

Nina Swidler, David Eck, T. J. Ferguson and Leigh Kuwanwisiwma,
Roger Anyon and Loren Panteah, and Klara Kelley and Harris Francis

Multiple Views of the Past Integrating Archeology and Ethnography in the Jeddito Valley

Project sponsors and researchers continue to be challenged to ascertain public concerns, and to incorporate these concerns into cultural resource management investigations. As is often the case with development projects in the southwestern United States, Native American tribes are one of the most vocal segments of the public. Frequently, tribal concerns are not synonymous with either national interests or mainstream archeological thought, but rather relate to matters of self-identity and cultural continuity. Recognizing this, sponsors and researchers must structure research to uncover, understand, and act upon concerns voiced by tribes. Many southwestern tribes are highly motivated to represent their own interests, and have acquired the necessary expertise to fully participate in research projects.



Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team (ZCRAT) and project archeologist exchanging information. From left, Loren Panteah, Smith Cachini, Sr., John Bowannie, and Eldrick Seoutewa, ZCRAT; David Eck, Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise (ZCRE); and Roger Anyon, Heritage Resource Management Consultants; July 1997. Photo by Nina Swidler, courtesy the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department.

This paper provides an example of effective consultation and collaborative research with and among tribes in a case study designed to explore issues dealing with the identification, evaluation, and interpretation of historic properties.

Project Overview

The study involves cultural resource investigations associated with the construction of Jeddito Road, located on the Navajo Indian Reservation in northeastern Arizona. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Federal Highway Administration provided funding for the Navajo Nation to develop and administer this project. The Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise (ZCRE) was contracted to conduct the investigations, and funding was provided for tribal participation.

During the assessment phase, the Navajo Nation invited the Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, and Zia Pueblos to help identify places of concern and to propose management recommendations alongside archeologists. Only the Hopi Tribe and Navajo residents of the Jeddito community agreed to participate. These investigations identified 15 cultural resources along the 1.2-mile-long road. Archeologists recorded nine sites, and tribal consultants identified six traditional cultural properties, historical sites, or in-use properties.

For many projects, active tribal involvement could end at this point. However, the Navajo Nation devised a pilot study to continue and expand tribal involvement, the goal of which was to document tribal opinions about the same research issues that the archeologists were studying. To accomplish this, the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department, ZCRE, and the Navajo, Hopi, and Zuni tribes together designed a prospectus that augmented the research design previously developed by archeologists to mitigate adverse effects of the project on historic properties.

The prospectus identified a series of topics related to the research issues of environment and economy, population and demography, social organization, and regional relationships. Tribal cultural advisors focused on four related topics: tribal use, occupation, and connections to the project area through time; tribal interpretations of excavated archeological sites; how tribally controlled ethnohistoric research can or should be used in cultural resource management investigations; and management recommendations. Each tribe, along with its consulting anthropologist, decided how best to address these topics. The anthropologists examined existing literature and conducted interviews with tribal cultural advisors to record tribal interpretations of the archeology.

In addition, cultural advisors from two tribes and the Navajo community visited the ongoing archeological excavations when most of the structures and related artifacts were visible. Later, advisors from all tribes reviewed a sample of excavated artifacts to interpret the functions and meanings of material culture and their context. Finally, the cultural advisors, tribal officials, and consulting anthropologists met to address research issues, and prepare and review draft reports.

Summary of Investigation Results

Restricted space precludes presentation of a complete summary of project results. Thus, we have chosen to briefly summarize archeological interpretations about the research issues and follow with individual tribal perspectives about these and related topics. Not surprisingly, while

the archeologically-derived interpretations point to general explanations of the use or function of built environments and artifacts, tribally-derived information provides specific and human detail to these reconstructions of past lifeways. The authors are currently working on a longer article that will more fully address these and other aspects of the investigations.

