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BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT

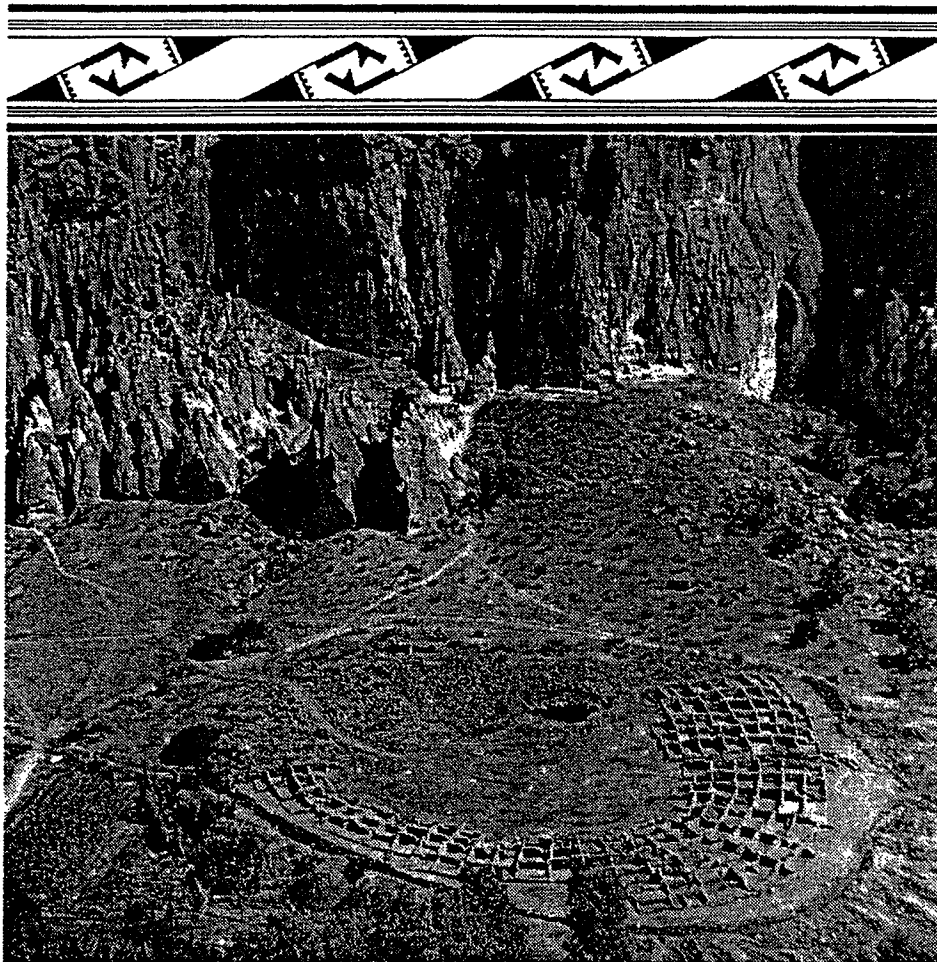
ETHNOGRAPHIC LITERATURE SEARCH AND CONSULTATION

Frances Levine, Ph.D. and Thomas Merlan

Prepared for:

BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT

September 1997



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Maps were drafted by Nancy Lamm, whose talents speak for themselves.

The cover was prepared by Donald Winton and Philip C. Levine. We appreciate the Museum of New Mexico's permission to use the cover photo.

We are grateful for the cooperation of tribal officials, staff, and committee members at the seventeen New Mexico and Arizona pueblos (further referenced below), who participated in the project, discussed the project with us, and offered comments and insights.

We appreciate the cooperation of the National Park Service personnel, including specialists at Bandelier National Monument, who participated in the project.

Frances Levine
Thomas Merlan
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Nontechnical Summary

The following summary is to be used for general interpretive and planning purposes and is also intended to facilitate use by the communities that participated in the research.

Purpose: the originally stated objectives of the project were to research ethnographic literature and consult with Pueblo 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 Pueblo communities and park resources and an evaluation of the traditional cultural and natural resources that continue to be used and valued. The main body of the final report was intended as a discussion of the traditional resource uses of Bandelier National Monument and the role it plays in contemporary Puebloan societies.

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, and (5) a final report synthesizing the results of the literature search, interviews, and field visits.

Several significant changes in this scope were subsequently agreed on by National Park Service representatives and the authors. The project became primarily a literature search. See *Changes in Scope of Work* in Project Background section below.

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 reaches narrower and more specific conclusions about these associations based on the literature.

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.

Study Area: the study area of the project was Bandelier National Monument, encompassing 32,737.2 acres in north-central New Mexico in Sandoval and Los Alamos counties, and including the discrete area of Tsankawi Mesa, 11 miles from the main unit. Much of the literature, however, deals more generally with the entire Pajarito Plateau, an area roughly ten times the size of the monument and possessing sharply defined geographic boundaries.

Consultations: both the administration of Bandelier National Monument and the consultants informed all the New Mexico and Arizona pueblos of the purpose and scope of the project. The consultants met with representatives of seventeen of the twenty-one pueblos in the course of the project.

Literature Search: 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 is included in this report.

Final Report: the report of the project discusses the relevant literature according to discipline and subdiscipline, e.g., archeology, dendrochronology and architecture, and includes notes on all the extant pueblos. The report further summarizes information obtained from Bandelier National Monument and other National Park Service personnel.

Conclusions: the report concludes with a discussion of the historical, religious, geographic, and contemporary associations between Bandelier National Monument and extant Pueblo communities, with particular emphasis on the pueblos of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Cochiti, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Zuni whose associations with the lands and resources of the monument were documented clearly through the literature search.

Introduction—Researching Cultural Affiliation

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.

Now, more than eighty years after Wilson’s proclamation, 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. It will be followed by a consultation with all tribes traditionally associated with Bandelier National Monument. The results will 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 decision 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 is 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 assumes 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 are 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 assume for the purposes of this investigation that in some cases actual identifications will be possible.

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.

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 has also written an agricultural history of New Mexico (in draft).

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.

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 the available level of funding would allow primarily for literature research and would only admit preliminary consultations with individual communities. They agreed as well that further, more detailed interviews and analysis of resource uses would need to be identified for future stages of research. 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.

Research Design

The authors submitted a Research Design on November 17, 1995.

The Research Design reviewed in detail the published policies of the National Park Service concerning the responsibility of the National Park Service to consult with American Indian tribes and traditional groups. The Research Design quoted extensively from the National Park Service publication *Management Policies* (NPS 1988) and from NPS-28, Chapter 10 ("Management of Ethnographic Resources," July 1994). Briefly, ethnographic resources are traditional park sites, structures, objects, landscapes, and natural resources that people whose lifeways are traditionally associated with a park or parks define as significant to their present way of life. Ethnographic overviews and assessments are conducted when park resources are known or thought to be traditionally associated with a contemporary group or groups. Information is derived primarily from existing archival and published materials and is supplemented with ethnographic interviews of knowledgeable community consultants (NPS 1988:174, Chapter 10).

NPS 28, Chapter 10 concludes by noting that the management of ethnographic resources in parks involves research, planning, and stewardship. Research includes appropriate studies and consultations, such as the study and consultation dealt with in the present report. Planning includes consultation with traditionally associated groups, such as those dealt with in this report. Stewardship requires that park staff know traditionally associated groups and the nature of the association. The

present report is designed to meet this need.

The Research Design specified that the project would consist of a search of the ethnographic literature pertaining to traditional and customary uses of Bandelier National Monument, consultation by telephone and letter with all identified associated tribes, interviews with monument staff, field visits by representatives of associated tribes, and a final report.

The Research Design included a form ("Data Source Summary") that was used to record all items of published and unpublished literature considered relevant to the traditional associations of Bandelier.

The Research Design also included a format to guide interviews with monument personnel, as well as a format to guide interviews with tribal representatives.

Origins and Establishment 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 cavate 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).

Bandelier National Monument was proclaimed by President Woodrow Wilson on February 11, 1916, two years after Bandelier's death.

In the intervening thirty-six years, the idea for a Pajarito Plateau national park took shape, but met significant resistance from landowners, federal agencies, and politicians. The eventual creation of the monument was finally agreed on in order to avoid the creation of a much larger park.

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—Park Boundaries, Nearest Neighbors, and Distant Users

Bandelier National Monument encompasses 32,737.2 acres in north-central New Mexico in Sandoval and Los Alamos counties. It includes the detached area of Tsankawi Mesa, 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. To the south lies the contiguous privately-owned Cañada de Cochiti Grant. 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 mountain. 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 120 miles to the west.

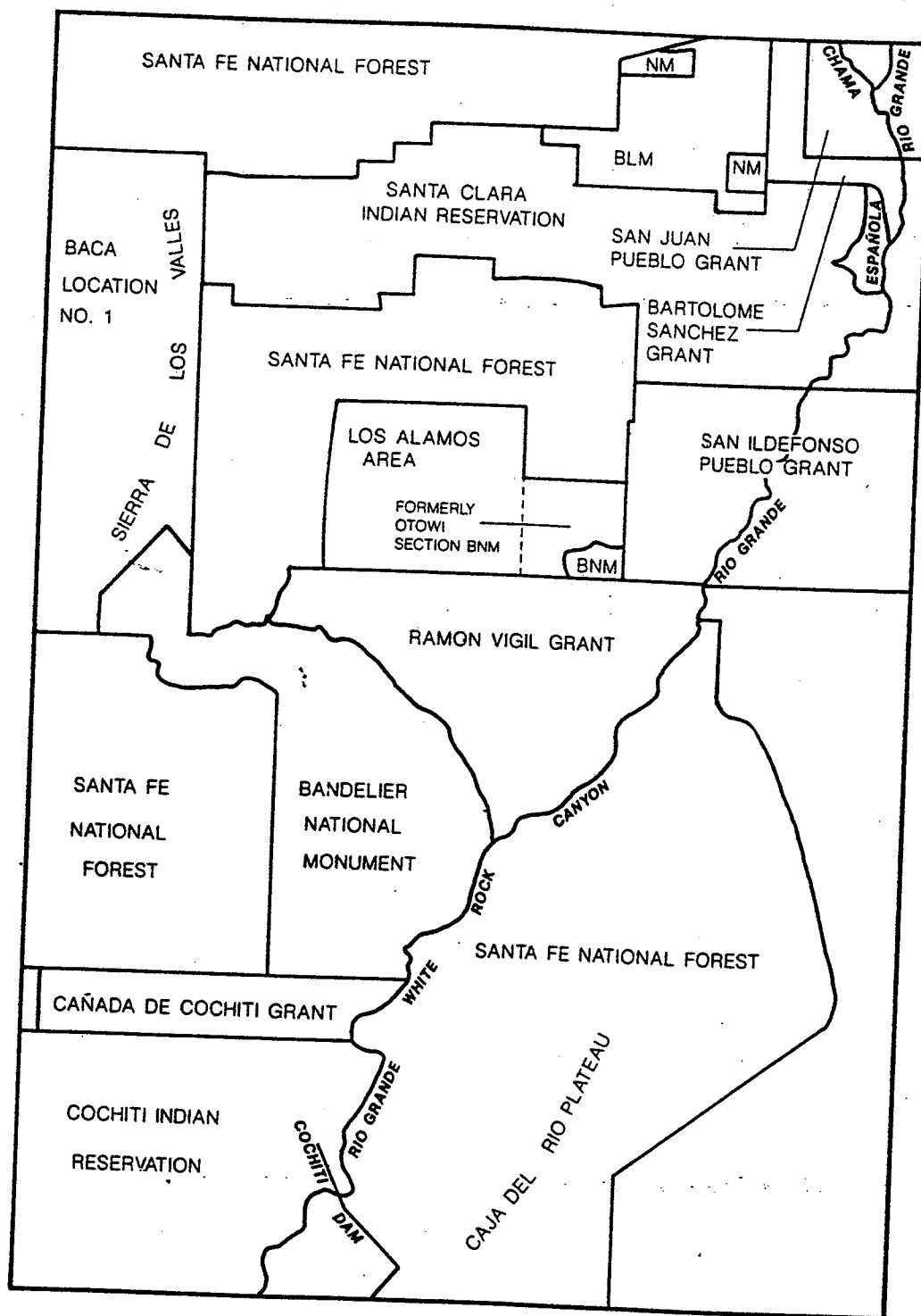


Figure 1: Land Status on the Pajarito Plateau (with permission from Mathien, Steen, and Allen 1993).

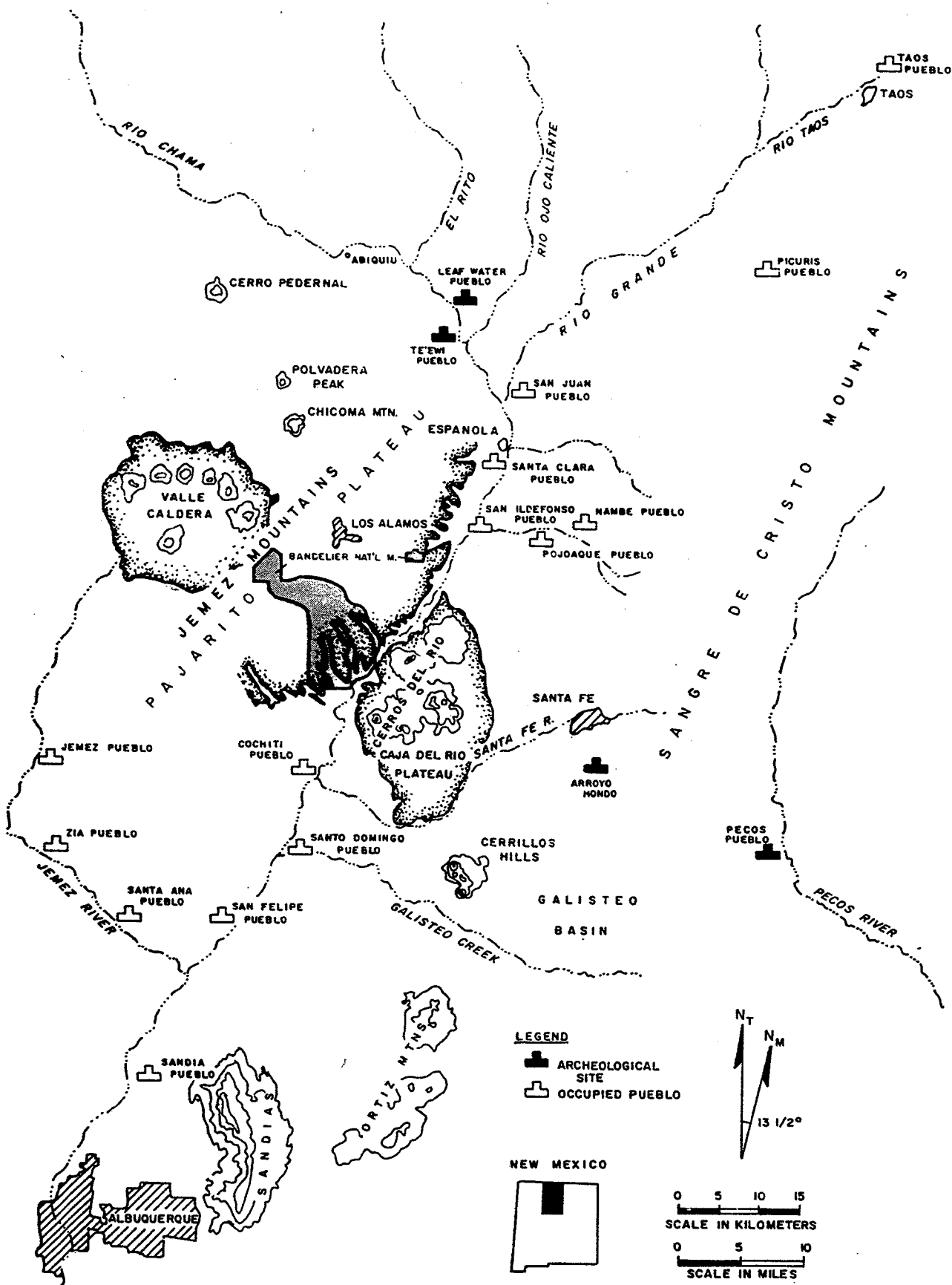


Figure 2: Bandelier National Monument location map (adapted with permission from Powers).

Previous Consultations with Tribal Communities

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 better interpret 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 in Santa Fe.

In May 1986, Zuni Governor Chauncey Simplicio contacted the Chief of Cultural Resources, Larry Nordby, 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 the Branch of Cultural Resources. 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 Polingyouma, 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 at meetings 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, Chief, Office of American Indian Programs (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 (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 in the kiya at Rainbow House, 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.

Project Methods

In a letter of September 20, 1995, the Superintendent of Bandelier National Monument advised the governors of the Pueblos of Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Cochiti, Zia, San Felipe, Isleta, Tesuque, Jemez, Laguna, Acoma, Santa Ana, Sandia, Santo Domingo, Zuni, Ysleta del Sur, and the Hopi Tribe that only some 32 items falling under the provisions of NAGPRA would be repatriated.

The NAGPRA consultation on Rainbow House assumed the validity of all stated claims of affiliation for the purposes of that consultation. The NAGPRA inventory of November 1995 assumed an affiliation between Bandelier National Monument and all the extant pueblos.

The present report, however, reaches narrower conclusions about historic, traditional, and contemporary associations between prehistoric sites in Bandelier National Monument and contemporary pueblos (see Conclusions below) based on the information reflected by published ethnographic and archeological literature.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality is an important traditional concern in all the pueblos. Traditional and religious information is closely held and made available only to authorized religious officials or societies. Secrecy is observed within the tribe as well as outside it. Traditional secrecy grows out of the belief that certain items of information are objects of value, not abstractions, and that their virtue and meaning are lost when secrecy is breached. The practice of secrecy has been reinforced, especially among the Eastern Pueblos, by centuries of European repression and disruption of traditional ways. Maintenance of confidentiality is essential to the success of any effort to obtain traditional and ritual information in the pueblos. The maintenance of confidentiality is essential in this project, whose purpose is to incorporate the associated pueblos into decision-making as well as to safeguard their traditional sites in Bandelier National Monument, ensuring the preservation and appropriate continuing use of the sites.

16 U.S.C. 470w-3 (Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended) authorizes the head of a federal agency or other public official receiving grant assistance pursuant to the NHPA to consult with the Secretary of the Interior about any public request regarding the location, character, or ownership of a historic resource. If the Secretary and the agency determine that disclosure would cause a significant invasion of privacy, risk harm to the resource, or impede the use of a traditional religious site by practitioners, the agency or public official may withhold from disclosure to the public information about the location, character, or ownership of a historic resource. In practice as applied by the National Park Service to any of its lands, the statute means that any

request for information about the location, character or ownership of a historic (by definition including precontact) site under National Park Service jurisdiction must undergo review as stated, and that the request may be denied at the discretion of the Secretary and the agency or official. If carefully and consistently applied, this section will protect site-specific information.

In the Project Statement, the consultants undertook to obtain written authorization or permission of tribal authorities wherever requested, and to abide by any stated restrictions. They also undertook to ensure that no sensitive material was included in any Park Service publication, and that privileged religious or ritual knowledge, including but not limited to collections, reports, maps and photographs, would be appropriately restricted and protected.

All tribal representatives consulted were advised that any information they offered would be relayed only to authorized Park Service personnel. The authors did not discuss the project or conclusions with anyone outside the pueblos.

Consultations with Pueblo Communities

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 statement regarding confidentiality of sources and information (see facing page).

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.

PROJECT STATEMENT
Ethnographic Literature Search and Consultation
Bandelier National Monument

Project Scope

Bandelier National Monument, National Park Service has awarded a contract to Dr. Frances Levine and Thomas Merlan to carry out a literature search of traditional uses of the monument. The consultants will submit a final report to the National Park Service in spring 1997. This study is limited by the available funding. It may be followed by a more in-depth analysis and consultation.

Objectives

The main objective of this project is to review published sources and to consult with Pueblo communities to document traditional uses of the cultural and natural resources in Bandelier National Monument, including past and present ceremonial use, hunting, plant collecting, site names, and other traditional use.

The purpose of this project is to inform the National Park Service and Bandelier National Monument about the concerns and desires of the tribes regarding traditional uses of the monument and such related matters as confidentiality and monument activities that will require consultation with a tribe or tribes on an on-going basis.

Personnel

Dr. Frances Levine is an anthropologist. She is Director of Southwest Studies at Santa Fe Community College. She was the project director for the ethnographic overview of Pecos National Historical Park, completed in 1994. Dr. Levine's training was in ethnohistory and historical archeology, broadened by many years of working with Pueblo and Hispanic communities on recording traditional history.

Thomas Merlan was the New Mexico Historic Preservation Officer from 1974 to 1994. He is a historian and an administrator who has directed many cultural resources surveys and historic preservation projects.

Methodology

The consultants will review the ethnographic literature on Bandelier National Monument, including the published and unpublished work of scholars in this field and the traditional stories and legends of the Pueblos about the Monument. The consultants will interview monument personnel and researchers who have studied the Monument. The consultants will contact the Pueblo governments and interview tribal representatives by questionnaire, telephone interviews, and on-site interviews.

This study will focus on traditional use and continuing use of the Monument. It will not have to do with objects that have been removed from sites in the past, but may examine tribal concerns about future archeological research.

Confidentiality

The consultants and the National Park Service are aware of confidentiality concerns in this project. They will obtain written authorization or permission of tribal authorities and abide by any stated restrictions. They will ensure that any sensitive material is not included in any National Park Service publication, and ensure that privileged religious or ritual knowledge (including but not limited to collections, reports, maps, and photographs) will be appropriately restricted and protected.

For further information contact: Frances Levine or Thomas Merlan at 1677 Cerro Gordo Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501; (505) 983-2645 or by fax at (505) 983-1464.

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.

Table 1: Summary of Pueblo Community Consultations

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT
Ácoma Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		No response to written correspondence
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 deemphasize public interpretation of Shrine of the Stone Lions, 7/91, on file, BAND. Rainbow House verbal recommendations	Meeting, Tribal Land Acquisition Committee. Presentation by authors 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
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
Hopi-Tewa Village	Likely	Indirect		Correspondence sent to village advisors.
Isleta Pueblo	Likely	Not shown	Rainbow House--requests NPS to determine cultural affiliation; artifacts to be returned; reburial.	No response to project correspondence. Presentation by authors to tribal representative Ben Lucero at NAGPRA meeting, 7/31/96.
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. Consultation with tribal governor and tribal archeologist 9/20/96

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT
Laguna Pueblo	Likely	Not shown	Rainbow House- insufficient tribal resources to respond; reburial preference	Telephone contact Wilur Lockwood 1/7/96; defers to Northern Pueblos Presentation by authors to tribal representative Lloyd Poncho 7/31/96
Nambe Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		No response to project correspondence. Presentation by authors to tribal representatives Ernest and Constance B. Mirabal at NAGPRA meeting, 7/31/96
Picuris Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Telephone inquiry from tribal representative Richard Mermejo 7/29/96. Presentation by authors to tribal representatives Joe Quanchello, J. Mermejo Jr. and Richard Mermejo 7/31/96
Pojoaque Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Telephone contact: Orlando Romero 12/8/95; names Tribal Staff Charlie Tapia as contact. Presentation by authors to tribal representative Charlie Tapia 7/31/96
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 authors to tribal representative Mathew Chavez and James Tenorio 7/31/96 Tribal Administrator Doris Sandoval request information, 10/17/96, mailed 10/21/96

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT
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	No response to project correspondence or telephone calls. Presentation by authors to tribal representatives Timothy Martinez and Martin Aguilar at NAGPRA meeting, 7/31/96
San Juan Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		No response to project correspondence
Sandia Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		No response to project correspondence. Presentation by authors to tribal representatives Malcolm Montoya and Felipe Lauriano at NAGPRA meeting 7/31/96.
Santa Ana Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Letter from Gov. Ernest J. Lujan, 12/13/95; defers to neighboring pueblos.

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT
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.	No response to project correspondence or telephone calls. Presentation by authors to tribal representatives Gilbert Gutierrez and Joseph Chavarria at NAGPRA meeting, 7/31/96.
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.	No response to project correspondence or telephone calls. Presentation by authors to tribal representatives Vidal Aragon and Alex Barton at NAGPRA meeting 7/31/96
Taos Pueblo	Likely	Not shown		Telephone consultation; Vince Lujan, 7/22/96; suggests presentation at NAGPRA meeting. Presentation by authors to tribal representative Vice Lujan Sr. 7/31/96
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. Vigi, 12/5/95; names Earl Samuel, Tribal Realty Office as contact.
Ysleta del Sur	Likely	Not shown		No response to project correspondence.

COMMUNITY	NPS-NAGPRA AFFILIATION	LITERATURE AFFILIATION	PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS	CONSULTATION THIS PROJECT
Zia Pueblo	Likely	Not shown	Policy statement on Human Remains	No response to project correspondence. Presentation by authors to tribal representative Cel Gachupin at NAGPRA meeting, 7/31/96
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	Telephone consultation with R. Anyon and J. Dishta, 7/96 Presentation by T. Merlan to Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team 8/21/96

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 Hope Tribe.

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 Southwest Support Office in Santa Fe.

Consultations with Park Personnel

In April and May 1996, the authors interviewed Bandelier National Monument personnel (see Table 2). Following a prepared format, they asked for specific information about contemporary Pueblo or

Table 2: Summary of National Park Service Consultations

Interview Date	Staff Position	Time In Park	Pueblo Communities Identified	Observations
4/24/96	Park Ranger/ Law Enforcement	Fall, 1988-present	San Ildefonso Cochiti	San Ildefonso individual refers to active shrines along the Rio Grande Cochiti delegation participates in removal of intrusive items from Shrine of Stone Lions
4/24/96	Park Ranger/ Environmental Education and Outreach	May 1976-present	Zuni Santo Domingo	Zuni delegation April 1996 visited sites in BAND - not known which Santo Domingo man accompanied Zunis with the stated purpose of intercession with the public on behalf of the Zunis
5/9/96	Fire Program Manager	1975-present	San Ildefonso San Felipe Santo Domingo Jemez	San Ildefonso request to collect fir branches- rejected San Ildefonso authorized to cut down timber - one day Jemez uses traps on the south face of Cerro Grande to capture eagles San Felipe men, possibly also Santo Domingo, intercepted while unauthorized hunting in BAND
4/18/96	Acting Program Manager, Anthropology Program, SW Support Office	1985-1991	Santo Domingo Cochiti	Consultation regarding test excavation of archaeological sites. Santo Domingo opposed all excavation. Consultation with Cochiti elders re: removal of nontraditional objects from Shrine of Stone Lions. Elders also changed orientation of shrine.
4/29/96	Curation Program Manager	1977-1989	Zuni Cochiti Jemez Santa Clara	Zuni elders visited Stone Lions Cochiti tribal members formerly hunted in BAND Association of Jemez with Apache Springs area Association between Santa Clara and Pajarito Plateau, specifically Puye

Interview Date	Staff Position	Time In Park	Pueblo Communities Identified	Observations
5/9/96	Chief, Natural and Cultural Resources Management	October, 1991-present	institutional consultations only Cochiti San Ildefonso Santa Clara	Responses from the three pueblos to requests for participation in reestablishing bighorn sheep in BAND
9/11/96	Superintendent	June, 1990-present	institutional consultations only Cochiti San Ildefonso Jemez	San Ildefonso - requests for pine branches and plant materials for ceremonies Discussions of access with each of the three pueblos Has initiated contact with Cochiti and San Ildefonso re: stabilization/ maintenance of ancestral sites. e.g. great kiva

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 41% of the area of Bandelier National Monument in 1985-91. 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.

The Literature

General

Over the 117 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. Under the direction of Robert B. Powers, the National Park Service has conducted intensive archeological survey to identify sites on monument lands. Mathien, Steen, and Allen (1993) prepared a comprehensive bibliography of the archeology accomplished on the Pajarito Plateau.

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; 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

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 3: 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 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 41 percent (13,485 acres) of the land area of the monument and test excavations on selected sites. 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 . . .

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 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 B. 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.

Preucel (1988) argues that seasonal agricultural circulation was a common and at times a dominant form of mobility practiced by the prehistoric people of the Pajarito Plateau. Farmers, he observes,

appear to have maintained dual residences, with rights and interests in both field shelters and village houses. This strategy, he believes, developed in order to bring distant lands under cultivation, distant fields being needed due to population increase and to locally variable climatic conditions that affect agricultural production. Seasonal agricultural circulation, Preucel maintains, is a form of agricultural intensification adapted to arid regions (1988:14). He notes the sharp increase in numbers of sites in the late Coalition (traditionally explained as a result of immigration from the Chaco-San Juan region). Seasonal agricultural circulation increases proportionately. The early Classic then witnesses an aggregation of population into a few large villages—a reduction of site numbers and a substantial increase in average site size. The middle Classic, he suggests, was a period of continuing regional population aggregation, with a reduction in population and abandonment of a number of villages. He finds an increase in intervillage competition. Middle Classic settlements were distributed linearly, parallel to the Rio Grande in areas convenient to intensive floodwater and irrigation farming. “The spacing of sites at approximately five mile intervals suggests an attempt to equitably divide the resources of the plateau. Only seven sites were occupied during this phase: Kapo (LA 122), Tsankawi (LA 211), Tshirege (LA 170), Tyuonyi [sic] (LA 82), Yapashi (LA 250), Haatse (LA 370), and Kuapa (LA 3444). All pueblos show a significant decrease in size, averaging 250 rooms. The largest of these, Kuapa, consists of a series of seven adjacent plazas situated on a low rise above the Rio Chiquito . . . By the end of the Middle Classic phase, the plateau was completely abandoned for settlement. According to legend, the last inhabitants joined kinsmen at Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and Cochiti Pueblos because of the difficulties in conducting agriculture during periods of recurrent drought . . .” (Preucel 1988:142). This puts the abandonment of the plateau sites before A.D. 1550. It also suggests that the major precontact sites were not abandoned all at once, but gradually lost population to new communities that continued after the Spanish arrived.

Orcutt (1991) examines the relation between environmental variability and settlement patterns on the prehistoric Pajarito Plateau. Using data on low-frequency alluvial and hydrological changes on the Colorado Plateau and on high-frequency changes in moisture availability for the northern Rio Grande between A.D. 1150 and A.D. 1600, she predicts changes in settlement organization on the Pajarito Plateau, then evaluates these using archeological data on the distribution of population and field houses in elevation zones.

She concludes that low-frequency processes (25 years or longer) including erosion, deposition, and changes in water-table levels, were significant in settlement change until A.D. 1450. Most population was at higher elevations during the early Coalition (A.D. 1150-1250) (Orcutt 1991:322). In the late Coalition (A.D. 1250-1325), population expanded into even higher elevations, probably due to droughts that recurred after A.D. 1290. Probably by A.D. 1325, however, the higher elevation sites were abandoned, but field houses continued to be located in higher elevations. In the late Coalition, population size doubled and aggregated into major settlements. In the early Classic (A.D. 1325-1400), after four decades of normal or above-normal precipitation, a moderate to severe drought took place between 1338 and 1352. During the period of normal or wet conditions, the population may have expanded dry farming strategies into the lower elevations. The drought, Orcutt theorizes (Orcutt 1991:324), may have had a major impact on settlements that had functioned well in wetter conditions. People in lower elevations may have had to abandon dry farming for flood-water farming or irrigation. There is a substantial shift of population to lower elevations. In the middle Classic (A.D. 1400-1550) the population continued to occupy early Classic sites. Both population size and aggregation decreased in this period.

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, and 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 . . . Tsirege 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 kachina 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 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 unprecedented 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 and Ethnogeography

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.

Ethnography and ethnogeography 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*, *Tseratetanskat '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.

In summary, the ethnography and ethnogeography 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). See Recommendations below.

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 interpueblo 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. Kroskirty (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 Recommendations 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).

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.

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. 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 suggests 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.

The literature and consultations suggest that the inhabitants of the Pajarito Plateau before the Coalition period may have included Tewa and Keres speakers. However, the occupants of the 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 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. 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. See Recommendations below.

- The preliminary 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 Table 2) 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.

Finally, before we come to recommendations, a word of qualification about ethnographic data is in order. By way of illustration, we note that 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). We may well be amazed in our turn by the scope of Harrington's investigation—the vast information was collected largely in the single year 1910.

However, in the New York Times for January 31, 1997, the obituary of Alfonso Ortiz states that Ortiz's father and uncle asserted that Harrington's Tewa ethnogeography contained errors attributable to Harrington 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). He might further have noted 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. They infer temporal relationships from vertical or horizontal space. They infer cultural values from relative quantity and judge 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 one'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.

Recommendations

As noted above in the discussion titled Project Background and Contract Requirements, the original scope of work set forth in the Request for Proposals was amended by the Park Service and the authors for specific reasons. As noted, before it is possible to document traditional uses of monument resources, it is necessary to determine which communities have a customary association with the monument. Based on this consideration and on the level of funding available, the first stage of research reported above was a literature search and preliminary consultation with individual communities. The tasks remaining to be performed, then, are defined in the following

recommendations:

- (1) A preliminary work session with monument and National Park Service officials to agree on tasks, goals and preferred schedules for site visits;
- (2) Interviews with representatives of religious societies or traditional organizations, if permitted, or designated tribal representatives in the pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, and Zuni to explicate associations, clearly indicated by the literature and by the consultations that have been performed to date;
- (3) Interviews with representatives of religious societies or traditional organizations, if permitted, or designated tribal representatives in the pueblos of Acoma, Hopi, Hopi-Tewa, Isleta, and Jemez, to trace associations that may exist. The Acoma, Isleta, and Jemez migration stories name sites that may or may not be identifiable on the ground. The literature on Hopi and Hopi-Tewa indicates numerous relationships with the Rio Grande Valley. Investigation of these historic relationships may lead to some understanding of associations with the Pajarito Plateau;
- (4) A separate consultation with the traditional authorities, if permitted, at the Hopi-Tewa village of Hano (First Mesa) to investigate this pueblo's special relationship to the Rio Grande Valley and if possible to determine any relationship to the Pajarito Plateau;
- (5) Site visits to Bandelier National Monument with representatives of religious societies, traditional organizations, or designated tribal representatives of the historically associated communities to define appropriate measures for protection and guidelines for interpretation;
- (6) Documentation of the traditional uses of cultural *and* natural resources within Bandelier National Monument, as discernable from the literature, interviews or on-site with tribal representatives;
- (7) Further contact with the ten pueblos not named above. Based on the literature alone, we tentatively conclude that these pueblos are not associated with Bandelier National Monument in any way that can be distinctly defined. However, we will give each of them a formal opportunity to adduce information that may refute this tentative conclusion;
- (8) Contact with non-Puebloan tribes, including Apache, Navajo, Kiowa, and Comanche. Based on the literature alone, we tentatively conclude that these tribes are not associated with Bandelier National Monument. However, we will give them a formal opportunity to adduce information on this point;
- (9) Contact with intertribal associations including Eight Northern Pueblos Council, Five Sandoval Pueblos, Inc., Ten Southern Pueblos Governors Council and All Indian Pueblo Council to inform them of the overview and make presentations to these groups if requested;
- (10) Preparation of draft memoranda of agreement with individual tribes or intertribal associations to establish and formalize procedures for future consultation with traditionally associated pueblos;
- (11) An ethnographic overview of Bandelier National Monument, incorporating the results of the above work sessions, meetings, and site visits.

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1992 *Hopi Social History: Anthropological Perspectives on Sociocultural Persistence and Change*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
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1948 *A Study of Archaeology*. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 69. Menasha, Wisconsin.
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1979 Prehistory: Introduction. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, *Southwest*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Note: All other sources cited are in the annotated bibliography.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, E. Charles

1990 Origins of the Pueblo Katsina Cult: Iconographic Evidence. Paper presented at the 55th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Las Vegas.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 1: "This paper hopes to demonstrate that the katsina cult developed about A.D. 1300, and became widespread at about the time people of the Pueblo world began aggregating into large villages, some exceeding 1000 rooms, that were focused around large open spaces called plazas. The relationship is probably not fortuitous."

p. 4: "Thus katsina masks appear with regularity on ceramics that are being manufactured between 1275 and 1325 (Ferg 1982; Hays 1989). Kiva murals having katsinas do not seem to date any earlier than 1375-1400 (Smith 1952), despite Hibben's (1975) 1350 date for some of the murals at Pottery Mound. . . . Therefore, katsina mask icons appear in a wide range of media in the archaeological record between 1275-1400."

p. 6: "As village size increased [in the late 13th century] the enclosed plaza became incorporated into the village plan. It is probably not coincidence that this pattern appears at the same time that village size increases and the primary integrative form of architecture, the great kiva, stops being used on the Colorado Plateau. It seems clear that the plaza replaced the great kiva as the integrative architecture form between 1250-1300."

p. 6: "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."

p. 8: "The katsina cult developed as a new ceremonial system about 1300 that could be utilized by the leadership to help integrate the diverse population of these newly established, aggregated villages."

p. 8: "The appearance of katsinas in kivas as murals dates 50-100 years later than their appearance in ceramics and rock art. The kiva murals are clearly intended for private aspects of ritual and most appear to be depicting specific ceremonies or altars associated with kiva rituals. . . . Why murals developed later than the vessels and rock art is difficult to know, but probably relates to the rapid evolution of the cult during its first century of existence until the establishment of its role in the Pueblo ceremonial cycle."

p. 10: "Its earliest and broadest appearance on Fourmile Polychrome suggests the upper Little Colorado River as the location of the origins of the cult."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This paper presents the conclusion that a shift in decorative systems occurring about A.D. 1300 in the Puebloan region of the Southwest corresponds with major population dislocation, relocation, and aggregation into large pueblos.

Key words: Archaeology, aggregation, demography, migration, katsina, religion.

Key place names: Colorado Plateau, Little Colorado River.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-14-96.

Adams, E. Charles, and others

1996 *Cultural Affiliations: Prehistoric Cultural Affiliations of Southwestern Indian Tribes.*
Albuquerque: USDA, Forest Service, Southwestern Region.

Repository: Authors' collection.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 152: "There was ephemeral utilization of the Pajarito Plateau by undifferentiated Indian groups until mid 12th or early 13th century. Earliest significant occupation of Pajarito Plateau began around A.D. 1150. Coalition period/Pueblo II-III (A.D. 1150-1325) was characterized by small pueblos (25 to 10+ rooms), central plazas and Santa Fe and Wiyo Black-on-white ceramics. . . . Clusters of communities appear to be oriented around larger Coalition Period pueblos of 100 to 300 rooms with multiple stories. . . . Ceramics associated with these sites include Santa Fe Black-on-white and Wiyo Black-on-white. During the Classic Period/Pueblo IV the Coalition pattern of dispersed small pueblo hamlets shifts to an aggregated system of large isolated pueblo villages. Sites include Otawi [sic], Tsirege [sic], Shirfune [sic], Tsankawi, Yapashi and Puye. By Pueblo V (A.D. 1540-1610) the areas surrounding modern day Santa Clara and the southern end of Pajarito Plateau are occupied and may have been occupied when the Spanish arrived. Pueblos occupied at that time would have included Puye and Kotyiti.

