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L'archeologia pubblica prima e dopo l'archeologia pubblica

a cura di Patrizia Dragoni, Mara Cerquetti

Parte I

L'evoluzione del pubblico di musei, esposizioni
e siti archeologici

The Manitou Cliff Dwelling as Public Archaeology: the Ethnographic Museum and the Plurality of Early Archaeological Interpretation

Kristin M. Barry*

Abstract

While characterized as a recently-established profession, Public Archaeology has had a significant impact on the interpretation of historical material for over a century. Early ethnographic museums, such as the Manitou Cliff Dwellings, and ancient pueblo sites in the American West were developed as forms of entertainment, specifically to attract tourism, and employed controversial interpretations, often eliminating the nuances of individual tribes and cultural practices. Though interpretive practices have substantially changed, some of the techniques remain part of the interpretation of American Indian peoples even today, perpetuating their influence on the way that individual and collective cultures are viewed by the general public. The employed presentation approaches at the Manitou Cliff Dwellings specifically would not be considered standard practice now, but the involvement of modern American Indian performers among the ruins, and the inclusion of public participation in the site each provide an influential methodology for engaging modern visitors in archaeological remains.

Pur caratterizzandosi come disciplina di recente istituzione, l'archeologia pubblica ha avuto un impatto significativo sull'interpretazione del materiale storico per oltre

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un secolo. I primi musei etnografici, come il Manitou Cliff Dwellings e i siti dei popoli ancestrali dell'America occidentale, sono stati realizzati come luoghi di intrattenimento e specificamente progettati per attrarre turismo, spesso eliminando le sfumature tra singole tribù e pratiche culturali. Sebbene le pratiche interpretative siano cambiate sostanzialmente, alcune tecniche rimangono parte dell'interpretazione degli indiani d'America ancora oggi, perpetuando la loro influenza sul modo in cui le culture individuali e collettive sono viste dal grande pubblico. Oggi gli approcci di presentazione adottati a Manitou Cliff Dwellings non sarebbero considerati una pratica standard, ma il coinvolgimento di artisti indiani americani contemporanei tra le rovine e l'inclusione della partecipazione del pubblico nel sito forniscono una metodologia importante per coinvolgere i visitatori attuali nei resti archeologici.

Initiated as an early 20th-century preservation project, the Manitou Cliff Dwelling in Colorado is one of the earliest American attempts at engaging a wide population in archaeological heritage. Purportedly removed from its original location and reconstructed in a more populated area in 1904, the cliff dwelling allowed visitors to walk within the archaeological material, effectively becoming part of the history. As site managers reconstructed different forms of historical architecture from multiple American Indian peoples on the same complex, the site became a collection of "historic" structures all under the description of "Indian", essentially eliminating the nuances and distinctions of individual groups in favor of an outwardly collective heritage.

Acknowledging the complex issue of outsider interpretation in ethnographic museology, the site and other similar ones became catalysts for changing laws regarding ownership and situation of American Indian archaeology, and reimagined archaeological sites through interpretive methodologies to include heritage populations. The Manitou Cliff Dwelling tourism site currently stands to challenge the balance between historical information and tourism entertainment, representing the lasting impact of early experimental Public Archaeology on the modern interpretation of ethnographic sites.

1. *The Ancestral or Ancient Pueblo Peoples*

Identifiable by their characteristic pueblo architecture inherently connected to the surrounding cliff landscape, the Ancient Pueblo peoples (sometimes referred to as the Ancestral Puebloans) were originally classified by the pejorative English term Anasazi. The name was derived from the Navajo word *Anaasázi*, which translates to "enemy ancestors" or "alien ancestors"¹. The term was more recently deemed offensive and revised to be Ancestral Puebloan or Ancient Pueblo peoples by a group of tribal elders, but much of the previous literature

¹ Walters, Rogers 2001.

refers to the group by the name Anasazi. The Ancient Pueblo determination has also expanded to include not only the group formerly referred to as Anasazi, but also portions of the Mogollon culture geographic area. Schachner is careful to point out that although the regional identification suggests some sort of cultural unification, the Ancient Pueblo peoples represent a diversity of politics, religion, language, and history, which were nuanced by region and subgroup².

