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**WHEN IS A CONVENTO KIVA?
A POSTCOLONIAL-CRITICAL INDIGENOUS CRITIQUE
OF THE CONVENTO KIVA
AT PECOS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK**

by

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THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

**Master of Arts
American Studies**

The University of New Mexico

Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 2013

Acknowledgements

First I would like to thank my committee for their guidance in this project; Dr. A. Gabriel Meléndez for his guidance since the fall of 2009 that sparked my interest in the discipline of American Studies; Dr. Jennifer Denetdale for her guidance in the many facets of critical indigenous studies outside of archaeology; and Dr. Joe Watkins for his guidance regarding the complex intersections that archaeology has with Native peoples.

I want to thank the staff at Pecos National Historical Park for their helping me through the in-depth history and archaeology at Pecos as well as the large archival collections at the Park. In particular I want to thank the Park's archaeologist Sue Eininger, museum curator Heather Young, archival technician Sarah Blatter, and chief of interpretation and cultural resources Christine Beekman for giving me the opportunity to gain such insightful knowledge about the history of Pecos National Historical Park. I hope that this study proves useful for the Park Service staff at Pecos in the future.

Finally I want to thank my amazing wife Michele for her support, patience, and love while conducting this study. And I am also thankful to my son Sebastian for reminding me to take breaks during the writing and editing process. I also want to thank our families the Holtkamps, the Hansens, the Hites, and the Vincents for their love and support during my academic career.

When is a Convento Kiva? : A Postcolonial-Critical Indigenous Critique of the
Convento Kiva at Pecos National Historical Park

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ABSTRACT

At Pecos National Historical Park there exists a Puebloan ceremonial structure known as a kiva located within the confines of a 17th century Spanish church. The placement of this kiva in the church implies a different name, “convento kiva.” Western historians and archaeologists have generated a metanarrative that presents the history of Pecos Pueblo and its inhabitants in a terminal format; that is the Pueblo was doomed to abandonment once contact with the Spanish was made regardless of how the Pueblo Indians responded to Spanish colonialism. Contrary to this notion, the descendants of Pecos at the Pueblo of Jemez maintain a strong connection with Pecos Pueblo and since the 1990s have begun reasserting their presence at the Pueblo by contradicting the idea that the site is “abandoned.”

In this study, I observe how the knowledge produced about the “convento kiva” serves as a lens of the larger colonial metanarrative of Pecos. This knowledge collective is bifurcated between Western/colonial knowledge in history and archaeology and indigenous knowledge in the oral and living traditions of Pecos descendants at Jemez. Using a combination of postcolonial and critical indigenous theory, I argue that colonial knowledge production used by historians and archaeologists work towards creating “terminal narratives” about Pecos while indigenous knowledge production works towards achieving goals of decolonization.

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1.0 Introduction

The ancestral ruins of Pecos are considered one of the most significant places in the history of the American Southwest. Situated on a low mesa top, the ruin consists of an indigenous prehistoric Pueblo, or village, and a European Franciscan mission. There is striking difference between each of these structures in terms of their physical condition. On the one hand the Pueblo is mostly buried and seemingly invisible to the observing public while the mission is clearly visible though additionally in a ruined state with incomplete walls and no roofing. The exception to these ruined structures is two Pueblo ceremonial structures known as kivas. There are numerous kivas at Pecos Pueblo that are viewable to visitors, but two of them are stabilized and reconstructed for physically entering.

The first reconstructed kiva is located within the North Pueblo ruins and is clearly associated with the Pre-Hispanic Native American component of the site. The Park Service trail guide gives a brief overview to visitors about what a kiva is and its significance to modern Pueblo peoples. The second kiva is located within the convent, or convento, of the Franciscan mission. Unlike the first kiva, the interpretive trail guide does not inform visitors as to the reason for this kiva's existence within the church boundaries (Mogollón 2006)(Figure 1).

The church kiva at Pecos is not an anomaly in the Southwest. Other examples been documented at the Salinas missions of Abó and Quarai and at the Hopi Pueblo of Awatovi (See Figure 2). There has been much debate between archaeologists and historians regarding the function or purpose for these “convento kivas,” a term specific to their locations within the convents. Southwest historians and archaeologists who produce

knowledge of “convento kivas” do so by using assumptions about the relationships between Pueblo peoples and the Spanish colonists during the 16th and 17th centuries to guide their research.

It is common for historians and archaeologists in the Southwest to use each other’s research to inform their own interpretations of the past. In summary, historians of the Spanish colonial period characterize the relationship of the Pueblos and Spanish during this time as a “clash of cultures”; a period of immense violence, slavery, and religious persecution; and specifically for the Pueblos, a time of intensified victimization and cultural loss but for events of violent uprising like the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, an event where the Pueblos executed a well-coordinated uprising to the Spanish government and the Catholic Church (Gutiérrez 1991; Kessell 2008; Riley 1999). Archaeologists working at Spanish period sites use these types of narratives to inform themselves of what they encounter in the archaeological record. The outcome of this self-affirming model is a continuum of subjective research, which self-affirms the above-mentioned assumptions held by non-indigenous and non-Hispanic researchers about Pueblo-Spanish relations.¹

The interpretations generated by Southwestern archaeologists about the convento kiva at Pecos exist within this framework of biased knowledge production by historians regarding Pueblo-Spanish relations from the 16th to the 19th centuries. In short, there are three general interpretations of the kiva in archaeological literature: 1) the kiva is an example of superposition through religious dominance of the Spanish unto the Pueblos (Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949, 65-66); 2) the kiva is an example of reverse superposition of the Pueblos following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (Hayes 1974, 32-33);

and 3) the kiva represents a unique relationship between Pecos Pueblo and the Franciscans stationed at the church where the ceremonial structure was used as a means of converting the Pecos people to Catholicism more easily (Ivey 1998, 129-130). Although these interpretations are different in their perceptions of the kivas exact function, all rely heavily on assumptions of Pueblo-Spanish relations outlined by Southwest historians.

In this study, I argue that interpretations about the convento kiva have remained largely within the realm of European epistemology focusing upon ideals of Pueblo essentialism, simplified models of culture conflict between the Pueblos and the Spanish, and viewing the disappearance or abandonment of Pecos as a testament to the myth of the disappearing Indian. These interpretations become transformed into normalized narratives about Native peoples in the American Southwest, and knowledge about them continues to be produced in the disciplines of history and archaeology without collaboration with Native peoples.

In order to challenge these normalized narratives I present how knowledge production from Pecos descendants at Jemez challenges assumptions of Pueblo essentialism, complex relationships between Pueblos and the Spanish, and the concept of site abandonment. This in-depth discussion of the convento kiva and the knowledge surrounding it serves two purposes. First is observing how colonial knowledge production in history and archaeology generates “terminal narratives” of Pecos. Second is showing how indigenous knowledge production from the descendants of Pecos generates narratives of decolonization for the Pueblo people that better serve and maintain their connection to the site.

1.1 Challenging the “Terminal Narrative” of Pecos

The concepts of site abandonment, the disappearing Indian, and assumptions of indigenous-colonial relationships are characterized by indigenous archaeologist Michael Wilcox as part of the concept “terminal narrative.” Wilcox argues that this type of narrative includes the absence, cultural death, cultural collapse, assimilation, and disappearance of indigenous peoples in the face of colonial expansion (2009, 11).² Important for my investigation into knowledge produced about the Pecos convento kiva, Wilcox discusses several related concepts such as persistence of Native traditions in the face of colonialism; site abandonment as a social strategy and response to colonialism; and developments of collaborative archaeological research with Native descendant communities.

Wilcox explains the persistence of Native traditions, specifically with the Pueblos, as a complex response to colonial subordination, acculturation, and resistance. Such persistence of Pueblo traditions in the Southwest directly challenges the “terminal narrative” of cultural collapse and makes a space for Native perspectives to be included in knowledge production of the past (Wilcox 2009, 73). As I discuss in my study, persistence of Pueblo traditions specifically from Pecos lies with the existence and continuation of living traditions by the Pueblo’s descendants who currently reside at Jemez Pueblo. The connection these people have with Pecos Pueblo is very much alive today and challenges the assumption that Pueblo peoples have abandoned the site.

Site abandonment is a popular concept in Southwest archaeology, especially with discussing indigenous populations. More recently, archaeologists have begun to recognize the negative connotations that abandonment carries for Native peoples who

still revere ancestral sites as sacred and important to the continuation of their traditions (Cordell and McBrinn 2012, 223). Wilcox addresses how abandonment was used as a social strategy by 16th and 17th century Pueblos in New Mexico as a response to the violence being inflicted by Spanish colonial forces. His analysis of abandonment does two things. It challenges the homogenized narratives of disease being the primary factor for site abandonment and depopulation, and it highlights the fact that much of the secondary literature by historians place emphasis on secondary factors such as disease despite evidence in primary historical documents that violent tactics of the Spanish were used. He states that contemporary historian's discomfort coupled with archaeologists' ignorance of the documentary history of Spanish violence has led to an overly sanitized version of Spanish colonialism (Wilcox 2009, 146-148).

Wilcox's discussion of challenging the reasons for site abandonment informs my own study of Pecos in that my analysis looks at interpretations produced by historians and archaeologists about the migration of the last remaining Pecos Indians to Jemez, the last remaining Towa speaking Pueblo, in 1838.³ I investigate into how the concept of site abandonment is employed to easily explain a perceived disappearance of the Pecos people. I also challenge the assumption that Pecos was abandoned through an analysis of the history of the Pecos Land Grant, oral traditions documented at Jemez, and living traditions that are still practiced at Pecos Pueblo by its descendants.

I also want to include Wilcox's discussion of the importance of collaborative archaeological research with descendant Native American communities. His own research with Cochiti Pueblo on the site of "Old Cochiti," a significant site where the ancestors of Cochiti resided during the Revolt, challenges homogenous narratives of the

Spanish conquest of New Mexico and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Wilcox reframes the resistance of Pueblo peoples as efforts of decolonization by pointing out Western biases in archaeological and historical knowledge production for the Spanish colonial period in the Southwest. He argues that collaboration accomplishes the needs of Native communities in emphasizing to academics the importance of Native survival and cultural continuity (Wilcox 2009, 244).

Similarly, Matthew Liebmann's research with Jemez Pueblo on Pueblo Revolt period sites in the Jemez Mountains discusses how colonized groups in Jemez responded to forced acculturation and later practiced revitalization of Native pre-Spanish practices as a way of reaffirming their Pueblo identity (2012).⁴ The purpose of Liebmann's work was to tell a more complete and inclusive story of the Pueblo Revolt through the perspective of the people at Jemez. It challenges the classic metanarratives that have been perpetuated by historians and archaeologists, which brand the Revolt as either a romanticized Native victory or a tragic indigenous defeat. He argues that such labeling of Native American resistance as success or failure is based primarily on Euro-American models of revolution and as such is profoundly ethnocentric (Liebmann 2012, 209). His study instead presents the Jemez experience during the Revolt as specific responses of that particular Pueblo to the damaging effects of Spanish colonialism rather than a homogenous experience for all the Pueblos of the Southwest.

Both of these studies provide an important intervention that I feel is important for this study of knowledge production about Pecos and its convento kiva. Wilcox and Liebmann focus specifically on making indigenous epistemology the driving force in their research, and as such provide the Pueblos of Cochiti and Jemez with opportunities

of decolonization for knowledge production about their own history. Although they use archaeological and scientific theory for data collection and analysis, these Western approaches never attempt to discount or overshadow the important Pueblo perspective about the past. Such collaborative efforts provide an excellent theoretical template for how to approach the knowledge production about the convento kiva at Pecos.

One significant difference of my study from Wilcox's and Liebmann's is the Pecos descendants no longer physically reside in the vicinity of the Pueblo in the Pecos valley, and the site is owned and managed by the National Park Service, whereas Old Cochiti and the Jemez Revolt period sites are located on Forest Service and Tribal Reservation lands.⁵ The descendants of Pecos have access to use the site for ceremonial use under the current Park Service land management policy and Presidential Executive Order No. 13007, Protection and Access to Indian Sacred Sites (1996). Both the Park Service and the Forest Service are required to allow federally recognized Tribes to use sacred sites located on federal land, but is not required to restrict access to these sites to non-Indian visitors as they are located on public land (National Park Service 2006).

But as I stated before, living Pueblo peoples today do not physically inhabit Pecos Pueblo, and they have not since the mid 19th century; the Pueblo has been, in Western epistemology, abandoned. It is important to recognize that such a statement is inherently colonial in the logic of Indian removal and disappearance. The ownership of the site by the National Park Service gives an impression that Indian presence at Pecos is merely in forms of antiquity and exhibition.

Yet in the last twenty years there has been increasing involvement from Native communities with the National Park Service, including the descendants of Pecos,

regarding the management of the site since the early 1990s as a requirement of amendments to federal regulations concerning historic preservation (16 U.S.C. § 470; 23 U.S.C. § 3001 through 3013; Levine, Norcini, and Foster 1994). This involvement of federally recognized Tribes through Tribal consultation represents a transition in how government agencies manage archaeological sites significant to Native peoples. As I discuss in this study, there is growing physical and epistemological presence of Pueblo peoples at Pecos that represents a growing trend in decolonization for historical and archaeological knowledge production in the American Southwest.

1.2 Postcolonialism, Critical Indigenous Theory, and Archaeology

This overview of the interventions that postcolonialism and critical indigenous theory both have for archaeology in the Southwest provides the theoretical foundation for my observations of the knowledge production of the convento kiva at Pecos National Historical Park. A combination of both postcolonial and critical indigenous theories addresses the issue that the kiva resides in a doubled existence. On the one hand it is a piece of both Ancestral Puebloan and Spanish colonial history with a complicated Western wealth of knowledge in history and archaeology. On the other hand it represents a continued presence of Pueblo identity at Pecos that challenges the assumption that the site has been abandoned by contemporary Pueblo peoples. The combination of postcolonial and critical indigenous theory aims to deconstruct the Western knowledge of Pecos and the convento kiva, and offers alternatives for how the descendants of Pecos Pueblo, and all indigenous peoples for that matter, can address how knowledge of their past is generated by non-indigenous Euro-American researchers.

In this section I begin with an overview of postcolonialism as a theoretical

intervention for history and anthropology as an extension for archaeology. I then move into a discussion of postcolonialism's relationship to Native American Studies, a separate discipline than history or archaeology, and the development of critical indigenous theory. Here I discuss the benefits and shortcomings postcolonialism has for indigenous peoples and outline a combination of postcolonial and critical indigenous theory that serves the purpose of this project. Next, I proceed into a discussion of postcolonialism and critical indigenous theory's relevance for archaeology in general. Finally I focus down to their usefulness for archaeology of religion and Spanish mission sites in the American Southwest.

Postcolonialism has been used in history and anthropology to address the bifurcation of knowledge production and the hierarchy of Western discourse about marginalized and colonized societies worldwide. This includes rewriting the histories of past peoples and addressing assumptions about the past that dominant societies have about marginalized ones. It is important to note that postcolonial theory itself is inherently political because of its purpose in aiding marginalized and underprivileged peoples affected by histories and projects of colonialism. Fundamentally, postcolonialism maps the differentiations of power observed between groups on the basis of race, class, ethnicity, sex, gender, and/or political affiliation.⁶

Native American studies started as a discipline that functioned primarily as an intervention to colonial narratives in anthropology, culture studies, and history that refused to acknowledge the histories and experiences of colonialism, genocide, and theft of lands, bodies, and cultures that Native peoples have endured (Byrd 2011, xxxi). However, many contemporary Native scholars have theorized that Native American

studies as an academic discipline still functions through Euro-American pedagogy and does not yet fully utilize indigenous epistemologies in Native knowledge production.⁷

Although both postcolonial and Native American studies have similar goals in challenging the hegemony of Western knowledge production, they are fundamentally different in their historical developments and theoretical contexts.⁸ Jodi Byrd (2011) discusses how postcolonialists and critical indigenous theorists have not agreed on the applicability of postcolonial theory for indigenous peoples in the Americas.⁹ However, she also states that bringing indigenous voices to the forefront of postcolonial theorizing helps to identify how colonialist discourses are still present in postcolonial theory and as such trap indigenous peoples into essential dialectics of erasure [“terminal narratives”]. Methodologically, an indigenous-centric approach to critical theory helps in identifying the processes that keep indigenous peoples in a necessary pre-conditional presence within theories of colonialism and its “post” (Byrd 2011, xxxiv).

It is this placing of Native perspective and epistemology at the forefront of postcolonial theory that clearly identifies the theoretical grounding of my study. Blending critical indigenous theory with postcolonialism requires recognizing assumptions about the “colonized” subject and the positionality and context that postcolonialism has outside of Native societies. An outlining of postcolonialism adopting elements of critical indigenous theory appears as the following. The centering of Native experience addresses assumptions that colonial societies have about indigenous colonized peoples in the past even within the interventions of postcolonialism. Rewriting the histories of those experiences requires placing an indigenous epistemology at the forefront of knowledge production about colonial accounts and experiences.

Since archaeology is derived from anthropology and at times involves historical research, there is great usefulness for applying the combination of postcolonialism and critical indigenous theory to the discipline. Knowledge production about the past by archaeologists is a strongly bifurcated process where academically trained practitioners reside at the top of the archaeological-epistemology ladder. This positioning of power for knowledge production is crucial for my critique of the archaeology of the Pecos convento kiva. Because archaeology as an academic discipline is believed by a great percentage of its practitioners as not synonymous and cooperative with colonial projects and discourses, there is little recognition of Western hierarchy by its practitioners. However, the history of colonialism in archaeology is well documented with numerous occurrences of injustice, violence, and negligence towards Native peoples even in the late 20th century (Thomas 2000).

In his discussion of postcolonial archaeology, Liebmann presents three fundamental reasons that archaeology should adopt postcolonialism in its practice: 1) interpretively, in the investigation of past episodes of colonization and colonialism through the archaeological record; 2) historically, in the study of archaeology's role in the construction and deconstruction of colonial discourses; and 3) methodologically, as an aid to the decolonization of the discipline and a guide for the ethical practice of contemporary archaeology (Liebmann 2008a). Similarly, Jane Lydon and Uzma Z. Rizvi argue that postcolonialism offers archaeology the opportunity to accurately critique colonial traditions of thought and generate new accounts that emphasize indigenous and subaltern experiences of colonialism. They further argue that the particular experiences of colonialism of past indigenous peoples, which archaeologists encounter in material

remains, need to be theorized and examined as different than those of other categories of subaltern groups (class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, etc.) though there are possibilities that they may overlap (Lydon and Rizvi 2010, 23-25). I argue that this further development for understanding indigenous colonial experiences can be accomplished by incorporating critical indigenous theory in archaeology.

The critical indigenous approach to archaeology can be categorized as collaborative archaeology, or indigenous archaeology. This approach works to improve relationships between archaeologists and indigenous communities by conducting cooperative projects with groups; training indigenous archaeologists with indigenous epistemologies and methods; and making projects mutually beneficial to indigenous communities and archaeologists alike (Bruchac, Hart, and Wobst 2010; Silliman 2008; Watkins 2000).¹⁰ Proponents of indigenous archaeology contend that solutions to the issues Native peoples have with archaeology exist in collaborations with Native communities and acceptance of indigenous epistemologies as viable inclusions with Western scientific archaeology. Some examples are the inclusion of indigenous epistemology in theory and methodologies of data recovery (Harris 2005; Million 2005); having indigenous communities participate in archaeological research (Pearson and Ramlisonina 2004); and reevaluating the positionality of archaeologists and the impacts of the discipline onto indigenous communities (Nicholas 2005; Zimmerman 2010).

In the Southwest there is increasing involvement of Native peoples with archaeologists.¹¹ Yet, there are only two collaborative archaeological studies I have found that explicitly challenge the classic metanarratives of colonialism in the Southwest, and they are the works from Wilcox (2009) and Liebmann (2012). This lack of critical

intervention by indigenous archaeology in the Southwest highlights the need for a study like the one I am conducting about Pecos Pueblo. I argue that this study serves as an additional example for challenging the colonial metanarratives of the Spanish colonial period and how they can be reworked to represent the experiences of the colonized subjects of the Southwest, Native Americans.

For this study, there are two more factors to consider for critiquing Southwest archaeology through postcolonialism and critical indigenous theory: the study of Native religion by archaeologists and Spanish mission archaeology. Religion has been a facet of Southwest archaeology that archaeologists have grappled with in how to scientifically, objectively, and ethically observe for Native peoples. In his very recent study, *An Archaeology of Doings*, Severin M. Fowles unpacks the implications, shortcomings, and consequences of separating out religion from Pueblo society in archaeological studies. He conceptualizes Pueblo ceremonies, rituals, and other “religious” activities as “doings,” as part of a holistic identity rather than a secularized form of “religion” (Fowles 2013).¹² Fowles attempts to identify a postsecularism for archaeology (a recognition of compartmentalizing of Native society into categories like religious and secular) (2013, 4, 10). This is useful for my postcolonial/critical indigenous critique of the Pecos convento kiva for unpacking assumptions made by archaeologists about religious conflict, Puebloan ceremonies, intermixing between Pueblo ideology and Catholicism, and factionalism within the Pueblos as a result of religious conversion.

It is important to also recognize that practitioners of Southwest archaeology treat “prehistoric” and “historic” sites differently in their approach. Spanish mission sites are interesting examples in that they have both Native American and European components,

yet the Native American parts of the site are carefully and exhaustively studied while the European parts are hastily studied and at times deliberately ignored for their research potential. James Ivey and David Hurst Thomas argue that there has been relatively little informative archaeology that has been conducted at mission sites in the Southwest. Only a dozen or so of these sites have been “excavated” or “tested, and the details of their research often comes across as hasty, outdated, and poorly reported (Ivey and Thomas 2005, 204).¹³ Though I agree that scientific archaeology is a benefit to gaining additional insight to this period of time in New Mexico, I insist that the obvious lack of indigenous collaboration and knowledge production is a more concrete sign of the one-sided knowledge production these authors claim to be criticizing. My critique of the archaeology of the Pecos convento kiva through postcolonialism and critical indigenous thought aims to address this exact issue by pointing to specific examples of how the chronology of Western knowledge production took place for its initial study.

1.3 Review of Literature

Analyses that challenge colonial epistemologies in Southwest archaeology are relatively new for archaeology, postcolonial studies, and Native American studies. There is however a selection of literature on indigenous archaeology, postcolonial archaeology, and settler colonialism that informs the need for my own study of the colonial metanarratives about Pecos Pueblo and its convento kiva.

There is a growing body of literature about indigenous archaeology within and outside of the United States. In summary, indigenous archaeology is an open-ended approach that aims to incorporate epistemologies necessary from indigenous communities for which the collaborative projects are conducted (Bruchac, Hart, and

Wobst 2010; Killion 2008; Liebmann 2012; Silliman 2008; Smith and Wobst 2005; Swidler, Dongoske, Anyon, and Downer 1997; Watkins 2000, 2008; Wilcox 2009). The intention of indigenous archaeology is bringing indigenous epistemology and perspective of the past to the forefront of archaeological research. But like Jodi Byrd describes about the hesitation Native American and postcolonial studies have in confronting underlying colonial epistemologies (2011, xxxiv), it appears indigenous archaeology on the whole has not critically engaged in dismantling the colonialist logic within its own approach. Similarly, postcolonial archaeology is an approach that is expanding in practice among archaeologists. But because the origins of postcolonialism are from outside of the Americas, the majority of postcolonial archaeologists are not in the United States (Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; Lydon and Rizvi 2010).¹⁴

A recent development of postcolonial and Native American studies is a growing interest in how colonialism was conducted as means of removing indigenous peoples from their lands for settler societies to then inhabit those lands. The practice and logic of this has been termed settler colonialism. Patrick Wolfe's seminal article defines the parameters of settler colonialism as the elimination of indigenous peoples through acculturation, education, religious conversion, forced marriage, racialized marriage and breeding, and physical violence (Wolfe 2006).¹⁵ Given archaeology's relationship to anthropology, I believe that settler colonialism is an important concept to consider for understanding archaeological materials of colonialism and the interpretations about indigenous peoples who are removed physically, socially, and mentally from their homelands and traditions. But unfortunately, the interventions scholars have for critiquing settler colonialism has not yet been adequately addressed by archaeologists,

even those who utilize postcolonial theory. At present, only one Native scholar has addressed settler colonialism's connection with archaeology in the Southwest.

Joanne Barker presents a case for how the logic of settler colonialism is exercised through archaeology in the Southwest. In her work, *Native Acts* (2011), Barker shows how expertise of Southwest archaeologists is utilized in court cases that attempt to determine Pueblo authenticity (2011). Her examination of the anthropological testimonies in the case *Martinez v. Pueblo of Santa Clara* points to an interesting position of power that non-Native anthropologists and archaeologists have when compared to their Native colleagues. Scientific authority and objectivity is associated with ideals of white privilege while the subjectivity of Native anthropologists is considered questionable for determining authenticity (Barker 2011, 98-145).

As it stands there is a schism of critical dialogue between archaeology and scholars critiquing settler colonialism. In this study, I mention settler colonialism's presence in the knowledge production of the convento kiva at Pecos, but unfortunately I feel I cannot fully address settler colonialism at Pecos using such limited information. It is likely that future studies of settler colonialism in archaeology would help in developing more thorough approaches for such a study.

One last concept I find is important to discuss in this review is preservation by the National Park Service and American Indians as subjects of heritage tourism. Preservation is something scarcely theorized about by archaeologists, and I have yet to find an example of it being addressed by postcolonial theorists. But because preservation is a crucial part of knowledge production of the convento kiva at Pecos, it is important I review what literature is available to inform my critique of the convento kiva's

preservation from a postcolonial and critical indigenous approach. The two examples I use discuss the complex relationship between the National Park Service and Native American communities (Keller and Turek 1998) and efforts of decolonization in museums by Native peoples (Lonetree 2012).

The relationship between the National Park Service and Native Americans is a complex one with incidents of conflict, removal, redemption, and negotiation. Robert Keller and Michael Turek document the extensive history of American Indian removal in conjunction with establishments of National Parks on the acquired Indian lands. The relations between Indian Tribes and the Park Service fall into four general phases: 1) unilateral appropriation of land for recreational use; 2) an end to land-taking, but continuation of neglect for tribal treaties, concerns, and needs; 3) with Indian resistance leading to an increase in accounting for tribal concerns; and 4) a new commitment by the Park Service to accommodate the concerns of indigenous communities and increase cross-cultural cooperation (Keller and Turek 1998). Their genealogy of the Park Service's actions towards Native peoples provides a useful background for understanding how the management of Pecos Pueblo developed from a system of non-involvement with Native peoples, particularly the descendants of Pecos, to a prime example of collaborative heritage management that meets both the needs of preservation by the federal government and the needs of Native peoples who retain close connection with the site.

Representation of Native peoples in museums also helps to understand representation of the Pecos convento kiva through preservation. Amy Lonetree observes how museums that house and display Native material culture and human remains

participate in projects of colonialism through expressions of cultural authenticity and Western scientific discourse. Her work explores how Native communities that choose to establish their own protocols for public representation work to decolonize the concept of Indians in museums by asserting authority of Native culture and authenticity through Native epistemology (Lonetree 2012). The examples I discuss of decolonizing knowledge production at Pecos shows a shift in power that the Park Service has over what it is able to do with cultural materials that Pecos descendants claim affiliation to.

1.4 Research Question: When is a Convento Kiva?

It is apparent that knowledge production of the convento kiva at Pecos National Historical Park is generated by the use of “terminal narratives” from historians and archaeologists regarding Pueblo-Spanish relations in the Southwest. At Pecos, colonial metanarratives from historians are used as templates for archaeologists studying the convento kiva to interpret the purpose of the kiva in the church. Additionally, Park Service records indicate a specific decision by Park Service officials in the late 1960s and early 70s to incorporate the kiva into the park’s interpretative plan without developing a collaborative research design with descendants of Pecos regarding the kiva’s history, function, and significance to their community. As a result, representation of the convento kiva through preservation and interpretation does not reflect the complexities of colonialism in New Mexico in the 17th century nor does it represent a Native perspective of the kiva’s history or significance to the descendants of Pecos Pueblo. Instead, knowledge of the kiva is simplified in presenting a Western cultural model of tragedy and harmony between the Pueblos and the Spanish.

My research question, *when is a convento kiva?*, is derived from a topic that

Southwestern archaeologists have pondered about since the early 20th century. Watson Smith's seminal work *When is a Kiva?* addressed archaeological assumptions made about kivas in the American Southwest. He proposed that kivas were specific to Pueblo peoples and were essential lines of evidence for identifying Ancestral Pueblo sites in the Southwest (Smith and Thompson 1990). Although this logic seems scientifically reasonable for identifying Pueblo identity at archaeological sites, Smith's conceptualization of kivas perpetuates qualities of Pueblo essentialism by insisting that there are indeed "real kivas" that define Ancestral Pueblo identity by asking the question in full: when is a kiva *not* a kiva? This essentialist view of Pueblo identity is in fact derived from socio-political discourses of Pueblo identity that took place during the period of Indian removal in the 19th and early 20th centuries, a point that most archaeologists in the Southwest are not aware of (Hall 1984; Lekson 2008b). Such perpetuations were further solidified when archaeologists began questioning why kivas were appearing in Spanish missions and created a bifurcation of knowledge production for Pueblo identity in the Spanish colonial period.

Rather than asking a similar essentialist question (when is a convento kiva *not* a convento kiva?), I expand the issue by critiquing knowledge production of the Pecos kiva and asking, when is the convento kiva a product of colonial knowledge production, or when is the convento kiva a product of knowledge leading towards decolonization? In the next three chapters, I use the applied combination of postcolonial and critical indigenous theory to critique knowledge production of the Pecos convento kiva from Western historians and archaeologists and show how examples of indigenous knowledge production about Pecos and the kiva disrupt these colonial metanarratives.

