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DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The present appearance of the major ruins is close to the original, except for some fallen walls and roofs and some reconstruction and stabilization in the twentieth century. The three principal sites of Betatakin, Keet Seel, and Inscription House are within large shelters in the Navajo Sandstone cliffs and are composed of 135, 154, and 77 rooms, respectively. Each is composed of various proportions of masonry and jacal walls. Local unshaped sandstone with clay mortar is used for the masonry; some masonry walls were plastered. Upright posts 5 to 10 cm in diameter form the basis for the jacal walls, with smaller sticks and reeds between; the entire thing is heavily coated with clay. The surface appearance of an intact jacal wall would have been one of smooth clay. The clay has fallen from many, so the underlying sticks are now visible.

Each site consists of living rooms, storage rooms, ceremonial rooms (kivas), and courtyards. The ratio of living rooms to storage rooms is similar in all three sites (1:2), but they differ in numbers and forms of kivas.

Because of the sloping nature of the cave floors, all sites present a terraced appearance, although each ruin is only 2 stories high in a few places. The cave location of these sites has long been one of their main attractions to the public.

Small (up to 15 rooms) habitation and special-use sites of the Kayenta Anasazi, AD 100-1290, are also present within the boundaries. The alcoves of Keet Seel and Inscription House were apparently used before the Pueblo III occupation, but the only evidence remaining of this prior use is trash, as the earlier structures were destroyed or remodeled by the Pueblo III occupants. Turkey Cave near Keet Seel was ideal for the construction of Pueblo I pithouses--two are known, and more may be present. Perhaps two were destroyed by the Pueblo III construction of two circular kivas associated with Keet Seel. Turkey Cave was utilized from about AD 700 to 900, and again around 1250.

A small alcove west of Betatakin was also used for the construction of a kiva, but a rectangular one rather than circular. This site is commonly known as Kiva Cave.

Two small Pueblo III cliff sites are within the Inscription House parcel. Snake House had 13 rooms, Owl House had six. Some prehistoric hand prints are present in an alcove northwest of Inscription House. Between Inscription House and Snake House is an unnamed site evidenced by viga holes in the cliff and pictographs and petroglyphs. Other small sites probably exist in open areas in all parcels.

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SIGNIFICANCE

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SPECIFIC DATES Primarily A.D. 1250-1290 BUILDER/ARCHITECT Kayenta Anasazi

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Betatakin, Keet Seel, and Inscription House are all significant under both criteria C and D. Criterion C is important because of their preservation. They clearly embody the Pueblo III Kayenta Anasazi architectural style and form, yet they are different from each other, showing the variability in villages. It is possible for the interested public to gain an impression of the appearance of these 700-yearold villages, an impression impossible to gain so clearly from open sites.

Criterion D is also applicable. Published material is available on each of these sites, and forms the basis for the definition of the well-dated (Bannister, Dean and Robinson 1968) Kayenta Anasazi Pueblo III Tsegi Phase. Not only have they yielded information important to prehistory, each has the potential to yield more. Much of the information gathered was gathered 50 to 70 years ago, and much of the information on the Kayenta Anasazi from immediately outside the Monument boundaries (Beals, Brainerd and Smith 1945; Guernsey 1931; Kidder and Guernsey 1919). Archaeological goals and methods have changed considerably over the decades. More needs to be learned about the distribution of specific and general artifact types among the Kayenta Anasazi during Pueblo III, which will lead to a much more complete understanding of social relationships. Some of this information can be gained through reexamination of existing museum collections, but some excavation in unexcavated portions of the sites would also be important, in order to gather detailed *in situ* artifactual data and paleoecological data.

The significance of these parcels lies not only in the visible architecture, but also in the potential for yielding information important to the understanding of the Kayenta anasazi. A stage-by-stage summary of knowledge and problems follows.

