty gives the results of a year-long investigation of the then building debate over proposed construction of the Paseo del Norte extension through the Petroglyph National Monument. Dougherty's second installment is especially useful because it considers the meaning and context of the monument to the region's Native American communities. Phillip Lauriano, a Sandía Pueblo elder, and William F. Weahkee, a Cochití Pueblo resident and Executive Director of the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, Inc., offer powerful community commentaries.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Development, *Preservation, *Oral Traditions, *Cultural Resources Consultation*

Compiled by: kfa

Domínguez, Fray Francisco Atanasio

1956 The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, with Other Contemporary Documents. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez, trans. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

In a footnote, Adams and Chávez provide information about the ethnographic landscape referent and early history of the place now known as Atrisco:

> Like other sites near the Rio Grande, Atlixco (Nahuatl, "upon the water," probably named for the Valley of Atlixco in Mexico), present Atrisco, had settlers from the seventeenth century on and was considered a good fertile site, because the river at this point flowed farther to the east. In 1662, Governor Peñalosa contemplated establishing a formal town and went so far as to gather fraudulent signatures at the hacienda of the Varelas. [p. 154, n. 12]

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Place Names, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kfa

Downer, Alan S., and Alexandra Roberts

1993 Traditional Cultural Properties, Cultural Resources Management, and Environmental Planning. Patricia L. Parker, guest ed. Pp. 12–14. CRM 16 (Special Issue). Washington, DC: National Park Service.

Downer and Roberts critique the use of narrowly defined project-based criteria and artificially bounded cultural properties in cultural resource management and environmental planning, such as is common in current Section 106 practice. They argue that the idea of traditional cultural properties fits into an emergent management and planning trend based on landscapes and ecosystems that is more respectful of the less tangible contexts and associations through which traditional communities sustain their cultural identities. They identify the need to (1) make the people to whom traditional cultural properties are significant an integral part of the planning and management process, and (2) incorporate the management of traditional cultural properties much earlier into the planning and management process than usual approaches that rely entirely on the Section 106 compliance process (p. 13).

*Keywords: *Preservation, *Cultural Resources Consultation, *Traditional Cultural Properties*

Compiled by: kfa

Eastman, Clyde

1991 Community Land Grants: The Legacy. The Social Science Journal 28:101–117.

This study considers the contemporary situations and operational modes of New Mexico's remaining Nuevomexicano community land grants. In his analysis, Eastman considers 14 grants that still hold significant amounts of community land, which have grazing, mineral, residential, recreational, or other commercial potentials. He excludes the Atrisco Grant (now the Westland Development Company) from this study, however. He states that the Atrisco Grant

> had 3,737 stockholders in 1997. It is providing land for development on Albuquerque's West Mesa, and has clearly been transformed into something very different than the other community grants. [p. 107]

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kfa

Eastvold, Isaac C.

1987 Ethnographic Background for the Rock Art of the West Mesa Escarpment. *In* Las Imagines: The Archaeology of Albuquerque's West Mesa Escarpment. Matthew F. Schmader and John D. Hayes, eds. Pp. 116–136. Prepared for City of Albuquerque and Historic Preservation Division, State of New Mexico.

Eastvold begins this chapter with the admonition that, "The prehistoric rock art of the West Mesa escarpment constitutes a major cultural resource which must be approached with patience, respect, and considerable humility if any significant ethnological insights are to be gained" (p. 116). He acknowledges that despite a substantial published literature, scholars have only an incomplete and fragmentary understanding of the "inner workings of Pueblo religion," a subject that Eastvold considers essential to interpreting the petroglyphs. In this chapter, Eastvold's interpretative methodology is based on "direct ethnographic explanations of Pueblo rock art," noting that no such interpretations existed specifically for the West Mesa at the time of his writing. Eastvold thus relies on published Zuni and Hopi explanations for pecked and painted images on stone. He concludes the petroglyphs of the West Mesa have a tremendous research potential, and there is an "underlying religious principle which unifies the diverse cultural functions Pueblo people assign to their rock art" (p. 117). Zuni materials provide a rich source for interpretation of West Mesa petroglyphs. Zuni petroglyphs are associated with depictions of clans, deities, altars, maps, sacred events associated with specific landscapes, and shrines. Eastvold observes, "Underlying this bewildering array of explanations is a unifying religious principle: that the rock art consistently relates to the sacred history, or mythical time, of the Zuni. Clan totems, religious fraternities, altars, and ceremonies were instituted during this time of emergence" (p. 118). Eastvold thinks "the diversity of functions Pueblo peoples assign to their rock art can be better understood through the underlying motive which consistently relates their symbols to events in the origin traditions" (p. 119). Hopi and Zuni ethnographic publications contain a substantial amount of information that can be used to identify specific images of katchina found in the petroglyphs of the West Mesa. Eastvold thinks sufficient documentation confirms the presence of *Koyemshi* (Mudhead) images at the West Mesa, and other information suggests images of *Yamuhakto, Kianakwe, Hehea, Ma'saw, Koolowisi* (Plumed Water Serpent, a.k.a. *Paalölöqangw*, Awanyu), Kokopelli, Nangasohu, beast gods associated with shamanism, and clan symbols (including Bear, Badger, Crane, and various birds).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Zuni, *Archaeology, *Ethno-*

*graphy, *West Mesa, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

Ebright, Malcolm

1996 Breaking New Ground: A Reappraisal of Governors Vélez Cachupín and Mendinueta and Their Land Grant Policies. Colonial Latin American Historical Review (Spring):195–233.

Ebright evalutes the land grant policies of these two Spanish colonial governors who served on and off between 1749 and 1778. Most grants were along the middle Río Grande and west along the Navajo frontier. Settlers in these grants included *genízaros* and Indios. The article includes relevant parts of the Miera y Pacheca 1779 map and two censuses of settlers of the San Gabriel de las Nutrias grant south of Tome (1764 and 1765) as appendices. The Miera y Pacheco map shows only one route from the Albuquerque vicinity west: from Corrales to the Río Puerco of the East just south of Mesa Prieta, and therefore evidently north of the Petroglyph National Monument site. Ebright also mentions contacts between grantees and Navajos along the Río Puerco of the East, although none involved locations inside or near Petroglyph National Monument.

He assesses these governors' performances in terms of their ability to balance the competing interests of elite stock raisers and lower-class *pobladores* who were trying to establish land grant settlements at the frontier's edge, all the while juggling the competing claims of the Pueblos and trying to sustain peace with the Navajos. Ebright concludes that Vélez Cachupín, who served two terms as governor, from 1749–1754 and 1762–1767, was more successful in meeting these many challenges than Mendinueta, who held office from 1767–1778.

> Although in many instances Mendinueta's land grant policies were consistent with those of his predecessor, in other crucial cases he made large grazing grants to elite individuals who had been rejected by Vélez Cachupín and failed to protect Indian rights. [p. 195]

Of particular interest to this discussion is Governor Mendinueta's investiture of the 1768 Atrisco grant to the established, elite Atrisqueños at the expense of the *pobladores* of the 1753 San Fernando grant on the Río Puerco of the East. The grant's boundaries, as defined by Governor Vélez Cachupín, extended east to the Ceja of the Río Puerco of the East where it abutted the 1692 Atrisco Land Grant.

Atrisqueños approached Governor Mendinueta in the spring of 1768 with the complaint that

> They lacked sufficient pasture and woodlands. As they were hemmed in by other land grants in at least two other directions, they asked for land west of Atrisco in the direction of the Río Puerco south of San Fernando. The Atrisqueños had tried to settle the land earlier but had been driven off by the San Fernando settlers, so in their petition they attacked tie legality of the San Fernando grant, arguing that it had not been settled according to royal laws. Governor Mendinueta did not order an investigation but simply decided that there was no overlap between the grant requested by the Atrisqueños and the San Fernando claim. [p. 221]

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, * Navajo, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kfa, kk, and hf

Edleman, Sandra A.

1979 San Ildefonso Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 278–295. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of San Ildefonso Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *San Ildefonso, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Edleman, Sandra A., and Alfonso Ortiz

1979 Tesuque Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 330–335. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Tesuque Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Tesuque, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Eggan, Fred

1994 The Hopi Indians, with Special Reference to Their Cosmology or World View. *In* Kachinas in the Pueblo World. Polly Schaafsma, ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Eggan observes, "Hopi religion is central to their life and for centuries has involved their land" (p. 15). In discussing Hopi land, Eggan says, "The exterior boundaries of the Hopi domain are likewise marked by a series of shrines that the Hopi elders now revisit every year. There are eight major shrines, marked in

part by spirals or concentric petroglyphs and buried prayer offerings at locations of importance to the Hopi. In general the eight shrines mark the last staging areas in the final migrations to the Hopi homeland" (p. 15).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Ethnography, *Aboriginal Land Use, *Shrines, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology, *Movement*

Compiled by: tjf

Ellis, Florence Hawley

n.d. Anthropology of the Laguna Pueblo Land Claims. Tucson: Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, unpublished MS.

This report was prepared by an expert witness for the Pueblo of Laguna as testimony pursuant to land claims filed during the Indian Claims Commission. Ellis asserts that, "Although Laguna as a specific village site may not have been mentioned in historical papers until the later years of the 17th century, the site was occupied by the early 1500s and the tribe had been in existence at least since 1300" (p. 1). She claims the Laguna have aboriginal ownership of a portion of the area formerly known as the Ácoma Culture Province. Ellis says this area is better called the Western Keres Province. The nucleus tribe consisted of people who came south from the San Juan country, probably Mesa Verde, ca. 1276–1299. All of the Keres people have traditions about migrating south from Mesa Verde, but they probably did not all migrate at the same time. Laguna reports that that their ancestors stopped in Zía, while the leaders and the rest of the people went on into the "Western Keres Province." Ácoma, in contrast, claims their ancestors came from Mesa Verde via Chaco Canyon. Ellis suggests the Ácoma occupation of Chaco Canyon occurred after it had been deserted for some time by its original occupants. According to Ellis, "Old Laguna" was founded about 1400, and Punyana, southwest of San José, had been occupied in the earlier century.

In 1957 Ellis collected eight first-hand accounts of Laguna traditional history. The Laguna narratives begin with creation, with a Mother and Father. The mother told the Laguna not to hurry, so the Ácoma emerged before the Laguna and went south to Mesa Verde. The Mother told the Laguna to go south to Kawaik (Old Laguna) to found their home, but they first stopped at Schkatrig (Mesa Verde), where crops were plentiful and everything was beautiful. Mother caused a drought to encourage them to continue their migration. They stopped along the way to grow food. An account collected by Boas in 1920 refers to a stop made at Zía. After migrating as far south as Salado (Alamo), the Lagunas returned to the home that was their destiny. After founding a settlement, they invited other pueblos to join them. The Parrot Clan came from Zía, the Sun Clan from Hopi, the Roadrunner and Badger Clans from Zuni, and the Sun Clan from Jémez. A series of sites were occupied, culminating in the founding of present Laguna Pueblo. Ellis describes what she considers the area of exclusive Laguna land use, which extended to the Río Puerco of the East.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Movement, *Aboriginal Land Use, *Land Claims*

Compiled by: tjf

Ellis, Florence Hawley

1964 A Reconstruction of the Basic Jemez Pattern of Social Organization, with Comparisons to Other Tanoan Social Structures. Publications in Anthropology 11. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Ellis' study is concerned with what the social structure of the modern Pueblos can contribute to the problem of evaluating the relation between the archaeologically visible settlements in pre-Columbian culture areas and the contemporary communities. In her review of the organization of Jémez Pueblo societies and cults, she provides several useful observations for assessing the significance of the West Mesa ethnographic landscape.

The Underworld Chiefs Society, consisting ideally of 12 members, is a highly secretive organization that relies heavily on seclusion.

> Their name refers to their relationships with the underworld. They use underground chambers, such as hidden caves beneath waterfalls or high in the mountains, for initiations, and shrines, although their meetings are held in the home of their chief in the village. Springs or lagoons, the home of their patron, the plumed serpent, also are used as places of initiation, for the society members are supposed to associate with the supernaturals of the underworld in springs and caves and to prophesy the future for the pueblo, on the basis of what they have seen below the water or on the walls or floors of caves, or of what they have heard in such underground contacts. [p. 32]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Towa, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Caves*

Compiled by: kfa

Ellis, Florence Hawley

1966 Pueblo Boundaries and Their Markers. Plateau 38:97–106.

Ellis begins her discussion by recounting a basalt boulder, which, bearing an engraved "Z," was held by at least one Zía Pueblo community elder to serve as a marker for the Mexican period Cruzate Grant boundary. Although the legitimacy of this particular stone is open to question, Ellis builds from this episode to develop a compelling argument about the land consciousness of the Pueblos throughout the Historic period. She reports that Hopi and Zuni families frequently are known to use clan glyphs on boundary stones delimiting lands over which their clan maintain preferential use rights (p. 104).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Tiwa, *Hopi, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: kfa

Ellis, Florence Hawley

1974 Archaeologic and Ethnologic Data Pertaining to Acoma and Laguna Land Claims, 1957–59. *In* Pueblo Indians, vol. 3. Pp. 211–407. New York: Garland Publishing.

This expert testimony was prepared during litigation of the Ácoma and Laguna land claims before the Indian Claims Commission. Some Laguna Pueblo people are descended from pueblo Indians who migrated there from Río Grande pueblos after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. These migrants came from Cieneguilla, Santa Domingo, and Cochití. Ellis argues that Laguna Pueblo has a much longer history than credited by many historians, and that several ancestral pueblos were occupied in the vicinity in the 14th and 15th centuries. No information is provided about Ácoma or Laguna use of the West Mesa.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History, *Aboriginal Land Use, *Movement*

Compiled by: tjf

Ellis, Florence Hawley

1979 Isleta Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 351–365. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Isleta Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tiwa, *Isleta, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Ellis, Florence Hawley

1979 Laguna Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 438–449. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Laguna Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: tjf

Ellis, Florence Hawley

1994 Pueblo Religious Patterns, Especially Types of Shrines and Areas for Collecting Herbs and Other Religious Necessities. Andrea Hawley Ellis, ed. *In* Artifacts, Shrines, and Pueblos: Papers in Honor of Gordon Page. Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick, eds. Pp. 101–112. Archaeological Society of New Mexico 20. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico.

This paper is a reiteration of a classified document bearing the same title that Florence Hawley Ellis and Andrea Ellis Dodge submitted at court on behalf of the Public Service Company and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The published essay is a modified version of the introduction to court document concerning specific areas identified by the Pueblos of San Juan, San Ildefonso, and Santa Clara that should be avoided during the construction of a proposed high-voltage power line across the Jémez Mountains. This work is important because it provides a variety of contextual information for understanding Pueblo statements regarding the sanctity of places on their ethnographic landscapes that community members identify as possessing special, fragile qualities.

The article is useful for its review of the topic of religious privacy. Ellis identifies the general Pueblo belief "that, if their religious concepts and rituals are divulged to outsiders, those facets lose power" (p. 101). In her discussion of the basic tenets of Pueblo religion, Ellis further explains the difficult situation posed when persons from outside a cultural community ask for explanations of religious belief and faith:

> the old Pueblo concept contends that if one freely "gives away his religion" (lets it be known) to outsiders, it no longer holds as much strength. They recognize that, as any secret ceases to hold its mystery, it also becomes emasculated, losing its power, and thus becomes useless. [p. 103]

In her discussion of shrines and other special power points on the Pueblos' ethnographic landscapes, Ellis offers several other observations that contribute greatly to the article's usefulness:

> Shrines clearly are central to the practice of Pueblo religion, whether located within the village or at a distance. [p. 104]

> Communication with Earth Mothers and other types of…[supernatural beings]…is primarily through shrines. They are locations where the spirits are believed to be at hand, or possibly live, thus a shrine area may be small like a sipapu in a kiva or quite large. [p. 103]

> Shrines that have fallen out of present use remain sacred and revered, since each shrine is like a telephone receiver, whose line communicates with the supernatural switchboard even when rarely employed. Each shrine contains a sacred power to be respected and never desecrated. [p. 104]

Ellis notes that desecration of shrines and other places of great cultural significance to Pueblo communities can occur even when a proposed land-altering activity is underlain by the best intentions. Modifications to improve a locality, such as the cementing of a spring to enhance the flow of water, might represent a profane contamination of a sacred locality that renders a place—and its resources—"entirely unusable in a ritual context" (p. 110).

Importantly, Ellis adds that within the Pueblos' views of their worlds, the physical visitation of places held with reverence on their ethnographic landscapes is not a precondition for maintaining the special, reverent quality of a place. She reports that shrines "may be directly addressed from afar by reverently placing ones [*sic*] thoughts in the location of the distant shrine or by visiting its…substitute" (p. 105) located closer to home or in less public location. Moreover, buffer areas that are "necessarily and consistently" (p. 110) free from trespass are required to maintain the sanctity of power points on the Pueblos' ethnographic landscapes.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Shrines, *Secrecy*

Compiled by: kfa

Enson, Beth

1995 Defending a Land-Based Cultural Heritage: Albuquerque's West Mesa, the Petroglyph National Monument, and the People of Atrisco. The Workbook 20(1):2–10.

Enson examines the challenges confronting traditional Atrisqueños concerned with sustaining the Atrisco Land Grant in the face of rapid West Mesa urban development and the National Park Service's purchase of 800 hectares (2,000 acres) of Atrisco Lands from the Westland Development Company for inclusion in the Petroglyph National Monument. In introducing the background to the present-day controversy that brings some Atrisqueños into conflict with the Westland Development Company, real estate industry representatives, and city, state, and federal agencies, she states,

> For the community of Atrisco in the South Valley west of Albuquerque, however, the West Mesa is not a boundary, but center. The quiet, massive presence of the volcanoes, and the escarpment of petroglyph carvings over which they preside, form the nucleus of a spiritual and cultural territory which has held integrity for millennia. [p. 2]

Enson characterizes the Atrisqueños' struggle to sustain their land-based cultural heritage as a challenge to "the 'givens' of late twentieth-century consumer culture" (p. 3). Enson furthers her claim by stating, among other things, that (1) the corporate law overlooks earlier legal agreements specifying appropriate land-use practices and relationships, and (2) Albuquerque's urban expansion has not necessarily rendered the Atrisco Land Grant heirs' agricultural traditions and economies defunct. She argues that at no time during the conversion of the Atrisco Land Grant into the Westland Development Company did officials override the grant's founding constitutional principles, "namely, the preservation of the land for use and benefit of the heirs in perpetuity" (p. 5).

Enson cites commentary by several traditional Atrisqueño representatives that provide insights about how these individuals understand their cultural historical associations with the West Mesa locality, including the Petroglyph National Monument. For example, Lauro Silva, an attorney and Atrisco Council Land Rights board member, offers two observations contending that the Westland Development Company's policies disregard the Atrisco Land Grant heirs legal rights to common lands, defined by kinship, and whose use was to benefit the whole community:

> People were no longer recognized necessarily as heirs, but as stockholders, and in the process a lot of people were screened out and eliminated and cut off, violating the rules of heirship under the land grant. [p. 3]

> historically, the common lands were not supposed to be sold. They were supposed to be held in common by the heirs themselves, and for

> the young people, for their use down the road. The common lands were basically community-owned, and they were used for the common good of the entire community, the Town of Atrisco. [p. 4]

Enson briefly traces the history of the Atrisco Land Grant to present times. In recent actions, the Atrisco Land Rights Council opposed the sale of 800 hectares (2,000 acres) of grant land to the National Park Service for incorporation into the Petroglyph National Monument. This opposition must be viewed in the context of land takings by the federal government earlier in this century to create public land. On the other hand, some Atrisqueños are concerned that such a change in land administration and access will result in the loss of history and identity.

Jaime Chávez, an Atrisqueño, states that the land "contains the religious signatures of our people" (p. 7). Rosa María Moya de Chávez, a land grant heir and life-long Atrisco resident, elaborates upon the spiritual associations that Atrisqueños traditionally held with the land:

> The volcanoes are very valuable because of the many stone writings made by the ancestors of the Indians and ourselves. We are Spanish, Indian, and Mexican. The petroglyphs have power, and how! Over there, we used to collect many remedies handed down by our ancestors. We collected herbs of healing, for teas, for everything there. We are part of the land. [p. 7]

In the final part of her essay, Enson develops a *mestizo* model of land-based culture. She contrasts a 1995 commentary by Amadeo Shije, then Chairperson of the Five Sandoval Pueblos, with statements made by Atrisqueños to show that the people of these different cultural communities, through the process of *mestizaje*, share an association with the land, "which incorporates a reverence for the earth and for life into modern existence" (p. 9). Mario Elizondo, a land grant heir, provides yet another illustration of the *mestizaje* adoption of elements of a worldview that incorporates elements of indigenous spiritual ecology in his remarks about the Atrisqueño ethic of sustainable land use:

> it's a way of showing the younger generations how to work the land and how to give back at the same time as you take from the earth. We've always been strong believers that you have to protect Mother Earth. [p. 9]

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *West Mesa, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kfa

Environmental Planning Commission

1993 File No. SPR–92–6. Final Environmental Impact Statement: Unser Middle Transportation Corridor Study. Public Hearing Transcripts, February 4, February 9, and April 6. Albuquerque: Environmental Planning Commission.

This transcript of public testimony about the proposed Unser Middle Transportation Corridor Study is instructive because it readily illustrates the great difficulties inherent in any process whereby people from different cultural communities express opinions about their affiliations and understandings of a common piece of real estate. On the one hand, the public testimonies, as well as the comments made by members of the Environmental Planning Commission panel, highlight huge differences in perceptions and values among the people of the different Indian, Nuevomexicano, and Anglo communities. On the other hand, the transcripts serve as a case study for the reasons people of traditional land-based communities often feel such public forms are either ineffectual or insincere bureaucratic initiatives.

Residents from the Pueblos of Sandía and Cochití, and the Chairman of the All Indian Pueblo Council, shared their heartfelt concerns about the road and other development in and around the Petroglyph National Monument. Nevertheless, the Environmental Planning Commission panel members, just as the most members of the Anglo and Nuevomexicano public from the Albuquerque urban area, clearly could not grasp the meaning embedded in the Pueblo people's commentaries. That is to say, such dialogue relies heavily on cultural context and respect. While the Environmental Planning Commission panel members were sincere in their attempts to fulfill their legislated mandate fairly under difficult circumstances posed by a large gathering of people wishing to express their views on a hotly contested issue, the transcript demonstrates that this forum was conducive neither to the exchange of multicultural perspectives nor to the establishment of multicultural respect.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Unser Blvd., *Development, *Preservation, *Oral Traditions, *Cultural Resources Consultation*

Compiled by: kfa

Espinosa, Gilberto

ca. 1970s El Rio Abajo. Carter M. Waid, ed. Portales, NM: Bishop.

This publication is a rather typical New Mexico history written for the layperson. Espinosa describes

the place name Atrisco as a derivative of the Nahua [i.e., Nahuatl] word *atlixco*, meaning "near the waters." The author suggests the vicinity originally was a settlement of Mexican Indians who accompanied Oñate northward from the Valley of Atlixco.

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Place Names, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kfa

Etsedi, Peshlakai

1937 The "Long Walk" to Bosque Redondo, as Told to Sallie Brewer. Museum Notes 9(11). Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona.

Etsedi tells a childhood experience of the Long Walk to Fort Sumner. Brewer annotates the author's Navajo names for places along the route, which went from Fort Wingate (San Rafael near present Grants) by way of Laguna down *Naa' Zisii Téél* (valley of Río San José) to a spring, and on to the Río Grande, then north up the west side of the Río Grande to Albuquerque, where the party crossed the river. This party thus traveled south of Petroglyph National Monument. They camped near the river in a "big corral made of mud blocks" with bells hanging up, evidently referring to Old Town plaza.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Long Walk, *Oral Traditions, *Albuquerque*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Evans, Michael J., Richard W. Stoffle, and Sandra Lee Pinel

1993 Petroglyph National Monument Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Project. Tucson: Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, University of Arizona.

This study was conducted to identify the American Indian Tribes, Pueblos, and Spanish heritage groups who wanted to participate in long-term consultation about the Petroglyph National Monument, and to document their concerns. The authors note the project was met with "cautious optimism" by many Pueblo people (p. 1). Ácoma and Laguna Pueblos were contacted only through intertribal organizations and had no direct participation.

Zuni consultants "pointed out the rocks were alive so that they can take care of the plants. Zuni consultants felt that people coming to the volcano area for medicinal plants would have left offerings for the rocks and volcanoes because of the sacred relationship between the volcanoes, the rocks, the mountains, and the medicinal plants" (p.18). The Zunis thought there might be trails used in traveling to sacred areas on Sandía Mountain. The authors note,

> They pointed out that people would not simply have walked a straight line from their home to the mountains, but would have stopped at places along the way. The volcanoes are an obvious place these travelers would have stopped, due to the volcanoes' proximity to the Sandia Mountains, the unique nature of the rock outcroppings, and the location of the petroglyphs along the escarpment. If they did stop at the volcanoes on these religious journeys, they would have left offerings at significant places on and around the volcanoes. [p. 18]

Zunis and other Pueblo consultants thought the volcanoes were "an obvious guidepost and visual marker" for people traveling to Sandía Mountain and other mountains. "Given the sacredness of the Sandia Mountains, the Zuni Pueblo consultants felt it was highly likely that there are other specific prayer, religious, and sacred areas immediately surrounding the mountains, probably in the area of the volcanoes" (p. 18). Zuni consultants thought protection of the resources of the Petroglyph National Monument was important so the resources can continue to be used for religious purposes.

At the northern geological window, Zunis identified a grouping of petroglyphs they thought had religious significance, including a star-shaped symbol. "The petroglyphs they saw there were specific, recognizable, and currently relevant images used in religious dances" (p. 33). Zuni consultants thought the repetition of animals and tracks was important, and they identified several katchinas. "The combinations of symbols marked this area as being a special place of high religious and cultural significance to Zuni Pueblo" (p. 20). Zunis thought the northern geological window was important enough that they recommended its closure to the public. Zunis also identified the Stag Horn Drive site as a ceremonial and religious area. At the Morning Star Panel site, Zuni consultants pointed out the panel with the stars is "symbolically connected" to other petroglyphs on the same rock and with other nearby panels (p. 22). Together, this group of panels is symbolically connected to other petroglyphs, the volcanoes, and Sandía Mountain. The context in which these petroglyphs are found figure prominently in their meaning. Given the number of petroglyphs in Rinconada Canyon, the Zunis thought this location must have had cultural significance in the past. At Mesa Prieta, a Zuni consultant said one petroglyph might symbolize rain, clouds, and stars placed above the earth. Zunis thought the Piedras Marcadas Ruin should be protected from archaeological excavation.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Nuevomexicano, *Ethnography, *History, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph*

*National Monument, *Cosmology, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography, *Volcanoes, *Sandía Mountain*

Compiled by: tjf

Farrer, Claire R.

1991 Living Life's Circle: Mescalero Apache Cosmovision. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

This volume gives the reader a remarkable and highly useful discussion of Mescalero Apache cosmology. Farrer shows how a seemingly simple metaphor—a quartered circle—represents the richly textured and multilayered idea of life in balance (pp. 26–32, 60–61). Farrer maintains that the base metaphor provides "an ever and predictable order that in its very existence speaks eloquently of the harmonious universe of Creation" (p. 69). Four fundamental themes—the number four, the complementarity inherent in the relationship between sound and silence, the dialectical correlation intrinsic in directionality, and the ideal of maintaining balance and harmony throughout the cosmos—help explicate the structure of Apache worldview and the organization of people's behavior in their day-to-day lives. Farrer suggests further that to understand the genesis of the base metaphor in Mescalero Apache ideation, and the consequent value that the people place on this idea, illuminates aspects of highly patterned behavior among Athapaskan groups generally.

