
AHR Forum
Women, Men, and Cycles of Evangelism in the
Southwest Borderlands, A.D. 750 to 1750

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FOUR “BIG IDEAS” SWEEP ACROSS the Southwest borderlands of North America in the thousand years that span the emergence of social complexity in the ancestral Puebloan world and the consolidation of the Spanish colony of New Mexico in the early eighteenth century. The Chaco Phenomenon, the Katsina religion, Franciscan Catholicism, and Po’pay’s (Pueblo) Revolt each sought, through evangelical methods, to effect a dynamic reorganization of popular religious, cultural, and political beliefs. And each, while successful (some more enduringly than others), provoked popular resistance or rebellions in which power relations between women and men proved meaningful. The legacy of their successes and failures resonates in the regional peoples’ memories and lifeways today.¹

Scholarly interest in these four evangelical movements has long cleaved between those who study “prehistory” (archaeologists) and those who study “history” (historians), with the two centuries of Chacoan hegemony and the arrival of the Katsina religion accorded to the realm of the former, and Franciscan proselytization and the nativistic revolt against Christianity organized by the Pueblo religious leader Po’pay to the latter. Yet carefully stewarded memories exist among Puebloan peoples of the

In many respects this article reflects the “peculiar alchemy” that prevails at the School for Advanced Research, and for more than a decade of residence within that energy and eclecticism, I am grateful. Of special note are colleagues Rebecca A. Allahyari, the late David M. Brugge, Catherine Cameron, Cynthia Chavez Lamar, Catherine Cocks, the late Linda S. Cordell, Sarah Croucher, Armand Fritz, George Gumerman, the late Michael Kabotie (Lomawiyesa), John Kantner, Doug Kiel, Stephen H. Lekson, Nancy Owen Lewis, Ramson Lomawama, the late Hartman Lomawaima, Tsianina Lomawaima, Tiya Miles, Melissa Nelson, Timothy R. Pauketat, Douglas W. Schwartz, Thomas E. Sheridan, David H. Snow, Phillip Tuwaletsiwa, and the late David J. Weber. Leigh Kuwanwisiwma has authored several contributions on Hopi history in SAR publications, and led a visit to Awat’ovi Pueblo in 2006. The six anonymous reviewers for the *AHR* likewise contributed important critical perspectives to the essay. Jane Lyle proved remarkably patient and cheerful in copy-editing material generally outside the compass of this journal. All have helped me to understand the deep history of the Southwest; none bear responsibility for errors in my interpretations thereof.

¹ Stephen H. Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2009), is the original advocate of “big ideas” in Southwestern prehistory and history, an effort prefigured by his *The Chaco Meridian: Centers of Political Power in the Ancient Southwest* (Lanham, Md., 1999). By “evangelical methods” I mean practices of relaying information about a particular set of beliefs in the numinous to others who do not hold those beliefs, with the goal of persuading others of the validity of those beliefs and thereby gaining new adherents. For a recent comprehensive and measured synthesis of Southwestern archaeology, see Linda S. Cordell and Maxine E. McBrinn, *Archaeology of the Southwest*, 3rd ed. (Walnut Creek, Calif., 2012).

region today that arc across the millennium, as do sophisticated archaeologies that inform our understanding of the trans-Columbian period. Indigenous histories and material culture, often treated with suspicion by archaeologists and historians, respectively, therefore provide the sinews with which we can attempt a narrative that spans the divide.²

So, too, do theoretical vantage points exist that allow us longitudinal insights into local responses to these evangelical stimuli. While intergenerational struggles for political leadership, unequal distribution of agricultural resources, and limited access to status-conveying goods and symbols all figure prominently in scholars' treatment of ancestral Puebloan peoples across these four moments, archaeologists and historians alike have attended less to relations between women and men as a history-shaping issue in the Southwest, both before and after Spanish colonization.³

Yet cycles of social complexity and disintegration, often attributed to ecological fluctuations, also show evidence of tensions among women and men over their respective places in Pueblo socioreligious expression. Intensification of social complexity among pre-contact Puebloans, as in the rise of the Chaco Phenomenon and the spread of the Katsina religion, often entailed some variety of women's disenfranchisement from social and ceremonial life. The advent of Franciscan Catholicism provided (perhaps inadvertently) descendants of these women new avenues for exploring and expressing social and spiritual power, seldom in complete adherence to orthodox Catholicism, but in forms of experimental piety that resonated with women's experience. This becomes increasingly apparent when we look at the gender dynamics associated with the era of Po'pay's Revolt (1680–1700). This millennium-long story, therefore, may help to explain one conundrum in Southwestern history—the ambivalence with which Pueblo peoples first encountered Catholicism, and the relative ease and devotion with which they, especially women, reaffirmed their commitment to Catholicism in the eighteenth century following the Spanish reconquest—a form of pious expression still powerful today.⁴

² American archaeologists generally prefer “pre-contact” or “pre-Columbian” to my use of “pre-history.” I use the latter term here in the interest of the *AHR* theme. I suspect that all of these forms of “pre” were indeed inventions of the “modern,” as Daniel Smail and Andrew Shryock discuss in their article in this forum. Several generations of ethnologists, of course, have positioned themselves tentatively athwart the past and present, many of whom will be cited henceforth.

³ Patricia L. Crown, *Women and Men in the Prehispanic Southwest: Labor, Power, and Prestige* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2001), is a landmark exception, although this work has no reference to the emergence of the Katsina religion, and its coverage concludes before European contact. Judith Habicht-Mauche's “Pottery, Food, Hides, and Women: Labor, Production, and Exchange across the Protohistoric Plains-Pueblo Frontier,” in Michelle Hegmon, ed., *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction: Religion, Warfare, and Exchange across the American Southwest and Beyond* (Boulder, Colo., 2000), 209–234, is a seminal essay on the topic, as is Kelley A. Hays-Gilpin and Jane H. Hill's “The Flower World in Prehistoric Southwest Material Culture,” *ibid.*, 411–428, a key comment on Mesoamerican influences in women's material culture contributions to the “Southwestern Regional Cult.” See also Patricia L. Crown, *Ceramics and Ideology: Salado Polychrome Pottery* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1994); Todd L. VanPool, “13th Century Women's Movement,” *Archaeology* 63, no. 2 (March/April 2010): 42–45. Most recently, see Barbara J. Roth, ed., *Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest* (Tucson, Ariz., 2010), a major statement with special emphasis on Hohokam and Mimbres archaeology, but which also declines to discuss the gendered elements of the Katsina religion.

⁴ The classic and enduring explanation for this among the Rio Grande Pueblos is Edward P. Dozier's elegant notion of “compartmentalization,” by which he explained the dualism between traditional Pueblo spiritual practice and parallel devotion to Catholicism as a survival strategy that “lessened the

The narrative unfolds in a nonlinear fashion, beginning with the aftermath of Spanish reconquest in the eighteenth century, before reaching back some one thousand years to the days of ancestral Puebloan life in Chaco Canyon, an enigmatic and dramatic intensification of social complexity entirely new to regional life. Thereafter, it moves forward in chronological order through the dissolution of the “Chaco Phenomenon” toward an atomized social landscape that found new structure only with the arrival of the Katsina religion in the fourteenth century. This, in turn, provided the context in which ancestral Puebloan peoples attempted to make sense of immigrant Franciscan Catholicism. Traversing the “pre” of history, these thousand years provide a revealing look at the gender dynamics that influenced each big idea, and prefigured the nativism embodied in Po’pay’s revival that shadowed the revolt’s successes and fragility.

By approaching the story in this way, we can reproduce a process of discovery that began with an effort to unravel the demise of the Hopi pueblo of Awat’ovi in 1700, a brutal internecine conflagration that remains intensely alive in regional memory today. In addition, the nonlinear order of events allows us to read “against the archival grain” to unveil powerful dissonances hidden within commonplace interpretations of Puebloan culture and history, a stratigraphic inversion of the hoary “direct-historical” or “upstreaming” method by which “echoes” of the past were run back across the centuries to show the durability and continuity connecting the ancient and modern Pueblo worlds. This approach also signals analytical links to the other contributions to this forum devoted to writing across the “prehistory/history” divide. Like Smail and Shryock’s essay, it cautions against treating events prior to European expansion into the Americas as somehow less complex and messy than the centuries to follow; like O’Hanlon’s essay, it illustrates continuities in history that trouble the “politics of periodization.” The Puebloan world has long been celebrated as a region wherein women held substantial social power. As we see in these cases, that power seems often to have been the focus of conflict as well.⁵

TUHU’OSTI BROUGHT A SWIRLING COLD WIND to Antelope Mesa that night. The mesa’s sandstone escarpment loomed for several miles above the sandy bottoms of Jeddito Wash in what would become Arizona, and its few scrubs of sagebrush and stunted junipers did little to break the course of the cold front. A new moon cast dim light, catching whips of smoke as they were torn from the rooftops of Awat’ovi Pueblo. Looming three masonry stories at its height, it was home to several hundred people. Its Hopi name meant “High Place of the Bow People.”⁶

threat of Christianity to Pueblo spirituality.” See Dozier, “Rio Grande Pueblos,” in Edward H. Spicer, ed., *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change* (Chicago, 1961), 94–186; quotation from Marilyn Norcini, *Edward P. Dozier: The Paradox of the American Indian Anthropologist* (Tucson, Ariz., 2007), 84. This essay seeks a deeper history, and one born of conflict as well as strategic accommodation, for Dozier’s insights.

⁵ For a recent perspective on gender relations and identity among Puebloan Tewas in the past and present, see Tessie Naranjo, “Life as Movement: A Tewa View of Community and Identity,” in Mark D. Varien and James M. Potter, eds., *The Social Construction of Communities: Agency, Structure, and Identity in the Ancient Southwest* (Lanham, Md., 2008), 251–262.

⁶ The following narrative invention is based on a seriation of nine published accounts of the Awat’ovi

At one time, six other villages had crowned this mesa's eastern rim, frontier outposts in an ancient Pueblo Indian world in which people spoke many languages while sharing some ceremonial and cultural customs and contesting others. Five centuries had passed since the grand experiment at Chaco Canyon—Yupköyvi (The Place beyond the Horizon) in the Hopi tongue—had drawn to a close and the clans had wandered in search of Tuuwanasavi, “the earth-center.” These migrations had themselves taken centuries, leaving their traces in many places, until gradually the clans came together again on the four mesas of the Hopi world. Each clan brought new ideas, new ceremonies, and new artistic expressions, and new villages had again been built of stone and adobe on mesa tops and sheltering slopes.⁷ In the 1620s, Franciscan missionaries would bring more ideas, more ceremonies, and new material culture to the mesas. By 1680 the padres would be gone, slain or expelled by Hopis who joined the Pueblo revolt.

Now only Awat'ovi Pueblo remained on Antelope Mesa. From the valley below, the village seemed to sleep. But an owl perched on the parapets of the ruined Franciscan mission church nearby would have seen signs of life.

