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Putting *patria* back into repatriation

Cultural affiliation assessment of White Mountain Apache tribal lands

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ABSTRACT

In 2003 and 2004 the White Mountain Apache Tribe worked with the Hopi and Zuni tribes and the Western Apache NAGPRA Working Group on a geography-based cultural affiliation assessment of trust lands on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation in the uplands of eastern Arizona. The project partnership examined a broad array of evidence bearing on cultural affiliation as a basis for improved implementation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Information provided by representatives of the historical and ancient American Indian occupants of White Mountain Apache lands complemented existing archaeological data about cultural affiliation, thus shifting the focus from artifacts and archaeologically defined cultural groups to sacred landscapes and forms of



knowledge linking geography, people, and archaeology. The project provided specific recommendations for intertribal repatriation and reburial efforts as well as more general guidelines for cultural and environmental heritage stewardship.

KEYWORDS

Apache ● Arizona ● cultural affiliation ● heritage stewardship ● Hopi ● indigenous community collaboration ● repatriation ● Zuni

Apaches have resisted the misappropriation of land, sacred sites, human remains and cultural items for at least 120 years (Welch, 1997, 2000, 2007). Despite White Mountain Apache concerns about archaeological excavation and anthropological collecting at both Apache and Puebloan sites on their trust lands (also known as the Fort Apache Indian Reservation), between about 1900 and 1980 numerous institutions sponsored major projects, acquired substantial artifact collections, and produced dozens of exhibitions and publications pertaining to the Apache, their lands, and the ancient Puebloan occupation of the region (Table 1). For example, research at Grasshopper Pueblo, the ruins of a fourteenth-century village located on the western side of White Mountain Apache lands, has produced more than 24 dissertations, nine master's theses, three books, six research monographs, and 100 book chapters and journal articles (Reid and Whittlesey, 2005: 218). More than 1400 sets of human remains were excavated or collected from White Mountain Apache Tribe lands, and records at the Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona, Tucson, document at least 2270 associated funerary objects, including ceramics, projectile points, bone artifacts, grinding tools, shell, minerals, and textiles. Today the White Mountain Apache provide stewardship of over 1000 documented heritage sites on their 1.67 million acre reservation.

Apache stewardship is guided by a mandate to employ clear thinking and respectful collaboration in revitalizing community connections to lands, sites, objects and traditions and in protecting all places associated with ancestors of both Pueblo and Apache peoples (Figure 1). This Apache cultural precept, coupled with willing and able participation by Pueblo (Hopi and Zuni) and Apache (San Carlos, Tonto, and Yavapai-Apache Nation) tribes, has made it possible for NAGPRA implementation relating to White Mountain Apache to proceed without intertribal conflict. The project we discuss here increased the depth and breadth of evidence relating to cultural affiliations with the ancient and historic occupants of White Mountain Apache lands to facilitate tribal goals to repatriate and rebury Puebloan human remains and funerary objects.

Table 1 Sources of NAGPRA-related collections on White Mountain Apache lands

Name	Dates	Topics and publications	Institutional affiliation
Charles L. Owen	1901, 1903	Collection of cultural objects and human remains	Field Museum of Natural History
Walter H. Hough	1901, 1918–1919	Archaeological survey and excavation (1903, 1930)	National Museum of Natural History
Leslie Spier	1917–1918	Archaeological reconnaissance (1919)	American Museum of Natural History
Emil W. Haury	1929–1976	Canyon Creek Ruin (1934), Forestdale Valley (1985)	Gila Pueblo Foundation; University of Arizona
Byron Cummings	1931–1947	Kinishba Pueblo excavation and rebuilding (1940)	Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona; Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)
William A. Longacre	1959–1978	Survey (1962), Grasshopper Field School (1975, 1977)	University of Chicago; University of Arizona
Raymond H. Thompson	1963–1965	Grasshopper Field School (with Longacre, 1966)	Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona
Laurens C. Hammack	1968–1969	Forestdale salvage (Hammack, 1969)	Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona
Glen E. Rice and C. Russell Stafford	1976–1978	Corduroy Creek (Stafford and Rice, 1980)	Arizona State University for BIA
Carl Halbirt and Richard Ciolek-Torrello	1984–1985	Excavations at Canyon Day	Museum of Northern Arizona for Indian Health Service (IHS)

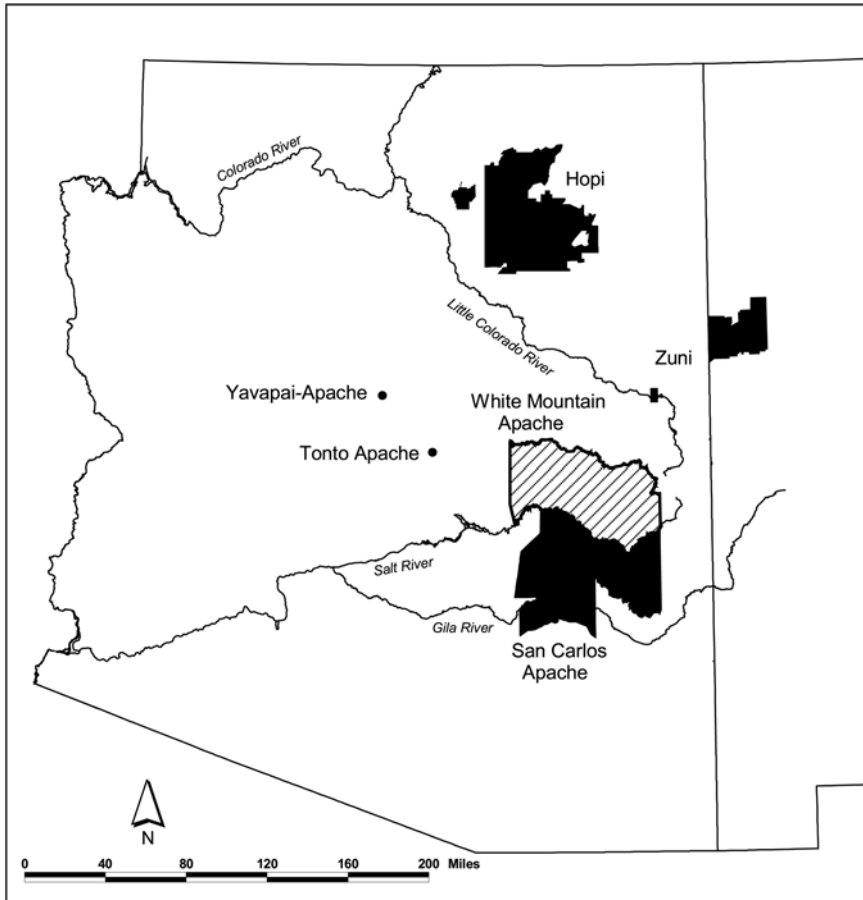


Figure 1 Map of Arizona showing the trust lands (reservations) of the tribal partners in the Cultural Affiliation Assessment. Hopi and Zuni ancestors living in ancient sites between the Gila and Little Colorado rivers moved to where their present reservations are located. The land became the exclusive domain of the Western Apache

■ NAGPRA PROMISES AND REPATRIATION REALITIES

NAGPRA was passed to protect Native American graves and ensure descendants' rights to provide culturally appropriate care for their ancestors. Under NAGPRA, lineal descendants and culturally affiliated tribes may seek repatriation and reburial of ancestral human remains, associated and unassociated funerary offerings, sacred objects, and objects

of cultural patrimony from federally funded museums. As defined in NAGPRA, cultural affiliation 'means that there is a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group' (25 USC 3001).¹ The cultural affiliation criteria in NAGPRA's regulations (43 CFR 10.10.14.c) require that the present-day Indian tribe be federally recognized and that the existence of the earlier identifiable group be documented using cultural characteristics, distinct patterns of material culture, or the distinctiveness of a biological population. Determination of cultural affiliation requires evidence that the present-day Indian tribe has been identified from ancient or historic times to the present as descending from the earlier group. Cultural affiliation is determined using the preponderance of 10 types of evidence: geography, kinship, biology, archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, folklore, oral tradition, history, and other relevant information or expert opinion. Determination of cultural affiliation does not require scientific certainty.

