



**NATIONAL  
CONSERVATION  
LANDS**

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# Canyons of the Ancients National Monument

## A Living Landscape

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Cover: BLM Photo by Bob Wick

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Canyons of the Ancients  
National Monument

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*A Living Landscape*




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*Image on inner cover: Yellow Jacket Canyon looking toward Sleeping Ute Mountain, Canyons of the Ancients National Monument. Photograph by Maren P. Hopkins, May 4, 2017.*

## *A Living Landscape*



Figure 1. Tribal member Charles Sisneros from the Pueblo of Santa Clara and Monument archaeologist Vince MacMillan stand atop an ancient room block while visiting an ancestral village in Canyons of the Ancients National Monument. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 5, 2017.

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**T**oday the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument is a place of sweeping vistas spanning mountains and canyons, where the land is often silent except for the wind. Eight hundred years ago, however, this corner of the Southwest was a populous area, with thousands of Pueblo people living in villages spread across the land. The tribes that descend from these ancient people still remember and revere this ancestral landscape, and visiting the land recalls ancient history and connects the past with the present and future (Figure 1). These lands are also part of the living landscapes of the Apache, Navajo, and Ute tribes. In recent years, tribes have been working with the Bureau of Land Management to document tribal connections to the Canyons of the Ancient National Monument, as described in this booklet. The lands within the Canyons of the Ancient National Monument are sacred to many tribes, and tribal leaders ask that you visit them with the respect that is due to ancestors.

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## **Canyons of the Ancients National Monument**

Canyons of the Ancients National Monument (CANM) was created on June 9, 2000 through Presidential proclamation. The monument covers an area of 176,056 acres of land and is managed by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) (Figure 2). The monument was established because it encompasses the highest concentration of archaeological sites in the United States. There are an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 archaeological sites within the monument, and by 2017 about 8,400 of these sites have been recorded by

archaeologists. Many sites in the monument have yet to be documented by archaeologists.

Archaeological research suggests that the land was seasonally occupied from the Paleoindian period (circa 11,500–6500 B.C.) through the Historic period (after A.D. 1540). The monument encompasses various archaeological features, including dwellings, kivas, petroglyphs, pictographs, farms, activity areas, shrines, and sweat lodges (Figures 3 and 4). Most of these sites date between A.D. 1 and 1300,

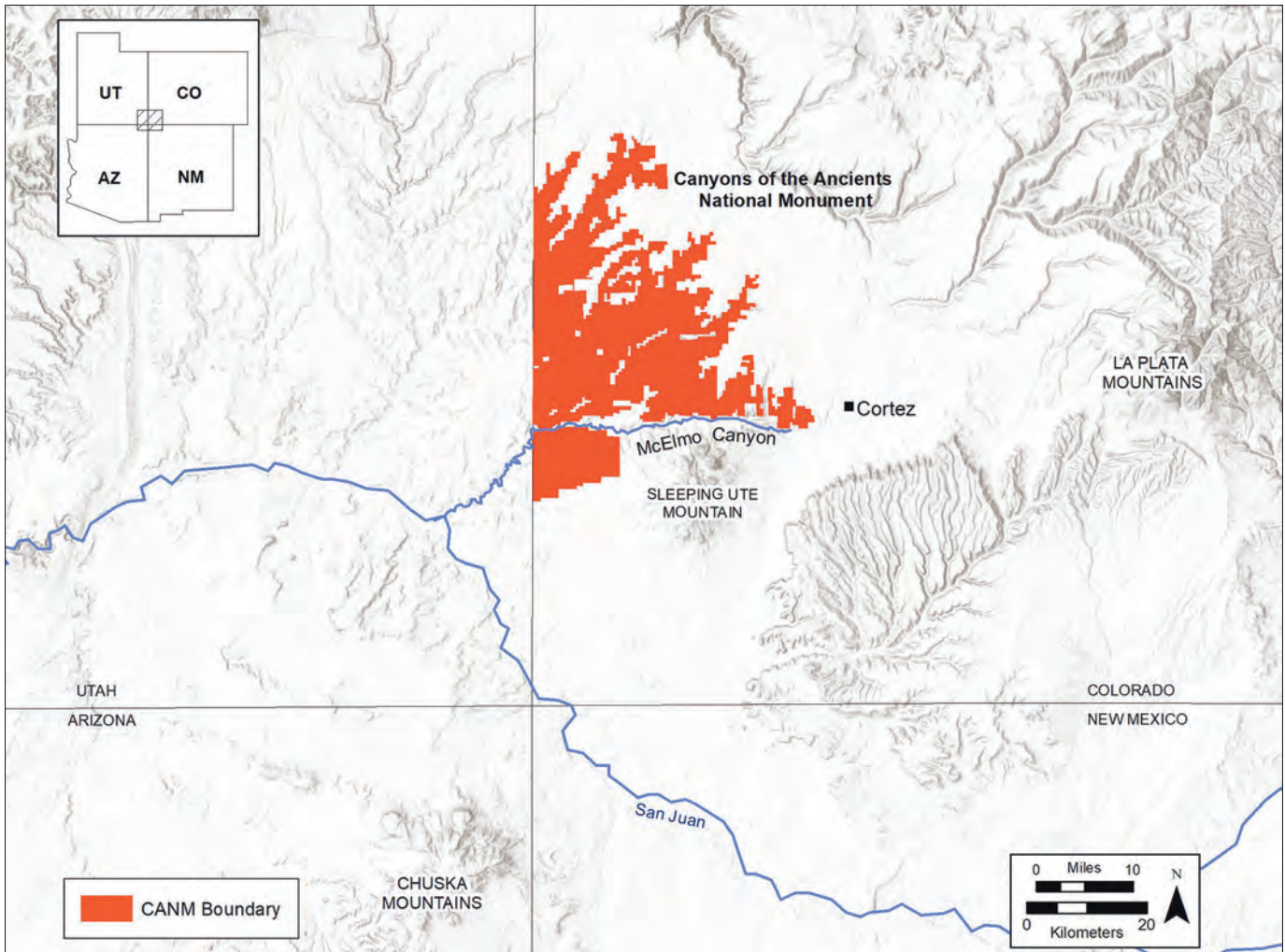


Figure 2. Overview map of Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

and are associated with the Northern San Juan branch of the Ancestral Puebloan archaeological tradition.

Artifacts collected from sites within CANM are curated at the Canyons of the Ancients Visitor Center & Museum in Dolores, Colorado, which serves as the headquarters and primary interpretive center for the monument. Thirteen archaeological sites within CANM have been developed for public interpretation including Lowry Pueblo, Sand Canyon Pueblo, and Painted Hand Pueblo. These sites are all large Ancestral Puebloan villages that were occupied between A.D. 1060 and 1275. Most of the sites within the monument are not developed for public visitation; they are left to remain in their natural state.

Native American ancestral sites within the monument hold important information about how the indigenous

*“The spirits still have a strong presence here. I know they still reside at the ancient villages.”*

—Samuel Baca,  
Pueblo of Santa Clara

peoples of the Four Corners region interacted with the environment, and with each other, over many centuries. The ancestral sites, plants, animals, and landforms in the monument are part of tribal cultural landscapes that are maintained through on-going cultural beliefs and practices. For many Native American people today, the CANM landscape is animated by the histories and the spirits of their ancestors, and it is thus a sacred place.

The BLM consults with 26 federally recognized Native American tribes that have cultural and historical associations with the land and features now encompassed by CANM. Tribal traditions, histories, geography, and languages supplement archaeological evidence, and help us understand the connections between past peoples and present-day tribal communities in the southwestern United States.



Figure 3. Masonry structures at Lowry Pueblo. Photograph by Maren P. Hopkins, September 14, 2016.



Figure 4. Handprints on the rock boulder at 5MT21015. Photograph by Maren Hopkins, September 19, 2016.

## Tribal Values

The CANM landscape embodies thousands of years of history. It is a place where tribal ancestors lived and died, and where their spirits remain to this day. Tribal communities maintain rich histories and traditions about this area that

have been passed down for generations. These histories are diverse and complex but all tribes share common values regarding the land and resources within CANM.

The land and natural resources within CANM are interwoven with tribal histories, religion, and identities. Tribal members remember significant places in CANM,



Figure 5. Turkey House Pueblo. Photograph by Maren P. Hopkins, September 14, 2016.

and these are integral parts of cultural landscapes associated with their communities. The ancient villages, shrines, trails, petroglyphs, pictographs, vision quest sites, and other ceremonial areas in CANM are important because they embody the lives of tribal ancestors (Figure 5). The living descendants of those who lived in CANM value the sites and landscapes within the monument because they are historically connected to contemporary cultural beliefs and practices.

Ancient villages are animated with the spirits of the people who lived there. These spirits retain power and are treated with respect. Members of some tribal communities visit ancestral sites, where they leave offerings to honor ancestors. Members of other tribal communities generally avoid archaeological sites, believing these powerful places should only be visited under special circumstances.

Many natural resources within CANM are culturally important to tribal members (Figure 6). These resources are used for sustenance, crafts, ceremony, and medicine. Some tribal members travel long distances to gather plants, animals, minerals, and water from CANM because these retain the power of the place where they are collected. Tribal members believe that plants, animals, minerals, and water sources have important life forces that should be respected.

*“All of the things placed on earth are connected to a larger spiritual and religious philosophy.”*

—Bill Preston, Bamboo Clan, Wälpi, Hopi Tribe

Springs, mountains, and other natural landmarks are homes to spiritual beings who foster the growth of important resources. Many of these places are given tribal place names to commemorate important historical events, significant resources, or spiritual beings. Even places that have not been visited for long periods of time are remembered through

stories, songs, and ceremonies. Indigenous place names help tribal members maintain mental maps of cultural landscapes that connect CANM with the Four Corners region and the larger Southwest.

Ancient villages, shrines, processing areas, and other sites are interconnected with their surrounding environment. Tribal members understand these sites in relation to different cultural and historical contexts. Pueblo peoples understand ancient villages in terms of their tribal migration traditions. Apache, Navajo, and Ute peoples understand archaeological sites in relation to historic patterns of land use. All tribes agree that the ancestral places and artifacts within CANM are important for teaching young tribal members about their heritage.

## Pueblo Tribes

The history of Pueblo peoples in the Southwest spans thousands of years. Today, there are 21 federally recognized





Figure 6. Samuel Baca of the Pueblo of Santa Clara collects wild parslsey from the rim of Yellow Jacket Canyon. Photograph by Maren P. Hopkins, May 4, 2017.

Pueblo tribes located in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas. The Pueblo tribes speak six different languages—Hopi, Keres, Tewa, Tiwa, Towa, and Zuni—and these language groups are used to organize the discussion of tribal associations with CANM. Each Pueblo has a unique history, intertwined with the histories of other Pueblo communities. While Pueblo tribes maintain distinct social and cultural identities, they are bound together by similar beliefs and practices and centuries of shared history.

Pueblo people today view archaeological sites from the Paleoindian to Ancestral Puebloan periods as monuments of their history, places where their traditions were honed over time. Knowledge about ancestral places is passed down in oral traditions and by continued use of landscapes. Contemporary Pueblo people appeal to the ancestral spirits who inhabit ancient villages within CANM for blessings and guidance during rituals and in daily life. Pueblo men make pilgrimages to ancestral places to pay homage to past events and spiritual beings. Some Pueblo people leave religious offerings when they visit ancestral villages, using ancestral sites as shrines.

*“We know that there is still a presence here (at Canyons of the Ancients National Monument) ... When the ancients moved, they left the buildings for a purpose.”*

—Marvin Lalo, Tobacco Clan,  
Polacca, Hopi Tribe

Pueblo people have been farming in the Southwest for millennia and agricultural practices are an important part of Pueblo lifeways in the past and present. As Pueblo people built substantial villages and cultivated lands over long periods of time, they continued to use distant lands to hunt, gather resources, and make religious pilgrimages and all of these areas are connected in cultural landscapes of use and history. The ceremonies performed throughout the year in the various Pueblos are important

in maintaining the ecological balance of the CANM landscape.

## Hopi Tribe

The Hopi Tribe resides on a reservation in northeastern Arizona, about 215 miles southwest of CANM. Today, the Hopi people live in twelve villages and two communities on their reservation (Figure 7). Each village is associated with one of three mesas that extend from the southern edge of Black Mesa. These mesas are referred to as First Mesa, Second Mesa, and Third Mesa.

