

CHANGE & MEMORY CONTINUITY & PRACTICE

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CHANGE CONTINUITY

MEMORY PRACTICE

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Photo of Zuni pueblo, New Mexico, 1906
Edward Curtis.



Silenced Histories

The Dangers of a Single Narrative

By Audrey Steen

History, like math and science, is thought to be a neutral and objective subject matter; a chronological and factual account of events that took place in the distant past that can help to explain and justify the present and the future. This is not surprising, since many historical accounts of the past are told from the perspective of a seemingly impartial, omnipresent narrator. However, historical narratives are never as neutral as they appear, and are often greatly influenced by an author's cultural lens and intention in recording information. Dominant historical discourses are constructed, produced and disseminated by colonial and

neocolonial powers. These single sided narratives justify Western domination, naturalize indigenous subjugation and invisibility, and exclude the rich and diverse voices and perspectives of marginalized peoples. *Change and Continuity, Memory and Practice* addresses the ways in which Western academics have manipulated the historical record and how cultural myths are reproduced and perpetuated, eventually becoming universally accepted and taken-for-granted. The exhibition demonstrates how archaeology, with the support of oral and written accounts, can be used to create a more holistic vision and understanding of the past.

There are a variety of ways in which dominant narratives are constructed and reproduced to facilitate the erasure of alternative perspectives and experiences. First, the ways in which research is funded and practiced is often determined by those who have the equipment and economic means to do so. Historical research has traditionally been dominated by colonial and neocolonial powers, privileging their interpretation of what is important to investigate and where to carry out such investigations. The use of highly specific equipment and scientific language to describe findings, can sometimes ostracize marginalized groups. In the United States, the ways in which archaeology was practiced for most of the twentieth century often kept indigenous peoples from participating in the creation of their own history. In many cases, the valuation of scientific knowledge as the pinnacle of historical research created a field of exclusivity in which the meaningful perspectives afforded by oral traditions and histories were invalidated.

The ways in which historical documents are produced often lead to the distortion of past events and to the subordination of indigenous peoples. The reading and writing of historical accounts often requires literacy and fluency in Western languages, such as English, French, and Spanish. If a local population wanted to contradict a historical record, they would first have to be aware of the misrepresentations in the “official” historical record, and second, be able to communicate with the public receiving the misrepresented history. Additionally, it is at the narrator’s discretion to emphasize certain things, and to minimize others allowing for native populations to be under and misrepresented. Characterizing native populations as insignificant, brutish, and primitive serves to legitimize colonial and neocolonial intervention and control.

The language a narrator uses greatly influences the way an event is constructed. For example, it is significant that revolt, instead of revolution or quarrel, is used to describe the Pueblo Revolt. Historical rhetoric subtly influences our conception and understanding of an event, and can be used to legitimize and reinforce power relations. For example, stating America and its peoples were discovered rather than conquered, or massacred, helps to justify and

underrate the brute force and violence European colonizers used to possess and control an already inhabited land. It is also telling that the story is presented with the Europeans as the actors, and the Native Americans as the acted upon. The two continents didn’t discover or encounter each other mutually, Europe *discovered* America. Even the way a sentence is structured can reveal imbedded power dynamics.

In order for history to be universally accepted it has to be continuously reproduced and inherited by new generations on a daily basis. There are various cultural forms that help to reinforce the dominant discourse by reproducing a particular version of the truth, and package it for public consumption, National celebrations, holidays, movies, television programs, web-sites and museum exhibits all play a role in the myth-making process. Most representations of Native Americans that appear in the media are essentialized and stereotypical, and although they do not pretend to represent history, consciously or not, they help to shape and inform the general conception of what it means to be Native American in the United States. One common misunderstanding is that Native Americans are a vanishing race and that contemporary native peoples no longer exist. However, many Native American groups were able to resist forced assimilation, exercising agency through architecture, pottery and oral traditions, maintaining their cultural practices and group identity.

Fortunately, colonial and neocolonial myths can be deconstructed with the support of archeological evidence and the inclusion of oral traditions and native perspectives. Spatial and structural analyses of buildings and places, lithic and iconographic analyses of ceramics and material culture analyses can all help to construct a vision of the past.

Collaborative Archaeology

Anthropologist Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Denver Museum of Nature and Science, working in collaboration with Native American group.



Artifacts, bones, floral and faunal remains, and traces of buildings and structures are the types of things that archeologists rely on to interpret how people lived. Material evidence, combined with the collaboration of local peoples, can help to contest conventional historical accounts and reconstruct alternative and peripheral narratives.

As socially responsible citizens, it is important that we are able to critically evaluate historical sources, as well as other material forms, recognizing that history is not truth but interpretation. We must identify dominant discourses as such, and look for the ways in which indigenous perspectives and histories have been silenced and suppressed. We can

fill in the gaps of the official historical record with the help of archeological analyses and by establishing a dialogue with peoples who have been confined to the peripheries and margins of society. By being conscious of the disparities present in one-sided narratives, we can begin to reintroduce the voices and perspectives of native peoples, whose meaningful contributions have been traditionally over-looked and disregarded.

In the remainder of the catalogue you will be introduced to the groups of Puebloan peoples associated with the Pueblo Revolt, as well as the practices they maintained after the Revolt of 1680. ■

Puebloan Groups of the American Southwest

By Sarah Fischer

The modern Puebloan peoples of the American Southwest are the ancestors of the Native Americans who were once dispersed all over the region. Despite the all-encompassing term 'Puebloan' these ethnic groups are actually made up of several diverse tribes or clans, each with unique perspectives on history. Today the Puebloan Peoples reaffirm their identities through traditional practices such as art, farming, and religious ceremonies, despite centuries of cultural degradation by North Americans and the US government. Three of the most well known Puebloan tribes are the Zuni, the Hopi, and the Jemez people. Today these groups live on reservations in parts of New Mexico and Arizona. Their traditional practices help foster a unique identity that has endured years of persecution, and helps to facilitate an alternative history of the Puebloan people.

Zuni

The Zuni people's earliest ancestors were descendants of the North American tribes and thrived on a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. For centuries, Zuni culture and populations expanded within the Zuni River Valley until their encounter with Francisco Vasquez Coronado during his first expedition into the American Southwest. After the Pueblo Revolt and the re-conquest of Santa Fe, the Zuni struggled alongside the other Puebloan clans as Manifest Destiny and Western expansion slowly crushed their populations and established way of life.

Historically the Zuni have created and re-created their ethnic history through art. Zuni

pottery and jewelry are found all across the United States and accrue considerable income for the pueblo. Along with artistic practices, the Zuni language is completely unique to the Zuni people. Their language is a primary medium for maintenance of cultural traditions.

Believing themselves to have lived within the same homeland for thousands of years, the Zuni maintain close ties to the mountains and deserts of the American southwest, and believe in ancestral spirits residing in these places and material objects.

Today the Zuni pueblo encompasses 450,000 acres and is located 150 miles southwest of Albuquerque. According to the 2000 census, the Zuni Pueblo was home to approximately 6,300 native residents. The pueblo itself includes government buildings, a school, a public library, religious structures, and a tourist area complete with a food court and Zuni craft shops.

Hopi

The Hopi are another well-known group of Puebloan peoples with their own unique language. Their descendants, the Anasazi, occupied much of the four corners region of Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico. Like the Zuni, the Hopi people have devised methods of sustaining Hopi culture, despite intense economic and social obstacles. Traditional Hopi craft making is one medium through which the Hopi keep their cultural symbols alive. Hopi Black-on-White polychrome pottery



Hopi Kachina Doll Representing the Eagle Spirit

Kachina Dolls are visual representations of the invisible spirits that assist in the rigors of everyday life. The dolls are spiritual messengers that bring special blessings. Dolls are gifts given in hope of future abundance and health, as well as tools for education.

contains traditional iconography reflecting the tribe's history. Basketry also ties into the Hopi's historical roots. The Hopi are most celebrated for their hand-made *Kachina* (or *Katsina*) dolls, small painted wooden figurines representing supernatural beings revered by the Hopi. Traditionally, the dolls were given to young children to help them learn about different spirits. Today Kachinas are manufactured and sold in Native American arts and craft stores all over the Southwest.