Archeological Interpretation of Life in the Jeddito Valley

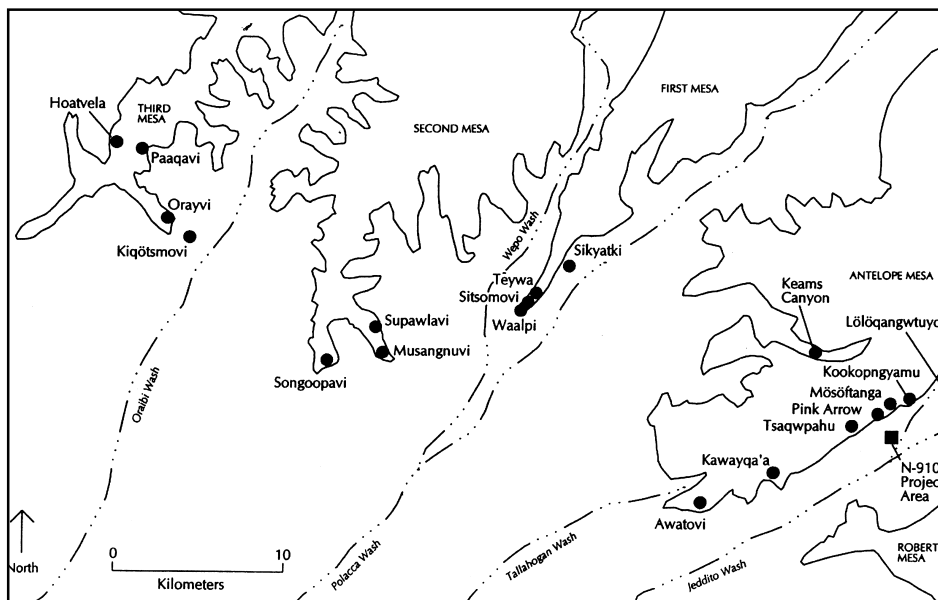
Archeologists believe that these sites were the homes of at least two groups of people whose culture they term “Anasazi,” referring to a suite of material culture complexes found in the Four Corners region of the American Southwest. One group, living here between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200, may have been related to people living in the Cibola area to the east. These occupants seem to have purposefully abandoned their homes, removing their belongings and burning the structures. A second group, living here between A.D. 1100 and A.D. 1300, may have been more closely affiliated with people living near the Little Colorado River to the southwest. These occupants left useable artifacts on the floors of the unburned houses when they moved away. Other, more recent artifacts and features suggest continued, nonresidential use from A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1500, probably for agricultural purposes.

The occupants were agriculturalists who also collected wild foods. Some archeological evidence points to year-round, sedentary occupation, while other data suggest repeated use, perhaps seasonally. Clear evidence of social organization is lacking, but the presence of multiple dwellings at each site suggests that an extended family group or groups of families lived here. One large, well-constructed structure at each site may have served an integrative or ceremonial purpose.

Hopi Footprints in the Jeddito Valley

The Hopi believe that the inhabitants of these sites were Hisatsinom (ancestral Hopi). Research identified 21 clans that settled in or migrated through the Jeddito Valley and Antelope Mesa. These clans are affiliated with the Hopi, Tewa, Zuni, Laguna, and Hano

Relationship of the Jeddito Road (N9101) Project Area to ancestral and modern Hopi villages. Courtesy the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.



Toneta Hamilton points out migration design elements during Hopi Artifact Study, September 1997. Photo by T. J. Ferguson, courtesy the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

peoples, revealing the multi-ethnic character of ancient migrations. One Hopi cultural advisor pointed out that Awatovi was the main village occupied in the Jeddito area. He suggested that clans occupied smaller, temporary settlements in the Jeddito Valley, waiting for permission to join the Awatovi community or other large villages on Antelope Mesa. Eventually the Hisatsinom migrated to the villages still occupied on the Hopi Mesas.

Hopi cultural advisors commented on many aspects of the archeological record. For example, the manos and metates at the sites provide good evidence that the people were agriculturists who grew corn. They suggested that a feature identified by archeologists as a storage room was actually a corn grinding facility. The Hopi interpreted the function of a room hearth that incorporated two compartments, explaining that one enclosure would have been used for the fire, while the other would contain coals, serving as a long-lasting heat source useful for keeping food warm. In the floor of another pit structure, Hopi advisors identified four small holes as loom holes, and two holes located behind the deflector as ladder holes underneath the structure's roof entry. Given these features, they concluded this structure was a kiva, or ceremonial structure. They identified another feature as a kiva, based on architectural features including a bench, wall niches, a possible *sipapu*, and possible loom holes. A paint bowl in the artifact assemblage supported their interpretation. Hopi advisors identified another feature as an outdoor oven.

