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Significance:

## PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

This nomination is the proposed by the Five Nominating Tribes. The Tribes can only describe the significance of the TCP to themselves. This should not be taken as an assertion that the mountain is not equally significant to other people, for example, other Indian Tribes, or the hispanic communities that have lived near the mountain, some for over 200 years. Only one area of significance (Acoma use) is needed to have a TCP nominated for either the State Register of Cultural Places or the National Register of Historic Places.

In their determination that Mt. Taylor is eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), Benedict and Hudson (2008) examine how each of the affiliated Indian Tribes and Pueblos view Mt. Taylor as an essential feature of their landscapes and maintain their distinctive identities through their traditional and continuing relationships with this Mountain. They observe that among most traditional American Indian communities, the associations that people maintain with important landscapes, such as Mt. Taylor, are “not limited to the physical realm of topographic features, stone, trees, [and] water, but also includes the spiritual world. Their cultural practices and beliefs reflect a sense of place” (Benedict and Hudson (2008:14).

Benedict and Hudson show how Mt. Taylor, as a landscape, provides guidance to people in ways that motivate, organize, and structure how they live their everyday lives as members of their communities. They note, “The concept of landscape blends the land itself with the perceptions of individuals and communities in the context of their cultural values and beliefs” (Benedict and Hudson 2008:15). Quoting a passage by Ferguson (2002:4.6), Benedict and Hudson (2008:15) convey their understandings that (1) people and their landscapes cannot be separated, and (2) the processes through which people create and maintain their landscapes are informed by the processes through which culture instills values, beliefs, and historical memory among the members of their respective communities.

Applying the same cultural landscape perspective to which Benedict and Hudson (2008) refer, this essay comprehensively documents and explains the cultural and historical significance of the Mt. Taylor Cultural Landscape for the five Nominating Tribes.<sup>1</sup> Each Tribe begins its statement of affiliations with the Mountain by giving its traditional name for this landscape:

- Pueblo of Acoma refers to Mt. Taylor as *Kaweshtima*.
- The Pueblo of Laguna Pueblo knows this landscape as *Tsibina* (variously spelled *Tsipina* or *Tse-pi'na*, with some community members sometimes identifying the northeastern side of Mt. Taylor as *Kaweshtima*.

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<sup>1</sup> In its recent determination that Mt. Taylor was eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places as a Traditional Cultural Property, the U.S. Forest Service reported that other New Mexican Indian Tribes, including the Pueblos of Isleta and Jemez, maintain significant cultural affiliations with the Mountain (Benedict and Hudson 2009); (**Attachment 5**). A resolution passed by the All Indian Pueblo Council in 2007 (see **Attachment 14**) similarly establishes that all 19 of New Mexico’s Pueblo Indian Tribes possess significant cultural and historical relationships with this Mountain.

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- The Pueblo of Zuni calls the Mountain *Dewankwin Kyaba:chu Yalanne*.
- The people of the Navajo Nation identify the landform as *Tsoodzil*.
- The Hopi Tribe names it *Tsiipiya*.

This linguistic diversity exhibited among the traditional names used by the Nominating Tribes to identify the Mt. Taylor landscape, and the discussion of the challenges that the Tribes faced when defining the TCP's boundary (Section 10), confirms that considerable diversity exists among the communities in how they characterize the importance of the Mountain in the cultures and histories of their people. As discussed further in the final section of these introductory remarks (see below), the Nominating Tribes decided that each community would provide its own statement describing the significance of the Mt. Taylor Cultural Landscape in acknowledgement and respect for this diversity.

The specific content of the Nominating Tribes' compiled statements about the Mountain's significance encompasses varies widely in cultural belief, meaning, behavior, and material expressions and consequences. Even so, Benedict and Hudson have distilled 10 themes that underlie and unite the varied contributions:

- Mt. Taylor is a place where practitioners go to conduct traditional and religious activities;
- The Mountain not only has been in use since time immemorial, these age-old traditional uses are ongoing;
- Mt. Taylor is a place that figures prominently in oral traditions regarding the origin, place of emergence, and migration;
- The Mountain is viewed as a breathing entity that embodies a spiritual essence;
- Spiritual beings recounted in oral traditions inhabit Mt. Taylor;
- Mt. Taylor is considered a sacred landscape, part of a larger cultural landscape;
- The Mountain encompasses the peak, adjacent mesas, plateaus, and valleys;
- Mt. Taylor is important in ceremony;
- The Mountain plays a vital role in cosmology and religion; and
- Mt. Taylor is a distinctive landmark and a way point to aid travel. [after Benedict and Hudson 2008:16]

The information corresponding to each of these themes, in turn, provides the basis for the counts of contributing cultural properties provided in Continuation Sheets No. 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3 the lists of cultural functions and uses provided in Continuation Sheet No. 7, and the discussion of the contributing cultural properties presented in each tribe's significance statement. The data also justify the identification

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of Criterion (a), Criterion (b), and Criterion (d) as qualifying the Mt. Taylor Cultural Landscape for listing on the New Mexico State Register of Cultural Properties (SRCP), as well as the NRHP.

## A. Definitions and Principles Relevant to Documenting and Evaluating the Significance of the Mt. Taylor Cultural Landscape

In their authoritative publication, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties (a.k.a. National Register Bulletin 38)*, that also serves as a guide for nominations to the New Mexico State Register of Cultural Properties nomination and registration processes, Parker and King write,

The National Register of Historic Places contains a wide range of historic property types, reflecting the diversity of the nation's history and culture. Buildings, structures, and sites; groups of buildings, structures or sites forming historic districts; *landscapes*; and individual objects are all included in the Register if they meet the Criteria for Evaluation (36 CFR 60.4). Such properties reflect many kinds of significance in architecture, history, archeology, engineering, and *culture*. [1998:1, emphasis added]

Parker and King define *culture* to include "the traditions, beliefs, practices, lifeways, arts, crafts, and social institutions of any community" (1998:1), they characterize the term *traditional* to refer to "those beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice" (1998:1). The Nominating Tribes use these definitions in their significance statements as guiding principles in documenting their relationships with the Mt. Taylor TCP.

Parker and King also emphasize that *context* is all important as another principle for documenting and evaluating traditional cultural properties (especially see 1998:5, after 48 FR 44717). *Context*, in a general sense, refers to the environment in which some phenomenon exists. The cultural significance of the Mount Taylor TCP is identifiable and explicable through "the role that the property plays in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices" (Parker and King 1998:1). Moreover, contexts used in the TCP documentation and evaluation enterprise should "reflect the history and culture of such groups as the groups themselves understand them, as well as their history and culture as defined by Euroamerican scholarship (Parker and King 1998:5). With these first definitions in place, Parker and King conclude,

A traditional cultural property, then, can be defined generally as one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community. [1998:1]

One final definition, that of the cultural phenomenon known as *landscape*, warrants consideration given its importance in how the Nominating Tribes approached the tasks of documenting and evaluating Mt. Taylor as a TCP. As noted earlier, Benedict and Hudson adopt this term in describing the relationships of all the Indian Tribes and Pueblos in the region with the Mountain. Use of the cultural landscape approach is meaningful because this is the category that best fits the Tribes' own concept of the mountain.

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In current anthropological use, *landscape* is a dynamic cultural process entailing interaction between relatively static representations of geographical space and dynamic cultural and social factors that underlie the construction of these representations (Anschuetz 2007:130; after Ingold 1993:738). Landscapes, therefore, are more than the built environment (Tallbull and Deaver 1997) or a cultural resources site (Cleere 1995). Ferguson explains that “Landscapes have complexity and power because they are created by people through experience and engagement with the world” (2002:4.5–4.6). Bender adds, “Landscape has to be contextualized. The ways in which people—anywhere, everywhere—understand and engage with their worlds depend on the specific time and place and historical conditions” (1993:2). Basso observes that landscapes are “a venerable means of *doing* human history...a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities” (1996:7). Anschuetz builds upon contributions made by Ferguson (2002:4.6), Mitchell (1994:1), and Whittlesey (1997:20) when he states, “Examinations of how cultural communities construct their landscapes, therefore, should focus on what landscapes do in service of the group rather than what they are or what they mean” (Anschuetz 2007:130).

The Nominating Tribes’ significance statements, individually and collectively, demonstrate that the entirety of the Mountain, including its surrounding mesas, fulfills the NRHP’s requirements for a TCP. These statements document that each Tribe’s traditional associations with Mt. Taylor are (1) rooted in history and (2) important to maintaining cultural identity in the modern world (after Parker and King 1998:1).

Each Tribe’s statement shows that the Mountain is a cultural property and a cultural landscape in the sense that it is a constructed world of cultural product for each of the communities (Norton 1989; Taçon 1999; Thompson 1995; Tuan 1977; Wagner 1995). Through their interactions with the Mountain, within the physical setting of the TCP and from afar, in how members of a Tribe think about, talk about, and act upon their relationship with Mt. Taylor in their communities, people impose their own cognitive map (Basso 1996) of interconnected morphology, arrangement, and meaning (Jackson 1984; see also Hoskins 1955; Parcero Oubiña, et al. 1998). For each Nominating Tribe, this cultural landscape is different because it reflects that Tribe’s unique belief system.

The TCP is an historical text (after Hugill and Foote 1995), for each Nominating Tribe, communicating much about where the people come from, how they came to be who they are today, and what their continuing obligations are to the natural and cultural environment of their homelands. It is through this form of communication that the culturally diverse Tribes can draw information from the same Mountain to create and maintain the unique cultural identities of their respective communities.

The Mount Taylor Cultural Landscape embodies fundamental principles and themes that organize the content and structure of the communities’ affiliations and interactions with the TCP. These principles are expressed through the peoples’ actions in their everyday living. The result is the expression of the continuing importance of Mount Taylor in the lives of the Tribes’ members, as illustrated in the material products of their activities. Examples of these products mentioned in the significance statements include the design and construction of people’s homes, the design and manufacture of traditional material culture, and the spoken and written narratives through which people portray themselves to the world.

## B. Structure of the Significance Statement

Each community constructs landscapes to serve its own purposes. Recognition that each of the Nominating Tribes, as well as each of the many other Indian, Hispanic, and Anglo communities in the

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surrounding region, possesses its own view of Mount Taylor's importance to their culture and life underscores the many, complexly woven layers of the TCP's significance.

When the Nominating Tribes considered how to address this section of the nomination, all quickly recognized that a single statement would be inappropriate. To fulfill the NRHP requirement that they document and evaluate what the Mountain means to their people in terms of their culture and history, the Tribes concluded that each needed to talk about their relationship with the TCP in their own terms. As a result, there are five separate essays with overarching introductory and concluding statements.

Given the cultural diversity among the Nominating Tribes, the narratives contrast with one another in striking ways. There are differences in details among the communities' relationships with Mt. Taylor or even how the Tribes crafted their respective contributions but what is important is that these culturally distinct communities (1) agree that Mt. Taylor is worth talking about in a collaborative effort to convey its importance for all of their communities, and (2) are willing to talk about their relationships with the Mountain in uncomfortable detail in support of the nomination. In the end, each of the Nominating Tribes contributes but a small piece of a much greater and more richly textured whole.

The collective decision that each Tribe would share in the responsibility of preparing this statement gave the Nominating Tribes a methodology and structure with which to proceed. This agreement does not mean that any individual Tribe necessarily endorses specific statements contained within another Tribe's contribution; the opinions expressed by a Tribe in its significance statement are its own and cannot be attributed to any other Nominating Tribe.

## **PART TWO: THE TRIBAL SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENTS**

### **A. PUEBLO OF ACOMA SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT**

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#### **Introduction: The Pueblo of Acoma and Mt. Taylor**

This essay consists of three major sections, spanning the entirety of Acoma Pueblo's history, from the very beginning of time to the present day. The first section reviews Acoma's recollection of its origins, because these traditional narratives provide the foundation of the great breadth and inclusiveness of the cultural-historical relationship that the Acoma people have sustained with the TCP throughout their existence. It also provides a framework for outsiders to understand why Acoma's continuing affiliation with Mt. Taylor provides essential orientation and information that explains where the Acoma people come from, why they are here today, and where they will go in the future. This review of the origins of the Mountain – and the people themselves – makes clear that the people and this TCP exist in fundamental relationship. Acoma's people establish their place within the world and construct major aspects of their identity, both as a community and as individual community members, in reference to Mt. Taylor.

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The second section draws upon documentary records, material culture, and commentaries to examine how Acoma's traditional relationship with Mt. Taylor permeates a great many facets of the lives of the community and its people. The discussion proceeds through a broad list of topics, including the plan and construction of Sky City, its kivas and renown San Esteban del Rey Mission, the shrines, boundary markers and trails that the Pueblo maintains within the TCP, the community's ceremonies, blessings and songs that refer to Mt. Taylor, and the community's traditional occupation and uses of the TCP for plant gathering, hunting, mineral collection, herding, and farming. It also reviews contemporary verbal remarks and literary contributions by a variety of community members, ranging from established authors, such as Simon Ortiz, to high school students. In doing so, this discussion demonstrates the continuity in the age-old cultural traditions which Acoma's people still rely on for their sense of home, community, and identity.

The final part of this narrative considers the potential threats that development in the Mt. Taylor Cultural Landscape poses to the community, when Acoma (or the other Nominating Tribes) is not permitted to participate in the planning process. Ill-considered land altering activities possess the likelihood of causing physical disturbances to tangible natural (e.g., water, air, land, plant, and animals) and contributing cultural property resources (e.g., trails, shrines, archaeological sites, plants, animals and mineral gathering sites, and view sheds). Acoma is also concerned about how their traditional affiliations with the Mountain might be adversely effected. Acoma's world view – how the community understands its place within its homeland based upon its cultural-historical traditions of relation with the Mt. Taylor TCP – informs a third, and the most potent, concern. The discussion, by drawing further upon recent community commentaries and literary contributions that express the Pueblo's world view, concludes that because Acoma Pueblo is so intimately tied to Mt. Taylor, the community's sense of its identity is at risk. A continuing disregard of Acoma's traditional understandings of its origins and obligations to the Mt. Taylor Cultural Landscape as stewards of a sacred homeland of which Mt. Taylor is an indispensable part could gravely jeopardize the community's ability to sustain the Mountain's spiritual well being and the Pueblo's survival as a unique cultural community.

## **Part I: Beginning at the Beginning: Events and Spiritual Beings Important in Acoma Pueblo's History of Relationship with Mt. Taylor**

### **A. Time of Emergence and Creation**

Mt. Taylor's significance as both a physical property and a cultural landscape important to Acoma dates back to the beginning of time itself. Named *Kaweshtima* ("a place of snow"), the Mountain was created by two sisters, *Nautsiti* and *latiku* (Minge 1991:xiii). The sisters were given baskets with seeds and small carved animals and told that these items would help them complete the world. A supernatural being taught the sisters what they needed to know to live in the world. She taught them how to pray, to grow and prepare corn for food, to use salt as a seasoning and about the interdependence of the earth, the plants, animals and humans.

The sisters' next task was to shape the earth. The first mountain that the sisters created was *Kaweshtima*, Mountain of the North, followed by the Mountain of the West, then the Mountain of the South and finally the Mountain of the East. Each mountain consisted of not just rocky slopes and peaks; each had mesas and canyons. The sisters then populated the mountains with plants and animals using the seeds and carved items in their baskets while giving blessings. According to Ellis (1974a:30) the Laguna,

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a western Keres pueblo adjacent to Acoma Pueblo with many similarities to Acoma, say that the Mother showed the people how to breathe life into objects, such as the small carvings in the baskets.<sup>2</sup> Specific plants and animals were placed on each mountain beginning again in the north at *Kaweshtima*. After the mountains, the sisters placed plants and animals in all other parts of the world. The sisters received husbands and produced children.

*Nautsiti* disappeared to the east. *latiku* stayed and bestowed a clan name upon each of her daughters. The people all lived together and brought more children into the world (after Minge 1991:xiii). *latiku* thus became the "Mother of Acoma" (Ellis 1974a:37).<sup>3</sup>

*latiku* next made the spirits of the seasons. First she made *Shakak*, the Spirit of Winter. This Spirit is to give life to everything in the winter. *Shakak* is ugly and ferocious so it does not live with the people, but on *Kaweshtima*. The other Spirits of Direction were created in the same order as before – West, South and East. *latiku* gave each Spirit a job and *Shakak* had the job of bringing snow. See Photograph No. 1 for snow-covered view of *Kaweshtima*, taken due south of the mountain near Exit 100 of Interstate 40.

*latiku* told the people that they were to depend on these spirits and must pray to them. The Spirit of the North on *Kaweshtima* was to be the primary source for moisture. Finally, other things were associated with each of the four mountains – colors, clouds, lightning and rain, the prey animals, birds, ants, corn and other plants, trees, stones or shells, and additional spirits (Parsons 1996:365 [1939]; see also White 1932:132). One of the clouds that Acoma specifically associates with the North Mountain is *heyaashi*, "the kind of airborne moisture most people would call fog or mist – that is, the cloud form that is most proximate to the land itself and most likely to replicate in its motion the shape of the land over which it moves" (Nelson 1999:9). See Photograph No. 12 for view of *heyaashi*.

Katchina are spirit people created by *latiku* for the people. The katchina have homes in the West and the South, but *latiku* also gave them sacred chambers within *Kaweshtima* and the West, South and East Mountains ("Mountains of Cardinal Direction") (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984:105). As she continued her work, *latiku* created houses for the people "resembling in shape the mesa and mountain homes of the season deities" (Gutierrez 1991:5).

*Kaweshtima* also figures into the creation of the seasons at Acoma. *Shakak*, the Spirit of Winter and the North lived at *Kaweshtima*. The seasons exist because *Shakak* battled with the Spirit of Summer and the South. As reported in Tyler, the Spirit of the South

called together all of the birds and animals that live in sunny climes; then, riding on a cloud, this spirit of Summer floated northward to battle...The spirit of Summer used lightning as his weapons and *Shakak*, spirit of Winter and the North, retreated. A truce was arranged, and the seasons were divided between them. [1991:96, citing Boas 1928:284; Gunn 1917:217]

The lessons that *latiku* taught the people in the Acoma Origin story imparted the knowledge of at least the following key aspects of Acoma culture: (1) *latiku* created this world to sustain life; (2) the Spirits

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<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that the Acoma origin story would include a similar practice due to the similarity between the two origin stories according to Ellis (1974:26). As discussed by Anschuetz (2002, 2007a), "breath" is an important concept in defining Pueblo cultural landscapes.

<sup>3</sup> In his Statement, Swymee Sanchez of Acoma refers to this Spiritual Being as "Our Mother" (in Ellis 1974a:37).

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on *Kaweshtima* and the other Mountains of Cardinal Direction would provide all that was needed for surviving, for example, moisture from the North, if the people earned their living through meeting their obligations to the Spirits of Direction and the Kachina; (3) these spirits have human characteristics that have consequences for the people; (4) plants, animals, humans and the earth's features were all created the same way and are all living; (5) there is a web of relationships among plants, animals, humans and the earth's features with each having a role in the survival of the other; and (6) the ceremonial circuit begins at the North, at *Kaweshtima*.

## B. Time of Migration

Acomas and archaeologists agree on one fact: Acoma has been there, if not forever, for a very, very long time. Any discussion of the Acoma migration story must begin with the knowledge that Acoma has been inhabited since before the time of Christ (Minge 1991:1). The meaning of the word *Haaku* – the Keresan spelling of Acoma – is “a place that always was” or “a place already prepared” for them. (Minge 1991:1; Playdon and Vallo 2000:20; Pueblo of Acoma in Benedict and Hudson 2008). While much thought is given to prehistoric migration of people in North America, Minge reports that

[t]he Acoma Indians themselves question whether present Acoma resulted entirely from migrations. They claim that they have always lived on their mesa, and that they have always hospitably received wandering Tribes to share their valley which, at one time, had plenty of water and was excellent for farming. [1991:2]

There is a second point that archaeologists and Acomas agree on: people moved into and out of the Rio San Jose valley, with a greater number of people coming in the A.D.1200s. The Indian Tribes that exist today are the result of migrations of people over several millennia (Anyon 2001:13). Scholars apparently agree that some Acoma clans have connections to Hopi and Zia (Minge 1991:2). For Acoma, oral history reflects migration of people from *Sipap*, their place of emergence, to Acoma and the coming together of different groups of people at Acoma. Oral history tells us that people were already at Acoma when a large group of new ones arrived. Swymee Sanchez gave the following statement, “Acoma and Laguna Origin Legend”, to Florence Ellis and Alfred Dittert in 1957:

The Acomas originally came from Shipap and moved south from it after some time to Kashkatstu ... When the leader reached the foot of the mesa he asked what clan lived on top and whether his people could have permission to stay with them on top of the mesa. The leader of the people on top of the rock said that his was the Antelope clan and he wanted to know what kind of religion the new people had, whether it was a kind that could help the Antelope clan [.] The leader of the people from the north showed everything to the Antelope clan, their customs and their religion, so the Antelope clan decided the religion of the new people was all right and would help them and they gave their permission for the new people to climb up and live there. From that time on these people lived at Acoma, but other members of the Acoma Tribe were living on top of mesas north of Enchanted Mesa. Everyone wanted to live on top of the mesa of Acoma, to be one people in one group, and finally, in time, they did come to make their homes there and did their farming year by year. [Ellis 1974a:37]

The community's oral traditions trace the long and arduous journey that some of Acoma's ancestors made on their migration southward in search of *Haaku*. As they reached the west side of *Kaweshtima*, the people sat down on a blanket and could see the lands below. From this vantage point on

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the Mountain, the blanket spread out away from the peak (Pueblo of Acoma in Benedict 2008:1) onto the mesas and canyons below that *latiku* and *Nautisi* created when they made *Kaweshtima*, the North Mountain (see above). The people descended the Mountain and moved south to enter the heart of their promised homeland. Simon Ortiz, the Acoma poet and author, writes, "It [the valley of *Haaku*] must have been wealthy with grass growing in the dark fertile soil nourished by the nearby volcanic mountain slopes and a number of perennial springs gushing forth" (1992a:338).

### C. Origins of *Kaweshtima* Lava Flows

*Kaweshtima* is the home of many Spiritual Beings, some of whom created the lava flows known today as El Malpais, south and west of Horace Mesa. Acoma stories tell of a Spiritual Being who may have lived at *Kaweshtima*, and who built fires all over the Mountain to make the earth more fertile (White 1942:314). The lava is the evidence of the fires. This volcanic material does make the earth more fertile. In appreciation for the Spiritual Being's assistance, according to White, one Acoma clan continues to commemorate this event with a ceremony called the "Lighting of the Fires" (see below).

Not all the Spiritual Beings' actions are beneficial. Boas (1928:76-82; see also Benedict 1930:62-64; Ortiz 1992a:346) tells of one such being sometimes called Kaupata, who had a malevolent role in the origins of the El Malpais. In some accounts this Being, said to live at the North Mountain, is described as a cheating gambler and killer. In retaliation for the frustration of a scheme, this Being decided to destroy the earth by fire in the form of burning "pitch" (i.e., lava) but is defeated by rain clouds that produce rain to neutralize the fire (Nelson 1993:38-39). The burning stream of fire flows out of Kaupata's home only as far east as "the west gap" (Boas 1928:82) at the base of *Kaweshtima*. An Acoma poet suggests that the El Malpais lava beds are "the Gambler's fault" and "the Monster's blood" that flowed during the Being's violent demise (Ortiz 1992a:346).

### D. Other Events and Personages Associated with *Kaweshtima*

As *Kaweshtima*, the Mt. Taylor TCP is the setting for many smaller chapters in Acoma's oral history. Narratives about the many deeds of Yellow Woman are common (Tyler 1964:189). These stories are female-centered and are always told from a woman's viewpoint. Yellow is a color that is often associated with Woman among the Keres according to Allen (1992:226). Given the association of the color yellow with the North Mountain, the connection of Yellow Woman with *Kaweshtima* is made explicit.

Scholars see an association of Yellow Woman with the Moon in older stories (Lummis 1894:203; 1920:100) and game animals (Tyler 1964:189). In "The Man Who Married the Moon," Lummis tells the following story about Yellow Woman (1894:203). One of the Storm Gods stole Yellow Woman and took her away to his home "in the heart of Snow Mountain (Mount San Mateo [Mt. Taylor]) (Lummis 1894:203). Yellow Woman eventually escapes and, according to Lummis, "becomes the mother of the Hero Twins" (1894:205). Another story collected at Acoma by Boas (1928:177-180), is called "Yellow-Woman and the Turkeys." The story tells how turkeys came to live on *Kaweshtima* to provide meat and feathers for people.

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Another notable personage associated with *Kaweshtima* includes a Spiritual Being identified by Boas (1928). This Being, a male, goes to the Mountain to find a home only to find that the Katchina and Storm Clouds already are living there. He asks for a cave of his own and receives directions.

When he looks in, he sees from the entrance moss, beads made of teeth, shell beads, medicine cups of white shell, a shaman's bowl, four flints, also turquoise earrings. He says that he will use all of these. He stays in this house and becomes the being that gives teeth to children. [Boas 1928:46, also pp. 38-39]

## E. Discussion

Acoma Pueblo's traditional narratives of its history of affiliation and interaction with *Kaweshtima* throughout time immemorial provide compelling explanations of how the people and their homeland came to be who and what they are today. This mythology is rich with events (e.g., making the earth habitable, including the creation of *Kaweshtima* as a living entity, populating the earth with plants, animals and people, and the creation of houses in the image of mountains) and personages (e.g., *latiku*, *Nautisi*, many Katsina, *Kaupata* and Yellow Woman, among others) of significance in the Pueblo's affiliation with theTCP.

These stories reveal the physical and ideational foundations upon which the Acoma people comprehend that Acoma was prepared for them to use – the promised home. These accounts also introduce major elements of the sacred obligation that the Pueblo's people accept as stewards of this landscape in exchange for their inheritance. These understandings inform and guide how the Pueblo has historically viewed, talked about, and acted upon its relationship with *Kaweshtima*.

The underlying principles and themes of Acoma's ancient traditional narratives provide a framework for assessing the community's more recent relationship with *Kaweshtima* as documented in archaeological, historical, and ethno-historical records. As the reference to the "Gambler" by Ortiz (1992a) illustrates, these same values and ideas are present in oral and written testimony and literary works by Acoma people today as they express the continuing significance of *Kaweshtima* in their personal lives and in the life of the Pueblo. Continued use of these principles and themes and the continued affiliation with *Kaweshtima* establishes this mountain and its surroundings make up a cultural landscape that is a TCP..

Studies of other Pueblo cultural landscapes identify several principles and themes about how these people interact physically and conceptually with their traditional homelands (Anschuetz 2002, 2007a). "The foremost principle in these landscape constructions is the idea of *spiritual ecology*," a concept introduced by Gregory Cajete (1993-1994, 1994) a Tewa from Santa Clara Pueblo. Spiritual ecology is the result of being guided by traditions in how to interact with the totality of a people's environment: the land, the water, the plants and animals, and one another. Not limited to people and things that occupy a place, Cajete (1993-1994:6) emphasizes that because spiritual ecology is based on a community's tradition, it includes the way that people perceive the reality of their world and themselves. This integration of people's belief, perception, and action within their landscape defines how people are to interact responsibly with their environment in their daily lives to sustain their communities.

Acoma's origin story readily illustrates spiritual ecology as an essential principle for living. A Spiritual Being taught *latiku* and *Nautisi* of the relationships among themselves, the corn to which they gave life and depended on for sustaining their life, along with the other plants and the animals. But there is more: *latiku* taught her children what they needed to do to earn their living through proper prayer and

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offerings to the Spirits of the Cardinal Directions, Spirits of the Seasons, and the katsina in their requests for assistance. The origin story and the migration story of some of Acoma's ancestors emphasize the principle that people are ultimately responsible for their own well being based on their decision whether or not to live in accord with the traditional system of belief, their defining community inheritance.

Cajete (1994:83-84) observes that in applying the idea of spiritual ecology in everyday activities, Pueblo people also project the human sense of soul on particular entities, phenomena and places in their natural environment, creating a sense of *ensoulment*. Through the intense, long history of their interactions with the places where they live, people conceptualize their past as an intrinsic part of their landscape. Stripped to its essentials, ensoulment comes about when people make a place just as much as a place makes people. It is difficult, if not impossible, to imagine Acoma or the Acoma people without *Kaweshstima*. Cajete explains,

The land has become an extension of Pueblo thought and being because, as one Pueblo elder states, "it is this place that holds our memories and the bones of our people... this is the place that made us!" [1993-1994:6]

Through the process of ensoulment, the cultural landscape is as much a living thing as the people.

Again, Acoma Pueblo's origin story reveals the community's ageless commitment to the tenet of ensoulment in defining their role and purpose within the world. *latiku* and *Nautisi*, using thought, breath and words of prayer, breathed life in the seeds and the stone carvings of all the different plants and animals and into other living beings, including the mountains, that were then put in the world. At the heart of their body of traditional knowledge, the Acoma people understand they are inseparable from the land; it – the people, animals, plants, the earth and its features – is all one living thing, one whole.

In articulating the idea of spiritual ecology, Cajete (1994, 1999; see also Anschuetz 2002, 2007) puts forward an understanding of how some Pueblo communities comprehend and use the interrelated themes of *breath*, *center*, *emergence*, *connectedness* and *movement* to organize the content and structure of their relationship with places in their landscape. *Breath* "represents the most tangible expression of the spirit in all living things" and "language is an expression of the spirit because it contains the power to move people and to express human thought and feeling" (Cajete 1994:42). *Center* is "intertwined physical geographical referents which inform ideas about the '*rightful orientation*' to the natural world" (Cajete 1994:37, italics in original). *Emergence* carries a sense of timelessness through the sanctity of ritualized tradition; it refers to both the *becoming* of the people and of their landscape (after Cajete 1999:15; Ortiz 1969:16-17). The intrinsic *connectedness* between the Pueblo and the worlds in which they live is the general basis of their spiritual ecology (see Naranjo and Swentzell 1989:261; Ortiz 1969). *Movement* refers both to peoples' cultural-historic traditions of traveling throughout their landscapes and to the flow of energy, contact, between the living people who reside in communities at the landscape's center, and the spiritual beings, who reside at or beyond the edge (Cajete 1999:13-14; Naranjo 1995:248; Swentzell 1993:145). The ebb and flow of people and energy between a landscape's center and its edges is constant, producing constant change that, in turn, renews the energy.

The preceding paragraphs show that Acoma's traditional knowledge as reflected in its stories and narratives incorporates the principle of spiritual ecology and the concept of ensoulment. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the themes of *breath*, *center*, *emergence*, *connectedness* and *movement* are also present in the recounting of Acoma's traditional web of relationship with *Kaweshstima*.

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*latiku* and *Nautisi* created life in all things using thought, breath and language of prayer. These narratives also confirm that the maintaining the gift of life depends on the people's appropriate and regular conduct of further prayer. Centeredness is an especially prominent theme in Acoma's oral history. The origin narratives repeatedly articulate the need to define centeredness through the establishment of rightful orientation with the invocation of the ceremonial circuit, which always begins in the North with *Kaweshtima*. As will be discussed later, the predominance of Acoma's concept of center still persists. It does so, however, in relation to the *edge*, which is, of course, center's essential counterpart. The center cannot be determined without reference to the edge and vice versa within a scheme of directionality and rightful orientation (Anschuetz 2002:3.5-3.11, 2007a:133-136; see also Cajete 1994:37). In the Indian Claims Commission proceedings, the location of Acoma's initial aboriginal lands claim shows *Haaku* at the center of their homeland with the Mountains of Cardinal Direction defining edges. See Attachment 13.

Just as the theme of center (along with its complement, edge), connectedness appears prominently in Acoma's traditional narratives. Connectedness is the key ideal expressed in the nomination of the principle of spiritual ecology and ensoulment: the people and the land are truly inseparable from one another. What is more, the Mountains of Cardinal Direction include — and open onto — the mesas that enclose and complete the peaks. Moreover, as we will see further below, connectedness binds center with its edge in a system of intrinsic complementarity.

The theme of movement also exists in Acoma's origin story as identified in the landscape construction of other Pueblo communities. At a surface level, Acoma's tradition keepers use movement in their narratives to refer to the migration of some of their ancestors in search of their center, the promised homeland. The stories though, connect this movement to prayer to the Spirit Beings. This is consistent with the importance of the flow of prayer carrying breath and life's energy between the community where people reside and the spirit beings at the edges of their conceptualized world.

## **Part II: From the Center Looking Out and Back Again: Significance of *Kaweshtima* to Acoma Pueblo, as Seen in Documentary Records, Material Culture, and Recent Commentaries**

### **A. Relationships Between *Kaweshtima* and Sky City**

The depth of the relationship that Acoma maintains with *Kaweshtima* is illustrated in the plan and construction of Sky City, the design of its kivas, and the way that the community's people traditionally introduced their Pueblo to outsiders. The overarching significance of *Kaweshtima* is also demonstrated in the decision of the Franciscan priests to place their church on top of the Rock.

#### **1. Affiliations with *Kaweshtima* Demonstrated by Sky City's Plan and Construction**

Since at least the early Spanish colonial period, visitors to Acoma have remarked on the location, construction, and vistas of Sky City. During his travel to Acoma in the late eighteenth century, Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza wrote

The pueblo is beautiful and pleasant, because of the view which it enjoys from the elevation of its houses, its symmetrical construction, the spaciousness and straightness of

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its streets, which running from east to west form three blocks as long as any of the squares of Mexico. [1932:104]

Missing from such statements is recognition that the characteristics that make the community so inviting to the eye are the product of purposeful design choices. In building Sky City, Acomas incorporated references both to the physical setting of their homeland and to their community's history of its origins.

The stepped houses of stone, adobe, and plaster tempered with straw conform to the movement of the sun and the prevailing winds that characteristically originate in the west (Playdon and Vallo 2000:21). The long ranges of houses echo the lengthy, flat-topped mesas that define the northern horizon (Scully 1989:246). *Kaweshtima*, too, is a focal point in the view from atop Sky City, with its peaks rising above the middle of the mesas to complete the northern horizon. "The range is a towering, ever-present juxtaposition against the blocky stone and adobe structures of the pueblos" (Blake 1999:494). Sky City's dwellings follow the lesson that latiku taught her children about building houses resembling the mesa and mountain homes of the Spirits of the Seasons (after Gutiérrez 1991:5; see also above).

Rina Swentzell (1989, 1990, 1993), an architectural historian from Santa Clara Pueblo, writes extensively about the ways in which traditional Pueblo architecture incorporates landscape symbolism into its design. Acoma's design of Sky City reveals notable elaborations on these general landscape themes. As Sky City grew, the incorporation of the two long, east-west trending avenues between the stretched out house blocks evokes the Rio San Jose and Acoma valleys, which are bordered by the elongated mesas that captured Scully's (1989) attention. The room-blocks' construction, which rises in sequential steps from the plaza level to the upper stories (formerly three levels but now just two), suggests the mesas that extend southward from the slopes of *Kaweshtima* (after Ortiz 1992a:340). The main plaza, oriented north-south, defines a cross axis, and orients the village toward *Kaweshtima* (Scully 1989:246). The many short north-south alleys that subdivide the long room-blocks to connect the avenues resemble the canyons that cut through the mesas. The passage that partitions the northernmost room-block gives people a view of their North Mountain even while they are in the plaza. This opening brings to mind *Deetseya-mah* ("The North Door"). Ortiz explains that *Deetseya-mah* provides an "opening, like a gateway, between two mesas" (1992:337-338) toward *Kaweshtima*.

## 2. Affiliations with *Kaweshtima* Demonstrated through Sky City's Kiva Design

In her discussion of kiva architecture generally among the Pueblos, Parsons (1996:309-311 [1939]) long ago recognized that kivas exist in a fundamental symbolic relationship with the Mountains of Cardinal Direction. Kivas and the cardinal mountains not only are places of power, they are physical expressions of the themes of center and edge within the communities' landscapes. See Photograph 5, "Acoma from the South" showing church and pueblo buildings on mesa with Mt. Taylor on the horizon.

When designing their kivas, the Acomas include several features that reflect the association between the kiva and *Kaweshtima*. The foremost illustration of this association refers back to Acoma's age-old understanding that the creation of the Mountains of Cardinal Direction included mesas and canyons, as well as the summits themselves (see above). The Acomas refer to their kiva benches as "fog seats" upon which Spiritual Beings are invited to sit (Parsons 1996:311 [1939]). The complex of symbolism and understanding assigned to the use of the idea "fog seat" to denote "kiva bench" calls to mind Acoma's traditional association of *heyaashi* (a diaphanous cloud or mist that conforms to the shape of the land over which it moves [see above]) specifically with *Kaweshtima*. That is, after *heyaashi*

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develops over *Kaweshtima*, it tends to settle on the mesas that encircle its great girth. At Acoma, the kivas' fog seats symbolize *Kaweshtima's* bench-like mesas.

Two other kiva features at Acoma warrant mention. First, the *sipapus* in Acoma kivas, which Parsons calls "sunken altars" (1996:144, n.† [1939]), and the shrine atop *Kaweshtima* to which Acoma makes pilgrimages, share important properties. Saile believes that both kinds of openings are portals for communication with the Spiritual Beings in the underworld (1990:Figure 5-9). Acoma's *sipapus* are excavated into the kivas' floors and represent center places within the Pueblo; the shrine atop *Kaweshtima* is dug into the summit of the all-important North Mountain, which helps demarcate the community's conceptual periphery. The underworld, in turn, connects Acoma's center places and periphery to form a unified whole.

Parsons relates that Acoma's kivas feature "another pit, representing the door to the sacred Mountains, North, East, West, to Sun and Moon" (1996:311 [1939]). The placement of this "door" in the kiva floor, as with the *sipapu* further emphasizes the traditional landscape themes of center and connectedness in reaffirming the relationship between Acoma Pueblo and *Kaweshtima*.

### 3. Franciscan Recognition of Acoma's Affiliations with *Kaweshtima*

The Franciscans are known historically for their zeal in fulfilling their obligation to convert indigenous populations to Christianity. The priests sent to make Christians of the Acoma people in the early seventeenth century, however, begrudgingly acknowledged the strength of the Pueblo people's relationship to *Kaweshtima* as part of their everyday lives when planning the construction of their mission, San Esteban del Rey. Baker Morrow (School of Architecture and Planning, University of New Mexico, personal communication 2007) noted the Franciscans' "seeming" deference to the sacred summits in the lives of native peoples when planning the church at Abo Pueblo located near the present-day town of Mountainair.