Cultural Affiliation: Pueblos of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Nambe, Tesuque, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, and Zia."

p. 153: "Frijoles Canyon in Bandelier National Monument is traditionally assumed to be the boundary between Keres speakers to the south and Tewa speakers to the north. Another indication of this split appears in the distribution of glaze wares south of Frijoles and biscuit wares north of the canyon. In most cases the distribution of ceramics corresponds to the modern area of occupation associated with the Keres and Tewa villages."

p. 153: "According to Hewett the pueblos of Otowi (Potsuwi) and Tsirege are the traditional ancestral pueblos for the village of San Ildefonso. According to Lange, traditionally the Keres were together at the time they occupied the villages in Frijoles canyon during the Classic period. After that they split into the groups that form the modern day villages."

p. 157: "the archaeological record suggests that the ancestors of Pueblo peoples currently residing in the Middle Rio Grande Valley arrive about, or later than, A.D. 1200. . .

Cultural Affiliation: North of Bernalillo—Pueblos of Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana and Zia."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This report was produced pursuant to the requirements of NAGPRA in order to make it possible to determine "cultural affiliations of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects"

in museums and in custody of federal agencies.

Key words: Cultural affiliation, NAGPRA.

Key place names: Otowi, Tshirege, San Ildefonso, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, Santa Ana, Zia, Santa Clara, San Juan, Pojoaque, Nambe, Tesuque.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-8-96.

Akins, Nancy J.

1993 *Traditional Use Areas in New Mexico*. Office of Archaeological Studies, Archaeology Notes No. 141. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology; authors' collection.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 19: "Sedgewick says that Acoma, along with other Keresans, claim the Rito de los Frijoles as their ancestral home (1926:ix)."

p. 37: "Lange says that the Cochitis claim no direct association with most of the ruins west of Cochiti in the Santa Fe National Forest. They do claim those in and adjacent to Frijoles Canyon, including those associated with the Stone Lions of Cochiti. The Cochitis lived at Potrero Viejo [Douglas 1917: T17N, R3E] from 1680 to 1693 (1959:8-10)."

p. 79: "Areas that might be of concern [to Laguna Pueblo] because Laguna absorbed populations from other pueblos include the traditional use areas of Zia, Santa Ana, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, Jemez, and Acoma."

p. 124: "According to their origin myth, the San Felipes lived at El Rito de los Frijoles with the Cochitis and Santo Domingos. They moved south stopping at Kuapa (which White locates 12 miles northwest of Cochiti) where they lived with the Cochitis. They split with the Cochitis and moved to a pueblo (the first San Felipe or Katishtya) west of the Rio Grande at Cubero, then moved and built a new pueblo at the foot of Mesa Tamita (La Mesita) when the first Katishtya was washed away (White 1934:7)."

p. 127: "Whitman describes the migration of the San Ildefonsos as beginning in the north, some say Mesa Verde, moving south and occupying the villages of Potsuwi, Sankewi, and Otowi and finally moving to the Rio Grande after sources of water gradually failed."

pp. 150-151: "The Santo Domingos told Bandelier they once lived at a small pueblo at Potrero Quemada, 1.5 miles east of Wallace on Arroyo de Galisteo (White 1935:12). . . . Santo Domingo is likely to claim a large part of the Galisteo Basin based on an ancestral Keresan occupation. They may also claim an interest in the Chaco Canyon to Mesa Verde region and the El Rito de los Frijoles area based on ancestral occupation of those areas."

p. 163: "The Tesuques could claim areas such as Rio de los Frijoles and the Chaco Canyon/Aztec/Mesa Verde area based on remote ancestry."

p. 190: "Shiba:bulima, Stone Lions Shrine [identified as a Zuni sacred place]."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This report reviews available literature to determine traditional use areas of aboriginal groups in New Mexico. The primary source was information generated by cases before the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) created by the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946 (26 U.S.C. ss 70-70v). The ICC took 617 cases. When it was terminated in 1978, 68 cases were still pending.

Key words: Cultural affiliation, land claims.

Key place names: Rio or Rito de los Frijoles; Acoma; Cochiti; Laguna; San Felipe; San Ildefonso; Santo Domingo; Tesuque; Zuni.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-7-96.

Anschuetz, Kurt F.

1984 Prehistoric Change in Tijeras Canyon, New Mexico. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Repository: Southwest Archaeological Consultants, Santa Fe and University of New Mexico.

Date of fieldwork: c. 1977.

Principal field workers: Byron B. Blevins and Carol J. Joiner.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 30: "The Coalition period [A.D. 1200 to 1315] is marked by two major trends in population and settlement: (1) substantial population growth, as suggested by the increase in the number and size of habitation sites; and (2) the expansion of year round settlement by Anasazi agriculturalists in the Gallina, Chama, Taos, Pajarito Plateau and Galisteo Basin districts. These districts had been the focus of little occupation prior to A.D. 1100 to 1200. . ."

p. 32: "The Coalition period is the time of the most intensive prehistoric occupation of the Pajarito Plateau, with hundreds of Santa Fe Black-on-white sites having been reported (Stuart and Gauthier 1981). Coalition sites average from 13 to 30 rooms, with extremes ranging from one or two room fieldhouses to communities of more than 200 rooms. Biella and Chapman (1977) report that small, medium and large settlements are equally represented in the Cochiti Reservoir area. The largest habitation sites occur in northern Pajarito Plateau, and many form quadrangular pueblos with enclosed plazas."

p. 41: "The increasing importance of agricultural practices is evidenced by a focus of settlement toward potentially arable land along the floodplains of the major drainages with the beginning of the Developmental period. Changes in the Rio Grande Anasazi economy are represented by the expansion of settlement into areas considered to be increasingly marginal for low level agricultural production. . . . In addition, there is substantial evidence from the Gallina, Taos, Chama, Pajarito Plateau, Santa Fe and Galisteo Basin districts of terraced gardens, rock-bordered grid gardens and check dams to indicate the intensification of agricultural practices during the Coalition and Classic periods. . ."

p. 248: "The permanent year-round settlement was made possible by a prolonged period of significantly greater than average moisture at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This thesis deals with Tijeras Canyon, but contains some relevant comments on the Coalition and Classic periods elsewhere in the northern Rio Grande. Anschuetz discusses the evidence for the occupation of higher altitude areas of New Mexico during periods of increased rainfall.

Key words: Archeology, demographics, agriculture.

Key place names: Tijeras Canyon, Pajarito Plateau.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-17-97.

Anyon, Roger, T. J. Ferguson, Loretta Jackson, and Lillie Lane

1996 Native American Oral Traditions and Archaeology. *Society for American Archaeology Bulletin* 14 (2), March-April. Washington: Society for American Archaeology.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 14: "As archaeologists begin once again to incorporate Native American oral traditions into archaeological research, it is important to recognize that oral traditions and archaeology represent two separate, but overlapping, ways of knowing the past. Because they are qualitatively distinct, different standards apply in the way that information is collected, evaluated, and used to understand the past. These sources of knowledge converge in a broad sense on certain issues and themes, however, such as migrations, warfare, residential mobility, land use, and ethnic coresidence. Both sources can therefore be used productively to investigate these issues, among others."

p. 15: "Studies by David Pendergast and Clement Meighan [1959, *Folk Traditions as Historical Fact: A Paiute Example. Journal of American Folklore* 72(284):128-133], Eggan (1967), and Wiget (1982) have unequivocally demonstrated that a real history is embedded in Native America oral traditions . . . Jan Vansina (1985, *Oral Tradition as History*. University of Wisconsin Press: Madison) presents a rigorous methodology for incorporating oral traditions in historical research. These methodologies need to be incorporated into archaeological method and theory to establish the scholarly basis for using oral traditions in historical research."

p. 15: "Oral traditions and scientific knowledge both have validity in their on cultural context. Scientific knowledge does not constitute a privileged view of the past that in and of itself makes it better than oral traditions. It is simply another way of knowing the past."

p. 16: "The Navajo people have an abundance of oral traditions that coincide with and complement contemporary archaeological research."

p. 16: "At present, the Pueblo of Zuñi does not encourage the use of oral traditions in scholarly research, except in a very limited fashion by researchers employed directly by the tribe."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

The above excerpts convey the substance of the argument between oral traditions and archaeological knowledge about the past. The authors do not discuss what should happen when two tribes have conflicting oral or other traditions, as with the current claim of some Navajos that they are descendants of the Anasazi and should control Anasazi sites and have "intellectual property rights" in information about Anasazi sites. Neither do they offer any specific example of how the "real history" "embedded" in traditions is to be identified or analyzed.

Key words: Archeology, oral traditions, traditional history.

Key place names: n.a.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-3-96.

Bandelier, Adolph F.

1890-92 *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States.*
Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, Parts 1 and 2. Cambridge,
Massachusetts: University Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1880-1885.

Principal field workers: A. F. Bandelier

Pueblo communities contacted: Piro and Tiwa (El Paso), Jemez, Tewa, Keres.

p. 33 (pt. 1): "The Queres of Cochiti positively state that similar artificial caves, which line the walls of the Rito de los Frijoles, or Tyuo-nyi, were formerly the habitations of their tribe, and that constant hostilities of the Tehuas and Navajos, as well as the gradual disintegration of the very friable rock, compelled their abandonment. The latter is very plainly visible. 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 was no remedy."

p. 19 (pt. 2): "The Rito de los Frijoles is a secluded gorge of difficult access, where the Queres could dwell in the numerous artificial caverns with little danger from enemies; but it was the fertility and irrigability of the little vale, together with the easily workable pumice-stone of its vertical northern cliffs, that induced them to make their home there, and not a military necessity, as seems to have been the case with most cliff or cave villages elsewhere."

p. 21 (pt. 2): "previous to the coming of the Spaniards the Indians of Cochiti had successively occupied the Rito de los Frijoles, the Potrero de las Vacas, the Potrero del Capulin, or San Miguel, the vale of Cuapa, the river front on the north side of the Cañada de la Peralta, and the south bank of the same torrent."

p. 75 (pt. 2): "While I lived at Cochiti, the Queres, after numerous evasive answers, and even formal denials, had acknowledged to me that the caves of the Rito de los Frijoles were the work of their tribe, many centuries ago."

p. 79 (pt. 2): "The country west of the Rio Grande, between Pe-ra-ge in the north and the vicinity of the Rito de los Frijoles in the south, is wild, with deep cañons traversing it like gashes cut parallel to each other from west to east. . . . There are also several pueblo ruins on the mesas, about which I have only learned from the Indians that they were Tehua villages . . . the Tehua names for these ruins are, respectively, Tzi-re-ge, Sa-ke-yu, and Po-tzu-ye."

p. 83 (pt. 2): ". . . Yam P'ham-ba was a village which the Tano constructed in the vicinity of Santa Cruz [15:18, Harrington's map] after the uprising of 1680, when they forsook the Galisteo [29:39] region and moved north in order to be nearer their kindred, the Tehuas. Vargas found them there in 1692, when he made his first successful dash into New Mexico. There is also a ruin in that neighborhood, I-pe-ré, or San Lazaro, which dates from the same period. Both were abandoned after the reconquest, San Lazaro in 1694, and Yam P'ham-ba or San Cristobal in the same year. It [San Cristobal] was subsequently reoccupied, and finally deserted in 1696, after the murder of the missionary Fray Jose de Arvizu on the 4th of June . . . After the expulsion of the Spaniards, the Tanos

of San Cristobal settled in the vicinity of Santa Cruz, as already related. Most of their descendants are now among the Moquis."

p. 139 (pt. 2): "The Queres Indians of New Mexico claim the range [Jemez] above described, asserting that the majority of the ruins scattered through it are those of villages of their tribe . . . The Rito de los Frijoles . . . forms what seems to be a boundary line dividing the Tehuas from the Queres stock."

p. 145 (pt. 2): "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, a word having a signification akin to that of treaty or contract. It was so called because of a treaty made there at some remote period, by which certain of the Pueblo tribes, probably the Queres, Tehuas, and perhaps the Jemez, agreed that certain ranges loosely defined should belong in the future to each of them exclusively. 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. Whether these bands always consisted of complete gentes, or whether they included fragments of different clans, I could not ascertain. This tale was told me at various times, and by members of different clans and esoteric groups, and therefore seems to be a tradition common to the tribe of Cochiti in general. The medicine-men of Cochiti still visit the Rito frequently, to pay homage to the Shi-ua-na, or spirits that are supposed to be the particular Genii or their pueblo, and still to hover about the caves and ruins. To any one acquainted with Pueblo Indian beliefs, this last custom will appear conclusive evidence that the Rito was, in times long past, the home of that branch of the Queres which now occupies the pueblos on the Rio Grande, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe."

p. 146 (pt. 2): "These traditions concerning the Rito do not in anywise conflict with the ancient mythological tales about the origin of the Pueblos, since they relate to subsequent events. The Queres maintain that they, as well as the Tehuas and others, came to the surface of the earth at Shi-pap-u, and that they slowly drifted southward . . . The definite historic tradition of the Queres of the Rio Grande seems to begin near the banks of that river, at the Rito de los Frijoles, which appears as the starting point of a dispersion, of which perhaps all the Queres pueblos, certainly those along the Rio Grande and in the Valles chain, were the result."

p. 155 (pt. 2): "All I could ascertain was, that they were fetiches of the panther Mo-katsh, and as such belonged to the special esoteric group of the Hunters (Shya-yak), of whom the panther is one of the principal protectors and 'intercessors.' That a certain devotion is still paid to them I am certain, for my Indian friends acknowledged it to me, and two of them smeared the heads of both images with red ochre in my presence, while they muttered prayers between their teeth. The Indians also assert that the images were made by the same people who built and occupied the old village."

p. 161 (pt. 2): "The last is a small round mesa, called in Queres Shko-re Ka-uash, which rises above the Cañada of Cochiti . . . On the open space are the remains of two images of panthers, similar to those on the Potrero de las Vacas. One of them is completely destroyed by treasure hunters . . . The other image, although somewhat mutilated, is still in a better condition...there can be no doubt that it is Mo-katsh, the panther fetich of the Shya-yak (or hunters) of some Queres tribes."

p. 165 (pt. 2): "Both the Indians of Cochiti and the inhabitants of the Cañada, who are well versed in Indian folk-lore concerning their valley, have asserted to me that Kua-pa was an old village of the

Cochiti tribe, from which they moved to the banks of the Rio Grande where Cochiti stands to-day . . . They attributed this gradual southerly movement of the Queres tribe to the persistent hostility of their northern neighbors, the Tehuas. In regard to this the Cochiteños only state that the village of Kua-pa was once attacked by the Tehuas and captured. The survivors retreated to the Potrero Viejo; the Tehuas pursued, but their attack upon that lofty cliff signally failed. They were defeated and driven back across the Rio Grande, many of them are said to have perished in that river, and the Tehuas never troubled the Queres again."

p. 166 (pt. 2): "It seems probable that the branches of the Queres now constituting the tribes of Cochiti and San Felipe once formed one group at Kua-pa . . ."

p. 168 (pt. 2): "There are also traces of older ruins, which mark the existence of small houses, similar to those on the Potrero Chato [28:36, Harrington] and on the Tziro Kauash, or Mesa del Pajarito [17:36, Harrington]. Possibly these smaller houses are traces of the first occupation of the Potrero Viejo by the Queres. The oldest ruins on the mesa [28:56] . . . are those of a prehistoric Queres pueblo; the striking well preserved ones are those of a village [28:58] built after the year 1683, and abandoned in April, 1694."

p. 184 (pt. 2): "If the Santo Domingo branch of the Queres inhabited the Potrero Quemado [28:67, Harrington] in former times, the question arises whether they emigrated from the Rito [28:6, Harrington] as a separate band, or moved off jointly with the Cochiti and San Felipe clusters, seceding from these at one or the other of the stations between the Potrero Quemado [28:67, Harrington] and the Rito de los Frijoles [28:6, Harrington]. There is such a marked difference between the pottery on the former and that at the other ruins of Queres villages north of it (the small houses excepted) that we might conjecture that the separation took place at the Rito [28:6] before the people there had begun to manufacture the coarse glazed variety. . . . It may have taken place at the Rito de los Frijoles [28:6, Harrington] but ruins north of that place (for instance, the Pu'ye [14:46, Harrington] also exhibit it."

p. 193 (pt. 2): "This branch is divided into two groups, the people of Santa Ana or Tam-a-ya, and the tribe of Tzi-a or Cia. How long before the sixteenth century they may have settled on the banks of the Jemez, I am unable to state, neither am I informed as to whether they claim to have sprung from the cave dwellers at the Rito de los Frijoles, like the Rio Grande Queres. The latter insist that all the Indians speaking their language are descendants of the tribe at the Rito; still, so long as the traditions of more distant branches do not confirm them, such assertions remain of doubtful value."

p. 185 (pt. 2): "At last we leave the mountains and return to the Rio Grande Valley, where, about 5 miles south of Peña Blanca, we meet with the ruins of another pueblo of the Santo Domingo Indians, called by them Gi-pu-y [28:117]."

pp. 184-185 (pt. 2): "If the Santo Domingo branch of the Queres inhabited the Potrero Quemado in former times, the question arises whether they emigrated from the Rito as a separate band, or moved off jointly with the Cochiti and San Felipe clusters, seceding from these at one or the other of the stations between the Potrero Quemado and the Rito de los Frijoles. There is such a marked difference between the pottery on the former and that at the other ruins of Queres villages north of it (the small houses excepted) that we might conjecture that the separation took place at the Rito before the people there had begun to manufacture the coarse glazed variety. . . . It may have taken place at the Rito de los Frijoles [28:6] but ruins north of that place (for instance, the Pu'ye) also exhibit it."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Bandelier's two-volume report of extensive observations throughout the Southwest and northern Mexico 1880-1885. (Note: the map references are from Harrington 1916.)

Key words: Archeology, Queres.

Key place names: Rito de los Frijoles.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-22-96.

Bandelier, Adolph F.

1971 *The Delight Makers*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. Reprinted, New York: Harcourt Brace Janovich.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe. In print.

Date of fieldwork: 1880-1888.

Principal field workers: A. F. Bandelier. He acknowledges Rev. E. W. Meany of Santa Fe and Dr. Norton B. Strong, U.S. Army.

Pueblo communities contacted: Cochiti, other Keres and Tewa pueblos.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 4: "These ruins, inside as well as outside the northern walls of the cañon of the Rito, bear testimony to the tradition still current among the Queres Indians of New Mexico that the Rito or Tyuonyi, was once inhabited by people of their kind, nay, even of their own stock."

p. 489: "These builders we easily recognize. They are the fugitives from the Rito . . . They came hither [Potrero de las Vacas]. . ."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Bandelier states (p. v) that he intends to convey "geographical, ethnological and archaeological" facts. "The descriptions of the country and of its nature are real. The descriptions of manners and customs, of creed and rites, are from actual observations by myself and other ethnologists . . . The plot is my own. But most of the scenes described I have witnessed; and there is a basis for it in a dim tradition preserved by the Queres of Cochiti that their ancestors dwelt on the Rito de los Frijoles a number of centuries ago, and in a similar tradition among the Tehuas of the Pueblo of Santa Clara in regard to the cave-dwellings of the Puye" (pp. v-vi).

Barbara A. Babcock says that the book "was the first novel written about the Pueblo Indians and is still one of the better—and only full-length—published accounts of ritual clowning" (*Discovery*, School of American Research, 1980:54).

Key words: Koshare, Queres, Tehua.

Key place names: Rito de los Frijoles, Tyuonyi, Puye, Santa Clara.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-20-96.

Bandelier, Adolph F.

1966-1976 *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier*. Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley, with Elizabeth M. Lange, eds., 4 vols. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press; Santa Fe: The School of American Research.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: 1880-1892.

Principal field workers: A. F. Bandelier.

Pueblo communities contacted: all living pueblos.

Detailed bibliographic source notes: (Note: Items in [] are Lange's annotations.)

p. 31 (vol. 1): "During this stay . . . Bandelier made his first visit to the Rito de los Frijoles (October 23) . . ."

p. 31 (vol. 1, n 23): "Bandelier visited the Frijoles area again in 1880, on a three-day trip in December. Later, in August, 1885, he returned to the area briefly, and in 1890, he was there from October 12 to 16 and, perhaps, had one other short visit. All of these trips were exploratory in nature—observing, measuring, note-taking, and collecting. In a manner consistent with his Southwestern investigations generally, Bandelier did no excavating in the Frijoles region. Later, Bandelier made Frijoles Canyon the principal locale of his novel, *The Delight Makers*. The Frijoles area, with the country south to the Cañada de Cochiti Grant, was proclaimed a National Monument, named in honor of Bandelier, by President Woodrow Wilson on February 11, 1916."

p. 49 (vol. 1): "On the 1st of August [1885] he returned to Cochiti and went on to the Rito de los Frijoles."

p. 56 (vol. 1): "... Bandelier found it necessary to remain in Santa Fe the rest of the year [1890] except for short trips to the Tewa Basin in July and September and to Peña Blanca, Cochiti, and the Rito de los Frijoles in October."

p. 144 (vol. 1): "Rito de los Frijoles. Papers at the General Surveyors Office, Santa Fe.

1. Letter of Fray Antonio Cavallero, Cust. 1807. Stating that, in 1789, Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, confirmed to Andres Montoya a grant of that tract, executed to him by D. Tomas Velez Gachupin (governor from 1749 to 1754, and 1762 to 1766, also in 1773).

2. Petition of Jose Antonio Salas, February 28, 1802, confirming above.

3. Decision of Governor Manrique.

4. Manuel Hurtado, deposition, November 26, 1872. During the lifetime of Jose Antonio Salas, he and all the inhabitants of the Rito abandoned it, owing to the terrible depredations of the Navajo. In 1869, one returned, but was killed by lightning. No other attempt to occupy it since."

pp. 147-148 (vol. 1): "Luis Lucero told me that the pueblos farther north were those occupied by the Queres, and that the Tehuas drove them out, farther to the south, in the course of intertribal wars. From the Rito de los Frijoles, etc., they migrated to a now ruined pueblo [probably San Miguel, L.A.

370] one mile east-northeast of the settlement of the Cañada. Thence they went to the river, and from the river up to the Potrero Viejo."

p. 165 (vol. 1): "About 4 p.m. [October 23, 1880] the border of the almost precipitous descent into the Cañon de los Frijoles was reached, and it took one-half hour to descend—on foot, of course. The grandest thing I ever saw."

p. 171 (vol. 1): "He [Juan Jose Montoya] says that this is the name of the Potrero de las Vacas, and that this ruin, from popular saying of the Mexicans, was the first pueblo of Cochiti."

p. 171 (vol. 1, n 111): "The data here obviously contradict the account recorded by Bandelier in an earlier entry (October 15). Obtained at a later date and after additional exploration and increased familiarity with the region, the discussion in the entry of October 25 must be given preference. The precise relationship of these sites, however, to present-day Cochiti, to other Keresan tribes, or to other Pueblo tribes, remains to be worked out through careful excavation. Pertinent to the problem of regional culture history are the large sites of the Bandelier Monument area as well as Kuapa and Pueblo Cañada to the south on the Rancho de la Cañada. Throughout the same area are innumerable small sites which must also be reckoned with in the reconstruction of the culture history of the Middle Rio Grande."

p. 178 (vol. 1): "Luis Montoya tells me that the round cave in the Rito de los Frijoles was the casa del comun [community house] where they met as now in the house of the cacique, para platicar [to talk]. The Rito is called Stiu-oñi [Tyuonyi]."

p. 179 (vol. 1): "Juan Jose affirms again that the cacique is an old institution from the pueblo of Teguayo, where the first one was elected. He compares him distinctly to the Pope. . ."

p. 216 (vol. 1): "Next Sunday it is the turn of Victoriano to attend to the horses, and they [Cochiti herders] will pasture them about the Potrero de las Vacas and Rito de los Frijoles, sleeping in the Cueva Pintada."

p. 222 (vol. 1): "... had talked with Don Felipe Sandoval. He told me that the proper Merced of the Rito de los Frijoles was in the hands of Pedro Montoya at Cieneguilla, and that it was to the Montoya [family] originally, and not to the Salas [family]."

pp. 225-226 (vol. 1): "I asked them [Cochiti informants Juan Jose Montoya, Jose Hilario Montoya, Luis, also identified as Shyu-ote, and another man] as to the traditions associated with the Rito, and they particularly insisted that this was part of the *Teguayo*.

The latter they identified with the *q'ash-q'atresh tie* [white house] of the Navajo country, and distinctly added that the Mexicans called it *Teguayo*, thus implying that this name may be of Spanish origin, perhaps?"

p. 42 (vol. 3): "The Rito de los Frijoles: *Tu-po-ge* (Tu = frijol.)" [Bandelier is giving Tewa names supplied by Chino, a San Juan, possibly the son of a Hispanic father and Indian mother.]

p. 57 (vol. 3): "The Queres call the Rito de los Frijoles, "*Tyu-onyi*," that is the place where the Pueblos had their last separation or treaty, the place where they divided into branches. Juan Jose thinks that the Piros have indeed been Queres once."

p. 76 (vol. 3): "Reached the Rito without rain at 5 p.m. and were well received by Pacifico Vaca [Baca], who has a rancho there. His crops are very fine. . . . There are two old acequias still visible; one on the south side of the brook, and the other on the north side, passing along the south wall of the pueblo" [August 1, 1885].

p. 112 (vol. 3): "October 12 . . . Luis Lucero told me that the round building at the Rito [de los Frijoles] was a tank, indeed, but made by the Indians."

p. 160 (vol. 3): "On the whole, they [the ruins at Puye] are an exact repetition of the Rito, only their situation is different."

p. 261 (vol. 3): "Another name for the Rito de los Frijoles is *Tehua-tu*." [Santa Clara term]

p. 283 (vol. 3): "About the Rito de los Frijoles, he [Ha-yo-ue] confirms the story, that the caves were originally inhabited by the Queres [Keres] and also made by them. He laughs at the name of *Yapashi*, given to the ruin on the Potrero de las Vacas."

p. 392 (vol. 3, n 305): "Tyuonyi, or Tyo'onye, according to Hewett (1953:42) is the Keres word for the principal pueblo ruin in the canyon of the Rito de los Frijoles. The word means *olla*, which is, roughly, the shape of the pueblo ruin; the word Tyuonyi has been extended to refer to the entire valley, or canyon. However, Hendron (1946:25, 41-42) wrote that Tyuonyi was the name for the canyon of the Rito de los Frijoles and the large ruin on the canyon floor was properly called Puwige. According to Hendron, Tyuonyi means 'place of treaty,' referring to the dividing line between the Keres and the Tewa; puwige means 'pueblo where the women scraped the bottoms of the pottery vessels clean.'

After several remarks largely in agreement with the above statements, Hewett, in an earlier discussion (1909:669), commented as follows: 'The Tewa hold that Cañada Ancha, known to them as El Rito de los Frijoles, is the true valley of the bean fields, and they give to the Cochiti Rito the name 'Puwige,' an obscene name which I strongly suspect to be of modern origin . . . The Tewa acknowledge the Cochiti tradition of ownership of the Rito, though my first and apparently most trustworthy informant concerning the occupants of the plateau towns, Weyima (Antonio Domingo Peña), Rain Priest at San Ildefonso, would never admit the tradition that ancestors of the Cochiteños, except certain clans, ever lived in the Rito. . . '

These are the kinds of data conflicts that are often unsolvable as available informants become convinced of the validity of a particular account, or tradition, whether on justifiable grounds or not."

p. 398 (vol. 3, n 343): "Parsons (1939:901 [*Pueblo Indian Religion*]) reiterated the traditional story that the ancestors of Cochiti, Santo Domingo and San Felipe formerly lived together in the Frijoles area; perhaps the last site commonly occupied by them was Kuapa . . . Kuapa I and Kuapa II were designated, respectively, L.A. 3443 and L.A. 3444. Surface indications are, however, that these two sectors were occupied contemporaneously and quite probably constituted but one large community."

p. 402 (vol. 3, n 363): "Pacifico Baca was a Spaniard, or Mexican, who lived at Cochiti Pueblo, as did a number of other non-Indians—a somewhat unusual feature of this village...It may have been that Pacifico had more or less established residence in the Rito de los Frijoles sometime after 1880, or even 1882."

p. 415 (vol. 3, n 448): ". . . the Potrero of San Miguel, or Potrero del Capulin, in the southwestern corner of Bandelier National Monument. The large ruin there, San Miguel, or Ha-atze (L.A. 370),

was claimed as one of the ancestral villages of the Cochiti as they moved southward from their earlier home in the Rito de los Frijoles. San Miguel lies northwest, a mile or more, from Kuapa. . ."

p. 115 (vol. 4): "August 22 . . . Hayoue came . . . He assured me that according to the 'talk of the old people' the Rito de los Frijoles was inhabited by the Queres [Keres], who built there the artificial caves. He inferred, also, that the elders and officials said that there was the *Shi-ua-na*. Touching on the Potrero de las Vacas, he said that it [*Yapashi*, L.A. 250] was a pueblo of Queres also, constructed after the abandonment of the Rito."

p. 149 (vol. 4): "I must add here, from the 31 July [1891] that Santiago assured me the Pueblo Entrañoso had been built and occupied by those of Santo Domingo for a short time, after they had separated from those of Cochiti on the Potrero de las Vacas. At the caves of the Rito, he says, all the Queres were together yet. He also believes that the Pueblo on the Potrero Quemado was an old one of Santo Domingo."

pp. 499-500 (vol. 4): "Earlier in his fieldwork Bandelier had been given the same account—that the Keres had at one time occupied the Rito de los Frijoles...The Keresan claims are generally accepted today, although Tewa traditions and claims to the Rito de los Frijoles cannot be completely discounted. See Hendron (1946:25); in his discussion the Rito was described as the boundary line between these two linguistic groups—the Tewa and the Keres."

p. 517 (vol. 4, n 783): "'Yapashi' has become the commonly used name for this major pueblo ruin on the Potrero de las Vacas. It is also referred to at times as the 'Pueblo of the Stone Lions,' because of its proximity to the Cochiti hunting shrine of the stone lions . . . Bandelier, however, did not use the designation, *Yapashi*, in his journals . . . On September 3, 1886, Bandelier attended a lecture by Judge Prince, who referred to the pueblo as 'Pueblo Quemado' and 'Yapashi,' of course, because a number of stone idols were found there.' The Pueblo Quemado designation was incorrect. . . In August, 1888, when Hayoua was in Santa Fe from Cochiti and Bandelier was obtaining information from him, Bandelier noted, 'He laughs at the name of *Yapashi*, given to the ruin on the Potrero de las Vacas' . . ."

pp. 518-519 (vol. 4, n 785): "After clearing the matter with various pueblo authorities, including the cacique, a U.S. Forest Service helicopter was used to transport the encased and protected stone lion to the museum, on the university campus at Albuquerque. It was agreed that the lion would be returned and properly placed whenever its safety could be reasonably assured . . . Interestingly, after the removal of the lion [from the Potrero de los Idolos], with the consent of the Cochiti tribe, the whole matter was protested by San Felipe Pueblo; claims of at least shared, if not exclusive, ownership of the shrine were advanced by the San Felipe Indians. Certain traditions, offering support for at least the shared ownership, were cited by Lange (1959:7), who, in turn, had quoted from Douglas (1932:179)."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Bandelier began his journals in August 1880, and continued them more or less daily up to May 1892. Bandelier closed the Southwestern journals when he and his wife Joe sailed to South America from California. He kept other journals up to 1911.

"[The] range [of the journals] is amazing . . . a particular day's entry may contain information of interest to anthropologists, biographers, botanists, folklorists, geographers, geologists, historians, and zoologists" the editors remark (vol. 4, x-xi). They forgot to mention linguists, novelists, and

poets.

Bandelier received his initial fieldwork support in 1880 from the Archaeological Institute of America. See vol. 4, n 135.

Key words: Archeology, migration and emergence, Queres, Tehua.

Key place names: Rito de los Frijoles.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-21-96.

Bandelier, Adolph F., and Edgar L. Hewett

1937 *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1880-1890.

Principal field workers: A. F. Bandelier, E. L. Hewett.

Pueblo communities contacted: All Rio Grande pueblos.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 109: "The northernmost village of the Keres province is that of Cochiti . . . It numbers three hundred and nine in population . . . Everyone who is interested in the Pueblo Indians should read [Bandelier's] *Delight Makers* . . . While it is archaeological, the scene being laid in the cliff dwellings of El Rito de los Frijoles, the life portrayed is that of the Cochiti Indians."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

One in a series of nontechnical handbooks of Southwestern "archaeological history of the American Southwest" (p. 9). The two main sections are a dissertation on the modern Rio Grande Pueblos (Hewett) and a documentary history of the Rio Grande Pueblos (Bandelier).

Key words: Archeology, migration, history.

Key place names: Rio Grande Valley, Rito de los Frijoles.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-20-96.

Bayer, Laura, Floyd Montoya, and the Pueblo of Santa Ana

1994 *Santa Ana: The People, the Pueblo, and the History of Tamaya*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: Begun in 1979.

Principal field workers: Laura Bayer, Floyd Montoya.

Pueblo communities contacted: Santa Ana.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 1: "Long ago, the tradition says, the Hanu (the People) came into this world from an underworld. They emerged at Shipapu, a place north and west of the land that would come to be known as Tamaya . . . When they came into this world, their religious leader spoke to them of the beauty of the land and the sky and what they were to do. The people were to travel over the earth until they found the place that suited them best. There they would make their homes. He gave them instructions for the journey. When he finished, he blessed all those who chose to remain in the upper world, and the Hanu set out on their journey . . . They traveled for a long time, always heading south . . . When they grew hungry, they stopped to gather the nourishment earth provided for them . . . As soon as the Hanu had renewed their energy, they traveled on as they had been instructed. In this way they journeyed, pausing only long enough to regain their strength, until at last they reached Kashe K'atreti (White House). There, after many years of traveling, they stopped to settle for the first time."

p. 3: "At Kashe K'atreti, their first settlement, the Hanu built the foundations of their way of life in the upper world. But they were not to remain at Kashe K'atreti, for this was not their homeland. Eventually the time came for them to move on, and they headed south and east once again. After traveling for a long time, they reached the eastern slope of the Sandia Mountains. There, in the high valley west of San Pedro Arroyo, they settled in the village of Paak'u. This village surrounded by mountain peaks had adobe buildings around a central plaza."

p. 5: "At first the potters used black carbon paint on a white or gray slip to decorate their wares. Then, not long after Paak'u was founded, some potters began to create a red or red-orange pottery, with designs applied in a black glaze paint. Other potters applied this dark glaze to a whitish or yellow slip . . . The craftsmen, farmers, and potters of Paak'u were not isolated. Just to the south, in the Sandia Mountains, lay villages later known as Tijeras and San Antonito. To the east were the villages of the Galisteo Basin. The settlements of the Rio Grande were not far away. The people of Paak'u met these neighbors, and perhaps more distant ones as well, for networks of trade and giving goods from remote lands to the Sandia village.

p. 5: "For more than a century, the settlement at Paak'u prospered . . . Not all of the Hanu remained at Paak'u during this time, however. The tradition recalls that when the people reached Paak'u, they divided into two groups. One group settled in the village on the east slope of the Sandias, while others set out on a journey that was to take them in a large circle to the west before they returned to Paak'u . . . The people who left Paak'u traveled through the Rio Grande valley, where they built a small village on the east bank of the river just across from Katishcha (San Felipe Pueblo). To the Katishchame (San Felipe People) this village was known as Tamaya Kuwasaya (Tamaya Village).

The Tamayame (Tamaya People) remained there only a short time before crossing the Rio Grande and traveling north and west. When they reached the area south of Borrego Springs, they settled for a time beside a village of the Kitichina Tsiiyame (Kitichina Zia People). Then, with the Tsiiyame, they traveled west, passing between the pueblos of Tsiiya (Zia) and Hemishiitse (Jemez). Just south of the place where the Rio Jemez meets the Rio Salado, the Tamayame built a settlement, known as Kwiiste Puu Tamaya, on the west bank of the Jemez. A Tsiiyame village stood just across the river, on the east bank."

p. 7: "The women of the Tsiiyame village would cross the river each day to help the Tamayame grind corn. But the stories recall that the men of the Tsiiyame village soon grew jealous because their women were crossing the river, and in their anger, they began to plot against the Tamayame. The men recruited the Nabaju (Navajo), who had recently arrived in the region, to help them attack the Tamayame village. When the people of Kwiiste Puu Tamaya learned of the plot, they decided to move on. They gathered food and supplies for the journey, packed all that they could carry, and then set fire to the village. Carrying their belongings, they moved south until they came to Kene'ewa (San Felipe Mesa), just southeast of Siiku (Mesa Prieta) and east of the Rio Puerco. On top of the mesa, they sought shelter from their enemies . . . Then, when the danger passed, the people moved down from the mesa and built a new village, Kwiiste Kene'ewa, in the valley on the west bank of the Rio Puerco near Kene'ewa."

p. 8: "For the Tamayame, however, the journey did not end there. When the time came for them to move on, they left Kwiiste Kene'ewa as they had left earlier settlements. Traveling southwest, tradition says, they crossed a small stream near the modern settlement of Pagate. As the Tamayame passed their bundles from one person to another across the stream, they called out, 'tyiti kwisti.' Even today, that place is known as Kwisti . . . The Tamayame traveled on, eventually reaching a valley east of the massive stone mesa that was the home of the Acume (Acoma People)."

p. 10: "The Tamayame reached Acu during a time of drought and, Acume tradition says, they stayed until the rains came. Then, supplied with food for the journey, the Tamayame moved on. Once again they traveled south, building a village somewhere near the modern city of Socorro. But this settlement, like the others along the route, proved to be only a temporary home for the Tamayame, who soon crossed to the east bank of the Rio Grande, turned north, and returned to Paak'u."

p. 10: "During the journey from Shipapu to Paak'u, the Tamayame had seen the promise of the fertile Rio Grande Valley. In the settlement at Paak'u, Tamayame farmers had not forgotten those rich lands. While the first Tamayame group journeyed in the west, the remaining Tamayame had begun to build small farming villages along the Rio Grande. From the Corrales region to Angostura, Tamayame farmers planted and harvested their crops, returning after the harvest to the center at Paak'u. Soon after all of the Tamayame were reunited, they moved from Paak'u to the lands along the Rio Grande, settling in six or more villages that stretched from the area around modern Albuquerque to the Angostura region near the site of modern Bernalillo. The southern villages, in the Corrales area, were grouped on the west bank of the river, while those in the north, near Bernalillo, were built on the east bank. Among the villages was one known as Buraikana (the Butterfly), which stood south of Bernalillo on the west bank of the Rio Grande. This region was also the home of the Tiwa peoples, whose villages often stood across the river from those of the Tamayame. By A.D. 1425, little more than a century after it was founded, the village at Paak'u was abandoned. Its people moved on, taking most of their belongings with them. The peoples who reoccupied Paak'u a century later found only crumbling walls and broken pottery to identify the Hanu who had once lived there. For the Tamayame, the journey had not yet come to an end. They

settled for a time in the farming villages along the Rio Grande, but then, the stories tell, a group of Tamayame traveled north to the west bank of the Rio Jemez, where they founded a village known as Kwiiste Haa Tamaya. From this village the people eventually crossed the Rio Jemez and traveled north to the place where, after centuries of traveling, the journey ended. There, beside the river and beneath a broad mesa the Tamayame found the land that they would choose, in accordance with the instructions given their ancestors, for their home."

p. 255: "In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars linked the Keres peoples with a cluster of sites in the Pajarito Plateau-Frijoles River region. Adolph Bandelier, Edgar Hewett, and others described these ruins, which were identified in the peoples' oral traditions as the homes of their ancestors. Three decades later, Hewett and Edward Curtis discussed these sites in more detail. The two scholars agreed that many of the sites had been occupied by successive groups of Keres peoples, the last of whom were the ancestors of the Cochiti. Hewett argued that the Cochiti had left the sites by A.D. 1500, and both men suggested that the other Keres speakers, possibly the ancestors of Zia and Santa Ana, had moved south earlier."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Appendix 1 gives detailed discussions from various well-known scholar's theories of the origin-place of the Keres speaking peoples. At the end of Appendix 1 is a map of Santa Ana, Zia, and Eastern Keres Archaeological Sites, c. A.D. 1220-A.D. 1850. *Santa Ana: The People, the Pueblo, and the History of Tamaya* is filled with wonderful maps. Appendix 2 is a detailed list of these map sources.