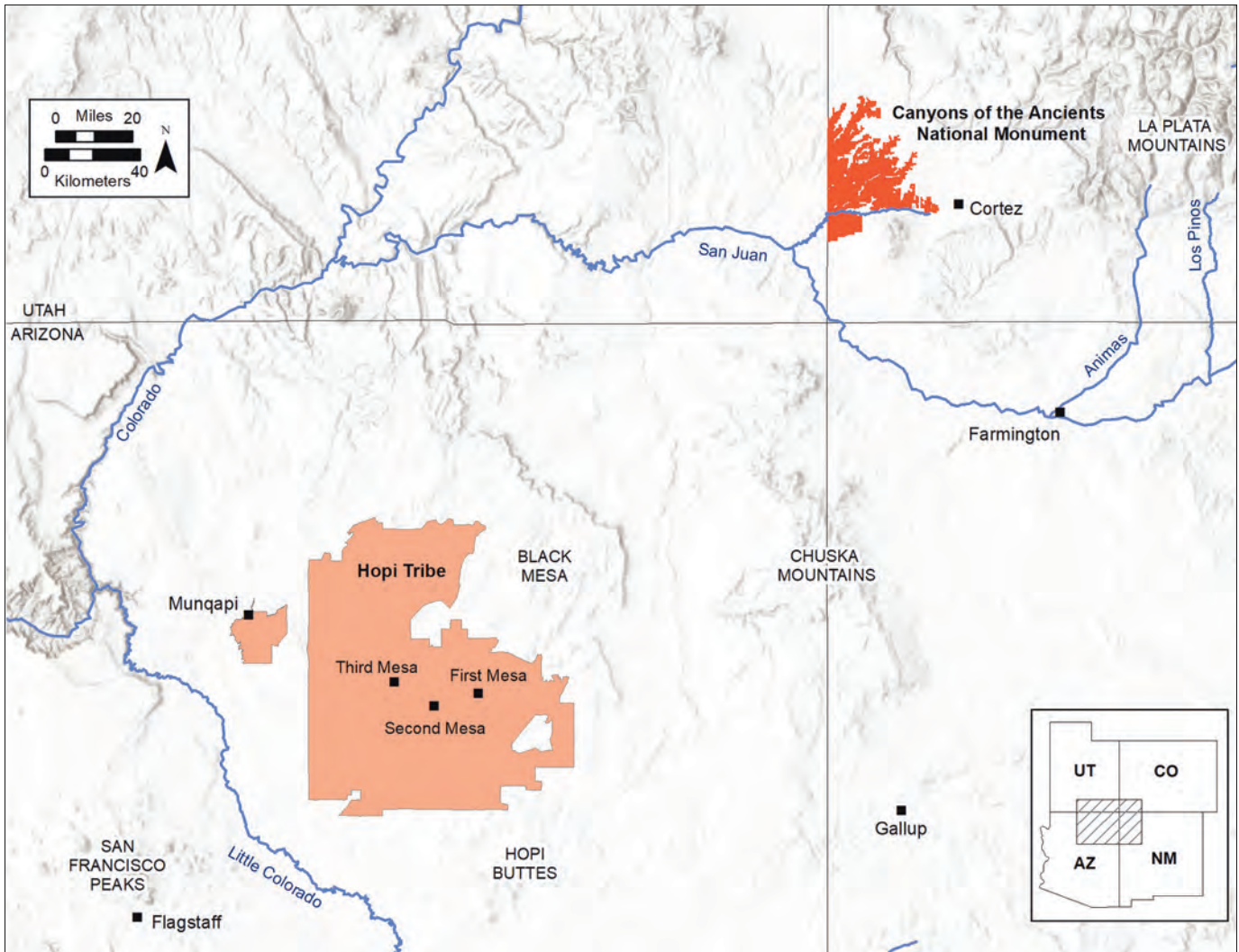


Figure 7. Location of the Hopi Reservation in relation to Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

The Hopi speak a language that is part of the Northern Uto-Aztecan family. Hopi is thus a linguistic relative of Shoshone, Paiute, Comanche, and Ute. Several dialects of Hopi are spoken across the different mesas and villages.

Hopi values for land and resources are embedded within the concept of Hopitutskwa, or Hopi Land. Hopitutskwa derives from Hopi origins. When Hopi ancestors emerged into the present world, they entered into a spiritual covenant with M̄asaw, the caretaker of the earth. M̄asaw instructed Hopi ancestors to split into clans and to care for the land as they migrated toward their destined homeland on the Hopi Mesas. As they migrated, Hopi ancestors were instructed to leave behind physical evidence that they had fulfilled their spiritual responsibilities.

As Hopi clans migrated across the land—cultivating crops, building villages, making pottery, producing pictographs and petroglyphs—the land became Hopitutskwa.

Clan migration histories are remembered today through stories, songs, and ceremonies. This knowledge recounts complex clan migration histories, with groups moving together, splitting, and re-converging many times over the course of their journeys. Clans are important in Hopi religion, and clan migrations are reenacted and commemorated through ceremony, prayer, and pilgrimage. Many Hopi clan traditions describe migrations through a vast area to the north of the Hopi reservation. Many of these migrations led Hopi ancestors through the Four Corners region, including the mesa tops and canyons of CANM. Hopis know this region as Tawtoykya, meaning “Place of the Songs.”

Hopi clan migration paths are marked by itaakukuveni, the “footprints” that include villages, petroglyphs, pictographs, ancestral farm fields, shrines, and trails. Important places such as landforms, rivers, and springs are marked



Figure 8. Bill Preston of the Hopi Tribe at Turkey House Pueblo. Photograph by Maren P. Hopkins, September 19, 2016.

with place names. Shines established on and around the Hopi Mesas are used to make offerings and honor the greater landscape of Hopitutskwa, including ancestral places in CANM (Figure 8).

Hopi ancestors arrived at the Hopi Mesas at different times and from different directions. Thus, Hopi ancestors are associated with multiple archaeological cultures, including Ancestral Pueblo, Mogollon, Hohokam, and Salado.

As told in Hopi traditions, clans were admitted into the Hopi villages after they contributed valuable skills, ritual knowledge, or cultigens that benefited the community as a whole. Hopi knowledge is carried through clan traditions and the ceremonies of religious societies and kiva groups. Together, these groups perform an annual cycle of ceremonies throughout the year.

Today, as in the past, Hopi people grow a variety of crops in fields that radiate outwards from the Hopi Mesas. Many Hopi people continue to grow crops using the same strategies as their ancestors who farmed in the arid Four

*“We recognize the images, the way the buildings were made. These were Hopi people, these were Hopi footprints.”*

—Gilbert Naseyowma,  
Sun Clan, Lower  
Mùnqapi, Hopi Tribe

Corners region by using rainfall and spring runoff to water fields. The agricultural lifeways of the Hopi people are intertwined with Hopi religion. Many of the ceremonies of clans, societies, and kiva groups are performed as entreaties for the ancestors to provide rainfall, ecological balance, and fertility.

Plants, animals, and minerals figure prominently into Hopi rituals. Hopis continue to collect these resources using practices passed down through generations, sometimes travelling great distances to special collection locales. Hopi people regard natural resources with the same level of reverence shown to people. Sacred offerings are made when plants, animals, and other resources are collected as a form of respect and payment. Springs and streams are considered to be a life force that is of central importance in Hopi religion and identity. In Hopi thought, natural sources of water are interconnected and home to Hopi deities. Hopi people continue to pay homage to the water sources that were important to their ancestors.



Figure 9. Hopi cultural advisors observing the viewshed at Woods Canyon Pueblo. Photograph by Maren P. Hopkins, September 19, 2016.

Hopi people understand the ancient villages, rock images, and archaeological features within CANM as the footprints (itaakukuveni) of their ancestors. The monument is thus an important part of the greater Hopitutska landscape. Hopi people recognize petroglyphs and pictographs at CANM that symbolize Hopi clan identities and ceremonies (Figure 9).

During a visit to CANM, Bill Preston, a member of the Bamboo (Reed) Clan emphasized the spiritual significance of the area. He explained that Hopi people feel a connection with the ancestral sites in CANM, and the petroglyph images have meaning for Hopis. The heritage sites in CANM have longevity and deep meaning for Hopi people. “This is what has been passed along,” Mr. Preston said.

Stewart Koyiyumtewa, a member of the Badger Clan from Hotvela on Third Mesa, said that visiting CANM was an especially meaningful experience for him because his clan is associated with this area. “This place is special for me,” Mr. Koyiyumtewa said. Mr. Koyiyumtewa knows that ancestral spirits still reside at CANM and he wants them to be at peace.

*“I’m still there ...  
[My ancestors]  
they’re still there.”*  
—Clark Tenakhongva,  
Rabbit-Tobacco Clan,  
Hotvela, Hopi Tribe

## Keres-Speaking Pueblos

There are seven Keres-speaking pueblos, all located in New Mexico (Figure 10). Anthropologists divide the Keres-speaking pueblos into eastern and western groups. Eastern Keresan communities include Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Cochiti, Santa Ana, and Zia pueblos. These communities are closely grouped along the Rio Grande and Jemez River between Albuquerque and Santa Fe, New Mexico. Western Keresan communities include Laguna and Acoma pueblos, with reservations along the Rio San Jose west of Albuquerque.

The Keres language is a linguistic isolate today spoken only by the Keresan pueblos. There are two major dialects in the Keres language: one spoken by the western Keresan communities of Acoma and Laguna and the other spoken by the eastern Keresan communities of the Rio Grande valley. Keresan words appear in songs sung by other Pueblo tribes, indicating social interaction between these tribes in the past.

The origin traditions of the Keresan-speaking tribes are embedded in the relig-

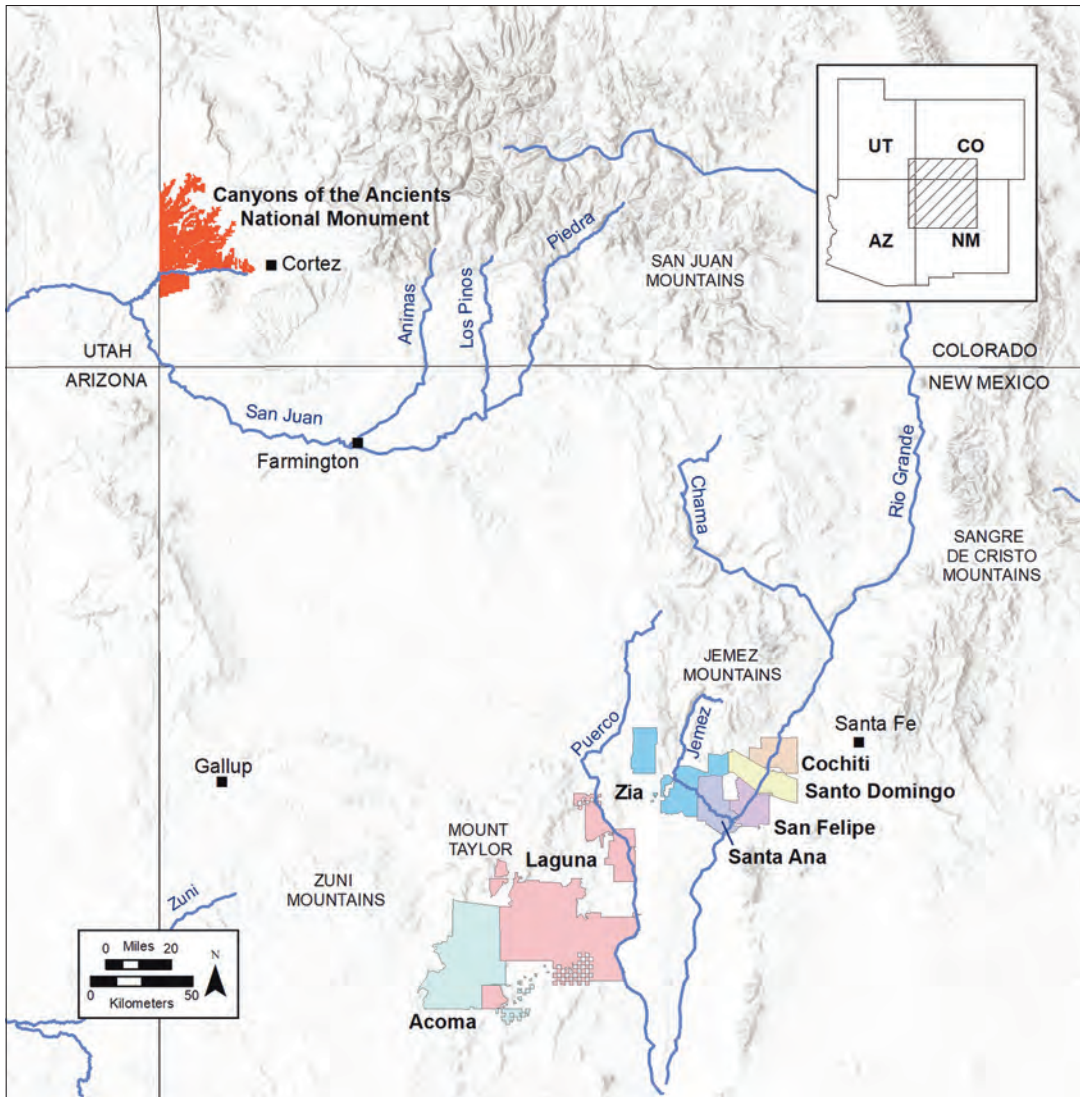


Figure 10. Location of the Keres-speaking pueblos in relation to Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

ious beliefs of these communities. Much of this knowledge is not meant to be shared with people outside the tribe. Nonetheless, brief accounts of Keresan origin traditions were documented by anthropologists in the 20th century. According to some Keresan origin traditions, a spiritual deity created the ancestors in an underworld alongside the sun, moon, plants, animals, and oceans. The people emerged onto the earth's surface somewhere to the north of their current location. From the place of emergence, Keres ancestors migrated southward, stopping to build a large community called White House. White House is sometimes associated with the Mesa Verde region.