The Franciscans' respect of the Pueblos' sacred summits was more apparent than real. Although they recognized the power of the Mountains of Cardinal Direction in the lives of the Pueblo people, they devised another strategy to proclaim the absolute power of their faith. Construction of the San Esteban del Rey Mission, including the church and adjoining *convento* (priest's quarters), began in 1629 and was completed 14 years later (Playdon and Vallo 2000:21-22). Rather than attempting to compete directly with *Kaweshtima* for the people's attention and love, the Franciscans, just as at the Pueblo of Abo, chose a building site to emphasize their Christian values in what might seem to be a less confrontational manner. However, through overt dissimilarity with the plan of Sky City, the Franciscans made their hegemony obvious.

Some authors believe that San Esteban del Rey Mission is situated over the most sacred part — the main plaza and kiva — of the original pueblo that Spanish colonial forces destroyed in 1599 (Hein 2004; Nabokov 1986:6; see also Dittert 1959:171-178). From this location and facing east, the mission complex is due east; it "is separated in both position and orientation and from the stepped houses on the north rim" (Playdon and Vallo 2000:21) where the Acoma began rebuilding their houses.

According to Scully, by orienting the mission "out toward Mesa Encantada across its own campo santo [sic]" (1989:249), the Franciscans created a monument that stands in opposition to the defining quality of the Pueblo's shortened north-south axis in relation to the peaks, which are the Mt. Taylor TCP.

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It is a grim fortress whose long nave parallels and clarifies the profiles of mesas and houses, but whose flat, wide-towered façade cuts right across that communal axis to show one monumental face in opposition to all. [Scully 1989:249]

Unlike *Kaweshtima* where Acoma's people built ceremonial structures, relied upon its stepped contours to define their rightful orientation and place in the world, and transformed it into a sacred cultural landscape that retells the inseparable history of the people and the land from the beginning of time, the San Esteban del Rey Mission exhibits "no creature qualities" (Scully 1989:249). Instead, facing east over the graves of the deceased, the mission emphasizes the Church's domination over the people and its proclaimed duty to save their souls into eternity. See Photographs 3 and 4.

Even as the Franciscans strove to make their domination over Acoma absolute through the building of the San Esteban del Rey Mission, the Acoma people offered resistance. They rebuilt their houses on the north part of the mesa where they maintained an unobstructed view of their North Mountain, the Acoma ascribed to a plan that fulfilled their landscape understandings. The plan for the mission was based on the Franciscans' interpretation of Italian Humanist architectural principles. Execution of this design, however, depended entirely on Acoma's traditional architectural expertise (Playdon and Vallo 2000).

Forced labor for the mission's construction resulted in the deaths of many Acoma people. Nonetheless, to make this monument something in which they, too, could find sanctuary and goodness, according to Acoma traditional history, the people obtained the 35-foot-long (10.7-m-long) timbers used as the mission's roof beams from *Kaweshtima*'s slopes using traditional methods. The distance of upwards of 30 miles (48 km) is notable because ponderosa pine trees were available closer in the high country to the west and southwest atop Cebolleta Mesa. As discussed further below, the association of various plant, animals, and minerals with *Kaweshtima* often is an important criterion in determining when people must travel to obtain resources needed for artifacts, features, and activities possessing high cultural significance. After felling the trees, the builders smoothed the cut ends and carried the prepared beams back to Sky City, for "it would have been sacrilege for them to touch the ground" (Sedgwick 1926:38). Selection of where to harvest the timbers needed to support the church's massive roof, preparing the cut logs for use as vigas, and the mode of transporting the finished beams back to Sky City conform to Acoma's traditions for obtaining materials to be used in the construction of sanctified buildings. See Photograph 8.

#### 4. Discussion

Sky City's architecture, the community's kivas, and the Franciscan mission each offer important insights into the strength and focus of the relationship that Acoma has maintained since time immemorial with *Kaweshtima*. The durable physical traces of the people's actions at Sky City do not fully represent the importance of their affiliation with *Kaweshtima* in their everyday life, however. Much activity leaves no lasting material record and some activities, through which outsiders come to know Sky City as a community of Acoma people, do not initially require interaction with the material products of the village itself, including the architecture, plan, and construction of the pueblo's houses, kiva, and mission.

Adolph Bandelier's entry in his journal for May 10, 1882, tells of becoming acquainted with Sky City in terms of a sequence of events dictated by his host, André Ortiz, a resident of Sky City (in Lange and Riley 1966:286-287). After arriving the previous day and spending the night at Sky City, Bandelier goes out to see Acoma upon awakening. Rather than beginning with a walk through the pueblo itself (as

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Bandelier had himself done a day earlier), André Ortiz led his guest directly to the water tank below Sky City's north escarpment so Bandelier could "see 'the country'" (Adolph Bandelier, in Lange and Riley 1966:286) of Acoma, with *Kaweshtima* dominating the horizon. As described by Mrs. William T. (Mary Kay) Sedgwick nearly a half a century later, from this vantage point, a person "may lift his eye in rapt admiration to the splendid panorama of the great plain and the encircling mountains" (1926:38). See Photograph 6 showing trail up mesa to Sky City with Mt. Taylor on the horizon.

The preceding passage shows that, through André Ortiz's guidance, Bandelier could only really know Acoma by beginning with a lesson in rightful orientation to establish centeredness. Bandelier also added in his journal that André Ortiz's formal introduction to Acoma followed the traditionally prescribed circuit beginning in the North with *Kaweshtima*, then to see the mission in the east and the remnants of the pueblo's oldest houses.

## B. Shrines, Boundary Markers, and Trails

Acoma outlined the core areas of its respective homelands during the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) proceedings in the early 1950s. Pueblo representatives identified a series of shrines periodically visited by their officers, as well as certain physiographic features that serve as boundary markers (Bibo 1952; Ellis 1974b:290; Rands 1974:350, and Attachment 13.

The shrines and boundary markers identified during the ICC proceedings and relevant to Acoma's occupation and use of the Mt. Taylor TCP extended from Sabinal at the northeast corner to Puertecito in the San Mateo Valley northwest of Mt. Taylor (Table 12.1).<sup>4</sup> The inventory of features identified in Table 12.1 largely relates to Acoma's definition of the outermost boundary of what the Pueblo relies upon in defining the core of its homeland.

Acoma does not view this boundary as an absolute demarcation of its traditional land usage. For example, Bibo (1952; see also Table 12.12.1) reports that Point No. XIX, known on available topographic maps as Cerro Alesna, is a sacred blessing place that lies beyond Acoma's north boundary. This physiographic feature, in turn, would have been an important landscape reference for Acoma's herdsman who ran sheep on San Mateo Mesa and Mesa Chivato north of their community's core boundary (see below).

Several features (e.g., Point Nos. 21 and 25 [Bibo 1952; see also Table 12.1]) are simultaneously boundary markers and important blessing places. The boundary marker designated Point No. 21 also occurs in proximity to other sacred blessing places not identified in detail in Bibo's (1952) compilation. Still other physiographic features identified in the inventory presented to the ICC in support of the Pueblo's land claims are within the outer boundary's limits (e.g., Point Nos. O and V [Bibo 1952; see also Table 12.1]).

Rands (1974) reports that the outer boundary markers tend to be topographical features, such as prominent hills and peaks. He explains further that Acoma maintains numerous shrines scattered along

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<sup>4</sup> Acoma and Laguna Pueblos brought actions against the United States for the uncompensated taking of aboriginal lands. The claims of the Pueblos overlapped. In order to avoid negative case law (that was later overturned) concerning "exclusive use" of an area, the two Pueblos stipulated to a boundary dividing the claims area. Attachment 13, Indian Claims Commission Findings and Opinion. Although Acoma and Laguna (as well as the other Nominating Tribes) share many contributing cultural properties in common (see Continuation Sheet 10.1, 10.2, and 10.4), they maintain relationships with some landscape features exclusively. This discussion of shrines, boundary markers and trails is limited to Acoma. for this reason.

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or close to the inner boundaries of its traditional farming area, as well as along or close to the outer boundary of its grazing tracts (1974:350). Most of the farming area shrines consist of springs, which occur in abundance on Mt. Taylor's slopes and canyon heads overlooking Lobo Canyon, the Rio San Jose and Acoma valleys, and other places where the people of Acoma farmed historically, as well as in the pre-Columbian past (see below).

The shrine on top of *Kaweshtima's* highest summit (Point No. V [Bibo 1952; Rands 1974:313; see also Table 12.1]) is the best known of the many blessing places through which Acoma maintains an active relationship with the TCP. In 1918, Parsons described the shrine as a large excavated hollow with four well-marked trails: "one from Laguna, one from Taos, Santa Clara, etc., one from Acoma, one from Zuñi" (1918:185). She reported that the region's Keres communities refer to the shrine as a "lightning home." Any "closing" of the opening (through physical or metaphysical disturbances) can cause drought (Parsons 1918:185). Much ritual activity, including blessings and offerings, therefore, is devoted to maintain the opening as a portal of communication with the Spirit Beings.

Sedgwick (1926:27) confirmed the presence of well-worn trails from Acoma, as well as Laguna and Zuni, to the summit of Mt. Taylor based on first-hand accounts of several of her contemporaries who lived in Albuquerque but frequently visited Mt. Taylor. Not only is the peak the closest source of timber and many resources used in rituals to Acoma villages along the Rio San Jose, for some resources it is the only source. The Mountain is also the setting where many characteristically confidential places of ritual observances exist (Blake 1999:494).

Available documents indicate that Acoma maintains a large number of trails across the Mt. Taylor TCP in addition to the complex of pathways that ascend the Mountain's summit to enter the shrine on top (Pueblo of Acoma, in Benedict 2008). For example, White (1932) mentions the use of a pathway that descends Mt. Taylor and crosses Horace Mesa in the "Lights the Fires" ceremony (see below). White (1932:45) also states that religious leaders make pilgrimages to various springs surrounding Mt. Taylor's flanks to collect water needed for rituals at the Pueblo. The documentation of the archaeological remnants of some of Acoma's old agricultural sites in Lobo Canyon (Rands 1974:Table 2), Big Spring Canyon (Jerry Dawson, in Ellis 1974b:95), and Water Canyon, including Cubero Pueblo and its many associated farmsteads (Alfred E. Dittert, personal communication 2006; Mera 1930), suggest that the many gorges cutting into Mt. Taylor's slope comprised other important corridors for movement of Acomas in and out of the TCP area.

Ethnographic reports indicate that a network of what might be called metaphysical trails, referred to by some Native Americans as "spirit pathways" also crisscross the TCP (after Anschuetz 2002:2.33-3.34). Spirit pathways serve as the conduits over which blessings travel back and forth between the natural and supernatural realms of the cosmos. Parsons (1996:361 [1939]) states that the Acomas commonly make ritual observances to represent such pathways for their blessing or the Spiritual Beings to follow.

Cueva Grande (CCP 002) and LA 147067 are examples of important cultural properties situated at the mouths of major canyon pathways (Cañon de Juan Tafoya [CCP 124] and Seboyeta Creek Canyon) along which its community members traditionally traveled into the heart of the Mt. Taylor Cultural Landscape. See photographs 14 through 16. Such treks included, but were by no means limited to, pilgrimages to the summit of Mt. Taylor. As portals of communication with the supernatural realm, these and other blessing places on the periphery of the Mt. Taylor TCP link the lower slopes of the enclosing mesas with the mountain's summit in essential relationship to define the whole of the Mountain. The

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strength of this connection between the TCP's highest peak and the lower slopes of its mesas, in turn, underscores the cultural logic that Acoma contributed to the discussion when the Nominating Tribes defined the Mt. Taylor Cultural Landscape's outer boundary. See Photographs 14-16 which show a sampling of the rock art at LA 147067.

### C. Archaeological Sites

Archaeological study, including ceramic and other artifact analyses, of pre-Columbian pueblo sites near San Mateo, reveals a close correlation between types of material culture characteristic of the Acoma Culture Province and the boundary that Acoma identified as the limits of their core homeland in the ICC proceedings. These findings demonstrate the antiquity of Acoma's affiliation with *Kaweshtima*.

This northern boundary is the area in which Acoma culture adjoins the area of old Chaco culture. Along this periphery a blending of traditions is seen. North of the boundary, Acoma traits die out rapidly and sites showing distinct Chacoan traits are in the majority. However, the Chaco group moved out of the district at least by 1100 and subsequent sites, for example – a large site on one bluff of the Puertecito is more Acoma than Chaco in character. [Ellis and Dittert 1954:19, punctuation in original]

An archaeological survey of 9,501 acres (3,800.4 ha) of land for the proposed Enchanted Skies Park and Observatory on top of Horace Mesa offers insights into the great time depth, as well as the structure and organization, of Acoma's occupation of lands included within the Mt. Taylor TCP. Archaeological studies of this acreage included the identification of 186 sites, which total 266 defined cultural temporal components, and 893 isolated occurrences (IOs) totaling 1,439 items (Wase et al. 2000) and Attachment 6.

Nearly one-third of the site components (n = 81 [30.5%]) represent loci, which, with respect to Ellis and Dittert's (1954) earlier findings, are related to Acoma's occupation of the Mt. Taylor district between circa A.D. 700 and 1600 (Wase et al. 2000:Table 5.3). Among the IOs, they identified more than 300 sherds, 5 pieces of ground stone, and 4 projectile points. These objects represent artifacts types associated with Acoma's occupation<sup>5</sup>

In general, the site assemblages documented on Horace Mesa for all time periods suggests comparatively brief uses, such as one might expect for hunting, gathering, and herding activities. The surviving cultural debris, in combination with the apparent clustering of Acoma's ancestral sites in woodland areas within the study area's south and east clusters suggest that piñon gathering was an important consideration in locating activity areas (Wase et al. 2000:5.62, 5.65). Access to obsidian, used for making knives and projectile points, played a contributing role in determining site locations (Wase et al. 2000:5.65). Six sites (LA119820, LA119839, LA119849, LA119872, LA119904, LA119924) suggest that early Acoma populations periodically lived and farmed in this higher elevation setting (Wase et al. 2000:Table 5.12). LA119839 is of interest because it has four rock shelters associated with extensive

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<sup>5</sup> Despite the documented use of Horace Mesa throughout the Historic period and into the present (e.g., Ellis 1974b; Rands 1974; see also below), the ability of archaeologists working on the Enchanted Skies Park and Observatory project to identify of Acoma sites post-dating 1600 is stated to be "extremely problematical." Investigators assign Historic period cultural materials to either Navajo or "Unknown Historic" affiliations.

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household refuse deposits. LA119904 has definable rubble mound marking the remnants of a small village.

As a general observation, each of the living Pueblo communities possess their own cultural context for comprehending their ancestral archaeological sites (Anschuetz 2002; Ferguson 2002). Even though these contexts may vary, ancestral archaeological sites are a significant part of a community's landscape. With the idea of movement assuming a prominent position in Pueblo landscape constructions, the existence of ancestral sites dating to some pre-Columbian time, demonstrates that a community's ancestors passed through the area (See Anyon 2001:39-40, for a discussion of what the Hopi call "footprints") (Attachment 4).

For Pueblo people generally, the artifacts, ash, and features observed at ancestral archaeological sites are accumulations of material residues that people produced in their everyday lives in times past (Anschuetz 1998:484; 2002:3.33). The life force invested in these surviving traces continues to reside within these visible materials and locations. Moreover, the goodness that their ancestors left at these old sites is available to sustain the contemporary world. This latter point implies that, in Pueblo belief, old sites continue to be occupied, in terms of breath and in healing (i.e., thought). Through breath, center, emergence, movement, and connectedness, the Pueblos view their ancestral archaeological sites as part of an ongoing transformational process within which the current generations act (Anschuetz 2002:3.33).

**D. Kaweshtima in Selected Ritual Observances**

*Kaweshtima*, (its peak, slopes, mesas, and canyons) provides places important for conducting many of Acoma's rituals. *Kaweshtima*'s significance is heightened in ceremonial songs and through paraphernalia used in many ritual performances. Topics of pilgrimages, structure and content of ceremonial observances, and the form and use of ritual paraphernalia are culturally sensitive. Rather than providing a comprehensive enumeration of all references available in published sources, this review identifies a few representative samples obtained in several widely known publications.

**1. "Lighting the Fires"**

This ceremony commemorates the actions of a supernatural being, who is associated with *Kaweshtima* and who built fires all over the Mountain to enhance the earth's fertility (White 1932:94-96). The rite begins on top of *Kaweshtima* and continues along a trail that crosses Horace Mesa to connect the McCarty's area with *Kaweshtima*'s summit. Participants then make their way to Sky City from McCarty's.

**2. Blessings**

Before ascending *Kaweshtima* to collect materials needed for community rituals, Acomas offer blessings for permission (Parsons 1996:173, n \* [1939]). In making their intentions clear and taking care to first request permission, the people will not be blamed any disturbance, which might otherwise offend the Spiritual Beings and block the trails and the portals of communication through which blessings flow back and forth to sustain order and balance in the cosmos.

In some rites, the Acoma collect materials from the heights of *Kaweshtima* for offerings to *Shakak*, the Spirit of Winter (Parsons 1996:276 [1939]). Religious paraphernalia, representing the Mountains of Cardinal Direction, including *Kaweshtima*, may be kept in medicine pouches at the Acoma,

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(Parsons 1996:329 [1939]). At Acoma representations of the Mountains of Cardinal Direction may be used in religious rites, with individual items "being named for a particular mountain" (Parsons 1996:330 [1939]).

Acoma traditional leaders make pilgrimages to sacred springs in the Mt. Taylor district at intervals throughout the year to bring water back to the Pueblo (Rands 1974:313). Parsons stated that they pour this moisture into the reservoirs at Sky City so they may not fail during the dry months (1996:376 [1939]). In this way, water from *Kaweshtima's* springs is used "to insure a plentiful supply of water for the crops and for drinking during the year" (White 1932:45).

**3. Songs**

One song, sung to Spiritual Beings associated with *Kaweshtima* begins:

Already this morning  
The Shiwana have come out  
With cloud they have come  
Already this morning  
The Shiwana have come out.  
With fog they come  
Rainbow, Lightning  
From Snow Mountain [Parsons 1996:411 {1939}]

An Acoma hunt song, which may be sung at the Pueblo during preparations for a hunt or while actually in pursuit, begins:

On the northern edge  
Lion hunt chief has come out.  
With glittering paint  
With yellow head feather tip waving  
He has gone.  
Bravely I will go  
To get spruce  
Acquiring blessings. [Parsons 1996:411 {1939}]

It is useful to add that this song continues to mention the other three other Mountains of Cardinal Direction and their associated animals, colors, and plants.

In a rite intended to insure abundant game, Acoma Hunt Chiefs offer blessings to make figures of game animals "come alive." The song begins:

It comes alive  
It comes alive, alive, alive  
In the North Mountain  
Lion comes alive  
In the North Mountain comes alive,  
With this the meat-eating animal  
Will have the power to attract deer

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Will have the power to attract antelope  
Will have the power to be lucky (succeed). [Parsons 1996:335 {1939}]

The song continues, but it mentions the other three Mountains of Cardinal Direction and substitutes the appropriate associated animals. Lastly, before offering a final drink at conclusion of a rite, the Acoma might sing:

Yonder in the north,  
Snow Mountain,  
To your yellow-colored pool  
To your medicine pool  
With sacred vessel  
I am going for a drink. [Parsons 1996:406 {1939}]

**Table 12.1.** Physiographic Features of the Acoma Land Claim Identified in Indian Claims Commission Proceedings (Docket 266) Relevant to the Mt. Taylor TCP (from Bibo 1952).

ICC Identification No.	CCP Identification No. (see Tables 7.2 and 7.4)	Type	Name	Acoma Name (English Translation)	Comments
21	CCO 002 and CCP 124	Boundary Marker/ Sacred Blessing Place	Grande Cueva and Cañon de Juan Tafoya (a.k.a. Cañon de Marquez)	Wide or Big Cave	Grande Cueva (CCP 002) and Cañon de Juan Tafoya (CCP 124) are located within the Cebolleta Land Grant. The residents of the nearby settlement of Marquez dismantled Acoma's place of blessing at Grande Cueva. They claimed the cave for their exclusive religious use.
22	CCP 121	Boundary Marker	Cerro Chivato	Buck Deer Hill	Rising from a base elevation of 8328 feet (2539 m) to a height of 8915 feet (2718), this cone-shaped hill overlooks the large expanse of Mt. Taylor's east-facing slopes.
23	CCP 056	Boundary	Laguna	Round Lake	This dry lakebed is a

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		Marker	Redonda		short distance southwest of Cerro Chivato. Acoma's boundary line passes 1.0 mile (0.63 km) north of this physiographic marker. Jose Eulario Garcia herded sheep for Santiago Quachimpino from this feature north an unspecified distance in 1901 (see also CCP 118).
<b>24</b>	CCP 055	Boundary Marker	Laguna Largo	Long Lake	The feature, another dry lakebed, is located on the Cebolleta Land Grant a short distance east of the Cibola National Forest boundary line. The Acoma Culture Province boundary line passes 0.2 mile (0.32 km) north.
<b>25</b>	CCP 122	Boundary Marker/ Sacred Blessing Place	Cerrito Zorillo	Skunk's House	Found inside the Cibola National Forest, this physiographic feature is one of a group of small rounded hills northwest of Laguna Largo. This hill is a sacred place of the Pueblo of Acoma and is 0.25 mile (400 m) north of the pueblo's boundary line.
<b>26</b>	CCP 001	Boundary Marker	White Spot on Hill near San Mateo	Freckled Mesa	On the escarpment of La Jara Mesa between San Mateo and La Mosca canyons, this place is named for an outcrop of white sandstone, which is readily visible from the west for a distance of several miles.

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O	CCP 123	Obsidian Source	Piedra de Azavache	---	Situated on East Grants Ridge overlooking Lobo Canyon, Piedra de Azavache denotes an outcrop of an intense, jet-black obsidian. The people of Acoma say that their ancestors used to quarry this material for the manufacture of arrowheads and knives.
V	CCP 143	Sacred Blessing Place	Mt. Taylor Summit	---	The peak is a sacred location, which the Pueblo of Acoma continues to use. (Note: See text for additional discussion.)

**E. Subsistence Activity**

**1. Plant Gathering**

Collecting plants for food undoubtedly was an important draw for the people of Acoma to ascend *Kaweshtima's* canyons, mesas, and slopes. For example, the 81 Pueblo sites documented on Horace Mesa affiliated with Acoma demonstrate a general preference to wooded areas where piñon trees grow in abundance and periodically offer rich crops of nuts (Wase et al. 2000; see also above). The mundane nature of economic plant gathering activities and the community's long-held decision of not sharing privileged information with outsiders have contributed to an under recognition of the importance that native flora played in the traditional lifeways of Acoma, (after Anschuetz 2007b:50). Some plant gathering expeditions, such as those associated with the harvesting of species used in making medicines or in ritual observances, are not for outsiders to witness. Focused ethnographic study of Acoma has not concerned itself with comprehensive study of plant gathering pursuits (e.g., White 1932, 1942), and ethnobotanical investigation of Acoma's uses of plants has never systematically considered the Pueblo's relationships with *Kaweshtima* (e.g., Swank 1932).

Offering the highest summit in the Acoma Culture Province and many contrasting ecozones within short geographic distances as elevations rise from the canyons and mesas that flank Mountain's slopes to its peaks, it is reasonable to suggest that *Kaweshtima* offers much greater ecological diversity than anywhere else within Acoma's core homeland. Below 8500 feet (2600 m) in elevation, the TCP provides plants and animals of the Transition Life Zone (Bailey 1913). Major plant species include ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), piñon (*Pinus edulis*), juniper (*Juniperus monosperma* and *Juniperus scopulorum*), mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus montanus*), serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), blue curly grama (*Bouteloua gracilis*), Indian rice grass (*Oryzopsis hymenoides*), and sand dropseed (*Sporobolus cryptandrus*). Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), an important species that provides boughs used by the

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Acoma (see below) also lives in this habitat. Above 8500 feet (2600 m) to the summit of the highest peak (11,301 ft [3445 m]) are plants belonging to the Canadian Life Zone (Bailey 1913). The principal trees are Colorado blue spruce (*Picea pungens*), Engelmann spruce (*Picea engelmannii*), white fir (*Abies concolor*), Douglas spruce (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), aspen (*Populus tremuloides*), Rocky mountain maple (*Acer glabrum*), alder (*Alnus* sp.), and currant (*Ribes* sp.). Notable herbaceous plants include cinquefoil (*Potentilla* sp.), columbine (*Aquilegia* sp.), and goldenrod (*Solidago* sp.). Several useful grasses are wheatgrass (*Agropyron* sp.) and fescue (*Festuca* sp.).

The relevance of this brief botanical review becomes clear with respect to the findings of an ethnobotanical survey conducted at the Valles Caldera National Preserve (VCNP), which centers on another mountain, Cerro Redondo, and exhibits a comparatively similar range of elevations and plant habitats (Anschuetz 2007b). This study found that of the more than 500 native plant species identified in the VCNP, 350 taxa (this count represents approximately 70% of the plant species identified in available inventories!), are used or are likely to be used, by one of more of the communities that maintain traditional associations with this place. Among these uses, the categories of food/beverage (n = 290 plant taxa) and medicine (n = 286 plant taxa) predominate (Anschuetz 2007b:Tables 5.1 and 5.2).

Dunmire and Tierney (1995) note that within such a broad assemblage of plants, there will be some, such as piñon nuts, that are rich in proteins and/or oils, that when included in the people's diet, are critical for maintaining healthy nutrition. Other taxa, such as those that offer seasonal leafy greens, contribute a beneficial mix of essential vitamins and minerals to the diet.

In the VCNP study, identified medicinal species consist of taxa that the people of traditionally affiliated communities include in their pharmacologies, either singly or in combination with other plants, because they possess healing properties. "The power of healing, however, is not merely a secular matter. It concurrently enters the realm of ritual (Anschuetz 2007b), a topic that is outside the scope of the VCNP study and this nomination. Regarding medicinal and ritual uses, however, it is important to emphasize the general observation that many plants, which possess both medicinal and ritual uses, tend to occur only within mountainous settings (Winter 1981). The Diné are not alone in believing that the efficacy of plants used for medicines and rituals, even when they grow elsewhere, is enhanced when they are obtained from a sacred mountain. The Valles Caldera National Park study supports the Navajo and Hopi statements and the likelihood that traditional cultural knowledge and values also inform Acoma's understandings about the importance of geographical association of certain plants with Mt. Taylor, making the Acoma people's need to harvest particular plant taxa only from this setting for particular purposes beyond question.

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**2. Food.**

Acoma people traditionally gathered juniper berries, acorns, and wild cherries from *Kaweshtima* (Rands 1974:306-307). These native plant resources formed an important part of the Pueblo's economy (Rands 1974:351). Seasonally available foods not only offer nutritional values and variety that complement a diet based on maize, they were of great importance during times that the corn crops failed. Some native plant foods, such as piñon nuts, also were important for trade (Ellis 1974b:167). In comparatively recent historic times, piñon nuts have been a source of cash income.

Acoma people have talked extensively about gathering piñon nuts and maintaining stores of these seeds in their houses for long periods (Ellis 1974b:166). If sun-dried (but not roasted), the nuts would remain fresh for a number of years. Acoma's piñon gathering parties worked for a week or several weeks at a time at *Kaweshtima* and the Pueblo's other prime piñon stands, including those on Horace and La Jara Mesas (e.g., Ortiz 1994:20). Work groups historically consisted of two to five families who used between six and seven burros for transportation (Ellis 1974b:167). While working their piñon stands, the people often built small structures at their camps. These temporary dwellings were approximately circular in plan and consisted of a base of horizontally-laid logs with brush and small timbers placed vertically for walls that averaged between 12 and 13 feet (3.7-4 m) in diameter and were about 4 feet (1.2 m) in height (Ellis 1974b:167, 222). The shelters often were left uncovered, although some people used canvas tarpaulins for roofs.

**3. Medicine.**

*Kaweshtima* is important for many products needed to make medicines and items used in rituals. These topics have been beyond the permissible scope of ethnographic and ethnobotanical inquiry (see above); nevertheless, several published observations exist. First, Acoma tradition keepers gather herbs for use in their community rites, including nominations for rain and curing (Blake 1999:496; Parsons 1918:185). Second, Ceremonialists make offerings and gather soil, herbs, minerals, water, wood, wildlife, and other materials from this Mountain, as well as plants. Materials from the Mountain have special power by virtue of being part of it (Polk 1997:1-3).

**4. Hunting**

Acoma hunters pursued mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), in the TCP, and still hunt there today where permitted. (Rands 1974:310, 351). As a general observation, Rands (1974) observes that hunting expeditions lasted as long as two or three weeks in the past, depending on the scale of the hunts, the success of expeditions, and the need to jerk meat before returning home. In addition to deer bone, archaeological studies of pre-Columbian Acoma habitation sites yield turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*) (Ellis and Dittert 1954:2). Both species occur at elevations between 7200 and 8500 feet (2195-2591 m) (see Bailey 1913). The Pueblo's hunters also harvested wild goats on *Kaweshtima*'s lava beds (Marion Lambson, in Rands 1974:310). Although published information is scanty, other game animals, which are important for materials needed in Acoma's ritual observances if not also for food, exist. For example, Polk (1997:5-2) reports that Acoma's people obtained (unspecified) birds from the top of Horace Mesa.

Brief, generalized inventories of mammal and bird species shows the diversity of animals, the majority of which have economic or cultural significance among the Pueblos (e.g., see Parsons 1996 [1939]; Tyler 1991 [1979]). In addition to mule deer and turkeys, the Transition Life Zone, which predominates among the canyons, mesas, and lower slopes of the Mt. Taylor TCP, supports the following

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mammals and bird species: mountain coyote (*Canis lestes*), bobcat (*Lynx uinta*), various squirrels (*Callopermophilus* sp.), prairie dog (*Cynomys gunnisoni*), raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), jackrabbit (*Lepus campestris*), cottontail (*Sylvilagus* sp.), woodrat (*Neotoma mexicana*), weasel (*Mustela arizonensis*), beaver (*Castor canadensis*), badger (*Taxidea taxus*), black bear (*Ursus americanus*), mountain lion (*Felis concolor*), various hawks (*Accipiter* sp.) and owls (*Otus* sp., *Cryptaglaux* sp., and *Glaucidium* sp.), robin (*Turdus migratorius*), woodpeckers (*Dryobates* sp., *Melanerpes* sp., and *Asyndesmus* sp.), nighthawk (*Chordeiles virginianus*), hummingbirds (*Cyanolaemus* sp. and *Archelochus* sp.), swift (*Aëronautes melanoleucus*), sparrows (*Pooecetes* sp. and *Spizella* sp.), warblers *Vermivora* sp. and *Peucedramus* sp.), chickadee (*Penthestes scalateri*), and golden (*Aquila chrysaetos*) and bald eagles (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*) (Bailey 1913).

Above 8500 feet (2600 m), the *Canadian Life Zone* supports, among others, elk (*Cervus canadensis*), mule deer, black bear, lynx, weasels, squirrels, chipmunks, and Mountain red fox (*Vulpes fulva*). Bird species include various grouse, woodpeckers, hummingbirds, sparrows, warblers, grouse hawk (*Astur atricapillus*), jay (*Perisoreus* sp.), gray-headed junco (*Junco phaeonotus*), several kinglet species (*Regulus* sp.), and mountain bluebird (*Sialia currucoides*) (Bailey 1913).

### 5. Herding

Before World War I, after which time windmills became increasingly common in the Acoma Valley and in other areas surrounding the Pueblo's principal settlements, Acoma herdsman ran their sheep throughout their vast homeland in response to three major factors. Rands explains:

(1) the availability of water from natural sources; (2) the availability of pasturage; and (3) the area to which the various families moved out from Old Acoma or Acomita for their summer farming. The tendency was for large herds [1,000-1,200 sheep] to go relatively far out, the smaller herds [300-500 sheep] staying in closer to the winter settlements. [1974:301]

The highlands of the Mt. Taylor TCP offered favored pasturage for large herds during the summer. These grazing tracts had two major foci. The first was on the southern slopes extending from the Rio San Jose Valley to the Mountain's summit; the second area was in the plains around Laguna Monte and Laguna Ambrosio (the Ambrosia Lake area) (Rands 1974:303, 304, 348). On the Mountain's west flanks, there is evidence of Acoma herding camps dating from the eighteenth through the late nineteenth centuries (e.g., A32 and A33, respectively) (Jerry Dawson, in Ellis 1974b:95; see also Rands 1974:Table 2).

Ellis (1974b:223) adds that Navajo raiding was a fourth factor governing decisions about herding locations. When Navajo raiding was at its peak in the mid-nineteenth century, the Acoma temporarily withdrew from the Ambrosia Lake area and concentrated much of their herding activity north of the Pueblo on *Kaweshitima's* slopes and summit. Ellis notes that an Acoma man, with whom she consulted but identifies only as "Lorenzo," herded sheep at a site (A59) "northeast of La Mosca on the northeast side of the mountain" (1974b:98) in ca. 1898. Two grassy knolls, which as "easily seen when driving on road on north side of the mountain" (Ellis 1974b:98), mark this location.

A map prepared using information collected in support of Acoma's land claims before the ICC shows areas used by Acomas for herding within the limits of the proposed Mt. Taylor TCP. A related map identifies San Victorino, Bautista Pino, and Sam Ray Antonio as variously using San Mateo Mesa north of

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the peak for sheep and other purposes outside the Pueblo's outer north core homeland boundary. Santiago Juanico herded sheep on *Kaweshtima's* upper south-facing slopes. The largest group of herdsman, including Jose Luis Vallo, Jose Eulario Garcia, Estiban Juanico, Juan Ray Antonio, Francisco Vallo, Juan Chavez Vallo, Santiago Vallo, and Santiago Vallo, Jr., ran sheep on Mesa Chivato immediately below Cerro Pelon and Cerro Osha on the east side of *Kaweshtima*. San Juan Sanchez also herded flocks north of San Miguel Canyon on the northeast side of *Kaweshtima* beyond Acoma's outer north boundary. In addition, Acoma formerly shared extensive winter tracts along *Kaweshtima's* lower east slopes around Sabinal and Cocina with the Pueblo of Laguna. The flocks received protection from the season's cold winds in this setting.

Acoma still uses the TCP area for sheep herding and cattle grazing, although today there is greater cattle grazing than sheep herding. Acoma leases land held by the Bureau of Land Management that is just north of the Pueblo and on top of Horace Mesa within the TCP.

**6. Farming**

Acoma farmed at many locations along the north boundary of the Acoma Culture Province. Rands (1974:297) notes that Acomas historically focused much of their farming activity in the canyon country near Marquez on *Kaweshtima's* northeast flanks and San Mateo on the northwest side. Some families also farmed immediately within and surrounding the TCP as part of their summer herding activities. Such farmland areas include lands northwest of the Mountain near Puertecito, along the peak's west flank in Lobo Canyon, along the north boundary of the Acoma Culture Province in Cañon Juan Tafoya and Marquez, and extending east to the northeast corner of the east flanks of *Kaweshtima* near Sabinal (Rands 1974:Table 2). Ellis (1974b:223) adds that the Acomas' use of Lobo Canyon ceased in the mid-nineteenth century under the threat of Navajo raiding parties, who favored this sheltered watercourse for use as a base camp.

Use of *Kaweshtima's* west, south, and east margins has a long continuous history. As noted previously, archaeologists identified six sites as either agricultural field houses or farmsteads during surveys on top of Horace Mesa for the proposed Enchanted Skies Park and Observatory project (Wase et al. 2000; see also above). One of Acoma's ancestral village complexes, the Cubero community on the Cubero Grant, occupies a prominent position along the Water Canyon drainage. Consisting of Cubero Pueblo (LA494) and its outlying farmsteads, this former home dates back to the Kowina phase (A.D. 1200-1400) (Alfred E. Dittert, personal communication 2006; Mera 1930). Notably, Water Canyon, just as the other drainages on *Kaweshtima's* slopes, likely represents one of the many pathways to *Kaweshtima's* summit (see above).

Jerry Dawson (in Ellis 1974b:95) reports finding what appears to be a possible agricultural settlement, which he affiliates with Acoma Pueblo based on diagnostic ceramic artifacts, at the head of Rinconada Canyon's tributaries on *Kaweshtima's* south slope. The site consists of at least one small masonry dwelling measuring 6 by 12 feet (1.8 x 3.6 m). Remnants of a second house are probable.

**7. Material Culture**

Acomas gather branches of various trees, such as oak, maple, Douglas spruce, and willow, for ritual paraphernalia on *Kaweshtima* (Curtis 1907-1930, 16:194; Rands 1974:91-92). Expeditions for ceremonial paraphernalia likely occur several times of the year, with people harvesting as much of the

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desired plant products as they can carry (Rands 1974:308). This activity has been going on since time immemorial.

Unlike today when the importance of chokecherry trees is the fruit, in the past Acoma hunters used “[t]he strong, supple, straight-grained cherry wood...to make functional bows...until at least the first half of this [1900s] century” (Dunmire and Tierney 1995:119).

*Kaweshtima*, both in Acoma oral traditions and in meteorological fact given its rising topography, is associated with lightning. Through the multi-leveled associations among lightning, rain and *Kaweshtima*, Acomas understand that “lightning is sacred” (Hewett and Dutton 1945:32) and capable of imbuing great power on the things it strikes, including objects and people (Parsons 1996:378 [1939]). Therefore, it is unsurprising that lightning-struck trees in general, but especially those timbers growing on *Kaweshtima*, are favored for making certain items of material culture, including altars (Wallis 1939:38), cradle boards (Parsons 1996:135 [1939]), and frames used in curing rites (Parsons 1996:378 [1939]).

Obsidian was an important resource in Acoma’s traditional material culture. Bibo (1952; See also Table 12.1) states that Piedra de Azavache (Point No. O) is an outcrop of an intense, jet-black obsidian. The Acoma recall that their ancestors quarried this material to make arrowheads and knives. Also, in their report of the archaeological survey of extensive tracts of Horace Mesa, Wase and associates (2000:5.65) found that obsidian availability played a contributing role in determining the locations of the 81 pre-Columbian sites likely affiliated with Acoma.