The human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony that have been collected from White Mountain Apache lands are subject to NAGPRA. The law requires federal agencies and museums having possession or control over collections of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects to consult with tribal officials and traditional religious leaders in the compilation of an inventory that identifies the geographical and cultural affiliation of each item (25 USC 3003). NAGPRA further mandates that federal agencies and museums that have possession or control over Native American unassociated funerary objects (and sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony) prepare a written summary of these objects, documenting the scope of the collection, the kinds of objects and their geographical origins, the means of acquisition, and cultural affiliation where this can be ascertained (25 USC 3004). Tribal consultation is mandated following summary completion.

The White Mountain Apache Tribe asserts sovereign ownership of collections from its trust lands. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), however, has control of these collections by virtue of its role as the Tribe's trustee and, after 1935, as the federal agency issuing permits authorizing the excavation and curation of archaeological materials (Horn, 1988). As of mid-2006, the BIA had not submitted the NAGPRA inventories and summaries for collections from White Mountain Apache Tribe lands.

The White Mountain Apache Tribe recognizes that the ancient pueblos on its lands are ancestral to Hopi and Zuni people. Following the passage of NAGPRA, the Tribe initiated consultations concerning cultural heritage stewardship on a government-to-government basis with the Hopi Tribe, Navajo Nation, Pueblo of Acoma, Pueblo of Laguna, Zuni Tribe, San Carlos Apache Tribe, Tonto Apache Tribe, and Yavapai-Apache Nation. Since 1999 the Fort McDowell Indian Community, a participant in initial efforts toward



Western Apache collaborative repatriations, has respectfully declined participation in the Western Apache NAGPRA Working Group. The White Mountain Apache Tribal Council, Heritage Program, Cultural Advisory Board, and the tribal partners in discussions concerning repatriation have consistently agreed on the need for repatriation to be grounded in Ndee and Puebloan cultural principles (*Fort Apache Scout*, 1993a; Lupe, 1993a, 1994, 1995), most of which are discussed below and exemplified in the cultural affiliation assessment's processes and results.

■ METHODOLOGY FOR PUTTING *PATRIA* INTO REPATRIATION

The White Mountain Apache Tribe undertook the cultural affiliation assessment to further repatriation, share tribal perspectives on ancestry and history, and balance archaeological and anthropological scholarship with community-based knowledge. Anthropologists have written about the White Mountain Apache and the ancient occupation of their lands by Puebloan peoples for more than a century (Bandelier, 1892: 393–403; see Table 1). This scholarship provides extensive evidence pertinent to NAGPRA – archaeology, anthropology, and biology – so our work focused on new documentation of oral histories and traditions linking present-day tribes to past groups. The use of the third person plural tense in this discussion refers to the team of Apache, Hopi, and Zuni project participants – duly designated representatives of the federally recognized tribes known to have affirmed cultural or historical ties to White Mountain Apache Tribe lands. The authors served as project facilitators and research liaisons.

Our primary project goal was to put ‘patria’ – one’s native country or homeland – back into repatriation. The research design embraced the importance of the intimate links among history, land, memory, and social identities in indigenous communities (Basso, 1996). By traveling over the land, visiting ancestral sites, and discussing history and culture, tribal cultural advisors recalled their knowledge in relation to their field observations (Figure 2). The assessment thus focused on categories of evidence not well documented by anthropologists – especially geography, oral tradition, and traditional history.

A National Park Service NAGPRA grant was obtained to fund the work, and in 2003 an intertribal planning meeting refined the research design. This was followed by six sessions of fieldwork, encompassing more than 100 person days. Groups of between three and 17 tribal participants conducted fieldwork, usually with representatives of one or two tribes being present on a given day. The research participants visited 26 archaeological sites and



Figure 2 Hopi, Zuni and Apache researchers at the Mount Baldy trailhead. From right to left, Martin Talayumptewa, Karl Hoerig, Shaunna Ethelbah, Perry Tsadiasi, Garrin Mansfield, Ramon Riley, John Bowannie, Marvin Lalo, Levi Dehose, Harold Polingyumptewa, Beverly Malone, Octavius Seowtewa, Lee Wayne Lomayestewa, Ann Skidmore, Eldrick Seoutewa, Morgan Saufkie, Paul Declay, Doreen Gatewood. Photograph by T.J. Ferguson, 2 July 2003, courtesy White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program

natural areas on and nearby White Mountain Apache Tribe lands (Figure 3; Welch and Ferguson, 2005). During fieldwork, the tribal participants also shared perspectives with students and staff of the University of Arizona Archaeological Field School working in the Forestdale Valley (Mills et al., forthcoming). Mid-way through the project, the authors met with Hopi and Zuni project participants to review the results and plan future work. The final report was provided to all participants for review.

The White Mountain Apache Tribe promotes cultural and environmental stewardship to sustain and balance resource conditions, community and cultural values, and intrinsic ecosystem processes (Welch, 2000). The landscape approach embedded in the Tribe's stewardship provides a powerful and practical framework for identifying, interpreting, and reinvigorating connections among communities and heritage sites, objects, and traditions. Landscapes are often discernable in terms of architectural, archaeological, and geographical features, so these features are useful in defining human relationships across time. For NAGPRA, geography provides a critical context for learning and sharing information about the past.