In Chapter 2, I identify the colonial metanarratives of Southwest historians regarding religious conflicts between Pecos Pueblo, the Franciscan friars, and Spanish settlers who attempted to eradicate Pueblo religious practice, convert the Pecos people to Catholicism, and incorporate them into the settler society so their lands could become settled more easily by European populations. The two primary historical works I use are John L. Kessell's *Kiva, Cross and Crown* and James Ivey's *The Spanish Colonial Architecture of Pecos Pueblo, New Mexico*. These two works are considered, in my opinion, to be the most thorough historical works by Western historians concerning Pecos Pueblo during the Spanish colonial period, though other works are also included in my discussion. I then focus on the specific contexts of the efforts of religious conversion by the Franciscans in the 17th century, the construction of the church at Pecos, and the hypothesized historical period(s) for the construction of the convento kiva. Then I introduce indigenous narratives from Pueblo historians and oral histories from Jemez elders that challenge the Western "terminal narratives" of Pecos.

Chapter 3 moves into the archaeological study of the convento kiva. I begin with an overview of archaeological studies at Pecos that highlight the excavation and preservation of the 17th and 18th century churches. Next, I discuss the excavation and preservation of the convent kiva in the late 1960s. I argue that the excavation of the kiva was conducted with a specific purpose of archaeologists wanting to find evidence to back up their assumptions about Pueblo-Spanish relations in the church. Furthermore, the preservation of the convento kiva operates in colonial knowledge production by presenting an idealism of Pueblo authenticity as well as the authority the Park Service has over how the kiva is managed. In the third section of Chapter 3, I identify how

archaeologists conceptualize what a convento kiva is. Here I interrogate the production of knowledge about kivas in general, even those not associated with Spanish mission sites, highlighting the connection that archaeology has with colonial epistemologies of Pueblo essentialism and the logic of settler colonialism. Here I also discuss how colonial epistemologies influenced the production of knowledge for convento kivas as simultaneous signs of powerlessness, heroism, and savagery of the Pueblos during the 17th century by following the timeline of convento kivas identified by archaeologists at the Pueblos of Awatovi, Abó, Quarai, and finally Pecos. Finally in this chapter, I discuss how other archaeological studies of Spanish-Native American relations disrupt Western assumptions of Pueblo essentialism in history and anthropology, combinations of Spanish and Pueblo religions, and how kivas are considered religious analogies to churches. I close this chapter with a postcolonial-critical indigenous critique of how the convento kiva is compartmentalized from the whole of Pueblo culture and is then used as a means for the general public to experience something authentically Puebloan according to the Park Service's interpretative plan.

In Chapter 4, I discuss how knowledge production of Pecos has been re-appropriated by descendants of Pecos at Jemez Pueblo through several foci. First, I begin with an overview of federal regulations in the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), and the requirement of Tribal consultation for federal agencies. This includes a detailing of the repatriation of Native American human remains and sacred objects from Pecos and the significance that repatriation has for the descendants of Pecos. Next, I present Pueblo oral traditions about the significance of Pecos Pueblo to its descendants that were

documented by the National Park Service during the Tribal consultation ethnographic study with Jemez Pueblo in 1992 and 1993. These narratives from Jemez detail the presence of Pueblo peoples at Pecos rather than absence as perpetuated by “terminal narratives.” I then discuss how the development of Tribal consultation with the National Park Service has affected relationships of power between Jemez and the Park Service through a collaborative program between Jemez, the Park Service, and the Peabody Museum called Pecos Pathways and its implications of collaborative archaeology. I use the Pecos Pathways program as an example of current attempts of collaborative knowledge production that have not yet confronted the Western hierarchy of knowledge production. Finally, I close my discussion of indigenous knowledge production at Pecos with a discussion of the Pecos Feast Day conducted at the park. This begins with the first collaborative Feast Day in 1979 where the multicultural event was disrupted by a public statement at the event from a Jemez elder about the damaging effects of colonialism and how its descendants would reclaim Pecos. Next, I present an act of Pueblo “doing” at the Pecos Feast Day in 2011 where members of Jemez Pueblo conducted a ceremony within the convento kiva thus reclaiming it for Pueblo identity and epistemology about Pecos and asserting their continued presence at the site.

Overall, this project highlights the ultimate goal for postcolonialism and critical indigenous theory in archaeology. In general it is about decolonization, so for archaeology it means decolonizing the knowledge production of what archaeological sites mean for descendant communities and not just for academics or the general public.

2.0 Historical Knowledge of Pecos

2.1 Overview of Pecos Pueblo and the Historical Period

The following summarizes the history of Pecos Pueblo from 1540 to 1838 primarily from various works by Southwest historians, primarily the work *Kiva, Cross and Crown* (1979) by John L. Kessell. Other historians are included in this discussion, but the majority of my critique is derived from Kessell's work about Pecos. Most of this summary focuses upon the theme of religious persecution and attempts of conversion by the Spanish and Franciscans unto the Pueblo, but other themes such as the Pueblo Revolt, warfare with the Plains Comanche, and the establishment of the Pecos Land Grant are presented to contextualize the metanarratives about Pueblo-Spanish relations by Southwest historians more broadly.

This overview of the historical period of Pecos has one important purpose. It presents the historical events at Pecos as specific to only this Pueblo and not as a homogenous representation of all colonial interactions in the Southwest. It is important that this specific history be recognized to accomplish the goal of deconstructing ideals of Pueblo-Spanish relations at Pecos; in other words, all experiences between Pueblo peoples and Spanish colonists were not the same. For a thorough application of postcolonial and critical indigenous theory in critiquing colonial knowledge about the historical period at Pecos to be accomplished, the events that transpired at Pecos Pueblo should be understood in their own historical context and not just as broad trends of colonialism in the Southwest.

Pecos Pueblo is located in Northern New Mexico in the Upper Pecos valley between the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and Glorieta Mesa to the West and the Tecolote

Mountains and the Plains to the East (Schroeder 1979, 430). This geographic location as a Borderland community between the Rio Grande valley and the Great Plains gives Pecos the title of “gateway between the Pueblos and the Plains” (Bezy et al. 1988). The Pueblo itself was constructed around the early 1300’s along with several other moderately large villages, and it is hypothesized that by 1450 it was the last of these large villages to be occupied by Ancestral Puebloan peoples in the valley (Head et al. 2002, 430).

Contact was made between the people of Pecos and the Spanish well before the Spanish had even arrived physically at Pecos. The Spanish conquistador Francisco Vasquez de Coronado and his party were greeted by a visiting trading party from Pecos (Cicuye) at Hawikuh, one of the Zuñi pueblos, in the summer of 1540. As Vasquez de Coronado’s party travelled east into the Rio Grande valley of central New Mexico, a separate party sent ahead led by Captain Hernando de Alvarado arrived at Pecos in the early fall of 1540. As required by Spanish colonial law, the Pecos people were expected to submit in becoming vassals under the Spanish crown. The *requerimiento*, or colonial demands, were read to the Pecos in similar form and fashion they were read to all indigenous peoples encountered by the Spanish since 1513. It is now considered obvious that some if not most of the intentions and consequences of these demands were not fully understood by the Pecos and other indigenous peoples, at least not initially. In the end, the Pecos implemented a strategy to send the Spanish invaders into the eastern plains with hopes they would not return (Bolton 1949, 240-241; Kessell 1979, 7-21). The initial observations of Pecos Pueblo by Alvarado in 1540 described a large number of kivas (*estufas*) in the Pueblo. However, Spanish officials, soldiers, and Franciscans

misunderstood their function as being sweat baths through analogy to the Romans (Kessell 1979, 14).

Several smaller expeditions came through the American Southwest between Vasquez de Coronado in 1540-41 and Don Juan de Oñate's settler colony in 1598. During Antonio de Espejo's expedition somewhere between late 1582 and early 1583, the Spanish took two Pecos men captive, one of whom travelled back to Mexico City and came under instruction of the Franciscan order. This Pecos man, later named Pedro Oroz, became a Franciscan priest and taught several Mexican Indian converts one, if not several, of the Puebloan dialects. This ultimately led to one of Oroz's own Mexican Indian students translating the Catholic gospels into the Pecos dialect and later having it preached to the Pueblo during the expedition of Don Juan de Oñate (Kessell 1979, 42-45; Riley 1999, 49). Prior to Juan de Oñate arrival, Pecos was dealt with harshly by Castaño de Sosa's illegal expedition and his war on the Pueblo in the winter of 1590. The battle inflicted by the Spanish had left the Pecos people fearful of what further damage the Spanish would bring (Kessell 1979, 50-57).

The Oñate expedition had limited interaction with Pecos knowing full well their capabilities as warriors as a result of Castaño de Sosa's battle. Juan de Oñate visited Pecos briefly on a survey expedition that also visited the Galisteo Basin Tano Pueblos (Simmons 1991, 113). To accomplish his plan to make the Pueblos submit to the Spanish crown, he summoned leaders of Pecos and other Pueblos to the established capital of San Juan de Los Caballeros near present day Ohkay Ohwinge (San Juan) Pueblo. Along with the expected submission to the Spanish crown, the Spanish Father Commissary had assigned missionaries to all of the known Pueblos including Pecos. Fray Francisco de

San Miguel was the first priest assigned to Pecos, and though little is known about this first ministry, it has been hypothesized that Fray San Miguel and Juan de Dios, a Mexican Indian who learned the Pecos dialect from Pedro Oroz, were the first outsiders to acquire rooms in the Pueblo for religious conversion. Their mission lasted only a few short months when they were called back to the capital San Juan in December of 1598 because of the famous incident at Ácoma Pueblo (Kessell 1979, 82-84).¹⁶ Because of this incident in an outlying Pueblo so far from the concentration of the Spanish settlement, many of the missions were abandoned and no Franciscans returned to Pecos for almost twenty years. Ultimately Juan de Oñate was removed as governor of New Mexico in 1607 for his mistreatment of the Pueblos and the colonists. He returned to Spain and was never allowed to return to the Spanish colonies (Kessell 1979, 78-93; Simmons 1991, 180).

In the early 17th century, the colony in New Mexico was expanded through increased support from both the Crown and the Catholic Church. However, increased support led to increased conflict between church and state and put large pressure on the Pueblos, as well as nomadic Native groups, to meet the demands of the settler colonists. The outcome of these demands was the planning and execution of the Pueblo Revolt in 1680 which drove the Spanish colonists out of the Pueblo province and back to El Paso del Norte.¹⁷ Historical documentation of Pecos' involvement in the Revolt is contradictory. For example, Kessell notes that the Pecos were both loyal and rebellious to the Spanish where they gave the Spanish warnings of the uprising in August 1680 while simultaneously being accused of killing a Franciscan and a Spanish family. This dual role in the events is for Kessell a sign of established factionalism within the Pecos

Pueblo regarding if and how the people would allow Spanish presence and influence in their community (1979, 229-232).

The region of New Mexico was resettled under the direction of Don Diego de Vargas in 1692-1693. Pecos once again, according to Kessell, split into factions regarding their allegiance with the Spanish colonists (Kessell 1979, 244-250, 262). Following the *Reconquista* of New Mexico, Pecos saw a new campaign by the Spanish and Franciscans to incorporate them into the Spanish empire. Focusing specifically on the issue of religious persecution, there were several instances where the Spanish attempted outright to completely eradicate Puebloan religious practice.

In 1707, Admiral of the Spanish army Don José Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor Marqués de la Peñuela declared outright war on kiva use in the Pueblos. Despite some opposition by the Franciscans that the act was unjustified by the Church, Peñuela and his soldiers toured the Pueblo province demolishing kivas and pronouncing against ceremonial dances (Kessell 1979, 310). According to Kessell, the kivas at Pecos were apparently not affected during Peñuela's campaign likely because of their testimony to the Spanish governor, cacique, war captain, alcades that "they did not or do not hold against him [Peñuela] his having got rid of their kivas and prohibited the dances. They recognize first, as the Christians they are, that having rid them of said kivas and dances was indeed a service" (Kessell 1979, 311). Kessell notes that these testimonials were likely an attempt by Pecos to avoid having Peñuela realize that ceremonial dances and kivas were in fact being conducted and were kept secret from the Spanish.

In January of 1714, Governor Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón instigated a combined effort with the Franciscans to forbid the Pueblos to conduct ceremonial

practices and ordered all kivas to be destroyed (Kessell 1979, 299, 313). It was during this time that Alcade Mayor Alfonso Rael de Aguilar and Captain Sebastián de Vargas carried out Governor Mogollón's orders and destroyed the kivas at Pecos. Acalde Rael's own account of inspecting a kiva highlights a second attempt by Pecos to appeal to the Spanish in protecting them from being demolished (Kessell 1979, 314).¹⁸ Despite the campaigns of Governor's Peñuela and Mogollón to eradicate Pueblo religious practice, ceremonial dances continued to be conducted and kivas were rebuilt. In the late 1770's Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante admitted, "despite various measures taken at different times by governors and prelates to extinguish these dances and kivas, the same Indians have reestablished them little by little and they maintain them today" (Kessell 1979, 319).

In the 18th century there was increased struggle and warfare with the Plains Comanche, which historians have interpreted as the prime reason for Pecos Pueblo's demise. Kessell's own interpretation of Pecos' inability to defend itself against Comanche attack is simplistic at its best and contradictory at its worst. He states,

"By the 1750's, [Pecos'] vital locale at the gateway between the Pueblos and Plains had become a curse instead of a blessing. Sorely weakened by internal dissension and emigration, by pestilence, warfare, and interruption of trade, the 'citadel' that once fielded five hundred warriors and struck fear into neighboring peoples now depended for defense on Spanish military aid and diplomacy. Not that the Pecos fighters had gone soft. They were just too few."

(Kessell 1979, 359)

Instead of presenting the ill consequences that Spanish colonization had on the social organization of the Pueblo, the narrative is suddenly reversed and the Spanish are seen as saviors to the Pecos from the demonized Comanche invaders. As a result, a century plagued with intentional indigenous war and inconsequential European disease has been interpreted as the causes for Pecos Pueblo's declining population from upwards of 2,000

to less than 50 individuals by the early 19th century (Kessell 1979, 357-410). Protection by the Spanish government from Comanche attack ultimately led to a final peace between the Pueblos and the Plains Tribes through calculated peace meetings and newly established trading networks, though there were still systems of mutual raiding, captive taking, and slavery that persisted into the 19th century (Brooks 2002, 72-79).

The final theme I discuss regarding the historical period of Pecos is the establishment of the Pecos land grant. The timeline of this discussion begins with the establishing of land grants under Spanish law and moves forward into how these Indian land grants were transformed following Mexican independence from Spain and the acquisition of New Mexico by the United States following the Mexican-American War. This discussion incorporates Pecos' specific circumstances into the broader historical metanarrative.

Land grants in New Mexico were established by the Spanish crown as a means of providing property rights to both colonists and Indians that were deemed citizens in the kingdom of New Spain. At its core, Spanish land ownership law was constructed between the poles of private and public ownership and use. According to Spanish historian David E. Vassberg,

“The principle behind the idea of public ownership was that no individual had the right to appropriate for himself and monopolize a part of the resources of nature that were produced without the intervention of man. The only thing that the individual had the right to call his own was that which he had produced from nature through his own personal efforts in the forms of crops, flocks, or manufactured goods. Exploitable land, there, should theoretically remain at the disposition of anyone who wished to benefit from it.”
(Hall 1984, 10)

The Pueblos were the only indigenous groups in New Mexico who had the ability to claim land ownership under Spanish law, though the concept was foreign right from the

beginning. This unique capability came as a result of assertions that the Pueblos were easily capable of being managed as citizens under the Spanish crown and good Christians under the Catholic Church. The pro-Indian rights Franciscan, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, advocated for giving citizenship rights to Indians in Mexico during the debates in Valladolid Mexico in 1560. His argument translated to a favoring of Pueblo peoples to have ownership of lands recognized by the Spanish (Hall 1984, 9).

The Pecos land grant was established in 1794 initially for the same purposes of all Indian land grants of the time: as a means of preventing Spanish settlement on Indian lands. This meant that the Pueblo could retain its claim of ownership as long as the land was continually used (Hall 1984, 11).¹⁹ The land grant originally consisted of a square boundary defined by four leagues (approximately 2.6 miles in each cardinal direction from the Pueblo)(Figure 3). And, although the Pecos land grant was set up as a way to protect the Pueblo land from being encroached on by Spanish settlers, it did not adequately prevent Spanish families on non-Indian land grants adjacent to Pecos Pueblo's from moving into Pecos property. By the start of the 1800s the dwindling population at Pecos resulted in a lessened ability for the Pueblo to protect its hold on the land despite legal protections of Spanish land law. Spanish settlers began to occupy the valley without altering the Indian systems of using, organizing, or owning the land. But it was the forcefully imposed protean legal systems that would change the land system in the Pecos valley (Hall 1984, 5-7, 39-56; Kessell 1979, 439-459).

The system employed codified Spanish land law in 1803 and Mexican land law in 1824 after Mexico's independence was won in 1821. By 1829 under Mexican law, the settler society moved into the heart of the Pecos grant in its water-rich *ciénega* [swamp]

(Figure 3). Intensified irrigation and livestock ranching on these settled portions of the Pecos land grant by non-Pueblo settlers reduced the Pueblo's capability to grow their own crops and collect clean drinking water. In the process, the Hispanic settler colonies dispossessed the Pecos people of their most valuable land based on the argument that the Pueblo no longer used the land no matter the historical evidence of its past use.

Eventually, the Mexican courts had taken on the case brought before them by Pecos Pueblo and the land taking by non-Pueblo settlers was deemed illegal. But in truth the damage had been done in just a few years eventually forcing the Pecos people to leave their homeland (Hall 1984, 5-7, 39-56; Kessell 1979, 439-459).

United States land law had different implications for Indian people solidified in retaining their rights to land under Spanish and Mexican land laws, and Pecos' struggle to retain its ownership of the land grant is a testimony to this. Before New Mexico became a territory of the United States, the 1834 Non- Intercourse Act was created stating that,

“[N]o purchase, grant, lease, or other conveyance of land, or of any title or claim thereto, from any Indian nation or tribe of Indians, shall be of any validity in law or equity, unless the same be made by treaty or convention entered into pursuant the constitution”
(25 U.S.C. § 177).

However, as G. Emlen Hall points out, the United States did not consider New Mexico Pueblos independent nations at the time; they were considered simply Hispanic towns based on racialized comparisons to New Mexican Hispanic communities. The Pueblos were not considered to be independent nations in the sense of the statutory term *Indian tribe* (Hall 1984, 117-118, 132-133).

As a result, the 1834 Non-Intercourse Act did not apply in protecting Pueblos from land grabbing by Hispanic and Anglo settler groups. By the time New Mexico was acquired by the United States in 1850 the Pecos people were no longer residing at the

Pueblo. They had migrated to Jemez Pueblo, but still owned the land in the Pecos land grant. However, it appears by the sequence of events that under the 1834 Non-Intercourse Act the descendants of Pecos were not protected from having their lands acquired by Hispanic and Anglo settlers both as a result of their necessary emigration to Jemez and racialized perceptions of Pueblo Indians in the 1834 Act.

2.2 *Franciscans, Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles, and the Convento Kiva*

This section focuses specifically on historical knowledge about the Franciscans, the establishment of the 17th century church at Pecos, Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles de Porciúncula, and the possible periods of construction and use of the convento kiva. The time period for this discussion is restricted from 1617 to the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. My reason for this is because these are the proposed periods of time that the convento kiva at Pecos was established and in use by archaeologists. I begin by presenting an overview of the Franciscans in New Mexico specifically focusing on writings and interpretations by the head of the Franciscans in New Mexico during the early 17th century, Fray Alonso de Benavides. I then move on to discuss the sequence of Franciscans stationed at Pecos and their different methods for attempting to convert the Pueblo people to Catholicism. I then introduce the potential historical period(s) of the convento kiva's construction that is derived from a cross-disciplinary analysis of documentary records and archaeological evidence by James Ivey, historian for the National Park Service in the Southwest.

The documentary accounts and narratives of Fray Benavides are important for understanding the broader history of the mission efforts in New Mexico because his narratives represent a political tactic of the Catholic Church to encourage the Crown to keep the colonies in New Mexico intact. More importantly for my discussion of the

convento kiva at Pecos, mission period archaeologists rely too heavily on the works of Franciscan historians to obtain information that informs them of their own archaeological research.²⁰ My inclusion of Fray Benavides' writings in this discussion is designed to establish an overview of the knowledge historians have for the Catholic Church's perseverance in establishing successful missions in the Southwest.

Don Juan de Oñate left the New Mexico province early in the 17th century with only a few settled missions along the Rio Grande near the Spanish settlement of San Juan de Los Caballeros, which include San Gabriel de Yunque, Santo Domingo, San Ildefonso, and an abandoned mission at Jemez. In 1625 there were a total of 26 Franciscan missionaries assigned to successfully establish missions at the various Pueblos in the Southwest. Led by Fray Alonso de Benavides, the custodian of missions and first Commissary of the Inquisition in New Mexico, the goal was to increase the missionization of the province to show that even if New Mexico was lacking in commercial wealth, it was plentiful of peoples capable of being Christianized (Riley 1999, 96-113).

Fray Benavides took a particular liking to the Tompiro Pueblos likely because they had not received much interaction from previous Franciscans. In his Memorial of 1630 and revised Memorial of 1634, Benavides recounts the mission project in New Mexico in very elaborate and romanticized ways, in an effort to gain further support from the Church and the Crown in order to continue Franciscan's ministry efforts.²¹ Through his work as the Prelate and Agent of the Inquisition in New Mexico, Fray Benavides encountered cases for the Holy Office in the lower classes of people, which usually pertained to witchcraft, superstition, and demonology. One encounter according to

Benavides was considered a victory for the Church where Pueblo converts, according to the Memorial, laugh at their own religious leader in support of the faith of the colonists.²² The event which the Tompiro religious leader was critical of is the Good Friday ritual, which involves bloodletting exemplified by the Franciscans, symbolic of the tortures that Christ endured during the Crucifixion.

Interestingly, Benavides mentions that the practice of bloodletting was not uncommon in Pueblo religious practices either. He makes a comparison to the scourging of Christ when he encounters a ritual of accession for a war chief, where the ordeal floggings were enacted on the Pueblo leader to test his capabilities as a leader.²³ This documentary account may make sense of the encounter Benavides describes concerning the Good Friday ritual and the mocking of the Tompiro religious leader. The religious leader's opposing of this particular ritual may have been calling into question Benavides' sanctity of bloodletting for Pueblo religious practice. If this ritual was conducted specifically for the choice of war chiefs, then having every Pueblo member who converted to Christianity participate might have jeopardized the sacredness and importance of that particular ritual to the Pueblo.

Another encounter that Benavides spent a great deal of time investigating was the appearance of Sor María de Agreda, also known as "The Lady in Blue," to the Jumano people far east of the Pueblos in present day Texas. The story of Sor María de Agreda is significant for Benavides' political push for missionization because he argued that the Pueblo and Jumano people had already learned about Christian theology from Sor María de Agreda, and that to abandon the mission effort would be a disservice to these new Christian Indians.²⁴ I include Benavides' mentioning of Sor María de Agreda specifically

because of its connection in Benavides' Memorials to the political influence he had in convincing the Catholic Church and the Spanish Crown to continue their efforts in the mission project.

Between 1626 and 1629 the missionary work under Fray Benavides became quite extensive. Under his supervision, the Tewa, Manzano, Tiwa, Tompiro, and Jemez Pueblos had received established missionaries totaling 25 missions in 1628. Though he took full credit for all of the missions under his supervision, including Abó and Quarai, he could not take credit for Pecos, for Fray Andrés Juárez had completed it before his arrival. Benavides did however acknowledge the monumental church of Pecos as, according to Kessell, "A convento and most splendid temple of singular construction and excellence on which a friar expended very great labor and diligence" (Kessell 1979, 126).

Fray Benavides' humanitarian efforts in the missionization of the Southwest are conflicted among historians. On the one hand, his Memorials give positive impressions of the Pueblos saying they are well practiced in many skills and quite suitable for inclusion in Spanish society (Benavides 1945). On the other, his role as Custodian and Commissary of the Inquisition brought the largest intensification of conversion efforts that the Pueblos had thus far experienced. Benavides made no attempt to lessen the abuse the Spanish government was inflicting upon the Pueblos, and as Carol Riley suggests, he actually preferred to work very closely with the Governor Sotelo Osorio to bring greater power to the church in the province (1999, 97). Ultimately, the Commissary's focus was to use his Inquisitorial power against the Pueblos accused of practicing witchcraft, demonology, and bigamy rather than against the Spanish government for abusing the Pueblos with the *encomienda* system, raiding, and slavery. In all, Benavides greatly

succeeded in bringing stronger support by the Catholic Church to the Spanish colony in New Mexico.

During all of this, the Pecos people were divided by factionalism; those who accepted the Spanish and Franciscans into their community and those that did not. This divide has been characterized by Kessell as a fundamental reason why the Pueblo began to fall apart after missionization began and even following the uprising in 1680. Kessell concludes that the Pecos people were “their own worst enemies” as a result of this perceived factionalism (1979, 299-232), though he makes no attempt to address the factionalism as a result of Spanish colonialism and religious conversion.

At Pecos, the history of Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles de Prociúncula has within it the multitude of methods and consequences of religious conversion proposed by historians. Generally, both methods and consequences are categorized as overt violence, acculturation, and negotiation. I begin with the first missionaries at Pecos in 1617 or 1618 and end with the last missionaries of the 17th century stationed during the Pueblo Revolt in 1680.

The first Franciscan to be assigned to Pecos under the renewed conversion effort in New Mexico was Fray Zambrano Ortiz who likely had built a makeshift convento in the less occupied South Pueblo in the summer of 1617 or 1618. The name given to this convento would remain for every subsequent Catholic structure built at Pecos Pueblo. Fray Zambrano also had seen the beginnings of a long and bitter dispute between the Catholic Church and the Spanish colonial governors that would persist and act as a catalyst for the Pueblo Revolt in 1680 (Kessell 1979, 104-105).

The construction of a more substantial church and convento began under Zambrano's successor Fray Pedro de Ortega in 1621. Fray Ortega came from Galisteo Pueblo near present day Santa Fe with a strong determination to abolish Puebloan religious practices. His strong disapproval of such practices was not just a result of Franciscan attitudes towards non-Christians, but was also the result of conflicts with the Governor Don Juan de Eulate's desire to turn the Pueblo communities against the Franciscans for his own political gain. Regardless of these conditions, Fray Ortega was able to negotiate with the Pecos leaders about starting construction of the church south outside of the Pueblo boundary wall. His time at Pecos was short lived however after repeated events of destroying Puebloan sacred items and strained relations with the Pecos people from conducting forced religious conversion (Ivey 2005, 310; Kessell 1979, 108-111, 121).

Fray Andres Juarez replaced Fray Ortega in late 1621 or 1622. Fray Juarez arrived at Pecos at a time when construction of the church came to a halt when Governor Eulate withheld construction materials. When work resumed in the spring of 1622 under Juarez's guidance and supervision, the Pecos people erected the largest church in New Mexico for its time (Ivey 2005, 315-316). The massive church was completed by the late summer in 1625 and was visited by the Commissary Fray Benavides in 1626 (Ivey 2005, 318; Kessell 1979, 138; Riley 1999, 96). Once the church was completed Juarez turned his attention to constructing the convent. He utilized what construction in the convent had been done during Ortega's tenure and expanded it to include a courtyard, corral, living quarters, office (*portería*), kitchen, and as hypothesized by Ivey, the convento kiva (Ivey 2005, 318-320) (Figure 4).

Fray Juarez left Pecos in 1634 for, according to Kessell, unknown specific reasons. Kessell proposes that it may have been that he had encountered conflict with the Pueblo or possibly that his superiors believed he had been stationed there long enough (1979, 152). In any case, Juarez was replaced by Fray Antonio de Ibargary in 1635. During Ibargary's time at Pecos, there were increased conflicts between the Church and the Governors primarily focused upon the issues of Indian labor, tribute, and how each colonial entity treated their Pueblo subjects (Kessell 1979, 154-168). Oddly enough, following the documentary records of Ibargary's arrival at Nuestra Señora the following twenty years of Pecos' ministry history is practically absent in surviving colonial records. From Ibargary's time in 1635 and 1636 to the previous Franciscan religious leader (*Ex-custos*) Juan González in 1660, there are no records of who was the residing Franciscan at Pecos Pueblo (Kessell 1979, 169).²⁵

Fray González's time at Pecos starting in 1659 is the last concrete documentary evidence of a residing Franciscan friar at Pecos until the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. However, there is also documentary evidence of the office of the Inquisition residing at Pecos for quite some time starting in 1660. The religious superior (*custos*) of the Inquisition Fray Alonso de Posada arrived in New Mexico to begin addressing accusations of heresy of the Spanish government for encouraging the Pueblos to disobey the Franciscans by performing their pagan rituals (Kessell 1979, 178-181). In 1663, Fray Posada took residency at Pecos. As a result, Pecos likely saw increased factionalism and obvious repression of Puebloan religious and ceremonial practice during the Inquisition period (1979, 197-198).

Because of conflicts between Fray Posada and the Governor Diego de Peñalosa that I will not detail in this study, Fray Posada was placed under arrest by Governor Peñalosa in the fall of 1663 and released in 1665 (Kessell 1979, 203-207). His replacement Fray Juan de Paz took office as *custos* from 1665 to 1667, and proved to further instill the divide between the Spanish government and the Catholic Church while at the same time increasing a monopoly of political power that the Church was now gaining in New Mexico (Kessell 1979, 208-210). His successor in 1669 was Fray Juan Bernal who took his residency as agent of the Inquisition at Pecos. Fray Bernal retained this office until 1679 just prior to the Pueblo Revolt and would be martyred by Pueblo warriors at Galisteo Pueblo in August 1680 (Kessell 1979, 211-216).

The friar in residency at Pecos when the Revolt took place was Fray Fernando de Velasco. Prior to Pecos he had served at the Salinas Pueblos of Chililí and Tajiique, Ácoma, and Socorro all during the period of Inquisition. Reportedly, Fray Velasco heard rumors of the Revolt on August 8 from Pecos informants about two Tewa runners from Tesuque bringing information about the uprising. He attempted to warn Governor Antonio de Otermín about the pending Revolt supposedly with the assistance of the Pecos Governor as the runner who would deliver the message (Kessell 1979, 227). On August 10, the uprising was executed and Fray Velasco, traveling from Pecos to Galisteo Pueblo, was intercepted and martyred like Fray Custos Bernal. Meanwhile at Pecos, the young Fray Juan de la Pedrosa, an associate of Fray Velasco, was killed along with two Spanish women and three children (Kessell 1979, 228).