Hopi potters discussed the similarities in technological style between ancient and contemporary Hopi ceramics, and firing techniques in relation to the clay deposits in the Jeddito Valley. Hopi and Tewa potters can still "read" the designs on ancient pottery from the Jeddito Valley. For example, Tonita Hamilton, a Hopi-Tewa potter, pointed out the migration design on a black-on-white jar.

The Hopi cultural advisors expressed concern about the way that archeologists use the concept of "abandonment." They explained that archeological usage makes it seem as though entire peoples ceased to exist, and also implies that they have relinquished a claim to an area when they move. However, the Hopi still claim the Jeddito Valley as part of their ancestral homeland, and recognize it as an area where their



ancestors are buried. In this sense, they have never abandoned the area.

The Hopi advisors made it clear that contemporary archeological research in the Southwest cannot be divorced from social, political, and moral issues. Hopi articulation of these issues clearly situates archeological research within an administrative and intellectual context that has significant impacts on the living descendants of the people that occupied the excavated sites.

Diné (Navajo) Research in the Jeddito Valley

The Diné refer to the people who lived at these sites as *Anaasází*—the Diné name for the people who inhabited the land before most Diné clans arrived. The Diné usage is much more general than the archeologists' usage of the word "Anasazi." Diné consultants and published narratives agree that many Diné ceremonial stories and procedures originated at *Anaasází* sites when *Anaasází* were actively using those sites. For example, Tala Hooghan (meaning "flat-top hogan")—the Diné name for the site of Awatovi—is an important place in Diné oral tradition.

Opinions differ on how these stories and ceremonial procedures came to Diné. Some Diné say that certain Diné clans existed in Anasazi times and that other clans left various Pueblos such as Jemez, Hopi, and Zuni to join Diné. Two clans most commonly linked to *Anaasázís*—

ZCRAT (from left, John Bowannie, Smith Cachini, Sr., Octavius Seowtewa, Eldrick Seowtewa, and Loren Panteah) and David Eck, ZCRE, discuss a roasting feature (A'lo:kya) at Site AZ-O-10-35, July 1997. Photo by Roger Anyon, courtesy the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office.

Tchii'nii (meaning “Red Running to Water People”) and *Kiiyaa'anii* (meaning “Towering House People”)—are large and widespread. These clans include the originators of many Diné ceremonial repertoires and absorbed people from Tala Hooghan.

Diné stories center on Tala Hooghan during the heyday of the large *Anaasázi* settlements in Chaco Canyon and Aztec, located about 200 miles east, between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1300. The stories place Tala Hooghan on travel routes to the Pacific Coast and Mexico, and suggest that inhabitants of the sites were involved in the long-distance exchange of ceremonial items. For example, they mention turquoise that came from Chaco and Aztec and was traded via northern Black Mesa to Tala Hooghan. Plants and feathers, and perhaps shells, were obtained from the subtropical southland and traded through Tala Hooghan and Canyon de Chelly, finally arriving in the Chacoan area. While excavations did not reveal evidence of turquoise, subtropical plants, or feathers, archeologists unearthed locally produced beads. Perhaps these were imitations of shell beads that came to Tala Hooghan but failed to trickle into its backwaters to sites such as those that were excavated.

Diné cultural advisors stressed that development projects must avoid *Anaasázi* sites and human remains whenever possible. Government agencies should routinely consult Diné ceremonialists and local residents about the protection of *Anaasázi* sites, artifacts, and graves, both on and off of Navajo Nation lands. This is because the Diné associate stories and ceremonies with certain archeological sites, and improper contact with *Anaasázi* things can bring misfortune on Diné. Similarly, the recording of ceremonies or stories is generally inappropriate because it can cause harm if not controlled by the proper ceremonial setting or season. Finally, the advisors also believe that Diné and neighboring tribes need formal agreements through which to consult each other about sensitive cultural resources and to govern access to sacred places on each other's lands.

Zuni Research in the Jeddito Valley

The Zuni believe that the inhabitants of the sites were A:shiwí (ancestral Zuni). The narratives



relating A:shiwí migrations form the basis of the Zuni perspectives about cultural context and culture history. Along their migration, somewhere in the Little Colorado River valley, the A:shiwí split into several groups. One group migrated northward from the Little Colorado River valley, through the general Jeddito Valley area and the Four Corners region, eventually arriving at *Halona:I:tiwana* (meaning “the middle place”), or Zuni Pueblo.