Inherently connected to the landscape of the region, the area inhabited by the Ancient Pueblo peoples is spread throughout the American Four Corners region, including areas in southwest Colorado, and north of the Rio Grande Valley³. The area has more modern ties to the Navajo, Pueblo, and Hopi peoples, who continue some of the artistic and architectural traditions. The architecture and building techniques of the Ancient Pueblo Peoples were developed using materials present in the landscape (primarily soil, water, and stone) and are closely related to Mogollon and Hohokam architectural heritages⁴. The settlements represented a diversity of sizes, but several major communities appeared to act as “capitals”, including large settlements at Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and Pueblo Bonito. Living spaces were clustered into small communities and originally consisted of pit houses, which were dug into the earth about a meter to provide some shelter (fig. 1). Roofs were then constructed using stripped tree trunks with mud to provide insulation, and a hole in the roof structure provided ventilation and, at times, access to the interior. In addition to the domestic architectural spaces, the Ancient Pueblo peoples are known for *kivas* (fig. 2), which represented the belief that humans emerged through an opening in the earth after traveling through several underworlds. The *kivas* were circular and often lined in stone with a hole in the center, through which spirits may emerge, and were a social and religious gathering space. Each community could have several *kivas* scattered among the other buildings⁵.

Around 1190 CE, the Ancient Pueblo peoples began to move from the flat landscape of the area to the shelters formed within the surrounding cliffs⁶ (fig. 3). Within the cliff shelters, they built several architectural community complexes, primarily accessible by climbing down the cliff face. The cliff shelters provided substantial natural protection, but made bringing goods such as food and water into the communities challenging. The cliff period produced some spectacular architectural heritage that has survived at least in part, but the sites were only occupied for around 100 years before mass migrations took the Ancient Pueblo peoples from the area, leaving behind the enigmatic remains⁷.

² Schachner 2015, p. 53.

³ Schachner 2015.

⁴ Nabokov, Easton 1989.

⁵ Nabokov, Easton 1989, pp. 356-357.

⁶ Arnold 1980.

⁷ Arnold 1980; Nabokov, Easton 1989; Lekson, Cameron 1995.

2. *Interpreting the Ancient Pueblos*

Following the eventual abandonment of the sites by the Ancient Pueblo Peoples, many were able to remain largely intact as a result of their location, construction method, and the fact that the newer groups who moved to the area (primarily the Navajo and Ute peoples) did not take over inhabitation of the area out of a belief that the Ancient Pueblo spirits still dwelt there⁸. By the turn of the 20th century, these archaeological sites were of interest to local archaeologists and anthropologists, as well as looters and those interested in profit made from American Indian artifacts. Soon, interested tourists began following suit, representative of the emerging interest in the mysterious past of the southwest region. As tourism is inherently connected to economy, the opportunity for attracting money to the region and its inhabitants led to the attempted commercialization of regional archaeological sites, and the Ancient Pueblo peoples were no exception to this. The sites, however, were often remote and difficult to access, necessitating creativity in how to present the remains to the public, or preserve them from future destruction.

Pioneers of this process were Virginia Donaghe McClurg and her friend Lucy Peabody, who sought to preserve the architecture of the Ancient Pueblo peoples from looters, but also wanted to bring awareness of the unique traditions to the wider American public. McClurg was a writer and archaeological conservationist working with Ancient Pueblo sites and living in Colorado Springs, and had seen them looted for artifacts, destroying the architecture in the process. When McClurg arrived in the area, little was known by the public about the remains, and the land was controlled by the Ute Indians, with occasional expeditions by explorers traversing the difficult landscape⁹. After seeing her first artifacts from the Mesa Verde region, McClurg continued to travel to the area, conducting amateur archaeological surveys at several sites, and retaining some of the artifacts discovered¹⁰.

Recognizing the need for protection of the Ancient Pueblo sites, McClurg and Peabody set about lobbying then-President William McKinley for the creation of the national park in the late 1890s and the two women founded the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association in 1900. Intending to secure a lease for the ruins, they traveled to Navajo Springs to speak with Ignacio, the Ute leader, but were unable to reach an agreement¹¹. It took several more years to pass a vote in Congress, but the Mesa Verde National Park was established in 1906 with a bill signed by President Theodore Roosevelt¹².

While the National Park created a way to preserve the Ancient Pueblo remains, McClurg was reportedly upset about the proposed system of administration and

⁸ Arnold 1980.

⁹ National Park Service n.d.

¹⁰ Finley 2010, p. 77.

¹¹ Smith 2009, p. 31.

¹² National Park Service n.d.; Finley 2010.

felt that the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association would be a better administrator than the National Parks system. Rivalries among nearby cities flourished, as locals competed for tourism related to the remote ruins, and the administration of the area lacked professionalism, taking several more years for the growing pains to be resolved¹³. In the meantime, McClurg began focusing on another site, which would later challenge the relationship between tourism, authenticity, and preservation.