My reason for focusing specifically between 1617-1618 and 1680 for my discussion of the Franciscans at Pecos is to give context for the three proposed

interpretations of the convento kiva: superposition occurring early in the church construction, reverse-superposition following the Pueblo Revolt, or negotiation between the Pueblo and the Franciscans anywhere in-between 1617 and 1680. I move on now to discuss each interpretation of the kiva and how it relates to historical narratives from Southwest historians

The case of superposition is derived primarily from Montgomery, Smith, and Brew's case of the convento kiva at Awatovi (1949; Smith and Thompson 1990). There are numerous examples at Pecos of the Spanish destroying kivas, Franciscans restricting Puebloan religious practices, and creating factionalism within the Pueblo. Yet there is no clear documentary evidence that neither Spanish official nor Franciscan encountered and dealt with a kiva located within the convent of Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles. For this reason, the historical evidence does not support the hypothesis that the kiva was destroyed and buried as a result of superposition.

The second case of reverse-superposition is more appealing to the metanarrative about the Pueblo Revolt. When we turn to the archaeological discussion of the kiva at Pecos, Hayes makes this the preferred interpretation (1974). But, there appears to be no specific documentary evidence for reverse-superposition either. A likely reason for this, as Ivey points out, is that all church documents and records housed at Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles were destroyed when the church was destroyed in the Revolt (1998, 140).

The last interpretation is that of negotiation between the Franciscans and the Pueblo during the early 17th century. Ivey has hypothesized that it was during Fray Juarez's tenure at Pecos that the convento kiva was constructed. His reasoning for this is based on both a physical analysis of the architecture as well as his perceived differences

between Fray Ortega's and Juarez's methods of religious conversion. Ortega was well known for his disapproval of Puebloan religious activities and his short lived time at Pecos is a testament to this. Juarez, on the other hand, has been perceived as more accommodating to the Pecos peoples' need for kivas in their daily lives, as well as likely recognizing the mistakes made by Ortega and his predecessors who had reacted violently to indigenous religious practice. Ivey thus proposes that the convento kiva was constructed directly under Juarez's supervision as a means of both pacifying relations between himself and the Pueblo as well as using it to conduct conversion to Catholicism within a familiar sacred space. Based on his analysis, the kiva is believed to have been used for a relatively short period of time and is not estimated to have been a result of either direct oppression by the Franciscans nor Indian rebellion (1998, 129-130; 2005, 317).

It comes down to it that coupled with the lack of documentary evidence between 1635 and 1659 and a complete lack of primary records from the Pecos mission prior to the Revolt, there is no possible way that any interpretation of the kiva can be derived solely from historical documentary evidence. Yet the first two classic metanarratives of oppression and liberation of the Pueblos remain as the lens through which historians interpret the kiva. Even Ivey's middle-of-the-road theory of negotiation is plagued by Euro-centric assumptions about Fray Juarez that have no historical documentation to adequately support it.

2.3 *Postcolonial/Critical Indigenous Approach to Historical Knowledge of Pecos*

The colonial metanarrative of Pecos Pueblo has been identified in my previous discussions of historical works like *Kiva, Cross and Crown*, which represents Pecos as a

Pueblo village that was doomed to extinction with the onset of Spanish colonialism beginning with Vasquez de Coronado in the mid 16th century. In general, the relations are characterized as the dichotomy of colonizer and colonized respectively for the Spanish and the Pueblos. Kessell's narrative in particular reads explicitly like a Spanish, Mexican, and American colonial narration of conquest retelling what was encountered by each European colony that encountered the Pueblos. Any indigenous voice or perspective in this metanarrative is construed by the biases and narrative structures of European colonial epistemology. Making Pecos' metanarrative even more biased in this way, there are also implications that factions in the Pueblo often sided with the Spanish thus resulting with Pecos becoming, as Kessell describes, "their own worst enemies" (1979, 299-232). As it stands, this history of Pecos is in fact *the* "terminal narrative" of the Pueblo. It relies heavily on denying Native agency of resistance to colonialism, configuring resistance into narratives of savage bloodshed, and excusing the actions of the Spanish colony as historically acceptable without criticism regardless of the impacts their actions had upon the Pecos people and their survival.

In this section, a combination of postcolonial and critical indigenous theory approaches the historical knowledge of Pecos in two steps. First, I quickly reevaluate the colonial implications of the historical accounts and narratives produced by historians showing how they perpetuate concepts that contribute to the "terminal narrative" of Pecos Pueblo. Second, I show how counterhegemonic narratives of Pecos by Pueblo scholars and elders disrupt the "terminal" aspect of the Pecos metanarrative.

Kessell's *Kiva, Cross and Crown* has been considered the seminal work of Pecos' history for the Spanish period. Wilcox considers it an exceptional work that is

collaborative and interdisciplinary in the way it discusses the life and experiences of those who inhabited Pecos Pueblo (2009, 164). Likewise, Hall notes that *Kiva, Cross and Crown* is considered an official formal history of Pecos for the National Park Service, as he was hired by the Park Service to produce a formal history for its interpretive plan in the 1970's. After its publication, the reception from the general public, other historians, the village of Hispanic Pecos, and even Pecos descendants from Jemez was quite positive as it provided the Pecos descendants with hopes for better understanding their history in the future (Hall 1984, 285-286). Although Kessell should be commended for his effort in pulling together the records of archives and archaeology and creating this elaborate history of Pecos, it is important that his narrative be analyzed using a combined postcolonial-critical indigenous approach so to counter the historical implication that Pecos is indeed abandoned and its people are "extinct."

Postcolonial theorists argue that discourses of history are generally constructed through asymmetries of power between colonizers and colonized, and this is often extended to researchers and research subject. Postcolonialists understand academic history as an extension of colonial power by creating narratives of the past that continue practices of oppression onto colonized subjects which lead to educational programs that homogenize and erase subaltern perspectives of historical events particularly of colonialism (Patterson 2008). Similarly, critical indigenous scholars address homogenized narratives of colonialism by identifying colonial power relations between researcher and subject in academic knowledge of Native peoples. In order to combat the ill effects of colonial historiography on Natives, scholars who utilize critical indigenous

theory have created narratives of Native colonial experiences that work to oppose practices of academic colonialism (Miller and Riding In 2011).

The metanarrative of Pecos' demise reads as a tale of tragedy citing the once great and powerful Pueblo as its own worst enemy once contact was made with the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church. And though he is not explicitly biased or sympathetic to either Spanish or Pueblo group, Kessell summarizes that the outcomes of colonization are, nevertheless, inevitable.²⁶ By not addressing how colonialism impacted Pecos' ability to survive the expansion of Spanish colonialism, the current metanarrative of Pecos reduces the people to exist only with terms of a "terminal narrative."

In the Pecos metanarrative, historians generally imply that the Pueblos were not able to distance themselves from influences of the Spanish. Examples from historical accounts that support this implication include the perceived factionalism at Pecos, attempts of appealing to Franciscans by appearing to willingly practice Christianity, and assumed abandonment of Pueblo forms of identity such as ritual and kiva use by at least some members of Pecos. From a postcolonial-critical indigenous perspective, this was not necessarily the case. Though there are instances where some of the Pueblos, or some factions in the Pueblos, appeal to the Franciscan demands such as Fray Benavides' interaction with the Salinas Pueblos and the attempt of Pecos in trying to avoid destruction of their kivas by Governor's Peñuela and Mogollón, there are narratives of Pueblo resistance that appear to comply with colonial demands when in reality tactics of indigenous survival may be at work.

To counter the assumption that Pueblo people were unable to distance themselves from colonial influence, I will include narratives of the Spanish colonial period from

three Pueblo historians (Edward P. Dozier from Santa Clara Pueblo, Alfonso Ortiz of Ohkay Ohwinge (San Juan) Pueblo, and Joe S. Sando from Jemez)²⁷ and oral accounts of Jemez elders documented by the National Park Service. I should make it a point that these narratives are from Pueblo men (historians) and unknown elders in the ethnography from the National Park Service. As such, these narratives do not necessarily represent oral traditions from both men and women in the descendant community of Pecos or other Pueblos. Still, they serve as important contributors to counter the metanarrative of Pecos Pueblo perpetuated by Western historians.

With regards to the mission period in New Mexico, Dozier presents a more humanistic perspective of the Pueblo's endurance of colonialism than non-indigenous historians do. In large part, Dozier uses the same resources as Kessell, but he creates a narrative that does not excuse the consequences of colonialism as inevitable. The language he uses reverses the assumptions of inevitable violence and points out that historical context should not excuse colonial violence of the past. In summary, his work, "notes instances of the cruelty, injustices, and abuses which characterized the actions of the church and civil authorities toward the Pueblos during the 17th century" (Dozier 1970, 47). Regarding the forced conversion to Catholicism, he also writes that a kind of reversed-acculturation was conducted by the Pueblo by adopting components of Christianity into their own integrative religious structure, thus making the Pueblos appear to have adopted Catholicism as a whole more willingly as described by Franciscan accounts, but in reality they continued their own indigenous traditions and beliefs without fail.

"As a result of the suppression of native beliefs and practices, resentment swelled among the Pueblos. They did not give up their beliefs or even their sacred rites, but became

more careful in concealment and secrecy. Under coercion they took over the externals of the new religion without understanding the deeper spiritual values of Christianity. Their own religious beliefs and organization fitted, as it were, to their own folk culture continued to have more meaning for them. Pueblo religion is founded on the belief that supernatural forces control activities and that such forces must be placated and propitiated to obtain the needs of existence. The new religion provided no institution for relief from the immediate and pressing anxieties of daily life. In Pueblo belief, conduct in the temporary world did not determine the kind of existence one might have in the hereafter. There was no concept of heaven or hell. So loyalty in the native beliefs and rites persisted. The Pueblo Indian accommodated himself to the external practices of the new religion for the simple expedient of survival, but his own indigenous religion was not abandoned.” (Dozier 1970, 50)

In a similar manner during a symposium of Pueblo culture in the early 1970s, a collaborator of Ortiz addresses how assumptions made about Pueblo-Spanish acculturation, both positive through means of resistance and negative through means of acceptance, ignores the realistic complexities of Pueblo life. Anglo scholar John Bodine acknowledges this by stating:

“I feel a contributing factor here is that we lack a significant understanding of our own attitudes [as scholars] to these people. As far as I know, no one has ever probed that question with respect to the Pueblos in any depth. But I believe many of us have overindulged in wishful thinking at times. I think we need to be honest with ourselves and admit that, while we deplore and can morally condemn the many injustices these Indians have endured, we do not wish to see these cultures disintegrate.”

(Bodine 1972, 261)

In his ethnography of the Tewa Pueblo Ohkay Ohwinge, Ortiz notes there are instances that Puebloan rites, such as water giving, have been mistaken by historians and anthropologists as analogous to Catholic rites like baptismal. Though many members of Ohkay Ohwinge are Catholic and do perform Christian rites, the water giving rite is considered completely separate of the Catholic influence on the Pueblo (Ortiz 1969, 37, 147-148). This example also serves as an excellent counter narrative to Fray Benavides’ interpretation of a Pueblo bloodletting ritual where he viewed the ritual as synonymous to the rites of the Crucifixion (1945, 22; Gutiérrez 1991, 87).

Sando writes of the suppression of Pueblo culture and religion in similar language that Dozier does. He notes the importance of religion in the Pueblos is essential to the survival of their identity and to sever that component of daily life would remove their indigenous identity.

“In matters regarding their religion, the Pueblos of the 17th century were not much different from those of today. To give up their religion was like giving up life itself. After co-existing for eight-two years with the Spaniards under an odious system, the Pueblo’s patience was finally exhausted.” (Sando 1976, 53)

Importantly for Pecos, Sando is the only one of these three Pueblo historians who addresses the experience of acculturation, and factionalism, at Pecos during the 17th century. However, Sando’s narrative of Pecos is strikingly similar to that of non-indigenous historians in the Southwest and not synonymous with Dozier and Ortiz’s narratives.

“From the very beginning, Spanish governors used Pecos warriors to bolster their weary troops. Many times they were captured and forced to accompany the Spanish expeditions...The Espejo expedition returned to Mexico with a captive Pecos boy [Pedro Oroz who translated the Gospels into the Pecos dialect]...On August 8, 1680, the Pecos Governor informed Fray Velasco of the revolt...These are just examples of the availability of the Pecos people. It also explain the rapid attrition of the people, as well as the serious split of the factions – those under the traditional leadership, and those who were usually friendly with the Spaniards.” (Sando 2008, 123-126)

There is no indication that Sando exhibits a strong disapproving opinion of the Pecos people in their siding with the Spanish, but it is interesting that his interpretations are similar with that of Kessell’s; that Pecos was often divided in their acceptance and tolerance of the Spanish and the Franciscans right from the start of Spanish colonialism in the Southwest. But, one important difference is that Sando still acknowledges that Pecos was still a Pueblo community that suffered under severe conditions as a result of colonialism and not because they were their “own worst enemies.”

Oral traditions from Jemez elders show a perseverance of Pueblo rituals from Pecos that continues today as a means of ensuring the survival of the Pecos clans.²⁸ Pecos religious identity is argued to be equally important for the survival of the Pueblo of Jemez as Levine, Norcini, and Foster detail in their ethnography with Jemez elders.

“Four interviews discussed other aspects of the Pecos cultural heritage at Jemez including Pecos clans, Pecos descendants, and the continuity and similarity of religious practices at Jemez. The presence of Pecos clans was discussed by an elder.

The traditional leaders, the traditional persons associated with the Eagle Clan, . . . they brought all their clans, traditions, their cultures, their way of life to the Pueblo of Jemez which are still practiced and our tradition, our culture is still strong. And when we're here today in the Pueblo of Jemez and now you have a foundation set, a house built, now you carry on with the tradition, the culture. A lot of people in the Pueblo of Jemez wanted to be a pan of the Pecos clan now. We still have our tradition, our culture, that is still being practiced by Jemez Pueblo residents . . . we still have an association with the Pecos.

A second elder emphasized the incorporation of Pecos descendants at Jemez.

The descendants that came from the Pecos Pueblo [are]...all mixed in the Pueblo of Jemez. All being Jemez now . . . we have direct association with the Pecos Pueblo.

A third elder focused on cultural similarities in religious practices.

Because of the relationship with the Jemez and Pecos Pueblo, we have a similarity with the religious practices that we do. And that is the way that the Pecos Pueblo perform everything.

A fourth elder talked about the continuous practice of Pecos traditions at Jemez and their mutual compatibility:

...the way the Pecos Pueblo is how they did it the tradition, the way we practice it here in the Pueblo of Jemez. We do practice everything. We still have everything being practiced. Right now, today, in the Pueblo of Jemez, Pecos Pueblo religion and Jemez Pueblo religion is so similar even with the singing of the songs, clans . . . sing each others songs... even the directions are done the same way, even the significant areas that we talked about are the same areas that we sing about. So we have a similarity that does not part, the similarity which links the Pueblo of Pecos and the Pueblo of Jemez.. . . Pecos Pueblo is a major source for the Pueblo of Jemez.” (Levine, Norcini, and Foster 1994, 2-4, 2-5)

The oral traditions of Jemez elders also provides evidence that challenges the assumption that anthropologists and historians have that Jemez and Pecos peoples spoke

the exact same dialect of Towa.²⁹ Jemez members and elders feel that such interpretations of both the Jemez and Pecos language are detrimental to the surviving members of both Pueblos. But, the elders of Jemez argue and know through their living traditions that not only are both languages mutually separate from each other, they are both still spoken at Jemez to this day. Site visits by Jemez elders to Pecos National Historical Park during the Park Service Tribal consultation process in 1993 reveals lines of evidence that the Pecos descendants, though residing at Jemez, are not entirely acculturated into Jemez society. Some still speak the unique Pecos dialect at the present day.

“During the twelve months of the Pecos Ethnographic Project, Jemez tribal members occasionally spoke about the Pecos language. Three situations in which the Pecos language was discussed are described below.

On January 6, 1993, at the King's Day feast, a tribal elder remembered a story that the old people of the pueblo used to tell. The story is that when the Pecos people came to Jemez they could not speak the Jemez language. The elder added that a difference in the two languages that made communication difficult at first. A nontribal member suggested that a similarity exists between the Ute and Jemez languages.

During the July 24, 1993, site visit of the Jemez elders to Pecos National Historical Park, one elder faced Hill House from the Long House site and spoke in an American Indian language. He told a story about a young boy who was sent to the Hill House site to grow pumpkins for the pueblo. When he finished he smiled. He said that the story that he had just told was spoken in the Pecos language!

During the second site visit of Jemez elders on September 1, 1993, the same elder repeated the story in the Pecos language at the Hill House site. It is noteworthy that a Jemez man, fluent in the Jemez language like all Jemez people, said that he did not understand the elder's words. This is further proof that the Pecos and Jemez language is not mutually intelligible. It raises the problematic categorization of Pecos as a Towa language when a Towa speaker cannot comprehend it. It also documents that the Pecos language is still spoken and is not *extinct*.” (Levine, Norcini and Foster 1994, 2-13)

These oral testimonies from Jemez elders show clear indications that 1) the Pecos descendant community has remained intact and independent of Jemez in terms of cultural

identity since 1838, and 2) that both communities, Jemez and Pecos, have retained their own cultural identities since the Spanish colonial period.

Finally I want to address the history of the Pecos Pueblo land grant using my postcolonial/critical indigenous approach. The grant was designed to establish a bounded territory the Pecos people could inhabit regardless of their historical occupation of the valley or the cultural significance the broader landscape had for them. Although the intentions of the Spanish and Mexican laws were to protect the Pecos people from having land purchased by Hispanic settlers there is no evidence of protection by either government to physically prevent settlers from encroaching on the land from the late 18th to the mid-19th century. And though Kessell contests that violent interaction with the Plains Indians during the 18th and 19th centuries accounts for the majority of deprivation for Pecos (1979, 359-410), he does not address the impacts from Spanish land law as a system of Indian removal regardless of its implied legal protections. Such narratives imply that Native essentialisms of warfare, raiding, and savagery are the cause for Pecos' downfall and excuses the agency of Spanish colonial land laws in dispossessing the Pecos of their ancestral lands.

Like the counter narratives of Pueblo acculturation into Spanish society by way of religious conversion, Sando again addresses the history of the Pecos land grant by telling a narrative that speaks to the incomprehensible position that Pecos descendants were in during the mid 19th century.

“Although the Pecos people had physically left their aboriginal homeland, spiritually they remained. Since that time a religious society of Pecos descendants returns in certain years to pay homage to the deities and shrines that were left behind. On occasions the people have stated their rights to the land; as uneducated people in today's world of legal sophistication, they may have been taken in by questionable advice, but more than likely,

their requests for action have simply been ignored.

It is obvious, therefore, that there was never any intentional abandonment of their rights by the few surviving Pecos Indians; it was the unbearable Mexican harassment, coupled with government disregard of their desperate situation that caused them to move to Jemez.

Thus, after all these years, the Pecos descendants, by the acts of their ancestors, court actions and decision of the Pueblo Lands Board, have apparently lost all possible recovery rights to their original homeland. By their consolidation with Jemez Pueblo, the Pecos as a pueblo joined the legends of Quivira, Eldorado and the Seven Cities of Cibola.”
(Sando 2008, 134-141)

This observation by Sando, that Pecos as a legend would join other monuments as a mythical place, coupled with the assumed “extinction” of the Pueblo (Kessell 1979, 463), gave way to its immortalization as a monument perceived to be void of contemporary Indian physical presence for much of the 20th century. The act of immortalization of the Indian ruin, not the Indian people, allowed for Pecos to become objectified and appropriated for the advancement of archaeological study in the American Southwest.

3.0 Archaeological Knowledge of the Pecos Convento Kiva

3.1 Overview of Archaeology and Preservation at Pecos Pueblo

Following my discussion of historical metanarratives that inform the Pueblo-Spanish relations at Pecos Pueblo, I now move on to discuss how these metanarratives are reinforced with the interpretations of archaeologists using archaeological materials and sites. I begin with a brief overview of the history of Southwestern archaeology and how Pecos relates to this history.

Archaeologists and anthropologists have been working at sites in the American Southwest for well over a hundred years. The development of anthropology and archaeology as academic disciplines in the east coast during the mid 19th to early 20th

centuries was not derived from authentically scientific theories and methods, but from ideals of U.S. nationalism against Mexico (Fowler and Cordell 2005, 4; Lekson 2008a, 31-32).³⁰ Nationalism of the Southwest generated a distinct bias in how anthropologists and archaeologists viewed the Native authenticity of the region. Unlike the eastern United States, which was viewed as practically devoid of Indians, “the Southwest was singled out, early in the history of American archaeology, as markedly more complicated than any other Native region in the United States” (Lekson 2008a, 32). This historical context of anthropological nationalism sets the stage now for introducing late 19th century and 20th century archaeologists who created archaeological narratives about the Southwest that confirmed its uniqueness to any other region in the continental United States.

In 1880, Adolph Bandelier conducted the first formal anthropological study of the Southwest Indian communities, both contemporary and ancient, in New Mexico, Arizona, and the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua. Bandelier was a student of Lewis Henry Morgan, known most notably for his theory of social evolution in which societies evolved from rude savagery through slightly more defined barbarism and eventually up to civilization.³¹ Bandelier visited Pecos Pueblo 42 years after the last inhabitants of the Pueblo left the Pecos valley and migrated to Jemez Pueblo in 1838. Bandelier’s observations in 1880 documented the dimensions of the standing church, the mounds of the collapsed habitation structures, and the plazas. In his observations of the church Bandelier expresses discontent for vandalism as a result of “treasure-hunters” and “inconsiderate amateurs” (Bandelier 1881, 42). His admiration led him to believe that the Pecos ruin was one of the largest archaeological sites in the United States (1881, 77).

This fascination and romanticism of Southwestern sites and Native groups led to an explosion of archaeological and ethnographical studies in the early 20th century.

In the early 1900's Edgar Lee Hewitt conducted another early ethnographic and archaeological study for Pecos.³² His ethnography of Jemez frames Pecos as an "extinct" Pueblo (Hewitt 1904). Hewitt observes there are only two surviving members of the Pueblo who came to Jemez in 1838; Zu-wa-ng in the Towa language, or José Miguel Pecos in Spanish, and his nephew Se-sa-few-yah in Towa, or Agustín Pecos in Spanish. Zu-wa-ng died in 1902 while Hewitt was conducting his ethnographic interviews. Se-sa-few-yah was described by Hewitt as a "well-preserved Indian of perhaps eighty years of age" (Hewitt 1904, 428-429) (Figure 5). These two Pecos Indians were in Hewitt's opinion the last opportunity to provide information that would inform archaeologists about Pecos Pueblo, its people, and its culture. By in large, Hewitt believed that the purpose of his study of Pecos' extinction was to understand, according to his opinions of social evolution, how anthropologists and archaeologists could understand the socio-evolutionary "problems" that the Pueblos faced.

"The most important result of the study of Pecos is, to my mind, to be found not so much in what it adds to the history of one Indian tribe, as in the light it sheds on the great problem of primitive sociologic evolution in this highly important branch of our aboriginal races, the Pueblo Indians. This study of a small area is of but little value unless considered in connection with the larger results of other investigators. Pecos is a 'type' area. The study of its problems must be the study of all Pueblo problems and the method employed must be susceptible of wider application." (Hewitt 1904, 437)

Following this period of archaeological nationalism, Southwest romanticism, and the myth of disappearing Indian societies in the Southwest, archaeologists, both academic and amateur, began flocking to the Southwest to discover, what was considered to be, the last remaining portions of untouched prehistoric archaeological sites in the western

United States. As part of a larger movement to document the last remaining Native American groups of the western United States, as well as provide means for increased tourism in the American Southwest, many of the larger Southwestern sites were hastily excavated during this time; Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, Tyuonyi Pueblo (Bandelier National Monument), Awatovi, Hawikuh, and of course Pecos (Elliot 1995).

At Pecos, it was Alfred V. Kidder and Jesse Nusbaum who conducted the first formal excavations in 1915. Kidder has the most significance to archaeology at Pecos than any of his successors. Revered as the acknowledged intellectual leader of Southwest archaeology in the 1910s and 20s, Kidder brought careful field methods, clear logical thinking, and astute data analysis and writing to his work at Pecos.³³ Kidder's theoretical approach was similar to that of the social evolutionists Bandelier and Hewitt. He argued for a more cultural historical approach to archaeology. The presence of contemporary Pueblo peoples provided a resource for Kidder to inquire into what he was encountering in the excavations, giving his findings more cultural authenticity alongside scientific methodologies. The goal of this was to write accurate, non-conjectural, cultural histories of Native peoples that did not depend on solely ethnographic analogy (Fowler and Cordell 2005, 7; Lekson 2008a, 54).

While there is much written about Kidder's contribution at Pecos, Jesse Nusbaum's contribution is less known in the history of Southwest archaeology. As Kidder focused on excavating in the Ancestral village of Pecos Pueblo, Nusbaum's focus was to expose the base of the walls and the interior of the Franciscan church (Cordell and McBrinn 2012, 71; Ivey 2005, 118-120). Once the crews exposed the church walls, the walls were repaired using concrete and steel bars (Ivey 2005, 122). But because of hasty

and undeveloped techniques of excavation, as well as heightened exposure of the fragile adobes to the arid desert climate and seasonal monsoons, the exposure of the walls resulted in further deterioration or complete destruction of some elements of the church (Ivey 2005, 121-122).³⁴ Despite these shortcomings, Nusbaum successfully exposed and stabilized the walls and footprint of the 18th century church at Pecos before the winter months of 1915 (Ivey 2005 122-129). He did not return to work at Pecos again. Nor did he produce a report on his findings within the church, unlike Kidder who produced some of the most informative archaeological works on Pecos for his time (Kidder 1916a; 1916b; 1917; Kidder and Schwartz 2000). As Ivey and Thomas (2005) note regarding mission archaeology in the early 20th century, the “excavation” of the Pecos church is poorly reported with little to no associated analysis of artifacts, burials, and architectural history save for the reconstructed history provided by Ivey (2005).

Since Pecos came under the state of New Mexico’s supervision it was felt that the ruin needed to become an important site for appreciation of New Mexico culture and history. Archaeological studies and subsequent preservation continued at Pecos shortly after the ruin became a state monument in 1935. The Work Progress Administration (WPA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the National Youth Administration (NYA) reached an agreement with the University of New Mexico and the School of American Research to conduct intensive excavations and stabilization starting in 1938 under the direction of Edwin Ferdon. The focus of these excavations was not for scientific study as with Kidder and Nusbaum. Instead, they were conducted specifically to prepare the church and convento for the Coronado Cuarto Centennial celebration in 1940 (Ivey 2005, 137-138).

Bill Witkind came to Pecos shortly after the WPA began working on Pecos and saw the project completed in 1940. It was required that stabilization crews follow WPA project guidelines for stabilization and not work outside of its constraints.³⁵ The WPA assumed there would be only one confined building representing one period of time as was common for most of their projects in the 1930's. But the church and convento at Pecos proved to be more complex in scale and temporal affiliation as shown by later archaeological studies. Like Kidder and Nusbaum's use of concrete and steel bars for reinforcement, the WPA used similar preservation techniques that contributed to further deterioration of the church and convento adobes, which in turn resulted in reconstruction or demolishing of parts of the ruin in later decades (Ivey 2005, 188-191).³⁶

After Witkind there was no formal excavation or stabilization at Pecos until the 1960s when it finally came under ownership of the Park Service in 1965. Twenty-five years of neglect and a lack of supervision led to further deterioration, vandalism, and pothunting at the ruin. The church and convento returned to a more deteriorated state and appeared much the same way it did when Bandelier first visited it in the 1880s (Ivey 2005, 193).

When the Park Service reopened Pecos as a national monument in 1966, Jean Pinkley was assigned to continue excavation and stabilization of the church and convento.³⁷ Pinkley assumed she would only be concerned with clearing out Witkind's deteriorated preservation work and not exposing any further historical fabric. She strongly believed that Witkind's work was essentially worthless for its scientific value and was more determined to remove any evidence of his work at Pecos rather than objectively conduct the work for the benefit of preserving the ruin (Ivey 2005, 215, 232-

233). In fact, her biases against previous stabilization work was so strong that she initially believed that the discovery of the footprint of the pre-Revolt church built during Fray Ortega and Juarez's mission period was only remnants of Nusbaum's stabilization efforts from 1915 (Ivey 2005, 245). Regardless of these shortcomings, Pinkley was quite successful at Pecos. She uncovered the 17th century church footprint, a great majority of the convento, and stabilized the findings using more appropriate stabilization materials (Ivey 2005, 251-257). Unfortunately, because of her untimely death in 1969, she did not create a final report of her work. That task was left to her successor Alden C. Hayes.

Hayes was selected by the Park Service to continue excavations at Pecos because of his experience working at another mission site owned by the Park Service, Pueblo de Las Humanas also known as Gran Quivira (Ivey 1988, 339). He was viewed as the most suitable successor for Pinkley and began his work in the summer of 1970 (Ivey 2005, 265). When he came to Pecos, he developed a plan for both completing Pinkley's project of exposing and stabilizing the convento as well as organize her notes to complete a final report once excavations were complete (Ivey 2005, 265-266). Beyond a small series of excavations to fill gaps in Pinkley's observations on construction phases of the convento, Hayes felt that testing should be conducted cloister patio to check for the presence of a kiva there: "Kivas have been found in similar locations, and if the test should reveal one here, it should certainly be excavated even if it is backfilled later" (Ivey 2005, 268). As it turns out, a kiva would be found in the convento but not in the cloister patio.

From the results of both he and Pinkley's work, Hayes published the results in *The Four Churches of Pecos* (1974). After almost eighty years of excavations in the church from Bandelier to Hayes, *The Four Churches of Pecos* was finally produced as

the first archaeological report on Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles. By comparison to Kidder's extensive work on the Pueblo, the publication is short and, unfortunately, not terribly informative in terms of archaeological data and analysis. Hayes' interpretations are predicated largely from metanarratives from historians and previous limited information from the excavations at the Hopi Pueblo Awatovi (Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949) and the Salinas Pueblos Abó (Ivey 1988; Toulouse 1949) and Quarai (Hurt 1990; Ivey 1988). Nonetheless, all of these works are considered key archaeological publications on Spanish mission period archaeology for the Southwest regardless of their lack of archaeological rigor (Ivey and Thomas 2005).