From subterranean ceremonial chambers known as “kivas” extended tall pine ladders, vaguely lit by the flicker of hearth fires within. Late autumn was the season of the *wuwutcim wimi* ceremonies, wherein the Tao (Singers), Ahl (Horns), Kwan (Agaves), and Wuwutcim societies initiated adolescent boys into ritual knowledge and manhood. Even more than the matrilineal clans, these four kiva societies were a man's primary allegiance. Lasting more than two weeks and including collective

massacre, spanning dates from the 1880s to the 1970s, as well as more recent ethnographic discussions in the context of analyzing the Oraibi Split of 1906, and conversations with Hopis descended from clans that survived annihilation that night. Plot elements and details in this narrative are present in at least five of the nine accounts. See John Gregory Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona: Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona* (1884; repr., Tucson, Ariz., 1984); Victor Mindeleff, *A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola* (Washington, D.C., 1891); J. Walter Fewkes, “A-wa'-to-bi: An Archeological Verification of a Tusayan Legend,” *American Anthropologist* 6 (October 1893): 363–375, based on a narrative of Sálíko given to A. M. Stephen in 1892. Sálíko was descended from a survivor of the massacre, and in 1892 she served as *mamzraumongwi*, or chief of the Mamzrau society (a women's initiation ceremony, based on knowledge inherited from her Awat'ovi ancestor). Note that by 1920 Sálíko had “become a Christian” and moved off the mesa, and the Mamzrau ceremony was extinct at Walpi. Elsie Clews Parsons, “The Hopi *Wöwöchim* Ceremony in 1920,” *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 25, no. 2 (1923): 156–187, here 171–172; H. R. Voth, *The Traditions of the Hopi* (Chicago, 1905). See also Harold Courlander, *The Fourth World of the Hopis: The Epic Story of the Hopi Indians as Preserved in Their Legends and Traditions* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1987), chap. 17, “The Destruction of Awat'ovi”; and Michael Lomatuway'ma, Lorena Lomatuway'ma, and Sidney Namingha, Jr., *Hopi Ruin Legends: Kiqötutuwutsi*, collected, trans., and ed. Ekkehart Malotki (Lincoln, Neb., 1993), chap. 7, “The Annihilation of Awat'ovi,” 298–409, which was narrated to Malotki by Lomatuway'ma. I employ this strategy in the simple belief that if Hopis and other Pueblo communities remember and interpret their past through narrative, then non-Indian scholars of similar questions might as well do the same, for better or for worse. See Margaret R. Somers, “The Narrative Construction of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach,” *Theory and Society* 23 (1994): 605–649.

⁷ The seven villages on Antelope Mesa were Awat'ovi, Kawaika'a, Chakpahu, Pink Arrow, Nesuf-tonga, Kokopnyama, and Lululongturque; John O. Brew, “Hopi Prehistory and History to 1850,” in Alfonso Ortiz, vol. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9: *Southwest* (Washington, D.C., 1979), 514–523, here 514. For the Hopi view on Chaco-to-Tuuwanasavi, see Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, “Yupköyvi: The Hopi Story of Chaco Canyon,” in David Grant Noble, ed., *In Search of Chaco: New Approaches to an Archaeological Enigma* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2004), 41–47. For post-Chaco migrations and “gathering of the clans” motifs, see Patrick D. Lyons, *Ancestral Hopi Migrations* (Tucson, Ariz., 2003); Wesley Bernardini, *Hopi Oral Tradition and the Archaeology of Identity* (Tucson, Ariz., 2005).

rabbit hunts, shrine visits, dances, feasts, and nightlong singing in the kivas, the *wu-wutcim wimi* had for centuries ensured the transfer of sacred knowledge across generations of men.⁸

This may have been the night known as *totokya*, the climax of the ritual. Seven arduous dance performances by the scores of initiates had filled the day, from dawn to dusk—young men painted in yellow pigments, kilted, with fox skin pendants and feathers of parrots and eagles. Hundreds of villagers had turned out to view the dances, at times grave and at times bawdy, with women of the Mamzrau (Rain) society occasionally taunting the boys and tossing water or urine on them. The rhythm of drums filled Awat'ovi's plazas, pounded now to fine dust by the naked feet of the dancers. As dusk fell, the initiates returned once again to their kivas to resume their training. At the top of each kiva ladder, one senior man remained to receive bowls and baskets of food—mutton stew, dried peaches, sliced squash, rolls of paper-thin blue corn *piki* bread—prepared by the women of the pueblo in honor of their young men. Feasting would be followed by exhausted sleep.⁹

Even the smoke and firelight could not be seen by the secretly encamped warriors below the mesa's cliffs, tucked as they were beyond the eyesight of any of the *alosaka* patrols who maintained order and security during such rituals. Young men and seasoned fighters composed the raiding throng, and Hopis recall that "their number was incredibly large." They had come from Oraibi, from Walpi, from Mishongnovi—Hopi villages to the west. They had gathered beneath the mesa at sundown, while the people of Awat'ovi focused their attention on the culminating dance. All night they had awaited a signal. To pass the hours, "some sharpened the points on their arrows, others the blades of their stone axes." Preparing for the fight ahead, "they painted their faces, putting red ocher along their eyes above their nose." They slashed vertical lines down their cheeks with black hematite. White eagle plumes adorned their hair, to enable them "to run with great speed in pursuit of the enemy." Each had with him a bundle of finely shredded juniper bark and greasewood kindling. Silent, they waited through the long and cold night.¹⁰

The signal came at the very "moment of the yellow dawn." From atop one kiva, out of sight from below, the warriors heard the snap of a blanket in the chill air. Rising up, they filed swiftly up stair-step stones to the unguarded western gate in Awat'ovi's defensive wall. Fanning out through the village, they followed orders. Running from kiva to kiva, one group of the strongest men yanked the ladders out and hurled them aside. Those inside had no chance of escape. Dipping their juniper bark into the still-hot embers of the women's cooking fires, the attackers hurled the burning torches and kindling into the kivas. Grabbing firewood and strings of dried red chiles from nearby house walls, they thrust this new fuel through the small kiva entrances. Arrows followed. "There was crying, screaming, coughing." As the heavy roof beams of the kivas caught fire, they began to sag and collapse, one after the next.

Another group of warriors raced through the village with their own orders, storm-

⁸ Parsons, "The Hopi *Wōwōchim* Ceremony in 1920."

⁹ Ibid., 166–173.

¹⁰ The quotations in this and the subsequent five paragraphs are from Lomatuway'ma, Lomatuway'ma, and Namingha, *Hopi Ruin Legends*, 399–401, 403, 405. There remains much contention around just which villages participated in this attack; those listed here are the three most commonly cited.

ing into the sleeping houses. “Wherever they came across a man, young or old, they killed him.” Some they seized and cast into the kivas; some suffered crushed skulls from stone axes; some were thrown off the cliffs. Old women died, too. Younger women and girls were seized and herded together along the western wall, under guard, while the attackers set fire to the village itself. Firewood stacks prepared for winter now became bonfires. Stores of corn flared as well. “Awat’ovi presented a terrible sight. It had been turned into a ruin.”

Forcing scores of captives before them, the attackers descended Antelope Mesa and trekked toward their home villages. Crossing a small wash that locally dwelling Navajos called Tallahogan (Singing House)—a reference to the Catholic hymns they had heard emanating from the mission church in earlier years—the warriors began to debate among themselves the division of their spoils. The men from Oraibi claimed that they were to have first choice among the captives, after which the Mishongnovi men were to have their selection. The Walpis would have rights to the planting fields of Awat’ovi, but no women. If any women were left after the Oraibis chose theirs, the others could have them. The Mishongnovis and Walpis protested. They had already chosen the women they wanted. “These are ours. We won’t give them back to you!”

While they argued, a small contingent of surviving Awat’ovi men and boys overtook them and attempted a rescue. They were quickly subdued, their heads severed and piled in a cairn by the victors. Turning again to the dispute, since the Mishongnovis and Walpis would not give up their captives, the Oraibis shouted, “In that case no one will have them. Let’s get rid of them. If we kill them all, nobody can have them.”

A slaughter ensued. Several dozen women and girls died in the carnage, stabbed, beaten, or shot through with arrows. Pleas for mercy only enraged the men further. Some women suffered mutilation before they died, their arms or legs amputated, their breasts slashed. Finally, one woman cried, “Some of us are initiates of a society. We know how to make rain. We’ll teach you the art of rainmaking if you spare us and take us along.” Several Mamzrau and Lakon (Basket) society members found safety in this way, divided equally among the three villages. These few, made anew as Oraibis, Mishongnovis, or Walpis, were warned “never to show any longing” for Awat’ovi, “never to think of returning to it.”

Eric Polingyouma, of the Bluebird Clan of Shungopavi village, explains that since its destruction, Awat’ovi “has been considered an evil place. No one at Hopi claims it.” It now stands as a cautionary story to future generations. The cautions themselves, however, remain contested.¹¹

HOWEVER MANY (AND AMBIGUOUS) ITS MEANINGS among Hopi citizenry, the massacre at Awat’ovi Pueblo has long served as a symbolic and disciplinary boundary marker between the scholarly domains of the “prehistoric” and the “historic” in the study of the Southwest borderlands. The village’s enigmatic ruins have attracted attention

¹¹ Ibid., 407; Eric Polingyouma, “Awatovi: A Hopi History,” in Hester A. Davis, ed., *Remembering Awatovi: The Story of an Archaeological Expedition in Northern Arizona, 1935–1939* (Cambridge, 2008), xv–xviii, quotation from xvii.

from a number of scholars, ranging from late-nineteenth-century explorers to twentieth-century social scientists. Beginning in the 1870s, American adventurers collected "Tusayan" (Hopi) legends that excited amateur archaeologists to wonder whether systematic excavation of the ruins might confirm or deny the veracity of Hopi mythic history. A great evil had been purged at Awat'ovi, and yet its precise nature remained unclear. What secret rites had inspired other Hopis to murder their own kinspeople, and who among the victims, women and men, may have been responsible? Jesse Walter Fewkes's Smithsonian Institution expeditions of the 1890s were undertaken in response to the latter enticement, and produced intriguing results.

Fewkes's purpose, he would write, was to "demonstrate by archeological evidence the truth of a Tusayan legend" about how the site came to be "tragically destroyed."¹² Fewkes sketched the site in anticipation of adding excavation detail as he progressed. Covering more than four acres, the ruins were divided roughly between the west, where the massive mound of the main pueblo rose several stories high; and the east, where the walls of the Franciscan church were still standing, with a complex of rooms suggesting an Indian residential block in association with the Spanish mission. The western mound seemed "to be the older" of the two habitation areas.

Employing Hopi men as his field crew, Fewkes sank a series of eight test pits in locations within and around the ruins. Soon he could report that "in almost every room . . . evidences of fire or a great conflagration were brought to light." Charred beams had collapsed, and rarely did they find "a room without finding the beams and burnt fragments of wood upon the floor." Storage rooms featured great piles of stacked corn, so many that "bushels of charred fragments were taken out." In many rooms, items of daily life were still as if "ordinarily in place": "mealing troughs . . . and cooking pots and vessels of both coiled and smooth ware" were found in both the western and eastern precincts of the ruin. No looting had attended the end of Awat'ovi.