The Hopi now reside on a large reservation in northeast Arizona comprised of six pueblos and nearly two million acres. The reservation shares land with the neighboring Navajo reservation and has a population of almost 7,000 residents. The reservation includes a cultural center, the Hopi High School, and Hopi Radio. Tourism brings in regular income to the reservation. Guided tours include public ceremonial displays, cultural education, as well as multiple shopping opportunities.

Jemez (HAY-mez)

The Jemez are a Towa speaking nation, originating from the Canon de San Diego Region. At the time of European contact, the Jemez were the most powerful group in the Southwestern region. The Jemez clans were integral players in the Pueblo revolt, successfully expelling the Spanish settlers from Santa Fe for twelve years. Today, the Jemez people

still craft artistic ceramics and practice basket weaving. Like the Zuni and the Hopi, Jemez pottery features designs and icons that signify environmental forces, stories, and religious figures. Long distance running is also a tradition that has taken on new meaning for the Jemez people. In 1959, the Jemez Nation formed its first all-Indian track and field team, with Jemez men and women besting their Pueblo neighbors. In 1968, Steve Gachupin, a Jemez runner, won the Pikes Peak Marathon, and held the title for six years in a row.

Today the Jemez Pueblo occupies 89,600 acres, forty-five miles northwest of Albuquerque, New Mexico. Many of the buildings date as far back as the Pueblo Revolt period. The Jemez Pueblo has 3,000 residents, a far cry from their estimated population of 30,000 before the revolt. Unlike the Hopi reservation, the Jemez Pueblo is restricted, and only certain ceremonial dances are accessible to public viewing. While the villages are restricted, the Walatowa Visitor Center is available for tours, also displaying art for sale and a museum with cultural and historical background of the Jemez people.

The Puebloan community as a whole encompasses over eighteen separate pueblos in New Mexico alone. Each tribe has distinct linguistic, cultural and historical backgrounds and has numerous subdivisions of clans. Today, thousands of Native Americans remain on their ancestral lands, practicing crafts and agriculture much in the same way their predecessors had before they were all consolidated into the 'Pueblo' category. Since the first contact with Europeans, the puebloan peoples and Native Americans in general have been subjected to cultural persecution, forced assimilation, segregation, and unequal representation in the United States. Regardless, the Puebloan people and Native Americans across the country forge their identities the blending of traditional and contemporary practices. Their ties to community and ancestry are what keep these delicate and valuable cultures alive. ■

Events Leading up to the Pueblo Revolt

By Matthew Schull

On May 7, 1539, Hernan Cortez and his men went north to explore the Pacific Coast in search of further riches. Cortez and his men were led by stories told by a slave about the great riches of the Pueblo lands. The expedition did not produce the wealth Cortez had hoped for, but this did not stop exaggerated stories from being relayed back to Spain. On September 21, 1595 Viceroy Luis de Velasco gave Don Juan de Onate permission to lead 200 men into New Mexico and establish a permanent colony at his personal expense. Unfortunately for Onate, the expedition was poorly planned and did not set out until February 7 of that year, with only 129 of the original 200 men. Despite his lack of previous success, Onate persevered, leaving Chihuahua in 1598 to attain his goal of establishing the New Mexican colony. Leading a band of 500 settlers, Onate advanced up the Rio Grande, to establish his colony at a confiscated pueblo north of present-day Santa Fe.

Following the development of the colony, the Spanish continued to branch out into the Southwest region, seeking out wealth, slaves and Christian converts. As the years went by, minor outbreaks of rebellion by the Pueblos occurred sporadically, only to be quickly stomped out by the Spanish. Due to pressure from Spanish missionaries in the territory, New Mexican Governor Juan Francisco de Treviño began a campaign against Pueblo religious practices. During this campaign in 1675, Governor Juan Trevino ordered for the arrest of 47 Pueblo medicine men. These men according to Trevino, bewitched a local friar and therefore required corporeal punishment. Most were thrown in jail but, due to their continued disobedience, four of the prisoners were hanged.

The imprisonment of the Pueblo medicine men did not go over well with the Pueblo community. The Pueblos demanded the release of their medicine men and when that was not given, decided to fight back. Seventy Pueblo warriors took Juan Trevino (the Governor of New Mexico) hostage and threatened a large scale revolt. Trevino had no choice but to give in, releasing the remaining Pueblo prisoners. One of the medicine men who was freed happened to be Pope, who as we will find out, became a pivotal player in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Unfortunately, the Pueblo settlements were not unified, not even speaking the same language. This divide made it almost impossible for any one man to gain enough support for a rebellion. The medicine man Pope decided to take matters into

his own hands and form a plan himself. Due to a decade long drought and increasing tribute demands by the Spanish, Pope slowly saw his supporters grow in number. By the end of the 1670's Pope had unified the diverse groups of Pueblo tribes with the promise of a common goal. With his new support, Pope determined that August 12, 1680 would be the day of rebellion. Pope sent out messengers to the various tribe leaders, giving them each a knotted rope. The various leaders were told to untie one knot from the rope each day. When the last knot was undone, the Pueblos would know that was the day to revolt.

On August 12, 1680 the long awaited day of the revolt finally arrived. Simultaneously, more than two dozen Native American settlements from Tesuque to San Juan, separated by hundreds of miles and six different languages, attacked the Spanish colonizers. At the end of the day 400 Spaniards, including 21 of the province's 33 missionaries were killed, while Spanish buildings and churches were destroyed as well. Meanwhile on August 15th in Santa Fe, Governor Otermin decided to meet with Pope. Pope gave Otermin the choice of abandoning their colonies in the Southwest or continue to fight the Pueblos. Otermin countered by offering the Pueblos a full pardon if they would return to their pueblos and submit to Christianity. With both sides unwilling to budge, the rebellion continued, resulting in many more deaths for each side.

Finally, on August 21, 1680, Otermin realized he had no choice but to give up Santa Fe. With many of his soldiers dead or wounded, Otermin decided to cut his losses and retreat with the rest of the Spanish survivors to El Paso, a small mission on the Rio Grande. The Pueblo soldiers content with their victory, allowed the Spanish to retreat without pursuit as they watched from the hills above Santa Fe.

With their newfound freedom, tensions between tribes increased over who would control Santa Fe and the Pueblo people as a whole. This dysfunction resulted in Pueblo freedom lasting just twelve years before they were re-conquered. On July 1692, Diego De Vargas returned to Santa Fe, recapturing the city without any bloodshed. Vargas promised clemency and protection if they would swear allegiance to Spain and return to Christianity. The Pueblo leaders agreed to the Spanish offer and on September 14, 1692, Vargas proclaimed a formal act of repossession.



“The landscape, especially, serves as an archive, a repository of ‘mementos’...both cultural...and natural... that give meaning and, more importantly, create and maintain a place to make life.”

Louis Hieb

Dowa Yalanne, New Mexico. Immediately after the Revolt of 1680, the Zuni moved their settlement to the top of this mountain summit. Photo taken by Darin.

The Puebloan Landscape

Narratives of Sacredness

By Shaye Smith

Often overlooked in colonial archaeology studies is what Keith Basso calls “one of the most basic dimensions of human experience—that close companion of heart and mind, often subdued, yet potentially overwhelming that is known as *sense of place*.” Missing from academic discourse is a concern with the ways in which humans, past and present, perceive and find meaning in geographical space—their landscapes—and understand themselves to be connected to them. Any given landscape holds different meanings for different people. Only after one considers the silenced histories of the native communities can one understand the events of colonial times beyond violence, militant religion, and conquest. For the Puebloan peoples, the landscape is the sacred essence of their very being, their social and cultural lives entangled with the natural settings in which they live.