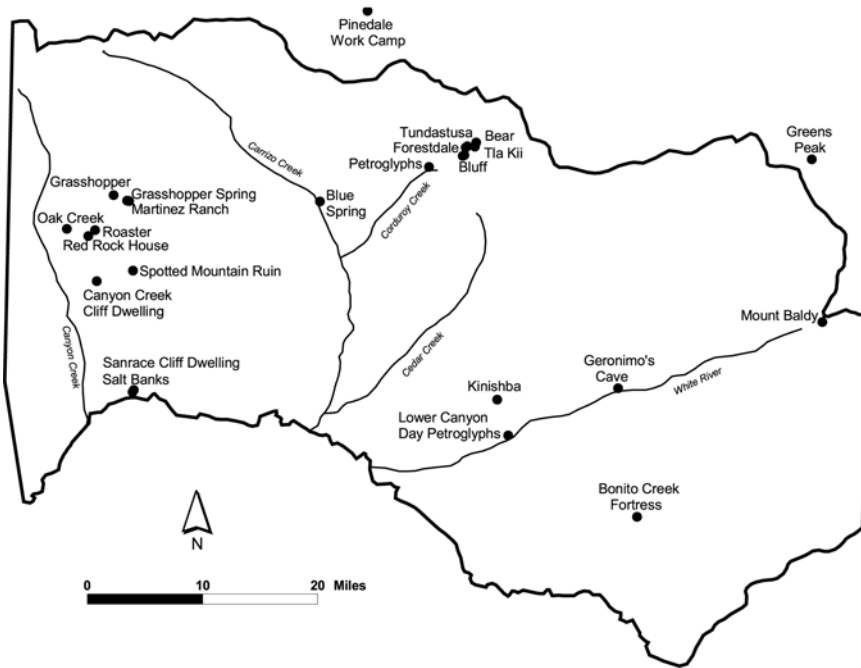


Figure 3 Approximate locations for cultural affiliation assessment fieldwork

■ HOPI CULTURAL AFFILIATION

In 1992, the Hopi Tribe claimed cultural affiliation with human remains removed from Grasshopper Pueblo. This claim was based on oral traditions which recount that the Eagle, Crane, Sun, Sun Forehead, Grey Eagle, Bow, Reed, Greasewood, Roadrunner, and Lizard clans inhabited this area during their migrations (Jenkins, 1992). In 1994 the Hopi Tribal Council resolved that the Hopis were affiliated with all of the ancient Southwestern cultural groups defined by archaeologists, including the Mogollon and other archaeological cultures associated with White Mountain Apache lands (Hopi Tribe, 1994).

During this project, Hopi participants identified clans and religious societies as the groups through which the Hopi Tribe traces its relationship to the ancient occupants of the Apache reservation. Matrilineal clans are the cornerstone of Hopi history and social organization (Eggan, 1950: 61–89; Fewkes, 1900), and Hopis refer collectively to clan ancestors as *Hisatsinom* ('Ancient People'). Hopi ceremonial organization is complex and includes *Katsina* rituals and ceremonies associated with 14 men's and

women's religious societies (Whiteley, 1988: 59). Although some Hopi clans are extinct, their knowledge and rituals are often perpetuated by related clans. On this project, Marvin Lalo explained that, 'Our history is oral, verbal between generations. Our oral traditions are in songs – some are a mystery to us. When we go out to visit sites, sometimes we can identify names.'

The Hopis explained that when they emerged into the Fourth Way of Life, they entered into a spiritual covenant with the owner of the world, Máasaw, to migrate until they reached their destiny at Tuuwanasavi, the earth center near Third Mesa. According to Marvin Lalo, Máasaw told the Hopi, 'Go and walk the earth, look at my land . . . there was a designated place where Máasaw would wait for us.' *Ang kuktota*, literally, 'along there, make footprints', was among the instructions given by Máasaw. Hopi ancestors were told to live in a place for a time, Lalo explained, to raise food and allow their children to grow before continuing their migration. Footprints include the ancient settlements, and the pottery, stone tools, petroglyphs, and other artifacts left behind as offerings. For Hopis, these 'footprints' are proof of ancestral migrations through what are now the trust lands of the White Mountain Apache Tribe and adjacent regions (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, 2006a; Kuwanwisiwma and Ferguson, 2004).

Hopi participants used footprints as historical metaphors in identifying their clan ancestors on Apache lands, explicitly discussing architectural styles, village plans, plazas, kivas, petroglyphs and pictographs, functional and stylistic affinities of pottery, grinding tools and other artifacts, and ancestral graves as evidence of their cultural affiliation. When history passed orally from generation to generation becomes attenuated or imprecise, the physical traces of archaeology provide proof of Hopi ancestry. As Floyd Lomakuyvaya told us, migration traditions and footprints constitute Hopi records of the past and thus provide evidence of cultural affiliation.

During this project, Hopis used footprints to identify 22 clans with ancestral ties to White Mountain Apache tribal lands: Bear, Bearstrap, Bluebird, Bow, Crane, Corn, Coyote, Deer, Eagle, Flute, Gray Eagle, Greasewood, Lizard, Rattlesnake, Reed, Sand, Sparrowhawk, Spider, Squash, Sun, Sun Forehead, and Water. Clan traditions refer to Sakwtala, Place of the Green Plants, a verdant paradise of plants and blossoms that lay between deserts. Leigh Kuwanwisiwma suggested this name refers to the Mogollon Rim region and described three travel corridors. The Fire clan and several others followed a western route up the Colorado River. Other clans, including Water and Bow, took a middle route up the Santa Cruz and San Pedro Rivers to Tavanki (Snaketown) and Nasavi (Casa Grande) on the Gila River, and then northward over the Mogollon Rim. A third set of clans, including the Parrot and Katsina, took an eastern route that extended northward through the Mimbres region and lower Rio Grande, eventually leading to the occupation of sites like Kwayvi (Place of the Eagle, aka Casa



Malpais) along the upper Little Colorado River. Hopis also refer to the eastern part of White Mountain Apache lands as Pavanqatsi because the abundance of grasslands, rivers, and forests is a paradise for *qatsi*, life.

Clan histories associated with the middle route provide the basis for Hopi cultural affiliation with the occupants of ancient villages on White Mountain Apache lands. The Bear, Bearstrap, Bluebird and Spider clans have traditions that describe the area around Grasshopper, on the western part of the Apache reservation. The Greasewood and Bow clans maintain traditions about the site of Kinishba in the middle of the reservation. The Crane, Sparrowhawk, Squash, Gray Eagle, Eagle, and Sand clans have traditions in the area around Casa Malpais and Springerville, and thus with the eastern part of the reservation.

Puebloan ancestral sites on the White Mountain Apache lands are spatially and temporally situated in Hopi history between two great epochs: the collapse of Palatkwapi (the Red Land of the South) following a period of moral disintegration and the gathering of clans on the Hopi Mesas. The Hopi clans that fled Palatkwapi are described as having been subjugated by powerful Bow clan ceremonial leaders. The demise of Palatkwapi provided an opportunity for common people to free themselves, and they fled, migrating northward. The Bow clan followed, seeking to recapture some of the commoners. During this period many clans lived in defensive sites because they were wary of powerful clans. This clash provides a basis for interpreting the region's cliff dwellings and defensive sites (Welch, 2001). When the Hopi clans eventually arrived at the Hopi Mesas, they determined to live together peacefully. The philosophy of Hopi became the way to restore harmony.

Hopi advisors recalled that the Eagle, Crane, and Sparrowhawk clans resided for a time at Kwayvi and other sites, where they lived with Zuni people from the same clans. The co-residence of Hopi and Zuni clans along the middle route on and near White Mountain Apache lands gives the two tribes a shared history and cultural affiliation.

The social processes of aggregation at Kinishba, Grasshopper and other large pueblos in the region (Reid and Whittlesey, 1999; Riggs, 2005) are familiar to the Hopi, who recall how clans arriving on the Hopi Mesas had to prove themselves before gaining admission into a village. Leigh Kuwanwisiwma said the burials and funerary offerings at Grasshopper indicate the clan and society identities of the groups who came together at the site. While parallels between Hopi oral history and archaeological reconstructions of social processes do not constitute conclusive archaeological evidence of cultural affiliation, they are congruent with Hopi theories of how they are related to the occupants of ancient sites.

Hopi traditions do not recount occupying the Mogollon Rim region when it was inhabited by Apaches. Historically the Hopi had limited contact with the Apache, some of which involved conflict, but Wilton Kooyahoema

noted that Hopis also visited and traded with Ndee following their separation from the Navajo.

