

H 1817

BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT

STUDY OF TRADITIONALLY ASSOCIATED NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITIES ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT

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BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT

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Nontechnical summary

Purpose: the originally stated objectives of the project were to research ethnographic literature and consult with traditional communities potentially affiliated with Bandelier National Monument to document traditional uses of the cultural and natural resources within the Monument. The research was intended to describe the traditional historical basis for relationships between potentially affiliated traditional communities and park resources and to evaluate the traditional cultural and natural resources that continue to be used and valued. The main body of the final report was originally intended as a discussion of the traditional resource uses of Bandelier National Monument and the role it plays in contemporary tribal and other traditional societies. The purpose of this project was to inform Monument managers of traditional affiliations and uses in order to assist Monument management and planning.

Scope of Work: the scope of work of the project called for (1) a search of the ethnographic literature pertaining to traditional uses of Bandelier National Monument by Pueblo groups including but not limited to the Keres, Tewa, Jemez, Sandia, Zuni, and Hopi tribes, (2) review of legislation, cooperative agreements, and documentation of previous consultations between the National Park Service and associated communities, (3) initial contact and preliminary consultation with all traditionally associated tribes and tribal representatives as identified through the literature search, (4) interviews with Bandelier National Monument staff, in particular

anthropologists, botanists, and other resource specialists having knowledge of Pueblo traditional uses of the monument, (5) interviews with appropriate tribal representatives identification and documentation of the location and nature of traditionally used resources within BAND and (6) a final report synthesizing the results of the literature search, interviews, consultations and field visits.

Research Design: the authors prepared a project plan called a research design. This plan took into account the published policies of the National Park Service concerning traditional groups and American Indian tribes and ethnographic resources associated with those groups and tribes. The plan discussed relationships between park resources and contemporary American Indian cultures, and noted the responsibility of the National Park Service to consult with associated communities before reaching decisions about the treatment and use of traditionally associated resources, as well as the need for confidentiality in such consultation, treatment and use. The plan specified that the management of ethnographic resources in parks involves research, such as the literature search which was part of this project; planning, including the consultation with traditionally associated groups that was part of this project; and stewardship, which requires that park staff know the groups traditionally associated with ethnographic resources and understand the nature of the association.

Relationship to NAGPRA Consultations: in compliance with the federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, Bandelier National Monument prepared (November, 1995) a listing of all human remains and associated funerary objects (obtained from archaeological sites in Bandelier National Monument) for which the National Park Service is responsible. The inventory, dated November 12, 1995, concludes that Pueblo sites in Bandelier National Monument dating from the early twelfth century or later are likely to be associated with all of the extant pueblos. However, the present study reached narrower and more specific conclusions about these associations based on the literature and on consultation with the pueblos and tribes.

Confidentiality: this project recognized the need for confidentiality between and among the consultants, the traditionally associated communities and the National Park Service. The consultants assured the involved communities on behalf of the National Park Service that privileged religious or ritual knowledge, including but not limited to collections, reports, maps, and photographs, would be appropriately restricted and protected. See specific references to confidentiality under Legislation below.

Study Area: the study area of the project was Bandelier National Monument, encompassing 32,827 acres in north-central New Mexico in Sandoval and Los Alamos counties, and including the discrete area of the Tsankawi Unit in Santa Fe County, 11 miles from the main unit. However, much of the literature discussed below deals more generally with the entire Pajarito Plateau, an area roughly ten times the size of the Monument and possessing sharply defined geographic boundaries.

Changes in Project Scope: Several significant changes in this scope occurred in the course of work by agreement between the National Park Service and the authors. The first phase of the project became primarily a literature search followed by a consultation with six pueblos that had been determined to have a traditional association with BAND. The second phase of the project, originally designed as an ethnographic investigation of the location and nature of traditionally used cultural and natural resources within BAND, was expanded to include the formation of a tribal consultation committee (with representatives of the six pueblos whose traditional associations with BAND had been confirmed), a series of meetings and field visits to enable the traditionally associated pueblos and BAND to consult on traditional concerns and management practices, and the drafting of a role and function statement for the consultation committee and of a memorandum of understanding between the committee and BAND.

Literature Search (Phase I): the consultants carried out a search of relevant published and unpublished literature and compiled an annotated bibliography (from primary and secondary materials available in regional archives and libraries) which was included in the report on the first phase of work (Bandelier National Monument: Ethnographic Literature Search and Consultation. Levine and Merlan, 1997).

Phase I also included a preliminary consultation with tribes (including First Mesa Village, a community of the Hopi Tribe) in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and Oklahoma. Twenty-seven tribes and communities were contacted. Four of these did not respond in any way (Comanche Tribe, Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, Southern Ute Tribe, Pueblo of Ysleta del Sur). Twenty-three participated in the project (see Table 1).

Phase I identified six tribes with traditional, historic, geographic or religious associations with Bandelier National Monument. These are the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo and Zuni.

Second Phase of Consultations (Phase II): after determining, through literature search and preliminary consultations, that Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo and Zuni, are traditionally associated with BAND, the authors, with the cooperation of the Monument, carried out a second round of consultations, both in office settings and in the field, with the six traditionally associated pueblos.

Phase II also identified three other communities that assert a historic or traditional relationship with BAND. These are the Pueblos of San Juan and Zia and the Hopi Tribe. The Pueblo of Acoma did not assert a traditional association with BAND, but asked to be kept informed of the management activities of BAND. The Navajo Nation noted the possibility that at least four Navajo clans trace their origins to puebloan communities of the Rio Grande. Sixteen other pueblos and tribes were determined, through literature search and preliminary consultation, to have no documentable traditional association with Bandelier National Monument.

Through this process of consultation, the twenty-seven pueblos and tribes originally contacted were narrowed to : a group of six with established traditional associations with BAND; three that assert a traditional association but for which we have no precise information; one (Navajo Nation) that suggests a more general association between the community and the Rio Grande pueblos; and one (Acoma Pueblo) that does not assert an association but wishes to be kept informed and to be a party to consultation on the specific issue of discovery of human remains and other NAGPRA materials in BAND.

As stated above, Phase II, originally designed as an ethnographic investigation of the location and nature of traditionally used cultural and natural resources within BAND, was expanded to include the formation of a tribal consultation committee (with representatives of the six pueblos whose traditional associations with BAND had been confirmed), a series of meetings and field visits to enable the traditionally associated pueblos and BAND to consult on traditional concerns and management practices, and the drafting of a role and function statement for the consultation committee and of a memorandum of understanding between the committee and BAND.

In the course of Phase II, the consultants also sent project descriptions and offers of consultation to the All Indian Pueblo Council.

The reports of both phases of work are combined in this document.

Final Report: this report summarizes Phases I and II of the project.

Conclusions: the report concludes with a discussion of the historical, religious, geographic, and contemporary associations between Bandelier National Monument and extant tribal communities, with particular emphasis on the Pueblos of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Cochiti, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Zuni, as well as discussions of the Pueblos of San Juan and Zia, the Hopi Tribe, the Navajo Nation, and the Pueblo of Acoma. This report further summarizes consultation with sixteen other pueblos and tribes that have no documentable traditional association with BAND.

Project objectives, goals, expectations and methods

The objective of the project was to research ethnographic literature, to consult with the tribes and pueblos potentially affiliated with the lands now comprising Bandelier National Monument, and to identify and document the location and nature of traditionally used resources found within the study area (BAND). The focus of this identification and documentation was on the traditional bases for resource uses and the ascription of cultural value placed on resources by the traditionally associated communities or community members.

The central expectation of this phase of the project was that the location, nature and cultural ascription of traditionally used resources within BAND could be documented.

This central expectation was limited by several factors including the state of traditional knowledge in the associated communities and the current policies of those communities regarding sensitive and traditional information.

The methods of the project were (1) consultation at neutral locations; (2) consultation at tribal headquarters or other tribal offices; (3) consultation in BAND; and (4) analysis and writeup of results. Consultation was among the contractors and designated tribal representatives, authorized tribal elders or traditionally knowledgeable individuals, and representatives of BAND.

The project gradually assumed its own identity in the course of consultations with potentially affiliated tribes. The tribes wanted to emphasize government-to-government consultation on management issues rather than ethnographic research. The creation of a consultation committee, the drafting of a memorandum of agreement to formalize and perpetuate consultation, and other aspects of a government-to-government relationship were incorporated into the project at the tribes' recommendation. Consultation between a tribal consultation committee and BAND became the focus of the project.

Method and procedure were also based on and controlled by legislation, regulations, policies and guidelines described below.

Project background and contract requirements

Request for Quotations and Proposal

On August 15, 1995, the National Park Service, Southwest System Support Office, Santa Fe, issued a request

for quotations (No. 1443RQ712095008) to research ethnographic literature and to consult with potentially affiliated Puebloan communities to document traditional uses of the cultural and natural resources within Bandelier National Monument on the Pajarito Plateau in north-central New Mexico.

In response to this request, the authors submitted (September 15, 1995) a proposal and price quotation. This proposal stated that the purpose of the project was to carry out a literature search and to conduct preliminary consultations with those Pueblo communities of northern New Mexico that have a customary association with the lands now included in Bandelier National Monument.

Personnel

The project personnel were Dr. Frances Levine (ethnohistorian), Mr. Thomas Merlan (historian and historic preservation specialist) and Ms. Robin Gould (editor).

Dr. Levine is a consulting ethnohistorian and historical archaeologist. She is Director of Southwest Studies at the Santa Fe Community College in Santa Fe. She holds a doctorate in anthropology from Southern Methodist University, and has served as project director for numerous ethnohistorical and ethnographic research projects as a consultant to federal and state agencies and Southwestern tribes. She is the author of Our Prayers Are In this Place: Pecos Pueblo Identity Over the Centuries (University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

Thomas Merlan holds an M.A. from Columbia University, where he was a Woodrow Wilson Fellow. He was New Mexico Historic Preservation Officer from 1974 to 1994. He has carried out numerous consultations with Pueblo governments and has administered and consulted on restoration projects at Acoma, Nambe, Taos, Tesuque and Zia. He is the major author of a preservation law manual (The Power to Preserve, State of New Mexico, 1996) and the author of A Short History of New Mexico Agriculture, submitted to the New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum (August, 1999). He also wrote (with Dr. Frances Levine) the exhibit design plan (January, 2000) for the permanent exhibit at the Walatowa Visitor Center, Pueblo of Jemez, Sandoval County, New Mexico. Mr. Merlan was the president of the New Mexico Heritage Preservation Alliance 1995-1998. He is the president of the Board of Directors of Human Systems Research, Inc. in Las Cruces, New Mexico.

Robin Gould holds an M.A. in anthropology and has over fifteen years of editorial experience. For the past nine years she has performed contract services for university presses in the United States, including the Smithsonian Institution Press. She is a part-time technical editor for the Office of Archaeological Studies, Museum of New Mexico.

Scope of Work

The scope of work of this project called for (1) a search of the ethnographic literature pertaining to traditional uses of Bandelier National Monument by Pueblo groups including but not limited to the Keres, Tewa, Jemez, Sandia, Zuni, and Hopi Tribes, (2) review of legislation, cooperative agreements and documentation of previous consultations between the National Park Service and associated communities, (3) consultation with all traditionally associated tribes and tribal representative as identified through the literature search, (4) interviews with Bandelier National Monument staff, in particular anthropologists, botanists, and other resource specialists having knowledge of Pueblo traditional uses of the Monument, and (5) a final report synthesizing the results of the literature search, interviews, and field visits. All these requirements were carried out.

Changes in Project Scope

At a preliminary meeting on October 6, 1995, the authors, the contracting officer, the Park archeologist, and the Support Office ethnographer agreed that before it would be possible to document traditional uses of monument resources, it

would first be necessary to document which communities have a customary association with the monument. They also agreed that it would first be necessary to carry out literature research and preliminary consultations with individual communities before proceeding to more detailed consultation. They agreed as well that further, more detailed interviews and analysis of resource uses would need to be identified for future stages of research at the discretion of the concerned tribes. As a result, it was agreed that the purpose of the project would be to carry out a literature search and to conduct preliminary consultations with those Pueblo communities of northern New Mexico that have a customary association, as shown by that literature search, with the lands now included in Bandelier National Monument.

The authors submitted a first phase report in September, 1997. This report assessed relevant published and unpublished literature and incorporated an annotated bibliography from primary and secondary materials available in regional archives and libraries (Bandelier National Monument: Ethnographic Literature Search and Consultation, Levine and Merlan, 1997).

Contract Amendment

The National Park Service, Bandelier National Monument issued a contract amendment (dated 8/20/97 and signed by the consultants on 9/20/97) requesting additional research within the study area (Bandelier National Monument). This additional research was to include (1) further research on relevant legislation, cooperative agreements, plans and environmental documents (2) a preliminary work session with Park Service officials to agree on tasks, goals and schedules (3) interviews with tribal representatives of the six pueblos (Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo and Zuni) whose affiliation with BAND had been established by the first phase of study (4) interviews with tribal representatives of other pueblos with possible associations with BAND (Acoma, Hopi, Isleta, Jemez and the Village of Hano), (5) additional consultations with the remaining pueblos and non-puebloan tribes (6) contact with intertribal associations (7) site visits to BAND with appropriate tribal representatives (8) preparation of a draft memorandum of understanding with individual tribes or groups of tribes to establish and formalize procedures for future consultations, and (9) preparation of a final report incorporating the results of Phase I and Phase II research.

These elements of work have been carried out and are reflected in the present report, which also incorporates information from the Phase I report.

Legislation, regulations, policies and guidelines affecting tribal relationships to Monument lands and resources

Tribal relationships to Monument lands and resources are generally recognized in various federal statutes, and much more specifically defined in published policies of the National Park Service.

Federal Legislation

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470-470w-6) is the key federal statute encouraging the preservation of cultural resources and prehistoric and historic places in the United States. Section 101(d)(6)(A) of the NHPA provides that properties of traditional religious and cultural importance to an Indian tribe may be determined to be eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places - the national list of historically and culturally significant properties. Section 101(d)(6)(B) of the NHPA requires that a federal agency having direct or indirect jurisdiction over a proposed federal or federally assisted undertaking must take into account the effect of that undertaking on any National Register-eligible property, and must consult with any Indian tribe that attaches religious and cultural significance to the property.

36 Code of Federal Regulations 800, implementing Section 106 of the NHPA, requires early consultation between the head of a federal agency planning to undertake an action that may affect a significant or National Register-eligible historic property and designated state and tribal officials. This regulation also provides for coordination with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.

Section 304 of the NHPA (16 U.S.C. 470w-3) requires the head of any federal agency receiving assistance under the Act to withhold from disclosure to the public information about the location, character, or ownership of a historic resource if the Secretary of the Interior and the agency determine that disclosure may cause a significant invasion of privacy, risk harm to the historic resource, or impede the use of a traditional religious site by practitioners. This section, then, enables a federal agency to keep historic or prehistoric site information confidential upon a finding of risk of harm or other relevant adverse effect, as stated.

The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, as amended (42 U.S.C. 4321-4347) has to do mainly with the regulation of federal agency actions affecting the natural environment, but applies as well to cultural and historic resources. The statute is probably best known for its requirement that any major federal action be preceded by an "Environmental Impact Statement." NEPA requires federal agencies to consider impacts on the the human environment, including historic and prehistoric places.

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (42 U.S.C. 1996) recognizes that American Indian religious practices are an integral part of Indian culture, and finds that the lack of a clear, comprehensive and consistent federal policy has often resulted in the abridgment of Indian religious freedom because federal laws and policies often deny Indians access to sacred sites and cemeteries. It establishes the policy of the United States to protect and preserve American Indian religious freedom including but not limited to access to religious sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites, and requires the President to direct federal departments to evaluate their policies and procedures in consultation with native traditional religious leaders to determine appropriate changes necessary to protect and preserve Indian religious cultural rights and practices.

The Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470aa-470mm) protects archeological resources on federal and Indian lands. The statute prohibits the removal, excavation, or alteration of any archeological resource from federal or Indian lands, except under a permit issued by the Department of the Interior. ARPA also prohibits the sale, purchase, exchange, transportation, or trafficking of archeological resources from federal lands, Indian lands, or from private lands when in violation of state law. Violations are punished with civil and criminal penalties.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (25 U.S.C. 3001-3013) defines the rights of lineal descendants, Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations to Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony. Under the statute, certain individuals and organizations have standing to request human remains and cultural items in federal agency and museum collections. The preponderance of the evidence of a relationship between the object and the requesting party is the standard of proof under which control or custody of the remains or objects will be transferred from the agency or museum to the requesting party.

Section 207 of the National Parks Omnibus Management Act of 1998 provides that information concerning the nature and specific location of National Park system resources, including objects of cultural patrimony which are endangered, threatened, rare or commercially valuable, may be withheld from the public, unless the Secretary of the Interior determines that disclosure of the information would further the purposes of the unit of the National Park system in which the resource or object is located, and would not create an unreasonable risk of harm, theft, or destruction of the resource or object.

Executive Orders and Memoranda

The President of the United States issued a memorandum to the heads of executive departments and agencies on April 29, 1994. This memorandum dealing with "government-to-government relations with Native American tribal governments" calls for a government-to-government relationship in any dealings between a federal agency and a federally-recognized Indian tribe. It requires any federal department or agency to consult, to the greatest extent practicable and to the extent permitted by law, with tribal governments prior to taking actions that affect federally-recognized tribal governments.

The President likewise issued Executive Order 13007 on May 24, 1996. E.O. 13007 requires that any executive branch

agency with statutory responsibility for the management of federal lands accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners, and avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites. The E.O. also requires that, where appropriate, agencies maintain the confidentiality of such sacred sites.

Published Policies of the National Park Service

Published policies of the National Park Service [NPS] address the agency's responsibility to consult with American Indian and traditional groups in park planning. Certain of these policies are directly relevant to or controlling in the present project. NPS policies direct parks to consider the views of traditionally associated communities in planning, management actions, and research activities. These directives are excerpted from Management Policies (NPS, 1988) and from Director's Order #28: Cultural Resource Management (1997), specifically Chapter 10, "Management of Ethnographic Resources."

Director's Order #28, Chapter 10 notes that an ethnographic overview and assessment will be conducted "when park resources are known or thought to be traditionally associated with a contemporary group or groups (p. 168)." The overview reviews and summarizes existing ethnographic data for people and resources associated with parks. "Information is derived primarily from existing archival and published materials and is supplemented with ethnographic interviewing of knowledgeable community consultants (p. 168)."

Director's Order #28, Chapter 10 requires that the physical boundaries of ethnographic resources be documented "although they may not always match the visible fixed boundaries of other cultural resource types or natural features (p. 162)."

"To ensure that NPS plans and actions reflect contemporary knowledge about the cultural context of sites, structures, certain natural areas, and other ethnographic resources, the National Park Service will conduct appropriate cultural anthropological research in cooperation with park-associated groups." (Management Policies, Chapter 5:12) The purpose of this research is to meet management needs for information about such groups, to develop inventories of traditional ethnographic resources, to determine effects of traditional use of park resources, to evaluate factors guiding traditional systems for managing natural resources and creating cultural properties, to define traditional and contemporary relationships to these resources, and to assess the effect of NPS activities on these groups.

Management Policies requires each park to gather and analyze information about ethnographic data relevant to planning and management (Chapter 2:5). Management Policies specifies that American Indians will have scheduled opportunities during planning to voice their concerns about planning and management of parks (Chapter 2:6). The interests of park-associated communities and groups are "important considerations in the selection of proposed actions" (Chapter 2:7). Every General Management Plan must include proposals for American Indian activities (Chapter 2:8). Park planning in a regional context, that is, planning that takes into account significant resources and sites relating to but outside the boundaries of parks, must involve American Indian authorities. Joint agency planning is especially important when a park is adjoined by Indian reservations, other federal lands, state lands or lands subject to planning or regulation by other governmental entities (Chapter 2:9).

The National Park Service maintains an inventory of ethnographic resources associated with contemporary American Indians (Management Policies, Chapter 5:1). For each ethnographic project, terms of access to the data and uses of the data are negotiated with each traditionally associated group. See for example the Pecos Ethnographic Overview for the differences in ways that tribal communities deal with the issues of disclosure of information and archiving of information (Levine, Norcini and Foster 1992). Issues of disclosure and archiving are generally addressed in the proposed memorandum of agreement between the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee and BAND (see Appendix 1) and will be subjects of continuing consultation between the Committee and BAND.

The National Park Service conducts a coordinated program of basic and applied research to support planning for and management of park cultural resources. One goal of such research is to develop ethnographically appropriate approaches to conserving park cultural and natural resources (Management Policies, Chapter 5:2). The data acquired

through research are made widely available within and outside the Park Service. Certain research data, however, may be withheld from public disclosure to protect sensitive ethnographic resources (Chapter 5:3).

Each park with cultural resources is required to prepare and periodically to update a cultural resource component of the park's resource management plan. Any action that may affect cultural resources will be undertaken only if, in cases involving ethnographic resources, associated American Indian and other ethnic groups have been consulted and their concerns have been taken into account (Management Policies, Chapter 5:4).

The management of cultural landscapes must recognize and protect significant ethnographic values (Management Policies, Chapter 5:6).

Ethnographic studies require prior written notification to potentially affected groups. Consultation is the subsequent process of exchange of views and information between NPS and different interest groups. Consultation is undertaken in compliance with particular statutes including the National Historic Preservation Act [NHPA], National Environmental Policy Act [NEPA], and Native American Graves Repatriation Act [NAGPRA], and to expand community input into interpretive programs.

"The fundamental relationships that often exist between park resources and the integrity of contemporary native American and other cultures necessitate that the National Park Service consult with affected communities before reaching decisions about the treatment of traditionally associated resources. The identities of community consultants and information about sacred and other culturally sensitive places and practices will be kept confidential when research agreements or other circumstances warrant. The research use of community consultants or respondents will be subject to their informed consent" (Management Policies, Chapter 5:12). "Information regarding the location, nature, and cultural context of archeological, historic, and ethnographic resources may be exempted from public disclosure" (Chapter 5:13).

"The National Park Service will actively consult with appropriate native American tribes or groups in the planning, development, and operation of park interpretive programs that relate to the culture and history of a particular tribe or group" (Management Policies, Chapter 7:5).

The National Park Service will develop and execute programs in a manner reflecting knowledge of and respect for the cultures, including religious traditions, of American Indian tribes or groups with demonstrated ancestral ties to particular resources in parks, as established by systematic archeological or ethnographic studies (Management Policies, Chapter 8:9).

Repatriation

The Park Service will repatriate museum objects when lawful and when it can be demonstrated by an American Indian group that the materials are its inalienable communal property (Management Policies, Chapter 5:10).

Under NAGPRA, objects in park collections culturally affiliated with American Indians may be repatriated. The preferences of an associated group regarding ethnographically significant resources will be considered, although these preferences (for example allowing certain resources to deteriorate rather than conserving them) may not always be consistent with NPS practices as required by law and policy. Differences may be negotiated (e.g. routing trails to avoid sacred areas).

BAND is in compliance with NAGPRA and will continue to implement the statute.

Summary: Method and Procedure

Director's Order #28, Chapter 10 concludes (p. 181) by noting that the management of ethnographic resources in parks involves research, planning and stewardship. The following closely paraphrases the content of this section:

Research includes appropriate studies and consultations (such as the present project), creation of an annotated bibliography of park-related ethnographic works, formal collaboration between researchers and community cultural experts, and studies to identify ethnographic resource data, interpretive uses, and resources with potential to be entered in the National Register of Historic Places as traditional cultural properties.

Planning includes consultations with traditionally associated groups, evaluation of alternatives and assessment of impacts on ethnographic resources and associated user groups.

Stewardship requires that park staff know traditionally associated groups and neighbors and the basis in law, regulation or policy for relationships with them. It requires that statements for management address traditionally associated people, ethnographic resources and resource uses. It requires that the park ethnographic strategy, including consultation and treatment of resources, is kept up to date, that the park have a system to monitor the effects of park use on ethnographic resources and traditional users, that the park understand the cultural affiliations of museum objects and proceed to repatriate them as appropriate under law and policy, and that performance standards of park cultural resource specialists include responsibility for partnerships with traditionally associated groups.

Brief history of Bandelier National Monument

Cochiti friends took Adolph Bandelier into Frijoles Canyon on October 23, 1880, where he made the first anthropological observations of the sites, including notes on the cave rooms, Tyuonyi Pueblo, kivas and iconography, and where he also made a collection of ceramics and ground stone (which, however, he left on the site).

In the 1890s Edgar L. Hewett, an Illinois native, began an archeological survey of the Pajarito Plateau. Hewett, a friend and colleague of Bandelier, became the director of the New Mexico Normal University in Las Vegas in 1898. Hewett used his talents as a publicist and his political connections to arrange for a General Land Office inspection of Frijoles Canyon and the Pajarito Plateau. The resulting report recommended a national park encompassing 153,620 acres. A bill to create the park was introduced in the 56th Congress (December 1900) by J. F. Lacey of Iowa, chairman of the House Public Lands Committee. Although the Commissioner of the General Land Office temporarily withdrew the proposed tract, the bill died at the end of the Congress.

Lacey reintroduced the bill in 1902, but learned on a visit to the Southwest that the proposal was widely opposed as an expansion of federal control. He revised the bill in 1903, cutting the acreage down to about 35,000—very close to the size of the present monument.

Disputes involving grazing, American Indian rights, forestry and private claims to lands on the plateau prevented any resolution until 1909, when Hewett suggested a national monument rather than a park. This idea was eventually taken up by the U.S. Forest Service. Rothman (1988:18) notes that "the USFS created the Bandelier National Monument as a way to circumvent the attempts to create a national park on the Pajarito Plateau." The monument, proclaimed on February 11, 1916, by President Woodrow Wilson, was in the Jemez National Forest, and fell under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Forest Service, where it remained until the U.S. Forest Service ceded control to the National Park Service in 1932. Efforts to create a national park continued during the 1920s, but came to nothing, primarily due to Forest Service opposition.

The proclamation of the monument by President Wilson is of ethnographic interest in that it states that "the public interests would be promoted by reserving these relics of a vanished people, with as much land as may be necessary for the proper protection thereof." This assumption that the inhabitants of Bandelier National Monument had disappeared was inconsistent, however, with information obtained by early ethnographers, including Bandelier himself.

Study area and description of Monument-associated communities

Bandelier National Monument encompasses approximately 32,827 acres in north-central New Mexico in Sandoval, Los Alamos and Santa Fe counties. It includes the detached area of Tsankawi (Santa Fe County), eleven miles from the main unit. The monument lies within the larger area—roughly ten times bigger than the monument—known as the Pajarito Plateau. The plateau forms the eastern flank of the Jemez Mountains and is bounded on the west by the foothills of the Jemez Mountains, on the east by the Rio Grande, on the south by the Cañada de Cochiti and on the north by Santa Clara Canyon. Unlike Bandelier National Monument, whose boundaries are simply administrative, the Pajarito Plateau has distinct geographic boundaries and is accordingly the context of the monument. Much of the literature applies to the plateau rather than to the monument alone.

The landholders nearest to the monument are the Santa Fe National Forest, which controls lands west of the monument, east of the monument (across the White Rock Canyon of the Rio Grande), and north of the monument.

FIGURE 1. LAND STATUS on the Pajarito Plateau.

FIGURE 2. BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT location monument.

To the south lies the contiguous Cañada de Cochiti Grant, property of the University of New Mexico. To the northeast is the contiguous Ramon Vigil Grant (lands now controlled by the Department of Energy). Northwest are contiguous private lands within the Baca Location No. 1. The closest traditional groups are the Pueblo de Cochiti south of the Cañada de Cochiti, San Ildefonso Pueblo north and east of the Ramon Vigil Grant (and contiguous with the Tsankawi Mesa unit of the monument), and the Santa Clara and San Juan Pueblos, north of the monument and separated from it by Santa Fe National Forest lands and by the Department of Energy lands (Ramon Vigil Grant and lands surrounding the community of Los Alamos). The nearest lands of the Pueblo of Jemez, almost entirely surrounded by Santa Fe National Forest lands, are about 6 miles to the south and west of the monument. The Santo Domingo Reservation is immediately south of and contiguous with that of Cochiti; the San Felipe Reservation is immediately south of and contiguous with that of Santo Domingo. The Tewa reservations of Pojoaque, Nambe, and Tesuque are grouped to the east of the San Ildefonso Reservation. Figure 1 illustrates the complicated land status of the Pajarito Plateau and the landholders adjoining the Jemez Mountains. Figure 2 shows the geographical location of Bandelier National Monument.