Farrer also includes an informative summary of Mescalero Apache history in an appendix.

*Keywords: *Apache, *Mescalero Apache, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Farrer, Claire R.

1992 "…By You They Will Know the Directions to Guide Them": Stars and Mescalero Apaches. *In* Earth and Sky: Visions of the Cosmos in Native American Folklore. Ray A. Williamson and Claire R. Farrer, eds. Pp. 67–74. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Farrer uses this short, poetic article on Mescalero Apache ethnoastronomy to examine some of the potent ways in which the earth and sky are linked and how the people perceive and assign meanings in the patterns of the stars to structure their daily thought and to organize their activities. In so doing, Farrer provides the reader with additional examples of the power of the base metaphor (a seemingly simple quartered circle motif) in understanding key aspects of Apache cultural patterning. She also offers insights into aspects of ethnoastronomical iconography relevant to some of the Mescalero Apache tribal representative's expressed interests in Petroglyph National Monument rock images.

*Keywords: *Apache, *Mescalero Apache, *Ethnography, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: kfa

Faris, James

1990 The Nightway: A History and a History of Documentation of a Navajo Ceremonial. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

In addition to providing a version of the ceremonial origin story, Faris reproduces drawings of sandpaintings. The most common images are various *Yéii* and immortals impersonated by masked performers in Nightway and a few other ceremonies.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Ferguson, Marjorie

1931 The Acculturation of Sandia Pueblo. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico.

Ferguson evaluates Sandía Pueblo's people in the 20th century. She provides succinct historical summary and suggests the Sandías are descendants of the pre-Columbian and early Historic period Pueblo of Puaray. She considers the Sandía people's social structure, tradition, ceremonies and religion, language, government, social pathology, demography, economic status, education, and architecture. She does not consider the Sandías' former use areas west of the Río Grande, their use of petroglyphs, their beliefs about volcanism, or their possible cosmological association with West Mesa. Ferguson does offer one useful piece of information concerning their cultural-historical associations with the land: in retelling parts of the people's creation story, she notes the Sandías place their emergence from beneath the earth in the central Río Grande Valley (p.34).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Ethnography, *History, *Economy, *Society*

Compiled by: kfa

Ferguson, T. J., and E. Richard Hart

1985 A Zuni Atlas. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Ferguson and Hart derive this atlas from anthropological and historic research undertaken for litigation of Zuni land claims. The atlas documents 234 land use sites, including shrines, ancestral villages, and resource collection areas. Most but not all occur within the Zuni claim area, which extends from Mount Taylor in the east to the San Francisco Peaks in the West, and from the Río Puerco of the East in the north to the Mogollon uplands in the South. A Zuni shrine called Chi:biya Yalanne is located at the crest of Sandía Mountain. "It is the origin place for the Big Fire Society and a shrine for the Shuma:que Society, which is still in use. The whole mountain is considered sacred" (p. 125). The Big Fire Society collects herbs at this location. Galena used to paint masks, and malachite and azurite are collected nearby. Zuni pilgrimages to this shrine took them across the West Mesa. This shrine places the area of the Petroglyph National Monument within the cultural landscape of the Zuni Indians.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History, *Aboriginal Land Use, *Shrines, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph National Monument*

Compiled by: tjf

Ferris, Kathlene

1997 Sophie D. Aberle and the United Pueblos Agency, 1935–1944. Master's thesis, University of New Mexico.

Ferris' history of Sophie Aberle's life concentrates on Aberle's work as superintendent of the United Pueblos Agency. Aberle was only the second woman to head an Indian agency in the U.S. Ferris examines Aberle's work with the Pueblos on issues of nutrition, water and land claims, livestock reduction, and the reorganization act. Ferris makes no mention of the petroglyphs or Aberle's home on the West Mesa of Albuquerque.

*Keywords: *Anglo-American, *History, *Sophie Aberle*

Compiled by: gd

Fewkes, Jesse Walter

1892 A Few Tusayan Pictographs. American Anthropologist 5:9–25.

Fewkes reports on a study of petroglyphs in the vicinity of First Mesa. His primary interest was in using the symbolic information encoded in rock art to elucidate the "history of aboriginal religious observances" (p. 9). Fewkes applies a direct historical approach with analogical reasoning and infers that the similarity in petroglyphs at both occupied pueblos and ruins means similar religious observances, as observed ethnographically, were conducted at the prehistoric sites. Fewkes concentrated his study on depictions of Kachinas and other religious icons. The Hopis were still producing petroglyphs in 1892 (p. 10). "The Hopi themselves are inclined to call all worn pictographs he'-cä-to, ancient, but it by no means follows that they are on that account very old" (p. 12). Fewkes provides information about Hopi deities and provides clues to interpreting symbols that depict them. He describes Ma'saw, Spider Woman, Paalölöqangw, and the twin warrior gods. Other common design elements in Hopi rock art described by Fewkes include the sun (Dâ'-wa), rain-clouds, rainbows, shields, phallic symbols, coiled spirals, whirlwinds, corn, animals, and Kachina masks.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

Fewkes, Jesse Walter

1897 Tusayan Totemic Signatures. American Anthropologist 10:1–11.

Fewkes' object is "to consider the totem signatures of the Hopi Indians as a key to the meaning of the pictographs in Arizona" (p. 1). As Fewkes uses the term, totemic signatures are clan symbols as depicted on rock art and other media. Fewkes obtained information about totemic signatures from the clan marks made on pay vouchers by his Hopi workmen who could not write and from petitions to the U.S. government by Hopi leaders. While the names of Hopi people are not necessarily related to their clan, Hopis use clan symbols to represent themselves in a pictorial fashion. Fewkes infers that petroglyphs with similar designs also represent clan symbols.

Three figures illustrate the symbols made by Hopis belonging to clans in 19 Hopi phratries from Walpi, Sichomovi, and Oraibi, i.e., Ala (Horn), Patki (Water-house), Teüa (Snake), Pakab (Reed), Kokop (Firewood), Tabo (Rabbit), Tüwa (Sand, Earth), Honauûh (Bear), Katcina (Katchina), Asa (Tansy Mustard), Pila (Tobacco), Honani (Badger), Atoko (Crane), Patuñci (Squash Flower), Kele (Pigeon-hawk), Kala (Gopher), Patcibkwaca (Lizard), Awata (Bow), and Teve (Greasewood). Symbols of clans in five phratries from Hano also are illustrated: Tañ (Sun), Ke (Bear), Sa (Tobacco), Kulon (Corn), and Okuwa (Rain-

cloud). Different clans within the phratries often use distinct symbols.

Fewkes' article is useful in (1) documenting the use of clan symbols in the 19th century to signify individual clan members, and (2) providing baseline documentation to identify and interpret specific clan symbols. Fewkes also makes a number of interesting observations. He states, "the totemic signatures or pictographs of the ancient people are identical with those now made by the Pueblos" (p. 2). Fewkes notes these symbols are found in a variety of physical settings, including rocks, cliffs, and walls of ancient ruins. Fewkes believed the clan symbols found in the form of rock art provided evidence for the routes of Hopi migrations. For instance, he states, "The trail of migration of the Patki people was from the far south, Palatki, and they have been traced at Homolobi and Chaves Pass, where their pictographs are still to be seen with those of other Hopi gentes from that region. Perhaps the most striking symbol which they brought from the far south was the semicircular rain-cloud figure so often depicted in the totem signatures" (p. 3). Similarly, Fewkes says, "The peculiar totem signature of the Patki, Tabo, Squash, Paroquet, Crane, Lizard, etc. may be expected in pictographs near the ruins of the Little Colorado south of Tusayan and along the Hopi Trail through Chaves Pass along the Verde valley" (p. 6).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology, *Iconography, *Movement*

Compiled by: tjf

Foreman, Grant, ed.

1941 A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple during His Explorations for a Railway Route from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in the Years 1853 and 1854. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Foreman reproduces Whipple's report and map. Whipple passed through Atrisco along a good wagon road, which Foreman calls an "ancient road." This road evidently ran a few miles south of the Petroglyph National Monument site. (Ackerly [1998] shows this route brought Navajos closest to the monument site on their way to Fort Sumner.)

*Keywords: *History, *Trails, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Frigout, Arlette

1979 Hopi Ceremonial Organization. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 564–577. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the Hopi religion. Frigout provides ethnographic context for many rock art studies that use Hopi in interpretative analogies.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: tjf

Froeschauer, Peggy S.

1994 Cultural Landscape Overview: Petroglyph National Monument. Santa Fé: Southwest Regional Office, National Park Service.

Froeschauer includes an overview of historic land use in the area of the Petroglyph National Monument. The information is appropriately general for this type of publication. [For a little more detail, Sánchez, Welsh, and Brunnemann provide a better understanding of area history and land use]. Probably of most interest to historic use is the section on the 20th century. Froeschauer documents mining activities, use by the war department as a bombing range during World War II, and more recent recreational activities.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Nuevomexicano, *Anglo-American, *History, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Land Use*

Compiled by: gd

García-Mason, Velma

1979 Acoma Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 450–466. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Ácoma Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: tjf

Geertz, Armin W.

1994 The Invention of Prophecy, Continuity and Meaning in Hopi Indian Religion. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Geertz's detailed historical analysis documents how Hopi people "invented" (i.e., articulated and modified)

prophecy in response to the changing sociopolitical context of their lives. Geertz (p. 4) argues that (1) Hopi prophecy is indigenous and derives from the core narrative of the emergence myth, which is both stable and changing, and (2) the rhetoric of traditionalism is not equivalent to the reality it portrays. Geertz views "tradition" as a strategic resource for all members of Hopi society. Geertz's analysis of Hopi explanations for petroglyphs at "Prophecy Rock" demonstrate the mutability of interpretation of petroglyphs (pp. 257–287).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Oral Traditions, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: tjf

Government Printing Office

1997 Petroglyph: Official Map and Guide. GPO:1997-417-648/0278. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

This double-sided, single-sheet (i.e., 2 pages), full-color brochure, includes a photograph of a star (at top of first page, near center) that resembles motifs found among the Canyon de Chelly star ceiling panels (see Britt 1975 above).

*Keywords: *Petroglyph National Monument, Río Grande Pueblos, *Navajo, *Nuevomexicano, Petroglyphs, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: kfa

Grant, Campbell

1978 Canyon de Chelly, Its People and Rock Art. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

This book includes one of the few discussions of Navajo rock imagery that occurs outside *Dinétah*, with illustrations. Grant briefly compares these rock images with those of *Dinétah* (more Canyon de Chelly images are naturalistic and nonceremonial; they tend to be later than those of *Dinétah*). Grant interprets the iconography mainly through the published works of others rather than through his own consultations with Navajos.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Greenleaf, Richard E.

1967 Atrisco and Las Circuelas, 1722–1769. New Mexico Historical Review 42:4–25.

Greenleaf's account traces a controversy—the disputed claim for the possession of Las Circuelas between two branches of don Fernando Durán y Chávez's Atrisco Land Grant descendants—as an example of the interfamily rivalry and kinship patterns in the Río Grande Valley during the 18th century. Greenleaf maintains the intertwined difficulties associated by the "subdivision of land, nebulous boundaries, questionable titles, costly litigation…are exemplified in the Atrisco case" (p. 7). Greenleaf suggests the litigation and testimonies provided by prominent Atrisqueños in this case give insight about 18th-century settlement patterns, landholdings, and economic conditions in the greater Albuquerque locality. As an icon of land competition, this legal case illustrates the consequences of increasing population pressure over time and the need for families to make preferential claim to tracts that can support both agriculture and sheep ranching to sustain themselves. This work, however, does not offer specific mention of the West Mesa environs.

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco, *Court Case*

Compiled by: kfa

Gunn, John M.

1917 Schat-Chen, History, Traditions, and Narratives of the Queres Indians of Laguna and Acoma. Albuquerque: Albright & Anderson.

In this popularly written book, Gunn summarizes the documentary and traditional histories of the Laguna and Ácoma people. Gunn's ideas about Aztecs, Toltecs, Cushites, and Phoencians, are written from a 19th-century intellectual perspective.

The documentary history of Laguna begins in 1699, when the Queres of Cieneguilla left their village and moved to Laguna, where they were soon followed by small groups from the Queres villages of Zía, Santo Domingo, and Cochití. The initial settlement was at Kosh-tea, but the new arrivals didn't like its exposed location, and the village was established at its present location. On July 4, 1699, this pueblo swore its vassalage and obedience to Spain and received the name San José de la Laguna. Gunn, however, says "From other historical sources and traditions, it is evident that it was settled several years previous to this date" (p. 11). Ácoma was occupied when the Spaniards arrived in 1540.

The second half of the book contains synopses of the "Traditions and Narratives of the Queres" (pp. 107–222). While many of these are distorted by Gunn's perspective, many elements resonate with the subsequent work of anthropologists. Queres traditional history begins at *Shipop*, where the people emerged

onto a land that was soft, or not ripe. They migrated south and built a village at *Kush-kut-ret* (White Village).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *History, *Movement, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: tjf

Hadlock, Harry L.

1979 A Brief Summary of the Archaeology of Crow and Largo Canyons. *In* Collected Papers in Honor of Bertha Pauline Dutton. Albert H. Schroeder, ed. Pp. 123–140. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico 4. Albuquerque: Albuquerque Archaeological Press.

Hadlock provides a very general discussion of projects undertaken to record petroglyphs in *Dinétah* (Largo-Gobernador canyon systems in the upper San Juan drainage), with 3 illustrations. The article gives only a general (and outmoded) culture history but has a useful chronology of who recorded *Dinétah* petroglyphs from 1959–1977. The unpublished records are at the San Juan County Museum and should be consulted (see also Roessel 1983).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Hadlock, Harry

1980 Ganaskidi: The Navajo Humpbacked Deity of the Largo. *In* Collected Papers in Honor of Helen Greene Blumenschein. Albert H. Schroeder, ed. Pp. 179–208. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico 5. Albuquerque: Albuquerque Archaeological Press.

This article thereby reports some of Harry and Sally Hadlocks' 12-plus years of inventorying Navajo rock images of all kinds in Largo Canyon of northwestern New Mexico, the Navajo *Dinétah*. The Navajo humpbacked diety, a Holy Person, is represented mainly in the sandpaintings of the Nightway ceremonial repertoire (see Faris 1990 and Matthews 1902).

Hadlock inventories and describes rock images of this Navajo Holy Person, in the *Dinétah*. He compares these images with the Nightway narrative and sandpainting iconography, as well as with corresponding Pueblo figures. Hadlock uncritically accepts the mid-20th-century anthropological assumption that iconography common to both Navajo and Pueblo groups diffused from the Pueblos to the Navajos. He does not consider the possibilities of Navajo-to-Pueblo diffusion of rock images or of the divergence of Navajo and Pueblo iconography from an earlier common root.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Hadlock, Harry L.

1980 Ganaskidi: The Navajo Humpbacked Deity of the Largo. Papers of the Archeological Society of New Mexico 5:179–208.

This particular Navajo Holy Person is represented mainly in the sandpaintings of Nightway (see Faris 1990; Matthews 1902).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Hagan, Bob

1987 West Mesa Petroglyphs, Decisions Must Be Made Soon on Future of Ancient Rock Art. New Mexico Magazine 65(2):16–21, 59.

This article for a general audience explains decisions needed during development of the Petroglyph National Monument. Hagan ascribes the petroglyphs to ancient peoples, noting some recent images were produced by members of the Isleta and Sandía Pueblos and the Navajo Nation. Hagan explains many petroglyphs with Katsina imagery as products of the cultural florescence of 15th-century Pueblo culture. Hagan notes, "Today it is still possible to identify in the petroglyphs on the West Mesa the same kachinas of the Zuñi and Hopi people." (p. 20).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tiwa, *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Zuni, *Navajo, *Archaeology, *History, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Petroglyphs, *Development*

Compiled by: tjf

Haile, Berard

1996 [1947] Head and Face Masks in Navaho Ceremonialism. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

This definitive, well-illustrated study of Navajo ceremonial masks includes their iconography and ceremonial contexts. Figures with such masks are common in Navajo rock imagery, especially in the *Dinétah* region (upper San Juan River drainage; see

Hadlock 1980, Olin 1980, Roessel 1973, and Schaafsma 1980).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Harrington, John P.

1916 The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians. *In* Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1907–1908. W. H. Holmes, ed. Pp. 29–636. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

This volume remains the quintessential work about how Tewa people construct and assign meaning to their ethnographic landscapes. Because Harrington's study is a general review of Tewa ethnogeography, the reader needs to be careful not to apply his findings uncritically among the different Pueblo linguistic communities; Pueblo landscape constructions are not uniform cross culturally. In fact, some contemporary Tewas believe Harrington obscures important variability in place-name terminology and meaning still exhibited among the six contemporary Tewa communities.

Yet Harrington's work gives many valuable insights into the cosmological and cognitive grammars that organize the Tewas' view of their natural world and helps structure how they assign meaning to places in the physical environments contained within their traditional homelands. This framework is useful in evaluating how non-Tewa communities construct their ethnographic landscapes.

Harrington does not identify the Albuquerque West Mesa area directly nor consider how Tewa use petroglyphs in constructing or maintaining their ethnographic landscapes. Of particular interest, however, is his identification of Sandía Mountain (Turtle Mountain) as the sacred cardinal peak of the south (pp. 44, 514; see also Map 29), where, according to Tewa mythology, the Warrior Twins were reared. With his identification of Sandía Mountain as a cardinal referent, Harrington demonstrates the Tewas' general association with the greater Albuquerque area.

In discussing the meanings of place names, Harrington provides numerous references to physiographic features, such as mountains, water courses, and caves, found within the West Mesa environs in general and the Petroglyph National Monument boundaries in particular. When considered in terms of Tewa cosmography (see pp. 41–52) and meteorology (see pp. 53–60), Harrington's study illustrates a highly sophisticated system of interconnected metaphorical references about the movement of water between the supernatural and natural worlds of the Tewas' cosmos. Powerful lessons underlying Harrington's work include the ideas that Tewa landscape constructions (1) do not represent disparate spaces that can be understood in isolation of one another, and (2) places are not defined easily by metrical metes and bounds.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Connectedness, *Sandía Mountain, *Place Names*

Compiled by: kfa

Hart, E. Richard, ed.

1995 Zuni and the Courts, CD-ROM. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

This CD-ROM was published in conjunction with a book of essays about a series of Zuni land claims cases litigated in the 1970s and 1980s. It contains the full text of expert reports and depositions of Zuni witnesses that formed the basis for the Zuni's claims. A search on "Albuquerque" yielded 332 "hits" in 45 separate documents. Most are references to Albuquerque as the place of publication for books cited in the reports. However, several Zuni witnesses discuss Chi:biya Yalanne, a shrine on Sandía Mountain, and numerous Zuni witnesses mention the years they spent in Albuquerque attending the Indian School. A historical report by Ward Alan Minge documents that after 1836 Zuni was part of Partido, whose administrator resided in Albuquerque. Prior to 1902, Zuni was under the supervision of the Indian Agent who resided in Albuquerque. Although not documented, Zuni leaders presumably made trips to the administrative offices in Albuquerque; these trips would have taken them over the West Mesa.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Land Claims, *Archaeology, *History, *Ethnography, *West Mesa, *Sandía Mountain*

Compiled by: tjf

Haug, John W.

1993 "Coyote Speaks": A Tiwa Indian and the Rock Art Stories of His Ancestors in Petroglyph National Monument. Fullerton: California State University, Anthropology 504T: Humanistic Anthropology.

Haug examines the meaning of the Petroglyph National Monument petroglyphs through a humanistic perspective, drawing from conversations with several Native Americans, particularly Felix García-Montoya from the southern Tiwa community of Isleta Pueblo.

Haug "seeks not only to truly realize the symbolic meaning of these petroglyphs, but their significance and role in the evolution of these particular indigenous Americans" (p. 1).

Haug presents summaries of the physical environment, the archaeology of the West Mesa locality, the culture histories of Pueblo and Nuevomexicano communities, and the legislation establishing the Petroglyph National Monument to help provide a context for the Indian people's opposition to road construction that would disturb the Las Imágines Archaeological District petroglyphs. Haug offers a number of statements from Pueblo people and other Native Americans that help explain the significance of the West Mesa petroglyphs within the context of their place and cultural process.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tiwa, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: kfa

Hewett, Edgar J., and Bertha P. Dutton, eds.

1945 The Pueblo Indian World: Studies on the Natural History of the Rio Grande Valley in Relation to Pueblo Indian Culture. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico and School of American Research.

This useful study discusses the various Pueblo communities' conceptualizations of the earth, sky, and world (pp. 20–51). Hewett and Dutton consider the features of Pueblo life that are common among all the groups, as well as selected understandings that are unique to one group. Written in an accessible style, this work offers much ethnographic detail about how Pueblo communities perceive and maintain affiliations with their traditional landscapes.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: kfa

Hewett, Edgar L., and Wayne L. Mauzy

1940 Landmarks of New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Hewett and Mauzy provide information about various cultural landmarks across New Mexico. Their discussion of Sandía Mountain helps establish the cultural geography of the Middle Río Grande Valley and West Mesa.

Hewett and Mauzy report Sandía Mountain—*Oku piñ*, in the Tewa language—is the South World Mountain to all Indians of the middle Río Grande Valley. Indians farther west consider this landform demarcates their East World Quarter.

The Pueblos maintained a shrine atop its crest dedicated to war. The mountain as a whole, including the clouds that rise above its peaks, was the dwelling place of numerous supernatural beings, including *Ok'uwapiñ* (the father of deities), the Warrior Twins who were born on these summits, Wind Woman (*Wankwijo*), and Spider Woman.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Ethnography, *Sandía Mountain, *Shrines, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: kfa

Hewett, Edgar J., and Bertha P. Dutton, eds.

1945 The Pueblo Indian World: Studies on the Natural History of the Rio Grande Valley in Relation to Pueblo Indian Culture. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico and School of American Research.

This study is useful for its discussion of the various Pueblo communities' conceptualizations of the earth, sky, and world (pp. 20–51). They consider both the features of Pueblo life that are common among all the groups, as well as selected understandings that are unique to one group. Written in an accessible style, this work offers ethnographic detail about how Pueblo communities perceive and maintain affiliations with their traditional landscapes.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: kfa

Hill, John

1999 Land-Rush Leftovers: How Did We Get Into This Mess? Albuquerque Tribune, March 15: A1, A4.

Hill traces the history of northern West Mesa land speculation that emphasized maximum profits for developers over the short term but created huge challenges for community residents and urban planners over the long term. The superposition of half-acre lot grids on the West Mesa's physical environment without concern for topography, roads, utilities, and services today poses huge obstacles for community integration and identity. As one planner observes, "People brought dreams" for a future lifestyle (Vern Hagan, p. A4), while land speculators harvested profits and left the area without making a commitment to community or place, leaving only "paper" subdivisions.

*Keywords: *Anglo-American, *History, *West Mesa, *Development*

Compiled by: kfa

Hill, John

1999 Land-Rush Leftovers: How Do We Get Out of This Mess? Albuquerque Tribune, March 16: A1, A4.

The challenge of forming community on the northern West Mesa (and other parts of the Albuquerque metropolitan area) is hampered not only by past concerns driven by individuals' interests in maximizing profits but also by the scores of nonresident landowners with no practical stake in forming community in this place. Planners and developers now hope to form community in these often empty places by repurchasing and reconsolidating the many parcels so that more coherent development may attract residents.

*Keywords: *Anglo-American, *History, *West Mesa, *Development*

Compiled by: kfa

Hoebel, E. Adamson

1979 Zia Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 407–417. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Zía Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Keres, *Zía, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Hucko, Bruce

1996 Where There Is No Name for Art: The Art of Tewa Pueblo Children. Santa Fé: School of American Research.

Hucko, a self-described "art coach," introduces the reader to some of the Tewa students he worked with at the Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Pojoaque, and Nambé Pueblo day schools. The children, who were involved in every step of the book's publishing process, talk about their histories, families, and communities, share insights into their culture and heritage, and discuss the process of making art. In talking about petroglyphs and about their communities' cultural landscapes, the children show that the meaningfulness referred to by their elders transcends the generations.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Ethnography, *Art, *Cosmology, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: kfa

Huser, Verne

1998 Voices from a Sacred Place: In Defense of Petroglyph National Monument. Friends of the Albuquerque Petroglyphs and Sacred Sites International. Seattle, WA: Artcraft Printing.

This publication consists of essays, stories, and poems, offered by regionally and nationally known authors, educators, and Pueblo community representatives, that reflect on the special qualities of the monument's petroglyphs. Of the West Mesa locality qualities that imbue this landscape with great cultural significance, the contributors comment upon "the vitality of the petroglyphs, the importance of the Monument and the sacred landscape it was designated to protect" (p. 5). These diverse commentaries provide a thoughtful context about the meaning of place and time. These passages provide a multiplicity of viewpoints for the protection of the Petroglyph National Monument from the construction of the Paseo del Norte Extension and the Unser Boulevard extensions.

Given the opposition by all 19 of New Mexico's Pueblos to road construction across the monument, this volume asks how the dominant society shows so little respect to the idea of religious freedom and these communities' repeated identifications of the monument as important to their belief and faith systems. Huser suggests that each of the contributions can raise "the sensitivity and sensibility" of all persons "who make decisions concerning our national park system" (p. 5).

The observances offered by Phillip Lauriano, a Sandía Pueblo Tribal Councilor and Turquoise Kiva Chief, William F. Weahkee, Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Executive Director, and Herman Agoyo, former All Indian Pueblo Council Chairman, are drawn from statements they made in various public forums. All three commentators refer to the importance of the Petroglyph National Monument in terms of the shared metaphors and understandings of spiritual ecological learning that their communities rely upon to sustain their heritage and tradition.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Nuevomexicano, *Anglo-American, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *West Mesa, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: kfa

Indian Claims Commission

1974 Commission Findings on the Pueblo Indians. New York: Garland Publishing.

This volume contains the Findings of Fact and Opinions pertaining to Pueblo land claims decided by the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), including claims filed by the Ácoma and Laguna Pueblos. Since the Acoma and Laguna Pueblos did not claim exclusive use of the West Mesa of Albuquerque, this book contains little information pertinent to the Petroglyph National Monument. The ICC heard claims for only land exclusively used and occupied as of February 2, 1848, the date of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Claims for areas used in earlier periods and for areas used jointly by more than one tribe were not allowed. The ICC also determined that all valid Spanish and Mexican land grants were private property and not part of the public domain of the U.S. This decision meant that any Puebloan land use of areas within Spanish and Mexican land grants were not subject to claims litigation "even though the particular tribe may have used and occupied parts of them from aboriginal time" (17 Ind. Cl. Comm. 615, p. 618). The Commission found that some land use activities (e.g., hunting) took place "at great distance to points outside the claimed area" (p. 629).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Land Claims*

Compiled by: tjf

Jackson, John Brinkerhoff

1980 The Necessity for Ruins. *In* The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics. Pp. 89–102. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

This essay offers valuable insights in the history and process of how the dominant Anglo society in the U.S. constructs and maintains monuments to commemorate historical events. As such, this essay also is important for understanding the motivation underlying the current design and conduct of the cultural resource management process.