Fewkes focused on one location, however, drawn by the presence of a shallow depression in a plaza area midway between the mission church complex and the Indian residential room block to its northwest, which "the Indians employed in the excavation called . . . a kib-va." "The fact that the men were in the kib-va at the time of the destruction and that many were killed there" made him "anxious to identify this room." His workmen sank a trench "several feet in width, from corner to corner," and then another in the center of the room "dug down to the floor," which "was covered with flat stones." Measuring fourteen feet by twenty-eight feet, the large room lay some five feet below the plaza's surface.

Charred wood and ashes abounded in the fill his workmen removed. But most important was the discovery of "a human skull and other bones . . . four feet six inches below the surface in the middle of the chamber, directly under the place where the old sky-hole formerly opened, through which the relentless Hopi may have thrown down the burning fagots and chile upon their helpless victims." The Hopi workmen refused to touch the bones with their hands, and that night one of them, related by marriage to the Katsina chief at Walpi, returned to that pueblo ten miles distant. The

¹² The quotations in this and the following seven paragraphs are from Fewkes, "A-wa'-to-bi," 363, 370, 371, 372, 373, 364, 365, 366.

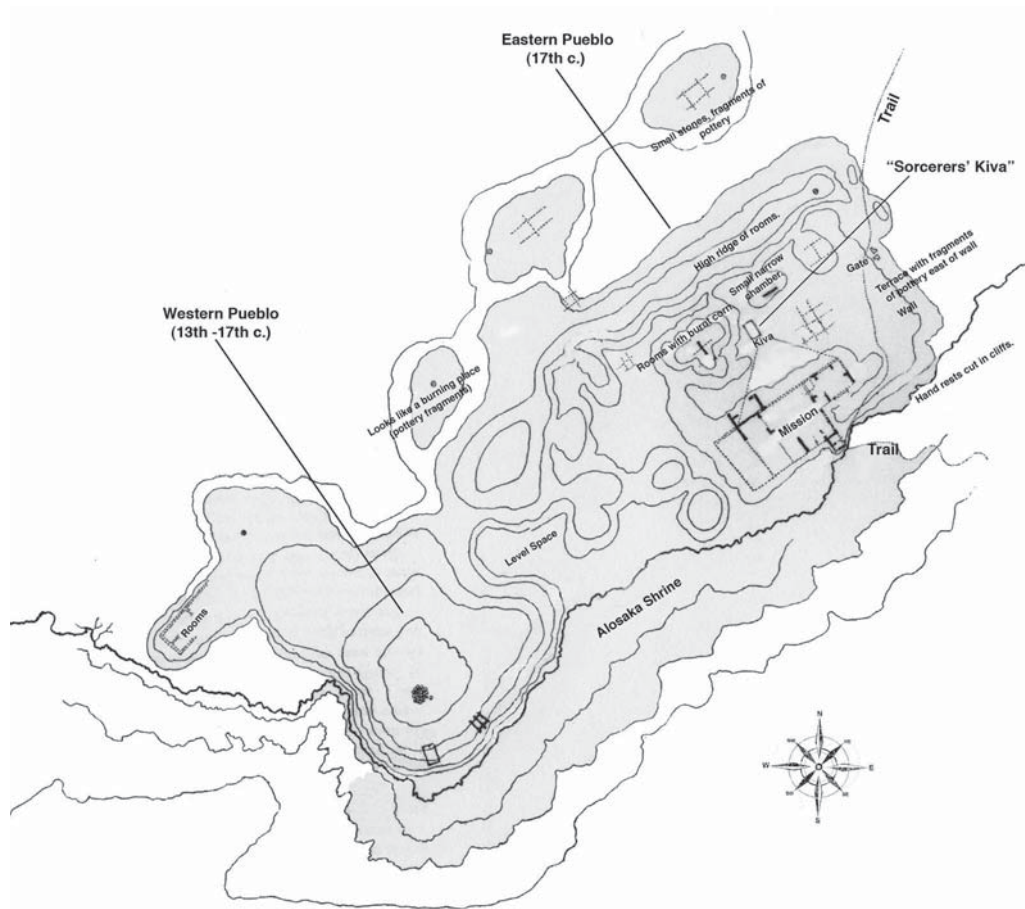


FIGURE 1: Illustration by Jessica Calzada, from J. W. Fewkes's field drawing of excavations at Awat'ovi. Fewkes, "A-wa'-to-bi: An Archeological Verification of a Tusayan Legend," *American Anthropologist* 6 (October 1893): 370.

next day, having received advice from Walpi, the workman laid several *na-kwa'-ko-ci*, "strings with feathers attached," in the trenches "as propitiatory offerings to Ma'-sau-wuh, the Death God." Even in his excitement at the discovery of the skull beneath the entryway to the kiva, Fewkes observed "the anxiety of the Hopi workmen" and decided to abandon the excavation, for he did not "wish the report to be circulated among their people that I desired to find the skeletons of the wizards, as it might prejudice them against me."

Attendant to his archaeological investigations, Fewkes obtained from Alexander Stephen one of the earliest Hopi narratives of the Awat'ovi story from Sálíko, a woman of Walpi village and, by virtue of her descent from a captive survivor of the Awat'ovi destruction, the hereditary chief of the women's Mamzrau society ceremonials at Walpi. Certain key details enter the narrative with Sálíko; she was the only woman to provide an account recorded by outsiders in almost two centuries of Hopi versions of the event.

A large village with many inhabitants, said Sálíko, Awat'ovi was led by a man

named Ta'polo, who was "not at peace with his people and there were quarreling and trouble." Because of that internal strife, little rain had fallen, although the gardens below Awat'ovi remained fertile. Despite this, the men of Awat'ovi were thug-gish with their neighbors; "they went in small bands among the fields of the other villagers and cudgeled any solitary workers they found. If they overtook any woman they ravished her, and they waylaid hunting parties, taking the game, after beating and sometimes killing the hunters."

Ta'polo believed the source of this behavior to lie in sorcery: "his people had become *po-wa'-ko* (sorcerers), and hence should all be destroyed." It was Ta'polo who approached Oraibi and Walpi for aid, recruiting warriors to lay waste his own village. It was Ta'polo who left the gate in the massive wall unbarred, and even swung it wide as the attackers made their entrance. It was he who pointed out the large kiva called Püvyüñobi, "the sorcerers' kiva," wherein the massacre commenced. On Ta'polo's fate, Sálíko was silent.

Regarding the captives, she offered more detail. Sálíko's ancestor was recognized during the carnage at "Mas'ki" (Death House) in Tallahogan Wash as the *maumzrau'mongwi* (chief of the Mamzrau society) by one of the men from Walpi, who asked "whether she would be willing to initiate the women of Walpi in the rites of the Mam'-zrau." Thus she survived, and the ritual, too, stayed alive in a new home. Other women who "knew how to bring rain" and were willing to teach the songs were spared as well. The Oraibi men, she said, even "saved a man who knew how to cause the peach to grow, and that is why Oraibi has such an abundance of peaches now." The Mishongnovis saved a woman who knew "how to make the sweet so-wi'-wa (small-eared) corn grow." "All the women who had song-prayers and were willing to teach them" also survived, and "no children were designedly killed, but were divided among the villages"—although most went to Mishongnovi. "The remainder of the prisoners were tortured and dismembered and left to die on the sand-hills, and there their bones are, and the place is called Mas'-tco-mo [Mas'ki]."

Thus inter-village conflict, rape, political struggle, sorcery, revenge, and annihilation have suffused this story for more than a century, as have rescue, redemption, the persistence of sacred ceremonies, song-prayers, sweet corn, and peaches. In both aspects of the story of Awat'ovi, gender seems critical in determining whose power demanded death and whose permitted life. Even as new historical forces swept across the Hopi mesas, the narrative retained, discarded, and left unknown many elements. Yet beneath this century of stories lie older tales, of women, men, and the consequences attendant to challenging authority in the Puebloan world.

ANCESTRAL PUEBLO PEOPLES' HISTORY BEGINS long before A.D. 750, but from that moment forward, we see cycles of evangelism and pious expression come to prominence in the lives of the region's indigenous residents. This is strikingly evident in the enigmatic devotional and expressive culture that was centered in remote Chaco Canyon and radiated its affect nearly two hundred miles distant, profoundly influencing life in the Southwest for more than a century. And yet the priests and deities of the Chaco Phenomenon seem ephemeral in the memories and lives of descendant com-

munities: the experiment undertaken there seems to have failed. Attending to the role of women—largely neglected in significant analyses of Chaco’s story—may help to explain why.

A landscape now harrowing in its austerity, Chaco Canyon bloomed in its heyday with a cultural vitality never seen in the region before or since. In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the canyon was home to sixteen massive masonry “Great Houses” containing thousands of rooms, hundreds of kivas and at least a score of Great Kivas, expansive ceremonial spaces and platforms, ancillary residential villages, and sophisticated astronomical constructions used to forecast planting and harvesting cycles. Beyond the canyon itself, the Chaco “radio signal” reached as far as Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Arizona in the form of distant colonies or communities that emulated Chaco architecture and ceremonials. Seasonal pilgrimages from these “outliers” would fill the canyon itself, reminiscent of Mecca, with thousands of people of differing languages and local identities who shared a devotion to the power that expressed itself in the ceremonial theater that was Chaco Canyon.¹³

Women, and questions of gender more broadly, have largely been hidden beneath louder debates about the nature of Chaco’s organization and leadership. Was its explosive growth from a group of small farming hamlets to a Great House “megaplex” during the tenth and eleventh centuries a matter of extraordinary communitarian devotion and dedication to a new evangelical ideal? Or did an elite noble priesthood dominate the numinous resources of the center such that its members could recruit, or levy, the tens of thousands of person-hours necessary for its construction and maintenance? The interpretive trend is turning toward the latter stance. If that is correct, our limited data on gender and power offers interesting inflections thereto. We should ask, however, if the conflicts over gender and power that seem to have infused, in ways still opaque, the destruction of Awat’ovi may have many centuries earlier played a role in the rise and demise of the Chaco Phenomenon.¹⁴

It seems likely that “a male-dominated hierarchy” resided in and controlled the political reach and ceremonial life of Chacoan Great Houses between 900 and 1150, while a larger cohort of commoners—one more gender-egalitarian, in which women perhaps enjoyed even higher status than men—provided the artisanal skills and labor power to produce the wonders of Chaco. The burial goods associated with the male elites are of markedly higher value than those associated with the few women interred in Great Houses. The pattern is almost perfectly inverted when we look at the “commoners” buried in the dozens of “small-house” support communities scattered throughout the canyon—those women were given significantly higher-value goods than their male counterparts.¹⁵ That the nutritional status of the Great House elites,

¹³ The “empty ceremonial center,” occupied by a small but powerful priesthood and filled seasonally by pilgrims from within the 200-mile Chaco Sphere, is the most widespread current interpretation for the Chaco Phenomenon; see John Kantner, *Ancient Puebloan Southwest* (Cambridge, 2004), who uses the “radio signal” metaphor. For debates and an alternative view that posits an elite center of religiously deified “kings,” heavily influenced by Mesoamerican models, see Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest*, 139, 302 n. 199.