The Zia Reservation is west of and contiguous with the Jemez Reservation. The Zuni Reservation is about 130 miles to the west.

The traditionally associated communities as described by the literature are: Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo and Zuni (see literature section below).

Researching cultural affiliation

Historical and theoretical considerations affecting the project

Proclaiming Bandelier National Monument in 1916, President Woodrow Wilson declared that “the public interests would be promoted by reserving these relics of a vanished people.” These words appear to reflect the abiding American fascination with abandonment and extinction—specifically the inevitable demise of America’s indigenous people, something that most Americans of European descent took for granted and about which most of them were notably complacent. In the Southwest, however, forty years of professional anthropological investigation had been premised on quite the opposite assumption—that the people of a remote past were represented by direct descendants, still vitally rooted in traditional communities. Given Wilson’s words and the occasion for them, there is some irony in the fact that no anthropologist was more deeply persuaded of this continuity, and none had done more to investigate and explain it, than Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, who had died in Seville, Spain, in March 1914.

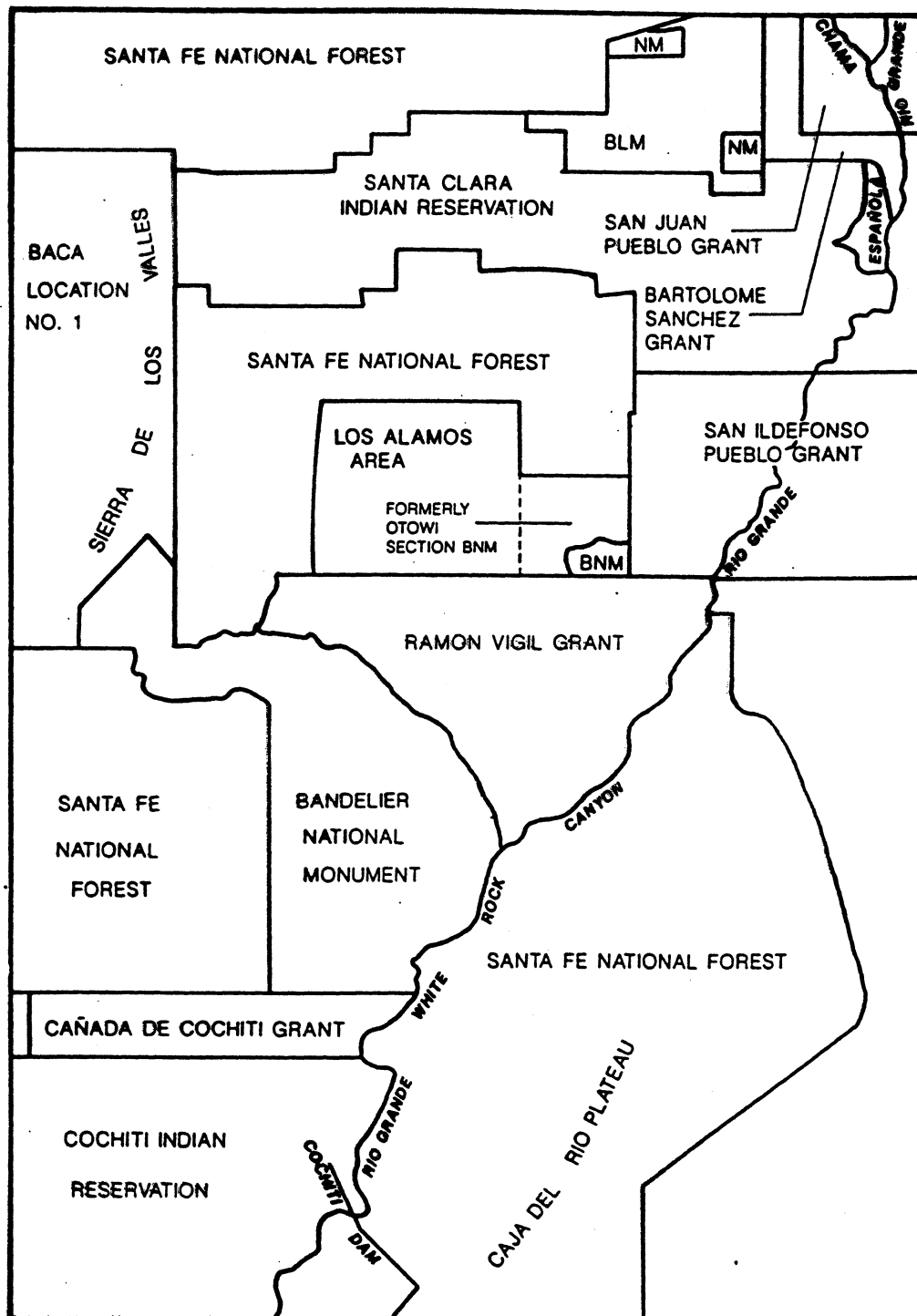


Figure 1: Land Status on the Pajarito Plateau (with permission from Mathien, Steen, and Allen 1993).

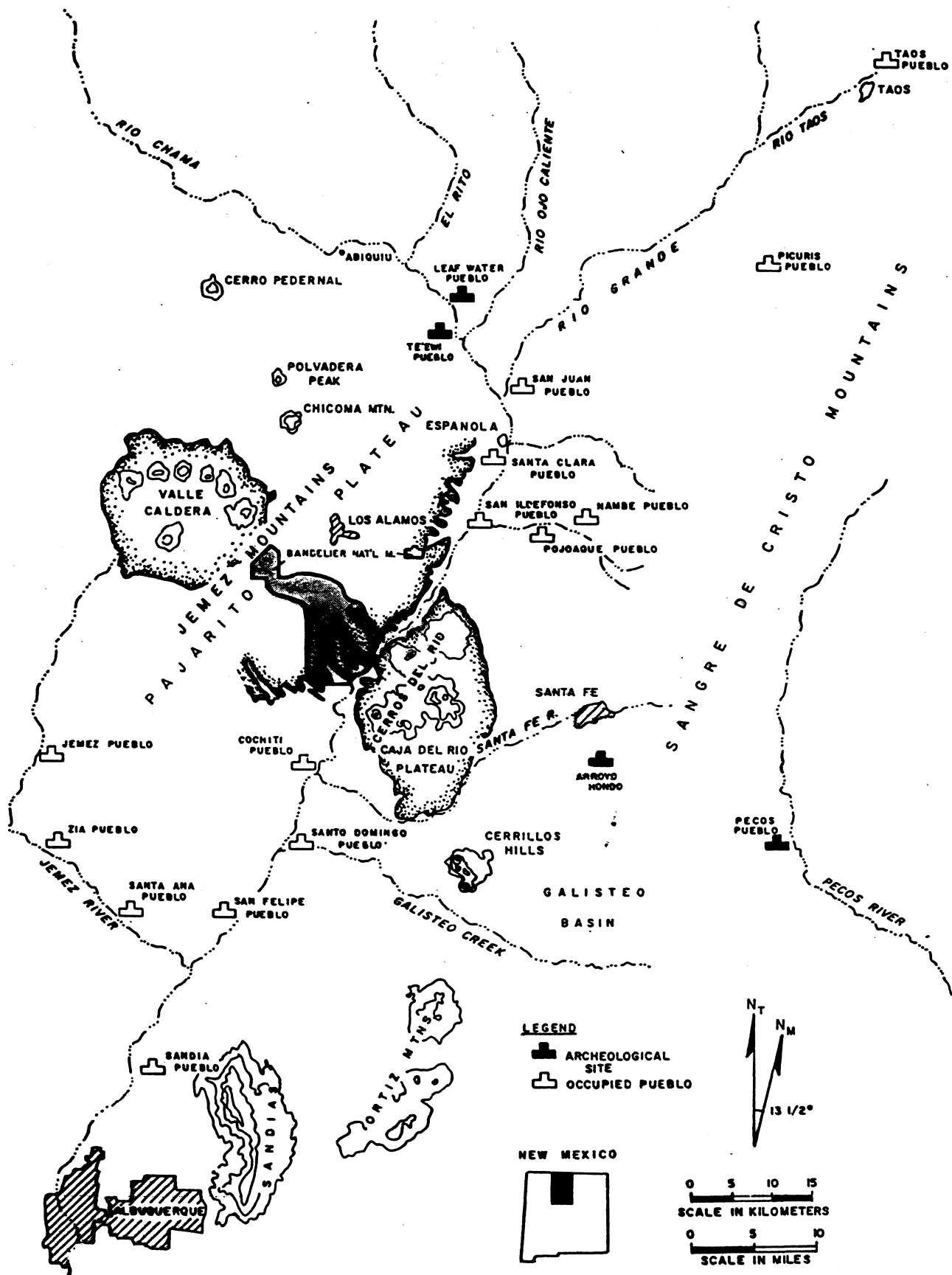


Figure 2: Bandelier National Monument location map (adapted with permission from Powers).

Now, at the beginning of a new century and new millenium, it is accepted by federal land-managers that people traditionally associated with our national parks and monuments will play a role in decision-making about those lands. Just how this will be done in the case of Bandelier National Monument, and based on what assumptions, are questions that this report is intended to help answer. The present project consisted of a literature search, centering on the traditional associations of lands and sites now within Bandelier National Monument, and preliminary consultations with individual Pueblo communities., followed by a consultation with all tribes traditionally associated with Bandelier National Monument. The results are intended to give the administration of Bandelier National Monument baseline ethnographic information to guide decisions about cultural and natural resource uses.

We will see below that several issues affect research into cultural affiliations between pre-contact and historic Pueblo communities. These issues include the way in which present peoples view and construct their interpretations of the past, the issue of "abandonment" as an anthropological and legal concept, and the value of myth, legend, and traditional history in the construction of the past. Below we examine some of these concepts.

Repatriation and the conduct of cultural affiliation studies have raised questions concerning the ways in which anthropologists and American Indian tribes, land managers, and museum curators construct their interpretations of the past. The connection between the archeological sites of the Southwest and many of the contemporary American Indian peoples is obvious, but in many cases these relationships are contested and tightly scripted in legal and anthropological jargon. The issue of connecting present needs to past uses and identities is not a new one for the federal government. The Indian Claims Commission, active from 1946 to 1978, was an earlier forum in which contemporary American Indian tribes and groups were required to demonstrate their ancestral claims.

The Indian Claims Commission

The Indian Claims Commission was created by Act of Congress on August 13, 1946, culminating many years of lobbying efforts to create a process by which American Indians could seek redress before the Court of Claims for failure of the government to protect Indian rights (Rosenthal 1978:5-12). Prior to passage of the Indian Claims Act, American Indians were expressly excluded from the Court of Claims unless they could muster sufficient political support to obtain a Congressional enabling act permitting them to press their claims (Rosenthal 1978:2-3). Passage of the Indian Claims Act was seen, in part, to be parallel to the post-World War I legislation which granted citizenship to American Indians. In recognition of the devotion and patriotism of Indian peoples, Congress sought to abolish

the last serious discrimination with which they are burdened in their dealings with the Federal Government and by giving them a full and untrammelled right to have their grievances heard under nondiscriminatory conditions by the appropriate courts of the United States. (Congressional Comment on *House Report* No. 1466 at 1348)

The bill established a body responsible to the Court of Claims and the Supreme Court for all legal claims. As originally envisioned, the Indian Claims Commission was to convene for ten years to resolve all Indian Claims against the Federal Government arising from actions that took place before 1946. Claims occurring after 1946 could be presented directly to the Court of Claims since American Indians would be assured the same legal access to the courts as non-Indians.

Tribes had five years from enactment to submit their claims to the Commission. The framers of the bill and the early years of the ICC administration did not envision the full scale of claims that were ultimately presented for remedy. A number of time extensions and expansions of the ICC's authority and composition were needed to handle the press of more than 600 dockets filed by the summer of 1951. The Commission was finally dissolved on September 30, 1978, and the remaining 68 dockets were transferred to the Court of Claims.

Early in the history of the ICC the definition of the terms "tribes" and "aboriginal territory" posed problems for the Commission. The Commission turned to anthropologists and historians as well as legal precedent in establishing definitions. The definition of "tribe" was taken from the work of A. L. Kroeber (1955). (Kroeber's discussion of the concept of tribal organization was reprinted in 1955 as "Nature of the Land-Holding Group," *Ethnohistory* 2(4):304.

Other anthropological issues raised by the ICC proceedings were discussed in papers of a symposium entitled "Anthropology and Indian Claims Litigation," and reprinted in the same volume of *Ethnohistory*.)

Tribes were treated as sovereign-state-tribes for the sake of convenience, suggesting that each tribe was a discrete and continuous polity. Recognizing that the term might exclude other configurations of aboriginal cultures, Congress in 1946, designated a category of claimants referred to as "other identifiable groups" (Rosenthal 1978:10).

The more difficult task was defining the area of aboriginal occupation. This was critical in claims made under Section 2(4) of the Act regarding the "taking" of lands "owned or occupied" without compensation (Rosenthal 1978:10). The Commission followed the ruling of the Supreme Court in *U.S. v. Santa Fe Pacific R.R. Co.* (1941) in which *exclusive occupancy* had to be shown in a definable territory to prove aboriginal possession. Proving the extent of aboriginal occupation required the testimony of anthropologists as expert witnesses. The Court of Claims held that use and occupancy were factual issues specific to each case. The Commission heard the facts in each case, but applied some broad criteria in distinguishing aboriginal title from recognized title.

If the Government demonstrated that more than one tribe used a particular area, exclusivity was denied and recovery on that area was usually disallowed. . . . As it pertained to Indian title, exclusivity referred to land-resource use. . . . To qualify for occupancy land use must have been of vital importance in the economy of the people constituting the group. . . .

Indian title was established when *continuous, exclusive [emphasis added]* occupation was established. Recognized title was always a result of Congressional action, a question of law. This took the form of a treaty or Congressional agreement which specifically granted to a tribe permanent legal rights of occupancy in a sufficiently defined area. (Rosenthal 1978:11)

Generally, before the ICA only claims based on recognized title were compensated by the Court of Claims. The ICC case of *Otoe and Missouri Tribes of Indians v. U.S.* (131 Ct. Cl. 593, 1955, cert. den. 350 U.S. 848 [1955]) provided the ground-breaking for claims based on seizure of lands held under aboriginal title (Rosenthal 1978:11). Through the ICC hearing process, neighboring tribal groups negotiated the boundaries of their claims, and in many cases gave up overlapping areas so as to fit the ICC threshold issue of exclusive occupation. The archaeological record and the traditional histories of Pueblo peoples in the Southwest, make it apparent that there was considerable overlap and joint use of lands throughout the long history of Pueblo occupation.

Akins (1993) summarizes the evidence (of relevance to New Mexico) that each of the tribes presented before the ICC. She broadly describes the traditional use area and lists the shrines and sacred areas identified for each of the Pueblo communities, Apache, Navajo, and Plains groups whose traditional use area included lands in New Mexico.

The issue of abandonment as an anthropological and legal concept has important interpretive and management implications which grew out of the finality sought by the Indian Claims Commission.

The Issue of "Abandonment"

Fish and others (Fish et al. 1994:7) note that:

The topic of abandonment has had a wide appeal to archaeologists and the public alike, engendering visions of dramatic events and collapsing societies. Although there undoubtedly were instances of precipitous calamity, the archaeological record of the American Southwest more often suggests that abandonments occurred as the result of cumulative human decisions made under changing conditions. . . . abandonment is viewed as part of a larger process that includes both leaving one area and relocating to another. Abandonment decisions are seen as solutions to problems. The perceived outcome of abandonment must have been considered more acceptable, under given circumstances, than remaining in the same location; therefore, conditions in the area of destination, as well as in the

area being abandoned, would have affected the timing and manner of departure.

Rushforth and Upham (1992:66-67) suggest that:

the Southwest is a marginal environment for agriculture . . . Given such marginality, it is unlikely that Southwestern groups would lock themselves into an irreversible position that mandated extinction when environmental or social conditions changed. Instead, it appears likely that, when conditions changed for the better or for the worse, prehistoric peoples responded by changing their mode of living.

Esber and others (Esber et al. n.d.:13) note that:

the unfortunate continued use of the term abandonment, when the authors clearly are referring to migration leaves the sense that former residences . . . have no value to descendants. The judgement [sic] rendered denies the reality that former sites remain significant resources in the heritage of descendant peoples . . .

The term "abandonment," then, has political and proprietary overtones, and may not be very useful in describing the historical processes at work on the precontact Pajarito Plateau. The term "migration" is more neutral and better fits the known facts.

The Use of the Direct Historical Approach

Woodbury (1979:27) states that:

The archeological study of the Southwest has been deeply influenced from its beginning by the impression, which soon became seen as a certainty, that the present-day Indians of the Southwest were not only directly descended from the Indians responsible for the archeological remains but also continued some past lifeways with few changes. This view has been modified but not abandoned.

The direct historical approach common in Southwestern anthropology depends on the existence of living communities speaking known languages. Its elements are living speakerships, historic patterns of material culture—most prominently ceramics, but including architecture and construction techniques—prehistoric items and patterns of material culture, and geography. The missing element, which many of our sources speculate about, is the language spoken by precontact communities. Again and again, as will be seen, our sources combine these elements to create theories of precontact subsistence, migration, and community formation, as well as social organization and religious practice. Most of the literature described in this report could not have been written—would have no basis or point of departure—if the Pueblo communities and languages were no longer extant.

Many of our sources use the determinants of geography, material culture (both pre- and post-contact) and language, to try to identify precontact languages, associating them with identified precontact communities and patterns of material culture. This assumes a degree of linguistic and cultural uniformity in precontact communities that may or may not be warranted, and further assumes a correlation between material culture and language that has never been rigorously tested, as one important source freely states (Ford et al. 1972).

The use of the direct historical approach will be discussed in slightly greater detail in our introduction to archeological sources below.

The Issue of Community and Tribal Identity

This investigation was premised on the idea that existing tribes or communities can be traced to Bandelier National Monument—that is, that some existing communities are culturally and socially descended from the communities that

occupied Bandelier National Monument before contact. More specifically, it assumed that some modern Pueblo individuals are the genetic descendants of the people who occupied Bandelier National Monument before contact. As we will see, the literature generally admits of these assumptions as applied to times after about A.D. 1200.

Albert Yava (1978:36-37) says something that is important to remember about community and individual identity in the pueblos. Although he is speaking specifically of the formation of what is now known as the Hopi Tribe, as we will see, any other extant pueblo could be meant:

Looking at all these facts, its clear that the modern Hopis are descendants of numerous different groups, including Plains Indians, that merged after gravitating to this place. Those people who say we are all descendants of those Basketmakers who lived up in the San Juan Valley make it sound too simple. We Hopis (you have to remember that I am a full-fledged Hopi as well as being a Tewa) can't be explained so easily. Those migrating groups that came here spoke several different languages. For example, the Water Coyote group that came here from the north spoke Paiute or Chemehuevi or some other Shoshonean dialect. We had clans, even whole villages, coming here from the Eastern pueblos, where various languages are spoken. We had Pimas coming in from the south. And there's an Apache strain too . . . it was this mixture that came to make up what we now call Hopitu, the Hopi people . . . One thing we can be sure of is that people weren't just moving down from the north. They were travelling in all directions. (Yava 1978:336)

It is in the nature of an urban society, even one substantially dependent on subsistence agriculture, to draw different people in, providing work for one more pair of hands and food for one more mouth. In such a society, different languages and multiple material, cultural and religious traditions are more likely than not to coexist.

The Issue of Myth, Legend, and Traditional History

Although this general issue is too vast to be approached in this report, two aspects of it were important to our inquiry and should be mentioned. The first is the identification of places, specifically the ideas embodied in cultural landscapes, those places with special significance for people whose history and traditions are tied to a place or many places.

The present summary of the literature contains numerous references to particular locations. It is evident that traditional histories of remote events name places (White House is the best example here) that may be difficult or impossible to link to actual locations, while traditional histories of more recent events name locations (including Frijoles Canyon itself, and communities such as Kuapa and Haatse) that can be identified on the ground with a degree of certainty. It seems likely that time depth alone has something to do with this, but it may also be directly related to the matters of social (including religious) organization and ideology. The literature suggests the possibility that the identification of actual locations can be traced back as far as Bandelier National Monument and its middle Classic communities because these existed in a form approaching or directly related to their modern counterparts, the living pueblos, while earlier social and community forms exist as legendary rather than historic or protohistoric references because they are substantially different from more recent institutions. Cordell (1984:238-139) notes that there is obvious continuity, evidenced by villages, architectural differentiation of habitation, storage and ceremonial rooms, ceramics and other artifacts, from the archeological record as far back as about A.D. 700 to the contemporary Pueblo communities, and that "Archaeologists tend to interpret the prehistoric Southwestern villages as though they were integrated by the same organizational and ideological structures as the modern pueblos" (as we noted above). She continues, however, that "without denying that some Pueblo symbols are very old . . . the archeological evidence [indicates] profound changes in Pueblo life over the past 1200 years. Just as interpretations based on strong normative patterns are likely to be only partially correct, those based on assumed continuity must also be reevaluated."

We suggest that the practical way to approach the matter of places named in traditional histories is to confer with representatives of Pueblo religious societies, traditional organizations, or designated tribal representatives to seek identification of these locations (see Recommendations below). We assumed for the purposes of this investigation that in some cases actual identifications would be possible.

Additional Considerations Relating to Ethnography and Archeology

Edgar L. Hewett, in a letter of June 23, 1913, to Frederick Webb Hodge, says: "What I am deeply concerned about is Harrington's work on the Tewa and Cochiti. He has worked on these with a devotion rarely seen since Medieval times. He has displayed power in gathering facts so far beyond that of any other person whose work has come under my notice, that it is simply amazing" (Hewett Papers, Box 40, History Library, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe). The enormous body of information reported by Harrington was collected largely in the single year 1910.

An obituary of Alfonso Ortiz (*New York Times*, January 31, 1997) states that Ortiz's father and uncle asserted that Harrington's Tewa ethnogeography contained errors attributable to Harrington's being a non-Tewa and to a specific intent on the part of his informants to deceive. Yet Harrington was well aware, as he said in the introduction to the report, that the Tewa were reticent about religious matters, that the country in question was not fully mapped, that the available maps were full of errors and that many of the place names occurred in more than one language (Harrington 1916:37). Undoubtedly he also knew that traditions and names change through time, and that the knowledge held by specific tribes and specific practitioners in those tribes varies as well over time. The assumptions on the part of the Tewa critics that ethnographic data never vary and that they are fully known to a single tribe, as well as the assumption that no foreigner can obtain valid information, are overstated. Their assertion that the information imparted is of dubious value is an extremely common defense mechanism. More benign interpretations should also be considered; e.g. that some informants will provide descriptive names consistent with their knowledge and linguistic ability, without an intent to deceive; that two informants will differ honestly or without knowing that they do differ; and that information is often lost and sometimes recovered by an investigator who is persistent, or lucky, or possessed of extraordinary intellectual reach and acuity, or all of these.

A similar caveat about archeological data may also be appropriate. An archeologist works with spatial relationships, quantities, and physical (including chemical) specifications. He infers temporal relationships from vertical or horizontal space, and cultural values from relative quantity, while judging quality according to physical attributes. As Taylor (1948:143) points out: "His work is entirely a pyramiding of inferences based on these foundations, and there is no remedy for this situation. It is in the nature of the archeological materials . . ." The archeologist constructs classifications of archeological materials to reflect cultural relationships as they existed among actual human groups. Data are filtered through paradigms, through the archeologist's own standards, and through the structure of the discipline as it exists at the time of the investigation. In short, conclusions will always be subject to revision. One partial solution to this problem, as indicated above, is to trace different lines of evidence established by different disciplines, and to attempt to reach, with all due caution, conclusions based on this multidisciplinary approach. On the same tack, some scholars, including Pueblo anthropologists (e.g. Swentzell 1991), suggest that it may be useful to comprehend and to respect the Pueblo way of understanding culture.

The Literature

General

Over the 120 years since Adolph Bandelier made the first professional archeological reconnaissance on the Pajarito Plateau, archeological study on the plateau has passed through several phases. Bandelier and Edgar L. Hewett after him were substantially interested in tracing the relationships between modern pueblos and the prehistoric inhabitants of the plateau. A subsequent generation of scholars including Nels C. Nelson, Alfred V. Kidder, and H. P. Mera pioneered Puebloan chronology in the teens and twenties. Archeologists at mid-century, including John W. Hendron, Fred C. Worman, and Charlie Steen, were concerned with salvage of sites threatened by development in the 1940s and 50s, as well as with site stabilization. Large development projects, including Cochiti Dam, and forestry management projects led to a new phase of extensive survey, analysis and research (in the 1970s and up to the present) conducted by scholars including James N. Hill, Jan V. Biella, and Richard C. Chapman. Mathien, Steen, and Allen (1993) prepared a comprehensive bibliography of the archeology accomplished on the Pajarito Plateau. Under the direction of Robert P. Powers, the National Park Service has conducted intensive archeological survey to identify sites on Monument lands

(Powers and Orcutt 1999).

As with plateau archeology, the ethnography of the plateau begins with Bandelier and after him, Hewett, and includes J. P. Harrington's ethnogeographic research among the Tewa pueblos and Elsie C. Parsons's recording of Tewa traditional histories, studies in individual pueblos, and magisterial study of Pueblo Indian religion. The ethnography of the plateau also resides in numerous studies of individual pueblos, further discussed below. The more recent ethnographic literature has come to include studies prepared by and for Pueblo scholars and Pueblo communities.

These principal and related bodies of information are supplemented by dendrochronological studies; architectural information (recorded by archeologists); some analyses of iconography and prehistoric artistic traditions (again, undertaken by anthropologists); legal documents and land claims data; some linguistic studies; and traditional history (recorded ethnographically, and including consultations undertaken in compliance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990).

Adolph Bandelier's early understanding that Frijoles Canyon was associated with Keres-speaking groups and that sites in the northern Pajarito Plateau were associated with Tewa speakers remains valid today, although considerably nuanced and placed in a context that has widened over decades of inquiry in the various disciplines, as we will discuss further below.

Anthropological Literature of Bandelier National Monument

The literature search carried out by the authors as part of this project was not an ethnographic overview, nor was it a substitute for consultation. The authors intended it to serve as background for consultation, as a necessary preliminary to an overview, and as an adjunct to ongoing Park Service consultations on specific projects and undertakings.

The discussion presented below is intended to summarize and to provide an analysis of the literature. However, for detailed quotations the reader should refer to the annotated references in the bibliography.

The literature describing the traditional associations of Bandelier National Monument falls into several classes, essentially by discipline and subdiscipline: archeology; architecture; art history; dendrochronology; ethnography, including ethnogeography and ethnobotany; legal documents and land claims data; linguistics; NAGPRA consultations; traditional history (usually recorded ethnographically) and ethnohistory.

Classification by discipline is not entirely satisfactory, since most investigators, whatever discipline they may be trained in, reference and comment on other lines of inquiry or take an interdisciplinary approach. Nevertheless, this breakdown facilitates comparisons of methods and conclusions.

These comparisons include those of archeological evidence and traditional Pueblo histories—two ends of a spectrum. Anyon (1996) and Swentzell (1991) discuss traditional Pueblo history and assert that it can be useful in interpreting the archeological record. Ford, Schroeder, and Peckham (1972:19-20), however, caution us regarding “legends and stories which, when interpreted literally, have confounded many archaeologists and have led to elaborate, if not impossible, cultural reconstructions . . .” Lange (1967:69) cautions against departing from known facts (“[interweaving] hypothesis [or] conjecture . . . with known, objective data”) in attempts to reconstruct culture history. In part these different perspectives reflect the growing participation of indigenous scholars in anthropological discourse. With these caveats in mind, we intend to present traditional history as one line of evidence, to be understood in light of all the others.

