

**ARCHAEOLOGIES  
of the  
PUEBLO REVOLT**

*Identity, Meaning, and Renewal  
in the Pueblo World*

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## Chapter 10

**Re-imagining Awat'ovi:***Peter Whiteley*

*Every society up to now has attempted to give an answer to a few fundamental questions: Who are we as a collectivity? What are we for one another? Where and in what are we? What do we want; what do we desire; what are we lacking? Society must define its 'identity,' its articulation, the world, its relations to the world and to the objects it contains, its needs and its desires. Without the 'answer' to these 'questions,' without these 'definitions,' there can be no human world, no society, no culture—for everything would be an undifferentiated chaos. The role of imaginary significations is to provide an answer to these questions, an answer that, obviously, neither 'reality,' nor 'rationality' can provide. . . .*

*The self-transformation of society concerns social doing—and so also politics, in the profound sense of the term—the doing of men and women in society, and nothing else. Of this, thoughtful doing, and political thinking—society's thinking as making itself—is one essential component*

—(CORNELIUS CASTORIADIS 1987:146–147; 373).

**History, Society, and the Imagination**

The destruction of Awat'ovi, one of the largest Hopi pueblos, in 1700 is one of the great problems of Hopi historiography. If the Orayvi split, that other watershed event in Hopi history, has been the “Murgin problem” of American anthropology<sup>1</sup>—generating a welter of arguments—explaining Awat'ovi two centuries earlier only appears less thorny by the distance of time. Standard explanations foreground the reappearance of Franciscan missionaries in 1700, after the Hopi churches had all been destroyed and the priests put to death in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (e.g., Bandelier 1890–1892:II:371–372; Brew 1949; Brew 1979; Simmons 1979; and see Laird 1977 for additional references). Following De Vargas's reconquest of 1692, Awat'ovi, as the story goes, was willing to re-accept the church, whereas the other Hopi villages remained vehemently opposed. In consequence, when some from Awat'ovi agreed to be baptized by priests visiting from Zuni in 1700 and began to rebuild its church, the other villages got together and sacked Awat'ovi, killing off all the men and capturing women and children who were parceled out to the other villages. Awat'ovi was thenceforth abandoned.

The documentary record is rather thin. A series of testimonials was taken from witnesses in 1702 (Bandelier 1890–1892:II:372, citing a 1713 inventory of documents in Santa Fe), but these evidently went missing, along with many other documents of Pedro Rodríguez de Cubero's governorship, prior to the late nineteenth century (Bandelier 1890–1892:II:372).<sup>2</sup> Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante's famous *Extracto de Noticias*, which in 1778 synthesized numerous documentary records from the Pueblo Revolt period and thereafter, does not even mention the destruction of Awat'ovi (Vélez de Escalante 1778). The standard historic source is a document written in 1732 at the transplanted Piro settlement of Senecú del Sur (below El Paso) by Father José Narvaez Valverde (Hackett 1937:III:385–386), which indeed cites the reconversions of May 1700 as the precipitating cause of the destruction; but this is an ecclesiastical document, so the inference of cause is hardly surprising. Other explanations include a

recent, notorious variant of the reconversion cause, distinguished by anthropophagy. In what we might call the “Toltec Thug Theory” of Pueblo history (Preston 1998; Turner and Turner 1999), the Awat’ovi chief is cast in the role of Adolf Hitler, a Cannibal Dictator left over from so-called Toltec Thugs of Chaco Canyon, who despotically terrorizes his people by chewing them up for their temerity in re-accepting the church.

In view of the imaginative ferment of this explanation, multiculturally mixed metaphors and all,<sup>3</sup> my own recommendation to “re-imagine” must clarify its terms. First, I refer to the *historical imagination* lately of interest in historical anthropology.<sup>4</sup> In particular, Marshall Sahlins’s conception of sociocultural form, as historically positioned categorial system, continually wagering and transforming itself in events, provides a powerful way of seeing culture both in and *as* history. In Sahlins’s well-known analysis (1981, 1985, 1995) of the Hawaiian encounter with Captain Cook, for example, the categories of Hawaiian culture are put into play, not as some synchronic abstraction, but as a dynamic, self-transforming force. The “structure of the conjuncture”—wherein culture meets, shapes, and is reciprocally shaped by event—points up Sahlins’s sense of the continual deformation, transformation, and reformation of sociocultural structures in diachronic process. This approach opens the possibility for a dialectical synthesis of structure and event, an opposition that has long paralyzed anthropological explanations of historical transformations in cultures of the “people without history.”<sup>5</sup>

The historical imagination is a contested theoretical zone at present. Keith Basso (1996:154–155, responding particularly to Comaroff and Comaroff 1992) has noted that anthropologists’ recent attention to the historical imagination typically reflects Western canons of historicity, and has so far failed to ask *whose* imagination is in question. After a fashion, this is Gananath Obeyesekere’s (1992) critique of Sahlins; though Obeyesekere hypothesizes a blunt, generic “Native” historical imagination vis-à-vis Western imperialism, rather than a culturally located one (Sahlins 1995). Sahlins interpolates cultural meanings by

examining ritual, economic, and other social structures, and their documented historical transformations; Obeyesekere posits a transparent universal intentionalism of blanket indigenous resistance to colonial domination. I find Sahlins’s analysis far more persuasive, but seeking to trace *local* (rather than generic) intentionalisms in historical process, I believe, provides an important means to address Basso’s question (cf. Whiteley 1988a, 1998). And in the present instance, resistance to the Spanish colonial state and its indigenized surrogates (notably in the church) is unquestionably important. It seems to me that the historical imagination we should be aiming for is one that consciously seeks to *hybridize* (to invoke a favored term from Cultural Studies—e.g., Bhabha 1994) *analysis* across cultural boundaries, but does so through specific attention to local modalities of historical and cultural consciousness.<sup>6</sup>

While the totality of Awat’ovi’s significance as event and as historical transvaluation will likely always prove elusive, there is more fertile ground in documents of the Pueblo Revolt period than previously considered (though, alas, nothing like the extent for Sahlins with the Cook documents of the late eighteenth century). The new light we might shed, however, crucially depends on attending to and weighing both Pueblo oral history and cultural form—especially Hopi accounts of Awat’ovi’s destruction and the patterning of Hopi social structure. Earlier attempts to recover Hopi history by combining clan migration traditions with archaeology led Jesse Walter Fewkes into some impassable interpretive territory. Ever since, most Southwestern archaeologists have virtually abandoned culture-history for hypothetico-deductive approaches that ignore the oral-historical accounts and ethnographic analogs of contemporary Pueblo cultures. This seems to me very shortsighted.