¹⁴ Stephen H. Lekson, “Chaco Matters: An Introduction,” in Lekson, ed., *The Archaeology of Chaco Canyon: An Eleventh-Century Pueblo Regional Center* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2006), 3–44.

¹⁵ Louise Lamphere, “Gender Models in the Southwest: A Sociocultural Perspective,” in Crown,



FIGURE 2: Aerial view of Pueblo Bonito, showing public performance plazas and kivas. Photo courtesy of John Kantner.

men and women, exceeded that of the small-house commoners suggests that despite their possible higher status within their own communities, women suffered along with their kinsmen from unequally distributed resources. Across both classes, more women than men were found buried in the canyon, leading some to propose that women had been recruited (or abducted) there to perform *corvée* labor for the mass feeding of feasting pilgrims and to provide sexual and reproductive services.¹⁶

A gendered perspective on Chacoan architecture suggests similar hierarchical divisions between the small-house communities and the Great Houses. Kivas probably had their origins in the subterranean “pithouse” domestic dwellings of the Basketmaker III (500–700) and Pueblo I (700–900) periods. In these early centuries, therefore, they often feature women’s assemblages of grinding stones and ceramics that mark proto-kivas as a women’s space, which gradually became associated with Pueblo ceremonialism, and only then at the household level. With the advent of Chaco evangelism, might they have become the focus for appropriation as the

Women and Men in the Prehispanic Southwest, 379–401, quotation from 394; Jill E. Neitzel, “Gender Hierarchies: A Comparative Analysis of Mortuary Data,” *ibid.*, 137–168.

¹⁶ Timothy A. Kohler and Kathryn Kramer Turner, “Raiding for Women in the Prehispanic Northern Pueblo Southwest? A Pilot Examination,” *Current Anthropology* 47, no. 6 (2006): 1035–1045; Catherine Cameron, “Captives and Culture Change: Implications for Archaeology,” *Current Anthropology* 52, no. 2 (2011): 169–209.

priestly architects in the canyon levied their gendered power and transformed them into Great Kivas to support the public performances then unfolding at Pueblo Bonito, Chetro Ketl, and Casa Rinconada? As crucial stage elements for “Chaco Theater,” binding the powers of the earth to those of the skies, sun, and stars, we see this once-female space under the control of the male elite priesthood. Although the debate is far from resolved, some archaeologists now see significant Mesoamerican traits in the monumental architecture of Chaco’s Great Houses and their spatial relationships to one another across the region. If they are correct, the architectural signature may be that of emulation by local men seeking to enhance their authority, or migration of a Mesoamerican priestly nobility. In either case, these leaders gendered their architecture as masculine, using heavily massed and vertically accented monumental construction with Mesoamerican influences to emphasize their power and overawe ceremonial participants.¹⁷

By the zenith of Chaco’s influence (1050–1150), the complex seems to have been entirely under the control of the male priesthood, with women (except, perhaps, for a few noble women) relegated to preparing and providing the ceremonial feasts for the thousands who streamed into the canyon on seasonal pilgrimages. When the center’s power rapidly waned in the later twelfth century, it may have been women who “voted with their feet” and declined to invest their energy in traveling to the canyon, bearing baskets and ceramic vessels for food preparation, and providing for the masses, when the power of the Chacoan priesthood to produce rain and agricultural surpluses was clearly failing. Without women to support and sustain the workforce, Chaco’s demise would have been simply a matter of time. With our focus too often on male-dominated ceremonial cycles, we can easily forget that women’s spiritual, agricultural, and behind-the-scenes labor underwrote the success of evangelical programs.¹⁸

FOLLOWING THE UNRAVELING OF THE Chaco world, the period from 1250 to the Spanish entradas after 1540 featured massive regional dislocations, migrations, small-settlement abandonment, and an aggregation of remaining peoples in densely packed, often defensively sited villages, sometimes exceeding two thousand rooms in size. With ever-larger villages farming and hunting over limited areas, poor nu-

¹⁷ For the gradual evolution of pithouses into ritually oriented kivas in the eighth and ninth centuries, see Kantner, *Ancient Puebloan Southwest*, 69–70; for the transformation as a function of matrilineal descent groups and the formation of lineages and sodalities, see John A. Ware, “What Is a Kiva? The Social Organization of Early Pueblo Communities,” in David A. Phillips, Jr., and John A. Ware, eds., *Culture and Environment in the American Southwest: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Euler* (Phoenix, Ariz., 2002), 79–88. Ruth M. Van Dyke treats the vertical phenomenology of Chacoan architecture, and suggests a gendered dualism in the Great House/Great Kiva pairing, with Great Houses’ verticality representing phallic symbolism and Great Kivas uterine symbolism; Van Dyke, *The Chaco Experience: Landscape and Ideology at the Center Place* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2008), esp. 122–131. For Mesoamerican debates and influences, see Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest*, 139–140, 302 n. 198.

¹⁸ For the end of the complex societies such as Chaco and Hohokam in the 1150–1300 period, see Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest*, 239–242. It seems odd now to look at feminist arguments from the 1980s that, while admitting that Western Pueblo women were excluded from religious and political life, claim that they played important “unofficial” roles through their reproductive and cooking capacity. See M. Jane Young, “Women, Reproduction, and Religion in Western Puebloan Society,” *Journal of American Folklore* 100, no. 398 (1987): 436–445.

trition and infant mortality increased. The trauma cascaded outward from one core population center in today's Four Corners region, where thousands of residents of the Mesa Verde world commenced a migration in the latter half of the thirteenth century that would leave the area uninhabited by 1300, an abandonment that finally encompassed the entire region.¹⁹

Environmental changes attendant to regional droughts underlay much of the decimation, resulting in migrations, aggregations, and widespread social and military conflict. While the long history of Southwestern peoples had always featured some evidence of inter- (and intra-) community violence, the period after 1250 displayed something entirely new. As one student of the question has said, "the massive acts of destruction and killing . . . go beyond what would occur in ordinary 'raids.'" Rather, "these cases seem to represent a deliberate goal of killing off as much of the population as possible and then often burning the community as completely as possible."²⁰

In this "intense, annihilation-oriented warfare," women were sometimes singled out as victims. Even before the emptying of the Four Corners region, a fortified community of some 75 to 150 residents, known today as Castle Rock Pueblo, suffered total destruction around 1274. There were only three men of fighting age among the forty-one bodies found during excavations that addressed only 5 percent of the site. Many of these skeletons show signs of secondary, postmortem violence, suggesting a level of passion in the attack not unlike what would have taken place at Awat'ovi. In other cases of even larger villages thus destroyed in the area, "the remains of few men in their prime were found . . . the deaths of primarily women, children, the ill and incapacitated suggests that the able-bodied men were absent from the villages during the attacks."²¹

Far distant on the eastern edges of the Zuñi Pueblo clusters in central New Mexico, a similar fate awaited the large plaza pueblos of Site 616 and Techado Springs, which attackers breached and burned around 1300. Site 616 held some five hundred to six hundred rooms and experienced a sudden, violent end, with perimortem trauma evident on several unburied bodies and extensive burning of the village. Techado Springs numbered some seven hundred rooms, and attackers left at least

¹⁹ On nutritional crises in the ancient Southwest, see Ann M. Palkovich, *Pueblo Population and Society: The Arroyo Hondo Skeletal and Mortuary Remains* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1980). For Tewa migrations out of the Four Corners region, which seem to have been triggered at least in part by loss of faith in the prevailing socioreligious system, see Scott G. Ortman, *Winds from the North: Tewa Origins and Historical Anthropology* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 2012).

²⁰ Steven A. LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest* (Salt Lake City, 1999), quotations from 264. For the later periods, see Jonathan Haas and Winifred Creamer, "Warfare among the Pueblos: Myth, History, and Ethnography," *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 2 (1997): 235–261. For religious expression in the aftermath of the Chaco Phenomenon, see John Kantner, "Religious Behavior in the Post-Chaco Years," in Christine S. VanPool, Todd L. VanPool, and David A. Phillips, Jr., eds., *Religion in the Prehispanic Southwest* (Lanham, Md., 2007), 31–51. For a recent collection of essays that emphasize the complexity and diversity of post-Chaco religious expression, see Donna M. Glowacki and Scott Van Keuren, eds., *Religious Transformation in the Late Pre-Hispanic Pueblo World* (Tucson, Ariz., 2011).

²¹ LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest*, 264; Kristin A. Kuckelman, *The Archaeology of Castle Rock Pueblo: A Thirteenth-Century Village in Southwestern Colorado* (2000), <http://www.crowcanyon.org/castlerock>; Kuckelman, "Bioarchaeological Signatures of Strife in Terminal Pueblo III Settlements in the Northern San Juan" (AAPA paper, 2010); Kuckelman, "Bioarchaeological Signatures of Violence in the Northern San Juan," in Debra L. Martin, Ryan P. Harrod, and Ventura R. Pérez, *The Bioarchaeology of Violence* (Gainesville, Fla., 2012), 121–138.

seventy-four dead in their wake, more than two-thirds of whom were women and children.²² At other sites of destruction, however, men predominated, as was the case in the Chama River village of Te'ewi, where twenty-four men and six infants died in the plaza kiva. It may be that at Te'ewi the attackers took the women captive, like those at Awat'ovi.²³ Overall, at least 103 of the 177 currently researched major villages in the Southwest during the 1250–1500 period exhibit evidence of massive burning events, and 51 of those were found to have unburied bodies associated with those moments of annihilation.²⁴

As much as environmental crisis may have driven these centuries of human misery in the Southwest, powerful motivating ideas—by which humans make sense of even the most basic actions—served to recruit and energize warriors to the field to wreak the havoc.²⁵ And in the later decades of the thirteenth century, new ideas and their supernatural beings began to stride across the peaks, plateaus, and canyons of the Southwest. Uncertain in origin and much debated in their genealogy, the Katsinam (rainmaking spirits from the gods) arrived at a moment of crisis among Puebloan peoples and provided new beliefs, ceremonies, iconography, and ways of social belonging to peoples frayed, frightened, and fighting in the cataclysmic world of the centuries before the arrival of the Christian god and saints. Numbering some 250 individual spirits, if current patterns can be read into those of the past, the panoply of Katsina spirits appeared in Puebloan communities each year after the winter solstice and before the spring rains, when “men ask the sun to return so that the crops will grow.”²⁶

Today the arrival of these new evangelicals is often recalled as benign. The predominant interpretation of the social significance of the Katsina religion, or “cult,” focuses on its extraordinary ability to bridge divisions of ethnolinguistic identity and create new forms of trans-community identification. Katsina societies existed in more than one community, building “semiotic and symbiotic communities” that func-

²² Charles R. McGimsey III, *Mariana Mesa: Seven Prehistoric Settlements in West-Central New Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 37–170, skeletal remains 169–170. McGimsey sees the abandonment of Site 616 and Techado Springs as “the coup de grace to a gradually worsening agricultural situation” that spurred inter-village warfare (42). See also Jimmy E. Smith II and Louis “Pinky” Robertson, *Techado Springs Pueblo: West-Central New Mexico* (n.p., 2009), 183–190. The predominance of women victims in these Late Period contexts may be evidence that (1) village men were away on their own raids or farming distant fields when the attacks occurred; (2) these villages, as “war-refugee communities,” had always held a strong majority of women, children, and the infirm; or (3) the victims had actually been killed by their own men in intra-community violence like that spoken of in Hopi narratives of destruction and at Awat'ovi. For the “war refugee” case convincingly argued at Grasshopper Pueblo, see Julia C. Lowell, “Survival Strategies of Gender-Imbalanced Migrant Households in the Grasshopper Region of Arizona,” in Roth, *Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest*, 185–207; for a counterargument that Grasshopper may have housed many captive or slave women, see Cameron, “Captives and Culture Change.”