(see continuation sheet)

Continuation sheet

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Basketmaker II. AD 100-500 This stage can be briefly characterized as a mixed agricultural (corn and squash), hunting (primarily deer and/or mountain sheep), and gathering economy. Frequent use of caves for habitation, storage, and/or burial is common. The few BMII houses known from the Kayenta area are shallow pitstructures. Pottery is not yet present, nor are the bow and arrow, but baskets, sandals, and other textiles are well made. Shallow basin grinding slabs and one-hand manos are common, as are large well-made dart points and numerous other flaked stone tools. A shamanistic/individualistic religious pattern is inferred. Some regional variation in BMII has been noted (e.g., Lindsay et al. 1968:101), but the general pattern seems to be similar over a wide area from at least Kanab to the upper San Juan. BMII occupations have been defined on Black Mesa (Lolomai Phase), and are also clearly present in the Navajo Mountain area. Given the geographic proximity and environmental similarities of Tsegi and Navajo Canyons to Black Mesa, Marsh Pass, and Navajo Mountain, it would be expectable that BMII folks also utilized the immediate environs of Navajo National Monument; Woodchuck Cave (Lockett and Hargrave 1953) demonstrates this to be the case. The essential absence of obvious BMII remains in the Monument proper may be more a matter of clearing of caves or obscuring early deposits by later peoples, or the existence of better site locations from the BMII point of view than the locations chosen by PIII peoples. Gladwin (as reported by Breternitz 1969) may have found BMII material at Turkey Cave, although this was not noted by earlier or later investigators at the site.

Basketmaker III, AD 500-700

Basketmaker III can be characterized as the stage of the introduction of beans and pottery, the bow and arrow, cultivation of cotton, and communal religious organization, as exemplified by occasional large structures thought to have served as "great kivas." Typical dwellings are partly subterranean, often slab-lined, with an antechamber, central firepit, 4 post roof support system, and low wing walls extending from the firepit to the house perimeter.

Black Mesa appears to have been essentially unoccupied between AD 100 and 850. in remarkable contrast to the Red Lake Valley, Klethla Valley, Tsegi, Tusayan, and Kayenta areas, where BMIII sites are well known. Only a few are known from the Shonto Plateau northward. Ceramically, at least 2 phases can be defined: a stage of only plain scraped (Lino Gray) or burnished (Obelisk Gray) pottery and a later stage also including painted bowls (Lino B/G) and occasional red-slipped (Tallahogan Red) vessels. The earlier expression is best exemplified at NA 8163 (Ambler and Olson 1977), and may have been found by Kidder (Guernsey 1931) and Breternitz (1969) at Turkey Cave and by Ward (1975) at Inscription House. However, sites of this presumably earlier non-painted pottery phase are so rarely found and defined that their distribution is unclear. A date of AD 555 from NA 8163 indicates that the beginning of painted pottery in the Kayenta area is later; AD 600 is suggested. Morss (1931:2) reports a cave "opposite Inscription House" as BMIII; his description, especially the lack of Lino Gray, sounds more like BMII; the apocynum breech clout could represent a late BMII textile technology such as noted at Sand Dune Cave. The later BMIII Lino Phase characterized by painted pottery appears to be a pan-Anasazi phenomenon, although somewhat erratically distributed geographically and

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temporally. BMIII mani	festations are found surrounding but	not on the northern part

of Black Mesa, and are also largely absent from the plateaus north of the Klethla Valley (Lindsay et al. 1968; Morss 1931).

Pueblo I, AD 700-900

By about AD 830, ceramic decoration changed rapidly from the rather casual Lino style to the more precise fine line Kana-a style. It is not yet clear what other changes accompanied the design change on the black-on-white pottery; unobliterated coils on the necks of jars is one, village layout and construction may be another. For northern Black Mesa, Smiley and Andrews (1983: 55-56) note that some Pueblo I (Dinnebito Phase) sites look much like BMIII sites, whereas others have the construction and layout more typical of later Pueblo periods. The similarity of Pueblo I and BMIII structures in the Tsegi area is exemplified by Kidder and Guersney's (1919) characterization of this stage as the "Slab-house culture." The more formalized village layout may have appeared somewhat later than the ceramic changes. The change in village layout would seem to reflect a basic change in village social organization from a loosely integrated group of related families to a tightly integrated group, and also a change in ceremonial organization from a largely shamanistic and individualistic orientation to communal ceremonies organized around the calendrical round.