When speaking about of *Kaweshtima’s* importance in Acoma material culture, recall that the people constructed the roof of the San Esteban del Rey Mission with ponderosa pine beams ritually harvested, prepared, and carried back from *Kaweshtima* rather than alternate locations closer to Sky City (Lummis 1901; Sedgwick 1926; see also above). The association of *Kaweshtima’s* power and goodness with the trees that grew on the peak’s slopes was part of the decision-making process. With reference to their corpus of traditional belief, Acoma’s people understood what they needed to do to properly build structures associated with blessings and rituals, even those outside the traditional belief system.

## **F. Contemporary Commentaries Illustrating *Kaweshtima’s* Continuing Significance**

Contemporary commentaries shared with the outside world by Acomas resonate with references to, and meanings informed by, the principles that organize the content and structure of their relationship with Mt. Taylor as a TCP. As discussed above, these principles include spiritual ecology, which is a way of living responsibly in relationship with their environment, and ensoulment, through which people and the land give meaning and identity to one another through intrinsic relationship. The landscape themes include breath, center, emergence, connectedness and movement. Acoma’s understanding of center informs their conceptualization of their rightful orientation. Connectedness is expressed in the community’s belief in the principles of spiritual ecology and ensoulment. These themes coalesce to define the people’s place – including their privileges and obligations – within their homeland.

### **1. The People of Acoma in Relationship to *Kaweshtima***

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In consultations with the U.S. Forest Service about *Kaweshtima's* continuing significance to their Pueblo, Acomas emphasized that this summit, along with its associated canyons and mesas, forms a significant part of the Pueblo's cultural history (Pueblo of Acoma, in Benedict 2008:2). Based on conversations with Acoma people during work to prepare a comprehensive assessment of the San Esteban del Rey Mission, Playdon states that Acomas helped him understand that

The history of Acoma is the history of the settlement of its people. The making of place is completely tied to the people's identity. The past and present are interconnected and exist in the land, as do the people's ancestors. Time and place are not separated. [2006:56]

Moreover, as Acomas shared with the U.S. Forest Service,

Physical structures and cultural artifacts are only one indicator of each mountain's [Mt. Taylor and the other Mountains of Cardinal Direction] cultural significance. Associated floodplains, watersheds, and wetlands provide evidence of magnitude of interconnection of each mountain to the ecosystem and habitat it encompasses. [Pueblo of Acoma, in Benedict 2008:2]

Principles and themes embedded in these general commentaries about the people's relationship with their homeland, in turn, inform the following statements by community members expressing their concerns about proposed land management and development projects that will effect Acoma, including lands within the proposed Mt. Taylor TCP:

We are part of this land. It is our permanent homeland. Our elders tell us we are already underneath the land and we are part of it. {Pueblo of Acoma 2000:E-62}

This mountain... We call her "our snow-covered mother mountain." This is where young men go to pray and to learn about themselves. So to have the children here and touching the earth here [on Mt. Taylor] is very special and very sacred. [Ortiz 2003:1]

In my work, what we call our aboriginal territory of Acoma, which is a bigger land base than what we have currently today, is bounded to the north by Mt. Taylor. All these areas are places we go to protect our homeland (from) within. [within the larger Acoma Cultural Province]. [Watchempino 2007:1 {Bracketed text by L. Watchempino, personal communication, 2008}]

A specific example of Acoma's continuing relationship with *Kaweshtima* is in comments that Ernest Vallo shared with Cynthia Benedict, Forest Archaeologist, Cibola National Forest (in Benedict 2007:1). Vallo began by noting that Acoma traditional leaders continue to visit the mesas surrounding the peak to collect materials used in community observances. He also reported that there is a place near La Jara Mesa where the reburial of human remains took place in August 2000 at the request of the Pueblos of Acoma, Zuni, and the Hopi Tribe following Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) consultations. This location was chosen by the Tribes because of proximity to the ancestral Puebloan villages where the original burials were unearthed. Vallo cited this action as yet another example to demonstrate the ongoing cultural ties and value of La Jara Mesa to the Pueblo of Acoma (Benedict 2007:1).

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**2. Kaweshtima in Acoma Culture and Identity**

Polk notes that for many affiliated Tribes, Mt. Taylor is “a foundation of traditional cosmography” (1997:1-3). Simon Ortiz’s poem *A Snowy Mountain Song* illustrates this quality. Although consisting of just four lines, Ortiz describes *Kaweshtima* richly through images that are fully intelligible to Acomas who know of Acoma’s traditions about the Mountain’s origin and its place within the cosmos:

To the north of Acoma rises a woman-mountain:  
A white scarf  
Tied to her head  
The lines on her face are strong. [Ortiz 1976:136]

An excerpt from Ortiz’s poem *Kaweshtima Sharing Its Existence with Me and Me Sharing My Existence with Kaweshtima* illustrates the importance of the Mountain in Ortiz’s sense of his identity:

On all days  
of Creation’s seasons  
There’s always a clarity.  
...wherever I have been  
I have never seen another Mountain which has stood more clearly  
In my mind and heart.  
...  
...when the loneliness for myself  
has overcome me  
the Mountain has occurred. [Ortiz 2002:86]

Andrew Victorino, expresses similar sentiments in the poem *Home*, which he wrote for the *New Mexico CultureNet Webslam VII* while a student enrolled in at the Santa Fe Indian School and living away from Acoma. Victorino identifies *Kaweshtima* among the landscape features that define both his homeland and his sense of well being:

Standing at the edge  
Atop the mesa  
Staring out in all directions  
I see the beauty of my land  
Mt. Taylor  
Sacred mountain to the north  
Overlooking my village like a high protector  
Enchanted Mesa  
Our sacred mesa to the east  
First home of my ancestors  
Lonesome Rock  
Standing tall and mighty to the west  
Like a brave warrior  
Aaku Valley  
To the south where all spirits travel  
And prayers of my people are taken  
I feel complete

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When I am here  
Acoma  
My home [Victorino 2004]

Tracey Charlie also participated in the New Mexico *CultureNet Webslam VII* while a student at the Santa Fe Indian School. In this contribution, she calls on the Mountain to help those who are in danger of losing their sense of who they are because of their alienation from their home:

Mt. Taylor  
O Holy Mountain to the north  
Hear my prayer

Great grandfather, hear the cries  
Listen!  
Can you hear the cries?

So many reach out  
Yet you pull away  
Light from the fire is dying

Heartbeats are fading  
Listen!  
Can you hear the sudden pause?

Basket is tipped  
Your children are slowly falling  
Catch them

Shattered pottery shards  
Lay powerless before your feet  
Help us

Nightmares are swallowing  
Your great grandchildren  
Save us

Great grandfather, hear the cries  
Listen!  
Can you hear the cries? [Charlie 2004]

Blake (1999) observes that *Kaweshtima* represents the triumph of good over evil in Pueblo traditions, including those of Acoma. He adds,

Specific places nearly always are central to Pueblo narratives (Silko 1990). The meaning of place names and its clarification in the oral traditions associated with these places imbue the culture with wisdom (Basso 1996)...Mount Taylor thus provides moral and material symbolic structure to the world of the Acoma, Laguna, Zuni, and Hopi (Tyler 1975). [Blake 1999:495]

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### Section 3: Threats to the Pueblo of Acoma Through the Disturbance of Its Traditional Affiliations with *Kaweshtima*

Acoma strives to protect the sanctity of its homeland, including the TCP in many different ways. One technique is privilege. For example, even though Acomas willingly share their I name for their North Mountain—*Kaweshtima*—they are unwilling to share their names for many places and spiritual beings, the locations of most shrines and blessing places, and the layers of symbolism that make this a cultural landscape. For an Acoma, sharing precise traditional cultural knowledge with outsiders can jeopardize the very relationship with the Mountain that they hold so closely (see also Anschuetz 2002:3:35-3:37 for further discussion of the Native American communities' commonly shared need to maintain privilege).

Exhaustive ethnographic details support, but ultimately are not needed to establish, Acoma Pueblo's traditional affiliations with *Kaweshtima*. As this essay illustrates, Acomas imbue *Kaweshtima* with significant belief and meaning in many key aspects of their lives, both as persons and as members of a distinctive cultural community. As a monument within their homeland that provides rightful orientation and serves as a reminder of how to live properly, *Kaweshtima* is an essential element of the people's and the community's everyday lives. By virtue of its geographical and ideational location at the north margin of Acoma Pueblo's traditional homeland, *Kaweshtima*, the Pueblo's "snow-covered mother mountain" (Ortiz 2003:1), is where definition and continuity of Acoma identity always begins..

Threats to cherished cultural resources are a source of additional anxiety. Pilgrimage trails, shrines, archaeological sites, locations where certain plants, animals and minerals traditionally have been harvested, and view sheds, all are subject to a variety of direct and indirect impacts associated with land altering activities. Violations of sacred blessing places, such as the removal of offerings (after Fox 1994, cited in Blake 1999:496), and the loss of privacy, invariably occur when the roads and other development infrastructure open access into previously remote settings. This is another level of worry. While some people do this purposefully, it often happens just because a person does not know that picking up a stone, a brightly colored turquoise bead, a shell, may have a negative effect. To the uninformed, there is no sign announcing that they are violating sacred space.

Acoma's world view informs a third, and the most potent, concern. According to Geertz, *world view* is a people's picture of the way things, in sheer reality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order" (1973:127 [1957]).

C. Maurus Chino, a member of the Pueblo of Acoma, expressed the principles and values contained within his community's world view when he spoke of his beloved people and beloved land:

The religion of the people revolves around the land and our harmony with the universe and our Creator. The land is a living being, in and of itself. The land and the people are inseparable: they are one and the same...This land and the people have always been part of a sacred cycle of struggle and harmony. This is the meaning of '*amuu han'u, aamuu haatsi*': it includes all people. It means we are responsible for the values we hold precious. [in Norrell 2005:1]

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From an anthropological perspective, Ester Gayo Maring contributes toward further understanding of Acoma's world view among outsiders through the additional following observations:

The Acoma view of life and the total environment is that of the 'nature-man cooperative'. Man, the elements (Earth, sun, moon, clouds, etc.), animals, plants, the ancestors, and supernatural powers are interdependent—they interact in an orderly fashion. [1969:61, punctuation in the original]

As far as the Acomas are concerned, the universe is an integrated unit... The whole world must work in harmony – nature, man, and the elements must cooperate with each other." [1969:62]

The Acomas believe that the human and natural worlds are closely interlinked through numerous interrelationships that any disturbance in the one will induce a corresponding disturbance in the other. [1969:63]

Therefore, within Acoma's traditional beliefs, which are rooted in their understanding of the creation of life upon the earth's surface at the beginning of time (see above), *Kaweshtima* is a living, breathing entity that exists in relationship with all other living things, including plants, animals, minerals, water, and people (Acoma Pueblo, in Benedict & Hudson 2008:5). These ideas introduce the core values of Acoma's spiritual ecology which the people traditionally have depended on as a guideline for rightful living to fulfill their sacred obligation to serve as the stewards for *Kaweshtima* as part of their homeland. Chino's commentary illustrates that Acoma's world view enlightens the landscape principles of spiritual ecology and ensoulment, and emphasizes the theme of connectedness.

It is for these reasons that Acoma's people offer blessings in asking permission from the Spirit Beings before harvesting resources from the TCP. By making their intentions clear and harvesting only what they need to sustain their community physically, socially, and spiritually, Acomas are careful not to inflict disturbances that would offend the Spiritual Beings by disrupting the balance within the cosmos. Development within the Mt. Taylor Cultural Landscape that does not carefully consider the TCP and its many contributing cultural properties Acoma threatens to adversely affect the spiritual nature of the whole. Ill-considered harm to *Kaweshtima* will endanger Acoma's cultural well-being.

In addition to the practical problems with most "mitigation", many proposals are unsatisfactory in Acoma's view because land managers fail to convey an understanding of, or acknowledge, the web of environmental interrelationship that the Acomas sustain within their homeland. For Acoma, *Kaweshtima* is a constructed world of cultural product upon which Acoma imposes its own mental map (after Basso 1996). This Mountain is simultaneously a TCP and cultural landscape. One can only begin to understand the threats to Acoma's traditional affiliations with Mt. Taylor when potential actions are analyzed through Acoma's concept of what *Kaweshtima* is in the whole scheme of life. It is only through the recognition of their holistic perspective, that the threats to Acoma's affiliations with *Kaweshtima* can begin to be understood.

That discussions among developers, land managers, and affiliated communities take place wherein natural and cultural environmental concerns are treated as commodities in an attempt to make the concerns amenable to quantitative risk management, is fundamentally at issue. The material products found in the natural and cultural environments are relevant topics for discussion; however, so are the traditional relationships that Acoma's people sustain with the environment. From the Acoma perspective,

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the people and the land are inseparable. These age-old cultural traditions serve as a guide for living in a rightful manner. The integrity and accompanying significance of natural and cultural products within the environment cannot be understood without reference to the living culture within which they exist and through which they have meaning and value.

Demarcation of physical buffers between specified natural and cultural resources, and plans to “mitigate” or “reclaim” erosion disturbances or sources of air and water pollution, do not address the issue of the fundamental injury that development may cause Acoma’s mother North Mountain or the long-term consequences that Acoma will suffer when human authorities permit developers to proceed without the Tribe’s active participation in the planning process from the beginning. Because Acoma and its homeland are inextricably linked, disturbances that threaten the integrity of the Mother Mountain as a TCP also imperil the community’s traditional culture, cohesiveness, and continuity.

Laura Watchempino’s statement, in which she refers to *Kaweshtima* and the other locations defining Acoma’s traditional boundaries, as all the places that Acoma Pueblo’s people “go to protect [their inner] homeland (from) within” (2007:1), provides a reference point for grasping the essential nature of the threats that ill-considered development within the Mt. Taylor district poses to her Pueblo. If *Kaweshtima* is disturbed in ways that endanger the Mountain’s well being, the people’s personal and community ritual to protect their world, in turn, will be interrupted. Should such an awful consequence occur because the exchange of blessings between Acoma Pueblo (the center) and *Kaweshtima* (the edge) becomes impeded, the Acoma world will change. Unable to fulfill its sacred obligations as the stewards of their homeland, the world may experience upheaval.

The springs sustained by *Kaweshtima*, just as the Mountain’s mesas and valleys, extend south from the peak’s slopes toward the heart of Acoma (Pueblo of Acoma, in Benedict and Hudson 2008; Ortiz 1992a:340), will fail or become polluted. Runoff, which streams off the Mountain to supply water to the Rio San Jose Valley as though the kachina were playing a joyous game of kick-stick (Parsons 1996:306 [1939], from White 1942:318), likewise might carry pollutants into the bottomlands where people live and grow crops through stream irrigation.

Worse yet, disruption of the traditional relationship between Acomas and *Kaweshtima* will harm the Acomas’ understanding of identity now and in the future. As Tracey Charlie alludes to in the poem *Kaweshtima*, some of Acoma’s youth already struggle with feelings of alienation from their community. Not only do today’s young people, just as the people of the generations that preceded them (e.g., Ortiz 2002), begin to find answers about who they are by looking toward *Kaweshtima* to as the substance of their sense of home (e.g., Victorino 2004). They also look to *Kaweshtima* for a reaffirmation of where their community has been, an explanation why the Pueblo exists as it does today, and a guide where Acoma and her people will be in the future.

One last poem by Simon Ortiz, *We Have Been Told Many Things but We Know This to Be True*, effectively conveys Acoma’s dependence on its homeland landscape for community identity and affirmation of rightful orientation. Ortiz also makes clear what Watchempino refers to when she speaks of the Acoma’s people’s need “to protect [their] homeland (from) within,” the sacred obligation of the Acoma people to be caretakers for their homeland. Ortiz’s poem illustrates what ill-considered development will endanger.

The land. The people.  
They are in relation to each other.

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We are a family with each other.  
The land has worked with us.  
And the people have worked with it.

This is true:  
Working for the land  
and the people—it means life  
And its continuity.  
Working not just for the people,  
but for the land too.  
We are not alone in our life;  
we cannot expect to be.  
The land has given us our life,  
and we must give back to it.

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

We have been told many things,  
but we know this to be true:  
the land and the people. [Ortiz 1992b:324-325]

As to this essential quality of the connection that Acomas maintain with their homeland, Playdon suggests, "Once lost, these people/place connections are seldom restored" (2006:62). Ortiz's poem illustrates that the Acoma's living relationship with the land cannot be severed without affecting the

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potential for the community's life to continue. In her statement to the CPRC during the June 2008 hearing where the Committee decided in favor of listing the Mt. Taylor TCP on the SRCP on an emergency basis for one year, Melayna Ortiz, a young Acoma woman, specifically addressed the need for the Mountain's survival for the cultural survival of her community:

The TCP listing will solidify in writing what many already know to be true, that Kaweshtima is culturally and historically significant and worthy of preservation. The Nominating Tribes and others recognize that Kaweshtima is a priceless resource. The historic and cultural significance of Kaweshtima transcends any monetary sum. The Emergency Listing now ensures that future generations and others throughout the nation and the world that follow will have the same opportunity to share and know the legacy of Kaweshtima as I know it.

In closing, the requested consultation with the Nominating Tribes is warranted. The Listing invites others to join in the care and preservation of the mountain as each Tribe has historically done since its emergence as a people. Kaweshtima has continuously provided life to all people in the area and any alteration of its present form is to reduce its life-producing properties. We must protect and preserve it, if we are to survive. Kaweshtima is culturally and historically significant and commands not only the respect found in native oral traditions, but also respect solidified in writing. I love Kaweshtima. [2008:1]

## **B. HOPI TRIBE SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT**

**Prepared by the Hopi Tribe Historic Preservation Office  
2009**

### **I. Introduction**

*Lolma.* On behalf of the Hopi and Tewa people, it is our responsibility to express the Hopi tribal government's and *Hopisinmuy*, or Hopi people's support as Petitioner for the Permanent Listing of Mt. Taylor, *Tsiipiya* in Hopi or *Ping-tsey* in Tewa, on the New Mexico State Register of Cultural Properties (SRCP).

The Hopi Tribe represents the Hopi Villages, including the First Mesa Tewa Village, or *Hanoki*, and the Hopi Tribe recognizes the autonomy of the villages. Hopi and Tewa are different cultures, with different languages. Although Hopi and Tewa beliefs and practices regarding Mt. Taylor differ in some ways, the Hopi and Tewa people are unified in their support for the Hopi Tribe's representation as Petitioner for the Permanent Listing of Mt. Taylor on the SRCP as a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP). Therefore, Hopi and Tewa people will hereafter be referred to as Hopi people. The Hopi Tribe has also long recognized that Mt. Taylor has great cultural significance to the Acoma, Laguna, Zuni, and Navajo tribes, as well as other Native Americans and Americans.

As stated in the Hopi Tribe's support for the Emergency Listing Petition, the Hopi Tribe has long recommended that Mt. Taylor be considered a significant natural and cultural landscape that comprises

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part of the human environment. With that petition, and also again enclosed here is *Initial Hopi Ethnographic Study and Reconnaissance for the Enchanted Skies Park and Observatory*, that includes a portion of the Mt. Taylor TCP ("Initial Study") (Attachment 4).

As cited in the *Initial Study*, which only includes Horace and Bibo Mesas, the Hopi Tribe has established cultural associations with Mt. Taylor and demonstrated that 28 Hopi deities and other religious personages (Table 8.X1 in Attachment 4), 26 Hopi and 10 Tewa clans (Tables 8.X2, 8.X3, and 8.X4 in Attachment 4), and a number of Hopi religious societies have close cultural connections with Mt. Taylor. Other Hopi and Tewa clans having cultural associations with Mt. Taylor are extinct. Two hundred and eight Hopi Traditional Cultural Properties are identified and recommended as eligible or potentially eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) in this study, and over 800 isolated occurrences (IOs) are identified. Of these properties, 158 archaeological sites and 11 IOs are known to exist on lands included in area enclosed by the Mt. Taylor TCP boundary.

The Initial Study concludes, "When the entire mountain is regarded as a traditional cultural property, all the individual traditional cultural properties are contributing features." It recommends:

1. Mt. Taylor, along with its surrounding volcanic features and lava fields, should be considered a significant natural and cultural landscape that comprises part of the human environment important to the Hopi Tribe;
2. Mt. Taylor and its associated surrounding pedestal of volcanic features and lava field should be evaluated for its eligibility to the NRHP as a nationally significant cultural property, and that the cultural resources within this traditional cultural property shall be considered contributing elements. [after Anyon 2001]

## II. THE HOPI CULTURALLY INHABITED LANDSCAPE: THE CLOUDS, OUR FATHERS, ARE CALLING US

<i>Tsiipiyay omawkive,</i>	Mt. Taylor, home of the clouds,
<i>Itanam itamuy ayata</i>	East Great Kiva of the Katsinam
<i>Yupavo ayoo tawapat oom'i</i>	Our circle of fathers is instructing us
<i>Ep itamuy pahomantu naawakinaya</i>	Go over there above the spring where the village is
	Where the Katsinam mother prayers and offerings
	Are waiting for us

Hopi people entered into a sacred Covenant with the Earth Guardian in which it is our responsibility to be preservers and protectors, or stewards of the Earth. In accordance with that Covenant, some of our ancestors' clans migrated to and settled on the lands around Mt. Taylor, and then migrated to Hopi.

Mt. Taylor is among the most sacred landscapes for the Hopi people. These lands are part of our ancestral lands. Mt. Taylor is a Traditional Cultural Property of the Hopi Tribe. Hopi people were part of New Mexico before there was an Arizona, and Hopi people were part of New Mexico before there was a New Mexico, inhabiting places such as Aztec, Chaco, Santa Fe, and literally thousands of other settlements.

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To Hopi people the landscape is inhabited. The mountain is revered as a home of the *Katsinam*, spiritual deities that are messengers between the people and the spiritual domain to petition for rain for all people. Hopis are initiated into one of two religious societies. These initiations are "rites of passage" for all Hopis as they grow into adulthood and passages into other societies. The majestic peak serves as a physical, emotional and spiritual link between the Hopis and our environment.

These lands contain the testimony of our ancestors' stewardship through thousands of years, manifested in the prehistoric ruins, the rock "art" and artifacts, and the human remains of our ancestors, *Hisatsinom*, People of Long Ago, who continue to inhabit them. Hopi people have returned to Mt. Taylor on pilgrimages since time immemorial and continue to do so today. *Tsiipiya*, the clouds, our fathers are calling us.

We tell our history through our songs, ceremonies and oral traditions. Hopi people believe that when we die, we become clouds. Mt. Taylor is known and remembered in our songs, Mt. Taylor is known and remembered in our ceremonies, and Mt. Taylor is known and remembered in our shrines. *Tsiipiya*, the clouds, our fathers are calling us. The clouds, the spring, the shrine, up above, there's a mesa where they're calling us from.

The clouds over the Mountain, our fathers, are connected to the shrine on the Mountain, where we place our offerings. After the Spanish cut the Hopi off from access to the Mountain shortly after their arrival in the region, the Hopi established shrines, named *Tsiipiya*, near the villages to perpetuate and commemorate their traditional pilgrimages to the shrine on *Tsiipiya*. These shrines continue to be used today.

Our offerings at the shrine bring rain. The shrine and the rain are connected to the spring. The Hopi life cycle is the water cycle. Hopi people and Mt. Taylor are inseparable. The shrines connect to the universe. The spirit never dies. *Tsiipiya*, the clouds, our fathers are calling us. Can you hear them?

*Paauiwaqatsi*. Water is life. For over a thousand years, the springs and waters of Mt. Taylor have provided life to Hopi people and other people. The springs and waters, farms and people are threatened now. In the near future, water will be realized to be more valuable than oil.

The legacy of past unimpeded development has left wounds on our land, our water, and our people. These are not scars, for they have not healed. The wounds of unimpeded development left are continuing to infect the lives of our villages and people.

*Koyaanisqatsi*, told in Hopi history and prophesy, is life out of balance, or a state of life that calls for another way of living. This state of life characterizes the risks we face together in modern times. If Americans are to live together in America in the Twenty-first Century, we must call together for another way of living. We now ask for laws and processes that support life, not destruction and death. The listing of Mt. Taylor on the SRCP as a TCP is one step toward fulfilling this new beginning.

### III. The Intangible and the Tangible

A recent meeting of the Society of Applied Anthropology included as session on "Cultural

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*Landscapes as Sacred Geography: Toward Managing the Intangible as a New Resource Category.*” The abstract for this session states, “Cultural values and support ethnic identity...Through oral narrative, songs, chants, dance, stewardship, and pilgrimages, ethnographic landscapes situate people in time and space, thereby creating a spatial conception of history that forms a connection to the past, present and future”. To an observer, the culturally inhabited landscape may be “intangible.” However, what is intangible or invisible to an observer is tangible or visible to a participant.

To Hopi people, the shrines and archaeological sites on the mountain are the footprints of our ancestors and are the tangible and physical manifestation of their fulfillment of a Covenant with *Massaw*, the Earth Guardian – to travel to the four directions of the Continent and leave these footprints. The archaeological ruins, pottery sherds, and human remains of our ancestors that cover Mt. Taylor are tangible. To Hopi people, *Palatpela* or *Palatutuwkwi* is the red rock wall between Grants and Gallup, *Pamistupka* is the valley in which Grants is located, and *Patusuntanga* is the ice cave near Milan. These are tangible places.

Ceremonies and societies that have connections with religious personages and clans associated with the Mt. Taylor area include all *katsina* ceremonies, the *Lalkont* and *Maraw* women’s societies and ceremonies and the *Yaya* and *Somaikoli* curing ceremonies. The *Katsinam* are as tangible to Hopis as Jesus is to Christians. To the participant the natural is supernatural.

*Siitala*, flower light, or for the landscape to be bright with flowers, is a Hopi term that emanates from the Hopi Flower World, and describes a state of being. Air may seem intangible, but any one who denies its existence cannot survive. The clouds make the air tangible.

An observer is like a black and white photograph, in which this flower light is not visible and so is seemingly intangible. The observer takes the whole apart and studies the parts. To the observer, time is linear. In the property ownership landscape, the private or public lands are divided to extract their value.

However, a participant in the landscape is like an infrared photograph that shows the aura or heat of life, making visible and thus tangible what is intangible invisible in the black and white photograph. The Hopi puts the parts together and encounters the whole. To the Hopi, time is cyclic, like the spiral migration symbol left as a petroglyph by our ancestors.

Hopi values include humility, respect, patience, and quiet. The Creator is the state of the art technology. The path to understanding is through prayer and fasting. On the San Francisco Peaks, Hopis hear the drums and singing of the *Katsinam*. The wind in the trees is the singing of the *Katsinam*. In the culturally inhabited landscape, the participant is the property of the land.

#### **IV. National Trust for Historic Preservation 11 Most Endangered Historic Places**

The Hopi Tribe supports the Pueblo of Acoma’s nomination of Mt. Taylor to the National Trust for Historic Preservation’s 11 Most Endangered Historic Places. The National Trust’s recognition of cultural landscapes has been demonstrated by its previous listing of Nine Mile Canyon, which contains over 10,000 petroglyphs and over 800 prehistoric sites, as a Most Endangered Historic Place. The Mt. Taylor nomination states,

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Mt. Taylor is an integral part of our history, culture and traditions since time immemorial...[u]impeded development in this area without adequate knowledge of the historical, cultural and natural resources on Mt. Taylor only serves to further destroy places of importance to many people. [The Pueblo of Acoma 2008, Application for Temporary Listing on New Mexico List of Cultural Properties]

## **V. NRHP Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties**

*National Register Bulletin 38* defines a traditional cultural property as a property “that is eligible for inclusion on the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community’s history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community” (Parker and King 1998:1).

The Bulletin’s authors note further,

A culturally significant landscape may be classified as a site, as may the specific location where significant traditional events, activities, or cultural observances have taken place. A natural object, such as a tree or a rock outcrop may be an eligible object if associated with a significant tradition or use. A concentration, linkage, or continuity of such sites or objects, or of structures comprising a culturally significant entity, may be classified as a district. [Parker and King 1998:11]

As pointed out by Acoma’s Laura Watchempino,

This statement describes the concept of a culturally significant natural landscape that is holistic and comprehensive. The webs of inter-relationships that exist throughout the Mountain, including natural elements, plants, animals, human interactions and geologic features, comprise a great cultural landscape. The web of life is all inclusive, crisscrossed with a number of overlapping, intersecting and parallel pathways. [Watchempino 2008].

Mt. Taylor is comprised of many kinds of cultural resources with which the Hopi Tribe maintains significant relationships based on traditional beliefs and practices. Mt. Taylor is an essential relationship to the Hopi Tribes’ traditional cultural practices on a daily basis. Mt. Taylor is scared by previous development, but continues to exist in a condition that allows these traditional relationships to persist and grow.

The culturally inhabited landscape of Mt. Taylor is eligible for listing on the SRCP on the basis of three NRHP criteria:

1. Criterion (a). Mt. Taylor is important to events important to broad patters of history;
2. Criterion (b). Mt. Taylor is associated with the lives of significant personages in the past; and
3. Criterion (d). Mt. Taylor has yielded information- and possesses the significant potential to yield

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additional information – important to our collective and individual understandings of history.

The National Park Service guidelines emphasize the need for all other participants in the traditional cultural property process to understand the nominating party's viewpoint, and seek to avoid viewing the information presented in a nomination only from the point of view of their own culture, historical experience, and system of values. Commentary in the *New Mexico Independent* on February 18, 2009, Mt. Taylor's cultural value merits new protection by V.B. Price states:

If the Traditional Cultural property listing is made permanent this year, it will give all New Mexicans a boost in public confidence...what makes life both bearable and meaningful [is] the spiritual reality of our connectedness to the land and to each other. [Price:2008].

Mt. Taylor is not an intangible resource. The community at large values Mt. Taylor as a community cultural site. Mt. Taylor has an integral relationship to our traditional cultural practices and beliefs, and these traditional cultural relationships persist. The nominating tribes have demonstrated that the landscape which we define as the Mt. Taylor TCP fulfills the definition of a traditional cultural property.

## **VI. Conclusion**

We appreciate working with the tribes in the Mt. Taylor area, including the Acoma, Laguna, Zuni Pueblos, the Navajo Nation and others to continue this collective effort to protect and preserve *Tsiipiya*, for future generations of *Hopisinom*, Americans, and all the people and living things of the Earth. The nominating Tribes have demonstrated the role that the property plays in our communities historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices.

Listing of Mt. Taylor on the SRCP guarantees the Tribes nothing more than a voice early in the planning process. As the early inhabitants of New Mexico, we therefore again reassure the Cultural Properties Review Committee that your decision is the right decision, and regardless of any misunderstanding of what this listing means, there is no reason for you to take any other action than to reaffirm your decision.

## **C. PUEBLO OF LAGUNA SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT**

### **The Pueblo of Laguna and Tsibina: Mount Taylor as a Traditional Cultural Property**

**Prepared for the Pueblo of Laguna**  
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April 5, 2009

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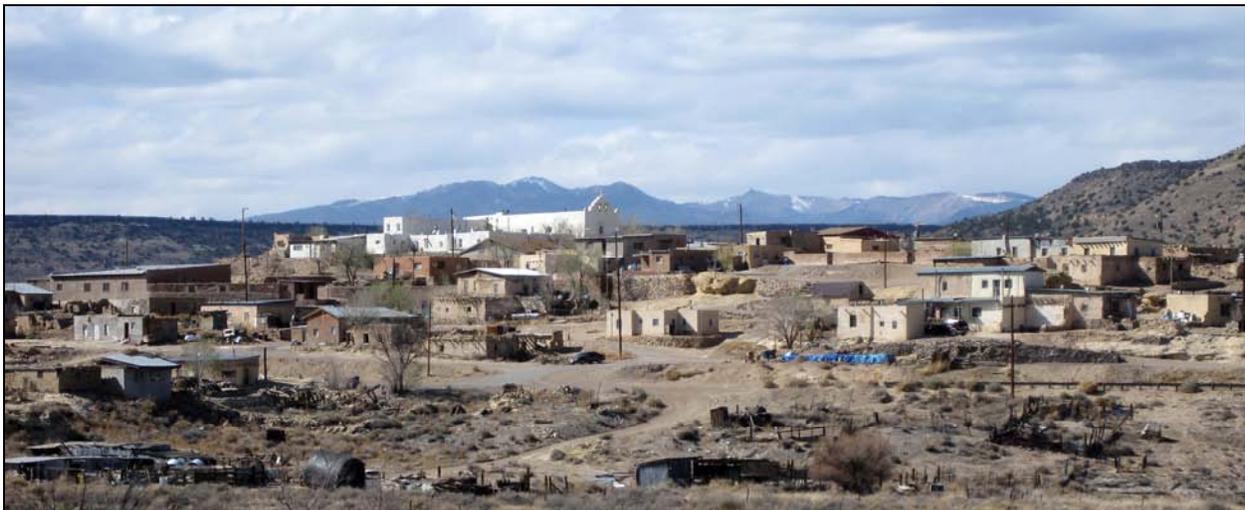
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## **Introduction**

At the Pueblo of Laguna, Mount Taylor is referred to as Tsibina, variously spelled Tsipina or Tse-pi'na, although the eastern side of Mount Taylor is sometimes referred to as Kawestima (Romero and others 2008). This majestic mountain rises to the northwest of Laguna Pueblo, where it plays an integral role in the traditional cultural activities of the tribe (Figure L-1). It is a sacred place that is the home of deities; a source of the precious water that sustains all life; and a resource area for the collection of plants, animals and minerals used in ritual and subsistence activities. Tsibina is identified by name in songs and prayers, and the mountain is used in teaching the children of the Pueblo of Laguna about their history, culture, and identity. As tribal member Harold Tso thoughtfully explained in 2008, Tsibina "serves to identify who we are. It's a place that serves many functions. You recognize yourself from that." Mount Taylor and the Pueblo of Laguna are inseparable.

This report was prepared by the Pueblo of Laguna to document information pertinent to the status of Mount Taylor as a traditional cultural property eligible for inclusion in the New Mexico State Register of Cultural Properties and the National Register of Historic Places. The report joins information from anthropological publications with traditional knowledge volunteered by tribal members during ethnographic interviews conducted on the Laguna Pueblo Reservation in December of 2008. Fourteen tribal members participated in this research, including Ryan Aragon, Lloyd Dailey, Ken Day, Curtis Francisco, Roland Johnson, Larry Lente, Loren Maria, George Mariano, Robert Mooney, Albert Riley, Santiago Riley, Alfred Romero, Victor Sarracino, and Harold Tso. These men provided a comprehensive view of the cultural and historical significance of Mount Taylor for the Pueblo of Laguna.



**Figure L- 1. Laguna Pueblo sits at the foot of Mount Taylor, which looms on the horizon.**

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**Tsibina as a Toponym**

As a toponym, or place name, Tsibina has several meanings. In one translation, the name means “forested mountain.” In this regard, Roland Johnson (2008) pointed out that Mount Taylor is one a series of sacred mountains, all of which are referred to in songs as Tsibina, meaning “place where there is a growth of trees.” The other sacred mountains include the Zuni Mountains to the west, the Sawtooth-Gallinas Mountains to the south, and Sandia Peak to the east. As Ken Day (2008) observed,

Our traditions and customs have a lot to do with Mount Taylor and other surrounding mountains around the area ... all these mountains have a spiritual significance in our culture. And it was like that already, way in the past, before the Whiteman and Spanish came in. We all depended on Mount Taylor to provide us with what was needed for our people. And that is why I feel Mount Taylor is a very important part of our culture.

The sacred mountains form a “basket” containing Laguna Pueblo lands. “When you are within the basket,” Albert Riley (2008) explained, “the mountains are there to protect us.” Viewed in this manner, Mount Taylor is an integral part of a larger cultural landscape that sets the stage for Laguna Pueblo history and traditions.

In talking about Laguna Pueblo land, the social and ritual context in which Tsibina is used as a toponym clarifies which of the mountains one is referring to, either singly or collectively. In this manner, the use of the toponym is similar to how people refer to “New York.” In different contexts, “New York” may variously refer to Manhattan Island, the five boroughs of New York City, the entire state of New York, or even to the small hamlet of New York on the Laguna Pueblo Reservation. The referent for “New York” is clearly identifiable given the context in which it is used. Tsibina functions in much the same way to refer to Mount Taylor by itself as the forested mountain looming above Laguna Pueblo, or to the entire set of forested mountains that forms the basket defining Laguna Pueblo lands. As a toponym with multiple referents, Tsibina serves to reinforce the vital connection Mount Taylor has with the other landforms that constitute the traditional lands of the Pueblo of Laguna.

Tsibina (Tse-pi’na) is also translated as “woman veiled in clouds” (Benedict and Hudson 2008:22; Smith and Allen 1987:192). In this usage, Mount Taylor is personified as a female spirit associated with the rain and snow clouds that bring life-giving moisture to the people of the Pueblo of Laguna. This meaning of the toponym references the prominent place Mount Taylor occupies in the symbolic geography that Spider Woman created for the Laguna Pueblo people. By carrying thoughts into action, Spider Woman, sometimes referred to as Grandmother Spider, formed and named everything in the world. She created the six sacred mountains, including the four mountains of the cardinal directions, along with the mountains of the zenith and nadir. Mount Taylor was placed first, so it is preeminent among the sacred peaks (Boas 1928:283). Mount Taylor is the “place people belong to,” the “mother” where the deceased go to be reborn (Silko 1981:202; Swan 1988:248). This sentiment was expressed to me in 2008, when a woman at Laguna Pueblo told me “Mount Taylor is our Mother.”

Mount Taylor dominates the landscape of the Pueblo of Laguna because it is visible from virtually every corner of the reservation (Figure L-2). In thinking about how land is viewed, Laguna Pueblo writer Leslie Marmon Silko observes that the common concept of landscape is that part of the earth that the eye can comprehend in a single view. This notion of landscape, commonly held by non-Indians, does not adequately incorporate the active relationship Pueblo people have with their physical surroundings

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because it is predicated on the viewer being outside of and separate from the land being viewed. At the Pueblo of Laguna, people are part of the land, and the land is part of them. Silko (1986:84-85) explained that, “Viewers are as much a part of the landscape as the boulders they stand on. There is no high mesa or mountain peak where one can stand and not immediately be part of all that surrounds. Human identity is linked with all the elements of Creation ...” Silko concluded that “The land, the sky, and all that is within it—the landscape—includes human beings.” Tsibina—Mount Taylor—is thus inseparable from the people who view the mountain at the Pueblo of Laguna.