Gary Matlock conducted the stabilization of Hayes' excavation in 1971. Matlock stabilized all of the convento walls, including the convento kiva, and continued stabilizing the entire ruin on a routine basis using updated methods and materials suitable for adobe structures. Routine stabilization has continued under the supervision of all subsequent park archaeologists at Pecos including Larry Nordby, Bill Cruetz, Todd Metzger, Joseph C. White, Genevieve Head (Ivey 2005, 286-303), Judy Reed, and most recently Sue Eininger.

3.2 Excavation and Preservation of the Convento Kiva

Excavation can be understood as a means to inform specific interpretations for mission archaeology congruent with colonial historical metanarratives. Similarly, preservation can be understood as means to then immortalize these interpretations for public representation. These interpretations of excavation and preservation are certainly considered by myself to be the case at Pecos for the convento kiva. The kiva makes a relatively brief appearance in *The Four Churches of Pecos* yet it holds a strong

contention by Hayes about the relationship he believed the Pecos people had with the Spanish and the Franciscans. Previous interpretations from other Spanish period mission sites argued that kivas inside of church missions were signs of superposition of the Franciscans onto the Pueblo as proposed by Montgomery. But Hayes believed that the kiva at Pecos was unique in that it represented an explicit act of rebellion against the Franciscans following the Revolt in 1680 (Hayes 1974, 32-33) (Figure 6) His notes are confusing without supporting documents like maps and drawings, but Ivey has been able to reconstruct the activities in his structural history report of the kiva. In short, Hayes encountered the kiva while trenching in the convento and, before even conducting an intensive analysis of the kiva, determined it was a sign of Pecos' involvement in the Pueblo Revolt (2005, 274-276).³⁸

Pinkley was already stabilizing and reconstructing portions of the church and convento walls to give an impression of completeness, giving the visitor some idea of the "original appearance of the structure[s]." The aesthetic and architectural design for these structures made in collaboration with archaeologists, historians, and even a contemporary Franciscan friar, but not with any of the descendants of Pecos at Jemez as Tribal consultation was not yet a requirement for the Park Service (Ivey 2005, 252-257; NPS 1969a and 1969b). This issue is addressed later in my discussion of federal obligations for Tribal consultation with federally recognized Indian Tribes.

After Pinkley's death, Hayes conducted relatively little additional excavation in the convento and unexpectedly uncovered a portion of the kiva in a backhoe trench. Excavations continued through the summer and in early September the kiva was completely excavated and protected by an overhanging shelter (Hayes 1970b; Ivey 2005,

274-277). The question of what to do with the kiva was discussed between Hayes and the Chief of the Park Service Stabilization Unit, Roland Richert. It was agreed that “the kiva obviously enhanced the potential interpretive story of Pecos” as being another example of religious superposition as proposed by Brew and Montgomery’s work at Awatovi (Hayes 1970c; Ivey 2005, 276-277; Richert 1970).

Hayes left Pecos late in 1970 after completing his excavations. His replacement was Gary Matlock who began the stabilization of the kiva in 1971 (Ivey 2005, 287). The kiva was left exposed through the winter months following Hayes’ work in the fall in 1970 but for the overhanging shelter until it was stabilized in 1971. How to approach stabilizing the kiva for the Park’s interpretive component was something quite difficult to do. Another kiva in the North Pueblo had been stabilized, but it was considered strictly part of the pre-Spanish portion of the park. The convento kiva was more difficult not only because it was located within a Spanish colonial mission, but also because the excavations had revealed it was constructed differently than all of the other kivas at Pecos Pueblo; it was constructed of the same adobes and mortar combinations as the 17th century pre-Revolt church (Ivey 1998, 129-130; White 1996, 347-363). When the stabilization was scheduled to begin in the spring of 1971, the Park Service had a plan for reconstruction. Hayes felt that the exceptionally fragmented state of the convento kiva allowed for much leeway in how the kiva could be stabilized and partially reconstructed (Hayes 1971).

Documents from the excavation, correspondence between Park Service officials about rehabilitating the kiva, stabilization plans, and comparable excavations from other Spanish missions show evidence that Hayes’ interpretation was not only simplistic and

without rigorous scientific theory and testing, but was hastily prepared in an effort to incorporate the kiva into the Park's interpretive plan. Prior to Hayes' arrival at Pecos, the Park Service had a proposed plan for interpretation in 1967. The plan includes interpretations for: 1) the building of the complex and its use; 2) the hardships, danger, and isolation that was ever present in the life of the priest; 3) the colorful ceremonies of the church that appealed to the Pecos which helped in their conversion; and 4) repression of the Native religion and the contribution this made to the Revolt. This would require physical alteration of the structures including partial reconstruction (National Park Service 1967, 1-2).

The reconstruction of the kiva was done more to accommodate access for visitors rather than for authenticity to Pueblo architecture. The following modifications were made to kiva by Matlock: 1) the roof was raised higher than the original kiva would have been for visitors to stand comfortably; 2) the interior roof design was decided by comparisons of the Salinas Pueblos, which also had a Spanish mission component; 3) the re-roofing involved installing a square *viga* beam to simulate materials pirated from the razed 17th century church during the Pueblo Revolt; and 4) the exterior roof design involved a drainage system that resembled a kiva at Taos Pueblo to legitimize the authenticity of the construction. None of these modifications were supported by evidence documented during the excavations. Instead they were designed by the Park Service to give the kiva an authentic look and feel for visitors (Nordby, Matlock, and Cruetz 1974) (Figure 7). These alterations are important in understanding the immortalization of the interpretations of the kiva as a sign of the Pueblo Revolt in 1680 as proposed by Hayes and Richert. Furthermore, it is important to recognize the intention of making a secretive

Pueblo structure accessible to the general public. In a way, the stabilized kiva represents a fixated European perspective of indigenous resistance coupled with anthropological perspectives of Pueblo identity that can be explained at a National Park.

In 1992 and 1993, Joseph C. White conducted an intensive study on the construction history of the church and convento by critically evaluating and identifying the adobe and mortar used in the 17th and 18th centuries. This study utilized strict scientific methodologies that did not rely on historical metanarratives (White 1996).³⁹ White's chronometric analysis of the adobe construction of the church-convento at Pecos provided Ivey with the necessary scientific evidence to support his interpretation of the kiva as a method of Franciscan negotiation for conversion.⁴⁰ I argue, however, that White's study only validates some of Ivey's argument in terms of accurately dating the construction period of the kiva, not necessarily the intentions of the Franciscans. Although Ivey is correct in stating that, with no assumptions, the data analyzed by White strongly suggests a period of construction and use for the convento kiva between 1620 and 1640, his interpretation of negotiation between the Pueblo and the Franciscans assumes intention of both parties not supported by either historical records or archaeological data. The colonial metanarrative of Pecos is changed slightly by this interpretation, but remains unchallenged in its assumptions about Pueblo-Spanish relations.

The kiva has been maintained with the same appearance since it was stabilized in the 1970's with minor repairs to the façade, the roofing, and the exterior (NPS 2011). Since White's architectural analysis (1994a; 1996) and Ivey's architectural history and

own analysis of convento kivas in the Southwest (1998; 2005), there has been no further intensive study of the kiva by archaeologists and historians.

3.3 *The Concept of a Convento Kiva*

As I stated before, interpretations of the Pecos convento kiva are rooted in colonial metanarratives in history and selective use of archaeological data analysis. A final area to consider is the anthropological and archaeological intellectual realm in which kivas, and convento kivas, are defined and understood. My reason for doing this is to identify and unpack the parameters which Western anthropologists and archaeologists perceive kivas and their functions within Pueblo societies. Here, I provide a discussion detailing how archaeological discourses about kivas are rooted in colonial histories related to the issue of Pueblo land holdings and concepts of Puebloan essentialism. First, I want to confront the definition of the word “kiva” as defined by archaeologists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Here I turn to a discussion of Watson Smith’s work *When is a Kiva?*(1990) and unpack the historical context in which the term “kiva” was defined. I also discuss the unique and informative relationship the definition of “kiva” has to Pueblo land issues with the U.S. government of the era. This involves a contextual analysis from Hall’s *Four Leagues of Pecos* (1984) and Lekson’s own discussion of kivas and Pueblo identity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (2008b). Finally, I present an overview of the history of convento kiva discovered in the Southwest that describes each case as well as the interpretation of superposition proposed by Montgomery. This section provides the final background information for creating a postcolonial-critical indigenous critique of archaeological colonial metanarrative for the Pecos convento kiva.

The term “kiva” is specific to the Hopi Pueblos in central Arizona, but has been used by archaeologists since the late 19th century to describe subterranean ceremonial chambers present at archaeological sites throughout the Southwest. Smith argued that because the Ancestral Pueblo sites were not the same as modern Pueblos they could not be understood fully by archaeologists except for studying material remains. The kiva for Smith was the defining trait for identifying archaeological sites as related to the modern day Pueblos (Smith and Thompson 1990, 55-60).

How and why Smith’s definition of kiva relates to the Pueblo land grants is quite interesting. In a revisitation of Smith’s definition of “kiva,” Lekson argues that the determination of “when is a kiva *not* a kiva” is derived from sociopolitical opinions of the Pueblos in the late 19th and early 20th centuries rather than scientific study. During the era of Indian removal and territorial land-grabbing by the United States government, the Pueblos were being reviewed for their capabilities in becoming civilized citizens in the U.S. (Hall 1984, 118). Lekson writes:

“[In 1876], the Pueblos were gravely affected by an adverse Supreme Court ruling on the legal status of Pueblo land grants, which included some of the best farming land in the New Mexico territory. Early agitation to remove the Pueblos from their farm lands to distant reservations had failed, but the court ruling served much the same end. In the 1876 decision of *United States vs. Joseph*, the court upheld earlier New Mexico territorial rulings that the Pueblo land grants were not reservations, and that Pueblo lands therefore could be sold by the Pueblos or their agents. In effect, the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1851, which placed the land of other tribes under Federal control, was declared invalid for the Pueblos.

In the violently anti-Indian climate of the late 1870s and early 1880s, there was little hope for legislative remedy or popular intervention. Sympathy for Indians among Washington policy-makers and their constituencies had all but vanished in 1876 with Little Big Horn, and conflicts with the Apache during the 1880s ensured that sympathy remained in short supply. The Pueblos had almost no legal defense against the loss of their lands and their few friends in the government had a difficult time mounting a moral defense. In the 1870s and 1880s, manifest destiny beckoned, and the Pueblos were just another Indian nuisance in its way.” (Lekson 2008b, 207)

In the late 19th century, archaeologists like Bandelier debated if the monumental ruins of the Southwest were accomplishments of truly authentic Indians or if they were the results of cultural hybridity with the Spanish due to cultural evolutionary thought. Similar was public and governmental question and concerns on how exactly were the Pueblos considered to be authentic Indians.

“To white Americans, it was one thing to oust Indians from bark houses or tepees; it was a very different thing to justify rough treatment for people who lived in structures like Taos Pueblo. The pueblos looked disturbingly like white America's notion of a civilized building, and their inhabitants seemed very much like a civilized people. The Pueblo way of life was quite different than that of the Apaches, Navajos and Utes, whose raiding was a major embarrassment to several administrations. In the words of one judge, ‘they are Indians only in features and complexion, and a few of their habits; in all other respects they are superior to all but a few of the civilized Indian tribes of this country.’ The point of this faint praise was that the Pueblos were civilized enough to sell their land. But, it was asked, how much of Pueblo culture was aboriginal, and how much Spanish influence? Legally, the Pueblos were treated just like the many Hispanic villages of the New Mexico territory (that is, they could sell land). Granting the Pueblos a degree of civilization was a convenient point for land law, but in the popular press the ‘amiable elements’ of Pueblo life could be dismissed as a thin Hispanic veneer over an exotic and primitive race that, according to the illustrated weeklies, periodically danced with rattlesnakes. Despite their good appearances, the Pueblos were still Indians, and, if necessary, still subject to the more drastic tactics of manifest destiny.”

(Lekson 2008b, 208-209)

In a turn of events, late 19th century anthropologists determined that the one saving grace for the Pueblos to be determined as culturally related to the great archaeological ruins in Southwest was in fact the kiva. The intentions of these archaeologists were not sympathetic to Pueblo concerns of land ownership, but the outcome did eventually work in that favor.

“Bandelier [and other anthropologists] saw the pueblo-like ruins as clear evidence of Pueblo ancestry, but in the arena of public opinion the pueblo form was not conclusive: recall the anti-Pueblo argument that the Pueblo form-terraced, massed rooms-was simply a late copy of the large ruins of the earlier Lost Race [of Israel]. Bandelier's developmental series could be dismissed as academic speculation. The early anthropologists needed architectural evidence of so specific a nature as to be

unmistakable, and with definite Pueblo associations that went beyond mere formal similarity to the very heart of Pueblo social and religious organization. Their star witness was a peculiarly Pueblo form—the kiva.” (Lekson 2008b, 211)

Finally, in the early 20th century Hewitt began theorizing heavily about kivas, specifically in making them popularized for the growing interest in Southwest archaeology of the time. Many of his students began regurgitating his theories and interpretations and the definition of the “kiva” became normalized well into the present.

“Generations of Southwestern archaeologists were taught the idea of the kiva by Hewitt or his students or his student's students. Among these were the ‘middle generation’ scholars, cited above, who reified the kiva concept by tracing its elements from pit house through proto-kiva to the ‘true’ kiva of Pueblo II and Pueblo III [periods of the Pecos classification]. While individual archaeologists have, from time to time, raised doubts about the validity of the kiva in specific contexts, one need only open a textbook, visit a National Park, or read a popular article to realize how completely pervasive is the idea of the kiva, largely as a result of Hewitt's teaching. As Brew has commented, ‘that is the impression others get from our works.’ Southwestern archaeology's concept of the kiva is still essentially that of Hewitt and the earliest anthropologists. The idea of the kiva was enmeshed in political goals, however admirable at the time, which had little to do with science.” (Lekson 2008b, 212)

Lekson’s argument is not framed in postcolonial theory, nor is his study geared towards goals of decolonization. Yet his observations of Pueblo essentialism being used by anthropologists and archaeologists to both disregard and affirm Pueblo identity by defining what kivas are and are not is something quite useful for understanding how the concept of a “convento kiva” is framed in colonial knowledge production.

I now present the history of other convento kivas found in the Southwest and how their interpretations informed Hayes about the one at Pecos. The first example of a convento kiva found was at the San Bernardo de Awatovi mission in the Hopi region in the 1930s. Smith was excavating in the Franciscan church and encountered a kiva directly beneath the main altar of the church. The placement of the Franciscan altar over the Pueblo ceremonial structure was argued an example of superposition by fellow

researcher Ross Montgomery. Montgomery argued this practice involved the placing of a ritually significant object or structure, generally from a dominating culture, over another in an attempt to extinguish the subaltern religious practice (Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949, 65-66). In his theory, sacred structures essential to Pueblo identity were destroyed or churches were built over them in drastic attempts to eradicate Native religious practices. Documentation of such actions is well known by Southwest historians as a template for understanding them in archaeological contexts (Gutiérrez 1991; Kessell 1979; Riley 1999).

Archaeological knowledge about convento kivas validated Montgomery's interpretation with selective empirical evidence and without adequate scientific testing or inclusion of alternative hypotheses. Joseph H. Toulouse excavated the kiva at San Gregorio de Abó in 1938 and believed its kiva was constructed at the same time as the church stating that it was used as a disposal pit for the mission kitchen based on the diagnostically dateable artifacts found in the kiva (Ivey 1988, 308-310; Toulouse 1949, 11). The kiva at Nuestra Señora de Purísima Concepción de Quarai was excavated by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) under supervision of Albert Ely, Reginald Fisher, and Ele Baker in 1935 and was interpreted also as a sign of superposition of the church on the kiva based on the presence of dateable artifacts (Ivey 1988, 325). The kivas at Abó, Quarai, and Awatovi were all interpreted as signs of religious domination of the Franciscans onto the Pueblo peoples based on selective empirical evidence and colonial historical knowledge production (Figure 8). Even though Hayes had a different opinion about the Pecos kiva, superposition is still the framework for its function and selective

archaeological evidence and the historical metanarrative of Pecos was used to produce his interpretation.

3.4 Postcolonial-Critical Indigenous Approach to Archaeological Knowledge of the Convento Kiva

In their discussion of archaeology attempting to clearly identify methods of resistance against colonialism, Liebmann and Murphy contend that archaeology is no more objective in understanding the past than traditional text-based histories. Interpretations of material culture may likely be appropriated into generalized narratives of history without recognition of biases. Furthermore the likeliness of such interpretations becoming more romanticized is even higher when it comes to archaeological materials of indigenous peoples whose written history is not their own (Liebmann and Murphy 2011). By the 1970s most archaeologists, historians, and the Pecos interpretive program at the Park believed that the kiva represented the events of the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. But none of these interpretations include perspectives or knowledge about the convento kiva from indigenous epistemologies, particularly from descendants of Pecos Pueblo.

This section addresses the archaeological metanarrative of the Pecos convento kiva by incorporating interventions made in other archaeological studies that further challenge assumptions of Pueblo-Spanish relationships. These include a comparison to a study by Ronald Towner on Navajo pueblitos in the Dinéyah (2003) that serves as a comparison for sites where archaeologists impose similar assumptions about Pueblo-Spanish relations during the Spanish colonial period, and a reevaluation of assumptions archaeologists have about Pueblo “religion” and the power of symbols both in

Catholicism and the Pueblos (Fowles 2013; Liebmann 2002; 2012) that challenge the assumptions that Catholicism was accepted as a Western religion in Pueblo society. The final discussion in this section inserts these interventions into the dominant archaeological knowledge described in the convento kiva's interpretations.

One shortcoming of this approach for archaeology is that I have not found any archaeological interpretations from the descendants of Pecos. That being said, I do not intend for this approach to be representative of the Pecos descendant's interpretation or thoughts of the convento kiva. Rather, I want it to disrupt and reconceptualize the dominant narrative using interventions made from other archaeological studies that challenge these archaeological metanarratives.

The pueblitos of the Dinétah are an excellent comparative example for understanding how Native archaeological sites are misconstrued because of a heavy reliance upon Spanish colonial narratives. In his study, Towner reevaluates previous research on Navajo pueblitos to challenge the dominant interpretation that these structures are Pueblo refugee sites following the Pueblo Revolt rather than authentic Navajo sites during the 18th century (2003).⁴¹ He points out that, like mission archaeology (Ivey and Thomas 2005), Navajo archaeology is not as well developed as pre-Hispanic Pueblo archaeology in the Southwest.

“Archaeological research in the northern Southwest has been, and continues to be, dominated by questions concerning the [Ancestral Puebloans]. Research on Navajo archaeological sites has been sporadic through this century... Only in the last few years have archaeologists critically evaluated hypotheses generated in other disciplines that relate to questions concerning the Navajo past. The tremendous expansion of interest in and research on Navajo archaeological sites in the last decade has forced archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians to reevaluate their views on pre-1800 Navajo adaptation, cultural development, cultural geography, and interaction with non-Navajos.”

(Towner 2003, 8)

He also provides an overview of the Navajo presence in anthropological studies after their forced relocation, the Long Walk, in 1864. It is in reference to Spanish colonial documents and colonial ethnographies during the Navajo incarceration at Fort Sumner in the 1860s that archaeologists contextualize pueblitos as non-Navajo structures (Towner 2003, 5-6).⁴²

Beyond addressing the scientific inaccuracies of previous archaeologists and the reliance upon Spanish colonial narratives, Towner addresses another key issue for Navajo archaeology. The dominant interpretations of the pueblitos imply that they could not be Navajo because stone architecture could not come from a migratory Athabaskan group whose current cultural traditions were viewed as merely hybrid creations from Ancestral Puebloan and some undetermined Athabaskan-Navajo ancestor prior to the ‘refugee’ migration into the Dinétah around 1694 (Towner 2003, 14, 17-18, 21-22). Towner’s work not only disproves the assumption that pueblitos are non-Navajo, but that they also pre-date the Pueblo Revolt and serve larger purposes for Ancestral Navajo societies than defensive structures. He also creates a new Navajo ethnogenesis model that incorporates dendrochronological (tree-ring dating), archaeological, written historical, and oral historical data (2003, 194-198).

The usefulness of Towner’s study is that the study represents a truly collaborative effort that addresses assumptions about historical period archaeology on the Navajo. For my postcolonial-critical indigenous critique of the convento kiva, Towner’s evaluation of Navajo pueblitos serves as an analogue for unpacking the assumptions that archaeologists place on archaeological structures simply based on comparative analogy and not on rigorous, critical, and collaborative evaluation with Native peoples. The perceived

difference may be that a kiva is more clearly associated with Pueblo culture than pueblitos with Navajo, but the conflict over this particular kiva's location and relationship to the church is evidenced by the three colonial interpretations of superposition, reverse-superposition, and negotiation.

All three interpretations of the convento kiva all have another common assumption: Catholicism at one point or another was accepted, or at least tolerated, as a Western religion in Pueblo society. Related to this is if Catholicism was accepted as separate from Pueblo religion or integrated within Pueblo epistemology. I began unpacking this issue by looking at other comparative examples to the convento kiva that challenge some of the assumptions of Pueblo-Spanish religious relations.

In the Ancestral Puebloan region of the Pajarito Plateau near present day Los Alamos is Frijoles Canyon. At the bottom of the canyon, there is the pre-Spanish period Pueblo settlement, Tyuonyi Pueblo, consisting of a large room block Pueblo and clusters of habitation structures along the cliff base known as "cavates." The archaeological site encompasses present day Bandelier National Monument.⁴³ In one cavate, there is evidence of a brief post-Pueblo Revolt occupation due to the presence of a unique petroglyph on one of the interior walls.

Refugee populations from either Cochiti or San Ildefonso Pueblo made incised drawing, or petroglyphs, on some of the cavates as an expression of their abandonment of Spanish and Catholic oppression following the Revolt in 1680.⁴⁴ One of these petroglyphs is unique among others of depicted Puebloan images of kachinas, clowns, snakes, and other Pueblo iconography. On the west wall of one cavate, M-100, there

exists an image that appears at first glance of Spanish influence, possibly depicting the Virgin Mary (Liebmann 2002, 136) (Figure 9).

Liebmann argues that this particular petroglyph is neither entirely “Christian,” nor is it entirely “Puebloan.” His study of Revolt period populations (re)creating new Pueblo identities confronts the contradictions that archaeologists and historians have about the Pueblos during the Revolt period; that the Pueblos did not entirely abandon *all* Spanish practices following the uprising in 1680. Liebmann argues that the petroglyph represents a manipulation of Christian imagery by the refugee population in creating a new post-Revolt Pueblo identity.

“This depiction is an interesting combination of traditional Pueblo and Christian imagery, an illustration of the appropriation and manipulation of European symbols to fit into the formation of traditional Pueblo identities during the Revolt period. This transformation of colonial imagery can be seen as a strategy for cultural preservation and the recreation of traditional Pueblo identities, an example of ‘Pueblofication...’”

(Liebmann 2002, 137-138)

Liebmann further argues that interpretations of the “Virgin-Kachina” as signs of the Pueblo Revolt’s failure or the acculturation and extent of Spanish dominance simplifies the agency of the Pueblos and their ability to adapt their religious culture to meet the needs of the Pueblo Revolt period.

“Such facile explanations overlook the agency of Pueblo actions following the Revolt. Furthermore, they assume that the meanings of ‘Spanish’ objects and symbols remained stable during this tumultuous period, conveying the same messages to all people at all times. Ultimately, these interpretations oversimplify the complex relationships that exist among signs and their interpreters.”

(Liebmann 2012, 137-138)

In extending his own interpretation of the “Virgin-Kachina” as a sign of the “Pueblofication” of Spanish imagery, Liebmann attempts to interpret the convento kivas of Abó and Quarai in this same manner, thus agreeing that the kivas are a sign of reverse-

superposition following an abandonment of the mission by the Franciscans.⁴⁵ This interpretation is not useful for disrupting the colonial epistemology that informs it, as both interpretations of the “Virgin-Kachina” and convento kiva appears to still operate under the assumption of secularization, the separation of religion from all other parts of society.⁴⁶ What needs to happen is finding a way that assumptions of Pueblo “religion” can be disrupted to understand how they are imposed upon the functions of complex religious imagery like the “Virgin-Kachina” or structures like the convento kiva.

In his final chapter “Separation of Church and Kiva” in *An Archaeology of Doings* (2013), Fowles addresses the question, what is the “religion” that the Pueblos practice? Focusing on Taos Pueblo, he argues that assumptions archaeologists make about separating Pueblo religion from both Pueblo secular society *and* Catholicism is based on Western ideals of secularization rather than Pueblo epistemology.

“There are three dominant interpretations [by non-Pueblos] of Catholicism among the Pueblos: insincere, hybrid, and compartmentalized. The problem is that each builds from the same questionable assumption that the issue at hand is the interplay between comparable phenomena occupying the same social place. Each assumes that Catholicism and Pueblo doings equally fall into the category of ‘religion’ and so have no choice but to compete, mix, or somehow be firewalled from one another. All three interpretations thus elide the important structural differences that unfold from Taos Pueblo’s claim that tribal participation in traditional doings is complete (100 percent), while participation in Catholicism is just very common (90 percent). Nor do they address the manner in which governance at Taos Pueblo is inseparable from the kiva hierarchy, while Catholicism is kept separate as a nongovernmental affair.” (Fowles 2013, 239)

Further in his discussion of the role of kivas at modern day Taos Pueblo, Fowles further identifies the role of kivas in governmental affairs of the Pueblo rather than strictly a Pueblo version of a church.

“At Taos, one can choose to be Catholic, Baptist, or a member of the Native American Church. But kiva participation is different. The rights of full citizenship, especially in the ability to have a say in tribal decision-making, derive from an individual’s participation in and compliance with the kivas. The power and authority of the tribal

government – itself a product of Spanish colonial efforts to turn the Pueblos into orderly political subjects – are not self-standing. Whereas government may protect religion in secular American society, Pueblo ‘religion’ governs the government at Taos. Sovereignty comes from kivas, not courthouses.” (Fowles 2013, 240)

If Pueblo “doings,” as Fowles defines them, are not in their own societies confined to European definitions of “religion,” how did discourses of Pueblo religion come to be defined as such? In summary, Fowles argues that Pueblo “doings” were defined as pagan “religions” during the Spanish colonial period as an analogue to Islam following the Reconquest of Spain in the 15th century. This perception of Pueblos as equivalent to the Moors was a common theme in the early Spanish colonial period. Puebloan “doings” were viewed as paganism and considered something to be eliminated whereas planting corn was encouraged as a secular activity, though these were not considered separate activities for the Pueblos (Fowles 2013, 242-244).⁴⁷ Following the Revolt in 1680, the Franciscans no longer made the comparison of Pueblo “religion” to Islam. Instead, they began to conceptualize Pueblo rituals and practices as non-religious customs with no concern of idolatry or paganism from the Catholic Church. This subsequent perception of Pueblo “doings” as customs did not conflict with 18th century Franciscan opinions about abiding by the rules of Catholicism (Fowles 2013, 245).⁴⁸

With the onset of American colonialism, the Pueblos were confronted with not only with their identity as Pueblo Indians, but also with being treated equivalent as Hispanic Catholics by American Protestants, or worse as pagan savages whom the Catholic Church had failed at Christianizing. Pueblo “customs” were viewed by Protestants as equivalent to the views the Spanish once had in the 16th and 17th centuries. Because of racial views from Protestants about both Hispanic Catholics and Native peoples, the Pueblos were placed in a doubled situation of oppression for not being

Christian enough as well not being able to develop into a progressive secular society (Fowles 2013, 245).⁴⁹

Ultimately, Fowles argues, archaeologists are faced with the task of recognizing that there are issues of translation between indigenous concepts of “doing” and Western concepts of “religion.” Among these are recognizing the foundations of 20th century secularism in anthropology and archaeology as disciplines; the assumption that pre-modern religion, like Pueblo religion, exists as a separate essentialist concept and can be identified in the archaeological record separate of Native secular society; and ultimately deconstructing the anthropological assumption that religion is a universality for all human societies be they indigenous, European, or other.⁵⁰

Fowles’ argument for a postsecularization of archaeology’s observations of religion are a brand new concept that will no doubt receive criticism and critical thought from anthropologists, archaeologists, and Native peoples. But I find his observations of the indoctrination of secularism in archaeology as a useful tool for my postcolonial-critical indigenous approach to the convento kiva at Pecos. For one, his discussion of Taos Pueblo’s kivas as more than spaces of religious significance can be applied to conceptualizing a different, more holistic function of the convento kiva at Pecos. Similarly, it is useful for understanding the perceived factionalism at Pecos in historical metanarratives as a severing of Pecos’ governmental sovereignty instead of just its religious practice. However, I am cautious of using Taos’ experience detailed by Fowles as a direct analogy for the ancestral Pueblo of Pecos. The purpose of my project is not to make generate a new narrative of Pecos through direct analogy of other non-Towa Pueblos. But Fowles’ approach is helpful in trying to deconstruct the way archaeologists

perceive religious conflict between the Pueblos and the Franciscans in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Towner's (2003), Liebmann's (2002; 2012), and Fowles' (2013) critiques of the archaeological assumptions of Spanish-Pueblo relations highlight several interventions to insert into the archaeology of the Pecos convento kiva. Towner's critique of assumptions made about Navajo pueblitos serves as an analogy to critique similar assumptions about convento kivas as either entirely Puebloan or Catholic. Each interpretation relies on the dichotomy of Pueblo and Spanish as wholly separated cultural entities that were in constant conflict, especially with regards to religion. While it may have been the case that the Franciscans constantly attempted to thwart the "religion" of the Pueblos, the same separation should be assumed of the Pueblos whose "theocracy" is on the whole more integrative than exclusive (Fowles 2013, 240-241).