Puebloan Conceptions of Place

For the people who call the southwest their home, the landscape is something with which they are intrinsically and indisputably tied. In attempting to better understand the ancient Puebloan landscape, one must first reconsider the term *landscape* itself. For, as Leslie Marmon Silko points out:

So long as the human consciousness remains

within the hills, canyons, cliffs, and the plants, clouds, and sky, the term *landscape* as it has entered the English language, is misleading. ‘A portion of territory the eye can comprehend in a single view’ does not correctly describe the relationship between the human being and his or her surroundings.

The “viewers are as much a part of the landscape as the boulders they stand on,” or rather, “the land, the sky, and all that is within them—the landscape—includes human beings.” For the Puebloan peoples, the landscape is undeniably tied with human thought, feeling, and being.

Landscapes of Identity

The landscape can foster a sense of human attachment if not an inextricable relationship, one can think of the landscape in terms of a *sense of place*. In conceptualizing a sense of place, one may draw upon the idea of *dwelling*, whereby importance is attributed to the forms of consciousness with which people recognize and capture geographical space and spaces, which can, according to Basso “possess a marked capacity for triggering acts of self-reflection, inspiring thoughts about who one presently is, or memories of who one used to be, or musing on who

one might become.” Similarly, James Snead posits that “humans project their concerns onto the natural environment through myriad landmarks and realize them with their buildings and monuments,” thus creating *landscapes of identity*. To the ancient Puebloan peoples, all aspects of the landscape, from architecture to mesas to springs to forest to desert, represented elaborate landscapes of identity. The land was the only permanent feature, representing history and thus mortality, the source of all legitimacy and significance.

Unable to conceive of the human experience outside of the context of the land, Silko notes, “the ancient people perceived the world and themselves within that world as part of an ancient continuous story composed of innumerable bundles of other stories.” The landscape was comprised of a series of places, each holding meaning on all levels of human experience. Snead posits that these events, places, and complex array of features “represent a landscape of identity organized by cultural concepts of legitimacy and a sense of place. Both history and action are contained within the land. Mountain, lake, shrine, and tree are woven into a fabric of meaning, establishing a rich context of daily life.” Sacred meaning permeates the land; it is a repository for historical, cultural, and religious information. Cultural rituals, beliefs, and survival skills involving the land are amassed in a vast complex of knowledge never recorded in writing. Instead, Silko notes, “the ancient Pueblo people depended upon collective memory through successive generations to maintain and transmit an entire culture.”

The Role of Narrative

In a communal process of remembering and retelling, stories describe aspects of the landscape in terms of their significance for survival, understanding natural events, and maintaining cultural identity. Whatever happened, throughout history the Puebloan peoples sorted events and details into a loose narrative structure; everything became a story. Often, historical events became dramatized as stories, a way of remembering and an attempt at explaining. The story of the sacred Zuni mesa of *Dowa Yalanne*, or “Corn Mountain,” has been passed down for generations. According to legend, a sudden flood forced the people of the Ashiwi village to flee and find refuge on the nearby mesa top. Though *Dowa Yalanne* towered high above the valley floor, the water continued to rise and the great water serpent Ko’loowisi soon encircled the mesa. A council of elders at last decided that in order to save the People from the rising waters and

the great serpent, only a human sacrifice of a son and daughter of one of the Rain Priests would suffice. As the son and daughter, dressed in beautiful clothes and jewelry sank into the waters below, the flood immediately began to recede and Ko’loowisi disappeared beneath the surface. All that remained of the sacrificed children were two pillars facing west across the plains of the Zuni.

Sense of Place

Untold in the Zuni story of *Dowa Yalanne* is the fact that the Zuni fled to their Corn Mountain after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. As Frank Cushing puts it, “the fact that the Corn Mountain was occupied to avoid Spanish retribution is conveniently forgotten.” Through storytelling, the Zuni chose to create their history in accordance with their tradition of imbuing significance within the landscape. For Louis Hieb, this Puebloan memory and knowledge is inextricably tied with the landscape:

...their social memory and sacred knowledge was, and continues to be, embodied and represented in significant places in the natural landscape, in the architectural forms of their villages, in the bodily memory of ritual performance, and in a variety of unwritten but memorized songs and narratives that were (and are) the property of the clans and ceremonial societies. The landscape, especially, serves as an archive, a repository of “mementos”...both cultural... and natural...that give meaning and, more importantly, create and maintain “a place to make life.”

The Puebloan peoples saw the land as their very being, their social and cultural world indistinguishable from the natural world. In order to better understand this identity, one must recognize the fact that human existence is irrevocably situated in time and space. One must also accept that there are legitimate ways of remembering histories beyond written accounts. Only then can we begin to understand the colonial landscape of the American southwest. ■

Twin Pillars of
Dowa Yalanne, or
“Corn Mountain”



A Contested Landscape

The Spanish *Entradas* of the 16th Century

By Daniel Wright

On February 23, 1540, Francisco Vazquez de Coronado set out with 335 Spaniards, 1300 Puebloans, four monks, and several slaves, in hopes of claiming new territory for Spain and His Majesty, King Phillip II, and simultaneously be the first to conquer the mythical “Cibola and the Seven Cities of Gold”. In Coronado’s eyes, the American Southwest was a landscape full of hidden, unclaimed treasures, being handed to him on a golden platter. Aware of the hundreds of Pueblos scattered across the region, Coronado believed they did not appreciate the land for all of its treasures, and only he and the Spanish settlers could understand and harness its full potential. Over the next several years, Coronado would explore the region, leaving written accounts of letters and maps, revealing *one* conception of the landscape.

As David Day so accurately puts it, “it is usually more important to stake a claim to the land in a way that had meaning to the invaders, rather than to the indigenes”. The landscape of the American southwest was desirable to the Spanish for many reasons including resources such as bullion and salt, mining ventures for valuable minerals such as silver, lead and gold, beautiful native textiles, and not to mention, free Indian labor. Although the acquisition of new land for the settlement of a “New Spain” was their primary objective, the Spanish advertised the colonization of the southwest under two initiatives: to spread Christianity and to discover the myth of Cibola.

Although Coronado was obsessed with the search for precious metals or tradable commodities such as spices, and his reports replete with references

to such goods, the erection of crosses provided him and the Spanish king and queen with a more moral justification for claiming the land of the Pueblos. Wherever Coronado’s voyage took him, he put crosses in every spot he deemed appropriate as a sign that His Majesty claims the land as his own, and chiefly as a sign of “Jesus Christ Our Lord in honor of Christianity”. As Coronado moved through the region converting everyone in sight to Christianity, he and his Spanish colleagues kept their eye on their main objective to seize as much land as possible for Spain. David Day writes that “being first to raise the flag does not necessarily result in that claim being recognized by competitors”, so the Coronado Expedition took further measures through mapping and surveys to maintain control over their “discoveries”.

Coronado and the Spanish used mapping, surveys and renaming of landmarks to further exert their control and possession of their territory. Take for example the 1779 map of the *Rio Abajo* by *Bernardo Miera*. All that is depicted on the map in terms of geographic landmarks are rivers, mesas, and larger mountains. The only other elements to the map are the locations of Spanish “villas” and churches, and the locations of Puebloan communities; those which are Christian, and those that are not – dubbed “enemigos”. This clearly shows the Spanish conception of the landscape as only a game board for their quest to claim territory and spread Christianity. Day claims “the act of describing a newly discovered place, whether by map or some other means, formed part of the process of laying claims to new regions since it showed

Coronado Journeys North

Left, portrait of Francisco Vazquez de Coronado. Right, “Coronado Sets out to the North” by Frederic Remington.