Key words: Ethnography, Keresan, Santa Ana.

Key place names: Tamaya (Santa Ana), Kashe K'atreti (White House), Sandia Mountains, San Pedro Arroyo, Paak'u, Tijeras and San Antonito Villages, Galisteo Basin, Katishcha (San Felipe Pueblo), Borrego Springs, Tsiya (Zia), Hemishiitse (Jemez), Rio Jemez, Rio Salado, Rio Puerco, Kwiiste Puu Tamaya, Kene'ewa (San Felipe Mesa), Siiku (Mesa Prieta), Paguete, Kwisti, Acu (Acoma), Socorro, Corrales, Angostura, Bernalillo, Buraikana (the Butterfly), Kwiiste Haa Tamaya.

Recorded by: Judy A. Morse, 4-18-96.

Benedict, Ruth F.

1931 *Tales of the Cochiti Indians*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 98. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. Reprinted in 1981, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: Summer 1924.

Principal field workers: Ruth Benedict. Prof. Franz Boas added tales that are indicated in the footnotes and in the table of contents.

Pueblo communities contacted: Cochiti.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 1: "They were living at White House, and all the people (of the world) called each other by relationship terms; they were brothers and sisters. Uretsiti, the mother of the pueblos, and Naotsiti, the mother of the Navahos, were sisters. It was when they left White House that they began to have trouble."

p. 2: "From all the pueblos, even from Zuni and Hopi, they come to our pueblo bringing belts and turquoises and mantas to offer to our Mother at her shrine at Koaske." *Footnote*: [Koaske] A cave on the Rio Grande.

p. 4: "Long, long ago, when everything began to live again after the flood, people came out (from Shipap) in the north. *Footnote*: For the emergence, see text translation, p. 249. Our Mother told the different peoples that they were brothers, and there was no separation between them."

p. 5: "They were coming up from Shipap. One of their children became sick and they did not know what was the trouble with him. They had never seen sickness before. They said to the Shkoyo (curing society) chief, 'Perhaps our Mother in Shipap will help us. Go back and ask her to take away this trouble.' He went back to our Mother and she said to him, 'The child is dead. If your people did not die, the world would fill up and there would be no place for you to live. When you die, you will come back to Shipap to live with me. Keep on traveling and do not be troubled when your people die . . .' In those days they treated one another as brothers, all the Indians of all the pueblos . . . When they came to Frijoles they separated, and the different pueblos went their own ways."

p. 6: "Old Salt Woman had a grandson. They were very poor. They came to Cochiti and went from house to house. People turned them away. The old woman said to her grandson, 'We will go into this house' but again the people turned them away. The people were cooking for a feast. At that time they used no salt . . . They went south and came to Santo Domingo. They were well treated there and the people gave them food."

p. 6: "So she left Santo Domingo and went to Salt Lake, where we get salt to-day (a three days' journey in each direction)."

p. 7: "The Indians were traveling south from White House. Before they all came out from Shipap, Masewa was told to tell all the Indians in White House where to live and what to call their pueblos. So they came to Cochiti, and afterwards they went out and settled others. Salt Woman and Salt Man

came down to Cochiti."

p. 7: "[Salt Woman] said, 'I had better leave this place and cross the river with Salt Man.' She went across and settled down in the meadow near Peña Blanca, but people came there and threw dirt over them. She said to Salt Man, 'Let us move from here again.' They moved farther off to Mosquito Place (a little farther up beyond Santo Domingo) . . . Salt Woman said, 'Let us go again.' 'All right,' Salt Man said, 'we'll start again and live far, far away from these people. Perhaps they do not want salt to flavor their food.' So they went way down to Salt Lake (near Estancia)."

p. 13: "The people were coming up from Shipap. Masewa led them, and after him his brother Oyoyewa. After them came our mother Iareku, the corn fetish. They came up through the doorway of the rainbow and after Iareku all of the Indians of the pueblos came together. Each of them carried an ear of corn and when they came to a great rock where there was a hollow they ground corn for themselves. Half of the people stayed at White House, and half at the Village of the Two Lions."

p. 14: "At White House the kurena held a dance. When it was over the kurena went back to their home in the east, but the koshare went to the middle of the earth, to Cochiti. They did not go back again to White House and nobody knew where they had gone. The next time they had a dance (in White House) nobody was happy. The koshare were not there to play between the dances. They were unhappy and went to Iareku. She said to them, 'Yes, the dance is not right without the koshare. People do not enjoy it unless they are there. Go to the village of Cochiti and you will find the koshare in the middle of this world.' The people started for the village of Cochiti. Masewa led them . . . The masked dancers were dancing in the plaza all by themselves. The chief men of White House went in and the koshare met them."

p. 15: "The people lived together in Frijoles Canyon. They used to dance every night. Two of the koshare were playing; they were on the house roofs, and they were playing at throwing a little baby from one to the other. The baby slipped from the hands of the koshare who was 'throwing' him, and fell to the ground and was killed. Then both of the koshares jumped down after the baby, and they were all killed. The people decided to leave that place. They came to the mesa of the Stone Lions. They remained there four days and danced the Red Tse'atcuwa. From there they came on and stopped at Nokahe'a. They remained there four days and danced the Black Tseatcuwa. From there they came on and stopped at Red Paint Mountain. They remained there four days and danced the Red Tseatcuwa. From there they came on and stopped at Rabbit's Place (Lakia). They remained there four days and danced the Black Tseatcuwa. They came on and stopped at Water Dripping Place (Stirshtikana). There the koshare danced by themselves. The footprints of the people and their turkeys are there yet. They came on and came to Cochiti mesa, and they danced all their dances. They lived there."

p. 15: "They were living in Sia. The Snake medicine men and women, before their ceremony, fasted for four days . . . The men and women of the Snake Society had gathered the snakes they had caught and put them in great ollas in their ceremonial cave."

p. 16: "They were living in Pecos. They fought and many were killed. Half the people left Pecos and came down in this direction."

p. 16: "For four days they prayed and sang, but they could not restore the snakes. They let them go and the rest of the Pecos Indians came down to Santo Domingo. All the Pecos Indians who are left live in Santo Domingo and they still have the Puyatc Society."

p. 17: "The people of Cochiti were living on the mesa. At Jemez they had a deer dance (heemishikia). The dancers turned into deer and ran up into the mountains. They never came back any more. For four days they made ceremonies in Jemez to bring them back, but they could not."

p. 47: "Arrow Boy lived in Potsherd Place (east of Cochiti)."

p. 47: "Eagle came back to this world. He found Arrow Boy at Potsherd Place. He asked, 'Where is my wife?' Day after day he kept looking for her tracks, but he could only trace them as far as Whirlpool Place."

p. 49: "The people were living at Old Pueblo."

p. 50: "Poker Boy Disappears Into His Shrine"—"The people were living at White House. Poker Boy was living among his people. He married the two daughters of the cacique. The elder had two children. One day Poker Boy asked his two wives, 'Why should we not travel to the south?' . . . They started off to the south . . . They came to many pueblos, but they stopped only to rest and they went always south . . . They came finally to Cochiti, but they went still south. So Poker Boy and his followers and children and two wives went on down south below Cochiti. At the foot of a little hill Cintac he left the last words for his people that he and the two wives and children and turkeys would leave this earth."

p. 54: "On the next morning the Ma's'ewa shouted to the town people, 'Let the people come to the kiva. Now they will roll down their long hair.' Then the people began to come to the kiva. The Yellow Women, the daughters of the chief, went there together, Corncob Boy and the two sisters. Then they entered the kiva."

p. 62: "Long ago the people were living on the mesa."

p. 70: "At old Cochiti (Tiputse) lived a man and his wife."

p. 75: "A hunter went out every day. His wife had a new-born baby. They told her that her husband went to San Ildefonso instead of hunting deer."

p. 76: "'Tomorrow I'll put my baby on my back and follow him.' She went along the river, and when she got to Old Mesa, she came to the big arroyo. She laid the baby on a bank and went running. She reached San Ildefonso at dusk. She went to a house on the second story and peeped through the window. She saw her husband on one side of the fireplace."

p. 76: "'Where is my boy?' I left him way back on a bank of the arroyo by Old Mesa."

p. 77: "The people were living at the Place of the Lion (Old Pueblo). They went south from there and they left a little girl behind them. They put a mother corn by her side to guard her. The Corn Mother spoke and said, 'My little daughter, we are all alone. Don't cry any more; we will follow them and see if we can overtake them.' They went up and they followed the tracks of the people."

p. 78: "'Now you must go on your journey. Take care of Corn Mother, keep hold of her and do not drop her again.' They kept going. The girl asked, 'Where are we going?' 'We are getting almost to Sandia.' They went on until they crossed into Mexico and there they found their people. They got to that place where there was a temple made of Rainbow and Lightning with lions lying side by side."

The little girl found her own mother. Her mother did not even remember that she had left a little girl behind her in Old Pueblo."

p. 78: "The people were living at the Rito de los Frijoles. They left that place and came to Old Cochiti (on the mesa). They left a girl behind them with the turkeys... She did not want to stay alone in that pueblo, and she went on with her turkeys. She came to Jemez . . . The people of Jemez saw her and they said, 'Poor thing. Can't we take her into our pueblo with her turkeys?' They took her into their pueblo and she lived there."

p. 84: "Long ago from here somewhere in the north was White House, now there was a town. There dwelt Yellow Woman."

p. 85: "They were living to the north where there is an old (unnamed) ruin in the mountains."

p. 86: "A Boy Of White House Marries A Girl Of The Village Of The Stone Lions"—"In the beginning the people stopped at Frijoles, and settled at White House and at the village of the Stone Lions."

p. 86: "The next day the eldest son said to his father and mother, 'Tomorrow morning I am going to the Village of the Stone Lions to see if I can get a girl to marry me. I will bring her back to White House . . . ' The boy went to the Village of the Stone Lions and stayed for two days."

p. 87: "The boy took the girl home to his village . . . They came into White House and the people watched them."

p. 87: "One day the three boys said to their mother and father, 'Tomorrow we are going to the girl's village. We will go hunting for the mother and father of the girl.' The girl said to her husband, 'Go down and tell my mother and father that my brothers-in-law are hunting for them and they must wait for them for the evening meal.' In the afternoon the three brothers came back bringing two deer and they took them to the mother and father of the girl... They set out food and ate. When they had finished the brothers prepared to return to their own home. The mother of the girl gave each of them a load of wafer bread and she said, 'Tomorrow I will make a feast. Bring your father and mother to share it with us.' Next day the brothers brought their mother and father to the Village of the Stone Lions. They feasted and they did not let the old people go back to White House any more. They lived all together in the same house as long as they lived."

p. 94: "They went to White Bank and lived there in a cave. The boy came to his mother and said, 'There is going to be a dance in Potsherd Village.' His mother said, 'Let us go together.' Next morning they went to Potsherd Village."

p. 95: "He called all the men of his society and they took her to Gaskunkotcinako ('the girl's cave'). They left her there and people still take little pots to this place to offer to her."

p. 114: "Near Uwashka there was a little village on top of the hill."

p. 115: "People were living at Tiputsa (Old Cochiti, across the river)."

p. 115: "They met up in the north at Shiwanatse (katchina place) for the hunt."

- p. 120: "At Fir Tree Pueblo lived a great hunter, but his wife did not pray nor remain continent to help him. The hunter knew this, and he made a plan to punish her . . . He said, 'Sit down.' She did so. The hunter asked her, 'Are you willing to do whatever I ask you?' 'Yes.' 'All right.' He cut off her hair (i.e., so that it no longer showed the characteristic Rio Grande bang) and painted her face, and put on her buckskin robe. When she was fixed just like a Plains Indian woman, he told her to go for water."
- p. 122: "Finally Mother Parrot said, 'All right, baby girl, we shall join some other pueblo because you don't want to stay here any longer . . .' The girl and the parrot started off . . . They went down the river and came near Santo Domingo. The parrot said, 'Daughter, why not join this pueblo?' 'No, not here. It is too near . . . Let us go farther south.' They came to San Felipe. The parrot said, 'We are quite far off now, why not join here?' 'We are not very far yet. Let us go further . . .' They went farther south and came to the pueblo of Sandia . . . They asked permission to join that pueblo and live all their lives there. They became Sandia Indians."
- p. 123: "They were living at Potsherd Place."
- p. 125: "(A girl, disguised as a Jicarilla, became pregnant by water, and after the battle, the baby girl was left with Corn Mother and Parrot in Potsherd Place)."
- p. 125: "She said to Corn Mother, 'I can not stand this place any more. Shall we go somewhere else to live?' 'All right, my child, we will go back to Cochiti.'"
- p. 125: "She put Corn Mother under her manta and Parrot Mother perched on her shoulder, and she started from Potsherd Place. She passed Whirlpool Place, Koashka, and went on across the river. As she was going down the other side of the river Buzzard met them. Buzzard said, 'are you coming, my little girl?' He brought them to this place, Cochiti, and they lived here forever."
- p. 143: "The animals went hunting down by the Painted Cave."
- p. 144: "They were living in Ushuk (old site of Cochiti south). One day the parrots said, 'Shall we have a corn dance?' 'All right. Go and get the prairie dogs to come.' They went to the kiva and began to sing and practice for the corn dance. Next morning they called the prairie dog girls. All the prairie dogs brought their dance clothes and went into the kiva."
- p. 148: "At Whirlpool Place (Koashka) there lived a duck with lots of little ducklings."
- p. 151: "At the bottom of La Bajada Road there was a pueblo (an unnamed ruin)."
- p. 154: "At Painted Cave there was a village and out of this village came a deer and bear and lion and lynx and wildcat. 'Now we will go east and find our living the best we can.'"
- p. 155: "From these two came all the little cats and they came down to Cochiti."
- p. 158: "Two Santa Ana girls went to Haniashte (other side of river) to pick beans."
- p. 159: "One of the girls said, 'Just hear them! They talk the Santa Ana language . . . They are people like us and talk our language . . . They went home to Santa Ana. They told their mother, 'We went to Haniashte to pick beans and the geese were picking them. They were people and they talked Santa

Ana...’ Some geese were picking up corn on the fields south of Cochiti (site of old Cochiti village, Ushuk).”

p. 162: “The Deer came running down the arroyo (just north of Cochiti) and crossed the river near Whirlpool Place.”

p. 162: “Coyote jumped out and said, ‘I won’t let deer go free.’ She ran on after them. She ran as fast as she could. As she got on top of La Bajada hill, she saw Deer ahead.”

p. 162: “Father Deer went back to his home, and Mother Deer and the two children came back from Blue Shell Mountain to their village and they are still living at Cochiti.”

p. 163: “Again that night the grandmother said to him, ‘Are you willing to go to Sia? They will have a give-away dance at Sia.’ ‘Yes.’ The boy started to go to Sia . . . As he was going he thought, ‘Where is Sia?’ He went wondering. He came to an ant hill. He watched the ants working. He said to himself, ‘I guess this is what Grandmother meant; this is Sia Pueblo.’”

p. 185: “How The People Came Up From Frijoles”—“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, and they lived as brothers. At last they had trouble. The headman of one people took his families in one direction, and another in another. The descendants of one mother went together with one headman.

The people of Santo Domingo followed down the east bank of the Rio Grande till they came to Cactus Village (five miles from Cochiti). The people of Cochiti went to the old pueblo of San Miguel (seven or eight miles north of Cochiti on the west bank of the Rio Grande) having followed down the Kapolin Canyon from the mesa of the Stone Lions. The people of San Felipe, and Laguna, and Acoma followed down Peralta Canyon toward the west and built the (ruined) pueblo of Peralta Canyon (six miles from Cochiti). There were people of the Corn clan among them, and they were not willing to go with their brothers to the south, and they went off by themselves and lived with the Utes and the Apaches.

The people of Cochiti lived at San Miguel. At last they had trouble. They came to the Potrero Plateau (Plateau of the Buildings, nearer Cochiti). There they lived many years. They made war on the different pueblos, and they all tried to drive the people of Cochiti from their plateau. While they were fighting, the Spaniards came from the south. The rest of the pueblos leagued with the Spaniards against the people of Cochiti. All these pueblos had already come down off their mesas and had been given lands by the Spaniards. Only the people of Cochiti were still on their mesa.”

p. 186: “The Destruction Of White Shell Pueblo”—“At Kubero (Pojoaque) the Tewa were living (who afterwards went to Hopi). They came down against White Shell Pueblo (Hishi; old site of San Felipe) and overcame the people and destroyed the pueblo. The people went farther south and settled on the present site of San Felipe.

A man was living with his wife and sister at Tamite (mesita south of Cochiti). They did not know of the attack on White Shell Pueblo, and they came there and found it abandoned.”

p. 187: “However, the women said, ‘We must leave this place and find a pueblo where we shall be safe.’ They wondered which way they should go; south to Sandia, or past Sandia Mountain to Cranquebila. They said, ‘Cranquebila is the farther, and we shall be safer there.’ They took the baby and went to Cranquebila and stayed there four years. The sister of the Tamite man married a man of Cranquebila, and they found other White Shell Pueblo people had taken refuge there.

After a time there was no water for the crops at Cranquebila, and the people from Tamite decided that they would return to their home if there were no enemies about. Therefore the Tamite man and his sister's husband came down to the Cochiti country and remained four days watching for any danger. They saw no signs of enemies, and they went back to Cranquebila and got their wives and possessions. They planted fields again and built houses at the foot of the mesita of Tamite. Men also who had married at Cranquebila came to them there and built houses and planted fields, and also those who had married at Sandia, and at Santa Ana. They built up a pueblo at the foot of Tamite, and the men of Santo Domingo came there and took wives from that pueblo. The pueblo grew, and the people decided to go to Ka'taishtia (mesa above San Felipe). They flourished there and it became a large pueblo. The men of Cranquebila used to come there and take wives from that pueblo."

p. 189: "How They Came Down From The Mesa"—"Long ago the Cochiti Indians lived on the top of Cochiti Mesa. They had to carry all their water to the top of the mesa, and when they fought the Navaho, they had to come way down where Cochiti is now to have the battle. The women had to bring the bowls of food for their dinner way down to Kai'ati (up Bland Canyon) and then they had to return to the mesa, and this was very dangerous. They saw that this was too hard work for them, so they thought of moving down off the mesa."

p. 196: "The Cochiti Indians always went to Pecos (Ya'atsi) for turquoise."

p. 206: "Stories Of The Katcinas"—"The most prominent figure in the kadcina tales, as he is also in any kadcina dance, is Heluta. He is called the father of the kadcinas and precedes their entry at a dance, announcing them and talking with the people by signs. Ganagjani is father of the koshare and father of the Shurdzi and his shrine is the Shurdzi shrine."

p. 208: "Another story of the loss and recovery of the koshare is told of the time when the people were living at White House and at the Village of the Two Lions (p. 14)."

p. 208: "Bloody Handprint Kadcina is much feared. He lives at the shrine at Koash'ke (p. 13)."

p. 209: "The scene of a Snake Society story is laid in Sia, there being no snake society in Cochiti at present."

p. 209: "Puyatc Society"—"When Pecos was deserted those who were left behind committed suicide by ceremonially becoming snakes. The others, who had gone down to Santo Domingo, summoned the Puyatc Society, and tried ceremonially to restore their relatives, but without success. Therefore the remnants of the people of Pecos who live in Santo Domingo now have the Puyatc Society (p. 16)."

p. 211: "While the people were living at Frijoles a very young girl asked the sunlight for a child. Her parents turned her out on account of her pregnancy and her children were born on top of the Bernalillo Mountains."

p. 217: "Poker Boy lived at Old Pueblo."

p. 217: "Poker Boy Retires Into His Shrine"—"The one fixed fact about Poker Boy is his shrine, the Shrine of Yellow Woman, which he shares with Corncob Boy. The following story is told of his going into his shrine.

The people were living at White House. Poker Boy herded his turkeys by the sweet sound

of his flute. He drew his turkeys and wives with their babies with him far to the south to the Shrine of Yellow Woman where he gives blessing in hunting and the bearing of children (p. 50)."

p. 217: "Corncob Boy"—"Corncob Boy is the local hero of Cochiti. He belongs to Cochiti, and other pueblos are said to be in awe of this little village because of his blessing. His shrine is nearby, the Shrine of Yellow Woman (see Poker Boy, above) . . . The name of Poker Boy is used interchangeably with Corncob Boy in one version (p. 60). Both names are associated with the shrine of Yellow Woman."

p. 228: "The story of children abandoned when their parents move on to some other pueblo, often in famine, is a constantly recurring motif in Pueblo folktales."

p. 228 "When the people went south from the Place of the Recumbent Lion."

p. 249: "Place Of Emergence"—"Long ago in the north below the Place of Emergence everybody came out. Now when those who are everyone's chiefs came out they all went out. They went down south . . . Then all the people were now going south. Everyone was moving away south and they built towns . . . Again when day came they were always going. They only moved southward. Thus they were always going. Now they were just going to the middle south . . . until they arrived there somewhere at White House . . . Then the two [Ma's'ewa and Oyoyewa] said, 'It is good, everyone's mother, cacique, this place is ready for you, everyone's mother. For his sake let there be a town here.' Then everyone's mother, the cacique, made a town. Then he called it White House."

p. 250: "Then somewhere and somehow it happened that they began to separate there . . . Some went southwest, some to the middle south, some went southeast . . . Then they were still going southward and they arrived way down south at the appointed place . . . Then they were going to reach way down south Go'hawaima. They were going to arrive. They were hoping to go in there. They were still coming from the middle north down there. At the middle south they stopped. Here in the north they stopped where everybody's mother said, 'The four truly sacred places are here,' she said. Here he made altars and chiefs Ma's'ewa and Oyoyewa were always watching them as they went. They went along coming from the north and they began to make towns. They built altars. Thus they were coming from the north . . . They went down south from there. Therefore there are many ruins in the north . . . They wished to go there to the south to Go'hawaima, that was the place appointed by everyone's mother which they were going to reach . . . They were going to arrive there in the south, at the place appointed by everyone's mother."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

The *Tales of the Cochiti Indians* are grouped as follows: (1) the mythological concepts of Cochiti, their notion of creation, their pantheon, and first people; (2) its hero tales, identifying the various hero personalities and their exploits; (3) the fictionalized versions of pueblo life; (4) animal tales; (5) the European tales; (6) the "true stories" or Cochiti versions of history.

Key words: Ethnography, Keresan, Cochiti, oral traditions, traditional history.

Key place names: White House, Zuni, Hopi, shrine at Koaske, Rio Grande, Rito de Frijoles, Cochiti (mesa), Santo Domingo, Salt Lake (near Estancia), Peña Blanca, Mosquito Place, Village of the Two Lions, Nokahe'a, Red Paint Mountain, Rabbit's Place (Lakia), Water Dripping Place (Stirshtikana), Sia, Pecos (Yaatsi), Jemez, Potsherd Place (east of Cochiti), Whirlpool Place (Koashka), Old Pueblo

(Place of the Lion), Cinatc, Tiputse (old Cochiti across the river), San Ildefonso, Gaskunkotcinako ("the girl's cave"), Uwashka, Shiwanatse (katsina place), Fir Tree Pueblo, San Felipe, Sandia, Jicarilla, Painted Cave, Ushuk (old site of Cochiti, south), La Bajada, Santa Ana, Hantiashte (other side of river), Cactus Village (five miles from Cochiti), San Miguel (seven or eight miles north of Cochiti on the west bank of the Rio Grande), Kapolin (Capulin) Canyon, Laguna, Acoma, Peralta Canyon, Potrero Plateau, Kubero (Pojoaque), White Shell Pueblo (Hishi; old site of San Felipe), Tamite (mesita south of Cochiti), Cranquebila, Ka'taishtia (mesa above San Felipe), Kai'ati (up Bland Canyon), Bernalillo Mountains, Go'hawaima.

Recorded by: Judy A. Morse, 3-16-96.

Biella, Jan V., and Richard C. Chapman

1979 *Archeological Investigations in Cochiti Reservoir, New Mexico*, vol. 4, *Adaptive Change in the Northern Rio Grande Valley*. Albuquerque: Office of Contract Archeology, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1974-1979.

Principal field workers: Biella; Chapman; Gale D. Tierney; A. H. Warren; Stephen Fosberg; Rosalind Hunter-Anderson; Cordelia T. Snow; Martha R. Binford; Meade Kemrer; Sandra Kemrer; Alan Rogers; W. J. Chasko, Jr.; David C. Eck; John Husler; Laurence M. Spear; Eileen Camilli; Jeanne A. Schutt.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 393: "The Classic or Pueblo IV (P-IV) phase settlement within the region was characterized by a distinct shift toward a large site or village-based residential strategy, concomitant with contemporaneous occupations of small one and two room sites distributed 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 P-IV 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."

p. 393: "Stated simply, we felt 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 after 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 in that similar strategy of settlement characterized the entire central Rio Grande Valley into the late 1500s—the time of Spanish exploration and initial settlement."

p. 394: "A primary assumption underlying our initial conceptualization of Anasazi culture-history was that the change in settlement as reflected in the P-IV phase represented an adaptive reorganization on the part of indigenous occupants of the region. In this sense, we felt that data pointed toward a continuous settlement of the region from A.D. 1175 through 1500, punctuated by a rapid period of change on the part of the inhabitants between 1325 and 1350 presumably due to an unidentified set of stresses upon the ability of the system to produce food for a growing population."

p. 397: "As a result of this study, we can offer a tentative answer to the question that the P-IV aggregated settlement strategy is not necessarily a reorganization of existing populations. Some settlement and site-specific data may be interpreted as a withdrawal and replacement of the P-III populations in the Cochiti area with different populations during the P-IV phase. Such population movement and relocation (or mobility) have been documented, archeologically, to exhibit

considerable antiquity among the Anasazi populations of northern New Mexico. A *mobility option* in which segments of a local group or village or the entire village relocate during a period of years may have been a critical, if not central, aspect of a pan-Anasazi adaptive strategy which served to ameliorate predictably adverse conditions of an agriculturally based economy in an arid environment."

p. 397: "In Chapter 8 Hunter-Anderson . . . reviews climatic data for the P-III and P-IV phases and suggests that the P-IV aggregation and placement of villages in lower precipitation and elevational zones resulted in leaving upland zones accessible to various Anasazi populations for purposes of hunting. Meanwhile, the lowlands could be utilized agriculturally if employing more labor intensive water control devices . . . She thus argues that the settlement shift may be interpreted as resulting in an expanded food resource base, not only in production of agricultural products vis-a-vis terracing systems and water diversion devices; but also in opening up large tracts of land for hunting by different Anasazi populations. Against a regionwide referent, this would provide an increasingly effective food resource buffer, all without expending energy in defense of the hunting territories . . . Although this is but one model to address the shift to aggregated centers in the Cochiti Reservoir area, we feel that it is a provocative one and serves to illustrate the utility of examining the phenomenon of aggregation without restricting analyses to discerning immigration vs. indigenous population growth curves."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Final report of a five-year archaeological project undertaken to recover information about cultural resources within the area of Cochiti Reservoir. In three previous reports the authors summarized information gained from site survey and excavation within the reservoir boundaries. This final report summarizes analyses of settlement, subsistence, and adaptive changes in the northern Rio Grande Valley over four millennia, from Archaic to historic times.

Key words: Archeology, demographics, migration, settlement and subsistence.

Key place names: Cochiti Reservoir, Rio Grande Valley.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 10-6-96.

Brandt, Elizabeth E.

1970 *Sandia Pueblo, New Mexico: A Linguistic and Ethnolinguistic Investigation*. Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Methodist University. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1992.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1968-1970.

Principal field workers: Elizabeth Brandt.

Pueblo communities contacted: Sandia Pueblo.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 18: "Potsherds found on the refuse mounds at Sandia show a continuous series from 1300 to the present with no great gaps in occupation of the site (Stubbs 1950:31)."

p. 44: "We do not know if Sandia was a separate cultural entity in 1540. There was a pueblo on or near the present site of Sandia at that time. In 1680 documents mention a pueblo at the present site and give the native name for the pueblo. After this period, the consolidation of all the Southern Tiwas into a homeless group and their wanderings and sojourns among various other pueblo groups make it difficult to identify the component groups as having any kind of genetic or even cultural continuity through time. The two existing Southern Tiwa pueblos today must be regarded as having a heterogeneous background, both genetically and culturally. They are made up of Sandias, Alamedas, Puarays, Isletas, possibly Piros and others from Ysleta del Sur in El Paso, and Hopis. Of other groups we have no records."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This doctoral dissertation is a description of the Sandia Tiwa dialect. There is a historical section which begins in 1540. The first quote above is the only reference to prehistory.

Key words: Ethnohistory, linguistic, ethnolinguistic, Tiwa.

Key place names: Sandia Pueblo.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-19-97.

Bunzel, Ruth L.

1928 The Emergence. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 41:288-292.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 288: "The Emergence [San Felipe, (Tsamuteliwa).] Inside of Shipapu our Mother had trained the people. She had given the people their ceremonies and their songs and prayers . . . Then they came up to this earth. They opened something above, like in the kivas, and they came out."

p. 288: "Then the people came out and walked towards the southwest. There they built a little town, Kackatrik (White House). This was their first village. Then from there came every nation. All the different kinds of Indians had their language and their songs and their ceremonies. There were many people there. Then the people were starving. There was no food to eat at this time. Then they had a meeting to talk about it. 'Why are we starving,' all the head men said, 'We have stayed here a long time. We should move on to some other place.' So then they started to move again. There were all different kinds of people, and they had all different kinds of languages. So then from there they scattered. Some went to the east and some went to the west, and some came through the middle."

p. 289: "From there the people scattered and came this way from the north. At this time the people all had their ceremonies, those that they still have to this day. That is why the other Indians around here have different ceremonies."

p. 289: "At this time they were just spirits, but then they changed and turned into Indians. Before this the people were all katchinas, but now they turned into people and danced, wearing masks. [So] that is how we got our katchina ceremonies . . . That is how we got our dances and our ceremonies. That is the way the people came. But they had a hard time. They did not have enough to eat. They kept on moving. They would stay a year or two years in some place, but then they would have to move on to another place. [So] the Indians went all over around the world like coyotes. They went all the way to the coast and there was big water and there was no way to cross. They went so far and turned back again. They came back to the same place. So they went back and forth."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Bunzel presents the emergence story of the people of San Felipe Pueblo. She also tells of how the katchina cult came to be. "Notes On The Katchina Cult In San Felipe" appears at the end of the article. Katchinas that are known at San Felipe were identified from Hopi and Zuni drawings and are listed here.

Key words: Oral traditions, traditional history, katchina, Keresan.

Key place names: San Felipe (Tsamuteliwa), Kackatrik (White House), Hopi, Zuni.

Recorded by: Judy A. Morse, 3-10-96.

Caywood, Louis R.

1966 *Excavations at Rainbow House, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico*. Globe, Arizona: National Park Service.

Repository: National Park Service, Southwest Systems Support Office, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1948-fall 1950.

Principal field workers: Frederick C. V. Worman, Margaret Nickelson, Earl Swanson. Analysis by John F. Turney, Lyndon L. Hargrave, Terah L. Smiley. Further analysis and report preparation by Charles B. Voll. Final report preparation by Louis R. Caywood.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 8: "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."

p. 11: "A feature not appearing at Rainbow House is the metate bin. Such bins were not found at Tyuonyi, Puye, nor at other excavated ruins on the Pajarito Plateau."

p. 15: "The following table from the latter publication (Smiley, Stubbs, and Bannister 1953: 19-21, 24, 26, 28, fig. 1) shows dates for this region.

LA:47 Puye (3)	1527-1562
LA:78 Frijolito (3)	1431-1447
LA:82 Tyuonyi (16)	1383-1466
LA:170 Tshirege (7)	1422-1581
LA: 217 Rainbow House (20)	1421-1453
Group M, Bandelier (1)	1493

(Note: The figure in parentheses before dates represents the number of tree-ring dates obtained)."

p. 26: "The identification [of a black basalt kiva bell from Rainbow House] was made by a Cochiti Indian who said that there are others similar to it in use at Cochiti today."

p. 37: "Reuse of timbers [at Rainbow House] is a possibility for such a short construction period."

p. 37: "Rainbow House and nearby Frijolito probably were sister pueblos—each with 40 to 50 rooms and one kiva. They both belonged to the early Glaze period of the Pajarito Plateau. Frijolito appears to have been abandoned in early Glaze C times (Mera 1934:7), while Rainbow House continued in use to a later date."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Analysis and report of excavation of Rainbow House. Descriptive analysis of material culture including ceramics, stone tools, bone tools and artifacts, shell, clay pipe fragments. No burials or

skeletal material is reported.

Key words: Archeology, ceramics, dendrochronology.

Key place names: Tyuonyi, Rainbow House, Frijolito.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-14-96.

Chapman, Kenneth M.

1938 Pajaritan Pictography, the Cave Pictographs of the Rito de los Frijoles. In *Pajarito Plateau and Its Ancient People*, by Edgar L. Hewett, Appendix 1. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico and School of American Research, University of New Mexico Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: August 1915; August 1916; summer 1920.

Principal field workers: Frank Springer, Carlos Vierra, Kenneth Chapman.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 141: "The abandonment of the entire Pajarito Plateau is assumed to have taken place prior to the coming of Coronado into New Mexico, in 1540. If refuge was sought in the canyon of the Rito de los Frijoles by considerable groups from the Rio Grande at any time after the arrival of the Spaniards, no recognizable trace of their occupation has been revealed by the extensive excavations in the ruins of the circular house of Tyuonyi and the adjacent talus groups, or by the presence of pottery types known to have been developed after the close of the seventeenth century. It seems safe, therefore, to assume that with the exception of a small group of dwellings known to have been occupied by a Spanish-speaking family during the past one hundred years, the majority of the caves of the Rito de los Frijoles have not been used as permanent homes since pre-Spanish times."

pp. 143-144: "The art of the entire Pueblo area is and always has been a highly stylized one . . . Hence in the representation of certain supernatural attributes of man or animals, the use of symbolic devices derived mainly from a geometric art was of greater importance than the lifelike portrait of the subject . . . The bird was a favorite decorative motif with the ancient Pajaritans as is shown by thirty-six drawings, ranging from fairly realistic forms to others which could not be recognized as birds, or parts of birds, if it were not for certain symbolic features found in the entire series."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Appendix to *Pajarito Plateau and Its Ancient People*, by Edgar L. Hewett, 1938. Discussion of pictographs and petroglyphs on the walls of "several hundred" caves on the Pajarito Plateau.

Key words: Archaeology, pictograph, petroglyph.

Key place names: Pajarito Plateau.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-13-96.

Cordell, Linda S.

1984 *Prehistory of the Southwest*. Orlando, Florida: Academic Press.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 27: "For example, temperatures recorded at the same elevation on the north and south walls of Frijoles Canyon, New Mexico, differed by 13°F."

p. 328: "Following the disintegration of the first systems of regional integration and the end of major residential use of large areas of the Southwest, several new patterns emerged (between about A.D. 1275 and initial contact with Europeans in 1540). The new features included the redistribution of aggregated populations in parts of the Southwest that seem formerly to have been only thinly populated, the formation of very large communities in some areas, and the production and wide distribution of new and colorful types of ceramics. In addition, the archaeological recovery of highly distinctive representational art from this period affords a rich view of some aspects of Southwestern culture.

Many of the larger sites occupied between 1300 and the historic period were intensively tested or excavated during the first half of the 1900s. The work was done, in part, because using the direct historical approach, these sites could provide a relative chronology from historic times to the prehistoric period. For example, early, chronologically oriented studies were conducted in New Mexico at San Cristobal, Pueblo Largo, Pueblo Blanco, and San Lazaro in the Galisteo Basin . . . at Tyuonyi and other sites on the Pajarito Plateau (Hewett 1909); at the ancestral Zuni site of Hawikuh . . ."

p. 333: "The major issue is that whereas the large, aggregated sites of the Rio Grande area do suggest a 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' (Rouse 1958:64) is relatively rare ethnographically. More commonly, individuals and family groups follow separate migration paths, integrating themselves into ongoing communities where they have kinship or friendship ties . . ."

p. 348: "In risky and fluctuating environments . . . economic interdependency among relatively egalitarian groups may not be a viable strategy . . . the 'lack of a political structure that could have countered divisive trends within and among communities, intensified agricultural production, or controlled the exchange of goods led to regional depopulation' (Graves et al. 1982:206)."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Described by the author as "a synthesis of southwestern prehistory for students, scholars and other interested readers" (p. xvii).