In his analysis of the "Virgin-Kachina," Liebmann argues that acculturation of Catholic iconography was a means to recreate Pueblo identity in the following years of the Pueblo Revolt (2002; 2012). What is useful about Liebmann's observation for the convento kiva is the insistence that incorporating non-Puebloan iconography does not mean a deliberate abandonment of Pueblo identity. The convento kiva could be conceptualized in this way as well. Though it serves both religious and governmental purposes in Pueblo society, its integration into the church, or vice versa, could represent this recreating of Pueblo identity in the 17th century at Pecos prior to the Revolt. Additionally, if Pecos Pueblo was experiencing factionalism between those who sided with the Spanish and those who did not, a recreation of Pecos Pueblo identity might have only occurred for the pro-Spanish faction.

Fowles' disruption of Pueblo "religion" (2013) highlights an important concept not previously considered by previous researchers of the convento kiva: these structures are not merely Pueblo analogues of churches. If the Pecos convento kiva is observed through a lens of postsecularism (that Pueblo religion, secular activities, and Catholicism are not compartmentalized), the kiva could be interpreted as a sign of Pueblo authority within the perimeter of the church. Ivey's contention that the kiva was built under the supervision of the Franciscans would not be invalid, but the purpose and function of the kiva for the Pueblo would be reconfigured in terms of Native sovereignty and agency. There are limits to this interpretation however. For one, postsecularism is derived in Euro-American postmodern thought and not from indigenous thought. Like postcolonialism, postsecularism runs the risk of remaining somewhat limited to colonial epistemology, but only through further study and development could this be addressed. Second is the analogy of Fowles' study of Taos to my own of Pecos. These Pueblos are of different language, clan system, and different levels of study by anthropologists and archaeologists. I am not about to assume that Taos should serve as a living example to generate new interpretations about the convento kiva at Pecos.

All of these new possibilities are merely new options for interpreting the convento kiva at Pecos. I do not argue that they are more accurate or should replace the dominant metanarratives, because the foundations of these interpretations also come from academic archaeologists. From my observations of the Pecos kiva, it appears that its knowledge production has strictly been from academically trained archaeologists and historians. No records that I observed indicate that the kiva has been researched in collaboration with descendants of Pecos or elders from Jemez Pueblo leaving the interpretations solely

within European scientific and colonial epistemologies; to a point, even my own that I have hypothesized come from these same epistemologies. This critical shortcoming is because the Park service was not required to consult with the descendants of Pecos, or any other Native American tribe, when the kiva was excavated.⁵¹

To reiterate Liebmann's reasons why archaeology should adopt postcolonialism, it is for interpretation of the archaeological record particularly during periods of colonialism, in the history of archaeology's construction of colonial discourse, and in methodological practice as an aid for decolonization and ethical practice (Liebmann 2008). Stephen Silliman echoes these reasons by stating archaeologists need to be aware of the participants, authorities, and processes of how archaeological and historical narratives are constructed. Terms like "site abandonment" and "acceptance" of religious conversion carry a lot of contemporary implications about Native peoples responses to colonialism, which a majority of archaeologists use without hesitation. Postcolonial approaches allow for Native peoples and archaeologists to reframe colonialism as a process rather than isolated events and grapple with its legacies, its agencies, and its misleading terminologies and concepts (Silliman 2010). In echoing the need for critical indigenous theory in archaeology, it is to improve relationships between archaeologists and indigenous communities by conducting cooperative projects with groups; training indigenous archaeologists with indigenous epistemologies and methods; and making projects mutually beneficial to indigenous communities and archaeologists alike (Bruchac, Hart, and Wobst 2010; Silliman 2008; Watkins 2000).

The combination of postcolonialism and critical indigenous theory confronts cultural typologies in Southwest archaeology that compartmentalize the continuum of

Ancestral Puebloan culture. Postcolonial and critical indigenous theories deconstruct typologies and divisions of Native culture used for managing archaeological data, an essential characterization of Native cultural identities that also remain unaddressed by archaeologists. Native essentialism operates here in doubled ways as well. The first is by homogenizing Native cultural materials as similar, and the second is by compartmentalizing them into separate groups in an attempt to order the “untidiness” of archaeological remains (Croucher 2010). Sarah Croucher argues that modern Pueblos have long struggled to redefine definitions of their ancestry from archaeologists, specifically with the Ancestral Pueblo/Anasazi nomenclature derived from the typology developed by Kidder: the Pecos classification. Each temporal category in the Pecos classification separates developments of Ancestral Pueblo peoples and their culture into distinct categories that are related yet are considered distinctly different from each other based on European scientific definitions of complexity (architecture, economics, diet, religion, warfare, etc.). These cultural units play a powerful pedagogical role, as they are taught to students of archaeology and the public as pre-establishing facts resulting from archaeological interpretations (Croucher 2010, 258-259), and the definition of kivas is one of these cultural units taught in Southwestern archaeology (Lekson 2008b). Yet archaeologists do not acknowledge how these typologies work in a hierarchy of predetermined cultural development for Ancestral Pueblo groups, especially once contact with European colonialism takes place.

Deconstructing the interpretive plan of the National Park Service also disrupts the public interpretive component of the convento kiva. The interpretive plan for stabilization of Pecos ruin required removal or hiding of non-authentic stabilizing

materials previously used on the ruin (NPS 1967, 1-2). The purpose was to present the ruin with only materials pertaining to the period of its use. Preservation is also knowledge production about the past. But unlike archaeology, which attempts to understand processes, changes, and patterns over time, preservation works to present only specific moments in time. As postcolonial and critical indigenous theory suggests, there is a bifurcation of knowledge about the site resulting from how preservation by federal agencies reduces all past time to a single representative moment. Federal agencies conduct preservation for the appreciation of national heritage where even complicated histories are integrated into an all-encompassing national heritage model. Preservation of the convento kiva was conducted for two reasons: 1) to highlight the conflict between the Pueblos and the Franciscans concerning religious freedom and 2) to give visitors the ability to experience something “authentically Puebloan.”

Using Lonetree’s approach in her discussion of Native American representation in museums, the representation of Native peoples in public displays such as national parks should be addressed using methods of decolonization. Lonetree argues that interpretive plans of Native peoples need to include practices of “truth-telling” which direct knowledge production in educating the public on the many silences that exist regarding the experiences of Native peoples. Addressing the complex histories of Native peoples should not be understood as reinforcing narratives of victimization. By actively engaging in understanding how these narratives are generated Native communities have the opportunity to reclaim representations of their history and make their experiences known to the public as acts of self-determination (Lonetree 2012, 4-9). The progression of the Park Service to actively seek collaboration with Native peoples might be seen as

promoting decolonization, but might also be seen as a move for the agency to gain more insightful authority of Native American culture and identity. Since visitors to Pueblo Indian reservations are not allowed to enter kivas on Tribal land, the Park Service provides an opportunity for non-Natives to appreciate a part of Native American culture that has been protected and kept secret since the Spanish colonial period. The kiva acts as a gateway for the general public to experience something “authentically Puebloan.”

A postcolonial-critical indigenous approach for interpreting the Pecos convento kiva would need to keep two requirements: 1) establish a cooperative approach with Pecos descendants at Jemez Pueblo regarding the presence, function, and significance of a kiva in the mission church; and 2) take into account the power colonial epistemologies have in producing knowledge about this kiva. From here, I move into my final section about indigenous knowledge production at Pecos that challenges the colonial hierarchy of knowledge about the Pueblo and its convento kiva.

4.0 Indigenous Knowledge Production of Pecos and the Convento Kiva

As my study has observed thus far, the interpretations of the convento kiva from archaeologists and historians attempt to explain Pueblo-Spanish relations of the past, and none of them incorporate an indigenous perspective from the descendant community of Pecos. Through this postcolonial-critical indigenous approach, I suggest that concrete Western interpretations about the convento kiva can never truly exist nor be defended with the current colonial epistemologies used in history and archaeology. I have also suggested that other interpretations that I hypothesized in the previous chapter, which incorporate elements of indigenous epistemology, cannot accurately represent the convento kiva’s past either. Whatever historical reasons for the convento kiva’s

existence at Pecos, researchers that generate knowledge about it need be aware of the sociocultural implications that violent resistance or passive cooperation about Pecos has for its descendant communities. Realistically, there is not a clear and consistent way of understanding the exact history of the kiva, and no possible interpretation of its past should be assumed as simple, logical, or beneficial. As Liebmann suggests, resistance and cooperation may have been the only options to lessen the damage inflicted by colonization (2011, 199). As it stands, no approach can truly recreate an accurate account of the past, because all epistemologies carry bias, be they colonial, indigenous, or other, when they are used to generate interpretations about that past.

However, this is not to say that a postcolonial-critical indigenous approach to the convento kiva cannot be beneficial to interpretations about the kiva in the *present*.

Turning again to Fowles' discussion of desecularizing Pueblo religion and ideology from Western concepts of religion, he describes a difference in Pueblo societies focusing on physical space rather than time when practicing "doings."

"Doings are a kind of relational revelation grounded in the material experiences of particular places. Does this mean that in their attentiveness to the evolving present, Pueblo doings deny history? Not at all. In fact, it is precisely due to their spatial, this-worldly concerns that Pueblo communities have developed a much more *linear* notion of historical progress than comparable accounts in the Western theological tradition...By attending to interconnected phenomenal landscapes of people and things in the present, the Pueblos are far more inclined to see time as a directional progression where time becomes immanent in the passage of materially experienced phenomena. It is not 'what happened then' that is important but 'what happened here.' In contrast, by making history transcendent and permitting time to stand apart from place, Western thought is, ironically, far more likely to fall back upon circular models in which the future comes to be understood as a return to a quasi-original condition...Doings, then, are to religion as place is to history." (Fowles 2013, 254-255)

I take this configuration of "doings" focusing on place and incorporate it into contemporary indigenous knowledge production about Pecos and the convento kiva that

has recently begun to be incorporated into the dominant narrative of Pecos at the National Park. I begin with an overview of the legal process of Tribal consultation as a mandatory requirement of the National Park Service for managing and interpreting Native American sites. Included in this section is a discussion of repatriation law and the unique example of repatriation that the Park Service has complied with at Pecos. Next, I present accounts of indigenous knowledge production from Jemez elders about the Pecos homeland that configures the Pueblo and the convento kiva into what Fowles describes as “relational revelation grounded in the material experiences of [a particular place]” (2013, 244). This section details how Jemez Pueblo knowledge production is incorporated alongside the colonial metanarrative of Pecos thus allowing for projects of decolonization to be realized for the benefit of descendants from Pecos. One outcome of the repatriation and consultation process is the Pecos Pathways program. This program is a collaborative effort between the National Park Service, Jemez Pueblo, and the Phillips Academy that attempts to create constructive collaborative knowledge production about Pecos between the archaeological site, the descendant community, and the museum where archaeological materials were housed until the repatriation. Here, I discuss how Pecos Pathways attempts to be a collaborative effort in knowledge production, but does not meet the needs and requirements of a true collaborative effort of knowledge production with Native communities. Finally, I discuss indigenous knowledge production about Pecos through several small discussions and close with a presentation of “doings” by Jemez Pueblo that challenge the contemporary multicultural narrative of the Pecos Feast Day at Pecos Pueblo.

4.1 The NHPA, NAGPRA, and Tribal Consultation

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) was implemented as a means for the Federal Government to protect historic and archaeological sites that are considered significant to the nation as a whole. Protection of sites under the NHPA is conducted through a review known as the Section 106 process. The process is designed to determine if historic properties and archaeological sites are significant enough to include them on the National Register of Historic Places under the supervision of the National Park Service. Designating sites as eligible or registered on the National Register protects sites from federal undertakings that would significantly alter their historical significance or consider them no longer eligible. Additionally the NHPA requires that federal agencies consult with State Historic Preservation Officer's (SHPO) and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation about undertakings conducted on properties that are eligible or listed on the National Register, which generally are limited to preservation and maintenance of properties (16 U.S.C. § 470(a)). Another part of the NHPA Section 110, amended in 1980, required federal agencies to use historic properties owned by the Federal Government for preservation activities to the maximum extent feasible under whatever guidelines that particular agency uses. This meant that archaeological sites and historic properties were to be preserved specifically to their key period of historical significance and any modifications to those properties should be removed in order to present clear and consistent cultural and temporal authenticity (16 U.S.C. § 470(h)(2)). In 1992, an amendment to the NHPA introduced a requirement to include federally recognized Indian Tribes in the consultation process for projects that are

to affect properties that Tribes claim cultural affiliation to (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 2008, 3; 16 U.S.C. § 470(h)(2)(a)).

Pecos Pueblo was obtained by the Park Service in the same year that the NHPA was implemented, but it is unclear whether the projects conducted by Pinkley and Hayes were done under the direction of the NHPA, although it is certain there was no Tribal consultation under the NHPA as it was not required until 1992. It is likely both Pinkley and Hayes were aware of the requirements of the NHPA to consult with the New Mexico SHPO and the Advisory Council about finalizing the excavations and stabilization of Pecos National Monument. But it is important to note the law was in its infancy at the time and many federal agencies took several years to finalize how they would comply with its requirements.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) is considered to be the most important federal law relating to Native Americans and archaeology. The law's purpose in the late 1980's to early 1990's came as a result of decades of advocacy for Native people's rights and the Civil Rights movement. But unlike other groups of the Civil Rights movement, the advocates for repatriation of Native human remains and cultural items dealt with physical items of ownership rather than strictly living peoples (King 2008, 261). The writing of the law was by law professionals with the aid of archaeologists, museum archivists, and some involvement from Native American groups. The law clearly states definitions of what is meant by things like "Native American," "Indian tribe," "cultural affiliation," and "right of possession."⁵²

By definition there is no indication that the terms “Native American” and “Indian tribe” are synonymous in their application for NAGPRA. It is clear however that the term “Native American” refers to designation of human remains and objects while “Indian tribe” refers specifically to Indian tribal organizations that are recognized as sovereign nations by the federal government. Both terms of “cultural affiliation” and “right of possession” use “Indian tribe” in their phrasing for NAGPRA to be implemented. These definitions are conceived of through concepts of Indian essentialism and limit the ability for NAGPRA to be useful for Native American groups in the United States. Claims of ownership must go through rigorous court rulings and legitimizing of Native identity comparable to the issues addressed by Barker (2011). However, the passage of NAGPRA also represents a shift in the relationship archaeology has with indigenous peoples in the United States in the way that archaeological materials and knowledge are understood in terms of legal ownership. Killion points out that repatriation offers a new formal point of interaction not previously established between archaeologists and Native Americans (2008, 7-9).

Indigenous epistemologies are included as viable sources of information alongside scientific archaeology and anthropology for repatriation of materials to Native American and Hawaiian groups. In this regard, consultations by federal agencies, preservationists, and archaeologists with Tribal governments are more than a legal requirement. Tribal consultation represents a new shift in theory for these disciplines that involves non-Western epistemologies.

“...Part of the recent expansion of archaeology in response to repatriation can be viewed as the result of knowledge integration along the front lines or borders of different ‘communities of practice,’ with a large number of practitioners involved on all sides. The resulting integration of different ‘knowledge traditions’ in repatriation, albeit in ways

often chaotic and at first unintended, nevertheless has come about in an environment where individuals and groups meet with one another on a more level playing field of negotiated practice afforded by legislation.” (Killion 2008, 10)

Power over knowledge production is of large concern to indigenous peoples and archaeologists alike concerning repatriation. Critics of overarching scientific authority in archaeology find it difficult that segments of the discipline still cling to notions of objectivity, the search for truth, and neutrality of scientific practice (Bray 2008, 81). Native and other non-scientific epistemologies are often considered secondary forms of knowledge in archaeology, and though they are acknowledged for their significance to indigenous communities, these epistemologies are often regarded as simply oral traditions or subjective opinions. Repatriation utilizes these kinds of evidence when dealing with returning items to specific cultural groups, although the strongest influencing evidence is generally of archaeologically scientific nature.

The issue of ownership for archaeological materials is divided generally as being between distinctive identifiable groups and public heritage. Criticisms of public or world heritage find difficulty in assuming that the human past is universally experienced on some level or other and that archaeological material and interpretations of those experiences should belong to all humanity (Nicholas and Bannister 2010; Tsosie 1997; Zimmerman 2008). In another way, some proponents of indigenous archaeology find issue with legal mandates of repatriation placing concepts of ownership onto the archaeological record (specifically funerary remains and associated objects). However, one example from Rebecca Tsosie concludes that ownership should be directed primarily to indigenous peoples.

“I imagine that many would assert that the central legal issue at the heart of this debate between Native Americans and archaeologists is one of property law; that is, ‘who owns

the past?’ After all, legal scholars use the concept of ‘ownership’ to designate legal rights to specific objects – such as the rights to possess, to control, to exclude, to include, and to alienate. To the extent that archaeologists assert a right to control and use material remains in the quest for knowledge, they are acting as property owners. Moreover, federal statutes, such as ARPA [Archaeological Resource Protection Act] and NAGPRA, are largely phrased in the language of property rights. However, at a more fundamental level, the idea of human remains and funerary objects as ‘property’ is odious, both to non-Indians and to Indians.” (Tsosie 1997, 66)

The control of archaeological materials is extended simply beyond archaeological research. Joe Watkins argues that the repatriation movement has higher impacts on what he calls compliance archaeology (archaeological work taking place on Federal, State, and Tribal land as a result of legal obligations) more than academic archaeology, largely because developed research of materials is not the primary reason for compliance work. Academic circles, Watkins notes, are not completely unaffected by repatriation legislation, but certainly see on average less restrictions enforced upon research goals, unless of course there are materials deemed as sensitive, if projects take place on Federal, State, or Tribal lands, or are provided funding by Federal, State, or Tribal governments (Watkins 2008, 162-163).⁵³

NAGPRA relates to Pecos Pueblo in a very important way. Since the law’s passing, the largest repatriation effort from a federal agency was the repatriation of human remains and sensitive cultural materials of Pecos Pueblo to Jemez Pueblo in 1999. The repatriation was conducted between the Jemez tribal government, its Tribal archaeologists, and the Park Service where over 2,000 Pecos human remains and sacred objects were returned back to Jemez. Jemez Pueblo decided that the ancestral remains should be returned physically to Pecos, which proved to be a unique decision not required under NAGPRA regulations. The Park Service agreed to comply with the request and a collaborative plan was created to rebury the Ancestral Pecos remains to the park in a

designated area away from public display and only so that Jemez and limited Park Service officials would know of the burial location (Gewertz 1999; Reed 2004). This act established a unique and productive relationship between the Park Service, the descendants of Pecos, and the Jemez people that has continued to this day.

4.2 Tribal Consultation with Jemez Pueblo

The timeline of Tribal consultation in the NHPA reveals that Tribes affiliated with Pecos (the Pueblos of Jemez, Cochiti, and Kewa (Santo Domingo), the Jicarilla Apache, and the Comanche and Plains Apache in Oklahoma) were not consulted with during the majority of excavations and stabilization of the ruins until the early 1990s. Consultation with these Tribes by the Park Service took place in 1992 and 1993 as a requirement of the 1992 NHPA amendment to address issues the Tribes had towards misrepresentation and negative depictions about Native people at Pecos (Levine, Norcini, and Foster 1994). Tribal consultation by the National Park Service with Jemez Pueblo and other affiliated Indian Tribes is probably the most vital component for incorporating indigenous epistemology into the Park Service's production of knowledge about Pecos.

Like in my previous section in Chapter 2 of Jemez elders giving accounts that challenge the historical metanarrative of Pecos, this section presents other accounts from the Jemez elders describing the importance of the knowledge they have about their contemporary connection to Pecos. One elder describes the importance of passing on such knowledge to the younger generations of the Pueblo.

“The Pecos elders told stories to my great, great grandfathers and grandmothers that was told on down the line, word for word. And I still know about the history of the Pecos area, so now I pass that down to you and to all the younger generation that these stories will carry on... We have a lot of migration stories that we need to tell our younger generation in order for us to remember the significance of Pecos Pueblo. It is consultations like this that we need to do and remember. Don't forget our tradition, our

culture, the significance of Pecos Pueblo because it is a very, very critical need that we need to present to the Pecos Pueblo.” (Levine, Norcini, and Foster 1994, 2-2).

Another Jemez elder also describes the importance that historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists need to recognize the vital importance that Jemez and Pecos descendant knowledge production needs to be incorporated into the official history of the Pueblo.

“[W]e need to educate our historians, our anthropologists, our archaeologists that the Pueblo of Jemez still interprets the Pueblo of Pecos in a way that is very, very in a true manner because we heard direct stories that our great, great grandfathers and our great, great grandmothers told us. And it is something when we talk, it is something that we did not find in books, we did not find it by reading somebody else’s literature. We heard it direct from our great, great grandfathers and grandmothers. This is the only way that we always interpret our art, oral migration stories, our oral history. Thousands and thousands of years of the history, the oral history, that was given to us by our ancestors...they will actually hear a person that had the knowledge, a valuable knowledge that we heard from a great, great grandfather and a great, great grandmother. So, we do have a valuable resource in our life that we still have the knowledge...of a historical interpretation of what was actually put among us, that was planted on us, so that they can carry on a traditional life with the knowledge of Pecos Pueblo.”

(Levine, Norcini, and Foster 1994, 2-2, 2-3)

An interesting and informative point from the consultation with Jemez was their perspective on the concept of preservation prior to the repatriation in 1999. Two accounts from the Albuquerque Journal were summarized in the consultation representing Jemez’s views on preservation and museum housing of Indian remains and culturally sensitive items from Pecos.

“The newspaper accounts of the Smithsonian repatriation presented a Jemez cultural perspective to museum artifacts. The first quote addresses the spiritual essences (aliveness) of sacred objects:

To the 3,000 tribal members, it is as though long-lost family members are returning. They were...not just pieces of wood, clay and rock, but living, breathing tribal members in Jemez Pueblo culture that had been taken from the pueblo decades earlier. The materials are considered to be to the pueblo living, breathing tribal members. They are not objects...It is like 86 of their tribal members are coming home (Albuquerque Journal, October 12, 1993).

The second comment contests a primary museum function of preserving extinct cultural

traditions. It presents an approach of cultural continuity and spiritual vitality:

Native peoples and their cultures are not merely remnants of a past. Besides the degradation of being reduced to museum pieces...the objects were kept from their spiritual work for generations. Those objects have a function. To preserve those objects is to destroy them. (Albuquerque Journal, October 30, 1993).”

(Levine, Norcini, and Foster 1994, 2-18)

Another account describes the significance of the Pecos repatriation as a transitioning of power for knowledge production between Jemez Pueblo and the National Park Service.

A newspaper article from the Harvard University Gazette notes that Ruben Sando, then governor of the Pecos Pueblo at Jemez said, “while there have been many years of struggle, the people of Pecos are very grateful to have the ancestors come home. With the blessings and the hard work of our leaders and our Peabody comrades, this thing has come about. It shows that anything is possible if you have good communication and teamwork” (Gewertz 1999). Similarly, Park Service archaeologist Judy Reed states that the repatriation forged a new working relationship between the Park Service and Jemez Pueblo regarding the management, protection, and consultation about Pecos Pueblo (Reed 2004). Most importantly for this discussion of Jemez Pueblo knowledge production, Joe Sando describes the day of the reburial as a significant and emotional day for indigenous peoples connected to Pecos:

“On the early morning of May 20, 1999, the people of Jemez Pueblo made a historic march to the ancestral home of Pecos Pueblo descendants, the remnants of a once numerous and powerful Pueblo who had migrated to Jemez in 1838. The marchers who left Jemez numbered approximately 300 men, women and children. They retraced the 80-mile route walked in 1838 – only this time in reverse.

On May 22, 1999, the people of Pecos arrived home, years after they were taken away. The 300 people who walked the road were welcomed by a couple of thousand more people waiting for the semi-truck [with the Pecos remains] to arrive and follow in the procession. More than 1,000 Jemez and other descendants whose ancestors were in the collection – Apache, Comanche, Kiowa and Navajo – as well as the curious walked the last mile to the burial place at Pecos Pueblo. It was an emotional day; many people wept

openly at the happiness that the ancestors were home, and in that it finally gave closure.”
(Sando 2008, 142)

Sando’s description of the Pecos procession offers another unique account for a postcolonial-critical indigenous approach to knowledge production. Unlike all other sources that describe the repatriation, Sando is the only one who notes the presence of non-Pueblo Native peoples in the procession; Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, and Navajo. These were Native groups that Pecos had both cooperative and tense relationships with throughout the Pueblo’s history. The Western production of knowledge for Pecos is confronted with cooperation between Native nations that have long been described as warring parties, particularly the Comanche (Brooks 2002, 73; Kessell 1979, 357-410; Schroeder 1979, 436). By showing that contemporary relationships between these groups transcend the discourses imposed on them by Western historical and archaeological knowledge, the descendants of Pecos, Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, and Navajo produce collective indigenous knowledge that progresses forward in efforts of decolonization for the history of Pecos Pueblo.

4.3 Collaborative Knowledge Production at Pecos

This discussion of collaborative knowledge production focuses on how producers of archaeological knowledge and historical knowledge about Pecos attempt to incorporate a perspective from Jemez Pueblo. The goal of collaborative archaeology with Native peoples is to conduct useful research that is beneficial for both Native peoples and archaeologists. Furthermore, the collaborative approach aims to combine epistemologies that create peopled histories instead of just static material remains. These peopled histories give authority to Native peoples about their own past that should not be seen as incompatible with scientific archaeological studies. Collaborative archaeology

introduces a recognition that archaeology as a discipline is in need of diversity in its practitioners, its backgrounds, and its theoretical foundations in order to adapt to the concerns and the needs of under privileged communities (Lippert 2008; Bruchac, Hart, and Wobst 2010; Silliman 2008; Watkins 2000).

Since 1992, the Park Service has conducted collaborative projects with Native peoples concerning the management of the Pecos ruin. The ethnographic information given during Tribal consultation provided an opportunity for the Park Service to establish a productive relationship with culturally affiliated Tribes to meet its federal requirements and address concerns these Tribes have long had about the management of the Pecos ruin (Levine, Norcini, and Foster 1994).

One collaborative result of the repatriation was the establishment of the Pecos Pathways program. Since the repatriation in 1999, the program brings high school students from the Phillips Academy in Andover Massachusetts, Jemez Pueblo, and Pecos New Mexico together for a cross-cultural summer seminar that travels to all three locations that involve the history of archaeology at Pecos. Activities include visits to Pecos National Historical Park to participate in preservation of the church mission; Jemez Pueblo to visit archaeological sites and stay with Jemez host families; and finally the Peabody Museum where Kidder had sent the collections from his excavations (Randall and Phillips Academy 2013) (Figure 10). The participation of all three communities exemplifies a possibility for collaborative knowledge production about Pecos for younger generations of people interested in archaeology, the Southwest, and in the case of Jemez Pueblo, their own culture and history. But even though Pecos Pathways provides a unique experience for all three communities to appreciate different cultures and

traditions, the program is not designed for examining the hierarchy of knowledge production that archaeology has at Pecos.

During my time working at Pecos National Historical Park in the summer of 2011 I attended some of the tours and activities the Pathways attendees conducted at the park. The majority of the discussions were centered on the significance of Kidder's work and scientific methodologies conducted for research and preservation. There was very little cross-cultural discussion about why the site was significant for the Pecos descendants or what the significance of the colonial period was on the Pueblos in general. I admit that there may have been discussions of these types elsewhere in the program, possibly during the visits to Jemez Pueblo and other archaeological sites, but the power of knowledge production about Pecos was highly biased during the visits at the park. Because of this bias towards scientific archaeology (as well as higher numbers of Andover high school students in the program compared to that of Jemez Pueblo or the village of Pecos) the Pathways Program remains Eurocentric by embracing ideals of multiculturalism for the Southwest and imposing the dominance of European scientific discourse onto its Native and Hispanic attendees.

For true collaborative knowledge production to exist there needs to be recognition of epistemological hierarchy of the knowledge presented as well and appropriate modification of any collaborative project to meet those needs. In the case of Pecos Pathways, it may be appropriate to make indigenous views and opinions about archaeology and history of Pecos better known without criticism or refusal of acknowledgement. With regards to the convento kiva at the park, the program only addresses it if the kiva is on the yearly list of structures to receive stabilization.

The Pecos Pathways program is a unique program for archaeologists, Native communities, and the National Park Service. But this program is still in its early stages of truly addressing concerns of Native peoples regarding the power relations between archaeologists and Native peoples. To accomplish this it may more appropriate to introduce postcolonial and critical indigenous theories and methodologies in the Pecos Pathways program to address these issues.

4.4 Postcolonial-Critical Indigenous Knowledge Production of the Pecos Feast Day and the Convento Kiva

My final discussion is about the collaborative efforts of the National Park Service with Jemez Pueblo surrounding the annual Pecos Feast Day. Here, I address how collaboration between the Park Service and the Pecos descendants at Jemez is not resolved through modern celebration of multiculturalism and is complicated by the lived and experienced history of colonialism at the Pueblo. It also relates to the convento kiva in a rather unique manner.

In 1979, there was for the first time a Feast Day of Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles hosted by the National Park Service within the confines of the stabilized church. The event was intended to be a collaboration of the National Park Service, the Hispanic Catholic community in the village of Pecos, and the Pueblo of Jemez. It was also the year that Kessell's important work *Kiva, Cross and Crown* was completed and the Park Service felt the need to rekindle the close relationship between all involved parties of Pecos Pueblo. Hall's account of this first Pecos Feast Day celebration describes an important incident that makes absolutely clear the need for decolonizing the knowledge production of Pecos.

“That summer different groups reacted in various ways to the new situation. A new Pecos [Hispanic] parish priest Father Fred, decided to limit the secular aspects of the traditional celebration of the feast of Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles. Local parishioners grumbled at the priest’s decision, but went ahead anyway with plans to make the [event] a genuine historic celebration of Pecos. For the first time, the Hispanic parish council of St. Anthony’s on the Pecos sent a delegation to Jemez Pueblo to invite interested Pueblos to Pecos for the mass and bazaar. Jemez Pueblo leaders responded enthusiastically.

All the threads of the rich Pecos tapestry have begun to converge on the mass at the Pecos Pueblo ruins in honor of the feast day of Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles to be celebrated on 5 August 1979. The ruins are restored. The painting [of Our Lady of the Angels] has come home. The history has been told. The principals will all attend.

Against the beautiful background, Father Fred begins mass. But the Jemez Pueblo visitors have requested the opportunity to say a few words in what, after all, used to be their church. To local Hispanic dismay, Father Fred has assented to that request. Local Pecoseñoes do not begrudge the Indian visitors this favor. But fundamental fairness should guarantee them equal time for their coronation, should it not? No matter. Just before the formal offertory begins, Father Fred calls on Jemez Pueblo’s Jose Toya, a Pecos Pueblo descendant.