**Figure L-2. Mount Taylor towers above Encinal Creek on the Laguna Pueblo Reservation.**

According to Harold Tso (2008) Tsibina has “always has been an important place for the Laguna people ... you might say from the time of beginning.” He noted that there is archaeological evidence that traces the ancient movement of people in this area from Chaco Canyon and other areas. “During the process of migration,” Mr. Tso explained, “as it has been told over and over, that Mount Taylor has always been designated, you’d say, as a geographic point recognized to where the people migrated to, and by, and settled at. It was already recognized from the time of beginning that there was such a place as Mount Taylor, as well as all the other points in the four directions.”

Tsibina anchors the cultural landscape of the Pueblo of Laguna, providing a cultural identity for tribal members who grow up gazing at its ever-changing vista as the sun, clouds, and seasons transform the appearance of the mountain. The mountain is what the geographer Kevin Scott Blake (1996:3) refers to as a “peak of identity,” a tangible and towering landscape that embodies a distinctive set of cultural beliefs and values, with people deriving an important part of their personal identity from the mountain. People “belong to” Mount Taylor, so that people and place are coterminous (Silko 1977:134). Tsibina, the

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Laguna Pueblo place name for Mount Taylor, is an essential cultural element for recalling important cultural features, variously referring to the forested uplands, the spiritual beings that dwell there, and the clouds associated with the mountain.

**A Sketch of Laguna Pueblo History and Society**

Laguna Pueblo predates the Pueblo Revolt, and is one of a series of ancestral pueblos occupied since time immemorial (Ellis 1959, 1974a:13-17, 43-44, 286-287; Sarracino 2008). People at the Pueblo of Laguna say their ancestors emerged from the underworld in the area north of where they live today, and they were instructed to migrate southward, where they would find Kawaika, a lake (Ellis 1959, 1979). During this long journey, which took many generations, the ancestors are said to have traveled through Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon (Johnson 2008). The direction the ancestors of the Pueblo of Laguna were to travel was given to them at the outset, and Mount Taylor was used as a reference point (Mooney 2008). Mount Taylor is thus “tied into” migration from the underworld (Romero and others 2008). As recounted by Victor Sarracino (2008),

After Emergence, the spiritual Mother and Father sent the Laguna people in search of Kawaika. Some ancestors migrated straight southward; others traveled west to the San Francisco Peaks, and lived in other villages before them joined their relatives at Laguna Pueblo. As they set out on migration, the Laguna ancestors were told there would be a mountain and when they arrived at the lake on the Rio San José, there they found Mount Taylor. The Follow-the-Leader Dance performed during feast days reenacts the long migration of the Laguna ancestors.

As Roland Johnson (2008) acknowledged, the migration of Laguna Pueblo ancestors occurred over a long period of time. Mr. Johnson explained that,

At the time of the migration, our people were given specific instructions about which direction to travel. And their migration was slow. It took eons of time for that migration to occur, and they settled at various locations along the way. These are accounts that are provided to us when the elders relay the history of migration of our people. So I am convinced that these are locations and sites at which our ancestors settled for periods of time as they proceeded in migrating to the point that was identified for them by the Creator.

Some members of the Pueblo of Laguna describe a migration route along the eastern flanks of Mount Taylor. When they reached the cliff at Kwischi, the people handed down their heavy packs and established a camp where the village of Paguante is now located. Other people recount how their ancestors migrated from Chaco Canyon towards Mount Taylor on their way to the Rio San José (Krall and Andreani 2004:21). On this journey, they traversed the saddle on the northern side of Mount Taylor on their way to Encinal Creek. The ancestors of the Pueblo of Laguna continued to migrate, not recognizing the home that their spiritual Mother had designated for them at Kawaika, a lake along the Rio San José. Bypassing the lake, the ancestors continued southward towards the Gallinas and Magdalena Mountains. When they arrived there, one of the leaders decided to take his people back to the lake.

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The ancestors split into two groups. One group traveled back northward where they saw Acoma Pueblo, and they stopped there for a time. The other group migrated to Kawaika, where they built the village of Punyana on the west side of the lake and raised crops using irrigation ditches (Sarracino 2008). Archaeologists date the founding of Punyana to the fourteenth century (Ellis 1979:441). The group that stopped at Acoma Pueblo eventually rejoined their relatives at Punyana. A group of families from the Rio Grande later joined these people, and the village was moved to a knoll on the east side of the lake. Two-story masonry houses were constructed around a plaza, where a basket of sacred objects was buried. In this manner, Laguna Pueblo was founded before the arrival of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century.

After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Pueblo of Laguna made peace with the Spaniards and a Catholic church was constructed at Laguna Pueblo. In 1699, the governor of the Spanish colony of New Mexico assigned St. Joseph as the patron saint of the pueblo, and the Pueblo of Laguna was formally recognized by the Spanish colonial government. A group of refugees from the Rio Grande who had sought a safe haven at Acoma Pueblo began to quarrel with their hosts, and they moved northward onto Laguna Pueblo land, where they were allowed to settle the village of Seama (Tsiama) and join the tribe. The people at Laguna Pueblo were joined by people from Zia and Santa Ana Pueblos who sought temporary relief from a drought along the Rio Grande. When the drought abated, most of these visitors returned to their homeland. At various times during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, additional people from other pueblos migrated to Laguna Pueblo and were incorporated into the tribe. Consequently, Ellis (1959:321) refers to Laguna Pueblo as having a “cosmopolitan make-up of population, including a few Hopis, a Zuni family or two, a sprinkling of Navajos, as well as Zias, Santa Anas, Jemez, Cochitis, and Domingos from the Rebellion period, plus some Acoma additions through accretion and intermarriage—all grafted onto the original small tribe of Lagunas ...”

Archaeological data indicate there were settlements ancestral to the Pueblo of Laguna along the Rio San José and Paguete Creek prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, and that the residents of Laguna Pueblo were using the southern slope of Mount Taylor at elevations at 7,000 feet by A.D. 1550 (Ellis 1957a, 1957b, 1974a:200). Roland Johnson (2008) pointed out that archaeological data are supported by Laguna Pueblo traditions, which ascribe numerous archaeological sites on Mount Taylor to occupation by tribal ancestors. In addition to habitation sites, Laguna people think the arrowheads found on Mount Taylor also provide evidence that Laguna ancestors settled in this area (Romero and others 2008).

After Laguna Pueblo was founded, the Laguna people established several summer farming villages along the Rio San José and tributary streams. These seasonally occupied settlements eventually developed into permanent villages, including Paguete (Gowishchi), Encinal (Bunykaiya), Paraje (Tsimuna), Casa Blanca, and New Laguna (Natsi Kawaike; Santa Ana). The village of Mesita (Hadzadya) was founded at the foot of Mount Taylor in the early 1870s (Figure L-3), when a group of conservative tribal members decided to leave Laguna Pueblo and establish a new community (Holmes 1989:18-21; James 1911:75; Rands 1974:320-321).

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Figure L-3. The village of Mesita lies along the Rio San José at the foot of Mount Taylor on the Laguna Pueblo Reservation.

Laguna Pueblo is named for the lake that used to be adjacent to the village. In the Keresan language spoken by tribal members, the people of Laguna Pueblo are known as Kawaika (Lake People). The lake was initially formed by beaver dams across the Rio San José where the channel is constricted by a lava flow. The dam creating the lake was maintained by the Laguna people until 1850, at which time Laguna Pueblo was embroiled in religious disputes and some of the residents of the village refused to participate in communal work activities (Hodges 1938:405; Jenkins 1961a, 1961b). Eventually the lake was drained, leaving behind a large deposit of alluvial fill and silt in the former lake bed.

Nineteen clans were incorporated into the social organization of the Pueblo of Laguna, several of which are now extinct (Boas 1928:180; Hodge 1907:752-753). Laguna Pueblo traditions recount that the Bear, Eagle, Water, Turkey Corn and Coyote clans originally came from Acoma. Other clans from Keresan pueblos include the Sun clan from San Felipe Pueblo and the Water-Snake clan from Zia Pueblo. The Badger, Parrot, Chaparral Cock, and Antelope clans, and some members of the Coyote clan, migrated to Laguna Pueblo from Zuni Pueblo. The Wolf and Turquoise clans came from Sandia Pueblo, while the Rattlesnake clan probably originated in the Hopi village of Orayvi. The Mountain Lion, Oak, and Turkey clans are said to have come from Mount Taylor, while origination of the Lizard clan is uncertain. The Pueblo of Laguna is thus derived from people from four linguistic groups: Keresan, Tanoan, Hopi, and Zuni.

### **Boundary of Mount Taylor as a Traditional Cultural Property**

The people interviewed for this report were asked about the boundary of Tsibina (Mount Taylor) as a traditional cultural property. Much of the discussion was focused on the boundary of the traditional cultural property as recognized by the Cibola National Forest, and depicted in a map prepared by Benedict and Hudson (2008: Figure 3). This boundary encompasses an area of approximately 167,500 acres, including the summit of Mount Taylor and its appurtenant landforms of La Jara Mesa, Horace Mesa, San Mateo Mesa, Jesus Mesa, and Mesa Chivato.

Based on consultation with the Pueblo of Laguna, Benedict and Hudson (2008:33) concluded that, "... Laguna had difficulty in defining a boundary because the spiritual use extends beyond a physical boundary and in the tribe's perspective, is a continuum from the villages to the mountain." The Forest Service ultimately decided that a large boundary is appropriate for Mount Taylor because it "more

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accurately reflects the widespread cultural use and the fact that the mountain is encompassed within a larger cultural landscape that has been used by all for centuries." This boundary encompasses the large landmass of Mount Taylor in the entirety, from the top of the mountain to the toe of the slopes of adjoining mesas.

Ken Day (2008), along with many other Laguna Pueblo tribal members interviewed in 2008, said that as a traditional cultural property, "Mount Taylor has no boundaries." There is a spiritual connection between Tsibina and the other sacred mountains ringing Laguna Pueblo land that makes it impossible to separate one from another. The cultural beliefs and practices associated with Tsibina transcend a single landform, imbuing the entire landscape with a sacredness that should not be reduced by considering the component elements in isolation from one another.

Other members of the Pueblo of Laguna, like Harold Tso (2008), explained that Mount Taylor extends "as far as it stretches." This area includes the hill above Laguna Pueblo, the bottom of the foothills, "and all the way around." Most Laguna people view the village of Paguete as being part of Mount Taylor (Sarracino 2008).

After discussing how there is no "cultural boundary" for Mount Taylor, Victor Sarracino (2008) suggested there are several ways to visualize the extent of Tsibina. One of these is to conceptualize the mountain in terms of its complete watershed. In this view, Mount Taylor includes the entire area drained by the rainfall and snowmelt that runs off the mountain, flowing into streams and rivers. Mount Taylor thus extends to the Rio San José and Puerco River, a view shared by Curtis Francisco (2008). As Ken Day (2008) put it, "To me, when I look at it, there are no boundaries ... The mountain goes out. And you have rain and snow accumulate on top of Mount Taylor, and there are no boundaries on how far out the water source is going to go. It goes out as far as it wants to." When viewed as a watershed, Mount Taylor extends far beyond what the Cibola National Forest has demarcated as the traditional cultural property boundary.

Mr. Sarracino (2008) also suggested that topography can be used to separate the mountain ranges that grade into one another. In this view, Mount Taylor extends from its highest summit to the lowest lying area that separates it from other mountains. For instance, Mount Taylor extends eastward until it meets the Sandia Mountains, and the two mountains can only be separated by using the low-lying valleys between them as a proxy boundary. As with the watershed view, Mr. Sarracino observed the area of Mount Taylor as defined by topography extends far beyond the boundaries of the traditional cultural property defined by the Cibola National Forest.

Curtis Francisco (2008) observed that Mount Taylor is defined in part by the occurrence of the ponderosa pine forest that grows on its slopes, with spruce and fir occurring at the higher elevations. However, Mr. Francisco also said he believes that Mount Taylor extends to the Puerco River, where there is no pine forest, so vegetation alone does not provide the sole criteria for defining a boundary for Mount Taylor.

In discussing the issue of boundaries, Roland Johnson (2008) stressed that "Mount Taylor is more than just a peak." In his view, shared by many other Laguna tribal members, Tsibina includes a large area whose precise boundary is difficult to delineate. In part this is due to the fact that there are different boundaries for Mount Taylor defined by cultural, hydrological, topographic, and vegetative criteria.

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Harold Tso (2008), Ken Day (2008), Roland Johnson (2008), Robert Mooney (2008), Curtis Francisco (2008), and Albert Riley (2008) discussed a set of Guardian Peaks surrounding Mount Taylor. While these Guardian Peaks do not constitute a boundary per se, their distribution is significant in assessing the boundary of the traditional cultural property delineated by the Cibola National Forest. As Figure L-4 illustrates, the Guardian Peaks identified by Laguna tribal members ring the Forest Service boundary, lying outside of it. The spatial correspondence between Guardian Peaks and the Forest Service boundary both reinforces the reasonableness of the Forest Service boundary, and underscores how that boundary is a conservative delineation of Mount Taylor as a traditional cultural property.

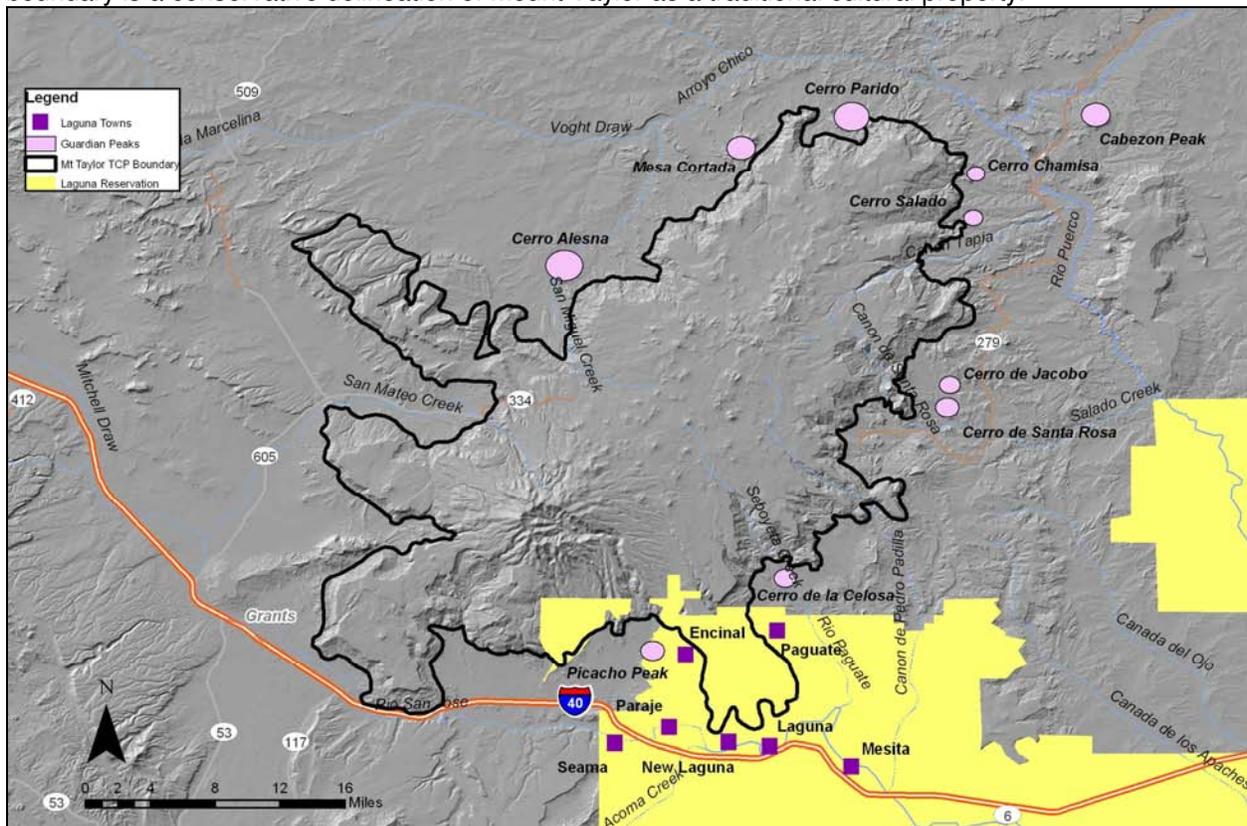


Figure L-4. Guardian Peaks in relation to the boundary of the Mount Taylor traditional cultural property recognized by the Cibola National Forest.

In describing the Guardian Peaks, Harold Tso (2008) said,

One of the elders talked about this and described the full meaning of Mount Taylor and what it stands for. And that there are certain sites that are recognizable, and visible—visible to the eye of everyone as you pass through or aim around Mount Taylor—you see these stone rock formations. And it was described to me that these are points where these are standing guards to keep safe that area that is highly recognized to be a place where it serves people for what it stands for. And these are like standing warriors or guards for this place so it will not ever be anything destructive will happen. The Laguna people believe the Guardian Peaks surround Mount Taylor and stand guard to keep the area safe. These

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Guardian Peaks include Cerro Alesna, due north of Mount Taylor and, continuing clockwise, Mesa Cortada, Cerro Parido, Cabezon Peak, Cerro Chamisa, Cerro Salado, Cerro de Jacobo, Cerro de Santa Rosa, Cerro de la Celosa, and Picacho Peak. There is also a Guardian Peak in Lobo Canyon which is no longer visible because it was mined for road material (Francisco 2008). Some Pueblo of Laguna tribal members also identify Ladron Peak to the west of the Rio Puerco as a Guardian Peak.

The Guardian Peaks are all distinctive landforms with Keresan names. For instance, Cerro Alesna is shaped like an awl, and is known in Keresan as He'atsi Kotsi. During the winter after a snowfall, Cerro de la Cerosa looks like the head of a bear with a gaping mouth, and in Keresan is known as Kwaiya. Picacho Peak is shaped like a buffalo or elephant, and in Keresan is known as Kai'tsa (Figure L-5L-5).



**Figure L-5. Kai'tsa (Picacho Peak), a Guardian Peak south of Mount Taylor, is located west of Encinal Village on the Laguna Pueblo Reservation.**

The spiritual concept of the Guardian Peaks is associated with high level religious knowledge (Francisco 2008), and Laguna religious leaders take prayersticks and offerings to these places (Johnson 2008). The peaks are associated with shrines and petroglyphs (Day 2008). The Guardian Peaks along the eastern flank of Mount Taylor protect a serpent that once lived on Tsibina (A. Riley 2008). This serpent was provided by the spiritual Mother to protect the Laguna people because she knew there was going to be war and other violent threats.

In discussing how to define a boundary for Mount Taylor, Victor Sarracino and Robert Mooney (2008) referred to the Laguna concept of Kyai'yai, or "sitting down." If a boundary for the traditional cultural property is drawn around the base of the Guardian Peaks, it will include the area encompassing Kyai'yai. Mr. Sarracino and Mr. Mooney said any boundary of Mount Taylor should include the Rio San José and the escarpment of the lava flows. The Guardian Peaks are all volcanic plugs surrounding Mount Taylor, so the area is tied together geologically as well as culturally (Francisco 2008). The peaks comprise the remains of an ancient ring of fire that is associated with the geological birth of Mount Taylor.

Based on interviews with Laguna tribal members, it is clear that any administrative boundary inscribed for Mount Taylor as a traditional cultural property will be smaller than a true cultural boundary

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that embraces the extensive physical and spiritual domain of Tsbina. This should not pose a problem as long as State and Federal officials realize that the circumscribed boundary of the traditional cultural property does not always encompass the area of cultural concern to the Pueblo of Laguna.

**Pueblo of Laguna Aboriginal Land in Relation to Mount Taylor**

The Indian Claims Commission determined that the aboriginal lands of the Pueblo of Laguna exclusively used and occupied include a portion of Mount Taylor (Figure L-6). In evaluating aboriginal land as judicially determined by the Indian Claims Commission, it must be kept in mind that this legal finding does not encompass the full extent of the territory used by ancestors of the Laguna people before 1848.

During the proceedings of the Indian Claims Commission, Frank Paisano (1953:41-43), 98 years old at the time he testified in 1953, described traditional Laguna Pueblo lands as spanning Mount Taylor, extending from the Puerco River and the village of Marquez in the northeast to the village of San Mateo on the west side of Mount Taylor. Walter Sarracino (1957:484-500) from Pagate Village, 66 years old when he testified in 1967, described the aboriginal lands of the Pueblo of Laguna as including a large area along eastern side of Mount Taylor. Anthropologist Florence Hawley Ellis (1974b:62) testified that one of the "Laguna Boundary Markers" is on the "North side of Mt. Taylor; the land mark is a big hill west of San Mateo which marks the NW corner of Laguna area of old times."

The Indian Claims Commission (1978) determined that the aboriginal lands exclusively used and occupied by the Pueblo of Laguna were smaller than the area the tribe claimed. The Indian Claims Commission found that as of February 2, 1848, the aboriginal lands of the Pueblo of Laguna exclusively used and occupied included an area described as:

Beginning at a point where Highway #6 intersects the Rio Puerco; thence on a line westerly to the northernmost tip of the Mesa del Oro; thence, following the northern edge of the Mesa del Oro to a point where said Mesa intersects the stipulated Acoma-Laguna common boundary line between range six (6) and seven (7) west, thence proceeding in northerly direction following said line to a point where said line intersects the southern boundary of the Cubero Grant; thence, following the southern boundary of the Cubero Grant to the southwest corner thereof; thence, proceeding northwardly along the west boundary of said Cubero Grant to a point where the Cubero Grant and the Cebolleta Grant meet; thence, on a line northeasterly to Marquez; thence, eastwardly on a line to the northeastern-most corner of the Cebolleta Grant; thence, in a southerly direction following the boundary of the Cebolleta Grant to the southeast corner thereof; thence, easterly on a line to where the Rio Puerco intersects the eastern boundary of the Bernabe Montano Grant at the southernmost point on said eastern boundary; thence, in a southerly direction, following the meanderings of the Rio Puerco, to the point of beginning.

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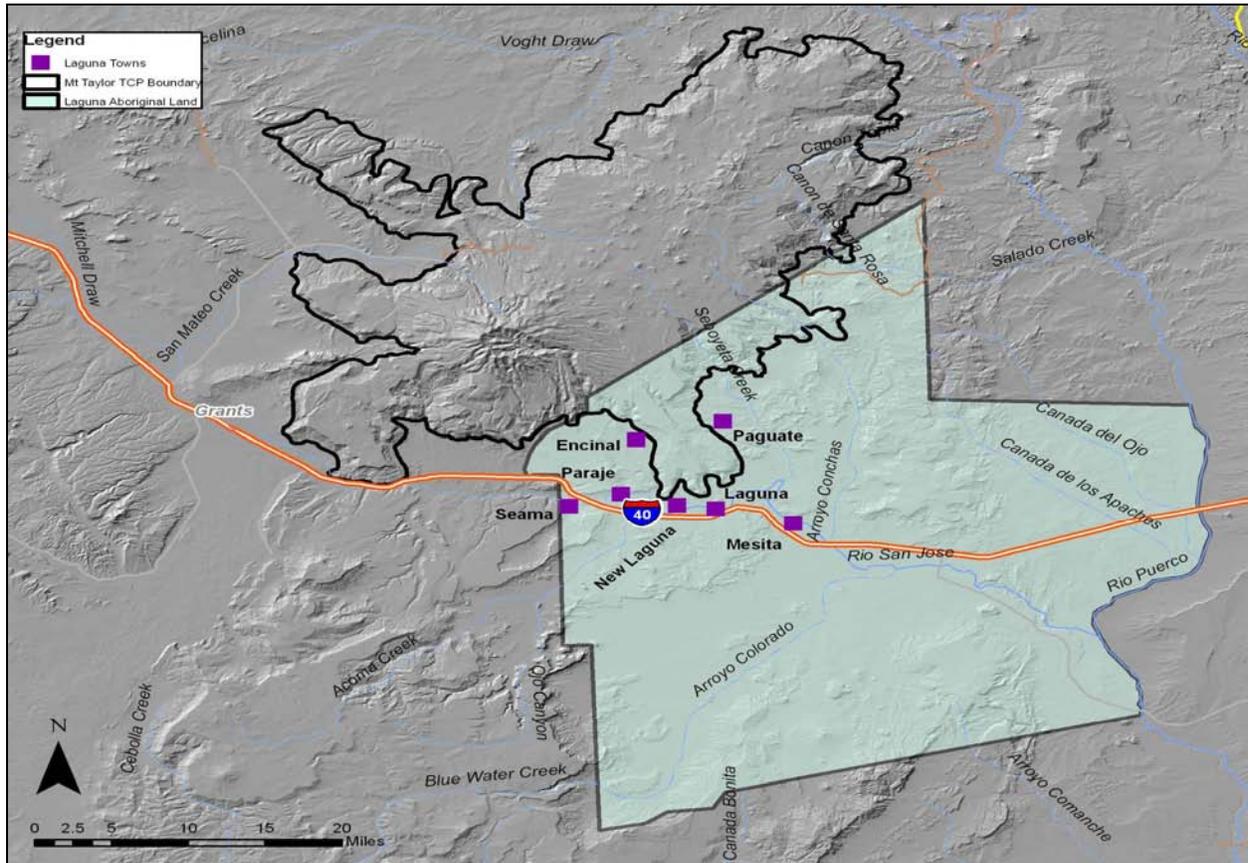


Figure L-6. Pueblo of Laguna aboriginal lands as judicially determined by the Indian Claims Commission in relation to the Mount Taylor traditional cultural boundary recognized by the Cibola National Forest.

As illustrated in Figure L-4, today only a portion of the Laguna Pueblo Reservation lies within the boundary of the Mount Taylor traditional cultural property recognized by the Cibola National Forest. In recent years, the Pueblo of Laguna has purchased several parcels of land on the slopes of Mount Taylor to add to the reservation so that these areas can continue to be used for traditional cultural practices and other purposes.

### Ritual Use and Religious Significance of Tsbina

Mount Taylor is important in ritual and ceremony at the Pueblo of Laguna (Eggan 1950:254; Rands 1957:630, 1974:281). Understanding the religious significance the mountain has for the Laguna people is essential in assessing the attributes of Tsbina that make it a traditional cultural property eligible for inclusion in the New Mexico State Register of Cultural Properties and the National Register of Historic Places. The core issue to be considered is not the religious use of the mountain per se, but the role that religious activities and beliefs associated with Mount Taylor play in the retention and transmission of traditional Laguna Pueblo culture. This is because properties are not eligible for inclusion in the State or

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National Register solely on the basis that they are religious buildings or sacred sites. Religious properties are only eligible for the State or National Register if they derive their primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance. The use of a property for carrying out religious activities does not make that property ineligible for the State or National Register, however, if those activities are expressions of cultural beliefs that are intrinsic to the continuation of traditional cultural practices. Within this context, it is understood that much of the Laguna discourse about Tsibina is phrased in terms of its importance in ritual activities and religious beliefs because it is through these activities and beliefs that Laguna Pueblo culture is passed from one generation to the next.

The ritual use of Tsibina is associated with the traditional history of the Pueblo of Laguna. Harold Tso (2008) discussed how the mountain was designated to sustain the Laguna people, and how it has been used by Laguna people from “the time of beginning.” Lloyd Dailey (in Romero and others 2008) described how Mount Taylor “is always mentioned in our songs and prayers,” and how ceremonial songs describe the mountain from the time of creation and the migration of ancestors to Laguna Pueblo. Victor Sarracino (2008) further explained that,

Our spiritual Mother and Father sent the Laguna to Kawaika, a natural lake. “And then there is going to be a mountain there that we provide you with. And that is where you are going to get all your water sources—snow and rain.” So you need to protect that no matter what. “Water is the lifeblood of Laguna people,” is what they told us. So it’s going to be preservation for the wildlife, for the herbs that grow, grass, cedar, piñon, timber, everything is provided. And this is not only for the animals that walk on earth. It’s for the birds that fly, the eagles, the hawks, and all kinds of birds. Because we use all kinds of feathers to make our prayersticks to send the messages to the higher power to say “thank you” and we want continued good health, good spirit, good friendship—not only here but throughout the world. So they are very dependent on Mount Taylor—for everything.

The high elevation of the summit of Mount Taylor is integral to the religious significance of Tsibina (Francisco 2008). The Badger clan leaders of Laguna Pueblo pointed out that the higher the mountain, the closer you are to the spirits (Romero and others 2008). To this, Albert Riley (2008) added, “It’s the highest mountain, close to heaven. Prayers are more effective when you are closer to spiritual powers. One needs to speak Laguna language in order for the prayers to be efficacious.” The religious leaders of the Pueblo of Laguna use the mountain at various times of the year whenever there is a spiritual need.

Tsibina is important to many religious societies at the Pueblo of Laguna, including the Badger, Antelope, and Oak groups, and the War Captains (Maria 2008; Romero and others 2008). The mountain is used yearly by the War Captains to present themselves to the spirits, and they offer the names of the Society leaders so these men will be known by the spirits. Harold Tso (2008) discussed his tenure as a War Captain, describing how he accompanied two religious leaders during ceremonies associated with the new beginning in the spring. During this ceremony, the religious leaders left early in the morning and walked part way to the top of Mount Taylor. Mr. Tso noted similar pilgrimages are also made by other groups or individual tribal members whenever there is a spiritual or cultural need. War Captains are elected offices and serve one year terms, while the kiva and society leadership are religious offices with lifetime terms (Mooney 2008). The head Kachina officers from Seama, Paraje and Mesita, as well as Antelope leaders from these villages, visit Mount Taylor during religious activities.

Pueblo of Laguna religious leaders pointed out that Mount Taylor is “for the whole world.” George Mariano (in Romero and others 2008) explained how religious activities on Mount Taylor are beneficial for

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the entire world, stating that "Mount Taylor is just like a person with a basket. You have all the people through the universe, the world, and everything else on there. And we do our offering to them, and that is who they bless."

There is a cultural reticence at the Pueblo of Laguna in identifying the specific shrines used on Mount Taylor (Maria 2008). Exposing their locations to non-Indians threatens their physical and spiritual integrity. Nonetheless, many tribal members discussed the Huchanitsa shrine that provides one of the main focal points for religious activities on Tsibina. This "main shrine" is at the top of Mount Taylor, east of La Mosca, where "you can see forever" (Romero and others 2008). There is a natural "hole" or "cave" at this shrine where prayer offerings are deposited, and Laguna people believe that rain clouds emerge from this shrine (Parsons 1939:444). Anthropologist Fred Eggan (1950:282) described the use of this shrine by Flint and Kapina shamans, along with the heads of the Kurena and Kashare sacred groups during the winter solstice ceremony, when these groups traditionally went to the top of Mount Taylor to consult the "prophetic hole."

At the solstice ceremonials, religious leaders from the Pueblo of Laguna visit Huchanitsa Spinna "to find out good" or to get omens for the year (Parsons 1920:114; 1923:274). If rain is to occur in the future, they see green wheat and corn growing in the pit. Anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons visited this shrine in the early twentieth century, noting it was "on the most sacred mountain" and still visited by the War Captains and the Fire cheani. Parsons (1918:184-185) wrote,

All the *cheani* used to offer feather-sticks. Formerly after a four-day retreat they made an annual summer pilgrimage to Mt. Taylor, the highest peak in the conspicuous mountain range twenty miles northwest of Laguna and the highest mountain peak in New Mexico. Nowadays the pilgrimage is made only in time of drought. There is on Mt. Taylor a big hole called *shiwanna gacheti* (lightning home). To it lead four well-marked trails, one from Laguna, one from Taos, Santa Clara, etc., one from Acoma, one from Zuñi. Cloture of the hole is the cause of drought, and so the *cheani* open it and offer feather-sticks. A few years ago after they had offered their sticks on Mt. Taylor in a period of drought, before their return to Laguna there was a heavy downpour of rain. On Mt. Taylor the *cheani* also find herbs for their medicines. The *cheani* are medicine-men as well as rain makers.

According to Parsons (1920:108; 1939:888-889), during a period of social upheaval at Laguna Pueblo in the 1880s, the Kashare cheani carried their altars (*yapaiishin*) and put them in the shrine in the top of Mount Taylor for temporary safe-keeping. Later, these altars were carried to the village of Mesita.

In the 1920s, photographer-scholar Edward S. Curtis (1926:248) described "Tspinna-kowaiatyuma," noting that the "Mount Taylor cave" is used by Laguna, Acoma, Zuni, and Navaho. He documented that the people from the Pueblo of Laguna plant prayersticks at this shrine and leave offerings of turquoise beads when there has been a dry season. Curtis also commented that the shrine is used for divination of the future.

Anthropologist Franz Boas (1928:293-294, 298) documented that the head Kurena, Kashare, Flint shaman, and Kapina shaman go to the top of Mount Taylor, accompanied by the War Captains who take care of them. There they consult the "prophetic hole," which Boas observed is also used by neighboring tribes. The shrine has trails leading from it to Laguna, Acoma, Zuni, Jemez, and Navajo country. These trails are kept clear for a distance of about twenty feet. The four shamans stay the night and return the

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next day to tell what they have seen. Boas was told that years ago the pit was covered with a skin painted with clouds of all colors. When the shaman prayed, the pit opened by itself. In discussing the divination that occurs at Huchanitsa, Boas (1928:39-40) translates a Laguna text originally collected in the Keresan language:

And since that time we shall find out I whether we shall be rich ... when you get there you will see everything just like daylight. I Everything, how the year will be and how the winter will be and also for the food, whether the I new year and the new winter will be different, that you will see, I and also new cultivated plants and clothing you will see and also I whether you will have good health or whether you will die and whether the people I will be healthy and whether the cattle will healthy and you will see anything you think about, down in the Place of Divination. Therefore it was thus I named by our father It'cu't'i and our mother Nau'ts'ut'i'.

Anthropologist Bertha Dutton and Pueblo of Pueblo of Laguna tribal member Miriam A. Marmon described the ritual use of Huchanitsa during the ceremony of Placing Prayer Sticks, which takes place in early January after the new officers of the Pueblo are installed (Dutton and Marmon 1936:10-11). At this time, the War Captain cuts prayersticks, and three or four men are sent to "*Tz bí na* (Mount Taylor)" to gather *ha cá ca*, the fir branches that are symbolic of eternal life. The evergreens are brought back to pueblo, and boiled into a medicinal tea that serves as an emetic which is consumed by the participants of the ceremony during a purification ritual that lasts for four days. During the evenings the War Captain and his assistants deposit prayersticks at shrines, including the shrine at the top of Mount Taylor. Each morning, the War Captain prays in the village in an invocation for rain and prosperity in the coming year.

Anthropologist Florence Hawley Ellis (1979:446) noted that traditionally the *dzatyau hochanyi* ("Outside Chief") was responsible for security of the Laguna Pueblo territory. His ritual duties included placing offerings at Huchanitsa on top of Mount Taylor and the surrounding boundary shrines. The shrine at the crest of Mount Taylor is sometimes characterized as a "boundary shrine" (Krall and Andreani 2004:17).

The Huchanitsa shrine on Tsibina is culturally associated with the rain that sustains fertility and life. Rain and lightning occur together during summer rainstorms, so the connection between Huchanitsa and lightning makes cultural sense. In discussing lightning, Parsons (1920:99) notes that lightning symbols, made by the Shiwanna cheani as a proprietary medicine, are referred to as *hocheni* ("one with authority"), a term that is also used to describe Mount Taylor's place among all mountains.

Religious leaders at the Pueblo of Laguna described the continuing importance of the Huchanitsa shrine. According to the Badger clan leaders at Laguna Pueblo, "Huchanitsa is the main shrine. There is a hole here, about ten feet deep where religious offerings are placed. Spirits take these religious offerings out through 'windows' in the shrine, and these offerings are taken to the four corners of the earth. These spirits are invisible but they can be heard at the shrine" (Romero and others 2008). Harold Tso (2008) explained that the shrine on Mount Taylor is important as a place to forecast the future, "to look forward to the snow needed to replenish the aquifers that feed springs and fill drainages that provide water for the Laguna people." Robert Mooney (2008) described the hole at Huchanitsa as an "entrance into Mother Earth," noting that celestial movements are tied to this place. Albert Riley (2008) added that people still leave food offerings at the Huchanitsa shrine in small ceramic vessels. The Kachina Society continues to use this shrine on a quarterly basis. Roland Johnson (2008) placed Huchanitsa in a regional context, elucidating how it is part of a larger network of shrines. Mr. Johnson noted there are many additional

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shrines to the east, southeast, and southwest of Tsibina. Even Laguna Pueblo tribal members who have not visited the shrine at Huchanitsa know of its existence, and understand the important role it plays in Laguna cultural practices (S. Riley 2008). Kiva leaders at the Pueblo of Laguna continue to clean out the Huchanitsa shrine so that breezes can come out, and they plant new prayersticks there. These kiva leaders use Mount Taylor in their prayers for rain during the planting season.

Victor Sarracino (2008) described how “People go to Mount Taylor twice a year for spiritual reasons that they still connect that mountain with fields—the growth of plants—and everything else. Not only in the fields but out in the mountains, the piñons, the herbs that we use. So they go up there the first of the year.” There is a ceremony that takes place over four nights. The kiva leaders announce to the people that they are going to the mountain to take the prayersticks and other offerings “to tell the mountain that we appreciate the abundance of water and that we need more. And they connect this with the clouds and rain clouds.”

While vitally important, Huchanitsa is not the only Laguna shrine on Tsibina. Victor Sarracino (2008) noted there are several other shrines on Tsibina, and that the natural features on the mountain also provide points of concentration for spiritual activities. Curtis Francisco (2008) described a series of Laguna shrines that extend from the headwaters to Paguete Creek to the summit of Mount Taylor. Polk (1997:42) documented that prayer stick offerings are placed on Horace Mesa. The multiple shrines and sacred spots on Tsibina are used by individual tribal members, as well as by religious groups, for cultural and spiritual practices (Mooney 2008; Romero and others 2008).

Every place an offering is left during the collection of plants or hunting activities on Mount Taylor is consecrated as a shrine, so the Laguna people thus use hundreds or thousands of shrines on Mount Taylor. In discussing this widespread religious use of Tsibina, Harold Tso (2008) described how the numerous areas used for religious purposes include small shrines defined by rock rings, crevices, or distinctive stone formations. Laguna religious leaders explained that “We visit a lot of places” for the purpose of praying for everyone (Romero and others 2008).

Ken Day (2008) described how there is more than one designated area to pray on Mount Taylor, explaining that “We have certain shrines but wherever we go and stand, we do our prayers which go back to our Mother.” Mr. Day elucidates further, stating:

As War Captains, we don't just have one designated place to pray. It's everywhere; it's all over ... there are certain shrines around the mountain area but as far as we're concerned, wherever we go, wherever we are standing, we do our prayers. And that is all a part of going back to our Mother. And that is how we use Mount Taylor, as part of our worship, our praying. Because that is what our Mother has given to us. And all the little things on Mount Taylor, that is what our people used to live off of. All the water that comes down from the top of Mount Taylor and runs into the ground, the streams, the irrigation systems—that was all provided for us, the people here.