Gilbert McClurg, Virginia's husband and secretary for the Colorado Springs Chamber of Congress, was interested in the promotion of the area for tourism, as a benefit to the region. Despite Colorado Springs and Manitou Springs being located outside of the area associated with the Ancient Pueblo peoples, Gilbert McClurg, and eventually Virginia endorsed a project suggested by William Crosby and Harold Ashenburst to relocate and reconstruct an Ancient Pueblo ruin in the Manitou Springs vicinity. As Virginia Donaghe McClurg was a well-known proponent of the preservation of Ancient Pueblo architecture, Virginia was later blamed for the blatant commercialism of American Indian remains, despite her insistence that she was not financially involved and was seeking preservation of the remains and education of the public¹⁴.

The project, which would later become known as the Manitou Cliff Dwelling tourism site (fig. 4), was initiated in 1904, and involved the removal of Ancient Pueblo remains from a collapsed site in the Mesa Verde region to Manitou Springs, Colorado, where it was reconstructed under a naturally occurring cliff shelter. The Manitou Cliff Dwelling Museum identifies the stones as being from McElmo Canyon¹⁵, but Lovata also cites J. Walter Fewkes' account that they were originally part of the Blanchard Ruin Complex in Lebanon¹⁶. While the original site of the stones remains up for debate, it was at least several hundred miles from the Manitou Springs area, which was never home to the Ancient Pueblo peoples, and would never have housed a cliff shelter. The reconstruction of the remains in that location, and its intentions have, therefore, been the subject of a popular debate about the early role of Public Archaeology and the commercialization of American Indian cultural or religious sites.

The project was widely discussed in public newspapers, which claimed that the government was investigating the legality of the initial removal. A newspaper clipping saved in a book published by the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association in 1907 cites William Crosby as the director of the project and suggests that the remains were intended to come from somewhere in Utah, reiterating that the project was known about by government officials:

Despite the fact that they have been warned by the United States government that any attempt to remove or tamper with Cliff Dwellers' ruins on public lands would be death

¹³ Smith 2009.

¹⁴ Smith 2005, p. 83; Finley 2010, p. 83.

¹⁵ Monroe n.d.

¹⁶ Fewkes 1919, p. 23; Lovata 2009, p. 63 and 2011, p. 197.

[sic] with to the extent of the law, the... men who are interested in placing a Cliff Dwellers' exhibition in a canyon at Manitou will go on with their plans... The plan to establish the exhibition caused no end of excitement in political circles in Utah and Washington¹⁷.

As the 1906 Antiquities Act had not yet been passed into law in America at the time of the deconstruction, there was little that the government might do to prevent the move, and every suggestion that the relocation would benefit both the architectural legacy of the Ancient Pueblo people and public education regarding artifacts and remains. The complex was considered instructive, allowing the public to better understand what was labeled the «mysteries of the race», but also important in enabling the United States to showcase heritage remains for which it was not previously known¹⁸. Cecil Dean's book of photographs from the opening of the new Manitou Cliff Dwelling tourism site in 1907 gives insight into the public mentality about the project and what it had to offer in the way of Public Archaeology, as well as provides insights about how the local white population viewed the modern American Indians. Dean, an archaeologist who, at the time, was known for his work on the Ancient Pueblo sites, writes that «to get a comprehensive idea of the Cliff Dwellers and to revel for a few hours in the mysteries of race that lived when the earth was young, one should visit the Ruins of the Cliff Dwellers at Manitou, Colorado»¹⁹. His writing describes the early purposes of Public Archaeology in the United States, to provide understanding alongside entertainment, both of which were achieved through the reconstruction in an area accessible for tourism.

3. *Public Archaeology, Tourism, or Both?*

Reports suggest that the privately-owned site was designed to compete with more remote and more authentic Ancient Pueblo architectural complexes, such as those housed in the newly-created Mesa Verde National Park. As the architecture was removed from a remote and difficult to access site, the reconstruction in a populated area reinforces the idea that the tourism potential of the site weighed alongside the preservation. Troy Lovata, a researcher on archaeological tourism, suggests that the representation weighs heavily in favor of tourism and that preservation was secondary to the development of the site: «The site is a fake. The site was conceived to match a growing interest in Southwestern prehistory. It proved popular and persists, in part, because of the idea of the Anasazi is so attractive»²⁰. In the theme of Public Archaeology,

¹⁷ Dean 1907, p. 2.