To build a rigorous, analytically hybrid culture-history in the Southwest requires a full-scale re-imagining of Pueblo pasts. Ethnography has tended, ipso facto, to reify cultural form synchronically. Southwestern anthropology remains vexed by functionalist or materialist models of Pueblo social structures that obscure historical consciousness and transformative agency from the picture.

Let me here introduce my second sense of “imagination,” i.e., that involving the “imagined community” and the “social imaginary,” which I derive especially from Benedict Anderson and Arjun Appadurai (e.g., Anderson 1991; Appadurai 1996; and see, *inter alia*, Castoriadis 1987). Appadurai’s (1996) focus is displaced transnational population fragments that imagine their community in the contemporary global flux of capital, commodities, and technology. And Anderson is concerned with the emergence of nations, which he would restrict historically to conditions in which the invention of print capitalism enables the circulation of messages of identity and boundary to citizens widely separated in geographic space. Yet, both Appadurai and Anderson are, in effect, working with special cases of the central anthropological problem<sup>7</sup> of the relationship between society, considered as a bounded system of social persons and social relations, and culture, considered as a system of ideas shared among its members. Some form of collective consciousness—Durkheim’s *conscience collective*, realized through “collective representations”—articulated especially by key cultural symbols, is the means to understanding how a society imagines itself as a unified form (cf. Castoriadis 1987).

Appadurai’s focus on the social imaginary in political process is particularly attached to post-national “culturalist” movements:

Culturalism . . . is the conscious mobilization of cultural differences in the service of a larger national or transnational politics. . . . Culturalist movements (for they are almost always efforts to mobilize) are the most general form of the work of the imagination and draw frequently on the fact or possibility of migration or secession. Most important, they are self-conscious about identity, culture, and heritage, all of which tend to be part of the deliberate vocabulary of culturalist movements as they struggle with states and other culturalist focuses and groups

—[APPADURAI 1996:15].

Though long before Anderson’s print capitalism and

Appadurai’s “global ethnoscares,” the Pueblo Revolts of 1680 and 1696 resulted in a diaspora of Rio Grande Pueblo peoples, which threw many of them together in a way that demanded their rethinking of community, identity, and internal boundaries vis-à-vis the Spanish state. With the presence of several substantial Pueblo fragments at Hopi, some of which remained permanently and have been to a greater or lesser degree absorbed into the overall Hopi polity, the revision of the Hopi social imaginary and the re-imagining of Hopi community must of necessity have been rather profound. With the end of Franciscan oppression, which had driven Hopi ritualism underground for half a century, the circumstances were ripe for the consolidation and institutionalization of a culturalist reformation. The rethinking of Pueblo identities, collectivities, and boundaries took multiple forms. Here, I am most interested in how the Awat’ovi holocaust and its indication of conscious, articulate resistance to colonial hegemony represented the re-imagining and restructuring of Hopi community—producing a new Hopi social imaginary, and a new sense of community.

### Structure

The typical model of Hopi society and culture that anthropologists use reflects mid-twentieth century ethnography, and the prevailing tendency is to assume a system, a structure, reproducing itself consistently through time. That system comprises an equilibrated arrangement of matrilineal descent groups, religious sodalities, and kiva groups that operated like clockwork in relation to calendrically fixed economic and social demands. However differences, both in clan composition and in the correlations between clans and sodalities, at the several villages arose (e.g., Eggan 1950:65–66; 103), and however Hopis seems to differ with regard to assignments of clan names and eponyms to some individuals and groups (e.g., Titiev 1944:48–58), the conventional wisdom overrides these variations (e.g., Levy 1992). Hopi society is reduced to an equation: clans + sodalities + kivas + the agricultural cycle = immutable Hopi structure.

Hopi ideology does not disagree with that sort of

functionalism, but Hopi historical consciousness also emphasizes cumulative aggregation and transformation. Hopi society is pictured as the product of successive accretions of immigrating groups and the cultural contributions each brought. For example, before the Snake clan migrated from Tokoonavi (Navajo Mountain) to the Hopi Mesas, there was no Snake society, no ritual performance, no Snake priest as politico-ritual leader, no legitimating charter of group interest—in short a lacuna in the anthropologists' ideal-typical structure. Until the Badger clan arrived from Kiisiwu, there was no *Powamuy* ceremony or society. Before the Flute clan came from Lengya'ovi, there was no Flute ceremony. And so on. Hopis thus frontally characterize their society as a historical amalgamation. Ironically, given the persistent circulation of Whorf's view of the Hopi language, when it comes to structure, it is non-Hopi anthropologists who are into timelessness, whereas Hopis emphasize diachronic and spatial discontinuities: indeed, these are held to explain important structural differences among the three Mesas and their respective villages.

Hopis emphasize that several structural elements derive from Awat'ovi—especially at Walpi, Musangnuvi, and pre-split Orayvi. This refers especially to three of the four *Wuwtsim* or Manhood societies: *Wuwtsimt*, *Aa'alt* (Two Horn), and *Taataawkyam* (Singers); and two of the women's societies—*Mamrawt* and *Owaqölt*. The first four are not ancillary ritual forms, they are utterly central to the Hopi social system: indeed, one older consultant referred to the *Wuwtsim* societies as “the Hopis' government.” Further, several clans or clan segments are regarded as deriving from Awat'ovi: notably Bow, Tobacco, and some Badger, Reed, and Squash segments at Orayvi, Musangnuvi, and Walpi. Bow and Squash/Sparrowhawk at Orayvi, and Tobacco and Reed at Walpi are notably important clans that control the *Wuwtsim* societies (for reasons of simplicity, I focus below mostly on Orayvi and Walpi).

During my fieldwork in the early 1980s, Third Mesa elders made explicit comparisons between the Orayvi split and the destruction of Awat'ovi, suggesting that internal village fission was at work at the latter as much