Toya, an elder man dressed in traditional clothing, makes his way to the altar. He begins to speak. ‘So that there will be no misunderstanding,’ he says to the congregation, ‘I will say what I have to say in English, in Spanish, and in the language of my people, Towa.’ And then Toya delivers a harangue on the despicable way the ancestors of the Hispanics now in the audience harassed the last Pecos Pueblo Indians, in the 1830’s, to leave their ancestral homes, at Pecos. ‘Your people poisoned our water, killed our animals, ruined our crops, and drove us from these lands. But these are our lands and we shall return to take them back.’

At first a pall hangs over the congregation. Did Toya really say that? He repeats his message, this time in clear but idiosyncratic Spanish. Midway through this rerun, Hispanic parishioners begin to leave the ruins. By the time Toya gets to the Towa version of his message, only Jemez Pueblos and a scattering of mystified Anglo tourists are left in the congregation. Toya finishes. The mass goes on. But the celebration is clearly over.

Everyone survives the afternoon, but just barely. In the next year, Father Fred cancels [the annual mass celebrating the feast day at Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles]. The Pecos parish council extends no invitation to Jemez Pueblo to join in any celebration. The annual celebration does take place [in the Hispanic village of Pecos]. But it slips back into the relative obscurity from which it had come.” (Hall 1984, 287-288)

It is clear that this first attempt at a collaborative Feast Day in the late 1970s leaves a feeling of little hope for a productive postcolonial effort between the Park

Service, Hispanic Pecos, and Jemez Pueblo. The Feast Day did not become an annual event hosted by the Park Service, but has taken place several times since 1979. The most recent collaborative Feast Day celebration was actually only two years ago, and I was fortunate enough to have attended it.

On August 7, 2011 the Park Service hosted the annual Pecos Feast Day of Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles celebrating the continued traditions of both the Pueblo of Jemez and the village of Pecos. Part of the Feast Day included members of Jemez Pueblo giving prayer and celebrating their ancestors from Pecos (Figure 11). Chris Toya, a Jemez Tribal member and manager of cultural resources at Jemez, describes the Feast Day at Pecos.

“The day started at 8 a.m. with a two-mile pilgrimage from St. Anthony’s parish in downtown Pecos to Our Lady of the Angels (Persingula) Church at Pecos Pueblo. After the pedegrinos (people in the pilgrimage) arrived, feast day mass was celebrated inside the ruins of the historic church with many people from Jemez, Pecos, local communities and visitors from distant places participating. Governor Michael Toledo, Jr., First Lt. Governor George Shendo, Jr., Second Lt. Governor William Waquie, who is also recognized as the Pecos Governor, and head fi scale Benedict Sandia were all in attendance. Toward the end of mass, the Governors gave speeches acknowledging the Creator and all the Spirits who reside there at Pecos Pueblo, asking for their help and blessings to all the people present and people all over the world. Because of this significant event in 1838, our Governors stressed the importance of our presence there for the annual feast day celebration and our continual visits to Pecos Pueblo to let our ancestors know that we have not forgotten them and to let the federal government know that we have not abandoned Pecos Pueblo.” (Toya 2011, 1)

I was still working at Pecos National Historical Park that day and assisted the Pueblo Tribal members in an interesting way involving the kiva in the convento. The participating members from Jemez wished to conduct a ceremony in the kiva for the Feast Day and requested that other visitors at the Park be directed away from the convento during the ceremony so not to see or hear any part of their ceremony. The Park Service employees, including myself, were more than willing to assist the Jemez

members with this request. This act of Jemez Pueblo works as an excellent challenge for colonial knowledge production of the convento kiva. The kiva is reclaimed for its specific purpose to the Jemez people and Pecos descendants and is used as part of the Pueblo's commemoration to Pecos. Pecos is not considered just a ruin or an archaeological site for Jemez; it is considered a living part of both their past and their present.

The acts of "doing" that Jemez Pueblo conducted at Pecos both in 1979 and 2011 are representative of Fowles' conceptualization of the Pueblos focusing on place rather than time. It could be inferred using his approach that Jemez and Pecos descendants are not so concerned with the exact history of the kiva, but are more interested in the fact that the kiva exists in the present. The "doing" in 2011 represents a reassertion of Pueblo existence at Pecos that does not deny the Pueblo's complicated history, but rather transcends the events of history by insisting on a presence of Pecos descendants that challenges the colonial metanarrative of absence.

In truth, a postcolonial-critical indigenous approach for the production of knowledge for the history and archaeology of the convento kiva, and Pecos in general, is difficult because both disciplines, I argue, are derived from colonialism from the very beginning. There is no truly objective way to address it. Perhaps the best way to apply this approach towards colonial knowledge production of Native American sites is on a case-by-case basis. The convento kiva at Pecos is a very specific example in the broad scope of colonial knowledge production in history and archaeology of the Southwest. I have been able to approach it using a combination of postcolonial and critical indigenous theories through an in-depth analysis of the kiva's history, as an archaeological study,

and the historical and socio-political context that informs its interpretations. Still, there are a variety of questions left unanswered, as it tends to be for an archaeologist. But this project is not intended to generate new interpretations about the convento kiva at Pecos; it is meant to provoke thoughts about how non-indigenous researchers have simplified the knowledge about it and do not recognize its contemporary significance for modern Native peoples, particularly the descendants of Pecos.

5.0 Conclusions: When is a convento kiva?

In finally answering the research question, *when is a convento kiva?*, there are two possibilities that I have identified: When is the convento kiva a product of colonial knowledge production, and, when is the convento kiva a product of knowledge leading towards decolonization? This study suggests that knowledge production has potential for both outcomes. Either answer is dependent upon the agency and positionality of those who produce knowledge about it. These include historians, archaeologists, and indigenous peoples.

Knowledge production of the convento kiva at Pecos from Western historians and archaeologists includes interpretations of the kiva in the manner that other “terminal narratives” do for Pecos. The Pueblo was an important component of the ancient Southwest; it played a key role in the Spanish colonial period; it may or may not have been a key part of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680; the strength and survival of Pecos became threatened by Plains Indian warfare; and the Pueblo could not survive the encroachment of Hispanic and Anglo settlers and it was “abandoned” in 1838. In this Western epistemology, the kiva represents an antiquarian conflict between Pueblo “doings” and Catholicism, though the exact details cannot be clearly identified and understood through

it.

Contrastingly, knowledge production of the convento kiva from a postcolonial-critical indigenous approach that focuses upon indigenous epistemology reframes the concepts of site abandonment, Pueblo authenticity, and Pueblo “religion” to show that though indigenous peoples do not currently inhabit the Pueblo, there is still a strong presence of contemporary Pueblo peoples at Pecos. The repatriation of Pecos individuals to the site, the act of Tribal consultation with Jemez Pueblo, and the reclaiming of the convento kiva for a Jemez “doing” all represent a progression for decolonizing the knowledge production of Pecos Pueblo.

The accomplishment of this study is using postcolonialism and critical indigenous theory collaboratively to address one specific archaeological Native American structure (the convento kiva) and deconstruct the contexts surrounding its interpretations by Western archaeologists and historians. The project also succeeds in identifying indigenous perspective about the archaeological site even if these indigenous perspectives do not address the convento kiva’s past specifically. In truth, this is also a shortcoming of the project. I did not conduct my own ethnographic work by interviewing members of Jemez Pueblo and the descendants of Pecos about the convento kiva. However, as the purpose of this project was not to collect validated information about the kiva in the spirit of cultural anthropology, this was not necessary to successfully interrogate the colonial knowledge collective about the kiva and Pecos Pueblo in general during the Spanish colonial period.

Archaeologists and historians should recognize the action from Jemez Pueblo and the Park Service in 2011 as an example of collaboration with Native peoples not just for

the benefit of moving these disciplines forward in their production of knowledge about Native peoples, but to help benefit them in projects of decolonization. I cannot speak specifically to historians, but I would like to make one statement for archaeologists: I do not believe that archaeologists are intentionally complicit in projects of colonialism, nor are the grand majority of them aware of their discipline's role in the history of colonialism. Archaeology is believed by its practitioners and as part of Western science to be a benefit for the entire world to appreciate the human past. It is only through recognition of the complexities of colonialism and colonial knowledge production that I am able to make the statement that archaeology is participatory in colonialism, whether intentionally or not.

Like all other theories in archaeology, this approach to archaeology takes a lot of time, patience, and willingness to question everything that one is taught. I believe and defend that acknowledging the colonial history of archaeology does not devalue its productive goals of scientific study. Rather I argue that it enhances it by calling out the inherent biases and damaging effects colonial epistemologies have. To be an archaeologist who utilizes postcolonial and critical indigenous theories is to participate in archaeology's need for decolonization, especially for those directly affected by colonialism and its knowledge production of the past.

Endnotes

¹ These interpretations are then labeled as official histories of the Southwest and are then transmitted to descendant communities. As a result, modern day Pueblo and Hispanic peoples in the Southwest remain divided in their opinions about who are the victims and who is to blame for the violent histories from Don Vazquez de Coronado's entrada in 1540 to Don Diego de Vargas' reconquest in 1693 (Kosek 2006, 50-61; Trujillo 2009, 27-56).

² This concept sets up the larger argument that he makes about the mythology of conquest in the American Southwest; that indigenous peoples were never truly conquered, their cultures never truly disappeared, and that the interpretations about conquest through disease and technology characterized as Jared Diamond has,

“guns, germs, and steel,” normalizes the history of colonialism in the Southwest as an inevitable outcome of cultural contact between Native Peoples and the Spanish (Wilcox 2009).

³ It is further asserted by Western scholars that the choice of moving to Jemez was because both Pueblos are of the same “language” stock and that language between the two Pueblos are mutually intelligible (Hewitt 1904, 431-432; Parsons 1925, Schroeder 1979, 430). Oral interviews with Jemez elders conducted by the National Park Service during the 1990’s show evidence that both the Pecos descendants and members of Jemez do in fact speak mutually distinct language forms and that the migration in 1838 was for more than just the reason of language similarity (Levin, Norcini, and Foster 1994).

⁴ Through collaborative research design with Jemez Pueblo, using methods that leave archaeological sites undisturbed (GPR, or ground penetrating radar, and on-site analysis), and extensive analysis of historical documents, Liebmann presents an in-depth discussion of four Revolt period sites that show signs of Puebloan identity revitalization between 1680 and 1696 (Liebmann 2012).

⁵ In Wilcox’s case the site of “Old Cochiti” is located on Forest Service land within seven miles of Cochiti Pueblo and is granted access by the Forest Service for use by Cochiti Pueblo members (Wilcox 2009). Similarly, three of the Jemez sites discussed by Liebmann are located on Forest Service land (access is granted to Jemez for use) and one is located on the Jemez Pueblo Reservation (Liebmann 2012). The National Park Service has a different management style for Pecos Pueblo than the Forest Service does for the ancestral sites of Cochiti and Jemez. Though both are public lands, the National Park Service operates under a mission of preservation of natural landscape and resources while the Forest Service operates under a mission of allowing land to be used by the public under permitting processes (Lindsay 2002).

⁶ Important works such as Edward Said’s *Orientalism* and Homi Bhabha’s *The Location of Culture* argue that knowledge production of the past is directly connected with asymmetries of power, primarily between “colonizer” and “colonized” (Bhabha 1994; Said 1978).

⁷ For example, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn explores the development of Native American Studies through several historical, social, and political contexts. She argues through various essays that Native peoples need to progress forward in efforts of decolonization by dealing with issues for indigenous peoples in academia, governmental legislation, international relations, sovereignty, and others. The assertion of decolonization aims to deconstruct Euro-American pedagogy and replace it with Native knowledge production and epistemologies (Cook-Lynn 2007). Similarly, Susan A. Miller and James Riding In’s collection of essays in *Native Historians Write Back* explores more contemporary and critical studies that deconstruct and refigure narratives about indigenous peoples in history of America. Each essay presents a unique story, experience, and research topic that contribute to a more complete view of where Native American studies currently resides in academia and within Native communities (Miller and Riding In 2011). Both of these examples show how the focus on indigeness and sovereignty for a new form of Native American studies is fundamental for benefitting indigenous peoples.

⁸ The development of postcolonialism as an intervention to colonial epistemologies took place outside of the Americas in the East by theoreticians such as Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Frantz Fanon. More importantly for the criticism of postcolonialism by indigenous scholars, postcolonial theory relies heavily upon the language of the Enlightenment, on experiences of marginality in particular local or global contexts, and on knowledge and textured appreciation of appropriate culture and behavior of their contextual settings (Patterson 2008, 31).

⁹ Byrd argues, given the fact that postcolonial theory and American Indian studies arose simultaneously, and both fields are concerned with the ramifications of colonial legacies, it is still notable how little the two have been in conversation. Reasons for this lack of dialogue include the vastly different geographical and political terrains between the two theories as well as the profound resistance most scholars in Native American studies have in incorporating a non-indigenous theoretical intervention like postcolonialism (Byrd 2011, xxxii).

¹⁰ There has been an increase of collaborative indigenous archaeological projects along with an increase in the number of indigenous archaeologists coming into the discipline as practitioners. Consequently, indigenous archaeologists face conflicts in identifying themselves as both Native peoples and archaeologists. For example, Dorothy Lippert communicates frustrations of establishing herself as both an archaeologist and of indigenous heritage. She states that although archaeologists have the ability to change their positions, careers, and professional interests, Native peoples cannot readily put aside or change their heritage. She notes however that being an indigenous archaeologist means being guided by multiple epistemologies or simply by a sense of communal identity and does not require a rejection of scientific archaeological methods (Lippert 2008:153-156).

¹¹ Native students are being trained as archaeologists in universities; archaeologists are working with Tribes on collaborative research projects (Duff, Ferguson, Bruning, and Whiteley 2008); and several Tribes have their own Tribal Historic Preservation Officers that handle cultural resource issues for their Tribal governments (NATHPO 2013).

¹² By observing the modern effects of secularism in archaeology (the attempt of separating religion from history and culture by archaeologists to observe religion objectively), Fowles argues that attempting to do this when studying Native peoples' religions ignores the lived experience that secular and religious are not separate categories within Native societies like the Pueblos. The imposition of secularization on Native societies, especially in academia, creates dichotomies inherent in Western epistemologies (church and state, belief and action, rationality and irrationality, immanence and transcendence, religion and secular) that are not translated in Native epistemologies, yet appear natural and inevitable to colonial societies (Fowles 2013, 36).

¹³ They argue further than the knowledge known currently about Spanish-Pueblo relations during the mission period is heavily one-sided coming from researchers outside of archaeology: from Borderlands historians, art historians, architectural historians, and Franciscan historians. Ivey and Thomas insist that Western scientific archaeology needs to make itself known and available to researchers to counterbalance how knowledge of the Mission period is produced (2005, 219).

¹⁴ Three examples I found speak specifically to postcolonial archaeology for Native Americans. One is Liebmann's postcolonial critique of Native essentialism and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) (Liebmann 2008b). He argues that the law relies too heavily upon European conceptualizations of Native identity for repatriation of cultural items and human remains to be a significant move forward for decolonization in archaeology. Sarah Croucher discusses indigenous cultural identities through colonial and postcolonial archaeologies. Her observations highlight the colonial logics of early anthropologists at the turn of the 20th century who defined indigenous peoples through racialized terms and hierarchies of social complexity (Croucher 2010, 352-355). For Native peoples, part of redefining identities in ways that challenge colonial epistemology is by challenging the typologies of cultural affiliation. In the Southwest, it is by challenging the nomenclature of Ancestral Pueblo or "Anasazi" classifications for ancestors of Pueblo peoples and reframing cultural affiliation in concepts that are congruent with Pueblo epistemology (Croucher 2010, 358-359). Finally, Preucel and Cipolla discuss the intersections and conflicts between indigenous and postcolonial archaeology by showing each approach is beginning to incorporate each other's interventions and perspectives (2008, 130). They point out the important incorporation of indigenous theorists by postcolonialists that emphasize the needs of decolonizing methodologies; particularly through Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* [1999]. The authors reiterate Smith's call that, "research brings to bear, on any study of indigenous peoples, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language and structures of power" (Preucel and Cipolla 2008, 137; Smith 1999, 42).

¹⁵ One of Wolfe's earlier works details the role anthropology played in settler colonialism in Australia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. At that time, anthropologists were used a tool of the Australian settler state for removing Aboriginal peoples using anthropological racial discourses. Subsequently the Australian

government has worked to integrate Aboriginal peoples into the multicultural liberal settler state in an attempt to rectify the overt violence conducted on Aboriginal peoples. But as a result the ideals of multiculturalism work in similar fashion to settler colonialism by erasing the history of violence and experiences of Australian indigenous communities (Wolfe 1999).

¹⁶ The incident mentioned here was the war on Ácoma Pueblo carried out by Vicente de Zaldívar and its subsequently brutal punishments by Don Juan de Oñate in 1599. The justification of this battle by Comisario Fray Alonso Martínez and five other Franciscan priests saw that, "...if the cause of war is universal peace...he [i.e., the Christian prince] may justly wage war and destroy any obstacle in the way of peace..." (Kessell 1979, 85; Simmons 1991, 137). This just war of the Spanish was brought about by the Ácoma people's rebellion against Spanish occupation in the Pueblo during the winter months of 1598. Oñate's nephew Juan de Zaldívar experienced the initial rebellion of Ácoma when he arrived there to obtain provisions for other trade goods on his way to meet Oñate at Zuñi for the expedition to find the "Southern Sea". The Spanish soldiers were permitted to enter the Pueblo, and for whatever the circumstances, were attacked by the Ácoma people in an unexpected massacre that resulted in Juan de Zaldívar's death along with several other Spanish soldiers (Kessell 2008, 34-36; Simmons 1991, 135). Upon hearing the news regarding the attack, Governor Oñate returned to the capital San Juan de Los Caballeros from Zuñi and was faced with the decision of how and when to exact punishment upon the Ácoma people. But waging a war against the Pueblos was a very sensitive issue according to both Spanish and Church doctrine. A strict procedure had been set in place over the years of colonization in the New World for how to handle such affairs in a "righteous and just manner." After Christmas in 1598, the Franciscan priests including Fray Martínez heard Oñate's proceedings of what happened at Ácoma. They found just cause and authority in the Governor to take action (Kessell 2008, 36; Simmons 1991, 137-139). Initially Oñate himself was to lead the battle, but for the advice of the Franciscans he declined. The man chosen to lead the soldiers back to Ácoma was Oñate's surviving nephew and brother to Juan de Zaldívar, Vicente de Zaldívar. He and 72 Spanish soldiers set out for Ácoma in January of 1599 (Simmons 1991, 140-141). The battle was waged for three days, after which Zaldívar had taken prisoner more than 500 people, mostly women and children, and took them to Santo Domingo Pueblo for their trial and punishment (Kessell 2008, 37-39; Simmons 1991, 142-143). The trial lasted for three days, and immediately afterwards the punishments were carried out. Reminiscent of the Spanish Crusades and the practice of punishment by the Moors, the 24 men 25 years of age and older had one of their feet cut off and were sentenced to 20 years of personal servitude. Men ages 12 to 25 and women over the age of 12 were also sentenced to 20 years of personal servitude. The children under the age of 12 were found innocent of charges by Oñate and were handed over to Fray Martínez and Zaldívar for a Christian upbringing, never to see their kin from Ácoma again (Kessell 2008, 40-42; Simmons 1991, 144-145).

¹⁷ The establishment of the *encomienda* system, religious persecution, and captive taking by the Spanish led to an eventual series of uprisings culminating in the Revolt. In truth, an immeasurable number of incidents had occurred prior to 1680 that exemplify the Pueblo's resistance to oppression from the Spanish. Dozens of priests had been killed throughout the Southwest; small-scale wars had occurred between particular Pueblos and the Spanish settlers; and captive taking had expanded between settlers and Native peoples (Brooks 2002; Kessell 2008; Riley 1999).

¹⁸ Alcade Mayor Alfonso Rael de Aguilar states: "On top of this kiva I found a holy cross of wood stained red which apparently they had just put in place a short time before. I ordered the kiva destroyed. It was entirely closed up, unroofed, and filled with rock. There remained not a sign or a trace that there had been on that site and in that place any kiva at all" (Kessell 1979, 314).

¹⁹ The process of the *repartimiento* was reapplied in the legal process of land ownership, but unlike its initial intention of forced Indian labor as in Don Juan de Oñate's era, *repartimiento* came to define the public division of water for irrigation between competing land grant claimers. Under Spanish colonial law land could be privatized, but water could not. Water rights were highly subjective, and in Pecos' case access to water ultimately came to complications for the Pueblo's ability to survive on its own land grant (Hall 1984, 11).

²⁰ Ivey and Thomas argue that the interpretations of the convento kivas at Awatovi, Abó, Quarai, and Pecos are directly informed by scholarship on superposition posited by France Scholes, a leading scholar on Franciscans during the 1930s and 40s (Ivey and Thomas 2005, 210-211).

²¹ Of the Salinas region, Benavides writes: “.the Tompiras nation begins with its first pueblo [that] of Chilili...with fourteen or fifteen pueblos, in which there must be more than ten thousand souls; with six monasteries and very good churches; all [are] converted, and for the most part [*los demas*] baptized, and other are being catechized and taught, and with their [training] schools of all trades, as in the other [pueblos]” (1965, 20).

²² One such encounter at Pueblo de Las Humanas was met with a sort of self-embellishment on Benavides’ behalf in his Memorial of 1630: “I cannot refrain from telling here a saying of the Demon, by the mouth of an Indian wizard [who was] convinced of the word of God...it befell that seeing himself convinced, and that under my reasoning all the pueblo had determined to be Christian, the wizard was much angered and said at the top of his voice [*á vozes*]: “You Spaniards and Christians, how crazy you are! And you live like crazy folks! You want to teach us that we be [crazy] also!”...”You Christians are so crazy that you go all together, flogging yourselves like crazy people in the streets, shedding [your] blood. And thus you must wish that this pueblo be also crazy!”...Over which matter all were left laughing, and I much more, since I recognized and was persuaded that it was the Demon, who [thus] went fleeing, confounded by the virtue of the divine word” (1965, 20-21).

²³ Benavides writes: “They tied the naked candidate to a pillar, and all flogged him with some cruel thistles; afterward they entertained him with farces and other games, making a thousand gestures to induce him to laugh. If with all this he remained serene and did not cry out or make any movement at the one or laugh at the other, they confirmed him as a very valiant captain and performed great dances in his honor” (1945, 22; Gutiérrez 1991, 87).

²⁴ It was told among the arriving Franciscans in 1629 that a nun of the Franciscan order named María de Jesús de la Concepción had “miraculously transported” herself from Agreda in the province of Burgos Spain to the Southwest to preach to the Native peoples between 1621 and 1623. Benavides upon receiving word of this miraculous occurrence began his investigation, asking the Jumano people why they had not informed the friars of this before. Their reply according to Benavides was that they assumed that the Lady in Blue was supposed to be there and thought nothing out of the ordinary. Two other friars, Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego Lopez, led by members of the Jumano people left from Isleta to the Jumano *rancherías* where there were no missions, only to find that the people had learned about the cross from the Lady in Blue. Many people from the *rancherías* had come asking for baptisms, including women asking for their babies to be baptized since they could not ask for it themselves (Sánchez 1987, 79-82). Sor María de Agreda was a nun of the Franciscan order whom Benavides had met and interviewed after his return to Spain in 1631. From his interviews for his revised Memorial in 1634, Benavides found many of María’s answers of questions to be “outstandingly accurate and elaborate” pertaining to the province of New Mexico during her visitations to the Tompiro Pueblos and the Jumanos region. “My dear fathers, I do not know how to express to your paternities the impulses and great force of my spirit when this blessed Mother told me that she had been present with me at the baptism of the Pizos [Piros] and that she recognized me as the one she had seen there...She also told me all we know that has happened to our brothers and fathers, Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego López, in the journeys to the Jumanas, and that she asked the latter and instructed them to go and call the fathers...The Indians themselves will testify to all of this, as she speaks to them in person...She told me so many details of this country that I did not even remember them myself, and she brought them back to mind. I asked her why she did not allow us to see her when she granted this bliss to the Indians. She replied that they needed it and we did not, and that her blessed angels arranged everything” (Benavides 1945, 140-141). Sor María de Agreda also accounts her experiences in a letter to the missionaries in which she states that the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico are quite capable of converting to Catholicism and urges the missionaries to continue their tasks at hand without question or delay. “The events which I have reported happened to me from the year 1620 to the present year, 1631, in the kingdoms of Quivira and the Jumanas...I entreat, advise, and urge them in behalf of the Lord to labor in such a blessed task, praising the Most High for their good fortune and bliss...For His Majesty appoints you His

treasurers and disbursers of His precious blood and places in your hands its price, which is the souls of so many Indians, who, lacking light and someone to furnish it to them continue in darkness and blindness and are deprived of the most holy and desirable law and of the blessing of eternal salvation... Since God created these Indians as apt and competent beings to serve and worship Him, it is not just that they lack what we, the rest of the Christian faithful, possess and enjoy” (Colohan 1994, 111).

²⁵ Recent architectural analysis of the Pecos convent has identified a transition from black adobe bricks, used in the 1620’s and 1630’s during Fray Ortega’s and Juarez’s tenure, to red adobe bricks sometime beginning around 1645 to approximately 1655. Though no Franciscan has been identified as residing at Pecos from this time period, the architectural evidence is suggested to represent a continuation of Franciscan oversight of the mission (Ivey 2005, 336-338). Kessell agrees with this interpretation stating, “it is not likely that the friars left such a prominent pueblo or such a fine church and convento unattended for long” (1979, 169).

²⁶ When speaking about another contested issue of Spanish colonial historical knowledge, the Black Legend of Don Juan de Oñate, Kessell argues that colonial history is a “sensitive matter of degrees”; that conquest would seem to be the innate human behavior of those who enjoy greater numbers and superior technology, and though we in the present may judge colonial actions of the past as incomprehensible by modern ethical and cultural standards, the colonial situation of the Spanish in the Southwest was not really *that bad* (2011, 382).

²⁷ Edward P. Dozier was a member of Santa Clara Pueblo who was trained in anthropology and history at the University of New Mexico during the 1930s and 40s. Upon receiving his Master’s in anthropology, Dozier went on to teaching at the University of California and the University of Oregon and completing his Doctorate in anthropology in 1952. His work consisted primarily of collected and synthesizing historical, anthropological, and archaeological data into one cohesive narrative about Pueblo Peoples before and after Spanish colonization (Sando 1976, 174-178). Though his work is considered more in line with Western traditions of history and anthropology rather than postcolonial and Native American studies, his role in developing Pueblo perspectives on historical narratives was important especially in influencing other Pueblo historians like Ortiz and Sando.

Alfonso Ortiz was a member of Ohkay Ohwinge (San Juan) Pueblo and was trained in sociology at the University of New Mexico and anthropology at the University of Chicago in the 1950s and 60s. He taught anthropology at Princeton as well as the University of New Mexico while staying actively involved in the Native American rights movement during the 1960’s and 70’s. Ortiz felt that his role as being a Pueblo anthropologist was salutary, that his involvement represented a turning of tides for indigenous inclusion in the discipline (Whiteley 1999, 392-394). Like Dozier, he was no postcolonialist nor was he explicit in using a developed critical indigenous approach, but his work represented a shift in epistemological power relations between anthropologists and their indigenous research subjects (Jojola 1997).

Joe S. Sando was a member of Jemez Pueblo and was trained as a historian during the 1940s at Eastern New Mexico College and later at Vanderbilt. He taught Pueblo Indian history at a number of institutions, including the University of New Mexico and the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe. He later served as the director of the Institute of Pueblo Study and Research at the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center in Albuquerque and was a sought-after lecturer on American Indian issues around the country (Sando 1976; Contreras 2011). Sando’s work addresses a multitude of assumptions that non-indigenous peoples have about Indians in the United States, but his primary focus is on the Pueblos, their identity, and survival of their culture in the modern era. These three historians represent a critical shift in anthropology and history that inform how my own critique can address the metanarratives of Pecos Pueblo.

²⁸ One important ritual is the ceremony of the Pecos Bull Dance that is performed on the Feast Day of Porcingula (Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles) at Jemez Pueblo. “The Pecos Governor explained the origins of the Pecos Bull. He said that the bull is believed to have come from a lake in the Santa Fe Baldy region. When the bull came out of the lake, the Pecos people chased it. The bull entered Pecos Pueblo where it was chained. However, the bull did not want to stay so it broke the chains and returned to its home in the

mountain lake. The significance of the Pecos Bull ceremony on August 2, according to the Pecos Governor, was the blessing of cattle, horses, and farm animals. The annual Pecos Bull ceremony at Jemez makes an explicit and performative claim. The elders claimed Jemez as the legitimate heir of Pecos traditions” (Levine, Norcini, and Foster 1994, 2-4). The Pecos Bull might be interpreted as a hybrid ritual that combines Puebloan ideology of performative tradition on Feast Days with an animal that was imported to the Southwest by the Spanish. Yet the significance of the Bull Dance to Pecos clans because it is a Puebloan Feast Day ritual that, as Dozier describes of Puebloan rituals (1970, 50), combines both Pueblo and Catholic elements which makes the ritual unique to the descendants of Pecos and their identity.

²⁹ For example, the Southwest ethnographer Elsie Clews Parsons who conducted the first intensive study of Jemez in the early 20th century argued that it was without a doubt a fact that both Pueblos had the exact same language and that it was so that Jemez could resemble a living representation of the “extinct” Pueblo of Pecos. “The affiliations of Pecos and Jemez were both linguistic and historical. The Jemez language of the Tanoan stock was spoken only at these two towns. . . in view of the linguistic similarity between the two towns, it was believed that the Jemez would be more likely than any other people to resemble the Pecos” (Parsons 1925; Levine, Norcini and Foster 1994, 2-11). In a different way, Schroeder hypothesized that the modern dialect of Towa spoken at Jemez is actually a combination of pre-1838 Jemez Towa and the acculturated Pecos Towa. “The Jemez tradition that their present dialect grew out of a combination of the original dialects of Pecos and Jemez suggests that a sizable number joined Jemez prior to the 1838 exodus of the few individuals remaining at Pecos” (Schroeder 1979:430).