Jackson develops the thesis that the preservation of monuments by Anglos in contemporary times is based on what they perceive their monuments to be, namely, "reminders of a bygone domestic existence and its environment" (p. 90), rather than an object intended to remind people of something important (p. 91). In talking about the ubiquity of consciously constructed historical environments, Jackson suggests that the idea of the constructed historical environment is no longer a reminder of a past obligation or a plan of appropriate conduct for the future. Its purpose more or less is to offer an explanation of a past event (p. 93). He adds,

> I think this kind of monument is celebrating a different past, not the past which history books describe, but a vernacular past, a golden age where there are no dates or names, simply a sense of the way it *used to be*, history as the chronicle of everyday existence. [p. 95, italics in original]

Jackson argues the way the Anglo community now chooses to create new monuments suggests that society perceives a marked separation between the past and the present. The present no longer is viewed as "the continuation, the re-enactment of the past, modified of course by intervening events" (p. 98) whereby it can sustain its identity. Instead, in fulfilling the Anglo public's expectations, the creation of monuments "suggests that the past is a remote, ill-defined period or environment when a kind of golden age prevailed, when society had an innocence and a simplicity that we have since lost…a time without significant events, and a landscape without monuments" (p. 98). In this process, the contemporary Anglo conceptualization of the past commonly is expressed in romanticized terms and through its conscious construction of idealized historical environments.

Jackson explains further that the Anglos' motivation "to restore as much as possible the original aspect of the landscape" (p. 101) rests upon "the necessity for ruins."

> It seems clear that the whole preservation and restoration movement is much more than a means of promoting tourism or a sentimentalizing over an obscure part of the past—though it is also both of those things. We are learning to see it as a new (or recently rediscovered) interpretation of history. It sees history not as a continuity but as a dramatic discontinuity, a kind of cosmic drama. First there is that golden age, the time of harmonious beginnings. Then ensues a period when the old days are forgotten and the golden age falls into neglect. Finally comes a time when we rediscover and seek to restore the world around us to something like its former beauty.
>
> But there has to be that interval of neglect, there has to be that discontinuity; it is religiously and artistically essential. That is what I mean when I refer to the necessity for ruins: ruins provide the incentive for restoration, and for a return to origins. There has to be (in our new concept of history) an interim of death or rejections before there can be renewal or reform. The old order has to die before there can be a born-again landscape…That is how we reproduce the cosmic scheme and correct history. [1980:101–102]

*Keywords: *Cultural Landscape Theory*

Compiled by: kfa

Jackson, John Brinkerhoff

1984 Discovering the Vernacular Landscape. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Jackson maintains that the way a community of people constructs its landscapes physically and ideationally is a reflection of the essential understandings and values of its members. In this work, Jackson outlines major principles for developing a holistic landscape approach that recognizes and comprehends how culturally diverse groups differentially define their landscapes and maintain unique associations with places within their environments important to their ability to sustain a sense of community. This book complements another of his works, *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time* (1994) (see below).

*Keywords: *Cultural Landscape Theory*

Compiled by: kfa

Jackson, John Brinkerhoff

1994 A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Jackson further explores the thesis the way that a community of people constructs its landscapes physically and ideationally is a reflection of the essential understandings and values of its members. In this collection of essays, Jackson calls for people to interact with nature rather than segregating it from culture. He also is critical of those who venerate nature and history as commodities rather than understanding them as processes in which contemporary people are a part. This volume complements his other works listed in this bibliography, *The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics* (1980) and *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (1984) (see above).

*Keywords: *Cultural Landscape Theory*

Compiled by: kfa

Jenkins, Myra Ellen

1974 History of Laguna Pueblo Land Claims. *In* Pueblo Indians, vol. 4. New York: Garland Publishing.

Jenkins explains that no Spanish historical records have been found describing Laguna Pueblo prior to 1699; thus, historians considered Laguna not to be an aboriginal pueblo. Jenkins notes, however, that Ellis' work determined "the basic ancestry of the modern Laguna lies in a comparatively sizeable group which had a separate identity long before the Spanish occupation of New Mexico although they were not so recognized by the Spaniards" (p. 36). Officials from Laguna Pueblo traveled to Río Grande settlements to meet with Spanish officials on land matters and other issues (pp. 62, 72–73), probably passing over the West Mesa on some of their trips. Thus, it can be inferred that some Laguna tribal members had a continuing first-hand knowledge of the topography and cultural resources of the West Mesa, even if it is not documented in historical records.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Land Claims, *Archaeology, *History, *Movement, *West Mesa*

Compiled by: tjf

Jett, Stephen C.

1984 Making the "Stars" of Navajo "Planetaria." The Kiva 50:25–40.

Jett and Navajo consultant Chauncey Naboyia reconstruct the creation of at least some "stars" on cave ceilings by Navajos shooting yucca-leaf stamps impaled on arrows just for fun.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Johnson, George

1996 Fire in the Mind: Science, Faith, and the Search for Order. New York: Vintage Books

In this provocative essay, Johnson juxtaposes systems of traditional community belief and understandings obtained through science to explore the question of where religion ends and science begins. Johnson weaves his discussion around a comparison of recent contributions in quantum physics, information science, and complexity made by New Mexican scientists with the traditional cosmologies of the region's Tewa Pueblo people and Nuevomexicano Catholic Penitentes. On a more practical level immediately relevant to the Petroglyph National Monument Ethnographic Landscape Report, Johnson confirms that the Río Grande Pueblo people, just as their Western Pueblo counterparts, traditionally conceptualized flowing lava as "hot water" (p. 300).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Nuevomexicano, *Anglo-American, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Science, *Truth*

Compiled by: kfa

Jojola, Ted S., and Joe L. Jojola

1988 Position Paper: A Pueblo Perspective on a Petroglyph National Park. Paper submitted on behalf of the All Indian Pueblo Council during Congressional Hearings on the Establishment of a Petroglyph National Park, Albuquerque.

This short essay provides a powerful discussion of the reasons the Petroglyph National Monument is important to Pueblo communities. The Jojolas cite the destruction of the Isleta Pueblo Grant Black Mesa escarpment, which was a meaningful place for hundreds of rock images, as the outcome of what happens when "certain elements in 'cultured' modern society regard…petroglyphs as meaningless and, therein, worthless" (p. 2). The authors call for the National Park Service to create programs and policies through which the Pueblo communities' can play active role in the co-management and interpretation of the monument.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Development, *Preservation, *Oral Traditions, *Cultural Resources Consultation*

Compiled by: kfa

Julyan, Robert

1996 The Place Names of New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Julyan gives a concise summary of the place name, Atrisco. He suggests that the name most likely derives from the Nahuatl word atlixco, meaning "across the river" (p. 25; however, see Domínguez 1956:154, n. 12). He adds,

> From the viewpoint of a traveler on the Rio Grande's E bank, this certainly would have described the community…Alternatively, the name Atlixco could have been transferred to NM from Puebla, Mexico, where it appears on a valley and a city. [p. 25]

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Land Claims*

Compiled by: kfa

Kelley, Klara, and Harris Francis

1995 Navajo Sacred Places Research Files. Gallup: Klara Kelley, Consulting Anthropologist, unpublished MS.

These files record each place named in most published Navajo stories associated with ceremonies, although a few obscurely published stories have yet to be included. Information from some unpublished manuscripts, from cultural resource management studies, and from studies of Navajo place names also is included. The sources cover 69 narratives, 46 tellers, and 21 ceremonies. The files also compile information from published oral traditions about clan origins. According to the files, Rock-that-defends (*Tsé nich'á* or *Tsé achâhí*), probably the site of Petroglyph National Monument, is mentioned in one story, the Willito Wilson version of the Beautyway ceremonial origin story, published by Wyman (1957). Three other versions of this ceremonial story have been published, but none mention the Petroglyph location.

These files also show that the nearest identified other Navajo sacred places are Sandía Mountain, Rincon Ridge on the west side of Sandía Mountain, and Cerro Berro (a hill southeast of the Belen exit off I-40). Wilson's Beautyway story names these places, and they also appear in other sources, including two versions of the Mountaintopway ceremonial origin story. One Mountaintopway story associates Sandía Mountain with a third ceremony, the Shootingway. These three ceremonial repertoires have much in common: the stories of Mountaintopway and Beautyway follow the simultaneous travels of two girls north and south of the San Juan River after the events of the Enemy Way ceremonial origin stories (the core of which is a raid on a place variously identified as Aztec Ruins, Taos, and Pueblo Bonito). The files show that another story not identified with a particular ceremony (reported by Luckert [1977], "Navajo Mountain and Rainbow Bridge Religion") pairs Sandía Mountain with Red Mountain west of Jémez, the two being snakes that together bring rain.

These files identify what is probably the Petroglyph National Monument site with one Navajo ceremony and with other nearby sacred places that make a contextual landscape. The files also establish the Navajo ceremonial contexts and significance of the particular petroglyph images named. Most Navajos think these stories are set in pre-Columbian times, since they mention no non-Indians, no domestic animals, and no European-derived technology (e.g., wheels, steel, etc.).

Clan origin stories compiled in these files cover all 22 clans that other sources (see Navajo Land Claim materials, Correll Collection, Navajo Oral History Statements) identify with early Navajo residents of Canyoncito, Ramah, and Alamo, the Navajo communities nearest Petroglyph National Monument. These clan histories do not mention locations in or near the Petroglyph National Monument, but they do mention some parts of the Río Grande and Río Puerco of the East valleys. Together with Navajo ceremonial stories and with Spanish, Mexican, and U.S.

documentation, these stories help reconstruct the history of the Navajo communities nearest Petroglyph National Monument, their uses of the landscape around monument, and their interethnic relations.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Place Names, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Kelly, Lawrence

1970 Navajo Roundup: Selected Correspondence of Kit Carson's Campaign against the Navajo, 1863–1865. Boulder: Pruett Publishing.

Kelly reproduces Carson correspondence, including references to military parties escorting Navajos to Fort Sumner, information also covered later by Ackerly (1998). Kelly reproduces an 1864 map of the Military Department of New Mexico by Capt. Allen Anderson, which shows a forked wagon road through Laguna, the approximate location of present Correo, Atrisco, and Los Lunas. This map shows the wagon road that the army used to take Navajos to Fort Sumner.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *History, *Long Walk, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kk and hf

King, Cecil

1997 Here Come the Anthros. *In* Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology. Thomas Biolsi and Larry J. Zimmerman, eds. Pp. 115–119. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

King offers a view of anthropology from the perspective of a member of a traditional community. His blunt, forceful commentary is as applicable to cultural resource managers and the whole cultural resource management process as it is to the academy of anthropologists. He focuses his critique on the issue of language in the act of representation and the intellectual violence done to traditional communities and their systems of knowing by the exclusive dependence on the English language and the systems of classification and interpretation that prevail within the dominant Anglo community.

*Keywords: *Ethnology, *Cultural Resources Consultation*

Compiled by: kfa

King, Thomas F.

1993 Beyond Bulletin 38: Comments on the Traditional Cultural Properties Symposium. Patricia L. Parker, guest ed. Pp. 60–64. CRM 16 (Special Issue). Washington, DC: National Park Service.

In his role of symposium discussant, King reviews the various critiques of the Section 106 cultural resources compliance process, commentaries on the concept of traditional cultural properties, and suggestions for improving consultation procedures to allow affiliated communities a more active, relevant role in cultural resources management. As King wryly observes early in his commentary, "If one's consultation system doesn't allow those consulted to consult, it can hardly be characterized a consultation system" (p. 60).

*Keywords: *Preservation, *Cultural Resources Consultation, *Traditional Cultural Properties*

Compiled by: kfa

Kolber, Jane

1998 The Human Figure in Navajo Rock Art, with an Emphasis on Mockingbird Canyon, Chaco. *In* Dine Bikeyah: Papers in Honor of David M. Brugge. Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick, eds. Pp. 157–168. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico 24. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico.

Most of this paper examines 19th- and 20th-century Navajo naturalistic human forms documented in Chaco Canyon. Kolber says that Navajos probably reserved the use of naturalistic forms for "people [humans] like themselves" (p. 167), while representing humans "dressed" (i.e., masked) as immortals in more stylized forms. Depictions of the immortals similarly are stylized motifs; in some examples, immortals are portrayed through the use of highly stylized geometrical icons. Kolber notes that a disproportionate number of immortals and their human impersonators are in the *Dinétah*. These images are rare in Chaco Canyon and Canyon de Chelly.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Lamb, Susan

1993 Petroglyph National Monument. Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association.

This guidebook, intended for laypersons, provides an overview of the cultural and natural resources of the Petroglyph National Monument. As her narrative moves among several of the locality's more prominent features (the West Mesa volcanic flow escarpment,

Vulcan Volcano, Rinconada Mesa, Marsh Peninsula, the Río Grande channel, Mesa Prieta, the Piedras Marcadas, the Sand Dunes, and the Boca Negra), Lamb offers a general review of the monument's environment, culture history, land use, and National Park history. Lamb draws from Jane Young's work among the Zuñi that identified numerous parallels between Pueblo poetry and petroglyphs. Lamb summarizes, "In both words and images, which hold deep associations for the members of that society, are arranged to invoke a sense of awe and reverence for life" (p. 1).

Although some earlier images occur, about 95 percent of the West Mesa petroglyphs are executed in the "Río Grande Style" common to the 15th century. This style expresses concern for rain and fertility in the context of a spiritual and physical community. Lamb notes that the Pueblo people knew the properties of wild plants, and "Worn patches on the rocks show where healers ground seeds and herbs on the boulders of the West Mesa, apparently a special place for herbs" (p. 11). In concluding her essay with references to Pueblo concepts of spiritual ecology and environmental ecology, Lamb quotes an unnamed Pueblo elder concerned with sustaining this place's sanctity.

> Honor. Preserve. Live each day with a good heart, a clean soul, so that everyone you come in touch with feels the same way. [p. 15]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kfa and tjf

Lambert, Marjorie

1979 Pojoaque Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 324–329. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Pojoaque Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Pojoaque, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Lange, Charles H.

1979 Cochiti Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 366–378. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Cochití Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Keres, *Cochití, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Lange, Charles H.

1979 Santo Domingo Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 379–389. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Santo Domingo Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Keres, *Santo Domingo, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Lesley, Lewis Burt, ed.

1929 Uncle Sam's Camels: The Journal of May Humphreys Stacey Supplemented by the Report of Edward Fitzgerald Beale. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lesley presents two day-by-day accounts of the same 1858 expedition, which followed the route of the Whipple expedition (see Foreman 1941). The accompanying map is not useful, and descriptions of the route between Albuquerque and Laguna are vague. After crossing from Albuquerque to the west side of the Río Grande, the party camped about a mile from the river, then they did not camp again until the vicinity of the Río Puerco of the East, where Beale told the party they were on the wrong road. Two miles west they found an access to the right road, so evidently this stretch encompassed more than one wagon road. According to Ackerly (1998), these wagon roads are all possible routes on which the army took the Navajos to Fort Sumner.

*Keywords: *History, *Trails, *Albuquerque*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Luckert, Karl W., and Johnny C. Cooke

1979 Coyoteway: A Navajo Holyway Healing Ceremonial. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

In addition to ceremonial origin stories, Luckert and Cole reproduce sandpaintings and depict ceremonial paraphernalia, as well as analyzing in detail their iconography and describing the ceremonial performance context for the sandpaintings, all based on information from Navajo ceremonialists. Common

images include coyotes, buffalo, thunders (including two-pointed "flint" caps), deer, and antelope.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Lummis, Charles F.

1925 Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo. New York: Century.

This travelogue includes a chapter on "Rivers of Stone," which discusses the Malpais lava flow west of Ácoma, near an ancestral village on Cebollita. Lummis writes:

> The Queres Pueblos still have a legend of the *Año de la Lumbre*, or "Year of Fire." They say their forefathers dwelt in these valleys when the lava floods came and made it so hot that all had to move away; and there is a dumb but eternal witness to the truth of their story. A few miles from Cebollita were some of their small, separate farmhouses in the pretty valley, and through one of these a current of the stone river ran. There stands to this day that ancient house, long roofless but with strong walls still; and through a gap in them and over the floor lies the frozen black tide. [pp. 241–242]

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Lava*

Compiled by: tjf

McClannahan, Rory

1999 Petroglyph Land Payments Monumentally Slow. Albuquerque Journal, May 3:A1, A3.

McClannahan reports the U.S. and City of Albuquerque governments have not completely paid for all the property they committed to purchase as part of their partnership in forming the Petroglyph National Monument. Moreover, the third governmental partner, the State of New Mexico, has not appropriated any money since 1992 to fulfill their purchase obligations. Consequently, some landowners still own land within the monument and pay taxes on parcels whose value increases, on an average, 15 percent each year, while facing moratoriums on developing their holdings.

In reviewing the financial hardships confronting the uncompensated landowners, McClannahan offers insights into their relationships with West Mesa land. In recognizing the petroglyphs' value to the public at large, some individuals apparently also saw the petroglyphs as an opportunity for personal gain. For example, one land speculator, D. W. Falls, gave 34 hectares (85 acres) to the city in the early 1970s for the Boca Negra Park. He intended to use the balance of his 1958 purchase of the 1,440 hectares (3,600 acres) Hughes Ranch for subdivision development. While Falls unquestionably was concerned with protecting the Boca Negra Canyon petroglyphs, one might question how the park's creation also enhanced the value of his adjacent subdivision lands.

*Keywords: *Anglo-American, *History, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Development*

Compiled by: kfa

McCoy, Ronald

1988 Summoning the Gods. Plateau. Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona.

McCoy briefly discusses the role of sandpaintings in Navajo ceremonies in general, sandpaintings among other Southwest Indian groups, and Southwest sandpainting origins. He reproduces several Navajo sandpaintings at the Museum of Northern Arizona painted by Fred Geary from originals by Miguelito in the John Frederick Huckel Collection.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

McCreery, Patricia, and Ekkehart Malotki

1994 Tapamveni, The Rock Art Galleries of the Petrified Forest and Beyond. Petrified Forest, AZ: Petrified Forest Museum Association.

This richly illustrated book about the petroglyphs of the Petrified Forest region was written by McCreery, with photographs and captions by Malotki. *Tapamveni* is a Hopi word that literally means "hammered mark" or "pounded sign." Thus, the word alludes to the technique of pecking petroglyphs into rock. McCreery and Malotki define a "Palavayu rock art style" that occurs in the Little Colorado River and Río Puerco of the West valleys in the area extending from Chevelon Creek to the Petrified Forest National Park. *Palavayu* is a Hopi word meaning "Red River" (p. 184) and is an old reference to the Little Colorado River (e.g., Curtis 1922:185). The book abundantly illustrates many petroglyphs in and around the Petrified Forest with symbolic elements related to the Hopi and Zuni cultures. These elements include depictions of kachinas and animals that may represent clan symbols. McCreery discusses Hopi clan symbols that have been authenticated at Willowsprings, Wupatki, and Homol'ovi and suggests many animals in the Petrified Forest petroglyphs may also record clan affiliation.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Zuni, *Archaeology, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

McNitt, Frank

1972 Navajo Wars. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

McNitt provides a detailed chronicle of warfare involving Navajos with other Indian tribes and with Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. colonizers. McNitt shows that far from the stereotype of raiding for livestock, Navajo raiding was complexly related to the colonial slave trade and various colonizers' use of Puebloan auxiliaries against the Navajos. Index entries under *Diné anaa'ii* together chronicle the history of Canyoncito forebears, and entries under "Raids, Navajo," detail raids nearest the Petroglyph National Monument site.

Navajo raids on Río Grande settlements started by the middle 1600s and continued until the U.S. government held half the tribe captive at Fort Sumner. In bits and pieces, the book tells much about the Navajos nearest the site of Petroglyph National Monument, whose descendants became the Canyoncito Band. By the early 1800s, this group aligned themselves with the colonizers against Navajo groups farther west, who gave them the name Enemy Navajos (*Diné anaa'ii*i). The Enemy Navajos were concentrated on the eastern slopes of Mount Taylor north of Laguna and Cubero, but they (or other groups of Navajos) also used Sandía Mountain. McNitt also chronicles the targets of Navajo raids and describes the raider's routes. Atrisco and Alameda were among the targets of raids. Common raiders' routes did not cross the site of Petroglyph National Monument site; the nearest frequently used route seems to have come down the Río Jémez.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *History, *Warfare, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kk and hf

McNitt, Frank

1973 The Long March: 1863–1867. *In* The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians: A Historic Perspective. Al Schroeder, ed. Pp. 145–169. Glorieta: Rio Grande Press.

This book contains information on the Long Walk to Fort Sumner also summarized later by Ackerly (1998). The article contains a useful map of the main routes used by various Navajo parties under military escort. The map shows only one route (unforked) from Laguna east; it goes to Los Lunas, crosses the Río Grande, then follows the east side of the river north to Albuquerque.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *History, *Long Walk, *Albuquerque*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Mallery, Garrick

1886 On the Pictographs of the North American Indians. *In* Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Mallery's report incorporates information from G. K. Gilbert's topographical survey of the Colorado River region. Mallery describes travel of the Hopis into the Grand Canyon on salt-gathering expeditions and explains that the petroglyphs at the "Hopi clan rocks" were part of those pilgrimages.

> Mr. G. K. Gilbert discovered etchings at Oakley Spring, eastern Arizona, in 1878, relative to which he remarks that an Oraibi chief explained them to him and said that the "Mokis make excursions to a locality in the cañon of the Colorado Chiquito to get salt. On their return they stop at Oakley Spring and each Indian makes a picture on the rock. Each Indian draws his crest or totem, the symbols of his gens [(?)]. He draws it once, and once only, at each visit." Mr. Gilbert adds, further, that "there are probably some exceptions to this, but the etchings show its general truth. There are a great many repetitions of the same sign, and from two to ten will often appear in a row. In several instances I saw the end drawings of a row quite fresh while the others were not so. Much of the work seems to have been performed by pounding with a hard point, but a few pictures were scratched on. Many drawings are weather-worn beyond recognition, and others are so fresh that the dust left by the tool has not been washed away by rain. Oakley Spring is at the base of the Vermilion Cliff, and the etchings are on fallen blocks of sandstone, a homogenous, massive, soft sandstone. Tubi, the Oraibi chief above referred to, says his totem is the rain cloud but it will be made no more as he is the last survivor of his gens. [p. 28]

Gilbert's comment that the petroglyphs were sometimes so fresh that the dust of carved sandstone still remained near a clan symbol indicates the continuing cultural practice of the Hopis in producing petroglyphs in association with religious activities.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: tjf

Mallery, Garrick

1972 [1893] Picture Writing of the American Indians. 2 vols. New York: Dover.

The original Bureau of American Indian Ethnology report covers rock imagery among a wide variety of notational systems. Mallery discusses notations geographically and according to image configuration/ascribed meaning (thus compiling examples cross-culturally). His work, together with that of Patterson (1992; see below), makes up an antidote to uncritical acceptance of style categories and their presumed correspondence with ethnicity.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Matthews, Washington

1887 The Mountain Chant: A Navajo Ceremony. *In* Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1883–1884. Pp. 37–467. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

In addition to ceremonial origin stories, Matthews reproduces four sandpaintings and depicts ceremonial paraphernalia, as well as analyzing in detail their iconography and describing the ceremonial performance context for the sandpaintings, all based on information from Navajo ceremonialists. Sandpaintings with a cup of water buried in the center suggest a possible function for the sipapu in pre-Columbian pitrooms.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Matthews, Washington

1902 The Night Chant: A Navaho Ceremony. Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History 6. New York: Knickerbocker Press.

In addition to ceremonial origin stories, Matthews reproduces sandpaintings and depicts ceremonial paraphernalia, as well as analyzing in detail their iconography and describing the ceremonial performance context for the sandpaintings, all based on information from Navajo ceremonialists. The most common images are various *Yéii* (Holy People impersonated by masked performers in Nightway and a few other types of ceremony). Matthews also illustrates masks.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Matthews, Washington

1997 [1885] Mythic Dry-Paintings of the Navajos. *In* Washington Matthews: Studies of Navajo Culture, 1880–1894. Katherine Spencer Halpern and Susan Brown McGreevy, eds. Pp. 221–228. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press and Santa Fé: Wheelwright Museum.

This article apparently represents the first published report of Navajo sandpaintings. The article contains two illustrations with a discussion of their iconography. Some of the images discussed are depictions of figure types also found at Petroglyph National Monument, including snakes, bear tracks, crosses, and various quadrupeds.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Mendoza, Joseph Hurtado

1768 Petition by Joseph Hurtado de Mendoza, et al., to Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta. Translation on file in the Catron Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Mendoza filed this petition on behalf of all the Atrisco heirs. He asked the Governor for additional land south of the San Fernando grant and adjacent to the Atrisco Grant on the west. Mendoza states that the Atrisco grant was too small for their growing herds and that the Atrisco settlers have been grazing their herds there for some time. The document also lists some of the Atrisco settlers: Dona Efigenia Durán y Chaves, Joseph Hurtado de Mendoza, Don Diego Antonia Durán y Chaves, Joseph Sánchez, Pedro Sánchez, Miguel Chaves, Ignacio Chaves, Bernardino de Sena Durán y Chaves, Andrés Antonio Romero, Ignacio Romero, Miguel Montoya, Tomás García, Manuel Baca, and Phelipe Jacobo Romero.

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco, *Land Use*

Compiled by: gd

Metzgar, Joseph V.

1977 The Atrisco Land Grant, 1692–1977. New Mexico Historical Review 52:269–296.

Metzgar offers a variety of useful information about how the Atrisqueños used and thought about their grant lands over the span of nearly three centuries. He reports the Atrisco Land grant investiture ceremonies presumably were held in 1703, three years before the settlement of the *Villa de Alburquerque*.

> Atrisco settlers established three or four functional areas of grant land to provide for their needs. Atrisco proper and what became Ranchos de Atrisco contained individually owned grant lands in the valley, the former comprising the village nucleus, the latter the better bottomlands, determined by unpredictable floods and course changes of the river and the people's adjustment to them. Lands were used for irrigated cultivation of corn, beans, wheat, and alfalfa. As population grew, Atrisqueños brought a third element of the grant into use, namely, the common lands of the west mesa where the increasing number of sheep and other livestock could graze more freely. Atrisco, like other villages in New Mexico was closely knit and largely self-sufficient. Its economy was closely tied to the Chihuahua–New Mexico trade. [p. 270]

With population growth and the growth of the Zacatecas silver mine industry in northern Mexico, the Atrisqueños ran their sheep ever farther westward and impinged on other land grant communities, San Fernando. The Atrisqueños petitioned for additional grant lands beyond West Mesa in 1768. Their argument "that their lands to the west were insufficient for grazing their livestock 'of all kinds'" (p. 272), indicates the marginal character of the West Mesa range for sustaining year-round ranch operations. They preferred the lands between the Cerro Colorado and the Río Puerco of the East for both pasturage and wood.

The investiture of the 1768 grant expansion came with stout stipulations intended to sustain the commons for the benefit of the expanding community for all time:

> Governor Mendinueta issued the grant to the Atrisqueños and their heirs on condition that they settle the land with their livestock and "not sell or alienate the same, by any title, to any ecclesiastical persons and without injury to any third party having a better right. [p. 273]

[Chief Alcalde and War Captain of Albuquerque, don Francisco Trebol] Navarro admonished that they [the Atrisqueños] should not engage in lawsuits or disputes "but live in peace and friendly union…And lastly, none of these said settlers may sell or alienate his ranch, through any title, whether to his relative, friend, or neighbor, for this grant is made by His Excellency the Governor that the parties placed in possession may, with their stock, use and enjoy the same, and not for gain" (p. 274).

While the Atrisqueños apparently were able to maintain their livestock herds at economic, yet sustainable, levels for more than 175 years, Metzgar reports the coming of the railroad in 1880 or 1881 pushed livestock population to unprecedented levels and, concomitantly, with deleterious ecological consequences. With the depletion of range vegetation, cattle and sheep production decreased by 50 to 60 percent, and closed range practices developed. Wage labor also influenced the movement of people away from their traditional land-based economies. Metzgar notes, "The last extensive grazing of sheep on the common lands of Atrisco occurred in the depression of the 1930s" (p. 281). With these economic and social trends as his background, Metzgar then traces how Atrisco town officials began leasing the community's land grant commons for commercial development, including the mining of volcanic ash, the construction of the West Mesa Airport, and the building of U.S. Highway 66. Metzgar summarizes subsequent heirship proceedings, legal actions by some Atrisqueños against the sale of grant lands, and land tax cases as Albuquerque's post–WW II economic boom brought 15 years of ever-greater land development opportunities to the now empty West Mesa commons. Metzgar also reviews the founding of the Westland Development Company and the passage of New Mexico state law enabling a community land grant corporation to acquire the legal status of a domestic stock corporation.