as exogenous enmity. The second split of Orayvi in November 1909, which precipitated the founding of Paaqavi (Whiteley 1988a, 1988b), occurred in the middle of a *Wuwtsim natnga*, or initiations, at Orayvi's Hawiwvi kiva. These were the first and last initiations into *Wuwtsim* to be held at Orayvi since the split of 1906, and threats were made that several members of the “Hostile” subfaction, which had returned from the new settlement at Hotvela in November 1906, would be killed during the crucial night of the initiations (Whiteley 1988b). Indeed, it is held that those who left Orayvi to found Paaqavi did so to avoid threats by the “Friendly” faction that they would be immolated in the kiva during the *Wuwtsim* initiations—in the identical manner of Awat'ovi. Historical accounts of Awat'ovi's destruction have virtually ignored the temporal reference to *Wuwtsim* in Hopi reports, and typically note that the destruction occurred “sometime” in 1700 or 1701. Yet the association with *Wuwtsim* would pinpoint this to mid-November, or one month after a fateful visit to Santa Fe by Espeleta (see below) and other Hopi leaders who had sought to negotiate their independence from the Spanish regime (Bandelier 1892:371–372).<sup>8</sup> Hopi accounts recorded since the late nineteenth century (Curtis 1922:83–89, 184–188, Fewkes 1898:602, Mindeleff 1891:33–34) agree that Awat'ovi was destroyed during *Wuwtsim*, with all the men in the kivas, where they were suffocated and burned, surprised by a pre-dawn stealth raid into the village. Some accounts (Fewkes 1898:602; Mindeleff 1891:34) are explicit that this occurred during *Wuwtsim* initiations. This would suggest that the destruction concerned more than Christian reconversion *tout court*, and may additionally have had to do with internal ritual issues—again, exactly like the split of Orayvi (Whiteley 1988a, 1988b). What were supposedly Christian converts doing in the kivas during *Wuwtsim*—especially if initiations were involved?

According to some Hopi accounts, the *Wuwtsim* ceremony originated at Awat'ovi—it was an Awat'ovi ceremony (e.g., Curtis 1922:107, 184–188). More explicitly, with the exception of *Kwaakwant*, the One-Horn sodality, the other three societies—*Wuwtsimt* (*Wuwtsim* proper),

*Aa'alt* (Two-Horn), and *Taatawkyam* (the Singers' society) were from Awat'ovi. *Aawatngyam*, the Bow clan, was the principal clan at "Awat'ovi"—"high place of (the Bow clan)" in Fewkes's translation (1898:594), i.e., the town itself was named for the leading clan.<sup>9</sup> No accounts I have located mention Bear clan presence or leadership (the typical pattern) at Awat'ovi. The Bow clan's preeminence at Awat'ovi was undoubtedly ritually legitimated—and it seems likely this occurred particularly through the *Wuwtsim* system (minus the *Kwaakwant*), and the *Sa'lako* ceremony (which has specific links to *Wuwtsim*). The Bow clan, as I have argued elsewhere (1992) discussing the burning of the Orayvi Two-Horn altar by the chief priest (who was head of the Bow clan) in 1922, was ritually the most powerful of all clans—a fact that would coincide with Awat'ovi's control of the most ritual forms. As noted, Awat'ovi was also the source for two of the three women's societies—*Maraw* and *Owaqöl* (e.g., Curtis 1922:182–183). According to Yoywunu of the Walpi Reed clan, who told this to Edward Curtis in the early twentieth century, Awat'ovi acquired its panoply of ritual knowledge from the Rio Grande Pueblos, where representatives had been sent for the purpose:

Now the people one day sent the nephew of Tapólo [sic—see below], chief of the Tobacco clan, to pueblos in the Rio Grande Valley to learn their language and make rain songs in that language, so that those outside the fraternity would not understand them. By magic he would go almost instantly to the eastern pueblos, spend the night there, and return in the morning; and when he had learned the language, the people organized the *Wuwtsim-wimi* [the *Wuwtsimt* sodality] and the *To-wimi* [the Singers sodality], and made their songs. These two fraternities were organized from the men of Squash and the Tobacco clans respectively. The men of the Reed clan organized the *Al-wimi* [the Two-Horn sodality]. . . .

—[CURTIS 1922:186]

Alexander Stephen (Parsons 1936:718) reported that both

*Wuwtsim* and Singers society songs were in Keresan. If Yoywunu's temporal reference in the passage above is literal, i.e., that it was Taapalo's (see below) own nephew who was sent, this would have occurred during the Revolt period. If so, his magical speed in going among the Rio Grande Pueblos to acquire ritual knowledge may be a metaphor for the refugee Pueblo presence nearby Awat'ovi. Whether historically true or not in this form,<sup>10</sup> Awat'ovi was certainly the easternmost Hopi town, and more cosmopolitan, with its easier access to the Pueblos farther east.

So far, I have adhered to the pattern of Hopi clan discourse, describing clans as discretely identifiable entities that migrated historically into the villages bringing their private ritual knowledge with them. Much anthropological ink has been spilled to show exceptions to this account and why it should be dismissed as "conjectural history" (in Radcliffe-Brown's terms), in favor of an anthropological interpolation of a social-structural or mental-cultural, but not historical, logic as the axis of clan relationships. Lévi-Strauss (1963:89) has famously taught us that nature arranged by culture into categories—i.e., taxonomically—is "good to think," explaining why it is that so many societies should organize themselves into totemically named groups—like Bear, Eagle, Reed, Tobacco, Sun, etc. As Lévi-Strauss (1966) has also argued, however, a totemic logic opposes history, and directs *consciences collectives* like Hopi to reproduce cultural structures *against* historical consciousness. All events that might prove differentiating are relentlessly absorbed by the "infernal culture machine" (Geertz 1973), endlessly flattening history into the two-dimensional cognitive space of cultural *bricolage*. For some aspects of Hopi clanship, a totemic logic of associations holds true (as Bradfield [1973] has perhaps most successfully shown): clan associations and their ritual symbols in part reflect a praxis of engagement with the natural environment, to correspond with seasonal periodicities. However, there are some notable exceptions to the natural bases of Hopi clan totems: Bow and Flute are the principal ones of concern here. These are two of the only three or four clan names in the total

inventory of Hopi clans that derive from a cultural, artifactual domain, rather than from natural models. The Flute clan is only known ethnographically at Walpi, where it has held the principal leadership role since the mid-nineteenth century, providing the Kikmongwi (Village Chief) and ritually underscoring his legitimacy with its ownership of the Flute ceremony. *Lenngyam*, the Flute clan, it is held, migrated to the Hopi Mesas from a village to the north named Lengya'ovi, 'Flute people on top place,'<sup>11</sup> toponymically similar to 'Awat'ovi.'

The idea that clans migrated independently before inclusion into the Hopi ecumene is in part a structural rationalization: obviously if they were unilineal and exogamous, clans must have migrated in moiety pairs at least. Alternatively, they only became unilineal and exogamous after arrival at Hopi. In brief, my hypothesis is this: that the Bow clan and the Flute clan both represent what were once non-clan collectivities characterized by their ritual capacities to transform nature with cultural skills (Bradfield has documented the Bow clan's associations with mastery of game; the Flute society's role in turning back the Sun at and following the summer solstice is transparent, and a mirror of the *Soyalangu* society's concern at the winter solstice).<sup>12</sup> Further, these two clans' ritual capacities to transform nature by cultural means are foregrounded in their respective identities. Both, in short, are *pas pavan*-('very powerful') clans, archetypal culture-wielders and hierarchically important.<sup>13</sup>

Further, both Tobacco and Badger (of the latter, only a segment evidently came from Awat'ovi) are powerful clans too. Curtis (1922:107) records the Tobacco clan leader at Walpi, in his role as Tawmongwi, head of the Singers society, as having a superordinate role in Walpi's *Wuwtsim*. In general, the Tobacco clan controls tobacco curing and distribution, and provides the Tobacco Chief at various ceremonies. The use of tobacco-smoke as transformative and as vehicle of communication to deity is fundamental in Hopi ritual and, again, Lévi-Strauss (1972) has demonstrated its pan-continental significance in this regard.