Because of the massive amount of archaeological work conducted on northern Black Mesa, BMAP reports provide the bulk of the architectural data for PI, although the early work by the Peabody Museum provides more information on the material culture. Morss (1931:2) noted that Pueblo I sites are essentially absent in the area north of the Klethla Valley; neither have they been found by later workers in the same region. PI sites do occur on the northwest flanks of Black Mesa from Marsh Pass to the Red Lake vicinity, and also are found to the south of Black Mesa. The geographic distribution therefore seems to largely correspond with BMIII, with two exceptions: a more significant occupation of northern Black Mesa and an incursion across the Shonto divide into Dzil Nez Mesa and the upper reaches of Paiute Canyon, about AD 980 (Ambler, Fairley and Geib 1983).

Pueblo II, AD 900-1170

Pueblo II in the Kayenta area is characterized by higher site density and an increased territory. The Shonto Plateau sees the first appearance of Puebloan sites, at least in any numbers, at roughly 1050, and PII sites suddenly appear on the Rainbow Plateau, Cummings Mesa, Navajo Mountain area, and Paiute Mesa a generation later, about 1080.

Smiley and Andrews (1983; 56-57) note that for northern Black Mesa there appears to be a reduction in mobility, increasing regional social integration, and an increased material culture diversity, trends that may hold for the region as a whole. Northern Black Mesa is effectively abandoned by 1150, and the Black Mesa folk probably contributed to the sudden population increase to the north.

Most Pueblo II sites are small, with 1-3 living rooms plus associated storage rooms, special purpose (e.g., maize grinding) rooms, and kivas. Some larger pueblos, perhaps 15-20 rooms, are also known, largely from surface evidence. Village layout generally follows a uniform pattern, with a principal masonry storage

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room flanked by other rooms and a circular fully subterranean kiva in front. The larger sites have a plaza defined by walls or rooms surrounding the kiva. Considerable variability in wall construction and specific features from one site to the next is apparent, an indication of personal variability. Kivas, usually considered to be ceremonial, often have utilitarian items associated; perhaps they also served as winter dwellings.

Pueblo III, AD 1170-1290

Increasing populations, large-scale economic symbiosis, and a generally higher standard of living set the stage for Pueblo III. However, the evolutionary flow is interrupted in the mid-twelfth century. Black Mesa is abandoned, over much of the rest of the region population growth seems to have leveled off, and declined in some localities. Berry (1982) postulates a precipitous decline for the region as a whole. One noticeable exception is the Wupatki locale, where population density rises markedly in the 1100s (Anderson 1983). The first 40 years of Pueblo III is therefore referred to as the Citadel Phase (Ambler 1985). With many Kayenta populations in the south, interaction with Sinagua or Little Colorado Ansazi becmes apparent. Most explanatory hypotheses for the demographic changes at this time have been unabashedly environmentally deterministic (e.g., Karlstrom, Gumerman and Euler 1976; Euler et al. 1979; Dean et al. 1985; Berry 1982). Various paleoclimatic reconstructions agree on a severe but short-lived period of arroyo cutting and drought in the mid-twelfth century, with a subsequent return toward more mesic conditions. For farmers dependent upon the cultivation of valley alluvium the resulting arroyo cutting would have had effects lasting until about 1210, until aggradation had again provided both suitable soils and an elevated water table.

The Shonto Plateau was not completely abandoned during the latter part of the twelfth century, but by 1210 sees a noticeable population increase. The period from 1210 to 1255 is therefore known as the Shonto Phase, but is as yet only superficially known. The final Tsegi Phase, AD 1255-1290, is the best known, largely on the basis of the work done at Navajo National Monument.

Betatakin is the only one of the three sites upon which Navajo National Monument centers that evidences no occupation earlier than the Tsegi Phase. This lack of previous occupation at Betatakin is probably due to the extreme slope of the cave floor, which rendered it unsuitable for habitation without extensive work. Keet Seel shows some PI occupation and a strong PII utilization (Anderson 1971, Table 3); the alcove at Inscription House appears to have been utilized as early as BMIII, with a strong Pueblo II occupation (Ward 1975, Table 1). The preponderance of Tusayan B/W over Kayenta B/W at Inscription House compared to the proportions at Betatakin and Keet Seel argues that a large part of Inscription House may actually have been constructed during the Shonto Phase with the occupation continuing into the Tseqi Phase (cf. Ward 1975:35). Betatakin and Keet Seel, however, judging from both the ceramic frequencies and extensive dendrochronological data, appear to have been built during the Tsegi Phase. It appears that the PIII inhabitants of each of these sites rebuilt anything that may have been standing to suit their own specifications, rather than simply altering or using existing structures.