²³ Fred Wendorf, *Salvage Archaeology in the Chama Valley, New Mexico* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1953), chap. 4.

²⁴ LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest*, Tables 6.1 and 6.3.

²⁵ For “socialization for fear” as one explanation for mobilizing peoples to war, see Stephen H. Lekson, “War in the Southwest, War in the World,” *American Antiquity* 67, no. 4 (2002): 607–624. Sorcery, moral corruption, and xenophobia could all figure in the production of fear in the Southwest.

²⁶ “Katsinam,” *Southwest Crossroads*, <http://southwestcrossroads.org/record.php?num=86>. For debates and archaeological case studies, see E. Charles Adams, *The Origin and Development of the Pueblo Katsina Cult* (Tucson, Ariz., 1991); Polly Schaafsma, *Kachinas in the Pueblo World* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1994); Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Rainmakers from the Gods: Hopi Katsinam*, <http://peabody2.ad.fas.harvard.edu/katsina/origins.html>.

tioned in the interests of social solidarity. But that success seems to have been hard-won. It is clear now that real struggles unfolded between older Pueblo medicine societies, Sacred Clown, Hunting, and War sodalities, and the agents of the Katsina religion, often expressed in narratives of gods in conflict with the mortals. Among the eastern Rio Grande Pueblos, the Katsinam gradually experienced “domestication” and were subsumed within the earlier sodalities, but in the west, at Zuñi and Hopi, the Katsinam prevailed.²⁷

Few narratives of the Katsinam survive among the Eastern Pueblos of the Rio Grande region, but the spirits’ arrival in the area is manifest in the rich rock art iconography that suddenly appears on the valley’s black basalt outcroppings. Where abstracts, zoomorphs, and stick-figure humans once prevailed, in the fourteenth century clearly identifiable “masks” of classic Katsinam figures appear by the hundreds, usually in close association with images directly related to conflict and warfare—shield-bearers, bows, axe-bearers, and Venus “stars”—all masculine symbols. Similar concentrations of Katsina and war imagery can be seen along the mesa escarpments to the west at the proto-Hopi settlements of the Homol’ovi cluster.²⁸

These images and iconography resonate vividly in Hopi oral history, where, in several accounts of “tales of destruction” visited upon early Hopi villages, Katsinam figure as allies of village chiefs who immolate their own communities when they discern wickedness or sorcery, usually glossed as *koyaanisqatsi* (corrupt life), spreading among their people—just like Ta’polo at Awat’ovi. Efforts to return the people to a condition of *suyanisqatsi* (a life of harmony and balance) are effected not through gentle reform but through overwhelming supernatural force, as when the *kikmongwi* (crier chief) of the Third Mesa village of Pivanhokyapi summons the Yaayapontsa (Wind and Fire Katsinam) from the San Francisco Peaks to march as a firestorm and immolate his own followers. In this case, the corruption that inspired the violent cleansing lay in “women who began to leave their homes and abandon their husbands and children” in a desire to “go into the kivas” and join men there for the gambling game of *totolospí*, as well as to engage in sex with the men and boys.²⁹

Women figure centrally in all extant Hopi narratives of destruction, either as objects of desire who lead men to corruption, as *powaka* (sorceresses) who use love medicine to attract powerful men, or as the focus of violence between men from opposing villages. The fact that Katsinam appear prominently as allies of senior men in their efforts to maintain political control of their own people suggests deep underlying tensions within Hopi villages, a theme consistent with much more recent Hopi history. That women among the Eastern Pueblos were quite explicitly cordoned

²⁷ John A. Ware and Eric Blinman, “Cultural Collapse and Reorganization: The Origin and Spread of Pueblo Ritual Sodalities,” in Hegmon, *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction*, 381–409; Alison Ruth Freese, “Send In the Clowns: An Ethnohistorical Analysis of the Sacred Clowns’ Role in Cultural Boundary Maintenance among the Pueblo Indians” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1991).

²⁸ The earliest datable Katsina image in the Rio Grande region comes, ironically, from the northern Tiwa Pot Creek Pueblo, ancestral to both today’s Taos and Picuris Pueblos, long assumed to have *not* adopted the Katsina religion. See Kelley Ann Hays, “Kachina Depictions on Prehistoric Pueblo Pottery,” in Schaafsma, *Kachinas in the Pueblo World*, 47–62, image 57, figure 6.8; Polly Schaafsma, *Warrior, Shield, and Star: Imagery and Ideology of Pueblo Warfare* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2000). See also Severin M. Fowles, *An Archaeology of Doings: Secularism and the Study of Pueblo Religion* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2013), 202–216. Curiously, among the abundant rock art near Awat’ovi on Antelope Mesa, no Katsina figures are seen.

²⁹ Lomatuway’ma, Lomatuway’ma, and Namingha, *Hopi Ruin Legends*, chap. 3.



FIGURE 3: Petroglyph panel, Galisteo Basin, New Mexico, featuring a mix of Katsina, War (Venus stars), and fertility imagery (maize plant), ca. fourteenth–sixteenth centuries. Photo courtesy of Jason S. Ordaz.

off from most aspects of the Katsina religion is also significant; young males, even non-initiates, were informal members of the ritual organization, with formalization coming at puberty, whereas women, associated with moieties, served as “pathmakers” (among the Tewa, at least) when Katsinam visited the villages. This period seems also to show archaeological evidence for women’s disfranchisement from the most powerful aspects of ceremonial life. Small kin-or-clan kivas in scattered hamlets had long served as both domestic dwellings and ritual chambers, thereby displaying women’s material culture (especially grinding stones) along with that of men. Yet from 1300 forward, women among the Eastern Pueblos seem to have been increasingly excluded from kivas as they grew larger and oriented toward community-level ritual—similar to the process by which women were excluded from the Great Kivas

at Chaco. With the arrival of the Katsinam, kivas again became the domain of men, thereby signaling “a decline in the power and prestige of women.”³⁰

Even as male-dominant Katsina evangelism spread throughout the Southwest, women may have pushed back. Amid the explosion of Katsina iconography in rock art and kiva murals, petroglyphic images associated with women’s reproduction (childbirth scenes) and their role in ancient societies such as the Mamzrau and Lakon appear as counter-symbols.³¹ Women of many different ethnolinguistic identities across the region—perhaps gathered together in multiethnic war-refugee communities—may have attempted to re-create at least some elements of their former influence in a ceramic expression known today as the Salado tradition. These pots were superbly crafted and painted with complex black, red, and white geometric designs that combined several locally distinct design traditions with stylized feather motifs and creatures such as horned serpents, suggesting a Mesoamerican influence. Iconic of the “Southwestern Regional Cult” in its range (from central Arizona to western New Mexico and into northern Chihuahua), the vessels harked back to women’s centrality in rituals of community feasting, marriage exchanges, water, and fertility—a “poor man’s [or woman’s] religion” as countervalue to Katsina evangelism.³²

The Katsina religion, domesticated among the Rio Grande Pueblos and incorporated into the more ancient societies and sodalities, remains the most enduring form of pious expression in the Southwest, still vital after more than seven centuries. It unifies people across kin and clan divisions, as well as across village and ethnic identities. Yet it remains a predominantly masculine ritual power. Women are generally prohibited from obtaining Katsina knowledge among the Eastern Pueblos, at Zuñi, and somewhat less so among the Hopis. With this in mind, we can see why the veneration of the female Catholic saints might have proved intriguing to Pueblo women when they encountered this new evangelical movement with the arrival of the Franciscans. And we can also see that after several centuries of trauma and socioreligious “tinkering[,] . . . Christianity, when it came, was just another entry into that crowded field,” not the world-historical shift that the distinction between the “pre-contact” and “contact” (or prehistoric and historic) periods implies.³³

FRANCISCAN FRIARS ENGAGED IN NEARLY a century of evangelical labor in the colony established by the Spanish on lands historically occupied by the Pueblo peoples before Po’pay’s Revolt of 1680—unquestionably the most successful of all Indian uprisings across the American hemispheres and iconic in indigenous history—delivered

³⁰ Michelle Hegmon, Scott G. Ortman, and Jeannette L. Mobley-Tanaka, “Women, Men, and the Organization of Space,” in Crown, *Women and Men in the Prehispanic Southwest*, 43–90, quotation from 77, and see esp. Table 2.3, “Dimensions of Women’s Status in the Pueblo Sequence,” 86–87; Dozier, “Rio Grande Pueblos,” 116–117.

³¹ Kelley Hays-Gilpin, “Gender Ideology and Ritual Activities,” in Crown, *Women and Men in the Prehispanic Southwest*, 91–135, esp. 131–133.

³² Hays-Gilpin and Hill, “The Flower World in Prehistoric Southwest Material Culture.” See also Crown, *Ceramics and Ideology*; VanPool, “13th Century Women’s Movement”; *A Complicated Pattern: Pursuing the Meaning of Salado in Southwestern New Mexico*, ed. Deborah L. Huntley, *Archaeology Southwest Magazine* 26, no. 3 and 4 (2012).