¹⁸ Dean 1907, pp. 28-29.

¹⁹ Dean 1907, p. 29.

²⁰ Lovata 2011, p. 195.

which stands to educate the public on heritage or historical traditions through accessibility, the Manitou Cliff Dwellings present a Public Archaeology conundrum: the architecture is reconstructed and placed into a context that is entirely fake and located in an area of the country that would never have had a cliff dwelling. As the context is confused, but the site is rebuilt from authentic material, can it be considered a historical or heritage site, since the “history” is, in part, fabricated?

Following the initial success of the tourism site, local operators continued to promote the Manitou Cliff Dwelling as authentic, making it difficult for the public to recognize that it was a reconstruction. In the 1940s, the superintendent of Mesa Verde National Park lamented that visitors often arrived at the Manitou Cliff Dwellings before coming to the park with preconceptions driven by their experience in Manitou Springs (fig. 5):

A number of park visitors complained that they had been misled by falsehoods about Mesa Verde—for instance, that a trip to the ruins necessitated a horseback ride of many miles over poor trails with no guides. The Manitou Springs folks also boasted that the ruins ‘can’t compare with theirs’. The superintendent lamented that, despite many past attempts by Mesa Verde personnel to minimize or correct this situation, little had been accomplished. These fake ruins were still represented as genuine by the private owners: “Evidently their oral advertising continues as unscrupulous as ever. Of course, persons who subsequently come to Mesa Verde ‘see the light’”²¹.

The Manitou Cliff Dwelling began as a privately-owned museum, and retains this quality, necessitating revenue to continue to function or conserve the materials housed there. It is, therefore, advantageous to attract tourism by focusing on the authenticities of the site, while downplaying the other less-savory characteristics. While the museum no longer discourages visitors from traveling to Mesa Verde, it is careful to present the site as an authentic ruin, but the website now elaborates on its origins near Mesa Verde and not *in situ* at Manitou Springs, and also addresses methods of reconstruction, in which the original stones were put in place using concrete mortar instead of the adobe that would have been used by the Ancient Pueblo peoples²². Despite the method of reconstruction differing from an intact cliff dwelling, there is no aesthetic indication that the site is reconstructed, which would be characteristic in most modern reconstructions. The result means that many non-specialized visitors do not distinguish the site as a reconstruction, which sets a confusing precedent for other public archaeological sites. In a 1999 report from traveler Jeff Clark, he describes the dwelling as «preserved in excellent condition» and is particularly excited by the opportunity to «touch and feel the exhibits»²³. He refers to the opportunity to climb through the dwelling, which is a rare opportunity for

²¹ Smith 2002.

²² See: <<https://www.cliffdwellingsmuseum.com/history/>>, 05.30.2019.

²³ Clark 1999, p. 34.

most archaeological sites, where the architecture often remains behind barriers. But, because the cliff dwelling is not actually an archaeological site, the public has unprecedented access (fig. 6). Several visitor reviews on Trip Advisor from 2019²⁴ agree that the ability to walk through the dwelling is a high point of the experience, with one writing that «the most important feature of the Manitou Cliff Dwellings is that it is interactive. You can go into the dwellings. Each room and section has a sign explaining how the area was used»²⁵. While the purpose of Public Archaeology is to make these types of histories interactive and available to the public, allowing visitors to touch a perceived historical site may provide an expectation that other authentic historical sites in region may be as accessible, and disappointment when some are not, not to mention the difficulties in preservation that this might raise. Mesa Verde National Park does allow visitors to get close to the cliff dwellings for viewing, but access to the authentic architectural remains is prohibited, and the sites are not as accessible as the Manitou Cliff Dwellings, which can be accessed directly from the parking lot (fig. 7).

Clark's account also mentions the people who «originally inhabited the dwelling»²⁶, despite the fact that this was not the original location of the stones, suggesting that his impression of the site was that it was original and *in situ*. Several visitor reviews on Trip Advisor from 2019 also give this impression, with one visitor writing: «really impressive to see these cliff homes and what great shape they are in»²⁷. Visitors not interpreting reconstructions as modern is a common issue when they are not properly or publicly identified, seemingly giving the impression that they have survived intact for several hundred years.

²⁴ Trip Advisor and similar travel review sites provide a wealth of information about the honest impressions of visitors to heritage or historical sites. As all reviews are voluntarily made and conducted from the privacy of a visitor's own device, they may feel less pressure to leave good reviews and may be more honest in their assessment than surveys conducted by staff at the site. It is, however, not a controlled environment for response, and does not provide specific questions for visitors to answer, meaning that much of the data may be unusable if the site is hoping that visitors address particular elements. The historical site also has a way to respond to reviews on Trip Advisor, so this may also provide a bias in the way that visitors review a heritage site.