The Badger clan controls medicines, and is the leading

clan in major katsina rituals, likewise highly important in the ritual order. Though I have never heard of the Orayvi Badger clan's *Powamuy* ceremony as introduced from anywhere but Kiisiwu (with no mention of Awat'ovi), the leading protagonists in the Orayvi *Powamuy* at the turn of the twentieth century are strongly reflective of the clan or phratry nexus attributed to Awat'ovi. Voth records the participation of the following named clans in Orayvi's *Powamuy*: "Badger, Reed, Sand, Crow, Bow, Rabbit or Tobacco, Parrot and, perhaps, a few others" (Voth 1901:72). These represent four phratries in turn-of-the-century Orayvi (e.g., Titiev 1944, Whiteley 1985): Badger in one (subdivided, according to some, into Real Badger, Gray Badger, and Navajo Badger, and associated with Butterfly); Bow and Reed (which form a phratry with Greasewood); Rabbit, Tobacco, Parrot, and Crow (which form a phratry with the Katsina clan); and Sand (which forms a phratry with Snake and Lizard). Each of these Orayvi phratries, except Badger, is prominently associated with the key ritual introductions from Awat'ovi noted above: Bow and Reed with *Wuwtsim*, and especially the *Aa'alt* sodality<sup>14</sup>; Parrot (of which Crow is a variant, possibly a sublineage; see Whiteley 1985) with the *Taatawkyam* sodality (again at Walpi, Parrot's phratry mate Tobacco is in charge of *Taatawkyam*); and Sand and Lizard with *Owaqölt* and *Mamrawt*, respectively.

Badger's ritual entitlements are principally concerned with katsinas, especially the great katsina ceremonies of *Powamuy* ("Bean Dance") and *Niman* ("Home Dance"): they do not lie in *Wuwtsim*—at least directly (and Badger has no key involvement in *Maraw* or *Owaqölt*). However, the *Patsavu* ceremony, an elaborate appendix to *Powamuy* performed in certain years, also belongs explicitly to the Badger clan; performance in *Patsavu* is regarded as completing *Wuwtsim* initiation and only occurs following a *Wuwtsim* initiation the previous November. *Sa'lako*, a katsina ceremony, was noted above as a Bow clan ritual prerogative at Orayvi. *Sa'lako* also has a connection with *Wuwtsim*, in that only *Wuwtsim* initiates may perform, especially those who are recently initiated. *Sa'lako* is performed as an (again elaborate) appendix to *Niman*,

owned conjointly by the Badger and Katsina/Parrot clans. Through these ritual links, the Orayvi Badger clan has formal associations with the socio-ritual matrix of the *Wuwtsim* ceremonies, even though it is not directly prominent in *Wuwtsim*.

In short, some of the key structural elements associated with Awat'ovi ceremonies are still found, either as direct embodiments or in closely linked forms, within First Mesa and Third Mesa society, where the heirs of Awat'ovi, so to speak, play prominent roles in the socio-ritual structure.

### Agents

Who survived Awat'ovi? If significant ritual practices—*Wuwtsim* and the two women's societies—were transferred, when did this occur? Hopi oral history strongly suggests the transfers occurred after the massacre, which means that not only women and children survived. In the case of the *Maraw* ceremony, Saliko, the *Maraw* Chieftess at Walpi in the late nineteenth century, told Fewkes (1898:604) that the life of the Awat'ovi woman who headed *Maraw* was spared when she agreed to introduce the ceremony to Walpi. Similarly, both Curtis's (1922:83, 188) and Courlander's (1982:20–21) informants—more than 50 years apart—unequivocally indicated that the *Wuwtsim* societies were transferred by male survivors of the Bow/Reed<sup>15</sup> and Tobacco clans after the holocaust. Yoywunu told Curtis (1922:188), “Some members of the three fraternities were spared and taken to Walpi, Mishongnovi, and Oraibi, and by them the ceremony of *Wuwtsimu* was continued.” Pautiwa (Ned Zeena) told Courlander in the 1960s:

I'm a Tobacco Clan person. I became a Tobacco chief at one time, around 1932. I was chief till my uncle took me out. So I can tell you something about the Tobacco Clan coming here. When Awatovi was destroyed, the Tobacco clan leader over there took all the sacred tiponi [= *tiiponi*] and brought them here. [Courlander footnotes: “The narrator here refers not only to Tobacco Clan paraphernalia, but to the altars and other sacred

objects of the Two Horn, the *Wuwuchim* [= *Wuwtsim*], and the *Tataukyam* [= *Taataukyam*] kiva societies. Those three fraternities are widely recognized as having originated at Awatovi.”] He went clear up to the end of the mesa there, where the Snake Rock is, the Masauwu shrine, brought all the sacred things from the Awatovi kivas. All the sacred things that we have now are from Awatovi. We still use them there. The other villages just copied these things. But the original ones, we still have them in Walpi. The other villages copied these ceremonies too.

—[CURLANDER 1982:20–21]

In another source, Courlander (1971:216) records that both the Tobacco and Bow clan leaders took their people and their key ritual objects (including the Two Horn altar) out of Awat'ovi at night, and hid during the massacre. Though Courlander does not make this inference, according to one of my consultants, the Tobacco clan leader in question was Taapalo (see below). Again, if the rituals were disseminated after the massacre, not all males at Awat'ovi were killed (since males are the principal holders of ritual knowledge—especially of the Manhood societies), and the analogy to the Orayvi split, with its fissile factionalism, gains added significance.