Key words: Archeology, aggregation, migration.

Key place names: Rito de los Frijoles, Tyuonyi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-21-96.

Courlander, Harold

1971 *The Fourth World of the Hopis*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: 1968, 1969, 1970.

Principal field workers: Harold Courlander. Informants from Walpi, Hano and Polacca; Shongopovi; Oraibi and New Oraibi; Moencopi.

Pueblo communities contacted: see above.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 72: "The clans that went north from Palatkwapi [the site of a great flood] stopped at one place and another, building winter villages, and then moving on. It is said that they settled at a place called Kunchalpi for some years . . . So the people abandoned Kunchalpi and travelled again, drifting a little to the east, until they came to a site they named Hohokyam . . . After many years they departed from Hohokyam and moved on to another place, Neuvakwiotaka, which is now known as Chaves Pass . . . And later on . . . they went on until they came to the Little Colorado River near where the present town of Winslow stands. There they made a settlement that they called Homolovi, Small Mound . . . Then some other groups began to arrive from the direction of Muyovi, the Rio Grande, in the east. Among them were the Fox Clan . . . Thus Homolovi grew large and populous."

p. 77: "The largest part of the Water Clan and all the other clans from Homolovi took the northern trail . . . They stopped and camped a while at a place known as Little Bird Spring. After that they continued travelling until they came to Little Ruin Mound, not far from where Walpi is today. . . . Their scouts went to a high place . . . When they returned they said "Yes, there is a large village up on top. It is owned by the Bow Clan and it is called Awatovi."

p. 232: "CHIMOENVASI—A village, now extinct, about six miles northeast of Oraibi, settled by Eastern Pueblos.

p. 233: "HOHOKYAM—One of the villages settled by the Palatkwapi clans during their migration northward.

p. 233: "KALEWISTIMA, KAWESTIMA—The Hopi ancestral villages in the Tsegi Canyon complex about fifteen miles west of Kayenta, Arizona. They include the cliff villages now identified as Betatakin, Keet Seel and Inscription House.

p. 233: "KAWAIKA—An Eastern Pueblo people now usually called by the Spanish name Laguna. They call themselves Kawaiks or Kawaikas. During the time of the Spanish occupation Kawaika people migrated to Hopi country and established a village on Antelope Mesa, near Awatovi, and this settlement was known as Kawaika. According to some traditional accounts, the Antelope Mesa Kawaika was destroyed by the Spanish."

p. 236: "PALATKWAPI, sometimes PALATKWA—An ancestral village far to the south of Hopi country, said to be the place where the Water, Sand and Tobacco and other clans started their northward migrations."

p. 238: "TAOTOYKYA—An ancestral village, said to have been in what is now California, from which people (later to become the Snake and Horn clans) migrated to Tokonave."

p. 239: "TOKONAVE—'Black Mountain,' the Hopi name for Navajo Mountain."

p. 239: "WUHKOKIEKEU—The village at Tokonave (Navajo Mountain) from which the Snake and Horn people began their southward migration."

p. 239: "WUPATKI—A village (or villages), now in ruins, about thirty-five miles northeast of the present city of Flagstaff, Arizona. Some of the clans or parts of clans went to Wupatki from Homolovi at the time of the northward migration from Palatkwapi."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Courlander organizes "myths, legends and recollections" (p. 7) to produce a traditional history, from origin to the Oraibi split (1906). As with the origin and migration stories quoted above, the narration proceeds from myth to specific historical and short-term recollection without Western distinctions. Harold Courlander died on March 15, 1996 [Obituary reported *New York Times* 3/19/1996].

Key words: Hopi-Tewa, migration and emergence, oral traditions, traditional history.

Key place names: Palatkwapi, Homolovi, Maski, Shongopovi, Sikyatki, Huckovi, Pivanhonkapi, Payupki, Tikuvi, Oraibi, Awatovi, Moencopi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-6-96.

Crotty, Helen

1990 Protohistoric Anasazi Kiva Murals: Variation as a Reflection of Differing Social Contexts. Paper presented at the 55th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Las Vegas.

Repository: On file with authors.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 51: "Evidence of mural decoration of protohistoric rooms and kivas has been reported at 19 sites in the Southwest, 17 of them in Anasazi territory" (see Figure 1). [Note: figure includes Frijoles Canyon, Poshu, Otowi, Cochiti.]

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Crotty notes (p. 51) that "The remarkable florescence in mural art that occurred in the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period (circa A.D. 1300 to 1600) is often attributed to influence from a southern source and is associated with the introduction of the Kachina cult . . . variation in the mural imagery found at the different sites suggests instead that the art evolved locally and reflected the socioeconomic and religious organization of each community."

She compares and contrasts imagery of kiva murals at Awatovi, Kawaika-a, Pottery Mound, Gran Quivira, and Kuaua, and concludes that "the internal evidence of the murals 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."

Key words: Archeology, katchina, murals.

Key place names: Awatovi, Kawaika-a, Pottery Mound, Gran Quivira, Kuaua.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-14-96.

Davis, Irvine

1959 Linguistic Clues to Northern Rio Grande Prehistory. *El Palacio* 66:73-84. Santa Fe: Archaeological Society of New Mexico.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 78: "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 . . . Glottochronological time depths within the Keresan stock must be viewed in the context of a considerable degree of cultural contact among the various pueblos. Most of the cognate counts yield time depths well within the historic period, and obviously do not represent the actual time of separation of the two dialects. Even the lowest cognate count, that between Acoma and Cochiti, yields a time depth of only about five hundred years. This may be considered as a minimum length of time that has elapsed since Keresan was an undifferentiated language. The actual break-up may have begun considerably earlier."

p. 83: "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. By about A.D. 1300 when Mesa Verde was completely abandoned, the Keresan people had likely split into a number of groups. It was previously suggested in this paper that the original break-up of Keresan resulted in four groups: (1) Acoma and Laguna, (2) Zia and Santa Ana, (3) San Felipe and Santo Domingo, and (4) Cochiti. These may represent four separate migrating groups that left Mesa Verde at different times and found their ways separately to their present locations."

p. 83: "A cognate count based on a list of 268 items including most of the Swadesh 200-word list shows 95 percent [95%] agreement between Acoma and Laguna as compared to 98 percent between San Felipe and Santo Domingo . . . Of the Keresan dialects, Zia and Santa Ana are the most closely related. These two pueblos probably were established by people speaking the same dialect and have since maintained close contact. San Felipe and Santo Domingo likewise are very closely related, and must have had a common history for a considerable length of time."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

An overview of linguistic evidence of origin and migration of northern Rio Grande Pueblo groups, with reference to selected archeological evidence.

Key words: Linguistics, glottochronology.

Key place names: Acoma, Laguna, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Cochiti, Zia.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-9-96.

Dick, Herbert W., Daniel Wolfman, Curtis F. Schaafsma, and Marianne Wolfman
n.d. Introduction to Picuris Archeology. Ms. on file, Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1961-1964.

Principal field workers: not specified.

Pueblo communities contacted: Picuris.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 18: "We were able to delineate nine temporal phases at Picuris Pueblo. As they are used throughout the report, the phases with their time ranges are listed here.

1) Taos Phase: 1150-1225. Characterized by the production of Taos black-on-white and the use of pithouses and earliest multiple unit surface structures.

2) Santa Fe Phase: 1225-1300. Characterized by a predominance of Santa Fe Black-on-white and surface structures. Almost all the decorated pottery in use at Picuris during this phase was traded from the south.

3) Talpa Phase: 1300-1375. Characterized by a predominance of Talpa Black-on-white and continued use of the Santa Fe phase houses. In contrast to the preceding phase, almost all the decorated pottery in use at Picuris during this phase was locally made.

4) Vadito Phase: 1375-1490. At this time there was a shift in emphasis from Talpa Black-on-white to Vadito Black-on-white. It was during this phase that the Big Houses that were seen by the earliest Spanish explorers were built.

5) San Lazaro Phase: 1490-1600. The predominant pottery made at the site was Glaze D. The houses from the previous phase continued in use.

6) Trampas Phase: 1600-1696. Glaze E followed by Glaze F was the principle [sic] decorated ware. Small amounts of Trampas Black-on-white occur throughout this phase. The people were living in the Big Houses. Abandonment of many rooms took place, particularly in the second half of the phase. It was during this phase that the San Lorenzo de Picuris mission was constructed."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

A discussion of area archeology, ceramic sequences, and fieldwork performed over four years at Picuris.

Key words: Archeology, ceramics, demographics, Picuris

Key place names: Picuris, Rio Grande.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-20-97.

Douglas, Frederic H.

1932 *Modern Pueblo Indian Villages*. Denver Art Museum Leaflets 45-46. Denver, Colorado: Denver Art Museum.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

unnumbered p. 2: "Cochiti (3) (Ko-tchi-tee). Spanish spelling of the native name Kotyete, of unknown meaning. Keresan stock. 27 miles southwest of Santa Fe. The population in 1680 was about 300 and it has remained near this figure ever since. The 1931 figure was 283. The Cochiti people are half a tribe, the remainder being the San Felipe people. The split and the founding of the present pueblo came not long before the Spanish discovery in 1598. The pueblo joined the 1680 revolt and for some years during the period lived in a town on the mesa above the present village. The principal fiesta is on St. Bonaventura's day, July 14."

unnumbered p. 5: "San Felipe . . . The native name is Katshtya, the meaning of which is unknown . . . The people of this pueblo are half a tribe, the remainder being at Cochiti. The split occurred in the 16th century."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Traveler's guides issued by the Denver Art Museum from February 1930.

Key words: Ethnography, travelogue.

Key place names: Cochiti, San Felipe.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-9-96.

Douglass, William Boone

1917 Notes on the Shrines of the Tewa and Other Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. *Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Americanists*, pp. 344-378. Washington, D.C.

Repository: Bandelier National Monument and Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: September 1911; November 1913.

Principal field workers: W. B. Douglass.

Pueblo communities contacted: Taos, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Cochiti, Tesuque.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

Presented at the meeting of the International Congress of Americanists in Santa Fe in 1915.

p. 344 "The Pueblo Indians guard with great tenacity the secrets of their shrines. Even when the locations have been found, they will deny their existence, plead ignorance of their meaning, or refuse to discuss the subject in any form." He claims that his data was gathered in the field and not based on any preconceived notions. He does not indicate clearly who his "informants" might have been, but refers in several places to "a medicine-man of K'hapo (Santa Clara)."

He found no strong demarcation between older and more modern shrines.

p. 345: "the peak referred to is called *Tsikomó* by the Tewa . . ."

The name is given three interpretations: (1) "the place of much rock;" (2) "the place high up;" (3) "the place of worship."

Douglass places more credence on the first name. He then described the various features found on *Tsikomó*, which include a spring, a mound, a rock "inclosure," a depression and an altar.

p. 346: "... this mound or cairn symbolizes the center of all the regions and is called *Tsiyi*. From the mound, S. 10° W., 43 yards distant, is the shrine, five feet below the mound level."

p. 346: "The inclosure . . . is called *Kwan-po*. The eastern end is broken by seven exits which spread out like the fingers of a hand. These exits are symbolic 'rain-roads,' and are not used by the cacique in performing his ceremonies. Each pueblo using the shrine has its own rain-road, oriented to point in its direction. These roads are known as *awu-mu-wayá*."

p. 346: "Judging from the direction these roads point, they may be identified as follows: A Taos; B, San Juan; C, Santa Clara; D, San Ildefonso; E, Jemez; F, Cochiti; G, Navaho."

p. 347: "The floor of the inclosure is of hard-packed earth, and slopes gently toward the center . . . this depression, symbolic of the Waters of the World, is called *Nampo* by the San Ildefonso Tewa, and *Mansipu* by those of Santa Clara."

p. 354: "The shrine is situated on public land in the northeast quarter of the southeast quarter of Section 34, T. 21N., R. 6E. . . . The peak is the dominating feature of the western sky-line from all the Tewa pueblos of New Mexico, and from prehistoric sites as well . . . The peak may be in sight of Jemez Pueblo..."

p. 355: "The full meaning of the World-center shrine is yet to be determined. It is probable that many fraternities made offerings there . . . The late Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson . . . identified the particular offerings above described as that of the Bow Fraternity . . ."

p. 355: the following account by a San Juan Indian, while not substantiated by later investigations, is not without interest:

"The shrine is used by the Indians of Jemez, Cochiti, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, San Juan, and Taos, each pueblo having a separate trail leading from the shrine inclosure . . . While [Mr. James Leese, a forest ranger who used the peak as a fire lookout in 1911] was there the shrine was visited by twelve or fifteen Indians from Taos, San Juan, Santa Clara, and Jemez."

p. 369: "Shrines of Tyuonyi

Stone Corral.—N. $11\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ W. 1,830 feet from the community house of Tyuonyi, and 830 feet above it, is a stone inclosure resembling that which encircles the Stone Lions. . . It occupies a projecting point of the cañon rim overlooking the community house. . . and the diameter of its interior circumferences is 22 feet. This inclosure was laboriously constructed of large, unshaped stones, with the entrance facing southeast. At the time of its discovery by the writer, July 28, 1911, there were neither images nor offerings within the structure. . ."

pp. 369-370: "Ceremonial Cave.—The Ceremonial Cave is a natural recess in the northern wall of Rito de los Frijoles cañon, three-quarters of a mile northwest of the community house . . . It measures 99 feet in width at its opening and extends back in the form of a hemicycle to a depth of 48 feet, facing S. 50° W. The cave is 140 feet above the stream and in aboriginal times was reached by a stairway cut in the almost vertical face of the cliff."

pp. 370-371: "Concentric Pavement.—A puzzling archeological feature is a pavement constructed of shaped tufa blocks laid in concentric circles, and having a diameter of about 20 feet. It is level with the ground and without evidence of any inclosing wall. . . It occupies a site near the left bank of the Rito de los Frijoles, S. 48° E and 1,230 feet from the Tyuonyi community house. Between the pavement and Tyuonyi the great kiva bears N. 32° W. 740 feet distant. An unusual feature of this great kiva, 42 feet in diameter, is its two 'ceremonial entrances,' one on the western and one on the eastern side, approximately facing the community house and the pavement. Some investigators have suggested that the construction may have been a threshing floor, but the unpaved earth is known to be preferable for that purpose. Another thinks it may be the floor of a superficial kiva the walls of which have been removed, but offers no solution for the removal of the walls. The writer offers the suggestion that the pavement is a shrine differing only from the usual shrine of this type in being of greater diameter and of more careful construction."

p. 372: "The Tewa and other Pueblo Indians still make use of this shrine [of the Stone Lions at Yapashi], and on occasion of a visit sprinkle the fetish with sacred meal."

pp. 372-373: "Shrine of the Stone Altar.—". . . In plain view from the Stone Lions, across a deep cañon to the northeast, two communicating rooms, A and B, facing southwest, are carved high in the tufa cliff . . . A crude stairway of sixteen hand- and footholds leads up to the door of room A, on the left, and a similar stairway passes down from the door of room B on the right. Between the two stairways, at the cliff's base, rises a column of stone, 3 feet high and 2 feet thick, in the top of which is carved a basin of more than a foot in diameter and half of that in depth. The larger room has a banquette extending around the sides and back, but not across its front. This bench, next to room A, is perhaps two feet in width, or double the width of that portion extending along the other walls.

Above this banquette many pictographs are etched in the smoke-stained walls and ceiling."

p. 373: "The shrine of La Cueva Pintada, 'The Painted Cave,' known to the Keres Indianas *Tzekiatatanyi*, is a cavity in the northeastern wall of Capulin cañon. . . . Occupying a conspicuous position in the center of the frieze is a great plumed serpent. . ."

p. 373: "On a high mesa known as Potrero de los Idolos, unaccompanied by any pueblo, were carved in the hard bed-rock the images of two pumas, side by side, almost identical in size and form with the Stone Lions on the Potrero de las Vacas, just described as a shrine of Yapashi. This fetish . . . identified by Bandelier as the Mokatsh (mountain-lions) of the Shyayak (hunters) of some Keres tribe, was also inclosed in a corral built of large, loose stones. . . . A mile to the southeast lies the ruined pueblo of Kuapa . . . to which, according to the Indians, the shrine belonged."

p. 373: "That these tufa pyramids [the tent rocks of Otowi] should be selected for the excavation of rooms, when there was at hand a vast extent of tufa cliffs offering more desirable sites for dwellings, strongly suggests that they had some ceremonial significance."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Discussion of shrines of the Tewa and other pueblos. Details of offerings and material culture associated with shrines. Presented at the 19th International Congress of Americanists meeting at Santa Fe in 1915.

Key words: Shrine, Tewa. :

Key place names: Tsicumo (Tsikomo); Yapashi; Potrero de los Idolos.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan 1-30-96 and Frances Levine 2-2-1996.

Dozier, Edward P.

1954 The Hopi-Tewa of Arizona. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 44(3): 259-376. Berkeley.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1949, 1950-51.

Principal field workers: Edward P. Dozier.

Pueblo communities contacted: Hano (Tewa Village).

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 265: "Although the Tanoan-speaking peoples were found by early Spanish explorers in the region in which they lived in later historic times, archaeological evidence indicates that they had moved into the area from the north. According to some recently-developed hypotheses, these tribes came into the northern Rio Grande region from the San Juan archaeological area; that is, primarily from Mesa Verde and Chaco."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Monograph on the Hopi-Tewa. History, religion, language, social organization.

Key words: Ethnography, Hopi-Tewa.

Key place names: Hano (Tewa Village).

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-13-96.

Dozier, Edward P.

1966 *Hano: A Tewa Indian Community in Arizona*. Stanford, California: Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, Stanford University.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1949, 1950-51, 1950s-60s.

Principal field workers: Edward P. Dozier. Dozier cites as authorities Fred Eggan, Mischa Titiev, and Barbara Aitken, and credits Hopi and Tewa friends, not named.

Pueblo communities contacted: Hano.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 13: "The Pueblo rebellion and the abortive revolts of 1696 brought refugees from the Rio Grande. The Hopi harbored these refugees, undoubtedly in order to better resist the Spaniards and also to fight off the increasing raids of nomadic Indians. Indeed, the Tewa migration legend reports specifically that the Tewa were invited to First Mesa as mercenaries to drive off Ute Indian invaders."

p. 13: "The first mention of the Tewa at Hopi is made in Fray José Narvaez Valverde's account of the destruction of Awatovi. After the reconquest of Awatovi, the most eastern of the Hopi villages, again accepted Spanish missionaries. When this news spread to the Hopi villages, the Hopi were incensed and the Tewa on First Mesa more than any of the others. Delegations from all the important villages met and decided to destroy Awatovi. Under the leadership of Espeleta, the Chief of Oraibi, warriors from all the villages, including those from Hano, fell upon Awatovi and in a one night and one day of vicious fighting and destruction wreaked havoc on the village. Almost the entire population of the village said to number about 800 was massacred . . . Awatovi was completely destroyed . . ."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Case study of the community of Hano, First Mesa, Arizona. Discusses the Rio Grande homeland of the Tewa, traditional history, internal and external relations, social network, religion and ritual, economy, perspective and outlook. Dozier was both a Tewa (son of a Tewa mother and white father, raised at Santa Clara Pueblo) and a trained anthropologist.

Key words: Ethnography, Hopi-Tewa, Hano, Tewa.

Key place names: Hano, Tewa, Hopi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-10-96.

Dumarest, Noel

1919 *Notes on Cochiti, New Mexico*, edited by Elsie C. Parsons. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 6(3). Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: January 1894-May 1900.

Principal field workers: Noel Dumarest. This monograph was edited by E. C. Parsons.

Pueblo communities contacted: Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 187: "Long before the people left *shipapu* under the waters of the lake in the north to settle at tyouni at the Rito de los Frijoles there were *chaiani*. The *chaiani* accompanied the people in their journey to the south. The *chaiani* are the children of the *yaya* or Mother of all."

p. 207: "There is another shrine near Santo Domingo to the northwest, and another very important shrine is at the summit of the Potrerito de los Idolos, in an almost inaccessible place. It is formed like an estufa. Stones placed circularly occupy a space of about fourteen feet in diameter. Formerly there were straight stones four or five feet high placed circularly. In the middle there is a depression of seven or eight feet filled nowadays with stones and dust. On the level two stones five feet high close up the entrance. One of them, called by the Mexicans a prostrate man, is nothing but the figure of a lizard or chameleon [It is the mountain lion which is always represented with a long tail—ed]."

p. 210: "[the animals associated with the six directions are as at Sia, Laguna and Zufi the mountain lion of the north, the bear of the west, the badger of the south, the wolf of the east, the eagle of the zenith, the shrew of the nadir] [editor's note]."

p. 216: "It was very long ago. When the people went out from *shipapu* to settle themselves at tyouni or Rito de los Frijoles, a woman, together with her husband and little daughter, separated from the other emigrants to go and live somewhere to the north of the mountains of Santa Fe. [Antonio says that he has seen in California, near San Luis Obispo, a descendant of the *chaiani* of the emigration.—author's note.]"

p. 231: "When the people came out of *shipapu*, after they arrived at the White House (*kashia katritshi* [*katshreute*]) in a place called *kometse shruma mokaira kaetishra* (old house of the recumbent lion) they had reason to move away and go to Potrero de las Casas."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Monograph on Cochiti includes life cycle (birth, training of children, occupations, initiation of boys, marriage, sickness and cure, etc.). Religion, ceremonies, ceremonial calendar, officers, religious leaders, etc., are described. Some myths and tales. Parsons corrects various statements, as shown.

Noel Dumarest was born in Lyon, France, in 1868. He was ordained in Lyon in 1893, and arrived in Santa Fe the same year. He served briefly in Anton Chico, then at Peña Blanca, from January 1, 1894 to May 1900. He was in charge of the pueblos of Cochiti, Santo Domingo and San Felipe, as well as the communities of Peña Blanca, Bayada, Madera, Bland, Chili, Wallace, Tejon,

Dolores, Golden, and San Pedro. These last four were transferred to another priest after two years. Dumarest contracted malaria among the Pueblos. He was transferred to Springer for health reasons. He was later hospitalized in Santa Fe, then returned to France, and died in 1903 in St. Joseph's Hospital in Albuquerque while trying to reach a new post in Banning, California. He is buried in Peña Blanca. (Notes by Stewart Culin, pp. 139-140.)

Key words: Ethnography, oral traditions, traditional history, Keresan, Cochiti, shrine.

Key place names: Cochiti, Tyuoni.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-14-96.

Edelman, Sandra A.

1979. San Ildefonso Pueblo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, *Southwest*, pp. 308-316. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 312: "The San Ildefonsans trace their ancestry to north of Mesa Verde; their tradition holds that they migrated south to the Pajarito Plateau, establishing the villages of Potsuwi (Otowi) and Tsankawi before settling in approximately the present site, possibly around A.D. 1300."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This article cites Whitman (1947) as "the major source of data on the Pueblo."

Key words: Ethnography, Tewa, San Ildefonso.

Key place names: Potsuwi, Otowi, Tsankawi, San Ildefonso.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-9-96.

Ellis, Florence Hawley

1956a Anthropology of Laguna Pueblo Land Claims. Claimant's Exhibit 92, Docket 227. Records of the Indian Claims Commission. Washington, D.C.: National Archives.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: not indicated.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 1: "All of the Keresan-speaking pueblos have a legend of having come south from Mesa Verde, and archaeologists feel that this area was quite certainly their ancestral home, but there is no reason to believe that all came at one time or in one group or that they represented one tribe before or during such migration. The Eastern Keres (Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe) speak of having lived in the Frijoles Canyon and Pajarito Plateau northwest of Santa Fe before being pushed out into the Middle Rio Grande area (where the Spaniards found them) by the Tewas. The Western Keres, Acoma and Laguna, generally have been thought to have been one people, from which a group broke off to join with Rio Grande refugees at the period of the Pueblo rebellion and reconquest thus forming Laguna. Upon checking, this hypothesis appears to be incorrect, although the language and the culture of the two tribes are quite similar and there has been considerable past exchange of personnel between the two groups, even as occurs today. The language of Zia pueblo, located between eastern and western Keres, is closer to that of Acoma and Laguna than to that of the other Keres . . . Laguna reports that part of their people stopped in the Zia area while the leaders and the rest of the people went on into the 'western Keresan province' seeking a site for their new home, and Acoma says that their people came from Mesa Verde by way of Chaco Canyon . . . Everything indicates that ancestral Zias, Acomas and Lagunas migrated from the north during the 13th century, the Zias and Lagunas probably preceeding [sic] the Acomas."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Testimony before the Indian Claims Commission.

Key words: land claims, Keresan, Keres, migration.

Key place names: Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, Rio Grande, Frijoles Canyon, Pajarito Plateau.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-25-96.

Ellis, Florence Hawley

1956b Testimony before the Indian Claims Commission in the matter of *Pueblo de Cochiti v. The United States*, Dec. 3-5, 1956; Docket 136, Box 275. Washington, D.C.: National Archives. Microfiche, Clearwater Publishing Co., 1978.

Repository: National Archives. Microfiche on file, Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: not indicated.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 1: Fox and Fire clans, San Felipe, and Cochiti ancestral groups lived in Frijoles Canyon in the Pajarito Plateau, where shrines are still maintained.

p. 2: Modern Tewa and Middle Rio Grande Keresans consistently attribute the Frijoles Canyon ruins to ancestral Keresans.

p. 118: Ellis: According to the traditions of the Pueblos of Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe, they lived in Frijoles Canyon and are Keresan speakers who were driven out by the Tewa. Some [Cochiti shrines] are Pueblo de los Bacas—a ruin and one of the principal shrines; two carved stone mountain lions that are used today.

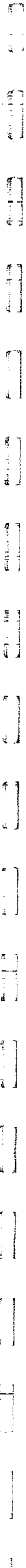
Annotated bibliographic entry:

Testimony before the Indian Claims Commission in the referenced case.

Key words: land claims, oral history, traditional history, Keresan.

Key place names: Frijoles Canyon.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-9-96.



Ellis, Florence Hawley

1964 *A Reconstruction of the Basic Jemez Pattern of Social Organization, with Comparisons to Other Tanoan Social Structures*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology 11.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: not given.

Principal field workers: F. H. Ellis.

Pueblo communities contacted: Jemez, Keres pueblos, Hopi, Zuni.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 7: "Considerable evidence that certain Keresan pueblos—Acoma in part (the larger ancestral line for this pueblo apparently being of local provenience, but the smaller and conceivably more energetic component coming from the north), Laguna primarily, Santa Ana and Zia—do derive from San Juan ancestry has come from recent studies of tradition, pottery sequences (including trash mound excavations), and some material culture items of less importance. They carry much of their basic social structure in common . . ."

p. 7n: "A bit of data which seems to fit the hypothesis of Keresan-Chaco ties appears in Hoebel's note concerning important Eastern Keresan medicine men whom he took to Chaco Canyon. They claimed the area as an ancestral home, explaining the use of the old kiva passages for magical displays similar to those in their own village (Hoebel 1953:56)."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This study isolates aboriginal elements in the social structure of Jemez Pueblo. Jemez institutions are compared with those of other Tanoans, Keresan pueblos (Acoma, Laguna, Santa Ana, Zia), and to Zuni, Hopi and Navajo. Ellis analyzes interrelationships of officers and organizations relating to weather control, hunting, fertility, and warfare to determine whether they were borrowed, imitated, imported, or bought, or whether they are essentially Jemez-Towan-Tanoan.

Key words: Ethnography, Towa, Jemez, social organization.

Key place names: Jemez, Acoma, Santa Ana, Zia, Laguna, Hopi, Zuni.

Prepared by: Thomas Merlan, 3-20-96.

Ellis, Florence Hawley

1967 *Water Rights Studies of Nambe, Pojoaque, Tesuque and San Ildefonso Pueblos*. Prepared for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: not stated.

Principal field workers: F. H. Ellis.

Pueblo communities contacted: Nambe, Pojoaque, Tesuque, San Ildefonso.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 1: "According to Nambe tradition, which largely parallels that of the related Tewa villages, the Tewa people came into the Rio Grande in two major groups, one arriving from the northwest (San Juan drainage) by way of the Chama Valley and the other coming up the San Juan River but eventually leaving it to cut across the Conejos and reach the Rio Grande in southern Colorado. They then followed the Rio Grande south to the western high foothills of the Sangre de Cristos, where they settled in a number of pueblos built on high ridges, far above water."

p. 2: "As the sequences of wet and dry years in the Rio Grande do not exactly duplicate the sequence west of the Continental Divide . . . the Rio Grande country received a large influx of population at about A.D. 1300, although some migrants had come even earlier."

p. 2: "The Tewas who came down the east side of the Rio Grande settled in a number of pueblos which they built on high ridges, far above water, the location reputedly having been dictated by fear. They had found the Upper Rio Grande territory already occupied—though sparsely in the region chosen by these newcomers—with a native population who could have been expected to resent intruders. The ruins representing the peoples native to the Rio Grande are marked by Kwahe'e Black-on-white pottery (a type decorated with rather simple Chaco-style designs in black mineral paint) characteristic of the periods of Pueblo II and early Pueblo III (A.D. 900 to ca. 1225) in the Upper Rio Grande, and, with one exception, the Nambe people do not claim any of these sites. The potters of the sites claimed as those of Pueblo III Tewa ancestors were making black-on-white pottery decorated with much more solid line design, applied in a carbon paint made of plant juice which fired black in the reducing atmosphere used by all the tribes producing black-on-white wares (Hawley 1936). The Tewas on the east side of the Rio Grande referred to their territory as Teguayo, 'Place of the Tewas,' even as they also referred to their earlier home in the northwest on the San Juan, apparently either in Mesa Verde or a little farther east in the upper San Juan around Aztec and the basin of the Navajo Reservoir. As 'Teguayo' also was used to designate a mythical ancestral place of origin, the term puzzled the Spaniards, but causes little difficulty if one realizes that the Pueblos (like ourselves) often duplicate some old names in new areas."

p. 3: "Bandelier (1880:261) had listed four former pueblos of Nambe Indians: T'o B'hi-pang-ge, 'the former village of the Nambe tribe,' eight miles northeast of the present pueblo (Bandelier 1892:84); Ke-gua-yo, 'in the vicinity of the Chupaderos, a cluster of springs about four miles east of Nambe in a narrow mountain gorge' (Bandelier 1892:84); A-ga-Uo-no; and Ka-a-yu. Harrington does not identify the first, but gives the others as his sites 22:40, 22:41, and 22:42, respectively . . . Hewett . . . gives the same list of four ancestral pueblos between present Nambe and the mountains to the

east, and, on the stated basis of legend, adds Sapawe near El Rito in the Chama drainage west of the Río Grande."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This study of past agricultural use (both prehistoric and historic) by the four named pueblos was prepared for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Key words: Agriculture, water rights, Tewa, irrigation.

Key place names: Nambe, Pojoaque, Tesuque, San Ildefonso, Sapawe, Río Grande, Chama.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-20-97.

Ford, Richard I., Albert H. Schroeder, and Stewart L. Peckham

1972 Three Perspectives on Puebloan Prehistory. In *New Perspectives on the Pueblos*, Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Albuquerque: School of American Research and University of New Mexico Press.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

pp. 19-20: "The presence of contemporary and historically recorded pueblos in the Southwestern United States has generally been beneficial for archaeologists. Informants and documents provide solutions to the function of problematic objects and ceremonial structures and assist in land use and crop yield studies, while the cultural dynamics present in these villages serve as models for understanding prehistoric life. But all is not as it appears. These people also have legends and stories which, when interpreted literally, have confounded many archaeologists and have led to elaborate, if not impossible, cultural reconstructions . . ."

p. 34: "We see the Keres extending from the Chaco Canyon area up into the Aztec and Mesa Verde regions, but in addition Ford and Peckham would extend their southeastern boundary down to Acoma and the middle Puerco. Additionally, Peckham places Zuni in the Chaco province."

p. 35: "The eastern Keres become recognizable shortly after A.D. 1300. Schroeder and Ford have the Keres on the Puerco moving into the Salado River Valley below Jemez to the Rio Grande, north to Frijoles Canyon, and east to San Marcos in the Galisteo . . . This movement, following Schroeder, pushed more Tewa into the Pajarito Plateau and Chama, and displaced the Towa in the Santa Fe area toward Pecos Pueblo. Peckham strongly disagrees. By his model the initial withdrawal from Mesa Verde began in the twelfth century and brought the inhabitants in a southerly direction and expanded with other San Juan Basin migrants in the next century into the Puerco and Rio Grande areas."

p. 37: "Nonetheless, the basic assumption that major pottery styles can be correlated with particular linguistic groups has never been rigorously tested."

p. 39: "Agreement is evident concerning the prehistory of the Jemez extending back in time to the Gallina, Rosa and Los Pinos phases and of the withdrawal of groups in northern Arizona and southern Utah to form the ancestral basis of the Hopi. We concur that the Tiwa developed in the Rio Grande but differ on the cause of the two divisions. The Zuni are also viewed as developing in the general area where they are found today, but Peckham feels they were augmented by additions from the Chuska-Chaco area. The Keres are seen occupying prehistoric Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon; differences emerge when we attempt to trace their movements. The greatest disagreements emerge when the Tewa are examined; after A.D. 1300 we have no dissent, but prior to that Ford and Schroeder look to the upper San Juan area for their homeland, while Peckham defends a Rio Grande hearth. Three different perspectives are presented for the development of the Tano, all involving the Keres."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

A collection of essays facilitated by an advanced seminar held under the sponsorship of the School of American Research in November 1969.

Key words: Archeology, migration, Zuni, Keres, Tewa, Towa, Jemez.

Key place names: Pajarito Plateau, Chaco Canyon, San Juan, Mesa Verde, Rio Grande.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-23-96.

Friedlander, Eva, and Pamela J. Pinyan

1980 *Indian Use of the Santa Fe National Forest: A Determination from Ethnographic Sources.*
Ethnohistorical Reports Series No. 1. Albuquerque: Center for Anthropological Studies.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a., compilation from secondary sources.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

Lange is quoted (p. 27) referencing communal herding of the Cochiti horses near Frijoles Canyon.

p. 28: "Given the proximity of Zia, Jemez, and Santa Ana Pueblos, the locations of shrines and gathering areas often overlapped and many activities were carried out jointly. For example, Zia, Jemez, and Santa Ana usually hunted together (Ellis 1956:58)."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Overview of traditional and current Indian uses of the Santa Fe National Forest compiled from published ethnographic sources.

Key words: Cultural affiliation; shrine, traditional use, Tewa, Keresan, Towa.

Key place names: Cochiti, Frijoles.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 1-6-95.

Habicht-Mauche, Judith A.

1990 Pottery Styles, Ethnicity and Tribalization in the Northern Rio Grande. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 29, 1990.

Repository: On file with authors.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 7: "... the years between A.D. 1250 to 1400 witnessed a major restructuring of northern Rio Grande society."

p. 8: "Prior to the end of the twelfth century, the population density of the northern Rio Grande appears to have remained relatively low. Sometime between A.D. 1150 and 1250, however, it has been estimated that the area experienced as much as a ten-fold increase in population . . . The rapidity and scale of this population increase has been interpreted as evidence for a migration of people into the area during the thirteenth century. The archaeological record of abandonment in the San Juan Basin during this same period makes that region a likely source of this new population. Nevertheless, 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 travelled 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. This process would act to sustain the general homogeneity and continuity of local material culture by selecting against the persistence of those cultural traits that marked newcomers as 'foreigners' or 'outsiders.'"

p. 10: "The latter half of the thirteenth century was characterized by widespread drought throughout much of the American Southwest. These deteriorating climatic conditions may have been a key factor in the final abandonment of much of the San Juan drainage, including the Mesa Verde area, between A.D. 1260 and 1300. Some portion of the population from those areas probably came to join related groups already settled in the northern Rio Grande."

p. 11: "... the continuing influx of population into the area . . . would have placed increasing stress on the limited agricultural resources of the area. Around the turn of the fourteenth century, there was a dramatic shift in settlement pattern in the northern Rio Grande. 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 . . ."

p. 12: "Aggregation . . . may have prompted and facilitated the development of more formalized systems of food sharing, land tenure, and territorial boundary maintenance . . . Such territorial constraints would have intensified competition and conflict over limited land and other natural resources."

p. 13: "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 . . ."

p. 17: "one important social mechanism that helped sustain this regional network 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."

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."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Theoretical reconstruction of changes in the structure of northern Rio Grande society in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Key words: Archeology, demographics, aggregation, migration.

Key place names: Pajarito, Jemez, Pecos, Galisteo.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-7-96.

Hale, Kenneth, and David Harris

1979 Historical Linguistics and Archeology. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, *Southwest*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 173: "The seven varieties of Keresan are so closely related that it is commonly assumed that they are dialects of a single language, although the most separate geographically (Acoma and Cochiti) are said to exhibit considerable divergence . . ."

p. 173: "Like Keresan, Zuni has no close relatives . . . it is now generally recognized that if Zuni is in fact related to Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan, it is only indirectly and through a lengthy sequence of as yet only hypothetical connections . . . If Zuni and Penutian are related, and the evidence is at least suggestive, then the connection is a very remote one. Newman (1964) suggests seven millennia of separation, although the extremely low percentage of putative cognates on which that estimate is based actually corresponds to even greater glottochronological time."

p. 175: "The ancestors of the Zuni and of the Keresans were in a location that permitted them to participate in the Anasazi tradition, and there is nothing to suggest that they were not in that location throughout the Desert culture period. The Keresans have been associated with the San Jose variant of Desert culture (Ellis 1967b) and have been identified more generally with the persistent, possibly western-based, Oshara tradition culminating in the early Anasazi period after some five millennia of development (Irwin-Williams 1968a, 1968b). Linguistically, the Zuni have been associated with the California Penutians, but this connection is too remote to encourage speculation that the Zuni were in a different location during part or all of the Desert culture period. It is not inconceivable that the Zuni had Penutian relatives over an extensive area to the west and northwest of them and that these were displaced as a result of the northward expansion of the Uto-Aztecs . . ."

p. 177: ". . . in the territory drained by the Rio Grande and by the rivers of the Four Corners region, the local varieties of Desert culture developed into the Basketmaker (or pre-Pueblo) stage of Anasazi.