Map of Rio Abajo, 1779
Detailed map of contemporary American Southwest by Bernardino de Miera y Pacheco.

knowledge which could only have been obtained only by extensive exploration.” The Spanish believed the land was theirs because of the supposed superiority of Spanish civilization, as shown by their maps and descriptions. Along with these maps and surveys, the Spanish renamed anything they could with a Spanish name as a critical sign of possession to further establish their control of the land.

Coronado renamed these native landmarks with names from their religion or Spanish patrons. Look again at the Miera map of 1779 where every river, valley and mountain range has been given a Spanish name. Every Spanish settlement, whether a church, or a villa, enjoys its own Spanish name, and even a few of the Christian Pueblos have been converted. By the act of renaming a landmark as Miera did, Coronado was supporting his claim to a new territory by the simple conferring of a name that tied it symbolically to its putative owners, like naming a dog or a boat. As Coronado voyaged further into the southwest region, he charted the territory to his best abilities, renaming anything and everything in sight and taking detailed notes on his experiences to send back to His Majesty as reports on his progress.

Like the colonial maps, these letters from Coronado to His Majesty provide valuable insight into the Spanish conception of the landscape. Coronado writes, “the country itself is the best I have ever seen for producing all the products of

Spain, for besides the land itself being very fat and black and being very well watered by the rivulets and springs and rivers, I found prunes like those of Spain” and “what I am sure of is that there is no gold nor any other metal in all the country.” It is obvious from these passages that Coronado was only concerned with the material value of the land and with what wealth and luxuries it could provide him and his country. He concludes the letter with “I have done all that I possibly could to serve Your Majesty and to discover a country where God Our Lord might be served and the royal patrimony of Your Majesty increased, as your loyal servant and vassal.”

When Coronado and the Spanish first arrived in the American southwest, they saw it as a land that was “up for grabs”. Although Coronado never found the mythical golden city of Cibola, or any valuable metals, he found a land on which he and his people could settle and begin new lives. While Coronado viewed the landscape as a potential route to unlimited wealth, fame, and power, someone else may see the same landscape through a completely different lens. By considering the Spanish maps and written accounts of the region, one can begin to understand *their* conception of the landscape. However, in order to fully understand the landscape and its meaning, one must consider *every* perspective. ■



“For archaeologists, examining the material culture of mundane utilitarian “everyday life” objects reveals subtleties that have been overlooked in official recorded histories.”

Jazmyne Koch



Puebloan Ceramics

The Social Significance of Pottery

By Clare Hoenig

Ceramics are an important archeological tool to look into social structure and social change. Ceramics provide a wide range of information in relation to production and labor, as well as providing a key component to understanding cultural elements of the Puebloan peoples.

Ceramic production in the Precolumbian and contemporary American southwest continues to be a complex process embedded with rich social significance. There are specific archeological methods of analyzing ceramic remains, which are able to help scholars uncover information about the social structure of the past. Ceramics have revealed a lot about the social structure and social change during the Pueblo Revolt. The analysis of where a pot was produced and whom it belongs to reveals, for example, how the specific refugee groups were segregated or integrated while in refugee villages. According to where certain types of pottery, belonging to different ethnic groups, were found within the housing scheme shows how well they mixed with others in the village

The production of ceramics was developed under very specific social conditions, and ceramic pots in turn had their own effects on social changes. The development of pottery production in the

southwest was directly related to an increase in women’s labor and thus a shift in their time allocations. Because the development of pottery allowed for more efficient cooking, it was an extremely useful tool that allowed women to have more time for other chores.

The social significance around the production of pottery has changed over time with the changing social structure of specific Puebloan groups, as has the iconographic and social significance of the pots themselves. For example, pottery production was traditionally a woman’s activity. In recent decades, however, there has been a shift in this rigid structure and more and more males have become accomplished potters. This shift in gender production is a reflection of the changing gender roles in the larger socio-political sphere that occurred with modernization.

The types of pottery that were used by the Puebloan peoples have changed dramatically over time. These changes are especially predominant during the period of contact between the Pueblos and Spanish. There were distinguishable shifts in the iconographic content between the pre revolt era and the post revolt era. ■

Ceramics and Iconography

The Maintenance of Long-Standing Practices

By Jazmyne Koch

The importance of material culture as historical evidence is to challenge the confined narratives of history and present alternative histories that speak to other experiences. For archaeologists, examining the material culture of mundane utilitarian “everyday life” objects reveals subtleties that have been overlooked in official recorded histories. The concept of materiality suggests that physical objects’ ability to mediate, create and be shaped by ideology is not a passive reflection, rather it is an active component in intentionally transforming a culture and society. Looking at material culture design elements from pre-1680 Pueblo Revolt to the early 18th century, iconography was an important mode of expression, that illustrated power and resistance, aided in forming innovative social organization (emphasizing shared aspects of culture amongst distinctive communities), and played a major role in mediating the Pueblo revitalization movement through solidifying the ideological unification and creation of new pan-

Pueblo identities. Identifying the changes in pottery icons, design and meaning over different time periods, provides evidence of social difference, interaction, group membership and a signal of identity.

During the protohistoric period of the sixteenth century (~1502-1540), painted Zuni ceramic designs were diverse. Designs on bichromes were usually bold and geometric. On several vessels, birds (especially parrots) were commonly found on early glazeware. Many of the Matsaki Polychromes from this time were painted with asymmetrical layouts contemporaneous to the Yellowware made by the Hopi people. At Zuni, kachinas were present on vessels during this period, similar to ones from the Mogollon Rim in Arizona and Hopi areas from the fourteenth century. The majority of kachina designs were found decorating the interior of bowls, privately hidden from the outside observer. In contrast, exterior designs on more public pottery, such as water jars, would be nearly covered in all geometric designs. Using the example of Zuni

Katsinam

Katsinam are Hopi Spirit messengers who send prayers for rain, bountiful harvests, and a prosperous life for all of humankind. The bowl on the bottom left is a Sikyatki Polychrome Bowl that is representing Katsinam. The image in the bottom right, taken in 1893, is a photograph of katsinam associated with the Powamu ceremony. Note the rain or wedding sash in the middle of the bowl and photograph. Both images represent the long-standing maintenance of this practice.



pottery, we can see a concern for secrecy of traditional kachina designs and this sense of “private viewing” that has continued from the Mogollon Rim area pottery to Zuni. Reflective of the late Precolumbian migrations and coalescence of different populations at Zuni (prior to European contact), pottery was representative of this social organization through its diversity in pigments and paste recipes. Looking at the ceramic wares of these subgroup populations at Zuni, there was an intentional maintenance of distinctive social and group identities, and different population histories through the material culture.

In the Pre-revolt period, also known as the beginning of the Mission period, a major change in pottery occurred with the reintroduction of glaze painted ceramic, called Hawikuh glazeware from the Rio Grande area. In the 1630's, ceramics were evidently inspired by Eastern Pueblo ceramics, showing the influence of style that came with the friars to Zuni. The kachina icons from the protohistoric time period were still depicted on the interior surfaces of bowls and jars, but they become less recognizable with the suppression of native religion and influence of Franciscan friars. The iconography from this period also suggests a disruption in the bird trading network, with parrots rarely drawn on Matsaki or Hawikuh pottery. On Zuni ceramics, Sikyatki style asymmetrical designs were still found during the pre-Revolt period, though they were more rare. Elements of stars and feathers included in a horizontal dividing panel (that seem to represent a shield) were added to the asymmetrical design. Seeing these illustrated on Zuni ceramics and rock art during the Mission period may have symbolized conflict or warfare that had become more prominent in the Zuni community.