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco, *Land Use, *Development*

Compiled by: kfa

Michaelis, Helen

1981 Willowsprings: A Hopi Petroglyph Site. Journal of New World Archaeology 4:1–23.

Michaelis provides a detailed report of the Hopi petroglyphs at Willowsprings. This site is a rich source for interpretive analogies for many West Mesa petroglyphs. Michaelis cites early work by Colton (1931), Fewkes (1895), Mallory (1888), and Titiev (1937) as indicating "Willowsprings is an early Hopi ceremonial shrine and that it was used by the various clans of this group of peoples on their yearly pilgrimage to obtain salt from the Grand Canyon" (p. 3).

The following Hopi clans are represented at the site (with the number of petroglyphs of each symbol provided in parentheses): Arrow (24), Badger (16), Bear (304), Bird (43), Bow (32), Butterfly (6), Cedar (4), Cloud (91), Corn (316), Coyote (113), Crow (148), Horn (28), Katchina (37), Lizard (136), Masau-u (48), Moon (14), Oak (18), Parrot (22), Porcupine (8), Rabbit (19), Rabbitbrush (1), Red Ant (41), Sand (53), Snake (57), Snow (33), Spider (26), Star (13), Strap (54), Sun (126), Sun Forehead (14), Tobacco (6), Water (7), and Yucca-Agave (7).

Michaelis notes, "A remarkable feature of the site is the minimum of superimposition that has taken place even on the oldest and busiest areas. Observation seems to indicate that the people, when placing a new glyph, carefully avoided the destruction of earlier writings" (p. 8). She also observes, "when a clan signature appears on a specific rock, other members of the clan continue to crowd their symbols on several sides of the same rock and sometimes on no other location on the site." Most designs are small, ranging from 7.5 to 37.5 centimeters (3–14.8 inches) in height, and 3 to 10 centimeters (1–4 inches) in width.

Michaelis notes, "Chronology presents a difficult problem to resolve on all rock art sites, and this one is no exception" (p. 8). Using ethnographic data from Titiev, she suggests the clan symbols at Willowsprings postdate A.D. 1150. That some non-clan symbol petroglyphs are repatinated and others are covered with lichen suggests "these glyphs are obviously very ancient and much older than all of the clan designs" (p. 9). She convincingly uses the ethnographic record to interpret the petroglyphs as clan symbols ritually pecked into the rocks during the Hopi Salt Trail pilgrimages.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Archaeology, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

Mitchell, Charlie

1942 A Navaho's Historical Reminiscences. *In* Navaho Texts by Edward Sapir. Harry Hoijer, ed. Pp. 336–397. Iowa City: Linguistic Society of America, University of Iowa.

Mitchell tells his childhood experience on the Long Walk to Fort Sumner. From San Rafael (near Grants) the group after two nights arrived at Albuquerque, where other Navajos were already assembled. This large group then went through (Tijeras?) Canyon, then northeast to a place where in the past Navajo war parties had turned back [possibly Galisteo, which Ackerly's sources show was on one of the routes]. Mitchell does not name Petroglyph National Monument, but his story indicates Navajo history associated with the surrounding region.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *History, *Ethnography, *Long Walk, *Oral Traditions, *Albuquerque*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Naranjo, Tessie

1995 Thoughts on Migration by Santa Clara Pueblo. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 14:247–250.

A sociologist from Santa Clara Pueblo, Naranjo helps explain the primacy of the concept of movement in Pueblo cosmology and landscape-making. Movement of people across the land, just as movement of life force through all of the realms of the Pueblos' cosmos, means transformation and renewal. The European idea of abandonment is neither applicable nor appropriate.

In terms of movement specifically, Naranjo writes,

> Movement is one of the big ideological concepts of Pueblo thought because it is necessary for the perpetuation of life. Movement, clouds, wind and rain are one. Movement must be emulated by the people. [p. 248]

She adds, "The idea was to have boundaries to create a place—to fix a place—temporarily within the larger idea of movement" (p. 249).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Archaeology, *Ethnology, *Cosmology, *Movement*

Compiled by: kfa

Naranjo, Tito, and Rina Swentzell

1989 Healing Spaces in the Pueblo World. American Indian Culture and Research Journal 13(3–4):257–265.

Naranjo and Swentzell, both members of the Santa Clara Pueblo and educators, consider the Pueblos' concepts of center, periphery, movement, process, and connectedness in their understandings of landscape, place, time, and tradition. In their consideration of healing places, which are where a state of balance is maintained between human and natural environments (p. 257), they examine the importance of negative spaces, whether formally constructed (as in village plazas) or naturally occurring (as in caves), through which the energy of all life forces moves to unite all parts of the Pueblos' cosmos.

> The symbolic openings are found in the plaza area, within the kiva, and in the enclosing hills as well as in the far mountains. These openings represent, again, an effort to connect this level of existence with that below. Each of the openings (*nan-sipu* and shrines) is a special healing space. Each is the primary point of energy flow between the simultaneous levels of the Pueblo world—it is where the movement of the universe is most intense. Those points were centering places of the Pueblo world, and human life can be in the connective flow of the universe. They are, however, inconspicuous points in the flow of the universe. [p. 262]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Ethnology, *Cosmology, *Breath, *Centers, *Emergence, *Movement, *Connectedness, *Healing Spaces*

Compiled by: kfa

Navajo Nation

1963 Proposed Findings of Fact in Behalf of the Navajo Tribe of Indians in Area of the Overall Navajo Claim Land. Docket 229 before the Indian Claims Commission. Norman M. Littell, Attorney, Washington, DC. Gallup: Klara Kelley, Consulting Anthropologist, unpublished MS.

Volume I, Finding 11, "Navajo Use and Occupancy of Eastern Area South of the San Juan River," pp. 177–256, summarizes historical documentation and Navajo family oral histories in the region west of Río Grande, from first Spanish contacts (1582) to after the U.S. conquest of the Navajos and their interment in Fort Sumner (1864–1868). The work specifies the locations where Navajos were observed living, farming, and involved in other activities, and it discusses their relations with neighboring tribes and with Nuevomexicano settlers. The family histories start around 1800; some clans are specified. The work gives much detail on Navajo presence along the eastern edge of the Navajo Land Claim (Río Puerco of the East), but gives no references to places inside Petroglyph National Monument, which is outside the Land Claim boundary.

Volume V, Finding 20, "Navajo Relations With Neighboring Tribes": A. Laguna (pp. 885–923); B. Ácoma (pp. 924–936). This finding is based on the same documents as that in Vol. I. Thus, it describes Navajo land uses in the same places and times as that finding. Finding 20 gives more details about Navajo interactions with Laguna, Ácoma, and the Spanish grantees. Most of the details apply to the Seboyeta-Encinal area on the eastern footslopes of Mount Taylor.

Volume VI, Appendix A-1, "Navajo Place Names Relative to the Navajo Land Claim," is an alphabetical list (in the Navajo language) of about 1,000 place-names mentioned in evidence gathered in support of the claim. The list gives references (transcribed Navajo statements and other documentation) where each name is found. The list is keyed to a map, Navajo Exhibit 510, "Place Name Map," which is not included and has not been located. No places named are inside Petroglyph National Monument. The nearest named places are the sacred places identified in the Kelley and Francis sacred places files (see above), other locations in the Canyoncito Reservation, the Río Grande, Sandía Mountain, and various pueblos along the Río Grande and its tributaries.

Volume VI, Appendix A-2, "Alphabetical List of English and Spanish Appearing in This Set of Proposed Findings of Facts," lists about 500 place names mentioned in evidence compiled in volumes I–V. The list does not identify the sources of names. The list is keyed to the same map as Appendix A-1 (map not located). No locations inside Petroglyph National Monument are mentioned except Albuquerque. The place-names closest to Petroglyph National Monument are in the Río Puerco of the East drainage.

Volume VI, Appendix H, "Sacred Places Recognized by More Than One Tribe," lists about 31 places, tabulates which tribes have a documented sacred interest in each, and footnotes sources of this information. The tribes included are Río Grande Pueblos, Jémez-Zía–Santa Ana, Laguna, Ácoma, Zuni, Hopi, Havasupai, Paiute, Navajo, and Other Apache Tribes. No places inside Petroglyph National Monument are named. Place-names closest to Petroglyph National Monument are Cerro Berra (the hill southeast of the Belen exit from I-40), significant to Ácoma, and Correo Snake Pit (near Cerro Berra), with documented sacred significance to Laguna, Ácoma, and Zuni.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *History, *Ethnography, *Aboriginal Land Use, *Oral Traditions, *Place Names, *Land Claims*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Newcomb, Franc Johnson

n.d. Symbols in Sand. Indian Arts Series 11, Santa Fé: New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs.

This undated, minor publication is a brief and nontechnical, but informative, discussion of Navajo sandpainting origins according to Navajos themselves. It includes a historical summary of the purposes and

iconography of Navajo sandpaintings, as well as the recording of these images by non-Navajos. The article has four sandpainting illustrations.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Newcomb, Franc Johnson, Stanley Fishler, and Mary C. Wheelwright

1956 A Study of Navajo Symbolism. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum.

This work consists of separate contributions by each of the volume's three authors. Of these papers, Newcomb's study perhaps is the most comprehensive decoding of Navajo sandpainting iconography. Newcomb also illustrates, but does not decode, "picture writing," systems of visual symbols apparently developed by individual ceremonialists as a sort of shorthand to cue their memories for content of songs, prayers, and entire ceremonial performances.

Fishler illustrates and partly decodes a sample of "picture writing" developed by one ceremonialist, the late Frank Goldtooth of Tuba City. Fishler notes that the elements of Goldtooth's system tend to be carried over from sandpaintings. The elements are also reminiscent of pre-Columbian Pueblo petroglyph images.

Wheelwright's contribution notes a few trans-Pacific correspondences with Navajo iconography. The most striking of these correspondences is the "ancient Chinese" calligraphic symbol for cicada, which is nearly identical to the Dragonfly, Ripener, and Big Fly figures in Navajo sandpaintings.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Newcomb, Franc Johnson, and Gladys Reichard

1975 [1937] Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant. New York: Dover.

Newcomb and Reichard reproduce sandpaintings and analyze their iconography in great detail in light of the accompanying origin stories and of explications by Navajo ceremonialists. Sandpaintings shown for the Shootingway ceremonial repertoire contain most of the images common to sandpaintings of most Navajo ceremonial repertoires: horned or feathered great powers (Sun, Moon, Winds), Thunder, buffalo, bear tracks, Warrior Twins, water horse, water ox (water monster), snakes (horned, coiled, straight, crooked, intertwined, fat—all are marked with deer tracks, squares, and interlocked crescents), bows, arrows, predators (lion, lynx, wolf, badger), eagles, hawks, other birds, food plants (corn, beans, squash, tobacco), cornripener and dragonfly, bat, paraphernalia (baskets, rattles, knives, clubs, pouches, water pots), constellations, guardian powers, feathers, figures with wedge-shaped torsos (Ripener Girl, Pollen Boy, Dawn People), and central places (springs, homes, mountains).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Oakes, Maud, Jeff King, and Joseph Campbell

1969 [1943] Where the Two Came to Their Father: A Navaho War Ceremonial. Bollingen Series I. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Oakes, King, and Campbell reproduce sandpaintings and analyze their iconography in great detail in the light of accompanying origin stories and of explications by Navajo ceremonialists. The sandpaintings seem unusually spare in comparison with those reproduced in the works of Wyman (1957), Reichard (1950), and Newcomb (1975). Perhaps King, the ceremonialist who gave the images in this work, wished to avoid harm commonly believed to result from deploying sandpainting images outside the ceremonial context, and therefore provided only the basic underlying images of the paintings without the "dressing" details that go over them (see Matthews 1887 for an explanation that sandpainters complete the bodies of the beings in sandpaintings before covering them with depictions of kilts and other garments). Images include Huerfano Mountain (sacred mountain of center) as a quatrefoil, Warrior Twins, footprints, deity with wedge-shaped torso (daughter of Sun), buffalo, horned sun, *Yéii*, constellations, bears, snakes, thunders, clouds and cloud people, and central places (springs, homes, mountains).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Olin, Caroline B.

1972 Navajo Indian Sandpainting: The Construction of Symbols. Stockholm: Tre Ringer A.

Originally a Ph.D. dissertation, Olin's work focuses on what researchers can learn about sandpaintings by actually producing them. Because the author made the

reproductions in Sweden without standard pigments, setting, or Navajo supervision, Olin's results generally are unsatisfactory. The work, however, contains good discussions of what little is known about sandpainting history and of the iconography of the two sandpaintings (Earth and Sky; Monster Slayer in the Sun) that Olin reproduced.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Olin, Caroline B.

1979 Fringed Mouth, Navajo Ye'ii. *In* Collected Papers in Honor of Bertha Pauline Dutton. Albert H. Schroeder, ed. Pp. 141–162. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico 4. Albuquerque: Albuquerque Archaeological Press.

Olin discusses one particular Navajo deity as represented in rock imagery in the *Dinétah*. Olin worked with Navajo "medicine men" to identify these images. She discusses similar beings in Jémez, Zuni, and Hopi iconography. Olin also identifies published and unpublished records of sandpaintings that depict this deity, mainly those of Nightway (see Faris 1992 and Matthews 1902).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Río Grande Pueblos, *Towa, *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Zuni, *Ethnography, *Archaeology, *Petroglyphs, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Olin, Caroline B.

1984 Early Navajo Sandpainting Symbols in Old Navajoland. *In* Collected Papers in Honor of Harry L. Hadlock. Nancy L. Fox, ed. Pp. 43–74. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico 9. Albuquerque: Albuquerque Archaeological Press.

This paper reports some results of the Exxon Project, in which Olin and others visited rock image sites in the Largo Canyon system (*Dinétah*) with five Navajo ceremonialists. Olin recorded the ceremonialists' interpretations and other statements about the rock imagery they saw. This article is important because it is one of the very few documents reporting what traditional Navajo iconographers say about rock images. Of additional value is Olin's honest reporting of the Navajo consultants' different, even contradictory, views.

Olin also describes and profusely illustrates detailed correspondences between particular rock images and particular sandpainting figures. She notes where Navajo consultants identified rock images with motifs other than visually obvious corresponding sandpainting figures. Two important points are:

1. One ceremonial consultant "said that many rock art figures were part of his sandpaintings though some were just a little different in details" (p. 45).
2. "While many sandpainting symbols are clearly present in the petroglyphs and pictographs,...no organization of symbols into designs as we know them today [in sandpaintings] has been found…" (p. 47).

Olin's discussion of Navajo petroglyph origins is rooted in an outmoded but persistent anthropologists' myth of "multilinear evolution" among nonstratified societies. In this construction, each nonstratified society, including Navajo, is a self-sufficient unit on its own evolutionary track, with distinct language, history, territory, and core culture. Moreover, according to this model, territory shifts only through group migration and culture changes only through the "borrowing" of piecemeal "traits" from neighboring groups and grafting them onto the persistent core. (Note: The ethnohistory of Pueblo groups is so contradictory that anthropologists do not try to fit these communities into the "multilinear evolution" construction. Anthropologists unwilling to critique the myth seem to use the murkier pasts of Navajos and other hunting-and-gathering groups as validation.)

Olin does not speculate about possible functions of petroglyphs. Through her choice of examples, specifically her examination of numerous icons used as guardians in sandpaintings, it seems plausible to wonder whether some petroglyphs were rendered to guard nearby ceremonial places or settlements. As Olin explains (see also Wyman 1983), the Navajo theory behind sandpaintings is that, by depicting particular immortals with powers needed by the ceremonial beneficiary/ies ("patient/s"), the sandpainting draws those immortals into the pigmented earth, which then is applied to the beneficiary to absorb the power. In our experience Navajos today seem to have a similar theory about the ancient rock images of immortals. That is, supernaturals gravitate to places where their images are. Therefore, individuals leave offerings at petroglyphs for the powers depicted in the image when they petition the immortals for assistance.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Olin, Caroline B., and Sally Hadlock

1980 Recording the Roots of Navajo Culture. Exxon USA 19(2):26–31. Public Affairs Department, Exxon Company, USA.

Olin and Hadlock describe one of a series of petroglyph recording in *Dinétah*. This effort, chronicled by Hadlock (1979), was sponsored by Exxon and other oil companies that were developing oil and gas fields in *Dinétah*. The project is one of the very few to consult several Navajo ceremonialists to interpret the rock images. The authors do not discuss these interpretations in detail, however, presumably because they promised the ceremonialists confidentiality. The work includes 12 photographs of petroglyphs. Unpublished records of this work are at the San Juan County Museum.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Archaeology, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Opler, Morris E.

1983a The Apachean Culture Pattern and Its Origins. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 368–392. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

In this informative article, Opler provides practical general discussion of central tendencies and variations in the early culture-history of Apachean cultures.

*Keywords: *Apache, *Jicarilla Apache, *Mescalero Apache, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Opler, Morris E.

1983b Mescalero Apache. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 419–439. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history the Mescalero Apache Tribe.

*Keywords: *Apache, *Mescalero Apache, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Ortiz, Alfonso

1969 The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being, and Becoming in a Pueblo Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

This now-classic ethnographic monograph provides a comprehensive symbolic analysis of Tewa culture, with the fundamental principles that structure the Tewa people's understandings of their cosmos. While this work offers no information directly related to Petroglyph National Monument and the West Mesa locality, Ortiz's study is an essential reference because it helps explain significant aspects of the conceptual Tewa world.

This book, just as all of Ortiz's work, must be considered with great care and respect. Ortiz was controversial within San Juan Pueblo society. Now deceased, Ortiz was of mixed Tewa and Nuevomexicano descent, but he traced his cultural identification principally with San Juan Pueblo. He was the source of controversy because he divulged information about San Juan Tewa society and culture considered by some community members to have special qualities. Thus, Ortiz offered information that should not have been shared with outsiders.

Ortiz does offer insight for building a general understanding of the Tewa's ethnographic landscape constructions. He examines the interwoven relationships and meanings between the natural and supernatural worlds of the Tewas' cosmos to permit cogent definition of Tewa ethnographic landscape structure and boundaries. He specifically considers questions concerning how the Tewa simultaneously divide and unite their world through a system of social and symbolic dualism. But the whole is greater than the sum of its parts: As Fred Eggan notes in the book's forward,

> But dualism is only part of the Tewa picture, though a fundamental part; the way in which the dual organization ties the human categories together into a larger structure is an important part of the author's contribution. [p. xii]

Ortiz's analytical framework permits identification of the principle that places on the Tewa's ethnographic landscape cannot be understood in isolation or as having discrete, impermeable spatial or temporal boundaries. Ortiz's naming of Sandía Crest (Oku Pin; a.k.a. Sandía Mountain) as the Tewa's south mountain in their cultural geography assumes importance in this regard.

> The mountains are understood by the Tewa to be endowed with sacredness in several ways. First, a lake or pond is associated with each, and within this body of water live the "Dry Food Who Never Did Become," of the appropriate directional color. Secondly, there is a *nan sipu* or earth navel on top of each mountain, and within these live the *Towa é* who stand watch over the Tewa world. The color classification is again replicated. [p. 19, emphasis added]

Clearly, the special qualities of Sandía Mountain cannot be understood in isolation; the identification of Sandía Mountain as the cardinal south summit with water, directional color association, a *nan sipu*, and the Towa é embodies many-layered metaphorical referents. Used in conjunction with other Tewa ethnographical accounts, Ortiz's analysis provides guidelines for considering aspects of relationship among (1) Sandía Mountain; (2) the Albuquerque West Mesa with its volcanoes, lava flows, and caves; and (3) the centers of the Tewa communities.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Sandía Mountain, *Breath, *Centers, *Emergence, *Movement, *Connectedness*

Compiled by: kfa

Ortiz, Alfonso

1972 Ritual Drama and the Pueblo World View. *In* New Perspectives on the Pueblos. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 135–161. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Ortiz distinguishes worldview from religion:

> A world view provides a people with a structure of reality; it defines, classifies, and orders the "really real" in the universe, in their world, and in their society….If world view provides an *intellectually* satisfying picture of reality, religion provides both an intellectually and *emotionally* satisfying picture of, and orientation toward, that reality. [p. 136, emphasis added]

Ortiz adds,

> A world view, then, is paramount a cultural system in the sense that it denotes a system of symbols by means of which a people impose meaning and order on their world. This being so, the initial and most important question to ask of a people or a body of data is: What are the symbolic resources in terms of which they think and act? [p. 137]

This essay documents the precision among Pueblo people in bringing their definitions of community space and time into line with their cosmologies. These constructions all are based on the premises that (1) all space is sacred, (2) sacred space is inexhaustible, and (3) everything—animate and inanimate—has its place in the cosmos.

Ortiz traces the relationship between boundary and center. Because boundaries demarcate things between the living world and the underworld (i.e., a vertical dimension), while centers, such as a village plaza, occupy the middle of the world (i.e., a horizontal dimension). Ortiz notes that in their attempt to reconcile their understandings of vertical and horizontal space in reference to the supernatural beings, the Pueblos characteristically place these beings just at, or just outside, their constructions of the living world. He argues,

> One of the greater challenges in the study of the Pueblo world view is still that of determining the boundaries of particular Pueblo worlds, then working backward toward the center and filling them in. With their markedly centripetal point of view, this is the way the Pueblos think, too. [p. 154]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Centers*

Compiled by: kfa

Ortiz, Alfonso

1979 San Juan Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 278–295. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of San Juan Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *San Juan, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Ortiz, Alfonso

1991 Through Tewa Eyes: Origins. National Geographic 180(4):6–13.

In this short article, written for a general audience, Ortiz uses birth, naming, and death rituals to trace Tewa history since time immemorial. Ortiz outlines key principles of temporal and spatial relationship among the many places that make up the Tewas' ethnographic landscape and sustain the framework of community tradition. An illustration (pp. 12–13) conveys many aspects of the complex system of symbols that Ortiz evaluates comprehensively in his formal ethnographic study (1969).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Connectedness*

Compiled by: kfa

Ortiz, Simon J.

1992 Woven Stone. Tucson: University of Arizona.

In this collection of poetic work derived from three previous volumes—*Going for the Rain*, *A Good Journey*, and *Fight Back: For the Sake of the People,*

For the Sake of the Land—Ortiz, who is from Ácoma Pueblo, shares many insightful thoughts and stories about his life experiences and his views of the world in which he lives. Two poems, "That's the Place Indians Talk About" (pp. 321–324) and "We Have Been Told Many Things but We Know This to Be True" (pp. 324–325) richly illustrate the discussion Cajete (1994) develops for Native American people's relationships with land and place.

Ortiz provides a thoughtful biographic essay as this volume's introduction. He offers a compelling observation about the many difficulties of expressing Pueblo ideas, which derive from his Keresan birth language, into English. This commentary deserves further careful consideration when cultural resources planners, managers, and consultants develop consultations with Pueblo people about their landscape constructions and meanings, which similarly derive from languages other than English.

> when I learned English well and began to use it fluently, at least technically and intellectually, I found myself "objectifying" my native language, that is, in translation. And it felt awkward, almost like I was doing something I was forbidden but doing it anyway. I've posed myself the frequent question: Is it possible to translate from the Acoma language to another? Yes, I've insisted, but I'm not sure I am convinced of it or how complete the translation is. Since we're all human with the same human feelings and responses to feelings, we understand and share hurt, love, anger, joy, sadness, elation, a gamut of emotions. However, human languages are different from each other, and unique, and we have different and unique languages; it is not easy to translate from one language to another though we egotistically believe and *think* we can. And that is when I found myself objectifying my Acoma language and at emotional odds with myself. [p. 6, italics added]

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Art, *Language, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: kfa

Page, Suzanne, and Jake Page

1982 Hopi. New York: Abradale Press and Harry N. Abrams.

The Pages portray many aspects of Hopi life rarely conveyed in academic ethnological monographs. One passage in particular captures the Hopis' conceptualization of their bipartite world and helps outsiders grasp the significance that Pueblo people attach to places, especially caves that connect the complementary parts of their world, on their ethnographic landscapes:

> The Hopi land, the Hopi world, is completely peopled with spirits as real as—in fact, part of—the rocks. The sun rises from its house to the east and sets in its house to the west. Then from west to east it travels at night, making it day in the Underworld. The two worlds alternate but are not really separate: they are a continuum. [p. 187]

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Connectedness, *Caves*

Compiled by: kfa

Pallidini, Eric Louis, Jr.

1990 Don Fernando's Legacy: A Microhistory of Atrisco, New Mexico, 1692–1821. Master's thesis, Department of History, Tulane University.

Pallidini gives a succinct review of the early Atrisco community history, with a focus on the *alcaldía mayor* of Albuquerque and the *puesto* of Atrisco. Pallidini offers Atrisco as a case study of the post-Revolt colonial community throughout the late Spanish colonial and Mexican periods. He is concerned with changing land tenure practices, social relations, and demography over time as the community, and the greater New Mexico territory, underwent developmental transformations in economic and social structures.

Pallidini argues that don Fernando Durán y Chaves presented his petition to Governor de Vargas for two tracts in 1692. In his petition, Durán y Chaves described the Atrisco parcel as

> agricultural land (de labor) with a main irrigation ditch, beginning at a hill where a certain Juan de Perea lived, extending south along the western side of the Rio Grande to some corrals claimed by his brother-in-law maese de campo Juan Dominguez. [p. 9]

Clearly, don Fernando recognized the land's quality. Pallidini argues his early petition was an act to obtain the land before any other could establish a claim.

Interestingly, don Fernando's will (written in 1707 and executed upon his death in 1715) apparently exhorted his nine surviving children and the children of his deceased son, Bernardo, to keep the land in the family's hands. Subsequently, most land sales in Atrisco were between kin, whether by marriage or blood. Land sales that did not comply were challenged.

Pallidini reports, "Atrisco heirs viewed the grant as a combination of private agricultural property and communal water and grazing land" (p. 31, emphasis added). The common pasture lands included both the willow and cottonwood along the river's edge and the high mesa country farther to the west.

Land sales invariably described the parcels as agricultural (*de labor*). Civil issues, in turn, address concerns over access to communal land and water. At issue was the ideal that

> No individual had the right to take what he had not produced himself. Those resources produced by nature were reserved for the common good. [p. 31]

Also,

> Water was public property, intended to benefit the entire community. Individuals had equal access to water, but, the municipality controlled its access and use. [p. 34]

Pallidini reports the Atrisqueños' overgrazing of the West Mesa commons in the early 17th century was a product of two processes: (1) conflict with nomadic Indians prevented the settlers from expanding the range of their herds, and (2) the Atrisqueños greatly increased the sizes of their herds in response to the expanding Chihuahua, Mexico, wool market. Navajo-Nuevomexicano peace negotiations between the 1720s and the 1770s allowed the Atrisqueños to expand their range westward to the Río Grande Valley. There they entered into competition with the San Fernanado Grant settlers.