Third Mesa consultants indicate that the Bow clan systematically re-organized *wiimi*, the ritual order, by introducing the *Wuwtsim* ceremonies to Orayvi.<sup>16</sup> This would confirm that the transfer of *Wuwtsim* ceremonies occurred during the post-Revolt period. Further, in light of the broader historical circumstances of the Pueblo Revolts, *Wuwtsim*'s status and practice appear critically connected to Awat'ovi's destruction as part of a culturalist, even a revitalization movement (as Alfonso Ortiz has argued was the purpose of the Pueblo Revolt)—a movement, in short, of re-imagined community. If *Wuwtsim* was practiced at Awat'ovi, or if another version of male initiation was practiced there or at the other villages, prior to the Revolt—and functionally this probably means prior to 1630, since the Franciscans suppressed overt Hopi ritual

practices—its meanings may have been constructed according to other social and natural interests. Like the transvaluation of the Tswana, Merina, and Swazi principal rituals under colonialism (Comaroff 1985; Bloch 1986; Lincoln 1989, respectively), or the Hawaiian rethinking of Makahiki rules and meanings when faced with Captain Cook (Sahlins 1981), it is my thesis that Hopi *Wuwtsim* was relocated simultaneously in a context of internal purification and social reorganization, and also of culturalist resistance to the Spanish state. To initiatory aspects concerning sexuality, fertility, adult male identity, and death, was added the principle of revolutionary revitalization. While it is not appropriate to probe into much ritual detail for reasons of Hopi cultural privacy, the strong emphasis on death in *Wuwtsim* initiations seems important here. At a climactic moment of the initiations, terrified initiands are confronted by a representation of Maasaw, who is strongly associated with death and who is here represented as a bloody-headed spirit being, with pieces of flesh torn away from his skull (e.g., Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987). Indeed the initiands—as in many male initiation ceremonies globally—are told they will be killed, and rush up the ladder to escape the kiva as fast as possible. However symbolic this communication of death-images to the initiands may be, if the killings at Awat'ovi occurred during or near this phase of the initiation—which would accord with the cultural logic of the ritual's progress—the death-threats and the general ritual import of *Wuwtsim* would certainly have been forever transformed thereafter. No new initiand subsequently can have been in doubt about the potential for catastrophe associated with the ceremony: here was “mere symbolism” fully instrumentalized, and departure from this major incorporation into Hopi society might have results that could be ostensibly shown as devastating. In other words, the threat of death acquires a palpable historical force if it was once enacted upon initiands on a substantial scale. And *Wuwtsim*'s refiguring—at the very least—at Awat'ovi into a ritual of extended internal control and of dramatic resistance to the colonial state transformed some of its basic significances.

Recorded Hopi accounts (e.g., Fewkes 1898:603–605; Voth 1905:246–255; Curtis 1922:83–89, 184–188; Yava 1978:88–97; Courlander 1982:55–60; Lomatuway'ma et al. 1993:275–409) agree that planning the destruction was an inside job. Taapalo is the leader credited with seeking the attack—from leaders at Orayvi, Musanguvi, and Walpi—and with aiding and abetting the attackers.<sup>17</sup> Some accounts (e.g., Lomatuway'ma et al. 1993:406–409; Voth 1905:258) suggest Taapalo allowed himself to be killed in the process, in a manner that conforms paradigmatically with a tradition of chiefly self-sacrifices in Hopi history; indeed, I reported this version in an earlier work (Whiteley 1988a). But in 1995, Taapalo's Tobacco clan descendant showed me the Tobacco clan house in Walpi and the kiva of the *Taataukyam*, Singers society, noting that both had been built by Taapalo himself when he moved into the newly established mesa-top town of Walpi<sup>18</sup> following the massacre. Edward Curtis's consultants too were explicit that Taapalo survived, and arranged for his clan relatives first to live with Navajos, and then later for their return (Curtis 1922:89). What was Taapalo's office? As a *Pipwungwa*, Tobacco clan member, it is unlikely he was *Kikmongwi* (Village Chief) or *Qaletaqmongwi* (War Chief); the former was likely vested in the Bow clan, the latter possibly in the Badger, Reed/Eagle or Coyote clan. As *Tawmongwi*, head of the Singers' society, he would have had a parallel role to the probable Squash and Bow clan heads of *Wuwtsimt* and *A'alt*, respectively. A First Mesa Reed clan account suggests Taapalo was Awat'ovi's *Tsá'k'mongwi*, an advisor and formal announcer for the *Kikmongwi* (Courlander 1982:57–60).

Another important agent was Francisco de Espeleta, though he is known directly only from the Spanish documents. The Spanish (Twitchell 1911:419, n.422) regarded him as the principal Hopi leader, “the cacique of Orayvi,” in the post Re-conquest period, and attributed him with leading the warriors from Orayvi to destroy Awat'ovi, after he had led the trip to Santa Fe to negotiate Hopi sovereignty with Governor Cubero in October 1700. Espeleta had been an assistant to Father José de Espeleta, who, as priest, had alternated between Awat'ovi and

Orayvi in the 1660s and 1670s (Brew 1949:17).<sup>19</sup> Francisco was evidently from Awat'ovi (Brew 1949:17). The Spanish credit Francisco with killing Father José at the 1680 Revolt (Espinosa 1942:348, n.11). Father José had taught Francisco to speak and write fluent Spanish,<sup>20</sup> and Francisco had spent time in Mexico (Brew 1949:17–18; Hackett 1937:385). If there is an intersection with Third Mesa Hopi accounts, which credit the Badger clan with having killed the priest at Orayvi, Espeleta may have been a member of this clan. Certainly, a Badger segment from Awat'ovi was recognized into the twentieth century as a distinct lineage of this clan at Orayvi (White n.d.), and the Badger clan of Musangnuvi still explicitly cites Awat'ovi as its origin too. So it is evident that there was a significant Badger clan representation in Awat'ovi, some of which, at least, survived. Moreover, if Espeleta was Badger clan, there is a historic pattern of reciprocal exchange and interrelation with the Tobacco/Rabbit clan (at Musangnuvi, Badger and Rabbit/Tobacco belong to the same phratry; at Third Mesa, they are in different phratries, but there is a disproportionately high degree of intermarriage between Badger and the Rabbit/Tobacco/Katsina/Parrot phratry). As noted above, at Third Mesa's *Powamuy* and *Niman*, the principal katsina ceremonies, the Badger clan and the Parrot/Katsina clan provide joint leadership. Parrot/Katsina is a close phratry mate of Tobacco, and the Tobacco clan also holds a priestly role in these two ceremonies. One Third Mesa Badger clan consultant, who is deeply knowledgeable about his own clan, even misidentified a Parrot/Katsina clan elder as Badger—the sort of clan identity error (i.e., crossing phratry lines) that is very rare indeed. I recorded rather numerous Badger-Tobacco/Rabbit intermarriages at Third Mesa, as did Titiev (n.d.). In short, if Espeleta was Badger, the reasons for Taapalo (Tobacco clan) coming to Orayvi to seek his assistance in the destruction, may well have been cast in terms of Tobacco-Badger alliance—of kinship, if the Musangnuvi model applies, or of close affinity if the Orayvi one does. And the strength of their reciprocal ties is certainly confirmed by their conjoint ritual estate. Furthermore, if the Pueblo Revolt and the events surrounding

Awat'ovi are re-imagined as a revitalization movement, Espeleta is a likely candidate for charismatic prophet-leader of resistance and reformation (an archetypal element of such culturalist movements). As a prominent subaltern to imperial agency, Espeleta occupied an intermediary, intercultural status, with significantly deeper understanding, presumably, than most Hopis of matters Spanish and Franciscan; he is structurally well situated—like Handsome Lake among the Iroquois a century later (e.g., Wallace 1969)—for prophet-leadership of a reformative movement.