Most of the literature may be found in the Laboratory of Anthropology library (Camino Lejo, Santa Fe). Some references are filed in the National Park Service's St. Francis Drive (Piñon Building) offices in Santa Fe. Some references are filed in the offices of Bandelier National Monument at the Monument headquarters. The authors also used their own library and public libraries in Santa Fe. Some books written for a general audience are still in print. The repositories are given in the annotated bibliography.

Archeological Literature—Introduction

The first phase of this project was designed as a background for ethnographic overview—it was not intended to be a review or analysis of the archeological survey and cultural resources management literature, which is voluminous. The archeology and archeological literature of Bandelier National Monument, however, contain extensive ethnographic information. Because the archeological literature of the monument and the plateau cannot be neatly separated from the ethnographic literature, it is appropriate to summarize it and selectively cite it here.

The Pajarito Plateau occupies an important position in the history of New World archeology, and its literature is extensive. Preucel (Preucel 1988:122) distinguishes four main periods of research: the Bandelier-Hewett period (1880-1910); the Nelson-Kidder-Mera period (1910-1937); the Hendron-Worman-Steen period (1937-1974); and the Biella-Chapman-Hill period (1974-present).

The first professional archeological surveys of the plateau were carried out by Adolph Bandelier in 1880 as part of the studies he performed for the Archaeological Institute of America (Bandelier 1890-1892; Lange and Riley 1966). In 1880 and 1882-1886 Bandelier visited numerous sites on the plateau, making drawings and collections. He was particularly interested in Frijoles Canyon and the Cañada de Cochiti as they might explain the origins of modern Cochiti Pueblo. Similarly, he surveyed in Santa Clara Canyon in hopes of tracing the origins of Santa Clara Pueblo. He identified Puye as ancestral to Santa Clara and Tyuonyi and other pueblos as ancestral to Cochiti (Bandelier 1890-92).

Edgar L. Hewett, then at the Colorado Normal School, did a quick reconnaissance of the plateau in 1896. In 1898 he returned to do a more intensive survey. As noted above, Hewett was central to efforts to create a Pajarito National Park encompassing some 150,000 acres. The much smaller Bandelier National Monument was created through an eventual compromise among political leaders, private landowners, and federal agencies. As director of the School for American Archaeology (now School of American Research) Hewett excavated at Puye (LA 47); Perage (LA 41); Otowi (LA 169); Sankawi (LA 211); Navawi (LA 257); Tshirege (LA 170); and Tyuonyi (LA 82). Sylvanus Morley was an assistant to Hewett who furthered the work on the Pajarito Plateau. Hewett, like Bandelier, sought to identify elements of continuity between the prehistoric culture of the plateau and the modern pueblos. Unlike Bandelier, Hewett (1909b:668; 1945), however, tries to cast doubt on the association between Cochiti and Frijoles Canyon, evidently out of partiality to his Tewa informants. Hewett was not systematic in reporting his archeological investigations; Mathien (1990, 1991) gives the best summary presentation of his activities and conclusions.

Nels C. Nelson, Alfred V. Kidder, and H. P. Mera were pioneers in the establishment of a firm Puebloan chronology. Mera traced changes in the Tewa ceramic sequence (1932) and established, on the basis of the ceramic evidence, the connection between prehistoric and historic pueblos that Bandelier had suggested.

W. S. Stallings, Jr. of the Laboratory of Anthropology made test excavations at numerous sites on the Pajarito Plateau to develop a tree-ring chronology of the Upper Rio Grande. Among other large sites, he worked at Tsankawi (LA 211), Tyuonyi (LA 82), Rainbow House (LA 217) and Frijolito (LA 78). His tree-ring samples were reexamined by Smiley (Smiley 1951) and again by Robinson (Robinson and Cameron 1991).

John W. Hendron of Bandelier National Monument, Fred C. Worman of Adams State College, and Charlie Steen (archeological consultant to the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory) were concerned mainly with salvage of sites threatened by development and with site stabilization. Hendron stabilized Tyuonyi (LA 82) and Ceremonial Cave (LA 13663), among other sites (Hendron 1940). Worman set up a fieldschool in Frijoles Canyon in 1948 and tested Rainbow House and other sites. Caywood (1966) later organized and interpreted Worman's field notes. Turney (1955) did an archeological survey of the Otowi section of Bandelier National Monument.

Steen performed extensive surveys for the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory (1977, 1982), concentrating on mesa tops, since these were the areas most likely to be disturbed or developed. Steen argues for local development, not immigration, as the basis of the population increase of the early fourteenth century (1977). He appears to be alone in this view.

Table 2: The Anasazi Sequence in the Rio Grande Valley

Date (A.D.)	Pecos Classification	Rio Grande Sequence*
1900		
1800	Pueblo V	Historic
1700		
1600		
1500	Pueblo IV	
1400		Classic
1300		
1200	Pueblo III	Coalition
1100		
1000	Pueblo II	
900		
800		Developmental
700		
600	Basketmaker III	
500		
400	Basketmaker II	Preceramic

* After Wendorf and Reed (1955)
(Source: Cordell 1984)

The Cochiti Dam Archaeological Project, jointly sponsored by the National Park Service and the Museum of New Mexico, was a long-term mitigation project carried out from 1962 to 1967. The work included survey and excavation in the dam area and an inventory of sites in the vicinity of Bandelier National Monument (Peckham and Wells 1967) and Cochiti Dam and Reservoir.

In 1974 the National Park Service requested a new phase of archeological research in the Cochiti Dam Permanent Pool in order to evaluate the work already done. Jan V. Biella and Richard C. Chapman of the Office of Contract Archeology, University of New Mexico, directed this project, which involved survey, analysis, and salvage of archaeological sites. Diverse analytical studies (not, however, ethnographic studies) resulted from the project, which is summarized in Biella (1979).

In 1977-1980 James N. Hill of UCLA directed the Pajarito Archaeological Research Project (PARP), which carried out a large-scale survey of the Pajarito Plateau (excluding Bandelier National Monument).

In 1986 Wolcott Toll and colleagues investigated and recorded cavates in BAND (including the Tsankawi unit) with the object of categorizing these features, interpreting their possible functions and analyzing differences between those Frijoles and those in Tsankawi (Toll 1995).

In 1985-1991 personnel of the Branch of Cultural Research, Division of Anthropology, Southwest Region, National Park Service, carried out the Bandelier Archeological Survey, an inventory of cultural resources in about 43 percent (14,064 acres) of the land area of the monument and test excavations on selected sites (Powers and Orcutt 1999). The purpose of the project was to investigate the forces leading to the development of the large aggregated pueblos of the Coalition, early, and middle Classic periods.

The project reconfirmed that occupation of the area prior to the 1100s was sparse, and that population increased dramatically between A.D. 1200 and 1325. The project demonstrated that population regrouped in the mid-1300s, occupying fewer, larger pueblos including Yapashi, San Miguel, and Tyuonyi. Yapashi and San Miguel were apparently not occupied after about A.D. 1450, leaving Tyuonyi and related sites in Frijoles Canyon as the only nucleus of settlement in the monument.

Several recent studies of Pajarito prehistory, including Preucel (1988), Orcutt (1991), and Habicht-Mauche (1990), have taken advantage of a century of investigation to give us overviews of culture history, possible social organization, population movement, and subsistence on the prehistoric Plateau. Lister (1983) provides a popular history of the archeology of the Pajarito Plateau up to the Cochiti Lake salvage project.

Archeological Literature—Historical Demography on the Pajarito Plateau: A Summary and Review of the Sources

The presence in the Southwest of living aboriginal societies is the *raison d'être* of Southwestern anthropology. It was Adolph Bandelier's and Frank Hamilton Cushing's reason for coming to New Mexico, just as it is the reason for this report. Figure 3 shows the location of archeological sites within BAND and those on the Pajarito Plateau that are mentioned in this summary.

When Lewis Henry Morgan, first president of the Archaeological Institute of America, urged Adolph Bandelier to study pre and post-contact Pueblo culture, he assumed the continuity of that culture over the centuries preceding contact and up to the nineteenth century. The sources cited here all take into account and all generally accept this assumption, with some reservations. Above we cited Woodbury (1979:27). A more extensive quotation follows:

The archeological study of the Southwest has been deeply influenced from its beginning by the impression, which soon became seen as a certainty, that the present-day Indians of the Southwest were not only directly descended from the Indians responsible for the archeological remains but also continued some past lifeways with few changes. This view has been modified but not abandoned. It is clear that the continuity is not so direct and close for some groups as once thought, but for the Pueblo Indians particularly the knowledge of their culture gained by ethnographic studies is of profound significance in understanding the past . . . In the Southwest it is possible not only to observe in use material objects such as the mano and metate for corn grinding and thus determine their function, efficiency, and roles . . . but also to consider the 'meaning' of prehistoric paintings of ceremonial activities in the light of current ritual practices by the descendants of the original artists . . . archeological remains have been most successfully interpreted by means of ethnographic data in the Pueblo area . . .

FIGURE 3: LOCATION MAP, Bandelier archeological sites.

The direct historical approach and related approaches to material culture are explained by Taylor (1948:143). He also points out that the analysis of social and political phenomena in "undocumented" groups; that is, those that no longer exist and whose language cannot be specified, depends mainly on observed similarities in material culture:

Only in the case of the 'direct historical approach,' when the archeologist starts with a documented group . . . is linguistic evidence available... There seems to be at least some likelihood of correctly identifying the social character of individual groups, as for example the family connections of single house sites or the 'clan' connections of Southwestern 'unit dwellings.' But . . . social or political organization is not objectified materially except through secondary phenomena such as house- and village-plan, 'clan' devices and symbols. Therefore, as with language, the relating of bygone peoples socially or politically depends for any validity it might have upon the similarity of predominantly, if not wholly, non-social and non-political phenomena, i.e., a general cultural likeness in so far as it can be inferred from material manifestations . . . [in] individual undocumented groups . . . the major dependence has to be placed upon cultural factors other than linguistic and socio-political. Similarities in the material objectifications of culture are taken to indicate cultural relationships . . .

The archeologists cited here are working back from known groups or polities speaking known languages. Despite caveats such as those cited above, they all appear to accept more or less the efficacy of the direct historical approach. When H. P. Mera (1932) concludes, on the basis of style and physical characteristics, that there is a direct relationship between the pottery type most prevalent on the site of Tsankawi and historic San Ildefonso ware, he makes this the basis for concluding as well that the inhabitants of Tsankawi were the antecedents of the people of San Ildefonso, and that they spoke Tewa. In doing so, he establishes a direct connection through material culture between a contemporary pueblo and a precontact site in Bandelier National Monument.

Ford, Schroeder, and Peckham (1972) rely particularly on pottery types to draw conclusions about movements of certain ethnic and linguistic groups in the pre-contact Rio Grande. They admit that "the basic assumption that major pottery styles can be correlated with particular linguistic groups has never been rigorously tested" (1972:37), yet this is the primary assumption underlying their conclusions. Habicht-Mauche (1990) also correlates pottery styles with ethnicity. Habicht-Mauche (1990) and Adams (1996) interpret architectural features as representing changes in social and religious organization. Snow (1971) accepts that the addition of a southern recess to a kiva at Saltbush Pueblo is *prima facie* evidence of Mesa Verdean influence.

Taken chronologically, our bibliography offers the following:

Adams (1996:152) concludes that "undifferentiated Indian groups" (presumably, that is, groups not identifiable with any single modern pueblo) inhabited or used the Pajarito Plateau until the mid-1100s or early 1200s (Adams 1996:152). Significant occupation, he argues, begins around A.D. 1150.

As to differentiation or identification of groups moving into the Pajarito Plateau, Cordell has this to say: "The major issue is that whereas the large, aggregated sites of the Rio Grande area do suggest a

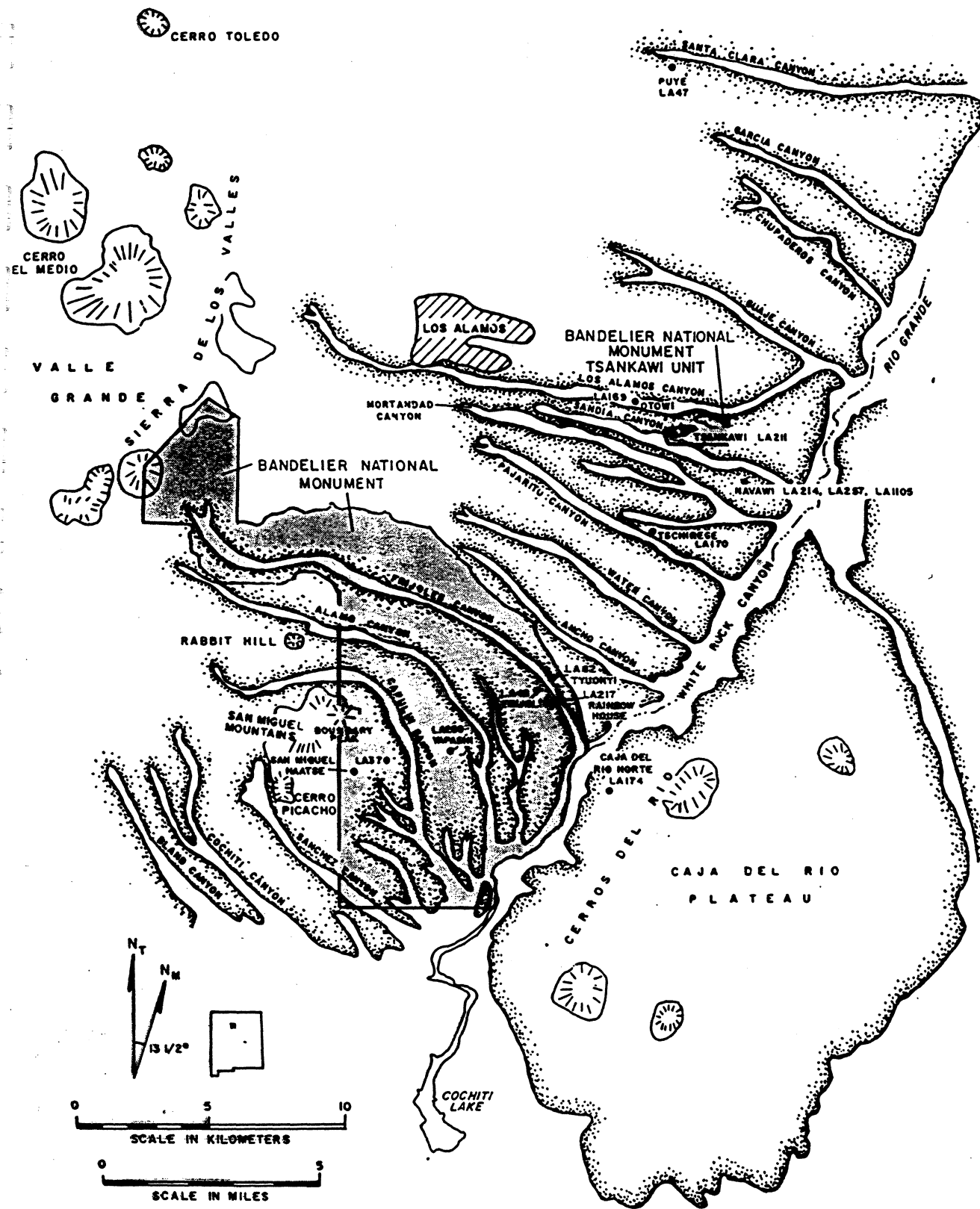


Figure 3: Location Map, Bandelier archeological sites.

population influx, and the archaeological record of the San Juan Basin and Mesa Verde indicate that they are likely sources of population, there are no sites that are so closely similar to those of the population source areas that they can be considered evidence of a migrant community. In fact, the kind of migration pattern that might produce a 'site unit intrusion' . . . is relatively rare ethnographically" (Cordell 1984:333)."

Biella and Chapman conclude that "the earliest Anasazi occupation of the region was quite ephemeral from ca. A.D. 750 until 1175, at which time the region was extensively settled by immigrants from another region. For a period of some 150 years from this initial colonization the population density in the region increased finally to the point of exerting considerable stress upon the food productive capability of the system with the result that by ca. A.D. 1325 to 1350 a major change in the strategy of settlement and land use technology was necessitated. This change in adaptation was reflected as the P-IV village-based strategy and was apparently a successful change . . ." (Biella and Chapman 1979:393). The change they refer to is the clustering of large aggregated villages in major drainages (see also Habicht-Mauche below).

Snow (1971:69-70) identifies Mesa Verde influence (addition of a southern recess to the kiva) at Saltbush Pueblo (occupied, according to ceramic evidence, in the approximate period A.D. 1175-1250) in Bandelier National Monument, and adds that "more important, perhaps, than individual architectural features as evidence for suspected Mesa Verde influence (in Frijoles Canyon, at least) is a consideration of village location." Snow draws a parallel between the adoption of site locations in the McElmo phase at the foot of the upper cliff at the top of the talus, and similar site situations in Frijoles Canyon.

In their influential "alternative reconstruction," Wendorf and Reed (Wendorf and Reed 1955) posit the arrival of "people of the Mesa Verde phase of northwestern New Mexico and southwestern Colorado" (Wendorf and Reed 1955:161) in north-central New Mexico about A.D. 1300, and survivors from the Gallina also coming in "somewhere . . . in the same general area or in the Jemez district."

Schroeder and Ford (1972) argue that the Eastern Keres become recognizable shortly after A.D. 1300. Schroeder and Ford argue that Keres on the Puerco moved into the Salado River Valley below Jemez to the Rio Grande, then north to Frijoles Canyon, and east to San Marcos in the Galisteo. This movement pushes some Tewa into the Pajarito Plateau and Chama, and displaces the Towa in the Santa Fe area toward Pecos Pueblo. Peckham, however, disagrees, finding that the initial withdrawal from Mesa Verde begins in the twelfth century, bringing the inhabitants in a southerly direction, and expanding in the next century into the Puerco and Rio Grande areas.

Habicht-Mauche (1990:7) tells us that "the years between A.D. 1250 to 1400 witnessed a major restructuring of northern Rio Grande society." Prior to the end of the twelfth century, she states, the population density of the northern Rio Grande appears to have remained relatively low; between A.D. 1150 and 1250, however, there is a very large—perhaps as high as ten-fold—increase in population, usually interpreted as caused by in-migration during the thirteenth century. Like Cordell, Habicht-Mauche points out that "not a single site has ever been identified in the northern Rio Grande region which contains an assemblage of features or artifacts that can be interpreted as evidence of a wholly immigrant community from the San Juan Basin or elsewhere . . . mass migrations of entire villages are extremely rare ethnographically. It is more likely that, throughout the thirteenth century families leaving the San Juan region traveled south and east to join local communities in the northern Rio Grande valley with whom they had existing economic or kin-based ties. In societies like those of the Eastern Pueblos, where agricultural land or other productive resources are not the property of individuals, but are held in common by a

community or kinship group and distributed to members on the basis of need or status, there is a strong impetus for newcomers to develop cultural and familial ties with the host community in order to gain access to these resources" (Habicht-Mauche 1990:8).

Anschuetz (1984:248) believes that upland area settlement during the late Coalition-early Classic is a response to wetter than average conditions that increased the potential of a successful harvest in cooler elevations. Habicht-Mauche (1990:91) suggests that village clusters might "represent emerging ethnic alliances bound by loose networks of kinship ties and reciprocal social obligations."

Habicht-Mauche posits that the continuing influx of population into the area place increasing stress on limited agricultural resources, resulting in a dramatic shift in settlement pattern around the turn of the fourteenth century. "Many small, widely-dispersed sites, along secondary streams and in other upland areas, were abandoned as populations aggregated into large consolidated towns and settlement clusters, established on land of relatively high agricultural potential along primary drainages . . ." (Habicht-Mauche 1990:11).

On the basis of sites in Frijoles Canyon, Bandelier accepts that the inhabitants of the canyon in the Coalition and Classic periods were Keres (Bandelier 1971:4).

Bandelier (1890-92, pt 2, 184) also accepts that Cochiti, San Felipe and Santo Domingo antecedents were one tribe or community in Frijoles Canyon, and speculates on the basis of archeological evidence (production of glaze wares) that emigration of separate bands from Frijoles Canyon is the inception of the three distinct modern pueblos.

Powers (Robert P. Powers, pers. comm. 1996), in describing his 1985-91 survey of Bandelier National Monument, explained that prior to A.D. 1290-1300 the ceramics throughout the monument were evenly distributed and consisted mainly of Santa Fe Black-on-white and Wiyo Black-on-white—types thought to be associated with Tewa groups (see also the bibliographic entries for J. P. Mera on this). In the period A.D. 1290-1300, Powers noted the appearance of a few glaze wares, possibly associated with Keres-speaking immigrants, in the south and west areas of the monument. Ceramicist James Vent of the Museum of Northern Arizona established plots which showed the glaze wares moving progressively north and east in the period A.D. 1325±10 to A.D. 1375±25. Powers commented (Robert B. Powers, pers. comm. 1996) that the incursion of glaze wares may correlate with the frequently cited explanation of a Keres incursion into ancestral Tewa lands and may also relate to the development of the katchina cult.

"Settlement during the early Classic period was characterized by presence of discrete clusters of large aggregated villages within each of the major tributary drainages along the northern Rio Grande . . . Each of these village clusters may represent emerging ethnic alliances, bound by loose networks of kinship ties and reciprocal social obligations. Lineage, sodality, and ritual networks between villages would have facilitated the movement of individuals and families from one settlement to another when crops failed, food shortages developed, or some other disaster occurred . . ." (Habicht-Mauche 1990:13).

Steen (1977:8) recognizes changes in settlement patterns and religious practices on the Pajarito Plateau in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and cites Snow's (1971) report on Saltbush Pueblo, but concludes that population increase is a local phenomenon, not the result of in-migration. As noted, among recent scholars he is alone in this view.

Orcutt notes that once population moved down in elevation, people chose to remain at the lower elevations despite dry conditions and aggrading flood plains. After A.D. 1450, she concludes: "precipitation and yield thresholds may have been passed that made the high elevations too risky for reliable dry farming, and technological adaptations related to flood-plain farming and even irrigation, while raising subsistence costs, probably lowered the risk of crop failure during dry years" (Orcutt 1991:327).

Habicht-Mauche, Preucel, and Orcutt approach the Coalition to middle Classic periods from different directions, but arrive at generally consistent conclusions about population distribution. None of them is primarily interested in associations between prehistoric and historic populations; however, each gives us a close view of population distribution and subsistence on the prehistoric Pajarito Plateau. Accordingly, this information is useful in any attempt to link historic populations back to prehistoric antecedents.

Habicht-Mauche argues that one important social mechanism that helped to sustain a regional network in early and middle Classic times was the spread of a unifying religious system. "The presence of large, communal kivas at some sites, and the organization of Classic period pueblos around open plazas in which large public performances could be held, seem to reflect the growing role of ceremonialism in the integration of local Rio Grande society" (Habicht-Mauche 1990:17). She notes the appearance in the fourteenth century of a highly distinctive iconographic artistic style throughout much of the Pueblo area, with prominent depiction of elaborately costumed and masked dancers, most often associated in the northern Rio Grande with elaborate kiva murals, pictographs and petroglyphs, including depiction of horned and plumed serpents. This she believes indicates the spread of the historic katchina religion, whose shared symbolism, ritual, and cosmology cross-cut linguistic and cultural boundaries and provided a basis for regional systems of economic interdependence and tribal alliance. Adams believes that the katchina cult developed about A.D. 1300 and "became widespread at about the time people of the Pueblo world began aggregating into large villages . . . that were focused around large open spaces called plazas. The relationship is probably not fortuitous" (Adams 1990:1).

Steen (1977:13-14) concludes that "the large sites, Tshirege, Otowi, and Little Otowi . . . and Tyuonyi, Tsankawi, and Navawi . . . represent the last major phase of pueblo occupation of the Pajarito Plateau . . . the ground plans of only two of the latter, Tyuonyi and Tsankawi, show plazas surrounded by rooms. The others are all composed of massive house blocks so arranged that they form three sides of plazas that are open to the south . . . The big villages are all at lower elevations of the Pajarito Plateau (Tyuonyi at the bottom of Frijoles Canyon). It seems probable that the location of land that could be irrigated or served by water catchment devices had much to do with placement of the sites."

Scheick (1996:171) finds that "Pueblo populations completed their abandonment of the Pajarito Plateau mesatops by the middle sixteenth century, the time traditionally defined as the beginning of the late Classic period in the district . . . A number of large villages persisted in low-lying elevations along permanent streams; however, many of these pueblos, too, underwent abandonment between A.D. 1550 and the early seventeenth century . . . Tshirege possibly was one of the last remaining large upland villages that survived A.D. 1600 . . . the Tewa villages of Santa Clara and San Ildefonso at the extreme northeast limits of the Pajarito Plateau district and the Keres pueblo of Cochiti at the southeast periphery survive to this day; all three villages predate European contact . . ." Scheick also cites Preucel (1988) in saying that "according to some community histories, the last of the Pajarito Plateau populations joined kinsmen at Santa Clara, San Ildefonso and Cochiti as a consequence of crop failures and intravillage strife resulting from sustained drought conditions . . ."

Dendrochronology

Dendrochronology in the Southwest was developed by the astronomer A. E. Douglass. It is a method of estimating the age of trees by analyzing the number of growth rings in a cross section or core sample of a tree trunk. Dendrochronology is a science or discipline of which dendroclimatology, the study of past climate through tree rings, is a subfield. Dendrochronology permits dating to a single year in a known sequence reaching the present, although it is possible that no ring, or more than one ring, may grow in a single year. Cross-dating of numerous specimens is therefore necessary to establish a pattern of sequence of dates.

For archeology, dendrochronology is an absolute dating method developed and perfected in the American Southwest. It is a critical tool for dating archeological sites that contain wooden building materials such as roof beams or *vigas* used in pueblo-style construction. The technique is based on counting the growth rings of drought-resistant trees such as piñon, Douglas fir, and yellow pine. The width of the rings varies according to the amount of rainfall and temperature making it possible to differentiate seasonal variations as well as annual variations in climate. Juniper is less reliable because it often has aberrant growth rings. The pattern of the tree rings on a beam, for example, is matched to a master chart that is calibrated to provide calendar dates and serves as well as an indication of past climatic conditions. Dendrochronology provides archeologists with dates that indicate when a particular tree was cut, but behavioral factors must be considered in evaluating the dates obtained from the specimen. For example, archeologists must determine if a site has seen successive building sequences which might mean that wood was reused, or if the beam was trimmed to shape removing the outermost rings that indicate the cutting date. If wood is reused, a beam may actually be older than the construction date for any particular room. Dendrochronology dates are expressed as a year plus a symbol or letter code that may be added indicating the condition of the specimen, and the likelihood that the date represents an actual cutting date.

Stallings (1933, 1937) and Smiley (1953) report dendrochronological analyses performed at the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research at the University of Arizona on cores taken by the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe. Tyuonyi yielded sixteen dates at A.D. 1383+ to 1466C, with four dates at A.D. 1420+ to 1422+ and two dates at A.D. 1466. LA 78 (Frijolito) on the mesa south of Frijoles Canyon yielded two dates, A.D. 1431 and A.D. 1447. The plus symbol indicates that some of the outer rings may be missing and the specimen cannot be precisely matched to the master sequence. The letter "C" indicates that the outer ring was continuous around most of the specimen, providing a cutting date.

LA 217 (Rainbow House), a pueblo about ½ mile south of Tyuonyi, gave dates of A.D. 1421+, 1427C, 1439, 1447, nine at A.D. 1448 (2B and 6C), five at A.D. 1451 (2B and 3C), and two at A.D. 1453. The letter "B" also indicates a cutting date, and means that the bark was present on the specimen.

In summary, Stubbs reports twenty dates at A.D. 1421+ to 1453, with concentrations at A.D. 1448 and A.D. 1451.

Caywood (1966) uses the same information. Caywood notes (1966:8) that "the builders of Rainbow House appear to have had a construction plan. They probably conceived a quadrangle in which the kiva was the central feature. The location they chose would have allowed them to build such a pueblo." This squares with Adams's (1990:6) comment that "the enclosed plaza created a larger integrative (or public)

ritual space which was needed as population shifted and congregated in refugee areas . . . Enclosed plazas represent a shift from kinship-based religious (and social) structure to society-based religious structure.”