Pallidini suggests the Atrisqueños had a three-part economy in the late 18th century: (1) agricultural lands along the river to produce food for the community; (2) upland sheep ranching for the Chihuahuan market to support the import of exotic goods; and (3) trade of subsistence items with local Indian populations. The high emphasis on herding for export trade among Atrisqueño settlers leads Pallidini to suppose the community was regarded as a "prestige suburb" of Albuquerque (p. 58). With regard to the later relationships between Nuevomexicano and Indian communities, Pallidini offers insights about the structure and organization of ephemeral settlement of the commons:

> Despite laws seeking to control them, there existed a class of vagabonds who traveled between the two worlds of Indian and Spaniard. Such marginals passed easily between the two communities and may have hired themselves out to landowners on a seasonal basis. Additionally, it is possible the Pueblo Indians commuted on a seasonal basis between the Spanish and Indian towns. [p. 53]

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kfa

Parker, Patricia L.

1993b What You Do and How We Think. *In* Traditional Cultural Properties. Patricia L. Parker, guest ed. Pp. 1, 3–5. CRM 16 (Special Issue). Washington, DC: National Park Service.

Parker defines traditional cultural properties in this introductory essay for a compilation of articles on the traditional cultural properties concept. She notes that from a tribal perspective, the idea of "preservation" concerns a much wider set of issues than those associated traditionally with federal and state programs. She notes specifically that the National Register of Historic Places' "linear chronology and basic assumptions about cause and effect through time…are simply not applicable when dealing with many traditional cultural properties" (p. 4). She argues, therefore, that the traditional cultural property concept potentially is an important tool for cultural resource management because it is rooted in the present, as well as the past. "It is the continuity of their significance in contemporary traditions that is important, and that makes them significant in the past and present simultaneously" (p. 4). Parker suggests the traditional cultural properties concept might serve as a bridge between the worldviews of an established cultural resource management process and various Native American tribes (p. 5).

*Keywords: *Preservation, *Cultural Resources Consultation, *Traditional Cultural Properties*

Compiled by: kfa

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1918 Notes on Acoma and Laguna. American Anthropologist 20:162–186.

Parsons describes her notes as "fragmentary" because of the extreme distrust Ácoma tribal members have for non-Indian anthropologists. The Ácoma traditionally choose to reveal very little information about their culture to outsiders.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Secrecy*

Compiled by: tjf

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1918 War God Shrines of the Laguna and Zuni. American Anthropologist 20:381–405.

Parsons describes the vista from a Laguna shrine 24 kilometers (16 miles) east of Laguna Pueblo. She notes, "On the northeast horizon rise the Sandia Mountains, on the northwest the San Mateo." From this description, it can be surmised that Sandía Mountain, and thus the West Mesa, are part of the cultural landscape of Laguna Pueblo. The shrine described by Parsons also was visited by Ácoma and Zuni Indians.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Shrines, *Sandía Mountain, *West Mesa*

Compiled by: tjf

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1920 Notes on Isleta, Santa Ana, and Acoma. American Anthropologist 20:56–69.

Parsons discusses the difficulty of obtaining information about Ácoma from tribal members. The information that anthropologists do glean is often fragmentary. This reticence of Ácoma tribal members to talk to anthropologists contributes to the lack of information pertinent to the Petroglyph National Monument in earlier research.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tiwa, *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Secrecy*

Compiled by: tjf

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1923 The Origin Myth of Zuni. Journal of American Folklore 36:135–162.

Parsons notes that the *Zuni chimiky' anakona penane* ("from the beginning talk") is not a *telapnane* ("folktale") but a narrative account of the origin and migration of the Zunis. Parsons recounts how the *le'ettone* people split off from the main body of the Zunis on their migration to the middle place, traveling northward and eastward to *Shipapolima* (in the vicinity of the Stone Lions near Cochití). From this location in the Río Grande valley, they arranged to travel back westward to Zuni where they rejoined the *Ashiwi* (Zuni). The Zuni origin narrative thus provides a basis for Zuni cultural ties to sites in the Río Grande valley.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: tjf

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1936 Early Relations between Hopi and Keres. American Anthropologist 38:554–560.

Parsons describes several ethnographic parallels in the ceremonial organization of Hopi and Ácoma. Based on these, she hypothesizes that long before the arrival of the Spaniards a group from Hopi migrated to Ácoma, introducing some Hopi elements to the Keres. As a result of a continuing communication with their Hopi kindred, Keresan elements in return were diffused to Hopi. After the Spanish invasion, Keresan immigrants migrated to Hopi, introducing additional Keresan ceremonial traits. A second hypothesis, advanced by Fewkes and Hargrave, is that the communication between the Keresans and Hopi started even earlier in time, with the towns in the Jeddito Valley east of Hopi being occupied by Keresans who were eventually absorbed into Hopi. Parsons notes these two hypotheses are not necessarily contradictory. A historical relationship exists between Hopi and Keresans based on several migrations between the two areas.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Hopi, *History, *Movement*

Compiled by: tjf

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1996 Pueblo Indian Religion. 2 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska. Originally published 1939, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

This monumental work is renowned both for its contributions to comparative Pueblo ethnography and the controversy that arises from their disclosure of substantive, secretive detail about Pueblo ceremonial practice and religious belief. Parsons was fully aware that she trespassed—both physically into areas where she did not have ritual empowerment and as an anthropologist interviewing people. She also was aware that she placed her consultants in personal and social risk through use of an unethical "secretive method" (Strong, p. x-xi). As viewed by many traditional people, Parsons' work was sacrilegious, desecrated the special qualities of places and interpersonal relationships, and threatened to undermine the power of what she reported.

The ubiquitous ethnographic detail of the volumes provides much useful contextual information. For example, Parsons documents the use of pictographs in ethnographically documented contexts (pp. 187, 191, 192, 214, 234, 334, 358, 384, 466, 919). She notes that designs painted and pecked on rock surfaces are permanent images and thus are unlike many Puebloan images created for specific ceremonies and then erased. Parsons notes geometric, naturalistic, and supernatural themes in the rock images. Hopi and Zuni are documented as depicting clan symbols on rock walls and boulders, while Ácoma executes clan signs on

house walls when salt is to be distributed. Some petroglyphs serve as landownership boundary markers. Others commemorate historical events, including armed conflicts with Utes and Apaches. Some glyphs have ritual significance.

The information allows the reader to grasp certain elements of meaning embedded in statements by community scholars about the Pueblos' ethnographic landscapes in general and by community representatives about their village's traditional associations with the monument in particular. More importantly, Parson's work permits the identification of a coherent, layered system of belief and referent that guides how Pueblo communities construct and occupy their landscapes.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Breath, *Centers, *Emergence, *Movement, *Connectedness*

Compiled by: kfa and tjf

Patterson, Alex

1992 A Field Guide to Rock Art Symbols of the Greater Southwest. Boulder: Johnson Books.

Patterson's illustrations of rock imagery are organized cross-culturally by configuration/ascribed meaning of each image rather than by geographical area/style (which together are commonly assumed, not necessarily correctly, to imply ethnicity or "cultural affiliation"). This work therefore is a useful reminder that style categories and their significance need to be questioned, not assumed. The index cross-references entries according to ethnicity, so one can easily find Navajo rock images. Patterson bases "ascribed meanings" mainly on previously published works rather than on his own consultations of ceremonialists.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Patterson, Alex

1992 Rock Art Symbols of the Greater Southwest. Boulder: Johnson Books.

This field guide compiles substantial amounts of information gleaned from anthropological publications about ethnographic interpretation and symbolism of petroglyphs. Patterson provides much information about Zuni and Hopi. The book is a useful source document for interpreting the petroglyphs at Petroglyph National Monument.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Keres, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

Patterson-Rudolph, Carol

1997 On the Trail of Spider Woman: Petroglyphs, Pictographs, and Myths of the Southwest. Santa Fé: Ancient City Press.

Patterson-Rudolph focuses on published Keresan, Hopi, and Navajo stories that mention Spider Woman, and she attempts to correlate certain petroglyphs (illustrated) with personages in these stories. Patterson-Rudolph interprets iconography mainly through published works on the ceremonialism of the above groups. She refers to an unnamed Navajo consultant, who reportedly was a knowledgeable non-ceremonialist. The author makes little use of any Navajo consultant's insights, favoring instead Lavon Martineau's "readings" of images as codes for sign-language gestures. One wishes the author had tested some of these "readings" by consulting ceremonialists representing the oral traditions that she thinks the images encode, and also by relating them to stories she uses from various Southwestern Indian groups.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Hopi, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Peckham, Stewart

1990 From this Earth: The Ancient Art of Pueblo Pottery. Santa Fé: Museum of New Mexico Press.

In his introductory essay (pp. 1–5), Peckham defines the concept of tradition in a manner that is both comprehensive and accessible to the layperson. In casting traditions as mechanisms with people to explain how "they became who they are" (p. 2), Peckham helps the reader understand how traditions are part of a living cultural and historical process that links the past with the present and provides the continuity for foundations with which people prepare for the future. Peckham uses the following major points to organize his thoughtful discussion:

- Traditions are persistent.
- Traditions help to maintain order.
- Traditions have continuity.
- Traditions change through time.

- Traditions occupy definable space.
- Individuals may alter traditions.
- Similar traditions rarely are identical.
- Extinct traditions never really are revived.
- A tradition is a thing of value.

*Keywords: *History, *Tradition, *Cultural Landscape Theory*

Compiled by: kfa

Peters, Kurt Michael

1994 Watering the Flower: The Laguna Pueblo and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad: 1880–1980. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.

When the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad was constructed in 1880, Jimmy Hiuwec, the Secretary of the Tribal Council, granted permission for it to cross Laguna Pueblo land after he negotiated an oral agreement that the railroad would employ as many men from the pueblo that wanted to work (pp. 35–37). Laguna men began their employment by constructing the railroad and then continued as section maintainers. Some Laguna men accepted work in Albuquerque and other towns along the railway (p. 52).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *History*

Compiled by: tjf

Pradt, George

1896 Surveyor's Notes and Plat—Atrisco Grant. Pp. 62–66, 719, 776–777. Santa Fé: Bureau of Land Management.

George Pradt, U.S. Deputy Surveyor, describes the grant lands and briefly mentions land use in this 1896 survey report. Many 20th-century authors use portions of this description in their works.

> The soil in this tract is a rich sandy loam in the valleys of the Rio Grande and Rio Puerco. On the hills and plains it is sandy or gravelly and produces a good growth of grama grass. The soil is all productive with irrigation. There is very little timber on the grant, the growth being confined to a narrow belt of cottonwood and willow along the Rio Grande and a few scattered cottonwoods along the Rio Puerco. There are some scrubby cedar bushes along the divide between the two rivers, but nothing that can be called timber. There is no valuable mineral deposit on the grant.
>
> The tract is watered along its eastern border by the Rio Grande and a considerable area of land is cultivated in the valley of that river. The Rio Puerco has no permanent water supply, but a few fields are planted to corn each year.
>
> The settlements are all in the eastern part of the grant, in the valley of the Rio Grande. They are Atrisco and two other villages, called Ranchos de Atrisco, in all containing about 800 people. There are a few houses in the western part of the grant, in the valley of the Rio Puerco, but they are not permanently occupied. [pp. 62–65]

A large number of cattle, horses. and sheep are pastured on the hills and plains between the two river valleys.

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Atrisco, *Land Use*

Compiled by: gd

Rands, Robert L.

1974 Acoma Land Utilization: An Ethnohistorical Report. *In* Pueblo Indians, vol. 3. Pp. 211–407. New York: Garland Publishing.

This expert testimony was prepared during litigation of the Ácoma land claim before the Indian Claims Commission. Rands reviews the history of Ácoma and Laguna land use in the area claimed by the Pueblo of Ácoma, which lies west of Río Puerco of the East. He makes no mention of Ácoma or Laguna use of land now in the Petroglyph National Monument. It should be kept in mind that the Ácoma and Laguna are reticent to divulge esoteric information, and the areas claimed by the tribe were far to the west of the West Mesa. In fact, in discussing the 49 Ácoma shrines in or near the land claim, Rands states, "Only a few of the shrines claimed by the Ácoma are mentioned by name in previous ethnographic reports—a lack of corroboration which seems primarily to reflect the secrecy in which their locations have traditionally been held" (p. 313). In discussing a Laguna shrine near Correo, Rands notes that Sandía Mountain can be seen on the northeast horizon; this places the West Escarpment within the larger cultural landscape of both the Laguna and Ácoma Indians.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *History, *Ethnography, *Land Claims, *Sandía Mountain*

Compiled by: tjf

Rands, Robert L.

1974 Laguna Land Utilization. *In* Pueblo Indians, vol. 4. Pp. 211–407. New York: Garland Publishing.

This testimony presented to the Indian Claims Commission was prepared by the expert witness for the defendant (U.S. government). Rands presents a fair and comprehensive overview of Laguna land use within the area of their claim. This area did not extend to the West Mesa, and thus the report does not contain information pertaining to Petroglyph National Monument.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History, *Aboriginal Land Use, *Land Claims*

Compiled by: tjf

Reagan, Albert B.

1920 Who Made the Kayenta–National Monument Ruins. American Anthropologist 2:387–388.

Reagan cites evidence provided by Hopis to demonstrate that petroglyphs on the walls of the Navajo National Monument correlate with Hopi ceremonies. Reagan concludes (1) "Pictographs on the canyon walls undoubtedly often show Hopi maidens with their whorled hair representing the pumpkin blossom of fertility" (p. 387); (2) "glyphs on the rock walls near the ruin of Man's Head point northwest of the Marsh Pass Indian school [prove] to be the signs of the Snake, Spider, and Rabbit clans" of the Hopi (p. 387); and (3) "Hopi myths and traditions also indicate that the Horn, Flute, and other clans of their people once lived in the Kayenta–National Monument country and the region westward from there to the Navajo Mountains and the Grand Canyon" (p. 388).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

Reichard, Gladys

1963 [1950] Navaho Religion: A Study of Symbolism. Bollingen Series XVIII. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

This book is an all-purpose source on Navajo ceremonial iconography, visual, verbal, and performative, compiled from most of the ceremonial documentation available before 1950.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Reichard, Gladys

1977 [1939] Navaho Medicine Man: Sandpaintings and Legends of Miguelito. New York: Dover.

Reichard reproduces sandpaintings of Beadway and Shootingway ceremonial repertoires and analyzes their iconography in great detail in the light of accompanying origin stories and of explications by Navajo ceremonialists. Reichard illustrates the same wide range of sandpainting images as Newcomb and Reichard (1975).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Renaud, E. B.

1938 Petroglyphs of North Central New Mexico. University of Denver Archaeological Survey Series 11.

This report is an inventory of petroglyph sites along the Río Grande Valley and its neighboring uplands between Albuquerque and Taos. Illustrations consist of sketches of representative or unique petroglyph images. Renaud's classification includes simplified human figures; geometric human figures; fairly realistic human figures, faces and masks, hands, feet, and tracks; men with weapons, canes, and flutes; men with shields and weapons; men with snakes; horsemen and horses; deer, elk, etc; bison, antelope, etcetera; other animals—feline, rabbit, mythic animals; turtle, reptile, etcetera.; various snakes; birds—eagle, owl, turkey, duck, duck crow, crane, roadrunner, etcetera.; plants, trees, and flowers; rectilinear geometric figures; curvilinear geometric figures; disks and shields; and simple geometric figures.

Renaud tabulates the presence or absence of each of the foregoing types by location. He begins the report with a verbal description of each site (i.e., location and setting) and its images. Although the area covered in Renaud's survey does not include Albuquerque West Mesa, many of the illustrated images are strikingly similar to motifs found at the Petroglyph National Monument.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Robbins, Cathy

1999 Monumental Chaos: An Urban Explosion Splinters a Sacred Landscape. High County News 31(20). Electronic document. http://www.hcn.org/1999/oct25/dir/Feature_Monumental.html.

This article traces the economic, social, and political turmoil in and around the Petroglyph National Monument today as urban expansion beckons. The article is useful for the commentaries offered by various stakeholders, including Laurie Weahkee, Director, Petroglyph Monument Protection Coalition.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Development, *Preservation, *Oral Traditions, *Cultural Resources Consultation*

Compiled by: kfa

Roberts, Frank H. H.

1932 The Village of the Great Kivas on the Zuñi Reservation, New Mexico. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 111. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Roberts discusses petroglyphs on the cliff wall above this Chaco outlier. He treats the petroglyphs as a form of artistic expression: "There has been considerable comment and argument over the meanings of petroglyphs and the extent to which they may be regarded as symbolic of definite things associated with the life of the Indian" (p. 149). Roberts thought some petroglyphs had meaning, while others were "done merely to pass away the time and give vent to a certain artistic urge" (p. 150). Roberts reports the interpretations his Zuni workmen gave to the petroglyphs at Village of the Great Kiva, cautioning "Whether their meanings are the ones which the prehistoric people had in mind or whether they are entirely removed from the original conception no one can tell" (p. 150). Zunis told Roberts that petroglyphs of insects were depicted as a part of rites associated with warfare; flute players and toad petroglyphs were depicted in the context of religious activities related to attracting clouds and moisture; some petroglyphs were related to hunting; some petroglyphs illustrated Zuni traditional narratives; and one petroglyph depicted a religious dance.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: tjf

Robeson, Sue

1983 Land Ownership of and Plans for Piedras Marcadas Canyon. Paper presented to Professor J. Winter as partial completion of Anthropology 420, University of New Mexico. Copy on file, Petroglyph National Monument.

Robeson wrote this paper in 1983 for a University of New Mexico anthropology course. She focuses on organizations that own land in or near Piedra Marcadas Canyon and their opinions of the petroglyphs and preservation efforts. Robeson interviewed representatives from the Albuquerque Boy's Club, the American Service Company and Sandía School. The author asked about development plans, the importance of the rock art, and its significance to modern Pueblo Indians. The interviewees agreed the rock art was important and the land should not be developed unless it was economically advantageous or it was needed for flood control (as had been proposed). Although she does not document land use, responses to Robeson's questions show how little area residents knew about the importance of the petroglyphs or their significance to modern pueblos. The responses also highlight the importance of economic advantages and profit to area residents.

*Keywords: *Anglo-American, *History, *Ethnography, *West Mesa, *Piedras Marcadas Canyon, *Petroglyphs, *Development*

Compiled by: gd

Roessel, Ruth, ed.

1973 Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period. Tsaile: Navajo Community College Press.

Roessel collects stories recorded in the 1960s about experiences of the tellers' forebears during the time of the Long Walk to Fort Sumner. The stories tend to be vague about the routes, but one (Howard Gorman) traces the route past Butterfly Mountain (Cerro Berra, the hill southeast of the Belen exit from I-40) down the lower San José toward Belen. The collection also includes two narratives by Alamo and Canyoncito elders, with tidbits of local history.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *History, *Ethnography, *Long Walk, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Ruppé, Reynold J.

1990 The Acoma Culture Province, an Archaeological Concept. New York: Garland Publishing.

This book is Ruppé's slightly revised Ph.D. dissertation. Ruppé defines the "Ácoma Culture Province" based on archaeological data. This cultural province is 33,000 square kilometers in size, with Ácoma Pueblo at the center. The Ácoma Culture Province is essentially the area that the Pueblo of Ácoma claimed as aboriginal territory in litigation during the Indian Claims Commission. Ruppé calls it a province "in recognition of the essential homogeneity of the area and the continuum from the archaeological past to modern Acoma" (p. 5). Ruppé notes that the McCarty's lava flow has been dated to about 1,000 years ago based on Pueblo I pottery in the valley alluvium covered by the flow. Ruppé, however, thinks the stratigraphic relationships are such that the flow probably dates to the beginning of the Christian era.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Archaeology, *Aboriginal Land Use*

Compiled by: tjf

Saile, David G.

1977 Making a House: Building Rituals and Spatial Concepts in the Pueblo Indian World. Architectural Association Quarterly 9(2–3):72–81.

Saile provides a brief review of the conceptual underpinnings of Pueblo worldview in relation to habitation architecture. Saile emphasizes that houses were "not solely a place of residence" but also were places "of potential communication with the spirit world" (p. 77). Figure 4, which is titled, "Section through Pueblo world levels indicating places of potential communication with the spirits" (p. 4), illustrates both aspects of the understood relationships that unify the center and periphery of the Pueblos' natural world and the connections among the natural world and the upper and lower levels of the cosmos. He also explains:

> At the centre was great potential power in a controlled form. With proper prescribed ritual and prayer the power would benefit and ensure the survival of the village and at greater depths [or] heights the power was potentially more dangerous and uncontrollable. Ortiz notes that the "further one ranges outward from a particular village or groups of villages, the greater is the tendency to attribute characteristics opposite of normal to anything of symbolic value, even if only by surrounding it with an aura of sacredness and mystery" (1972, p. 157). He refers to societies holding such ideas as centripetal. [p. 77]

Saile adds that in the Pueblos' understandings of their world,

> power appears to have been derived from that which existed within the structure of the world and within its related phenomena (weather, astronomical observances). This power in turn, ultimately came from the creators of the world.
>
> The structure of the world had to be reconstructed, or at least restated, periodically. Any "new" or altered thing, plant, animal, human, or architectural had to take its proper place in that framework…it is clear that spatial and formal organization did complement "becoming" or changes of state in human existence; for example at birth, naming, or during initiation. Places became "protected," set apart, or sanctified as a point of communication with spirits, in co-operation with "rights of passage" or changes in the life stages of Pueblo residents… [p. 79]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Centers, *Movement, *Connectedness*

Compiled by: kfa

Sánchez, Joseph P.

1998 Don Fernando Durán y Chaves's Land and Legacy. Albuquerque: National Park Service, Spanish Colonial Research Center.

Sánchez traces the history of the Atrisco Land Grant from its pre-Revolt roots to its final confirmation by the U.S. Congress in 1905, with a brief epilogue to fill in the 20th century. Sánchez stresses the communal nature of the grant and the Atrisqueno's struggles to keep it that way. He uses numerous primary documents associated with the Atrisco land grant, including land transactions, wills, court cases, and testimony before the Court of Private Land Claims and the Surveyor General.

Don Fernando Durán y Chaves acquired the Atrisco grant around 1700 in recognition of his services to the crown during the reconquest of New Mexico. The lands were part of his family's holdings before the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. When don Fernando died, he left the grant to his nine surviving children. Although not stated specifically in his will, Sánchez believes it was clear to his heirs that he wanted the grant to remain in the family and for the land to be of benefit to all the heirs as a community. Numerous transactions

involving Atrisco land transpired over the next 300 years, with most between family members.

The communal purpose of the grant was demonstrated by the 1768 fight between San Fernando settlers and Atrisco heirs for land between the *ceja* (west boundary of the original Atrisco Grant) and the Río Puerco of the East. Alcalde Mayor Trebol Navarro, after deciding in favor of the Atrisqueños, stated:

> this land was not one that had been inherited from a parent or relative, but specifically, it was a land grant for the benefit of a community of people…No settler would be allowed to sell, nor alienate his ranch through any entitlement be it his relative, friend or neighbor as this land is conceded by his Lordship, the Governor, so that it would be productive and enjoyed for stock raising by the grantees. It was not intended for gain by sale. [pp. 44–45]

Also demonstrating the communal purpose of the grant and the heirs' internal battles to keep it that way, Sánchez cites a 1786 court battle between heirs over water rights:

> Appealing their grievance to Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in the Villa de Santa Fe, Francisco Chaves and Bartolome Montoya both residents of the Sitio de Atrisco represented themselves and several others in a suit against Diego Antonio Chaves. Their complaint stemmed from actions of the same Diego Antonio Duran y Chaves who had opened new farmlands that blocked off entrances and exits to traditional watering places used by the settlers of Atrisco for their livestock. [pp. 50–51]

Governor Anza decided in favor of the plaintiffs because "don Fernando Duran y Chaves, great grandfather to Francisco Antonio Chaves, Bartolome Montoya and Diego Antonio Chaves, had stated in his will that all heirs would be provided free pastures and watering places without exception" (p. 51). The Governor then ordered don Diego to make the exits and entrances to the spring accessible to all the heirs and forbid him to charge a fee for incidental damages caused by livestock.

When the U.S. took control of New Mexico, the Atrisco heirs had to prove ownership of grant lands, first to the Surveyor General and then to the Court of Private Land Claims. The Atrisco Grant's survival "appears remarkable in contrast to other land grant heirs throughout the ceded territory" (p. 82). Sánchez maintains that the Atrisqueños' long experience with the legal systems of Spain and Mexico prepared them for the U.S. and later 20th-century battles. The author wrote the book as a tribute to the heirs of Atrisco because "they…maintained an historical legacy in law" which enabled them "to defend their land against all comers...[and meet] the test of survival" (p. 1).

Sánchez mentions land use only briefly. He notes that Atrisco residents were farming bottomlands along the Río Grande, that their houses were in four communities along the valley above the river, and the Río Puerco of the East Valley was used for grazing. Sánchez makes no references to the petroglyphs, the lava flow, or the volcanoes.

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco, *Land Use*

Compiled by: gd

Sando, Joe S.

1979 Jemez Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 418–429. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Jémez Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Towa, *Jémez, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Sauer, Carl O.

1925 The Morphology of Landscape. University of California Publications in Geography 2:19–54.

More than 75 years ago, Sauer defined landscape in a way that remains relevant today because it recognizes the organization of people's interactions with their environments as a uniquely evolving cultural-historical process:

> The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result. Under the influence of a given culture, itself changing through time, the landscape undergoes development, passing through phases, and probably reaching ultimately the end of its cycle of development. With the introduction of a different—that is, alien-culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on the remnants of an older one. [p. 46]

*Keywords: *Cultural Landscape Theory*

Compiled by: kfa

Schaafsma, Polly

1963 Rock Art in the Navajo Reservoir District. Papers in Anthropology 7. Santa Fé: Museum of New Mexico.

Two chapters describe and richly illustrate Navajo rock imagery in the northern part of *Dinétah* (upper San Juan drainage). Schaafsma finds these images stylistically more like the murals of Kuaua near Bernalillo than the murals of Awatobi and Pottery Mound. Schaafsma finds these Navajo rock images are transitional between the styles of Pueblo IV murals (A.D. 1400–1600) and modern Navajo sandpaintings. This continuum is the basis for the styles she identifies in her later works. In this and all her later works, Schaafsma interprets the iconography of the images mainly through published works on Navajo ceremonialism, not through her own consultations with Navajo ceremonialists.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Río Grande Pueblos, *Archaeology, *Art, *Petroglyphs, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Schaafsma, Polly

1966 Early Navaho Rock Paintings and Carvings. Santa Fé: Museum of Navaho Ceremonial Art.

This short work says much the same things about Navajo rock images as her 1963 work, in much less detail. The book does include illustrations from *Dinétah* outside the Navajo Reservoir District (all of which are published in various other works by Schaafsma and by others).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Art, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Schaafsma, Polly

1975 Rock Art in New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Schaafsma provides sections on Navajo rock images with a wealth of illustrations not included in her other works. Schaafsma continues to interpret iconography through the published work of others. (See also Schaafsma 1992.)

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Art, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Schaafsma, Polly

1980 Indian Rock Art of the Southwest. Santa Fé: School of American Research and Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

This comprehensive and scholarly survey of Southwestern rock art provides a wealth of information about styles and interpretation of petroglyphs. Of importance to the Petroglyph National Monument are sections on Pueblo rock art after A.D. 1300 (pp. 243–252) and petroglyphs and paintings in the Río Grande Style (pp. 252–293). Schaafsma notes that rock art sites served a variety of functions, including marking clan lands, shrines, and depicting religious iconography. Her long, richly illustrated chapter on Navajo and Apache rock images similarly is important. She illustrates temporal and spatial continuities among these styles.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Navajo, *Apache, *Archaeology, *Art, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf, kk, and hf

Schaafsma, Polly

1987 Rock Art and Associated Archaeological Sites of the Las Imagines Archaeological District, West Mesa, Albuquerque: Statement of Significance. Santa Fé: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, unpublished MS.