No matter where you are at, no matter if it is not a shrine, it might just be a rock, or a tree, or a bush, or whatever. But still yet, everything is tied back to our Mother. And that she will still receive what you are praying for, what you're asking for. That's the way that I tell my kids. That is what my grandfather used to tell me.

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Offerings of corn meal, food scraps, and prayers are used on Mount Taylor to pray for health and well being. It's like thanksgiving. Wherever you are at, prayers are tied to Mother, everywhere you stand.

Ellis (1974b:106) mentioned a "War God shrine high on Mt. Taylor." The Laguna War Chiefs also use a shrine at Shutikuche, a prominent hill on Mesa Chivato named after the golden wren (Lente 2008). This hill has great cultural importance for the Pueblo of Laguna.

In explaining the religious significance of Tsibina to non-Indians, many Laguna tribal members drew an analogy between the mountain and a church or synagogue (Romero and others 2008). All are revered places of worship. Roland Johnson (2008) pointed out that Mount Taylor is not just a "property," it is a church in a European frame of reference. "It is a sanctuary," Mr. Johnson explained, "a sacred area." In the words of Albert Riley (2008), "It is my church."

Tsibina is associated with numerous deities, religious personages and spirits significant in traditional Laguna culture and history (Johnson 2008). While some information about these spiritual beings has been documented by anthropologists, tribal members generally have a cultural reticence in discussing the deities associated with Mount Taylor with outsiders.

Boas (1928:283) noted there are six Shiwana (Storm Clouds), and that one of these spirits, Cui-siyai, resides on Mount Taylor, where he creates the spring rains. According to Ellis (1979:445), Shiwana are spirits of the dead who have been transformed into supernatural Cloud Beings. The Cloud Beings are described by cardinal directions and colors. To the west, on the top of Tsibina, sits a chief wearing a blue-green cloud mask. Blue butterflies flutter about him, and blue corn grows (Parsons 1939:172). The Shiwana are thought to express themselves with lightning and thunder, and when the ethnobotanist George Swank (1932:15) conducted field work with Laguna people during a thundershower on Mount Taylor in the 1930s, his consultant remarked, "The Shewana are talking." Today, the Laguna people say that the Shiwana, or rain clouds, are released by Mount Taylor (Maria 2008).

Boas (1928:277) commented that the distinction between the supernatural powers known as Shiwana, Kopishtaya, and Kachina is not well understood by anthropologists. The Shiwana, visible as storm clouds, reside on the peaks of mountains, including Mount Taylor. These clouds are the children of Sun Man, who awakens them each day (Boas 1928:76-77). The storm clouds give physical form to the ancestors who have become the Kachina that bring rain. Some people say the Kopishtaya are benevolent spiritual beings who dwell in the east (Boas 1928:284). In discussing the relationship between Kopishtaya and the mountains, including Mount Taylor, Albert Riley (2008) explained that,

We came from the north, and after our loved ones go we send them back to the north. They call it Shipap, and that's where they go. And after they are cleansed and everything, then our Mother looks at how they acted, and how their life occurred. If they were good, she brings them back, and those are the people that protect us. After death, our loved ones dwell in these areas which provide a home in the afterlife. The Mother and Father told the spirits that dwell in the mountains to protect the Laguna people. After death, the loved ones are sent back to Shipap. After they are cleansed, Mother brings them back to the four sacred mountains.

We have deities in these areas to protect us—our sacred people, our ancestors, our loved ones that have gone before us. They tell us that once they are gone, they are there to

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protect us. Our Mother and Father put them in these locations to protect us, and that is the reason that we hold these mountains sacred, because that is where our loved ones are at, as protectors ... We take our offerings over there and pray to them to protect us.

Pueblo of Laguna religious leaders also noted that Tsibina is associated with many different Kachina deities, including the rain and snow Kachina (Maria 2008; Riley 2008; Romero and others 2008). Boas (1928:38-39, 245-246) recounted the Laguna traditions about one of these Kachinas. In the narrative text documented by Boas, when the kachina were living at Wenimatsi long ago, Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i-Man, a Kachina, left Wenimatsi and traveled looking for a mountain top where he could live. He came to Mount Taylor and traveled up the eastern slope of the mountain. After a while he came to a hole, where he encountered the Kopishtaya and Shiwana. Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i-Man asked them if there was a cave anywhere on the top of the mountain. "Indeed, they said, go to the northeast, on top Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i-Man went to the east and arrived at the hole, where he looked in and saw "pretty things," with moss above. -Man said "Here I shall live," and Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i he went in. He went downward, and below in the north he found hanging beads made from teeth, which took as his bracelets. He looked to the west and found hanging shell beads, which he took as his beads and put them on. He looked to south and found hanging medicine cups made from white shell, and on the floor he found a shaman's bowl and four flints for beautifying the body. Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i-Man said he would use these. He looked east and found turquoise earrings and different kinds of beads, which he took as his own.

Laguna tradition recounts that Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i-Man came to dwell on the northern, second-highest peak of Mount Taylor (Boas 1928:39):

Thus long ago Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i-Man sat down. He stopped on the north top of Mt. Taylor. I Then he said, "Enough," said he. "Mother, Fathers, I if some one knows me, when people increase, I I shall give them teeth," said he. When he said so, the k'opict'aya and those who belong to the ci'wana heard him and I Ma'sε ε 'wi and Uyu'yewi and those how belong to T<sup>y</sup>a'tc'ai: ctc<sup>i</sup> and ts'amahia and cino'haya<sup>i</sup> I heard what Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i-Man said. Thus I he sat down a long ago and Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i-Man lived there.

These traditions explain why when Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i appears at Laguna Pueblo as a Kachina, he is dressed with bracelets of teeth and a tubular mouth, crying "hühühühü" (Boas 1928:280). He carries a stick with sweet corn on top that he gives to children. When children lose their baby teeth, they are mixed with sacred cornmeal and sacrificed to Ts'i'mo'tc'un<sup>y</sup>i who gives children their permanent teeth (Boas 1928:299).

Mount Taylor is referred to in the Laguna origin accounts that explain the creation of the world (Boas 1928:222-230). In the beginning, Mother Nau'ts' ut<sup>y</sup>i 'lived in the lower world. When it came time to create people, she had Old-Fire-Woman cut off her long fishlike tail, which was then taken to the mountains of the four directions, including Tsibina, the West Mountain. She then came up from the White World through the Red World, Blue World, and Yellow World to arrive at Shipap, the Place of Emergence, where people were created. Spider created rain, clouds, lighting, thunder, and rainbow, and these were sent to the six directions, including to West Mountain (Mount Taylor), where there was a pine tree.

In the Laguna traditions that Boas (1928:39-40, 246) collected, "Ho'tc'anit<sup>y</sup>se" [Huchanitsa], the place of divination on top of Mount Taylor, is said to have been established by the spiritual Mother and Father, I'tc'ut<sup>y</sup>i and Nau'ts' it<sup>y</sup>i '. As soon as the Kachina and Shiwana were born, the Mother and Father told them to go from east to west to bring them food and cultivated plants, carrying them up to the cave

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four times. At the cave, the people should predict what kind of a year there would be and what kind of a winter, and whether they would increase in number. The narrative documented by Boas states: "Let us I go and see on Mt. Taylor, there on top how things will be, whether this year there may be life (i.e., rain)." In these traditions, the Shiwana and Kopishtaya are also said to live on top of Mount Taylor:

Behold, every year there are clouds and there is rain on top of Mt. Taylor," thus will say the people, and therefore there in the cave on Mt. Taylor below I you will see what is predicted." People who belong to the Shiwana and Kopishtaya groups "will come up holding prayer-sticks and beads and I pollen and sacred meal.

Mount Taylor is also the setting for traditional narratives about other personages important in the past, such as Yellow-Woman (Boas 1928:104-109, 257-258). Yellow-Woman was chased by Cliff Dweller to the southern and eastern edges of Tsibina, and then to Acoma where she was slain. Masewi and Oyoyewi, the children of Yellow-Woman, survived and found their grandfather, the Chief of Acoma.

Another narrative featuring Yellow-woman explains the origins of wild turkeys on Mount Taylor (Boas 1928:177-180, 220, 273). In this tradition, Yellow-Woman finds her husband with her sister, and decides to leave so they may marry. She calls her turkeys, and they travel to the lake at Laguna Pueblo. Here she feeds the turkeys and sends them up to Mount Taylor, where they feed on wild seeds. The woman disappears into the lake, and the turkeys fly over, getting their wing feathers wet by foam, which explains how the wing feathers became white. The turkeys then went up to the top of Tsibina, where they now live.

The deities Masewi and Oyoyewi have important cultural associations with Mount Taylor (Boas 1929:286; Sarracino 2008). These twin heroes are represented at Laguna Pueblo by the War Captains, the "out-of-town chiefs." The War Captains take care of shamans and accompany them on ceremonial visits to Mount Taylor, where the religious leaders pray on the mountain in appreciation for the water provided in the form of rain, streams, and springs. This water is essential in the irrigation of the crops that traditionally sustained the Pueblo of Laguna.

Boas (1928:56-76, 246-249) documented a narrative about Tsibina concerning Arrow-Youth, the Witches and the Kachina, as told by Ko'tʷε in 1919. In this tradition, Arrow-Youth went hunting and met Mountain Lion, who told him to cut yucca stalks, willow, and cottonwood for prayersticks, and to gather the feathers needed for those offerings. The prayersticks were placed in baskets with beads, cigarettes, pollen, white earth, red ochre, cornmeal, and yellow and red sweet corn, and these were taken to the top of Mount Taylor. Mountain Lion accepted the offering, and gave Arrow-Youth two crooked canes to drive game down the mountain to a village by Flower Mountain. There the people stood in the south and east entrances to the village and the deer were driven into the west side. Arrow-Youth killed one deer on each side of the plaza, and the people killed four animals. The other deer were released from the north entrance and sent back to Mount Taylor. After four days, the people continued their migration, ultimately arriving at Laguna Pueblo.

Albert Riley (2008) shared a tradition he learned from his grandfather about a serpent that lived on Mount Taylor, where it protected the Laguna people. This serpent eventually moved to a new location near the Owl Hole, east of Laguna Pueblo. From the vantage point of the Owl Hole, one can still see the trail the serpent followed down the lower escarpment of Mount Taylor. This serpent is commemorated on dance kilts used in Laguna ceremonies. In a related tradition, there are subterranean crevices on Mount Taylor that are interconnected with the Owl's Home and other sacred places (Tso 2008).

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Pueblo of Laguna religious leaders stressed that Mount Taylor is important to the Laguna people, and to the other 18 pueblos in New Mexico and Arizona (Mooney 2008; Romero and others 2008). Many of these Pueblo tribes leave offerings on Mount Taylor. The pueblos of Isleta and Jemez have their own roads to the shrine on Mount Taylor. After explaining that "Mount Taylor is an important part of our culture," Ken Day (2008) added that Tsibina "is not just for Laguna Pueblo, or Acoma, or Hopi, or the Navajo. It is for everybody." Lloyd Dailey (in Romero et al. 2008) commented on the importance of Mount Taylor, stating that "Historically, it's a religious site that has been founded by the Pueblos—Acoma, Laguna, Zuni, Hopi—and the Navajo. And, again, the other eighteen Pueblos use that." Many tribes make pilgrimages and leave offerings on Mount Taylor.

Pueblo of Laguna tribal members are concerned about the desecration that occurs when religious offerings are stolen from shrines or trash is left at them (Francisco 2008). This is painful because the miscreants involved in defiling shrines demonstrate a fundamental disrespect for the religious beliefs of other people. This problem is not new. When Parsons (1939:444) visited the Huchanitsa shrine around 1919, she noted that "When I looked into it, I saw only some electric light bulbs discarded by the American surveyors camping near by and unaware of the sanctity of their dump." Laguna religious leaders think offering places should not be tampered with because they are sacred and special to Laguna people, and important to the well-being of the world (Romero and others 2008).

When asked about the cultural importance of Tsibina, Albert Riley (2008) commented on the role of the mountain as a protector of the Laguna people:

That is one of our main mountains where we do offerings ... and the fact that it was passed down from generation to generation. And the idea of it being a sacred mountain. And it is one of our protectors. Not only giving us food and the animals, medicine from the plants, but it is there as a protection to the Laguna people and also the nineteen Pueblos. That is one of our sacred mountains.

Blake (1996:65-66) suggested that the phrase "guarding the Pueblo gods" has double meaning because the mountain protects the home of the gods, and the Pueblo people guard their esoteric beliefs about the sacred mountain. Blake found that the Laguna people are reluctant to speak about the names and symbolism attached to Tsibina. He observed that in compliance with historic preservation legislation requiring consideration of Native American cultural sites, the Cibola National Forest attempts to consider the locations of Pueblo shrines in its evaluations of proposed projects, but carefully guards this information, even from other Native Americans.

The religious aspects of Tsibina discussed in this section of the report are expressions of Laguna cultural beliefs that are central in the continuation of traditional cultural practices. In the Laguna symbolic universe, Tsibina is the mountain of the west, with cultural associations to the bear, shohona (hunt), the color blue, pine trees, and the spring season (Swan 1988:234). The ritual activities and religious beliefs associated with Tsibina are important in passing the Laguna way of life from one generation to the next. It is the historical importance of Tsibina in the retention and transmission of traditional Laguna Pueblo culture that makes the mountain a significant traditional cultural property.

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Trails

The trails Laguna people use to travel on and over Mount Taylor are important (Tso 2008). Two trails come up the south side, traversing Water Canyon and Lobo Canyon (Figure L-7). Several trails originate in Laguna Pueblo and Paguate Village, heading up the eastern flank of Tsibina to the summit. Many of these trails interconnect, forming a trail network. In the early twentieth century, herders from Encinal used a sheep drive to move their livestock from their village to the west side of Mount Taylor (Krall and Andreani 2004).

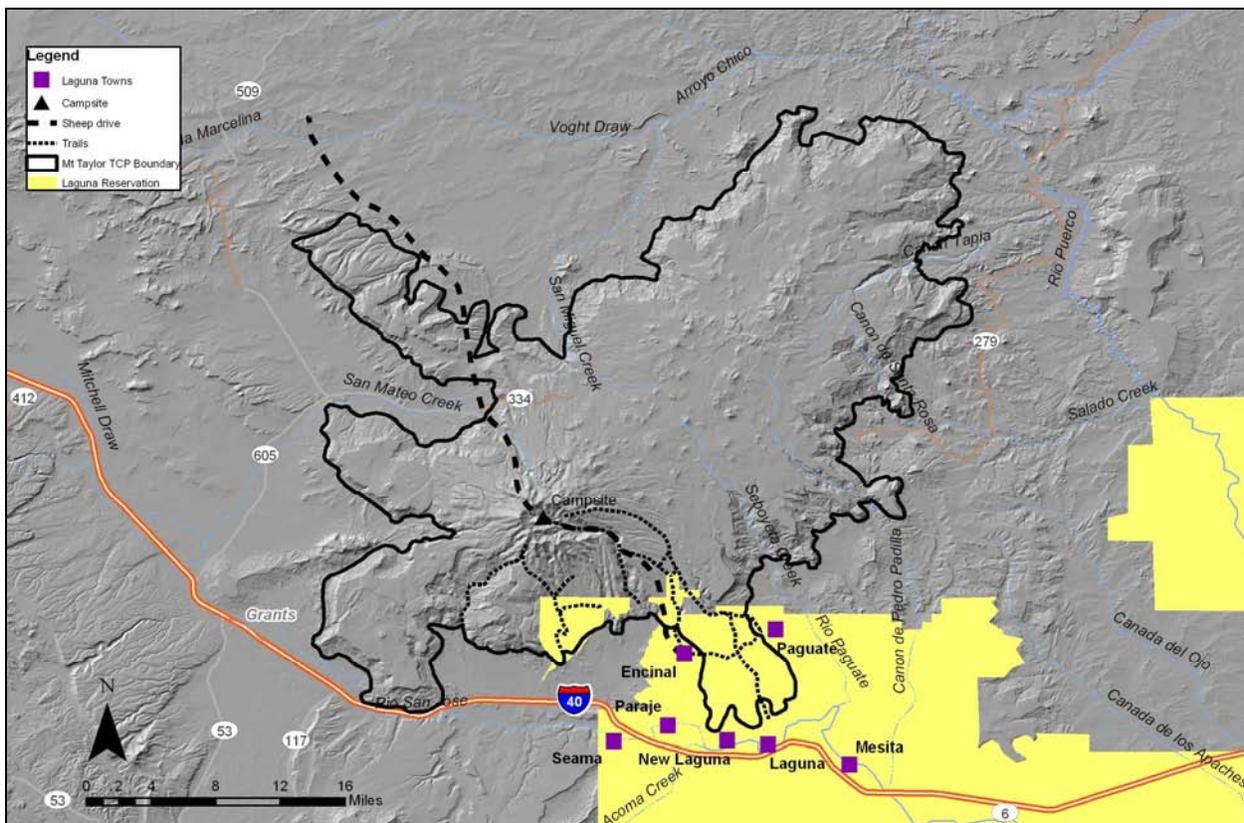


Figure L-7. Pueblo of Laguna trails and stock drives provide access to Mount Taylor.

The various tribes that use Mount Taylor often travel along separate trails, including the Santo Domingo, Hopi, Navajo, Zuni, Acoma, Isleta tribes. This is especially apparent in the vicinity of the Huchanitsa shrine, where trails approach the shrine from the four directions (Johnson 2008; Mooney 2008; A. Riley 2008).

The Laguna trails on Mount Taylor have been used for hundreds of years for traditional cultural and religious activities (Benedict and Hudson 2008:22; Polk 1997:42). These trails are associated with

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numerous places where prayer offerings are made during pilgrimages. In the past pilgrimages were conducted by walking but today trucks are often used to access Mount Taylor (Romero and others 2008). Religious pilgrimages sometimes entail the use of up to fifteen vehicles, carrying the religious leaders to the shrines they need to visit.

**Water**

Standing 11,300 feet above sea level, Tsibina attracts a substantial amount of snow during the winter and rain during the summer (Figure L-8). Much of this moisture runs off the mountain, filling the streams and rivers that flow through Laguna Pueblo land. The Laguna people consequently revere Mount Taylor as an important source of the water that sustains life and the fertility of land. The water from Mount Taylor thus has cultural and economic importance. This was is an essential element of Laguna social identity and cultural history.



**Figure L-8. View of Mesa Chivato showing the snowfall on Tsibina that provides a precious source of water for sustaining agriculture and traditional life at the Pueblo of Laguna.**

In discussing water, Curtis Francisco (2008) remarked, “Mount Taylor is an interface between heaven and earth – it collects moisture and snow, it stores water to refill aquifers.” He continued,

Mount Taylor, being the highest peak around here, it gathers snow, it gathers rain, and it gives us the most important, precious gift that we have here in the arid Southwest—which is water. The streams, springs, and aquifers associated with Mount Taylor are all important sources of water at the Pueblo of Laguna for domestic use, irrigation, and other purposes. The mountain traps water and creates precipitation. This water is important to everyone within the tribe. That is the key thing, that Mount Taylor retains, holds, and provides water for us and for all the future generations to come. We’re intimately tied to

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water. We have responsibility to take care of it. Water is tied to everything. Water is an essential part of the Laguna identity. We are all "People of the Lake."

Harold Tso (2008) also discussed the meaning of the precipitation associated with Tsibina. He noted that,

Rain clouds form over the mountain. The people from Encinal look to the mountain to find out if precipitation will occur. In winter, the color of the frost on the mountain is a marker for climatic patterns. The mountain tells the people what kind of season it will be. Water is life, so the mountain is important. Without water there wouldn't be anything here. That is why it is so sacred.

The Badger clan leaders of Laguna Pueblo pointed out that water and snow are "life to this world" (Romero and others 2008). The seasons themselves are a renewal of life, and that is what the world is all about. Making offerings to relieve drought is a responsibility of the Badger Society, and Tsibina plays an important role in this ritual activity. The Badger clan leaders said, "We talk to young children about Mount Taylor, and tell them that is where the rain clouds come from. We get irrigation water from the mountain." The springs and water tables associated with the hydrology of the mountain are important in Laguna religious and subsistence activities.

Tsibina is a primary source of the rains that nourish the farmland and countryside, and ultimately provide domestic water (Johnson 2008; Maria 2008). Anthropologists have long noted that Laguna settlements are optimally located on the streams that flow from Mount Taylor, providing irrigation water (Eggan 1950:254). In 1953, Paul Johnson (1953:5) from Paguete Village testified during the Indian Claims Commission that he used the water in Paguete Creek that comes from Mount Taylor to irrigate corn and wheat. There is a physical as well as spiritual connection between the water that flows from Mount Taylor and the irrigation system of the Pueblo of Laguna (Sarracino 2008). Mount Taylor is the recharge area for irrigation water. The sacredness of this water is evident in the custom of the mayordomos (water bosses) following the first irrigation water of the season as flows down the main ditch, depositing prayersticks and other offerings. As Loren Maria (2008) said, "It's a happy day for us to bring the water down." Some of the water in the north ditch of the irrigation system along the Rio San José is allowed to flow into the bed of "Old Lady Lake," east of Paraje, which is associated with Minakoya (Salt Woman). The water in this lake is used for cultural and traditional purposes. After this, the mayordomos schedule the water for use by farmers.

Albert Riley (2008) described a special song about water that tells about how Laguna ancestors brought water down irrigation ditches to their fields. The song contains forty prayers that pertain to water sustaining life, how this water comes from the sacred mountain, and how the ancestors help to keep the water flowing. This ceremonial song underscores the deep and abiding cultural connections between Tsibina, the ancestors, water, and the continuation of life at the Pueblo of Laguna.

Mount Taylor is important in recharging aquifers that support traditional activities at the Pueblo of Laguna, including ritual activities and farming. Laguna people are thus concerned about any activity that will potentially contaminate water on Mount Taylor (Day 2008; Sarracino 2008).

Water from springs on Tsibina is collected for ritual use in Laguna ceremonies, including Bear Springs and Encinal Springs (Romero et al. 2008; Sarracino 2008). In discussing this, Harold Tso (2008) commented, "all the springs, everywhere" have cultural importance. The springs on Mount Taylor are also

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used by Laguna people gathering piñon nuts, and by hunters. In the past, people traveling over Mount Taylor would take barrels to collect spring water, using burros to transport the casks for use in sheep herding and other activities.

Water from Tsibina is the lifeblood of the Laguna people, essential for continuation of all living things, including wildlife, grass for grazing livestock, herbs for medicine and food, and piñons that provide fuel and nuts (Sarracino 2008).

### **Grazing**

Mount Taylor has long been an important grazing area for the Pueblo of Laguna, where the livestock industry has played a major role in the tribal economy. In the early eighteenth century, as a result of Apache raids in the area south of Laguna Pueblo, Laguna sheep herders focused their grazing north of the pueblo (Ellis 1974a:294). By 1750, Laguna sheep herders began herding livestock on both sides of the Bartolomé Fernández Land Grant, on the northeast and northwest flanks of Mount Taylor, and north of the Cebolleta Grant in the Mesa Chivato area (Ellis 1974b:94). After the pacification of the Navajos in 1868, the Laguna people expanded their grazing activities to include Inditos Draw, northwest of Mount Taylor.

Paul Johnson (1953:9-14) from Paguete Village testified during the Indian Claims Commission that the Laguna people used "Mount Taylor on all sides" for grazing a large number of sheep, including the northern, eastern, western, and southeastern flanks of the mountain. Sheep were grazed on Mount Taylor during the summer when there was "good feed," and then brought down to lower elevations during the winter. Mr. Johnson noted that sheep were grazed over Mount Taylor and beyond for a distance of twenty miles or more.

Lucario Chaves (1957: 449-471) from Paguete Village, 67 years old when he testified before the Indian Claims Commission in 1957, described how he helped his family herd 2000 sheep, of which he owned 800 head. In the early twentieth century, ca. 1905, he regularly herded sheep on Mount Taylor during the summer. His grazing area included lands located three or four miles north of McCartys, that is, on Horace Mesa.

Walter Sarracino (1957:484-500) from Paguete Village, 66 years old when he testified before the Indian Claims Commission in 1967, described how his father grazed sheep on the eastern slope of Mount Taylor.

Frank Paisano (1953:39-52), 98 years old when he testified before the Indian Claims Commission in 1953, described how he grazed 1,500 sheep on Mount Taylor. There was an open range on the mountain in the late nineteenth century, and the Lagunas freely grazed wherever it had rained and the grass grew. In describing the use of Mount Taylor, Mr. Paisano (1953:52) explained, "... when it rains the grass grows, even when there is no water in the winter time, the people move their sheep for the use of the snow."

Antonio Aragon (1957:434-449) from Encinal Village, 78 years old when he testified before the Indian Claims Commission in 1957, described herding sheep in a large area, including "up towards Mount Taylor." He had a herd of 500 sheep and he grazed in various areas from year to year depending on the condition of the range and weather conditions. His family herded sheep together with two other families from Encinal (Figure L-9). Mr. Aragon also described herding sheep on the west side of Mount Taylor,

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which required him to drive sheep over the mountain. There were several Laguna families that herded in the area west of Mount Taylor.



Figure L-9. Encinal Village with Mount Taylor in the distance. Stockmen from Encinal used to herd their sheep over the mountain to homesteads and pasture lands along Inditos Draw northwest of San Mateo.

According to Ellis (1974b:102) and Rands (1974:275), stockmen from Paguete and Encinal did “a great deal” of herding on the east side of Mt. Taylor. Ellis (1974b:104) stated,

Robert Anaya herded on the east side of Mt. Taylor, three miles north of the town of San Mateo, and east to Mesa Prieta ... Jose Maria Kowenishe (Encinal; age 72) herded about 60 cattle and 50 sheep on top and around the side of Mt. Taylor where his father herded before him. With him were eight Lagunas: Pedro Saracino (Casa Blanca), old man Gaco (Paguete), and six others, now dead, whose names he cannot remember. The lambing corrals used by this group in the Mt. Taylor district are still to be seen.

Encinal sheepherders used the area northwest of Mount Taylor all the way to Cerro Alesna, and the area west of the Ignacio Chávez Grant and Mesa Chivato from the late 1800s through the early 1900s (Ellis (1974a:214). Stockmen from Encinal also herded on the east side of Mount Taylor in an area around Marquez and the Juan Tafoya District, approximately 18 miles north of Old Laguna (Ellis 1974b:102). Encinal sheepherders, including Francisco Aragon, Santiago Alonzo, Vicente Alonzo and Lorenzo Castiano, expanded their livestock activities to the west of Mount Taylor, driving their sheep over Mount Taylor (Figure L-7) and establishing homesteads along Inditos Draw northwest of the village of San Mateo (Krall and Andreani 2004:30). Francisco Aragon established a homestead in this area between 1860 and

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1880 but he herded in the area with José Reyes, a fellow member of the Pueblo of Laguna, even prior to 1860 (Ellis (1974a:214). In the early twentieth century, six Laguna tribal members from Encinal applied for homestead patents in this area under the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916, including Vicente Alonzo, Santiago Alonzo, Antonio Aragon, José M. Kowemicewa, José Romero Castiano and Herman Castiano (Krall and Andreani 2004:38). These men cooperated with each other in herding sheep.

According to Tony Castiano, who herded sheep along Inditos Draw in the 1930s, Francisco Aragon helped shepherding families from Encinal herd on the northwest flanks of Mount Taylor, around Cerro Alesna (Heezdigut), and in an area north of the Ignacio Chavez Grant and Mesa Chivato (Krall and Andreani 2004:37). The Ahnai family established a ranch on homestead land on the east side of Mount Taylor, and Lorenzo Castiano, Tony Castiano's father, established a ranch near San Mateo, on Mount Taylor's north side (Ellis 1974a:214). Ed Gonzales and Theodore Kowemicewa ("Old Man Kowimishu") also herded in this area, and Mr. Kowemicewa later sold his ranch there to Walter Sarracino. The Kinai brothers, residents of Encinal, homesteaded north of San Mateo, as did Lorenzo Castiano's father, Tsiwakyuye.

Harold Tso (2008) remembered the sheep drive used to herd livestock across Mount Taylor. This sheep drive started at the village of Encinal and passed over the saddle north of La Mosca. The sheep were then driven down the western escarpment of Mount Taylor via a canyon to the south of El Dado Mesa, near Cerro Alesna. Cerro Alesna, known as Heezdigut (Arrow Mountain) in Keresan, and sometimes referred to as Awl Mountain or Shoemaker's Awl (Bandelier 1892:306; Pearce 1965:30), was used as a landmark during travel over Mount Taylor (Krall and Andreani 2004:26). Cedar posts were used at this location to make "steps" for herding the sheep down the western escarpment of Mount Taylor. Mr. Tso reported it took a month to herd sheep from the Laguna villages to the homesteads along Inditos Draw. He learned about this sheep drive from his uncle, Vicente Deloris, when they were deer hunting in the area. During the sheep drive, springs and lakes were used to water the sheep, including Kat'chikaowinko, a large place where water collects.

Laguna people still remember numerous sheep camps on the eastern slopes of Mount Taylor, as far as Cabezon Peak (Francisco 2008; Lente 2008; Maria 2008; Romero and others 2008). These grazing camps were located wherever there was water and pasturage for sheep. These include camps in Encinal Canyon, Seco Canyon, and above Paguate. Laguna stockmen grazed everywhere they found grass.

In summarizing the history of grazing on Mount Taylor, Roland Johnson (2008) said that, "There are many sheep camps on Mount Taylor associated with Laguna grazing. The mountain helped sustain the Laguna people during the era in which livestock was one of the economic mainstays of the tribe." Grazing on Mount Taylor is thus an important part of Laguna history, and provides part of the historic context that makes Tsibina a traditional cultural property.

### **Wildlife and Hunting**

The wild animals and birds that live on Mount Taylor are important in Laguna culture because they provide an important source of food and contribute natural materials needed in ceremonial activities (P. Johnson 1953:15; S. Riley 2008; Sarracino 2008). As the Badger clan leaders of Laguna Pueblo said, "Hunting is a cultural activity ... Everything is used" (Romero and others 2008). Fifteen animals and twelve birds were identified as being hunted on Mount Taylor for subsistence or ceremonial use (Table 12-2). These animals and birds are important in Laguna culture. In the words of Loren Maria (2008): "If the animals are not there, customs would stop for us."

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Table 12-2  
Common Names of Animals and Birds on Mount Taylor with Cultural Importance

<u><b>Animals</b></u>	<u><b>Birds</b></u>
Antelope	bluejays
Bear	cranes
Bobcats	ducks
Cougars	eagles
Coyote	flickers
Deer	geese
Elk	hawks
Fox	hummingbirds
mountain lion	pigeons
mountain sheep	roadrunners
prairie dogs	robins
Rabbits	woodpeckers
Squirrels	
Turkey	
Wolf	

Animals with cultural importance obtained from Mount Taylor include antelope, bear, cougars, coyote, deer, elk, foxes, mountain sheep, rabbits, and turkey (Johnson 2008; Tso 2008). Mountain lions have cultural importance but are not hunted. Bear claws, fox pelts, and many other animal parts are used in rituals and ceremonies (Francisco 2008). During droughts, pilgrimages were made to Mount Taylor to plant prayersticks. A communal rabbit hunt was conducted for the cheani (medicine societies), and people refrained from quarreling (Eggan 1950:281). A successful hunt was ritually celebrated. "We used to have ceremonies for the game we were lucky enough to get," Ken Day (2008) said, "You know, we'd celebrate with ceremonial dances in thanks for what our Mother has provided for us."

Laguna people have a tradition of capturing eagles and hawks on Mount Taylor (Tso 2008). These raptors are then raised in the Laguna villages, and fed rabbits. The feathers from these and other birds are used to make prayersticks and other religious offerings.

Laguna people use the entire mountain for hunting, including the eastern and western flanks, San Mateo Canyon, Santa Fe Canyon, La Mosca Canyon, Timber Canyon, San Rael Canyon, Horace Mesa, and Cabezon Canyon (Polk 1997:42; A. Riley 2008; Sarracino and Mooney 2008).

As Ken Day (2008) pointed out, "All of Mount Taylor, all of this area [within the Forest Service boundary] is hunting grounds, where our people went hunting." In addition to contemporary use, Mr. Day said his grandfather said earlier generations also hunted on Mount Taylor. "Hunting for food was traditionally important," Mr. Day said, "especially during the winter months." Like most tribal members, Mr. Day takes religious offerings in the form of food, pollen, or prayer feathers when he hunts on Mount Taylor "to give thanks to our Mother, for all that she is giving us, for the mountain, for providing us with what we have today ... We ask for the well-being of our people."

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### Plant Collecting

The Laguna people collect many plants from different locations on Mount Taylor at various times of the year (Mooney 2008). As Ken Day (2008) explained, "... wherever we find it, that's where we gather it." Plants from Mount Taylor are used for a variety of cultural and subsistence purposes. During research in 2008, tribal members provided the common names of twenty plants collected on Tsibina (Table 12-3). Extensive ethnobotanical research would be needed to identify the scientific names of these plants and, if such research were done, there is no doubt that the list of plants the Laguna people collect on Mount Taylor would be even longer. This is because in addition to the named plants, several people interviewed discussed other plants using broad categories like herbs, roots, trees, and flowers.

Many of the plants collected on Mount Taylor are used in religious and medicinal activities associated with the preservation and continuation of Laguna culture. Roots, for instance, are collected for a cold medicine; and kiva medicines are collected by religious leaders for ritual use (Mooney 2008). The cheani (religious leaders) traditionally collected herbs for their medicines on Mount Taylor (Parsons 1918:185). Each religious society at the Pueblo of Laguna has their own herbs that they collect on Mount Taylor, although some of these plants are getting difficult to find. The Laguna people believe that when spiritual entities are abused they leave and seek a new place to dwell. Plants embody spiritual entities, so some Laguna people suggest past environmental abuse on Mount Taylor explains the current difficulty in finding plants. If one searches long enough, however, the needed plants can still be found. Harold Tso (2008) observed that several plants on Mount Taylor are known by only a few people but these are still nonetheless important in Laguna culture.

Table 12-3  
Common Names of Plants Collected on Mount Taylor

Aspen  
Chokecherries  
Douglas fir  
Gooseberry  
Goosefoot  
Indian paintbrush  
juniper (cedar)  
Oak  
Oshá  
Piñon  
ponderosa pine  
prickly pear cactus  
Snakeweed  
Spruce  
three-leaf sumac  
wild celery  
wild onions  
wild tobacco  
Willow  
Yucca

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Evergreens collected on Mount Taylor play a prominent role in ritual activities at the Pueblo of Laguna (Day 2008; Maria 2008; Polk 1997:42; A. Riley 2008; S. Riley 2008; Romero and others 2008; Sarracino 2008; Sarracino and Mooney 2008; Swank 1932:24, 60, 64). These evergreens include spruce (*Picea parryana*), known as Shiyaya or Wikaya in Keresan; white fir (*Abies concolor*), known as Hakaka in Keresan; and Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga mucronata*), known as Mayatyi in Keresan. Branches from all three trees are used for decorations during the Deer Dance and other ceremonies, and in houses. Leaves from Shiyaya and Hakaka are also brewed into a hot tea that is used in treating rheumatism and colds. In describing ceremonial dances in 1920, Parsons (1920:98) wrote: "Onlookers helped themselves to bits of spruce from the dancers' arms. It is steeped and drunk to clean the stomach. Bits of these twigs are also given as presents to bring good luck."

Laguna people harvest ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), called Hani in Keresan, for use as roof beams for houses and other domestic structures (Swank 1932:61). These trees were traditionally cut in many places, including at Eagle's Nest, the south slope of Mt. Taylor, west of Encinal, and East of Cañon Seco (Rands 1974:280). Before pickup trucks became available, the beams were transported using oxen via a trail leading to Old Laguna.

Victor Sarracino (2008) described how the timbers used in the construction of Mission San José de Laguna ca. 1699 came from the higher slopes of Mount Taylor, carried down the mountain with considerable effort (Figure L-10). The incorporation of trees from Mount Taylor in the roof of this church serves to bind the Laguna people to their sacred Tsibina.



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Figure L-10. Mission San José de Laguna was constructed in 1699 using timbers brought from the slopes of Mount Taylor, seen in the distance. Photograph by Jesse Nusbaum, ca. 1920 (Denver Public Library Neg. N-72).

Aspen trees from Mount Taylor provide a soft wood that can be hollowed out for making drums that are used in dances and ceremonies (Romero and others 2008).

Oak (*Quercus pungens*), known as Hapani in Keresan, is harvested for used in tool handles, and twigs from oak trees are used to fasten the warp of rugs while weaving (Swank 1932:64). The acorns of *Quercus utahensis*, known as Tsitsi hapani ("water oak") in Keresan, are collected and boiled for food or ground into flour (Swank 1932:64-65, Rands 1974:280; Tso 2008). Washashityishi, the solid part of oak galls, are ground with the leaves and used as an emetic. Gototutse hapan, the velvety part of the gall, is rubbed on a baby's tongue to remove the milk coating. There is a place near the War Chief's shrine on Mesa Chivato where a hardwood is collected for arrows, and where a special oak is harvested for bows (A. Riley 2008).

Piñon trees (*Pinus edulis*) on Mount Taylor, known as Dyaitse in Keresan, are harvested for firewood, pitch, pollen, nuts, and medicine (Day 2008; Francisco 2008; Rands 1974:280; Sarracino and Mooney 2008; Swank 1932:60-61; Tso 2008). Benedict and Hudson (2008:22) documented that the Laguna gather piñon nuts for spiritual use in the kivas. Albert Riley (2008) pointed out that piñons from Mount Taylor also play an important role in one of the Laguna religious societies, "so we hold them real dear to us." Piñon pollen is used in religious offerings (Romero and others 2008). The foliage of piñon trees are made into a tea and used as an emetic to clean the stomach. Piñon pitch is mixed with ground lichens or minerals and used as a binder for paint. The pitch is also used on open sores, and rubbed on cooking stones to make a black griddle for preparing paperbread.