³³ Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest*, 198.

a thirteen-year era of Pueblo independence. On August 10, 1680, many of the Rio Grande Pueblos erupted in rebellion, followed a few days later by the western Zuñis and Hopis. Widespread warfare, raiding, and sacking of outlying settlements delivered 422 Spanish subjects to death or captivity. The surviving 1,946 colonists, missionaries, servants, and allied “Christian Indians” were expelled from the northern colony for more than a decade. The stunning success of the revolt, “America’s First War for Independence,” tends to overwhelm evidence of struggles within Pueblo communities that long predated the colonial era.³⁴

By the seventeenth century, Franciscans had proven themselves able agents for the spread of the Christian word, and tactics worked out in Mexico often proved effective in New Mexico. In each Pueblo community, pro-Franciscan and anti-Franciscan factions existed, although their precise composition and motivations remain difficult to detail. Young unmarried men, junior in rank and status to the headmen of the medicine societies, sodalities, and Katsina societies, seem to have eagerly embraced Catholicism in several communities, and formed the core of the neophyte students and workforce. Women, although only ephemerally represented in records, seem to have been fascinated by the catechism as it found expression in the lives and suffering of female saints.³⁵

Po’pay and his co-revolutionaries were well aware that the Pueblo world had been utterly transformed, spiritually and materially, during the eighty-some years of Spanish colonization. Pushing a program of nativist purification and return to the “state of their antiquity,” the rebels urged the complete destruction of the mission churches and their liturgical paraphernalia, as well as the rejection of the Spanish-influenced lifeways of livestock herding, wheat farming, tools, and architecture.³⁶ Freed from the harness of the missionaries, many Pueblo Indians set out to desecrate, dismantle, and reuse the adobe bricks, heavy timbers, and extensive construction of the mission complexes. Yet, quietly ignoring Po’pay’s purifying agenda, they often converted the

³⁴ Andrew L. Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1997); David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 133–137; David Roberts, *The Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion That Drove the Spaniards out of the Southwest* (New York, 2004); Michael V. Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest: An Indigenous Archaeology of Contact* (Berkeley, Calif., 2009). For the most sensitive and complicated treatment to date, see Matthew Liebmann, *Revolt: An Archaeological History of Pueblo Resistance and Revitalization in 17th Century New Mexico* (Tucson, Ariz., 2012).

³⁵ For Franciscan approaches to conversion, see *A Harvest of Reluctant Souls: Fray Alonso de Benavides’s History of New Mexico, 1630*, trans. Baker H. Morrow (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2012); see also William L. Merrill, “Indigenous Societies, Missions, and the Colonial System in Northern New Spain,” in Clara Bargellini and Michael K. Komanecky, eds., *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain, 1600–1821* (Mexico City, 2009), 123–153. For strategies to recruit unmarried men and women, see Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1991), chap. 1. For the particular force of the spirit of María de Jesús de Agreda in such conversions, see John L. Kessel, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540–1840* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1987), 140–142. For Marianism in New Spain, see Linda B. Hall, *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas* (Austin, Tex., 2004). For the archaeology of Pueblo factionalism, see James E. Ivey, *The Spanish Colonial Architecture of Pecos Pueblo, New Mexico: Archaeological Excavations and Architectural History of the Spanish Colonial Churches and Related Buildings at Pecos National Historical Park, 1617–1995* (n.p., 2005), chap. 4.

³⁶ “Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation, December 19, 1681,” in Charles Wilson Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín’s Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682*, translations of original documents by Charmion Clair Shelby, 3 vols. (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1942), 2: 245–249, quotation from 248.

churches and *conventos* into corrals for the sheep, cattle, and horses that they wished to preserve, rather than expunge, from Pueblo life.

This ambiguous response to Po'pay's nativistic agenda occurred in the spiritual realm as well. The deep divisions between traditionalists and those who had been drawn to Catholicism emerged quickly, since they drew upon not only religious sympathies but also the inequities in power that had crosscut Pueblo society for generations. Pecos Pueblo experienced an internal civil war, with pro-Franciscan factions opposed to the return of the traditional priests to governing power, and the southernmost Pueblo peoples—the Piros and Tompiros—refusing to follow Po'pay's leadership, distant as he was among the northern Pueblos (and how proximate they were to Spaniards in El Paso del Norte).

Po'pay seems to have distributed women as rewards among his adherents from the very first days of the rebellion. Even before the fall of Santa Fe to the rebels, one Pueblo captain reported to Governor Antonia de Otermín that Po'pay had provided incentives for the slaughter of Spanish colonists: "The Indian who shall kill a Spaniard will get an Indian woman for a wife, and he who kills four will get four women, and he who kills ten or more will have a like number of women."³⁷ The informant, Pedro Garcia, had just lost his own wife and daughter to rebels sallying out from Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo. As the rebellion spread, Po'pay extended his edict to erase the Catholic marriage practices and unions that had obtained for more than two generations, ordering Pueblo men to "separate from the wives whom God had given them in marriage and take those whom they desired." It is possible, of course, that women greeted these revolutionary decrees as liberating, yet the tone in these surviving sources, at least, suggests that women were more often objects of plunder and exchange in the uprising than they were its agents and subjects.³⁸

One wonders about the identities of the leaders of the subtle resistance to Po'pay's regimen of erasure and revitalization. Even at rebellious Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo, the church, *convento*, sacristy, liturgical garments, and ornaments were initially unharmed, until Po'pay specifically ordered their destruction. Neigh-

³⁷ "Declaration of Pedro Garcia, an Indian of the Tagno Nation, a Native of Las Salinas, August 25, 1680," *ibid.*, 1: 24–25, quotation from 24.

³⁸ Although extant sources draw from interrogations conducted in 1681, and are doubtless colored by that fact, it seems that Po'Pay's revolutionary ideas integrated nativism, revivalism, and a heretofore neglected focus on the redistribution—voluntary or involuntary—of women among the men who adhered to his vision. "Asked for what reason they so blindly burned the images, temples, crosses, and other things of divine worship, he stated that the said Indian, Popé, . . . ordered in all the pueblos through which he passed that they instantly break up and burn the images of the holy Christ, the Virgin Mary and the other saints, the crosses, and everything pertaining to Christianity, and that they burn the temples, break up the bells, and separate from the wives whom God had given them in marriage and take those whom they desired. In order to take away their baptismal names, the water, and the holy oils, they were to plunge into the rivers and wash themselves with amole, which is a root native to the country, washing even their clothing, with the understanding that there would thus be taken from them the character of the holy sacraments . . . They thereby returned to the state of their antiquity . . . that this was the better life and the one they desired, because the God of the Spaniards was worth nothing and theirs was very strong, the Spaniard's God being rotten wood . . . [Popé] saw to it that they at once erected and rebuilt their houses of idolatry which they call estufas, and made very ugly masks in imitation of the devil . . . and he said likewise that the devil had given them to understand that living thus in accordance with the law of their ancestors, they would harvest a great deal of maize, many beans, a great abundance of cotton, calabashes, and very large watermelons and cantaloupes; and that they could erect their houses and enjoy abundant health and leisure." "Declaration of Pedro Naranjo," 247–248.

boring San Felipe Pueblo, although they lent warriors to the siege of Santa Fe, also proved reluctant to dismantle their church; they did, however, remove their people from the river-bottom location of Katishtya to a fortified mesa-top site nearby known as Old San Felipe (LA 2047). Zia Pueblo preserved both their church and the life of their friar, Nicolás Hurtado, allowing him to join the Spanish column retreating after the surrender of the villa, yet they defended their village stoutly against a reconquest expedition in 1689, then relocated to a distant, more defensible mesa by 1692.³⁹

Far to the west, residents of the pueblo of Halona at Zuñi allowed one of their padres, Kwan Tatchui Lok'yana (Juan Grey-Robed Father-of-Us), to live, as long as he would adopt their manners and customs, grow out his hair, and marry a Zuñi woman. As ethnologist Frank Cushing would put it two hundred years later, Juan Greyrobe “had a Zuni heart and cared for the sick and women and children, *nor contended with the fathers of the people*.” In order that he would be able to fulfill his new, indigenized, mission, all “the ornaments of divine worship” in Halona’s church of Nuestra Señora de La Candelaria were saved, and moved to a new fortified village (LA 101402) atop Dowa Yalanne (Thunder Mountain) Mesa, where don Diego de Vargas, leading the forces of reconquest, would note their, but not the friar’s, presence in 1692. Among those ornaments was the eighteen-inch-tall Santo Niño de Cibu (Zuñi), a statue of the infant Jesus, which today remains under the stewardship of the matrilineally descended Yatsattie family, whose progenitors preserved it in 1680. The Santo Niño embodies two attributes—both the male Christ Child and a female spirit representing the Zuñi “Daughter of the Sun”—dual, symmetrical qualities once celebrated by an annual fiesta that drew many Hispano Catholics and Zuñis together into the central plaza at Halona, yet now seldom observed.⁴⁰

The withdrawal of many pueblos to fortified refuges high on the mesas and mountains, sometimes miles distant from their well-watered riverside towns, indicates that however successful the revolt may have been in expelling Spanish colonists and missionaries from the Puebloan homeland, Otermín’s foray of 1681 and later reconquest attempts in 1683—as well as eruptions of inter-village raiding—undermined efforts to restore a pre-contact social order in the region. The archaeology of these refugee sites speaks also to issues of consent and coercion among their Pueblo designers, builders, and residents. Several of the refugee villages built in the years after 1680 reflect Po’pay’s instructions to rebuild the Pueblo world in the memory of the pre-

³⁹ For the variety of Pueblo tactics and the space syntax employed in integrating (or not) sometimes diverse linguistic communities during the era of independence, see T. J. Ferguson and Robert Preucel, “Signs of the Ancestors: An Archaeology of Mesa Villages of the Pueblo Revolt,” in Tony Atkin and Joseph Rykwert, eds., *Structure and Meaning in Human Settlements* (Philadelphia, 2005), 185–207; for the Zia experience, see Matthew Liebmann, “The Best of Times, the Worst of Times: Pueblo Resistance and Accommodation during the Spanish *Reconquista* of New Mexico,” in Matthew Liebmann and Melissa S. Murphy, eds., *Enduring Conquests: Rethinking the Archaeology of Spanish Colonialism in the Americas* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2011), 199–221. LA numbers (as in LA 2041) refer to the statewide site-numbering systems as maintained by the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe. LA # indicates the sequence in which the particular site was registered with the lab.