According to Laguna traditions, the creator deity instructed Keres ancestors to continue their migrations southward to their destined homes. When the people

defied this advice, the creator was angered and brought catastrophic drought to White House. Crops withered, causing social unrest and violence within the White House community. The people repented and were given new ceremonial knowledge to help them live respectfully. After leaving White House, the people continued to the south to settle in their destined homes. During the migration southward, several Keresan deities promised to send blessings to people that remembered them through prayer and offerings.

Archaeological evidence suggests that eastern and western Keres communities developed from local populations who had occupied the area since A.D. 400, joined by later migrants from the north after A.D. 1200. The late migrants were associated with Chaco Canyon, Aztec Pueblo, Mesa Verde, CANM, and the San Juan River region.



Figure 11. Acoma Pueblo, New Mexico, circa 1899. Photograph by Detroit Photographic, Co. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Digital ID cph 3a47089 //hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a47089.

Keres people inherit clan identities from their mother, and these clans determine social and religious responsibilities. Keresan clans own religious ceremonies and have special relationships with important landmarks. Religious societies perform rituals associated with curing, environmental balance, and fertility.

Eastern Keresan pueblos are organized into two ceremonial moieties or kiva groups, known as Squash and Turquoise. These moieties participate in community dances and ceremonial activities.

Today, as in the past, religious leaders from Keresan pueblos make pilgrimages to springs, mountains, and other landmarks to make offerings. For example, members of Santo Domingo Pueblo continue to visit important places near Mesa Verde and Cortez, Colorado. Through these visits, Keresan people maintain physical and spiritual ties to ancestral places established during migrations from the north. Some named places are memorialized in song, prayers, and stories, and Keres people send prayers to the place of emergence.

When visiting ancestral villages, Keresan people see continuities between the traditions of ancient ancestors and those of contemporary Keres people (Figure 11). For example, the kivas at ancestral sites signal connections with the religious traditions of ancestors. Keres traditions describe how during their migrations, ancestors lived in Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and CANM. Keresan ancestors buried their dead during migrations, and contemporary Keresan people respect archaeological sites as the final resting places of their ancestors. Ancestral villages are considered sacred and are deeply revered.

*“All of our cultural and traditional beliefs originated here a long time ago, before the final migration took place.”*

—Ernest Vallo, Sr.,  
Acoma Pueblo

Members of the Keresan pueblos hold the lands within CANM as part of a sacred, ancestral landscape. In a 2002 interview, Peter Pino of Zia Pueblo described how Keresan ancestors left CANM because they were searching for their destined home in the south. Keresan religious societies continue to sing about CANM, Chaco Canyon, Aztec Pueblo, Mesa Verde, and other ancestral places during ceremonies.

In 2003, members of Acoma Pueblo visited CANM. Ernest Vallo, Sr., a member of the Eagle Clan, described how the Acoma people revere the lands within the monument as a place of origin associated with ongoing religious beliefs. He explained that the contemporary Keresan people pray to the ancestral spirits who remain at ancestral villages, such as those within the monument. When visiting ancestral villages, Keresan people exercise spiritual caution and leave religious offerings as a sign of respect.

While visiting Lowry Pueblo, Mr. Vallo observed how the kivas found there are similar to the kivas at Acoma Pueblo. He said it is important to have ancestral places like CANM, where young tribal members can visit to learn about their origins and to show respect for significant spaces like kivas. The ancient places within CANM are important heritage resources of the Keres-speaking pueblos.

## Pueblo of Zuni

The Pueblo of Zuni is a federally recognized Indian tribe with a reservation in New Mexico and Arizona (Figure 12). The main body of the Zuni reservation encompasses 463,271 acres in New Mexico, just east of the Arizona state line. Zuni Salt Lake, an important historical and ceremonial site for the tribe, was added to the reservation in 1978. The tribe also has trust lands around a sacred area near the confluence of the Little Colorado and Zuni Rivers in Arizona. Zuni Pueblo, the main village on the Zuni Reservation, is known as Halona:Idiwan’a—the “Middle Place”—because it is the center of the Zuni universe. The Pueblo of Zuni is located approximately 200 miles south of CANM.

The Zuni language is a linguistic isolate, unrelated to any other known language. Some Zuni oral traditions, however, refer to people in Central and South America who speak Zuni. The Zuni vocabulary includes many loan words from the Hopi, O’odham, and Keresan languages, reflecting widespread social interaction in the American Southwest in the past.

Zuni people trace their origins to the First World, where they had not yet been

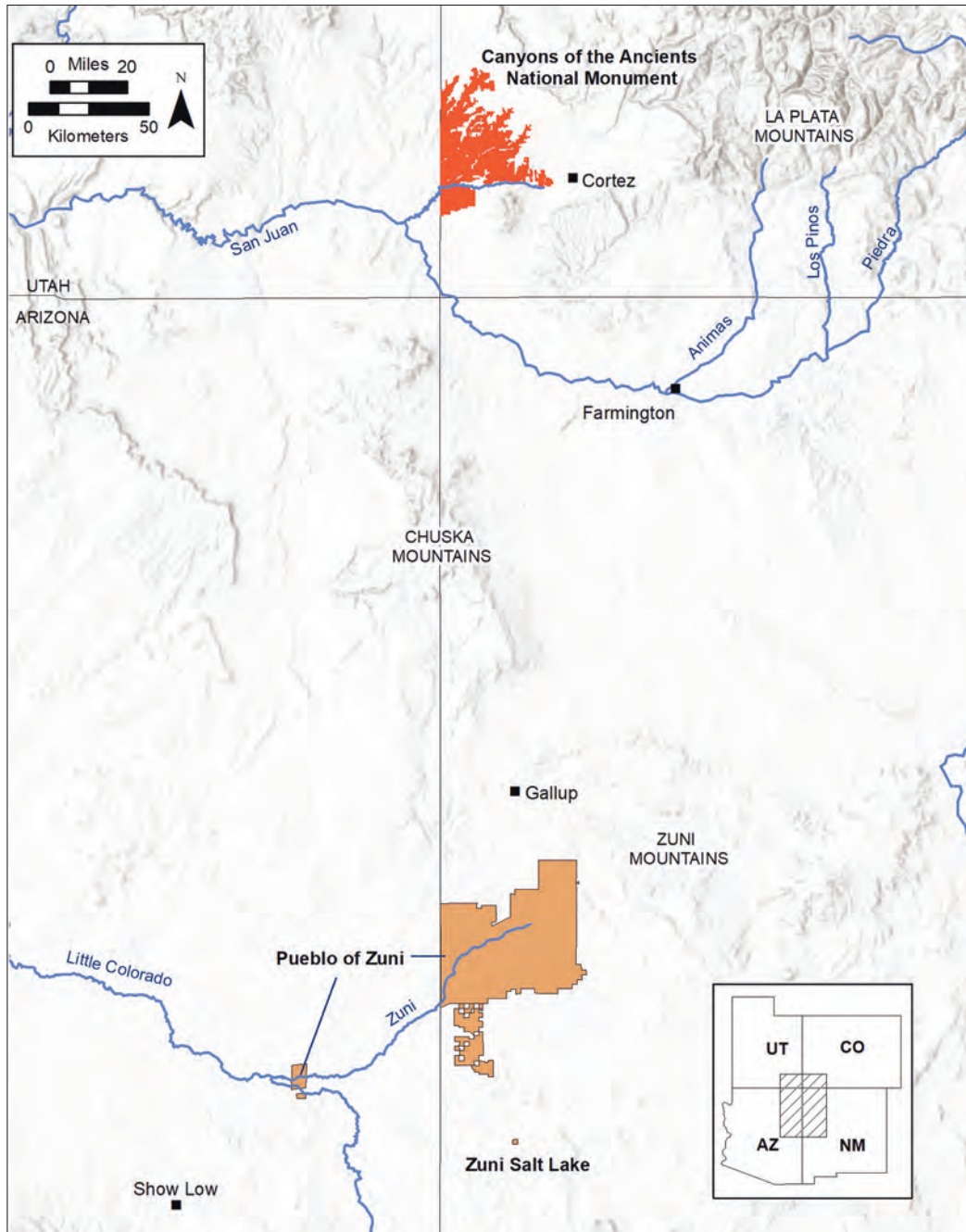


Figure 12. Location of the Pueblo of Zuni reservation in relation to Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

fully formed into human beings. These primordial ancestors developed as they passed through a series of worlds, led by deities and religious leaders. Eventually the Zunis emerged into the Fourth World, where their webbed hands and feet were cut and the people took their modern form. Traditional accounts place the emergence at Ribbon Falls in the Grand Canyon.

After emergence, Zuni ancestors began a journey to find the Middle Place. The ancestors traveled southeast up

the Little Colorado River, stopping to make homes along the way. At one place, the ancestors were given a choice of two eggs as gifts. One egg was plain and the other was bright blue and spotted. One group chose the plain egg, from which a parrot hatched. Parrots are associated with Mesoamerica and this group is said to have migrated southward to the “Land of Everlasting Sunshine,” never to return. The other group of people chose the blue spotted egg, from which hatched a raven. This group of ancestors branched



Figure 13. Social dance at Zuni Pueblo in 2016. Photograph by Octavius Seowtewa, October 2016.

into three groups and continued their migrations toward the Middle Place.

Some ancestors continued migrating up the Little Colorado River to the Zuni River, where they found the Middle Place. Other Zuni ancestors traveled southward into the White Mountains of Arizona, then eastward, eventually finding their kin at the Middle Place. A third group migrated to the north, where they inscribed many landmarks in the Four Corners region with place names that are remembered today.

Zuni landmarks include ancestral sites like Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and the Rio Grande Valley. During their migrations, the Zuni ancestors who traveled northward perfected the ceremonial knowledge of medicine societies, and they brought this knowledge to the Middle Place. This knowledge is today passed down through the rituals and songs of the Zuni medicine societies.

The Zuni ancestors who migrated northward did not travel as a single group, but as smaller groups that followed distinct paths. These groups lived in villages, buried their dead, established shrines, and inscribed history in petroglyphs and pictographs.

Archaeological evidence indicates that sedentary communities developed in the Zuni River Valley between the Basketmaker III (A.D. 400–700) and Pueblo III (A.D. 1150–1300) periods. These communities were later joined by people who migrated to the Zuni area. People living along the Zuni River had dynamic social interaction with the people

who lived in Chaco Canyon, as well as the upper Gila River, upper Little Colorado River, and White Mountain areas. By the 16th century, Zunis inhabited six or seven large villages along the Zuni River. Zuni Pueblo was founded by the 14th century A.D.

During the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the entire Zuni population sought refuge on top of Dowa Yalanne, a mesa located east of Zuni Pueblo. After the Pueblo Revolt, the Zunis remained together in a single community, settling at Zuni Pueblo.

Zuni social organization and religion are incorporated into daily life. During their migrations, Zuni ancestors gained important knowledge of geography, ecology, history, and ceremonies—a body of knowledge too large for any one individual or group. This knowledge is compartmentalized among clans, medicine societies, priesthoods, and kiva groups. Membership in social and religious groups determines one's roles and responsibilities, as well as one's access to cultural and historical knowledge.

At Zuni, clan membership is traced through maternal descent, although Zunis are also recognized as being a “child” of their father's clan. Clans are named for individual totems associated with plants, animals, and celestial bodies significant in Zuni history. Zuni people today belong to religious groups that include kivas, medicine societies, and priesthoods. Some society rituals are associated with bringing rain, others ensure successful growing seasons and hunts, and some are associated with seasonal events such

as the solstices. The annual ceremonial cycle is guided by lunar and solar cycles, closing with the Shalako ceremonies that occur in late November or early December. Ritual offerings are regularly made to the Sun, Moon, spiritual deities, and ancestral spirits.

Zunis believe that their ancestors perfected the ceremonies performed today as they migrated through places such as CANM. Zuni people respect the places their ancestors encountered during the northern migrations because they are associated with important religious knowledge. These places continue to play an important role in the Zuni identity and spiritual well-being, and are commemorated in Zuni ceremonies and social gatherings today (Figure 13).

During the visit to CANM, Octavius Seowtewa of Zuni Pueblo said that Zuni people today recognize continuity between their traditions and those of the past inhabitants of CANM. “Things are still happening back at home like they were here,” Mr. Seowtewa said.

While visiting the petroglyphs at the Jumping Man Panel, Zuni advisor Cornell Tsalate commented, “This site has a story to tell.” Mr. Seowtewa compared the rock images at the Jumping Man Panel to a library. He explained that Zunis know these sites to be “memory pieces,” essentially messages from their ancestors about their beliefs, traditions, and history. As Ronnie Cachini explained, “The term ‘rock art’ doesn’t mean anything to Zunis. This is *history*.”

Zuni cultural advisors believe that CANM was a central place and crossroads for tribal communities in the past. Mr. Cachini thinks people learned a lot and shared important religious information with each other when they lived in this area, and that they took that information with them as they migrated to new communities.