### Events

This notion of reformation and revitalization brings me to the events themselves. One feature of Hopi accounts I have heard over the last 20 years has always particularly intrigued me. As one man put it, “You know, the real trouble at Awat'ovi was peyote.” (I prefer to preserve the anonymity of Hopi sources, but let me note that this was a Third Mesa account, and derives from the chiefly lineage of Loololma, the Kikmongwi of Orayvi until his death, ca. 1904). But while intrigued, I was very doubtful. Numerous accounts of Awat'ovi's destruction had been published, but not one had mentioned peyote. Neither does this seem to be a part of oral tradition that is widely known by Hopis: there may be rather few Hopis who know about it. There are no mentions at all that I know in the body of Hopi ethnography about peyote use (cf. Beaver 1952 and La Barre 1969:203, who specifically deny evidence of Hopi use<sup>21</sup>). The closest location where peyote is found naturally is in far southwest Texas and northern Mexico along the Rio Grande (Stewart 1987:6), several hundred miles away, and I have never encountered a single record of Hopis collecting it directly. The possibility of an intertribal trade in peyote—say, from the Mansos, Sumas, or Jumano Indians, or, after the Revolt, relocated Piros, Tompiros, or Tiwas (thereby may hang a tale—see below), around El Paso—certainly exists, but again, to the best of my knowledge is unrecorded in the ethnographic or ethnohistoric literature.<sup>22</sup>

Peyote, however, was clearly present in New Mexico in the seventeenth century (Scholes 1935). Omer Stewart

argues that peyote spread from northern Mexico to New Mexico and elsewhere in the seventeenth century along with the colonists, “peyote had become an item of contraband commerce by Indians, mestizos and soldiers who participated in the colonization of New Mexico” (1987:24). Peyote use was fairly widespread in northern Mexico, in some areas far beyond its natural occurrence, and continued to spread among Christianized Indians (Stewart 1987:21). In 1631 and 1632, the Inquisition held several trials for individual uses of peyote (for divinatory purposes) among the New Mexico Pueblos (Scholes 1935:216–220). But references to it thereafter in New Mexico largely disappear (see, e.g., the *Documentary Relations of the Southwest* database).

Peyote is evidently used by medicine men at Isleta pueblo, who in recent times have obtained it in trade from Mescalero Apaches, but previously went to gather it themselves. This is a specialized use, unassociated with the Native American Church (Pueblo Transcripts, Roll 7, Tape 495, Part 4; Roll 8, Tape 692).<sup>23</sup> But the only Pueblo interested in Native American Church peyotism seems to have been Taos, where it is known to have caused much friction with traditionalists (Bodine 1979; Stewart 1987:202–208). And Taos’s interest is interpreted by anthropologists as the result of its greater influence from the more peyotist Plains (e.g., Bodine 1979:257); other Pueblos are typically described as too religiously conservative to have any interest in such a novel form. While I have conversed with Navajo peyotists, I have never encountered an active Hopi participant in the Native American Church; there may be some, but it is certainly not common practice, as it is among Navajos (e.g., Aberle 1982).

After I first heard this Hopi account, I thought that if any hallucinogen was involved at Awat’ovi, it was most likely datura (Hopi *tsimona*), which grows plentifully around the Hopi Mesas, appears personified in myths (e.g., the Tsimonmamant, ‘jimson-weed girls’), figures in place-names (e.g., Tsimontukwi, ‘jimson-weed butte’) and is ethnographically recorded as used in medically specialized divination (Whiting 1939, cf. Beaver 1952). None of these types of cultural motifs occurs in any Hopi cultural

domains I know of with peyote, and I do not even know of a Hopi word for peyote.<sup>24</sup> But the accounts I encountered indicated the hallucinogen was a foreign introduction (i.e., which datura is not), indeed that it was introduced by the Spanish (or those with them,<sup>25</sup> which would conform with Stewart’s account of peyote at the Eastern Pueblos in the 1630s). All in all, while intrigued, for the longest time I found this Hopi account somewhat implausible and certainly unverifiable: it did not fit with any documentary or published oral history of Awat’ovi I knew of, or with any salient Pueblo ethnography.

Then in 1998, while examining some colonial Spanish records of post-Revolt Pueblo population movements, I found a reference (in the *Documentary Relations of the Southwest*) that piqued my interest (Figure 10.1). Others, it turned out later, had noticed it: Twitchell (1914) indexes it (SANM II: Item 306, 1720), and Slotkin (1951) presents a rather poor translation of it; subsequently, Beaver (1952) and La Barre (1969:203) dismissed Slotkin’s interpretation, while Stewart (1987:202) partly relied upon it. But each of these authors had different purposes in mind. The document concerns events at Taos Pueblo in 1720 involving the consumption of peyote. A local brouhaha ensued, and the Spanish civil authorities came from Santa Fe to hold a trial. Six Taos witnesses were deposed, including the cacique and the Pueblo Governor, an edict was signed by New Mexico Governor Antonio de Valverde y Cossio, and the key perpetrator, one Juan del Alamo, was sentenced to 50 lashes and expulsion from the pueblo. Juan del Alamo, the witnesses unanimously agreed, had introduced the peyote, and encouraged two others, Antonio Quara and Cristobal Teajaya to consume it. At this point—and here is a third sense of the imagination alluded to above—they divined, saw visions, and foretold the future:

... en el Pueblo de s.n Geronimo de los thaos, un yndio de el llamado quara bevio la yerva, q. llaman Pellote, en que su fortaleza y eficacia, ocasiona Privarse [?] y veer en la Ymajinaz.n fantasías segun se tiene Por experienzia en las ocasiones q. de ella se visa . . .