Piñon nuts are a delicacy in Laguna cuisine, and are widely collected on Mount Taylor as a foodstuff or trade item (Ellis 1974a:56; Polk 1997:42). Ellis (1974a:164) described how,

The pinyon pickers had to travel miles to reach the trees, which grow at somewhat lower altitudes than the pines but higher than the main stand of junipers. The only good pinyon areas owned by Laguna are on the southern and eastern slopes of Mt. Taylor, above Chupadero a few miles west of Paguate, and in the western end of the Paguate Purchase north of Encinal, especially from Kokopcoma north to the divide and in Water Canyon north of Cubero.

Laguna families, including men, women and children, traditionally camped on the mountain for weeks at a time while collecting piñon nuts (Tso 2008). Piñon picking camps were used, with brush structures made from branches of wood formed into a circle providing shelter. Most of these brush structures were unroofed, with a base of heavy logs laid horizontally, with lighter brush and logs piled above to a height of four feet. The structures had an opening facing east to get morning sun and avoid prevailing west winds. Water was obtained from the springs on Mount Taylor.

Juniper (*Juniperus monosperma* and *Juniperus scopulorum*), called Kani and Tyiika in Keresan, and often called "cedar" in English, is harvested on Mount Taylor for many uses (Day 2008; Tso 2008; Swank 1932:48). Ken Day (2008) observes, "Even the cedar trees, we use for blessings, and also for medicine to drink." Juniper branches are used in ceremonial dances. The twigs and staminate cones of

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juniper are chewed or brewed into a tea that is used as a general cure-all. This tea is taken as a laxative or emetic to treat diarrhea and stomach-aches. The bark is called wishini, and is rubbed into baby clothes. The bark is also chewed as a laxative, or is swallowed or rubbed on body to treat snake bites. Juniper leaves are ground with salt and put in the ear to force bugs out. Green twigs are rubbed on moccasins to color them green, or put in with commercial dye as a mordant to keep the dye from fading. Larger twigs used for basket frames, and sinew-backed bows are made from larger trees. Juniper provides an important source of firewood and fence posts, and is also used in sweat baths. Juniper berries are called yuushitya, and are gathered and used to season meat. The berries are also mixed with chopped meat and put into a clean deer stomach and roasted as a delicacy. Juniper berries were traditionally eaten in the fall when food was scarce. Smoke from a juniper fire is used ceremonially to fumigate or purify the property of deceased people (Parsons 1920:113). Parsons (1923:262) notes that "The Cheani said the cedar purge keeps you from getting tired but does not preclude sleepiness."

The young branches of willow (*Salix exigua*), called Trukawa or Yushitya wawa in Keresan, are used for making baskets and mats (Swank 1932:37-38). The branches of *Salix irrorata*, called Tsikowakutsi in Keresan, are used to make prayersticks (Francisco 2008).

Wild tobacco on Mount Taylor is harvested and used in ceremonial activities (Day 2008; Romero and others 2008). Medicinal plants collected on Mount Taylor include flowers, wild celery, and wild onions.

The use of oshá (*Ligusticum porter*), sometimes referred to as Bear Root, has not been previously documented in the ethnobotanical literature of the Pueblo of Laguna (Maria 2008; Swank 1932; Moerman1998). Curtin and Moore (1997:122), however, note that "There is hardly a native house in New Mexico, be it Indian or Spanish-American, without a small store of the root." It is chewed for stomach gas, ground and taken with water as a stomachic, or drunk as tea to treat colds, coughs and fever. Laguna people identified oshá (Figure L-11) as an important medicinal plant collected on Mount Taylor (Francisco 2008; Romero and others 2008; Tso 2008).



Figure L-11. Oshá, or Bear Root, collected on Mount Taylor and used for medicinal purposes.

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Gooseberry (*Ribes cereum*), chokeberries (*Prunus melanocarpa*), three-leaf sumac berries (*Rhus trilobata*), and other berries are collected on Mount Taylor for food (Rands 1974:280; Romero and others 2008; Sarracino 2008; Swank 1932:63, 66; Tso 2008). The branches of the gooseberry plant are used in making arrow shafts. Chokecherries, called Apu in Keresan, are dried for winter use, and the bark of the plant is made into a cough medicine. Chokecherry branches, backed with sinew, are used to make bows. The berries of three-leaf sumac, called Yaana in Keresan, are used to season food, eaten raw as an appetizer or mouth wash, and are used to make a beverage. The berries are also crushed into a juice used as a vehicle for paint. The branches of three-leaf sumac are used for basketry material, and tea made from the leaves of the plant and used as an emetic and stomach wash. Tea is also made from bark of three-leaf sumac and used as douche after childbirth.

Cactus, including prickly pear (*Opuntia camanchica*), called Tishityani in Keresan, grows in the mountains (Romero and others 2008; Sarracino 2008; Swank 1932:55-57). The pads of this cactus are eaten fresh, or split open and dried, then ground with the seeds and mixed with corn meal to make a mush eaten in the winter. The pads impart a red color to the mush. The pads of prickly pear are used for red paint, and the thorns are used as needles. The Laguna people use type types of prickly pears. Other cactus plants collected on Mount Taylor are used to make brushes for cleaning metates.

Several other plants are collected by Laguna people on Mount Taylor. These include snakeweed (Maria 2008), yucca or "wild bananas (Rands 1974:280), and Indian paintbrush, which is used to treat diabetes and high blood pressure (A. Riley 2008). Goosefoot (*Chenopodium cornutum*), called Tsishatsi shiwana wawa in Keresan, is a "strong lightning medicine" and is used as an emetic (Swank 1932:36). The grasses that grow on Mount Taylor are important in grazing livestock (Tso 2008).

In discussing the collection of plants, Pueblo of Laguna religious leaders explained that offerings are left for all plants and everything else that is collected on Mount Taylor (Romero and others 2008). Something is always given in thanks for what is taken from the mountain. The plants collected on Mount Taylor for ritual, subsistence, and medicinal use are used in the traditional activities through which Laguna culture and history are perpetuated.

### Mineral Collection

Several minerals are collected from Mount Taylor for use in religious and cultural practices (Francisco 2008; Romero and others 2008; Tso 2008). This includes certain types of sand, rocks, and pigments used in religious activities; obsidian; jet; and clay and pigments used in pottery production. Ellis (1979:443) described the distinctive crushed diabase that Laguna potters use to temper ceramic vessels, and noted that this is collected from a volcanic dike running east of the pueblo up to the slopes of Mount Taylor.

Petrified wood also is collected near the base of Cerro de la Cerosa ("Where Bear Opens His Mouth") and other Guardian Peaks on the eastern side of Mount Taylor (A. Riley 2008). This petrified wood is held by women giving birth to make the birth easier. Petrified wood from Santa Rosa Canyon is also used in treating small children who they break their arms. A small piece of petrified wood is tied to their hands so that the bone will grow back straight.

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**The Role of Tsibina in Retention and Transmission of Laguna Pueblo Culture**

Talking about Tsibina at the Pueblo of Laguna supplements the actual use of the mountain for religious, subsistence and cultural activities. Discourse featuring Mount Taylor is not something that started recently; Laguna people have talked about the mountain for a long time (Romero and others 2008). The kiva people at the Pueblo of Laguna have songs that relate to Mount Taylor. These songs, composed many years ago, are still an important part of cultural traditions in the villages that comprise the Pueblo of Laguna (Johnson 2008; Sarracino 2008).

Traditionally, Laguna history is discussed during a four day long convocation conducted during Holy Week before Easter (Maria 2008; Sarracino 2008). Four topics are discussed during these history talks, referred to as *kai'tama*. These topics include creation, migration, land, and contemporary issues surrounding management and development of Laguna resources. The recitation of history is a communal effort, with various individuals contributing the segments of historical narratives as they know them. After an opening prayer, one person starts talking and others pick up the story and carry it on. People from all the villages come to Laguna Pueblo for this event. Tsibina is frequently mentioned during these "Easter Meetings" (Johnson 2008).

Leslie Marmon Silko (1986:87-88) discussed how Laguna traditions embrace the entirety of human experience, including collective knowledge of the Creation and Emergence of human beings and animals into this world. All tribal members are expected to remember and retell portions of historical and cultural narratives in a collective effort so the community as a whole can piece together accounts of the past. Communal storytelling is thus a self-correcting process with listeners speaking up when they remember important facts or details. Multiple and even conflicting accounts of the same story are valued because they contribute different facets of the communal understanding of past events.

Silko (1986:88-91) also described how precise location and prominent geographical descriptions of place are central in Laguna oral traditions. Laguna migration traditions refer to specific places that can still be visited, including Mount Taylor with its distinctive summit, adjoining mesas, springs, rocks, and trees. Although the point of oral narratives is often symbolic or ritual rather than historical in a narrow sense, the emergence recounts a process of ethnogenesis by which the Laguna people gained their cultural identity. Talking about Mount Taylor provides the Laguna people with a unique way of talking about history and culture, and passing these from one generation to the next.

As Swan (1988:235) pointed out, "Laguna conceptions of 'place' start with a name, Spider Woman's stamp of reality. They are enlivened by stories so that the landscape and forces of nature become animated with a presence of their own." Tsibina is one of the important places that figure into stories, songs, and prayers that provide moral teaching and instruction on how to live life as a Laguna Indian. Talking about Yellow-woman, *Ts'i'mo'tc'n'i-Man*, Masewi and Oyoyewi, Arrow-Youth, and the other culture heroes associated Tsibina is a way of talking about the history of how the Laguna people came to occupy their land, and what this means for the spiritual and cultural development of tribal members.

Mount Taylor is important in teaching young children about the herbs and medicines that are important part of tribal culture (Mooney 2008; Tso 2008). Many tribal members, like Albert Riley (2008), take their family up to the top of Tsibina to discuss the significance of the mountain, and to share the knowledge they learned from their grandfathers and grandmothers. "They need to learn to respect the

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mountain," Mr. Riley stated. On these trips, Mr. Riley prays with his family, and offers prayer feathers specially prepared for the trip. In this manner, Mr. Riley said, the customs of the Pueblo of Laguna are handed down from one generation to the next.

Curtis Francisco (2008) described family trips to the summit of Tsibina as a form of pilgrimage. "We went up," Mr. Francisco explained, "said our prayers and did all the stuff that we needed to do, and then we discussed how all this once was all our land to begin with. How this is within our realm of protection and control."

Loren Maria (2008) remembered how Mount Taylor is used as a sacred place in the transmission of Laguna culture. "We tell children why it is there, and what it is used for," Mr. Maria said. In the past, his father and grandfather, along with other tribal elders, told stories during the winter about Mount Taylor. They also discussed the mountain on hunting trips when they traveled by horseback or wagons.

Ken Day (2008) described telling his children about Mount Taylor: "I tell them that Mount Taylor is a part of what our Mother gave us. We shouldn't take it for granted. We should be appreciative for all the things that we get. Like when we plant or we go out and collect the piñons, and whatever we are out there for. You know, be thankful." In talking about Tsibina, Mr. Day relies on what he learned about the mountain from his grandfather. He wants to pass on Laguna traditions and knowledge to his children, "to teach them what it is to be a Laguna, and how Mother is part of our lives." His kiva father and other elders used to tell him a lot of things, and this is what is passing on to his children and grandchildren. Mr. Day added, "And that is why Mount Taylor is so important to the lives of my people. For my grandchildren to grow up and to live and to see what our mother has given us. To teach them what it is to be a Laguna, and how much of a part our Mother is in our lives. These are the things I hope to teach them."

### **Age, Integrity and Significance**

The Laguna people have used Tsibina since time immemorial. This use extends back into antiquity and spans more than four centuries during the historic period. This means that the age of Tsibina as a traditional cultural property is much older than the fifty years required to meet the age criteria for a historic property to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

Tsibina as a traditional cultural property has integrity for the Pueblo of Laguna because the historic qualities of location, setting, feeling, and association with traditional cultural practices are intact. Tsibina retains integrity of condition and relationship. Although the mountain has been subjected to some desecration by modern developments, such as installation of communication towers and mining, and by thefts of religious offerings at the Huchanitsa shrine (Day 2008; Johnson 2008; A. Riley 2008; Romero and others 2008; Tso 2008), these indignities have not obviated the fundamental importance of Tsibina in the traditional cultural beliefs and practices that are part of the history of the Pueblo of Laguna. The cultural practices and beliefs associated with Mount Taylor are important in maintaining the ongoing cultural identity of the community.

Fencing of public and private property on Mount Taylor has made it difficult to continue traditional use of the mountain in exactly the same manner as earlier generations but the Laguna people have adjusted to changing conditions in order to preserve the essential parts of their cultural practice (A. Riley

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2008; Sarracino and Mooney 2008). The Pueblo of Laguna acquires land on Mount Taylor when it becomes available so it can be added to the reservation to help perpetuate traditional use of Tsibina.

Although the Laguna people have lost several religious societies and their associated ceremonies, tribal members continue many religious practices directly associated with Tsibina that are integral to Laguna culture and society. The use of Mount Taylor as a source of subsistence and medicinal resources continues to have substantial importance in Laguna cultural activities.

As a traditional cultural property, Mount Taylor meets National Register significance criteria A, B, and D. Mount Taylor is eligible under criterion A, properties associated with events that have made significant contributions to the broad patterns of our history, because it has a significant association with traditional cultural uses that are rooted in Laguna Pueblo history. Mount Taylor is central in Laguna cultural practices and social identity. As recounted in Laguna oral traditions, the mountain is associated with the emergence and migration of Laguna ancestors, and is significant in cosmology and religion. Tsibina is a location where Laguna religious practitioners have historically gone, and continue to go today, to perform ceremonial and subsistence activities, and to collect natural resources, in accordance with traditional cultural practices. These traditional practices are important in the retention and transmission of Laguna culture.

Mount Taylor is eligible under criterion B, properties associated with the lives of persons significant in our past, because spiritual beings inhabit the mountain, and these are important in Laguna oral traditions. Following guidance in National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker and King 1998:13), "persons" can refer to deities or spiritual beings featured in the traditions of a group. Tsibina is associated with the Shiwana, Kopishtaya, and Kachinas, spiritual beings important in Laguna culture and beliefs. The mountain is also associated with Ts'i'mo'tc'n<sup>yi</sup>-Man, Yellow-Woman, Masewi and Oyoyewi, Arrow-Youth, and a Serpent that protects the Laguna people.

Tsibina itself is traditionally viewed as a significant living and breathing entity with great spiritual power. As Curtis Francisco observed,

It moves, it breaths, it respire ... the old-timers will tell you that it has breath because it is breathing ... People will tell you that a rock is just an inanimate object but we don't consider that as an inanimate object. It has a spirit; it has life. It is part of a larger, living organism, which is the earth as a whole. The earth and people are similar—they move, they breath, they have fluids. In native science, if the earth is breathing, it's alive. You just have to listen.

Tsibina is eligible under criterion D, properties that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory, because the study of the mountain has created knowledge about Laguna traditions and culture. These studies include anthropological research, scholarly examinations, and literary commentary that portray the cultural significance of the mountain. Future studies of the cultural and natural resources associated with Tsibina are likely to yield significant information about Laguna history and cultural practices. Archaeological and ethnobotanical research, in particular, would yield significant new information important in history and prehistory. Laguna tribal members also point out that the volcanic rock on Mount Taylor is of interest to geologists, and further study of the geology of Mount Taylor would yield important scientific data (Francisco 2008).

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This assessment of the significance of Tsibina in terms of eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places agrees with the conclusions of the Cibola National Forest (Benedict and Hudson 2008:22, 30-31). The criteria considerations of the National Register do not preclude the National Register eligibility of Mount Taylor as a traditional cultural property (36 CFR 60.4). Although Mount Taylor is used for religious activities, its significance as a traditional cultural property derives from its association with the traditional practices and historical use of the mountain that are intrinsic to the retention and transmission of traditional Laguna culture. The fact these expressions are discussed in religious terms reflects the mountain's historical and cultural significance to the Pueblo of Laguna.

The Pueblo of Laguna is ultimately the community qualified to make decisions about the integrity and significance of Tsibina as traditional cultural property. And, as Roland Johnson (2008) affirmed, "Mount Taylor has always been home to us ... and significant in our religious activities."

### **Conclusion**

Tsibina—Mount Taylor—is a significant traditional cultural property eligible for inclusion in the National Register of History Places. In the words of Roland Johnson (2008):

There is no question that Mount Taylor qualifies to be considered as a cultural property. It even goes beyond that because Mount Taylor, the mountain itself, is a home ... it plays a very significant part in our religious beliefs and religious practices. Mount Taylor is the home of some of the deities that we have. Mount Taylor also is, in our belief system, a place which our creator gave us to help sustain us. And the Mount Taylor area, not just the peak itself, the peak is a shrine itself, but there are also a number of shrines located at various locations in all directions on the mountain itself.

It's always been home to us. And it plays a very significant part in our religious activities because it provides to us, and has always provided to us, many of those things that play a very significant role in our religious life—the game that is on the mountain, the deer, the bear, the turkeys, some of the forage, the evergreens. These are all the things that still play a very important part in our religious activities. So it is not just a piece of property, it's really a church.

The important thing for others to understand is that we are not just looking at a piece of property. We're looking at something the Creator put there for us so that we could sustain our lives, which is very much a part of our faith and belief system, as well ... It deserves the kind of respect that should be accorded when one regards an area as a sanctuary. Mount Taylor is a sanctuary needing protection from desecration.

As Ken Day (2008) pointed out, "All our culture concerns Mount Taylor and other sacred mountains. The mountain was given to the Laguna people to provide for the good of everybody. It provides food and medicine to help us as a people." All of the living things on Tsibina sustain the Laguna people, and water from the mountain flows into streams and irrigation ditches. In seeking to protect Tsibina, Mr. Day noted that, "We are not trying to take recreation away from Grants. Mount Taylor was put there for everybody. It is open for everybody. Our Mother and Father had an agreement that Mount Taylor was a place where people came together to meet."

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Curtis Francisco (2008) observed that Tsibina "... is truly a significant place. It's not just for religious purposes; it's a multifunctional ecological entity." The mountain is used on a daily basis throughout the year for many purposes, including piñon picking, solstice practices, collection of medicinal plants, hunting, and religious pilgrimages. In the view of Mr. Francisco, Mount Taylor is a traditional cultural property because the area is traditionally and culturally used for religious activities and sustenance.

Tsibina continues to be an essential part of the cultural identity of the Laguna Pueblo. As one of the people I spoke with in 2008 explained, his grandmother told him: "It's not who you are but what you belong to. We belong to the mountain. We're part of it; it is part of us."

**D. NAVAJO NATION SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT**

**Prepared by  
Klara Kelley and Harris Francis, cultural resource consultants  
Prepared for  
Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (NNHPD)  
2008**

**PART 1: INTRODUCTION**

This document concerns the significance of Mount Taylor to the Navajo (hereafter Diné) people. It has been prepared to support permanently listing Mount Taylor on the New Mexico State Register of Historic Properties as a Traditional Cultural Property. This document is organized according to the outline provided by the Chestnutt Law Offices (undated; received by the preparers from Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department on May 25, 2008).

**A. Description of the traditional cultural property**

The traditional cultural property is Mount Taylor, a large isolated mountain mass north of Grants in northwestern New Mexico covering an area of several hundred square miles around the place where the counties of Sandoval, Cibola, and McKinley come together.

**B. Statement of the importance of the traditional cultural property: Diné**

Mount Taylor (Tsoo Dził in the Diné language) is a place of great traditional, cultural, and historical significance to the Diné (Navajo) people. Its significance is probably more widely known among Diné people than almost any other such place; probably few if any Diné are not aware of its significance. According to Diné oral tradition, it has existed since the present earth's surface came to be. It is a fundamental supporter of the natural terrestrial and celestial environment that supports human life. It is the home of many Holy People (deities) who control forces of nature and is a place where humans with proper ceremonial training can visit to enlist the help of these deities. It is a storehouse where humans with proper ceremonial training can collect plants, animals, minerals, and soil for traditional food, medicine, and ceremonial bundles. It is prominent in the traditional narratives of the origins and histories of more than half of the two dozen or so types of traditional Diné ceremonies. It is also the location of

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archaeological sites that are significant in Diné history and is associated with certain Diné who have been prominent in that history. Along with the other directional mountains, it symbolizes the sovereignty of Navajoland.

**C. Methods and procedures for assessing significance of the traditional cultural property: Diné**

The methods and procedures used by the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (NNHPD) staff and consultants to assess the significance of Mt Taylor to Diné are as follows. The literature on traditional Diné culture is vast and references to Mt Taylor are scattered throughout it. Owing to time limits, we have focused on compilations of information from this literature, namely:

- The NNHPD Navajo sacred places research records, which compile references to all sacred places named in virtually all published (and many unpublished) sources on Diné ceremonial origin narratives and major cultural resource management reports (cited hereafter as NNHPD sacred places files)
- Materials for the Navajo Land Claims before the Indian Claims Commission, including the *Proposed Findings of Fact in Behalf of the Navajo Tribe of Indians before the Indian Claims Commission* (cited hereafter as Navajo Tribe 1967a, b), related reports (Van Valkenburgh 1974; Correll 1976, 1979; Stokes and Smiley 1969 [dates updated by Robinson and Towner 1993]), and the Navajo Nation's archive of land claim research sources (Navajo Nation Library, Land Claim Collection), which compile a vast amount of information from primary historical documents, archaeological sites identified by Navajo elders to Navajo Land Claim (NLC) researchers, and Navajo family histories recorded by NLC interviewers.

We have supplemented these sources with information from selected sources as cited herein and from our own personal and professional experience.

**PART II: EVENTS AND PERSONS (INCLUDING SPIRITUAL BEINGS)  
IMPORTANT IN THE HISTORY OF THE TRIBE**

This section summarizes information given in more detail in Section III.C, which also cites sources of the information.

**A. Events in Diné traditional history associated with Mt Taylor**

Diné oral tradition includes a chronology of life on the present earth surface from its origins to the present. The oral tradition identifies locations of events in this chronology, many of which can be assigned chronometric ("historical") dates from archaeological dates of the cultural remains associated with the event and from colonial documents that refer to the event. This oral tradition and its links to archaeological and documentary material is discussed in more detail in Section III.C. Here we summarize the events in the traditional chronology that are associated with Mt. Taylor as a whole and specific locations upon and around the mountain.

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The Diné traditional history of the present earth's surface began when Holy People (immortal beings) and others emerged upon it from below, having escaped an underworld flood. Mount Taylor was among the first landmarks that they placed on the earth's surface after the Emergence. Mt Taylor is one of the "Four Sacred Mountains" (the mountains of the cardinal directions) which, together with two mountains of the center, define the extent of the area that became the traditional Diné homeland. It is also the only place mentioned in Diné traditional history that gives access to the sky world through an opening directly above the summit.

After spreading out upon the earth's surface, individual humans traveled around learning ceremonial knowledge from immortals and others. Mt Taylor is a place where such people gained knowledge for many types of traditional Diné ceremonies. Around the base are courses where such people gained knowledge by ceremonial races with immortals and others. Of the approximately 2 dozen types of Diné ceremonies known, at least half are associated in one way or another with Mt Taylor.

Monsters were also ravaging the people of the earth's surface until the Monster Slayer Brothers ("Twin War Gods") got weapons from their father the Sun and returned from his home to Mt Taylor, where they began the monster slaying.

After the monster slaying, the mother of the Monster Slayers, Changing Woman, went west to the Pacific Ocean and created new humans to repopulate the earth's surface. These were the progenitors of fundamental Diné clans (kinship groups), whose migration back to the land of the six mountains included incorporating other groups and settling around Mt Taylor. This process of the fundamental clans linking with others along their migration route resulted in the population from which the Diné today are directly descended. Later, two children were transported from somewhere in the general region around Mt Taylor to the home of Changing Woman in the west, where she taught them the Blessingway and had them return home to teach the ceremonies and the narratives of their origins to humans. The narratives, songs and prayers of Blessingway repeatedly invoke each of the directional mountains, including Mt Taylor. Since that time, Blessingway has been the central type of ceremony in the Diné ceremonial system.

The foregoing events occurred mainly before domesticated animals, fabricated metals, wheeled vehicles, and non-Indians appeared—pre-Columbian times. In later, post-Columbian times, forebears of various modern Diné families lived in settlements around the footslopes of Mt Taylor. These settlements included refuges and fortifications that Diné used during the warfare of the Spanish, Mexican, and US colonial times. Throughout this history, Diné forebears, both recent and remote, have visited Mt Taylor for natural resources to use in ceremonies, to make ceremonial offerings, to gain ceremonial knowledge, and for other ceremonial purposes.

**B. Spiritual Beings associated with Mt Taylor**

Immortal beings have "homes" on Mt Taylor – places where they visit and where humans can make offerings to communicate with them. Prominent in Diné traditional histories are the Monster Slayer Brothers. Certain monsters that they destroyed also left their remains in various places around Mt Taylor. Others with homes on the mountain are immortals associated with eaglets, wind, bluebirds, turkeys, snakes, thunder and lightning. Racers around the base of Mt Taylor include Rainboy and the Great Frog whom he outran, and the Meal Sprinklers who invited humans in surrounding communities (Diné and Pueblo) to the first Mountaintopway ceremony. The deities who taught humans the Nightway ceremonies (and whom Diné masked dancers in Nightway ceremonies embody) have a home on Mt Taylor. Finally,

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as one of the directional mountains, Mt Taylor is strongly associated with Blessingway and its originator, Changing Woman, perhaps the Holy Person most beloved by Diné.

**C. Other specific Persons Identified with Mt Taylor**

Progenitors of certain clans (Bit'ahnii [Under His Cover], Tódíich'íí'nii [Bitterwater], Tsin Sikaadnii [Clumped Tree], Haltsooí [Meadow]) settled around Mt Taylor during their migrations. An early Diné leader remembered for resisting Spanish colonial encroachment, Antonio El Pinto, had a home at the base of Mt Taylor near Big Bead Mesa. Another Diné leader of the early 1800s was Cebolla Sandoval of Cebolleta, whom some Diné elders have remembered as a leader who went to Mexico to secure Diné lands.

**PART III: REVIEW OF EXISTING ETHNOGRAPHIC AND OTHER  
STUDIES OF THE TRIBE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE  
TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTY**

**A. Historic and Ethnographic Work over Time**

Most of the research in which Mt Taylor figures prominently is the ethnographic research that documents Diné ceremonial practice and oral tradition about the origin and development of the ceremonies. This research began in the 1880s with Washington Matthews, a US Army surgeon at Ft Wingate west of Mt Taylor (Matthews 1992/1897). The research peaked in the 1930s with the works of Berard Haile, Gladys Reichard, and Mary Wheelwright, and most later research was done by the 1950s (specific works are cited in Section IIIC and IV below). The authors of these works have been non- Diné working within Euro-American scholarly traditions, yet Diné ceremonial and other oral traditions come through clearly in the narratives that are a major part of the records, especially the many narratives published in the Diné language as well as in English translation.

Another major body of work on Diné history and culture is that of the Navajo Land Claim before the Indian Claims Commission (Navajo Tribe 1967a, b; Van Valkenburgh 1974; Correll 1976, 1979; Land Claim Collection, Navajo Nation Library). Conducted during the 1950s and early 1960s, this body of work synthesizes information from primary documents of colonizers (Spanish, Mexican, and US), as well as archaeology, much of it done for the Land Claim, and Diné oral tradition of family and community histories. Additional early archaeological work (1930s-40s) includes that of Keur (1941) on the eastern footslopes of Mt Taylor. After the Land Claim work, most work with information about Diné connections with Mt Taylor comes from cultural resource management research required for compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act and other federal, tribal, and state laws and policies (see Section III. B below and citations in Sections III.C and IV).

**B. Previous Cultural Resources Assessment taking the TCP into account**

1. Federal Agencies Task Force (Chaired by Cecil D.Andrus, Secretary of Interior), *American Indian Religious Freedom Act Report, P.L 95-341*, August 1979 (US Department of Interior, Wasington DC). Appendix C, "Examples of Specific Problems in the Use of Federal Lands" (for traditional religious

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purposes), tabulates a public comment from Diné identifying Mount Taylor as the location of a “problem,” “Lack of access to sites – FS [Forest Service].” The report does not reproduce the comments.

2. New Mexico Advisory Committee to the US Commission on Civil Rights, *Energy Development in Northwestern New Mexico: A Civil Rights Perspective*, January 1982. One section of this report (pp 66-68) discusses the “The Mount Taylor Issue,” a uranium mine and mill proposed by Gulf Mineral Resources Co “near Mount Taylor.” The report states, “This mountain is considered sacred by Navajo, Laguna, Acoma, and Zuni tribes.” Furthermore,

“Thus, the Mount Taylor project represents to Navajos and other tribes an important issue, an issue that gets to the very heart of their religious beliefs and traditions.”

“Also involved is the issue of cultural sensitivity. For example, numerous instances have been cited whereby companies in the region have destroyed Indian religious sites or shrines by clearing them for rights-of-ways or mining projects.” (p 67)

Sources cited are comments at public meetings and interviews conducted by committee staff. The report concludes that “many Indians in northwestern New Mexico are concerned that energy development activity threatens the sanctity and survival of sacred religious sites and may interfere with Native American religious practices and beliefs” (p 185). The advisory committee recommends enforcement of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) as the appropriate remedy, and that the US Commission on Civil Rights “recommend to the Congress, the President, and appropriate Federal agencies, proposals for strengthening its provisions and improving its effectiveness” (p 186).

3. *American Indian Use of El Malpais*, by Barbara E. Holmes, Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, prepared for the Bureau of and Management, Sept 12, 1989. The report is a literature and archival review of Navajo, Zuni, Acoma, and Laguna uses of and concerns with El Malpais National Monument and Conservation Area. It also discusses sites outside El Malpais that are relevant to the significance of sites within El Malpais. The Grants Lava Flow, a major feature of the monument/conservation area, is important in the traditional histories of all four tribes. Regarding Mt Taylor (p 26), the report says, “Mount Taylor is probably the most significant sacred locality in the vicinity of El Malpais. For the Navajo, Zuni, Acoma, and Laguna, the whole peak is an obsidian and sacred plant collection area, and on the peak is a shrine which is visited by all four tribes.” For Navajos it is one of the four sacred mountains that “define the Navajo world,” is the home of holy people, and “is most closely associated with the events of Blessingway, the story of Changing Woman.”

4. Enchanted Skies Environmental Impact Statement. The Enchanted Skies Project was proposed for Horace Mesa, a southern projection of Mt Taylor. The project proposed that the US Bureau of Land Management (BLM), University of New Mexico (UNM), and the US Air Force would exchange land and build an astronomy park. Work on the EIS (or at least the cultural part of it) was started in 1997 by Tetra-Tech of Albuquerque. The project was cancelled in 2001.

5. L-Bar Ranch Land Exchange Environmental Assessment. Cibola National Forest, US Forest Service, Grants, NM, proposed a land exchange with the L-Bar Ranch on the eastern edge of Mt Taylor. Cibola National Forest staff, including archaeologist Cynthia Benedict, consulted Diné traditionalists and NNHPD staff in June of 1999.

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**C. Oral History (Diné traditional history): summary of interviews and statements about the TCP's place in Diné traditional history and place in present Diné world view**

Diné traditional history consists of oral tradition about the origins and histories of Diné ceremonies, clans (matrilineal kin groups), families, and communities. The histories of Diné ceremonies tend to be set in times before domesticated animals, fabricated metals, or non-Indians appeared in present Navajoland – precolumbian times. The histories of clans span the times before and after those things appeared -- precolumbian and early postcolumbian times. The histories of families and communities cover the last 200 years or so. Since the 1880s, Diné ceremonialists and other elders have given much oral tradition for published and unpublished transcriptions and English translations. Places of events in these histories tend to have traditional significance to Diné. Places not named in the histories but used for the traditional practices that these histories are about also have such significance.

Diné traditional history of human life in present Navajoland foregrounds the history of the Blessingway ceremony, which is the central type of ceremony in Navajo ceremonialism. This history begins with immortals (Holy People) emerging from worlds below, placing landscape features on the earth's surface, setting the celestial bodies in motion, and establishing the core of what would become the Diné Blessingway ceremonies (Wyman 1970). Six sacred mountains, the first mountains set down, serve as directional markers for the earth's surface and support the celestial realm. Mt Taylor is the sacred mountain of the south.

After organizing the earth's surface, the Holy People, humans, animals, and plants spread over it. Next came a time of turmoil, when monsters (alien gods) decimated the builders of precolumbian archaeological sites in present Navajoland, the Anasazis. The time of the monsters and turmoil ended with the appearance on earth of the beloved Holy Person Changing Woman, whose two sons were destined to kill off the monsters.

The time of the Anasazis and the monster slaying was also when individual Diné forebears, who lived among the Anasazis, traveled around present Navajoland among the Holy People and Anasazis to learn the songs, prayers, raw materials, paraphernalia, practices, and other knowledge that make up the various types of Diné ceremonies still conducted today. Of the two dozen or so types of Diné ceremonies known, at least half have some connection to Mt Taylor, including: Blessingway, Enemyway, Enemy Monster Way (including Boys' puberty ceremonies), Shootingway (Male), Mountaintopway, Beautyway, Nightway, Waterway, Hailway, Beadway, Eagleway, and Frenzyway.

Some of these ceremonial histories tell of travel through sequences of landscape features in the region around Mt Taylor. Their lines of travel from point to point pass across or near Mt Taylor (see Section IV for specific places). For example, in the Hailway history, much of which takes place in the world-famous pre-Columbian ceremonial compounds of Chaco Canyon, the course for a race between Great Frog and Rainboy encircles Mt Taylor, with turning points in the course marked by specific landmarks (see Section IV) (Reichard 1944:15-17, 23-29; Wheelwright 1946). These travel stories and other ceremonial origin stories also identify certain springs and landmarks on and around Mt Taylor where materials used in the original ceremonies were collected and where such materials are still collected for those types of ceremonies.

The Great Gambler ruled the Anasazi ceremonial center of Chaco Canyon in its heyday by challenging all comers to racing and other contests, which through his magical powers he always won.

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The enslaved losers built the enormous Chaco Canyon buildings. The young man who beat the Gambler and shot him back to Mexico was born somewhere at the base (north side?) of Mt Taylor (O'Bryan 1993/1956:143-144).

When the two sons of Changing Woman, the future Monster Slayers, were coming of age, they went on a quest to the home of their father, the Sun to get weapons to kill off the monsters (Wyman 1970). He put them through deadly trials (prototypes for human boys' puberty ceremonies [Salabye 2005]), then took them up to the sky, where they looked down through the skyhole above Mt Taylor at the earth's surface and named the sacred mountains they saw there. Then they descended through the skyhole down the southwest slope of Mt Taylor to the home of the paramount monster, Big God, near Bluewater. They killed him there and his blood made the lava flows on the south and west sides of Mt Taylor. Then they found and killed the rest of the monsters, one by one, at various places around Mt Taylor the San Juan Basin.

After the time of the monsters and their slaying, when the Anasazis (and most if not all other humans as well) were also annihilated, Changing Woman moved to a home near the Pacific Coast and created humans to help repopulate present Navajoland.

These people, the Water People, migrated eastward, joining others whom they encountered along the way. Many other groups of Diné ancestors also have their own specific routes of migration within present Navajoland. These different groups with their separate origins and histories became today's 60-plus Diné clans (Matthews 1992/1897; Wyman 1970). The clans are important kin groups that govern kinship and marriage relationships among all Diné. One belongs to the clan of one's mother but also is connected to the clans of one's father, mother's father, and father's father. Some of the clans – Bit'ahnii, Tódich'íí'nii, Tsin Sikaadnii, which include Water People -- settled around the base of Mt Taylor (O'Bryan 1993/1956:102-104; Matthews 1992/1897:154-155; Van Valkenburgh 1974:48). Haltsooi, a later clan, originated at a settlement on Mt Taylor's northwest side (Mitchell 1978:18; Matthews 1992/1897:147).

The Navajo Land Claim materials (Navajo Tribe 1967a:177-255, 1967b:112-113n666) and other sources use a combination of archaeology, family history, and colonial documents to show Diné presence around Mt Taylor from the 1500s on. From the mid 1700s into the 1800s, Spanish missions, land-grant settlers, and military came and went but in the long run displaced Diné and Laguna people from their homes around Mt Taylor. A Diné leader remembered in Diné oral tradition (Van Valkenburgh 1940) as a leader of resistance to Spanish and Ute-Comanche raiders was Antonio El Pinto (Bilijí' Łikizhii, Spotted Horse), the first documented Diné "rico" (leader wealthy in livestock) and a resident of the northeast footslopes of Mt Taylor (Correll 1976:64-65). A more problematic Diné leader a couple of generations later was Cebolla Sandoval, another "rico," who collaborated with Spanish, Mexican, and US colonial authorities to secure residence for himself and his followers around Mt Taylor (McNitt 1972; Correll 1976). But some Diné elders have remembered him as a leader who went to Mexico to secure Diné lands, and brought back a sword and bade, suit and cap, as tokens of leadership (Navajo Nation Library, Land Claim Collection, Navajo Statements).

Many Diné accounts have been recorded about uncounted decades of mutual raiding and warfare with Utes, Comanches, and "Mexicans." Recently recorded accounts of Diné living in view of Mt Taylor (Roessel and Johnson 1973:144-147, 194-186) emphasize the split between Diné wealthy in livestock, who wanted to protect their herds by keeping the peace with the Spanish, and impoverished "ones like slaves," poor relations who herded for them and who tried to rise out of their servitude by raiding the Spanish and Mexican colonists for livestock.

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The stories culminate in the campaign of the US Army (document-dated to 1863-64) against the Diné to punish them decisively for raiding. Groups of Diné from all over Navajoland fled to outlying and inaccessible lands far south and west. Starving and in fear of Ute raiders, many families straggled into the Army headquarters at Ft. Defiance and gave themselves up, hoping for a temporary respite. Cebolla Sandoval's followers were among the first to go to Fort Sumner (Simpson 1960/1849:lxviii).

In 1868, the US government negotiated a treaty with the captive Diné headmen, which set aside a reservation in the middle of the former Diné range. At the Treaty Council, headman Barboncito said that the people would resettle their lands from Mt Taylor to the San Juan River (quoted in NLC Findings). The Army then released the people to return to this reservation, but as Barboncito had said, most Diné ultimately returned to their former homes whether inside or outside the reservation, joining relatives who had stayed behind (Correll 1979; Navajo Tribe 1967a:171).

Mount Taylor is outside the Treaty reservation and all later extensions of the Navajo Reservation. The Diné families who resettled around its footslopes were forced out by the early 1900s owing to Hispanic settlements and the inclusion of Mt Taylor within the Cibola National Forest in 1906 (Navajo Tribe 1967a:251; Land Claim Collection, Navajo Nation Library, Navajo Statements; Robinson 1994).