During the Pre-Pueblo Revolt period, the feather design became the most popular motif because it was symbolic of Pueblo traditions and group identity. Feathers were used in traditional sacred practices (used in making prayer sticks) and resembled the fringe of textiles (made in kivas in the late prehistoric period). With the suppression of traditional practices in the Pre-Pueblo Revolt Period, feather designs became more prevalent and continued into the Post-Pueblo Revolt Period. Another design element that dramatically increased during this period was the Roman cross. The prehistoric contexts of crosses (seen on rock art and kiva murals) indicate that their design element held ritual meaning quite different from Christian meanings. On rock art and kivas, crosses were usually illustrating stars or insects. On ceramic pottery they were recognized as stars, elements of

ritual scenes or dragonflies. Since the cross was a powerful symbol that held different meanings to the Spanish (as the central symbol of Christianity) and to the Pueblo people, this design element was frequently found on material culture of this time period. Christian imagery, like the cross, manipulated and recreated new meanings that were not challenging traditional Pueblo identities, but were playing a role in the united resistance that helped formulate new Pueblo identities.

In the Post-Pueblo Revolt period, Spanish motif designs (such as the cross) on vessel forms disappeared from pottery during this time. The removal of cross designs can be interpreted as an example of the Hopi resisting Spanish colonial practices. The removal of cross designs, and other similar patterns, was seen throughout the Pueblo region and was concurrent with the reappearance of bird and feather motifs, prehistoric hachure design revival, as well as elements of European influence such as medallions. Unlike the previous distinctive diversity of traditional material culture throughout the Pueblo region, artists now shared a common tradition of stylistic pottery. Traditional motifs revived from the Kotyiti women's glazeware ceramics, such as the double headed key and the Tewa women's archaic hooked triangle motifs, were broadly distributed in the Pueblo region during the revitalization movement to visually signal their commitment to returning to tradition.

On the other hand, the post-Pueblo Revolt period had a new recreation of tradition and style that bled into the material culture, as well as new iconographic experimentations that made space for a new expression of diverse experiences and reactions to the revolt. One example of icon experimentation comes from the Kotyiti women, whose glazewares involve combinations of old and new elements such as the illustration of the “sacred mountain” motif. Similarly, Tewa matte-paint wares showed design experimentation using a shield motif divided into four quarters with attached eagle feathers, possibly showing an “iconography of resistance”. In both cases of reviving traditional motifs or recreating tradition these design elements were indexical signs that Pueblo people recognized as deictic of specific meanings and beliefs.

The Pueblo Revolt represents an excellent case study of a revitalization movement and indigenous rebellion, one that shows the impact of the colonial world on communities and the result in widespread changes in social dynamics and community organization. Though the revolt tried to unify the diverse villages of the Pueblo region into one collective identity, as evident through the examples

material culture, the “return to tradition” was not the same experience for everyone. Some traditions were reinstated, some colonial influences were retained and others were put into new uses or meanings. Because of this variety in meaning, significance, and individual expression through material culture iconography, different narratives are recognized and added to the holistic picture of the historical time period of the Pueblo Revolt. Looking at the Pueblo Revolt as one example of a cultural revitalization movement, we see a

universal pattern of cultural assimilation and adaptation that never completely returns to the past. Through encounters that yield challenging circumstances, comes a new meaning of life, culture, identity and inspiration for Pueblo people then and for Pueblo people of today.

In the exhibition we provide a space for acknowledging alternative narratives in history, and in particular multivocal narratives surrounding the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. ■

Identity and Community

Architectural Practice in the American Southwest

By **Mattias Bailey**

It is easy to forget that archaeology is the remains of human lives, and the material record is a history of actions and events. What can be seen are the structured remains of human activities, identities, and communities. The archeological record of the Pueblo people is indicative of migration and shifting identity and communities. Abandoned pueblo villages cover the landscape of the American Southwest, demonstrating the pattern of aggregation and resettlement throughout Puebloan history. The architecture of pueblos has changed over time as new social factors are introduced, and the people have responded accordingly. A community is often reflective of a group identity, and the built environment (architecture and settlement pattern) is a record of how that community shifted and changed across time. Communities are not stable and monolithic; they are in flux, emerging as individuals negotiate their personal interests and social structure with the built environment. The pueblo communities were no different as they redefined themselves during colonialism and revolt.

The history of the people of the historic Southwestern United States is characterized by abandonment, migration, and aggregation. Environmental factors have been at the heart of abandonment and migration, determining where agriculture can be practiced, and how successful it can be. However, aggregation can also be a response to cultural factors like regional competition and the threat of warfare. Crowding and a lack of agricultural space, was a factor in the aggregation of pueblo towns into large settlements during the 9th and 10th centuries. In the 10th and 11th centuries, environmental changes occurred, favorable to

agriculture and the Pueblo population spread to its greatest extent. When aggregation cannot happen either for cultural differences or population caps, warfare is the result. Crowding, and the threat of warfare and competition, drove large settlements into defensible positions in mesas or cliffs during the 12th and 13th centuries. However, it is a mistake to view abandonment, especially in the pueblo world, as the failure of a cultural system; in fact abandonment and migration was key to greater societal stability. Abandonment is the strategic movement of people, and is a part of the sedentary pueblo society’s response to changing environmental or cultural factors.

At the time of Spanish contact, the pueblo peoples had forfeited their once vast territorial hold and were concentrated in aggregated communities in the drainage rivers of the Rio Grande and Zuni water systems. An increasing population, and a reliance on maize and bean horticulture created the intrinsic need for better and more consistent water access. Communities and identities commonly merged as immigrant groups moved from pueblo to pueblo. Aggregation and abandonment are common themes throughout the history of the pueblo world, and the introduction of the Spanish to the Pueblo world created another cultural need for migration, aggregation, and abandonment.

As a result of Spanish colonization, the Pueblo people became increasingly settled in mission villages and *visitas* (unstaffed pueblos with churches) in the river valleys. Spanish officials favored the policy of reduction (*reduccion*), combining multiple smaller villages into singular large villages, in order to exercise greater control over the pueblo people.



“With the advent of the Pueblo Revolt, the Puebloan peoples abandoned their villages and constructed or resettled pueblos in the mesas above the river valleys.”

Mattias Bailey

The combination of smaller villages would have created a mixing of pueblo clans and tribes. The policy of reduction could have been a factor in creating the pan-ethnic identity that helped to galvanize the Pueblo Revolt.

With the advent of the Pueblo Revolt, the Puebloan peoples abandoned their villages and constructed or resettled pueblos in the mesas above the river valleys. Repeating the pattern of past Pueblo history, the move to the mesas was due to the threat of warfare, and the mesas were easily defensible. However, defensibility was not the only factor in the re-creation of the mesa pueblos; the ideology of cultural revitalization was taken into account in the creation and location of the new pueblos. The kiva was reintroduced to mesa Pueblo settlements as leaders sought to return to the pre-Columbian past; not all of the mesa Pueblos had kivas, representative of cultural change during Spanish colonization. The mesa pueblos expressed more structural variation than pre-Columbian pueblo sites. This could be due to the rapid reorganization and creation of pueblos in a multi-ethnic setting.

The revitalization of the dual plaza pueblo and the ceremonial kiva, and the move to mesa are representative of a shifting community identity expressed through the built environment. The practical significance of the plaza pueblo is to promote community integration and cohesive identity. Beyond the practical the plaza pueblo is ceremonial, and representative of the pre-Columbian pueblo culture. The gateways, the plazas, and the roomblocks are all part of a system that creates identity and inscribes meaning onto the physical world. Its revitalization, and the changing built environment of pueblo villages during the revolt period was a purposeful move by the leaders of the pueblo revolt. The revolt caused the Pueblo people to redefine their identities as they were forced to abandon and aggregate for protection. Architecture, both public and domestic, was important in redefining and creating identity as Pueblo communities abandoned, migrated and aggregated. ■

Architectural Fusion

The Maintenance of History and Identity through Practice

By Emily Faxon

The American Southwest, natively inhabited by several groups of Puebloan peoples is home to the kiva, an underground center for worship. Until contact with the Spanish, the kiva was the only distinguishable form of religious architecture. While attempting to control the Native Americans, the Spanish established missions and churches for worship, hoping to end the importance of the kiva.