At least four groups, representing four of the seven linguistic stocks found in the Southwest, are directly involved in the Anasazi development. In discussing the linguistic associations of the Anasazi, the problem has been . . . the precise identification of historic with prehistoric communities. The Uto-Aztecan increment of the Hopi community may have arrived in the mesa and Four Corners area with the earliest northward expansion of Uto-Aztecs at a time early enough to permit their participation in the Basketmaker-Anasazi transformation of the Desert culture. This is consistent with the identification of the Hopi with Kayenta Anasazi (Wendorf and Reed 1955; Ellis 1967b; Irwin-Williams 1967b). The cultural sequence in the Zuni area includes an Anasazi period, but it has been suggested that the language now spoken at Zuni, together with the predominant cultural complex there, was brought in by a people who moved into the area from eastern Arizona (Wendorf and Red 1955) and replaced the local Anasazi, who Ellis (1967b) intimates were Keresan. Peckham has

suggested Chacoan ancestry for the Zuni, while Ford and Schroeder accept an in-place development for them (Ford, Schroeder and Peckham 1972)."

p. 177: "Whether or not some San Juan Anasazi were Tanoans, there is widespread agreement that Rio Grande Anasazi was developed by Tanoans. Linguistic knowledge of the area is not sensitive enough to permit any firm assertion with regard to this matter, but the linguistic facts appear to be consistent with San Juan ancestry for the Keresans and with a scheme of the following sort for the Tanoans: the Rio Grande Anasazi were ancestral to the historic Tiwa and Tewa, already differentiated from the Towa, who developed the Anasazi variety distinguished in the Largo-Gallina area . . . Linguistic considerations suggest an early Towa differentiation from Tiwa-Tewa, but only archeological considerations can suggest a pre-Gallina origin in the upper San Juan for Towa (Eddy 1966)."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

An overview of aboriginal linguistic relationships and linguistic and cultural relationships in the Southwest. Trager 1967 (q.v.) should be compared with this more carefully qualified summary.

Key words: Linguistics, demography.

Key place names: San Juan, Rio Grande, Chaco.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-21-97.

Harrington, J. P.

1916 *The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians*. Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1907-1908. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1910, 1911.

Principal field workers: J. P. Harrington. Indian informants are referenced but not identified ("whose names for obvious reasons are not here given," p. 37).

Pueblo communities contacted: San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Jemez.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p 237: "The Santa Claras say that their ancestors lived at *Puye*, although this is perhaps a conclusion at which they would naturally arrive rather than a definite historical tradition. The Tewa of the other pueblos consider that all the country about Santa Clara Creek belongs to the Santa Clara Indians, and that *Puye* being situated in this country, must also belong to the Santa Claras."

p. 237: (Harrington quotes Bandelier 1892): "These medicine-men [of Santa Clara] assured me that the pueblo on the summit of the Pu-yé, and the cave dwellings in that cliff and at the Shu-finné, were the work and abodes of their ancestors . . . The Indians of Santa Clara also informed me that drought and the hostility of nomadic Indians had compelled the final abandonment of the sites (Bandelier, Final Report, Part 2, pp. 74-75, 1892)."

p. 253: "[15:24] *Tsæwarionwikeji* 'pueblo ruin of the wide white gap' . . . The ruin consists of low mounds of disintegrated adobe, lying on a low bluff on the south side of Santa Cruz Creek a short distance west of the Mexican settlement of Puebla [15:25]. It is strewn with fragments of pottery. The site is well known to Mexicans who live in the vicinity, one of whom guided the writer to the place . . . The ruin is known to the Tewa by the name *Tsæwari* 'i. Tewa and Mexican informants had never heard that it is called also "Yam P'ham-ba", San Cristobal, or any name other than *Tsæwari*. Of the history of the people of *Tsæwari* prior to their building of the pueblo the informants knew nothing; not one of them had heard that the people of *Tsæwari* were Tano people or that they came originally from the Tano country or from 'down country.'"

p. 256: "Hano Tewa frequently visit the Tewa and other pueblos of the Rio Grande drainage, trading or selling goods. They sometimes visit also *Tsæwari*, the site of their former pueblo. Two Hano Tewa men visited the Tewa villages in 1910."

p. 274: "[16:113] San Ildefonso *Sækewi'onwikeji*, *Sækewikwaje'onwikeji* 'pueblo ruin of the gap of the sharp round cactus' 'pueblo ruin above the gap of the sharp round cactus' . . ."

p. 274: "*Sækewi* 'i ruin is merely mentioned by Bandelier; it is fully described by Hewett . . . The San Ildefonso Indians usually mention the names *Potsuwi* 'i and *Sækewi* 'i together and insist that these two places were inhabited by their ancestors and not by those of the other Tewa villagers."

p. 278: "The southern boundary of the sheet proper [17] is approximately the boundary between the

country claimed by the San Ildefonso people as the home of their ancestors and that claimed by the Cochiti as the home of their ancestors."

p. 361: "Nambé Indians informed the writer that the ruins . . . were built and inhabited by their ancestors at various times in the past. The unlocated *Wijo'onwikeji* was inhabited by their ancestors with the ancestors of all the Tewa Indians of other villages. The old Winter cacique of Nambé knew the name and location of *Sæpaewe* ruin, but not one seemed to know definitely that Nambé people used to live there . . ."

p. 409: "It is said by the Tewa that the ancient boundary between their territory and that of the Cochiti west of the Rio Grande runs somewhere between Ancho Canyon [28:4] and Frijoles Canyon [28:6]. 'The Rito de los Frijoles [28:6] with its numerous cave dwellings, forms what seems to be a boundary line dividing the Tehuas from the Queres (Keresan) stock [Bandelier, Final Report, pt. 2, p. 139, 1892].' . . . The Tewa inform the present writer that the dividing line was north of Frijoles Canyon [28:6], a fact also evident from statements made by Bandelier and Hewett to the effect that the pueblo village [28:12] and cliff-dwellings in Frijoles Canyon were built by Keresan people; see quotation under [28:12]."

p. 410: "Span. [sic] Rito de los Frijoles, Cañon de los Frijoles 'bean creek' 'bean canyon.' This is a common name in Spanish-speaking America . . . It is quite likely that the Span. name was applied without influence of Tewa nomenclature. Another origin, however, suggests itself. The Tewa give assurance that the old Tewa name of Ancho Canyon [28:4] is *Tunabahu'u* 'bean field arroyo' 'bean field cañada,' and think that the Span. name Rito de los Frijoles is a translation of this Tewa name applied to the wrong canyon. Frijoles Canyon is the next large canyon south of Ancho Canyon.

This canyon is described by Bandelier and by Hewett. The documentary history of the canyon has been studied by Mr. S. G. Morley, of the School of American Archaeology. The canyon was not inhabited by Indians at the time of the Spanish conquest. Mexicans settled it in early times and farmed the cultivable lands above the falls [28:14] nearly down to the present time. At one time in the eighteenth century the canyon was the rendezvous of Mexican bandits. Bandelier writes:

'I have not been able to examine the papers relating to the grant of the Rito; but that cattle and sheep thieves made it their hiding place is said to be mentioned in them. The tale is current among the people of Cochiti and Peña Blanca.'

It is said that no one lived permanently at Frijoles Canyon for many years previous to 1907, in which year Judge A. J. Abbott settled at the cultivable land about [28:12]. Judge Abbott has built a house from tufa-blocks of the ruin [28:12] and has made many improvements. He has been given a permit by the United States Forest Service to remain on the land temporarily. Judge Abbott has named his place "Ten Elder Ranch", referring to some box-elder trees growing there. See the various numbers indicating places in and about the canyon for which names have been obtained, especially [28:12]; see also plate 15."

p. 412: "The pueblo ruin, cliff-dwellings, and outlying ruins of this ancient settlement have been described most fully by Bandelier, and by Hewett. This settlement is claimed by the Cochiti Indians as a home of their ancestors, and two old San Ildefonso Tewa informants have stated positively that it was a *Tewa* [Keresan] village. Bandelier says:

'The people of Cochiti told me that the caves of Rito [28:6], as well as the three pueblo ruins [situated near together on the floor of Frijoles Canyon] were the work of their ancestors, when the Queres [Keresans] all lived there together, in times much anterior to the coming of the Spaniards.'

The ancient boundary between the Tewa and Keresan territory is said to have been somewhere north of Frijoles Canyon; see under [28:6]. This settlement is claimed by the Cochiti

Indians to have been their earliest home. Abandoning this village, they built, occupied and abandoned several pueblos, now in ruins, south of *Tro'onre* until at last they moved to their present site [28:77]."

p. 411: "'Tyuo-nyi . . . a word having a signification akin to that of a treaty or contract. It was so called because of a treaty made there at some remote period, by which certain of the pueblo tribes, probably the Queres [Keresan], Tehuas [Tewa] and perhaps the Jemez, agreed that certain ranges loosely defined should belong in the future to each of them exclusively.'"

[Note: Harrington is quoting Bandelier here (Bandelier, Final Report, pt. 2, p. 145, 1892). Harrington then says that "the writer's Cochiti informants knew of no such etymology or tradition." Maring (Joel M. Maring, *Grammar of Acoma Keresan*, Indiana University 1967 gives *tyuuni*, pottery. This is seemingly a much simpler explanation, but the idea that different groups separated here is consistent with both traditional and scholarly ideas about the end of the Rio Grande Classic.)

p. 418: "This pueblo [28:26] *K'aenda'aendiwe'onwikeji* 'pueblo ruin where the two mountain lions sit or crouch . . . is described by Bandelier . . . According to the tradition of the Cochiti Indians obtained by the present writer, this is the second one of the villages built and for a time inhabited by their ancestors in their migration southward from *Tro'onse* [28:12] . . . Bandelier mentions a Cochiti legend that the village was attacked by pygmies, many of its people were slaughtered, and the rest driven off."

p. 419: "the fact that Zuñi Indians make pilgrimages to this shrine (the 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 Zuñi to be the entrance to 'Shi'papolima', the home of 'Po'shaiyanki', a god who is probably equivalent to the Tewa divinity *Posejemu* . . ."

p. 420: "The Zuñis 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. The Jemez, Sia, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and Cochiti Indians have been closely questioned regarding these carvings, and while they have no history associated with them other than that the lions were converted into stone at the time that the great fire spread over the earth, the Zuñis believe them to be the guardians of the place chosen by Po'shaiyanki as a home for himself and his followers" (M. C. Stevenson, *The Zuñi Indians*, 23rd Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 407-08, 1904).

"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 Zuñi belief concerning it."

p. 435: "[28:61] . . . According to the tradition of the Cochiti Indians obtained by the present writer, this [Kuapa] is the fifth village built, inhabited, and abandoned by the Cochiti on their migration southward; see under [28:77]."

p. 440: "The invariable element in the migration traditions is that the Cochiti people have occupied and abandoned successively a number of sites, beginning with *T'ro'onre* [28:12] and ending with their present village. The sites are, as the writer obtained them from Mr. John Dixon of Cochiti in 1908: (1) *Troonre* [28:12], (2) *Mokatakowetka'matsesoma* [28:26], (3) *Tseratetanskat'etramaha'astetasoma* [28:unlocated], (4) *Ha'atseka'matsesoma* [28:39], (5)

Kotretekhah'jaha'astetasoma [28:61], (6) *Kotreteha'astetasoma* [28:unlocated] and *Kotrete* [28:77]. Lists of the sites obtained by Bandelier, Lummis, and Hewett differ somewhat from this, although some of them were obtained from the same informant."

p. 449: "Bandelier learned a tradition at both Cochiti and Santo Domingo that the Santo Domingo Indians inhabited in very ancient times the pueblo ruin on Quemada Mesa [28: unlocated]."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

p. 25: "The accompanying paper on the Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians...comprises some of the results of the research undertaken jointly in New Mexico by the Bureau of American Ethnology and the School of American Archaeology of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1910 and 1911. . . Mr. Harrington has devoted much time during the last few years to study of the Tewa Indians of New Mexico, especially those of the pueblos of Santa Clara and San Ildefonso, and his knowledge of the structure of their language has served him well in the preparation of the present memoir. The task has been perplexing, as the Tewa people are notably conservative in all matters pertaining to their religious and social organization, making it extremely difficult to obtain information . . . and requiring the utmost discretion...Nevertheless Mr. Harrington has succeeded admirably in his quest . . ." (From the note by F. W. Hodge).

p. 37: "This paper presents the geographical knowledge of the Tewa Indians of the upper Rio Grande Valley, New Mexico . . . The large proportion of etymologically obscure place names leads to the important conclusion that the Tewa have inhabited for a long time the region at present occupied by them . . ." (From the author's introduction).

Key words: Archeology, geography, cultural affiliation.

Key place names: Jemez, Zia, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Zuni, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, Shi'papolima, Rito de los Frijoles.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-29-96.

Henderson, Junius, and John Peabody Harrington

1914 *Ethnozoology of the Tewa Indians*. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 56. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: August 1910.

Principal field workers: Henderson and Harrington.

Pueblo communities contacted: None is specifically identified as having been contacted during fieldwork. References to San Ildefonso, San Juan, Tesuque, Santa Clara, Nambe, Jemez, Cochiti, Hano, Acoma, San Felipe, Taos, Isleta.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 6: "Zoological field work was conducted for slightly less than four weeks in the neighborhood of El Rito de los Frijoles in August, 1910, so that this account can not be considered in any sense a final discussion of the fauna of the vicinity."

p. 15: "*Antilocapra americana* (Ord.). Antelope, Pronghorn.

This species is still found alive in parts of New Mexico and was known to the cliff-dwellers of the Rito de los Frijoles. An old San Ildefonso Indian says that he formerly hunted antelope on the Pajarito Plateau, mostly near the Rio Grande Canyon, but they are now all gone."

p. 15: "*Cervus canadensis* Erxl. Wapiti, American Elk.

It appears that there are no elk now in the region, according to both Indian and white informants, though the species above mentioned formerly ranged southward into the mountains of northern New Mexico. Bandelier [Final Report, IV, 106] rather indefinitely reports it at El Rito de los Frijoles."

p. 36: "*Cathartes aura septentrionalis* Wied. Turkey Vulture.

We saw three in the Jemez Mountains, at the edge of the Valle Grande, and one at Rito de los Frijoles Canyon."

p. 54: "The Rito de los Frijoles is at present a small stream, the waters of which in places sink entirely beneath the surface of the sand, leaving not even pools, and the water all along becomes very shallow at times...It is also possible that fish may have been placed in this creek by former inhabitants, either the ancient dwellers who built the abandoned structures or by the Mexican outlaws who made this canyon their rendezvous for a century or so."

p. 61: "At El Rito de los Frijoles a few specimens of *Olivella biplicata* Sowerby and one of *Erato vitellina* Hinds were found. They doubtless were brought from southern California or from Lower California."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Report on the fauna of an area northwest of Santa Fe. The authors state that their fieldwork was performed "in the lower part of the Rito de los Frijoles canyon and on adjacent mesas, but included

a two-day trip to the Painted Cave and a tree-day trip to the top of the Jemez Mountains and edge of Valle Grande, just beyond the headwaters of the Rito . . .”

Key words: Ethnography, fauna, animals, bone, game. birds, mammals, Tewa.

Key place names: Rito de los Frijoles, Jemez Mountains.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-29-96.

Hendron, J. W.

1940 *Prehistory of El Rito de los Frijoles, Bandelier National Monument*. Southwestern Monuments Association Technical Series No. 1, Coolidge, Arizona.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1937; 1939 (ruins stabilization).

Principal field workers: J. W. Hendron, Robert Lister.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 26: "... the large kiva in El Rito de los Frijoles ... yielded tree-ring dates of 1412 plus x to 1513 A.D., and yielded pottery of the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries, the greatest portion belonging to the sixteenth. The evidence at hand suggests that one building period of the kiva was in 1513 and abandonment probably took place late in the same century."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This report describes ruins stabilization in 1937 and 1939 at the large kiva, Ceremonial Cave, Tyuonyi, and Long House.

Key words: Archeology, stabilization.

Key place names: Bandelier National Monument, Tyuonyi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-22-96.

Hewett, Edgar L.

1906 *Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau, New Mexico*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 32. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: summer 1905.

Principal field workers: E. L. Hewett.

Pueblo communities contacted: None specified, but we know from other publications (quoted in this bibliography) that Hewett had several long-term Tewa informants.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 12: "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."

p. 13: "It appears that the abandonment of the cliff and pueblo villages occurred from six hundred to eight hundred years ago as a result of climatic modifications by reason of which the hardships of living at these sites became unendurable. The transition from plateau to valley life was not necessarily sudden. There is no evidence of any great simultaneous movement from all parts of the plateau. The change was probably accomplished within a generation or two, one village after another removing to the valley or to more distant places, as the desiccation of the plateau proceeded. There is at present not a single stream on the east side of the Jemez plateau between the Chama and the Jemez that carries its water to the Rio Grande throughout the year . . . There have been from time to time in comparatively recent years sporadic reoccupations of these ancient villages by clans from the valley, as that of Puye by the Santa Clara Indians, and of Kotyiti, or Pueblo Viejo, above the Cañada de Cochiti, by the Keres after the Pueblo rebellion of 1680."

p. 20: "*No. 10. Tsankawi* (Tewa, 'place of the round cactus'). About two miles southeast of Otowi is the ruin of Tsankawi . . . The site was chosen entirely for its defensive character . . . The builders of Tsankawi kept to the orthodox rectangular plan . . . There were ten kivas at Tsankawi—a large number for the population, which probably never exceeded 300 to 400 people, although this would be considerably increased if we should count the population of the cliff-village in the south face of the mesa. Tsankawi was a composite pueblo, consisting of four virtually independent houses."

p. 26: "*No. 21. Tyuonyi*. When we descend the southern rim of Mesa del Pajarito into the Rito de los Frijoles, we enter upon what is claimed to be ancient Keres ground, though its identity as such cannot be said to be established . . . For a description of the remarkable antiquities from Rito de los Frijoles to Cañada de Cochiti the write can do no better than to quote Mr. A. F. Bandelier, the pioneer archeologist of this region."

p. 29: "*No. 22. Pueblo of the Yapashi and the Stone Lions*." . . . The name of Pueblo of the Yap-a-shi has been applied to the ruin, but its proper name is still unknown to me, as the designation current among the people of Cochiti, Tityi Ha-nat Ka-ma Tze-shum-a, signifying literally 'the old houses

above in the north,' with the addition of Mo-katsh Zaitsh, or 'where the panthers lie extended,' is subsequent to the abandonment of the village.”

p. 30. “*No. 23 La Cueva Pintada*. (‘the painted cave’). . . ‘In the gorges both north and south of the Potrero are quite a number of artificial caves.. The Queres say that these caves also are ‘probably’ the work of their ancestors. Those on the south side of the Potrero de las Vacas are much more worn, and are connected with the interesting natural rock shelter called by the Queres Tzek-iat-a-tanyi, and now usually termed Cueva Pintada or the painted cave . . . The pictographs represent some of the well-known symbols of the pueblos, such as clouds, sheet lightning, the sun, dancing-shields, and male and female dancers... Besides these aboriginal daubs, there are modern ones of equal artistic merit, among which the cross is prominent . . .”

p. 31: “*No. 24. Haatse*. ‘Near the foot of the Sierra San Miguel lie the ruins of the pueblo . . . This pueblo the Queres of Cochiti call Ha-a-tze (earth), which seems to be its original name.”

p. 31: “*No. 25. Stone Lions of Potrero de los Idolos*. ‘On the open space are the remains of two images of panthers, similar to those on the Potrero de las Vacas. One of them is completely destroyed by treasure hunters . . .”

Annotated bibliographic entry:

p. 7: “The present bulletin is intended as the first of a series treating the antiquities of the public domain, and designed to supply the very general demand for fuller information on the subject than has yet been furnished. Recent widespread interest in these remains has been aroused, partly as a result of their rapid despoliation by relic hunters and inexperienced explorers, and a vigorous movement for protective measures has been organized. From time to time during the last few years efforts have been made to perfect and bring to the attention of Congress a suitable provision for the preservation of the antiquities under consideration...” (from the prefatory Announcement by W. W. Holmes, Chief, BAE)

Hewett quotes Bandelier extensively, as indicated above.

Key words: Archeology, shrine, oral traditions, traditional history.

Key place names: Jemez Plateau, Rito de los Frijoles, Tyuonyi, Tsankawi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-4-96.

Hewett, Edgar L.

1908 *Ancient Communities in the American Desert*. Originally "Les Communautés Anciennes dans le Désert Américain." Geneva: Librairie Kundig. Translated from French by Madeleine T. Rodack and republished by the Archaeological Society of New Mexico, Monograph series 1, 1993.

Dates of fieldwork: 1893-1907.

Principal field workers: E. L. Hewett.

Pueblo communities contacted: Rio Grande Tewa pueblos, New Mexico pueblos generally.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 31: "Tsawari, ou Tcewadi, ou vivait le peuple Hano, aujourd'hui à Hopi. Les Indiens de Santa Clara et de San Ildefonso ont à cet égard des traditions. Dans ces deux villages, on trouve encore des Indiens qui se rappellent les visites faites par les Indiens Hano à leur demeure ancestrale, selon une coutume en usage chez les Pueblos."

p. 31: "The ruins of Tsawari are located on the south side of a small hill, five miles farther up on the cañada. The historic name of this village is San Cristobal. We have established that this site is Tsawari, or Tcewadi, where the Hano people, now located in Hopi, once lived. The Indians of Santa Clara and San Ildefonso have traditions about this. In these two villages there are still Indians who remember the visits made by the Hano Indians to their ancestral home, according to a custom practiced among the Pueblos. An important proof of this identification is the locality itself. Tswari is a Tewa word meaning 'white band about the middle.' And, indeed, a mesa rises behind the hill on which the village is situated."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This work is Hewett's doctoral dissertation, submitted to the sociology faculty at the University of Geneva, Switzerland. He received his doctorate in sociology on July 14, 1908.

Key words: Archeology, cultural affiliation.

Key place names: Rio Grande Valley, San Juan Basin, Little Colorado Basin, Rio Gila Basin, Chihuahua Inland Basin, Pajarito Plateau.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-11-96.

Hewett, Edgar L.

1909a The Excavations at Tyuonyi, New Mexico in 1908. *American Anthropologist* 11:434-455.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1908.

Principal field workers: E. L. Hewett.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 446: "There is much to indicate that the dual system of tribal organization existed in the Rito de los Frijoles. It is probable that the great kiva described above was the sanctuary of either the Winter or the Summer people."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Report of the 1908 excavation season, School of American Archaeology, Archaeological Institute of America, Santa Fe.

Key words: Archeology, excavation.

Key place names: Rito de los Frijoles.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-20-96.

Hewett, Edgar L.

1909b The Excavations at El Rito de los Frijoles in 1909. *American Anthropologist* 11:651-673.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1909.

Principal field workers: E. L. Hewett. Hewett never bothers to name the actual field workers.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 668: "As has been pointed out by the writer in former papers, the Pueblos habitually lay claim to ancient sites as the homes of their ancestors, a frequent reason for this being their desire to establish rights to lands claimed under Spanish grants or under titles still more remote, going back in some instances to divisions that existed in the pre-Spanish period, based on the mutual understandings of neighboring villages, if friendly, or upon the right of the stronger if unfriendly. Such a case is that of the ancient site, the Puye, long claimed by the Tewa of Santa Clara as their ancient home, the error of which has been fully shown. Such claims long maintained, for this or any other reason, finally gained all the weight of established tradition, and are repeated especially by the younger people, with no thought of untruthfulness . . . The cañon which now bears this name [Rito de los Frijoles] has so been known to the Mexicans for many years, and is so known to the Keres. It has long been claimed as Keres territory by the Indians of Cochiti, who also lay claim to the land north of it, between the Rito and the Cañada Ancha, as ancestral ground. They know the Rito as 'Tyuonyi,' and trace their ancestry in unbroken succession back to this place, yet disclaim knowledge of the meaning of the name. In former years it was given by them as meaning 'Place of compact, or treaty making.' It would seem that this tradition was not so strong as the tradition of possession, for any Cochiti Indian will immediately give one the tradition of their former occupancy of the Rito...the Tewa acknowledge the Cochiti tradition of ownership of the Rito, though my first and apparently most trustworthy informant concerning the ancient occupants of the plateau towns, Weyima (Antonio Domingo Peña), Rain Priest at San Ildefonso, would never admit the tradition that ancestors of the Cochiteños, except certain clans, ever lived in the Rito. He always claimed rather minute traditionary knowledge of the ancient peoples of the Pajarito plateau southward to Tchirege on the Pajarito creek, and held that no one living could tell anything of those further south on Mesa del Pajarito.

Turning to the cultural evidence, it is to be noted that nothing of modern Cochiti is to be seen in the ruins of the Rito except occasional surface potsherds, possibly results of breakage during temporary visits in recent years. No systematic comparison of the cultural material from Puye and the Rito has been made. Superficially no differences are noticeable . . .

It must be admitted that an examination of the migration traditions of Cochiti, as given by Bandelier, Lummis, Harrington, and the writer, at intervals during the last twenty-five years, does not establish confidence in their historical accuracy. The traditions have been given with variations even by the same informant . . ."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Report of the 1909 field season, at Frijoles, School of American Archaeology, Archaeological Institute of America, Santa Fe.

Key words: Archeology, excavation.

Key place names: Rito de los Frijoles.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-21-96.

Hewett, Edgar L.

1938 *Parajito Plateau and Its Ancient People*. 2nd edition, revised in 1953. Handbook of Archaeological History. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press and School of American Research.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1892-1901.

Principal field workers: E. L. Hewett. Mentions guides (p. 14): Weyima (Antonio Domingo Peña, identified p. 125 as "rain priest of San Ildefonso"); Potsonutse (Diegito Roybal, identified p. 125 as successor of Weyima); Oyegepi (Santiago Naranjo); Agauono (Juan Gonzales). These last two not identified by pueblo.

Pueblo communities contacted: San Ildefonso, possibly San Juan, Santa Clara, Cochiti.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 27: "Some years ago, I proposed the name Pajarito Plateau for the eastern side of the watershed of the Jemez mountain range...It was generally accepted and is applied to the region lying east of the foothills, limited on the east by the Rio Grande, north by the Rio Chama, and south by the Cañada de Cochiti. It varies from ten to twenty miles in width, is about forty miles long and roughly crescent-shaped . . . The mountains on the western rim [are] known as the Jemez . . ."

p. 33: "It seems that I accidentally discovered the lake that figures so vitally in Tewa mythology . . . *Sipop'e* is a brackish lake situated in the sand dunes north of Alamosa, Colorado. It is east of Mosca, a station on the railroad which runs from Alamosa to Silverton . . ."

p. 35: "In the dispersed small house communities it seems fairly clear that the basic principles of tribal structure that govern in Pueblo organization today were fully developed. There was apparently lacking only the element of dual organization, a social phenomenon which attended the coming together of numerous clans into great communities."

p. 47: "About two miles southeast of Otowi is the ruin of *Sankewi'i* (gap of the sharp rounded cactus), the most picturesquely situated of any settlement of primitive people that I have seen, with the exception of Tsiping . . . The site is noticeable for its defensive character . . . There were ten kivas at *Sankewi'i*—a large number for the population, which probably never exceeded three hundred to four hundred people, although this would be considerably increased if we should count the population of the cliff villages in the south face of the mesa. *Sankewi'i* was 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. 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."

p. 50: "*Tsirege* . . . is a great ruin situated on a low bluff on the north side of the Pajarito, about six miles west of the Rio Grande . . . *Tsirege* is said to have been the last of the villages of Pajarito Park to be abandoned."

p. 54: "When we descend the southern rim of Mesa del Pajarito into the Rito de los Frijoles, we enter

the ancient Keres land. Here seems to have been a sharply defined frontier between the communities of Tewa and Keres stocks."

p. 54: "in the narrow flood plain of the Rito, on the north side of that brave little stream which still carries on to the Rio Grande, is the main pueblo ruin, which takes its name, *Tyuonyi* (more correctly written Tyo'onye) from that by which the valley is known to the Pueblo Indians, and which designates it as a meeting place or frontier."

p. 55: "The name of the above ruin, Yapashenye, is derived from the shrine of the Stone Lions a short distance from the ruin. This was the most important hunting shrine in the entire Pueblo region. Until very recent times it has been visited by Indians from as far away as Zuñi."

p. 57: "I once stumbled upon gentle Jose Hilario Montoya, the [later] Governor of the New Cochiti . . . He had stolen away from us, to dream an hour in the specific house that was one of his own first grandfathers [referring to Tyuonyi]."

p. 58: "... the stone lions of Cochiti have never lost their potency. Worshipped continually for longer ages than Saxon history can call its own, they are worshipped still. No important hunt would even now be undertaken by the trustful folk of Cochiti without first repairing to the stone pumas . . ."

Hewett notes a progression (pp. 57-60): Tyuonyi, Yapashi, Tse-ki-a-tan-yi, Ra-tya (San Miguel), Cua-pa, Ha-nut Cochiti, Cochiti.

p. 100: "The most recent occupation of the district was certainly by the Tewa. They probably reoccupied only the artificial caves. These show some evidences of occupation by people of the same culture as the Tewa of today. The ruins of the large community houses do not show these evidences. I am inclined to think that this is the period which the Tewa point to as the time when their ancestors lived in the cliffs; that they were not the original makers of the community houses nor of the newer caves, but simply moved onto ready-made homes . . ."

p. 104: "That I speak in this work of Puye, Tsirege, and Otowi as ancient Tewa towns, and El Rito de los Frijoles and the adjacent region to the south as the old Keresan homeland, is evidence of where I stand on the question of former occupancy of Pajarito Plateau . . . It is not to be understood, however, that I accept the theory that the modern Pueblos are simply the descendants of the ancient Pajaritans."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

One in the series "Handbooks of Archaeological History" by Edgar Hewett. Hewett originally defined the "Pajarito Plateau," as noted above. This is an elementary theoretical reconstruction of some aspects of late prehistory in Frijoles Canyon and on the Plateau, with general descriptions of some sites and artifacts.

Key words: Archeology, excavation, migration, Pajaritans.

Key place names: Frijoles Canyon, Cochiti, Potrero Viejo, Peña Blanca, Pajarito Plateau.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-16-96.

Hewett, Edgar L., and Bertha P. Dutton

1945 *The Pueblo Indian World*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico and the School of American Research, Handbooks of Archaeological History.

Repository name: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 41: "The Cochiti Keresan name of the Rito de los Frijoles is commonly rendered 'Tyuonyi.' Recent informants have stated that it is untrue that the name means 'place of the treaty' as has been recorded since Bandelier's time. North of this canyon lay Tewaland."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This volume in the handbook series contains a general discussion of Pueblo sacred places.

Key words: Sacred places, religion, shrine.

Key place names: names of all occupied pueblos.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-9-96.

Hill, W. W.

1982 *An Ethnography of Santa Clara Pueblo New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1940-41, 1948, 1952, and 1960-62.

Principal field workers: W. W. Hill. This manuscript was edited and annotated by Charles H. Lange.

Pueblo communities contacted: Santa Clara.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. xxvi: "With few exceptions, Santa Clara was not on the usual route of travelers and expeditions, being on the west bank of the Rio Grande and rather isolated from the rugged terrain of the Pajarito Plateau and the Jemez Mountains."

p. xxvi: "Over the next few years, archaeological work was carried out on the ruins of the Rito de los Frijoles, especially at Tyuonyi, and on others located on the Pajarito Plateau. Initially, however, excavations were made at ruins still farther north, at Puye. These remains were generally considered to be the ancestral homes of the Tewa, including the people of Santa Clara Pueblo."

p. 6: "It is clear from examining the ethnogeographic data collected by Harrington (1916: 147-57, 231-60) that the Santa Clara Indians, along with other Tewa tribes, had names and gave other evidence of associations with innumerable archaeological Pueblo sites in the vicinity of Santa Clara Pueblo, either at Puye and elsewhere on the Pajarito Plateau to the south or in the Chama Valley to the northwest."

p. 242: The 'Hidden Dances' of the Winter Kachina

"At this point the kachina members in the kiva left unobtrusively to assist in bringing the dancers from the kachina house. This was the signal for the clowns to begin visualizing the emergence of the kachina and their progress to the village. It was a highly dramatic recital. Each kachina was characterized as it emerged. Those who emerged first were described as dancing about the lake while waiting for the remainder. When all were assembled, they began their journey toward the pueblo. A vivid portrayal of their progress from place to place was reported."

p. 244: "The elder clown peered toward the north, and for the first time a place name was mentioned. Then the actual visualization and emergence of the kachina began. Again each alternated in the visualizing role. A free, condensed version of their conversation is as follows: Elder: 'Toward the north lake (to ca). From the lake, fog rolling, cloud-flower rolling, that is all I saw, younger brother. Do as a man.'"

p. 244: "'Then from the lake they lift their path and bring it over to Sand Lake [near Alamosa, Colorado] and there they let it down.'"

p. 244: "At this juncture the clowns took turns describing the lifting of the path and its contents from one site to another, each time progressively closer to the village. When 'Flint-Covered-Mountain Lake' was reached, 'the hunter' was described."

p. 244: "The progression of the kachina was as follows: from 'Sand Lake' to 'Warm lake'; from 'Warm Lake' to 'Cliff Canyon Lake'; from 'Cliff Canyon Lake' to 'Flint-Covered Mountain Lake'; from 'Flint-Covered Mountain Lake' to 'Liquid Rat Dung Lake'; from 'Liquid Rat Dung Lake' to 'Amphitheater Lake'; from 'Amphitheater Lake' to 'Marshy Place Lake'; from 'Marshy Place Lake' to 'Cactus Place Lake'; from 'Cactus Place Lake' to 'Green Water Place Lake'; from 'Green Water Place Lake' to 'Terraced Water Lake'; from 'Terraced Water Lake' to 'Santa Clara Fetish Living Place'; from 'Santa Clara Fetish Living Place' to 'The Original Santa Clara Plaza'; from 'The Original Santa Clara Plaza' to 'The Foot of the Original Kiva Ladder'; from 'The Foot of the Original Kiva Ladder' to 'The Original Kiva Mouth Opening.'"

p. 288: The Deer Dance

"The Deer Dance song consisted of two major parts. The first part was sung as the performers progressed from the kiva to the particular plaza. It had five verses; the first four mentioned the arrival of the dancers at sacred locations, each progressively closer to the village. The final verse told of their entering the pueblo, and was timed to coincide with the arrival of the group in the plaza. The first stanza was as follows: On top of Tsikumo Ping (sacred flint, or obsidian-covered mountain) . . . With sacred personages (Kachina) they are coming . . . The four subsequent verses were identical to the first except that new sacred locations—Puje Ping ('meeting place of cottontails?'), Pu Ping, Be He, Ka Po Ge (Santa Clara)—were substituted for 'the sacred obsidian-covered mountain.'"

p. 295: "The following two sections, The Kwirana Society and The K'osa Societies, contain material that is of rather special significance and, at the same time, is also somewhat puzzling, or at least surprising." Lange comments on the relationship which Hill establishes between the Santa Clara Kwirana Society and the Cochiti K'osa, or Koshare (Ku-sha'li) Society, *not* to the Cochiti Kwe'rana, "as one might anticipate."

p. 296: The Kwirana Society

"Headquarters for the Santa Clara Kwirana Society was located at the Keresan pueblo of Cochiti; after a year of training, novices were initiated at that village. However, according to one informant [71], during his father's time (1850s?) the Cochiti kwe'rana visited Santa Clara to hold an initiation."

p. 296: The K'osa Societies

"On occasion a ritual called the 'meeting of waters' (Poje) was performed in conjunction with a 'large treatment.' There is evidence that a ceremony of this type, or one very similar, was current in many of the pueblos. For examples, White (1932:53; 1935:139-41; 1942:206-7; 1962:227-28) and Lange (1959:261-62, 330-31) have provided descriptions of rites for San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Santa Ana, Zia, and Cochiti, which roughly parallel the following. Santa Clara informants [21, 45, 50] stated that an identical ceremony, in which Santa Clara Bears participated, was held each spring at both San Ildefonso and Tesuque. Similar rites were indicated for Jemez (see Parsons 1925:75)."

p. 336: Meeting of Waters

"... the number of shrines purified was reduced from six to three. On the first night, the purifying teams went to Ca' wi?, Fu p'inne ('Fruit of the Yucca Baccata Mountain'), and Tun wae joi ('Height Place'), which were at the greatest distance from the pueblo. On the second night, shrines somewhat closer to the village, K'u nu k'wazhe ('Rock Ash Top'), Pu quise buge, Famu tun waei ('Enclosure Place'? or 'High Yucca Glauca?') were visited. Finally, on the third night, those nearest

the village, Tepu janae ('Foundation Just Beyond' —all three were called by the same name) were purified."

p. 344: "Hunting shrines are often found in remote places in the mountains. Such a shrine was visited by the writer in 1904 in a canyon between Frijoles and Colorado canyons. It consisted of a sort of bower of small poles, the sides and top thatched with boughs of cottonwood with the eastern face open to the canyon. All around the three walls were miniature bows and arrows, brass cartridges, miniature lances and one or two small animal fetishes carved from stone. All of the objects were decorated with gaily colored feathers from birds and some of them had one or more finely chipped arrowheads tied to them with cotton string. There were traces of sacred meal on the dirt of the floor but seemingly no one had visited the shrine recently. Our guide, Juan Gonzales of San Ildefonso, told us it was a Cochiti hunting shrine as this part of mountains was in their traditional grounds. Since the decline of the communal hunts at Santa Clara there are almost no hunting shrines there anymore, and what there are consist of simple circles of stones that are only dressed when an individual or several persons go hunting in the mountains."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

The section of the manuscript, "Ceremonial Organization" provides detailed accounts on the many rituals and dances performed by the Santa Clara Indians. Many sacred place names are listed here. Santa Clara Pueblo seems to have many ritual ties with the Keresan pueblos as is noted in the two sections, The Kwirana Society and The K'osa Societies.

Key words: Ethnography, kachina, kiva, kwirana, k'osa, shrine, oral history, traditional history

Key place names: Pajarito Plateau, Jemez Mountains, Rito de los Frijoles, Tyuonyi, Puye, Cochiti, (also see entry from p. 244, the progression of the kachina).

Recorded by: Judy A. Morse, 4-21-96.