Robinson and Cameron (1991) incorporate the same dates into the *Directory of Tree-Ring Dated Prehistoric Sites in the American Southwest*. They report a date of A.D. 1439 for Tsankawi (1991:21).

These data, although limited and approximate, give us the most precise available dates for the construction of the Classic period sites in Bandelier National Monument. As noted, relative to Adams (1990) above, they make it possible for us to assign some absolute dates to precontact phenomena that may be interpreted in the context of economic, social, and ritual changes.

Architecture

Architecture is a distinct discipline and is usually referred to as an art or science, that of building any sort of edifice for human use. While architecture as a discipline is entirely distinct from anthropology, archeologists necessarily note architectural features in sites, and interpret the social implications of these features. Architectural forms—including settlement patterns—are interpreted in the archeological literature of the Pajarito Plateau as reflecting changing social organization, offering explanations for population shift or site abandonment, and giving us clues to relationships between antecedent and successor communities.

Mindeleff (1989) reports on Zuni and Hopi, so his study of Pueblo architecture is not directly relevant to this inquiry. Nevertheless, Mindeleff's report of his very early investigations, undertaken in the period 1881 to 1885, remains a classic analysis of the relationships between Pueblo architecture and social organization, and is useful background in any ethnographic study of the Pueblos.

Some of the social implications derived from architectural features observed at sites on the Pajarito Plateau or relative to the phenomenon of aggregation are summarized below.

Snow (1971:69) identifies the addition of the southern recess to the kiva at Saltbush Pueblo some time between A.D. 1175 and 1250 as “prima facie evidence for Mesa Verde influence at the site.”

Adams (1990:6) suggests that as village size increased in the period A.D. 1250-1300, the enclosed plaza became incorporated into the village plan, replacing the great kiva and creating a larger integrative or public ritual space which was needed as population shifted and congregated in refugee areas. About A.D. 1300, he proposes, the katchina cult developed as a new ceremonial system that could be utilized by the leadership of a growing community to help integrate the diverse population of the newly established, aggregated villages.

Habicht-Mauche (1990:91) views aggregation into quadrangular villages with few outside entryways as a behavioral response, providing populations with greater security and defense in light of increasing competition and conflict for arable land. She further contends that the aggregation into defensible villages that occurred during the late Coalition increased social segmentation of the natural landscape, as evidenced by a proliferation of black-on-white pottery styles. She suggests that village clusters might represent “emerging ethnic alliance bound by loose networks of kinship ties and reciprocal social obligations” (Habicht-Mauche 1990:91).

Biella and Chapman (1979:393) conclude that Classic settlement was characterized by a shift toward a large-site strategy, while small one or two room sites were also occupied throughout the landscape. "Evidence of construction of agricultural terrace and checkdam facilities, trails leading between some village centers, and considerable evidence of inter-village, perhaps inter-regional exchange systems as indicated by the routine circulation of ceramic vessels . . . is well documented for the PIV phase. This overall change in regional adaptive behavior was extremely abrupt, beginning as early as ca. A.D. 1325 or 1350 and continuing as the dominant pattern of settlement and land use until ca. 1525."

Scheick (1996:165) describes the Classic period, extending from A.D. 1325 to 1600, as dominated by a new residential site type, the aggregated pueblo, which represents the congregation of two or more communal pueblos. "These enormous multiplaza, multistory villages, along with the visually striking cavate-talus slope communities, were the principal foci of Bandelier's late nineteenth-century archaeological investigations . . . Hewett's . . . 1890s and 1930s surveys and excavations, and a number of early twentieth-century ceramic studies . . . Nonetheless, population density in the Pajarito Plateau district possibly passed its peak by the beginning of the Classic period . . . and the formation of huge aggregated pueblos actually occurred at a time of local demographic decline and significant settlement reorganization."

As noted above, Steen (1977:13-14) concludes that "the large sites, Tshirege, Otowi, and Little Otowi . . . and Tyuonyi, Tsankawi, and Navawi . . . represent the last major phase of pueblo occupation of the Pajarito Plateau . . . the ground plans of only two of the latter, Tyuonyi and Tsankawi, show plazas surrounded by rooms. The others are all composed of massive house blocks so arranged that they form three sides of plazas that are open to the south . . ."

Preucel (1988:268) traces patterns of subsistence and settlement from the late Coalition to the middle Classic on the Pajarito Plateau. The subsistence-settlement system of the late Coalition, he says, was characterized by many villages, numerous hamlets, a few farming communities, and many field houses. In the late Coalition, field houses appear to have been located east and west of villages to exploit differences in elevation, and at greater distances from their associated villages than in the early Coalition. In the early Classic (A.D. 1325-1400/1450), Preucel says, there is a dramatic shift in settlement, with population aggregating into a few large villages—few villages, few hamlets, numerous farming communities, and many field houses. Steen (1977:6) also notes the shift to few and large communities. He (1977:8) believes that aggregation into few large villages is contemporaneous with the excavation of cavate rooms in southward facing cliffs on the plateau, and adds that the emergence of pictographic art happens at the same time. The abundance of field houses, Preucel thinks, may indicate a relatively peaceful existence with little warfare or conflict between villages. Early Classic settlement, he points out, was distributed on either side of the Rio Grande from Santa Clara Canyon to Cochiti Canyon, and the average distance from a field house to a farming community again increases. In the middle Classic (A.D. 1400/1450-1550), there is further population aggregation, as well as a reduction in population and the abandonment of a number of villages, according to Preucel. Now there are a few large villages, no hamlets, a few farming communities, and a few field houses. Middle Classic settlement is distributed linearly parallel to the Rio Grande in areas convenient to intensive floodwater and irrigation farming.

Bandelier (1890-1892, pt 1, 33) suggests that one reason for the abandonment of the aggregated sites of the middle Classic was the deterioration of the caves in the tufa at the foot of the rimrock: "in proportion as the material is easy to work, it deteriorates easily, and crumbles. The majority of such caves have fallen in on the front, and against such accidents there is no remedy." Bandelier (1966-1976:160) notes that

"[the ruins at Puye] are an exact repetition of the Rito, only their situation is different."

The entire plateau, with the possible exception of the town of Tshirege, was no longer occupied in middle Classic times, before or about the time of the first arrival of Europeans in A.D. 1540.

In summary, architectural forms—including settlement patterns—are described in the archeological literature of the Pajarito Plateau and are interpreted as reflecting changing social organization, population shift or site abandonment, and indicating relationships between precontact and historic communities.

Artistic Traditions

Anthropologists consider art to be a form of communication within a culturally specific system of meanings. Art communicates through media including song, dance, instrumental music, drama, literature, painting, drawing, sculpture, and others. It differs from language in that a work of art cannot be translated into an equivalent statement, as language by definition can. This necessarily creates a problem: when the culturally specific system of meanings has been lost, it can almost never be recovered, leaving us to guess at it. Petroglyphs and pictographs exemplify this problem: attempts to interpret them are virtually irresistible; successful interpretations are close to impossible, when the system of meanings has been lost. Contemporary Pueblo interpretations of petroglyphs, pictographs, and kiva murals, for example, may embrace sensitive and secret information that cannot be shared with outsiders, or even with community members who do not belong to the society or group that retains the information.

Several specialists have looked at murals and rock art on the Pajarito Plateau, analyzing them for clues to religious practices, social organization, and ethnicity.

Rohn (1989) emphasizes the importance of kachina figures as represented at Long House and other sites on the Pajarito Plateau. He finds that the pictographs and petroglyphs of Frijoles indicates a moiety system (1989:38-39). Hewett had made the same suggestion (1909a:446). Rohn also sees indications of clan memberships. Rohn points out that Kokopelli, the hump-backed flute player, is frequently represented at Tsankawi, but seems to be absent from Frijoles Canyon.

As mentioned above, Habicht-Mauche (1990:17) notes that "the fourteenth century was also characterized by the appearance of a highly distinctive, iconographic art style throughout much of the Pueblo area. The most characteristic element of this art style is the depiction of elaborately costumed and masked dancers. In the northern Rio Grande region, these representations are most often associated with elaborate kiva murals and rock art . . . iconographic representations, such as horned or plumed serpents . . . are common on glaze ware vessels . . . The distribution of this art style is generally believed to parallel the development and spread of the historic Katchina religion. The shared symbolism, ritual, and cosmology of the Katchina cult cross-cut linguistic and cultural boundaries between competing local, ethnic groups in the northern Rio Grande, providing a basis for the development of regional systems of economic interdependency and tribal alliance."

Crotty (1990), however, demurs, saying that while the florescence in mural art after about A.D. 1300 is often associated with the rise of the katchina cult "the internal evidence of the murals [at various sites including Awatovi, Gran Quivira, and Kuaua] clearly demonstrates that the flowering of mural art in the Pueblo IV period was a slow, complex, and many-faceted process of development, rather than a sudden, pan-Anasazi phenomenon inspired by a newly-imported religious cult . . ."

Chapman (1938) points out that "the bird was a favorite decorative motif with the ancient Pajaritans . . ." In fact it is this representation of birds that gave the plateau its name. Olsen (1995:99) discusses the pictographs and petroglyphs of Bandelier National Monument, noting that "original meanings are gone forever." She does, however, suggest that ungulates and plantlike shapes are associated with Tewa-speaking areas, while representations of birds, in Frijoles Canyon and further south, are associated with Keres speakers. Schaafsma, however (1972), does not find significant differences between the wall drawings of Tsankawi and those of Frijoles Canyon. She nevertheless accepts that Frijoles is Keres and Tsankawi and other northern sites are Tewa.

Among these notes and tentative conclusions, the matter of the kachina religion stands out: the cult, recognizable from a distance of six hundred years in a distinctive iconographic presentation, may have been one of the mechanisms for social and ceremonial integration of unprecedentedly large communities in which several different languages were spoken, people of different origins and ethnicities were represented, and no effective traditional hierarchy existed for unifying the community.

Ethnography, Ethnogeography and Ethnobotany

Ethnography is the descriptive aspect of ethnology, which is the comparative study of human customs and behavior. Ethnology and ethnography are subdisciplines of cultural anthropology, which in turn is the subdiscipline of anthropology that deals with nonbiological variation (biological anthropology, on the other hand, deals with biological variation in human populations).

Ethnogeography is the study of human customs and behavior as they relate to, explain, or are explained by the form and physical features of a country or region. Currently this field of study is referred to as the study of cultural landscapes, and is closely related to the discipline of cultural geography, which explores the relationship of people to their natural environment.

Ethnobotany is the study of human use of, interaction with and effects on plants and plant communities.

Ethnography, ethnogeography and ethnobotany are field-based studies. Anthropologists who perform this work are trained in methods of community study including participant observation and interview techniques. They collect information from community consultants, and now often work collaboratively with members of the culture, or are employed directly by tribal communities and groups.

The ethnography of Bandelier National Monument begins with Adolph Bandelier, who went to live at Cochiti Pueblo on October 7, 1880, after a brief and unsatisfactory sojourn at Santo Domingo. On October 23, 1880, as noted above, Cochiti friends took him to Frijoles Canyon.

Bandelier (1890-92) records a specific tradition: "The Queres of Cochiti positively state that . . . artificial caves, which line the walls of the Rito de los Frijoles, or Tyuo-nyi, were formerly the habitations of their tribe . . ." (Bandelier 1890-92, pt 1, 33). Bandelier goes on to say that "the people of Cochiti told me that the caves of the Rito, as well as the three pueblo ruins, were the work of their ancestors, when the Queres all lived there together, in times much anterior to the coming of the Spaniards. The place is called Tyuo-nyi in the Queres language . . . The Queres also told me that their ancestors, after having dwelt at the Rito for a considerable length of time, began gradually to leave it in bands, in order to build pueblos on the mesas south of the Rito (1880-92, pt 2, 145). Bandelier further saw Cochiti hunters make "certain devotions" at the Shrine of the Stone Lions (1880-92, pt 2, 155), and identifies the panther fetish as

associated with "some Queres tribes" (Bandelier 1880-92, pt 2, 161).

Hewett (1906:12) states that "in every existing Tewa tribe (San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, and Tesuque) it is claimed that certain clans may be traced back through one or more migrations to the ruined pueblos and cliff villages of the Pajarito plateau. The same may be said of the Keres villages (Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, and Zia) while it is known that the earlier Jemez people and their kindred occupied sites farther up the valley well into the historic period."

Hodge (1907:317) repeats information found in Bandelier about Keresan migrations from Tyuonyi to successive sites: Potrero de las Vacas [Yapashi], Haatze [Potrero de San Miguel or Potrero del Capulin], Kuapa; and notes that Cochiti and San Felipe were formerly "one tribe speaking a single dialect." Harrington (Harrington 1916:440) lists the successive communities of *Tyuonyi*, *Mokatakowetka 'matesoma*, *Tseratetskatskat 'etramaha 'astetasoma*, *Ha 'atseka 'matesoma*, *Kotrete-kaih 'jaha 'astetasoma*, *Kotreteha 'astetasoma*, and *Kotrete* (citing as informant John Dixon of Cochiti, 1908). Harrington's data partly confirm, partly conflict with those of Hodge. "It may be well to make explicit the obvious" Lange says (Lange 1959:91); "there is, as of the moment, no archaeological verification of the accuracy of five, six, seven, or any other number of ancestral villages of the Cochiti." Harrington maps the majority of these sites and apparently considered all of them actual site locations and not legendary places.

Harrington (1916:274) interviewed Tewa informants in Santa Clara, San Juan, San Ildefonso, and Nambe for his extensive study of Tewa ethnogeography. He mentions that "the San Ildefonso Indians usually mention the names *Potsuwi 'i* and *Saekewi 'i* together and insist that these two places were inhabited by their ancestors and not by those of the other Tewa villages."

Hewett (1938:47) describes Tsankawi as "a composite pueblo, consisting of four detached houses . . . Traditions of Sankewi 'i are found at Powhoge. The inhabitants, it is claimed, were Tewa, related to the people of Otowi [Potsuwi 'i]. They are alleged by some informants to have migrated to the region south of Santa Fe; by others, to have merged with Otowi clans to form the San Ildefonso community."

Parsons (1994:15) records the Tewa story that the Tewa occupied a central pueblo, often called Tekeowinge or cottonwood bird pueblo place (Harrington 1916:336) and that on separating they went to live in San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, and Pojoaque. In each case, the Tewa name indicates a location. Absent from this tradition is any reference to Frijoles Canyon.

Yarnell (Yarnell 1965) studied the effects of Pueblo people on the flora of habitation sites in Bandelier National Monument. Yarnell suggests that Pueblo people introduced a number of plant species into Bandelier National Monument and perhaps into the Southwest.

In summary, the ethnography, ethnogeography and ethnobotany of Bandelier National Monument embody traditions of its occupation by the antecedents of existing pueblos, as well as traditions of migrations from Frijoles Canyon to sites occupied today. These traditions may be compared with the other lines of evidence discussed in this report to find the areas of agreement and inconsistency.

Ethnographic Data on Shrines and Sacred Places

Shrines occupy a special place in an analysis of traditional associations. They may be memorials to a

previous occupation; they may also signal the establishment of a tradition of association or occupation, which may or may not be historically verifiable; and they may mark locations still actively used by communities or traditional groups. Friedlander (1980:28) makes the point that shrines are often associated with more than one community. Given the special nature of association that shrines may represent, we will talk about them separately.

The Shrine of the Stone Lions is described and interpreted by several authors. Harrington (1916:419, 420) notes that "the fact that the Zuni Indians make pilgrimages to this shrine [Shrine of the Stone Lions] was first learned and made public by Mrs. M. C. Stevenson, who learned also that this shrine is believed by the Zuni to be the entrance to "Shi'papolima," the home of "Po'shaiyanki," a god who is probably equivalent to the Tewa divinity *Posejemu* . . . The Zunis believe the entrance to Shi'papolima to be on the summit of a mountain about 10 miles from the pueblo of Cochiti, N. Mex . . . It is remarkable that these wonderful pieces of aboriginal sculpture should have no legends associated with them by the Indians who live in comparatively close proximity . . ." (Stevenson 1904:407-408).

Harrington then corrects the above: "Tewa informants have told the writer very consistently that the Stone Lions Shrine is used by some secret religious society of the pueblo of Cochiti . . . the Tewa informants deny that this shrine has anything to do with the *Sipop'e* of the Tewa, and say that they have never learned of any Zuni belief concerning it."

Hewett (1938:55) also mentions Zuni visits to the Shrine of the Stone Lions.

Ladd (1983:177) notes that the Zuni and the Rio Grande pueblos use the Shrine of the Stone Lions. "Until about 1890 or the early 1900's it was visited annually by the *shi:wana:que* curing society. Members of the *a:pilha:shiwanni*, the Bow Priest, the */anshe:que* (Bear) clan, the Galaxy curing society (the *na:we:que*) and the Kachina Chief (*Ko/moss-Ona*) made a pilgrimage to the shrine in the spring of 1980. This is identified as the Stone Lions in Bandelier National Monument . . ." Ladd (pers. comm. 1996) noted again that Stevenson may have identified the Zuni use of this shrine at a time when such use was becoming much less frequent than formerly. The authors were told by the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team that no visit by Zunis occurred between that of 1980 and that of 1996.

Lange (1959:132) describes the Cochiti hunters' ritual of sprinkling red ochre (almagre) on the eyes of the stone lions, "thereby increasing their own visual powers and general good luck . . . Bandelier (October 20, 1880) mentioned this practice while visiting the shrines on the Potrero de los Idolos." Prince (1903) visited the stone lions with a Cochiti guide, and identifies them as hunting fetishes.

Douglass (1917) discusses various Pueblo shrines of the Jemez Mountains. He asserts that the shrine on Tsikomo Peak was used at the time of writing by Taos, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Jemez, Cochiti, and Navajo groups. Describing the Shrine of the Stone Lions, he says that it is used by "the Tewa and other Pueblo Indians" (1917:372); he also gives the Keres name (Tzekiatatanyi) of the Painted Cave. He describes several other shrines located near archeological sites in Bandelier National Monument. He interprets some features as shrines that other researchers have suggested served domestic functions. He believes a stone corral near Tyuonyi, and a pavement made from a series of concentric stone circles in Frijoles Canyon are shrines. Other researchers, whom Douglass does not name, suggested to him that the stone pavement was a threshing floor. Douglass dismisses this interpretation. He does not seem to have consulted any tribal members concerning his identifications and affiliations.

This evidence regarding shrines, as noted above, may indicate a precontact association between the area in which a shrine is located and a contemporary community or association. Shrines may mark the establishment of a tradition of association or occupation, which may or may not be historically verifiable; or may mark locations still actively used by communities or traditional groups. Pueblo community members are reluctant to identify shrine locations, or to disclose information about their uses. The literature, therefore, likely does not identify all of the shrines and sacred places of significance to the affiliated communities.

Ethnography, Traditional History, and Ethnohistory of Individual Pueblos

All the pueblos have been subjects of ethnographic inquiry. Traditional histories are often included in ethnographic overviews of individual pueblos, and several traditional histories and stories of individual pueblos or pueblos speaking related dialects have also been published. Below we will note bibliographic references for each extant pueblo, as well as more general discussions about speakerships.

Keres. White (1960:59) presents a consensus of the many versions of the origin and migration story of the Keresan pueblos: Acoma, Cochiti, Laguna, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, and Zia. He gives their individual versions in his various monographs on the different pueblos (see citations below).

Acoma. White (1932a:142) records the origin and migration story of Acoma. As with other Keres-speaking communities, Acoma people speak of the emergence, their subsequent residence at White House, and their movement south to Ako (white rock). Benedict records a reference to Frijoles Canyon (Benedict 1931:185), but this comes from Cochiti, and apparently proceeds from the understanding that all the people who spoke the same language were at Frijoles. Sedgewick (Sedgewick 1926:ix) seems to make the same assumption. We have not seen a clearly stated Acoma tradition of association with Frijoles Canyon or the Pajarito Plateau. White records Keres names of sites on the route of migration; these could be reviewed with traditional leaders to determine if any can be identified with actual places. See Recommendations below.

Cochiti. Cochiti tradition has it that the people lived together in Frijoles Canyon (Benedict 1931:15) and migrated south to Old Cochiti (Tiputsa). Likewise, the tradition goes "in the beginning the people stopped at Frijoles . . ." (Benedict 1931:86). Further, according to this tradition: "The people came up from Shipap. They lived all together at the mesa of the Stone Lions: the people of Cochiti, of Santo Domingo, of San Felipe, Acoma, and Laguna, and the people of Sia. They all spoke the same language . . ." (Benedict 1931:185). This tradition has it that Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Laguna, and Acoma antecedents established separate communities after they left Frijoles Canyon (Benedict 1931:185).

Bandelier (1937) describes traditional aspects of life at Cochiti Pueblo in his novel *The Delight Makers*, set in Frijoles Canyon—another expression of his understanding that the antecedents of the Cochiti inhabited Frijoles.

As recorded by Dumarest, Cochiti tradition has it that "the people left *shipapu* under the waters of the lake in the north to settle at Tyuonyi at the Rito de los Frijoles . . ." (1919:187). Again, he records that "the people left *shipapu* and arrived at the White House (*kashia katritshi*) in a place called *kometse shruma mokaira kaetishra* (old house of the recumbent lion) . . ." (Dumarest 1919:231).

Charles H. Lange is the principal living scholar outside the tribe on the history and social organization of

Cochiti. He notes (Lange 1959:7) that Cochiti accounts of their origins place them first in a mythological past at White House, then at Frijoles Canyon "along with all the other Pueblo Indians." Stubbs (1950:63, 121-122) states that the present site of Cochiti Pueblo has been occupied for at least seven hundred years, "thereby placing the tribe at this location when the first Spanish explorers arrived."

Douglas (1932) states categorically that "the Cochiti people are half a tribe, the remainder being the San Felipe people. The split and the founding of the present pueblo [Cochiti] came not long before the Spanish discovery in 1598." Douglas gives no source for this assertion, but it is consistent with the observations of Bandelier (1890-92, pt 2, 145) and is treated as credible by Lange (1967:91).

Laguna. Laguna is a historic pueblo, founded some time in the period 1697-1699. When the Spanish reoccupied New Mexico in 1692, the pueblos of Cochiti, Cieneguilla, Santo Domingo, and Jemez rebelled, and about 100 people of these pueblos fled to Acoma. Some of these went to Zuni, but in 1697 the rest are supposed to have left Acoma—with some Acomas—to found Laguna. In 1699 New Mexico Governor Pedro Rodriguez Cubero effected a reconciliation with the pueblo, taking formal possession of it, while the Franciscan vice-custos conferred a patron saint on the pueblo. A small church was built at Laguna in 1707 as a *visita* of Acoma.

This sketch raises the possibility that Cochiti people who went to Zuni are the basis of the Zuni traditional use of the Shrine of the Stone Lions. This is sheer speculation, however. The idea should be evaluated in the broader context of Zuni use of widely separated high altitude sites, and an effort made to assess the antiquity of Zuni use of this shrine and others as documented by Ladd (1983).

San Felipe. The San Felipe emergence story as recorded by Bunzel (1928) mentions White House (Kackatrik) and also has it that katchina ceremonies were introduced during the migrations of the people, but does not mention Frijoles Canyon or any other particular site. Strong (1979:392) has it that "the Keresans have been traced to an area centering around Chaco Canyon and extending north to the Aztec and Mesa Verde regions and, perhaps, southeast to Acoma and the middle Puerco River. Because of a severe drought and other climatic changes, the Keresans moved to the southeast in the late thirteenth century. They were certainly inhabiting the Rio Grande by the end of the fourteenth century."

White (1932b:8) accepts that San Felipe and Cochiti antecedents last lived as one community in the pueblo of Kuapa, after leaving Frijoles Canyon: "After Kuapa was destroyed, then, it would seem, some of the survivors founded Cochiti, and others San Felipe, the aboriginal name of the latter being Katishtya."

"According to their origin myth, the San Felipes lived at El Rito de los Frijoles with the Cochitis and Santo Domingos" (Akins 1993:124). Bandelier (1890-1892, pt 2, 166) states that the ancestors of San Felipe and Cochiti were one people who lived in successive pueblos, the last inhabited jointly being Kuapa.

Mindeleff (1989:40) records a relationship between San Felipe and First Mesa Hopi (Walpi), specifically that a group of migrants from San Felipe spoke the same language as the people of Walpi, immigrated to Walpi and then returned to San Felipe. Mindeleff has it that "Payupki" was inhabited by people from San Felipe. Stubbs, however (1950:31) tells us that Payupki is the Hopi name for people from Sandia and for the pueblo they inhabited on Second Mesa after the Pueblo Revolt. Yava (1978:1) agrees with Stubbs.

Santa Ana. Santa Ana holds a tradition of settlement at Kashe K'atreti (White House, often identified

with Mesa Verde (Bayer 1994:3), and of migration to the site of Paak'o, on the eastern slope of the Sandias (Bayer 1994:5) and the Rio Puerco and Acoma vicinities, before establishing its existing communities. These traditions do not refer to Frijoles Canyon.

White (1942:87-91) had earlier recorded a Santa Ana tradition of residence at White House and a migration to the south, without reference to Frijoles Canyon.

Santo Domingo. Likewise White (1935:11) records that "the Indians of Santo Domingo, in common with other Keresan pueblos, have a legend which tells of their emergence from the inner earth at a place 'in the north.' From this place of emergence, Shipap, they migrated southward. Groups broke off from the main body, so the legend goes, and founded various pueblos. Bandelier became acquainted with these legends at Cochiti. The people there told him that the caves of the Rito, as well as the three pueblo ruins, were the work of their ancestors . . ." One informant told White that the old men of Santo Domingo used to say that the Santo Domingo people formerly lived at Frijoles Canyon.

Lange (1979:379) repeats that "the Santo Domingo lived at White House, also to the north of their present location. It was during this period that many of the tribes divided into their present tribal units, Santo Domingo included . . . tradition has it the Keresans (and perhaps others) remained together as recently as their joint occupancy of Frijoles Canyon."

Zia. White (1962:17) states that the people of Zia Pueblo also claim an origin "at a place in the North" and a tradition of having lived at White House (1962:118-119) but that they "have no legends, as far as I could discover, of having lived at some other location . . . Nor have they any legendary account, as distinguished from the origin-migration myth, of the initial occupation of their present site."

Tewa. Ellis (1967:1) believes that the Tewa speakers migrated into the northern Rio Grande in two major groups, one coming from the San Juan drainage by way of the Chama Valley, the other coming up the San Juan River, then leaving it to cross the Conejos and reach the Rio Grande in southern Colorado, then following the Rio Grande south to the western high foothills of the Sangre de Cristos.

Ortiz (1979:280) states that Tewa tradition holds that after the emergence from the place of origin, the Tewa migrated down both sides of the Rio Grande, establishing ten different villages on each side along the way before reuniting at Posi'owinge [sic] village at the hot springs near modern Ojo Caliente, 18 miles northwest of present San Juan Pueblo. From there they dispersed into the seven separate communities known in historic times, including Jacona (which no longer survives) between present-day Pojoaque and San Ildefonso.

Archeological evidence of Tewa prehistory includes numerous ancestral village sites on both sides of the Rio Grande and the Rio Chama. Most of these sites are west of the Rio Grande. These are known by Tewa names and have been claimed by the Tewa as ancestral villages since Bandelier first began investigating the subject.

Nambe. Ellis suggests (1967:3) that Sapawe and Poseouinge [sic], in the Chama drainage, may be ancestral to Nambe. In general, her conclusion is that Nambe is prehistorically related to the Chama Valley. She suggests an initial occupation of the present site of the pueblo about A.D. 1400 (Ellis 1967:7).

Pojoaque. Ellis repeats the information, current among Tewa communities, that Pojoaque was well

established by A.D. 1200 (1967:3).

Ellis also suggests (1967:22) that a population—possibly Keresan-speaking—occupied the valley after A.D. 900, and produced Kwahe'e, Red Mesa and Chaco II Black-on-white wares. These people, she speculates, were absorbed by the Tewa-speaking producers of Wiyo Black-on-white in the fourteenth century.

San Ildefonso. San Ildefonso traces its ancestry to "north of Mesa Verde" and its migration to the Pajarito Plateau, where ancestors established the villages of Potsuwi'i and Tsankawi (Edelman 1979:312). Whitman (1947:3) recorded a tradition of a northern origin "some say from Mesa Verde— and that, moving south, they came in time to occupy the villages of Potsuwi, Sankewi, and Otowi, among the high mountains of the Pajarito Plateau. Later, as the sources of water gradually failed, they were forced into the valley of the Rio Grande, where the Spaniards found them in the sixteenth century."