Kivas are distinguishable from other Pueblo buildings because they are underground, however, living beneath the earth was the original form of dwelling for the peoples of New Mexico since 350 AD. In fact, above ground construction did not begin until about 700 AD. Some scholars argue that the difference between a kiva as a ceremonial space and a kiva as a dwelling place are too narrow to see clearly. Lekson argues that archaeologists falsely base their understandings of the distinction between the two structures on their limited understanding of ceremonial procedures in Pueblo culture. Kivas, for the most part are laid out on a North South directional axis relating to their spirit world. There may also be a bench running along one of the walls, a ventilator, fire pit, and most importantly the *sipapu* running on the north/south axis (Luebben 1982). Either because of ancestral use or because of the origin story, the kiva is a very important part of ceremonial practices in the American Southwest. The kiva, however, was a gendered space reserved for the use of men in kachina dances and other ceremonies. Women rarely, if ever, entered them. This segregation of space into gendered areas

carried over into the interior structure of mission churches.

The Spanish started missionizing the Pueblo Indians in the 16th century and while only a few original churches remain, the ones that do provide a perspective into the ethnogenesis of a new religious architecture. The ethnogenesis, or creation of a new culture from the merging of two others, brought different ideas of space and symbolism into one form that can be found in some pueblos today. The Spanish friars knew that they could not build the masterpieces of Europe with the adobe bricks of New Mexico, but with the help of the Pueblo Indians they managed to create structures that are still known for their beauty.

One notable element of the fusion between Christianity and Puebloan religion was the use of the cross. For the Spanish, it was the crucifix, a sign of the trinity, Jesus, and a fundamental ornament of Christianity. For the Pueblo Indians, the cross was a symbol of “the tree that sustains life” not of some other religion that could prove to be dangerous. Because of the large amount of cohesive symbolism, architecture was easily altered to fit the ritualistic frameworks of Indian tradition while still appearing to be Catholic in roots. Even though the missions incorporated the local material and spatial elements of a kiva, these churches were still a reminder that the Spanish held power over the Pueblos. It therefore makes sense that during the Pueblo Revolt many of these religious structures were looted, burned, and left to decay by the very hands that were forced to build them. The Pueblos, however,

Kiva from Kewa Pueblo (left)

Photo taken in 1910. The pueblo is home to a ceremonial kiva as well as an old Spanish church.

Sandia Pueblo (right)

While technically Spanish, the residents still maintain their ceremonial practices.





Kiva and Church at Salina Pueblo (left)

This image captures the ruins of the mission and monastery of San Gregorio de Abó built in 1629-30. The kiva is inside the walls of the mission so friars could better incorporate Puebloan practices into Catholic Mass.

Inside of a Kiva (right)

Kiva at Pecos National Historic Park, Pecos, NM. Photo taken by Pat Hunt

were able to subvert some of the colonial efforts of total domination. They achieved this through the axillary layout of the church, on the North-South line that was crucial to the kiva; they also managed to keep the churches dark, womb-like, also reminiscent of the kiva, but allowing for the light changes of the solstices to enter the nave. Churches also maintained the gendered space of the kiva, with men sitting on one side and women on the other as opposed to sitting by family as intended. Some churches even had balconies so that Mass or dances could be preformed outside. But the Spanish influenced the kiva too.

Kivas were made taller for the comfort of the friars and often positioned in central locations according to the church so that priests could use them as well. Some missions even built kivas in the center of the Franciscan's cells so that the church could oversee the use of the space. The mission churches that remain have these mixed attributes: churches with Indian ritual elements and missionized kivas. It is one of many components that created the Spanish-Indian ethnogenesis and birthed the architecture of modern day New Mexico.

Today only some of the original missions still stand, either torn down by the erosional nature of adobe or lost to raiding Indians. But the churches

that do stand are as close a part of Native history as their creation story. Pueblo Indians honor their pasts in story and in architecture, even if Catholicism is no longer the dominant religious force. Many missions are being reconstructed using grants from the National Park and Forest Services or from funds generated by tourism and the locals. Murals that decorated the insides of the churches, documenting Jesus descending into the Pueblos on an Indian cloud or the kachinas on top of Corn Mountain are being retouched and preserved as important parts of cultural history. This movement to rebuild the missions and to repaint the murals is growing within the Pueblos just as the burial grounds outside the church are filling. Perhaps it is not unlike the kivas becoming more sacred after the elders passed away, perhaps it is the mark of a culture trying to maintain its grasp on a history that is often rocky and misheard. By revitalizing the Euro-centric element that is colonialism, perhaps a new story of the Pueblo Indians will be heard. The ties to the land and to the space remain important to the Indians in ways the Franciscan missionaries never could have imagined and in their attempts at altering the belief system; they created historic and definitive architecture. ■

Domestic Architecture and Expressions of Identity

By Erik Jacobson

Too often, architecture is used as a representation, rather than a component, of a prehistoric culture. Centering archaeological research on monumental structures like the Great Pyramids of Egypt, the ziggurats of Mesopotamia, or the ball courts of Copan, Honduras, further perpetuates these spaces as representations of their respective cultures. Architectural analysis consisting solely of monumental architecture tends to further deepen disenfranchisement across the Southwest by describing trends in ethnogenesis as the presence and disappearance of churches, *conventos*, and kivas. This narrowed approach to describing a period of such radical change limits understanding of colonialism to an issue of conflicting religious beliefs; when in reality the modes of resistance, influence, and adaptation were infinitely deeper. Instead, a holistic approach to architectural analysis must be approached- one that is representative of the general civilian and his or her praxis. Focusing on domestic structures allows expression of a population previously disenfranchised by previous studies centered on monumental architecture.

Room size, defined as the enclosed floor area, is a well maintained structural feature; rendering it extremely useful for archaeological analysis. Most commonly it is a descriptor of particular practices and quantity of agents involved with the structure. Differentiation in room size has been readily studied in correlation with room function by a number of archeologists. Using material and artifactual data cross-referenced with interviews of modern Puebloans, archaeologist Charles Adams integrated the idea of function with room size. For Adams, rooms of smaller size were designated storage rooms, larger spaces as ceremonial rooms, and rooms that displayed evidence of modifications to its size were habitual rooms. Precolumbian sites in Chaco are indicative of the “big man” proposal, stating that as social stratification emerged, a growing demand for material culture led to the expansion in room size. Trends in settlement hierarchy can be outlined from this approach.

Looking at sites just prior to colonial contact, variations in room size are evidence of migratory trends. During the migration into valleys, and away from prior cliff dwellings, distinctive construction features imply variable settlement patterns. Western Pueblos generally feature extreme fluctuation in room size and shape, while Eastern Pueblos were much more standardized. Standardized room sizes are representative of construction as a single event,

completed by a large number of individuals. The Eastern pueblos were most likely a result of migration patterns seen during the Pueblo III era, where cliff dwellings were abandoned for large pueblo constructions in more southern valleys. Western Pueblos, contrastingly, featured sporadic room sizes, suggesting perhaps a less synchronized settlement pattern. Applying these concepts to a colonial contact site allows the possibility to determine in what ways colonial period populations’ practiced agency in times of radical change.