The sites in CANM remind Zuni cultural advisors of the shared history among Pueblo people. Mr. Tsalate said, “At one time all the pueblos were traveling together. There was and still is a lot of intermarriage.” Cultural advisors were also reminded of their relationships with non-Pueblo people. For example, they commented that the Comanche dance performed at Zuni is related to the buffalo hunts where they interacted with Comanches.

Zuni advisors were impressed by the vast viewsheds of CANM. At the overlook of Yellow Jacket Canyon, Mr. Seowtewa pointed out significant places visible on the horizon, including Mesa Verde, Shiprock, Monument Valley, the San Juan Mountains, the Chuska Mountains, and the Manti La Sal mountains. Zunis commented that visibility is an important element of the CANM cultural landscape.

Eldred Quam said that Zunis have strong values toward the natural environment, and that all aspects of the

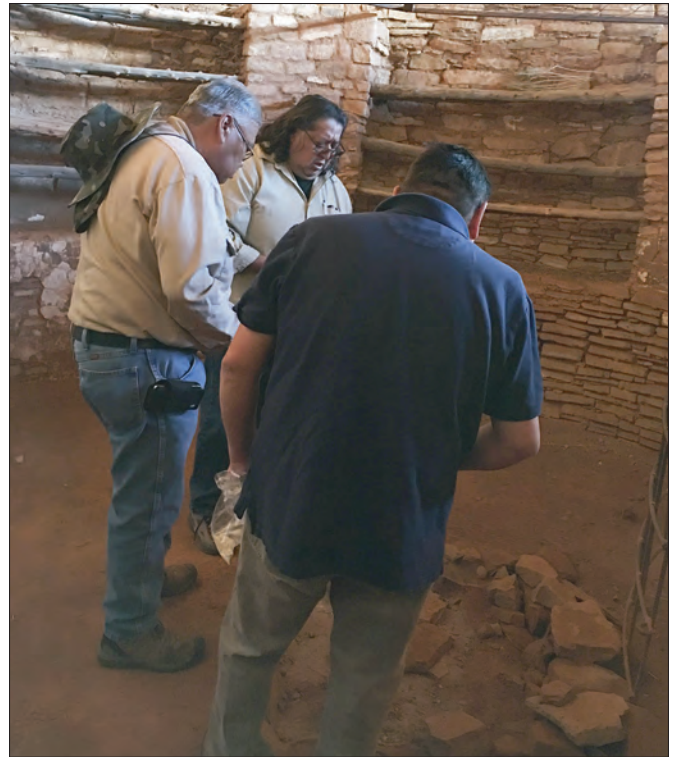


Figure 14. Eldred Quam, Ronnie Cachini, and Cornell Tsalate of Zuni Pueblo say a prayer in the kiva at Lowry Pueblo in Canyons of the Ancients National Monument. Photograph by Maren P. Hopkins, September 14, 2016.

landscape should be preserved and protected. He explained that Zuni ancestors take on different life forms, such as those of animals, plants, and insects, and this is why it is so important to take care of the land. Animals are protectors, and they reside in different places to protect those places. Mr. Quam said he felt sad that private landowners in the area do not reach out to Native American communities to learn tribal values about these places.

Mr. Seowtewa explained that the offerings Zunis leave at ancestral places are what keep connections alive (Figure 14). Mr. Tsalate said he felt the presence of his ancestors during his visit to CANM, and this made him think about how his ancestors lived in the past. Mr. Tsalate left the monument with a good feeling.

## Tewa-Speaking Pueblos

The Tewa language is a branch of the Kiowa-Tanoan family, and is related to the Tiwa and Towa languages spoken by other Rio Grande pueblos, and to the Kiowa language spoken by groups on the Southern Plains. While the Tewa-speaking pueblos have closely related linguistic traditions, each maintains a distinct history and tribal identity.

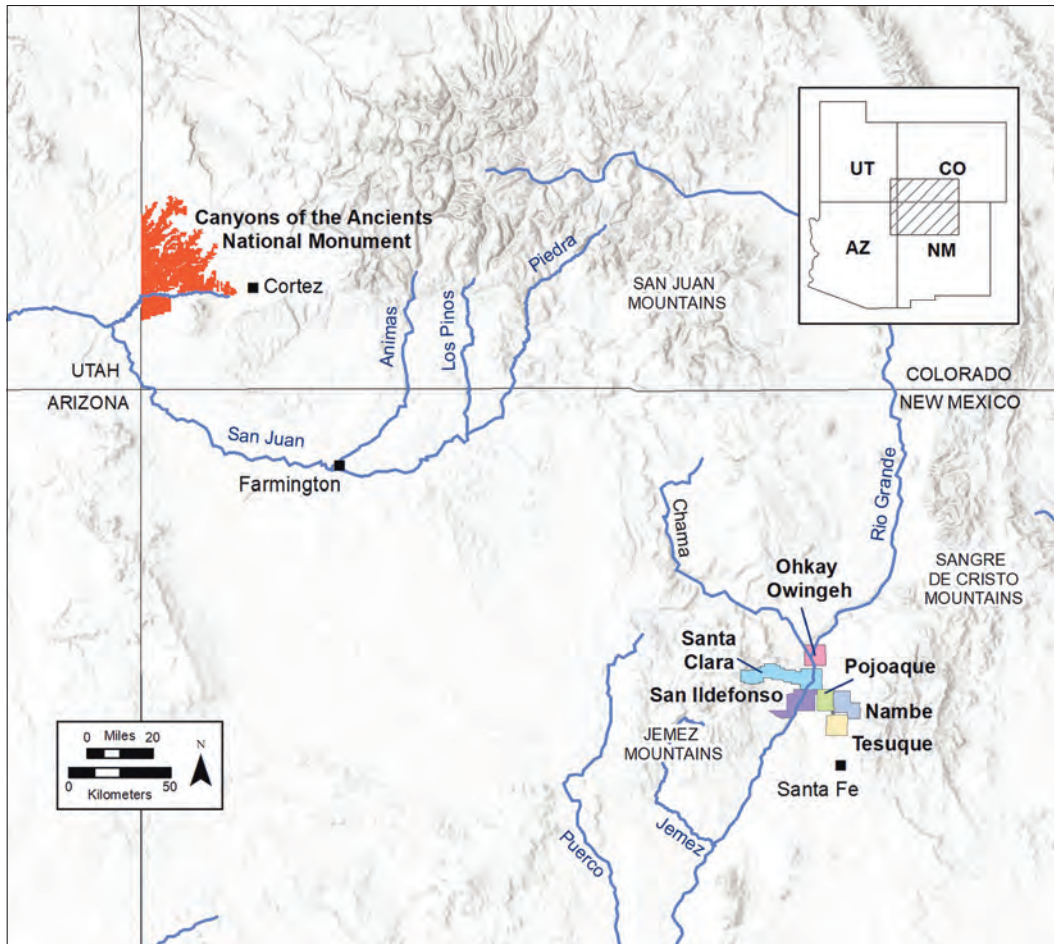


Figure 15. Location of Tewa-speaking pueblos in New Mexico in relation to Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

The Tewa-speaking pueblos include Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan), Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Pojoaque, and Tesuque pueblos. All six Tewa-speaking pueblos have reservations in the Tewa Basin of north-central New Mexico (Figure 15).

In the late-17th century, Hopi people invited one group of Tewa people to move from the Rio Grande to First Mesa in Arizona to help defend Hopi villages from incursions by Utes, Paiutes, and other groups. The Hopi-Tewa people continue to speak the Tewa language (in addition to the Hopi language) but are enrolled members of the Hopi Tribe.

Some Tewa origin traditions begin in the underworld, with emergence at a place called “Sandy Lake Place,” located north of the current Tewa pueblos. This emergence place is a significant landmark in the Tewa landscape, where spirit

*“... the Tewa ancestral landscape is a mosaic, and each site serves as a piece of this larger picture of history.”*

—Walter Dasheno,  
Pueblo of Santa Clara

beings dwell and Tewa people return after death. Tewa traditions include accounts of ancestral migrations to the present-day Tewa Basin.

Some archaeologists suggest that Tewa ancestors, along with other Tanoan-speaking groups, inhabited the Upper San Juan region before A.D. 700. Settlements in the Upper San Juan region at this time were primarily small, dis-

persed agricultural communities. Around A.D. 1000, Tewa-speaking groups in southwestern Colorado migrated to the southeast, and some groups settled along the Rio Chama by the mid-13th century. The pueblos of Ohkay Owingeh, San Ildefonso, and Santa Clara were established in the Tewa Basin by the 14th century. Historical records suggest that the Tesuque, Nambé, and Pojoaque pueblos were established after 1598 by people from San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and Ohkay Owingeh pueblos.



Figure 16. Santa Clara cultural advisors visit the spring at Cannonball Pueblo. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 5, 2017.

Tewa society and religion are founded upon a dual organization of two ceremonial groups called moieties, the Summer and Winter People. The moieties share responsibilities that guide village life and allocate ceremonial authority according to the seasons. The Summer People lead important rituals during the warm growing season, from March through October, and the Winter People assume ceremonial authority between November and February. Tewa rituals, many of which are performed in kivas, are done in conjunction with the seasons and to commemorate the emergence and migration.

Tewa people inherit their clan identities from their fathers. Related clans are grouped into the moieties, with each pueblo dividing clans differently.

Tewa oral traditions include geographical terms that reflect a deep and intricate knowledge of ancestral landscapes. Tewa place names describe the physical attributes of places, or connections to important events and figures. While visiting CANM, Danny Naranjo from Santa Clara Pueblo described how there are Tewa place names for

*“These are all our homes ... We are the descendants from Chaco Canyon, from Mesa Verde, from Canyons of the Ancients; we are the descendants from there.”*

—Charles Sisneros,  
Pueblo of Santa Clara

landmarks in southwestern Colorado. He noted that a Tewa place name often used for Mesa Verde also describes the larger region, including the land within CANM.

Tewa people regard the lands within CANM as part of their ancestral landscape. Tewa oral traditions, archaeological research, and linguistic data all support the affiliation between the Tewa people and their ancestors who lived in the Basketmaker and Ancestral Pueblo sites in CANM.

Tewa values regarding the land and its resources are intrinsically tied to religion and tribal history. Tewa people continue to collect plants, animals, and minerals for medicinal and ceremonial purposes and other uses. In some cases, Tewa people travel great distances to collect resources from special places. Many plants growing in CANM are culturally important to Tewa people. Tewa people consider the animals, springs, rocks, and minerals within the monument to be significant elements of the landscape that should be treated with respect (Figure 16).

The ancestral sites in the monument provide Tewa people with tangible connections to the lives and traditions of



Figure 17. Danny Naranjo and Joseph Naranjo of Santa Clara Pueblo view the great kiva at Lowry Pueblo. Photograph by Maren P. Hopkins, May 4, 2017.

their ancestors. To Tewa visitors today, the setting, architecture, and artifacts at sites within the monument evoke traditions and values that have been passed down for generations. These places also provide new experiences and knowledge, helping Tewa people learn more about their past. Tewa visitors to the monument refer to the land and resources here as an “outdoor university,” important for teaching future generations of Pueblo people about their history and cultural legacies.

During a visit to CANM, a group of cultural advisors from Santa Clara Pueblo said that they would like to see ancestral sites within the monument treated with respect. Jacob Baca noted that viewsheds and soundscapes surrounding ancestral sites are important elements of the landscape that should be preserved. Ben Chavarria noted that he was glad that the public is interested in the sites at CANM, and he wanted everyone to enjoy what he had experienced during his visit (Figure 17).

*“It feels really good to come to these places. It really brings things full circle and it makes my heart feel good. Being here makes me proud to be Tewa.”*

—Danny Naranjo,  
Pueblo of Santa Clara

## Tiwa-Speaking Tribes

The Tiwa language is a branch of the Kiowan-Tanoan language family. The language is related to the Tewa and Towa languages spoken by other eastern pueblos in New Mexico and to the Kiowa languages spoken by groups on the Southern Plains. Five Tiwa-speaking pueblos are divided into northern and southern groups. The northern Tiwa communities include Taos Pueblo and Picuris Pueblo. The southern Tiwa communities include Sandia Pueblo, Pueblo

of Isleta, and Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in El Paso, Texas. The people of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo use the alternate spelling of Tigua to refer to their language and ancestry.