■ ZUNI CULTURAL AFFILIATION

Zuni claims of cultural affiliation with sites on White Mountain Apache lands have a long history. In 1883, Adolph Bandelier reported that the Governor of Zuni told him that the ruins near Fort Apache are of Zuni origin (Lange and Riley, 1970: 69). More recently, the Zuni Tribe claimed cultural affiliation with all the archaeological cultures defined in the Southwest, including those that occupied what are now White Mountain Apache Tribe lands (Eriacho, 1995). The Zuni Tribe also filed a specific claim of affiliation to human remains from pueblo sites in the Grasshopper region (Eriacho, 1997).

During this project, Perry Tsadiasi, John Bowannie and Eldrick Seoutewa talked about the Ino:de:kwe or 'Ancient Ones', a term they applied to the ancestors of the Zuni and related tribes. Zuni advisors also referred to the A:łashshina:we, 'the keepers of the roads', beneficent ancient beings who protect and nourish human life and are identified with land and rain (Bunzel, 1932a: 510). The Ino:de:kwe or A:łashshina:we are the past identifiable group with which the Zunis claim affiliation.

The Ino:de:kwe and A:łashshina:we do not correspond directly with archaeological cultures. The Zunis are less concerned with scientific terminology than with identifying their ancestors and the migration routes they followed using physical evidence. Zuni participants in the research explained that their history is based on oral teaching. 'All we have is petroglyphs, pottery, and villages that tie into those areas,' Octavius Seowtewa said, adding that 'Architecture and shrines are like a book, and they tie the Zuni to the area of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation.' Seowtewa concluded that 'All those areas are culturally affiliated with the Zunis.' Eldrick Seoutewa explained that oral tradition is abstract until you visit an area and realize your ancestors were there: 'You confirm what you see on the basis of the relationship between oral tradition and physical evidence . . . Land brings up memory of place . . . this is definitely how it works. Land does that.' As an example, Zunis have traditions about plants that do not occur on their current reservation, such as *mek'yaba metda:we* ('big eared cactus with fruit coming off the side'), a variety of prickly pear. The Zunis saw *mek'yaba metda:we* on the trip to the Canyon Creek Cliff Dwelling on the Apache reservation, and this plant helped situate oral traditions. Spruce pollen provides another example of something referenced in oral traditions, then observed during fieldwork on the trip to Mount Baldy.



The ancestors of the Zunis brought religious societies and clans with them when they settled at Zuni Pueblo and other sites in the Zuni River Valley, and these religious groups provide links between archaeological sites and the Zuni people. Zuni social and religious organization integrates Zuni kin and clan through ceremonial activities (Eggan, 1950: 177–98; Kroeber, 1917: 148–65). The Zuni socio-religious system is comprised of four interlocking components, including 14 matrilineal clans, six kiva groups, 12 curing societies, and the Rain and Bow Priesthoods (Ladd, 1979: 482–5). Clans and kiva groups are organized in the Katchina (Kokko) Society. The annual ceremonial cycle of clans and religious groups follows the agricultural seasons (Washburn, 1995: 34–7). Zuni religious societies have material correlates. For instance, Octavius Seowtewa explained that the spirals and stars found at many petroglyph panels on the Apache reservation are associated with the Galaxy Society. Zuni advisors concluded that the symbols found in ancient petroglyphs and contemporary religious iconography derive from a deep and ongoing historical relationship.

The Zuni cultural landscape incorporates an extensive geographical area and considerable time depth associated with the long period during which the Zuni people migrated from their place of emergence to Zuni Pueblo (Bunzel, 1932a, 1932b, 1932c; Cushing, 1896; Ferguson and Hart, 1985: 21; Parsons, 1939; Stevenson, 1904: 73–88). Zunis recount how their ancestors, after emerging in the Grand Canyon more than a thousand years ago, began a long migration up the Little Colorado Valley, traveling as a tribe and stopping at a series of sacred springs. At each stop they built a village and grew corn before continuing their migration. Along the way one group of Zunis left the main body and migrated south, never to return. Two other groups, comprised of members of the Sword Swallower and Big Fire religious societies, split off and migrated through the Rio Grande Valley before heading west and rejoining the main body of the tribe that had settled in the ‘Middle Place’ in the Zuni River Valley.

Zuni clans were named at Hantłbinkya, near the Arizona state line, just before the Zunis arrived at the ‘Middle Place’. Migration narratives are thus retained primarily in the prayers of Zuni religious societies rather than clans. The ancient sites on White Mountain Apache lands were actively occupied before clans were named, so the group with which the Zunis share an identity is the collective body of the Ino:de:kwe. Zuni traditions about migration through the Apache reservation are not associated with a specific religious society but with the tribe as a whole.

Zuni participants noted that while oral traditions provide an outline of history, they do not provide an inventory of ancestral sites. Zuni migration traditions entail more than literal history because they include powerful esoteric information. During an earlier project, a Zuni religious leader provided a list of places referenced in his origin account, then pointed out, ‘These are the places that are discussed as a trail, but it is a religious idea,

or religious trail that is recited in the prayer and not an actual path' (Ferguson and Hart, 1985: 21). Another religious leader said, 'The place names and the symbolic trail are the ones we have been talking about, the actual road is not the same as the symbolic road' (Ferguson and Hart, 1985: 21). Zuni participants on this project say there were many more ancient villages occupied by their ancestors in a much larger geographical area than those along the symbolic route described in prayers.

Eldrick Seoutewa pointed out that one term for ancestral sites is *heshoda utapna*, 'houses all around'. Cliff dwellings are called *heshoda'uttha*, 'ancient houses against a cliff'. Octavius Seowtewa explained that different types of houses were built using materials that were available locally. Seowtewa explained that cliff dwellings represent one phase in a sequence of occupation that includes pit houses, small hamlets, and the construction of large pueblos. All these types of sites are mentioned in Zuni prayers that recount how Zuni ancestors built structures every four days, a metaphor, as Seowtewa explained, that may actually denote four days, four months, or four years.

Seowtewa also described how Zuni narratives recount constant movement, with different groups of people reoccupying sites over time. This is why, he said, the Zunis think the area was never abandoned. People would come back and rebuild walls and live there, then move on, leaving objects behind to welcome newcomers or those who returned. Davis Nieto explained there was a concept of community and sharing in the past, especially on the well-watered Apache reservation.

In summarizing Zuni migration narratives and cultural affiliation, Seowtewa explained that 'Our ancestors . . . roamed the Southwest, as far as California. Now we go out and see sites and that solidifies the migration and the history of different routes to the Middle Place.' He said important themes in the migration traditions include hardship and struggle. Visiting archaeological sites and petroglyphs provides tangible reflections of the routes traveled and the many hardships endured to reach the Middle Place. Seowtewa concluded, 'These places need to be protected – they are our living history.'

Zuni participants recognized that many ancient pueblos were occupied by ancestors of both the Hopi and Zuni tribes. As Seoutewa explained, 'Different tribes were within the same area, and are thus related'. For this reason, the Zunis do not claim an exclusive cultural affiliation; they recognize the Hopi Tribe shares cultural affiliation. Zuni traditions only discuss occupation of the region prior to the arrival of the Apaches.