Schaafsma prepared this article in support of the National Park Service's creation of the West Mesa escarpment and volcanoes for the Petroglyph National Monument. She provides brief summaries of the culture history of the late Archaic, Pueblo, and Nuevomexicano petroglyphs. She also identifies the presence of constructed rock cairn and cobble ring shrines within the monument, presents evidence that natural features, such as Boca Negra Cave and the volcanoes, represent other kinds of religious places, and mentions the agricultural terraces and grinding slicks found in proximity to the petroglyphs.

Schaafsma argues for the significance of the West mesa petroglyphs as both a vulnerable cultural heritage resource and a major concentration of Río Grande–style imagery. She contends that the petroglyphs contribute to our understanding of Río Grande Pueblo religion, ideology, and culture history. She suggests the similarities between Tiwa West Mesa petroglyphs and those in the core Keresan homeland in the Cochití Reservoir imply "that regional relationships were more important than linguistic ties" (p. 8). She adds that the petroglyphs are

> a distinctive art form in which imagery incorporating rock, sunlight, and shadow enhances the landscape in which it occurs. It is an unintentional statement, but a powerful one, nevertheless, of the Pueblo's close relationship to the land. [p. 9]

In providing a context for the cultural heritage significance of the petroglyphs to the public at large, Schaafsma suggests, "As a reminder of another way of being and as a document of another culture's ways of interacting with the same location in the recent past, the rock art is a valuable manifestation of…ideologies that we should not be anxious to destroy" (p. 11).

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Nuevomexicano, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography, *Art*

Compiled by: kfa

Schaafsma, Polly

1992 Rock Art in New Mexico. Santa Fé: Museum of New Mexico Press.

This beautifully illustrated, scholarly work provides an overview of the rock art of New Mexico, including the West Mesa (pp. 99–103). Schaafsma discusses the importance of the Río Grande Style in studies of the origin of the Kachina cult and the history of Pueblo religion. Schaafsma concludes this book by observing that, "Today, rock art continues to communicate to Native Americans as it confirms ancestral presence in the sacred landscape. For non-indigenous newcomers, rock art creates or heightens the sense of place in the landscape while emphasizing the human presence from the past as well as other worldviews and modes of being" (p. 160). Rock art sites are valuable resources that need to be protected from unregulated visitation and vandalism.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Archaeology, *Art, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography, *West Mesa*

Compiled by: tjf

Schaafsma, Polly

1997 Rock Art, World Views, and Contemporary Issues. *In* Rock Art As Visual Ecology. Paul Faulstich, ed. Pp. 7–20. Flagstaff: American Rock Art Research Association.

Schaafsma explains that

> native cosmologies tend to structure the terrain according to abstract concepts of time and space connected by myths to a sense of place. No distinction is made between the animate and inanimate, the conscious and unconscious…there is a regard for the living force in all things. [p. 13]

Petroglyphs can confirm through time the special importance of specific localities. Pueblo concepts of the landscape are dynamic and entail the "center" (which is an abstract and movable conception); a series of vertical worlds, situated between the sky and the underworld; and cyclical time. The Zuni petroglyph site of *Hantlipinkia* is used as an example of how Pueblo people validate the continuity between "mythic time" and contemporary ceremonies, thus reinforcing connections between sacred landscapes and petroglyphs.

Schaafsma comments that rock art scholars generally deal with the landscape context of petroglyphs and sacred places in a scientific manner radically different from the experiential manner of many Native Americans. She argues that interpretation of Southwestern petroglyphs has to be grounded in ethnographic information, cautioning that

> if we throw out ethnographic information that relates to the cultures under investigation, we are free to cast the past into our own terms, and it becomes a mirror of ourselves. Our own cognitive universe, however, is only one of many. Denying the value of ethnographic information also has other more sinister agendas: it is another strategy for wiping off the map other world views and cosmologies, thus reinforcing complacency in the "correctness" and limitations of our own philosophic system. [p. 16]

In discussing growth, development, and other issues related to petroglyph landscapes, Schaafsma notes,

> In the case of the West Mesa outside of Albuquerque, monied interests and an emotionally charged belief in the rightness of, and economic need for, unlimited growth and expansion of secular space collide with a landscape of shrines and thousands of petroglyphs. This landscape is invested with spiritual powers necessary for the perpetuation of a culture that has taken thousands of years to evolve with its own definitions of truth. [p. 17]

Schaafsma also notes that "appropriation" of rock art images for commercial use is a form of trivialization and desecration. Overvisitation of rock art sites can contribute their degradation. Schaafsma concludes by suggesting that increased collaboration between Native Americans and anthropologists will further our knowledge about the past. She says,

> And perhaps from both the academic and the more personal perspective we are seeing a break down of categories of "we" and "they" as the quantum physicists collapse the Cartesian partition … There is a greater degree of sophistication here and exciting, new perspectives are opening up doors for the future. [p. 18]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology, *Art, *Development*

Compiled by: tjf

Schmader, Matthew F., and John D. Hays

1987 Las Imagines: The Archaeology of Albuquerque's West Mesa Escarpment. Prepared for City of Albuquerque and Historic Preservation Division, State of New Mexico.

Schmader and Hays provide a comprehensive survey of the archaeology and history of the petroglyphs of the West Mesa of Albuquerque. This report was one of the primary documents used in the creation of the Petroglyph National Monument, and it continues to be an important scholarly work.

The survey covered approximately 440 hectares (1,100 acres) and located 67 archaeological sites. These sites included lithic sources and reduction areas, water and soil control features, natural terraces used for agricultural purposes, structures that may have been fieldhouses or shelters, sheep herding camps and corrals, early ranching locations, and historical trash dumps. In addition, over 10,500 petroglyphs were recorded along the escarpment of Petroglyph National Monument; they estimated the actual number to be over 15,000. Included in the documentation are numerous photographs of individual petroglyphs, panels, and views of the relationship between the escarpment and the surrounding area.

The majority of petroglyphs and associated archaeological sites date to ancient Pueblo periods, but historic Hispanic glyphs and sites also are present in the area. Site types recorded in the archaeological survey include petroglyphs, Pueblo room blocks, rockshelters, grinding slicks, artifact scatters, water control features, stone rings, cairns, manuports, corrals, and historic camps. Petroglyph motifs include figures, faces, hands, tracks, zoomorphs, geometric designs, curvilinear designs, crosses, and initials.

Even though the ethnographic discussion focuses on pre-Columbian petroglyphs, one of the volume's contributors (Charles Carrillo) addresses the presence of historic cross-glyphs. He suggests that the "escarpment crosses may have been placed there in attempts to exorcise or annihilate sites thought to be places of 'pagan' adoration of worship" (p. 40). Carrillo also offers an alternative explanation that they might be from shepherds "in order to protect themselves and their flocks from unpredictable weather, nomadic Indians and rattlesnakes, shepherds may have placed crosses on the black boulders where they camped or stopped." He suggests a possible 300-year range of dates for the crosses, from 1600 to 1900.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Nuevomexicano, *Archaeology, *History, *Ethnography, *West Mesa, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: gd and tjf

Sedgwick, Mrs. William T.

1927 Acoma, the Sky City: A Study in Pueblo-Indian History and Civilization. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

This secondary source compiles information about the "story" of Ácoma from other works. After summarizing the documentary history of Ácoma, Sedgwick reviews "legends" and social organization (pp. 147–262).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *History, *Ethnography, *Society, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: tjf

Silko, Leslie Marmon

1986 Landscape, History and the Pueblo Imagination. *In* Antaeus. D. Halpern, ed. Pp. 83–94. New York: Ecco Press.

Silko, of Laguna Pueblo, argues that Puebloans do not see the land as landscape because that implies people are exterior to or apart from the land. People are a part of the land.

> Pueblos potters, and the creators of petroglyphs and oral narratives, never conceived of removing themselves from the earth and sky. So long as the human consciousness remains *within* the hills, canyons, cliffs, and the plants, clouds, and sky, the term landscape, as it has entered the English language is misleading. "A portion of territory the eye can comprehend in a single view" does not correctly describe the relationship between the human being and his or her surroundings. This assumes the viewer is somehow *outside* or *separate from* the territory he or she surveys. Viewers are as much a part of the landscape as the boulder they stand on. [p. 84, emphasis added]

Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Connectedness

Compiled by: tjf

Simmons, Leo W., ed.

1942 Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian. Published for the Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

This extraordinary autobiography of Don Talayesva is a classic work in anthropology. It includes a rare first-person description of a Hopi who produced a petroglyph in a ritual context, describing what he did and why. The ritual context was a pilgrimage from Third Mesa to the Hopi Salt Mine in the Grand Canyon, during which Talayesva placed his clan symbol on a rock at the petroglyph site of Tutuveni (pp. 232–246).

Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology

Compiled by: tjf

Simmons, Marc

1979 Settlement Patterns and Village Plans in Colonial New Mexico. *In* New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540–1821. David J. Weber, ed. Pp. 97–115. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Simmons opens with a discussion of the legal basis of Nuevomexicano settlement in colonial New Mexico. He notes how the Spanish colonial policy of *mercedes*, Royal land grants made to individuals (*poblador principal*) and groups of colonists who wished to found a new community, fueled the settlement of New Mexico (pp. 99–100). He next examines 17th- and 18th-century settlement patterns that structured the colonists' interactions with their environments.

Following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680–1692, the colony's Nuevomexicano people developed a nominal tripart classification of community forms to characterize their own settlement system: *villas*, *poblaciones*, and *plazas* (104–107). The Spanish colonial government recognized only three villas, administrative centers smaller than *ciudades* (cities) in northern New Mexico: Santa Fé, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, and Alburquerque (original spelling of Albuquerque). *Poblaciones* and plazas represent variations of rural corporate community organization. Simmons (1979) distinguishes these organizational units by residential consolidation: *poblaciones* characteristically were loosely clustered *ranchos* ("houses of the field" consisting of small farmstead and ranching complexes of one or more households [pp. 105–106]) while plazas represented a cluster of ranchos, which might be architecturally enclosed (p. 106). Noting the informality and general lack of planning characterizing much of the Spanish Colonial period, Simmons concludes,

> economic necessity, a strong spirit of frontier individualism, a sense of fatalism about the Indian danger, and perhaps a wish to escape the paternal eye of the civil government and church—these all influenced the settler and nourished in him the desire to build and farm on land of his own choosing, disregarding laws which were aimed at maintaining the collective welfare of the populace. [p. 111]

Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Settlement Patterns

Compiled by: kfa

Simmons, Marc

1982 Albuquerque: Narrative History. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Simmons presents a comprehensive history of the City of Albuquerque. In establishing the context for historical events and processes that shaped the city's development and the lifeways of its people, Simmons refers to the West Mesa in several different ways. For example, he discusses the West Mesa's geologic and geographic history. Noting the latest lava bed near Mount Taylor is only 1,000 years old (p. 6), Simmons set the stage for the ancestors of today's Pueblo communities to have witnessed lava flows and to pass the memory of such processes to their descendants. In regard to the greater Albuquerque locality, Simmons reports the five West Mesa volcanoes are so recent (ca. 190,000 years) that they have not ceased cooling (p. 8). Consequently, their igneous rock still quickly melts snowfall, and hot drafts are known by area residents to issue from vents and caves. Citing an 1881 report that one of the volcanoes emitted clouds of gaseous vapors, thereby startling the residents of New Albuquerque, Simmons tells that this episode was soon followed by the founding of a recurrent prank by area college students who filled volcano craters with tires and set them ablaze.

Simmons identifies the Atrisco Land Grant and the settlement known as Atrisco de Albuquerque throughout his study. Most references are short and undeveloped, however.

Recounting the Navajos' return to their homelands following their incarceration at Fort Sumner, Simmons describe the people's passage through Albuquerque and West Mesa:

> For their entry into Albuquerque, the town where they had so often raided in the past, the Navajos did their best to make a dignified showing…The Navajo cavalcade stretched in procession 10 miles long and presented never-to-be-forgotten pageantry. The leaders strode into the outskirts of Albuquerque, Sunday, July 5, 1868, at the same time that those in the rear were just emerging from Carnué Pass. At last on the edge of their own country, the Navajos' arrival in the old Spanish town by the Rio Grande marked something of a homecoming.
>
> Because of high water and the great multitude of people, crossing of the river west of the plaza required seven days. Eight small rafts were hastily constructed and Indians, livestock, and wagons were ferried across a few at a time…At week's end, the last of the native visitors braved the muddy waters of the Rio Grande and disappeared on the rutted road over the West Mesa. [p. 194]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Nuevomexicano, *Anglo-American, *Navajo, *History, *Albuquerque, *Atrisco*

Compiled by: kfa

Simmons, Suzanne

1969 Sandia Pueblo: Persistence and Change in a New Mexican Indian Community. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico.

Simmons defines Sandía Pueblo's territory as extending from Sandía Mountain in the east to the Río Grande in the west; she does not consider the West Mesa environs given her subscription to historical land grants and the community's present-day landholdings. She does offer a useful observation about the community's associations with its greater ethnographic landscape:

> Like the foothills area, Sandia Rio Grande territory is reflected in the beliefs and many of the continuing activities of the pueblo. The water from the river is still sacred and used in the performance of many ceremonies. [p. 39]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tiwa, *History, *Ethnography, *Economy, *Society*

Compiled by: kfa

Slifer, Dennis

1998 Signs of Life: Rock Art of the Upper Rio Grande. Santa Fé: Ancient City Press.

Slifer's rock images survey is organized geographically but classified according to Schaafsma's stylistic categories. His discussion of Navajo rock imagery is one of the few outside *Dinétah*, although he briefly treats that imagery. Particularly noteworthy are images (Navajo and other) from Tapia Canyon and the lower San José, tributaries of the Río Puerco of the East not far west of Petroglyph National Monument. Slifer suggests that Tapia Canyon was an important pre-Columbian route from the Río Puerco of the East Valley to Mount Taylor and Chaco Canyon region. A Canyoncito resident we consulted showed us his own photographs of the Tapia Canyon petroglyphs that Slifer illustrates (Figure 143), which our consultant considers to be Canyoncito Navajo, related to Big Bead Mesa; Tapia Canyon also may be on the route of the Beautyway ceremony initiate before she visited Petroglyph National Monument (see Wyman 1970). Slifer discusses Petroglyph National Monument and says most images are in Schaafsma's Río Grande style, representing the "Southern Tigua" culture.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Archaeology, *Art, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Slifer, Dennis, and James Duffield

1994 Kokopelli: Flute Player Images in Rock Art. Santa Fé: Ancient City Press.

Slifer and Duffield focus on rock images of the tumescent fluteplayer throughout the southwestern U.S. The work includes rock imagery they identify as Navajo (*Ghaanask'idi*; see also Faris [1990], Haile [1996], Matthews [1887, 1902], Olin [1980], and Roessel [1973], and also images from Tapia Canyon north of the Canyoncito Navajo reservation (see also Slifer 1998).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Archaeology, *Art, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Snow, David H.

1979 Rural Hispanic Community Organization in Northern New Mexico: An Historical Perspective. *In* The Survival of Spanish American Villages. Paul Kutsche, ed. Pp. 45–52. The Colorado College Studies No. 15. Colorado Springs: Research Committee, Colorado College.

Snow adopts the thesis, "The way people arrange themselves on the landscape is a reflection of the patterns of social organization developed in response to natural and cultural environmental factors" (p. 45). Snow then sets out to dispel common characterizations of Nuevomexicano settlement as atomistic, factionalized, and lacking social organization. He considers what environmental factors underlay the dispersed settlement that characterized much of rural Nuevomexicano New Mexico following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680–1692. Snow concludes:

> It seems safe to say that the overriding values in New Mexico's rural Hispano communities are those which relate to land. It is the individual and community land which give shape and character to the village, which give justification for the village organization and roots to the people who live there. Without roots, without *costumbre*, the individual is homeless; without land the community ceases to exist. [p. 52, italics in original]

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Settlement Patterns*

Compiled by: kfa

Speirs, Randall H.

1979 Nambe Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 317–323. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Nambé Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Nambé, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Spriggs, Lacy

1995 Memorandum: Decision—Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) for Double Eagle II Airport, Albuquerque, NM. Albuquerque: Petroglyph National Monument, unpublished MS.

This document stands as a troubling example of why Río Grande Pueblo communities are increasingly mistrustful of land manager's policies and programs that request stakeholder input in cultural and environmental planning. The main body of the document presents the finding by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) that the proposed expansion of the Double Eagle II Airport would have no significant impacts on West Mesa cultural heritage resources important to area Pueblo communities. An attached copy of an angry letter of protest from William F. Weahkee, who in his capacity as the Executive Director of the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, Inc., questions the adequacy and the sincerity of the consultation process.

> we have found serious omissions and allegations about our purported support that are blatantly false. Furthermore, the reports [sic] severely minimizes Indian religious concerns. Also, the time allowed for review by your office was severely limited which indicates to us that you are not sincere in your desire to get true public input.
>
> The report glosses over our concerns for religious use of the volcanoes and other sites in the immediate vicinity of the airport. Airplanes will be flying low overhead on a twenty-four hour basis year in and year out. Your flight paths will repeatedly cross where we may be conducting ceremonies, rituals and prayers. These ceremonies are conducted in secret and the constant intrusion of low flying aircraft will mean that religious leaders will no longer be able to hold these ceremonies. It is quite apparent that none of the writers of this report or promoters of the project are anywhere near understanding the emotional impact this would have on the Indian people who use it. Your procedures for assessment are supposedly objective but seen through the lenses of scientists who cannot see or feel the significance and reverence of that land to us.
>
> Stop your plans long enough to listen to the indigenous people and *HEAR* what they are really telling you. [Letter to Lacy Spriggs, Manager of NM/Oklahoma, Airport Development Office, Federal Aviation administration, September 20, 1994, capitalization and italics in original]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Double Eagle II Airport, *Development, *Preservation, *Oral Traditions, *Cultural Resources Consultation*

Compiled by: kfa

Steed, Paul P., Jr.

1980 Rock Art in Chaco Canyon. The Artifact 18(3). El Paso: El Paso Archaeological Society.

This report illustrates a sample of rock images that the New Mexico Archaeological Society field school recorded in Chaco Canyon between 1975 and 1980. The Chaco Canyon examples include images commonly found at Petroglyph National Monument (e.g., outlined crosses, macaws, flute players, and single and double spirals).

Of interest are two unusual petroglyph panels at Chaco Canyon that have comparable counterparts at or near the Petroglyph National Monument.

1. Two incised (therefore presumably post-Columbian Navajo) hourglass-bodied (or X-bodied) figures with limbs like pine branches (see pp. 80–81). These images are reminiscent of a pecked figure in Piedras Marcadas Canyon that has an X across its rectangular body, bear-like hands and feet, and pine-branched (flint-armored?) legs (see Schaafsma 1995 [1980]:Figure 199, "Ceremonial Figures," Río Grande segment, second figure from left). (Note: The pine branch-like limbs are reminiscent of the plant garment worn by the "one sung over" [i.e., "patient"] during certain modern Navajo ceremonial procedures.)

2. Panel of big-game animals with a horned figure bearing a shieldlike spiral instead of a hand (see p. 97). This image is reminiscent of a Tapia Canyon petroglyph panel suggesting an emergence place for game. (Note: The Chaco Canyon figure bearing the shield-like spiral also is reminiscent of images documented in Barrier Canyon, Utah. The Chaco Canyon figure is of post-Basketmaker rectangular-bodied type, however; the Barrier Canyon figures are characterized by the Fremont wedge-shaped body type.)

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Stevenson, Matilda Coxe

1904 The Zuni Indians. *In* Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Pp. 1–634. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

This classic, comprehensive ethnography of the Zuni Indians describes their "mythology," esoteric fraternities, and ceremonies. Stevenson discusses and illustrates petroglyphs at four sites on or near the Zuni Indian Reservation. One of these sites includes ancient Zuni petroglyphs at *Hän'lipínkía*, in eastern Arizona, where the Zuni clans received their totemic names. Stevenson notes, "The walls in these places are also elaborated with pictographs, including clan totems" (p. 42). Other petroglyphs at this site had associations with Zuni religious societies, providing an indication of how images on rocks fit into the Zuni cultural landscape. The *Hle'wekwe* (Wood Fraternity, "Sword Swallowers") separated from the main body of Zuni at this location, commencing their travel to *Shipapulima* in the Río Grande Valley. A petroglyph 1.5 miles southwest of Zuni depicts the migration of the *Hle'wekwe*. Another site near Zuni Pueblo with painted and pecked images on rocks occurs at *Pikiaiakiana* (Water Cress Spring). Kachina and other religious images are found here, including depictions of *Koyemshi* (Mudheads), *Koloowisi* (Plumed Serpent), *Olowishkia, Shalako, Sayatasha*, and the Council of the Gods. These images are associated with a shrine (pp.232–233).

The Zuni origin account includes an episode wherein the gods of war set the world on fire. This may be an allusion to volcanic activity.

> The gods shot lightning arrows with their rainbow bows into the hear of the shield of burning crystal carried by the Sun Father, and immediately the world was ablaze. The A'shiwi [Zuni] were not destroyed by the fire because their bodies still retained the hardness of iron, the condition in which they were when they came from the underworlds to this world; but the Corn maidens were destroyed and many animals were burned and converted into stone, some of them becoming diminutive fetishes. [p. 58]

Petroglyphs are mentioned in the origin and migration account narrated by the religious personage of *Kiaklo*: *A'tsina'kwi a'wikîa; îs'ko thluwal'emaku* ("We come to stone-picture place, here we get up and move on) (p. 87). Although this reference is not to the Petroglyph National Monument, it demonstrates the importance of petroglyphs in the Zuni cultural landscape.

Stevenson documents a Zuni shrine at *Chi'pia* on Sandía Mountain. She notes,

> The Gods of Chi'pia compose the group known to the Zunis as Kok'kothlan'na (Great God), Sits'ukîa, Kwe'lele, and six Shumai'koli for the six regions, with their Sai'apa (warriors). This shrine is associated with the Great Fire fraternity. [p. 411].

Gods from *Chi'pia* appeared at Zuni to initiate the first members of this religious society. *Chi'pia* is also associated with the *Shu'maakwe*, another religious society at Zuni. Stevenson documents, "The Shu'maakwe has for its patron gods the Shumai'koli of the six regions and their attendant Sai'apa warriors. These gods are supposed to live at Chi'pia, which is in the east..." (p. 530).

In discussing the difference between Native American and Anglo worldviews, Stevenson says,

> Civilized man's conceptions of the universe are altogether different from those of primitive man. The former understands natural phenomena through analysis and correlation; the latter accounts for them by analogy. Civilized man lives in a world of reality; primitive man in a

world of mysticism and symbolism; he is deeply impressed by his natural environment. [p. 20]

While Stevenson does not document Zuni use of the Petroglyph National Monument, she does establish that the area is within the Zuni cultural landscape, which extends to the crest of Sandía Mountain. Stevenson also documents the importance of petroglyphs as an element of cultural landscapes.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Petroglyphs, *Oral Traditions, *Oral Traditions, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

Stirling, Matthew W.

1942 Origin Myth of Acoma and Other Records. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 135. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Stirling collected this origin account from a delegation of Ácoma Indians visiting Washington, D.C., in 1928. The narrator was an elderly man who had been initiated in the *Koshari*, a group of sacred clowns. Seventeen plates of illustrations for the report were prepared by a younger Ácoma man under the guidance of the elder, and these images of ritual paraphernalia provide a source document for interpretation of images at Petroglyph National Monument. The origin account describes how the landscape was created after two sisters emerged from the underworld.

The origin account begins with two females being born underground in the dark at *Shipapu*. A spirit named *Tsichtinako* nurtured the two sisters, who eventually gave them baskets with images of all the animals and seeds for all the plants there were to be in the world. *Uch'tsiti*, the father, decided it was time for the sisters to come out into the light. The sisters were instructed to plant a tree, and after it grew for many years, with the help of a badger they were able to climb through a hole in the earth to the light. The sisters emerged at night, and the earth was soft and spongy as they walked, as it was not ripe. As they waited for the sun to pray, one sister was named *Iatiku* (Bringing to Life), and the other was named *Nautsits* (More of Everything in the Basket). They asked *Tsichtinako* why they were on earth and why they were created. He told them that *Uch'tsiti* had made them because the earth was not yet complete. They were instructed to bring to life all the things in their baskets. The sisters started growing the plants they needed for nourishment. After a time Tsichtinako instructed them on how to make the mountains, and a mountain was made in each of the four directions. The mountain of the east was *G'©chana kot♣∅*. *Tsichtinako* told them, "Now that you have the mountains all around you with plains, mesas, and canyons, you must make growing things of these places" (p. 8). The sisters were instructed to plant all the trees and other plants, and then to bring all the animals and birds alive.

After mating with rainbow, *Nautsiti* became pregnant and bore children. Eventually *Nautsiti* moved the east, leaving Iatiku with one of her sons. When he grew older he became a husband to *Iatiku*, and the population increased. Clan names were given to the girls as they were born. Life was given to the spirits of the four mountains, including *Shrui'sthia*, the spirit of Fall, who was sent to the east mountain. Life was given to katsina, and ceremonial order was established among the people.

Eventually the people left Shipapu and migrated to the south, living for a time at a series of settlements. These settlements included *Kashkachu* (White House), *Washpakhuka* (sage basin), *Ashthinahawaisha* (Tule Lake), *Kawaíka* (lake, where Laguna now stands), *Kutsekatasa* (place of antelope), *Dyaptsiam* (hardwood tree pass), *Katsima* (braced cliff, Enchanted Mesa), *Haako*, and, finally, Ácoma. Throughout the migration, *Masewi* and *Oyoyewi* (Warrior Twins) were active, traveling about the land.

During the migrations, people experienced death and a ceremony was established to help other people to "forget" the dead. This ceremony uses a petroglyph of sorts, a groove in a rock made by *Iatiku* when her sister left (pp. 55–56). This "groove in rock for rite of forgetting the dead" is illustrated in Plate 15, Figure 2b.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: tjf

Stokes, M. A., and T. L. Smiley

1965 Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim: IV, The Eastern Sector. Tree-Ring Bulletin 29(1–2):2–14.

Stokes and Smiley compile tree-ring dates for all archaeological sites recorded in the eastern sector of the Navajo Land Claim before the Indian Claims Commission. (The three other compilations cover the other sectors of the claim area.) Dates for sites in areas closest to Petroglyph National Monument (E-RP-MP and LP areas) are mid-1700s to late 1800s.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Archaeology, *Land Claims*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Strong, Pauline Turner

1979 Santa Ana Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 398–406. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of Santa Ana Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Keres, *Santa Ana, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Strong, Pauline Turner

1979 San Felipe Pueblo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 390–397. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history of San Felipe Pueblo.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Keres, *San Felipe, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Suina, Joseph H.

1992 Pueblo Secrecy Result of Intrusions. New Mexico Magazine 70(1):60–63.

From Cochití Pueblo, Suina explains why the Pueblos continue to guard many of their beliefs and ceremonial practices in secrecy. Outsiders, frustrated by their failure to obtain answers to their questions, frequently characterize the Pueblos' subscription to secrecy as lack of cooperativeness or even a form of racism intended to avenge Spanish and Anglo injustices. Suina states,

> Like the Anglos, Pueblo Indians consider knowledge to be of high value. Some types of knowledge, however, are accessible only to the mature and responsible. This is particularly the case with esoteric information that requires a religious commitment before it can be acquired and used. [p. 60]

Suina adds that curiosity into the Pueblo's religious beliefs and ceremonial practices by uninitiated persons, regardless of their underlying motivation or cultural affiliation, "is regarded as disrespectful of that which is sacred and perhaps as committing a sacrilegious act" (p. 61). In addition, Suina implies the sharing of special information not only threatens to diminish its power; the veil of secrecy is essential for the Pueblo communities to conserve their beliefs and traditions for the benefit of their people in the future.