In studying agency, it is essential to examine what structural components were altered during colonial contact. Among Puebloan populations, changes include the use of advanced rain-gutters, “whitewashing”, squared roofing beams, chimneys, and a variety of structural variation. Whitewashing is a “white, clayey gypsum, used in the form of a solution made by dissolving in hot water the lumps of the raw material, found in many localities” and the application of it to the sidewalls of a pueblo. The application of a material to improve the durability of the house was originally a native conception. The notable “white” nature of this process was a colonial alteration.

Although the practice was adopted in colonial times, the spread of the practice can be mapped after the Pueblo revolt. During revitalization, when missions were abandoned for satellite or older pueblos, many natives returned to the cliff dwellings occupied in the early twelfth century. With the return, the Puebloans brought whitewashing. In some cases, the whitewash was applied in symbolic manners- either depicting Katchina or geometric shapes similar to those found of revitalization ceramics. The adoption of practices like whitewashing is indicative of varying degrees of revitalization and small acts of acculturation.

By understanding the agency behind daily and domestic architecture, instead of directing all archaeological research on monumental structures, archaeologists are better equipped to provide an accurate history of Puebloan groups. Addressing individual agency and expression of identity throughout the Puebloan past gives animate qualities to a population widely perceived as dead. Architecture, especially domestic structure, gives concrete behavior (whether it be praxis or resistance) to cultures that have been misrepresented as static- wiped out during colonial periods as a result of their inability to survive, adapt, and maintain a sense of identity.

Identity, History and Memory in Ceremonial Practice

By Meghann Maurer

In their study on rites of passage for adolescent Navajo girls, anthropologists Carol A. Markstrom and Alejandro Iborra argue that “A cultural practice is likely to endure as long as it continues to serve a function in a society”. For many of the Native American tribes and nations that still exist today in the greater Southwestern region of the United States, the maintenance of ceremonial practices is not only crucial on an individual and communal level, but also on a national level. Sustaining ceremonial traditions on each of these different levels provides the ground for a continued identification with one’s own tribe or nation, and within that fosters a sense of pride. Today, tribes and nations constantly struggle to protect the traditions of their ancestors from extinction in the midst of exposure to mainstream American culture and practices. Maintaining traditional languages, dress, behaviors, food practices, gender roles, etc. is particularly hard when children are educated in English and are persistently exposed to and influenced by other differing communities and people. Contemporary communities have continued to persevere and uphold particular practices which continue to provide younger generations the opportunity to understand and explore their heritage, but also provide older generations comfort and familiarity in an ever changing world.

The Navajo Kinaálda ceremony for girls, the Hopi Clown Ceremony and the Matachines Dance are just three of a multitude of Southwestern native traditions that are still practiced today and continue to supply participants with a sense of alignment with their respective tribes. Additionally, powwows, like Albuquerque, New Mexico’s Gathering of Nations

allow this sense of identity to flourish on a smaller community level and to expand further on a national plane. At this level, communities and tribal nations can gather and express their commonalities as well as their differences. Ultimately, the longevity, and the survival, of a group depend heavily on the awareness and acceptance of the cultural practices that serve to bind individuals together.

The Navajo Kinaálda ceremony occurs over a four day period in which the young girl undergoes a series of ritual performances and tasks that serve to “mold” her into the image of Changing Woman, the Navajo goddess of life, fertility and changing seasons, and the quintessential image of a Navajo woman. These tasks include dressing in one’s finest clothing, body molding, with the help of her community elders and mentor, washing one’s hair, corn grinding and preparation of a round corn cake, and finally running. These tasks serve as a representation of her “spiritual, emotional, intellectual, and physical” being and serve to solidify her place within Navajo society.

Originating in Spain during the Renaissance, the Matachines Dance is performed today by peoples of both Puebloan and Hispano/Mexicano descent across the greater Southwest region of the U.S., and most prevalently in New Mexico. Although it varies from tribe to tribe, the dance is performed on particular saints’ days and reenacts the history of Montezuma. Dancers, dressed in brightly colored costumes, perform for an hour in front of an audience composed of community members and outside visitors. Most often, the performance is accompanied by a violin and guitar. With themes of

Left

Girl preparing for Matachines Dance.

Right

Gathering of Nations in Albuquerque, NM.



transformation, struggle and encounter throughout, the dance is widely popular and integral part of Southwestern tribal tradition.

Held every year in Albuquerque, New Mexico, the Gathering of Nations is the world's largest powwow, attracting more than 500 nations, 2,500 dancers and nearly 80,000 visitors over a three day period in April. Nations compete with each other in friendly dance and drum (accompanying drummers and singers) competitions, make and sell crafts, and prepare traditional food. Much like smaller ceremonial practices, the powwow incorporates tributes to the landscapes, giving thanks, and honoring outstanding individuals. Competitions and interactions allow differing tribes to show respect toward one another, to engage in fellowship, and to express their individuality.

Anthropologist Benjamin Kracht once noted that “Communitas, the ‘community of feeling,’ is created by those who come together to dance and show respect from traditions; the traditions themselves are sacred. Through the ritual of powwow...Indians, and even non-Indian “hobbyists,” adhere to the rules of the powwow arena in a world of traditions that transcends their everyday world.” Ultimately, the continued practice of the Navajo Kinaálda, the Matachines dance, the Gathering of Nations Powwow and a multitude of additional ceremonies performed today by Southwestern and Puebloan peoples are essential to the permanence of their identity. ■

Community and Identity

Daily Life and Practice

By Emma Sharer

The revival of Puebloan culture after Spanish colonial arrival has created a unique ethnic identity and contemporary lifestyle that steers away from traditional representations of the Pueblo communities. While the Puebloan peoples were the only Native Americans on the continent to successfully expel European colonizers, they continually struggle to protect their daily life ways. Past and present day forms of colonialism have shaped the way modern-day peoples view and understand Pueblo Indian culture. It is important to provide the “hidden text” of Puebloan spatial, religious and social practices after Spanish colonial arrival, which has created a unique ethnic identity and contemporary lifestyle that steers away from traditional representations of the Pueblo communities.

One noteworthy example of this “commodification” of culture that has affected modern modes of cultural reproduction is the popular image of the Native American Pueblo woman who is commonly portrayed holding a clay vessel. According to Barbara Babcock, a traditionally dressed Pueblo woman who shapes and carries a water jar or *olla* “is *the* representation of the Pueblo.” Images of pueblo pots and pueblo women are “receptacles of desire for Anglo viewers and consumers.” It places Puebloan culture in a peaceful, agrarian and domestic place that disregards their

status as important components to modern day society. The tourist “gaze” is the “technology of modern power,” where the colonizer is the tourist who creates an imaginary “Western nostalgia” that establishes universalities about Puebloan peoples.

Neo-colonial, “primitive” representations of the “Pueblo other” blur over important contemporary social, spatial and political practices that shape the Indian identity. Most Pueblo tribes across the Southwest treasure ancient community values over personal interests. They cherish the land, air, and water on reservations that are the lifeline of the Pueblo culture. In the San Felipe Pueblo of New Mexico, midway between Albuquerque and Santa Fe, the main road splits; a right turn leads to the reservation gas station and the casino, while the left takes one in towards the village. Attaché houses surround a plaza and dirt lanes are lined with houses made of stone, adobe, and look as though they are growing from the earth. The plaza is the main physical, social and ceremonial center, which is enveloped by tribal government buildings, and the historic mission.

Other prominent tribes, such as the Zia pueblo, which is one of the largest of the eighteen Rio Grande Pueblos, have incorporated traditional ceremonies, dances, and church services in the same central plaza for over seven centuries. These cultural spaces provide sites for indigenous practices and



Photo of Zuni woman with ceramic vessel on her head, New Mexico, 1906, Edward Curtis.



Photo of Zuni pueblo, New Mexico, 1906, Edward Curtis.

customs. The baptism ceremony is one of the most important of these practices where the Catholic friar honors the newborn and is followed by a Native religious leader who blesses the baby in Keresan with sacred cornmeal. This form of active agency among tribal leaders can also be noted within individual families as well.