[ . . . in the pueblo of San Geronimo de Taos, an Indian from there named Quara drank the herb which they call peyote,<sup>26</sup> in which one's strength and capacities are deprived; one sees in the imagination fantasies that are taken for experiences . . . ]

In a moment that undoubtedly got Governor Valverde's attention, Quara and Teajaya were reported to have convened a gathering of Taos elders, informing them of a vision depicting Valverde and his troops intending to attack Taos and put all its adult population to death (the vision went on that Valverde had in fact been dissuaded from this course by the Governor of Parral). This image of Taos's feared destruction recapitulates discourses heard before the 1696 Revolt,<sup>27</sup> and echoes that of Awat'ovi four years later. It also reflects the ongoing culture of colonial terror, to invoke Taussig (1987), especially since the immolations of the southern Tiwa and Keresan pueblos by Governors Otermín and Cruzate (in 1681–1682 and 1689, respectively), and De Vargas's suppressions of the Revolt of 1696 (e.g., Kessell et al. 1998).

The 1720 document further suggests, in its report of prophetic visionary experiences, that the peyote was not being used for individual divinations (as was the case in the 1630s Inquisition trials). Rather, the visions are associated with an apocalyptic social, even millenarian, discourse. In short, the connection between peyote use and a fledgling social movement is manifest; indeed, it appears to be the principal reason why this was a matter of state, i.e., for the Provincial Governor, rather than a matter for the Church to address. The Spanish authorities were clearly concerned that this seemed to represent a potentially subversive, possibly reawakened revolutionary interest.

Juan del Alamo was serving at Taos as interpreter. He was a Tiwa—though not from Taos, but Isleta. Moreover, he had only recently returned to Isleta from Hopi. Numerous Isletas had taken refuge at Hopi since the 1680s or 1690s. Some made their way back to the Rio Grande in the early years of the eighteenth century and were resettled at Isleta in 1709 (Adams and Chávez 1956:203), but others stayed on. Especially after Vargas's reconquest of 1692 and

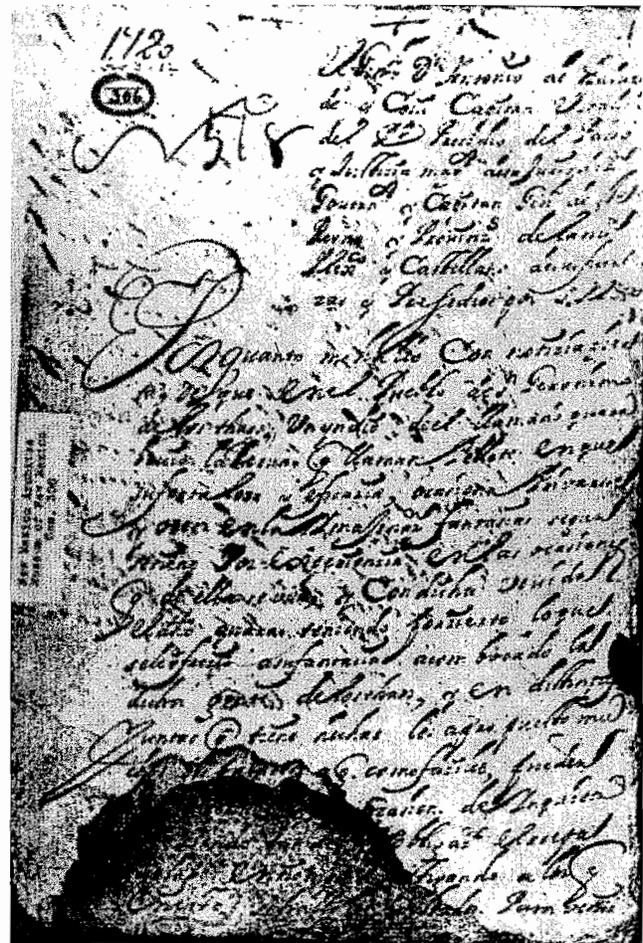


Figure 10.1. Item 306, Spanish Archives of New Mexico (courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico Archives).

the 1696 Revolt, as well as Isletas and other southern Tiwas at Hopi, including the Sandias who built Payupki at Second Mesa, there were sizable numbers of other Eastern Pueblos, including Jemez, Tewas, Tanos, Keresans, Taos (perhaps), and also Zunis (Bloom 1931), and probably some Tompiros from the Saline pueblos east of the Manzano Mountains and Piros along with the Isletas. The Spanish regime was concerned about the Rio Grande “irreconcilables” (Brew 1949:20) at Hopi and had launched punitive campaigns over the destruction of Awat'ovi, beginning with Governor Cubero in June or July of 1701 (Espinosa 1942:349). Finally, in 1716, Governor Phélix Martínez, both prior to and during a military campaign to Hopi, persuaded several more Isletas to return from Hopi, as well as 113 Jemez natives (Bloom 1931).

Those from Jemez were the remnant of—"the entire pueblo"—who had been refugees at Hopi since the mid-1690s (Ellis 1964:13–14). Instructively, Ellis reports that the Jemez Tsuntash society migrated as a group in 1694 to First Mesa with its eagle plume fetish: there is an implication of direct ritual exchange. Jemez consultants further told Ellis that it was during this period that they gave the Hopi the Hemis (= Jemez) katsina, which frequently appears at Hopi *Niman*, in exchange for some Hopi katsinas. The presence in significant numbers of Jemez people at Walpi in 1700, and Walpi's prominent role in the attack on Awat'ovi, as well as Jemez's reputation as fiercely resistant to Spanish authority (see Ellis 1964:passim), all suggest that some Jemez warriors may have participated in the attack (again, possibly with other Pueblo refugees). The account of the Tsuntash society migration suggests further that additional ritual incorporations, of Jemez and other Pueblo practices into Hopi structure, occurred at this time.<sup>28</sup>

In any event, it appears that one of the Isletas who accompanied Martínez's returning caravan in 1716 was Juan del Alamo. The six Taos witnesses were unanimous that "Juanillo" had brought the peyote back from Hopi.<sup>29</sup> For example:

... que esta inquietud havia causado la yerva que Juanillo el intérpete [sic] truxo de moqui . . . [" . . . that this disturbance had (been) caused (by) the herb which Juanillo the interpreter brought from Hopi . . ."]

... dicha yerva, de cuyo conozimy.to la trujo y condujo desde la Provinz.a de Moqui [" . . . said herb, with the knowledge of which he brought back from the Province of Hopi"].