³⁰ Lekson describes this concept of anthropological and archaeological nationalism following the Mexican American War. “The history of the ancient Southwest, as we are accustomed to hearing it and telling it, reflects a 150-year-old foundational premise: the Southwest was *ours* and not Mexico’s. The first U.S. archaeological fieldwork undertook to refute legends from Spanish and Mexican times suggesting that the Southwest was the original homeland of the Aztecs – mythical Atzlan. Pioneer archaeologists established that *our* Southwest was no part of *their* Mexican past – a conclusion based on data but predicated by nationalisms. The first excavators, surveyors, and field men worked as agents of conquest and colonialism: they were exploring newly won territories. Their language was (almost exclusively) English. They were not consciously complicit in imperialism; they were honest scholars doing their work. But they reflected a nationalism that had no room for Mexico or Mesoamerican in the ancient Southwest” (2008a, 31-32). Similarly, Don Fowler and Linda Cordell state: “From the perspective of anthropologists from the eastern United States, the Southwest is an internal exotic location that serves as an appropriate crucible for development of anthropology as a discipline concerned with understanding cultural diversity. The Southwest as a region offered twentieth-century anthropology a unique palette of diverse tribes of American Indians, strong, traditional Hispanic communities, and a history nearly devoid of Anglo Europeans. For archaeologists, the arid and relatively sparsely populated landscape provided excellent conditions of site preservation, while the living Native peoples served as analogues through which archaeological materials were interpreted. Most generally, the large number of sites and the quality of the archaeological record made the Southwest a preferred locale for large scale excavation projects that could enhance museum collections and provide a training ground for students” (Fowler and Cordell 2005, 4).

³¹ Morgan influenced Bandelier into viewing the Southwest Indians as socially evolved as they were ever going to go, reaching only a level of “Middle Barbarism.” This racialized attitude is most apparent in Bandelier’s own work viewing the grand monuments of the Southwest as evidence of an Aztec presence in the Southwest rather than coming from local indigenous groups (Lekson 2008a, 34-35).

³² Hewitt is another Morgan protégé and a considered key figure in the transformation of Southwest archaeology from an endeavor of East Coast exploration to a local, regional specialty. Aside from his extensive fieldwork, in 1907 he established the School of American Research and Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe and, in 1928, the Department of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico (Lekson 2008a, 36). His reason for establishing local archaeological institutions in New Mexico was that he saw a significant loss to Southwest archaeology by allowing East Coast institutions to rob the archaeological sites of their treasures. Hewitt writes, “By the turn of the century, Smithsonian collectors had been shipping railroad carloads of archaeological and ethnographic objects from the Southwest to Washington D.C., for

two decades” (Lekson 2008a, 37). Contemporarily, Hewitt has been criticized as making these accusations because he wanted to establish archaeological museums in the Southwest that he could directly control and influence (Snead 2005). Hewitt laments during this time that archaeological data from sites and living traditional peoples are being lost at alarming rates, not because he feels that Native peoples are being stripped of their heritage sites and exploited for their knowledge, but because Hewitt believes they should stay in the Southwest for people to appreciate in their geographic context. “The ethno-archeologist who is seeking to recover the history of any one of our southwestern tribes finds his sources of information gradually fading. Ancient dwellings are being torn down and with them are disappearing some of our best evidences of primitive sociologic conditions. Aboriginal burial mounds are being plowed up and the mortuary pottery therein reduced to fragments or scattered abroad with no accompanying data, thus obliterating our best paleographic record of primitive thought. Old people are dying and with their passing ancient languages are lost beyond recovery, and traditionary testimony of ancient migrations, ritual, and religion melt away” (Hewitt 1904, 426).

³³ Kidder is best known for his application of stratigraphically excavating Pecos Pueblo and carefully sequencing his findings in artifacts into clear temporal designations (Cordell and McBrinn 2012, 68-69). This classification is known coincidentally enough as the Pecos classification and is still used to this day for temporally classifying archaeological sites of Ancestral Puebloan affiliation (Cordell and McBrinn 2012, 74; Fowler and Cordell 2005, 8).

³⁴ The methods of stabilization used by Kidder and Nusbaum at Pecos were not the most beneficial options for the historical fabric of the structures. The use of concrete on adobe did not allow for moisture from rain and snow to leak out of the earthen bricks, nor did it allow the adobes to expand from freezing and thawing conditions during the winters in the Pecos valley. The steel bars used for reinforcement caused some structural damage to the church walls by cutting into the structural integrity of intact adobes, and later stabilization efforts would have to do some damage to the walls in an attempt to remove these bars (National Park Service 1967; Ivey 2005; White 1994b). In summary, legacy of stabilization efforts would work to rectify the damage caused by the early excavations, stabilization, and the eventual outcomes of natural deterioration at the Pecos church.

³⁵ The WPA’s mission during the 1930’s was primarily providing jobs during the Depression by constructing recreational areas and occasionally aiding in preservation of historic properties. Their approach to the Pecos church and convento followed similar approaches to their general construction jobs by giving the ruin a more “completed” appearance by plastering and capping the original architectural fabric despite the fact the ruin had no complete walls or was roofed (Ivey 2005, 138-191).

³⁶ The Park Service has worked extensively to mitigate the damage from these early stabilization efforts and has adapted its methodologies to accommodate the needs of adobe structures in the complex environment of the Pecos valley (Metzeger 1990, 4.2.3).

³⁷ Pinkley was trained in archaeology at the University of Arizona in the 1930s under the direction of Emil Haury, a Southwestern archaeologist who specialized in Hohokam archaeology in the Arizona. Pinkley joined the National Park Service in 1939 being assigned to Mesa Verde National Park, where she stayed until 1966. In 1942, Pinkley contributed to the planning for the Wetherill Mesa Archaeological project, a major effort at Mesa Verde, serving as the park superintendent's advisor on interpretation and research issues. Although her training was in archeology, in the Park Service she worked primarily as an interpretation specialist (Ivey 2005, 211). This likely explains the Park Service’s reason in hiring her on at Pecos: to bring the new national monument to tourist attention.

³⁸ The documentation of the kiva by Hayes is as follows: “The kiva was round, averaged 20.1 feet wide, and entirely subterranean with walls standing at 6.4 feet above the floor without indication of beams seats or other evidence of roofing. Walls were on a masonry foundation from 1.0 to 1.8 feet high and built up of black adobe bricks, undoubtedly salvaged from the destroyed church [after 1680]. A coat of brown, sandy plaster 0.05 to 0.1 feet thick covered large sections of the wall. The wall was 1.5 feet thick with alternate courses laid crossways. A mortar of red clay was used liberally, so the seams were nearly as thick as the

bricks. A ventilator shaft rising immediately behind the east wall was lined on its north and south sides with bricks set on edge and on the east by flat-laid adobes. While digging behind the walls in 1971, preparatory to reconstructing a roof for the kiva, Gary Matlock found an earlier ventilator about 2 feet north which had been filled, plugged, and plastered over. The floor was packed and smoothed adobe clay up to 0.15 feet thick laid over 0.3 feet of sand which had been spread out on sterile red soil. Subfloor tests revealed that the north arc of the wall sat on bedrock, which sloped off steeply to the west and south. There were two pits, 0.5 feet wide by 1.0 feet deep south of the central axis and west of the fireplace. The westernmost was covered, just below the floor clay, with a piece of a sandstone comal. A Pecos Glaze-on-white soup plate, of Indian manufacture but Spanish design, lay on the floor against the west wall and culinary jar sat between the deflector and the southeast quadrant. Part of the Pecos Glaze bowl was found near the south wall and sherds from all of these were also found in the ashes of the firepit. Sherds of three cups and two bowls of polished plain red ware lay scattered over most of the floor. Other sherds were few and the only identifiable decorated ware was Pecos Glaze. Two hammerstones were also found on the floor and a small piece of wax and sulphur, ground and mixed together. Behind the deflector were several fragments of almost completely oxidized iron. A subrectangular firepit roughly two feet square was sunk 0.2 feet into the floor and paved with a flagstone hearth. At the rear of the pit, at floor level, was an ashpit the width of the firepit and 0.8 feet deep flanked by sheltering arms of adobe terraced up from 0.2 feet high at the outer ends to 0.5 where they joined the deflector. The latter, 3.5 feet wide by 3.0 feet high and 0.8 feet thick, was built of adobe bricks. It rose in three terraces to make a cloud-altar shape. Both firepit and ash-shelf were filled and piled high with white ash, which spilled over the arms of the altar and onto the floor. In the ash were numerous strips of muscovite mica cut into long rectangles, and a quantity of broken and charred food bones, including those of a domestic rooster. The kiva was filled with remarkably clean soil containing little cultural material and no wood. The impression was that it was deliberately backfilled. Only 111 sherds came from the fill. Seventeen of the 24 identifiable decorated sherds were Pecos Glaze, but they included several Kapo Black and polished redware sherds, and one Tewa Polychrome. The remaining inventory was: a large piece of split selenite, a cut mica disk, two chalcedony edge scrapers, one sherd of dark green bottle glass, and a thick fragment of a bronze bell" (Hayes 1974, 33-35).

This description of the excavation is indeed confusing without provided maps and day-to-day documentation of how the kiva was excavated. From Hayes' notes, Ivey has been able to reconstruct Hayes' activities while excavating the kiva. "Mike Barela, who had worked on Pinkley's crew, recalled the traces of wall she had found in the ground of Area H a little west of Room 36 in June, 1967. Hayes, knowing that any wall traces had to be defined and mapped in order to have any hope of working out the structural sequence, had a trench cut running east to west in the northwest corner of Area H 'to rediscover a wall remembered by one of the workmen, but not recorded on the map.'" In the daily notes of July 22, Hayes said that this trench, designated 70-3, was begun "to find top of old wall which Mike Barela remembered seeing in '67 - one cut by one of Pinkley's trenches.'" By July 27, the trenching had 'uncovered two more subterranean walls . . . evidence of at least two more cellar rooms adjacent to [the "cellar" under Room 36] excavated by Jean Pinkley'. In his notes, Hayes stated his suspicion that the "slightly curving wall in TT 70-3 [in Area H] is a kiva with wall made of black adobes." Undoubtedly the idea of a kiva made of Spanish adobe bricks bothered Hayes, but he did not elaborate on this point in the notes. On July 28 the crew 'found sawed boards in fill to east of first wall and continued to trowel for eastern edge of the subterranean structures.' In his monthly report he referred to the wood as 'roofing timbers.' After clearing some of the back dirt from around the trench on August 26 and 27, on August 31 Hayes began trenching along the walls of the structure to determine its outline. It quickly proved itself to be a circular subterranean room; by definition, this made it virtually certain to be a kiva: 'The pit in Area H is apparently a circular kiva 20' across.' Hayes began removing the fill from the kiva with the backhoe on September 1, with two crew members looking through the spoil for artifacts. At the end of the day, the back-hoe bucket cut the corner of the reflector behind the firepit at the bottom of the cut; this allowed a firm identification of the structure as a kiva. On September 3, the crew continued to remove fill by hand, the backhoe being unable to reach safely into the structure. They located the floor on September 4, and emptied the remaining fill on September 8. He later summarized the main points of evidence in the September monthly report: 'Testing around the edges of the subterranean structure in Area H . . . proved it to be a kiva. A back-hoe was hired to remove the upper fill down to the level of the deflector and the excavation was completed with hand tools. The kiva was round, 20 feet across, entirely below ground, and with a maximum present depth 6.4 feet. There was no trace of timbering and the fill was nearly sterile soil rather than trash or alluvium

from the convento area, and it appeared to have been brought in purposefully to fill the hole.' Hayes had been puzzling over the odd combination of evidence in the kiva: it was clearly a functioning kiva structure, but built of Spanish adobe bricks and mortar – in fact, the same combination of materials used to build the church and the earliest version of the convento in 1620-1635 – and constructed in the convento: 'Of particular interest was the fact that the kiva was lined with bricks of the same 'black,' charcoal-impregnated adobe which was used in the early, 17th century church and convento. The walls were covered with a coat of fire-blackened plaster. A shallow, rectangular firebox was backed by a terraced altar deflector of adobe, and was filled with ashes and animal bones which overflowed onto the adjacent floor area'" (Ivey 2005, 274-276).

³⁹ Three individual stages were necessary for the project. The first stage began with hand-maps, black-and-white photography, and sampling of adobe soils for particle-size analysis. The second encompassed flotation, pollen, and petrographic analyses, color photography, type collecting, and archaeomagnetic dating. Here, attention was paid to variability in adobe brick dimensions, color (Munsell), texture, inclusions, patterning, and associations between individual bricks in a wall. In the third and final stage, seventeen adobe and mortar types were subjected to flotation, pollen, and petrographic analyses in an attempt to corroborate the preliminary typology. All of these stages were worked in collaboration with Ivey, who provided an investigation into the architectural history of the Park's Spanish colonial structures. From this, strong associations between the seventeen adobe and mortar types and the documented history of the church-convento complex revealed themselves in a clear and cohesive scientific manner (White 1996, 350).

⁴⁰ Ivey uses White's documentation of the adobe chronology to support his interpretation of the convento kiva as a sign of negotiation. "White's intensive reexamination of materials that were used in the specific episodes of convento construction has cleared up a number of questions about the sequence of construction and the probable dates for each episode. His work indicates that black bricks with purple or maroon-red mortar appear to have been used only for the first two episodes of construction; later efforts used red-brown adobe bricks set in a brown mortar. The earliest red-brick/brown-mortar construction at Pecos seem to be the 'cellar' beneath room 36, whose bricks have the same measurements as black bricks and therefore were probably made in the old black-brick mold. Archaeomagnetic measurements show that the large furnace hearth in the 'cellar' was fired to its greatest heat about 1640-50. Based on this date and the sequence of construction in the convento, the changeover from black to red brick apparently occurred about 1640. The specific combination of black brick and purple-red mortar found in the kiva was used only in the period from 1620 to 1640. Particle and trace element analysis conducted on the bricks and mortar of Pecos has shown that the mortar used between the black bricks in the kiva was the same as that used between the black bricks in the earliest construction of the convento. Obviously, in 1680 the Pecos would not have painstakingly scraped up the mortar from between the bricks of the fallen church to use in their kiva. No that it is clear that the kiva was built with the 1620-40 brick and mortar combination, the hypothesis that the construction of the kiva occurred in 1680 cannot reasonably be advocated. Additional dating information came from the artifacts found in the kiva [by Hayes]. On the floor of the kiva or in the firepit were found a number of potsherds, the most diagnostic of which were three cups and two bowls of polished plain redware, virtually indistinguishable from Salinas Redware. The presence of polished red ceramics on the floor suggests that the time of the last use of the kiva may have been as early as the 1630's. In the absence of any historical reference to the kiva, the reasons to suggest a different construction date that that indicated by the construction material can only come from architectural data and the artifact collection. If we look at the architectural and artifact information with no assumptions, the situation is clear: the adobe bricks and mortar demonstrate that a construction date of 1620-40 is reasonable. The artifacts on the floor of the kiva and duration of their use implied by the construction of a replacement ventilator are consistent with the date of last use being 1640. The artifacts in the fill indicate that a reasonable date for its backfilling would be any time after 1650 or sooner, if the open hole next to the convento was filled with the earth from the cellar below room 36 (constructed about 1645). In other words, the Pecos convento kiva seems to follow the same chronology seen at the Salinas missions, and therefore was apparently built in the convento yard under the supervision of the Franciscans" (Ivey 1998, 138-140). There is also a potential case of error in identification of architectural elements either by Hayes or White. In his stabilization history, White documents there is a discrepancy regarding a coating of white plaster in the kiva's interior

walls, a point that is critical for Ivey in determining the function of a kiva as a tool of religious conversion by Fray Juarez. However, White also indicates that Hayes never documented white plaster within the kiva, instead stating there was, "...no finish coat but was smoothed. Not painted but was smoke blackened..." (White 1994b). As a result the ability to determine the function of the kiva based strictly on the evidence documented by Hayes and Matlock is inconclusive and may be fundamentally flawed.

⁴¹ A brief overview of Navajo pueblitos is as follows: "Pueblitos are small stone structures typically built on boulders, mesa rims, and other prominent topographic features. They range in size from one to more than forty rooms, but most contain four to five rooms and are often associated with forked-pole hogans and a few other structure types. Some sites classified as pueblitos in this study contain no masonry buildings, but consist of forked-pole hogans in inaccessible locations protected by small masonry walls or other features. This definition, however, does not include forked-pole hogan sites in open areas that lack associated masonry construction. In addition to the masonry construction, which has been interpreted as an introduction of Puebloan refugees, many pueblitos contain other internal features, such as 'hooded' fireplaces, interpreted as non-Navajo introductions. Pueblitos also often contain 'loopholes' and 'false' entryways that have been cited as evidence as a defensive site function" (Towner 2003, 1-2).

⁴² Towner discusses colonial discourses of Navajo pueblitos in the following: "Much of what is known about Navajo culture is derived from historical documents and ethnographies that discuss the period after the Navajo's incarceration at Fort Sumner. In addition, most descriptions of Navajo culture by early ethnographers and anthropologists stress the influences of other cultures on the Navajo. Early Spanish documents provide glimpses of Navajo culture and history, but because the Navajo lived on the fringes of the Spanish empire, references to the Navajo are sporadic and often ambiguous. The documents must also be interpreted in the context of Spanish objectives and the types of Navajo-Spaniard interaction that occurred. Interaction most often took the form of raids or other military encounters, but there are few references to Navajo trade with nearby Puebloan groups. Traditionally, the Spaniards' reconquest of New Mexico has been viewed as a watershed event in Navajo history. Although Don Diego de Vargas' initial reconquest in 1692 had little direct impact, the violent campaigns against the Pueblos in 1694 and the crushing of the abortive revolt of 1696 created severe population dislocations in several areas. Both historians and archaeologists have inferred that the Navajo benefitted from these events. The 'refugee hypothesis' suggests that large numbers of Puebloans fled the Spanish Reconquest, particularly after the failed rebellion of 1696, and lived with the Navajo, influencing almost every aspect of Navajo life" (Towner 2003, 5-6).

⁴³ Tyuonyi Pueblo consists of a stone and mortar built room-block village at the bottom of the canyon and numerous clusters of cave habitation structures carved into the canyon walls known to archaeologists as "cavates." The site was occupied primarily between 1150 and the early 1500's by Ancestral Pueblo populations affiliated with San Ildefonso and Cochiti Pueblos, although Santo Domingo, Santa Clara, and Zuñi also claim affiliation to the area (Powers et al. 1999). Among the cavate clusters in Frijoles Canyon, there is a cluster identified by Park Service management as Group-M. This cluster believed to have been occupied during the latter period of occupation (1325 to 1500's) (Power et al. 1999, 346, 582). Cavate M-100 has the "Virgin-Kachina" on its west wall (Liebmann 2002, 136).

⁴⁴ The presence of diagnostic ceramic sherds like Kapo Black (1700-1760), Tewa Polychrome (1650-1750), and Glaze F (1625-1700) at Group-M support this interpretation (Liebmann 2002, 136).

⁴⁵ Liebmann's interpretation of the convento kivas at the Salinas missions is based on the information provided by Ivey (1998), but disagrees with both his view of negotiation as well as Toulouse and Ely, Fisher, and Baker's view of superposition (Ivey 1988). "At some Eastern Pueblo villages, kivas were intentionally placed on the grounds of churches and missions. At Abó and Quarai, kivas were constructed deliberately within the confines of the conventos at a considerable distance from the Pueblo dwellings. Conscious efforts seem to have been made to place traditional Pueblo ceremonial structures in the areas consecrated by Spanish missionaries, even though this was not a conventional location for a kiva. This type of overt, active resistance appropriates and usurps the sacred ground delineated by the Spanish friars. Indeed, the concept of 'holy ground' was almost certainly foreign to a Pueblo population who did not

rigidly separate the sacred from the secular – this was a deliberate strategy of resistance on the part of the leaders of Abó and Quarai to reclaim and invert the power usurped by Christianity, reaffirm traditional practices, and recreate new identities for their people” (Liebmann 2002, 138). Unfortunately according to Ivey, historical and archaeological evidence indicates there are no indications that the missions were abandoned for the periods of time that the Salinas convento kivas were constructed (Ivey 1998, 135-137).

⁴⁶ Similarly, the same model could be applied for interpreting the Pecos Bull Dance. Returning again to Dozier’s description of Puebloan rituals (1970, 50), the Pecos Bull Dance also combines Pueblo and Catholic elements thus making the dance unique to the descendants of Pecos and their identity and is not shared by other Pueblos. Perhaps this is a way to understand other combinations of Pueblo and Catholic icons and practices like the “Virgin-Kachina” and the convento kiva.

⁴⁷ Fowles writes about the comparison of the Pueblos to the Moors in the following: “Broadly speaking, two competing claims prevailed in the wake of the initial European invasions: either the American Indians were said to be blank slates lacking religion altogether, or they were portrayed as having a false religion, typically described as idolatry, paganism, fetishism, or devil worship. The dominant means by which the Spanish made the Pueblos legible, however, was through a comparison with Muslims, specifically the Moorish occupants of Iberia who had recently been ousted from Europe in an explicitly religious crusade. The conceptual equations of Pueblo with Muslim, paganism with Islam, and New World conquest with Iberian conquest were persistent themes during the early colonial period. On its own, being called a Moor would have meant nothing to sixteenth-century native communities. Certainly, being accused of having a false rather than a true religion would have had no local referent. Nevertheless, an indigenous understanding of ‘religion’ as a real, on-the-ground category would have speedily arisen as the Pueblos painfully learned that certain of their practices were being singled out as targets of Spanish iconoclastic reforms. Planting corn and performing katsina dances may have been two closely related practices from an indigenous perspective, but to the Spanish they were entirely separate matters: the former was a means of economic production [and secular], hence encouraged; the latter was an idolatrous practice of a false religion that must be eliminated” (Fowles 2013, 242-244). Other examples of Spanish comparisons of the Pueblos to the Moors are in the *Los Moros y Los Cristianos* drama and *Los Matachines* dances in Northern New Mexico. *Los Moros y Los Cristianos* is an outdoor theatrical drama that celebrates the defeat of the Moors by the Spanish in the Iberian peninsula. Some scholars speculate that *Los Moros y Los Cristianos* was performed by the early Spanish colonists as a way to show the Pueblos what the consequences would be if they disobeyed the colony (Montaño 2001, 281-283). *Los Matachines* is a popular dance among Spanish and Native American communities with a more abstract focus. It is believed to be more universal in its representation of the struggle between good and evil, old and new, conqueror and conquered. While the 16th century Pueblos rejected participating in *Los Moros y Los Cristianos*, they did embrace *Los Matachines*. This is conflicting because *Los Matachines* is based in Spanish dramas of the Iberian reconquest like *Los Moros y Los Cristianos*, yet the *Los Matachines* dance is also argued by some scholars to have been brought to the Pueblos by the Aztecs (Montaño 2001, 171-172).

⁴⁸ Fowles describes the transition of Pueblo “doings” to customs in the following: “The most persistent colonial assessment was that the Pueblos possessed a ‘false religion’ (comparable to Islam), and this was drive into native self-consciousness from early on. A second colonial assessment also emerged, however, particularly following the Pueblo Revolt period, as the Spanish sought to make new compromises with native leaders. For eighteenth-century Franciscans, this was an entirely pragmatic move designed not only to appease the Pueblos but also to counter critics who could now be told that the non-Catholic practices of the natives were relatively harmless regional ‘customs’ rather than expressions of an unreformed and dangerous heathenism. ‘Customs’ did not necessarily conflict with the Catholic ‘religion,’ and even when seen as problematic, these were legally classified as venial rather than mortal sins, with less serious repercussions” (Fowles 2013, 245).

⁴⁹ Fowles describes the racial views from Protestants of the Pueblos both as Catholics and as pagans in the following: “In the late nineteenth-century this arrangement [of the Franciscans viewing Pueblo ‘doings’ as ‘customs’] was unsettled when American Protestants began to compete with the Catholic Church for control over Pueblo education. The Catholic Church had grown accustomed to defending itself with the argument

that Catholicism simply *was* the religion of the Pueblos and, as such, deserved protection, encouragement, and ongoing financial support. Protestants generally found this argument unconvincing. Whereas the Franciscans were willing to view Pueblo doings as mere customs, Protestant leaders sniffed a persistent paganism and accused the Catholic Church of having failed to Christianize the natives. At a deeper level, however, American Protestants were at least as interested in the critique of Catholicism as of Pueblo doings, both of which they viewed as anachronistic holdovers that impeded the development of a progressive secular society. Under Spanish colonialism, Catholics accused the Pueblos of being like Muslims. Under American colonialism, Protestants accused the Pueblos of being like Catholics” (Fowles 2013, 245).

⁵⁰ Regarding the need for archaeologists to recognize secularism in their discipline, he states: “If we have been slow to develop an archaeology of religion, let us acknowledge that this is not due to the difficulty of studying a transcendent or immaterial phenomenon via a material record. Given the obvious materiality of all contemporary religions, this has never been a compelling excuse anyway. Pre-modern [non-Western] religion isn’t just hard to excavate, in other words. Nor does our difficulty stem from religion’s entanglements with politics, economics, kinship, and son on; the problem is not that religion simply has fuzzier boundaries in antiquity. Let us acknowledge, finally, that pre-modern religion isn’t there to be found at all. Freed of this category, we stand in a better position to be surprised by the past and to learn something new about it. Easier said than done. The disciplinary attachment to religion as a universal aspect of the human condition runs deep. As we have seen, this is partly because the anthropology of religion has long participated in a laudable effort to counter colonial accusations that the indigenous victims of European conquest were godless heathens lacking their own systems of social and moral order. But the stakes involved in defending religion’s universality have grown far too high. Twentieth-century anthropology presented us with an image of religion as the very thing that affirms the world’s orderliness and relative predictability. The implication is that whatever irreligious hiccups may occur here and there in the course of history, humanity will always return to its sacred project. I disagree. Human communities need not make the false choice between religion and the monstrous spasms of a world without religion, any more than anthropologists need to choose between describing their subjects as pious or heathen, or contemporary society needs to choose between secularism and religious resurgence. The world has a great spectrum of possibilities” (Fowles 2013, 262-263).

⁵¹ This gap of archaeology and Native involvement is partly because Tribal consultation was not yet a federal requirement for the National Park Service to conduct. But part the gap is because collaboration with Native communities was, and to a point still is, viewed by some archaeologists as a theoretical throwback to the culture history traditions of the late 19th and early 20th century that perpetuated assumptions of Native essentialism and were without concrete scientific theory (McGhee 2008; 2010). Such contentions that Native perspective in archaeological theory carries no scientific merit and should remain separated from archaeology as a whole has been criticized heavily by proponents of postcolonial and indigenous archaeology. They argue the European notion of “separate but equal” being considered a suitable approach for collaboration with indigenous peoples is specifically the reason why Native peoples need to make their presence known in challenging and dismantling the sociopolitical power that archaeology has over interpretations of the past (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Croes 2010; Wilcox 2010).

⁵² NAGPRA defines the following terms for federally recognized Tribes to participate in repatriation. “Cultural affiliation” means that there is a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group. “Indian tribe” means any tribe, band, nation, or other organized group or community of Indians, including any Alaskan Native village (as defined in, or established pursuant to, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act) [43 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.], which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United States to Indians because of their status as Indians. “Native American” means of, or relating to, a tribe, people, or culture that is indigenous to the United States. “Right of possession” means possession obtained with the voluntary consent of an individual or group that had authority of alienation. The original acquisition of a Native American unassociated funerary object, sacred object, or object of cultural patrimony from an Indian Tribe or Native Hawaiian organization

with the voluntary consent of an individual or group with authority to alienate such object is deemed to give right of possession of that object...The original acquisition of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects which were excavated, exhumed, or otherwise obtained with full knowledge and consent of the next of kin or the official governing body of the appropriate culturally affiliated Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization is deemed to give right of possession to those remains. (23 U.S.C. § 3001(2))

⁵³ Watkins elaborates on this point of academic and compliance archaeology's use of Tribal consultation "If archaeology continues its move toward a bifurcated discipline (compliance archaeology on the one hand and academic archaeology on the other), it is likely that compliance archaeologists will take the forefront on issues impacted by repatriation. They will continue to develop relationships with tribal groups that will become more mutually beneficial as they work together on projects. As more tribal groups find ways to influence projects that impact their cultural heritage, such relationships will help increase the understanding and involvement of tribal groups within the discipline. Consultation mandated by the federal compliance system and associated cultural resource protection legislation will work to ensure that tribal concerns are met. Academic archaeologists, however, might fall even further behind the curve set by compliance archaeologists. The relationship between academic archaeologists and American Indian tribal groups is less defined by legal or ethical guidelines than by cultural preservation legislation and regulations. While the relationship has the possibility of mutual benefit, it is not built into the system" (Watkins 2008, 176).

Appendix: Figures

Figure 1. Pecos National Historical Park visitor map and guide.

Figure 2. Locations of 16th and 17th century Pueblos and Missions.

Figure 3. The Pecos land grant from 1815 to 1818 and 1826.

Figure 4. Expansion of the convent during Fray Andrés Juárez's time at Pecos.

Figure 5. Photo of Pecos elders Zu-wa-ng/José Miguel Pecos and Se-sa-few-yah/Agustín Pecos.

Figure 6. Excavated convento kiva by Hayes in 1970.