Suina suggests relationships between Pueblos and non-Pueblos can be sustained

> through time, patience and respect for one another's traditions. Respect means becoming knowledgeable of the Pueblos through the acceptable process. Respect also means accepting cultural patterns that differ from the dominant society. [p. 63]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Secrecy*

Compiled by: kfa

Swentzell, Rina

1988 Bupingeh: The Pueblo Plaza. El Palacio 94(2):14–19.

In this short article, Swentzell, an architectural historian and education consultant from the Tewa Pueblo of Santa Clara, discusses the idea of center in Tewa cosmology as the intersection of the horizontal and vertical regions of the Pueblos' physical and symbolic universe. Although she focuses on the formally negative spaces of Pueblo plazas, Swentzell also refers to the edges of the Pueblo world that necessarily help define centers. She considers the concept of connectedness that unifies peripheries with centers, as well as the energies of all life forces—both physical and metaphysical—that move throughout the sky, earth, and underworld of the Pueblos' cosmos.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Breath, *Centers, *Emergence, *Movement, *Connectedness, *Healing Spaces*

Compiled by: kfa

Swentzell, Rina

1989 The Butterfly Effect: A Conversation with Rina Swentzell. El Palacio 95(2):24–29.

Swentzell further explores the idea of connectedness that unifies the many-layered understandings that the Pueblos possess of their cosmos. She explains,

> That connection is—creativity from the source…, the *po-wa-ha*, literally "water-wind-breath." It is that energy that flows from everybody, everything—plants, stones. That's why everything takes on life in that world. We all breathe of the same breath the plants do, the rocks do. And so the world itself takes on a different structure. [p. 25]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Breath,*

**Centers, *Emergence, *Movement, *Connectedness, *Healing Spaces*

Compiled by: kfa

Swentzell, Rina

1989 Remembering Tewa Houses and Spaces. Native Peoples: The Arts and Lifeways 3(2):6–12.

Swentzell examines the Pueblos' concepts of center, breath, periphery, movement, and connectedness. In talking about how all these ideas come together within the Pueblos' traditional views of their cosmos, Swentzell concludes,

> Most importantly, I treasure the sense of sacredness which pervaded that old Pueblo world. All of life, including walls, rocks and people, were part of an exquisite, flowing unity. [p. 12]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Tewa, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Breath, *Centers, *Emergence, *Movement, *Connectedness, *Healing Spaces*

Compiled by: kfa

Swentzell, Rina

1990 Levels of Truth: Southwest Archaeologists and Anasazi/Pueblo People. *In* Puebloan Past and Present: Papers in Honor of Stewart Peckham. Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick, eds. Pp. 177–181. Archaeological Society of New Mexico 17. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico.

An extremely important philosophical article, Swentzell addresses the problem of why "the creative process of bringing together different ways of knowing and different modes of perception…does not happen" (p. 177) in interactions between Anglo and Pueblo peoples. She considers the idea of connectedness underlies traditional Pueblo understandings of their cosmos, whereby "everything/everybody, even the largest whole, has a context or a larger whole within which it belongs" (p. 177, emphasis added). In comparison, Western ways of thinking

> operate with the assumption that facts, if appropriately collected and fastidiously recorded, will uncover *the* truth. Absolute truth is, for the most part, taken for granted. It is there to be uncovered. [p. 178, emphasis added]

Swentzell considers how dominance and power, tied with prestige that is informed by a particularly defined system of what can be understood, poses real obstacles to building significant cross-cultural understandings. She concludes,

> The traditional Pueblo world is a world *focused* on equalitarianism, inclusiveness, and linkages—feminine qualities or values of the human being. The Western-European world is recognized…as a world that focuses on ways of thinking, valuing, and understanding that are characteristically masculine. [p. 180, emphasis added]

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Anglo-American, *Archaeology, *Ethnology, *Cosmology, *Science, *Truth*

Compiled by: kfa

Tedlock, Dennis

1979 Zuni Religion and World View. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 499–508. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the religion and the worldview of the Zuni Indians. Tedlock thus provides ethnographic context for many rock art studies that use Zuni in interpretative analogies.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Ethnography, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: tjf

Town of Atrisco v. The United States

Court of Private Land Claims, Santa Fe District, No. 45. Transcript of trial in the Catron Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

This document contains testimony of six Atrisco heirs: Manuel Montoya, Tomás Sánchez, Manuel Antonio Jaramillo, Tomás C. Gutiérrez, José de la Luz Sánchez, and Demecio Chaves. These men testified before the Court of Private Land Claims in 1894 in an effort to keep their grant lands and have their claim approved by the U.S. government. The witnesses discuss the grant boundaries, the number of towns on the grant at the time (Atrisco, García, and Los Chaves; Sánchez no longer exists), the number of families living on the grant (200), and the two tracts of land included in the grant. Manuel Antonio Jaramillo provides a brief description of settlement and land use. The "placitas [are] named after their 'conquerors' or owners" and are located in the Río Grande Valley. The "annex" or west side of the grant (Río Puerco of the East Valley) "has been treated as common lands for all the settlers of Atrisco [and is] used for pasturage of cattle, for agriculture, and for everything for cows and sheep and horses...we are all heirs in the tract."

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco, *Land Use*

Compiled by: gd

Tiller, Veronica E.

1983 Jicarilla Apache. *In* Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10. Southwest. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 440–461. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This article provides a concise overview of the anthropology and history the Jicarilla Apache Tribe.

*Keywords: *Apache, *Jicarilla Apache, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Tiller, Veronica E.

1992 The Jicarilla Apache Tribe: A History. Rev. ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Tiller's book is a comprehensive history of the Jicarilla Apache people. Her discussion of the Jicarilla Apache origin story also is useful in developing a landscape framework for the Apache people.

*Keywords: *Apache, *Jicarilla Apache, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Trimble, Stephen

1993 The People: Indians of the American Southwest. Santa Fé: School of American Research Press.

Trimble's book is a highly readable, yet comprehensive, discussion of the Southwest's indigenous peoples. His chapters on the Pueblos (pp. 38–120) and the Apaches (pp. 245–296) provide much historical and ethnographic detail. Trimble's discussion of the Pueblos' conceptualization of their world is especially insightful.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Tewa, *Tiwa, *Towa, *Hopi, *Zuni, *Apache, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *History*

Compiled by: kfa

Turner, Christy G., II

1963 Petrographs of the Glen Canyon Region. Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin 38, Glen Canyon Series 4.

This study of Glen Canyon petroglyphs below the junction of the San Juan and Colorado Rivers includes extensive iconographic analyses. Photograph captions give interpretations of certain images by a Hopi informant, whose commentaries, in our opinion, are generally uninformative and subject to question.

Turner also compares the distributions of certain complexes of iconographic elements in time and space. He distinguishes five style complexes: (1) modern Navajo and non-Indian; (2) post–A.D. 1300 Pueblo; (3) A.D. 1200–1300; (4) A.D. 1050–1250; and (5) pre–A.D. 1050. Because style 2 petroglyphs also occur in the West Texas Plains and around Santa Barbara, California, Turner suggests these iconographic complexes reflect ethnohistorically documented indigenous trade routes. Style 4 petroglyphs cover the largest area of these style complexes. This style not only spans the northern half of Arizona, parts of eastern California, southern Nevada, most of Utah and New Mexico, and neighboring parts of Texas and Colorado, but style 4 iconographic elements also occur in discontiguous zones in southern Oregon and around Santa Barbara. Turner suggests that the style 4 Oregon petroglyphs might indicate a trade bridge with the Southwest that could have helped draw the Athapaskans ancestors of Navajos and Apaches into the northern Southwest. We suggest that the styles 2 and 4 distributions also might reflect the trade networks for Pacific and Gulf of California shell, whose importance in southwestern ceremonialism dates back far in time.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblo, *Hopi, *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Turner, Christy G.

1963 Petrographs of the Glen Canyon Region: Styles, Chronology, Distribution, and Relationships from Basketmaker to Navajo. Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin 38, Glen Canyon Series Number 4.

Turner provides Hopi interpretations for petroglyphs that are useful in interpreting the Petroglyph National Monument. Turner (pp. 22–25) uses Hopi informants and ethnography to argue that all petroglyphs showing humpback figures with or without flutes are not necessarily depictions of *Kokopele* (p. 24). Turner believes the production of petroglyphs was motivated by eight different factors. He suggests (1) some petroglyphs were made to recollect events that took place in the winter homes), which he says is demonstrated in Navajo Canyon, where the greater the distance from the Highlands (winter homes, the more

petroglyphs of kachinas are found. Upon reaching the Colorado River, the katchina has become a dominant form (p. 27). Turner cites the work of Fewkes (1892:19–26), who was able to identify specific mythological personages depicted in rock art that were still seen in ceremonials then practiced. Turner also suggests astronomical phenomena were portrayed in rock art. Other motivations include (2) sympathetic magic concerning the hunt, evidenced by the many zoomorphic designs of mountain sheep portrayed as being hunted or with hunting shafts attached to their backs; (3) the practice, creation, and remembrance of designs for blankets, sandals, pottery, and basketry (whose designs also may have had ceremonial connotations); (4) teaching of novitiates about the ceremonial side of the Anasazi world (in a way analogous to how katchina dolls are currently used); (5) clan symbols; (6) creative impulse; (7) propitiatory gestures, "fetishtic" reverence, or fertility tokens; and (8) idle "doodling." Turner (p. 29) posits the majority of the people producing petroglyphs were men, based on an inference from the nature of the interests portrayed (i.e., the hunt and kachina-like figures).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Archaeology, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

U.S. House of Representatives

1989 H. Doc. Serial No. 100–64. Preservation of Petroglyphs in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Oversight Hearing before the Subcommittee on General Oversight and Investigations of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives. 101st Cong., 2nd sess. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

The Oversight Hearing for the Preservation of Petroglyphs was held in Albuquerque to allow all interested parties to testify. Witnesses voiced their interest in the petroglyphs or stated a claim of cultural ties. Isaac C. Eastvold, President of the Friends of the Petroglyphs, testified his group had no cultural claim to the area but did want to see the petroglyphs preserved. Representatives of the Westland Development Company and the Atrisco Land Rights Council stated that both groups consisted of Atrisco heirs with claims to much of the West Mesa land. Both groups were concerned for the preservation of the area. They described the grant as a "close-knit agricultural community comprised of small farms (*ranchos y estancias*), traditional water systems (*acequias*), and communal grazing lands (*tierras communales*)." Westland Development Company and the Land Rights Council both were in favor of the monument; however, they disagreed on how the land should be incorporated into the park and on the overall approach to development of the grant. Westland Development Company favored outright sale to the government, while the Land Rights Council wanted to put the land in an easement and maintain some control over use and access.

A statement by the Land Rights Council includes a reference to heritage. Herman Romero claimed a two-fold cultural interest: "It is the opinion of the ALRC that there exists a definite need to preserve the historic 'Rock Art' of the west mesa escarpment, left by our indigenous ancestors, *both Indian and Spanish*" (italics added).

Cerrillos Land Company and the Sellor's Sand & Gravel Company were not interested in the petroglyphs or whether the government established a monument. They just wanted someone to make a decision so they could either use the land or sell their interests and invest elsewhere.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Nuevomexicano, *Anglo-American, *History, *Ethnography, *West Mesa, *Legislation, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Petroglyphs, *Development*

Compiled by: gd

U.S. Senate

1989 S. Doc. 286. Petroglyph National Monument Establishment Act of 1989: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Energy and Natural Resources, U.S. Senate 101st Cong., 1st sess. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

This hearing allowed interested parties to voice their opinions on the establishment of Petroglyph National Monument. Of interest to Nuevomexicano and Anglo land use are statements by representatives of the Atrisco Land Rights Council, the Westland Development Company, and local developers. Although all these groups agree on the establishment of Petroglyph National Monument, the statements highlight the different motives. Jaime Chávez spoke on behalf of the Atrisco Land Rights Council. The beliefs and opinions of the Atrisco heirs (represented by the Land Rights Council), can be summarized in one paragraph of his statement:

> The West Mesa Petroglyphs, (Las Piedras Marcadas), are a cultural reservoir of dreams and memory inscribed in rock, the legacy of Indo-Hispano spirituality and a true sense of historical continuity. The nearly 800 hectares (2,000 acres) of Atrisco commonlands proposed to be included within the National Petroglyph Monument offers Atrisco heirs the opportunity to exercise our

rights to preserve and protect consistent with the intent of the grant, that which we view as sacred.

Chávez also made it clear that the Council preferred an easement rather than sale of the land to the Petroglyph National Monument.

Alberto Candelaria, Vice President, Westland Development Company, stressed the incorporation of the Atrisco Grant as a business; it should be profitable. He favored sale of the land to Petroglyph National Monument, arguing that the profits will benefit all Atrisco heirs.

Representatives of Laurelwood II Joint Venture, Cerrillos Land Company, and Volcano Cliffs development were in favor of preservation of the petroglyphs but emphasized the importance of a quick decision. They needed to sell their land so they could invest elsewhere; they were losing money on lots they could not use.

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *Anglo-American, *History, *West Mesa, *Atrisco, *Westland Development Company, *Legislation, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Development*

Compiled by: gd

Van Ness, John R.

1979 Hispanic Village Organization in Northern New Mexico: Corporate Community Structure in Historical and Comparative Perspective. *In* The Survival of Spanish American Villages. Paul Kutsche, ed. Pp. 21–44. The Colorado College Studies No. 15. Colorado Springs: Research Committee, Colorado College.

Van Ness describes this paper's purpose as an examination of the social organization of northern New Mexico's Nuevomexicano villages, with an emphasis on the nature of the corporate organization in these communities (p. 21). He begins by considering the structure and functioning of Spain's corporate communities, which were introduced subsequently into Latin America.

He observes that the pueblo (an inclusive term referring to all small, rural Spanish communities) historically was the primary social and political unit of Iberian society, especially within mountainous settings (p. 25). Among Spanish people, the term *pueblo* traditionally embraces a conceptualization of a land-based social community. This idea also helps define an individual's identity throughout life, by defining his or her particular geographic place of birth. Because people, society, and geographical places all are integrated into the concept of pueblo, it is not surprising that Iberian traditions of land-use, land occupation, and landscape-making revolve around the economic, social, and political organization of corporate ownership (p. 25). Van Ness notes further, "As in Latin America and Spain, strong sentiments and spiritual values were attached to the community land. The merging of individual identity, community, and physical place has a good deal to do with this value orientation" (p. 42).

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Settlement Patterns, *Spiritual Ecology*

Compiled by: kfa

Van Valkenburgh, Richard F.

1941 Dine Bikeyah. Window Rock: Navajo Agency.

This gazetteer of places significant in Navajo history and culture is probably the single handiest reference on Navajo cultural-historical geography. The work contains thumbnail histories of Canyoncito and Alamo, but the entry on Ramah covers only the Mormon community. Van Valkenburgh also says that before 1864 Navajos launched raids on the river settlements from the canyons on the west side of Sandía Mountain.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *History, *Ethnography, *Place Names, *Aboriginal Land Use, *Warfare, *Sandía Mountain*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Van Valkenburgh, Richard F.

1974 Navajo Sacred Places. New York: Garland.

This report was prepared for the Navajo Land Claim before the Indian Claims Commission; Clyde Kluckhohn edited the report after Van Valkenburgh died in 1957. The report lists about 80 sacred places, discusses their significance, provides photographs, and gives sources, which include both interviews conducted in connection with the land claim and previous documentation. The work does not name places inside Petroglyph National Monument; the nearest places named are Cerro Berra (hill southeast of Belen exit from I-40) and The Geyser (spring a few miles south of Cerro Berra).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Aboriginal Land Use, *Oral Traditions, *Place Names, *Land Claims*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Weahkee, Laurie

1997 Statement in Opposition to S. B. 633, Submitted by the Petroglyph Monument Protection Coalition. Albuquerque: SAGE Council, unpublished MS.

Weahkee offers powerfully worded insights about the meaning of the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa in this public statement article in opposition to the proposed construction of the Paseo del Norte road extension across the volcanic escarpment.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Development, *Preservation, *Oral Traditions, *Cultural Resources Consultation*

Compiled by: kfa

Weahkee, William F.

1996 Petroglyph Area Is Sacred Place for New Mexico Pueblos. La Pintura 23(2):1–3.

In this brief article, Weahkee shares heartfelt insights about the meaning of the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa among the Pueblos .

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Development, *Preservation, *Oral Traditions, *Cultural Resources Consultation*

Compiled by: kfa

Weahkee, William F.

1997 Statement in Opposition to Senate Bill 633 and House Resolution Bill 1424, Presented by William F. Weahkee, Representative of the Pueblo of Sandia, October 23, 1997. Albuquerque: SAGE Council, unpublished MS.

Speaking on behalf of the Pueblo of Sandía, Weahkee gives strong testimony about the meaning of the Petroglyph National Monument and the greater Albuquerque West Mesa in this public statement article in opposition to the proposed construction of the Paseo del Norte road extension across the volcanic escarpment.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Development, *Preservation, *Oral Traditions, *Cultural Resources Consultation*

Compiled by: kfa

Weaver, Donald E.

1984 Images on Stone: The Prehistoric Rock Art of the Colorado Plateau. Plateau 55:1–32.

This well-illustrated article about prehistoric rock art on the Colorado Plateau contains a brief narrative description of Hopi petroglyphs at *Tutuveni* (Willowsprings, Arizona). This site provides an important analog for interpretation of some of the West Mesa petroglyphs. With respect to the Willowsprings site, Weaver notes that,

> Although it is difficult, in the case of Native American cultures (both prehistoric and historic), to separate religion from secular activities, some possible primarily nonreligious rock art functions include depictions designed to commemorate important events; to facilitate recordkeeping; to mark family, clan; or other group territorial boundaries and participation; and to mark important calendric or cyclic natural events such as the summer solstice. [p. 14]

> The best known example of this type of rock art is the site of Willow Springs near Tuba City. The site was a stopping place for Hopis on their way from the Hopi mesas to sacred salt deposits near the junction of the Little Colorado and Colorado rivers. As a result of repeated visits, rows of virtually identical clan symbols, representing some twenty-seven clans, have been pecked into the soft sandstone rock. Thus, the site served to commemorate one important event in an individual's life, to record a visit to the site, and to mark clan participation. In the rather unique case of Willow Springs, a sound interpretation was easily formulated since the Hopi still used the site in historic times, and a very detailed account of such a journey existed...It should be noted that even though these interpretations are primarily secular in nature the rock art undoubtedly had religious significance as well. [p. 18]

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Hopi, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: tjf

Welsh, Michael

1996 Petroglyph National Monument: Final General Management Plan / Development Concept Plan Environmental Impact Statement.

The Historic Use section is a brief overview of the cultural landscape, archaeological sites, and land use. Welsh discusses area use from the Pueblo IV period to the present. Pueblo use included a range of activities: hunting, agriculture, collecting and processing wild plant foods and herbs, stone tool production, and

spiritual ceremonies. Welsh suggests Piedras Marcadas Pueblo was an ancestral village of Sandía Pueblo and was abandoned after initial Spanish exploration but before major Spanish settlement. Occupants of this pueblo most likely were responsible for many of the petroglyphs. Welsh also references a prehistoric trail that connected Piedras Marcadas and Los Metates (prehistoric milling and processing area about .75 miles west), and continued to the escarpment and beyond. An interesting question is raised: Did the trail connect these Río Grande Pueblos and the petroglyphs with western Pueblos like Ácoma and Zuni?

Welsh indicates Atrisco and Alameda Land Grant residents built their houses and cultivated land in the Río Grande Valley. They used the rest of the grant, on the West Mesa, for livestock grazing. Spanish settlers from the Durán y Chávez family apparently occupied the Atrisco grant before the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and reestablished their claim in 1692. In 1917 the Santa Fe Railway obtained "checkerboard" grants across the mesa. The railroad then leased the land to area ranchers for livestock grazing. In 1951 Frank Bond and Company purchased land from the railroad and established a ranch on part of the present Petroglyph National Monument. In 1941 the War Department leased 6,098 hectares (15,246 acres) on West Mesa for a precision bombing range to train men from the Kirtland Air Force Base bombardier school. At least one of the bombing range target areas is included within the monument. Other 20th-century activities on the West Mesa included oil exploration and mining for cinder and scoria.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Nuevomexicano, *Anglo-American, *History, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Petroglyphs, *Land Use*

Compiled by: gd

Welsh, Michael

1998 West Side Stories: Land Use, Environment, and Social Change in Albuquerque's Petroglyph Area. Albuquerque: Petroglyph National Monument, unpublished MS.

Welsh presents an extensive history of the petroglyph area. He starts with pre-contact populations and follows Pueblo and Hispanic interests in the area to the present, adding Anglo Americans in the middle 1800s. Much of the information is general to New Mexico and Albuquerque as Welsh strives to place the petroglyph area in context and allow the reader a better understanding of West Mesa settlement and land use. Welsh explores environmental, cultural, economic, and social changes that effected land use on the west mesa.

Welsh speculates that pre-Columbian uses of the area included collecting wild plant foods, hunting (especially rabbits), redirecting water flow, and agriculture. Nuevomexicano settlers used the petroglyph area to herd livestock, evidenced by Spanish carvings left in the *rincones* of Rinconada Canyon and Mesa Prieta. When the Americans arrived in New Mexico and started surveying the land, they apparently considered the petroglyph area useless, because little description of the area appears in Robert Kelley's 1857 survey notes. Kelley considered the land uncultivable and was under orders not to waste his time. He did remark on the presence of volcanoes, as he used them as landmarks. In the early 20th century, the Black family ranched on the old Alameda grant north of the present Petroglyph National Monument, and the Bonds used the area around the volcanoes as winter grazing for cattle and sheep. Travel through the area became important in the 1930s after Route 66 was built across the West Mesa and the West Side Airport was established. World War II came to the West Mesa when the Albuquerque Army Air Base (Kirtland Air Force Base) was designated a "Bombardier School" in 1941 and the mesa became a bombing range. Population growth after World War II led to urban sprawl and developments like Paradise Hills and Río Rancho on the west side of Albuquerque, endangering the petroglyphs.

Welsh also explores the significance of the petroglyphs, using Schmader and Hays' report, *Las Imagines*, as a basis for his discussion. Welsh presents arguments from Charles Carrillo, Polly Schaafsma, and Eric Brunnemann on the possible significance of the cross-glyphs. Carrillo and Schaafsma suggest the crosses were placed on the rocks to exorcise nearby Pueblo imagery. Conversely, Brunnemann indicates some of the crosses represent the blending of Native American and Spanish ideologies, which in turn might represent a predominance of mixed-blood herders. To support Brunnemann's theory, Welsh presents Rudolfo Anaya's (Atrisco heir) argument:

> "it is no mystery that the Petroglyphs came to be incorporated into the Atrisco Land Grant when the land was requisitioned as a community land grant from the Spanish crown in 1692." Anaya contended that "the mestizo farmers of the valley had learned from their Native American neighbors that the symbols carved into the rocks were part of the continuous spiritual history of the valley." [p. 2.46].

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Western Pueblos, *Nuevomexicano, *Anglo-American, *History, *West Mesa, *Petroglyph National Monument, *Petroglyphs, *Land Use*

Compiled by: gd

Westland Development Company v. Heirs of Atrisco Grant

1973 Bernalillo County, NM. Case No. A 33174.

This case file contains a partial list of Atrisco heirs as of 1973, the number of shares of Westland Development Company stock to which they are entitled, and the name of the original incorporator to whom they are related. Although the file contains no information pertinent to Petroglyph National Monument, it is of interest to anyone studying the Atrisco Grant history.

*Keywords: *Nuevomexicano, *History, *Land Grant, *Atrisco, *Westland Development Company, *Land Grant Heirs*

Compiled by: gd

Wheelwright, Mary

1932 Hozhoni Be'ad by Hasteen Gani. Santa Fé: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, unpublished MS.

This unpublished narrative is a longer version of the Beautyway ceremony (see Wyman 1957 for a published version that mentions the site of Petroglyph National Monument). This version mentions only places along the Continental Divide or west.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *West Mesa*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Wheelwright, Mary C.

1956 The Myth and Prayers of the Great Star Chant and the Myth of the Coyote Chant. Navajo Religion Series 4. Santa Fé: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art.

Wheelwright reproduces sandpaintings and analyzes their iconography in detail in the light of accompanying origin stories and of explications by Navajo ceremonialists. Star images are prominent in the sandpaintings and some (with faces) resemble those at Petroglyph National Monument. Other common images are bears and bear tracks, celestial beings with wedge-shaped torsos, coyotes, and corn (some paintings are also in Luckert and Cooke 1979).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

White, Leslie A.

1932 The Acoma Indians. *In* Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Pp. 17–192. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

This report is the classic, comprehensive ethnography on the Ácoma Indians. An illustrated catalog of *k'atsina*, as well as drawings of ceremonial figures and ritual artifacts interspersed throughout the monograph, provide a source for interpretive information relevant to the images at Petroglyph National Monument. White documents some petroglyphs are produced as part of ceremonial practices. In describing the *Nai'yu k'atsina*, White says, "After the ceremony, the Nai'yus carve representations of female genitalia on the face of cliffs south of Acoma" (p. 77). White describes petroglyphs on a cliff near Ácoma:

> Southeast of Acoma there are some cliffs whose faces contain many carvings. There are pictures or representations of the sun, of k'atsina, lightning, geometric designs, (significance unknown), of female genitalia (see account of the k'atsina naiyu), a few deer, a human hand, etc. South of Acoma there is a great rock with a slender pinnacle rising to a height of almost 300 feet (estimated). On the side of this column there is a great picture of the sun, carved in the rock and painted. There are also some carved paintings of k'oBictaiya. [pp. 131–132]

White summarizes Ácoma accounts of emergence and migration. One account begins, "They came out of the earth, from Iatik'u, the mother. They came out through a hole in the north called Shipap" (p. 142). Another version of the origin has Utc'tsiti, as a supernatural, with two sisters, Nau'tsiti and Ia'tiku, who were given a basket with wild game and plants (pp. 147–148).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: tjf

White, Leslie A.

1932 The Pueblo of San Felipe. Memoirs 38. Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association.

A minor volume, this work presents an abbreviated descriptive account of the culture and history of the people of San Felipe Pueblo. Although White offers nothing substantive about the Petroglyph National Monument, the volcanoes, caves, lava flows, or petroglyphs, this study contributes in a general way to his (1960) summary of Keresan Pueblo cosmology and culture history.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Cosmology*

Compiled by: kfa

White, Leslie A.

1935 The Pueblo of Santo Domingo, New Mexico. Memoirs 43. Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association.

Just as White's other now-classic ethnological reports among New Mexico's Keresan Pueblo communities, this volume presents a relatively straightforward descriptive account of the culture and history of the people of Santa Domingo Pueblo. Representative of its time in the development of American anthropology, major sections include discussions of social organization, an individual's life cycle, ceremonialism, and myths and tales.

White reports encountering many practical difficulties, including the people's distrust of anthropologists and their desires to maintain their privacy. Consequently, he offers no substantive information about the peoples' associations with petroglyphs, caves, volcanoes, lava flows, or shrines, which might be useful in interpreting specific cultural or physiographic features within Petroglyph National Monument ethnographic landscape.

On the other hand, White gives a summary of Santo Domingo cosmology tracing the emergence of people onto the present world and the movement of the Santo Domingo Pueblo's ancestors to the Río Grande Valley from White House farther north. He presents an abstract diagram of the mythological landscape and provides partial discussion of cardinal mountain, color, and animal associations. Of particular interest is White's mention of the many witches and giants that inhabited the world and plagued the people, as well as the Warrior Twins, *Masewi* and *Oyoyewi*, who killed these enemies before eventually leaving the people and making their homes on Sandía Mountain. Although White does confirm these associations, as documented at other Pueblo communities as well as among the Navajo, the Warrior Twins' slaying of the terrible giants is associated with caves and volcanism. His report suggests these concepts almost certainly exist among the Santo Domingo Pueblo Keresans and, therefore, possibly serve as a point of referent for the community in regard to the West Mesa environs.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: kfa

White, Leslie A.