Hodge, Frederick Webb (editor)

1907 *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 317: "Cochiti (Ko-chi-ti). A Keresan tribe and its pueblo on the w. bank of the Rio Grande, 27 m. SW of Santa Fe, N. Mex. Before moving to their present location the inhabitants occupied the Tyuonyi, or Rito de los Frijoles, the Potrero de las Vacas, the pueblo of Haatze on Potrero San Miguel or Potrero del Capulin, and the pueblo of Kuapa in the Cañada de Cochiti. Up to this time, which was still before the earliest Spanish explorations, the ancestors of the present San Felipe inhabitants and those of Cochiti formed one tribe speaking a single dialect, but on account of the persistent hostility of their N. neighbors, the Tewa (to whom is attributed this gradual southerly movement and through whom they were compelled to abandon Kuapa), the tribe was divided, one branch going southward, where they built the pueblo of Katishtya (later called San Felipe), while the other took refuge on the Potrero Viejo, where they established at least a temporary pueblo known as Hanut Cochiti. On the abandonment of this village they retired 6 or 7 m. s.e. to the site of the present Cochiti, on the Rio Grande, where they were found by Oñate in 1598."

p. 432: "San Felipe (Saint Philip). A Keresan pueblo on the w. bank of the Rio Grande, about 12 m. above Bernalillo, n. central New Mexico. Before the advent of the Spaniards into New Mexico in the 16th century, the ancestors of the inhabitants of this pueblo and of Cochiti formed a single tribe occupying successively a number of pueblos, the last of which was Kuapa . . ."

p. 462: "Santo Domingo (Saint Dominic, also Holy Sabbath). A Keresan pueblo on the e. bank of the Rio Grande, about 18 m. above Bernalillo, n. central N. Mex. The earliest traditions of this pueblo locate it at the Potrero de la Cañada Quemada, whence the inhabitants in prehistoric times removed successively to two villages each named Gipuy (q.v.), the later one of which they occupied when visited by Oñate in 1598."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

"The work of which this handbook is an outgrowth had its inception as early as 1873, when Prof. Otis T. Mason, now of the United States National Museum, began the preparation of a list of the tribal names mentioned in the vast literature pertaining to the Indians . . ." (p. v). The preface explains how the Handbook was developed by successive editors and investigators in the BAE. "It treats all of the tribes north of Mexico, including the Eskimo, and those tribes south of the boundary more or less affiliated with those in the United States" (p. viii).

Key words: Ethnography, Queres, Tewa, migration, oral tradition, traditional history.

Key place names: Cochiti, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Tyuonyi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-4-96.

Kroskrity, Paul V.

1993 *Language, History and Identity: Ethnolinguistic Studies of the Arizona Tewa*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: 1973-1989.

Principal field workers: P. V. Kroskrity. P. V. K. acknowledges assistance of Dewey Healing, Albert Yava, Edith Nash, Juanita Healing, Carl and Flo Voegelin and others.

Pueblo communities contacted: Tewa Village (Hano).

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 8: "The ancestors of the present-day Arizona Tewa were the Tano, or Southern Tewa, who occupied the pueblos of San Marcos, San Lazaro, San Cristobal, and Galisteo in the eastern Pueblo frontier, in what is now New Mexico, at the inception of Spanish colonization around the turn of the seventeenth century . . ."

p. 9: "Though the revolt was temporarily successful in repelling the Spanish, their retreat was soon followed by an increased wave of Apache attacks on the outlying pueblos during a renewed period of inter-Pueblo dissension that undermined a cooperative defensive effort. In response to these attacks the Tano abandoned the Galisteo Basin. The Tano of Galisteo and San Marcos remained in the captive settlement at Sante (sic) Fe; those of San Lazaro and San Cristobal moved to the northern Tewa country in the vicinity of what is now Santa Cruz. When Don Diego de Vargas reconquered the Pueblo area in 1693, the Tano occupying Sante (sic) Fe were forced to surrender and were later relocated . . . The remaining Tano refused to submit . . . These Tano (those from San Lazaro and San Cristobal) were later resettled together further north from the site of their former villages . . . This newly created community of dispossessed Tano Indians was named San Cristobal. Both the Arizona and the Rio Grande Tewa recognize the ruined remains of this site as *c'ewareh* (Dozier 1954, 273)—the place from which the Tano ancestors of the present-day Arizona Tewa migrated to First Mesa. This migration occurred in 1696 . . . After the revolt the Tano at San Cristobal marched west to Zuni, where they were given temporary food and shelter (Bailey 1940, 226-28), and from there to First Mesa.

Strangely enough, however, no mention of any of these events occurs in the Arizona Tewa folk-historical account of the migration. According to their view, their forefathers were invited by First Mesa chiefs to protect the Hopi from the onslaughts of Ute invaders."

p. 45: ". . . Tewa elders['] . . . stereotype of Rio Grande Tewa pronunciation underscores the abundance of [f] sounds which are conspicuously absent in Arizona Tewa . . . this is one instance of a tendency by Rio Grande Tewa speakers to replace the aspirated stops of Arizona Tewa with fricatives—a phonological change that is attributable to Spanish influence. Thus the linguistic form of Tewa is a reflection of historical choices, such as the evasion of Spanish influence, made by their ancestors."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This ethnolinguistic study incorporates historical background, analyses of language contact, social

distribution of linguistic knowledge, case studies of individuals, an analysis of traditional stories, and the changing nature of Arizona Tewa ethnic identity.

Key words: Ethnohistory, ethnolinguistic, linguistic, traditional, ethnicity.

Key place names: Hano, Hopi-Tewa Village, Hopi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-1-96.

Ladd, Edmund J.

1983 Pueblo Use of High-Altitude Areas: Emphasis on the A:shiwi. In *High Altitude Adaptations in the Southwest*, Joseph C. Winter, ed. Cultural Resources Management Report No. 2, pp. 168-188. Albuquerque: USDA Forest Service, Southwest Region.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: Not stated.

Principal field workers: E. J. Ladd.

Pueblo communities contacted: Zuni.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 170: "Based on a few archaeological reports, there is, as might be suspected, little doubt that nearly every high mountain in the Southwest was at one time or another used for religious or other purposes by the Pueblo people. The general boundaries of the modern *a:shiwi* lands, from the point of religious and other uses, are the high mountains and geographical regions which are held in special reverence and especially sacred to different classes of ceremonial and religious activities. These include the Sandia Mountains, the Jemez Mountains, Mount Taylor, the Mountain in southern Utah, the Grand Canyon, the San Francisco Peaks, and the Mogollon, White and Tularosa Mountains . . . Within this geographical area are numerous springs, streams, ponds, caves, mesas, trails and buttes that are of special religious significance."

p. 174: "During the summer solstice period shrines located to the east on Mount Taylor, the Sandia Mountains, and the Jemez Mountains; to the west on the San Francisco Peaks, and Woodruff Butte; to the north on Blue Mountain in Utah; and to the south on Mount Baldy, Eagle Peak, and Greens Peak, are visited by various orders of religious leaders in connection with supplication for rain, good crops, collecting of medicinal herbs, and spiritual protection. On the flanks of these same peaks at springs and along trails are special places where ceremonies of various kinds are conducted during the winter solstice period. The ice caves, between Grants and Ramah, are especially significant during the winter solstice period.

In addition to the regular cycle visits during the winter and summer solstice periods, peaks like Eagle, Green, Hardcastle, Beaver, Sandia, and the Jemez Mountains are visited during certain portions of the initiation rites associated with the curing societies. Also, during early spring and summer, anyone who 'has a good heart' may visit these places and make personal offering or collect medicinal herbs, after making 'payment to the gods.'"

p. 177: "*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."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Overview of use of high altitude sacred places and shrines, naming and locating all those mentioned in Zuñi land claims depositions in 1980.

Key words: Archeology, shrine, high-altitude area, religion, society.

Key place names: Jemez Mountains, Bandelier National Monument, *shipa:pulima*.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-4-96.

Lange, Charles H.

1959 *Cochiti: A New Mexico Pueblo, Past and Present*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1946-1953, 1957, 1958; 12 weeks in summer 1947; 5 weeks in summer 1948; six weeks in summer 1951; brief visit in summer of 1957, and a season of field work in summer of 1958.

"Informants' data should be taken as true for the period 1946-1952 unless otherwise specified" (p. xi).

Principal field workers: Charles H. Lange, Elizabeth M. Lange.

Pueblo communities contacted: Cochiti

Bibliographic source notes:

p. viii-ix: "the interpretation of esoteric or 'secret' ranged greatly from one person to another. The Spring dance has been barred to the Public and the Progressives since 1947; some claim that the Progressives forfeited any right to attend katsina performances.

Conservatives can attend dances in the plaza, in the kivas, at secluded spots in the hills northwest of the pueblo or along the river."

p. 7: "... the Cochiti begin their accounts of tribal existence on earth in the mythological past when their ancestors were living at White House, following their emergence from 'Shi'pap.' More concretely, some claim to have lived next at Frijoles Canyon 'along with all the other Pueblo Indians.'"

p. 8: "The Cochiti, however, claim no direct association with the majority of these ruins other than those in and adjacent to Frijoles Cañon, including those in association with the well-known Stone Lions of Cochiti . . . and those above and in Cañada de Cochiti."

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

p. 107: "Formerly, a herd of more than three hundred horses was guarded by the young men and older boys of the pueblo . . . The herd [of horses] remained on the range throughout most of the year, favorite pastures being near Bear Head Peak, Cañada, and Frijoles Cañon, all north and west of the pueblo."

p. 132: "Some older hunters take the extra precaution of passing by the shrine of the Stone Lions, Potrero de las Vacas, now in Bandelier National Monument, where they sprinkle red ochre (almagre or ya'katshe) on the eyes of the lions, thereby increasing their own visual powers and general good luck . . . Bandelier (October 26, 1880) mentioned this practice while visiting the shrine on the Potrero de los Idolos."

p. 228: "... the Cochiti, as many neighboring tribes do, place the beginning of their ancient existence on earth at 'White House' far to the north where they lived with 'all the people of the world'

following the emergence from Shi'pap after a great flood. Bandelier (October 10, 1880) mentioned the Cochiti 'Montezuma tale,' in which the tribal beginnings are placed at 'Tehuayu,' to the northwest and north, where 'all the pueblos were together in one . . .' In many tales, present-day medicine societies and various tribal officials are mentioned, indicating either their considerable antiquity or a subsequent inclusion through rationalization of these important features into the tribal origin story. Details of the account become clearer and more consistent as the Cochiti established residence in Frijoles Cañon, and the final divisions, such as that with San Felipe, occurred."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Monograph adapted from doctoral dissertation. It "portrays the way of life of present-day Cochiti Indians in the kind of community study that is commonly used in social anthropology; data are discussed in the present tense . . . for instance typical of the period of the study, 1946-1953 . . . Specific events within this period of field work have been dated more or less precisely. At the same time, the monograph reveals, wherever possible, antecedents for the present in the manner of historical ethnography" (p. v).

Key words: Ethnography, ethnohistory, Frijoles Cañon, oral traditions, traditional history.

Key place names: Cochiti, Frijoles Cañon, Bandelier National Monument.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 12-31-95.

Lange, Charles H.

1967 Historical Reconstruction: Problems in Cochiti Culture History. In *American Historical Anthropology: Essays in Honor of Leslie Spier*, edited by Carroll L. Riley and Walter W. Taylor, pp. 69-100. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: not stated.

Principal field workers: Charles H. Lange.

Pueblo communities contacted: Cochiti.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 69: "There is but one way of achieving any appreciable degree of reliability . . . in the reconstruction of culture history. There is no alternative to a strict adherence to the fundamental principle of proceeding from an initial, most often limited, base of known, factual data to the ordinarily far more extensive realms of the unknown. To depart from this fundamental policy . . . is to reiterate fantasies and falsehoods that commonly characterize folklore and legendary accounts of a tribal or cultural past.

Hypothesis, conjecture, and even considered guesses should never be discouraged nor discounted; on the other hand, they must be recognized for precisely what they are—nothing more than working frameworks within which additional data may be sought and subsequently ordered. These frameworks must be constantly checked against and weighed in reference to each individual bit of newly acquired evidence. When hypothesis, conjecture, or any similarly tentative or unsupported idea becomes carelessly interwoven or confused with known, objective data, the resulting conclusions cannot withstand scientific scrutiny."

p. 70: "Surface collections of potsherds from within the present village limits [of Cochiti Pueblo] demonstrate that this occupancy covers not only the entire span of history in this region but extends back into prehistory at least to the early thirteenth century."

p. 71: ". . . Schroeder and Matson (1965:170) . . . have concluded that Luxan's (and Espejo's) Cachiti, a pueblo visited by the Espejo expedition in 1582, was erroneously identified as Cochiti by Hammond and Rey (1929:82). Schroeder and Matson have indicated that the name, Cachiti, was actually a corruption of the Keresan word, Katishtya, used for San Felipe Pueblo . . . I favor the opinion of Schroeder and Matson that the first visit of Europeans to Cochiti Pueblo was not by Espejo in 1582 but rather by Castaño de Sosa in January, 1591."

p. 82: "Earlier in this paper, Cochiti Pueblo (L.A. 126) was noted as existing in its present position throughout the historic period and for as much as three centuries further back into the prehistoric period (to the early thirteenth century). What we do not yet know, however, is the exact nature, either sequentially or in specific individual content, of the component layers—or, indeed, even if there are significant layers—of stratigraphy in the Cochiti refuse and other occupational deposits."

p. 84: "Still another possibility [as to the pueblos meant by Castaño de Sosa when he reports four pueblos in sight of each other] is the large site in the Cañada de Cochiti, west of the Rio Grande. Called Kuapa by the Cochiti . . . this very extensive site, located on the present-day Rancho de la

Cañada, has long been considered by the Cochiti as the ancestral home directly antecedent to their present village."

p. 85: "... their own accounts of the tribal past tell of several pueblos, most commonly beginning with Tyuonyi (L.A. 82) in Frijoles Canyon, and ending with the present village site, with several pueblos having been occupied in the intervening territory, a total distance of less than fifteen miles. The impression is consistently given in these accounts, however, and occasionally stated explicitly, that these villages were inhabited sequentially in the course of the tribal migrations."

p. 91: "Reverting ... to the specific Keresan linguistic genealogy ... it will be noted that the time scale suggests a separation of something over seven hundred years for Cochiti, i.e., separation from other Keresans as of the early 1200's—a date roughly compatible with that indicated for the oldest occupation of the present-day Cochiti site by analysis of surface potsherds. If one next compares this concurrence with the series of migratory moves of the Cochiti and their Keresan relatives, the result is not particularly disparate.

Hodge (1907:317) describes the Cochiti move as follows: from Tyuonyi, in the Rito de los Frijoles, to Yapashi, Pueblo of the Stone Lions, on the Potrero de las Vacas; to Ha-atze, on the Potrero de San Miguel, or Potrero del Capulin; to Kuapa, in the Cañada de Cochiti; to the present site of Cochiti ... it is quite probable that Hodge based his account upon Bandelier's data. However, Bandelier added pueblos to the north and south banks of the Peralta Canyon arroyo as this entered the Rio Grande from the west ... Additional data, partially confirming and partially conflicting with the foregoing migration material, were gathered by Harrington (1916:440-41). He listed, in sequence, seven Cochiti villages, beginning with Tyuonyi and ending with the present site of Cochiti. His discrepancies consisted of two unidentified, i.e., unlocated, pueblos—the first occupied between Yapashi and Ha-atze, and the second occupied between Kuapa and present-day Cochiti. To what extent L.A.35 (Nelson's Pueblo Cañada), L.A.70, L.A.6455, or some other large glaze site of the area, may someday be identified as either of these unknowns remains problematical and most likely an unsolvable question. In summary, it may be well to make explicit the obvious; 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.

Another discrepancy appears to lie in the difference between the linguistic appraisal by Davis (1959:78-79) and the traditional claims that 1) Cochiti, San Felipe, and Santo Domingo lived together in the Rito de los Frijoles and began their southerly migration from that canyon together; 2) subsequently, however, Santo Domingo broke away and continued to the south, crossing to the eastern bank of the Rio Grande where there were potentially better fields; and 3) at a still later date, San Felipe separated from Cochiti and also moved southward. Douglas (1932:79) went so far as to call Cochiti 'half a tribe,' the other half being San Felipe. Geographically, this sequence of events may be explained by the fact that Santo Domingo had already taken possession of the land immediately south of the area occupied and used by the Cochiti. This caused the San Felipe migrants to leapfrog still farther south, establishing the village which has existed in the same relative position (either east or west of the Rio Grande) up to the present time."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

See introductory remarks for a statement of Lange's premises here.

Key words: Ethnohistory, archeology, oral tradition, traditional history

Key place names: Tyuonyi, Yapashi, Ha-atze, Kuapa, Cochiti, San Felipe, Santo Domingo.

Recorded by: Thomas W. Merlan, 4-9-96.

Lange, Charles H.

1979 Santo Domingo Pueblo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 379-389. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Repository: Authors' collection.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 379: "From the time following the emergence upon earth at Sipapu, somewhere in the north, 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. Somewhat more tangibly, tradition also has it that the Keresans (and perhaps others) remained together as recently as their joint occupancy of Frijoles Canyon. There some centuries before the Spanish entered the area, the tribes broke into their present composition: San Felipe, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and others."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This Handbook entry cites White (1935) as "the best single source on this tribe."

Key words: Ethnography, ethnohistory, migration and emergence, Keresan, oral traditions, traditional history.

Key place names: Santo Domingo, Frijoles Canyon.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-9-96.

Lister, Robert H., and Florence C. Lister

1983 *Those Who Came Before; Southwestern Archaeology in the National Park System.*
Southwest Parks and Monuments Association. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

pp. 85-87: traces the history of archeological investigations from Bandelier and Hewett to on-going stabilization efforts.

p. 85: "The coalescence of Pueblo population along the Rio Grande in late prehistoric times is exemplified by these and many other ruins in the vicinity."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

A popular synthesis of Southwestern archeology organized around the archeological parks of the region. The overview of Bandelier National Monument traces the history of archeological investigations by Bandelier, Hewett, stabilization efforts and the Cochiti Lake salvage archeology project. No mention is made of the cultural affiliation of the archeological sites to surrounding Pueblo communities. A short bibliography of relevant archeological literature is included.

Key words: Archeology, migration, history.

Key place names: Bandelier National Monument, El Rito de los Frijoles, Tyuonyi, Tsankawi.

Recorded by: Frances Levine, 3-11-1997.

Lummis, Charles F.

1910 *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories*. New York: The Century Co.

Repository: Fogelson Library, College of Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: Isleta.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 4: "Isleta lies on the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, upon the western bank of the Rio Grande, on a lava promontory which was once an island—whence the town takes its Spanish name. Its Tee-wahn title is Shee-eh-whib-bak. Footnote: The name means 'Knife-laid-on-the-ground-to-play-whib.'"

p. 35: "'Do you know why the rattlesnake—which is the king of all snakes and alone has the power of death in his mouth—always shakes his guaje before he bites?' Footnote: Guaje—The Pueblo sacred rattle."

p. 35: "In those days Nah-chu-ru-chu had a friend who lived in a pueblo nearer the foot of the Eagle-Feather Mountain than this, in the Place of the Red Earth, where still are its ruins."

p. 39: "On the fourth day he turned westward, and wandered until he came to Mesita. Footnote: Mesita—An outlying colony of Laguna, forty miles from Isleta. There was no town of the Lagunas there then, and only a shepherd's hut and corral, in which were an old Queres Indian and his grandson, tending their goats."

p. 43: "Nah-chu-ru-chu thanked the kind old shepherd, and started home. But when he came to the Bad Hill and looked down into the valley of the Rio Grande, his heart sank."

p. 48: "The people plowed and planted again, as they had not been able to do for several years, and all their work prospered. As for the people who lived in the Place of the Red Earth, they all moved down here, because the Apaches were very bad; and here their descendants live to this day. Footnote: It is a proved fact that there was such a migration."

p. 54: "Long before the first Spaniards came to New Mexico (and that was three hundred and fifty years ago) Isleta stood where it stands to-day—on a lava ridge that defies the gnawing current of the Rio Grande. Footnote: Bandelier has published a contrary opinion, to which I do not think he would now cling. The folk-lore and the very name of the town fully prove to me that its site has not changed in historic times."

p. 79: "At last they began to run away, and went to the east. Many moons they kept running, but the skeleton was always at their heels. At last they came to the Sunrise Lake, wherein dwell the Trues of the East.

The guards let them in, and they told the Trues all that had happened, and the skeleton stood beside them the Trues said, 'Young men, if you are men, sit down and we will protect you.'

But when the boys looked again at the skeleton they could not stop, but ran away again.

Many moons they ran north till they came to where the Trues of the North dwell in the Black Lake of Tears.

The Trues of the North promised to defend them, but again the skeleton came and scared them away; and they ran for many moons until they came to the Trues of the West, who dwell in T'hoor-kim-p'ah-whee-ay, the Yellow Lake Where the Sun Sets. And there the same things happened; and they ran away again to the south, till they found the Trues of the South in p'ah-cheer-p'ah-whee-ay, the Lake of Smooth Pebbles.

But there again it was the same, and again they ran many moons till they came to the Trues of the Center, who live here in Isleta."

p. 108: "Away to the southeast of the Manzano Mountains, two days' journey from my pueblo of Isleta, are the shallow salt lakes. For scores of miles their dazzling sheen is visible—a strange patch of silver on the vast brown plains. They are near the noblest ruins in our North America—the wondrous piles of massive masonry of Abo, Cuarray and the so-called 'Gran Quivira . . .' From that locality came, centuries ago, part of the people who then founded Isleta, and whose descendants dwell here to this day."

p. 109: "Long ago there was still a village east of Shoo-paht-hoo-eh, the Eagle-Feather (Manzano) Mountains, and in it lived a famous hunter."

p. 130: "In the times that were farthest back, the forefathers of those who now dwell in Isleta were scattered about in many small villages. You have already heard the myths of how the inhabitants of several villages finally abandoned their homes and came to live in the one big town of the Tee-wahn. Three miles north of Isleta, amid the sandy plain of Los Padillas, stands the strange round mesa of Shee-em-too-ai. It is a circular 'island' of hard, black lava, cut off from the long lava cliffs which wall the valley of the Rio Grande on the west. Its level top, of over fifty acres, is some two hundred feet above the plain; the last fifty feet being a stern and almost unbroken cliff. Upon its top are still visible the crumbling ruins of the pueblo of Poo-reh-tu-ai—a town deserted, as we are historically sure, over, three hundred and fifty years ago. The mound outlines of the round estufa, the houses and the streets, are still easy to be traced, and bits of pottery, broken arrow-heads, and other relics, still abound there. In history we know no more of the pueblo than that it was once there, but had been abandoned already when Coronado passed in 1540; but my aboriginal friends and fellow-citizens of Shee-eh-whib-bahk have an interesting legend of the pueblo of Poo-reh-tu-ai and the cause which led to its abandonment.

When the mesa town was inhabited, so was Isleta; and, being but three miles apart, the intercommunication was constant."

pp. 135-136: "The Young-Man-Who-Embraces-a-Corncob went back to Isleta, where he lived to a ripe old age. As for the snakes, they went to live in the cliffs of their own mesa. The people of Poo-reh-tu-ai soon learned of the fate of the witch-sisters, and knew that those two great snakes, with tears in their eyes, were they. That was the beginning of the downfall of Poo-reh-tu-ai; for the people grew fearful of one another, lest there might be many more witches, unbeknown, among them."

p. 147: "A very ancient and characteristic story about the origin of Isleta is based on the historic fact that part of its founders came from east of the Manzano Mountains, from one of the prehistoric pueblos whose ruins are now barely visible in those broad plains."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories is a collection of "Indian fairy tales" (as Lummis calls them) that he recorded while living at Isleta Pueblo. Lummis had the mindset of the ethnocentric European visitor in the "quaint" Indian village when he recorded these stories. Not being trained as an ethnographer, he records these "quaint" stories as just that. He makes some references to key place names and important events. References to the "Queres" are only made twice.

Key words: Oral tradition, traditional history, travelogue, Guaje (the Pueblo sacred rattle), Queres.

Key place names: Isleta (Shee-eh-whib-bak), Rio Grande, Shoo-paht-hoo-eh, the Eagle-Feather Mountain (Manzano Mountains), Place of the Red Earth, Mesita, Laguna, Sunrise Lake, Black Lake of Tears, Yellow Lake Where the Sun sets (T'hoor-kim-p'ah-whee-ay), Lake of Smooth Pebbles (P'ah-cheer-p'ah-whee-ay), Abo, Cuaray (Quarai), Gran Quivira, Los Padillas, Shee-em-too-ai, Pueblo of Poo-reh-tu-ai.

Recorded by: Judy A. Morse, 3-17-96.

Mathien, Frances Joan

1990 Three Months on the Jemez Plateau: An Account of Edgar Lee Hewett's 1905 Field Season. In *Clues to the Past: Papers in Honor of William M. Sundt*, edited by M. S. Duran and D. T. Kirkpatrick, pp. 185-202. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: April 20-July 28, 1905.

Principal field workers: E. L. Hewett.

Pueblo communities contacted: San Ildefonso.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 193: "Hewett (1938:133-134) reported that the main mound and two smaller mounds at Tsankawi had been excavated and that the methods he used and the material he recovered were similar to those discussed for Otowi. The main cemetery, from which 32 burials were recovered (Hewett 1938:134) had been excavated in 1900."

p. 199: "The Tewa of San Ildefonso regarded Perage as a pre-Spanish ancestral pueblo . . . Excavations at Perage began during the afternoon of June 22, after obtaining permission from the Governor of San Ildefonso Pueblo . . ."

p. 199: "Based on these few notes, it is apparent that Hewett was searching for burial mounds that would provide both skeletal remains and whole or nearly complete artifacts."

p. 201: "Despite shortcomings in the note-taking and collections, with current questions about reburial of skeletal remains and associated grave goods, it is imperative to use these materials wisely and soon."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

E. L. Hewett conducted some fieldwork for the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology in 1905. This involved mainly survey, as well as some excavation at five sites on the Pajarito Plateau (Otowi, Tsankawi, two small pueblos on the Ramon Vigil Grant, and Perage). Mathien's report is based on Hewett's field notes.

In view of the friendly relations between Hewett and several San Ildefonso secular and religious leaders, and his punctilious request for permission to dig at Perage, why didn't he ask their permission to dig at Tsankawi? Ownership? Probably nothing more than this. USGS map shows LA 41 on the "grant" not the reservation.

Key words: Archeology, excavation.

Key place names: Tsankawi, Perage (LA 41), Otowi, Jemez Plateau, San Ildefonso.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-11-96.

Mathien, Frances Joan

1991 Glimpses Into the History of the 1908 Fieldwork at Yapashi, Bandelier National Monument. In *Puebloan Past and Present: Papers in Honor of Stewart Peckham*, edited by Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick, pp. 121-132. The Archaeological Society of New Mexico No. 17. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 121: "Yapashi (LA 250) is located on the Potrero de las Vacas . . . Adolph Bandelier (1892) was one of the first to record information on this pueblo, which is considered to be an ancestral site of the Keresan people whose descendants now live in Cochiti Pueblo."

p. 121: "Yapashi is a Keresan word used to indicate fetishes that represent human forms. Because a number of such stone forms were found at the site by L. Bradford Prince in 1885, Bandelier (1892:152) applied this name to the large stone pueblo that he estimated had 280 ground-floor rooms, six kivas, a courtyard, and a reservoir. The inhabitants of Cochiti called this pueblo Tit-yi Ha-nat Kama Tze-shum-a or the 'old houses above in the north,' while others referred to it as the Pueblo of the Stone Lions because of its proximity to the shrine to the west, named Mo-katsh Zaitsh, 'where the panthers lie extended' (Bandelier 1892)."

p. 126: "The question of exactly what was done at the sites and where the notes and other materials went has not been fully answered. Hewett's 1908 report indicates (1) that 60 rooms in outlying ruins were excavated, but not how many at each ruin, e.g., Yapashi, San Miguel, and Frijolito . . ."

p. 130: "Fowler (1989) indicates that five of these men ([John] Harrington, [A. V.] Kidder, [Sylvanus G.] Morley, [Jesse] Nusbaum, and A. M. Tozzer) were part of the field crew that worked in Frijoles Canyon and that two ([Dr. R. B.] Dixon and Mrs. Tozzer) were visitors from Harvard."

p. 130: "Based on the available evidence, further directions for research on past excavations and collections from Yapashi include (1) pursuing papers and field notes from members of the 1908 field research team, particularly those of Kidder, Morley, Nusbaum, and Tozzer; and (2) conducting more detailed searches and examining collections and archives at the Peabody Museum."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Mathien discusses the politics of the project; she describes E. L. Hewett's and Charles Lummis's protest in person to President Roosevelt of Department of Agriculture rules pursuant to the Antiquities Act of 1906 that they considered unworkable.

She summarizes what is known about the field season. There are numerous unanswered questions about just what was excavated and where the collections went; she summarizes these.

Key words: Archeology, excavation.

Key place names: Rito de los Frijoles, Yapashi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-10-96.

Mera, H. P.

1932 *Wares Ancestral to Tewa Polychrome*. Laboratory of Anthropology Technical Series Bulletin No. 4. Santa Fe: Laboratory of Anthropology.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: Not given; in period 1921-1932.

Principal field workers: H. P. Mera.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

pp. 1-2: "As the modern ware mentioned above and described . . . differs decidedly from another polychrome ware (Tsia Polychrome), which has a distribution included in the same general area, it may be well, to avoid confusion, to give it a specific designation. The name 'Tewa Polychrome' is therefore tentatively proposed."

p. 2: "Likewise, in calling attention to an incised ware which is thought to be ancestral to Tewa Polychrome, it is found necessary to differentiate between this and another ware from this region, also incised, which occurs as a utility ware in connection with a Chacolike black-on-white pottery. For the former, therefore, the name 'Potsuwi'i Incised' ware might be adopted, and the ruin of Potsuwi'i chosen as the type site."

pp. 8-11: "Sankawi Black-on-Cream . . . sherds of this ware have been found . . . in twenty out of the thirty-seven sites examined. Sankawi, Tsherigi, Potsuwi'i, and Popobi yielded a considerable number of sherds of Black-on-Cream . . . As both Tsankawi Black-on-cream and Tewa Polychrome are found in association with Glaze VI, it appears that the red underbody, which converted the former into a polychrome ware—the earliest form of our modern pottery—was added sometime during this last Glaze period."

p. 12: "If it be assumed, which seems to be the case, that no Potsuwi'i Incised is found on ruins earlier than Glaze IV, then the whole development, from the incised stage to the slipped and painted Sankawi pottery, comes some time between that period and Glaze VI. Tewa Polychrome was fully developed in 1694 as evidenced by a considerable collection containing only this type and a polished red ware, sherds of which were found at house sites erected by the San Ildefonso Indians on Black Mesa, where they were besieged during that year."

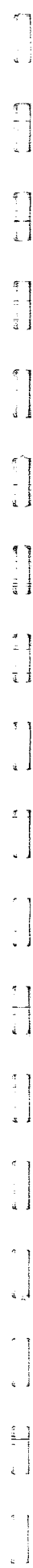
Annotated bibliographic entry:

Mera traces the connection between late prehistoric pottery forms and historic wares, and specifically between the predominant pottery type at Tsankawi and historic pottery produced at San Ildefonso.

Key words: Archeology, ceramics

Key place names: upper Rio Grande Valley, Potsuwi'i, Sankawi, Tsherigi, Popobi, San Ildefonso.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-4-97.



Mindeleff, Victor

1989 *A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola*. Introduction by Peter Nabokov. Classics of Smithsonian Anthropology series. Originally published 1891 in Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1886-87. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: 1881-1885.

Principal field workers: Victor and Cosmos Mindeleff.

Pueblo communities contacted: All extant Hopi communities; Zuni.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 35: "According to Polaka, the son of the principal chief [of Hano] . . . and to others, the Hano once lived in seven villages on the Rio Grande, and the village in which his forefathers lived was called Tceewage. This, it is said, is the same as the present Mexican village of Peña Blanca . . . The Hano claim they came to Tusayan only after repeated solicitation by the Walpi, at a time when the latter were much harassed by the Ute and Apache."

p. 40: "The people of Payupki spoke the same language as those on the first mesa (Walpi). Long ago they lived in the north, on the San Juan...they drifted into the valley of the Rio Grande . . . [they then migrated to Old Laguna, then to Bear Spring, otherwise Fort Wingate, then] they attempted to reach the San Juan . . . some Tusayan attacked them. They were captured and brought to Walpi . . . and afterwards they were distributed among the villages . . . [the story goes on to relate a quarrel between the people of Mishongnovi and the Payupki] . . . the next day the Payupki quietly departed . . . on the third day a band of warriors [from Mishongnovi] went over to inquire and found the village abandoned. The estufas and the houses of the priests were pulled down. The narrator adds that the Payupki returned to San Felipe whence they came."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

The Mindeleff brothers were emigre Russians living in Washington, D.C. when they joined the Bureau of Ethnology. Victor was 21 and Cosmos 19 when they were sent to Zuni and Hopi by the Bureau. Their job was to construct a scale model of Zuni for exhibit at the new U.S. National Museum. Victor may have had some training in architecture before the Southwestern expedition. This report embodies information collected over a period of about five years, 1881-1885.

Key words: Architecture, archeology, traditional history.

Key place names: Zuni, Hopi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-17-96.

Morley, Sylvanus G.

1938 *The Rito de los Frijoles in the Spanish Archives*, Appendix II, Pajarito Plateau and Its Ancient People by Edgar L. Hewett. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: none.

p. 149: "... the (Andres) Montoya will, shows that, at some time prior to 1740, a tract of land including the present canyon of the Rito de los Frijoles was given to one Andres Montoya, who further states that he had not, up to the year 1740, put this property under cultivation . . ."

p. 150: "Governor [Juan Bautista de] Anza made this transfer of title [of a grant of the tract called the Rito de los Frijoles to Juan Antonio Lujan, son-in-law of Andres Montoya, in 1780]."

p. 151: "a petition under date of February 28, 1803, addressed at Santa Fe, to the then governor of the province of New Mexico, Don Jose Manrique, by Jose Antonio Salas [son-in-law of Juan Antonio Lujan] . . . he petitions, 'that whereas I have lost the grant of a farm, which I possess, called the Rito de los Frijoles, given by Governor Juan Bautista de Anza, the original of which is found in the archives of the government . . . I earnestly entreat that said original may be delivered to me.'"

p. 152: "The Governor [Manrique] states further why his petitioner and others had been ordered to vacate this region in 1811 . . . 'Because of their evil deeds, and not finding amongst them any formality in defensive improvements in that place such as houses, and other things required of settlers, on the contrary that they lived in caves the same as barbarians.'"

p. 153: "... the cliff dwellings of the Rito de los Frijoles . . . are here described as caves like those lived in by the barbarians. Another point of interest established by . . . this document, is that in the early part of the nineteenth century, Rito de los Frijoles was the haunt of a robber band, the depredations of which became so troublesome to the people living in and around Santa Fe, that, in the year 1811, all inhabitants of the Rito de los Frijoles tract were ordered to vacate it and move elsewhere."

p. 153: "After the return of Antonia Rosa Lujan to the Rito, in 1814, her descendants seem to have occupied the region continuously except when driven out temporarily by attacks of marauding Indians, probably the Navajos, down to the present time."

p. 154: "... the Court of Private Land Claims . . . on September 27, 1894, rejected the claim of the Lujan heirs . . . an appeal was taken to the United States Supreme Court, which...sustained the decision of the lower court on December 9, 1895."

p. 154: "The question of the boundaries of the so-called Rito de los Frijoles grant was always somewhat in dispute because of the loss of the original granting paper . . . The dismissal of the petition [by the Supreme Court] did away with that grant. The Ramon Vigil grant, the grant next north of the Rito de los Frijoles grant, was extended by this decision southward to the northern edge

of the Rito de los Frijoles canyon; and the grant of the Cochiti Indians . . . was thereby extended northward to the southern boundary of the Ramon Vigil grant.”

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Appendix II, Hewett, Pajarito Plateau and Its Ancient People. Morley excerpts references from the Spanish Archives of New Mexico.

Key words: Documentary history; land grants.

Key place names: Rito de los Frijoles.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-13-96.

Olsen, Nancy H.

1995 Bandelier National Monument Pictographs and Petroglyphs: A Preliminary Study. In *Of Pots and Rocks: Papers in Honor of Helene A. Warren*, edited by Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick, pp. 93-119. Archaeological Society of New Mexico No. 21. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1987-1991.

Principal field workers: Robert P. Powers, Timothy A. Kohler, Nancy H. Olsen.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 96: "Tewa-speaking members of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and Tesuque Pueblos, Keres-speaking members of Cochiti and Santo Domingo Pueblos, and Tewa-speaking members of Jemez Pueblo view the area of the Pajarito Plateau as ancestral land; Hewett (1938:48, 99), reported that specific oral traditions in each Pueblo tied families to prehistoric ruins in or near the area that Bandelier National Monument now embraces."

p. 96: "The ruins of T'shirige, Tsankawi, Otowi, and Puye Pueblo north of Frijoles Canyon, as well as many smaller ones, are tied by oral tradition to San Ildefonso and Santa Clara Pueblos (Hewett 1938:46-49). Abundant evidence indicates that the landscape has been continually used since these occupation sites were abandoned in favor of the present locations affiliated with these groups."

p. 99: "Original meanings are gone forever; some Pueblo people acknowledge that even they do not know what meaning was originally intended. Further, images take on different meanings cross-culturally within Pueblo cultures, so that even if one Pueblo group knew meanings for certain motifs, those meanings cannot be carried across linguistic and ethnic boundaries to be used in another Pueblo setting (Olsen 1989:421)."

pp. 110-112: "Four separate variations of motif groupings are indicated by functional differences in possible social contexts. First, kiva-cavate contexts are differentiated by maximum-likelihood factor analysis to have *Ungulates* and *Bird* categories from those containing painted geometric motifs. Second, social division by ethnicity is suggested by separating *Ungulates* and *Plant-like shapes* (Tewa-speaking locations) from *Birds* (Keres-speaking locations) in Frijoles Canyon and farther south."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

The National Park Service carried out an archaeological inventory survey of monument lands 1987-1991. Olsen and others returned to the sites "later" (p. 96). This fieldwork is the source of the data used in this paper.

See the entry Hewett (1938) for his characterization of possible relationships between prehistoric Plateau sites and living Tewa communities. There are a couple of qualifications that Olsen does not exactly convey.

Key words: Archeology, survey, petroglyph, pictograph.

Key place names: Frijoles Canyon, Bandelier National Monument.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-11-96.

Orcutt, Janet D.