Zuni traditions recall continuing use of the White Mountains for hunting, gathering, and religious activities. According to Zuni participants in this project, their forebears returned to the area on pilgrimages, a fact substantiated by remains of ritual activities at mountain top shrines and springs (Greenwood and White, 1970; Morris, 1982). These shrines are associated



with ceramics, beads, sherd disks, stone and ceramic effigies, projectile points, and turquoise mosaic fragments. The ceramics at the shrines include types made when the ancient villages on Apache lands were occupied in the 1300s and 1400s, and later types made when Zuni people were living in the Zuni River Valley.

Based on our fieldwork, Zuni participants affirmed cultural affiliation between the Zuni Tribe and the ancient occupants of White Mountain Apache lands. They concluded that Pueblo architecture, shrines, ceramics, petroglyphs, and burial practices provide archaeological evidence supporting their oral traditions and cultural knowledge.

■ APACHE PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURAL AFFILIATION

The geographical ties of the Ndee cultural tradition are traced to the four federally recognized Western Apache tribes. Most adult Apaches recognize kinship with members of at least one other Apache tribe. Bonds to land and family cut across Apache reservation borders. Consequently, the goal of Apache research was to identify the territories on the reservation associated with Apache bands and clans. These territories provide a basis for consultation with the living representatives of social groups when discoveries of Apache remains and cultural items are made.

The White Mountain Apaches conceive of the past as a well-worn path or trail (*'intin'*) that was traveled by the ancestors. As Basso (1996: 31) explains:

Beyond the memories of living persons, this path is no longer visible – the path has disappeared – and thus is unavailable for direct consultation and study. For this reason, the past must be constructed – which is to say, imagined – with the aid of historical materials, sometimes called ‘footprints’ or ‘tracks’ (*biké' goz'ââ*), that have survived into the present. These materials come in various forms, including Apache place-names, Apache stories and songs, and different kinds of relics . . . what matters most to Apaches is *where* events occurred, not when, and what they serve to reveal about the development and character of Apache social life.

Although some Apache stories describe a contemporaneous occupation of territory with Puebloan groups, Ndee and Puebloan social identities are distinct (Goodwin, 1942). For example, while some Apache people believe that Apaches lived in the Grasshopper area during the habitation of the pueblo, and that trade and intermarriage took place between pueblo occupants and Apaches (*Fort Apache Scout*, 1993b; Lupe, 1993b), there is consensus that Puebloan people left Western Apache lands long ago, making their way to the Hopi and Zuni villages.

Many Apaches assert that they have lived in their homeland since time immemorial. In 1883, Adolph Bandelier reported that Apache chiefs

'protested they had no [migration] traditions, that they had always lived here. They feigned absolute ignorance in regard to the ruins' (Lange and Riley, 1970: 89). In contrast, Albert Reagan wrote that an 'old medicine-man' told him that the Apache people came from the cold north, and that when they arrived in this land, they found people living in cliffs, in caves, and in mud and stone houses and villages. The original inhabitants and the Apaches fought one another, and the Apaches overtook the cliff-dwellers and drove them south toward the oceans (Goodwin, 1994: 49; Reagan, 1930: 288). Additional research is needed to clarify how Apache concepts of the past embody both spiritual teachings and historical information.

Bernadette Adley-Santa Maria, an Apache linguist, and Ramon Riley, the White Mountain Apache Tribe Cultural Resources Director, told us that borrowing across cultural traditions is evident in similarities in religious masks, other headdresses, color symbolism, dances, rituals, and origin stories. Riley explained that Apache people show the highest form of respect for ancient sites through avoidance. One culturally sanctioned exception is the collection of black, red, and white stones and beads from ruins for use in religious activities such as the Sunrise Ceremony. As an indication of the esteem Apache religious practitioners have for ancient villages and their people, colored stones and beads from these sites are ground with corn and pollen and used in Ndee blessings.

Information about the ancient Ndee is scarce (Welch, 1997); almost all of the archaeological literature pertaining to Apache lands relates to Puebloan cultural traditions. Gregory (1981: 257, 264) hypothesizes that the initial Apache occupation of what is now their homeland occurred after AD 1600. Apache materials have been found to overlie Puebloan materials, but not vice versa. The archaeological evidence suggests a hiatus in the occupation of White Mountain Apache lands and surrounding areas following Puebloan emigrations.

Adley-Santa Maria noted that there is less Apache archaeological evidence than there is for Puebloan land use because the Apache used a perishable, hunter-gatherer type of material culture. Apache structures include domed and conical brush *gowq* (wickiups), ramadas, windbreaks, single coursed and multi-coursed rock-rings, dry-laid and piled masonry, fortified camps and agave roasting pits (Donaldson and Welch, 1991; Welch, 2001). Artifact assemblages at Apache sites are sparse, consisting primarily of lithics, fire-cracked rock, and other materials common at sites with non-Apache cultural affiliations. Apache ceramics are rare. Many Apache sites are isolated and difficult to access. Jeanette Cassa pointed out that Apache people were adept at minimizing the traces they left on the land, a practice consistent with cultural mandates to live in harmony with creation and with the need, especially during the later 1800s, to avoid detection.

Ndee kinship, place names, and oral tradition complement archaeological studies. As Vincent Randall and Elizabeth Rocha explained, Apache people have immutable ties to their clan origin place and their band territory,



forming much of their core social identities. Marriage, whether through familial arrangements or women taken captive, provided the primary means for the consolidation of territorial control by bands. It also provided a strategic means for the geographical extension of social relationships. These relationships are maintained through shared 'cognitive maps' and place names that integrate memory, kinship, landmarks, the seasonal dynamics of wild food and farming localities. Most clan names specify the name of the place where the clan originated. Although most of these places are unoccupied as of 2006, Ndee retain their clan identities, which are traced matrilineally.

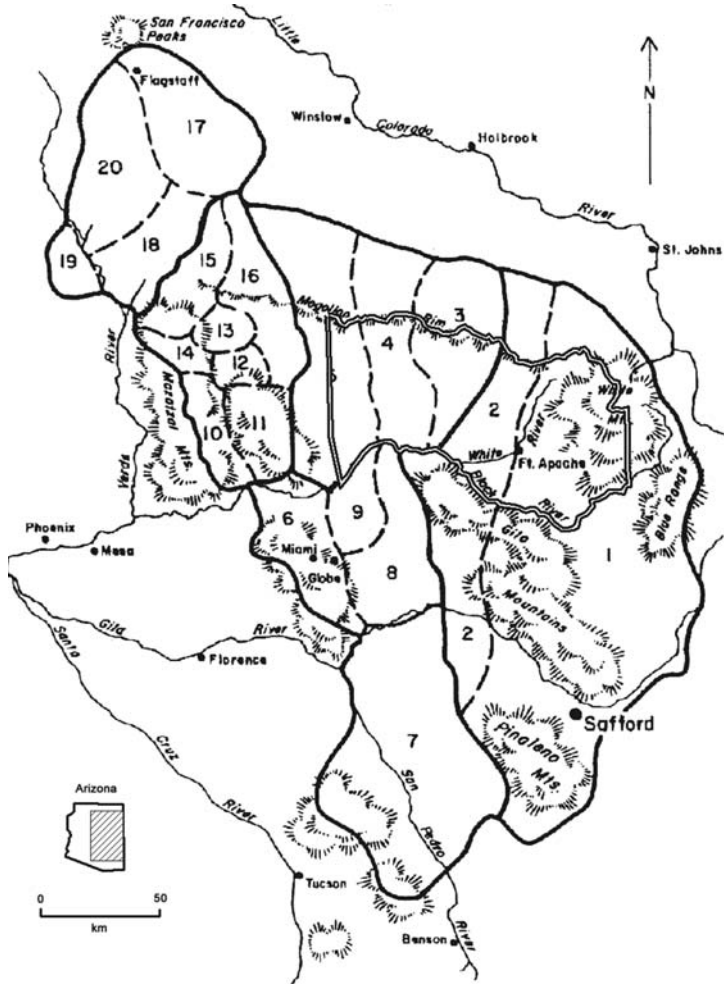
Apache social relationships often have geographical correlates. Ndee oral traditions reveal strong links among clan migration routes, and the springs, streams, and events associated with farmstead 'hubs' for clusters of extended family households (Buskirk, 1986). Descriptive and commemorative Apache place names help document Apache ties to the region. Themes of social interaction in oral traditions include raiding and trading with surrounding groups as well as visiting relatives scattered across Western Apache aboriginal territory. Although aspects of traditional Ndee social identity are eroding, many people still trace their ancestry back at least four generations, keeping track of the relatives of both their mothers and fathers.