⁴⁰ Andrew Wiget, “Father Juan Greyrobe: Reconstructing Tradition Histories, and the Reliability and Validity of Uncorroborated Oral Tradition,” *Ethnohistory* 43, no. 3 (1996): 459–482, quotation from 477, emphasis added; Liebmann, *Revolt*, 60; George Wharton James, “Old Missions of New Mexico and Arizona,” *The Franciscan Missions of the Southwest*, no. 1 (1913): 5–16; author’s visit with the Yatsattie family, Halona village, New Mexico, October 16, 2010.

contact “Classic” mode. As residents of the Keres-speaking Cochití, Jemez, San Felipe, and Zia pueblos and the Tewa-speaking pueblos of the concentrated settlements around Black Mesa relocated to higher, defensible villages distant from their pre-revolt locations along the Rio Grande, they systematically created simulacra of what Po’pay regarded as their heyday—large, rectangular plaza-oriented pueblos composed of room blocks numbering several hundred individual rooms. (Ironically, such settlements harked back not to a period of cultural stability but to the turmoil following the fall of Chaco.) Defensible gateways generally aligned with cardinal directions, and single, large community-oriented kivas dominated the plazas themselves. Since much of the Franciscan missionary program involved surveillance and suppression of Katsina society ceremonies in kivas and communal dancing in the plazas, Po’pay’s vision was clearly aimed at reestablishing the pre-contact centrality of the Katsina religion. This symbolic architecture was also intended to foster the integration of Pueblo peoples from a variety of language groups who had fled Rio Grande villages or the vulnerable settlements in the Galisteo Basin, in the hopes of uniting disparate social units in a single worldview.⁴¹

Yet Po’pay’s vision remained unfulfilled. Enraged by resistance to it, he “began to act like the Spanish tyrants he had expelled,” insisting on an annual tribute of wool and cotton, wearing “the vestments of the priests as conspicuous display” of status, executing dissidents, and accumulating women for his pleasure.⁴² Aside from the ways in which his own comportment sabotaged his legitimacy, longstanding suspicions and resentments among linguistically different pueblos proved a barrier to unification, as did vengeful internal violence between nativists and Spanish-oriented residents (especially those of mixed Indian-Spanish descent) of the communities. The stunning success of the rebellion’s early days would disintegrate over the course of the years, although it took more than a decade for the Spaniards to re-exert their authority. Contradicting the mythology of a “bloodless reconquest,” Spanish soldiers led by de Vargas were forced to mix fierce fighting with complex recruitment of Pueblo allies, while the Franciscans who followed in de Vargas’s wake had to negotiate a reestablishment of the Catholic faith that included greater tolerance of traditional Pueblo religious practices, a compromise that would allow the two peoples to live together, yet apart.⁴³

But even in those communities that attempted to follow Po’pay’s vision, there seem to have been dissenters or outcasts. The people of Cochití Pueblo removed from their main village and relocated on the heights of Potrero Viejo Mesa seven miles upland, where they created a new fortified community, Han Kotyiti or “Cochití

⁴¹ Patricia W. Capone and Robert W. Preucel, “Ceramic Semiotics: Women, Pottery, and Social Meanings at Kotyiti Pueblo,” in Robert W. Preucel, ed., *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2002), 99–113, wherein the authors use ceramic evidence to support the presence of Keres-speaking people from San Felipe Pueblo, and Tewas from the villages around Black Mesa in the Española valley; Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest*, esp. chap. 7.

⁴² Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. (Santa Fe, N.Mex, 1914), 2: 272; Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 238–243. Many of the Southern Tiwas of Isleta Pueblo would also align with the Spanish during their retreat from Santa Fe, and establish a new village, Ysleta del Sur, in today’s El Paso, Texas. Depending upon political currents, they are either embraced as distant kinsmen or vilified as traitors by the Pueblos of New Mexico.

⁴³ On these accommodations, see Liebmann, *Revolt*, 209.

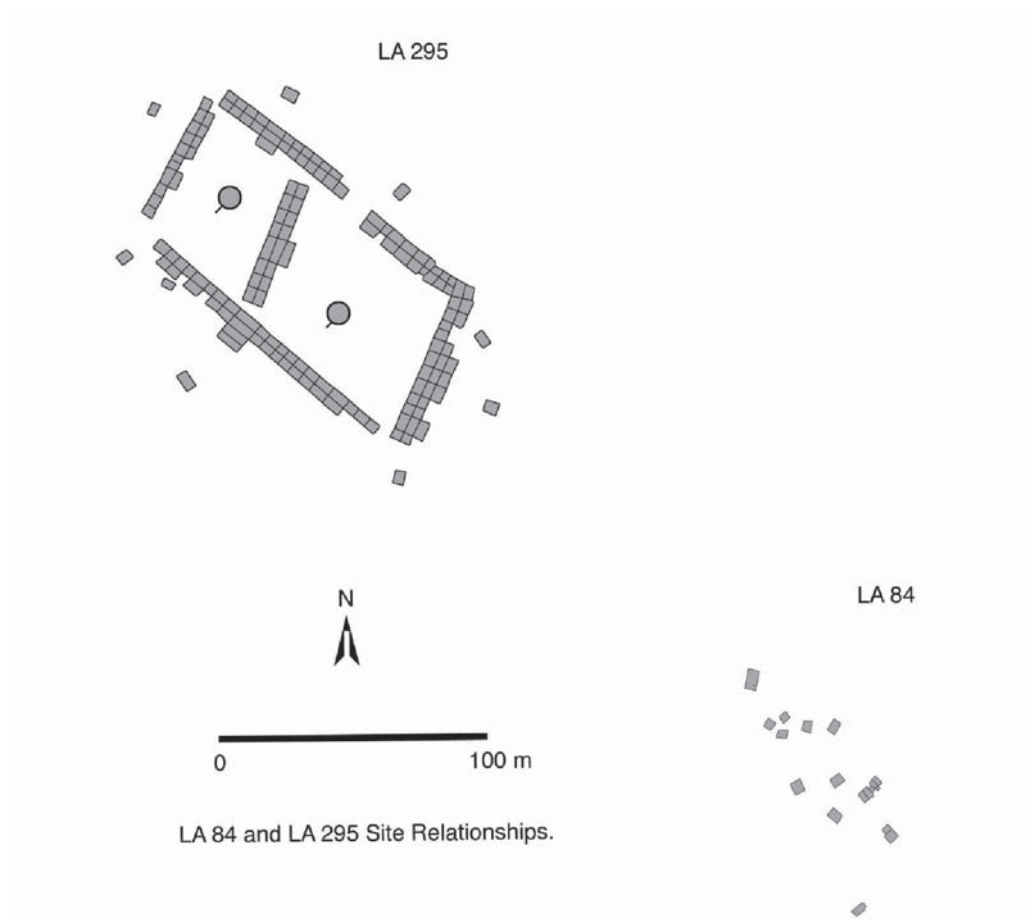


FIGURE 4: Illustration by Jessica Calzada of Han Kotyiti and ancillary *ranchería* site of LA 84. From Patricia W. Capone and Robert W. Preucel, "Ceramic Semiotics: Women, Pottery, and Social Meanings at Kotyiti Pueblo," in Robert W. Preucel, ed., *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2002), 101.

in the Clouds." Some 150 meters distant from and contemporaneous with the "classically" shapely and symmetrical pueblo at Han Kotyiti (LA 295) lay a smaller community (LA 84), markedly different in style. Rather than systematic in its design, this ancillary village was irregular at best, with 23 stand-alone structures (as compared to the 146 contiguous ground-floor rooms of LA 295) more reminiscent of Navajo or Apache *rancherías* than Pueblo villages. Yet LA 84 shared the same material culture assemblage as Han Kotyiti, which suggests some intermixing of Keres (Cochití) and Tewa (San Ildefonso?) peoples on the mesa top. The residents of LA 84 seem to have separated themselves from (or been subordinate to) the main village, "under its eaves" while outside the embrace of its ritual and social complex. A Franciscan silver censer found at the site faintly echoes the preservation of the Santo Niño at Halona.⁴⁴

A similar pattern obtains at the Black Mesa village of Tun'yo, to which the Tewa

⁴⁴ Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest*, esp. 230–232.

residents of Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and related nearby pueblos retreated in 1681, building a plaza village in accordance with Po'pay's dictates. And again, nearby lay a smaller, irregular settlement that seems at least symbolically removed from the main community. Santa Clara Pueblo was especially riven by conflict between nativists and Franciscan sympathizers: two brothers from the same mixed-descent Naranjo family served as leaders of both the revolt and the Spanish militia. It seems likely that differences in spiritual affinity might be marked symbolically in the settlement pattern, while the residents preserved bonds of consanguinity by sharing the defensive strength of the mesa top. Since these sites lie on Pueblo land and their ceremonial life is sacred, no archaeological investigations have been conducted thereon, and so we know nothing of their material culture.⁴⁵ Tun'yo and its ancillary settlement on Black Mesa suffered a siege of several months by de Vargas's militia between February and September 1694. War captives later claimed that peoples from the San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Santa Clara, Jacona, Cuyamungue, and Pojoaque pueblos, all Tewa villages but each with its own distinct history, conducted the defense. After repulsing several assaults by Spanish troops, the besieged finally surrendered to a combined Spanish-Pueblo force (150 fighters from Santa Ana, San Felipe, Pecos, and Jemez) in the autumn of 1694, because the attackers had plundered their stores of corn and grain hidden in the valley below, and winter would soon be upon them.⁴⁶

Gathered together on mesa tops for mutual defense against colonial reconquest, the post-revolt pueblos offer evidence that no perfect unity of society, ceremony, or worship prevailed during the era of Pueblo independence. While some of Po'pay's followers sought to implement his new world, others remained uncertain, and perhaps disenchanted with his vision. Refugee sites at Patokwa and Boletsakwa (Jemez) conformed in some respects to the idealized pre-contact era, while the last refuge of the Jemez atop Guadalupe Mesa (Astialakwa) did not. San Felipe Pueblo created a perfect plaza pueblo (Old San Felipe) atop their defensive mesa, while Santa Ana Pueblo settled at Canjilon Pueblo in a small, irregular village (LA 2047).

At least some of that lack of unity reflected gender divisions. Evidence exists that women did not rank high in Po'pay's vision for a restored Pueblo world, and certainly the case of Zuñi suggests that women held a few of the Franciscan friars in esteem. In the Rio Grande Pueblo region, we see recurring deployment of Catholic symbols during the era of independence, in the form of representations of the Virgin or the Sacred Heart in petroglyphs associated with refugee pueblos.⁴⁷ The people who stood apart from Po'pay's evangelism probably did not hew entirely to the pre-revolt Catholic evangelical message either, but worked to straddle dramatic change in what-

⁴⁵ Frances Leon Swadesh (Quintana), "The Structure of Spanish-Indian Relations in New Mexico," in Paul Kutsche, ed., *The Survival of Spanish American Villages* (Colorado Springs, Colo., 1979), 53–61, esp. 57–58; John Peabody Harrington, *The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians* (Washington, D.C., 1907–1908), 294–297; discussions with Jason Garcia of Santa Clara Pueblo.

⁴⁶ Rick Hendricks, "Pueblo-Spanish Warfare in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico: The Battles of Black Mesa, Kotyiti, and Astialakwa," in Preucel, *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt*, 180–197.

⁴⁷ Matthew J. Liebmann, "Signs of Power and Resistance: The (Re)Creation of Christian Imagery and Identities in the Pueblo Revolt Era," *ibid.*, 132–144; Liebmann, "Parsing Hybridity: Archaeologies of Amalgamation in Seventeenth Century New Mexico," in Jeb J. Card, ed., *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture* (Carbondale, Ill., 2013), 25–49.

ever fashion would satisfy their spiritual needs while ensuring their likelihood of survival.