Henderson and Harrington (1914:15) note information about traditional San Ildefonso hunting on the Pajarito Plateau.

San Juan. See Ortiz (1979:280), cited above. Ortiz is the modern authority on San Juan. He does not refer to the Pajarito Plateau in his discussion of San Juan, nor is there any authority to suggest a relationship between this pueblo and the plateau.

Santa Clara. Hill (1982:xxvi) identifies Puye as an ancestral Santa Clara site. He also generally mentions associated prehistoric sites "elsewhere on the Pajarito Plateau to the south or in the Chama Valley to the northwest" (1982:6).

Hill also establishes a relationship between the Santa Clara Kwirana Society and the Cochiti K'osa, or Koshare (Ku-sha'li) Society. "Headquarters for the Santa Clara Kwirana Society was located at the Keresan pueblo of Cochiti . . ." (Hill 1982:296). The existence of interueblo religious entities recalls the comments of Habicht-Mauche (1990:17).

Tesuque. Bandelier (1890-1892:85) notes that there were ruins claimed by the people of Tesuque above Cuyamungue in the Tesuque Valley. Ellis (1967:4) dates sherds collected from dumps on the four corners of Tesuque Pueblo. These pottery dates suggest that Tesuque was occupied as early as A.D. 1125, and was well established by 1200.

Only two of the surviving Tewa pueblos—San Ildefonso and Santa Clara—have well-documented traditions of association with the northern Pajarito Plateau. All the others are linked prehistorically to the Chama Valley.

Towa—Jemez. Ellis (1964) adduces "considerable evidence that certain Keresan pueblos . . . derive from San Juan ancestry . . ." (1964:7). She reconstructs Jemez social organization, but does not identify any direct relationship with the Pajarito Plateau.

Ford, Schroeder, and Peckham (1972), following Wendorf and Reed (1955:161) agree that the prehistory of the Jemez extends back to Gallina, Rosa and Los Pinos phases. They also take it that the Tiwa developed in the Rio Grande, that Zuni developed largely where it is today, and that the Keres occupied prehistoric Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon.

Reagan (1927:722-725) tells the Jemez origin and migration story, how the people inhabited the "cliffs and caves" and subsequently came "to this valley [their present location]" while "the remaining section" stayed at Pecos. "We have built villages on almost every square mile of land in this valley from the Rio Grande to this place, a distance of a good day's walk; and, besides the ruins in the valley, thirteen of our deserted villages dot the mesa to the northward between here and the boiling springs." When we interviewed the governor and tribal archeologist of Jemez, they cited Reagan with approval. The origin and migration story he recorded does not refer to Frijoles Canyon.

Parsons (1925:136-138) records place names in the Jemez migration story; analysis of these in consultation with traditional authorities of the pueblo could add to our knowledge of Jemez prehistory (see Recommendations below).

Tiwa—Isleta. Lummis (1910:147) cites an "ancient and characteristic story" that the origin of Isleta lies east of the Manzano Mountains, in the plains (Salinas district?). Parsons (1974:360) records an Isleta story of a migration down the Rio Grande through the Taos area, continuing south to their present location. This story gives various place names, but we do not know if any of these refers to Frijoles Canyon. See Recommendations below.

Tiwa—Picuris. Dick (n.d.:18) uses ceramics to define phases at Picuris. His sequence shows that the pueblo has been in existence at least since A.D. 1150. The literature does not indicate a relationship with the Bandelier area.

Tiwa—Sandia. Brandt (1970:18) suggests that Sandia has been occupied since about A.D. 1300. She also points out that modern-day Sandia is a pueblo constituted by people from various Tiwa pueblos that have not survived (due mainly to the seismic shock of the Revolt) as well as people from Hopi. Simons (1969) does not discuss prehistory. Trager (1967) suggests that the separation of Northern (Taos and Picuris languages) and Southern (Isleta and Sandia dialects of one language) Tiwa occurred about 800 to 900 years ago. As noted above, Ford, Schroeder, and Peckham (1972) believe that the Tiwa communities developed in the Rio Grande. The literature does not suggest any association with the Pajarito Plateau.

Tiwa—Taos. Parsons (1936:113) records a Taos story of emergence at White Mountain. In this emergence and migration story the Feather People (Fiadaina) are supposed to have built their first houses on the hills near Ranchos de Taos, while the Shell People (Holdaina) settled near the Colorado River, and the Water People (Badaina) lived in the Santa Fe River, and swam up the Rio Grande, the Taos River and Ranchos de Taos Creek to join the other peoples. These three peoples, or clans, joined by others, composed the Taos people. There is no tradition concerning the Pajarito Plateau reflected in the literature.

Hopi and Hopi-Tewa. The Hopi have strong traditions of migrations from the Colorado River and southern Arizona to the modern Hopi Mesas, as well as a tradition that groups from the Rio Grande joined the people at Homolovi, near present-day Winslow (Courlander 1971:72). These eastern groups, however, do not appear to be further identified. Yava (1978:1) calls them "some people called Payupkis from the Rio Grande" who settled on Second Mesa. These people, Yava says, supposedly returned to the Rio Grande to live in the Pueblo of Sandia. Mindeleff (1989:40) gives us a different version of this story. Stubbs (1950:31) agrees with Yava. "Quite a few other eastern groups came here at different times" Yava adds (1978:1), "but most of them stayed only a few years and then left." Yava emphasizes the urban nature of a pueblo, absorbing groups—Eastern Pueblos, Pimas, Apaches—from all points of the compass.

Dozier (1954, 1966) describes the First Mesa community of Hano (Hopi-Tewa) in detail. Like some other investigators, he suggests a Mesa Verdean and Chacoan origin for the Tewa.

Hewett (1908a:31) identifies Tsawari or San Cristobal, the community near Santa Cruz where the displaced Tano lived after leaving the Galisteo Basin and before moving to First Mesa, Arizona. Yava (1978:27-28) also talks about this site. Kroskrity (1993) analyzes Arizona Tewa and its New Mexico counterpart.

Zuni. Ford, Schroeder, and Peckham (1972) believe that the Zunis developed near their present location. Several authorities including Swadesh (Swadesh 1954) suggest a linguistic relationship to California Penutian. That several Zuni societies use the Shrine of the Stone Lions is well documented (Ladd 1983), but the literature does not suggest an actual occupation of the Pajarito Plateau by Zuni people. One of our interviews with the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team did bring out this very suggestion, however. This needs to be followed up in consultation with society officials. The Zuni Tribe may be willing to provide further information. See the summary of consultation (November 4, 1999) below.

Legal Documents and Land Claims Data

There are a few colonial documents relating to Frijoles Canyon (Morley 1938). Some time prior to 1740, a tract of land including the canyon (Rito de los Frijoles) was granted to Andres Montoya. Governor Juan Bautista de Anza transferred the grant to Montoya's son-in-law, Juan Antonio Lujan, in 1780. Jose Antonio Salas, son-in-law of Lujan, petitioned Governor Jose Manrique in 1803 for the original grant document, saying that it was in the provincial archives. Morley notes that in 1811 all inhabitants of the Rito de los Frijoles were ordered to vacate it, for failure to make improvements and because the inhabitants were reputed to be robbers preying on the people of the Santa Fe area. Antonia Rosa Lujan returned to the area in 1814, after which her descendants occupied it up to the 1860s (Morley 1938:149-154).

Bandelier (Lange and Riley 1966:144) made notes from documents in the General Surveyor's Office (Santa Fe), including an 1807 letter of Fray Antonio Cavallero to the effect that in 1789 Governor de Anza confirmed the original grant by Governor Velez Gachupin to Andres Montoya. In the 1860s, according to a deposition of Manuel Hurtado taken November 26, 1872, the Salas family abandoned the area due to Navajo depredations.

A decision of the Court of Private Land Claims (September 27, 1894) rejects the claim of the Lujan heirs, for reasons unrelated to the traditional associations of Frijoles Canyon.

The proclamation of the monument by President Woodrow Wilson (February 11, 1916, cited in Rothman 1988:161) is of ethnographic interest in that it states that "the public interests would be promoted by reserving these relics of a vanished people, with as much land as may be necessary for the proper protection thereof." This assumption that the inhabitants of Bandelier National Monument had disappeared was inconsistent with information obtained by early ethnographers including A. F. Bandelier, but recurs in the writings of Edgar Hewett. Hewett similarly insisted that the Pecos Indians had disappeared, although they were—and still are—readily identifiable at Jemez Pueblo.

Testifying before the Indian Claims Commission in 1956, Florence H. Ellis (1956a, 1956b) noted that all the Keresan-speaking pueblos have a legend of having come south from Mesa Verde, and added that

various groups of antecedents, not necessarily representing contemporary tribes, must have migrated from Mesa Verde over time. She accepts that antecedents of the modern Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe populations inhabited Frijoles Canyon.

Linguistics

Anthropological linguistics is the subdiscipline of anthropology that studies language. It uses advanced methods linked to neuroscience to analyze human language and thought. It is related to the study of meaning in general, although it is more specialized. On the assumption that languages change at relatively steady rates, language change may offer clues to the estimation of historical or precontact dates, as shown below. Similarity of words in the languages or dialects of historic groups may indicate past relationships, as also suggested below.

Trager (1967) proposes a general reconstruction of the origin and distribution of the Puebloan languages; this is corrected and refined by Hale (1979). These sources suggest that Keresan speakers may have inhabited the Rio Grande in developmental times (Trager 1967:347) and that Tanoan speakers may also have inhabited the general area in developmental times (Hale 1979:177). However, the occupants of the Pajarito Plateau before approximately A.D. 1290 are not distinctly associated with any modern pueblo, as far as the literature indicates.

Irvine Davis (1959:78) reports that "the phonetic correspondences give some evidence that San Felipe, Santo Domingo and Cochiti may at one time have been a unit as opposed to Acoma, Laguna, Zia and Santa Ana . . ." Parsons (1939:901) also has it that "Santo Domingo, San Felipe and Cochiti speak the same Keresan dialect and are supposed to have been an undivided tribe living in the Rito de los Frijoles and on neighboring *potreros*, whence because of Tewa hostility groups migrated southward." Davis notes further that "the ancestral Keresans probably were one people living in a single locality up until about the end of the Pueblo III period. That this locality was Mesa Verde is suggested by archaeological evidence as well as by native tradition . . ." (Davis 1959:83). Here as well, Davis (1959:83) suggests that Santo Domingo and San Felipe antecedents may have migrated as one group from Mesa Verde, while Cochiti antecedents migrated separately. "San Felipe and Santo Domingo . . . are very closely related" he states (Davis 1959:83) and "must have had a common history for a considerable length of time."

In conclusion, similarities in some modern dialects of Keres suggest historic associations, including the possibility, also suggested by several other lines of evidence, that several of the modern pueblos were formerly a single entity.

Previous NPS consultations with tribes

When this project began, the National Park Service had arrived at tentative conclusions about the traditional associations of Bandelier National Monument through other consultations with Pueblo communities and through the NAGPRA process. These consultations are summarized below.

Bandelier Archeological Survey and Testing Consultations, 1987 to 1991

The National Park Service began a ten-year intensive study of the cultural resources of Bandelier National Monument in 1985. A sample survey and subsequent test excavations were undertaken jointly by

researchers from the National Park Service and Washington State University. The purpose of the survey and test excavations was to inventory the range of cultural resources in the Monument, to provide better interpretation of past occupations for park visitors, and to preserve the range of archeological resources (Toll 1995:vii). The inventory, undertaken between 1987 and 1991, surveyed and recorded archeological sites in a sample of about 40% of the area of the Monument. The National Park Service informed Pueblo communities of the scope of the Bandelier Archaeological Project. The process of notification and consultation is documented in correspondence on file at the Intermountain Cultural Resources Center (ICRC) in Santa Fe.

In May 1986, Zuni Governor Chauncey Simplicio contacted Larry Nordby, Chief of Cultural Resources at the ICRC, with concerns about the proposed survey and testing program at Bandelier. Governor Simplicio's letter stated the Zuni association with Bandelier in great detail, noting in particular their association with the Shrine of the Stone Lions:

Shipapolima, or He:mushina Yalla:we [sic] in the Zuni Language, is a major shrine of the Zuni Religion and is periodically visited by Zuni religious elders. The shrine is the origin of many of the medicine societies and prey animals. It was a location in the migration of the *Lhewe:kwe* and *Make:lhanna:kwe*, the Sword Swallower and Big Fire Societies. The shrine is a plant collection area for the Big Fire Society. Besides *He:mushina Yalla:we*, there are at least three other Zuni shrines which be either in the Monument or its immediate vicinity. . . There may be more sites or other religious areas in the Monument that have not been documented. Secondly, the archaeological sites may be homes of Zuni ancestors as they passed through the area in their migrations. Not only is this of significance in interpreting the culture history of the areas, it has direct relevance to the treatment of human burials discovered during testing.

In April 1987, the National Park Service Associate Regional Director for Planning and Cultural Resources, Eldon G. Reyer, formally requested comments on the Bandelier Archaeological Project's research design for survey and testing. The request for comments was mailed to about thirty Southwestern archaeologists and to all nineteen Pueblo Governors in New Mexico, to the Presidents of the Jicarilla, Mescalero, Navajo, and Ute tribes in Colorado and New Mexico and to the All Indian Pueblo Council. Neither the Hopi Tribe nor Ysleta del Sur were notified of the archeological survey and testing project.

As a result of the request for comments, lengthy correspondence and meetings were initiated by Santo Domingo and San Ildefonso. Santo Domingo specifically stated:

The Pueblo of Santo Domingo has a very close and religious association with Bandelier Monuments. Together with Cochiti and San Felipe, we are in large part descended from this area, and we have several locations of religious importance there today. (Governor Donicio Calabaza and Lt. Governor Alex Bailon to Eldon G. Reyer, 21 May 1987)

The letter goes on to state that the Pueblo would cooperate fully with the goals of conservation, preservation, and inventory, but would "strenuously" object to the excavations which might expose human remains. The Pueblo sent copies of this letter to its attorneys (then Luebben, Hughes, Tomita, and Borg), to Representative Bill Richardson and to the Chair of the All Indian Pueblo Council because it considered the proposed excavations to be such a serious matter.

San Ildefonso Governor Louis Naranjo, Jr., sent a letter of support for the Santo Domingo position that there should be no excavations or removal of human remains and stated that they had not received a copy of the NPS request for comments. San Ildefonso Pueblo offered the following statement of affiliation:

My Pueblo is in very close proximity to Bandelier and especially to the detached area that contains Tsankawi ruin. The monument holds great religious significance to my Pueblo. We have religious sites there and the large number of burials are especially critical because of our religious beliefs associated with protecting the spirits of our ancestors. (Governor Louis Naranjo, Jr. to Eldon G. Reyer, 27 May 1987)

Associate Regional Director Reyer assured the Governors of Santo Domingo and San Ildefonso that the current tests were limited and that no excavations would take place without consultation. He offered the Governors a briefing by the survey team (Reyer to Santo Domingo Governor Calabaza, 17 June 1987; Reyer to San Ildefonso Governor Naranjo, 18 June 1987).

Zuni Pueblo Governor Robert E. Lewis also responded with a lengthy analysis of the project research design (Lewis to Regional Director, 25 June 1987). Zuni approved of the NPS intention *not* to make collections or perform test excavations at *Shiba:bulima* [sic], and not to disturb burials if feasible. The letter notes that the Zuni recognize at least five other religious areas in the vicinity of the Rio Grande and Jemez Mountains, although they are not named in the letter. The letter pointed out some theoretical and methodological flaws in the research design as well, faulting the design of its failure to include a strategy for dealing with historic sites and for using the term "abandonment." These two related ideas were discussed in our introduction, and the Zuni letter is of relevance to these points addressed above. The letter stated:

Of overall importance, the Pajarito Plateau was almost certainly not abandoned by the Indians who once inhabited the prehistoric villages. Use of the area merely shifted from intensive occupation to extensive hunting, gathering, stock raising, seasonal farming and religious observances by the Pueblos. We know this to be the pattern of land use at Zuni from prehistory through history, and we expect that historic research of various Pueblo land-claims cases, for example, would show this to be equally true of the Park area. Since the area was never abandoned, it is inappropriate for the research design to propose a model for the settlement and abandonment of the Park area. This is more than just a question of semantics, because the assumption that there was an 'abandonment' colors every major management and research decision made with respect to this project. . . .

Second, the research design deals with sites of sacred significance to American Indians as a separate management issue, stemming from the requirements of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, and separate from the issues of archaeology and prehistory, however, the sacred character of the area stems from its prehistoric and historic use. Thus your lack of acceptance of the continuity of Pueblo use of the area will lead to under representation of religious sites in the survey. (Governor Robert E. Lewis to Regional Director, 25 June 1987)

Mr. Reyer requested additional information concerning the location of the five sites mentioned in the Zuni Pueblo comments on the research design (Reyer to Governor Robert E. Lewis, 28 December 1987).

In October 1987, Mr. Reyer sent a certified letter to sixteen Pueblo Governors in New Mexico, to the Hopi Tribal Chairman, the All Indian Pueblo Council, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs stating that the National Park Service had received no comments from them on the research design, and extending the comment period. Robert Powers, the Bandelier Archaeological project director, made a presentation to the All Indian Pueblo Council on December 4, 1987, describing the project scope in detail. The presentation was tape-recorded by Larry Nordby, Chief of Cultural Resources at the ICRC, Santa Fe. The All Indian Pueblo Council passed a resolution unanimously opposing the excavations. The Hopi Tribe telephoned its comments on the research design in December, days after the official close of the comment period (NPS Telephone Record, Call from Eric Polinqyouma, 17 December 1987). There was no objection to the survey, which the tribal representative thought might help to document Hopi clan migration accounts, which claim some association with the Bandelier area. The tribal representative suggested that Hopi elders might want to visit Bandelier, but no further documentation of such a visit is on file.

A team of NPS employees continued to outline a consultation procedure, and in March 1988, the Pueblo Governors, including the Hopi Tribal Chairman, were notified of some changes in the proposed conduct of the Bandelier Archaeological Project. In large measure, the Bandelier Project adopted the Zuni Pueblo policy for reburial of human remains (Associate Regional Director for Planning and Cultural Resources to Pueblo Governors, 24 March 1988).

A National Park Service Consultation Team, consisting of Regional Office and monument staff, met with leaders from Santa Clara, Cochiti, Jemez, Santo Domingo and San Ildefonso in May, June, and July 1990 to report on the progress of the Bandelier Archaeological Project. In addition, representatives of Santo Domingo visited the archaeological field crews on site at Burnt Mesa Pueblo on July 23, 1990. At two meetings in 1990, Santo Domingo representatives once again voiced their objections to the removal of human remains and seemingly to excavations of any kind. The Santo Domingo representatives asserted their descent from Bandelier. San Ildefonso was categorically opposed to any excavations. The meetings are summarized in a report prepared by Ed Natay, formerly Chief, Office of American Indian Programs, Southwest Regional Office, Santa Fe, and now American Indian Trust Responsibility Officer, Intermountain Region Support Office - Santa Fe (Report on Recent Consultation Activities with Pueblos Indians Concerning Ongoing Archaeological Survey/Excavation Project at Bandelier National Monument, 9 August 1990).

As a result of these consultations, no additional human remains were excavated, and in all only two burials were excavated as a part of the Bandelier Project. A report summarizing the 1990 field season at Bandelier was sent to the Governors of Cochiti, Jemez, Santo Domingo, Santa Clara, and San Ildefonso as well as to the Chairman of the All Indian Pueblo Council (Roy Weaver, Superintendent, Bandelier National Monument to Pueblo Governors and Chair, All Indian Pueblo Council, 5 December 1990). A letter report on the 1991 and 1992 field season was also sent to these five pueblos and the All Indian Pueblo Council on 31 December 1991 and 3 December 1992.

Ceremonial Cave Name Consultation, 1995

On September 21, 1995, Superintendent Weaver wrote to the Governors of Cochiti, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe regarding the appropriateness of the name "Ceremonial Cave" used to designate one of the archeological sites in Frijoles Canyon. The only correspondence on file is a letter from Governor Calvin Garcia of the Pueblo of San Felipe, who declined to consult on this matter. He recommended that the Park consult with Gary Roybal, a member of the Monument staff and also a

member of the Pueblo of San Ildefonso (Governor Garcia to Roy Weaver, 10 October 1995).

Other Consultations

Although there is very little written correspondence between the Cochiti Pueblo and Bandelier National Monument, a relationship and consultation process has been established for specific incidents. Most consultation takes place through telephone calls between the Governor's Office at the Pueblo and the Superintendent's Office.

In July 1991, following a meeting among officials of Cochiti Pueblo, San Ildefonso Pueblo, and the monument, a number of considerations were proposed by the NPS to "de-emphasize" public interpretation of the Shrine of the Stone Lions. Among the proposals were:

- (1) to exclude detailed information about the shrine area from the Bandelier topographic map, while continuing to assert the language needed to enforce archeological protection measures;
- (2) to put a sign at the shrine to mark it as an area of significance and respect, and to caution against standing or sitting on the effigies;
- (3) to remove indications of distance and direction to the shrine from back country trail markers;
- (4) to lay out back country trails to take visitors to the site of Yapashi, but not to the shrine;
- (5) to remove and destroy the replicas of the Stone Lions located near the Visitor Center;
- (6) to deemphasize the shrine in park brochures, while expanding the discussion of the relationship of the Pueblo people to the sites in Bandelier (Weaver to Gov. Cedric Chavez, Cochiti and Gov. Dennis Martinez, San Ildefonso Pueblo; 22 July 1991; on file, Bandelier National Monument).

A consultation between Park staff and Cochiti was initiated in the Summer of 1995 after graffiti were found scratched into the shrine (Criminal Incident Report, 8/14/1995, on file, Bandelier National Monument). The effects of the vandalism were mitigated by the park although how, when, and where were not noted in the files.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA)

In November 1995 Bandelier National Monument prepared a listing of all human remains and associated funerary objects (obtained from archeological sites in Bandelier National Monument) for which the National Park Service is responsible. This inventory was prepared in compliance with the federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990. Data sources, beginning with Bandelier (1890-1892) and concluding with tribal correspondence in 1995, are listed as a basis for conclusions about traditional associations with extant pueblos.

The inventory, dated November 12, 1995, concluded that Pueblo sites in Bandelier National Monument dating from the early twelfth century or later are likely to be associated with all of the extant pueblos (the inventory names Cochiti, Acoma, Isleta, Jemez, Laguna, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Sandia, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Tesuque, Zia, Hopi, Zuni, Isleta del Sur, Taos, Picuris, San Juan, Nambe,

and Pojoaque).

Rainbow House Consultation

The National Park Service had also conducted a separate NAGPRA consultation with certain pueblos regarding human remains and associated funerary objects from the Rainbow House site in Frijoles Canyon.

In response to Park Service correspondence of February 28, 1995, to all the pueblos concerning the Rainbow House collections:

The Pueblo of Isleta made a provisional claim on the objects and subsequently requested reburial of human remains;

The Pueblos of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and San Felipe designated representatives who consulted with Bandelier representatives and visited the site;

The Pueblo of San Felipe requested reburial of human remains and associated funerary objects, and said also that Pueblo representatives wished to view culturally sensitive objects that were being considered for repatriation;

The Pueblo of Jemez explicitly waived a claim on any objects from Rainbow House;

The Pueblo of Zuni made a claim of cultural affiliation with all ancestral Puebloan remains and cultural materials;

The Pueblo of Laguna declined to view the collection or to take any other action, but requested reburial of the human remains;

The Pueblo of Zia requested reburial of human remains and associated funerary objects;

The Pueblo of Tesuque declined to consult due to lack of available time, but requested reburial of human remains and also said that the National Park Service could retain nonskeletal remains.

Representatives of the Pueblos of Hopi/Tewa (Hano), San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Cochiti, San Felipe, Isleta, Zia, and Zuni met with Park Service representatives to discuss the disposition of human remains and objects from Rainbow House. The consensus of these pueblos stated in this meeting (August 9, 1995) was that human remains should be reburied at a certain location within the Monument, that National Park Service personnel should carry out the reburial, and that the Pueblo of San Ildefonso should be responsible for any ceremony to be performed. It was the further consensus of these pueblos that all of the objects from Rainbow House were sacred and should be reburied.

First phase of consultation with tribes

The authors began the project by preparing a Project Statement for dissemination to associated communities and to the interested public. This statement briefly summarized the project scope and

objectives, identified the project personnel, outlined the project methodology, and included a paragraph regarding confidentiality of sources and information.

On November 27, 1995, the Superintendent, Bandelier National Monument sent a letter to all Pueblo governors describing the project and enclosing the project statement.

Governor Ernest J. Lujan of Santa Ana Pueblo responded to the Superintendent's November 27, 1995 letter, stating that because the pueblo was distant from Bandelier, it chose not be involved in the traditional use study. Governor Lujan also stated that the pueblo supported the study, but expressed no opinion regarding an affiliation between Bandelier National Monument and the pueblo.

The Pueblo of Pojoaque responded to the November 27 letter with a phone call to the authors, identifying a project contact (Mr. Charlie Tapia) but expressing no opinion as to an affiliation between Pojoaque and Bandelier National Monument.

Tesuque Pueblo responded to the November 27 letter with a letter to the authors, designating a tribal contact for the project (Tribal Realty Officer Earl Samuel) but expressing no opinion as to an affiliation between the pueblo and Bandelier National Monument.

Laguna Tribal Secretary Wilbur Lockwood called the authors in rejoinder to the November 27, 1995, letter. He identified a contact for the project (2nd Lieutenant Governor Stanley Lucero). He also noted that it is the accepted view at Laguna that Bandelier National Monument is related to the northern pueblos.

The authors consulted the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team of the Hopi Tribe on March 14, 1996. The meeting took place at Kykotsmovi, Third Mesa, Arizona. Leigh Jenkins, director of the Hopi tribal cultural program, served as spokesman for the Task Team.

The Task Team emphasized that investigations of traditional association should be carried out by Pueblo tribal members, but did not offer any specific information about a Hopi relationship to Bandelier National Monument.

One author (Merlan) consulted the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team on August 21, 1996, at Black Rock, New Mexico. Joseph Dishta, director of the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office, coordinated this meeting.

The Advisory Team noted that, funding permitting, a full ethnographic study should be carried out, and that this would include interviews with leaders of the medicine societies referenced in Ladd (1983).

The authors consulted the Governor and Tribal Archeologist of the Pueblo of Jemez on September 20, 1996, at the Jemez tribal office.

The Tribal Archeologist informed the authors that Jemez Pueblo defers to San Ildefonso and Santa Clara Pueblos in matters relating to the mesa tops in Bandelier National Monument, to San Ildefonso and Cochiti when the monument area further south is under consideration, and to Cochiti regarding the area around the Dome Road and in the southwest segment of the Monument.

The Tribal Archeologist also noted that Jemez antecedents may derive from the McElmo Canyon,

Hovenweep, and Chimney Rock areas.

The Governor stated that while Jemez did not claim any direct ancestral relationship to Bandelier, Jemez antecedents had prehistoric economic and military relations with the inhabitants of what is now Bandelier National Monument.

On September 13, 1996, the authors met with representatives of the Pueblo de Cochiti. On September 16, 1996, one author (Merlan) made a presentation about the project to the Cochiti Tribal Council. In these consultations, the authors noted the direct affiliation of the Pueblo de Cochiti, as indicated by the literature, with Bandelier National Monument. The Cochiti representatives confirmed this affiliation and referred in general terms to the continuing ceremonial use of sites in Bandelier by the Cochiti Tribe.

On July 4, 1996, the authors sent a letter to all pueblos requesting consultation.