In terms of cultural affiliation, Ndee have historically traceable relationships with two primary identifiable groups: bands and clans. Goodwin (1942) identifies two groups comprised of five bands associated with White Mountain Apache lands (Figure 4). The White Mountain Group includes the Eastern White Mountain Band and Western White Mountain Band. The Cibecue Group includes the Carrizo Band, Cibecue Band, and the Canyon Creek Band. These territorial bands were associated with variations in dialect and religious and social practice (Goodwin, 1942: 6–7). Vincent Randall pointed out that dispersed forager-farmers needed a large territory for obtaining food and appropriate mates. Social alliances formed between affinal relatives facilitated travel and provided protection in times of danger and scarcity (Watt and Basso, 2004). 'It is having relatives that makes you feel comfortable when you travel', Randall said.

Table 2 lists the origin places and cultural associations of the Western Apache clans associated with White Mountain Apache Tribe lands, and Figure 5 provides a map of some of these associations. There are distinctive material indicators of Apache social groups, but these are seldom possible to discern archaeologically.

■ STEWARDSHIP RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the project focused on cultural affiliation and repatriation, tribal participants offered many comments relating to stewardship and the crucial



White Mountain

- 1. Eastern White Mountain Band
- 2. Western White Mountain Band

Cibecue

- 3. Carrizo Band
- 4. Cibecue Band
- 5. Canyon Creek Band

San Carlos

- 6. Pinal Band
- 7. Arivaipa Band
- 8. San Carlos Band
- 9. Apache Peaks Band

Southern Tonto

- 10. Mazatzal Band
- 11. First Semiband, Southern Tonto
- 12. Second Semiband, Southern Tonto
- 13. Third Semiband, Southern Tonto
- 14. Fourth Semiband, Southern Tonto
- 15. Fifth Semiband, Southern Tonto
- 16. Sixth Semiband, Southern Tonto

Northern Tonto

- 17. Mormon Lake Band
- 18. Fossil Creek Band
- 19. Bald Mountain Band
- 20. Oak Creek Band

Figure 4 White Mountain Apache lands and the distribution of Western Apache bands. After Goodwin (1942: 4–5)



Table 2 Ndee Hadazti'i: Western Apache Clans associated with White Mountain Apache Tribe lands¹

Clan Name	Origin & migration places	Other association(s)
<i>Dìzhé'é (Tonto clans)</i>	<i>Upper East Verde, Fossil Ck, Middle Verde, Camp Verde</i>	
Tsachiidn (red rock strata people)	Oak Creek	Red tail hawk people (?); Chief Alchesay, A-1
Tsébinazti'e (rock encircling people)	Confluence of Gentry Canyon and Canyon Ck, where there is circular rock formation	Originally Dìzhé'é; Moved to San Pedro; Now in San Carlos; May be Eskiminzen's clan
Tsédisgaiñ (horizontally white rock people)	Chediski Farms	
<i>Dził Tadrn (Cibecue clans)</i>	<i>Cibecue vicinity</i>	
Bisdadishjagé (adobe jutting out in parallel points people)	Mouth of wash about ½ mile above Day School, where cut-banks jut out into Cibecue Ck	
Chachiidn (red rock strata people)		Shash
Chich'ilcho sikaadn (white oak rows standing people)	Grove of gambel's oaks on Carrizo Ck, 2 mi. north of Jump Off Canyon	Doole; Caddo Truax, Leonard Truax
Da'izkañ (flat topped people)	Gentry Mtn west of Canyon Ck.	Related to Tséchisjiné, Tséyidn, Dził like'silaahn, Yagozteelé
Dishchiidn (horizontally red people)	Cibecue Valley	Shash; Possible Navajo/Zuni ancestry; Cornelia Hoffman lineage
Doshdó'e (fly infested soup people)	West side Cibecue Ck, ¼ mi. north of sawmill	Doole; Robinson Alsenay
Dzil t'aadn (foot of the mountain people)	Cibecue and Carrizo	Rose Lupe lineage; Clan relatives are saguaro bird, eagle and oriole
Gad o'aahn (juniper standing alone people)	Northwest Cibecue, where lone juniper stood	Clan relative is cardinal
Golkizhn (marked on the ground people)	Oak Ck (Southwest of Cibecue)	Doole
Iyahajye iyaa (mesquite growing place people)	Spring at foot of Round Top Mtn. or (per J. Rope) on West Cedar Ck	John Rope
K'ischinti'le (alders jutting out people)	On Cibecue Ck, about 3 miles above mouth of Salt Ck	Also called Be'itson (made out of yellow people) because they dyed their moccasins yellow with inner bark of alders
K'isdishchii na'ditiñ (trail thru horizontally red alders people)	On Cibecue Ck about six miles below Cibecue Store, near mouth of Spring Ck	Clan relative is cardinal
T'iis kaadn (cottonwood standing people)	Trail went by cottonwood on head of wash entering Cibecue Ck, opposite Lutheran Mission	Shash; Eva Watt; division of clan called ko'hadizñ –fire flares upward people, because they hit the fire angrily