Though Diné lost access to Mt Taylor for subsistence, it has remained a supremely significant place in traditional Diné culture. Perhaps the first reference in the literature to its significance is by Matthews (1992/1897:221), based on 1880s work among Diné around Ft Wingate. Matthews recorded that Mt Taylor was one of the sacred directional mountains put down first when the Holy People organized the present earth's surface. The single best ethnographic source about the significance of Mt Taylor and the other directional mountains is the work of Wyman (1970) on the Blessingway type of ceremonies. Blessingway ceremonies are the most central of all Diné ceremonies. The sacred directional mountains are repeatedly invoked in Blessingway songs and prayers as well as in the traditional history of Blessingway's origin and development, which occurred alongside that of the present earth's surface. In Diné oral tradition, now as in the past, the four sacred mountains are, not territorial boundaries, but rather the pillars of the natural world that enfolds and supports the traditional Diné way of life. Diné can occupy areas beyond them and recognize their sacredness to other indigenous groups as well (Wyman 1970:20).

The centrality of Blessingway in Diné tradition and the centrality of the four sacred mountains in Blessingway makes Mount Taylor of paramount importance in Diné traditional life. Adding to the mountain's significance are the specific places on and around it that are associated with other types of ceremonies.

**PART IV: SPECIFIC ITEMS OF IMPORTANCE**

**A. Discussion of Shrines, Boundary Markers, and Trails: Diné sacred places on Mount Taylor**

The following is an inventory of places encompassed by Mt Taylor that have traditional significance to Diné according to previously recorded sources. Consultations with Diné elders are recommended to identify the many additional places preserved only in Diné oral tradition. The number of each place is that plotted on the accompanying map. Places above 7300 ft are indicated by an asterisk (\*) and places above 8000 ft are indicated by a double asterisk (\*\*). Reference numbers in parentheses after

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each place name are eyed to the accompanying topographic maps (USGS 1:100,000 scale Grants, NM, and Chaco Mesa, NM quadrangles).

**\*\* 1. Summit Peaks of Mt Taylor, Gháá' Deelzhahí (4a)**

The summit peaks of Mt Taylor are a prayer offering place. The Two Brothers Naayéé' Neizghání (Monster Slayer) and Tóbáishchíní (Born For Water) passed over here on their way from Huerfano Mesa, the home of their mother, Changing Woman, to the home of their father the Sun (Kelley and Francis 2000, Pt 1 pp 31, 167, 177-180, 200, 219).

**\* 2. Shash Déézhch'a (Bear Agape), Bear Mouth (651)**

This volcanic outcrop forms the northeast tip of Mesa Chivato. This place is on a ceremonial travel route in the origin story of the Waterway group of ceremonies (Wheelwright 1946:99-100) and is associated with the killing of monsters (Haile 1938:109-139). After the monster slaying, during the re peopling of the earth, the in-migrating Water People stopped here and linked with other groups (future clans) already in the area (Wyman 1970:327-333). It is associated with guardianship and protection procedures in various ceremonies. See separate entry below for another place of the same name on the south side of Mt Taylor.

**\*\* 3. Hadootiin (Rising Route), northeast end of Mesa Chivato (1033)**

Hadootiin is a trail up the northeast end of Mesa Chivato near Shash Déézhch'ah (651). It is on route of the Monster Slayer brothers from Huerfano Mesa, the home of their mother, Changing Woman, to the home of their father the Sun (Kelley and Francis 2000, Pt 1 p 219).

**\*\* 4. Biniitah Náháltsoi (Meadow Curved in Middle), Mesa Chivato (1025)**

Mesa Chivato is a place on route of the Monster Slayer brothers to visit their father the Sun (Kelley and Francis 2000, Point 1, pp 219, 233).

**\*\* 5. Be'ek'id Hótsaa (Broad Lake), Laguna Grande on Mesa Chivato (813)**

This lake on Mesa Chivato may also be called Be'ek'id Hóteel and Tó Dah Siyj. It is a place where the Holy People taught the first human initiate of what became the Hailway group of ceremonies (Reichard 1944:151n; Wheelwright 1946). It may also be associated with the Enemyway ceremonial group, since oral tradition identifies it as a perennial water source on the route of the monster Travelling Rock [Matthews 1992/1897, paragraphs 323-368]. It is associated with the history of the Bit'ahnii clan (O'Bryan 1993/1956:102-104).

**6. Yoo' Tsoh (Big Bead), Big Bead Mesa (481)**

Big Bead Mesa, on the eastern footslopes of Mt Taylor, is the location of the climactic Fire Dance in the origin story of the Beadway group of ceremonies, where the ceremonial originator, Bead Chanter, got the Spider People's valuables (Wheelwright 1945:16). Later, Water People repopulating the earth after the monster slaying came to Big Bead and split up, including Bitterwater clan, who left members behind and they became Tree Clump clan (Matthews 1992/1897:154-155; Van Valkenburgh 1974:48).

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Big Bead Mesa is the site of an archaeological cluster that includes a pueblito, defensive breastworks, and 50 hogans (traditional Diné dwellings) and related sites, which produced near-cutting tree-ring dates between 1730s and 1856 (Keur 1941; Robinson and Towner 1993:25; Stokes and Smiley 1969:5, Sites E-RP-MP-GG, HH; Van Valkenburgh 1999 [1941]:50). The site contributes to the defensive and protective associations of Mt Taylor, and especially at Bear Mouth (651, see above).

**\*\* 7. Tséyi' Hayázhi (Little Rock Canyon), Tapia Canyon (499)**

Tapia Canyon heads above 8000 ft on the northeastern part of Mt Taylor at Black Mesa (see next entry). It is the site of early Diné hogans probably contemporaneous with the 1700s sites on Big Bead Mesa (Van Valkenburgh (1999 [1941]:50). An elder traditionalist of Canyoncito (LS, personal communication May 28, 1997, and March 2, 1999; Cynthia Benedict, Cibola National Forest, 6/22/99) calls Tapia Canyon "Garden of the Gods" and emphasizes Tapia Canyon (499b) as the place of prototype Nightway and other ceremonies and a place of sacred petroglyphs -- outlined rectilinear cornstalk-like images also illustrated in Dennis Slifer's Signs of Life (1998:146-147), which identifies the images as Basketmaker III. Tapia Canyon is south of Big Bead Mesa.

**\* 8. Black Mesa (KF9900/6-22-99LS)**

Black Mesa is on the eastern footslopes of Mt Taylor. It curves around the head of the Tapia Canyon system, which drains northeastward to the Rio Puerco of the East. From here one can see most of the Tapia Canyon watershed, including Big Bead Mesa, both places significant to Diné (see preceding entries). It has traditional significance to Canyoncito Diné, that may include gathering plant medicines and making offerings related to the Tapia Canyon watershed (Thomas Morris, president of Diné Medicine Men's Association, personal communication to Harris Francis and Klara Kelley, 6/22/99).

**\* 9. Łid Haagai, Rising White Smoke (kf9900/6-22-99)**

Rising White Smoke is a Diné signaling point marked by a large pile of lava cobbles and dating to times before the US Army conquest of the Diné and their captivity at Fort Sumner NM. The lava rocks were buried in something like an earth oven to heat them and produce smoke signals. This place is within view of another signaling point, the north end of Mesa Prieta to the east. Another signaling point is also in the surrounding region but is not visible from here. This place also has associations with the Mountaintopway group of ceremonies. Offerings of corn pollen and lava cobbles have been placed on the rock pile with accompanying Blessingway Mountain songs. Diné ceremonialists make other types of offerings here on behalf of veterans suffering from post-traumatic stress syndrome (information provided by a veteran from Smith Lake during a visit to the place with Cibola National Forest staff members, witnessed by Harris Francis and Klara Kelley, 6/22/99). The visit to the place was necessary for the veteran to recall the story and pass it on to others. This process illustrates why Diné must have continuous access to this and the other sacred places around Mt Taylor.

**10. Chézhin Ndoodloh (Green Yucca-fruit Lavarock), Chezhin Doot'o (Roped Lavarock?) (831)**

The exact name and location of this volcanic plug is not clear from previously recorded sources. Navajo Nation (n.d. [1963], App. A-1) locates Chezhin Doot'o 9 miles east of Evan's Ranch evidently in the vicinity of Navajo Land Claim archaeological site E-RP-MP-Y, a niidzii' in the northwestern part of T13N, R3W; an elderly Canyoncito traditionalist confirmed (LS, personal communication to Harris Francis

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and Klara Kelley, 5/28/97) that a place called Chezhin Ndoodloh is near Mt Taylor. The place figures in the origin story of the Hailway ceremonies and is encountered as a turning point on the racetrack of the Great Frog and Rainboy, the Personage who first put all the elements of the ceremony together. The turning points in this story are places where the Great Frog let out black smoky clouds (Reichard 1944:23-29; Wheelwright 1946). These clouds may be a prototype for traditional smoke signaling, since one probable turning point (the north end of Mesa Prieta east of Mt Taylor) was identified as a signaling point on 6/22/99 visit to Mt Taylor (see preceding entry). In the Hailway story, Chezhin Ndoodloh is encountered somewhere between the north and south ends of Mesa Prieta.

**11. Tó Ádahiltííł, Water Bursting From Above (near Bibo) (933)**

This place is named in the origin story of the Hailway group of ceremonies. It is another turning point on race course of the Great Frog and Rainboy, places where the Great Frog sent up a black cloud (Reichard 1944:23-29; Wheelwright 1946), suggesting smoke signaling (see preceding entry for Chezhin Ndoodloh). Navajo Nation (n.d. [1963] App. A) locates Tó Ádahiltííł near Bibo, where Cerro de la Celosa fits the alignments in the Hailway racing story; this volcanic plug also served as a signaling point for Spanish settlers whom Diné besieged at Cebolleta (Robinson 1994:149).

**\* 12. Gad Sikaad Tsétah, Gad Sikaad Tsét'ah (Juniper Grove among the Rocks, Juniper Grove Rock Pocket), Cubero Canyon (858)**

This place is a zone on the southeast footslopes of Mt Taylor. It includes Cubero (Water) Canyon (858a), Flower (Cubero) Peak (858b), and Picacho Peak (858c).

Cubero (Water) Canyon (858a) is east end of racetrack for Ak'aan Neinilí, the pair of Meal Sprinklers, young men who race along strings of settlements to invite people for a prototype Mountaintopway ceremony in the origin story of that group of ceremonies (Matthews 1970/1887, paragraphs 61-77). A rock shaped like a hogan near the wagon road and Cubero (probably Picacho Peak) was home of one of the meal sprinklers, T'áá Dzistíní (Just Lies Down); another similar one nearby (probably Flower Peak) was home of the Ashkíí Ndzisgai (White Streaked Boy). The west end of racetrack was near San Rafael. This alignment is also part of the racecourse around Mt Taylor for Great Frog and Rainboy in the Hailway origin story (Reichard 1944:23-29; Wheelwright 1946). In the origin story of the Beautyway ceremonial group, Water Canyon and Picacho Peak may be on the route of the young woman who first learned all the components of the ceremonies as she fled from Snake Man after war of Anasazi villages; passing between the peaks of Mount Taylor, she ran down a canyon that always has water past a black rock and over a shoulder of the mountain to Laguna (Wyman 1957:136-137).

Navajo Land Claim archaeological sites E-RP-SM-O and P, on the eastern footslopes of Mt Taylor north of Cubero, have pre-1800 (Diné'tah Utility) ceramics (Navajo Tribe 1967a:112-113n666).

**\*\* 13. Shash Déézhch'a, Gaping Bear (1044)**

This place is a ridge on south slopes of Mt Taylor north of San Fidel. It is one of four directional guardian ridges for the mountain. The others are Haystack Mountain on the west and Cerro Alesna (452, see entry below) on the north; presumably the other Bear Mouth on the northeast side of Mount Taylor (651, see entry above), though not named by the person who provided this information, is the one on the east. Sacred stones are offered at the mouth and plant medicines are gathered there for Monsterway purging medicine (Kelley and Francis 2000, Pt 1 pp 177, 180-181). This place is mentioned in the origin

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stories of Waterway, Enemyway, and Beautyway ceremonies (Wheelwright 1946:99-100; Wyman 1970:550-574; Haile 1938:109-139; Wyman 1957:131-137). A permanent spring resulted from one of these encounters. It is associated with guardianship and protection procedures in various ceremonies.

San Jose Canyon on east side of this place is also a zone of Diné archaeological sites recorded for the Navajo Land Claim before the Indian Claims Commission, including a pre-1800 site (E-RP-SM-B; Navajo Tribe 1967b:112-113 n 666); as well as ancestral Canyoncito sites in area (Tony Secatero, personal communication to Harris Francis and Klara Kelley at Canyoncito Chapter Planning Board meeting, 5/6/97).

**\*\* 14. Tó Dah Siká (Water Cupped Up High), Cienega Spring (925)**

This sacred spring on the northwest side of Mt Taylor near the top is a central place in the origin story of the Hailway ceremonies (Reichard 1944; Wheelwright 1946), which identifies it as the home of Dark Thunder and site of prototypes of certain procedures in those ceremonies. It is also a place for offering Blessingway prayers and sacred stones and for collecting water for rain prayers (Kelley and Francis 2000, Pt 1 p 177). It was visited by the Monster Slayer brothers when they descended from the sky after visiting their father the Sun (Kelley and Francis 2001, Anonymous East, 7/9/01).

**\*\* 15. Azíhí, Azhííh (Fire Drill, Juniper Bark tinder), East Grants Ridge (811)**

After the Monster Slayer brothers went to their father the Sun, passed the tests, and looked through the hole in the sky as their father quizzed them about places below, they dropped back to earth through the hole above Mt. Taylor, then bounced down to East Grants Ridge (811), then tumbled downward to West Grants Ridge and on to San Raphael Spring for their encounter with Big God, the paramount monster (Kelley and Francis 2000, Point 1, pp. 177-178). They prepared here for the monster slaying, according to oral traditions that include the origin story of the Male Shootingway Evilchasing ceremonies (Haile 1950:160-288; Matthews 1992/1897, paragraphs 323-368). In the Hailway ceremonial origin story it is associated with ceremonial fire making (nloe:hk:wani), and is another turning point in racecourse of the Great Frog and Rainboy where the Great Frog sent up a black cloud, which may be a prototype for traditional smoke signaling (Reichard 1944:5, 23-29; Wheelwright 1946).

**16. Ak'í Dahalgai (White Spots on Top), West Grants Ridge (804)**

The name of this place refers to the exposed patches of white earth (volcanic ash?). After the Monster Slayer brothers went to their father the Sun, dropped back to earth through the hole above Mt. Taylor, and bounced down to East Grants Ridge (811, see above), they tumbled downward to West Grants Ridge and on for their encounter with Big God (Kelley and Francis 2000, Point 1, pp. 177-178). This place is also associated with stopping the blood flow of Big God after the killing (see next entry for Yé'ii Tsoh Bidí, Grants and McCarty's lava flows).

This place is also on the route of the monster Travelling Rock, which tended to leave springs and deposits of useful minerals where it struck the earth or burst out of the earth (Matthews 1992/1897 paragraphs 323-368). The place also figures in the origin story of the Hailway ceremonies as a turning point on the racetrack of the Great Frog and Rainboy, places where the Great Frog sent up a black cloud, which may be a prototype for traditional smoke signaling (Reichard 1944:23-29; Wheelwright 1946).

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**17. Yé'ii Tsoh Bidil (Big God's Blood), Yé'ii Tsoh Bidil Niniyëëzh (Big God's Bloodflow Stopped), San Mateo Lava Flow and El Malpais (479)**

This large zone consists of the Grants Lava Flow (479a) on the northwest, the McCarty's Lava Flow (479b) on the southeast, the gap between the two lava flows at the base of West Grants Ridge (479c/824/804), and the eastern end of the McCarty's lava flow at the base of Horace Mesa where the San Jose River cuts through the lava flow from the south side to the north (479d). The zone encompasses the blood flow of Big God that they Monster Slayer brothers stopped after Big God was killed (Oakes, King, and Campbell 1969/1943:47-52; Wyman 1970:550-574; Fishler 1953:53-70; Klah 1942:85-99; Matthews 1992/1897, paragraphs 323-368; O'Bryan 1993/1956:83-100). After killing Big God, the Monster Slayer brothers stuck knives in the ground in the four cardinal directions to contain the flow, and from this zone the San Jose River originated when Deelyeed, the monster in the predecessor of Bluewater Lake, used the body of Big God to make a valley to the east, where the water flowed out with the body of Big God; (Oakes, King, and Campbell 1969/1943:47-52). The older brother, Monster Slayer, drew a defensive line against the blood of Ye'ii Tsoh to keep it from reaching Open Mouth Bear (Haile 1938:109-138; see also Van Valkenburgh 1974:58; Watson 1964:11; Oakes, King, and Campbell 1969/1943:47-52; Matthews 1992/1897, paragraphs 323-368; Klah 1942:85-99; O'Bryan 1993/1956:83-100; Kelley and Francis 2000, Pt 1 pp 178-183 and 222.). The place where the San Jose River cuts through the lava flow from the south side to the north at the base of Horace Mesa was a defensive line drawn by one of the brothers (Van Valkenburgh 1999 [1941]:2). The corpses of the monsters killed later are buried under the blood of Big God (Matthews 1992/1897:369-374).

**\*\* 18. Yaachiíh (Red Ochre Underneath), Cerro Colorado on La Jara Mesa (7-31-95TR)**

This summit on La Jara Mesa, a northwestern projection of Mt Taylor, is a place for gathering medicinal plants (Kelley and Francis 2000, Pt 1, pp 178-179).

**\* 19. Tsé Deesgai (White Rock Promontory), San Mateo Mesa? (959)**

The exact location of this place is not clear from previously recorded sources. It is named in the origin story of the Hailway ceremonies as a landmark on last lap of race between the Great Frog and Rainboy, located somewhere between Haystack Mountain and Chaco Canyon (Wheelwright 1946). San Mateo Mesa is the best guess.

**\* 20. Tsé Wót'ááh lí'á (Sky-Reaching Pinnacle), Cerro Alesna (452)**

Cerro Alesna is one of the four directional guardian peaks of Mt Taylor (Kelley and Francis 2000, Pt 1 p 177; see also entries for Bear Mouth above). In the origin story of the Frenzyway group of ceremonies, it is a landmark on the route travel of Obsidian Woman and her grandson from Jemez to Hopi (Kluckhohn 1967/1944:158-160). According to a version of the origin of the Male Shootingway, it is the home of Snake Place and the place where the first human to learn all the components of the ceremonies learned certain sandpaintings (Reichard 1975/1939:51-55; Wheelwright 1958:21-22). It is a place of events in the history of the Male Shootingway Evilchasing ceremonial, and seems to be a place of eaglets mentioned in Eagleway ceremonial origin story (Hill and Hill 1943:31-33).

**21. Yé'ii Ashbi', Yé'ii Hasbin? (Where Holy People Played Ashbi'? Holy People Built a House?) (422)**

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The exact name and location of this village at the base of Mt Taylor are unclear from recorded sources. In the Frenzyway ceremony origin story, it is the home of Scrap-Picker Lady, whose son ultimately defeated the Great Gambler and freed the Gambler's slaves (O'Bryan 1993/1956:143-144). In the origin stories of the Nightway group of ceremonies, the young man who first learned all the components of the ceremony was abducted from this village (said to be in ruins in the 1930s when the story was recorded) and taken to the sky by Holy People so that they can teach him, then return him to this place (Matthews 1978/1902, paragraphs 673-675; Faris 1990:181-184; Sapir 1942:181-191); blind and crippled twin originators of other parts of the ceremonial group pass through a village with a similar name somewhere on the northwest side of Mt Taylor (Matthews 1978/1902, paragraphs 792-835).

San Mateo Spring, San Miguel Canyon, and San Lucas Canyon are possible locations for this name. These places form a zone of Diné archaeological sites recorded for the Navajo Land Claim before the Indian Claims Commission, including pre-1800 sites. Navajo Land Claim site E-RP-SM-T (north footslopes of Mt Taylor, San Miguel Canyon) is a fortification with pre 1800s and later pottery, as well as a lot of projectile points that suggest a battle. The site is shown on an 1895 survey plat for the Bartolome Fernandez Grant as "Old Navajo Fort" (Navajo Nation Library, Land Claim Collection, Archaeological site records, field books, folder "New Sites: Master Copies."). Biella and Scheick (1996:26) cite historians who mention early 1800s Spanish documents that report Diné in the area.

**B. Archaeological sites: Diné**

Big Bead Mesa pueblito complex and related sites (eastern footslopes of Mt Taylor) produced near-cutting tree-ring dates between 1730s and 1856 (Keur 1941; Robinson and Towner 1993:25; Stokes and Smiley 1969:5, Sites E-RP-MP-GG, HH).

Navajo Land Claim sites E-RP-SM-O and P (eastern footslopes of Mt Taylor north of Cubero) have pre 1800 Diné tah Utility ceramics (Navajo Tribe 1967a:112-113n666).

Navajo Land Claim site E-RP-SM-B (San Jose Canyon) has pre 1800 Diné tah Utility ceramics (Navajo Tribe 1967a:112-113n666).

Navajo Land Claim site E-RP-SM-Q near San Mateo (northwest footslopes of Mt Taylor) had a windbreak tree-ring dated to 1927 (Robinson and Towner 1993:25; Stokes and Smiley 1969:5). Biella and Scheick (1996:26) cite historians who mention 1700s-early 1800s Spanish documents that report Diné in the San Mateo Valley, at San Mateo Spring, and in San Lucas Canyon ca 1800.

Navajo Land Claim site E-RP-SM-T (north footslopes of Mt Taylor, San Miguel Canyon) is a fortification with pre 1800s and later pottery, as well as a lot of projectile points that suggest a battle. The site is shown on an 1895 survey plat for the Bartolome Fernandez Grant as "Old Navajo Fort" (Navajo Nation Library, Land Claim Collection, Archaeological site records, field books, folder "New Sites: Master Copies."). Biella and Scheick (1996:26) mention Spanish documentary references to Navajos at San Miguel Spring and hunting around the mountain in the mid-1700s.

**C. Reference to the Traditional Cultural Property in Diné ritual observances**

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As one of the directional sacred mountains, Mt Taylor is repeatedly invoked in Blessingway songs and prayers as well as in the traditional history of Blessingway's origin and development, which occurred alongside that of the present earth's surface. Blessingway ceremonies are the most central of all Diné ceremonies and even other types of ceremonies require Blessingway songs at the end. Every Diné extended family is supposed to have a Blessingway ceremonial bundle, the Mountain Soil Bundle, which must contain soil from the directional sacred mountains and is used during Blessingway ceremonies sponsored by families to maintain and restore harmonious and productive life. (Wyman 1970).

Blessingway ceremonies are by far the most widely performed today, and most Diné extended families are likely to sponsor some kind of Blessingway ceremony at least every few years. Today even formal gatherings that are not traditional or religious are likely to start with an invocation that includes the four sacred mountains. Most of the other types of Diné ceremonies with which Mount Taylor is associated are also still performed.

As a result of Mt Taylor's significance in Blessingway and other types of ceremonies, Diné must visit the mountain and certain specific places on and around it to collect materials for ceremonial use and to leave other items as offerings for certain Holy People who visit those places. These acts of collecting and offering are themselves "rituals" that must be performed on and around the mountain.

**D. Subsistence activities**

Before the 1700s, Diné subsistence emphasized hunting, gathering, and farming; Spanish colonial documents from earliest times, as well as later Mexican and US colonial documents, note evidence of these activities in the vicinity of Mt Taylor (Navajo Tribe 1967a:177-255; Correll 1979). By the 1700s and continuing into the early 1900s around Mt Taylor, Diné subsistence and settlement patterns also involved extended families moving over large areas with flocks of sheep and goats. People continued to farm around the northern and eastern footslopes of Mt Taylor. Family histories collected for the Navajo Land Claim (Navajo Nation Library, Land Claim Collection, Navajo Statements) indicate that hunting and gathering also continued to be important for many families, including hunting and gathering for ceremonial purposes. People hunted antelope and deer around Mt Taylor and also gathered pinyon nuts on the slopes. These recollections indicate that families had a regular set of customary places among which they moved during normal years, but in years of unusual scarcity or plenty, they might move in temporarily with any of a wide network of relatives elsewhere. As late as the early 1900s, for example, a Diné family based around Crownpoint northwest of Mt Taylor ranged among relatives southeast and southwest from Mt. Taylor, to Ft Wingate and the southern Chuska Valley (Fanale 1982).

By the 1900s, when Diné no longer lived, herded, or farmed around Mt Taylor, they still tried to continue gathering plant medicines (see, for example, Van Valkenburgh 1974:57). This use continues today, as does harvesting pinon nuts.

**E. Contemporary commentaries illustrating the Traditional Cultural Property's continuing importance to Diné**

References to the sacred directional mountains, including Mt Taylor, in current Diné discourse are pervasive. The following are just a few examples.

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Curriculum materials recently produced for Diné students teach about the directional sacred mountains (for example, Benally and others 1982; Rock Point School 1994/1982) and use them to organize other information, based on the idea, rooted in Blessingway, that the four sacred mountains confer order on things that are associated with them (Diné College 1991).

In the last 10-15 years, several NNHPD staff and consultants have discussed and visited Mt Taylor with Diné ceremonialists and other knowledgeable elders who wanted to identify specific sacred locations on the mountain so that NNHPD could more effectively serve its mission of acting to protect and preserve those places. These people also gave the associated oral tradition, in accord with the goal of keeping the oral tradition alive when visiting sacred places (some of these consultations are cited above, including but not limited to those reported in Kelley and Francis 2000, 2001). The oral tradition included songs, prayers, and offerings done at certain locations visited .

The importance to Diné of visiting Mt Taylor shows in Diné concerns recently expressed about restrictions on access to the Mountain and about physical disturbance to places on and around the Mountain. Diné comments cited above (Section III.B) that lack of access leads to cultural loss show the importance of visits. As one commenter (New Mexico Advisory Committee to the US Commission on Civil Rights 1982:67-68) said, if one cannot visit the sacred places, one is more likely to forget the associated traditions, and such losses weaken the traditional cultural fabric. The same commentator also said that lack of access hinders Diné from preventing disturbance to these places. Disturbance can weaken the power of these places. Recent discourse widely reported in news media about another of the directional sacred mountains, the San Francisco Peaks as affected by use of treated wastewater to make snow for skiers there, brings out the idea of Diné and other tribes (including those to whom Mt Taylor is sacred) that polluting a sacred mountain with harmful substances can compromise their beneficial, healing power by polluting substances gathered there for ceremonial use and by driving away or alienating the Holy People (many of whom embody great forces of nature such as rain) whose help the ceremonies seek.

## **PART V: CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, Mount Taylor has many aspects of significance to the Diné that make it a Traditional Cultural Property of major significance and most worthy of permanent listing on the New Mexico State Register of Historic Places. It is a place of major importance in Diné culture, ceremonialism, and history. This section states its significance in terms of key provisions of the guidelines that define a Traditional Cultural Property as eligible for the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

### **A. National Register Criteria**

#### **1. Criterion A**

Association with events that have made significant contributions to the broad patterns of our history. Mount Taylor is one of the Four Sacred Mountains that were placed on the current earth's surface at the time of its creation (a significant event in history if there ever was one). It is a place of events in the origin history of the Blessingway ceremony, the primary Diné ceremony, as well as of events in at least half of the other types of ceremonies. Mount Taylor also figures in the histories of certain Diné clans. The Mountain also has archaeological sites significant in more recent Diné history, as places of settlement in the 1700s-early 1800s.

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**2. Criterion B**

Association with the lives of persons significant in our past. Mount Taylor is the home of deities whose help Diné have sought through centuries, and still seek, through the ceremonies, which require visiting various places on the mountain to contact these deities. The mountain was also the home of leaders significant in more recent Diné history of the 1700s-early 1800s, whose communities occupied the archaeological sites mentioned in connection with Criterion A,

**3. Criterion D**

The property has yielded or may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history. Anthropological and archaeological studies of places within the landscape of Mount Taylor have recorded, and continue to record, information important in both post-Columbian and pre-Columbian history of the Diné and their ancestors. However, continued recording in both written and oral forms requires that Diné traditionalists and scholars, and also non-indigenous scholars working with Diné, continue to have access to the existing landscape.

**B. Federal Regulatory Criteria**

**Integrity** – the ability of a property to convey its significance through integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Though Mount Taylor has already been burdened with irreversible disturbance from mining and similar activities, it is a big place and most of it remains undisturbed, thus retaining integrity of location and setting. Testimony to Mount Taylor's integrity of feeling and association for Diné is its continued use as a storehouse where Dine collect plant medicines and other natural resources for ceremonies, including soil for the all-important Mountain Soil Bundle of Blessingway, a type of ceremonial bundle maintained by most Diné extended families. It is still a place of long-established traditional subsistence activities involving gathering and hunting. Its past and present importance to Diné has been amply recorded in oral traditions that go back many centuries, in anthropological studies from the 1880s until today, and in present-day Diné statements about culture and history that range from curriculum materials to public statements about proposed developments on and around the mountain. It would be difficult to overstate the significance of Mount Taylor to the Diné.

**E. THE ZUNI TRIBE'S SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT**

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**Prepared by  
The Zuni Tribal Council  
And  
Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office  
April 2009**

## **I. Introduction**

Mount Taylor is called *Dewankwin Kyaba:chu Yalanne* by the Zuni people, which means “in the east snow-capped mountain.” The Zuni people perceive Mount Taylor as a living being that plays a significant role in Zuni culture, religion, history, and identity. The Zuni people believe that Mount Taylor was created during the time when the earth was formed and since then it has provided life to all living beings. Mount Taylor and the Zuni people are both products of the womb of Mother Earth which creates a special relationship between the two. The mountain exists for this very special purpose and the Zuni people believe they have a unique relationship with and responsibility to the mountain for its continued prosperity and blessing. The mountain also serves as a landmark and acts as a directional indicator on the landscape.

The perception of Mount Taylor by the Zuni as a living being is, in part, because it is an active volcano, but also because it is a snow-capped mountain that nourishes all of the plants and wildlife during spring runoff. The minerals and subsurface substances of the mountain, the Zuni people believe, are the “meat” of the mountain and contained within the meat is the mountain’s heart. Water is conceptualized as the “blood” of the mountain. Any disturbance to the meat of Mount Taylor has the possibility to disturb the heart which could cause the mountain to become angry. If the mountain gets angry it might erupt. Thus, Mount Taylor is viewed as a living entity by the Zuni, similar to a living human being, and the relationship between the Zuni people and Mount Taylor is similar to one’s relationship to a family member.

Mount Taylor has sustained the Zuni lifeways since the beginning of time, or from the Zuni perspective since their emergence into this the fourth world. Since then, Mount Taylor has been fundamental to the continuation and sustenance of Zuni culture and lifeways. The Zuni people need Mount

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Taylor for the continuation of their culture which requires the ability to obtain medicinal herbs and plants, minerals, animals, and moisture for life. The importance of Mount Taylor to the Zuni people was eloquently stated in a signed affidavit from the *Upts'ana:kwe* Kiva group leaders which stated:

We believe that Mount Taylor (*Dewankwin K'yaba:chu Yalanne*) and its surrounding lands have many sacred springs, streams, and land formations that are sacred and important to our other Zuni religious organizations. Furthermore, this mountain and its surrounding land areas is home to the mountain lion, the bear, the deer, the elk, the turkey, the eagle and other animals, of the wild, that are sacred totems to our other tribal religious organizations. Although we do not have specific sacred shrines, springs or land at Mount Taylor (*Dewankwin K'yaba:chu Yalanne*) and its surrounding lands, we believe that the mountain is one of the sacred homes of the Rain Maker Spirits Beings (*Uwanami*) of the east direction. Therefore, many of our kachina songs and prayers include language beseeching those Rain Makers (*Uwanami*) from Mount Taylor (*Dewankwin K'yaba:chu Yalanne*) to form their cumulonimbus clouds, then rise up into the sky and come to the land of the Zuni people to bless their land with their new and abundant moisture. Furthermore, many of our kachina songs also include language that also beseech the deer, the bear, the eagle and mountain lion to inform the Rain Makers that the land of the Zuni people need rain and to assist them in bringing rain and snow to the land of the Zuni people" (*Upts'ana:kwe* Kiva Leaders, 25 March 2009).

## II. Zuni Aboriginal Lands and Mount Taylor

In order to fully understand the importance of Mount Taylor to the Zuni, Mount Taylor must be viewed within the context of the broader cultural landscape that the Zuni claim as their aboriginal lands. This landscape is central to understanding the cultural, spiritual, and historical connection that exists between the Zuni and Mount Taylor.

The Zuni people historically and today maintain an understanding and knowledge of, an affinity with, and empathy for the landscape about them. They believe in the conservation of the landscape from the point of view of caring for one's relative and not from a scientific perspective of conserving or managing a natural resource. The Zuni have a deep reverence for the landscape (Hart 1995).

In explaining the Zuni attitude toward the landscape, Hart (1995:8) states that the ". . . Zuni often use a metaphor to try getting across to non-Zunis how they feel about and are attached to the landscape. They'll say, 'The land is our church, our cathedral. It's like a sacred building.'" In this metaphor, a mesa may be an altar or a spring, a sacred alcove. Although the entire landscape is sacred, certain portions are especially sacred – a butte, a mesa, a mountain, a mud pond, a ruin, a sacred trail. The Zunis want, above all, to have outsiders (especially the Cultural Properties Review Committee) understand their depth of feeling for the landscape and their respect for the environment, the same kind of respect that they have for their family and friends. The Zunis' relationship with the environment permeates not only their religious use of land but also their utilitarian and political use. Every kind of activity that the Zuni have is associated with religious activity and use.

Edmund J. Ladd (1980), a Zuni and an anthropologist, expressed the Zuni perspective of their landscape as ". . . [they] view their landscape as a single complete whole. All parts are equally important. Metaphorically this includes 'the four oceans, the moss covered mountains, the lakes that surround the land. . . ' the total landscape is their religious universe. To put it another way: 'The world is their church.' The entire world is sacred, but certain portions, certain places (e.g., Mount Taylor) are especially sacred.

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This concept and the relationship of the people to their environment permeate the religious life and use of the land. It is important to maintain equilibrium with nature in all its parts.”

Thus, the Zunis believe they exist in a special relationship with the land. They are dependent on it and the landscape is dependent on them (Pandey 1980:2). As Pandey (1995:17) points out there are selective Zuni sacred places (Mount Taylor being one such place) that define territorial limits of the Zuni traditional land claim which are considered sacred symbols that serve as cultural identity or boundary markers for the Zuni people.

For example, each spot along a migration trail is considered significant, and many stories and legends tell about the religious values associated with these shrines. On the western portion of the Zuni cultural landscape are sacred places like the Painted Desert, Jacob’s Well, and *Tenatsina Im’a* (Woodruff Butte). To the south are located the Zuni Salt Lake, the Zuni Plateau, and Broken Pottery Mountain. In the east, shrines are located at Agua Fria, El Morro, and **Mount Taylor**. To the north, Chaco Canyon and the Blue Mountain have shrines. According to Hart (1995:9), these are just a fraction of the many places that outsiders (non-Zunis) know about, which are in turn only a fraction of the places that the Zunis treat with veneration and to which they make offerings.

Throughout the hundreds of years that the Zuni have maintained their relationship with the land, they have inherited and developed an encyclopedic knowledge of their landscape and the many different resources contained therein. No one Zuni person could possibly recite all that there is to know about agriculture, mineral collection, plant collection, grazing, and religious use of the landscape. But it is through the clan and medicine societies, the kiva groups and priesthoods, that people remember and transmit different pieces of knowledge about their landscape. In this way traditional knowledge about the landscape is compartmentalized throughout the tribe resulting in the long-term management of a vast amount of knowledge about the animals, plants, and waterways (Hart 1995).

Mount Taylor plays a significant and important role in the continuation of the cultural identity of the Zuni people and it is precisely because of this important role combined with the long historical relationship that the Zunis have maintained with this mountain that makes Mount Taylor eligible for listing on the New Mexico Register of Historic Places. Mount Taylor is historically significant because it contains special places that reveal aspects of the Zuni culture’s origin, development, and continuation through the form, features, and the ways these special places are utilized. That is, Mount Taylor is inextricably tied to the Zuni cultural landscape and the Zuni religion and culture. Mount Taylor itself is considered by the Zuni people to be a living entity, a shrine, and a demarcation of the eastern most extent of Zuni aboriginal lands. In addition, Mount Taylor contains places where prayer offerings are made, medicinal herbs and plants gathered, special wood for prayer sticks are collected, water collected from sacred springs, minerals collected and numerous other activities that are vital to the continuation of the Zuni culture. The identity of the individual Zuni, as well as the collective Zuni community’s identity, is in part determined and reinforced by their conceptualization of their place in relationship to Mount Taylor.

According to the Zuni, their relationship to Mount Taylor and the broader traditional landscape began at the time of emergence and has continued uninterrupted until the present. The Zuni people believe that after they came into the world from a spot, called Ribbon Falls, located deep within the Grand Canyon, they searched many years, across what are now Arizona, Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico, for the “Middle Place.” The place that they eventually found is near the present pueblo and is believed to be the center of all six directions: north, south, east, west, zenith, and nadir. Each of these directions is closely associated with a color (yellow north, blue west, red south, white east, the multicolored zenith, and

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the black nadir), plants, seasons, and animals as well as with Zuni religious organizations (Tedlock 1979:499). So the entire culture and being of the Zuni people are tied inextricably to the landscape about them. If one were to ask a Zuni how long this relationship to the landscape has been in existence, they would surely say, since time immemorial. One only need to hear an accounting of the emergence story to understand how these important places on the landscape received, in part, their significance from the journey associated with finding the "Middle Place." The following is an account of the Zuni emergence story as adopted from Ferguson (2008).

### III. Zuni Emergence and Journey to the "Middle Place"

The *A:Shiwi* trace their search for *Idiwan'a* from the origin (emergence) point *Chimi k'yana k'ya dey'a* (Ribbon Falls) within the Grand Canyon. These ancestral Zunis, collectively known as the *Enodekwe*, embarked from the origin point and left many markers of their passing. These markers consist of the trails, habitation sites, campsites, burials, sacred springs, and other offering places established during the migration epoch. During their ancestral journeys, specific events (esoteric in nature) occurred along the migration routes. As a result of these significant events, ancestral Zunis named mountains, buttes, springs, and other natural landmarks. These places are rooted in Zuni oral history.