The Tiwa-speaking pueblos extend from Taos Pueblo and Picuris Pueblo north of Santa Fe to Sandia Pueblo and Isleta Pueblo in the middle Rio Grande. (Figure 18). Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in Texas was established after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The name “Ysleta del Sur” translates to “Isleta of the South” and reflects the fact that many of the people who



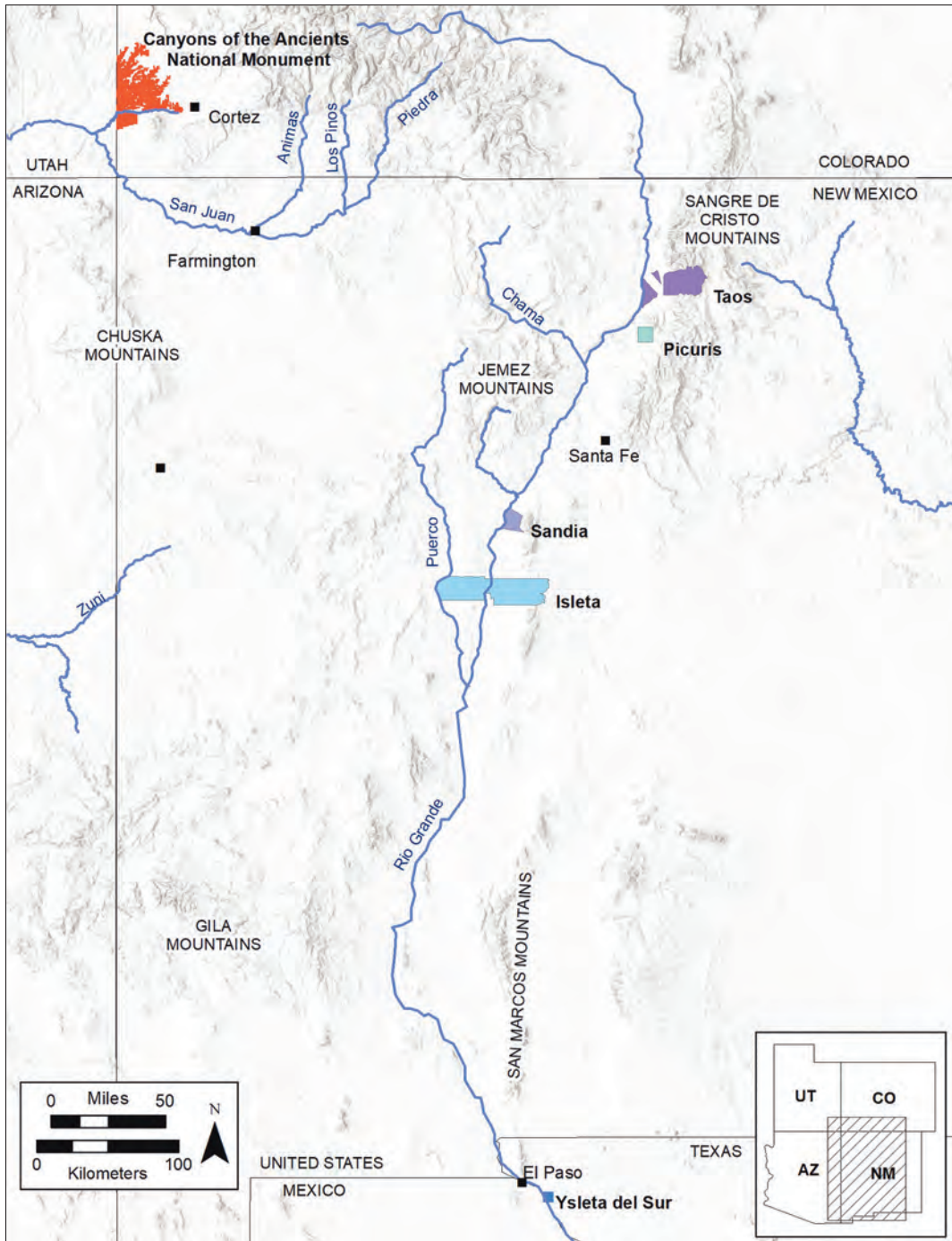


Figure 18. Location of Tiwa-speaking tribes in relation to Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

settled at Ysleta del Sur Pueblo came from Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico.

Each Tiwa-speaking pueblo maintains its own traditions regarding tribal history. In general, Tiwa origin traditions describe the emergence of ancestors from a lake located north of their current homes. The ancestors split into groups and migrated southward, building many villages

along the way. These ancestors were met by another group of people from the south, and these two groups eventually became a single linguistic community.

Many scholars think that Tiwa-speaking ancestors migrated into the Taos area at approximately A.D. 1100. These migrations may be represented by an influx of pit house-dwelling populations in the Taos Valley between



Figure 19. Woman at Isleta Pueblo, 1890. Photograph by Charles Lummis, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Digital ID: cph 3a53229 //hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a53229.

A.D. 950 and A.D. 1150. Some archaeologists suggest the Tiwa migrants in the Taos Valley arrived from the Piedra River region of southern Colorado.

The population in the Taos area increased after A.D. 1200 and large pueblo-style villages became prevalent. Ceramic evidence suggests there was an influx of people from Tewa Basin to the south. The archaeological record and oral traditions indicate there was violence at this time, but eventually a new social order was established integrating the various groups.

The linguistic distinction between northern and southern Tiwa dialects suggests an early split of these groups. Based on ceramic data, it appears there was a continuous cultural development in the Isleta Pueblo area between A.D. 1200 and A.D. 1700, with some influence from the Mogollon archaeological culture. Isleta Pueblo was estab-

lished about A.D. 1200, when several smaller villages merged into one community. During the late 13th and early-14th centuries, the people at Isleta Pueblo were joined by a group of migrants from the San Juan River area (Figure 19).

Sandia Pueblo has been continuously occupied from A.D. 1300, except for a brief hiatus during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In 1681, Spanish forces burned Sandia pueblo and the population of the pueblo fled to the Hopi Mesas and other areas. Sandia Pueblo was rebuilt in the 18th century after the refugees returned from other communities.

During the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, some southern Tiwa-speaking communities and their Piro-speaking neighbors fled or were forcefully removed by the Spanish colonists to the El Paso area. Ysleta del Sur Pueblo was established in its present location along the Rio Grande by the end of the 17th century. Ysleta del Sur Pueblo is sometimes referred to as Tigua Pueblo. During the 19th century, some members of Ysleta del Sur joined groups of Piro and Mansos to form the Tortugas Community near Las Cruces, New Mexico. The Tortugas community is not a federally recognized Indian tribe. Some Tigua also joined the Piro-speaking Senecú community near Ciudad Juarez. As descendants of southern Tiwa ancestry, the Tigua of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo share similar origins with the pueblos of Isleta and Sandia.

The Tiwa-speaking Pueblo tribes each maintain a distinctive social organization and history. Some Tiwa-speaking tribes are organized into two ceremonial moieties that have distinct ritual responsibilities throughout the year. While these groups vary among each Tiwa tribe, the groups are generally divided into North-Winter People and South-Summer People. The Tiwa-speaking pueblos are also organized into clan-like descent groups with their own songs, ceremonies, and ritual paraphernalia. Many members of Taos, Picuris, and Sandia pueblos also belong to religious societies or curing groups.

Tiwa communities commemorate an array of important places extending considerable distances from the present villages in stories, songs, and ceremonies. These places reflect landmarks associated with emergence, migrations, religious figures, important resources, and significant events in tribal histories. These landmarks are considered to be interrelated parts of a cultural landscape.

Today the Tiwa people have shrines located close to their current pueblos that are used to spiritually connect with distant locations, including the ancestral places located within CANM. Thus, the lands within CANM continue to play a role in the spiritual life and heritage of the Tiwa tribes.





Figure 20. Location of the Pueblo of Jemez and Pecos Pueblo in relation to Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

## Towa-Speaking Pueblo of Jemez

The Towa language is spoken by members of the Pueblo of Jemez. Towa is a branch of the Kiowa-Tanoan family, and is related to the Tiwa and Tewa languages spoken by several other Pueblo communities along the Rio Grande, as well as the Kiowa-speaking tribes of the Southern Plains. The Towa-speaking residents of Pecos Pueblo, located in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains 15 miles east of Santa Fe, migrated to Jemez Pueblo in 1838 to join that community after pressure from raiding Plains tribes, disease epidemics, and Spanish settlement of their lands led them to leave their village.

The Pueblo of Jemez is a federally recognized Indian tribe with a reservation located 55 miles northwest of Albuquerque, New Mexico (Figure 20). Jemez Pueblo, known as Walatowa to its residents, is located on the Jemez River in the foothills of the Jemez Mountains. The people of the Pueblo of Jemez refer to themselves as Hemish in their

Towa language. This term is also applied at times to their Towa-speaking ancestors.

Hemish origin traditions describe their emergence into the present world through an opening within a small body of water. This place is associated with Stone Lake, located near Dulce, New Mexico, on what is now the Jicarilla Apache reservation. After emergence, Hemish ancestors were given medicines, ceremonial knowledge, and instructions on how to live in their new world. With this knowledge, the ancestors brought rain, and the plants and animals thrived.

The creator instructed the Towa people to travel across the land to their destined home in the south. On their journey south, the people stopped at Ky'aaawāamu ("Rock Canyon"), which some Hemish people associate with the McElmo Canyon area of southwestern Colorado, including portions of CANM. Here, the Towa ancestors held ceremonies and formed clans. They traded with other peoples living in the area. The Hemish ancestors stayed at this northern home for many years. When the rains dried



Figure 21. Families outside of home at Jemez Pueblo, circa 1885. Photograph by Edwin Bass, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Digital ID: cph 3c12119 //hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c12119.

and raiding peoples arrived, the Hemish ancestors again held ceremonies. Eventually the P'æækish clan (associated with the people of Pecos Pueblo) left, migrating southeast. The remaining people came together in large settlements. When the rains again dried and the Hemish ancestors became hungry, they migrated to the southeast. The various clans and societies followed different paths during this migration, eventually settling in the Jemez Mountains of north-central New Mexico.

Linguistic evidence suggests that Towa emerged as a distinct language among the Tanoan-speaking people in the San Juan basin in southern Colorado as early as 400 B.C. Towa-speaking ancestors are thought to have migrated into northern New Mexico by A.D. 1000, where they established villages in the Jemez Mountain and Pecos region by A.D. 1250.

In A.D. 1540, the Spanish expedition of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado noted that the Towa-speaking people of the Jemez Mountains were living in ten villages in the Jemez Mountains. By the mid-17th century, in response to the Spanish policy to consolidate Native American communities, many Hemish people settled at Walatowa, the current location of Jemez Pueblo. Walatowa was temporarily vacated during the Pueblo Revolt, but the Hemish people returned there after hostilities ceased, and Walatowa has been home to the Hemish community since the early 1700s (Figure 21).

The Hemish people inherit their clan identities from their mothers. Traditionally some Hemish clans are responsible for certain ceremonial items and leadership roles. There

are two ceremonial groups at Jemez Pueblo, the Turquoise and Pumpkin groups, sometimes referred to as moieties. These moieties serve to organize ceremonial participants and each group performs ritual dances throughout the year. There are two kivas at Jemez Pueblo, one associated with each moiety. Many Hemish people belong to one or more religious societies associated with curing, clowning, weather patterns, hunting, celestial bodies, warring, and fertility. The societies participate in an annual cycle of rituals, with the year roughly split by the summer and winter solstices.

Hemish connections to CANM derive from tribal origin and migration traditions. Many ancestral places are known through oral traditions, and commemorated in ceremonies, songs, and prayers. These traditions indicate that Hemish ancestors lived in and migrated through lands in southwestern Colorado. Some accounts describe an ancestral homeland at McElmo Canyon, which traverses the southern portion of CANM. Hemish people recognize this ancestral area as the origin place of their clans.

There are Towa place names for landmarks within southwestern Colorado. P'æ húlése ("Man Mountain") refers to Sleeping Ute Mountain, located south of CANM. Here there is a shrine used by Hemish to make religious offerings.

## Jicarilla Apache Nation

The Jicarilla Apache Nation is a federally recognized Indian tribe with a reservation in northern New Mexico that abuts the Colorado state line (Figure 22). The people of the Jicarilla



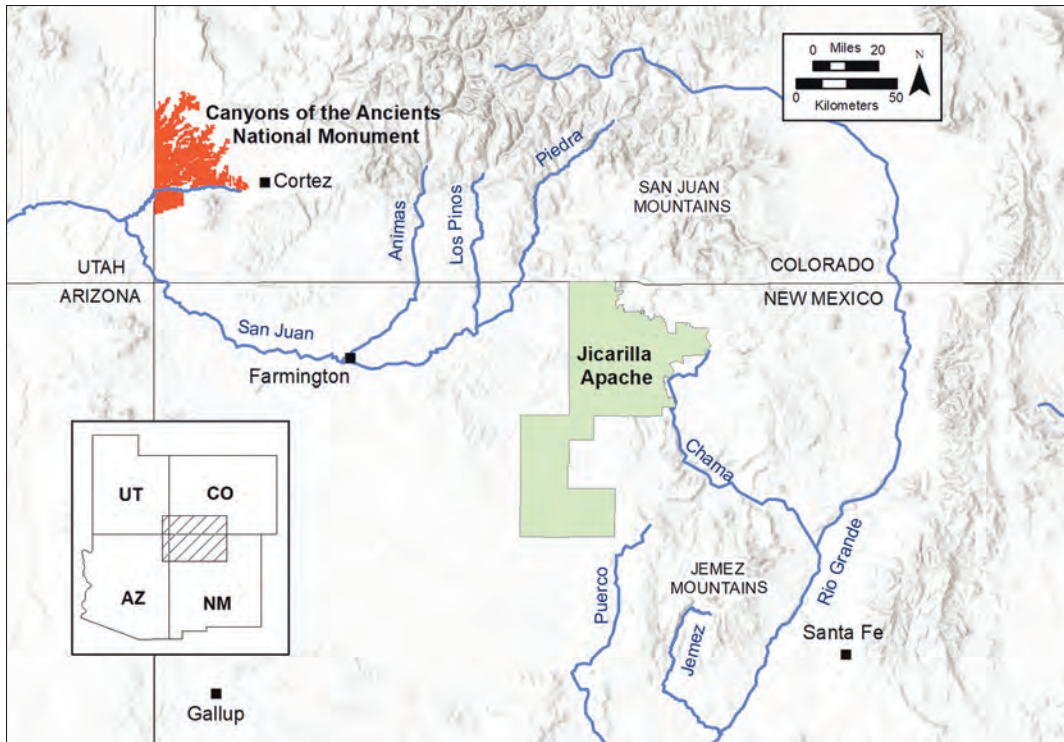


Figure 22. Location of the Jicarilla Apache Reservation in relation to Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

Apache Nation speak a dialect of the Southern Athapaskan language family, related to the languages spoken by other Apache Tribes and the Navajo Nation.