The Zuni cultural advisors also offered interpretations of many aspects of the archeological record, some of which can provide testable hypotheses. The similarity of many features and artifacts to those still used at Zuni today enabled them to readily infer food preparation practices and specific manufacturing activities. For example, the Zuni identified a roasting pit, known as *A'lo:kya* in the Zuni language, that is still used for steaming corn, piñon, and squash. The advisors suggested that a set of artifacts with ground surfaces may have been used as an arrow shaft straightener. They made inferences about minerals and mineral grinding slabs, including the means by which minerals and organic materials are processed into paint, and how paint is prepared to give it bonding qualities. The advisors interpreted a grinding slab with multiple ground areas and differential grinding patterns as a *heshi* (bead) abrader slab. They later demonstrated the *heshi* manufacturing process in the lab. Ceramic designs were also interpreted, such as a series of interlocking half-cloud symbols representing clouds in motion. The advisors regarded other artifacts as religious items used ceremonially or during migrations. These include certain axes and projectile points that may have been parts of altars or shrines, and other items associated with

the northward migrations that are still used by Zuni societies.

The advisors believe that the archeological data show that the A:shiwi both farmed and hunted, and built sites for year-round residence. Worn and broken artifacts suggest that the people left in an orderly way. The Zuni advisors also noted that some religious items were left behind. This recalls the Zuni migration narratives that tell how the A:shiwi traveled with purpose, and did not look or go back once they left a place.

The advisors believe that similar projects in the future have potential benefits, especially if Zuni advisors participate from project inception through conclusion. In this way, the Zuni can conduct research alongside archeologists. Zuni advisors can also ensure that researchers apply culturally appropriate means of conducting investigations at places lived in and used by the A:shiwi.

Conclusion

This study illustrates that, although all of the tribes consider the cultural landscape significant, many details of history differ considerably. Not surprisingly, however, tribal interpretations of some of the artifacts and sites are analogous. In some cases, tribal and archeological explanations are also quite similar. Combining tribal narratives and interpretations with archeological data results in a more intimate rendering of history, and enables us to more easily imagine the vitality of life at these sites. Native American and archeological interpretations of the past are complementary,

The Tribal Historic Preservation Office

Pursuant to Sec. 101(d)(2) of the National Historic Preservation Act, a federally recognized tribe may assume all or any part of the duties of a state historic preservation officer with regard to tribal land.

Tribal land is defined as all lands within the exterior boundaries of the tribe's reservation and any dependent Indian communities. The National Park Service Heritage Preservation Services Program provides guidance and technical assistance to those tribes interested in assuming these duties. For more information, contact Bryan Mitchell at 202-343-9558 or by email at <bryan_mitchell@nps.gov>.

and when they are taken together, they offer significant information that enriches our understanding of the past.

This case also illustrates that, although involving tribes in data collection and interpretation may result in multiple, and perhaps incompatible, perspectives that confuse the recitation of history, it also offers a vehicle for communication that may result in building a bonded constituency that can collaborate and advocate as a larger force. We now see that tribes are and will continue to be proactive in directed research projects. Finally, although political winds often conspire to drive tribes into adversarial positions—among one another, and within the archeological discipline—it is possible to set aside political and philosophical differences to address a common goal.

Nina Swidler is an archeologist and contract administrator with the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department. She is particularly interested in developing ways to effectively incorporate tribal and archeological perspectives within the confines of cultural resources management.

David Eck, now the Cultural Resource Specialist for the New Mexico State Land Office, is a former Principal Investigator for the Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise and Project Director for the Jeddito Road Project discussed in this article.

T. J. Ferguson is a partner in Heritage Resources Management Consultants in Tucson, Arizona, where he conducts research relating to Native American land use, history, and archeology in the American Southwest.

Leigh Kuwanwisiuma is Cultural Preservation Officer for the Hopi Tribe.

Roger Anyon is a cultural resources consultant with Heritage Resources Management Consultants in Tucson, Arizona. From 1985 to 1996, he served as Zuni Tribal Archeologist and Director of the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office.

Loren Panteah is a member of the Zuni Tribe. He served on the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team; and from 1998 to 1996, he was Zuni Tribal Archeologist and Director of the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office.

Klara Kelley has a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of New Mexico and 27 years experience as a practicing anthropologist.

Harris Francis has 13 years of experience as an American Indian cultural rights consultant and a lifetime of experience as an American Indian (Navajo).