²⁵ *Fun way to learn early American History* (Arcticgardener, Trip Advisor Manitou Cliff Dwellings Forum, <https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g33537-d458068-Reviews-or10-Manitou_Cliff_Dwellings-Manitou_Springs_El_Paso_County_Colorado.html>, 05.31.2019). See also: *Worthwhile Visit* (Jeanne77b); *Interesting, small, pricey* (V8288Tangelom); *Without a doubt, an "excellent" rating* (Jay R) from the Manitou Cliff Dwellings Forum.

²⁶ Clark 1999, p. 34.

²⁷ *Quick Sightseeing* (Jane-ElleB, Trip Advisor Manitou Cliff Dwellings Forum, <https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g33537-d458068-Reviews-Manitou_Cliff_Dwellings-Manitou_Springs_El_Paso_County_Colorado.html>, 05.31.2019).

4. *Representing Indigenous Populations*

Also problematic is the reconstruction and interpretation of other types of American Indian architecture alongside the cliff dwelling. The assembled architectural pieces included a *tipi* from the plains (fig. 8), a multi-story pueblo acquired near Taos, New Mexico (not used for four different museums and the gift shop) (fig. 9), and a Mesa store house, which were reconstructed around the cliff dwelling. These other architectural artifacts are largely unrelated to the cliff dwelling, but Taos-style pueblo was designed to showcase the architecture of the suggested Ancient Pueblo descendants in New Mexico. All are located in close proximity to the dwelling, which suggests a relationship to the area that is inauthentic. As with the dwelling, the *tipi* would not have been situated near the Manitou Springs geographic area, but its current location gives visitors the opposite impression. While the site does identify the architectural pieces individually, their inclusion at the Manitou Cliff Dwellings site seems to imply that the museum covers a broad theme of “native” or “Indian”, which does not allow for visitors to truly understand the nuances of the different groups and context from which these artifacts were acquired. Unlike specific tribal museums, such as the Museum of the Cherokee Indian in Oklahoma, the interpreting authority were archaeologists and not tribal members, so this imposition of heritage concepts was coming from the outside. This outsider interpretation presents a challenge that heritage professionals focused on indigenous American or American Indian culture have often encountered, as many early sites were excavated and museums developed by non-indigenous archaeologists and professionals.

While the idea behind the reconstruction and its implementation was conducted by William McClurg, the museum has worked with American Indian populations, who perform at the site wearing authentic clothing in a specially designated performance space, since its inception. The performers were local Taos Pueblo Indians, who initially lived in the reconstructed pueblo on the site (fig. 10). The performers no longer live on site since the pueblo has been converted into the museum, but the same family has been performing traditional dancing at the cliff dwelling since 1907²⁸.

Michael J. Kimball makes a distinction between the involvement of the heritage population at the Manitou Cliff Dwellings, and that of the involvement of the Red Willow People, modern inhabitants at the Taos Pueblo. The Red Willow People maintain the sanctity of particular cultural or religious customs, and while they share these with audiences for the purposes of interpretation, the pueblo remains as a functioning community, imposing regulations for tourism so as not to disturb or interrupt these purposes. The pueblos function as a heritage site, but not one that is exploitive of the populations, and instead

²⁸ Christian 1992.

in the control of that population. In contrast, Kimball finds the Manitou Cliff Dwelling to be exploitive, particularly with regard to the kivas, and their photography and access, and the promotion of educational programs on wolf behavior, as wolves have long been romanticized as associated with generic Indian populations²⁹.

The engagement of modern American Indian populations in the Manitou Cliff Dwelling interpretation does add some authenticity to the site, while also ensuring that the interpreted community has a role in how they are represented. This engagement has not always prevented visitors from perceiving and reinforcing stereotypes which have often plagued ethnic or cultural museums. While some would suggest that one of the purposes of travel is to broaden one's personal understanding of other cultures, a study by Laxson in 1991 suggests that instead, visitors' encounters with American Indians at museums devoted to indigenous culture reinforced visitors' believed ethnocentrism³⁰. Popular representations, such as those in fictional literature, film, or television, of the Ancient Pueblo peoples also drive an impression of the population that is constructed by non-indigenous actors. Richard Ellis cites popular books by Louis L'Amour and Tony Hillerman that situate stories among the Ancient Pueblo landscape, where early films also found inspiration³¹. These were much more widely available to the public than authentic information about the groups, helping to create a pseudo-historical context from popular media.