Some Jicarilla Apache traditions describe how people and animals emerged onto the earth's surface through a hole within a landform known as Big Mountain. Scholars suggest that Big Mountain is in southwestern Colorado. After emergence, the people were given instructions on how to live and what ceremonies to perform. Hero figures rid the world of monsters, allowing people to move freely across the land in search of their destined home. The people migrated in all directions, and groups of people branched off and formed settlements along the way. The main group eventually settled in an area delineated by four sacred rivers, including the Arkansas River in southeastern Colorado, the Canadian River in northeastern New Mexico, the Pecos River in eastern New Mexico, and the Chama River in northern New Mexico. From a Jicarilla Apache perspective, the area within the four rivers encompasses the earth's center. It is thus the core of the Jicarilla cultural landscape (Figure 23).

From an anthropological perspective, the Jicarilla Apache are among the Southern Athapaskan-speaking groups that migrated southward from western Canada. Researchers suggest multiple routes for the southern

migration, including the plateau west of the Rocky Mountains and the eastern foothills of the Rockies extending into the Plains. Multiple routes were likely taken during the Jicarilla Apache migrations, with groups arriving in the Southwest at different times. Archaeological evidence suggests that Jicarilla Apache ancestors were highly mobile, building brush and hide structures and occupying rock shelters in the mountains, foothills, and canyons.

Archaeological evidence indicates that Jicarilla Apache ancestors moved southward onto the plains of western Texas and eastern New Mexico around A.D. 1450, building camps with tipis and brush shelters on river terraces. As they moved westward, the Apaches increasingly traded with Pueblo communities in the Cimarron River region of northeastern New Mexico. Apaches produced sparkling, mica-flecked ceramics similar to those made at Taos Pueblo, Picuris Pueblo, and the Tewa pueblos. Jicarilla Apaches practiced limited agriculture and hunted bison into the mid-17th century.

Records of the 1540 Vasquez de Coronado expedition into New Mexico provide early descriptions of nomadic Plains groups thought to be ancestors of the Jicarilla Apache. These groups were called "Querechos" in early Spanish records. The Querechos hunted bison from the plains of western Texas and eastern New Mexico to southeastern

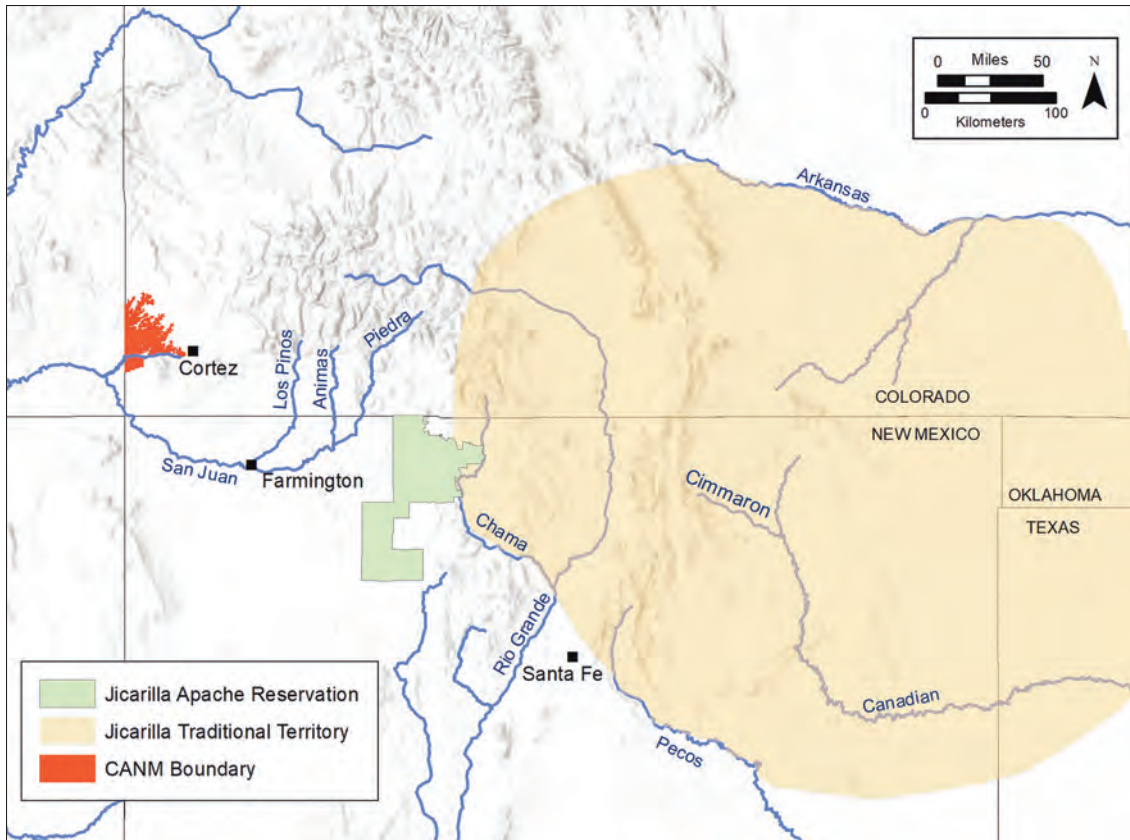


Figure 23. Jicarilla Apache traditional territory in relation to the current reservation boundaries and Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

Colorado, moving west to winter near the Rio Grande and Chama River Valleys.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, warring with Comanches and other Plains groups encouraged Jicarilla Apache groups to remain in the western portion of their territory, near Rio Grande pueblos and Spanish communities. Jicarilla Apache groups remained highly mobile into the mid-19th century, and semi-permanent camps were established near hunting and gathering grounds (Figure 24).

Some Jicarilla Apache bands referred to as Olleros (“Pot Makers”) maintained semi-permanent agricultural rancherías in the Upper Rio Grande and Chama River regions. Some Ollero families made bi-annual migrations between habitations, living in winter campsites in lower-elevation canyons and valleys, then moving to summer camps in the mountains of southern Colorado. Other Jicarilla Apache bands called Llaneros (“Plains People”) lived primarily in the plains of northeastern New Mexico and along the eastern foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains.

Jicarilla land use patterns were interrupted by the influx of Euro-American settlers in the mid-19th century. Apache groups responded to economic and territorial pressures

with raiding. In 1852, New Mexico Governor William Carr Lane initiated a program to resettle the Jicarilla Apache on lands west of the Rio Grande, only to have the program terminated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The failed relocation led to hostilities that resulted in military action against the Jicarilla Apache.

In 1855, the United States negotiated a peace treaty with the Jicarilla Apache but this treaty was not ratified by Congress. An Executive Order issued by President Ulysses Grant in 1874 established a reservation for the Jicarilla, but the order was repealed two years later. A second reservation was established for the Jicarilla Apache in north-central New Mexico in 1880, but pressure from non-Indians led the Department of the Interior to instead relocate the Jicarilla people to the Mescalero Apache Reservation in central New Mexico. The 1880 reservation was re-established in 1887, and the reservation was expanded from 416,000 to 742,315 acres in 1907.

While the Jicarilla Apache people now live on a single reservation, the Olleros and Llaneros groups are still recognized through clan affiliations. The Olleros are known as the Red Clan, while the Llaneros are known as the White Clan. The clans compete in an annual footrace.





Figure 24. Jicarilla Apache riders approach a camp, 1905. Photograph by Edward Curtis, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Digital ID: cph 3a48515 //hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a48515.

Jicarilla Apache people today regard all components of the universe, including plants, animals, landforms, and the elements, as animated by spiritual power. Together these components are respected as an interconnected whole.

Anthropologists recognize the importance of place, landscape, and directionality within the Apache vocabulary. Traditionally, the Jicarilla Apache had a mobile lifestyle, and they developed intricate mental maps of their territories that became embedded in their language. Geographic knowledge is passed down within the Jicarilla Apache community through stories, songs, and oral traditions. Places associated with hunting and collecting, landmarks defining band and local group territories, and ceremonial locales are all elements of Jicarilla cultural landscapes remembered through oral traditions. The vast landscape that is remembered through these traditions includes the lands now encompassed by CANM.

## Navajo Nation

With a population of more than 300,000 tribal members, the Navajo Nation is the second largest federally recognized tribe in North America. The tribe has an expansive reservation that covers portions of Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico (Figure 25). The tribal headquarters are located in Window Rock, Arizona, approximately 150 miles south of CANM. Navajo communities are organized into 110 chapters and grouped into 23 districts for local affairs and representation in the Tribal Council. The Aneth Chapter of the Navajo Nation in Utah abuts the southwestern portion of CANM.

The Navajo language is part of the Southern Athapaskan language family, and thus related to languages spoken by the Eastern and Western Apache bands, including the Jicarilla Apache. The people of the Navajo Nation are organized into clans, each of which has its own traditional history of origin and migration. These traditions are often recounted during ceremonies.

Navajo origin traditions begin with emergence through a series of three worlds where the earth and sky, the deities, the people, and the animals were formed. During the journey through the underworlds, the Navajo ancestors gained knowledge about how to live, including hunting and agricultural practices. The place of emergence is often associated with a lake or mountain in the north. Some scholars suggest that the La Plata Mountains of southwestern Colorado are associated with Navajo emergence.

After emergence, Navajo ancestors found the world covered in water and in the control of water birds. The water birds were defeated in battle and the water receded, exposing dry land. First Man and First Woman created a hogan, a round ceremonial structure, to delineate the Navajo world with a support post in each cardinal direction. First Man opened a medicine bundle on the floor of the hogan, releasing spiritual beings, animals, plants, celestial bodies, landforms, and the seasons. Smoke from the hogan transported the beings to their appropriate place in the world.

First Man and First Woman created Changing Woman from the clouds on Spruce Mountain, which is has been associated with Huerfano Mesa in northern New Mexico.

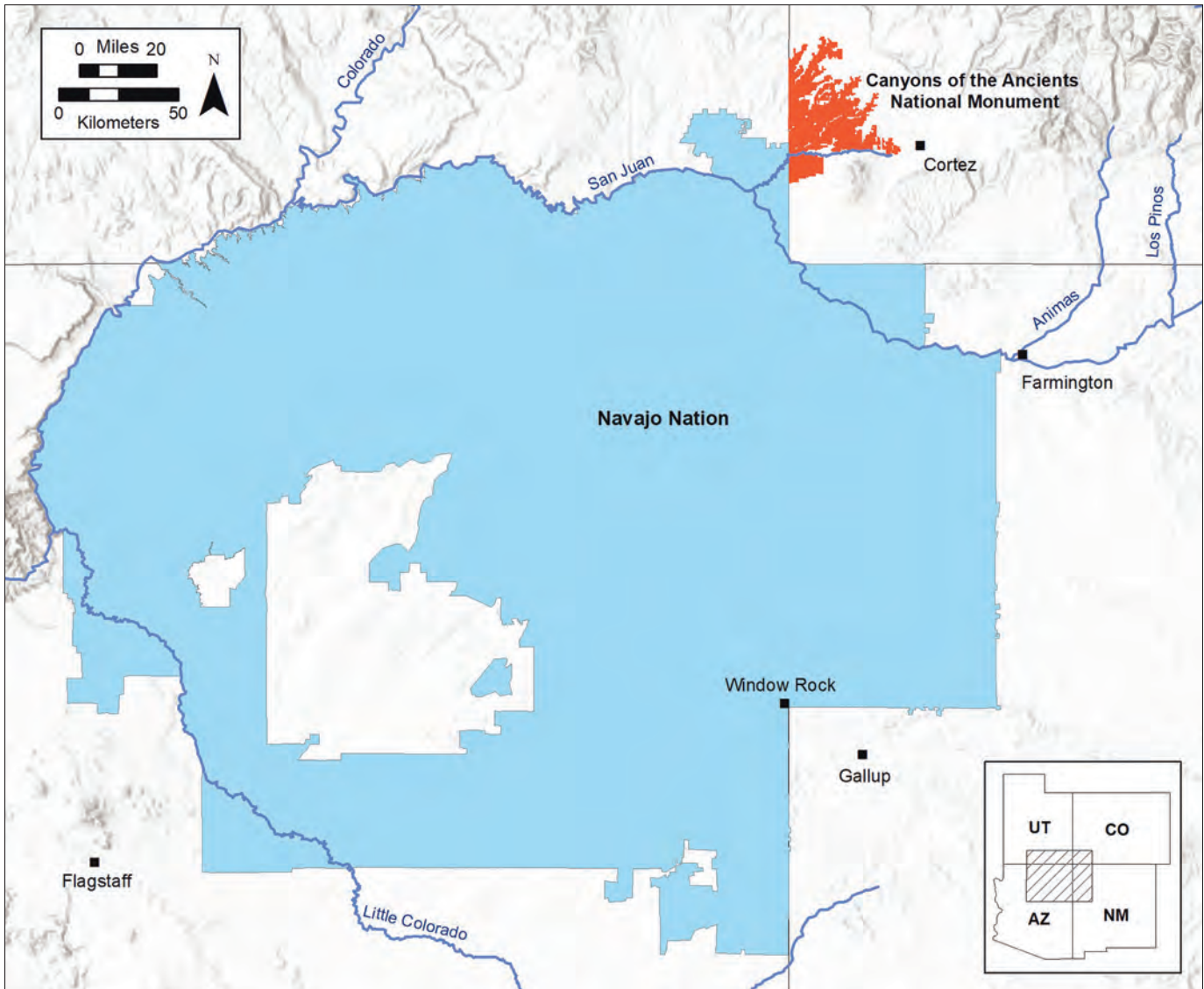


Figure 25. Location of the Navajo Nation in relation to Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