Although the cliff ruins have attracted the most attention, especially during the early years of exploration, it is also evident than many Tsegi Phase sites were constructed in the open, and many of these may have housed at least as many people as the more famous cliff dwellings. Architectural layouts are most easily seen in open sites, because the spatial restrictions placed by the natural conformation of caves tend to distort what were the ideal patterns. Three village patterns were in existence during this time: plaza sites, courtyard sites, and pithouse villages. Plaza sites are characterized by a sturdy masonry roomblock at the northwest side of the site, usually with a central exceptionally long room flanked by living and/or storage rooms. Extending southeastward from either end of this major roomblock may be additional rooms, walls, or pithouses surrounding a large plaza containing one or more large circular kivas. Other rooms may be present across the front (SE) side. sometimes several tiers deep. The layouts of courtyard sites show considerable variation, sometimes influenced by the exingencies of restricted site locations. Long rooms are absent, and the circular kivas are incorporated into essentially every roomblock in a small courtyard. Often several room-court-kiva units are present at one site. Keet Seel may be a modified version of this plan. Small sites of the courtyard type are probably also quite common, and often utilize semisubterranean and jacal construction.

Pithouse villages were formed of largely isolated pitstructures scattered over a fairly large area, with a high degree of variability in form and inferred function present. Both circular and rectangular kivas may be present. Pithouses are also found as part of sites that fit both the plaza and courtyard patterns.

Betatakin seems to be an anomaly, in its paucity of kivas. Dean (1969) identifies only one rectangular room as a kiva, although noting the possible former presence of another and mentioning the one in a separate shelter nearby (Anderson 1966). Kivas seem to have served as the focal point for Kayenta sites, which makes their apparent absence at Betatakin even more striking. Although the nature of the cave floor at Betatakin would have made the construction of an ideal subterranean kiva difficult, the problem had been solved many at other sites by the use of retaining walls. Kivas are also notably lacking in the Wupatki area.

There appears to be a strong correlation between Tsegi Phase site layout and location. Plaza sites are typically situated on elevated but not inherently easily defendable locations with a southeasterly slope. The main room block and long room are commonly perched on the most elevated portion of the hill. The courtyard sites are often found in obviously defendable locations, with the access controlled by what can only be called fortifications: heavy walls, restricted passages, and/or loopholes in walls. In contrast, pithouse villages and single-family courtyard sites appear to have been selected with an eye largely toward suitable soils for construction and nearby arable land.

The ideological and social differences implied by the different village layout (and different kiva styles?) could support the hypothesis of at least two socially distinct groups interspersed in the same region. Since plaza sites have clear antecedents in the region going back at least 200 years, it can be postulated that they represent the culmination of Kayenta social evolution into tightly integrated large social units. Since linear and irregular courtyard sites are <u>common</u> at a slightly earlier time level west of the Colorado river among the Virgin Anasazi, it could be further argued that immigrants from the west brought this pattern to the Kayenta country. It does appear that the courtyard sites and pithouse villages

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represent less tightly integrated social units, with each family forming an independent socio-economic unit that could move in and out of the village at will (Dean 1969). Differences in village location, layout, and specific architectural features make it difficult to envision the Tsegi Phase Kayenta Anasazi as a culturally uniform group. The sizes and numbers of sites indicate a population growth rate higher than can be accounted for by in situ growth; newcomers may have added to the tensions as well as contributing to the variability and strength of the Kayenta.