Table 2 continued

<i>Clan Name</i>	<i>Origin & migration places</i>	<i>Other association(s)</i>
Tséchisjíné (rocks extending out darkly people)	Dark boulders at eastern foot of Sierra Ancha on Cherry Ck	Doole; Susie Tenejieth lineage; Tséyidń are close relatives, as are eagle, wolf tracks, quail, and roadrunner
Tsékiné (rock house people)		Doole
Tlólh Kua hu guin (Fort Apache clans)		
Be'iltsoon (made yellow people)		Doole
Biszaha (adobe cut bank people)	Site near Bear Spring, northwest of Agency	Goshdiye; owned black corn
Dzil Lentiń (connecting mountain people)		Shash
Gohin	Fort McDowell (?)	Doole; Dilzhé'é term for Yavapai
Iyahajyé (mesquite plants grow in this place people)		Itsa
Nádots'osń (slender peak standing up people)	Cone-shaped Odart mountain on the head of Bonito Ck near mouth of Squaw Ck	Goshdiye; clan relative is roadrunner; black corn ownership
Ndee Ndeezń (tall people)	Point of Pines and Eagle Ck	Goshdiye; Black tailed deer; People gathering food from tall tree
Nilchi'nti'dń (two rows of pine trees connecting people)	Near mouth of Jump Off Canyon, where pines grow down to Carrizo Ck from west	Doole; Bessie Gatewood Tortice
Nágodishgizhń (between two hills people)	Cottonwood Wash, between North Fork White River and Cedar Ck	Shash; Bear is clan relative; owns round corn and blue corn
Sai Yagaidn (white sand people)		Doole; Also a Dilzhé'é clan, with members in Cibecue
Téhnadolzhagé (descending into water in peaks people)	Ridge jutting into White River 3 mi. above Agency	Itsa; First families to have bows and arrows; Hawks and eagles
T'iis lentiń (cottonwoods joining people)	Two groves of cottonwoods at forks, just east of old Cedar Ck store	Goshdiye; Related to Nágodishgizhń
T'iis tehnaiyé (cottonwoods extending to the water people)	West of Whiteriver Agency, 2–3 miles below Bear Spring	
Tl'ohk'aa'digairń (row of white canes people)	Carrizo Ck, south of Gaan Daszin; First at Promontory Butte, then toward Carrizo	Doole; Jerome Kasey, Sr.; k'ai yahiti (willows sprouting out)
Tsek'aa No'dile		Doole
Tséti'añ (rock jutting into the water people)	Limestone ridge jutting into White R, above Diamond Ck	Itsa; Eagles and hawks; white corn ownership



Table 2 continued

Clan Name	Origin & migration places	Other association(s)
Tudilhíle (black water people)	Range along Black R	Itsa; Eagles and hawks; gray corn ownership; Closely related to Tugaidí
Tugaidí (white water people)	Same clan in Dilzhé'é?	Itsa; Related to Iyahajyé, Tudilhíle, Tséti'añ; less related to Téhnadolzhagé
Yani'go'e	Cedar Ck	Goshdiye
'Adopted' clans	Various	Social 'niche' allocated to lineages initiated by non-Apache women
Ha'í'aha (sunrise people) III.H	Mescalero	Doole; Dilzhé'é version of Mescalero clan(?); Stanley Pinal
Nakaiyé	Mexico	Shash; Beverly Malone's great grandmother (mother of Cecilia Cruz) originated clan as captive wife
Nashtizhé	Zuni	Milford Cosen
Ndaalotchin (mixed breed people)		Shash
Saikiné (sand living people) ²	Pima	Grant Lee; originated only in the San Carlos group
Tsé káh kǫné (rock on top living people)	Hopi	Virginia Tortice lineage
Yudaha	Navajo	Eileen Hill lineage

¹ Table refined and amended from Goodwin (1942) with assistance of Apache advisors and orthography of Beverly Malone. Listed here are all extant clans known to have either origins or prolonged residential links to WMAT lands.

² Apache consultants Elizabeth Rocha and Beverly Malone each noted Hopi and Pima as closely related peoples living in very different geographical circumstances.

roles that respectful and balanced conservation of environmental and cultural heritage play in the wellness and sustainability of human communities. Our effort to portray participants' commitment to making repatriation efforts contributes to the broader vision of revitalizing connections among people, land, specific places, and oral and spiritual traditions. The following summary relates some of the guidance offered relating to stewardship policy and practice.

Both Hopi and Zuni participants recalled oral traditions depicting the central Arizona mountains as an ancestral landscape of great biological diversity and productivity in comparison with the destinations for their migrations. By far the most prominent theme connecting sites, teachings, and stewardship was water. From the advisors' perspectives, so many water sources and related habitats have already been degraded through groundwater pumping, contamination, overgrazing, and other forms of mismanagement that restoration is urgently needed to maintain ecological and cultural vitality. Hopi and Zuni religious offerings and views relating to the

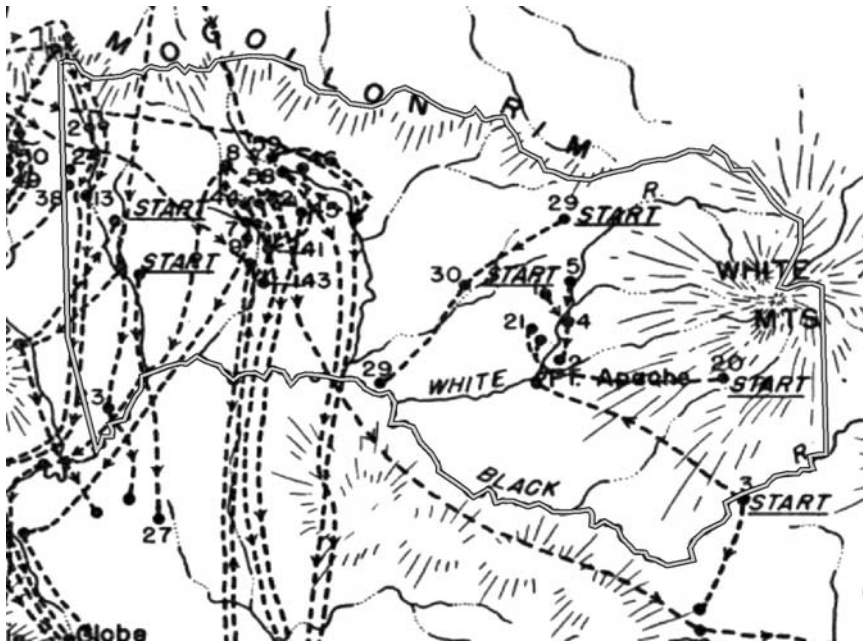


Figure 5 Western Apache clan migrations mapped in relation to White Mountain Apache Tribe lands. Clans include: 2, Tugaidí (white water people); 3, Tudilhíle (black water people); 4, Téhnadolzhagé (descending into water in peaks people); 5, Tséti'á (rock jutting into the water people); 6, Ndee Ndeezh (tall people); 7, Doshdó'e (fly infested soup people); 12, Tsédisgai (horizontally white rock people); 13, Kí ya á (below a house people); 21, Biszáhé (gloss of name uncertain); 22, Tséchisjiné (rocks extending out darkly people); 24, Da'izká (flat topped people); 27, Yagozteelé (slanting up broadly people); 29, Nágodishgizh (between two hills people); 30, T'iis lenti' (cottonwoods joining people); 38, Tsébinazti'e (rock encircling people); 41, Dishchiid (horizontally red people); 42, Bisdadishjagé (adobe jutting out in parallel points people); 43, K'isdishchii na'diti (trail through horizontally red alders people); 45, T'iis kaad (cottonwood standing people); 58, Nilchi'nti'd (two rows of pine trees connecting people); 59, Chich'ilcho sikaad (white oak rows standing people). After Goodwin (1942: Map 6)

manifold values of springs, streams, and their sources on sacred peaks reminded Apache representatives of Ndee teachings and prompted the White Mountain Apache Tribe to increase protection for all water sources through their universal inclusion in the FAIRsite heritage resource inventory.