Changing Woman gave birth to twins, sometimes referred to as Monster Slayer and Born For Water. The twins rid the world of monsters that were created by the negative actions of earth's beings. Changing Woman created the first Navajo people, who formed the first clans of the tribe. The twins then moved to the area of the confluence of the San Juan and Los Pinos Rivers where they continue to protect the Navajo people.

Linguistic evidence suggests that around A.D. 1000, Athapaskan-speaking ancestors of the Navajo people migrated southward from western Canada. Archaeological evidence of these migrations is limited so the routes taken and timing of arrival in the Southwest is unclear. Some researchers suggest that Athapaskan groups expanded

southward along a corridor west of the Rocky Mountains, while other scholars consider routes east of the Rockies through the High Plains. Linguistic evidence suggests Navajo ancestors split from other Southern Athapaskan-speaking groups around A.D. 1300. Navajo people today understand their ancestry is complex, and they recognize the Four Corners region as the place where the Navajo people and their culture originated.

There is archaeological evidence of 16th-century Navajo occupation in southwestern Colorado and northwestern New Mexico. Early Navajo sites in the upper San Juan Basin have forked-stick hogans, grayware ceramics, distinctive lithic tools, and evidence of corn cultivation combined with wide use of wild resources.

By the time Spanish explorers and colonists arrived in the Southwest, the Navajo inhabited an expansive area that encompassed the Four Corners region. Sixteenth and seventeenth Spanish records describe the Navajo people as a semi-sedentary group that engaged in limited agriculture, supplemented by hunting and collecting of wild plants. After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Navajo communities in the northern San Juan River region took in refugees from many of the Pueblo communities.

In the late 1600s, some Navajos constructed fortified stone habitations in the San Juan region called “pueblitos.” These sites, often associated with hogans, may have been designed for defense. By the late 1700s, pressure from Ute and Comanche raiding and the Spanish slave trade drove Navajo people out of southern Colorado.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Navajos expanded southward into New Mexico and westward into southeastern Utah and northeastern Arizona. In the mid-19th century, Navajo groups faced increasing pressure from Euro-Americans who settled in the Southwest. Following clashes between Navajo and Euro-American settlers, the United States took military action against the Navajos. In 1864, the U.S. Army forcibly resettled approximately half of the Navajo population on the Bosque Redondo reservation at Fort Sumner in eastern New Mexico. Some Navajos fled into southern Colorado during the violent roundup efforts between 1864 and 1868.

In 1868, the Navajo were released from Bosque Redondo and a reservation was established for them in northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico. The Navajo reservation was expanded several times between 1878 and 1934, and now encompasses approximately 27,000 square miles in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah.

The primary social and economic unit among the Navajo is the residence group, composed of an extended family organized around a head matriarch. The residence group traditionally includes houses, fields, livestock, and land, all of which are associated with the matriarch (Figure 26). Traditionally, residential groups were loosely organized into local groups with a head figure. Local groups were organized for defense, warfare, and interaction with non-Navajo groups. During the 20th century, Navajo communities grew around businesses, schools, and churches.

In Navajo society, the spiritual leaders are the hataali, ritual singers or chanters. The chants performed by the hataali are key elements of Navajo ceremony and curing rituals, many of which are performed over a nine-day period. While initiation into the hataali is open to all Navajo people, it

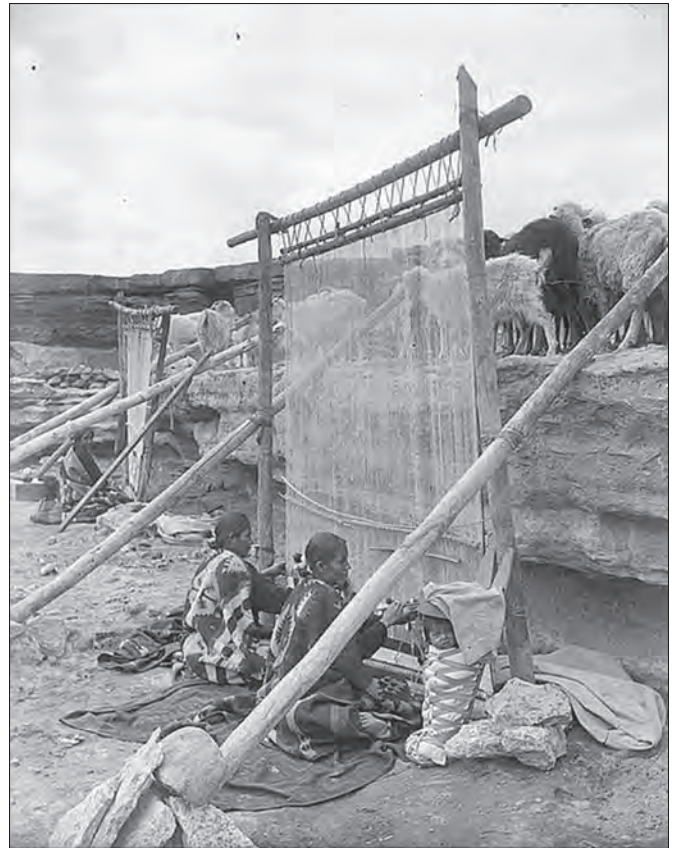


Figure 26. Navajo weavers, circa 1914. Photograph by Pennington & Rowland, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Digital ID: ppmsc 00135 //hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsc.00135.

takes years to attain the religious knowledge involved in the ceremonial and curing rituals. Many aspects of Navajo traditional knowledge regarding the land and its resources are relayed through esoteric ceremonial practices, and some knowledge is held only by specific spiritual leaders. Navajo spiritual knowledge is used to maintain balance within the universe; disturbance of harmony can bring danger.

The Navajo place of emergence is a central feature of the Navajo landscape. Some origin traditions locate the emergence place north of current Navajo lands, perhaps in the vicinity of the La Plata Mountains of southern Colorado. Extending outwards from the emergence place, four sacred mountain peaks delineate the sacred lands of the Navajo. These peaks symbolize the support posts of the hogan created by First Man. In some accounts, the four sacred peaks include Dibé Ntsaa (Hesperus Peak) in the north, Tsódzil (Mt. Taylor) in the south, Sisnaajini (Blanca Peak) in the east, and Dook’o’ooshiid (San Francisco Peaks) in the west.

The landscape of Navajo origins is sometimes referred to as Dinétah. Dinétah is the “cradle” of Navajo culture, and encompasses numerous landmarks. Landforms, ancestral sites, and plant and animal resources are important elements of Dinétah and other cultural landscapes. Landforms are significant in their own right as living entities, and they also serve as landmarks that define clan and tribal territory, and commemorate important historical and ceremonial sites.

Navajo people traditionally consider archaeological sites to be sacred places associated with the dead and thus spiritually dangerous. Navajo people consider the archaeology of Dinétah, including pottery, structures and tools, to be important tools for teaching Navajo youth about the history of their culture

Each Navajo clan has its own origin traditions. The religious beliefs of some Navajo people outline ancestral ties to the Anaasázi, the Navajo term for the ancient people who lived on Navajo traditional lands, including the people that archaeologists refer to as Ancestral Puebloans. Navajo ceremonies include histories that reference Anaasázi sites, including the Night Way, Shooting Way, Mountaintop Way, Eagle Way, and Bead Way. Anaasázi sites are important in Navajo culture, and some Navajos consider Anaasázi sites to be the homes of spiritual figures that are invoked during dances and ceremonies.

The Navajo treat plants and animals with the same respect accorded to human beings. Plant and animal resources are collected only when there is a need for them. Prayers are offered to collected plants and animals to explain why their life is needed, and offerings of corn meal or pollen and a precious stone are left before collecting them. These offering places become personal shrines that are revisited by Navajos.

The lands encompassed within CANM are part of a landscape associated with Navajo creation and ancestral history. Navajo people today commemorate the lands within the monument in stories and prayers.

## Ute Tribes

There are three federally recognized Ute tribes: the Southern Ute Tribe, the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, and Ute Indian

*“... in Native American culture, those things that have danger, destructive forces [are] not all bad. If you tap into those, the power from it, you can use that for protection. [Canyons of the Ancients National Monument] is like that ... the plants that grow there are medicine.”*

—Harry Walters, Navajo Nation

Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation (Figure 27). Parts of the Ute Mountain Ute reservation abut CANM on the south and east sides.

The Ute language is a part of the Southern Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan family. Ute is related to languages spoken by other tribes of the Colorado River Basin and Great Basin. Regional dialects exist but they are mutually understandable.

Ute origin traditions provide tribal members with an understanding of their relationship to the

land, social relations, and history. Some traditions regarding Ute origins describe how the earth was once covered in water. Grandmother Water floated within a basket, creating the land from her own body. Grandmother Water sent her helper, Sinawavi, over the land to ensure it was complete. Sinawavi set out from a mountain at the center of the land, creating trails as he traveled to the water’s edge. He carried a basket that Grandmother Water had prepared for the journey. She instructed him to carry the contents, which were people, to the water’s edge. However, Sinawavi allowed people to fall out of the basket along his path. Grandmother Water became angry and sent rushing water from a sacred lake toward Sinawavi, cutting deep canyons in the land.

When Sinawavi reached the water’s edge, he realized he had dropped much of the contents of the basket. He turned back, retracing his steps. As he traveled, he found the people he had dropped along the way. With each group, Sinawavi gave the people a name and instructions on how to live. When he arrived back at the center of the land, he named the people he had left there Nuutsiyu (“Mountain People”), now called Ute.

Ute origin traditions do not describe migrations. They indicate that the Ute people have always lived at the center of their world.