On July 31, 1996, the National Park Service sponsored a consultation pursuant to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990. At this meeting the authors made a presentation about the project. This was a general presentation rather than one requested by a pueblo or pueblos in response to project correspondence. The authors made this presentation to representatives of the following pueblos: Cochiti, Isleta, Laguna, Nambe, Picuris, Pojoaque, Sandia, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Zia, and Zuni. During this consultation the authors suggested a direct affiliation, as revealed in the literature, between Bandelier National Monument and the pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, and Zuni, as well as an indirect affiliation of Bandelier National Monument with the Village of Hano (Hopi-Tewa) and an uncertain affiliation with the Pueblo of Jemez. At this consultation, no pueblo representative made any specific statement about an affiliation with Bandelier National Monument.

In the course of consultations with individual pueblos and with the pueblos as a group, the authors produced and distributed various subsets of the annotated bibliography organized by language groups. During consultations, the authors gave the Keres references to Cochiti and San Felipe, the Towa references to Jemez, the Zuni references to Zuni, and the Hopi and Hopi-Tewa references to the Hopi Tribe.

All consultations with tribes regarding the traditional associations of Bandelier National Monument - including those consultations that occurred before this project, those that fell in the first phase of this project, and those that fell in the second phase - are summarized in the "Summary of tribal consultations" (Table 1).

Consultations with Monument personnel

In April and May 1996, the authors interviewed Bandelier National Monument personnel. Following a prepared format, the authors asked for specific information about contemporary Pueblo or other American Indian uses of the monument.

Several staff members referred to Cochiti Pueblo's traditional and continuing use of the Shrine of the Stone Lions. They also noted that San Ildefonso Pueblo had requested hunting rights in Bandelier National Monument (a formal request by San Ildefonso's legal representative, dated October 18, 1994, is on file at the monument).

National Park Service personnel conducted an archeological survey of 43% of the area of Bandelier National Monument in 1987-91. Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Cochiti, Jemez, and Santo Domingo requested consultation on the archeological tests conducted in conjunction with this survey. Cochiti indicated its traditional interest in Bandelier National Monument. Santo Domingo opposed the archeological testing and referred to the sites to be tested as "ancestral sites." During years of work in the Monument, the director of the survey saw no Pueblo visitors, except a Santo Domingo delegation and Cochiti representatives concerned about the preservation and appropriate use of the Shrine of the Stone Lions.

The fire program manager noted that San Ildefonso Pueblo had requested permission in 1992 to collect fir boughs, probably for decorating dance costumes, in the higher elevations of the Monument. He also recalls that both Cochiti and Santo Domingo have inquired about obtaining feathers from the bald eagle population in Bandelier. He stated as well that a member of Jemez Pueblo had told him that several square voids in the felsenmeers on the south face of the Cerro Grande were used by Jemez Pueblo men to capture eagles. He was present when San Felipe, and possibly Santo Domingo, men were encountered while preparing to hunt in the Monument. On two occasions, weapons have been confiscated.

One park ranger spoke to a Zuni delegation that came to Bandelier National Monument in April 1996 accompanied by a Santo Domingo man to visit several sites in Frijoles Canyon. She also recalled the 1980 Zuni delegation.

Another staff member remembered the 1980 visit of the Zuni delegation to Bandelier. She stated that they had hiked to the Shrine of the Stone Lions, and had requested that that part of the monument be closed (this request was denied). They told her that they were members of the Zuni Fire Clan.

This staffer knew about episodes of unauthorized hunting by men from Cochiti, San Felipe, and Santo Domingo, and was told by a Cochiti tribal member that hunting in Bandelier was a ceremonial requirement.

She also noted that she had "always known" of an association between Tsankawi and San Ildefonso (she is a member of Santa Clara Pueblo). She said she had also grown up with the understanding that there was a traditional association between Santa Clara and Puye, and a more distant traditional association between Santa Clara and Tsankawi.

Second phase of consultation with tribes

The authors attended a series of meetings in Durango, Colorado in 1998. These were formally known as the "Affiliation Conference on Ancestral Peoples of the Four Corners Region" and were organized by Philip G. Duke, Ph.D., F.S.A., Director, Center of Southwest Studies, Ft. Lewis College under cooperative agreement between the College and the National Park Service. In the course of the conference, the authors presented a summary of the first phase report and tentative conclusions to cultural resource specialists, tribal representatives and archeologists from the Southwest and from other parts of the U.S. Representatives of the Pueblo of Zuni and seven other pueblos attended, as did representatives of the Navajo Nation and Hopi Tribe. The authors were accordingly given an opportunity to discuss the traditional affiliations of Bandelier National Monument with representatives of pueblos and other tribes and to participate in discussions of investigations into other instances of traditional affiliation throughout

the Southwest.

Representatives of BAND and the consultants met with representatives of the pueblos of Acoma, Cochiti, Laguna, Nambe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, Taos, Zia and Zuni and a representative of the Navajo Nation at the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe on September 16, 1998. At this meeting the authors submitted an executive summary of the first phase of this study to the consulting tribal governments. Representatives of Bandelier National Monument also presented a detailed briefing statement, concerning proposed elements of resource management in the Monument over the period 1999-2003, to the consulting pueblos. The tribal representatives recommended the formation of a consultation committee (focus group or core group) made up of representatives of the tribes having a direct traditional association with BAND, and the Monument committed to supporting regular meetings of this group. The representatives of Cochiti, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara and Zuni agreed to form a consultation committee to advise BAND on matters relating to current management and its effects on traditional use. The meeting also made a set of preliminary recommendations relating to tribal concerns and the management of BAND (management recommendations, revised and expanded in the course of subsequent meetings, are set forth below).

The Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee met in Santa Fe on April 16, 1999. The authors, BAND representatives and representatives of the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara and Zuni were present. At this meeting BAND and the Committee agreed that consultation and management recommendations would be the province of the six Committee members, while five other tribes that had asked to be kept informed (the Pueblos of Acoma, San Juan and Zia, the Hopi Tribe and the Navajo Nation) would be advised of the Committee's activities and recommendations. The Committee drafted a role and function statement (a current draft is included as an appendix below). The Committee agreed that its membership would consist of designated tribal representatives - the method of delegation being at the discretion of the tribe. It was also agreed that the Committee would meet not less often than twice annually: each April after Easter, and again in September, and on other occasions as determined by the Committee. It was agreed that BAND would issue an annual update to the six member pueblos each February, to ensure that the new pueblo government is informed of the existence, functions and recent history of the committee. At this meeting, the Committee also discussed management and preservation in the Tsankawi unit, and agreed to meet for a field consultation in the unit. The Committee also discussed the related problems of accelerated soil erosion and wilderness management, and BAND's efforts to reverse the trend of erosion and to manage wilderness. The Committee agreed to conduct a field consultation on this problem.

The Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee met on June 3, 1999 in the Monument. Representatives of the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso and Zuni; BAND representatives and the authors were present. During this meeting and field day, the Committee visited areas being treated by the Monument's Piñon-Juniper Restoration Project. BAND representatives explained that erosion prevention was an essential element of piñon-juniper restoration, and that both were intended to preserve archeological sites by preventing the destruction of the historic environment. Committee representative Loren Panteah of Zuni Pueblo said that he felt the action was justified by the need to prevent erosion that destroys archeological sites. He pointed out that sites deemed not to meet National Register criteria were considered not worthy of preservation, but that management practices are a general and apparently effective approach to the preservation of archeological sites. Other Committee members agreed that the approach was a good one.

The participants also visited cavates in Frijoles Canyon and in the Tsankawi unit and discussed ongoing efforts to preserve and protect them.

The Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee met again on July 28, 1999 in Santa Fe to discuss the preservation and interpretation of the Tsankawi unit of BAND. Representatives of the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Ildefonso and Zuni were present, with representatives of BAND and one of the authors.

At this meeting the Committee discussed the approximately 800-acre Tsankawi Unit of Bandelier National Monument, most of which is in unstable condition, mainly as the result of heavy overgrazing by sheep in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Committee reviewed current conditions in the unit and made specific recommendations for the creation of a viewing area adjacent to Tsankawi Pueblo, the closing of social trails within the pueblo, cavate restoration, elimination of graffiti, oversight of the unit, control of site information, and limits on public visits to sensitive areas. The Committee identified significant management issues as follows:

- 1) degradation of resources/ site integrity
- 2) impacts on traditional uses
- 3) inappropriate management or use of sacred areas
- 4) not enough information to make the pueblos part of decision-making
- 5) fees collected do not benefit descendants
- 6) no protocol for protecting sacred information
- 7) not enough money to protect resources (enforce regulations)
- 8) federal highway adjacent to site
- 9) pressure from the tourism industry/trends
- 10) properly telling the "story" at/about Tsankawi
- 11) human remains periodically surface (in high visitor use areas)
- 12) 29 excavated burials have not been repatriated
- 13) need for a common definition and/or an alternative to "preservation"
- 14) social trails, artifact collecting etc. in Tsankawi Pueblo
- 15) visitor walking in (using) Tsankawi Pueblo - walls, plazas, kivas;

and likewise noted various management alternatives as follows:

- 1) education
- 2) control of visitation (relating to 1,2 and 3 above)
- 3) completion of a survey of traditional cultural properties (relating to 2 and 3 above)
- 4) including the pueblos in GPRA planning (relating to 4 above)
- 5) enforcement of regulations
- 6) avoiding promoting more visitation, both generally and to tcps
- 7) creating a better understanding of causative factors that influence increases in visitation
- 8) establishment of a single trail around Tsankawi Pueblo and keeping visitors on it
- 9) opening Tsankawi only 2 days per week.

The Committee and BAND agreed to consult further on the revision of the Tsankawi Resource Management Plan.

The Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee met on September 16, 1999 at the BAND headquarters. Representatives of the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara and Zuni were present, with representatives of BAND and the authors.

At this meeting the Committee discussed its role and function statement, adopting a draft (see APPENDIX below). The Committee reviewed and revised its management recommendations to BAND (see below). The Committee reviewed a draft memorandum of understanding and recommended that it be sent to the Office of the Interior Solicitor for review, then circulated to the member pueblos (see APPENDIX below).

The Committee discussed a previous recommendation for the performance of a Traditional Cultural Properties survey, but came to general agreement that this was not advisable, due to concerns about the security of such information once collected. It was the consensus of the Committee that the Committee should receive information about planned projects and respond to it, with the discussion centering on management proposals and issues, and that the Committee would not advise or request a survey of traditional cultural properties.

The Committee discussed the advisability of sending project information to intertribal organizations. The Committee agreed that a letter and project description should go to the All Indian Pueblo Council.

The Committee reviewed an outline of the final project report, and agreed on a tentative schedule for 2000, including an editorial meeting on the draft final report and regular spring and fall meetings.

Notes of all the above meetings of the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee are on file at the Monument headquarters.

The contract amendment of September, 1997 (see above) called for contact with intertribal organizations. However, after discussion with the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee and with the agreement of the Superintendent, BAND, only the All Indian Pueblo Council was formally advised of the project with a letter and project description.

The Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee met at BAND on January 28, 2000. This was a regular orientation meeting with the BAND superintendent and staff. Staff presentations included information on prescribed burns, fire effects monitoring, monitoring of ecosystem health, pinon-juniper woodlands restoration, bighorn sheep reestablishment, a parkwide soil survey and the parkwide archeological survey project. Staff also made presentations on resource protection, park interpretation, facilities maintenance, elk research, artifact protection, archival maintenance and expansion, the Tsankawi Unit Management Plan and the cavates project. The Tribal Consultation Committee set tentative dates for subsequent meetings.

Monument locations and resources of traditional or current significance to tribes

Six pueblos have traditional associations with BAND that have been substantially confirmed both by the literature and by consultation (including recent correspondence between and among pueblos, BAND and the authors). A summary discussion of each follows. This includes some references to locations of traditional or current significance to tribes. However, consistent with agency (National Park Service)

contract requirements, most of the relevant site information has been submitted in a separate report.

Cochiti Pueblo

Ethnography, Traditional History and Ethnohistory

Cochiti tradition has it that "the people lived together in Frijoles Canyon (Benedict 1931:15) and migrated south to Old Cochiti (Tiputsa). Likewise, the tradition goes "in the beginning the people stopped at Frijoles...(Benedict 1931:86)." Further, according to this tradition: "The people came up from Shipap. They lived all together at the mesa of the Stone Lions: the people of Cochiti, of Santo Domingo, of San Felipe, Acoma, and Laguna, and the people of Sia. They all spoke the same language...(Benedict 1931:185)." This tradition has it that Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Laguna and Acoma antecedents established separate communities after they left Frijoles Canyon (Benedict 1931:185).

Bandelier (Bandelier 1937) describes traditional aspects of life at Cochiti Pueblo in his novel The Delight Makers, set in Frijoles Canyon - another expression of his understanding that the antecedents of the Cochiti inhabited Frijoles.

As recorded by Dumarest, Cochiti tradition has it that "the people left shipapu under the waters of the lake in the north to settle at Tyuonyi at the Rito de los Frijoles...(Dumarest 1919:187)." Again, he records that the people left shipapu and arrived at the White House (kashia katritshi) in a place called kometse shruma mokaira kaetishra (old house of the recumbent lion)...(Dumarest 1919:231)."

Charles H. Lange is the principal living authority outside the tribe on the history and social organization of Cochiti. He notes (Lange 1959:7) that Cochiti accounts of their origins place them first in a mythological past at White House, then at Frijoles Canyon "along with all the other Pueblo Indians."

Stubbs (Stubbs 1950:63, 121-122) states that the present site of Cochiti Pueblo has been occupied for at least seven hundred years, "thereby placing the tribe at this location when the first Spanish explorers arrived."

Douglas (Douglas 1932) states categorically that "the Cochiti people are half a tribe, the remainder being the San Felipe people. The split and the founding of the present pueblo [Cochiti] came not long before the Spanish discovery in 1598." Douglas gives no source for this assertion, but it is consistent with the observations of Bandelier (Bandelier 1890-92: Part II:145) and is treated as credible by Lange (Lange 1967:91).

Recent Consultation

Although there is very little written correspondence between the Pueblo de Cochiti and Bandelier National Monument, consultation was well-established before the beginning of this project in 1995. Most consultation took place by means of telephone calls between the Governor's Office at the Pueblo and the Superintendent's Office.

In July 1991, following a meeting among officials of Cochiti Pueblo, San Ildefonso Pueblo and the Monument, a number of considerations were proposed by the NPS to "de-emphasize" public interpretation of the Shrine of the Stone Lions. Consistent with these proposals, the Shrine of the Stone

Lions was removed from the BAND "Trails Illustrated" map.

A consultation between Park staff and Cochiti was initiated in the Summer of 1995 after graffiti were found scratched into the Shrine (Weaver to Gov. Cedric Chavez, Cochiti and Gov. Dennis Martinez, San Ildefonso Pueblo; 7/22/1991; on file, Bandelier National Monument). The vandalism was mitigated by the Park.

The NAGPRA Inventory states: "Anthropological information indicates the presence of Keres speaking and Tewa speaking language groups on the Pajarito Plateau by AD 1325, with places North of Frijoles Canyon more likely affiliated with Tewa-speaking pueblos and those South of Frijoles with Keres speaking pueblos" (Roberts 1995:NAGPRA Inventory).

On 7/31/96 the consultants made a presentation to the Tribal Land Acquisition Committee about the project. On 9/13/96 the consultants made a further presentation to tribal officials. Consultant Merlan made a presentation to the full tribal council on 9/16/96.

In consultation with BAND on 9/16/98, tribal officials further asserted the traditional association of Cochiti and BAND.

The Pueblo of Cochiti has been an active member of the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee, which met on April 16, 1999; June 3, 1999; July 28, 1999; September 16, 1999 and January 28, 2000 (see above).

Conclusions

Literature search and further consultation confirm historic, religious, geographic and contemporary associations between Cochiti Pueblo and BAND.

San Felipe Pueblo

Ethnography, Traditional History and Ethnohistory

The San Felipe emergence story as recorded by Bunzel (Bunzel 1928) mentions White House (Kackatrik) and also has it that katchina ceremonies were introduced during the migrations of the people, but does not mention Frijoles Canyon or any other particular site. Strong (Strong 1979:392) has it that "the Keresans have been traced to an area centering around Chaco Canyon and extending north to the Aztec and Mesa Verde regions and, perhaps, southeast to Acoma and the middle Puerco River. Because of a severe drought and other climatic changes, the Keresans moved to the southeast in the late thirteenth century. They were certainly inhabiting the Rio Grande by the end of the fourteenth century."

White (White 1932b:8) accepts that San Felipe and Cochiti antecedents last lived as one community in the pueblo of Kuapa, after leaving Frijoles Canyon: "After Kuapa was destroyed, then, it would seem, some of the survivors founded Cochiti, and others San Felipe, the aboriginal name of the latter being Katishtya."

"According to their origin myth, the San Felipes lived at El Rito de los Frijoles with the Cochitis and Santo Domingos (Akens 1993:124)." Bandelier (1890-1892, 2:166) states that the ancestors of San Felipe and Cochiti were one people who lived in successive pueblos, the last inhabited jointly being Kuapa.

Mindeleff (Mindeleff 1989:40) records a relationship between San Felipe and First Mesa Hopi (Walpi), specifically that a group of migrants from San Felipe spoke the same language as the people of Walpi, immigrated to Walpi and then returned to San Felipe. Mindeleff has it that "Payupki" was inhabited by people from San Felipe. Stubbs, however (Stubbs 1950:31) tells us that Payupki is the Hopi name for people from Sandia and for the pueblo they inhabited on Second Mesa after the Pueblo Revolt. Yava (Yava 1978:1) agrees with Stubbs.

Recent Consultation

The consultants made a presentation to tribal representatives about the project on 7/31/96. The tribe requested further information that was sent on 10/21/96. Consultant Merlan met with tribal representative Bruce Garcia on 10/27/98, and again with War Chief Michael Sandoval and Bruce Garcia on May 12, 1999. The Pueblo of San Felipe has been an active member of the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee (see above). Tribal representatives attended a field day of the BAND Tribal Consultation Committee on June 3, 1999.

Conclusions

Literature search and further consultation confirm historic and contemporary associations between San Felipe Pueblo and BAND.

San Ildefonso Pueblo

Ethnography, Traditional History and Ethnohistory

San Ildefonso traces its ancestry to "north of Mesa Verde" and its migration to the Pajarito Plateau, where ancestors established the villages of Potsuwi'i and Tsankawi (Edelman 1979:312). Whitman (Whitman 1947:3) recorded a tradition of a northern origin "some say from Mesa Verde - and that, moving south, they came in time to occupy the villages of Potsuwi, Sankewi, and Otowi, among the high mountains of the Pajarito Plateau. Later, as the sources of water gradually failed, they were forced into the valley of the Rio Grande, where the Spaniards found them in the sixteenth century." Hewett (Hewett 1909b:668) also considers Tsirege to be ancestral to San Ildefonso.

Henderson and Harrington (1914:15) note information about traditional San Ildefonso hunting on the Pajarito Plateau.

Recent Consultation

In 1987, with reference to proposed archeological excavation/data recovery, Governor Louis Naranjo, Jr. sent a letter of support for the Santo Domingo position that there should be no excavations or removal of human remains and stated that they had not received a copy of the NPS request for comments. San Ildefonso Pueblo then offered a statement of affiliation (cited above).

Consultation with BAND personnel in the first phase of the present project also indicates that there may be a series of San Ildefonso shrines along the Rio Grande within BAND. However, these have not been further identified.

San Ildefonso Pueblo responded to a project questionnaire issued in the fall of 1998 (the response was dated January 8, 1999). This response is being presented to BAND as a separate item, together with other questionnaires answered by other pueblos. In its response, San Ildefonso confirmed its traditional relationship to BAND, and specified the resources in BAND that the pueblo collects and will continue to collect.

San Ildefonso sent a representative to the general project meeting of September 16, 1998, and has been an active member of the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee. San Ildefonso representatives participated in the Consultation Committee meeting of April 16, 1999, the Committee field day of June 3, 1999, the Tsankawi unit planning meeting of July 28, 1999 and the Consultation Committee meetings of September 16, 1999 and January 28, 2000 (see Table 1).

Conclusions

Literature search and further consultation confirm historic, religious, geographic and contemporary associations between San Ildefonso Pueblo and BAND. San Ildefonso representatives emphasize the historic association between the pueblo and the Tsankawi Unit.

Santa Clara Pueblo

Ethnography, Traditional History and Ethnohistory

Hill (Hill 1982:xxvi) identifies Puye as an ancestral Santa Clara site. He also generally mentions associated prehistoric sites "elsewhere on the Pajarito Plateau to the south or in the Chama Valley to the northwest (Hill 1982:6)."

Hill also establishes a relationship between the Santa Clara Kwirana Society and the Cochiti K'osa, or Koshare (Ku-sha'li) Society. "Headquarters for the Santa Clara Kwirana Society was located at the Keresan pueblo of Cochiti...(Hill 1982:296)." The existence of inter-pueblo religious entities recalls the comments of Habicht-Mauche (Habicht-Mauche 1990:17).

Recent Consultation

The consultants made a presentation about this project to tribal representatives on 7/31/96. Tribal representatives consulted with BAND on 9/16/98. Tribal representatives attended the Consultation Committee meetings of September 16, 1998, April 16, 1999; September 16, 1999 and January 28, 2000 (see Table 1).

Conclusions

A historic association is suggested by the literature and by consultation. Further information may be developed through the BAND Tribal Consultation Committee.

Santo Domingo Pueblo

Ethnography, Traditional History and Ethnohistory

White (White 1935:11) records that "the Indians of Santo Domingo, in common with other Keresan pueblos, have a legend which tells of their emergence from the inner earth at a place 'in the north.' From this place of emergence, Shipap, they migrated southward. Groups broke off from the main body, so the legend goes, and founded various pueblos. Bandelier became acquainted with these legends at Cochiti. The people there told him that the caves of the Rito, as well as the three pueblo ruins, were the work of their ancestors..." One informant told White that the old men of Santo Domingo used to say that the Santo Domingo people formerly lived at Frijoles Canyon.

Lange (Lange 1979:379) repeats that "the Santo Domingo lived at White House, also to the north of their present location. It was during this period that many of the tribes divided into their present tribal units, Santo Domingo included...tradition has it the Keresans (and perhaps others) remained together as recently as their joint occupancy of Frijoles Canyon."

Recent Consultation

In consultation prior to this project, Santo Domingo Pueblo confirmed its religious association with BAND. This statement, cited above, bears repeating:

The Pueblo of Santo Domingo has a very close and religious association with Bandelier Monuments. Together with Cochiti and San Felipe, we are in large part descended from this area, and we have several locations of religious importance there today. (Governor Donicio Calabaza and Lt. Governor Alex Bailon to Eldon G. Reyer, 21 May 1987)

The consultants met with tribal officials on November 5, 1998 to advise Santo Domingo further concerning the project and to invite the pueblo to join the Consultation Committee. Santo Domingo was invited to the committee meeting and field day of April 16 and June 3, 1999. The consultants met further with Santo Domingo officials on August 22, 1999 and September 14, 1999.

Conclusions

The literature indicates that antecedents of the Santo Domingo people occupied Frijoles Canyon. The pueblo confirms this association but to date has not participated in meetings of the Consultation Committee.

Zuni Pueblo

Ethnography, Traditional History and Ethnohistory

Ford, Schroeder and Peckham (1972) believe that the Zunis developed near their present location. Several authorities including Swadesh (Swadesh 1954) suggest a linguistic relationship to California Penutian. That several Zuni societies use the Shrine of the Stone Lions is well-documented (Ladd 1983), but the literature does not suggest an actual occupation of the Pajarito Plateau by Zuni people.

Edmund J. Ladd (1983:177) had also stated:

"*shipa:pulima*—This is a place used by the *a:shiwi* and the Rio Grande Pueblos near Redondo Peak in the Jemez Mountains. The curing societies gain

their power and strength from this shrine. It is the origin place for some of the curing societies and until about 1890 or the early 1900's it was visited annually by the *shi:wana:que* curing society. Members of the *a:pilha:shiwanni*, the Bow Priest, the */anshe:que* (Bear) clan, the Galaxy curing society (the *na:we:que*), and the Kachina Chief (*Ko/moss-Ona*) made a pilgrimage to the shrine in the spring of 1980. This is identified as the Stone Lions in Bandelier National Monument on the Pajarito Plateau in the Jemez Mountains."

Recent Consultation

In May 1986, Zuni Governor Chauncey Simplicio contacted Chief of Cultural Resources Larry Nordby in the Southwest Regional Office, National Park Service, Santa Fe, with concerns about the proposed survey and testing program at Bandelier. Governor Simplicio's letter stated the Zuni association with Bandelier in great detail, noting in particular their association with the Shrine of the Stone Lions (see above).

Consultant Merlan met with the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team on August 21, 1996. The ZCRAT discussed protection of specific sites and the need for continuing access to those sites.

The Pueblo of Zuni sent representatives to a general meeting on September 16, 1998. Zuni agreed to participate in the consultation committee representing those tribes and pueblos with a known traditional affiliation with BAND. Subsequently, Zuni returned a project questionnaire confirming its traditional relationship to BAND and proposing further consultation in the Monument. This response, dated September 16, 1998, has been presented to BAND as a separate item, together with other questionnaires answered by other pueblos. In its response, Zuni confirmed that eight traditional Zuni societies ascribe significance to BAND. The response also stated in general terms that traditional Zuni societies use plant, mineral and cultural resources in BAND.

Subsequent consultation suggests that ten Zuni societies ascribe cultural and religious significance to BAND, while an unconfirmed number of other Zuni religious groups may ascribe significance to BAND, and three extinct Zuni societies also ascribed such significance to BAND (Loren Panteah; personal communication 2000)

Tribal representatives attended Consultation Committee meetings of September 16, 1998 and April 14, 1999; the Committee field day of June 3, 1999; and the Committee meetings of July 28, 1999, September 16, 1999 and January 28, 2000.

Representatives of the *Shi:wana:kwe* Society, *Newe:kwe* Society, *Achiyanne/Halo:kwe* Society, *Chikk'yali:kwe* Society and *Uhuhu:kwe* Society visited BAND in the period November 2-4, 1999. They visited the Shrine of the Stone Lions and noted as well that they had visited places of special significance between Zuni and BAND. A Zuni spokesman stated that Long House (which they call White House), Ceremonial Cave and Rainbow House are also places of traditional significance to groups at Zuni.

Representatives of all these societies, plus a representative of the Shuma:kwe Society, revisited BAND on December 27, 1999.

Loren Panteah, former director of the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office, Pueblo of Zuni, noted that Zuni pilgrimages to BAND declined in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries due to the encroachment of other tribes and changes in land status that made pilgrimages more difficult and dangerous (Loren Panteah; personal communication 2000). Panteah also noted that Zuni oral history claims an actual Zuni occupation of the Pajarito Plateau from Pueblo II to Pueblo III times.

Conclusions

The literature delineates, and tribal representatives confirm, traditional and religious associations between Zuni and BAND, including periodic visits to a major shrine and various resource uses.

Five other pueblos and tribes participated in the consultations described above, and asked to be advised of the activities of the BAND Tribal Consultation Committee. Accordingly, they have received the minutes of all Committee meetings. None of these tribes has a specific known affiliation with BAND, although several have alluded to historic relationships (see further below) and further information may be obtained in consultation with the tribe and through the Tribal Consultation Committee.

Acoma Pueblo

White (1932a:142) records the origin and migration story of Acoma. As with other Keres-speaking communities, Acoma people speak of the emergence, their subsequent residence at White House, and their movement south to Ako (white rock). Benedict records a reference to Frijoles Canyon (Benedict 1931:185), but this comes from Cochiti, and apparently proceeds from the understanding that all the people who spoke the same language were at Frijoles. Sedgewick (Sedgewick 1926:ix) seems to make the same assumption. We have not seen a clearly stated Acoma tradition of association with Frijoles Canyon or the Pajarito Plateau.

In response to a questionnaire issued by BAND in 1998, the Pueblo of Acoma stated that it had no known tradition of Frijoles Canyon, Tsankawi, or the Pajarito Plateau, nor was there any known historic relationship between Acoma Pueblo and any lands now within BAND. The Pueblo advised BAND to consult further with the affiliated pueblos, while also asking to be kept informed of the activities of the Committee.

The questionnaire completed by Acoma Pueblo has been separately submitted to BAND by the consultants.

Zia Pueblo

White (1962:17) states that the people of Zia Pueblo also claim an origin "at a place in the North" and a tradition of having lived at White House (1962:118-119) but that they "have no legends, as far as I could discover, of having lived at some other location . . . Nor have they any legendary account, as distinguished from the origin-migration myth, of the initial occupation of their present site."