The quality of Tsegi Phase decorated ceramics has long been of interest to archaeologists, pothunters, and museum visitors. Indeed, the addition of white outlining and elaborate motifs on polychrome vessels and the introduction of "mosquito bar" hatching to decorate Kayenta B/W serve as the primary ceramic indicators of the Tsegi Phase. Accompanying the stylistic change in Tsegi Orange Ware and Tusayan White Ware is a textural change in Tusayan Gray Ware toward even less elaborate surface treatment, by Keet Seel Gray. Increased localization of utility ware manufacture is shown by the large amounts of Rainbow Gray in the Navajo Mountain locality (Callahan and Fairley 1983; Fairley and Callahan 1985) and higher proportions of corrugated wares in the southern portion of the Kayenta region. Specific production zones existed for the white and orange wares, a conclusion substantiated by the different spatial frequencies of those wares (Ambler 1983). The ramifications of this local specialization in ceramic production have yet to be explored, but it would appear that the Kayenta continued to have a widespread exchange network. Given the increase in village size and possible indications of increasing social differentiation during the Tsegi Phase, it is probable that the social mechanisms for this exchange changed from PII to late PIII. Considerably more research is necessary in order to define the socio-economic parameters of the Kayenta Anasazi, although some suggestions along these lines have been made (e.g., Lindsay 1969; Dean 1970; Ambler 1983b). The Anasazi abandonment of much of the Kayenta region, indeed the entire San

The Anasazi abandonment of much of the Kayenta region, indeed the entire San Juan drainage, by AD 1300 (1290 at Navajo National Monument) has long been a subject of interest to scholars and laymen alike. Generally, the explanations have focused upon three major causal realms: enemy groups, climatic and other environmental changes, and social problems.

The primary evidence for problems with other groups is the obviously defensive or easily defendable nature of many of the Tsegi Phase sites; no direct evidence of warfare in the form of burned and pillaged villages has yet come to light; in most instances the emigration seems to have been rather orderly. However, as Vencl (1984) has pointed out, actual battles often occur away from settlements, and leave but few traces. Navajos and/or Apaches have been often singled out as possible enemy invaders/raiders. With the advent of tree-ring dating and ethnohistoricalarchaeological studies, however, it now appears that the Athabascans moved into a void that had been abandoned for at least 2 centuries. More plausible potential Anasazi enemies would be the Numic speakers: the Southern Paiute and Ute. The Numic expansion into and beyond the Great Basin has been reasonably well documented on the basis of several lines of evidence, and appears to have occurred at a time level commensurate with the Anasazi abandonment of the area.

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The traditional view, uncritically espoused by almost all authors who have dealt with the subject, is that the vast majority of the northern Kayentans simply moved to the southern part of the area, to join their relatives on southern Black Mesa and the valleys immediately to the south. This view has been challenged by Berry (1982:110), who points out that no beam cutting dates between 1280 and 1360 have been derived from the Antelope Mesa area. Berry therefore posits a movement from the entire Kayenta region to high altitude refugia even farther south, with a subsequent return to the Hopi area about 1360. Other investigators have pointed out, on the basis of both archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence, that the Hopi are of diverse origins; certainly the one-to-one correlation of the modern Hopi as being descended directly from the Kayenta Anasazi is a notion that must be dismissed. Whatever the causes, timing, and mechanisms of the abandonment of their many contemporaneous villages, the Kayenta Anasazi appear to have ceased to exist as a recognizable cultural entity by 1300. At this point in our knowledge, it is difficult to postulate how much of the Kayenta pattern persisted until the arrival of Europeans. A few ceramic motifs survived, but shapes, colors, and general style changed appreciably; circular kivas went out of fashion in northern Arizona, and the rectangular ones used by the Hopi bear much more resemblance to earlier kivas to the south. The cultural connections with living peoples are so tenuous that we cannot even postulate with any degree of assurance what language the Kayenta spoke. Contrary to most explicit or implicit views, we do not know what happened to the Kayenta Anasazi, or who their modern descendants are. Any additional information from Navajo National Monument will be of help.

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The significance of the three major ruins and their immediate surroundings is manifest, as investigations therein have already contributed greatly to our understanding of Kayenta prehistory. The potential of each area is difficult to assess without a thorough archaeological survey. Enough observation has been done, however, to know that sites of all major stages mentioned above are present. In summary, questions regarding land use patterning, settlement pattern, subsistence, technology, and trade can be at least partially answered with more investigation. Answers to these questions will lead to more concrete thoughts regarding internal and external social organization and relationships, religion and ideology, origins, linguistic relationships, economics, abandonment, and relation to historic groups.

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAM HICAL REFERENCES

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