Archaeological evidence of Ute origins and early lifeways is limited because of their nomadic, low-impact lifestyle. By the mid-16th century, Ute bands inhabited a territory that spanned from eastern Nevada, across Utah and Colorado, and into northern New Mexico. Archaeological evidence of Ute occupation includes dome and conical-shaped brush huts, game traps, petroglyphs, pictographs, stone tools, plant-fiber cordage, basketry, and coiled pottery. By the 19th century, eastern Ute bands had adopted hide tipi structures,



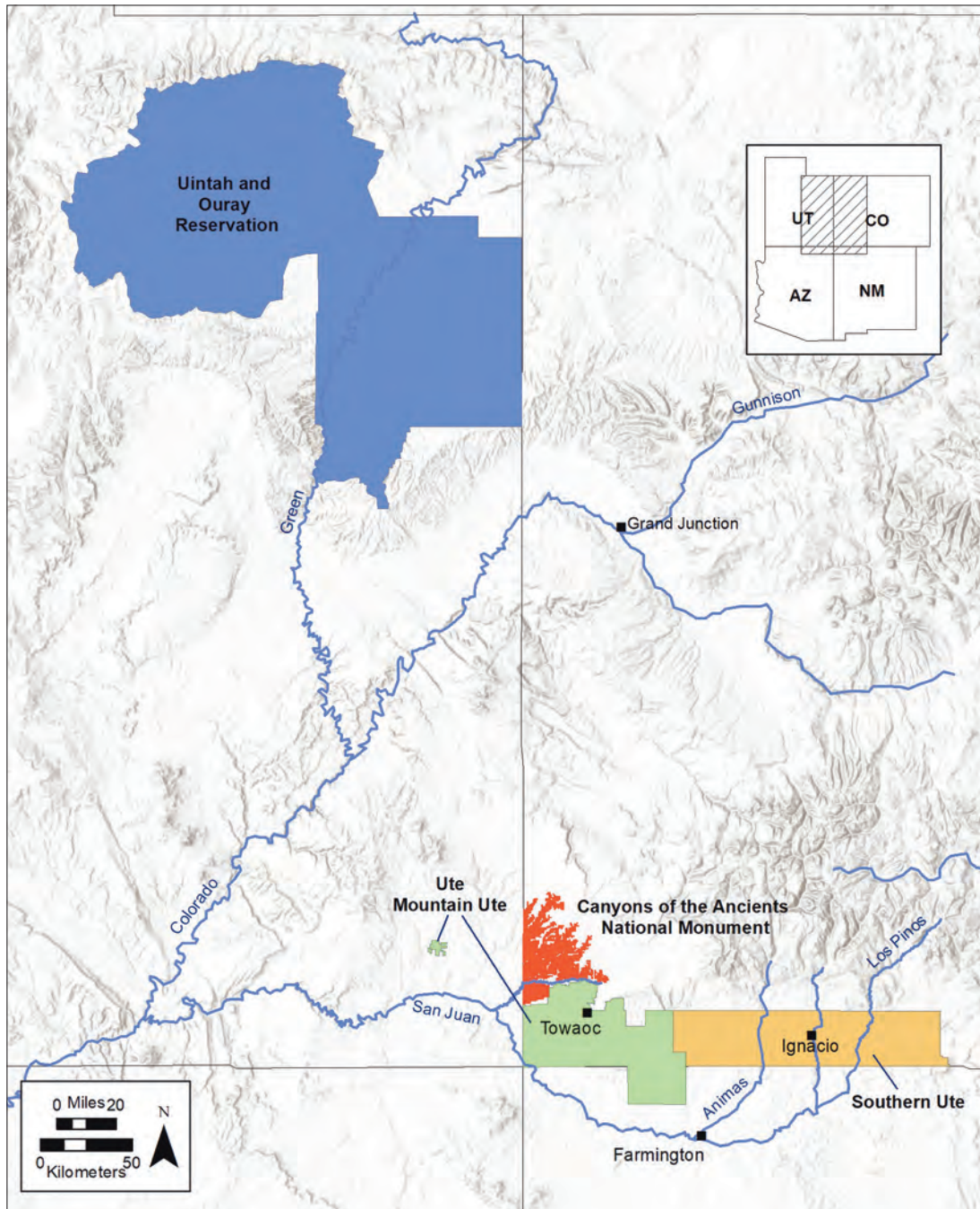


Figure 27. Location of the Ute tribes in relation to Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

and crafts using quills, feathers, and beadwork. Tipis were often constructed using six to ten elk or buffalo hides, and were transported using a travois or with pack animals.

Traditionally, Utes resided in small residential groups that consisted of five to ten families (Figure 28). Residential groups were integrated into eleven regional bands. An eastern group of bands ranged through western Colorado, northern New Mexico, and eastern Utah, including the

Muache, Capote, Weeminuche, Uncompahgre (a.k.a., Tabequache), Parusanuch, and Yampa bands. A western group of bands ranged through central and western Utah into eastern Nevada, including the Uintah, Timpanogots, Pahvant, Sanpits, and Moanunts bands. Bands maintained traditional territories for resource collection but other bands could use plant, animal, and mineral resources there.



Figure 28. Ute woman in front of brush structure, circa 1874. Photograph by John K. Hillers, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Digital ID: stereo15-1632.

Ute bands and local groups practiced seasonal mobility, moving with the availability of game and plant foods. Oral traditions describe the seasonal rounds of families in relation to a central mountain within their associated territories. Some groups were named for the central mountain within their home territory. The ceremonial cycle was performed in tandem with the seasonal movements of the bands, with summer ceremonies taking place in higher mountain settings and fall and winter ceremonies occurring in lower valley camps.

Between the 1600s and 1700s, Ute bands incorporated horses into their lifeways, increasing their mobility. While Ute raiding of Apache, Navajo, and Pueblo settlements may have occurred sporadically before the 16th century, raiding increased after the 18th century after horses had been incorporated into Ute communities and in response to competition with Plains groups.

In the mid-19th century Euro-American settlers surged into Ute territory to pursue mining, ranching, logging, and railroad ventures.

The increased non-Native population disrupted the traditional land use and mobility patterns of the Ute bands. Amid rising conflicts with American settlers, Ute bands signed a series of treaties with the United States. One such treaty, signed in 1868, established a reservation that encompassed 15 million acres in western Colorado, including lands that are now part of CANM. An Executive Order of President Abraham Lincoln established the Uintah Reservation in northeastern Utah in 1861.

In the 1870s and early 1880s, the federal government returned most of the land allotted to the Utes in Colorado to the public domain. The Uncompahgre, Tabeguache, and White River bands were relocated to the Ouray Reservation in eastern Utah, and the Uintah and Ouray Reservations were merged in 1886. Between the 1890s and 1934, most of the land within these two reservations was allotted to individual tribal members, and the remainder was opened to homesteading and mineral claims or set aside as public lands.

In the late 19th century, the Muache, Capote, and Weeminuche bands negotiated a land exchange that created a reservation around the Piedra, San Juan, Navajo, and Chama Rivers in southwestern Colorado and northern New Mexico. The Hunter Act of 1895 opened much of the Ute reservation in southern Colorado to homesteading and sale. Many members of the Capote and Muache bands moved to the area that became the Southern Ute Reservation. The Weeminuche moved to the west to a reservation around the settlement of Towaoc, now the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation.



Figure 29. Ute men on horseback, circa 1905. Photograph by F. M. Steele, LLC, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Digital ID: cph 3a35114 //hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a35114.

Ute language, history, and identity are embedded within traditional landscapes. Mountains and other landforms serve as important frames of reference for many Ute practices, from vision quests to resource collection. The viewsheds associated with Ute cultural sites are vital. The traditionally mobile lifestyle of Ute ancestors inscribed the land with a vast network of trails, and these trails are sacred to the Ute people (Figure 29).

Today, the Ute people have strong cultural and historical ties to CANM. The Utes historically used monument lands to camp, hunt, collect resources, and perform ceremonies. Today members of the Ute tribes use place names, stories, songs, and ceremonies to pass on the knowledge gained from their ancestors to young people within their tribes. The Utes keep their connections to ancestral landscapes alive by using their traditional lands.

## Tribal Connections to Canyons of the Ancients National Monument

Members of tribal communities have significant cultural and historical connections to the land and resources now encompassed by CANM. While these tribes no longer live within monument lands, the ancient villages, activity areas, plants, animals, minerals, and landforms within

CANM continue to play important roles in tribal lifeways and identities.

Tribal members today evoke the land and resources within CANM in oral traditions, ceremonial practices, and continued visitation. Tribal histories are memorialized within the ancient sites of CANM, and these places are spiritually powerful learning sites.

The significance of CANM extends beyond the many ancient sites where past inhabitants left their mark. The plants, animals, water sources, rocks, and landforms are all interconnected with tribal history in the monument, and these resources are considered to have life forces of their own. Tribal communities historically associated with CANM stress it is important to show respect to the lands and ancestral sites within CANM. The preservation of the land and resources within CANM will help ensure that new generations of tribal members will carry the traditions of their past into the future.

*“This is our roots here, our home ... we look back at our homelands, this is where it’s at. That keeps us going.”*

—Charles Sisneros,  
Pueblo of Santa Clara

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### FOR FURTHER READING

*Ancient Puebloan Southwest* (2004) by John Kantner

*Archaeology of the Southwest* (2016) by Linda Cordell and Maxine McBrinn

*Becoming White Clay: A History and Archaeology of Jicarilla Apache Enclavement* (2014) by B. Sunday Eiselt

*Big Falling Snow: A Tewa-Hopi Indian’s Life and Times and the History and Traditions of His People* (1978) by Albert Yava

*Hopi People* (2009) by Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa and Carolyn O’Bagy Davis

*Navajo Places: History, Legend, Landscape* (2000) by Laurance Linford

*Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian History* (1992) by Joe Sando

*The Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico* (2001) by Virginia McConnell Simmons

*Viewing the Ancestors: Perceptions of the Anaasázi, Mokwic, and Hisatsinom* (2014) by Robert S. McPherson

*The Zuni* (1999) by Edmund J. Ladd

## GLOSSARY

**Anaasázi** (Navajo): Term meaning “Ancient People.” A variant of this word, Anasazi, was adopted by archaeologists to describe the material culture of Puebloan people in the past. Pueblo people today prefer the term “Ancestral Puebloan” to refer to the archaeological features and artifacts left by their ancestors, rather than the term “Anasazi.”

**A:shiwi** (Zuni): Zuni people refer to themselves in their language as A:shiwi.

**Band:** Social group of people united through kinship, political ties, territory, or other means.

**Clan:** Kinship term denoting a descent group. Clan identity is inherited from one or both parents. In Southwestern tribal societies, one’s clan membership often determines one’s role in the social and ceremonial life of the community.

**Dibé Ntsaa** (Navajo): Place name for Hesperus Peak, a Navajo sacred mountain associated with the north.

**Dikya:we** (Zuni): Term for the medicine societies at Zuni Pueblo. The knowledge of medicinal songs and rituals used by the Dikya:we was gained during the migrations of a group of Zuni ancestors to the north of present-day Zuni Pueblo, including through the area of Canyons of the Ancients National Monument.

**Diné** (Navajo): Navajo people refer to themselves as Diné, meaning “People.”

**Dinétah** (Navajo): Landscape associated with Navajo history, located in the Four Corners region. This landscape is described in Navajo origin traditions and is associated with the development of traditional Navajo lifeways.

**Hą-ščín** (Jicarilla Apache): Creator deity that is associated with the land, plants, animals, and elements.

**Halona:Idiwan’a** (Zuni): The “Middle Place,” or destined home of the Zuni people, located within Zuni Pueblo in eastern New Mexico.

**Hataali** (Navajo): Ritual singers or chanters. The hataali have distinct sets of historical and ceremonial knowledge. The hataali perform songs and chants as part of curing rituals and in other contexts.

**Hemish** (Towa): The people of the Pueblo of Jemez refer to themselves in their language as Hemish.

**Hogan** (Navajo): These structures are the sites of ceremonies, prayers, and traditional teachings, and are therefore sacred spaces.

**Hopitutskwa** (Hopi): Term meaning “Hopi Land” that describes the vast landscape in which Hopi ancestors lived and migrated in the past.

**Hopisinom** (Hopi): Term for the Hopi people, collectively.

**Huniona coshcotwit** (Keres [Zia]): Place name for the area of Canyons of the Ancients National Monument, meaning “West of the Area of Large Villages.”

**Ibahöye’ahoa** (Tiwa): Term for the migration journey from the place of emergence to the present Tiwa Pueblos.

**Itaakukuveni** (Hopi): Hopi word for “footprints” referring to the villages, artifacts, petroglyphs and pictographs, shrines, and other features left behind by Hopi ancestors.

**Kiva:** Social and ceremonial structure used in many Pueblo communities, past and present. Different terms are used across the Pueblo communities for these structures. For example, the Hopi refer to these structures as kivas, while the Zuni use the term kiwistiwe. However, the Hopi term “kiva” has been adopted as a general term for these structures used by many tribal members when speaking in English.

**Ky’ääwāamu** (Towa): Name in the Hemish language for the McElmo Canyon area (which runs through the southern part of Canyons of the Ancients National Monument), meaning “Rock Canyon.”

**Māasaw** (Hopi): Name for the Hopi Earth Guardian.

**Moiety:** Dual social divisions within a society, often based on descent. Moieties may divide groups based on territory, ceremonial responsibilities, or other social and religious roles.

**Ndee** (Apache): Apache people refer to themselves as Ndee, meaning “People.” Variants of this term include T’inde and Indê.

**Nú-čiu, Nuche, Nuutsiyu** (Ute): Terms used by Ute people to refer to themselves; Nú-čiu means “People,” while Nuche and Nuutsiyu mean “Mountain People.”

**P’æ húlése** (Towa): Name in the Towa language spoken by members of the Pueblo of Jemez for Ute Peak or Sleeping Ute Mountain (located just south of Canyons of the Ancients National Monument), meaning “Man Mountain.”

**Shipop** (Keres): The place of emergence, located in an unknown locale north of the present-day Keres Pueblos.

**Sipofene or Sipop’e** (Tewa): The place of emergence, associated with an unknown locale north of the present-day Tewa Pueblos. Sipofene is located below Okhangep’o:kwinge, or “Sandy Lake Place.”

**Sisnaajini** (Navajo): Place name for Blanca Peak, a sacred peak associated with the east. This place is an important landmark within the Dinétah.

**Tawtoykya** (Hopi): Term for the region of Canyons of the Ancients National Monument, meaning “Place of the Songs.”

**Wisikaavichi** (Ute): Place name for Ute Peak or Sleeping Ute Mountain, located just south of Canyons of the Ancients National Monument, meaning “Little Yucca Mountain.”