For the United States, a turning point came in the imposed heritage and interpretation of indigenous populations with the construction of the National Museum of the American Indian as part of the Smithsonian Institution. The museum has worked closely with different indigenous groups to repatriate important religious artifacts and human remains once held in the museum, and consult on the interpretation and cultural care of other artifacts³². Particularly, in 1995, the museum worked to assess the waiting human remains in its collection to identify and rebury them in accordance with tribal traditions. Human remains have been a contentious problem for early archaeological sites like the Ancient Pueblo ones, as burials were often excavated and at times displayed. A record of excavation of cliff dweller sites from 1891 lists 40 anthropological discoveries, including human skulls, bones, and hair, categorized similarly to the ceramic, wicker, and leather artifacts also found, as well as a photograph of a "mummy" of a woman also from one of the excavation sites³³. Similar "artifacts" were originally displayed at the Manitou Cliff Dwelling site, but have since been replaced by replicas. The cataloging of human remains as akin to artifacts has been problematic, as these are considered ancestors of living indigenous

²⁹ Kimball 2017.

³⁰ Laxson 1991.

³¹ Ellis 1997.

³² Rosoff 1998.

³³ Green 1891.

populations and their display dehumanizes not only the ancient population, but modern peoples as well. Even displaying the replica skulls in the Manitou Cliff Dwelling museum suggests that the benefit of viewing them for tourists takes precedence over the offense it may cause to indigenous populations.

These types of issues are characterized by the concept of colonial archaeology in the United States, where non-indigenous populations excavated and documented American Indian sites. Without a direct personal investment in the materials, human remains and other important religious artifacts were looted or displayed in ways contrary to the sacredness of the objects themselves. More recently, museums dedicated to indigenous populations or sites have striven to decolonize these practices, by engaging tribal populations in the management or interpretive process³⁴.

To avoid these types of issues, many indigenous groups are focused on self-representation, with the intention of fighting existent stereotypes and reinforcing authentic indigenous practices to provide a better understanding to outside populations³⁵. Individual tribal and nation museums make distinctions among different ethnic, cultural, language, and religious groups, and help reinforce these different traditions for a visiting audience. In self-representing, the indigenous group is able to control the dialogue and representation, ensuring that the interpretation is relevant, accurate, and authentic. The museum can then be thought of as an extension of the culture, with personal investment by indigenous groups.

5. The Plurality of Public Archaeology and Authenticity

Although the Manitou Cliff Dwelling represents an early attempt at archaeological interpretation and public engagement, much modern criticism focuses on the lack of authenticity value associated with the complex and its strategies of tourism promotion. The site as a fake does not align with current heritage practices, which seek minimal reconstruction in favor of more non-invasive strategies. Yet, if viewed through the virtual reality or constructed environment lens, the reconstruction provides an immersive experience to help visitors understanding the dynamics of the architectural construction, and spatial arrangement of a cliff dweller architectural program. While not authentically ancient, the reconstruction could be considered on par with a virtual reconstruction, but with an added ambiance and sensory experience. The problem lies in the presentation of the site as authentic, unlike a virtual or enhanced experience, which inherently acknowledges that it is a reconstruction.

³⁴ Lonetree 2012.

³⁵ Lawlor 2006.

Were the Manitou Cliff Dwelling to recategorize itself as a form of interpretation for spatial understanding and architectural history, its legacy as a reconstruction would not matter nearly as much as it currently does, presenting itself to visitors as an accessible ruin.

This is where Lovata finds the most authenticity with the Manitou Cliff Dwelling. Although he is explicit that the construction itself is a fake, for tourists, the ability to interact with the site gives it an authenticity that surpasses that of other, older and *in situ* archaeological sites³⁶. This type of authenticity is more complex and nuanced than the objective authenticity of most archaeological sites, but no less important to the understanding of Public Archaeology, as it is, inherently, for the people. Lovata suggests that the Cliff Dwelling fulfills its purpose, and, much like a virtual environment, there is a human facet to the site that is difficult to achieve where preservation is the primary concern and visitors are kept away from ancient remains³⁷.