1942 The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico. Memoirs 60. Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association.

White describes the culture and history of the people of Santa Ana Pueblo. Major sections include discussions of social organization, government and social life, corn and the cosmos, hunting, war, sickness and witchcraft, and paraphernalia and ritual.

Once again reflecting the Pueblo people's extreme mistrust of anthropologists and their desire to maintain privacy about their religious practices and beliefs, White does not provide useful information about the peoples' associations with petroglyphs, caves, volcanoes, lava flows, or shrines. His consideration of Santa Ana hunting ritual and belief, however, is important as an illustration of the pervasiveness of the precepts of spiritual ecology and the environmental underpinnings of the people's worldview and their senses of time and place as ongoing processes.

Through a liberal use of footnotes, White gives a comparative review of the Keresans' conceptual structure of their world, including major mountain, color, and animal cardinal associations (pp. 80–91). By the time of this study, White had come to recognize that the Keresans represent the world as a square and they emphasize places at corners. (White even points out his error in his Santo Domingo monograph where he portrayed the Keresan world as a sphere.)

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: kfa

White, Leslie A.

1943 New Material from Acoma. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 136, Anthropological Papers No. 32. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

White provides supplementary data collected after completion of his first ethnography of the Ácoma

Indians (White 1932). An illustration of the Hé·mic katsina provides a source for interpretation of images at the Petroglyph National Monument (p. 311). In summarizing the origin of the Corn Clan ceremony, White discusses Ácoma views of volcanism.

> Curatca lived in the north, somewhere. He built fires on the mountains all around. Cona·ta, Komïtina, and Co·ma'acka (all katsina) joined Curatca. Kaupat joined him, too, as he was a great fire builder. (It was Kaupat who built the fire that produced the lava beds near Grants…). When Curatca and the other katsina got close to Acoma, they met the nawai of the Corn Clan. "What are you doing and why?" the nawai asked Curatca. "This is my work," said Curatca, "I do this every 5 or 10 years. I am not doing this to burn (i.e., destroy) the world, but to heat Mother Earth to make her more fertile (diwa'coititan*i* sinaiya ha·ats*i*)." Then the head of the Corn clan said to Curatca, "I am glad to receive you and welcome you. I want you to belong to the Corn clan. I want you to be our nawai." So the katsina stayed with the Corn clan at Acoma. But after a time they went to Wenima, and the Corn clan made masks to represent them. That is why the Corn clan has the Curatca ceremony today. [p. 314]

Ácoma color-direction symbolism is north (yellow), west (blue), south (red), east (white), zenith (black), and nadir (gray?).

White includes an autobiography of a 73-year-old Ácoma man who recounted going to Albuquerque to attend school when he was 12. The railroad was just being built. There was no bridge, so they crossed the river by boat. After three years, he returned to Ácoma on the railroad, which had been constructed as far as McCarty's. At the end of the summer, he returned to school in Albuquerque. In 1886 he attended a Catholic school in Santa Fé.

White includes two folktales about the Warrior Twins. *Masewi* and *Oyoyewi* traveled widely about the country. In one of their adventures, they came to *Ktcana kot* (a steep, white mountain in the east), where *Tsanoka* lived. They were refused entrance into his house and they returned to Ácoma (pp. 352–353).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Volcanoes*

Compiled by: tjf

White, Leslie A.

1960 The World of the Keresan Pueblo Indians. *In* Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin. New York: Published for Brandeis University by Columbia University Press.

In this, his near final statement of Keresan Pueblo worldview and religion based on his ethnographic work with the San Felipe (1932), Ácoma (1932, 1943), Santo Domingo (1935), Santa Ana (1942), and Zía (1962) Pueblo communities, White summarizes the major points of these peoples' common cosmology. He describes the Keresan view of the world as square, flat, and consisting of four layers (after White 1942). In his review, White traces the Keresan Pueblos' history from the beginning of known time, when people occupied the lowest world deep inside the earth through their ascent and emergence into the present-day fourth world. He provides color associations and retells the story whereby the Warrior Twins, *Masewi* and *Oyoyewi*, killed a giant and eventually left the people to make their home on Sandía Mountain.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: kfa

White, Leslie A.

1962 The Pueblo of Sia, New Mexico. Bulletin 15. Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Just as in his previous ethnographic studies of Keresan Pueblo communities, White offers a traditional account of the culture and history of the people of Zía Pueblo. Major sections include discussions of history, setting and background, Christianity, economy, cosmology, social organization, an individual's life cycle, ceremonialism, sickness, and hunting. White describes the Keresan conceptual view of the world and recounts the people's history from creation and emergence. As White notes however, his discussion of Santa Ana (1942) cosmology is more complete.

*Keywords: *Río Grande Pueblos, *Keres, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Oral Traditions*

Compiled by: kfa

Wyman, Leland C.

1952 The Sandpaintings of the Kayenta Navaho: An Analysis of the Louisa Wade Wetherill Collection. Publications in Anthropology 7. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.

The Wetherill Collection consists both of drawings of several dozen sandpaintings evidently made by one Navajo ceremonialist, Sam Chief (Yellow Singer), and

Louisa Wetherill's fragmentary notes about the paintings. Wyman groups the drawings and origin story fragments from Louisa Wetherill's notes by Navajo ceremonial repertoire. Wyman inventories information sources for each repertoire, especially published and unpublished versions of a repertoire's sandpaintings and its associated origin myths. Wyman considers the drawings in Louisa Wetherill's collection "idiosyncratic" because they differ widely from other documented versions of the same sandpaintings. (The reader should note, however, that Wyman offers this critique notwithstanding the fact that most of the sandpainting documentation to which he refers—and apparently favors—similarly comes from non-Navajo observers.)

Wyman does not identify which ceremony or ceremonies Sam Chief performed. Based on our review of this work, we suggest that Sam Chief might have performed Beautyway, given this repertoire accounts for more than twice as many illustrations as any other repertoire in Louisa Wetherill's collection. Moreover, because the accompanying story fragments emphasize rain requesting ritual and the origins of specific plant medicine rituals within each repertoire, we wonder if Sam Chief was an herbalist. Such practice might account for the atypically naturalistic and detailed images of medicinal plants in Sam Chief's sandpaintings. We also wonder if Sam Chief excerpted and modified specific sandpaintings when administering plant medicines to patients who requested only short excerpts of full-scale ceremonies.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Wyman, Leland C.

1957 Beautyway, A Navaho Ceremonial. Bollingen Series. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wyman reproduces two narratives of the origin of the HoozhOnee Beautyway Ceremony. The narrative of Willito Wilson is the only published Navajo ceremonial story that mentions what is probably Petroglyph National Monument. The story identifies the place with both Navajo ceremonies and a cross-country route. The reference is:

> She started west; passed through a valley and came to a ridge called Rock-that-defends. There was a house, and four people lived in it; Big Bear Man, Monster Slayer, Thunder Man, Big Snake Man…Four people are still there in the rocks. Navahos always would scratch off a piece of the rock and carry it in their pockets when they went on a war party, that is why it is called Rock-that-defends. [p. 137]

The storyteller locates these figures west of the Río Grande Valley and northeast of the mountain at Correo (present railroad cutoff to Belen), thus these might be petroglyphs at Petroglyph National Monument. The story gives a landscape context for this place: the girl's route of travel. The work also reproduces Beautyway ceremonial sandpaintings and interprets their iconography according to the Navajo ceremonialists who gave the stories. Snakes in various forms (including Snake People with conical, side-locked weasel caps; compare Fringemouth caps discussed by Olin 1979 and Matthews 1887) are especially important in this ceremonial repertoire. This ceremonial repertoire with an origin story apparently refers to the Petroglyph National Monument.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *West Mesa, *Petroglyphs, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Wyman, Leland C.

1962 The Windways of the Navaho. Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum.

In addition to ceremonial origin stories, Wyman reproduces sandpaintings and depicts ceremonial paraphernalia, as well as analyzing in detail their iconography and describing the ceremonial performance context for the sandpaintings, all based on information from Navajo ceremonialists. Common images include snakes (some with double-pointed "flint" caps), cloud people, wind people, and stars.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Wyman, Leland C.

1965 The Red Antway of the Navaho. Navajo Religion Series 5. Santa Fé: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art.

In addition to ceremonial origin stories, Wyman reproduces sandpaintings and depicts ceremonial paraphernalia, as well as analyzing in detail their iconography and describing the ceremonial performance context for the sandpaintings, all based on information from Navajo ceremonialists. Common images include horned toads, anthills, and footprints.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Wyman, Leland C.

1970 Blessingway. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

In addition to ceremonial origin stories, Wyman reproduces sandpaintings and depicts ceremonial paraphernalia, as well as analyzing in detail their iconography and describing the ceremonial performance context for the sandpaintings, all based on information from Navajo ceremonialists. Common images include Holy People with wedge-shaped torsos (Changing Woman, Pollen Boy), crops (corn, beans, squash, tobacco), cornripener (compare dragonfly), footprints, game animals, horned toads, and bears.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Wyman, Leland C., comp.

1970b Sandpaintings of the Navaho Shootingway and the Walcott Collection. Contributions to Anthropology 13. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

This monograph contains 44 black-and-white plates of Navajo sandpaintings. Most of these illustrations depict aspects of various types of Shootingway ceremony, but a few are from Beautyway, Mountaintopway, Big Starway, Nightway, Plumeway, and Navajo Windway ceremonial repertoires. Wyman describes each sandpainting and explicates their iconography. In his narratives Wyman often provides pieces of a ceremonial repertoire's origin story as related to him by several Navajo consultants with whom he worked.

This work includes photographs of actual Shootingway dancers in costumes, which resemble the dress of figures in certain sandpaintings. Also provided are photographs of the screen (altar backdrop) for the rarely performed Sun's House option of Male Shootingway and its associated double sandpainting, Sky-Reaching Rock. Wyman's explication of the Sky-Reaching Rock sandpainting clearly reveals this image is a detailed cosmogram. Moreover, the main iconographic elements of this sandpainting correspond to one of the petroglyph panels at Petroglyph National Monument (see Schmader and Hays 1987:Figure 17).

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Wyman, Leland C.

1975 The Mountainway of the Navajo. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

In addition to ceremonial origin stories, Wyman reproduces sandpaintings and depicts ceremonial paraphernalia, as well as analyzing in detail their iconography and describing the ceremonial performance context for the sandpaintings, all based on information from Navajo ceremonialists. This ceremonial repertoire is closely related to Beautyway, the origin story of which seems to mention the site of Petroglyph National Monument. Mountaintopway origin stories mention the Río Grande Valley and landscape surrounding Petroglyph National Monument. Common images include bears, snakes (including horned), footprints and bear tracks, porcupines, and arrows.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Iconography, *Sandpaintings, *West Mesa*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Wyman, Leland C.

1983 Southwest Indian Drypainting. Santa Fé: School of American Research and Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

This work is the distillation of Wyman's decades of research on Navajo sandpaintings, including details of their ceremonial contexts. Numerous color and black-and-white plates show many Navajo sandpaintings not illustrated elsewhere in publication. These illustrations represent the ceremonial repertoires of the various Shootingways, Mountaintopway, Beautyway, Nightway, Plumeway, Waterway, Navajo Windway, Big Godway (very rare ceremony), Big Starway, Red Antway, and Handtremblingway. The value of Wyman's book is enhanced by the fact that some of these ceremonial repertoires are no longer completely known.

In addition, Wyman explicates iconographic elements of the sandpaintings (much of this discussion resembles Newcomb's contribution to Newcomb and others [1956]). He compares these sandpainting images with Navajo petroglyphs of Largo Canyon system (*Dinétah*) that date between the 1600s and 1700s.

The book also contains extensive descriptions and a few illustrations of Pueblo and other Southwestern group ceremonial sandpaintings, as well as offers an appendix on sandpaintings elsewhere in the world (India, the Himalayas, and Mexico, among others). Although Wyman only occasionally mentions similarities between Navajo sandpaintings/ritual and those of other groups, his detailed descriptions and illustrations show that comparison of Navajo and other sandpaintings, especially those of the Pueblos, should take into account all the paraphernalia and other images placed on and around sandpaintings.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Wyman, Leland C., and Franc J. Newcomb

1963 Drypaintings Used in Divination by the Navajo. Plateau 36(1):18–24.

Wyman and Newcomb offer a discussion of a little-known use of sandpaintings in Navajo ceremonialism to divine the locations of lost people, livestock, and various items. The article illustrates three sandpaintings used for such purposes. Two illustrations depict icons (e.g., spirals and people with hourglass-shaped bodies) of Wind People.

The authors do not explain the function of the sandpaintings in the procedures. Because most sandpaintings have images of the Holy People whose presence and help is sought through ritual, we suggest that the placement of images of winds or Wind People–like beings in divination ceremony sandpaintings solicits assistance from the Wind People who go everywhere and see everything.

*Keywords: *Navajo, *Ethnography, *Oral Traditions, *Cosmology, *Sandpaintings, *Iconography*

Compiled by: kk and hf

Young, M. Jane

1985 Images of Power and the Power of Images, The Significance of Rock Art for Contemporary Zunis. Journal of American Folklore 98:3–48.

In this article, Young describes how Zuni verbal and visual arts constitute interrelated communicative codes. Several factors affect the placement of images on rocks, including landscape features identified as locations of culturally important events in the past, and the prior existence of other images. Some petroglyphs or pictographs mark the location of shrines, and the existence of images on rocks can strengthen the power of a religious site. Some Zunis regard petroglyph sites sacred because of the images found there. Images have power, and that power is imparted to the places where they are made. The repetition of images or the concentration of images in one place may relate to ritual activity and power or the demarcation of clan areas (p. 30). Young is convinced "rock art remains an important part of Zuni culture" (p. 5). Young argues that petroglyphs today are probably produced for different reasons than in the past, so that the identification of images is most informative when they are relatively recent. She thinks contemporary interpretations should project onto the past with the "greatest caution and with a full recognition of the dynamic aspects of tradition, the change as well as the continuity." Nevertheless, petroglyph sites remain powerful places in Zuni culture. Much of this article was incorporated into Young's later book, *Signs from the Ancestors* (1988). Young ends this article with the statement,

> Perhaps the most revealing statement concerning the contemporary attitude toward these images was made by an elderly religious leader who spent three hours, mostly in silence, looking at an extensive rock art site. During this time, he often approached a figure and gently traced its outline with his fingertips. Finally he said, "I don't know what it means, but I know it's important." [p. 42]

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

Young, M. Jane

1987 The Nature of the Evidence: Archaeoastronomy in the Prehistoric Southwest. *In* Astronomy and Ceremony in the Prehistoric Southwest. John B. Carlson and W. James Judge, eds. Pp. 169–189. Albuquerque: Maxwell Museum of Anthropology.

Young provides commentary on papers delivered at an archaeoastronomy conference held at the University of New Mexico. Much evidence used in archaeoastronomy comes from petroglyphs. In discussing her own research, Young provides examples of the astronomical motifs that occur in Zuni verbal arts (e.g., prayers, oral traditions). Precision in recording petroglyphs is necessary to use the data in archaeoastronomy. Young cautions that, "Contemporary interpretations sometimes reflect the influence of sources outside the culture, prominent among which are the very people who have attempted to study the culture" (p. 179). For instance, after

scientists interpreted a petroglyph at Chaco Canyon as a depiction of the Crab Nebula, some Zunis began to interpret similar petroglyphs at Zuni as supernova explosions. Most Zunis, however, were cautious in interpreting petroglyphs. One Zuni man described them as "a message from our ancestors we can no longer understand" (p. 183). He added, "I don't know what it means, but I know it is important." If archaeoastronomy is to avoid becoming "astro-ethnocentrism," scholars need to study the full range of anthropological literature to provide needed cultural context. Young concludes with several observations about Zuni:

> Also apparent in Zuni ritual life is an emphasis on process rather than product—on the unity of all beings in the act of harmonious existence. For the Pueblos in general, both the moon and the sun are regarded as living beings…Thus space is not viewed as being outside or external to ceremonial life, nor is it regarded as something to be traveled through or overcome. Rather such boundaries do not apply; the cosmos is one entity and the beings within it operate according to the principles of circularity rather than linearity.
>
> This circularity applies to time as well as space. Although the Zunis may introduce a myth as having occurred "a long time ago" or "in the beginning," the events described therein are not regarded by them as being over and done with, situated at a single point in a linear flow of time; instead, they are ever-present, informing the here and now. [p. 186]

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology, *Connectedness*

Compiled by: tjf

Young, M. Jane

1987 Toward an Understanding of "Place" for Southwestern Indians. New Mexico Folklore Record 16:1–13.

Young begins with the observation that few studies by anthropologists and folklorists focus on Native American attitudes about place and use of place names. Young argues that Native Americans "share a similar way of looking at the land and at themselves as part of the land" (p. 1). Places encompass a temporal as well as spatial dimension. "The significance of specific places to Native Americans is revealed in the importance to them of reclaiming these places whenever possible." Young writes, "Because they regard the land as a living being and themselves as part of this living being—according to Puebloan origin myths the people are born form the womb of Mother Earth—the Puebloans see themselves as having a responsibility for the land" (p. 2). According to Young, points on the land can be taken as metonyms of narrative, "evoking not just the image of the place named, but the emotions, the moral values, the stories associated with such places as well" (p. 4). In her studies, Young has documented the metonymic aspects of Zuni pictographs and petroglyphs as they relate to stories about the land. Landscape features, like petroglyphs, serve as vehicles by which Zunis "recall" events reference in traditional histories and oral narratives. "These markers, some of which are being preserved in stone since the time of beginning, refer specifically to those events that took place after the emergence or the people from the fourth underworld into the world in which they are now 'located' both spatially and temporally" (p. 4). The ability to identify places in oral narratives with actual geographic locations is a form of validation. Past and present coexist, the "time of myth is one with everyday existence" (p. 7). Young concludes, "the merging of present with past at Zuni is a validation both of everyday experience and of the myths, linked in some instances to visual features and in others to verbal formulae" (p. 7). "The Zunis remember a collective past tied, not to their lifetime, but the lifetime of the first ancestors—the time of beginning, the time of myth" (p. 8). Natural features, places, and landscapes are metonymic because they have the power symbolize and recall the ancient past. Thus, they serve to draw the ancient world closer to the contemporary, human world. Places and landscapes evoke stories of the beginning in an effective manner by evoking the emotions associated with these stories. "They project the past into the present, condensing experience and they intensify the experience of those who perceive them as 'signs from the past'" (p. 9).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Ethnography, *Cosmology, *Oral Traditions, *Petroglyphs*

Compiled by: tjf

Young, M. Jane

1988 Signs from the Ancestors. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

In this book, based on two summers of fieldwork at Zuni Pueblo, Young discusses cultural symbolism and Zuni perceptions of petroglyphs and pictographs. The book is an important source document for understanding the meaning that images on stone have for the Zuni. Young discusses techniques, size and placement of images, and chronology of petroglyphs and pictographs, and provides contemporary Zuni views about their interpretation. The Zunis don't claim to know the meanings of all images on rock. In

classifying petroglyphs, they group known images by content, and unknown images by form. In discussing metonymic rock art images, Young says "Contemporary Zunis regard many of the pictographs and petroglyphs in the landscape surrounding the pueblo as meaningful signs from the past that were made by the ancestors" (p. 121). Many petroglyphs have referents in the narrative poetry of religious societies, including images of the plumed serpent, sacred frogs, Beast gods, spirals, and geometric figures. The rocks on which images are pecked or painted also are metonymic devices for evoking cultural narratives, and the physical setting of images thus is an important element of the cultural landscape. Young notes, "The power of these images derives not only from their ability to project the past into the present, but also from their ambiguity" (p. 154). The particular meaning of an image at a given moment depends on the context and not the form of a petroglyph. In discussing the power of image and place, Young notes Zunis produce images on stone for many reasons. The images have iconic power based on similarity and association, and religious activities are based on a relationship between action and desired results. Images of water beings thus bring rain, and game animals and their predators are associated with successful hunts. Young discusses the indexical power that results from the interaction of rock images and their site. "There is evidence that Zunis do indeed regard some rock art sites as sacred *because* of the pictographs and petroglyphs there and not because of any other factors extrinsic or prior to the rock art. That is, the power of the site is derived solely from the image or cluster of images found there" (p. 177). Repetition of images is significant, and superimposition and juxtaposition of images have "powerful resonances" (p. 185).

In permitting her work, the Zuni Tribal Council set guidelines that precluded the recording of Zuni shrines, so the study of petroglyphs associated with formal shrines was outside her investigation. Nevertheless, Young concludes, "Whether or not Zunis regard them as officially sacred, then, they do perceive certain rock art images and sites to be power either because they evoke the myth time or because they depict beings that Zunis associate with vital aspects of the physical world; they regard these latter figures as efficacious in achieving various desired ends" (p. 193).

Zunis value ancient petroglyphs because they were made by their ancestors. These "messages from the ancestors" are often ambiguous in form and meaning, imparting the multivocality characteristic of traditional Zuni imagery. All images on stone are not perceived as powerful, however; some are interpreted as graffiti and others as beautiful but not efficacious imagery executed in secular contexts.

In conclusion, Young states:

> It is likely that the ability of certain rock art depictions to evoke the past is related to their location in a landscape that *was* the scene of events of the myth time and *is* now the setting for contemporary Zuni life and stories that describe those past events. The landscape in itself is an affecting presence for the Zunis; various features of the landscape are emotionally charged symbols that stand for significant events in Zuni myth and history. [p. 233]

Young adds, "Thus, for the Zunis, markers in the landscape evoke not so much one's personal past—idiosyncratic events known to only a few, but those events that make up the past of the entire tribe—the time of the beginning when various events happened that now influence the shape of the present" (pp. 233–234). Images on stone "reinforces their perception of themselves as a people intimately linked to their particular landscape, a landscape where powerful beings dwell and where significant events of the past took place" (p. 238). Images of petroglyphs and pictographs thus are "integral to the complex system of symbols that constitutes the Zuni world view" (p. 239). These images are imbued with meanings that link the Zunis to concepts basic to Zuni life and perception of the cosmos. "Pictographs and petroglyphs and Zuni commentary about these figures are thus important expressions of Zuni ideology" (p. 239).

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology, *Connectedness, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

Young, M. Jane, and Nancy L. Bartman

1981 Rock Art of the Zuni-Cibola Region. Privately printed.

This pamphlet reports the initial results of the Zuni Rock Art Survey conducted in 1979 and 1980. Young and Bartman discuss the chronology, technique, elements of form, and styles of petroglyphs in the Zuni region. Zuni petroglyphs and pictographs include images that are both representational and nonrepresentational in form. The style of Zuni petroglyphs often consists of panels with many images, frequently placed next to or superimposed on one another. After about A.D. 1325, the Río Grande style had a considerable impact on petroglyphs in the Zuni region, although elements of the earlier style persisted. The new artistic tradition included representational human and animal forms, as well as kachina, masks, and shields. Incising, abrading, and drilling were added to the earlier technique of pecking. Petroglyphs and pictographs continue to be made on the Zuni

Indian Reservation. Images on stone were and are an important medium of cultural expression. Young and Bartman ask,

> But what is rock art? Does it constitute a language or mark special areas? Is it art for art's sake or a form of graffiti? Does it serve a religious purpose? Was it used, perhaps, as a hunting tally or counting device?
>
> Rock art probably served all of these purposes, as well as others. It is likely that rock art is produced for different reasons today than during prehistoric times. Perhaps, too, the meaning of specific design elements has changed through time. For this reason, discussions with tribal members concerning the meanings of rock art images were most informative with respect to those images of recent date. For older images, the interpretations offered generally proved to be highly variable. Since symbols can have different meanings in different contexts and may be subject to alternative interpretations, it is difficult, and perhaps inappropriate, to assign a single "meaning" to a particular rock art element or panel. [p. 16]

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Archaeology, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

Young, M. Jane, and Ray A. Williamson

1979 Ethnoastronomy: The Zuni Case. Paper presented at the Archaeoastronomy in the Americas Conference, Santa Fé, June.

Young and Williamson use archival material to discuss Zuni constellations. Imagery of stars is an important element of Zuni ceremonies and rituals. Representations of stars occur on Zuni altars, murals, paintings, masks, headdresses, and costumes.

*Keywords: *Western Pueblos, *Zuni, *Ethnography, *Petroglyphs, *Cosmology, *Iconography*

Compiled by: tjf

APPENDIX II

RESOLUTION OF THE DINÉ MEDICINEMAN'S ASSOCIATION

SUPPORTING THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE EFFORTS TO PROTECT AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURAL RESOURCES IN PETROGLYPH NATIONAL MONUMENT AND ALBUQUERQUE WEST MESA FROM ALBUQUERQUE'S EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT

WHEREAS, The Diné Medicineman's Association (DMAI) is a duly chartered association of the Navajo Nation, and

WHEREAS, Petroglyph National Monument/Albuquerque West Mesa has historical and spiritual significance to all American Indians, and

WHEREAS, Petroglyph National Monument/Albuquerque West Mesa is religiously, culturally, and historically significant to the Diné People because it contains:

- homes of Holy People
- places significant in the history and cultural practices of the Din People
- places for conducting sacred ceremonies and prayers;
- places for gathering medicines, minerals, and other materials for ceremonial and traditional uses; and

WHEREAS, Albuquerque's rapid westward expansion has already degraded qualities of the West Mesa significant to American Indians and threatens more such degradation in the future, and

WHEREAS, air traffic at West Mesa airport west of the Park now disrupts ceremonial uses of the park with noise and overflights, which intrude on the quiet and privacy necessary for ceremonial acts, and

WHEREAS, Petroglyph National Monument was created to protect the petroglyphs, volcanoes, lava flow, plants, wildlife, minerals, and other cultural and natural resources, and

WHEREAS, DMAI has designated Mr. Joe Dennison and Mr. Taylor Dixon to represent DMAI about issues of access to Petroglyph National Monument, resource use, special needs or requests,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

The Diné Medicineman's Association supports the mission of Petroglyph National Monument and the National Park Service to protect American Indian cultural resources from further degradation.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT:

1. The National Park Service be enabled to take the following general protective measures:

- Fence the external boundaries of the park against encroachment
- Acquire inholdings owned by the City of Albuquerque and private interests, especially the volcanoes.

2. The Federal Aviation Administration cause air traffic at the West Mesa airport to move west away from the Park and to avoid unnecessary flights over the Park.

3. The administration of Petroglyph National Monument form a group representing all interested American Indian communities, including DMAI representatives, to meet regularly to advise the Park about:

- how locations in Petroglyph National Monument/Albuquerque West Mesa are significant to American Indian People and their respective peoples;
- how to protect and manage these places; and
- how properly to interpret American Indian history and culture, and the histories and cultures of their respective peoples.

CERTIFICATION:

The foregoing resolution was considered by the Diné Medicineman's Association at the meeting in Window Rock, Arizona, Navajo Nation, at which a quorum was present, and was passed by a vote of 42 in favor, 0 opposed, and 0 abstained, on the 12 day of August, 2000.

Thomas Morris, President

Sam Slivers, Vice President

Philmer Bluehouse, Secretary/Treasurer

Notes

- DMAI decided to send this resolution and its attachments supporting the monument's mission to protect American Indian cultural resources to Department of Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt (Thomas Morris, DMAI meeting, August 12, 2000).

- DMAI also decided to ask the Navajo Nation Council to support this resolution (Thomas Morris, DMAI meeting, August 12, 2000).

- DMAI officers formally signed this resolution on October 14, 2000.

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