Hopi, Zuni, and Apache participants identified many medicinal and culinary plants at the locations they visited, including osha or bear root,



devil's claw, wolfberry, saltbush, mistletoe, Rocky Mountain beeweed, sunflower, Mexican cliff rose, and native tobacco. They explained plant knowledge as an important element of their cultural inheritance and affirmed that many more plants could be identified through botanical surveys. The study and collection of plants, pollen, minerals, and water at sites visited during fieldwork exemplified the close relationship between natural resources, cultural knowledge, land, history, and the perpetuation of ritual and social formations. The advisors' reverence for native plants further endorses efforts to safeguard their habitats and to curb incursions by non-native species.

As part of the Zuni, Apache, and Hopi spiritual mandate to foster and maintain balance and to exhibit respect, offerings were made wherever knowledge was shared or ceremonial collections were obtained. Leaving ritual offerings at ancestral sites or other sacred areas is a longstanding custom in each of the three cultural traditions. Eldrick Seoutewa explained, 'When you see a site, you leave an offering.' The implications or guidance for stewardship are to 'listen' closely to places and their constituents (i.e. plants, animals, water sources, etc.) and to give in proportion to what is sought or removed as a means of maintaining balance.

Archaeologists, collectors, and resource managers have not always heeded this kind of guidance, taking more than they left behind, sometimes acting disrespectfully, and supposing that linkages between places, objects, traditions, and peoples were somehow either severed or inconsequential. Historical and ongoing relationships between lands and communities provide a basis for Zuni, Hopi, and Apache criticism of the archaeological concept of 'abandonment' (see also Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, 2006b). Octavius Seowtewa explained that the Zuni people have not 'abandoned' their ancestors or their sites; the places remain cared for deeply. He said, 'Our forefathers told us of these places.' When the Zuni visit areas mentioned in migration traditions, they recall the sacred prayers that describe the buttes, peaks, and waterways. When the Zuni visit ancestral sites and the shines that are often associated with them, they make ceremonial offerings that give them strength. Much as Benjamin Whorf (1941) advised that use of the term 'empty' in reference to vapor-filled gasoline drums masks a hazard and fails to discourage reckless behavior (Keith Basso, personal communication to Welch), project participants affirmed that the archaeological use of 'abandoned' directs attention away from ongoing cultural linkages to sites and encourages the misappropriation of places and objects still being used by descendent communities. For example, Titus Lamson, a Hopi living on White Mountain Apache lands, maintained the shrine in the Kinishba plaza until about 1988, roughly 600 years after archaeologists generally claim the site was 'abandoned' (Welch, 2007).

The Apache objection to the archaeological concept of abandonment centers more on sacred sites and ceremonial objects than on ancestral habitation sites. Through prayers and the respectful avoidance of places of

sacred power and objects retired as the final phase of ceremonial use, Apaches maintain connections to lands, sites, objects, and cultural traditions. Archaeologists, collectors, and land managers have failed to recognize and act in accord with the truth that sacred sites and ceremonial objects generally remain in active use by Apache communities without visitation or other physical contacts (Welch, 1997). Apaches pay regular visits to sacred sites under Apache control, but also offer prayers from their homes and sweat lodges to and through sacred sites located beyond reservation borders. Disrespect to or desecration of Apache sacred sites can interfere with such prayers, causing great harm to those dependent upon the sites as well as to those responsible for the disrespect. In the case of ceremonial objects put away on the land, the disturbance of their resting places or use of the places or objects for any other purpose brings a premature and potentially counteractive and dangerous end to the final phase of the ceremony. The predominant message for collectors, archaeologists, and land managers is that neither sites nor objects should be considered abandoned without consulting the people having or sharing cultural affiliation with the landscape and its component places.

■ REPATRIATION RECOMMENDATIONS

To date, the Western Apache have focused repatriation activities on the return of Apache sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony. Because of sustained collaboration among the Apache tribes and the plenary agreement that repatriated cultural items must be returned to the land to facilitate completion of their ceremonial functions, cultural affiliation determinations have been completed with widespread community support and without controversy. The repatriation of Ndee human remains awaits community consensus.

Cultural affiliation is a critical issue, however, in determining the disposition of Puebloan remains collected from White Mountain Apache lands. The findings from our project substantiate determinations made by the Arizona State Museum that Hopi and Zuni are culturally affiliated with the human remains and funerary objects removed from ancient pueblo ruins on White Mountain Apache lands. Hopi and Zuni officials agree with Apache representatives that these human remains and funerary objects require respectful reburial as close as possible to the locations from which they were removed, and well away from any foreseeable disturbance. The past identifiable groups that the Hopis and Zunis claim cultural affiliation with are referred to with different terms than those used by archaeologists, but anthropological and tribal views about cultural affiliation are generally consistent. Although additional archaeological study would be needed to identify the religious societies documented in Zuni and Hopi traditions with



scientific certainty, such certainty is explicitly not the standard of proof required by NAGPRA.

The repatriation of Puebloan human remains collected from White Mountain Apache lands will be expensive and time consuming. Continued collaboration between Apache and Puebloan tribes is needed to resolve the remaining political, logistical, and financial issues. The Zuni and Hopi must rely on the White Mountain Apache Tribe to provide a secure reburial site and to respect the sanctity of the reburial proceedings. The White Mountain Apache Tribe must rely on Zuni and Hopi to submit repatriation claims. The Apache and Zuni will rely on Hopi to conduct the reburial ceremony. Project participants think it will take years to rebury all ancestors removed from White Mountain Apache lands. 'Hopefully,' as Octavius Seowtewa commented, 'we can rebury our ancestors; they didn't ask to be taken out.'

One intractable issue associated with repatriation of Puebloan human remains and funerary objects is how to fund these efforts. Hopi advisor Bradley Balenquah voiced the advisors' consensus view that this is the financial responsibility of the federal government and the institutions that sponsored archaeological excavations. Hopi advisor Michael Lomayaktewa pointed out that the National Science Foundation and the University of Arizona were primary financial supporters for the excavation of human remains, asserting that they therefore have a moral and financial obligation to assist with repatriation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) claims legal control over the collections and NAGPRA proceedings but has yet to comply with applicable NAGPRA mandates and deadlines. Nor has BIA provided the leadership and resources required to complete the documentation necessary to account for all collected remains and funerary objects, or to physically re-associate human remains with their burial offerings. These are the next steps in the NAGPRA process applicable to the Pueblo-derived funerary assemblages from White Mountain Apache lands.

Tribal representatives envision developing a task force to work out administrative and logistical arrangements for reburial, beginning with small groups of human remains recovered from looted ruins and proceeding to larger groups with thousands of associated funerary objects. As repatriation is completed, tribal advisors said, spiritual balance will be restored to the White Mountain Apache lands, and the world will be a better place. The advisors further suggested that institutions and individuals involved in the excavations of human remains or cultural items, or in any disrespectful or unauthorized collections or desecrations of sacred sites, should acknowledge their actions as mistakes and seek atonement and reconciliation through apologies to the affected descendants and through material and spiritual support for repatriation efforts.

The White Mountain Apache assessment of cultural affiliation on their reservation has reaffirmed the enduring truth that tribal elders and cultural specialists provide crucial guidance in challenging circumstances. This work demonstrates how cultural memories live, revive and reverberate through

contacts with land, sites, and objects. The persistent memories and values of Pueblo and Apache people run counter to archaeological and legal notions of abandonment while signaling that similar projects would assist future generations in carrying forward the best and most useful elements of Apache, Hopi, and Zuni cultural traditions.

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Note

- 1 See <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nagpra> for access to all relevant authorities and up-to-date interpretations.

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