Despite the modern criticism, the Manitou Cliff Dwelling does represent a legacy of Public Archaeology in America, and one of the rare early examples of ethnographic museums and their diverging functions. The need for a plurality of a museum's purposes (preservation, tourism, interpretation, engagement) is a common theme in Public Archaeology, where entertainment and education can be in competition. Where museums dedicated to indigenous populations are concerned, the added facet of descendant community engagement can enhance the experience for both non-specialized visitors and the indigenous populations, helping to create a well-rounded and informative interpretation. Without this intervention to distinctly address the pluralities of purpose, however, sites may become just another "tourist trap", facilitating the commercialization of cultures, and muddying our understanding of world history.

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³⁶ Lovata 2007.

³⁷ Gilbert 2017.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. An excavated pit house within Mesa Verde National Park (photograph by author, 2013)



Fig. 2. An excavated kiva within Mesa Verde National Park (photograph by author, 2013)

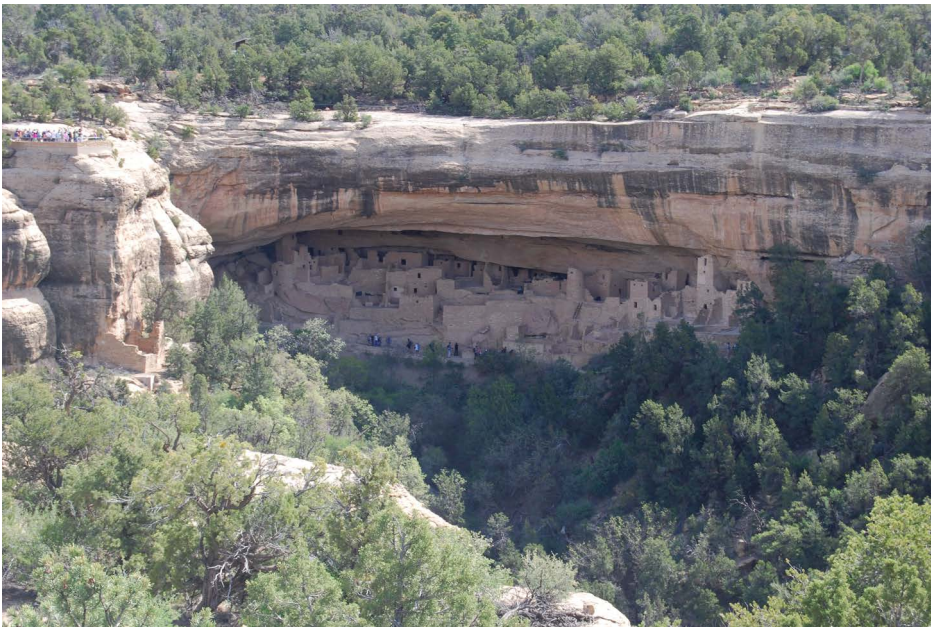


Fig. 3. So-called Cliff Palace in Mesa Verde National Park (photograph by author, 2013)



Fig. 4. Manitou Cliff Dwelling tourism site (photograph by author, 2013)