In response to a questionnaire issued by BAND in 1998, the Pueblo of Zia responded that it had a tradition of religious and social interaction with the lands now within BAND, and knowledge of a historic relationship with BAND. The pueblo, however, declined to provide this information. Further consultation with the pueblo and through the Tribal Consultation Committee may elicit further information.

The questionnaire completed by Zia Pueblo has been separately submitted to BAND by the consultants.

San Juan Pueblo

Ortiz (1979:280) states that Tewa tradition holds that after the emergence from the place of origin, the Tewa migrated down both sides of the Rio Grande, establishing ten different villages on each side along the way before reuniting at Posi'owinge [sic] village at the hot springs near modern Ojo Caliente, 18 miles northwest of present San Juan Pueblo. From there they dispersed into the seven separate communities known in historic times, including Jacona (which no longer survives) between present-day Pojoaque and San Ildefonso.

Archeological evidence of Tewa prehistory includes numerous ancestral village sites on both sides of the Rio Grande and the Rio Chama. Most of these sites are west of the Rio Grande. These are known by Tewa names and have been claimed by the Tewa as ancestral villages since Bandelier first began investigating the subject.

Ortiz is the modern authority on San Juan. He does not refer to the Pajarito Plateau in his discussion of San Juan, nor is there any authority to suggest a relationship between this pueblo and the plateau.

In response to a questionnaire issued by BAND in 1998, as well as in consultation (Herman Agoyo; personal communication 1998) San Juan Pueblo replied that it had an oral tradition of plant and animal use on the Pajarito Plateau, and a historic relationship with lands now within BAND. The pueblo said further that information shared by tribal elders was under review. The authors requested further information. At this writing we have not received any further details. Further consultation with the pueblo and through the Tribal Consultation Committee may elicit further information.

The questionnaire completed by San Juan Pueblo has been separately submitted to BAND by the consultants.

The Hopi Tribe and Hopi-Tewa Village (Hano)

The Hopi have strong traditions of migrations from the Colorado River and southern Arizona to the modern Hopi Mesas, as well as a tradition that groups from the Rio Grande joined the people at Homolovi, near present-day Winslow (Courlander 1971:72). These eastern groups, however, do not appear to be further identified. Yava (1978:1) calls them "some people called Payupkis from the Rio Grande" who settled on Second Mesa. These people, Yava says, supposedly returned to the Rio Grande to live in the Pueblo of Sandia. Mindeleff (1989:40) gives us a different version of this story. Stubbs (1950:31) agrees with Yava. "Quite a few other eastern groups came here at different times" Yava adds (1978:1), "but most of them stayed only a few years and then left." Yava emphasizes the urban nature of a pueblo, absorbing groups—Eastern Pueblos, Pimas, Apaches—from all points of the compass.

Dozier (1954, 1966) describes the First Mesa community of Hano (Hopi-Tewa) in detail. Like some other investigators, he suggests a Mesa Verdean and Chacoan origin for the Tewa.

Hewett (1908a:31) identifies Tsawari or San Cristobal, the community near Santa Cruz where the displaced Tano lived after leaving the Galisteo Basin and before moving to First Mesa, Arizona. Yava (1978:27-28) also talks about this site. Kroskity (1993) analyzes Arizona Tewa and its New Mexico counterpart.

The Hopi Tribe replied to a questionnaire issued by BAND in 1998. In this response, the Tribe referred to, but declined to give information about, an oral tradition of the occupation of the lands now forming BAND. The Tribe directly asserted a historic relationship between Hopi and the lands now forming BAND. Further consultation with the pueblo and through the Tribal Consultation Committee may elicit further information.

The questionnaire completed by the Hopi Tribe has been separately submitted to BAND by the consultants.

The authors also discussed the project with the Town Chief of Hano (see Table 1). We did not receive any further information.

The Navajo Nation

Prior to this project, the Navajo Nation had not consulted with BAND about traditional associations. Bandelier (Bandelier 1890-1892: 1:33) notes that Cochiti informants had told him that Navajo and Tewa raids were one reason for the Cochitis' abandonment of the Frijoles area. Similarly, Hill (Hill 1982: 233) mentions the traditional enmity of Santa Clara and Navajo people. In 1998, the Navajo Nation commented on a proposed

undertaking in the Tsankawi unit. Navajo Nation representatives visited Tsankawi and noted petroglyphs that they thought resembled Navajo deities. In commenting on this, they noted that three Navajo clans and a subset of a fourth trace their origins to historic and proto-historic puebloan settlements along the Rio Grande, and that these groups brought with them certain knowledge that contributed to the Navajo way of life. They concluded that the "Navajo-like" images at Tsankawi might attest to the "varied and complex origins of the Navajo people."

Taken together, these statements suggest both Navajo cultural origins along the Rio Grande and hostile Navajo incursions into the same area. The suggested pattern, in which Navajo people both raid the pueblos and accept culture traits from them, may be the nature of traditional association between BAND and the Navajo Nation. The Navajo Nation also recognized an affiliation among BAND and several pueblos including San Ildefonso. At its request, the Navajo Nation has received notes of all meetings of the BAND Tribal Consultation Committee.

The correspondence referred to here is on file at BAND headquarters.

Jemez Pueblo

As noted above, a Jemez spokesman has noted that while Jemez does not claim any direct ancestral relationship to BAND, Jemez antecedents had prehistoric economic and military relations with the inhabitants of what is now Bandelier National Monument.

Also as noted, Jemez Pueblo defers to San Ildefonso and Santa Clara Pueblos in matters relating to the mesa tops in Bandelier National Monument, to San Ildefonso and Cochiti when the monument area further south is under consideration, and to Cochiti regarding the area around the Dome Road and in the southwest segment of the Monument.

Other Pueblos

No traditional association between the Pueblos of Tesuque, Isleta, Laguna, Taos, Nambe, Picuris, Pojoaque, Sandia, Santa Ana or Ysleta del Sur has been confirmed either by the literature or in consultation.

Other Tribes

The Comanche Tribe, the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, the Southern Ute Tribe, and the Kiowa Tribe have no known traditional association with BAND. No such association has been confirmed either by the literature or through consultation.

Consultations between Bandelier National Monument and more than one pueblo

The consultants made a general presentation about the project on July 31, 1996. The

consultants made this presentation to representatives of the following pueblos: Cochiti, Isleta, Laguna, Nambe, Picuris, Pojoaque, Sandia, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Zia, and Zuni. During this consultation the authors suggested a direct affiliation, as revealed in the literature, between Bandelier National Monument and the pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, and Zuni, as well as an indirect affiliation of Bandelier National Monument with the Village of Hano (Hopi-Tewa) and an uncertain affiliation with the Pueblo of Jemez.

As noted above, representatives of BAND and the consultants met with representatives of the pueblos of Acoma, Cochiti, Laguna, Nambe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, Taos, Zia and Zuni and a representative of the Navajo Nation on September 16, 1998. At this meeting, BAND and the representatives of Cochiti, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara and Zuni agreed to form a consultation committee to advise BAND on matters relating to current management and its effects on traditional use.

With the consent of the Tribal Consultation Committee following discussion at its meeting of September 16, 1999, the consultants sent a letter and project description to the All Indian Pueblo Council.

Conclusions

The literature search and consultations described above suggest several types of association between existing pueblos and the area now within Bandelier National Monument. These types of association are set forth and used here because they are directly suggested by the literature and by the results of consultation. They do not follow any established classification, nor do they reflect the more holistic view that Pueblo people embrace in constructing their view of a cultural landscape. The categories are intended to reflect the distinctions that the literature and consultations suggest as a basis for asserting a cultural affiliation with Bandelier National Monument.

Historic associations are those that may be drawn between sites on the Pajarito Plateau and existing pueblo communities. In such an association, there is material or linguistic evidence to show that the antecedents of inhabitants of a modern pueblo inhabited Frijoles Canyon or the Tsankawi unit.

Religious associations are those indicated by religious use of sites or resources within Bandelier National Monument by modern Pueblos.

Contemporary associations may be historic or religious, or both, or may not recognizably fall in either category, but consist in use of the land or resources for some traditional purpose such as plant collecting for pottery making, or collection of some other raw material for a craft.

Geographic associations are those that exist due to geographic proximity.

Although the literature suggests that Keresan speakers may have inhabited the Rio Grande in developmental times and that Tanoan speakers may also have inhabited the general area in developmental times, the occupants of the Pajarito Plateau before approximately A.D. 1290 are not distinctly associated with any modern pueblo, as far as the literature indicates.

The literature leads to the conclusion, and consultations confirm, that the pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and Santo Domingo are *historically associated* with Bandelier National Monument.

According to the literature, Cochiti and San Ildefonso appear to retain a clear tribal tradition of this association. Consultation has made it clear that this is the case. San Felipe, Santa Clara, and Santo Domingo do not refer to such a tradition, as far as the literature indicates. In NAGPRA and previous consultation, Santo Domingo has stressed its association with Bandelier National Monument as well as those of Cochiti and San Felipe.

The consultations with the pueblos indicate that Cochiti and San Ildefonso also have a *geographic association* with Bandelier National Monument—that is, that they have an association with the monument based on proximity, as distinguished from historic or religious associations. Some responses from other pueblos to the effect that “the monument should deal with the pueblos that are closer” suggests a recognition of this type of association. It is probably not a coincidence that the strongest and most frequently reiterated associations are those stated by the nearest-neighbor pueblos, Cochiti and San Ildefonso. The converse of this observation, of course, is that some pueblos further away may have lost the tradition of historic association with the monument because the geographic association is absent. Hopi and Zuni, however, retain strong oral traditions of their association with sites on the Pajarito Plateau.

The literature and consultations indicate that the pueblos of Cochiti and Zuni maintain *religious associations* with Bandelier National Monument. In the case of Cochiti, historic and religious associations are related. In the case of Zuni, the literature clearly shows the religious association but does not tell us its age or origins. There is also evidence derived from consultation with NPS staff (see above) to indicate a continuing religious association of San Ildefonso Pueblo with Bandelier National Monument.

There is evidence to show that the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, San Ildefonso, and Zuni maintain *contemporary associations* with Bandelier National Monument. Some uses, for example, religious, are countenanced by the National Park Service, while others, for example, hunting, are now specifically prohibited.

Management recommendations

Management recommendations that have been put forward by the Bandelier National

Monument Tribal Consultation Committee (BANDTCC) are as follows.

(1) The BANDTCC recommends a memorandum of agreement between the Committee and BAND (see Appendix 1 below).

(2) The BANDTCC recommends a role and function statement for the Committee (to be periodically reviewed. See Appendix 2 below).

(3) The BANDTCC recommends that information collected by the project remain confidential. The Committee also requested that sensitive information not be recorded.

(4) The BANDTCC recommends that NPS provide funding to sustain cultural resources working groups, such as the Consultation Committee.

(5) The BANDTCC recommends that tribal conservatism and secrecy always be taken into account. This consideration is referred to above and is understood as a necessary limitation on the methods and expected results of the project.

(6) The BANDTCC further recommends that site-specific information be protected from disclosure under federal law. To protect sites, the terms of discussion in Consultation Committee meetings should remain general. Meetings should not be tape recorded. Tribes should offer only the information needed for management purposes. Again, this consideration is understood as a necessary limitation on the methods and expected results of the project.

(7) The BANDTCC further recommends that summary information and draft correspondence be issued by BAND every February to advise the six member pueblos of the Committee of the history, role and functions of the committee and to ensure continuing consultation.

(8) The BANDTCC further recommends that the NPS, universities and museums offer training, e.g. internships, to tribal representatives in the areas of resource management, fire management, cultural and natural resource surveys, and related areas.

(9) The BANDTCC further recommends that the NPS share resource management and inventory reports with the member tribes.

(10) The BANDTCC further states that continued access to areas of traditional use and concern throughout the Monument is essential. The Committee recommends that the NPS give representatives of traditionally associated tribes an opportunity to see and evaluate any such areas.

(11) The BANDTCC further recommends that Indian people be notified and

wherever possible involved in the planning and implementation of surveys - e.g. of vegetation and other natural and cultural resources - as well as informed of the results.

(12) The BANDTCC further recommends that the final report of the project be distributed to all nineteen New Mexico pueblos and to other pueblos and tribes that have specifically requested to be kept informed.

(13) The BANDTCC further recommends that site information and research on previously recorded sites be incorporated into existing Monument review processes.

(14) The BANDTCC further recommends that minutes of meetings of the committee be distributed to the committee members and to the five additional pueblos and tribes that have requested further information and consultation.

(15) The BANDTCC further recommends that tribes with no known traditional affiliation to BAND that request consultation on specific management issues and specific sites or areas of traditional use and concern be advised to request on-site consultation with the Superintendent and staff, and that such consultation be coordinated with and through the Tribal Consultation Committee to the fullest extent compatible with federal and tribal law.

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Appendices

memorandum of understanding

role and function statement

draft letter to Governors of Committee member pueblos

questionnaire (form)

Appendix 1

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

REGARDING CONSULTATION BETWEEN BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT AND THE TRIBES HAVING A TRADITIONAL CULTURAL AFFILIATION WITH THE LANDS WITHIN THE MONUMENT

among

Bandelier National Monument, the Pueblo of Cochiti, the Pueblo of San Felipe, the Pueblo of San Ildefonso, the Pueblo of Santa Clara, the Pueblo of Santo Domingo and the Pueblo of Zuni.

ARTICLE I: BACKGROUND

Whereas, the National Park Service, Bandelier National Monument recognizes its responsibilities under federal laws and policies including the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470), the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (P.L. 95-341), the Archeological Resources Protection Act (P.L. 96-95; 16 U.S.C. 470aa, 93 Stat. 712); Director's Order 28 (Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Chapter 10, "Management of Ethnographic Resources;" and Management Policies (NPS, 1988) as they apply to Bandelier National Monument; and

Whereas, the National Park Service, Bandelier National Monument (hereafter referred to as "the Monument") has researched the published and unpublished literature relating to the traditional associations between the lands now within the Monument and any existing tribe or traditional group, as called for in Director's Order 28 (Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Chapter 10, "Management of Ethnographic Resources"); and

Whereas, the Monument has consulted all the New Mexico and Arizona pueblos, as well as the Navajo Nation, the Pueblo of Ysleta del Sur, the Comanche Tribe, the Kiowa Tribe, the Southern Ute Tribe and the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, consistent with Management Policies (NPS, 1988), to determine whether any of these tribes has a traditional association with the Monument; and

Whereas, as a result of these investigations and consultations, the Monument recognizes the past and present traditional cultural affiliation of the Pueblo of Cochiti, the Pueblo of San Felipe, the Pueblo of San Ildefonso, the Pueblo of Santa Clara, the Pueblo of Santo Domingo and the Pueblo of Zuni (hereafter referred to as "the Pueblos"), and the Pueblos confirm this traditional cultural affiliation, with the lands that now form the Monument; and

Whereas, the Pueblos are sovereign entities that may consult with agencies of the federal government on a government-to-government basis; and,

Whereas, the Pueblos have a fundamental and continuing interest in lands and sites traditionally occupied and used by members and representatives of the Pueblos; and,

Whereas, the Pueblos are federally-Recognized Indian Tribes; and,

Whereas, the Tribal Council of each Pueblo is the formally constituted governing body of the Pueblo; and,

ARTICLE II: STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Whereas, the interests of communities and groups traditionally associated with national parks or monuments are "important considerations in the selection of proposed actions" (Management Policies, 1988, Chapter 2:7); and,

Whereas, any action of the Monument that may affect cultural resources may be undertaken only if, in cases involving ethnographic resources, traditionally associated groups have been consulted and their concerns have been taken into account; and,

Whereas, the management of cultural landscapes must recognize and protect significant ethnographic values; and,

Whereas, "the fundamental relationships that often exist between park resources and the integrity of contemporary native American and other cultures necessitate that the National Park Service consult with affected communities before reaching decisions about the treatment of traditionally associated resources [and] the identities of community consultants and information about sacred and other culturally sensitive places and practices will be kept confidential when research agreements or other circumstances warrant [and] the research use of community consultants or respondents will be subject to their informed consent" (Management Policies, Chapter 5:12); and,

Whereas, "information regarding the location, nature, and cultural context of archeological, historic, and ethnographic resources may be exempted from public disclosure" (Management Policies, Chapter 5:13); and,

Whereas, the Monument is required to develop and execute programs in a manner reflecting knowledge of and respect for the cultures, including religious traditions, of American Indian tribes or groups with demonstrated ancestral ties to particular resources in parks, as established by systematic archeological or ethnographic studies (Management Policies, Chapter 8:9); and,

Whereas, "certain contemporary native American and other communities are permitted by law, regulation, or policy to pursue customary religious... and other... uses of park resources with which they are traditionally associated...the National Park Service will plan and execute programs in ways that safeguard cultural and natural resources while reflecting informed concern for the contemporary peoples and cultures traditionally associated with them" (Management Policies,

Chapter 5:11); and,

Whereas, the Pueblo of Cochiti, the Pueblo of San Felipe, the Pueblo of San Ildefonso, the Pueblo of Santa Clara, the Pueblo of Santo Domingo and the Pueblo of Zuni have formed a committee known as the "Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee" (hereafter referred to as the "Consultation Committee"); and

Whereas, the Consultation Committee has promulgated a role and function statement establishing that the primary purpose of the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee is to establish and maintain an effective means of communication and consultation between American Indian communities, pueblos and tribes that are traditionally associated with the lands and cultural and natural resources that now comprise Bandelier National Monument, and the Monument, that is charged with preserving and protecting these lands and resources for the American people;

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

ARTICLE III: STATEMENT OF WORK

The Consultation Committee includes representatives of the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo and Zuni. With the unanimous consent of the parties to this agreement, representatives of other federally recognized tribes may be invited to attend the committee's meetings to consult on specific issues.

The Consultation Committee will meet regularly, and not less often than twice annually and at other times as agreed by the Committee and the Monument, at convenient and appropriate locations including but not limited to Bandelier National Monument.

The Superintendent of the Monument or his designee will meet with the Consultation Committee as requested by the Committee.

The Committee will discuss and consult on issues and concerns that may affect the preservation and interpretation of American Indian cultural and natural heritage, as well as National Park Service operational planning for the preservation and protection of the cultural and natural resources of Bandelier National Monument.

At meetings of the Consultation Committee, the Monument shall be represented by the Superintendent or his designee, and the Pueblos shall be represented by the respective Tribal Councils or their designees.

The Consultation Committee will work in close consultation with the Monument to identify, interpret, preserve and protect traditional cultural and natural resources and to safeguard their continuing use by traditional communities consistent with the requirements of park management.

The Monument and the Committee will consult, to the greatest extent practicable and authorized by federal and tribal law, prior to the Monument's taking any actions that affect cultural and natural resources within the Monument. Such consultation may be by telephone and correspondence if essential to meet deadlines, but will usually take place in person. At a minimum, the subjects to be covered by consultation will include Monument planning documents, natural and cultural resource management projects and proposed development.

The Monument and the Committee will pursue opportunities to work cooperatively on economic development and educational projects of benefit to the Monument and the Pueblos.

The Monument and the Pueblos will place special emphasis on working together on cultural issues including but not limited to protection of archeological sites; exchange of information regarding Pueblo culture and sites of cultural significance; and the Monument's programs for the interpretation of the cultures of the Pueblos.

The Monument will, to the fullest extent permitted by federal and tribal law and consistent with the responsible stewardship of Monument resources, provide for the collection of natural resources used in Pueblo traditional activities.

The Monument and the Pueblos will share all relevant information, to the extent permitted by federal law and tribal requirements of confidentiality, pertaining to the inventory and management of Monument lands and cultural and natural resources. Research, transfer of technology and technical assistance will be important elements of this government-to-government relationship.

To the extent permitted by federal law and by funding allocations, the Monument will recruit, employ and train students and juniors who are members of the Pueblos.

The proceedings of the Consultation Committee will remain confidential to the extent authorized by applicable federal and tribal law. Consistent with Management Policies, Chapter 5:13, information regarding the location, nature, and cultural context of archeological, historic, and ethnographic resources within the Monument will be exempted from public disclosure.

No formal charter is required for the committee to meet as a cooperative consultative body to carry out its purposes.

ARTICLE IV. ADDITIONAL AGREEMENTS

This memorandum of understanding is among the National Park Service, Bandelier National Monument and the Pueblos. The parties to this MOU do not represent any other units of the National Park System or Indian Tribes.

Memoranda of agreement or understanding between the Monument and the Consultation Committee may be developed for other purposes, e.g. compliance with particular federal laws or

data recovery projects.

Nothing in this MOU shall abrogate the statutory or regulatory authority or responsibility of any of the parties.

ARTICLE V. TERM OF AGREEMENT

Unless earlier terminated pursuant to Article VI below, this Memorandum shall remain in effect through December 30, 2010, subject to the right of any party to terminate in accordance with Article VI hereof and may be renewed by mutual agreement of the parties.

This MOU may be revised or modified as necessary by mutual consent of all parties through the issuance of a written amendment, signed and dated by all parties.

ARTICLE VI. TERMINATION

Any party may withdraw from this Memorandum at any time with provision of sixty (60) days written notice to the other parties.

ARTICLE VII: STANDARD CLAUSES

Civil Rights

During the performance of this agreement, the parties agree to abide by the terms of USDI-Civil Rights Assurance Certification, non-discrimination and will not discriminate against any person because of race, color, religion or national origin.

Officials Not to Benefit

No member or delegate to Congress, or resident Commissioner, shall be admitted to any share or part of this Agreement, or to any benefit that may arise therefrom, but this provision shall not be construed to extend to this Agreement if made with a corporation for its general benefit.

In witness whereof, the chief executive officers of the Pueblos and the Superintendent, Bandelier National Monument have signed and executed this Memorandum of Understanding.

ARTICLE VIII. MULTIPLE COUNTERPARTS

This document may be executed in multiple counterparts, and when taken together, shall be deemed as one instrument.

Governor, Pueblo of Cochiti (date)

Governor, Pueblo of San Felipe (date)

Governor, Pueblo of San Ildefonso (date)

Governor, Pueblo of Santa Clara (date)

Governor, Pueblo of Santo Domingo (date)

Governor, Pueblo of Zuni (date)

Superintendent, Bandelier National Monument (date)

Appendix 2

BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT TRIBAL CONSULTATION COMMITTEE Role and Function Statement

The primary purpose of the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee is to establish and maintain an effective means of communication and consultation between pueblos and tribes that are traditionally associated with the lands and cultural and natural resources that now comprise Bandelier National Monument, and Bandelier National Monument, National Park Service, that is charged with preserving and protecting these lands and resources for the American people.

In this capacity, the committee will work in close consultation with Bandelier National Monument to identify, interpret, preserve and protect traditional cultural and natural resources and to safeguard their continuing use by pueblos and tribes consistent with the requirements of park management.

The committee includes designated representatives of the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo and Zuni. Representatives of other traditional communities may attend the committee's meetings to consult on specific issues.

Bandelier National Monument will issue annual updates to the member pueblos on the role, functions and activities of the Committee and to propose meeting dates for the year.

The committee will meet regularly at convenient and appropriate locations including but not limited to Bandelier National Monument. A preliminary meeting will take place sometime between the last week in January and the end of February each year to review the activities of the past year, to conduct an orientation for the benefit of the current tribal representatives, to consult with the Committee on current management concerns, and to set tentative meeting dates for the current year. At subsequent meetings during the year, the Committee will discuss and consult on issues and concerns that may affect the preservation and interpretation of American Indian cultural and natural heritage, as well as National Park Service operational planning for the preservation and protection of the resources of Bandelier National Monument.

The proceedings of the committee will remain confidential to the extent authorized by applicable federal and tribal law.

No formal charter is required for the committee to meet as a cooperative consultative body to carry out its purposes.

Appendix 3

DRAFT LETTER TO PUEBLO MEMBERS OF
BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT TRIBAL CONSULTATION COMMITTEE
February, 2000 and annually thereafter

Dear Governor ----

In 1996-1997, Bandelier National Monument consulted with twenty-seven pueblos and tribes including ---- Pueblo about the traditional association between the tribe and the lands that now form the Monument. During this consultation the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo and Zuni confirmed their traditional associations with lands and sites of the Monument. A summary of consultation with twenty-seven pueblos and tribes is enclosed.

In 1998-1999, Bandelier National Monument consulted further with these six pueblos. Under federal regulations, the Monument established a committee of representatives of these pueblos to advise and consult with the Monument on the management of the Monument and the preservation and protection of sites and resources of concern to Pueblo people. Representatives of other pueblos and tribes are also welcome to meet with the Tribal Consultation Committee on specific issues and concerns. The summary or matrix of consultation is updated after each meeting of the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee

The Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee meets at least twice each year (in April and September) and at other times as agreed on to consult on management issues affecting Bandelier National Monument and the related traditional concerns of Pueblo people, including resource use, education, youth training and other concerns.

Bandelier National Monument and the traditionally associated pueblos have established a role and function statement (enclosed) describing the Tribal Consultation Committee. They have also entered into [or drafted] a memorandum of understanding (enclosed).

The representative(s) of --- Pueblo who attended the meetings of the BANDTCC last year were ---. We respectfully request that you delegate a representative or representatives to the BANDTCC.

BAND pays consulting fees, mileage and per diem as allowed under federal rules to tribal representatives.

Please call me at 672-3861, Ext. 501 with any questions you have about the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee.

Thank you for your concern and cooperation.

(Signed)
Superintendent, Bandelier National Monument

Enclosures
matrix - rfs - mou

Appendix 4

QUESTIONNAIRE: RESOURCE USE, ACCESS AND PROTECTION BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT

USE BACKS OF PAGES AND ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY

Name of tribe: _____ (date) _____

1. Procedures

- a. Who is authorized to represent the tribe or group within the tribe concerning issues of access to Bandelier National Monument, resource use, special needs or requests?
- b. Has the tribal government named a contact for this project? If so, who is the contact? Please include phone number.
- c. Has any other tribe, tribal group or society, or intertribal entity expressed an intention to consult with the tribe about lands or resources now within Bandelier National Monument? Can you tell us which ones?

2. Access

- a. Have representatives of the tribe or group or society within the tribe made visits to Bandelier National Monument in the past?
- b. If so, do you expect these visits to continue? How often do you think such visits may occur?
- c. How will Bandelier National Monument be advised of such visits?

d. Do you have any special requests concerning these visits?

e. Do you want to visit the Monument as part of the present consultation? If so, please let us know how many people will come, and what their specific requirements may be. Will they want to visit the back country?

f. Please suggest a date or dates between September, 1998 and September, 1999 that would be convenient for a visit to Bandelier National Monument by tribal representatives and elders.

g. Do you want to meet with the Monument superintendent or staff when you are at the Monument?

h. Do you want access to areas that are currently off-limits to visitors?

3. Resource Use, Management and Protection

a. Do you use, or do you propose to use, any plant, mineral or cultural resources in BNM? Can you tell us which ones?

b. Do you collect, or do you propose to collect, any plant, mineral or cultural resource in Bandelier National Monument? Can you tell us which ones?

c. To the knowledge of the tribe, what past human uses may have resulted in the present animal and plant distribution in BNM?

d. Please review the Resource Management Program Five Year Plan/Briefing Statements distributed by Bandelier National Monument at the 9/16/98 meeting. Please comment on any management proposals that may adversely affect resources or areas of concern to the tribe, and recommend alternatives or other actions if possible. Please fill out the last page of this questionnaire.

4. Interpretation

a. Should interpretive materials prepared by Bandelier National Monument for public dissemination mention the tribe? Can you tell us in what way?

b. Does the tribe or any group within or representative of the tribe want to be a part of any interpretation of the Monument, e.g. through cultural demonstrations?