However shadowy, the presence of women in efforts to protect and preserve vestiges of Catholic faith and practice during the post-revolt era of Pueblo independence alerts us to a little-understood aspect of life in the Southwest borderlands. Given that women were excluded from most aspects of the Katsina religion and that the Franciscans targeted them for conversion precisely because of their marginality, were women less avid in their response to liberation from Spanish colonialism? Or might something about women's eighty years of experience with Christianity have provided alternative forms of gender-based spiritual practice and expression that spoke to earlier eras before the arrival of the Katsinam? The veneration of certain female saints, St. Anne in particular, is central to indigenous nations in former French Canada (Micmac, Ojibwe), and the beatification of Saint Kateri Tekakwitha (Mohawk), who died the same year as the revolt, delighted many of her indigenous devotees. Even at ultra-traditional Taos Pueblo, the Church of San Geronimo de Taos features only female saints among its statuary, and Cochití elders have claimed that Catholicism is the "women's religion."⁴⁸

SOME FORTY YEARS AFTER FEWKES'S EXCAVATIONS, Awat'ovi Pueblo was the site of a second, more extensive archaeological expedition by the Peabody Museum at Harvard University between 1935 and 1938. That expedition, led by John O. Brew, also became the first major scientific endeavor to feel the growing power of Indian people in the 1930s—its permit was revoked by the Department of Interior in 1939, in direct response to Hopi anger. One Hopi claimed that the archaeological project was akin to Hopis "excavating at Sodom and Gomorrah."

Before their eviction, the members of the Peabody Expedition worked in two areas of the Franciscan mission and "Christian" pueblo complex, producing startling discoveries—most startling in that they have remain unremarked in Southwestern archaeology. Excavating the ruined church's nave, Brew's Hopi workmen removed 118 burials; although interring the dead in that location is forbidden under canon law, it was common throughout the Spanish colonial world. Since Hopi rebels during Po'pay's Revolt had burned and destroyed San Bernardo de Awat'ovi, excavators had a layer of melted adobe and burned timbers that clearly delineated between pre-revolt and post-revolt burials. Sixty-nine of the 118 bodies had been interred *after* the destruction of the church. All had been laid out in extended, Christian, fashion, rather than the flexed-and-bundled fashion of traditional Hopis. Fifty-nine of these "Christian" interments featured burial offerings—an eclectic mix of Catholic saints' medallions, rosary beads, Hopi ceramics, and wooden *pahos* (prayer sticks). Somehow, after the execution of their Franciscan priests and the expulsion of the Spanish

⁴⁸ See Elsie Clews Parsons, "Micmac Notes: St. Ann's Mission on Chapel Island, Bras d'Or Lakes, Cape Breton Island," *Journal of American Folklore* 39, no. 154 (1926): 460–485; Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth Sawtell Wallis, *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* (St. Paul, Minn., 1955), chaps. 38, 39. St. Ann's Mission has served the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa and Métis since 1885; Melissa Nelson, public statement at author's SAR colloquium, February 17, 2010; T. Lujan, public statement at author's SAR colloquium, February 17, 2010; David M. Brugge, personal communication, February 17, 2010.

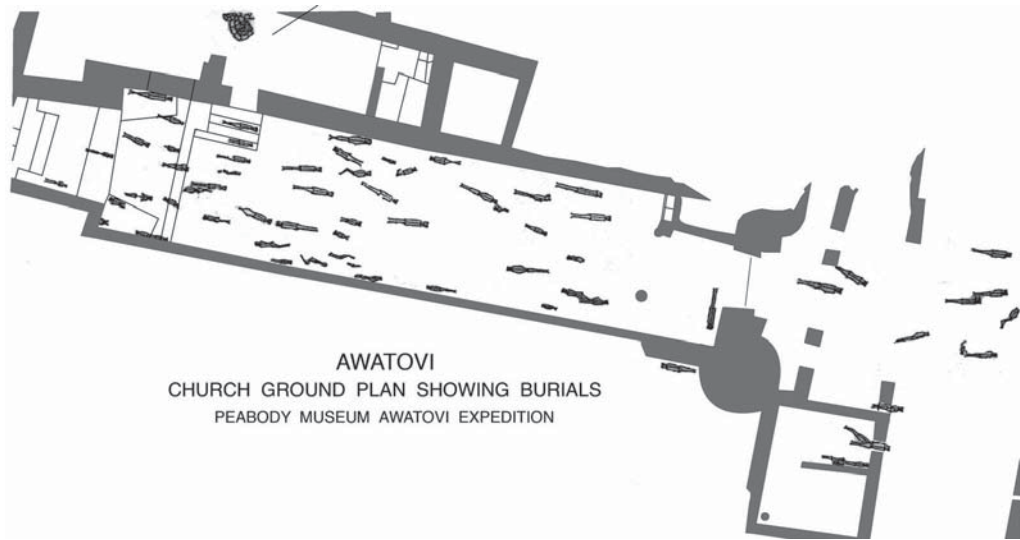


FIGURE 5: Burials excavated by J. O. Brew in Awat'ovi Church, 1936. From Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Franciscan Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 96.

presence from the Hopi mesas, some residents of post-revolt Awat'ovi had continued to bury their loved ones in the ruined mission church, accompanied by cherished symbols of both Hopi and Spanish spiritual life.

Brew also reopened Fewkes's "sorcerer's kiva." Again, more bodies were encountered, and more evidence of intense burning was uncovered. Among that charred fill the workmen found several candlesticks, formed of local clay but crafted to mirror the candlesticks once found in the Franciscan mission. When the kiva was completely excavated, its unusual shape struck Brew as worthy of comment—its elongated, rectangular form contrasted with the normally square Hopi kivas, and it featured a stepped "altar" floor above one-third of the kiva floor, perhaps mimicking the altar of the nearby mission church. The beautifully rendered painted murals that covered the four walls, however, featured classic Hopi images of Katsinam, Corn Maidens, and feasting bowls. In other words, in at least one of the kivas in which the attackers trapped their victims, people had been experimenting with combining Hopi and Franciscan imagery, paraphernalia, and spiritual practices during a painful period of uncertainty about their own future, and that of the world.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ John Otis Brew, "The First Two Seasons at Awatovi," *American Antiquity* 3, no. 2 (1937): 122–137; Brew, "1939 Camp Journal," Peabody Museum Archives, Harvard University, Awatovi Expedition Records, 1930–1981, Series: II. Ledgers, Journals & Diaries, 1937–39, box 7; J. O. Brew, "Preliminary Report of the Peabody Museum Awatovi Expedition of 1937," *American Antiquity* 5, no. 2 (1939): 103–114; Brew, "Preliminary Report of the Peabody Museum Awatovi Expedition of 1939," *Plateau* 13, no. 3 (1941): 37–48; Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 95–99. For a 1656 case in which Juan Suñi, a young man at Awat'ovi, was punished for "imitating the priests" and "leading the Indians to understand things he shouldn't have," see Anton Daughters, "'Grave Offenses Worthy of Great Punishment': The Enslavement of Juan Suñi," *Journal of the Southwest* 54, no. 3 (Autumn 2012): 437–452, quotations from 438; Peter Whiteley also sees spiritual experimentation at the root of the Awat'ovi

In light of the events of the preceding millennium, gendered violence and painful transactions in women seem intensely central to the catastrophe at Awat'ovi Pueblo in the autumn of 1700, and to the survival of its remnant peoples. While Spanish accounts of the internecine massacre attributed it to Awat'ovi's friendly reception of returning Franciscan missionaries, many Hopi oral histories blame sexual transgressions within and across village boundaries for the crisis, and these stories abound with promises of women to those pueblo warriors from Shungopovi, Shipaulovi, Oraibi, Walpi, and Hano who would assist in the sack. In the case of Awat'ovi, experimental piety—born of women's liminal religious experience in this borderlands community—seemingly constituted the “transgression” that caused senior leadership at the pueblo to summon its destruction. More ancient Hopi narratives of obliteration, rescue, and redemption obscure similar acts of experimentation and violent discipline—a purification through massive obliteration, death, and the punishment of captivity and assimilation. Consumed by violence or consumed as involuntary adoptees, women are central to our story.⁵⁰

Women's productive and reproductive capacities spared some in this case (and doubtless in many others, when we extend the question to the wider Pueblo experience). Surviving Awat'ovi women brought the Mamzrau ritual to the village of Walpi and the Sand, Rabbit, Coyote, and Butterfly clans to Oraibi. Others may have found “voluntary captivity” among Navajo bands in nearby Jeddito Wash, for Navajo traditions indicate that their Tobacco, Deer, Rabbit, and Tansy Mustard clans descended from clan mothers who escaped death at Awat'ovi. Here the women's “power to endure” was underwritten by the victims' cultural repertoires and reproductive abilities.⁵¹

FOUR POWERFUL EVANGELICAL MOVEMENTS APPEARED during the thousand years from A.D. 750 to 1750. The Chaco Phenomenon likely elevated male power to heights never before seen in the generally egalitarian pre-Chacoan world, and Chaco's decline may have been hastened in part, at least, by women's gradual disenchantment with the asymmetries therein. The end of the “Pax Chaco” brought widespread terror to the region, a power vacuum that would be filled by the new Katsina evangelical warriors, who again confirmed men as the arbiters of the numinous. Franciscan Catholicism, which shattered both traditional priesthoods and Pueblo populations in general through conversion and disease, also seems to have attracted adherents from among disfranchised outsiders and women. Po'pay's Revolt may have been as much a last-gasp eruption of the old priesthood as it was a war for independence.

massacre, in his case the use of peyote; Whiteley, “Re-imagining Awat'ovi,” in Preucel, *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt*, 147–166.

⁵⁰ For women's gender-role transgressions and adulteries that led to the destruction of Palatkwapi, see Courlander, *The Fourth World of the Hopis*, chap. 4; for women's sorcery that caused the abandonment of Huck'ovi, see *ibid.*, chap. 11, and Ekkehart Malotki, ed. and trans., *Hopi Tales of Destruction* (Lincoln, Neb., 2002), chap. 5; for the decision of the village leader at Sikyatki to invite its annihilation by warriors from ancestral Walpi because of sexual jealousies fomented by sorcerers, see *ibid.*, chap. 4.

⁵¹ David M. Brugge, *The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute: An American Tragedy* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1999), 8.

By the middle years of the eighteenth century, Catholic missions had been re-established among the Rio Grande Pueblos, much reduced in their architectural footprints and considerably more tolerant of traditional Pueblo ceremonialism, which remained in the domain of men. With the seventeenth-century *encomienda* and *repartimiento* systems abolished, tributary demands on Pueblo agriculture were alleviated, and Pueblo warriors now formed a key military auxiliary to Spanish efforts to defend the colony from equestrian raiders such as the Comanches, Apaches, Kiowas, and Navajos. Pueblo women remained in low profile, but provided the devotional core of a new “compartmentalized” Christian practice.

Catholicism would not return to the Hopi mesas until 1928, in the Saint Joseph Mission in Keams Canyon, and even then the church came to minister to local Navajos, not the Hopis. In June 2000, Hopi tribal chairman Wayne Taylor invited Bishop Donald Pelotte to meet with a small group of thirty Hopi Catholics. “In meaningful dialogue,” Pelotte “expressed to them his sincere sorrow for any contribution the Catholic Church or any of its members may have had to the painful history shared by the Catholic Church and the Hopi.”⁵²

⁵² *St. Joseph Mission since 1928: History of the Church*, <http://www.stjosephmission.com/HISTORY.html>.

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