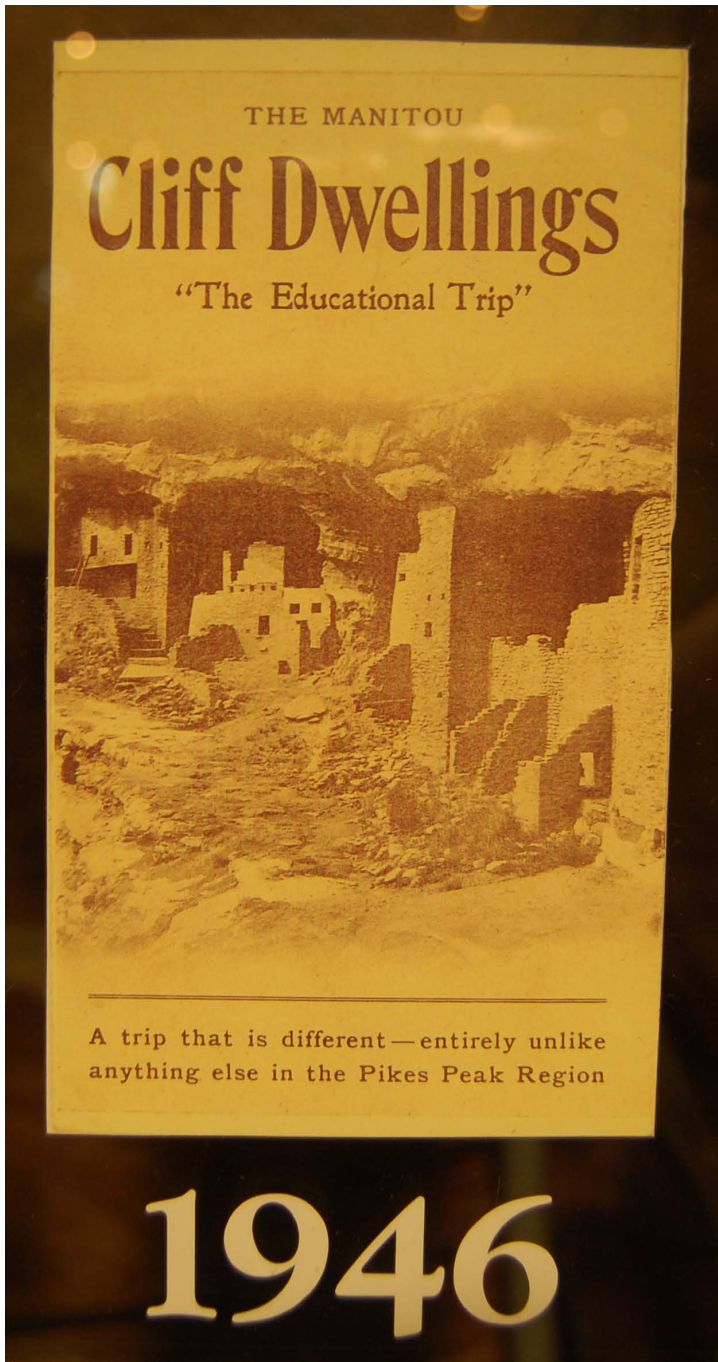


Fig. 5. An advertisement from 1946 that is featured in the Manitou Cliff Dwelling Museum, describing the site as «educational» and «entirely unlike anything else in the Pikes Peak Region» (photograph by author, 2013)



Fig. 6. A tourist looking inside one of the windows on the second story of the Manitou Cliff Dwelling (photograph by author, 2013)



Fig. 7. View of the proximity of the Manitou Cliff Dwelling site to the parking lot (photograph by author, 2013)

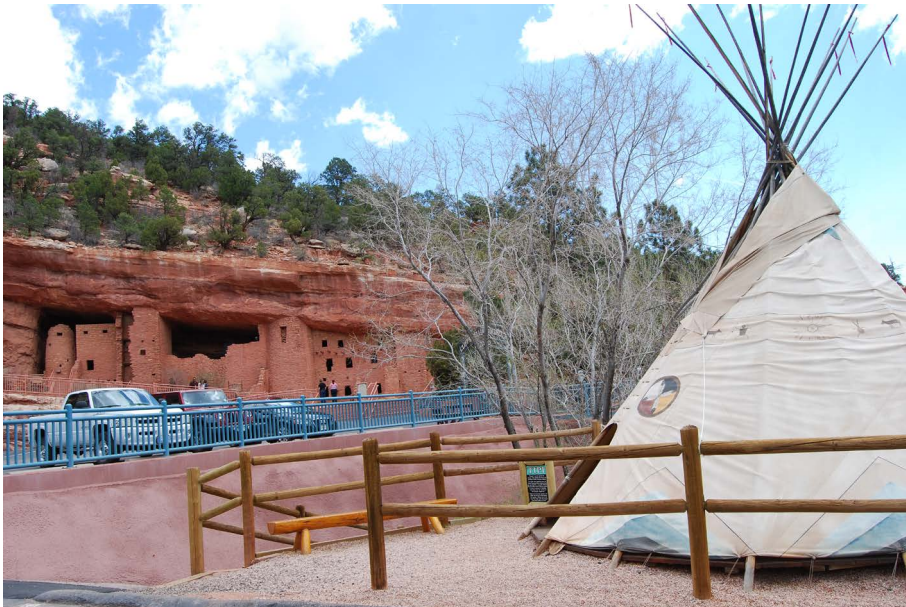


Fig. 8. A *tipi* reconstructed in the complex with the Manitou Cliff Dwelling. A sign next to it indicates that «though it was not used by the Anasazi most consider the Tipi as the dwelling of North American Indians» (photograph by author, 2013)



Fig. 9. The large pueblo that was constructed in 1898 in the style of the Taos Pueblos. The structure now houses the associated museums and gift shop (photograph by author, 2013)



**Chief Manitou and Dancers
performing for visitors 1908**

Fig. 10. A photograph displayed in the Manitou Cliff Dwelling Museum showing the participating of the Taos Indians in traditional dancing for visitors early in the history of the tourism site (photograph by author, 2013)

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