5. Traditions

a. Does the tribe have any oral tradition of Frijoles Canyon, Tsankawi, or the Pajarito Plateau? Does the tribe have any oral tradition of its own occupation of the lands that are now Bandelier National Monument, or occupation by any other tribe or group? If so, can you share any of this information with us?

b. To your knowledge, is there a historic relationship between the tribe and any lands now within Bandelier National Monument? If so, is there any part of this history that you can share with the Monument so as better to inform its management decisions?

c. To your knowledge, did ancestors of the tribe live in Frijoles Canyon or in any area now within Bandelier National Monument?

d. Does the tribe have a name for Frijoles Canyon or any site now within Bandelier National Monument?

e. Do you know what language or languages were spoken by the people who lived in Frijoles Canyon? In Tsankawi? How do you know this?

f. Are there artifacts or objects in Bandelier National Monument that are associated with or that may belong to the tribe? If so, what can you tell us about this?

6. Literature of Bandelier National Monument

a. Please review Bandelier National Monument: Literature Search and Consultation (Levine and Merlan, 1997). Please comment to the extent authorized. Are there matters of concern that are missing from the literature as reported in this document and that should be included? Please comment specifically if possible on the different types of evidence presented (e.g. linguistic, archaeological) and state if possible whether these are accurate or adequate.

b. Is there anything in the Phase I report that should be withheld from publication?

7. Consultation

a. Does the tribe want to consult periodically and generally with the administration of Bandelier National Monument about access, resource use and protection, interpretation or other issues?

b. If so, what general schedule do you recommend, and what general arrangements need to be made to establish this consultation?

c. Does the tribe want to consult either once or periodically about any specific site or area in Bandelier National ? If so, what sites or areas are you concerned about?

d. Does the tribe want a representative of Bandelier National Monument or the contractors to appear before the tribal council or governing authority or other group to discuss the present project?

e. Does the tribe want other tribes, groups or intertribal entities to be involved in consultation with the tribe and Bandelier National Monument? Please explain.

f. If the tribe wants consultation on proposed actions, please specify. Examples are road construction or other permanent modification; fire suppression. Do you want to receive written notice of such actions, or do you want to consult personally?

Please use extra pages if necessary. Number and letter responses as above for convenience.

Name of person completing form: _____

Person/s to contact for further information:

_____ (phone number) _____

_____ (phone number) _____

_____ (phone number) _____

Please return this questionnaire to Thomas Merlan, 1677 Cerro Gordo Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501 by December 31, 1998.

Please indicate 1) whether you are interested in being kept informed about the activity listed, and 2) whether you want to be consulted on major decisions to be made relative to that activity. Please describe how you prefer to be kept informed and or consulted under comments.

Please check all that apply.

Activity	Please Keep Us Informed	We want to be Consulted
Locate and Evaluate the Condition of Archeological Sites		
Restore Pinon-Juniper Woodland Zone Stability		
Develop and Implement a Tsankawi Unit Resource Management Plan		
Use Fire as a Management Tool (Prescribed Fire)		
Use Wildland Fires for Resource Benefits		
Evaluate Elk Impacts and Determine Herd Movement Patterns		
Reestablish Bighorn Sheep in White Rock Canyon		
Monitor Indicators of Ecosystem/Environmental Health		
Monitor the Effects of the Bandelier Fire Management Program		
Protect and Use Cultural Resources Information		
Protect Artifacts in the Collections and Provide Access		
Make the Bandelier Archives Useful		
Alamo and Frijoles Headwaters (Elk Meadows) Legislation		
Baca Acquisition and Dome Diversity Unit Transfer Legislation		
Possibility of a Visitor Experience and Resource Protection (VERP) Study and implementation of the Development Concept Plans (DCPs) for Tsankawi and Frijoles Canyon Developed Areas		
Update the Bandelier Wilderness Management Plan and Develop an Environmental Impact Statement		
Open the Bandelier Highlands to Public Access		
Inadvertent Discovery of Human Remains and Other NAGPRA Materials		
Other (Describe)		

Comments (use other side of page if necessary):

**BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT STUDY OF
TRADITIONALLY ASSOCIATED NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITIES**
Frances Levine Ph.D. and Thomas Merlan, Consultants

Table 1: Summary of Pueblo Community Consultations (draft February, 2000)

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
Ácoma Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Tribal representative Petuuche Gilbert consults with BAND 9/16/98. Completes resource use questionnaire 11/98, noting possibility of past use of BAND and likelihood of future use.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation. Acoma representatives state intent to visit BAND periodically.	See questionnaire on file at BAND ref continuing consultation.
Cochiti Pueblo	Likely	Direct	ICC Traditional Use Claim; Site Specific Use Programmatic Agreements. Archeological Survey and Excavations Consultation, policy for handling human remains, 5/30/90; 6/12/90 report on file NPS, Santa Fe. Request to de-emphasize public interpretation of Shrine of the Stone Lions, 7/91, on file, BAND. Rainbow House verbal recommendations	Meeting, Tribal Land Acquisition Committee. Presentation by consultants Levine and Merlan to tribal representatives Christine Suina and Tony Herrera 7/31/96. Authors consult with tribal officials 9/13/96; Merlan makes presentation to full Tribal Council 9/16/96 Cochiti representatives Gov. Henry Suina and Lt. Gov. Simon Suina consult with BAND 9/16/98; assert traditional association of Cochiti and BAND. No response to resource use questionnaire. Tribal representatives attended Consultation Committee meetings 9/16/98; 4/16/99 and Committee field day in BAND on 6/3/99. Lt. Gov. Cippy Crazyhorse, Joseph C. Quintana and Leonard Trujillo attended Tsankawi planning meeting of 7/28/99. Gov. Isaac P. Herrera and Jose A. Herrera attended Consultation Committee meeting of 9/16/99. Jose A. Herrera, Floyd Pecos and Al Pecos attended Consultation Committee meeting of 1/28/00.	Traditional associations (historic, religious, geographic and contemporary) confirmed by literature and by consultation.	Pueblo of Cochiti is member of BAND Tribal Consultation Committee. Committee meets not less often than twice annually.

Comanche Tribe	Unlikely	Not shown		BAND letter of 8/10/98 invites tribal representatives to consultation 9/16/98 No response to letter or resource use questionnaire	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	
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COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
Hopi Tribe	Likely	Not shown	Hopi Tribal Council Resolution H-70-94 on file, BAND. Telephone record 11/87 on file, BAND. Tribal representative responds to Archeological Research Design, notes that according to tradition several Hopi clans lived in BAND area.	Meeting/Presentation Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team; 3/14/96 Tribal representative Clay Hamilton completes resource use questionnaire 11/12/98, noting past visits by tribal representatives to BAND and likelihood of future visits. Asserts historic relationship between tribe and BAND.	No traditional association with BAND confirmed by literature or in consultation.	See questionnaire on file at BAND (response for Hopi/Tewa) ref continuing consultation.
Hopi-Tewa Village	Likely	Indirect		Correspondence sent to village advisors. Consultant Merlan discusses project with First Mesa Leader Harlan Nakala 1/19/98; sends followup information.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	See questionnaire on file at BAND (response for Hopi/Tewa) ref continuing consultation.
Isleta Pueblo	Likely	Not shown	Rainbow House—requests NPS to determine cultural affiliation; artifacts to be returned; reburial.	Presentation by consultants Levine and Merlan to tribal representative Ben Lucero at NAGPRA meeting, 7/31/96. No response to resource use questionnaire.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or consultation.	
Jémez Pueblo	Likely	Uncertain	Archeological Survey and Excavation Consultation, 5/31/90, report on file, NPS Santa Fe. Jemez opposes test excavation of archeological sites in BAND. Rainbow House—Frijoles considered ancestral Tewa; defers to Tewa people.	Telephone conversation, W. Whatley, Tribal Archeologist 7/15/96. Jemez has deferred in the past to Cochiti and San Ildefonso. Levine and Merlan consult with tribal governor and tribal archeologist 9/20/96. No response to resource use questionnaire.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
Kiowa Tribe	Unlikely	Not shown		Tribal representative George Daingkau calls Thomas Merlan 5/11/98 in response to project correspondence BAND letter of 8/10/98 invites tribal representatives to consultation 9/16/98 No response to resource use questionnaire	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	
Laguna Pueblo	Likely	Not shown	Rainbow House-insufficient tribal resources to respond; reburial preference	Merlan contacts Wilbur Lockwood by telephone 1/7/96; defers to Northern Pueblos Presentation by consultants Levine and Merlan to tribal representative Lloyd Poncho 7/31/96 Tribal representatives Paul D. Pino and Michael A. Lucero consult with BAND 9/16/98. No response to resource use questionnaire.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	
Nambe Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Presentation by consultants Levine and Merlan to tribal representatives Ernest and Constance B. Mirabal at NAGPRA meeting, 7/31/96. Tribal representatives Ernest Mirabal and Constance Mirabal consult with BAND 9/16/98. No response to resource use questionnaire.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
Navajo Nation	Unlikely	Not shown	Tribal representative Richard M. Begay comments on Tsankawi Project in letter dated 9/4/98. Comments from Navajo Nation note that Rio Grande pueblo clans joined Navajos in proto-historic and historic times; note that some Tsankawi petroglyphs may relate to Navajo origins.	Tribal representative Richard M. Begay consults with BAND 9/16/98. No response to resource use questionnaire.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation. Navajo Nation recognizes affiliation of BAND with some pueblos including San Ildefonso.	
Picuris Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Telephone inquiry from tribal representative Richard Mermejo 7/29/96. Presentation by consultants to tribal representatives Joe Quanchello, J. Mermejo Jr. and Richard Mermejo 7/31/96. NO response to resource use questionnaire.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	
Pojoaque Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Telephone contact: Orlando Romero 12/8/95; names Tribal Staff Charlie Tapia as contact. Presentation by consultants to tribal representative Charlie Tapia 7/31/96.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
San Felipe Pueblo	Likely	Direct	Ceremonial Cave--no interest in name change (correspondence of 10/10/95 on file, BAND) Rainbow House supports group recommendations; reburial	Presentation by consultants to tribal representative Mathew Chavez and James Tenorio 7/31/96 Tribal Administrator Doris Sandoval requests information, 10/17/96; mailed 10/21/96 Consultant Merlan meets with Acting Program Administrator Bruce Garcia 10/27/98 to explain project. San Felipe representatives attended Consultation Committee field day on 6/3/99 in BAND. No response to resource use questionnaire.	Literature confirms historic association of San Felipe and BAND.	San Felipe is a member of the BAND Tribal Consultation Committee. Committee meets not less often than twice annually.

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
San Ildefonso Pueblo	Likely	Direct	ICC Traditional Use Claim; Site Specific Use Programmatic Agreements Requests traditional hunting with traditional weaponry for ceremonial use (10/18/94, correspondence on file, BAND and NPS, Santa Fe) Comments Archeological Research Design 5/27/87, asserts close ties, correspondence on file, BAND Archeological Survey and Excavation Consultations, 7/9/90; objection to archeological excavations, report on file NPS Santa Fe. Rainbow House, requests reburial of human remains and sacred object, 12/8/95, correspondence on file, BAND	Presentation by consultants to tribal representatives Timothy Martinez and Martin Aguilar at NAGPRA meeting, 7/31/96 Tribal representative Myron Gonzales consults with BAND 9/16/98; confirms traditional association with BAND. Tribal representatives Myron Gonzales and Bill Wyatt respond to resource use questionnaire 1/8/99; assert traditional association with BAND. Tribal representative Myron Gonzales attended Consultation Committee meetings 9/16/98; 4/16/99; Committee field day in BAND on 6/3/99; Tsankawi planning meeting 7/28/99; Consultation Committee meeting 9/16/99. Tribal representatives Peter M. Martinez and Myron Gonzales attended Consultation Committee meeting of 1/28/00.	Traditional associations (historic, geographic and contemporary) confirmed by literature and by consultation. Religious association is suggested by consultation, but is not explicitly stated.	San Ildefonso is a member of the BAND Tribal Consultation Committee. Committee meets not less often than twice annually. See questionnaire on file at BAND ref continuing consultation.

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
San Juan Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Tribal representative Herman Agoyo consults with BAND 9/16/98. H. Agoyo completes resource use questionnaire 12/10/98. Notes past visits by tribal representatives to BAND, and likelihood that visits will continue. Notes oral tradition of plant and animal use by San Juan. Notes that issue of occupation of BAND by San Juan ancestors is under review.	Response to resource use questionnaire asserts historic association between San Juan Pueblo and BAND. Further information may be elicited from San Juan.	See questionnaire on file at BAND ref continuing consultation.
Sandia Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Presentation by consultants to tribal representatives Malcolm Montoya and Felipe Lauriano at NAGPRA meeting 7/31/96. No response to resource use questionnaire.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	
Santa Ana Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Letter from Gov. Ernest J. Lujan, 12/13/95; defers to neighboring pueblos.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	
Santa Clara Pueblo	Likely	Direct	Archeological Survey and Excavation Consultations, policy for handling human remains 5/29/90, report on file NPS, Santa Fe. Rainbow House, tribal contact named.	Presentation by consultants to tribal representatives Gilbert Gutierrez and Joseph Chavarria at NAGPRA meeting, 7/31/96. Tribal representatives Alvin Warren and Gilbert Gutierrez consult with BAND 9/16/98; assert traditional association with BAND No response to resource use questionnaire. Tribal representatives attended Consultation Committee meetings 9/16/98; 4/16/99. Tribal representative Gilbert Gutierrez attended Consultation Committee meeting 9/16/99. Tribal representative Gilbert Gutierrez attended Consultation Committee meeting of 1/28/00.	Traditional association (historic) suggested by literature and by consultation. Further information may be elicited from Santa Clara.	Santa Clara is a member of the BAND Tribal Consultation Committee. Committee meets not less often than twice annually

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
Santo Domingo Pueblo	LIKELY	Direct	Comments Archeological Research Design 5/21/87, on file NPS, Santa Fe; asserts descent from BAND area, notes existence of several locations of religious importance to SD, asserts close ties by Cochiti and San Felipe as well. Archeological Survey and Excavation Consultation, 7/6/90, policy on human remains and objection to excavations, report on file NPS, Santa Fe. On site consultation, Burnt Corn Mesa 7/23/90; objection to excavations reiterated; descent from Bandelier asserted, report on file NPS, Santa Fe.	Presentation by consultants to tribal representatives Vidal Aragon and Alex Bailon at NAGPRA meeting 7/31/96 Consultant Merlan meets with Gary Tenorio 11/11/98 to explain project. No response to resource use questionnaire. Consultants Merlan and Levine met with Lieutenant Governor Julian Coriz 8/22/99. Consultant Merlan met with Lt. Gov. Coriz and Councilmen Ernie Lovato and Felix Calabaza 9/14/99.	Traditional association (historic) confirmed by literature. Contemporary association confirmed by consultation.	Santo Domingo is a member of the BAND Tribal Consultation Committee but has not attended any committee meetings. Committee meets not less often than twice annually. If Santo Domingo fails to attend in 2000, we recommend that the pueblo be dropped from the Committee but continue to receive information about Committee activities.
Southern Ute Tribe	Unlikely	Not shown		BAND letter of 8/10/98 invites tribal representatives to consultation 9/16/98 No response to letter or resource use questionnaire		
Taos Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Telephone consultation; Vince Lujan, 7/22/96; suggests presentation at NAGPRA meeting. Presentation by consultants to tribal representative Vince Lujan Sr. 7/31/96 Tribal representative Mark Lujan consults with BAND 9/16/98. No response to resource use questionnaire.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
Tesuque Pueblo	Likely	Not shown	Declines to comment on Archeological Research Design 11/87, defers to closer pueblos, telephone record on file, BAND. Rainbow House, insufficient tribal resources to respond.	Letter from Gov. J.H. Vigil, 12/5/95; names Earl Samuel, Tribal Realty Office as contact. No response to resource use questionnaire.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	
Ute Mountain Ute Tribe	Unlikely	Not shown		BAND letter of 8/10/98 invites tribal representatives to consultation 9/16/98 No response to letter or resource use questionnaire	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation	
Ysleta del Sur	Likely	Not shown		No response to resource use questionnaire.	No traditional association confirmed by literature or in consultation.	

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
Zia Pueblo	Likely	Not shown	Policy statement on Human Remains	Presentation by consultants to tribal representative Cel Gachupin at NAGPRA meeting, 7/31/96. Tribal representative Cel Gachupin consults with BAND 9/16/98. Tribal representative Cel Gachupin returns resource use questionnaire 1/99; states that ancestors of Zia lived in area now within BAND; also that Pueblo of Zia "interacted with inhabitants of Frijoles Canyon."	No traditional association confirmed by literature. In consultation, Zia asserts historic interaction between BAND and Zia.	See questionnaire on file at BAND ref continuing consultation.

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT	SUMMARY	FUTURE CONSULTATION
Zuni Pueblo	Likely	Direct	Specific Site Uses identified by Gov. Chauncey Simplicio, 5/15/86, on file Intermountain Cultural Resources Center, Santa Fe. Comments Archeological Research Design, 6/25/87, asserts site specific claims Pueblo of Zuni Statement of Affiliation with Prehistoric and Historic Cultures, 7/11/95, on file, BAND Policy for Protection of Human Remains. Rainbow House, defers to Keres/Tewa preferences Site visit by Zuni elders, 4/96	T. Merlan holds telephone consultation with R. Anyon and J. Dishta, 7/96 Presentation by T. Merlan to Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team 8/21/96. Tribal representatives Octavius Seowtewa and Smith Cachini Sr. consult with BAND 9/16/98; assert traditional association of Zuni Pueblo and BAND. Tribal representatives attended Consultation Committee meetings 9/16/98; 4/16/99 and Committee field day in BAND on 6/3/99 Tribal representative Dan Simplicio attended Tsankawi planning meeting 7/28/99. Tribal representatives Octavius Seowtewa and Wilton Niiha attended Consultation Committee meeting in BAND 9/16/99. Leaders of five societies visited sites in BAND 11/3/99 and met with Supt. 11/4/99. Tribal representatives Loren Panteah, Anthony Lucio and Octavius Seowtewa attended Consultation Committee meeting of 1/28/00.	Traditional associations (religious and contemporary) confirmed by literature and in consultation.	Zuni Pueblo is a member of the BAND Tribal Consultation Committee. Committee meets not less often than twice annually. See questionnaire on file at BAND ref continuing consultation.

Table 1 summarizes the documented consultations that have taken place between Bandelier National Monument (BAND), the consultants, and tribal representatives during this project. A column listing previous consultations summarizes correspondence on file at the Monument and the Intermountain Support Office, Santa Fe. Summary and Future Consultation columns state conclusions and recommendations.

February 29, 2000

Thomas Merlan
1677 Cerro Gordo Road
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

Dear Mr. Merlan:

This is to inform you that I am no longer employed with the Pueblo of Zuni, particularly the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office. This is alluded from differences between the Governing body and Tribal program (ZHHPO) and the overall negative working relation with the governing body over the past year. Be as it may, and because we are very concerned about continuity regarding Zuni interest and participation, we feel that there would be inadequate representation specifically to BNM by our governing body. Concerns are based on our disapproval of the current POZ administrations prior positions and approach in various cultural matters that pertain to Zuni interest. Not only to BNM issues but other areas as well where on going and unresolved cultural issues exist within areas of ancestral occupations. Therefore, Octavius Seowtewa and myself will at some point, prior to the next BNM consultation committee meeting, make a formal request to be representatives of the societies that have interest to lands within the BNM. This request would be separate from our governing body.

Despite this departure from the POZ, please find attached comments to the *Bandelier National Monuments Memorandum Of Understanding (MOU)*, and the *Bandelier National Monument Study of Traditionally Associated Native American Communities Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*.

Regarding the "Memorandum of Understanding", we have recommended that the MOU be changed to a MOA. The view is that the words Understanding and Agreement have slightly different meanings. The term understanding refers to an informal agreement, whereas an agreement is the state or act of agreeing. Since this document is to be binding between the Pueblos, their traditionally associated groups and the Monument, we have made this recommendation as stated above. The other recommendation is in regards to numbering and lettering (example attached) the MOA such that it would be enable Pueblos to reference specific texts when addressing specific roles or other concerns.

Regarding the "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment", additional comments and input have been made to specific pages. A separate page is attached regarding comments to this particular overview.

In concluding, should you wish to contact me, I can be reached at (505) 782-2454 or at my address @ P.O. Box 682, Zuni, New Mexico, 87327-0682. One additional request is that since this departure from the POZ, I would more than likely be the contact person for our efforts and therefore, I am requesting future information to be sent to this address.

Should you have other concerns or require additional information, please feel free to call me at the number indicated above.

Elahkwa (Thank You)

Sincerely,



Loren Panteah

ZUNI COMMENTS AND INPUT REGARDING
February 29, 2000
MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING AGREEMENT

Recommendation: that the MOU be changed to MOA.

Overall MOA/MOU: the MOA should be outlined as follows. This would enable Pueblos to reference specific text's when addressing specific roles, issues/concerns in the areas of Background, Statement of Principles, Statement of Work, Additional Agreements, Term of Agreement, Termination, Standard Clauses, and/or Multiple Counterparts.

ARTICLE I: BACKGROUND

- (a) Whereas,
- (b) Whereas,
- (c) Whereas
- (d) Whereas,
- (e) Whereas,
- (f) Whereas,
- (g) Whereas,
- (h) Whereas, *(Note: currently there are 8 whereas's in the background section)*

ARTICLE II: STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

- (a) Whereas to (i) Whereas, *(Note: currently, there are 9 whereas's in the statement of principles)*

ARTICLE III: STATEMENT OF WORK

- (a) Through (n) *(Note there are currently 14 texts that define statement of work)*
- (e) At meetings of the Consultation Committee, the monument shall be represented by the Superintendent or his designee, and the Pueblos shall be represented by the respective tribal Councils, or their designees, **add** or a representative of other demonstrable traditional cultural affiliated group(s) of the six Pueblos that wish to remain an independent signatory party to this agreement aside from their formally constituted governing body of the Pueblo. Note: In Article II, Statement of Principles, the 6th Whereas, text states "groups with demonstrated ancestral ties to particular resources in parks, as established by systematic archaeological or ethnographic studies.

(f)

ARTICLE IV: ADDITIONAL AGREEMENTS

- (a) This memorandum
- (b) Memoranda of agreement
- (c) Memoranda of agreement or understanding between the monument and individual Pueblos, or other demonstrable traditional cultural affiliated groups(s) as described in Article III, (e), may be developed for specific purposes where cultural and religious significance to properties, places, other cultural and natural resources are of particular concern.
- (d) Nothing in this MOA/MOU

Memorandum of Agreement

February 29, 2000

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ARTICLE V: TERM OF AGREEMENT

- (a) Unless earlier
- (b) This MOA/MOU

ARTICLE VI: TERMINATION

- (a) Any party

ARTICLE VII: STANDARD CLAUSES

- (a) Civil Rights
 - (1) During the performance
- (b) Officials not to Benefit
 - (1) No member or delegate
 - (2) In witness thereof, the chief executive officers of the Pueblos, **add official representative of other demonstrable traditional cultural affiliated group(s) of the six Pueblos**, and the superintendent, Bandelier National Monument have signed and executed this Memorandum of Understanding Agreement.

ARTICLE VIII: MULTIPLE COUNTERPARTS

- (a) This Document

(Add signature line for other Traditional Cultural Affiliated groups of the Pueblos that wish to be part of this committee and signatory to the MOA, aside from their governing body)

Representative (s), Other Traditional Cultural Affiliated Group of the Pueblo of Cochiti	Date
“ Pueblo of San Felipe”	
“ Pueblo of San Ildefonso”	
“ Pueblo of Santa Clara”	
“ Pueblo of Santa Domingo”	

Representative (s), Other Traditional Cultural Affiliated Group of the Pueblo of Zuni	Date
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ZUNI COMMENTS AND INPUT

February 29, 2000

Bandelier National Monument

Study of Traditionally Associated Native American Communities Ethnographic Overview And Assessment

Page numbers provides comments. Comments being provided for consideration for incorporation will be underlined, spelling and incorrect words/names will show a ~~strike through~~, followed by corrected word/name.

- P.3 Mentioning Zuni representatives:** name spellings corrected; ~~Philip~~ to Phillip, ~~Tsadiase~~ to Tsadiasi, ~~Rayland~~ to Raylan.
- P.11 Top of page, first paragraph continuing from previous page:** should mention that the National Historic Preservation Act, of 1966 as amended, legally recognizes Traditional; Cultural Properties under Section 101 (d) (6) (A) and as such states “properties of traditional religious and cultural importance to an Indian Tribe or Native Hawaiian Organization may be determined to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register” (16 U.S.C. 470a).
- Top of page, second paragraph:** should mention that under the NHPA, and regarding the Section 106 process, the new 36 CFR 800 implementing regulation affords consultations to be conducted at the early stages of planning to take into account the effects of undertakings by an agency official (in this case the BNM). In additon, this new regulation provides for coordination with the National Environmental Policy Act,
- P.12 Bottom of page, second to last text:** Zuni Reservation is about 120 to 210 miles
- P.35 Fourth paragraph, Ladd:** Supporting the late Mr. Ed Ladd’s (pers. Comm. 1999) statement “Ladd noted again that Stevenson may have identified the Zuni use of this shrine at a time when such use was becoming much less frequent than formerly”. The Zuni would support this statement. During the time frame prior to European contact, visits to the Shrine of the Stone Lions were frequent. It became less frequent after and during the time that there was 1) encroachment of non-Pueblo tribes and European settlement, and, 2) land status changes.

1) With the encroachment of other tribes, such as the Navajos and Apaches, there was less pilgrimages conducted to the now Bandelier area. The primary reasons being conflicts with these tribes. Zuni customs during pilgrimages requires refraining from any hostile conflicts during the course of any long distance pilgrimage. Such conflicts encountered often alluded to apprehension in conducting subsequent pilgrimages.

2) Land status changes were often another reason that prohibited or reduced further pilgrimages to *Shibabuli:ma*. European settlements, as well as other tribes along and near pilgrimage routes often resulted in conflicts. Conflicts arising where trespassing was inadvertently conducted. As a result, longer routes taken during subsequent pilgrimages created apprehension and uncertainty for conflicts in subsequent pilgrimages.

Ethnographic Overview and Assessment

February 29, 2000

P. 2

P.58 Ford, Schroeder, and Peckham paragraph: In providing comments to this paragraph, it is assumed realistically that one will not find literature to an actual Zuni occupation of the Pajarito Plateau. However, it would be the position that ancestral occupation (during prehistory) is acknowledged through Zuni oral history. Ancestral occupation through predecessors of the ten extant and three extinct Zuni societies as occupying the Pajarito Plateau (*Shibabuli:ma*) from the Pueblo II (or earlier) to Pueblo III time sequence as described by the Pecos Classification. As stated, this is based on Zuni oral history (testimonially held by the extant Zuni societies and other Zuni religious groups that ascribe associations to *Shibabuli:ma*) as it relates to the geographic areas that contain BAND, and how various Zuni associations (esoteric) to the other Pueblo tribes are described through this oral history.

P.59 Second paragraph: should mention that during initial consultations through questionnaires submitted to BNM, the ZHHPO confirmed eight traditional Zuni societies that ascribe significance to BAND. However, through further collaboration with the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team (ZCRAT) and other appropriate Zuni society members by the ZHHPO, there are actually ten extant Zuni societies that ascribe cultural and religious significance to BNM. In addition, there are seven confirmed and seven to fifteen unconfirmed other Zuni religious groups that ascribe cultural and religious associations to the BNM area. Three Zuni societies now extinct had traditional associations to BNM as well. Further inquiry regarding the unconfirmed Zuni religious groups need to be conducted to confirm traditional associations to BAND.

Fourth paragraph: ~~Shi:wana:kwe~~ to Shiwana:kwe. Dates of visitation were 2-5.

After fourth paragraph: should mention that a subsequent visit to BAND was conducted on December 27, 1999 by the same societies, plus an additional society called the *Shuma:kwe*. Society representatives on the December 27th visit were Verdell Niiha, of the *Shiwana:kwe Society*, Alvin Nastacio, Octavius Seowtewa, Wilbur Tucson Sr., and Valentino Banteah of the *Newe:kwe Society*, Raylan Edaakie of the *Achiyanne/Halokwe Society*, Fred Cachini of the *Uhuhu:kwe Society*, George Yawakie of the *Chikk'yali:kwe Society*, and Leon Unkestine of the *Shumakwe Society*. Loren Panteah, Acting Director of the ZHHPO who coordinated visitation to BAND during this time period, accompanied society representatives. The Shrine of the Stone Lions was the primary reason for this visitation.