The *A:Shiwi* began their journey throughout the Southwest in search of *Idiwan'a*, the middle place of all oceans of the world, the middle of the heavens of the universe. They traveled and settled in the deserts and canyon lands of the Southwest leaving behind the archaeological ruins and sacred shrines to which they claim affinity to this day. They settled in places for four days, four days meant four years or more. From the place of emergence, the *A:Shiwi* journeyed to the top of the San Francisco Peaks and there they received medicinal plants to assist them in their search for the middle place. They continued eastward and settled for a while at *kumanchi an A':akkwenne*. This is the place where the *A:Shiwi* separated into two groups. An ear of corn and two eggs were offered to the *A:Shiwi*. Those that picked the macaw egg were given half of an ear of corn and followed the macaw southward in search of the middle place to the land of everlasting sun. They were given corn and enlightened to send word to the *A:Shiwi* that picked the raven egg that they had indeed found the middle place, so that if one group found the middle place they would reunite.

These people that journeyed south were never heard from again. Zunis believe that they became the cultures that are defined by archaeologists as Hohokam, Mogollon, Mimbres, and Salado. They are referred to by the *A:Shiwi* as *Inodekwe eshimalde dekyalenankwe ahwakona*, or "the ancient ones that journeyed to the land of the everlasting sun." The Zunis do not divide the ancient ones into groups or cultures; they are of one people as they were when they emerged from the womb of Mother Earth and were covered with moss and had webbed feet.

The *A:Shiwi* that picked the raven egg continued eastward crossing the *K'yawa:na Ahonnanne* or Little Colorado River. From there they journeyed eastward to *Denatsina Im'a*, present day Woodruffe Butte in northeastern Arizona. There they picked more medicinal herbs and continued to *Kotuwala:wa* at the confluence of the Little Colorado River and the Zuni River. This is where the Kachina Gods were created and this is the place where the spirits of the *A:Shiwi* live at the end of life. From *Kotuwala:wa*, they moved eastward to *Hantlbinkya* where clans and the Twin War Gods were created. At this place, the Zuni people divided into three groups.

One group led by *Lewekwe* and *Make:lhanna:kwe*, the Sword Swallower and Big Fire Societies, journeyed to the north along the Rio Puerco River and north to Chaco Canyon and on to Rio Grande and

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headed back towards Zuni by *Dewankwi Kyabachu Yalanne*, **Mount Taylor**. The central body of *A:Shiwi* people move eastward to *Heshodayal'a* where war was waged against *Chakwana*, the keeper of wild animals. The battles against *Chakwana* were unsuccessful until *Yaddoka datchu*, Father Sun created the Twin War Gods to help the *A:Shiwi* overcome *Chakwana*. After the battle was won, the *A:shiwi* moved into the Zuni River Valley, eventually finding the Middle Place.

The third group of *A:Shiwi* were lead by the Galaxy Fraternity, *Newakwe*. They journeyed along the Little Colorado River to the round valley by *Shohk'onanne Im'a*, Escudilla Peak in Arizona, and southeasterly into New Mexico and then northward to *Heshodo Yaldo'a*, El Morro. This group eventually joined the *A:Shiwi* group lead by *Lewekwe* and *Makelanakwe* and settled along the headwaters of the Zuni River Valley and later at present day Zuni.

The main village of the Zunis is located in precisely the same location it has been for over three centuries, and within a few yards of a spot occupied by the same people for at least three centuries prior to that. The boundaries of the land the Zuni used had been well fixed since the time of Coronado's invasion in 1540. They were first known to the Spanish as the people of the "Seven Cities of Cibola." Later, the Zunis' land was referred to as the "Province of Cibola." After the Pueblo Revolt, the central village of the people came to be known as Zuni.

#### IV. Mount Taylor and Zuni Medicine Societies, Bow Priests, and Kiva Groups

The places mentioned in the Zuni migration accounts are considered sacred by contemporary Zuni; Mount Taylor is one such place. According to Ferguson and Hart (1985:21), the migration accounts "create a symbolic bond between the Zuni people and their environment and provide an 'historical' context for their tribal customs and organization." Because of the important role that Mount Taylor plays in Zuni oral history and migration narratives, the Zuni people consider the whole mountain as sacred. Mount Taylor is also important because it is a place for gathering and collecting medicinal herbs and plants and materials for ceremonial use.

Mount Taylor is specifically referenced in Zuni ceremonial songs. For example, Zuni Medicine societies have prayer chants that identify things that are important to the Zuni on Mount Taylor, including families of trees, shrubs, cactus plants, and water related plants. These chants also talk about the seeds that are part of these plants that are located on Mount Taylor. These chants are an integral part of an ongoing ceremony that is performed in late winter. One such chant belongs to the Coyote Medicine Society that specifically mentions Mount Taylor which is employed for releasing the deer in late winter.

As mentioned earlier, Zuni Medicine Societies, Rain Priests, Bow Priests, and Kiva groups all journey to Mt. Taylor to collect plants, animals, and minerals for religious ceremonies and to ask for blessings. From a Zuni perspective, all shrines are of religious significance and all plants, animals, and minerals are there for a religious purpose and to benefit the Zuni people, including all other people of the earth. The traditions of the *Le'wekwe* (Sword Swallower Society), *Newekwe* (Galaxy Society), and *Make'lhanna:kwe* (Big Fire Society) relate specifically to Mount Taylor as a migration stop after leaving *Chi:biya Yalanne* (Sandia Peak) and *Bandelier (Shiba:bulima)*. Mount Taylor is also the location of a War God shrine. War God shrines are placed in specific locations by the Zuni to guard the Zuni land. The exact location of the War God shrine was not disclosed by the attendant Bow Priests, who have first priority to Mount Taylor.

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The Zuni people make regular pilgrimages to Mount Taylor in order to collect water, plants (mahogany, aspen and medicinal herbs), feathers of the blue jay, woodpecker, red-shafted flicker, robin, oriole, hawk, and sparrow, and minerals (obsidian, red ochre, hematite), and to conduct religious activities (Ferguson and Hart 1985:126). Most of the materials collected are used in religious ceremonies. Zuni visits to Mt. Taylor have declined in recent years due to changes in land status; old trails still exist but now cross private land parcels making use not possible.

Based on the information provided above, the Pueblo of Zuni considers Mount Taylor eligible to the New Mexico Register of Historic Places as a traditional cultural property under criterion (a), and criterion (b). Under criterion (a), Mount Taylor is eligible for listing because of its strong association with events that are significant in Zuni history which are represented on and/or in association with Mount Taylor. These historic events include the emergence, the Zuni migrations to the "Middle Place," and the historical evolution and adaptation of Zuni culture to a changing social and natural environment.

Mount Taylor is also considered eligible under criterion (b), because it has and continues to have a strong association with the historically significant collective group of persons that are known as the Zuni. First and foremost, the Zuni people represent a unique Native American Indian culture that has evolved from its indigenous archaic roots to the present form which maintains historic, religious, and contemporaneous ties to Mount Taylor. The Zuni culture and its interdependent religious societies, which are concerned with different aspects of Zuni physical, economic, and spiritual health, are the cornerstones of Zuni social cohesion. As such, Mount Taylor is inextricably united with Zuni society through the many ceremonial locations, plant and mineral collection areas, trails, springs, and shrines located on Mount Taylor and figure into the rituals and ceremonial dances that punctuate the Zuni religious cycle.

The Zuni culture and people are a unique part of the history of New Mexico, and represent a significant cultural influence on the multi-cultural environment that is characteristic of the State of New Mexico today and in the past. The unique qualities of the Zuni culture is, in part, attested to by the Zuni language. While other Native American tribes share linguistic genealogies, the Zuni language has no direct linguistic relatives elsewhere in the Americas. All of Zuni society was and is contained in the single pueblo. The Zuni culture is a unique and significant expression of adaptation to and incorporation of the Southwestern desert environment. The Zuni people, through their unique culture, have endured the test of time by not only surviving the harsh desert environment, but also by surviving the encroachment of the Spanish, Mexicans, and Americans. It is precisely because of the unique qualities of the Zuni culture, their relationship to Mount Taylor, and how that relationship has been expressed through the cultural, religious, and natural aspects of the landscape that make this property eligible under criterion (b).

Mount Taylor is also eligible to the New Mexico Register of Historic Places under significance criterion (b) because of its association with the lives of the ancestors of the Zuni people. The life histories and the continued spiritual presence of these Zuni ancestors are made manifest by the many archaeological sites and sacred places (e.g., shrines) established in ancient times that exist on Mount Taylor. These ancestral archaeological sites represent the physical verification and validation of Zuni traditional histories and confirms the Zuni rightful place and relationship to Mount Taylor. The long historical and continued spiritual association of the Zuni people to Mount Taylor is also demonstrated through the ceremonial prayers and chants of the *Łe'wekwe* (Sword Swallower Society), *Newekwe* (Galaxy Society), *Make'lhanna:kwe* (Big Fire Society), and the Coyote Medicine Society that specifically reference this place.

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In order to be considered eligible for listing on the New Mexico State Register of Historic Places, a property must also retain integrity. Mount Taylor maintains integrity of location since this is the physical geologic manifestation where the traditions of the *Le'wekwe* (Sword Swallower Society), *Newekwe* (Galaxy Society), and *Make'lhanna:kwe* (Big Fire Society) occurred, ancestral habitation places were established, shrines, offering, and collection areas created, and the Zuni culture evolved in its relationship with Mount Taylor (Ferguson 2008:394). Mount Taylor retains integrity of setting because the physical environment of the area has not changed since prehistoric times and continues to convey to the Zuni a sense of the physical environment that characterized the landscape in which Zuni culture evolved and Zuni history occurred.

Mount Taylor also retains integrity of association, because it is the precise location where many historical events important to the Zuni people occurred and because the landscape contained within Mount Taylor continues to convey this relationship to the Zuni people and non-Zunis, alike. For example, Mount Taylor continues to be visible from many diverse visual points across the greater Zuni cultural landscape and continues to convey aspects of cultural value that tie the Zuni to this landscape. In addition, Mount Taylor, in part, defines the Zuni aboriginal land claim area which, combined with associated shrines and other sacred places located therein, continue to display and convey to the Zuni people the historical significance of the Zuni cultural landscape to their collective cultural identity, as well as the individual Zuni's identity.

The following are categories of cultural properties located on Mount Taylor that the Zuni consider to be culturally and historically important to them and their association with Mount Taylor. These properties should be viewed as either contributing elements, or eligible properties in their own right to the application process to have Mount Taylor permanently listed on the State of New Mexico's Register of Historic Properties.

## **V. Archaeological Sites**

Archaeological sites are important to the Zuni people. The general Zuni word for an archaeological site is *heshoda:we*, which means ancestral home. Thus, the Zuni feel a strong emotional and historical tie to these places on the landscape, because, in part, they are a verification of Zuni origins and history, and because they are a validation of their rightful role within this landscape.

The Zuni people recognize their historical and cultural affinity to the archaeological sites contained within the Mount Taylor area. They also perceive these archaeological sites as sacred places because they contain shrines and the remains of Zuni ancestors in the form of burials. Moreover, the Zuni believe that these places are still spiritually inhabited by their ancestors and that their preservation is vital to maintaining a harmonious balance with nature and the spiritual world. The Zuni believe that physical disturbances to these sacred places can cause an imbalance in the natural and spiritual worlds. In addition to their spiritual and sacred qualities, archaeological sites also embody a historical meaning to Zunis, because they provide physical verification of Zuni traditional histories that recount the A:Shiwi journey to find the "Middle Place." These archaeological sites are the places where Zuni ancestors settled, lived, raised families, and died during their migrations.

The Zuni claim cultural affiliation to all Paleoindian, Archaic, Anasazi, and Puebloan archaeological sites that have been or will be identified and recorded on Mount Taylor. The Zuni claim of cultural affiliation to these prehistoric cultural designations has its basis in Zuni oral traditions. According to Zuni oral traditions, the Paleoindian period represents an important time period, because it was when the

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first group of people emerged into this the fourth world from Ribbon Falls in the Grand Canyon. Their arrival into the fourth world marked the beginning of the Zuni religious societies' migrations that would ultimately culminate in arriving at the "Middle Place." The Paleoindian people went out into this new world to explore and begin to understand their new environment. They often sent information about this new environment back to newly emerging clans and religious societies. Zuni cultural advisors have described these people as having knowledge of religion, but no knowledge of medicine that would later become characteristic of other groups that would follow, such as the Archaic and ancestral Puebloan (Dongoske and Nieto, 2005:52). The Paleoindian subsistence strategy focused mainly on the hunting of big game. Their new knowledge of the natural environment was limited and therefore they had limited knowledge of how to use the environment for medicine. Thus, their life way was one of basic subsistence and survival.

Following the Paleoindian period is the Archaic period. The Zuni cultural advisors perceive the Archaic people as being similar to the Paleoindians, but that they had acquired more knowledge of their environment because they have had more time to adapt to and understand it. The Zunis believe that the Archaic people, during this time, began to develop and practice a new religion which had its basis in worshipping the earth. The Zuni view the ancestral Puebloan or Anasazi tradition as a cultural-historical trajectory from Basketmaker III times to the leaving of habitation sites within the Mount Taylor area as a natural and predetermined cultural progression that ultimately culminates in the Zuni arriving at the Middle Place and the concurrent establishment of the original seven Zuni villages.

## **VI. Sacred and Traditionally Important Zuni Places within Mount Taylor**

Sacred sites play an important role in the Zuni religion, as they are the loci of many of the ritual activities performed by the various groups that comprise the Zuni religious structure. These sacred sites include both constructed shrines and natural features on the landscape used as offering places. There is a wide range in the geographical setting of sacred sites, including mountain peaks, mesa tops, springs, riverbeds, and prominent geological features. The Zuni people use sacred sites to offer prayers to their ancestors to bring rain, fertility, and good things for themselves and all of the other people in the world. Pilgrimages are made to religious sites far from the Zuni Pueblo and these pilgrimages maintain a spiritual relationship with the landscape the Zunis have inherited from their ancestors (Mills and Ferguson 1998:31).

There are three major types of Zuni sacred locations: (1) shrines; (2) isolated offerings, such as turquoise, shells, or prayersticks; and (3) sacred areas, which may include clusters of offerings or no material manifestations what so ever (Mills and Ferguson 1998:34). The following presents the Zuni sacred locations that are located on Mt. Taylor within the TCP boundary. The first discusses Zuni shrines within Mt. Taylor and is followed by other Zuni sacred areas and places.

### **A. Shrines**

Religious shrines are used by Zuni to mark their land claim boundary and these shrines, today, are considered sacred. Shrines have also been established at other places of significance within the Zuni aboriginal lands. Natural landmarks that define Zuni land boundaries and other important locations are marked by the Zunis placing clearly visible War God Shrines, pictographs of masks, Zuni fetishes, prayer sticks, turquoise, shells, pottery or other materials clearly identifiable as Zuni. The Zuni people preserve

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and maintain these “markers” or locations by making regular visits or pilgrimages to deposit offerings and to ask blessings upon the land.

Describing the importance of shrines to the Zuni people, whether they are regularly attended to or not, Governor Simplicio (1985) wrote:

Both these shrines [located on top of Mt. Graham] are within the traditional use area of the Zuni people and are consequently of importance to our well-being and culture. It is important that two aspects of these shrines are clearly understood. The first is that the location is central to the purpose of the shrines. Thus, to disturb or move the shrines would be incompatible with the essence of their location with respect to the areas and people they protect. Second, these locations have religious significance to the Zuni people, whether or not they appear to have been used recently. Once established they continue to provide their protection in perpetuity.

Pandey (1995:20) points out that shrines and other sacred cultural markers act in Zuni culture like maps, charts, and other documents do in a literature society. The distribution of shrines on the landscape act as cognitive maps for the Zuni, who visit these places in order to reaffirm their cultural tradition and their cultural beliefs.



Figure Z-12. Zuni Cultural Advisors examining a shrine on Horace Mesa

Additionally, there are other shrines that were established at distances from archaeological sites, but generally are not recognized or identified by archaeologists during a typical archaeological survey. These shrines are important to the Zuni, because they continue to retain their spiritual significance and have, over time, become more spiritually important because they have not been continuously visited or attended to by Zuni religious leaders. As mentioned earlier Mount Taylor, itself, is considered a shrine by the Zuni people. Offerings to the Mount Taylor shrine can be made anywhere on the mountain.

Additionally, there is a War God shrine located on Mount Taylor but the exact location is unknown. The Galaxy Medicine Society, the Knife Society, and the Bow Priests all have shrines on Mount Taylor. During field visits to the Mount Taylor area, the Zunis identified a shrine on Horace Mesa that consisted of a circular pile of vesicular basalt rocks measuring 1.5 m x 0.75 m. For the Zuni people all the shrines on Mount Taylor are there to protect, bless, and grant prosperity to the Zuni people and all peoples of the world.

**B. Springs**

From the Zuni perspective, the earth is circular in shape and is surrounded on all sides by ocean. Under the earth is a system of covered waterways all ultimately connecting with the surrounding oceans. Springs and lakes, which are always regarded as sacred by the Zuni, are the openings to this system

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(Bunzel 1992:487). All springs and sources of water are sacred to the Zuni because they provide the life-giving substance, water, which is necessary to maintain life within the Southwest's harsh environment. The Pueblo of Zuni believe that all springs, standing water, and water ways located on Mt. Taylor are sacred and contribute to the Zuni cultural association to Mount Taylor.

These springs and water sources are important to Zuni religious practices because the Rain Priests and leaders of the medicine fraternities visit these springs to collect the water for continuing ceremonial and medicinal use. The springs are places of religious significance to the Zuni because they are also mentioned in the prayers and songs of the different Zuni medicine fraternities and kiva groups. The Galaxy Medicine Society collected spring water from Mount Taylor in 2005 and the Big Fire Society collect spring water from Mount Taylor in 2000.

**C. Trails**

Trails are important cultural and historical features that cross the Mount Taylor landscape. The Zunis have many named places across the cultural landscape that are interconnected through a series of trails. These trails often follow uplands where visibility of the surrounding landscape was enhanced. As the Zuni cultural advisors remarked, landmarks are easier to spot from uplands. Trails are important to Zuni culture because they connect many different resource procurement and use areas of the Zuni throughout their aboriginal claim area. Trails are also considered important because they act as spiritual umbilical cords that maintain strong and continuous connections between the heart of the Pueblo of Zuni and many culturally important places on the Zuni landscape, like Mount Taylor.

Today, several New Mexico State Highways follow what were originally Zuni trails. For example, New Mexico State Highway 53 from the Zuni Indian Reservation through the Zuni Mountains to the Malpais near Grants, New Mexico, is officially recognized as "the Ancient Way," and was once one of the main trails from Zuni to Acoma (Ferguson and Hart 1985:55). Zuni trails also connect the Pueblo of Zuni to Nutria, Pescado, Zuni Mountains, Chaco Canyon, Bandelier, **Mount Taylor**, and the San Francisco Peaks. Specifically, a trail connecting the Pueblo of Zuni to Bandelier, Chaco Canyon, Sandia Mountains, and Mesa Verde followed "the Ancient Way" from Zuni through the Zuni Mountains to the Malpais near Grants and then progressed around the summit of Mount Taylor across Chivato Mesa extending either north or east depending on the destination.

Trails also play an important role in Zuni traditional history. They tell about Zuni history in those areas where Zuni ancestors settled during their journey to the "Middle Place" and they continue to maintain a spiritual connection between the Pueblo of Zuni and those areas. All of the places that Zuni visited on their migration routes are spoken of in the prayers used by one of the Zuni fraternities (Quam 2003). Moreover, those areas where Zuni ancestors settled are recounted in Zuni medicine society and kiva group songs.

Trails are also used to gather plants and minerals, and to hunt. According to a Zuni cultural advisor, trails are located where they are for a specific reason, they have definite meaning in that they often lead to boundaries and important springs. Trails also acted as an early means of communication.

An important component of trails are the shrines that are located along them which are used in offering prayers and to help protect the Zuni people in their travels. These shrines are also used by the Zuni in worshipping large areas and are considered very important to the Zuni and are never regarded as

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abandoned. These shrines should be left alone by non-Zunis and only Zuni religious leaders should visit them.

The Zuni cultural advisors noted that prehistoric and historic trails have many historical values, including associations with Zuni (and other Puebloans) culture, spiritual properties, ceremonial and religious use, and clan migrations. Prehistoric and historic trails also functioned as routes people used to travel from one place to another. As such, these trails physically link a multiplicity of places together into a cultural landscape. Zuni trails are associated with shrines and trail markers that imbue the routes with a spiritual meaning that has continuing importance for contemporary Zuni religious leaders. Although the modes of transportation have changed, the spiritual essence of the Zuni trails through the Mount Taylor area remains important. Even if trails are not currently used as routes of travel, they retain cultural and historical significance to the Zuni people.

There are many trails that connect Zuni to Mount Taylor. Prayers connect the Zuni to these areas, especially Mt. Taylor. Trails to War God shrine on Mt. Taylor contains sea shells and turquoise.

**D. Gathering Places**

Although the Zuni people have been increasingly restricted from accessing the greater Mt. Taylor area since the early to mid twentieth century, places where culturally important plants and minerals occur are still considered culturally important and imbued with a sense of sacredness by the Zuni people. This section examines both plants and minerals that are collected for use in Zuni ceremonies and religious rituals that solicit rain and prosperity for the Zuni people, including all the people around the world.

**VII. Plants**

Plants are perceived by the Zuni as a vital part of the landscape. Plants are sacred to the Zuni because some plants were dropped to the earth by the Star People, while other plants were once human beings before they became plants, and others are the property of the gods. The Zuni view all plants, even those from heaven, as the off-spring of Mother Earth because it was she who gave the plants to the Star People before they left this world and became celestial beings. Thus, all the plants that comprise the natural environment within the Mt. Taylor area are considered sacred to the Zuni people. Some plants are utilized by the Zuni as food, others are employed as medicinal treatment for ailments.

In general, within the Mount Taylor area, medicinal plants tend to be located and collected at higher elevations and where there are good sources of water. Specific places for plant collection included Horace Mesa, San Mateo Mesa, La Jara Mesa, Bibo Mesa, Chivato Mesa, and the slopes to the mountain's summit. Important plants identified by the Zuni on Mount Taylor are wolf berry, narrow leaf yucca (which can be used to make varnish; or employed in purification ceremonies), pinon pine, cholla cactus (used by the Ant Medicine Society for initiation and also used by the Sword Swallower Society), blue spruce, Douglas fir, aspen, one seed juniper, reeds, prickly pear cactus, banana yucca, Indian rice grass, Osha root, horse mint, and ponderosa pine.

Willow and narrow leaf yucca are often used for the construction of baskets and mats which are generally collected in the areas previously mentioned. Willow is also used for making prayer sticks. Prayer

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sticks are the most important and valuable gift to the gods. The wood most commonly employed in making prayer sticks is the red willow. In certain other occasions other shrubs are required. Bunzel (1992:499) provides a description of how prayer sticks are made:

When wood for a prayer stick is gathered corn meal is offered to the shrub from which the twigs are cut. Only perfectly straight shoots are taken. Generally, the bark is removed. There are four common prayer stick measures; from the tip of the middle finger to the base of the finger, to the center of the palm, to the wrist, to the inside of the elbow. Frequently faces are indicated by notching on side of the stick. The feathers are attached to the back of the stick and are thought of as constituting its clothing. The two upper feathers are the most important and characteristic. Usually they are from the turkey and eagle, respectively; or they may both be from the eagle. . . Sticks for the sun, moon, and the Uwanami have a downy eagle feather in this position and the use of this feather entails particularly stringent taboos upon the giver.

Zunis are greatly concerned about plant resources on Mount Taylor because plants provide the Zuni with an abundant array of foods, medicines, ceremonial materials, basketry materials, and toiletries.

### **VIII. Minerals**

The Zuni people do not differentiate between organic and inorganic materials, but consider all things to be living: the earth, the stones, and minerals, as well as plants and animals. Thus, the collection of minerals is as important to the Zuni people as the collection and use of plants. For example, malachite, azurite, jet, kaolin, quartz, travertine, galena, pyrite, calcite, fluorite, copper and turquoise were acquired from the Zuni Mountains (Ferguson 1980:11). Important minerals traded at Zuni in the sixteenth century were peridot from the White Mountains, salt from the Zuni Salt Lake, and turquoise, possibly from the White Mountains and the Zuni Mountains, as well as Cerrillos (Ferguson 1980:132).

Important minerals collected by the Zuni from Mount Taylor include obsidian, specular hematite, red hematite, mica, clay (all colors), chert, and basalt.

### **IX. Hunting and Trapping**

Hunting was an extremely important part of the Zuni land utilization. Among the big game hunted were bobcats, deer, coyotes, bear, elk, moose, antelope, mountain sheep, wild pigs, foxes, and mountain lions (Hart 1995b:11). The Zuni also utilized about seventy (70) species of bird, including eagles, ducks, wild turkeys, hawks, jays, finches, woodpeckers, owls, crows, and bluebirds.

Hunting activities are always associated with religious practices, and some hunting practices were prompted by religious motives. Historically, Zuni hunting parties ranged for hundreds of miles in both the mountains and plains. Some of the most important hunting was carried out communally such as ritual rabbit drives near the Pueblo of Zuni. In the outer areas of their territory, the Zuni constructed and used long brush fences or "drive lanes" in communal hunts for deer and antelope. Hunting was also done individually for family or clan use, and as initiation into adulthood. Hunting activities had associated religious practices, with ceremonial rites and prayers for slain animals. Prayers and offerings were made at hunting shrines along trails that led to the hunting areas. Hunting provided the Zunis with a crucial

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supply of meat, with hides for clothing, and with bone and sinew for tools and other manufactured articles (Hart 1995).

## X. Summary

In summary, the Zuni Tribe considers Mount Taylor to be sacred and integral to the continuation of Zuni culture. Mount Taylor is a named feature in Zuni migration history. Many archaeological sites on Mount Taylor are significant to Zuni history and are also shrines where ancestors have passed and are buried and where offerings are made. Shrines, springs, and trails on Mount Taylor are visited by Zuni religious societies for traditional cultural practices that are critical to Zuni identity and the continuation of Zuni culture. Mount Taylor is also of great significance to the Pueblo of Zuni as a place where specific plants, animals (including birds), and minerals must be gathered to insure the continuation of life for the Zuni people and for all people.

(End of Individual Tribal Significance Statements)

## SECTION THREE: NEW MEXICO STATE REGISTER AND NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBILITY CONSIDERATIONS

### A. Property Considerations

*National Register Bulletin 38* (Parker and King 1998) explains how traditional cultural properties are real properties. Sometimes the perception exists that intangible beliefs and practices, not any property itself, are what is being evaluated for listing on the Register. Any nominee for NRHP listing “must be a tangible property—that is a district, site, building, or object” (Parker and King 1998:11). In the case of TCPs, the relationship between the property and the beliefs and practices that a community associates with it are commonly what imbues the property with significance and makes it eligible for listing in the National Register, and by extension using the same guidelines, the NMSRCP.

U.S. Forest Service staff previously concluded that the Mt. Taylor TCP fulfills NRHP criteria as a particular category of cultural property, a Site (Benedict and Hudson 2008:29). *National Register Bulletin 16A* defines what a *site* is:

A site is the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself maintains historical or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure. [McClelland 1997:15]

*National Register Bulletin 38* adds,

Sites do not have to be the products of, or contain the work of human beings in order to be classified as properties...Thus a property may be defined as a “site” as long as it was the location of a significant event or activity, regardless of whether the event or activity left

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any evidence of its occurrence. A culturally significant natural landscape may be classified as a site, as may be the specific location where significant traditional events, activities, or cultural observances have taken place. [Parker and King 1998:11]

Benedict and Hudson, in turn, make clear how the Mt. Taylor TCP fulfills the NRHP site definition:

A site may be a natural landmark...associated with significant events or patterns of events, if the significance of the natural feature is well documented. It does not need to be marked by physical remains if it is a location of a prehistoric or historic event or pattern of events. In the case of Mt. Taylor, there are numerous constructed features that are directly associated with its role and significance as a place of cultural value. These include: shrines, offering places, pilgrimage trails, and cairns. [2008:29]

National Register Bulletin 38 emphasizes the need to carefully weigh documentary or oral evidence concerning the association of a traditional cultural property with traditional events, activities, or observances. The Nominating Tribes' significance statements, and their documented contributing cultural properties, meet the requirements of this guideline.

## B. National Register Criteria

U.S. Forest Service staff found that the Mt. Taylor TCP fulfills three of the four NRHP criteria: Criterion (a) for its associations that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; Criterion (b) association with the lives of persons significant in our past, and Criterion (d) history of yielding or potential to yield, information important in prehistory and history (Benedict and Hudson 2008:30-31).

As to Criterion (a), the significance statements show that the historical, cultural, and religious importance of the TCP is firmly established in each of the community's history and traditions. The period of significance, according to **EACH** of the Tribes, extends from time immemorial to the present.

Mt. Taylor occupies a pivotal place in each Nominating Tribe's origins, either during the emergence of the first humans onto the face of this earth and/or during the people's migrations in search of their promised homelands. Considered the home of many Spiritual Beings and a source of water that sustains life throughout the natural world, Mt. Taylor is important in calendrical ceremonies and daily ritual observances that motivate, organize, and structure how people live their everyday lives as members of their communities. The Mountain is a prominent element in the communities' respective cosmologies.

The significance statement of each Nominating Tribe shows that the Mountain occupies an essential place in the culture of its people and, as a landscape that gives spiritual and physical sustenance to the people, is critical to the maintenance of their cultural identity both in the present and into the future. As illustrated through the Tribes' substantive contributions, the Tribes' people literally and figuratively "Look to the Mountain" for guidance (e.g., see discussion by Cajete 1994, 1999). It is through these many-tiered relationships between the communities traditional cultural beliefs and practices and the Mt. Taylor Cultural Landscape that the TCP is eligible for listing in the National Register.

For Criterion (b), *National Register Bulletin 38* offers insight for understanding and assessing the Mountain's significance in terms of its association with the lives of persons significant in our past:

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The word “persons” can be taken to refer both to persons whose tangible, human existence in the past can be inferred on the basis of historical, ethnographic, or other research, and to “persons” such as gods and demigods who feature in the traditions of a group. [Parker and King 2008:13]

Mt. Taylor has been the home of many different Spiritual Beings dating back to the beginning of time. These Beings figure prominently in the traditional beliefs and histories that each of the Tribes hold dear concerning their origins, either at the time of emergence and/or through their prolonged migrations in search of their pledged homelands. Moreover, the Mountain itself is traditionally understood to be a living, breathing Spiritual Being. It is obvious that Mt. Taylor TCP fulfills this criterion.

Criterion (d), with its focus on the likely potential of a traditional cultural property to yield information important in history and prehistory, occupies a somewhat lesser status relative to Criteria (a) and (b). Nonetheless, this criterion is relevant and it underscores the Mountain’s significance as a traditional cultural property to the Nominating Tribes, collectively and individually.

The wealth of cultural and historical information that the Tribes share in this nomination provides important perspectives and data to more fully understand, and respect, the cultural traditions that these Tribes maintain through their associations with Mt. Taylor (after Benedict and Hudson 2008:31). Continuing ethnographic study, scholarly research, and literary work can be expected to enhance our collective understanding of the beliefs and practices that the Tribes associate with the Mountain.

The Nominating Tribes view the locations of many of the contributing cultural properties through which they maintain their relationships with Mt. Taylor, as well as the specific beliefs and practices that are associated with these landscape features, as privileged information. Nonetheless, the Tribes have identified hundreds of cultural properties, including traditional plant and mineral gathering locations, boundary markers, springs, lakes, shrines, blessing places, and archaeological properties, as material evidence in support of their significance statements (see Continuation Sheets No. 10.1, 10.2, and 10.3). This assemblage of contributing cultural properties shows a very high potential for studies of these known landscape features, resulting in documentation of much more quantitative information about each Tribe’s physical occupation and use of the TCP. Additionally, the large number of known archaeological properties (n=1056) with which at least one of the Affiliated Tribes stated its affiliation relative to the small sample of area inventoried by professional archaeologists suggests that a very great many significant contributing archaeological properties exist with this landscape awaiting rediscovery and evaluation.

**C. Criteria Considerations**

Following traditional cultural conventions and understandings, the Nominating Tribes do not distinguish between what is secular and what is sacred. Spiritual belief and value are intrinsic elements of all phenomena in the world. As noted through the preceding significance statements shared by the five Nominating Tribes, the Mountain, as a spiritual being and a holy place alike, figures prominently in each community’s understandings of their cosmology and the sacred.

The U.S. Forest Service has already determined that the Mt. Taylor TCP cannot be considered ineligible for listing on the National Register because it might potentially be viewed by some as comprising a religious property. The rationale for determining that the Mountain is eligible for listing on the NMSRCP, as well as the NRHP, lies in the fact that the activities which the Nominating Tribes associate with the

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Mountain are “expressions of traditional cultural beliefs and ...intrinsic to the continuation of traditional cultural practices” (Parker and King 1998:15). Benedict and Hudson explain further:

Certain activities that occur on the mountain because of what it represents to the tribes may be construed as religious from an external point of view, and perhaps even described so the tribes themselves, but the activities are simply expressions of cultural practices that are part of a larger continuum of activity that defines their cultural identity.

The Mt. Taylor TCP is not excluded under the [NRHP] Criteria Considerations because the significance of the mountains is associated with historical and traditional cultural use of [the] mountain, well documented in the ethnographic record. While some cultural use of the property has religious connotations, and is used by the tribes for what Euroamericans would characterize as “religious purposes,” the activities and uses on the mountain are expressions of traditional cultural beliefs and are intrinsic to the continuation of traditional cultural practices. The fact that traditional history and culture are sometimes discussed in religious terms does not diminish the site’s historical and cultural significance to the involved tribes. [2008:31-32]

**D. Integrity Considerations**

To be eligible for inclusion in the NRHP, and, correspondingly, the NMSRHP, a property must fulfill additional requirements beyond at least one of the four NRHP criteria. The property must also possess some mix of the following seven characteristics: “integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association” (36 CFR Part 60, cited in Parker and King 1998:11). Of these characteristics, integrity of relationship and integrity of condition play the most prominent roles in the determination process. This evaluation is relevant because integrity relates to the ability of the nominated cultural property to convey its culturally- and historically-based significance. With the Mt. Taylor TCP, therefore, the Nominating Tribes are obligated to show that the Mountain is important to maintain their cultural identity in the present-day world (after Parker and King 1998:1). The Tribes’ significance statements, when considered in their totality, provide overwhelming evidence that the Mt. Taylor TCP satisfies the two essential conditions of integrity outlined by Parker and King (1998:11-12). That is, the Mt. Taylor TCP has (1) an integral relationship to traditional cultural practices or beliefs, and (2) the property exists in a condition such that the relevant cultural and historical relationships survive into the present.

As to the first requirement, the integrity of relationship, *National Register Bulletin 38* specifies, “If the property is known or likely to be regarded by a traditional cultural group as important in the retention or transmittal of a belief, the property can be taken to have an integral relationship with the belief or practice, or vice versa” (Parker and King 1998:11).

The Nominating Tribes’ statements about the significance of the Mt. Taylor TCP in their on-going cultural practices, combined with their identification of some of the great many contributing properties with which they maintain active relationship, clearly illustrate the concept of integrity of relationship. Each Tribe presents examples that explain why certain traditional activities (1) can only be performed on the Mountain, (2) are dependent on resources that must be collected from the Mountain to fulfill culturally-prescribed requirements for the proper and complete performance of the activity, and (3) require the knowledge and experience, including visual confirmation from afar, that the Mountain has not undergone alterations that would irrevocably harm its physical and spiritual well being.

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The Tribes need for the Mountain to maintain a reasonably intact state of physical existence to protect the cultural property's well being in order to maintain the integrity of their respective traditional cultural relationships with Mt. Taylor. This need leads to the second NRHP integrity requirement, the integrity of condition.

*National Register Bulletin 38* recognizes that a property may retain its traditional cultural significance even though it has been modified (Parker and King 1998:12). The NRHP documentation and evaluation process recognizes that cultural values can, if required, accommodate a good deal of change. *Bulletin 38* further states, "the integrity of a possible traditional cultural property must be considered with reference to the views of traditional practitioners; if its integrity has not been lost in their eyes, it probably has sufficient integrity to justify further evaluation" (Parker and King 1998:12).

In their significance statements and through their supporting documentation, the Nominating Tribes have made comprehensible that the Mt. Taylor TCP fulfills their requirement of the integrity of condition to maintain their traditional cultural relationships with the Mountain. This is not to say that past and present land use practices and property ownership issues, most notably those that restrict access to certain important areas on the Mountain, are inconsequential. To date, however, neither the totality of land altering activity on the Mountain, nor the Tribes' own carefully considered exclusion of all private land holdings contained within the boundary of the Mt. Taylor TCP as noncontributing properties, adversely affect the Mountain's integrity of condition. Importantly, although various ground disturbances and restricted access cause the Nominating Tribes to adjust some practices, such as the route that community members might follow while on pilgrimage to some of the many shrines and blessings places on the Mountain, the scope of change in specific activities is rather minor. These changes in practice comply with traditional community understandings so these modifications do not compromise cultural norms or needs. In this way, each of the Tribes maintains the Mountain's integrity of relationship for the proper observation of their traditional cultural practices or beliefs.

**D. CONCLUDING STATEMENT**

The Mount Taylor Cultural Landscape is the intersection of so many different community landscapes, and the Mountain does so many different things—economically, socially, and ideationally—for so many different people from culturally diverse backgrounds. These factors make Mt. Taylor one of New Mexico's truly exceptional landscapes. Although there is no consensus on what Mt. Taylor is, what the Mountain does for people, and what this landscape should become, all stakeholders intrinsically know that Mt. Taylor not only is a place to talk about (after Ortiz 1992: 321–324), but warrants an emotional response even when there exists only a perception that one community's interests might somehow supersede another's. The often rancorous debate whether the Mt. Taylor TCP should be listed on the SRCP, however, speaks volumes of the significance of the Mountain among New Mexico's communities. Listing of the Mount Taylor Cultural Landscape protects the Mountain and each of the communities in turn by ensuring that no one community's interests will automatically take precedence over the others as humans shape the future of the Mountain.