1991 Environmental Variability and Settlement Changes on the Pajarito Plateau, New Mexico. *American Antiquity* 56(2):315-332. Washington, D.C.: Society for American Archaeology.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 316: "The results of the analysis indicate that while some settlement changes occur as expected, others do not. Settlement changes correspond better to LFP [low-frequency processes] variability; however, after A.D. 1450 habitation locations do not follow expectations for settlement based on either LFP or HFP [high-frequency processes] variability."

p. 316: "The prehistoric pueblo occupation of the Pajarito Plateau occurred from approximately A.D. 1150 to 1600 (Coalition and Classic Periods). The Early Coalition period (A.D. 1150-1250) was characterized by low site density and small pueblos averaging less than 10 rooms (Preucel 1988:139). There was a substantial increase in population during the Late Coalition (A.D. 1250-1325), and aggregated communities began to form, probably between A.D. 1250 and 1275. Aggregation continued into the Classic period (A.D. 1325-1600). The Early Classic (A.D. 1325-1400) aggregates consisted of several large, often multiplaza and multistory pueblos, none of which represent [sic] in situ growth at the locations of the Late Coalition communities (the latter were abandoned, probably no later than A.D. 1330). Population declined in the Early Classic (Orcutt 1981, 1988; Preucel 1987; Stuart and Gauthier 1981:53) and continued to decline in the Middle Classic (A.D. 1400-1550), though population remained aggregated. There were fewer large aggregates in the Middle Classic, however, and they were smaller than the Early Classic aggregates. According to Preucel (1988:141-142), the average Early Classic pueblo was 400 rooms but the average Middle Classic pueblo was 250 rooms. Most of the large pueblos were abandoned by A.D. 1550, but some continued to be occupied during the Late Classic (A.D. 1550-1600)."

pp. 325-326: "There is substantial shift to the lower elevations during the Early Classic though some occupation of the higher elevations continued . . . Two major peaks of population occurred between 1,738 and 1,768 m and between 2,012 and 2,042 m. A much smaller concentration occurred between 1,829 and 1,859 m. It is possible that these clusters reflect a response to droughts, with one cluster focusing on permanent water in the lower elevations and the other relying on higher rainfall in the upper elevations. It appears that degradation and low water tables had a major impact on Early Classic site locations.

Early Classic field houses reflect the shift to lower elevations, although the elevations above 2,073 m continued to be used . . . Aggregation and total field house site weight reached peaks in the Early Classic . . . suggesting a strategy of agricultural intensification thought to characterize aggregated populations on the Pajarito Plateau (Preucel 1988)."

p. 326: "Of more interest is an apparent population decline during the Early Classic . . . This decline probably occurred between A.D. 1325 and 1350. Was climate a factor in this decline? Was the

drought between A.D. 1338 and 1352, coupled with poor flood-plain conditions, enough to stress the subsistence system to the extent that people began to move out? Was the population decline part of a reorganization in response to high population density and greater conflict over agricultural territory (Hunter-Anderson 1979; Orcutt et al. 1990; Preucel 1987)?

The Early Classic period is one in which there should have been major changes in settlement and subsistence because of long periods in which poor HFP conditions (drought) coincided with poor LFP conditions. The settlement data indicate a major shift in location to lower elevations, an increase in aggregation, and a decrease in population. The large increase in population and the beginnings of aggregation in the Late Coalition, followed by decreased population and increased aggregation during the Early Classic, may indicate organizational adjustments to competition over resources. Territorial disputes can increase as population increases, and aggregation is one way to minimize conflict . . .

p. 327: "The expected relations between habitation locations and environmental variability on the Pajarito Plateau partially were confirmed. It appears, however, that once there was movement down in elevation, probably in response to LFP conditions, the population chose to remain in the lower elevations despite dry conditions and aggrading flood plains . . .

A number of explanations for this phenomenon are possible. After A.D. 1450, precipitation and yield thresholds may have been passed that made the high elevations too risky for reliable dry farming. Technological adaptations related to flood-plain farming and even irrigation, while raising subsistence costs, probably lowered the risk of crop failure during dry years.

It is also possible that our understanding of the nuances of LFP changes needs some improvement . . .

Aggregation and intensive agriculture may have created a situation when it became socially too costly to move. Commitment to the group and intensive agriculture require investments in facilities, fields, and social/ceremonial obligations and provide, in turn, risk management and defense, thus making mobility an expensive and risky alternative to group membership . . . Under these circumstances, it appears that field-house locations may have been more responsive to environmental variability."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

p. 316: "This paper examines the relation between environmental variability and settlement location during the Anasazi occupation of the Pajarito Plateau in north-central New Mexico."

Key words: Archeology, survey, demographics, environmental variability, hydrology

Key place names: Pajarito Plateau, Jemez Mountains, Santa Clara Canyon, Cochiti Canyon, Rio Grande.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-12-96.

Ortiz, Alfonso

1969 *The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being and Becoming in a Pueblo Society*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: summer 1963; June 1964-January 1965; summer 1965; summer 1967.

Principal field workers: Alfonso Ortiz.

Pueblo communities contacted: San Juan.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 19: "The world of the Tewa is bounded by four sacred mountains, the same mountains which were seen by the first four pairs of sibling deities as they were sent out to explore the world in the origin myth. Approximately sixty miles to the north of San Juan is *Tse Shu Pin* (Hazy or Shimmering Mountain); *Tsikomo* (Obsidian Covered Mountain) is about fifteen miles to the west; *Oku Pin* (Turtle Mountain) is about eighty miles to the south, and *Ku Sehn Pin* (Stone Man Mountain) is about twenty miles to the east. The northern mountain appears on topographic maps as Conjilon [sic] Peak; the second by its Tewa name, the third as Sandia Crest . . . and the last as Truchas Peak."

p. 141: "Of these four sacred mountains, the one closest to the particular Tewa Pueblo under consideration is the most important, in the sense that pilgrimages are made to it more frequently and it plays a disproportionately larger role in their religious life. For the pueblos on the west side of the Rio Grande (San Juan, Santa Clara and San Ildefonso), *Tsikomo* is obviously the most important in these respects. For Tesuque and Nambe, both of which are located on the east side of the Rio Grande, Lake Peak in the Sangre de Cristos seems to be the most important . . ."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Study of Tewa society, world view, ceremonial and social relations, based on fieldwork in San Juan Pueblo. Emphasis on moiety or dual organization.

Key words: Ethnography; *Se t'a* (Dry Food People); *Towa 'e* (Made People); traditional history.

Key place names: San Juan, Tsikomo.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-7-96.

Ortiz, Alfonso

1979 San Juan Pueblo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, *Southwest*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Repository: authors' collection.

Date of fieldwork: not given.

Principal field workers: Alfonso Ortiz.

Pueblo communities contacted: San Juan.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 279: "According to sacred narrative traditions of their origin, the San Juan people began life within the earth 'at si.po.fe.nae' (the Tewa Sipapu), beneath a lake somewhere to the north."

p. 280: "Tewa tradition holds that after emergence from *si·po·fe·nae* the people migrated south down both sides of the Rio Grande, establishing 10 different villages on each side along the way before rejoining at *posi'owinge* 'village at the hot springs' near present-day Ojo Caliente, 18 miles northwest of San Juan. From there they eventually broke off into, and dispersed as, the seven separate communities known in historic times. The one no longer surviving, Jacona (*sako'nae* 'tobacco arroyo'), was located near an area of barren hills and washes on the Nambe River between present-day Pojoaque and San Ildefonso (Harrington 1916:330-331). Other villages occupied only a short time, or before history intruded, are also remembered and mentioned in traditional narratives. Remains of many of the remembered villages are, indeed, visible up both the Rio Grande and the Rio Chama to the north and northwest."

p. 280: "Archeological evidence purporting to explain which historic Pueblo group came from where in terms of prehistoric migrations is sketchy at best (Ford 1972). But just from what is known for sure the Tewa-speaking Pueblos can lay claim to 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, and they reflect a general Tewa concern and familiarity with the country to the north and west of them (Harrington 1916). The belief that these sites are almost certainly Tewa is based on three kinds of evidence. First, they are known by Tewa names and have been claimed as ancestral homes by Tewa since Bandelier's (1890-1892) pioneering investigations. Second, they usually have associated with them specific events of Tewa traditional history. Third, they have associated with them particular items of material culture known to be Tewa. Especially persuasive in this regard is the impressive continuity in stylistic traditions in pottery making from some of these prehistoric communities to historic Tewa Pueblos."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This monograph on San Juan appears in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9. As a member of San Juan Pueblo and a trained anthropologist, Ortiz was singularly placed to understand and interpret Tewa history and world-view.

Key words: Archeology, ethnography, ritual, traditional history, synonymy.

Key place names: San Juan, Posi'owinge, Jacona, Rio Grande, Chama, Ojo Caliente.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-21-97.

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1925 *The Pueblo of Jemez*. Department of Archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. Connecticut: Yale University Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1921-1922.

Principal field workers: E. C. Parsons.

Pueblo communities contacted: Jemez.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 1: "The people of Jemez have been described as related in speech to the Tanoan-speaking peoples of Taos, Picuris, Isleta, Sandia and Pecos; but as very little linguistic material of any of these townspeople has been published the dialectical differentiations of the Jemez tongue are not known. In other particulars the Jemez culture appears to be closer to the Keresan than to that of Taos or Isleta. Archaeological evidence of inter-town relationships has not been studied."

pp. 136-138: *Dypaloh*. At *wawanatutu* [n. 'equated with shipapu'] they were living . . . Then they walked out . . . Outside of *wawanatutu* they stopped . . . Finally they got to the place we now call *hakyuoyu* [n. 'North side, all ruins to the north are so-called.']. . . In the place called *hokingtselekwa* (white place?) they quarreled, consequently the Eagle society (*sekunsh*) and the Arrow society (*dyakunsh*) went away, to the other side of Sandia mountains (*kyuntsawe*). After a while they turned back and went up on *dyapu'oyu* (mesa to the east) and there they saw the smoke made by the people they had left. Then they got together again.

Then they came down to *ostialakwa* and *matdyashung* and *ky'okwa*. There the leader asked the priest (Catholic) about baptizing the people."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Monograph on Jemez. Include a historical sketch, discussions of economic life, kin and clan, personal life, secular government, ceremonial life and organization, calendars, hunts, rituals, the Pecos immigration, and stories, including emergence and migration. No reference to Frijoles Canyon.

Key words: Ethnography, traditional history, ritual, kachina, migration, emergence.

Key place names: Jemez, *wawanatutu*, *kyuntawe*, *dyapu'oyu*, *ostialakwa*, *matdyashung*, *ky'okwa*, Pecos.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-15-96.

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1936 *Taos Pueblo*. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company.

Repository: authors' collection.

Date of fieldwork: intervals from 1922 to 1936.

Principal field workers: Elsie C. Parsons.

Pueblo communities contacted: Taos.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 12: "According to Taos tradition, the peoples of Taos and Isleta were once 'together'; but those of Taos and Picuris were never together."

p. 113: "After the Indians came up from the Lake at Mount Blanca (White Mountain), where they had been created by our Father Sun, they scattered to the places Sun appointed. The Taos people came out by clans, each with the name it now bears. They were all to meet at the Canyon of the Red Willows. The Feather People (Fiadaina) came up first and travelled fast and built their first houses on the hills near Ranchos. Then came up the Shell People (Holdaina) and settled near the Colorado River."

p. 113: "Then the Water People came out. They were first fish. They came over the mountain streams to the Santa Fe River. Then they swam up the Rio Grande and up the Taos River and to the Ranchos de Taos Creek until they arrived near the place where Fiadaina and Holdaina were living together . . . and then these three peoples or clans went to Mahwaluvianda (Taos Peak), where all the Taos Indians now live."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This monograph describes setting, material culture, kinship, life stages, death and burial, government, religion, ceremonialism, calendar, ritual and cosmogony.

Key words: Ethnography, traditional history, migration, emergence.

Key place names: Taos, Red Willow Place, Taos Peak, Kaiyunba, Blue Lake, Picuris, Isleta.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-19-97.

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1939 *Pueblo Indian Religion*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1912-1938.

Principal field workers: E. C. Parsons.

Pueblo communities contacted: All living pueblos.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 13: "Given this picture of the lack of neighborly feeling between towns both within and without the tribe, it is a little surprising to find records of intertribal co-operation. In 1650, Isleta, Alameda, San Felipe, Cochiti, and Jemez valley towns 'conspired' against the Spaniards, and this was followed by the very remarkable concert of all the towns or tribes under the leadership of Pope of San Juan, when on the same day of the year 1680 over four hundred Spaniards, including twenty-one Franciscan friars, were killed throughout Pueblo territory. General massacre may not be a difficult type of co-operation, but the conspiracy implied with few exceptions common understanding and sympathy. Besides, the eastern Pueblos joined subsequently in the siege of Santa Fe, forcing the withdrawal of all the Spaniards from the Colony; and several years later a town was built near Cochiti to harbor rebel refugees from several towns...During the reconquest, in 1694, Vargas led Sia and Santa Ana men against Jemez, and in the revolt two years later Sia, Santa Ana, and San Felipe sided with the Spaniards against Jemez, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, Acoma, and Zuni."

p. 901: "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. The Cochiti group was found at its present site by Oñate in 1598. The mission of San Buenaventura was established. In the Rebellion of 1680 the population of three hundred withdrew to found with their allies the fortified town of La Cieneguilla on Potrero Viejo, where they remained until routed by Vargas in 1693."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Parsons describes Pueblo Indian religion generally:

"Of Pueblo religion in particular one may say that it is a form of instrumentalism controlling the natural through the supernatural, usually, of course, as a flow of interest, not as planned enterprise. The technique of control is largely magical, that is, ritual acts are automatically effectual: prayer or song or dance, color or line are formulistic or compulsive; but there is more here than magic—there is conceptual control. Weather phenomena—rain, snow, hail, lightning, wind—are conceived of as anthropomorphic Spirits accessible in various familiar ways" (p. x).

Pueblo Indian Religion discusses all the living pueblos in more or less detail, including ceremonial organization, ideas about the emergence and the afterlife, ritual, ceremonial calendars of different towns, ceremonies of each town, variation and borrowing from and among other Puebloan and Southwestern peoples, and processes of change including resistance, acculturation, innovation or invention, disintegration, substitution.

Key words: Ceremonial cycles, ethnography, religion, ritual, traditional history.

Key place names: Rito de los Frijoles.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-29-96.

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1974 *The Pueblo of Isleta*. Albuquerque, New Mexico: Calvin Horn Publisher, Inc.

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: 1925.

Principal field workers: Elsie Clews Parsons. ECP notes assistance of Esther Goldfrank, who introduced her to informant Juan Abeita.

Pueblo communities contacted: Isleta.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 203: "It is probable that Isleta stands on or near a site that was occupied in 1540, the year of the Spanish discovery. There is a town tradition about an older site or sites below the mountains to the east, where there are many ruins. The people there 'got crazy talking about how the yellow and red faced people with red hair were coming (i.e., the whites); then they ran away and crossed the river and made Isleta.'"

p. 360: "In the north they were at K'ooaikorikori (spruce?). Travelling southward down the Rio Grande Valley they built small houses. All the Pueblo peoples came out together, but each people had their own ceremonies. At Kaipe'ai (the lake at Taos) the peoples separated. The people who were to go to Shiaw'iba [Isleta] stopped at Pafu'tara, Soai'ai, Paburei, Pahunpeai, Tobeai, To'wira, Paw'i'afea (pond red). When they reached Shiaw'iba, they began to work."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Ethnography of Pueblo of Isleta. Includes historical sketch and discussions of economy, kinship, secular government, ceremonial organization, rituals, calendar. There are also folk tales, Spanish tales, tales of witchcraft, tales of personal experience.

Key words: Ethnography, migration and emergence, ritual, religion traditional history

Key place names: Shiaw'iba.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 1-6-95.

Parsons, Elsie Clews

1994 *Tewa Tales*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. [Reprint of 1926 publication].

Repository: in print.

Date of fieldwork: November 1923-1926.

Principal field workers: Elsie C. Parsons.

Pueblo communities contacted: San Juan, Hano, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 15: "Oweweham 'baiyo lived at Uwipinge all the people (*t'aekitowa*.) The people had moved along Pingkwaiye (Sangre de Cristo Mountains) and along Tsampiripinkwaiye, the west side range (Jemez Mountains). The eastern mountains belonged to the Winter People and the western mountains belonged to the Summer People."

p. 15: (footnote to Uwipinge) "Called more commonly Tekeowinge (*tekeuwinge*, cottonwood bird pueblo place, Harrington, p. 336. It was called *ongwipinge* (*ongwi*, pueblo; *pinge*, in the middle of) Harrington was told, because it was 'centrally situated among the pueblos.' So it is, but other ruins, as Harrington pointed out to his informants, are also central. The fact is that in Tewa myth this was where all the Tewa first lived together after the Emergence and before they separated."

p. 15: "All came down there to Uwipinge. So when they were all down together, they talked about where they were going to make a place to live. So they said, 'From here we ought to find a place to live, wherever we like.' Some said, 'We like Oke'anyebu.' So they said 'Then you will be Oke' (San Juan). Others said, 'We like to be on the other side of the river.' So they gave them a name, Kahpo, Leaf Water (Santa Clara). So others said, 'We like that place, on the other side of the river.' So they gave them the name Pow'oge (San Ildefonso). Others said, 'We like the same river, clear up there, Kibu (Gopher Place).—'Well, you have the name Nambe.' Others said, 'We like way up there, Tatunge, dry ones.'—'You have the name T'et'suge.' The people from down there, they always like to drink water. 'So you have the name Posuwege (Pojoaque).' These six have just one language."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Myths and stories of the Tewa of New Mexico and Arizona.

Key words: Ethnography, emergence, migration, traditional history.

Key place names: Uwipinge; Tekeowinge.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 1-6-95.

Peckham, S. L., and S. L. Wells

1967 *An Inventory of Archaeological Sites at and in the Vicinities of Bandelier National Monument and the Cochiti Dam and Reservoir, New Mexico*. Laboratory of Anthropology Notes No. 80F. Santa Fe, New Mexico: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: Charles H. Lange, Museum of New Mexico personnel, Frederick C.V. Worman, Laboratory of Anthropology personnel, others.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

unnumbered p. 2: "... the areal extent of the reservoir is so confined by the steep-sided Rio Grande gorge that the sites recorded actually occupy only a small area. To note only these sites would not do justice to the true density of prehistoric sites in the area. For this reason the inventory includes sites on adjacent mesa tops and up major tributaries for several miles. Even with these sites noted, the inventory most likely shows only a small percentage of the sites actually present."

unnumbered p. 5: "Where our records permit it, we have indicated the approximate age of the sites through their association with diagnostic pottery types or groups of pottery types. These ceramic groups and their time ranges are as follows:

Ceramic Group	Principal Pottery Types	Time Range
1	Lino Gray, San Marcial B/W	A.D. 750-850
2	Gray neckbanded, Piedra B/W	A.D. 850-950
3	Gray neckbanded, Red Mesa B/W	A.D. 950-1025
4	Gray corrugated, Kwahe'e B/W	A.D. 1025-1175
5	Gray corrugated, Santa Fe B/W	A.D. 1175-1275
6	Gray corrugated, Wiyo B/W	A.D. 1275-1325
7	Gray corrugated, Biscuit A, Rio Grande Glazes A and B	A.D. 1325-1425
8	Gray corrugated, Biscuit B, Rio Grande Glazes C, D, E and F	A.D. 1425-1650
9	Plain red or micaceous utility,	

Tewa Polychrome

A.D. 1650-1750

10

Plain red or micaceous utility,
Puname Polychrome, modern
Pueblo types

A.D. 1750-present"

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This paper is the most complete inventory of archeological sites in Bandelier National Monument prior to the Powers survey of 1985-1991. Mera began the systematic dating of northern Rio Grande sites by ceramic group.

Key words: Archeology, ceramics.

Key place names: Bandelier National Monument, Cochiti Reservoir, Ramon Vigil Grant, Santa Fe National Forest.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-5-97.

Preucel, Robert W.

1988 Seasonal Agricultural Circulation and Residential Mobility: A Prehistoric Example from the Pajarito Plateau, New Mexico. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 14: "The results of this dissertation indicate that seasonal agricultural circulation was a common (at times dominant) form of mobility practiced by the prehistoric puebloan inhabitants of the Pajarito Plateau. Farmers appear to have maintained dual residence, with rights and interests invested in both temporary field shelters and permanent village homes. This strategy appears to have developed in order to bring distant lands under cultivation. These distant fields became needed because of increasing demand at the villages due to population increase. In general, seasonal agricultural circulation can be viewed as a form of agricultural intensification which is particularly well adapted . . . to arid land regions."

p. 268: "The Late Coalition phase can be described as a spread stage of settlement development . . . During this phase, there was a sharp increase in site numbers, which has traditionally been explained as the result of immigration from the Chaco-San Juan region. Due to the high site density and increased competition for agricultural land, a substantial increase in the amount of seasonal agricultural circulation was predicted. That this was the case is indicated both by the abundance and distribution of seasonally occupied sites. The subsistence-settlement system was characterized by many villages, numerous hamlets, a few farming communities, and many field houses. The Late Coalition settlement was widespread across the entire [Pajarito] plateau from Santa Clara Canyon to Cochiti Canyon, focusing primarily on the better areas for agriculture, but also including the more marginal higher elevations. Field houses appear to have been located east and west of villages in order to exploit elevational differentials. In general, these sites tended to be located at farther distances from their associated villages.

The Early Classic phase witnessed a dramatic shift in settlement, with population aggregating into a few large villages (Hunter-Anderson 1979; Preucel 1987). This aggregation was associated with a reduction in site numbers and a substantial increase in average site size. Because of the high population size and high competition, and additional increase in seasonal agricultural circulation was expected. Both the abundance and distribution of seasonally occupied sites conform to this expectation. The subsistence-settlement system was composed of few villages, few hamlets, numerous farming communities, and many field houses. The abundance of field houses may indicate a relatively peaceful existence with little inter-village warfare. The Early Classic settlement was distributed on either side of the Rio Grande from Santa Clara Canyon to Cochiti Canyon. The average distance at which field houses and farming communities were located shows a substantial increase.

The Middle Classic phase, like the previous Early Classic phase, was a period of regional population aggregation (Hunter-Anderson 1979; Preucel 1987). During this phase, there was a

reduction in population and a number of villages were abandoned. The amount of seasonal agricultural circulation was predicted to decrease due to an increase in inter-village competition. Again, this apparently was the case. The subsistence-settlement system was formed of a few large villages, no hamlets, a few farming communities, and a few field houses. The Middle Classic settlement was distributed in a linear fashion parallel to the Rio Grande in areas convenient to intensive floodwater and irrigation farming. Fewer field houses were present, and farming communities were rare. This reduction in the number of seasonally occupied sites may have been due to an increase in inter-village hostilities during this period. Although evidence is lacking for warfare in the plateau proper, there is some evidence for this from the Chama Valley at sites such as Poshu (Jeancon 1923), Ponsipa (Buge 1981), and Te'ewi (Wendorf 1953)."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

pp. 5-6: "This dissertation seeks to contribute to an understanding of the variability associated with prehistoric puebloan mobility strategies. Specifically, it focuses on a particular kind of seasonal movement, here termed seasonal agricultural circulation, which is common cross-culturally among subsistence agriculturalists. Central to this type of movement is dual residence, with farmers dividing their time between their temporary field dwellings and their more permanent home villages...Simply stated [the author] focus[es] on the problem of describing and explaining the changing patterns of seasonal agricultural circulation on the Pajarito Plateau in north central New Mexico."

Key words: Agriculture, archeology, demographics, field house, migration,

Key place names: Pajarito Plateau, Santa Clara Canyon, Cochiti Canyon, Rio Grande.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 10-8-96.

Prince, L. Bradford

1903 *The Stone Lions of Cochiti*. Santa Fe: The New Mexican Printing Company.

Repository: Southwest System Support Office, National Park Service, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: not specified.

Principal field workers: L. Bradford Prince.

Pueblo communities contacted: Cochiti.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 12: "The extent of the ruins of this Pueblo [Pueblo Quemado], and the existence of the sacred Stone Lions as a part of them, have given to this particular spot an interest to the Pueblo Indian himself far beyond that of the other deserted cities . . ."

p. 13: "This great city was the largest of their towns . . ."

p. 14: "Suddenly one night rang out the cry of fire . . . Those who escaped, unwilling longer to live amid the scenes of such calamity, deserted the place and settled in the fertile fields of Cile, on the banks of the Rio Grande, where they built the city of Chah-pah-she . . ."

p. 14: "But a relentless fate pursued them . . . An invading host of strange beings appeared from the far southeast. These were the Pee-nee-nees, a nation of dwarfs . . . whose home was in the famed valley of the Rio Bonito. A war ensued [and] all were destroyed . . ."

p. 17: "Entering the enclosure we immediately see . . . the Two Great Stone Lions."

p. 20: "Little as we know of their origin, there can be no doubt that they were great fetiches connected with the chase, and the sacred Order of Hunters among the ancient Pueblos; and even to this day the huntsmen of Cochiti make pilgrimages to this shrine . . ."

p. 21: "One other figure, somewhat similar in form and general character, exists at a short distance in the direction of Cochiti . . ."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

The first reference is to the Pueblo of the Stone Lions (Pueblo Quemado). Prince repeats this story "as it was told to him" by an informant —presumably the Cochiti Pueblo guide mentioned at the outset. The "other figure" is the stone lion on Round Mesa, subsequently removed by the Maxwell Museum.

Key words: Archeology, stone lions.

Key place names: Cochiti, Pueblo Quemado, Chah-pah-she, Potrero de los Idolos.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-10-97.

Reagan, Albert B.

1927 Notes on Jemez Ethnography. *American Anthropologist* 29:719-728.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: summer and winter 1900. Various dates through 1924.

Principal field workers: A. B. Reagan.

Pueblo communities contacted: Jemez.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

pp. 722-723: "A long, long while ago our people lived in the apartment beneath this one . . . Finally one day a man saw a hole which led up through the roof to this world . . . The mouth of the hole being in the far north, a council was called . . . they began their march over mountains of ice and snow toward the boiling ocean . . . They then resumed their journey, which they continued till they reached the Rio Grande confluence."

p. 723: ". . . they established their places of habitation in narrow canyons, along cliffs, and in caves. In these they lived a great, great while, subsisting on the grain they raised and on the plentiful game. Then the savage hordes began to make inroads into their territory. They killed all the game, or, by their presence, it was made unsafe to hunt. They took the fields one by one. They drove the people to the cliffs and caves . . ."

pp. 724-725: "After Pest-ya-sode [the 'knowing man'] had departed, the people . . . finally became divided. One division came to this valley, the remaining section staying at Pecos . . . In this valley our people built village after village . . . We have built villages on almost every square mile of land in this valley from the Rio Grande river 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."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Reagan contradicts Parsons' assertion that "no white man has visited the kivas of Jemez in recent years." He says he visited them often when he was a government official at Jemez. He describes an election of officers in which he was specifically requested to vote for the nominated governor; thirty other officers were also elected.

Reagan states that the Jemez who dispersed after the Reconquest (1696) went to live with the Navajo and that some who did not return are now a Navajo clan (Maitheshkizh, or Coyote Pass People).

Note that the origin and migration story as set down by Reagan does not refer to Bandelier (Tyuonyi) or to Frijoles Canyon.

Key words: Archeology, emergence, migration, traditional history.

Key place names: Jemez, Pecos, Guadalupe canyon, Canyon of San Diego.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-24-96.

Robinson, William J., and Catherine M. Cameron

1991 *A Directory of Tree-Ring Dated Prehistoric Sites in the American Southwest*. Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, University of Arizona.

Repository: Personal copy of Curtis Schaafsma.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 20: "[State/Quad] NMI00201 [Site name/number] Puye LA 47 [Culture] Rio Grande [Period] P3-P4 [UTM] 13 [East] 389223 [North] 3981624 [Elev] 7000 [T] 2 [S] 0 [R] 3 [Num] 41 [EC] 1543 [Late] 1577"

p. 20: "NMI00301 Tshirege LA 170 Rio Grande P4-P5 13 389296 3965161 6600 2 0 3 31 1559 1581"

p. 21: "NM I04401 Bandelier Gp. M Pueblo P4-P5 13 385000 3959000 6000 2 S 2 1 1494 1494"

p. 21: "NM I04501 Tyuonyi LA 82 Pueblo P4 13 384960 3960260 6100 2 0 3 55 1386 1521"

p. 21: "NM I04601 Rainbow House LA 217 Pueblo P4 13 385543 3959457 6080 2 0 3 18 1451 1458"

p. 21: "NM I04701 Frijolito LA 48 Pueblo P4 13 384642 3960027 6500 3 0 3 12 1426 1460"

p. 21: "NM I04801 Otowi LA 169 Pueblo P4 13 388769 3971377 6650 2 0 3 4 1491"

p. 21: "NM I05001 Tsankawi LA 211 Pueblo P4 13 390331 3969160 6660 2 0 3 2 1439"

Listing by Latest Date

p. 26: "[State/Quad] NM I04701 [Site name/number] Frijolito LA 78 [Culture] Pueblo [Period] P4 [UTM] 13 [East] 384642 [North] 3960027 [Elev] 6500 [T] 2 [S] 0 [R] 3 [Num] 12 [EC] 1426 [Late] 1460 [C]"

Annotated bibliographic entry:

At the time of publication, a list of all tree-ring dated sites in the Southwest.

Key words: Archeology, dendrochronology.

Key place names: Tyuonyi, Otowi, Puye, Rainbow House, Frijolito, Tsankawi, Bandelier.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-18-96.

Rohn, Arthur, William M. Ferguson, and Lisa Ferguson

1989 *Rock Art of Bandelier National Monument*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: not stated.

Principal field workers: Rohn, Ferguson, Ferguson.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 38-39: "The prehistoric Pajaritans created their rock art using several techniques . . . one technique involved the cutting (incising) of lines through plaster surfaces. Although they would be harder, the rock surfaces would sometimes be incised also. More commonly, however, the artist pecked lines into the rock surface using a hand-held hammerstone that left a small indentation with each blow. If the underlying rock color differed from the surface color, as it often did, the contrast showed clearly. If the two colors were similar . . . the figures become visible only when lighting conditions are favorable, usually in the early morning and late afternoon. Traces of paint on some of these figures in Frijoles Canyon and elsewhere suggest many or all of them may originally have been painted to enable their viewers to see them. Within the cave dwellings, heavy smoke blackening on the ceilings and upper walls offered the artists an opportunity for a sharp color contrast since the underlying native volcanic tuff was essentially white."

p. 39: "In keeping with historic Pueblo Indian ideas and values, we suspect the vast majority of their ancestors' artistry in and around Bandelier National Monument depicted elements from nature and the supernatural world . . . Spirit figures possessed many humanoid characteristics. One major group of such spirits, the kachinas, regularly visited the pueblos where masked dancers impersonated them."

p. 40: "Frijoles Canyon people probably followed the system of dual responsibility for the management of ceremonial and day-to-day pueblo affairs similar to the Summer People/Winter People dichotomy of the modern Pueblo Indians."

p. 40: "Long House has five distinct room clusters . . . we suspect each room cluster housed persons related to one another through a real or legendary ancestor (lineage or clan). Each lineage would belong to one or the other dual division."

p. 40: "Pecked into the cliff face above the west end of this plaza is a panel of eight masks . . . probably faces of kachinas."

p. 59: "The most extensive panel of rock art in Long House occupies the cliff wall at the back side of the plaza. It consists of a dozen kachina figures, two masks, eight serpents, five birds, one animal, and two circles with crosses or stylized eagles in flight at their centers. The kachina figure above Room 77/3 appears to be riding a cloud symbol and thus may represent a Cloud Kachina. . . . A large excised aquatic bird, possibly a swan, next to this kachina's head seems to have a handle extending from its upper neck to its back . . . All eight serpents in this panel run vertically . . ."

p. 60: "The rock art figures of Long House can be characterized into several broad groupings. One group obviously has been modelled on the human form . . . These humanlike figures in some instances almost certainly represent spiritual beings such as kachinas . . . Some specific identifies [sic] are recognizable—mudheads, Squash and Cloud kachinas . . . The many renditions of human faces seem to represent masks, most likely kachina masks. . . . Animal forms make up another major set of figures. Virtually all of these can be seen as serpents, birds, mammals or nonspecific creatures . . . Some of the birds are clearly turkeys, other ducks, crows, doves, or eagles in flight . . . the figure of a macaw occupies the rear wall of a shallow recess . . . Some mammals are equally recognizable, such as dogs, deer and chipmunks . . . A number of serpents have been rendered realistically enough to represent clearly snakes of some kind . . . The third primary category of figures in the rock art at Long House consists of geometric figures . . . The so-called shield figures on the cliffs at Long House would easily fit the use of 'shields' by the historic Pueblos—as symbols of social or religious identification . . ."

p. 82: "All the visible surviving rock art at Tsankawi occurs among the talus houses and cavates along the south cliff face . . . The ubiquitous humpback flute player [Kokopelli] . . . appears frequently along the Tsankawi cliffs . . . Kokopelli figures are found in rock art scattered widely throughout the American Southwest, although not at Long House in Frijoles Canyon . . . Animal forms shown in the Rock Art include serpents, birds, and mammals . . . Plants may be seen among Tsankawi's rock art. One unmistakable corn plant is grasped in the hand of one of a group of kachina figures. This association would seem to identify the kachina as a Corn Dancer . . . True geometric figures occur at Tsankawi in contrast to their use as stylized life forms at Long House . . ."

p. 105: Animal figures in Painted Cave show the greatest identifiable variety on the Pajarito Plateau. Many of the readily recognizable creatures fit most closely into modern or at least post-Spanish contact styles. A graceful bull elk . . . A back and white painted horse . . . A nearby black and white painted turkey and two black kangaroo-like animals were painted in the same realistic style and probably belong to the post-Spanish era. A row of three realistic wolves (or Spanish war dogs) with tongues hanging out, a large snail with spiral (shell) on its back, and the head of some unnatural creature further reflect the realistic style of more recent times."

p. 132: ". . . the rock art at Bandelier and neighboring sites provides useful case study because we can place so much of it in both chronological and cultural context. Most of the figures and panels stand next to houses or agricultural fields, or even inside houses, kivas and shrines. Archaeological investigations have shown that the ancient Anasazi lived in the sites of the Pajarito Plateau from the late 1200s into the early 1500s."

pp. 132-133: "The style basically portrays life forms or mythical figures modeled on life forms. These figures show varying degrees of stylization . . . Equally significant to this style are those qualities that are missing. There are no scenes from real life. Purely geometric forms do not occur . . . Of greatest interest to this study, however, was the discovery that the rock art varied in its expression from one functional context to another. Undoubtedly this demonstrates how important the setting is to the rock art itself. Even though the figures and symbols probably reflected a similar meaning wherever they occurred, the context added further dimensions to that meaning. Inside some houses household guardians may have lived. Outside, other figures may have marked kin-group ceremonial spaces and symbolized their histories. Near the agricultural fields stood crop guardians and many of the wildlife forms that lived there. Within the sacred places were illustrated some of the stories from which Pueblo life itself took its meaning."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This overview of rock art at Bandelier National Monument concentrates on Long House, and also describes rock art at Tsankawi, Tsirege, Mortandad Canyon, Ancho Canyon, Otowi (i.e., Potsuwi), Painted Cave, Shrine of the Stone Lions and White Rock Canyon. As indicated above, direct observation and interpretation of rock art is used as a basis for conclusions about the religious and social organization of Frijoles Canyon (after A.D. 1300). The authors also assume similarities between prehistoric religious and social organization and that of the modern Rio Grande pueblos. Some basic differences in iconography at Frijoles and Tsankawi could be taken to suggest different origins or ethnicity (see Olsen).

Key words: Archeology; pictographs, petroglyphs, shrine.

Key place names: Frijoles Canyon, Bandelier National Monument, Long House, Tsankawi, Tsirege, Mortandad Canyon, Ancho Canyon, Otowi, Painted Cave, Shrine of the Stone Lions, Yapashe.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-11-97.

Rothman, Hal

1988 *Bandelier National Monument: An Administrative History*. Santa Fe: Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Southwest Region, National Park Service.

Repository: National Park Service, Southwest Systems Support Office, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblos communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

[These notes refer only to direct involvement of Pueblo communities in the creation and management objectives of Bandelier National Monument, as described by Rothman.]

p. 1: "The establishment of the Bandelier National Monument in 1916 was a direct result of conflicting pressures on the limited space of the Pajarito Plateau. Archaeologists, homesteaders, stockmen and the Santa Fe business community all had a stake in the region. Each group thought it use should take precedence and none retreated from its position."

p. 18: "the USFS created the Bandelier National Monument as a way to circumvent the attempts to create a national park on the Pajarito Plateau . . . The rights of Native American also proved an insurmountable obstacle." [This last statement is repeated on page 6 as well].

p. 5: In 1903, Clinton J. Crandall, Superintendent of Santa Fe Indian School and agent for the Pueblos, petitioned the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to expand the boundaries of Santa Clara Pueblo. The area included some of the land proposed by the House Public Lands Committee for a park on the Pajarito Plateau.

p. 7: General Land Office Special Agent Stephen J. Holsinger dismissed the Santa Clara request on the basis that as an agriculturally based community they did not need additional pasture land. He supported the creation of the national park, however.

p. 23: Santiago Naranjo, Governor of Santa Clara Pueblo met with Herbert W. Gleason, a Department of the Interior inspector, during the summer of 1919, with respect to the creation of a national park. During the meetings, Naranjo voiced opposition to some of the privileges extended to Edgar Hewett and other archaeologists with respect to excavations of Pueblo sites, specifically Puye.

p. 25: The issue of inclusion of Santa Clara lands in the proposed national park would split the Pueblo badly.

pp. 42-43: Santa Clara Pueblo remained firm in its commitment to retain Puye. Finally in a "refocused" policy the NPS proposed that they manage the site, while Santa Clara receive the revenues and retain veto powers over archaeological investigations.

p. 43: On February 11, 1932, Santa Clara Pueblo voted unanimously against turning Puye over to the National Park Service.

p. 44: The issue of Puye and the NPS acquisition attempts were only part of the story. In part, the Pueblo's opposition was orchestrated by Ed Lowrie of the Brookings Institute which was involved in "studying the problem of law and order in the pueblos." Lowrie saw the factionalization of the Santa Claras as the greatest obstacle to the future development of the Pueblo, and he decided that the best way to get them to put aside their differences was to find a common adversary for them. The failure to acquire Puye was the end of the NPS conception of an archaeological park on the Pajarito Plateau.

p. 104: During the 1948 excavations of ruins in Frijoles Canyon by Frederick C. V. Worman, "Romalo [sic] Cordero, a Cochiti Indian on the NPS staff, named the ruins 'Rainbow House.'"

pp. 107-109: In the 1970s NPS planned to develop new attractions to lessen pressure on Frijoles Canyon. Tours were planned to Kotyiti, Painted Cave and San Miguel Pueblo .

p. 109: "The new sites showed pueblo life in the historic period and validated the argument that the members of the other northern pueblos—particularly the Cochiti, Santa Clara, and San Ildefonso groups—were the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Pajarito Plateau."

p. 161: from the Proclamation establishing Bandelier National Monument [No. 1322, Feb. 11, 1916, 39 State 1764]

"Whereas, certain prehistoric aboriginal ruins situated upon public lands of the United States, within the Santa Fe National Forest, in the State of New Mexico, are of unusual ethnologic, scientific, and educational interest, and it appears 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, as a National Monument . . ."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

An administrative history of the legislation, National Park Service management and interpretation of Bandelier National Monument. An appendix contains selected legislation related to the creation of the Monument. Rothman summarizes the political, ideological, and environmental conflicts that attended the creation of the monument. It is clear from the report, and the referenced legislation, that the management focus in the past has been on natural and cultural resources and not on relationships between the National Park Service lands and culturally affiliated communities. Rothman's history shows that the influence of the modern pueblos on the development of Bandelier National Monument has been extremely limited.