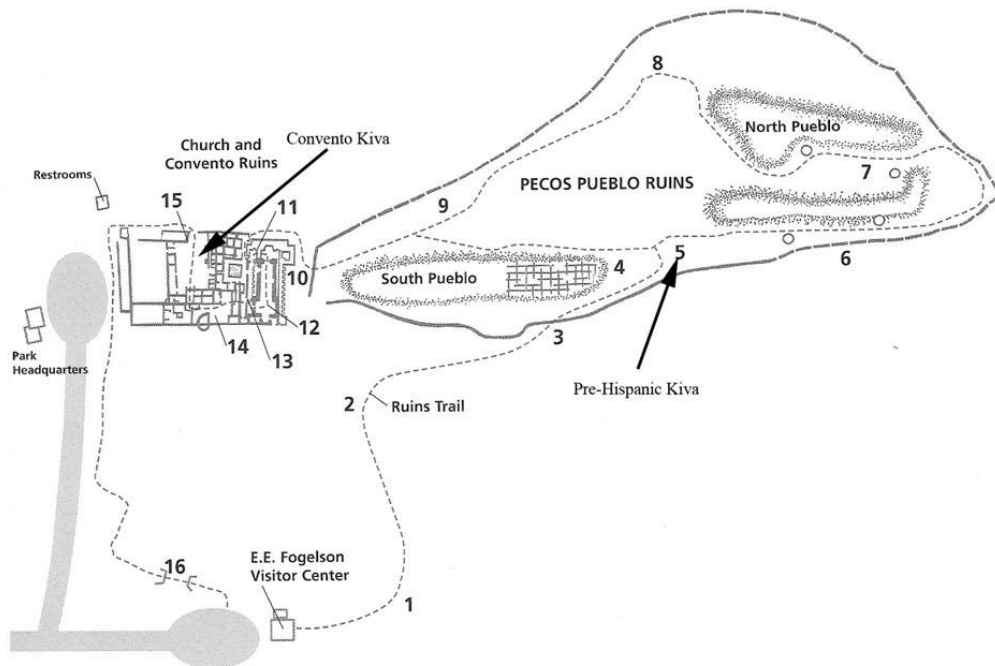
Figure 7. Photographs of stabilization and reconstruction of convento kiva in 1971.

Figure 8. The convento kivas at San Bernardo de Awatovi, San Gregorio de Abó, Nuestra Señora de La Purísima Concepción de Quarai, and Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles at Pecos.

Figure 9. The “Virgin-Kachina” of Cavate M-100.

Figure 10. Pecos Pathways brochure from Phillips Academy website.

Figure 11. Pecos Feast Day with Jemez Pueblo members, August 2011.



5
Pueblo Ceremonial Room

Climb down the ladder into this reconstructed kiva, a place where Pueblo people performed rituals to insure their well-being. Each kiva society conducted different kinds of ceremonies, for example to increase game, insure a successful hunt or harvest, or to cure the sick. Rows of loom anchors (twig loops imbedded in kiva floors) show that kivas were also workrooms, where men wove the kilts and sashes worn by dancers.

Pecos Pueblo has more than 20 kivas. They share some similar features: (A) an entryway through the roof which also served as a chimney; (B) a ventilator shaft to conduct fresh air into the room; (C) a deflector to shield the fire from drafts; (D) a fire pit; (E) and a sipapu—a small hole symbolizing the Pueblo people's emergence from the underworld in their beginning. Many Pueblo people regard the kiva as a model of their universe, with the sipapu representing the below, the kiva floor symbolizing this world, and the roof entry representing the above.

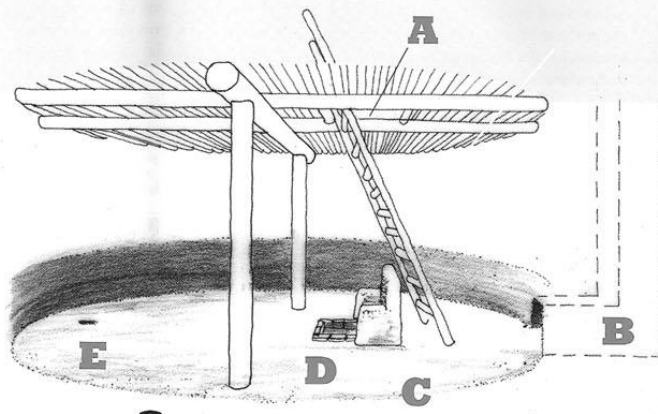


Figure 1. Pecos National Historical Park visitor map with reconstructed kiva locations (top) and guide describing the function of a kiva (bottom)(Mogollón 2006).

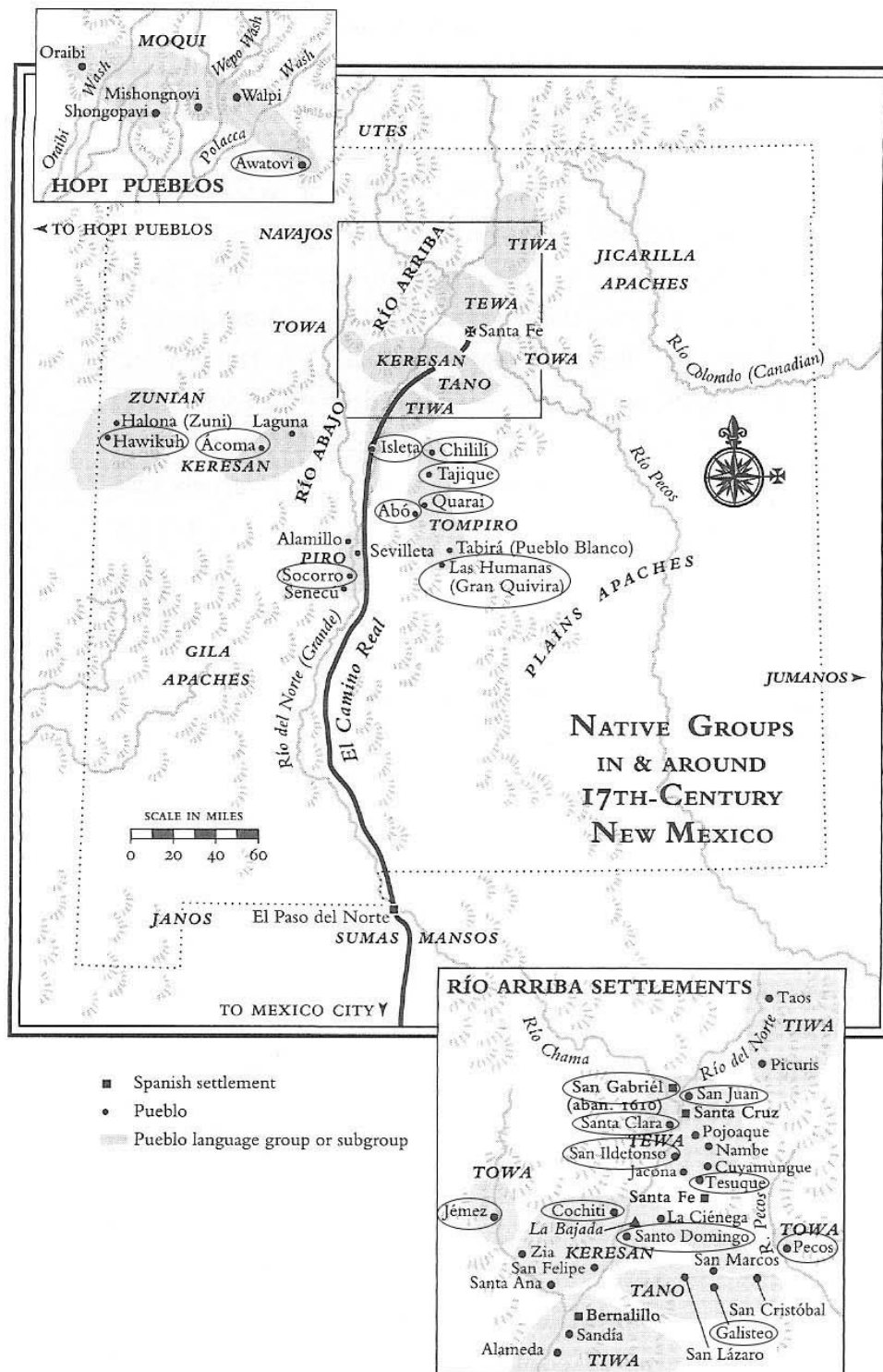


Figure 2. Locations of 16th and 17th century Pueblos and Missions mentioned in this study are circled (Kessell 2008, 10).

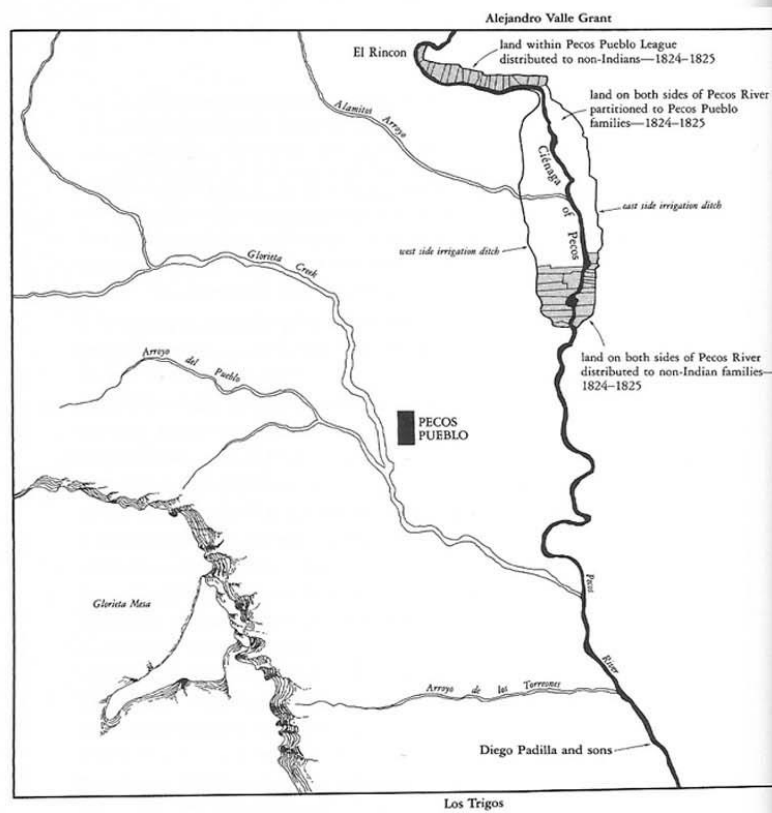
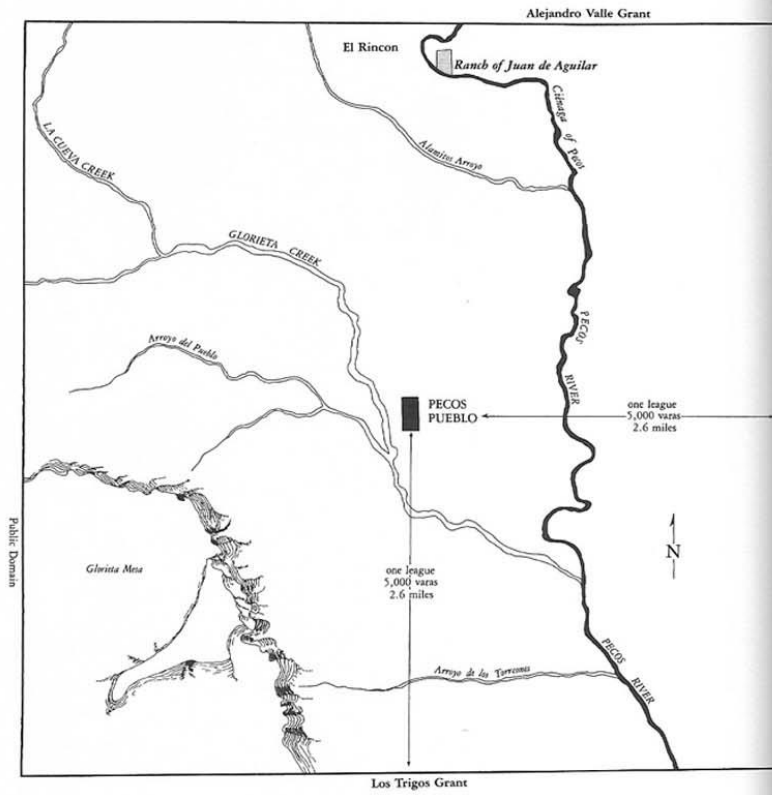


Figure 3. The Pecos land grant from 1815 to 1818 (top) and 1826 (bottom)(Hall 1984, 2, 64).

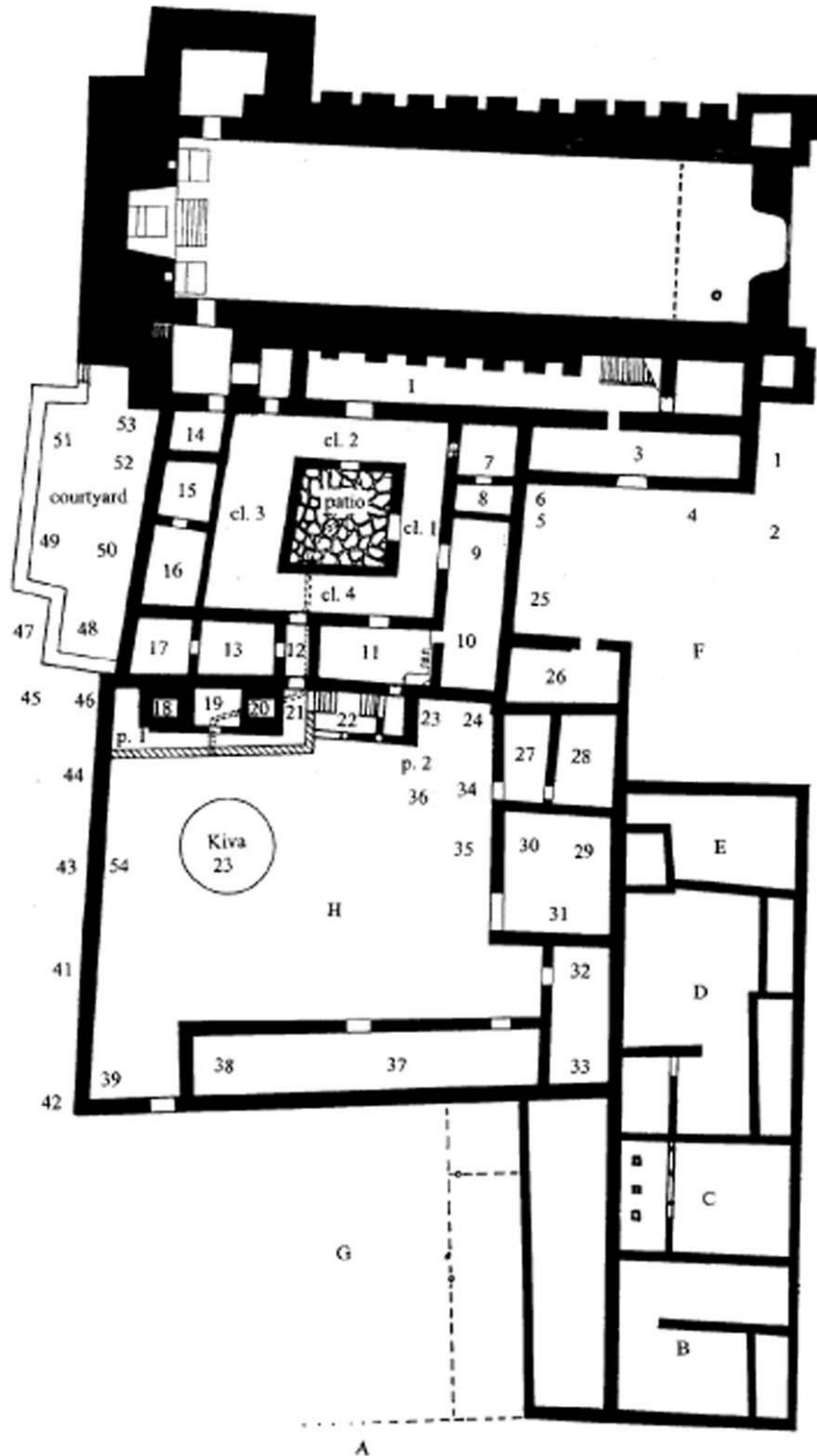
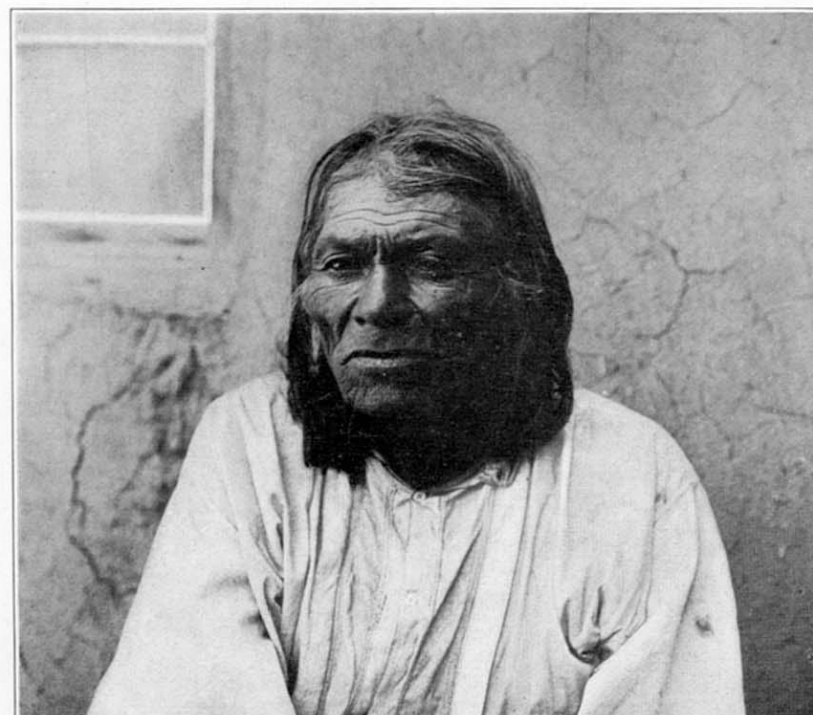


Figure 4. Expansion of the convent during Fray Andrés Juárez's time at Pecos (Ivey 2005, 320).



José Miguel Pecos (Zu-wa-ng), died 1902. (Photograph by K. M. Chapman, .902.)



Agustin Pecos (Se-se-fwe-yah), nephew of José Miguel. (Photograph by A. C. Vroman, 1899.)

Figure 5. Photo of Pecos elders Zu-wa-ng/José Miguel Pecos in 1902 (top) and his nephew Se-sa-few-yah/Agustín Pecos in 1899 (bottom)(Hewitt 1904, P. X.)



Figure 6. Excavated convento kiva by Hayes in 1970 (Hayes 1970a, Photo 274).



Figure 7. Photographs of stabilization and reconstruction of convento kiva in 1971 (Matlock 1971, Photos 356 and 627).

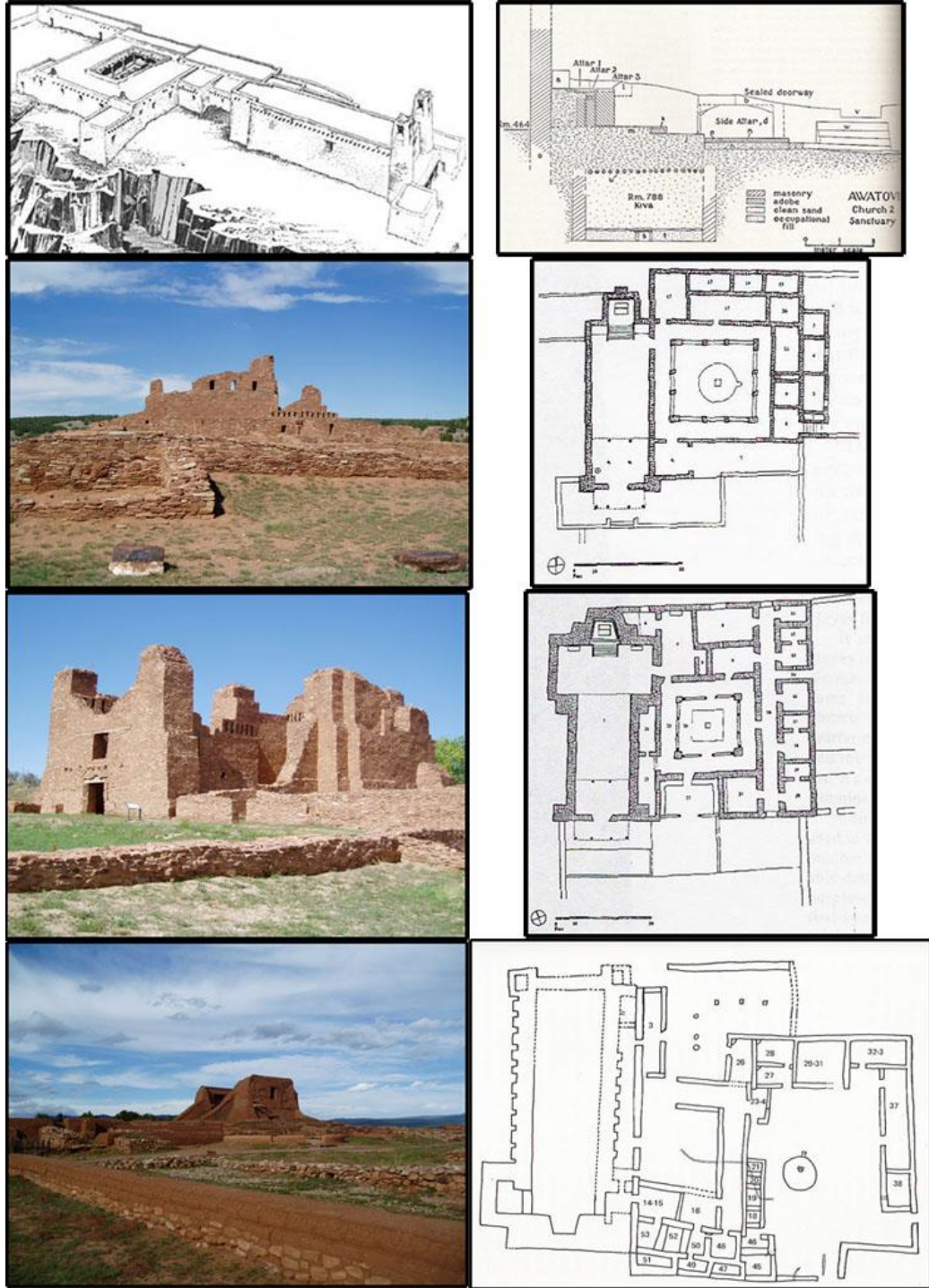


Figure 8. The convento kivas at San Bernardo de Awatovi (top row)(Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949, 64, Figure 35), San Gregorio de Abó (second row)(Holtkamp personal photo; Ivey 1998, 135), Nuestra Señora de La Purísima Concepción de Quarai (third row)(Holtkamp personal photo; Ivey 1998, 137), and Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles at Pecos (bottom row)(Holtkamp personal photo; Hayes 1974, 27).

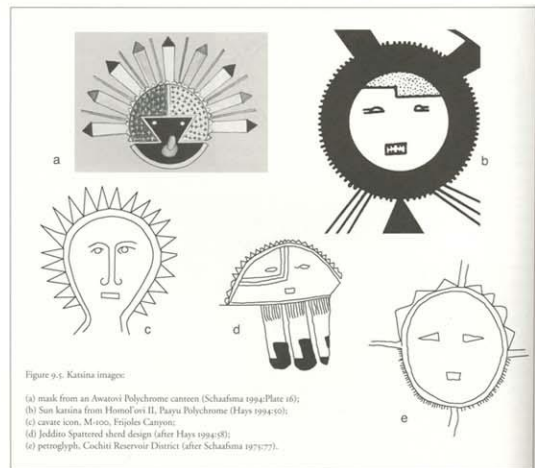
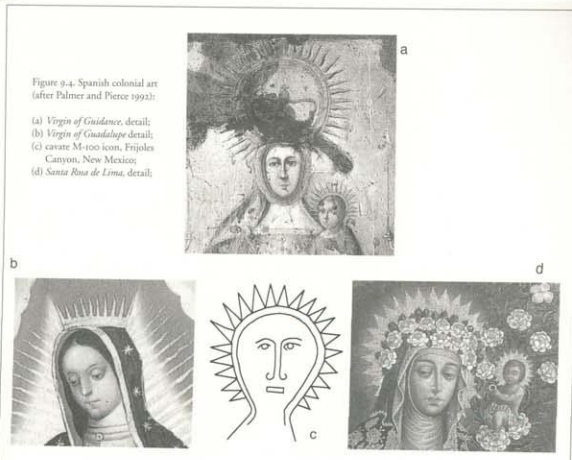
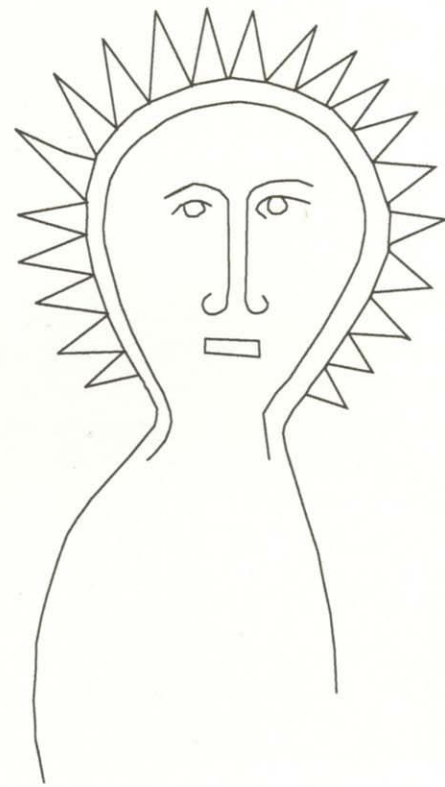
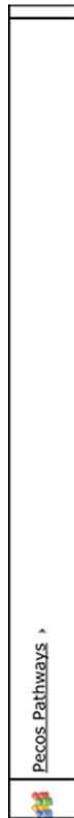


Figure 9. The “Virgin-Kachina” of Cavate M-100 with comparisons to Catholic and Pueblo religious imagery (Liebmann 2002, 137, 139-140).



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Pecos Pathways

Pecos Pathways Background

Pecos Pueblo was one of the most powerful Pueblos in the Southwest, with over 2,000 inhabitants, when Europeans arrived in the New World. Over time however, due to warfare, Comanche raids, European disease, starvation, and general diffusion of the people of Pecos, the number of people living at the Pueblo dwindled until the early 19th century. In 1838 there were less than thirty people still living at Pecos Pueblo when they made the difficult decision to leave their home and join other Puebloan communities. The majority of the Pecos people choose to migrate to Jemez Pueblo, the only other Puebloan group who spoke their Towa language.



After the abandonment of Pecos Pueblo in 1838 there was little interest in the Pecos ruins from outside of the region. That changed in 1915 when Dr. Alfred V. Kidder excavated at the ruins of Pecos Pueblo for the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology (RSPM). Kidder uncovered thousands of artifacts and over two thousand human remains. Throughout the numerous excavation seasons (1915-1929) artifacts unearthed were sent to the RSPM and the human remains were transported to the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (PMAE) at Harvard University in Cambridge, MA.

In 1990 the Civil Rights legislation called Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed by Congress. NAGPRA legislation requires museums and other federally funded institutions to return human remains, associated and unassociated funerary objects and items of cultural patrimony to tribes that be culturally affiliated to those items. Recognition of cultural affiliation is achieved through consultation and discussion between tribes and museums; a process that can last from months to years.

The RSPM, PMAE, Pecos National Historical Park (PNHP) and Jemez Pueblo began the consultation process in 1991. Talks regarding the remains and objects excavated during Kidder's tenure at Pecos were ongoing for nearly a decade. The culmination of this collaboration was in May of 1999 when the remains of the people of Pecos were repatriated and control over the artifacts was returned to the people of Jemez Pueblo. Pecos repatriation is, to date, the largest single repatriation to take place since the implementation of NAGPRA.



After working together in a collaborative manner for so long, everyone agreed that they wanted to continue the partnership that had formed over the years. After discussions on how to preserve the partnership, it was decided that the best way to extend the relationship was through the youth of each of the communities. A mutual dedication to educate young people gave rise to the Pecos Pathways program.

Pecos Pathways Program Overview

Each summer since 1998 the RSPM has collaborated with the Pueblo of Jemez, NM and Pecos National Historical Park (PNHP) to offer the Pecos Pathways Program to 10 students from Phillips Academy, Pueblo of Jemez students and the town of Pecos. For three weeks each June, students travel together to learn about ancestral and contemporary native communities, and archaeology in an engaging and hands on manner.



The first week of the program is hosted by the Jemez community where students stay with host families. Each day, students and community members work with the archaeologists to learn about the history of the Pueblo. Group excursions to ancestral sites, discussions about history, and storytelling are integral to this part of the trip.

When the group travels to PNHP, during the second week, they are introduced to the specifics that link the Jemez, Pecos and Andover communities. While at Pecos, students learn about the continuity of some Pecos traditions at Jemez from tribal elders. Students then receive a tour of the Peabody collection which is housed on loan at PNHP. The collection is on loan from the RSPM so that the artifacts are available to Jemez community members and PNHP staff and researchers. Activities at the park are wide ranging from a tour of the Pueblo and its location, a walk to a trail, to working with Park Rangers and assisting with preservation work on the ruins of the Spanish Mission, built in 1717.



When the program shifts to the week in New England, there is noticeable change in the focus of the trip. Since the program is no longer in the Southwest, the focus shifts to teaching students about tribes from New England and archaeology. Specifically collaborative archaeology between tribes and archaeologists. The highlight of this portion is when students spend two days working with Korm McBride, Director of Research at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum on the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation in Southern Connecticut. After a presentation to the students, Korm McBride and his field crew excavating at an archaeological site on the Mashantucket reservation.

Student Quotes:

"From tasting red and green chilies to climbing up waterfalls, Pecos Pathways was all about new experiences and great conversations." - *Phillips Student*

"It was a once-in-a-lifetime experience. It was educational in one part but really fun in another." - *Pecos Student*

"Being in such a diverse group from such different places and backgrounds was fabulous, especially seeing how well we all got along and even became good friends." - *Phillips Student*

"The first week was the best because we learned alot about my culture." - *Jemez Student*

[Click Here](#) to watch a video about Pecos Pathways

[Click Here](#) for a student perspective of Pecos Pathways

There is no cost for students to participate on this trip. For information about the program, please contact Program Coordinator, [Lindsay Randall](#).



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Figure 10. Pecos Pathways brochure from Phillips Academy website (Randall and the Phillips Academy 2013).



Figure 11. Pecos Feast Day with Jemez Pueblo members, August 2011 (Toya 2011, 1).

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