Outside of the plaza are parcels of agricultural land made up of wooden barns, tool sheds, fences and corrals where both men and women work in their respective fields to provide for families. Individuals successfully irrigate farmland; raise cattle and fight to maintain sustainable land practices amidst development and industrialization movements outside of the village. Small-scale farming and sustainable business have recently emerged to reconnect the Pueblo communities to their natural resources. Both men and women work together on personal greenhouses where they grow plants and flowers to sell to surrounding residents. Native American use of agricultural land can be seen as the ‘seed of change’ because not only does it create a self-sufficient Pueblo environment, but it also serves as a “link to people’s heritages.” These important daily relationships with the surrounding landscape have had large impacts on the contemporary Pueblo communities especially within the realm of governance and communal agency.

In Pueblo communities today, a governor, administrative staff, and tribal court system handle

contemporary daily affairs between Pueblo communities and the outside world. Most pueblos have adult males as governors who are crowned with wooden canes introduced by the Spanish royalty in the early seventeenth century as symbols of authority. Many of these individuals “wear two hats” because they are both tribal officials/staff/citizens who also are hosts to outside visitors for pueblo feast days and other events. Women play active roles in tribal political organizations as well, but also take on the ancient roles of healers, midwives, and herbalists. Both females and males strive to affirm their community’s status as “domestic dependent nations with internal authority to govern their people and manage their resources and land.”

The modern revival of Native American contemporary life is most significant within the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest because of their active agency in daily negotiations with outside influences. Tribal sovereignty is the single “right” that Indians have fought for. First-world, Anglo outsiders are engrained with a stereotypical view of the “primitive”, exotic Native American “other”, and are not fully aware of what it means to be Indian, nor will they ever be. It is therefore important to take small steps towards more accurate and authentic representations of Pueblo culture that both restore and regenerate native culture to its rightful place in the American Southwest.

Pueblo Narrative

Maintenance, Negotiation and Reinvention of Cultural Identity

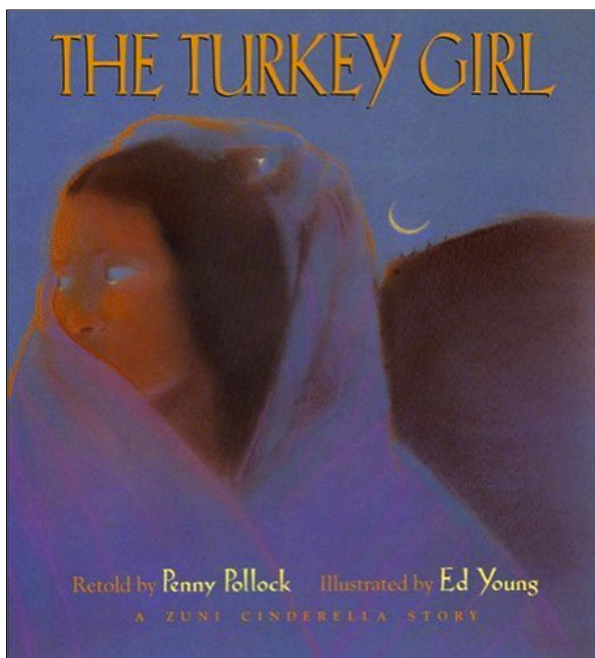
By Elizabeth Luttrell

When two cultures collide as they did during the conquest, ethnicities are both strengthened through opposition, and simultaneously altered by external influences. This concurrent growth and maintenance of culture is evident in the narratives of the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest, which have been passed down through generations of turmoil. These narratives not only aid in the maintenance of tradition from one generation to the next, but also provide an avenue through which individuals are able to negotiate their own identity within that culture, as well as negotiate the collective identity of their culture within the present. Although “storytelling” seems to be increasingly viewed as an atavistic activity, steadily replaced by more modern pastimes like television, the Pueblo peoples still actively and consciously strive to maintain their own histories and identities through these stories. Stories continue to be a major avenue through which cultural identity and history can be maintained and negotiated.

Each myth contains meaning, whether it concerns ancestral or more recent history, moral values, codes of behavior, or lessons about the nature of the world, they are all important cultural lessons. It is not the precise dates or locations that are meant to be remembered; it is the morsels of information that shape an individual’s cultural identity and sense

of community and belonging. “These mental mechanisms tie the meaning of everyday events to instructions for children, cautions for adults, information about the importance of the place names in our landscape, and so much more.” One example of this is Turkey Girl, which tells the story of an industrious girl with a cruel stepmother. When the girl matures into a woman, her stepmother accuses her of witchcraft, and the boys of the village pursue her as she flees into the mountains. The turkeys to which she tends come to her rescue by raising all of their wings and hiding her from the view of the boys as she runs to the safety of a mountain, now called Turkey Track Mountain or P’in di.

Turkey Girl teaches several different types of knowledge: knowledge of the nature of people, knowledge of the virtues that are valued by this culture, and knowledge of the land. The actions of the stepmother emphasize that people, even relatives, are not always kind, yet the “happily ever after” type ending also shows that good things come to those who work for them. The story exalts the industriousness of the girl, thereby providing an example of the expectations of a child in this culture. The specific use of the mountain serves several purposes, as does the use of any landmark in oral traditions. First, it builds a sense of community



Storyteller (right)
Helen Cordero,
Cochiti Pueblo,
c. 1980s

through a shared attachment to and knowledge of the land on which one resides (Naranjo 2008). Additionally, by tying it to the story, the mountain will then serve as a reminder of the lessons the story teaches; each time one looks at P'in di, they will think of the industrious Turkey Girl and be reminded that hard work is a virtue.

Ceramics, like oral traditions, can also function as narratives through which one can negotiate cultural identity in a changing social environment. “The ceramic tradition is intimately related to narrative traditions, not only in terms of the subject matter but also as a catalyst for personal experience narratives by traditional artists.” Figurines often represent characters from important stories, and as such can essentially serve as a way of communicating the narratives themselves simply by symbolically representing the messages these stories convey. Through the use of culturally meaningful symbols in their pieces, artists are able to tell a story through these figures. Similar to the place names of the landscape, these pieces then serve as reminders of the stories and encoded cultural values with which they are associated. Each piece has, “layers of cultural identity transformed and delineated as each recalls specific narratives to interpret present or past realities.”

Perhaps the figurines that serve as the best examples of maintenance and negotiation through narrative in clay are the *Storytellers* recently reinvented by Helen Cordero. *Storytellers* are based on the traditional figurine of the *Singing Woman*, which represents maternal love and fertility, and was often

used in fertility rituals, particularly for agriculture. Using the *Singing Woman* as inspiration and as the basic premise of her piece, Cordero created the *Storyteller* in the image of her grandfather, a renowned and important storyteller in the Pueblo community. “[Cordero] transformed an image of natural reproduction into a figure of an important mode of cultural reproduction—storytelling.” Relationships, symbolized by the plethora of children “hanging on his every word,” are heavily emphasized in these pieces, “[relationships] between generations, between past and future, and between stories and potteries.” As such, the *Storyteller* represents the importance of oral tradition in Pueblo culture as a means of connecting the past with the present, and maintaining their traditions and knowledge.

By focusing on the dialectic between creativity and constraints, it is possible to see that narratives, be they symbolic or oral, are capable of simultaneously providing both a mode of communication through which community and cultural values are maintained, and an outlet through which individuals can express new ideas and standards *within* their traditions, thereby reinventing their cultural identity. In Naranjo’s words, life is movement and change, nothing is ever consistent, including the values and traditions that often define cultural identities. Everything is shaped by and must respond to the changes occurring in the social world that surrounding it; narrative is one way to negotiate meaning, while simultaneously maintaining traditions. ■

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