Key words: Antiquities legislation, administrative history, archeological history, environmental history.

Key place names: Bandelier National Monument.

Recorded by: Frances Levine, 3-11-1997

Schaafsma, Polly

1972 *Rock Art in New Mexico*. Santa Fe: State Planning Office.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: ca. 1971

Principal field workers: Polly Schaafsma, Curtis Schaafsma, Karl Kernberger.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

pp. 146-147 "Many of these incised figures [masks] were recorded by Chapman (1938) from El Rito de los Frijoles, supposedly inhabited by Keres Indians (Hewett 1904:632). Wall drawings from Tsankawi and other Tewa sites on the Pajarito Plateau do not differ appreciably from those in Frijoles Canyon. Elements consist of varied and complex masks as well as full-fledged katchina figures, animals, birds, serpents, terraced altars, and geometric designs, the latter occurring in bands and thus reminiscent of textile and ceramic patterns (Chapman 1938:142). Thus it appears that a much richer representation of the ceremonial life of the Pajaritans appears in the small incised drawings in wall plaster that [sic] are pictured on the cliffs of the same region."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Schaafsma's survey of pictographs and petroglyphs embodies the widely accepted distinction between Frijoles Canyon, representing sites ancestral to Keresan pueblos, and the area of Tsankawi and the northern Pajarito Plateau, with sites ancestral to the Tewa pueblos. The iconographies of the two regions, however, do not differ appreciably, according to Schaafsma.

Key words: Archeology, pictographs, petroglyphs.

Key place names: Frijoles Canyon, Pajarito Plateau, Tsankawi.

Recorded by: Frances Levine, 3-11-1997.

Scheick, Cherie (editor)

1996 A Study of Pre-Columbian and Historic Uses of the Santa Fe National Forest: Competition and Alliance in the Northern Middle Rio Grande, vol. 1, The Archaeological and Historical Cultural Resources. Ms. on file, Office of the Superintendent, Santa Fe National Forest, Santa Fe.

Repository: Southwestern Region, Santa Fe National Forest, USDA Forest Service, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 136: "In terms of population movement, both Anschuetz (1984, 1987:154) and Habicht-Mauche (1990:90) view upland area settlement during the late Coalition-early Classic transition as partly from wetter than average precipitation cycles, thereby increasing the potential of a successful harvest in cooler elevation settings. Both investigators also acknowledge the role of heightened demographic stress resulting from large-scale thirteenth-century immigration of Pueblo people into the northern Rio Grande region from the greater Four Corners area and the upper Little Colorado drainage."

p. 136: "... she [Habicht-Mauche] views the increased aggregation into quadrangular villages with few outside entryways as a behavioral response to provide populations 'with greater security and defense in light of increasing competition and conflict for arable land.' Moreover, Habicht-Mauche (1990:91, also, see Anschuetz 1984, 1987) contends late Coalition aggregation into defensible villages accompanied increased social segmentation of the natural landscape, as evidenced by the dramatic proliferation of local black-on-white pottery styles. In the context of fluctuating precipitation cycles, greater regional population levels, and differentiation of material culture, Habicht-Mauche suggests village clusters, such as in the Santa Fe area, might 'represent emerging ethnic alliances bound by loose networks of kinship ties and reciprocal social obligations' (1990:91)."

p. 156: "Many researchers working in the northern middle Rio Grande remark on the apparent rapid influx of population into the region over the span of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Mera 1935, 1940; Reed 1949; Eggan 1950; Hewett 1953; Stubbs and Stallings 1953; Wendorf and Reed 1955; Cordell 1979a; Cordell and Plog 1979; Stuart and Gauthier 1981; Peckham 1984). Much attention traditionally focused on immigrant identity, with many scholars arguing the central San Juan Basin and northern San Juan drainage were the principal population donor areas with an additional influx of people from west-central New Mexico toward the end of the thirteenth century . . . Nonetheless, some researchers steadfastly maintain observed demographic change might be attributable to indigenous population growth (Steen 1977) . . . Beginning with the Cochiti Reservoir study of the middle and late 1970s, however, investigators working in the Pajarito Plateau district increasingly address the question of demographic expansion through processual studies of changing subsistence and social organizational patterns . . ."

p. 156: "In general, the greatest density of Coalition archaeological properties occurs on the dissected mesas surrounding Bandelier National Monument . . . Biella supposes the contrasting residential

patterns might 'represent different structural poses of social behavior, each of which comprised contemporarily interactive social segments of the [Coalition] social system . . ."

p. 163: "The late Coalition brought major change in settlement patterning across the Pajarito Plateau. Communal pueblos, such as Burnt Mesa Pueblo, appeared for the first time . . . Site density increased . . . Orcutt and associates (1990) note because the population growth rate indicated by settlement pattern changes exceeds the biological limits of human populations, this explosive late thirteenth-century population growth may have resulted from sustained immigration from other locales."

p. 165: "The Classic period extends from A.D. 1325 to 1600. Dominating area settlement is 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."

p. 167: "Steen (1977:20) notes most rock art panels occur nearby [sic] the large late sites. For the purposes of our discussion, it is most important to note stylistic analyses by contemporary researchers support archaeological interpretation [sic] the Rito de los Frijoles marks a divide between early Keres populations to the south and Tewa groups to the north . . ."

p. 167: "The greatest number of Classic period site components occur in the early phase (A.D. 1325-1400/1450) of the period. Raw site counts continue to decline over the span of the middle (A.D. 1400/1450-1550) and late (A.D. 1550-1600) phases, as population moved out of the area over the 150 years preceding Spanish contact . . ."

p. 169: "In their evaluation of the Pajarito Plateau archaeological record, Crown and associates (1990; also Orcutt 1991) confirm Steen's observation Classic period settlement patterns include the shift from a broad range of mesatop elevations to an increasing focus on lower settings over time."

p. 171: "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 . . . Tsirege 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 . . . People of these pueblos remember many of the large pre-Columbian and Protohistoric villages as ancestral places in their respective community histories...For example, 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 (see Preucel 1988:142)."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This report, contracted by the Santa Fe National Forest to Southwest Archaeological Consultants, Inc. in 1990, is an update of Linda Cordell's 1979 cultural resources overview of the Middle Rio Grande Valley. The report is designed to synthesize the pre-Columbian history and the history of the region.

Key words: Archeology, demographics, migration.

Key place names: Pajarito Plateau, Tsirege, Rito de los Frijoles, Burnt Mesa Pueblo, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Cochiti.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-27-96.

Sedgewick, Mary K.

1926 *Acoma, the Sky City*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: c. 1925.

Principal field workers: Mary K. Sedgewick.

Pueblo communities contacted: Acoma

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. ix: "... they [Acoma and Laguna] nevertheless own kinship with Sia, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and Cochiti, who all claim the famous Rito de los Frijoles for their ancestral home."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This is a book written for a general audience. The above statement is quoted by Akins (q.v.) but is not attributed to any informant.

Key words: Cultural affiliation, ethnography.

Key place names: Acoma, Rito de los Frijoles.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-10-96.

Simons, Suzanne Lee

1969 *Sandia Pueblo: Persistence and Change in a New Mexican Indian Community*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1992.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: ca. 1966-68.

Principal field workers: S. L. Simons.

Pueblo communities contacted: Sandia Pueblo.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 57: "It would be impossible to give a reliable quantitative description of grandparental origins or to state how many in the second ascending generation were Sandia members. Most Sandias are neither interested in nor capable of tracing genealogies back very far."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This dissertation discusses Sandia social organization and tries to explain why and how the community has continued to exist despite its dependence on local and regional industry. There is no discussion of prehistory.

Key words: Ethnography.

Key place names: Sandia Pueblo.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-19-97.

Smiley, Terah L., Stanley A. Stubbs, and Bryant Bannister

1953 *A Foundation for the Dating of Some Late Archaeological Sites in the Rio Grande Area, New Mexico: Based on Studies in Tree-Ring Methods and Pottery Analyses.* University of Arizona Bulletin. Tucson: University of Arizona.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 20: "LA:78 Frijolito. A medium pueblo on the mesa south of Frijoles Canyon.

Dates—

No provenience given, 1431, two at 1447."

p. 21: "LA:82 Tyuonyi. A large pueblo in Frijoles Canyon, located about 1/4 mile up canyon from the National Monument buildings.

Dates—

Tier 7, Room A, 1383+

Tier 8, Room A, two at 1426C.

Tier 12, Room B, subfloor, 1412+.

Tier 14, Room G, subfloor, 1413+C.

Tier 16, Room A, subfloor, 1405+C, 1422+.

Tier 16, Room F, subfloor, 1466.

Tier 16, Room G, level 3, 1420+.

Tier 17, Room B, 1401.

Tier 17, Room F, 1420+C.

Sector C (1942), 1466C.

Miscellaneous material (1931 collection), 1411, 1420+, 1441, 1463+.

Summary of dates: Sixteen dates at 1383+ to 1466C. Four dates at 1420+ to 1422+, two at 1466."

p. 26: "LA:217 Rainbow House. A medium pueblo in Frijoles Canyon, located about 1/2 mile down canyon from Tyuonyi.

Dates -

No provenience given, 1421+, 1427C, 1439, 1447, nine at 1448 (2B and 6C), five at 1451 (2B and 3C), two at 1453.

Summary of dates: Twenty dates at 1421+ to 1453. There is good concentration at 1448 and 1451."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Materials resulting from research by the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research at the University of Arizona and the Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico.

Key words: Archeology, dendrochronology

Key place names: Tyuonyi, Tshirege, Rainbow House, Bandelier National Monument.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-18-96.

Snow, David H.

1971 *The Excavation of Saltbush Pueblo, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico*. Laboratory of Anthropology Note No. 97. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: August-September, 1971.

Principal field workers: D. H. Snow, John R. Stein, Mark Jory, Geoffrey Melrose, George West.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 1: "Ceramic evidence, corroborated by both archeo-magnetic and tree-ring dates, suggest a short occupation of the site spanning the years approximately A.D. 1175-1250."

p. 68: "The keyhole kiva at Saltbush Pueblo is, of course, reminiscent of the San Juan Anasazi, and its construction here may have been directly stimulated by Chaco migrants, probably of Mesa Verde affiliation."

p. 69: "Archeologists working in the Rio Grande have for many years suspected a Mesa Verde immigration into the area during the mid-to-late thirteenth century, and have looked at specific items of material culture (such as Galisteo Black-on-white) as evidence of such an immigration. The addition of the southern recess to the kiva at Saltbush is the kind of evidence that has been sought to support the suspected Mesa Verdean movement. The recess can be considered *prima facie* evidence for Mesa Verde influence at the site. . ."

p. 70: "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. Hayes (1964) noted that . . . 'a new site location used during this period [McElmo Phase] is at the foot of the upper cliff at the top of the talus' . . . The parallel with the situation in Frijoles Canyon is, I believe significant . . ."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

This 1971 excavation was a salvage project. The report discusses a remodeled kiva and attributes the remodel to "immigrants, or the arrival of new ideas, or both" (p. 1) without resolving the issue.

Key words: Archeology, ceramics, migration.

Key place names: Rio Grande, Frijoles Canyon.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-10-96.

Stallings, W. S. Jr.

1933 A Tree-Ring Chronology for the Rio Grande Drainage in Northern New Mexico.
Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 19(9): 803-806.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1931.

Principal field workers: not given.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 805: "Frijolito (78); 1447
Tyuonyi (82); 1440 + X, estimated 1480 +/- 10; to 1574."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

"The building of the chronology was made possible by a research project initiated in June of 1931 by the Laboratory of Anthropology for the primary purpose of dating Pueblo ruins and cultural material in the Rio Grande drainage in northern New Mexico . . . Credit is . . . due to several institutions and many individuals who have contributed material or otherwise given valuable assistance."

Key words: Archeology, dendrochronology.

Key place names: Rio Grande, Frijolito, Tyuonyi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-4-97.

Stallings, W. S. Jr.

1937 *Southwestern Dated Ruins: I.* Tree-Ring Bulletin. Tucson: Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1931.

Principal field workers: not given.

Pueblo communities contacted: Laguna, Acoma, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Taos, Cochiti, Santa Ana.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

pp. 4-5: "L.A. 78 Frijolito Pueblo IV [number of specimens] 4 1447
L.A. 82 Tyuonyi Pueblo IV [number of specimens] 10 1423 +x-1513."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

The Tree-Ring Bulletin published original tree-ring data. The samples from which the cited dates were taken were collected by the Laboratory of Anthropology in 1931.

Historic dates from the pueblos noted above are also presented in this report.

Key words: Archeology, dendrochronology.

Key place names: Tyuonyi, Frijolito.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 2-4-97.

Steen, Charlie R.

1977 *Pajarito Plateau Archaeological Survey and Excavations*. LASL-77-4. Los Alamos, New Mexico: Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory of the University of California.

Repository: Authors' collection.

Date of fieldwork: March 1973-July 1975.

Principal field workers: Charlie R. Steen.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 3: "The area involved extends from Guaje Canyon on the north to Frijoles Canyon on the south."

p. 6: "Late in the 13th century, at the beginning of intensive occupation of the Pajarito Plateau, the population seems to have been pretty evenly spread on the mesitas. By the latter part of the 14th century, the Indians tended to build larger housing units and to live at somewhat lower elevations. Then, by the 15th century, the small farmsteads and villages appear to have been abandoned and the population was concentrated in the large settlements such as Tshirege, Tsankawi, and Otowi and in villages clustered around plaza sites . . . None of the Pajarito houses or villages, large or small, seems to have been fortified against human enemies."

p. 7: "It was probably late in the 13th century that the unpopulated Pajarito had an influx of puebloan settlers. The mesitas soon had a sprinkling of house blocks . . . The predominant painted pottery found on the surface at these small sites is Santa Fe Black on White which has been dated at A.D. 1225-1350 (Stubbs and Stalling 1953)."

p. 8: "At some unknown time, these little settlements began to grow, and the usual pattern for house blocks then became a double or triple row of rooms . . ."

p. 8: "About the time that the biscuit wares (Kidder 1915) began to be made, in the latter part of the 14th century (Breternitz 1966), several changes occurred in the settlement patterns and, apparently, in the religious practices of the people of the Pajarito Plateau . . . the higher elevations seem to have been abandoned, and the population congregated on the lower (eastern) parts of the mesitas . . . The well-known large sites, Tshirege, Otowi, and Navawi, probably were started at this time."

p. 8: "Apparently at the time the larger villages were constructed, the people also began to dig the cavate rooms in southward facing cliffs on the Pajarito Plateau. The cavate rooms . . . and the attendant masonry rooms built on the talus slopes of the canyon walls all seem to belong to the same period as the larger villages . . . One other aspect of culture on the Pajarito Plateau that seems to belong to this period is the pictographic art applied to the canyon walls and to the interiors of many cavate rooms."

p. 13: "Villages with kivas in central plazas and with eastern entries are fairly common . . . Tyuonyi in Frijoles Canyon is a large version of this sort of village."

pp. 13-14: "The large sites, Tshirege, Otowi, and Little Otowi, which are within the survey area, and

Tyuonyi, Tsankawi, and Navawi, which are on National Park Service and San Ildefonso Pueblo lands, 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."

p. 41: "Snow (1974) excavated a Mesa Verde type kiva at Salt Bush Pueblo in Frijoles Canyon. The dominant painted pottery at Salt Bush Pueblo was Santa Fe Black on White. Nothing like that has been found on the Pajarito Plateau north of Frijoles Canyon . . ."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

First report of archeological salvage excavations on Los Alamos Scientific [later National] Laboratory lands by Charlie R. Steen, formerly Chief Archeologist, Southwest Region, National Park Service. Steen had retired from the Park Service when he did this work, and was acting as a consultant to LAST.

In this report and the subsequent one, Steen describes the settlement and population expansion of the Pajarito Plateau as a local phenomenon (see below), although Bandelier and Hewett earlier, and Powers later, conclude that migrants were responsible for the population growth of the coalition period. Steen's work is all north of Frijoles Canyon; although he refers to Bandelier National Monument, his conclusions are drawn mainly from observations on the northern and eastern plateau.

Key words: Archeology, demographics, excavations.

Key place names: Tshirege, Otowi, Navawi, Guaje Canyon, Tyuonyi, Pajarito Plateau, Frijoles Canyon.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-8-96.

Steen, Charlie R.

1982 *Pajarito Plateau Archaeological Surveys and Excavations, II*. LA-8860-NEAP. Los Alamos, New Mexico: Los Alamos National Laboratory.

Repository: Authors' collection..

Date of fieldwork: 1979-1981.

Principal field workers: Charlie R. Steen.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 1: "Los Alamos National Laboratory continues its archaeological program of data gathering and salvage excavations...Evidence indicates that the local Puebloan population was the result of an expansion of upper Rio Grande peoples, not an influx of migrants."

p. 54: "... what I meant was only ... a small part of the [Pajarito] Plateau—from Pueblo Canyon to Frijoles Mesa. This area is generally conceded to have been occupied by ancestral Tewa (Lange and Riley, 1966) and the large portion of the Plateau from Frijoles Canyon south was Keres country ... In addition to their being a linguistic boundary at Frijoles Canyon, there might easily have been a separation of custom and, to some extent, of material culture."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Second part of a report of surveys and excavations on the Pajarito Plateau, as defined above. These reports were written pursuant to a program of archeological data recovery conducted by Los Alamos National Laboratory.

Key words: Archeology, demographics, excavations.

Key place names: Pajarito Plateau, Mesita del Buy, Melita de Los Alamos.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-8-96.

Strong, Pauline Turner

1979 San Felipe Pueblo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Repository: Authors' collection.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 392: "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 Valley by the end of the fourteenth century (Ford, Schroeder and Peckham 1972:34-36)."

p. 392: San Felipe and Cochiti traditions, as recorded and interpreted by Bandelier (1890-92, 2:166, 188) stated that the ancestors of San Felipe and Cochiti were one people who lived together at various successive villages. The last village inhabited jointly was Kuapa . . ."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Article in *Handbook of North American Indians*. Strong cites White (1932) as "the only source specifically on San Felipe Pueblo."

Key words: Ethnography, Keresan.

Key place names: Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, San Felipe, Cochiti.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-9-96.

Stubbs, Stanley A.

1950 *Bird's-Eye View of the Pueblos*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1948.

Principal field workers: S. A. Stubbs.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a. The documentation is based on aerial photographs. Stubbs does not discuss contact with the communities.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 23: "The village [Taos] visited by Alvarado in 1540 is not the same as the present one . . ."

p. 26: "Traditional stories tell of the burning of the old town [Taos], probably in 1693 or 1694."

p. 31: "Spanish chronicles indicate that Sandia was one of the pueblos of the Province of Tiguex (Tiwa) visited by Coronado in 1540. The old part of the village, now largely reduced to mounds and rows of foundation stones, is mainly between the church and the highway. Most of the inhabitants are reported to have fled to the Hopi country at the time of the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, and to have remained there until 1742 . . . the Hopi name for the village is Payupki, which is also the name for a ruined village located on the Second Hopi Mesa, built and occupied, according to tradition, by Indian refugees from the Rio Grande area after the Pueblo Revolt."

p. 35: "Whether Isleta occupies the same site as the village of that name in 1540 is uncertain . . . Since Isleta was refounded after the Reconquest, the present village can be said to date after that time."

p. 55: "Sherds found within the pueblo [San Juan] and on the adjacent mounds indicate that the site has been occupied since about 1300."

p. 63: "Two circular kivas are located outside the plaza [of Cochiti]. The sandy point of the hills overlooking the bottom lands of the Rio Grande has been occupied for at least 700 years."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

p. xii: Stubbs mentions the Historic American Buildings Survey project of 1934 and its recording of Laguna and Acoma. He adds that all the pueblos should be recorded. "Such a project to cover all of the pueblos would be most desirable, preferably under a long-term government program. In some instances, however, even the federal government would be balked by the reluctance of the Indians to permit any survey work within their villages . . . Since such studies are lacking, and since it is impossible to map many of the pueblo villages from the ground, it was suggested that vertical aerial photographs be taken, and from these the plan of each village be prepared."

Most of Stubbs's discussion, as may be seen, deals with history rather than prehistory.

Key words: Architecture (Pueblo).

Key place names: All extant pueblos.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-14-97.

Swadesh, Morris

1967 Linguistic Classification in the Southwest. In *Studies in Southwestern Ethnolinguistics*, edited by Dell Hymes and William E. Bittle. The Hague: Mouton and Co.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 291: "In 1956 (Swadesh), points of contact were noted with the Penutian languages of the Pacific coast and with a series of Mexican and South American languages in a tentative grouping provisionally called Macro-Penutian."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

An overview and tentative classification of Southwestern languages.

Key words: linguistics.

Key place names: Zuni.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-14-97.

Swentzell, Rina

1991 Levels of Truth: Southwest Archaeologists and Anasazi/Pueblo People. In *Puebloan Past and Present: Essays in Honor of Stewart Peckham*, edited by M. S. Duran and D. T. Kirkpatrick, pp. 177-182. The Archaeological Society of New Mexico No. 17. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 177: "... the Southwestern archaeological community does not, as a general practice, bring together the logical, scientific process of the archaeological profession, and the intuitive, spiritual knowing of modern Pueblo people ..."

p. 178: "for Pueblo people simultaneous levels of truth and experience are part of daily reality and understanding; Pueblo people examine the whole of Pueblo existence, and do not draw distinctions between Anasazi and Pueblo or between Taos and Zuni. Archaeologists seek to construct *the* truth from evidence and assumptions, supressing intuitive knowledge."

p. 180 "The Pueblo culture, obviously, cannot be directly transposed on the old Anasazi culture, because cultures transform through time. But, because of the persistence of traditional stories, languages, and lifestyles in the Pueblo communities, it cannot be denied that modern Pueblo people are closer to the sensibilities of the Anasazi world than are Western-European archaeologists."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Swentzell, a member of Santa Clara Pueblo and an architectural historian, contrasts the philosophy and world view of Pueblo traditional history with the rational, scientific basis of Southwestern archeology. Swentzell's perspective provides insight into the distinctions that archeologists and Pueblo peoples use to construct cultural affiliation. Swentzell suggests a patnership between archeologists and Pueblo peoples to uncover meaning in the archeological record.

Key words: Archeology, cultural affiliation, traditional history.

Key place names: n.a.

Recorded by: Frances Levine, 3-11-1997.

Trager, George L.

1967 The Tanoan Settlement of the Rio Grande Area: A Possible Chronology. In *Studies in Southwestern Ethnolinguistics: Meaning and History in the Languages of the American Southwest*, edited by Dell H. Hymes and William E. Bittle. The Hague: Mouton and Co.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 335: "The known linguistic relations of the Tanoans as a whole and of the subgroups Tiwas, Tewa, and Towa; and the characteristics of these languages as indicators of relative chronology, are here set forth so that they may be correlated with archeological data and the known history and ethnography of the upper Rio Grande valley in New Mexico. On the assumption that the linguistically isolated Zuni and Keres are most logically to be considered relics of the early inhabitants, and that therefore the principal cultural traditions preceding the various Pueblo cultures were developed by the ancestors of the Zuni and Keres, it is postulated that the late-coming Tanoan speakers must have been puebloized and must have separated into the subgroups in a certain chronological order. This sequence fits in well with the latest archeological conclusions about the area for the years since about 900 . . ."

p. 337: "I consider Taos and Picuris as two separate languages constituting a northern Tiwa 'language subgroup,' and Sandia and Isleta as two dialects of a Southern Tiwa language."

p. 340: "I suggest, then, that Kiowa-Tanoan separated from Uto-Aztecan somewhere between 2000 and 1000 B.C. Sometime in the next two millennia or so Kiowa and Tanoan separated from each other (1 A.D.-500 A.D.). The Tanoan speakers first broke up into the linguistic ancestors of the Jemez as against the rest of the family, between 500 and 750. The other Tanoans may well have remained speakers of a single language for another 250 years or more. About 800-900 years ago, Tewa and Tiwa were separated, and not much later the Southern Tiwa began to exhibit their differences from northern Tiwa. Taos and Picuris were separated from each other about 700 years ago."

p. 347: "The linguistic isolation of the Keresan speakers suggests that they may have been the people who were already settled in the Rio Grande area by 700 and who developed the typical Rio Grande complex.

The Zuni, also linguistically isolated in the Southwest, but in a different way from the Keresans, since there seems to be a connection with Penutian, may be supposed to have come into their area before the beginning of the Christian era. We postulate that the Anasazi cultural tradition was developed by the ancestors of the Zuni. (In passing, we may state the belief that the Hopi, with their close linguistic relation to 'Desert' Uto-Aztecan tribes, were very late arrivals who took over some Zuni-like settlements.)

Meanwhile the Kiowa-Tanoans had come down from the northern plains to what is now eastern Colorado or perhaps eastern New Mexico."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Trager offers a theory of aboriginal linguistic relationships and population movements in the Southwest. See Hale 1979 for a more carefully qualified view.

Key words: Linguistics, demography.

Key place names: Rio Grande, Utah, New Mexico, Colorado.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-17-97.

Turney, John Francis

1955 Otowi Section Survey. Ms. on file, National Park Service, Southwest System Support Office, Santa Fe.

Repository: Southwest System Support Office, National Park Service, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: c. 1955.

Principal field workers: J. F. Turney.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 37: "Sankawi Ruin (Saekewikwaje Onewikoge, Pueblo Ruin at the gap of the small sharp cactus), is located on the widest part of a long, high mesa, 1/2 mile due east of the White Rock road at an elevation of 6,677 feet."

p. 38: "According to the percentages of sherd types, this site seems to have been occupied from circa 1300 to at least the middle of the sixteenth century. The largest concentration of sherds would place this large ruin as being occupied from approximately 1400 to 1550. The latest tree ring date in the vicinity is 1581 A.D. (Tsirege) so possibly Sankawi was also occupied until slightly later than the middle 1500's.

Strangely enough no Wiyo black-on-white sherds were found.

Hewett found 40 burials in two small mounds at Sankawi and 32 from the main cemetery."

p. 14 [N.B. there are three different paginations in the report]: "Hewett (Hewett, 1938, p. 46) and Harrington (*Ethnography* [sic] of the Tewa Indians) have suggested by myths and tradition of the San Ildefonso Indians that the people that once occupied Sankawi and Otowi, Pueblos, which is now part of the Otowi section of Bandelier National Monument, were ancestors of the San Ildefonso people."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Unpublished report of archeological survey of the Otowi Section, Bandelier National Monument. The information regarding the cultural affiliation between this area and San Ildefonso is based on the work of Hewett and Harrington.

Key words: Archeology.

Key place names: Otowi, Sankawi.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 3-20-97.

Wendorf, Fred, and Erik K. Reed

1955 An Alternative Reconstruction of Northern Rio Grande Prehistory. *El Palacio* 62:131-173.
Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: n.a.

Principal field workers: n.a.

Pueblo communities contacted: n.a.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 161: "The present authors and others are largely in agreement as to the major sources of upper Rio Grande aboriginal population and culture:

(1) A basic Anasazi or Anasazi-like people in 'Developmental' times, differing in many details from the San Juan Anasazi culture but essentially quite similar in general; small sites and apparently few sites, no large numbers before the Thirteenth Century.

(2) The introduction of organic paint in black-on-white pottery—around about A.D. 1200—not requiring and sizable migration.

(3) The arrival in the zone between Santa Fe and Albuquerque of people of the Mesa Verde phase of northwestern New Mexico and southwestern Colorado, with Galisteo black-on-white, about A.D. 1300; and survivors from the Gallina presumably coming in somewhere, possibly in the same general area or in the Jemez district, at the same time; a considerable increase of population in the area generally.

(4) The introduction of glaze-paint redware from the west, and the appearance, possibly for the first time in some cases, of other new traits, in the first half of the Fourteenth Century.

(5) Several indications of Eastern influence through contact with the Plains."

p. 163: "For the moment ignoring the subdivisions of the Tanoan family, we immediately can see a very reasonable scheme for a postulated language distribution as of the Thirteenth Century and earlier: (1) Tanoan along the Rio Grande and up the Chama into the Gallina; (2) Keresan in the upper San Juan region (the whole Chaco-Mesa Verde group) of northwestern New Mexico, southwestern Colorado, northeasternmost Arizona, and probably into southeastern Utah, with extensions southward along the Rio Puerco and across the Puerco River; (3) Zuni—which is related, though distantly, to Tanoan, diverging perhaps over 2,000 years ago—in eastern Arizona (the Cibola-Salado group); and (4) Hopi—still more distantly connected with Zuni and Tanoan, closely with Ute-Paiute—probably in most of northern Arizona and southern Utah (the Kayenta group) or else, this group being Anasazi and hence conceivably Keresan, Hopi language possibly belonging with Sinagua or some other element contributing to the historic Hopi population and culture."

p. 164: Necessary assumptions with this, or deriving from this, are (1) that glaze-paint ware and any other Western Pueblo (Cibola) traits at Acoma and in the Rio Grande were brought by trade and stimulus-diffusion, or else by such small parties of migrants that they did not survive as separate groups . . . (3) that immigration of Anasazi from the San Juan into the Rio Grande prior to 1300 consisted of gradual drift of very small numbers which did not affect language distributions . . . (4) that the Rio Grande Keresans came in, as Mera has it, about 1300 with Mesa Verde (Galisteo) Black-on-white, arriving in a block large enough to take over an area and survive as a group, and that they

learned glaze-paint redware manufacture only slightly later from the Tiwa, among whom it evidently was first introduced...that Galisteo Black-on-white was not made there [in the Galisteo Basin] at all but in the Keres district and traded into the Tano district of the Galisteo Basin . . ."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

In this paper Wendorf and Reed pointed out that the Pecos classification "could be used in the northern Rio Grande only with considerable modification" and proposed a separate chronological framework for the Rio Grande Anasazi. This synthesis has been highly influential.

Key words: Archeology, demographics, migration.

Key place names: San Juan, Rio Grande, Galisteo, Mesa Verde.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-10-96.

White, Leslie

1932a *The Acoma Indians*. Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: not stated.

Principal field workers: Leslie A. White.

Pueblo communities contacted: Acoma.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 142: "They came out of the earth, from Iatik, the mother. They came out through a hole in the north called Shipap . . . Among the children of Iatik were two brothers, Masewi and Oyoyewi. They were very powerful and very wise. They became the leaders of the people . . . After a time the people decided to move from Shipap . . . so Masewi decided to move to Kacikatcutia (White House) which lay to the south . . . Little bands detached themselves from the main body and migrated in various directions . . . Masewi and his followers migrated to Wacpaceka...They decided to go the south, where lay a place called Ako . . . On their wanderings they stopped for a time at Dyup'tsiyam . . . They also stopped at Guicti and at Tsiamia. But always, when they moved, they travelled toward the south. As they passed K'atsi'm-(Mesa Encantada) some of them paused and made their homes there; the other followed Masewi southward. When they came to the east point of Acoma, Masewi called out 'A-a-a-ko-o-o-o!' and received a perfect echo."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

White discusses history, kin and clan, government, ceremonies and ceremonial organization, ritual, life cycle of an individual, myths and tales.

Key words: Acoma, ethnography, Keresan.

Key place names: Shipap, Kacikatcutia, Wacpaceka, Dyup'tsiyam, Tsiamia, Ako.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-10-96.

White, Leslie A.

1932 *The Pueblo of San Felipe*. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association No. 38. Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: "two different trips" (Foreword).

Principal field workers: White. Acknowledges Elsie C. Parsons and "several people . . . for discretion's sake their names may not be mentioned . . ." (Foreword).

Pueblo communities contacted: San Felipe.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 7: "Bandelier believed that El Rito de los Frijoles was once the home of 'that branch of the Queres which now occupies the pueblos on the Rio Grande, Cochiti, Santo Domingo and San Felipe' [Bandelier, Final Report, 2:146]."

p. 7: White again quotes Bandelier, who repeats a San Felipe legend to the effect that the dwarfish 'Pinini' destroyed the pueblo of Kuapa, and a fugitive woman went to Tunque; her sons subsequently went to the mesa of Tamita, where they raised crops. Later the Queres refugees left the Tanos of Tunque and built a village west of the Rio Grande at Cubero. This was the first pueblo of Katishtya. "Subsequently that village was abandoned and a new one constructed at the foot of the mesa of Tamita, to which the same name was given."

p. 8: "Bandelier, however, is skeptical of the 'pygmies;' he is inclined to believe that the Tehua (Tewa) were the aggressors. Also, Bandelier favors the view that this region was already occupied by the Tigua before the dispersion at Kuapa took place.

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.

When Coronado passed through New Mexico in 1540, he found the pueblo of Katishtya at the foot of the Black Mesa, Tamita.

'In 1591 Castaña [sic] de Sosa visited the pueblo and probably gave it the saint name by which it is now commonly known.' [Hodge:432].

In 1598, Don Juan de Oñate visited the pueblo which he called 'Castixes.'"

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Monograph on San Felipe including historical sketch and discussion of political organization, clans, kachina cult, medicine societies, ceremonial calendar, solstice ceremonies, scalp dance, rabbit hunts, the buffalo dance, birth and death. Appendices discuss place names, bird names, color terms, and prayersticks.

Key words: Ethnography, Keresan, San Felipe.

Key place names: San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Santa Ana, Laguna, Zuñi, Jemez, Acoma, Sia, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Isleta, Sandia, Cochiti, Tesuque.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-15-96.

White, Leslie A.

1935 *The Pueblo of Santo Domingo, New Mexico*. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association No. 43. Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: "several field trips over a period of years" (p. 7).

Principal field workers: White. Acknowledges as informants "three adult male Domingo Indians. They received good wages for their services . . . Naturally, I was not able to observe at first hand most of the things described herein." White emphatically describes the difficulty of doing any ethnology in Santo Domingo.

Pueblo communities contacted: Santo Domingo.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 11: "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' when the Queres all lived there together, in time much anterior to the coming of the Spaniards. The place is called Tyuo-nyi in the Queres language . . .

He reports that the medicine men of Cochiti still visit the Rito frequently "to pay homage to the Shi-ua-na . . ."

To anyone acquainted with Pueblo Indian beliefs, this last custom will appear conclusive evidence that the Rito was, in times long past, the home of that branch of the Queres which now occupies the pueblos on the Rio Grande, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe.' [Bandelier, Final Report, II:145]."

p. 11 n4: "I received Gyunyitsc at Domingo as the name for Frijoles Canyon."

p. 12: "One informant from Santo Domingo told me that 'the old men' in his village said that the Domingo people 'used to live at Frijoles Canyon.'"

p. 12: "It is difficult to identify ruins in the vicinity of the present pueblo of Santo Domingo as ancient homes of the Domingo people. Indians of Cochiti and of Santo Domingo told Bandelier that the Domingo people formerly lived in a village at Potrero Quemado, a small, compact site on the west side of the Rio Grande. There seems to be little besides legend to support this claim, however. It has been possible, though, to identify ruins east and north of the present pueblo of Santo Domingo as ancestors of the present village. A mile and a half east of the railway station Wallace, south of the track, and on the brink of the Arroyo de Galisteo, is a ruin of an ancient pueblo called Gipuy. The Domingo people lived here as late as the early part of the sixteenth century. Prior to 1591, however, the village was destroyed by the Galisteo Arroyo, and the people moved about four miles west and built another pueblo called Gipuy, almost on the site of the present-day village. In 1591, Castaño de Sosa visited this village and named it Santo Domingo. Oñate wrote about this village in his Obediencia y Vassalaje de Santo Domingo in 1598. Shortly after 1605, this pueblo too, was swept away by a freshet, and the people moved a little farther west and built a village called Huashpa

Tzena. At some time, probably not long afterwards, this village was also destroyed by flood, and the village rebuilt, almost on the same site, was called Kiwa, which is what the Santo Domingo people call their pueblo today."

p. 31: The origin and migration story given by White mentions White House, but not Frijoles Canyon.

Annotated bibliographic entry:

Monograph on Santo Domingo. Includes a historical sketch (cited) and discusses social organization, the life cycle of an individual, ceremonialism, myths and tales. Appendixes include numerals, color terms, names of animals and birds, body parts, place names.

Key words: Ethnography, Keresan, Santo Domingo, ritual and religion.

Key place names: Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Cochiti, Sia, Santa Ana, Sandia, Isleta, Jemez, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Tesuque, Picuris, Nambe, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, Hopi, Pecos, Frijoles Canyon.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 4-15-96.

White, Leslie

1942 *The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico*. Menasha: American Anthropological Association.

Repository: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

Date of fieldwork: 1928-1941.

Principal field workers: Leslie White.

Detailed bibliographic source notes:

p. 23: "We know almost nothing of the prehistory of the Santa Anas. Like all the other Keres, they have a myth or legend which says that they came from the north. There appears to be some archaeological evidence in support of this legend: their former home may possibly have been among the pueblos of Mesa Verde, in the northwest corner of New Mexico."

p. 30: "Informants declare that, in prehistoric times, long before the coming of the Spaniards, their ancestors lived in another pueblo, also called Tamaya, which they abandoned when they migrated to their present site."

p. 87: "The people . . . came out at a place in the north . . . The people moved south to a place called White House (Kackatcrutya). Here they lived for a long time . . ."

p. 91: "They took a trip around the world after they came out [of Shipap]—out into the Hopi country, and around the Sandia Mountains—before they went west to White House. From White House they went down south until they came to Tamaya. There they stayed."

Annotated bibliographic entry:

One in White's series of monographs on the pueblos, based on field observations over thirteen years (p. 11). Discussed history, cosmology, social organization, government, ceremonies, hunting, war, sickness and witchcraft, paraphernalia and ritual.

Key words: Ethnography, Keresan, traditional history, Santa Ana.

Key place names: Tamaya, Kackatcrutya, Sandia Mountains, White House, Tamaya.

Recorded by: Thomas Merlan, 9-10-96.