Reading through this document of the Taos trial, it began to dawn on me that the Hopi accounts I had heard years earlier about peyote at Awat'ovi may have been more credible than I had allowed. Each of the witnesses successively related the same information on the source of the peyote—that Juan del Alamo, the interpreter, who had returned from the "Province of Moqui," had brought

back the herb from there. No Hopi villages were mentioned by name, however. Then, towards the end of the document, a brief summary of further testimony does mention one Hopi village—for the first and only time (Figure 10.2). Four additional Taos witnesses approached the Governor's secretary, Miguel Thenorio de Alba, asking that Juan del Alamo be banished from the pueblo for all the trouble he had caused:

... me avian venido a ber y pedirme que Juan del Alamo Ynterprete de dho Pueblo que se allaba fuera de el; y es de nazion tiguas fue segun bos comun el que traxo la Yerva de conque se asen locos de Aguatubi . . . [emphasis added: " . . . they had come to see me to plead that Juan del Alamo, the interpreter of the said pueblo, should depart from it; and he is of the Tiwa nation[.] [I]t was common knowledge that he brought the herb with which they make themselves crazy from Awat'ovi. . . ."]

One archival swallow does not make a summer of interpretation, but Awat'ovi seems to be indexed here as the source of the substance: if not literally—since it had apparently been deserted 20 years earlier—then as what the post-structuralist literary types call a "trace." And it is possible that Awat'ovi was not completely abandoned in 1700. Voth points out, "[I]t is reasonable to suppose—and the Indians are of the same opinion—that the village and what it contained was by no means totally destroyed, that for some time after objects were gotten from the deserted village, and that the priestesses of the Oáqöl Society went and saved from destruction the highly treasured paraphernalia of their sacred cult" (Voth 1903:3, n.1).

Again, if my inference is correct that Juan del Alamo's return from Hopi occurred with Martínez's expedition in 1716, this further suggests that the hallucinogen was still in use at Hopi. If so, who then was using it at Awat'ovi in 1700—killers or killed, or both?

The apocalyptic and millennial components of the

me que Juan del Alamo interpretó de esto  
 que lo que se callaba fue de los; Ser de nación  
 Tiguas fue quien los comen el que traxo la lengua  
 de Carquestaron loco de Agudubí, y que nos con  
 la Inocuidad que de se me dante compañía se fue

Figure 10.2. Passage in Item 306 mentioning Awat'ovi (courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico Archives).

Taos visionaries' reported prophecies are surely important in this regard. Again, these are visions put to the use of the social imaginary: they are not (or not only—there is one passage which also describes a divinatory use by an aged Taos gardener) techniques for finding lost objects or diagnosing individual afflictions. The implication—either by the Taos witnesses themselves (if the document is read as a transparent record of their avowals), or by the Spanish authorities (who construed these avowals into an official text of judgment and sentence)—is, that, based on his experience with peyote at Hopi, Juan del Alamo had sought to foment a social movement. If that is the case, it follows that something similar was at work in Hopi use of peyote: that it was part of a culturalist movement involving active resistance to the Spanish state, not an interiorist socio-psychological coping-mechanism in response to deprivation, as the “peyote cult” of the nineteenth and twentieth century has largely been interpreted (e.g., Aberle 1982). Further, this would suggest that the known visionary effects of peyote were socially channeled into an organized, conscious re-working of the social imaginary. Although the leads are slender and the documentable connections somewhat tenuous, it turns out that J. Manuel Espinosa—quite independently—has hinted at some parallel suggestions in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.<sup>30</sup> In a reference I had previously overlooked, Espinosa implies that peyote may have played a role. The Tewa leader of the Revolt, Popé, represented that he had had a visionary experience inside a Taos kiva, in which he encountered, “three devils in the form of Indians. Most horrifying in appearance, shooting flames

of fire from all the senses and extremities of their bodies . . .” (quoted in Espinosa 1988:33). From this account and Scholes's report of the 1630s peyote trials, Espinosa infers that, “the hallucination of seeing flames shooting out of one's body is known to occur to peyote eaters” (Espinosa 1988:34). Again, if there is value in this surmise, a parallel may be inferred with Espeleta at Hopi. We know that he had spent time in Mexico, and I have suggested his general “cosmopolitanism.” Although we do not know from the documentary record who the Hopi leaders of the 1680 Revolt were, it certainly follows logically that if Espeleta killed the priest at Orayvi, and in 1700 was the leader of delegations to meet with Cubero in Santa Fe, that he had been in direct contact with Popé and the other Pueblo leaders at Taos in 1680. In short, if Espinosa is correct that Popé's visions were inspired by peyote in 1680, Espeleta may have been directly involved, and may have been a conduit for peyote at Hopi.<sup>31</sup>

While all of this must remain inferential, let me now connect the use of peyote as part of a culturalist movement at Hopi with the critical role of *Wuwtsim* in the destruction of Awat'ovi, and *Wuwtsim*'s subsequent transfer and re-organizing effect at other villages. This nexus of ideas leads, by syllogism in the absence of direct evidence, to the idea that peyote visions were actively utilized as part of a sociopolitical movement of revitalization centered in *Wuwtsim*—i.e., peyote was used in the context of *Wuwtsim*. Now an ethnographic problem immediately arises: if this was in fact the case in 1700, why had it apparently ceased to be so by the late nineteenth century when ethnographers first recorded aspects of *Wuwtsim*

ceremonialism? That is a question I cannot answer ethnographically, but Weber's notion of the "routinization of charisma" may help. Weber (and see Wallace 1956) argues that for charismatic leadership to give way to an efficacious transformation of the social order, charisma as the basis of authority must give way to a routinization of ideological and administrative practice—again, similarly to the transformation of Handsome Lake's visions into an organized religious tradition among the Iroquois (Wallace 1969). Structurally speaking, this is a plausible guess about the absence of peyote from later reports of *Wuwtsim*, although there are several possible arguments against it (such as why routinization in the Native American Church has not dispensed with psychotropic experience). The passing of Espeleta (which occurred prior to 1716 [Brew 1949:25])—my candidate for charismatic culturalist prophet—may signal the beginning of a routinization that ultimately dispensed with the use of psychotropic stimulation of the social imaginary. That is the best inference I can make at present.

Existing ethnohistoric interpretations of Awat'ovi predicate that those killed were all Christian converts. However, another aspect of Hopi oral history is troubling in this regard: as noted above, Hopi accounts are unanimous that the attack took place during *Wuwtsim* when all the men were in the kivas. Further, stories of witchcraft surround Awat'ovi's destruction—that it had reached a stage of corruption, or *koyaanisqatsi*, including murder, rape, theft, continual gambling and pleasure-seeking in the kivas, and ritual conflict in the plaza (e.g., Curtis 1922:86; Lomatuway'ma et al. 1993:288)—the classic circumstances that precede destruction or demise of Hopi villages (cf. Lomatuway'ma et al. 1993:passim). The *popwaqt*, witches, or *kwitavit* (literally the 'shits,' a euphemism for sorcerers) had their headquarters in a kiva, the so-called *powaqkiva*, 'sorcerers' kiva.' Guided by elders from Walpi, Fewkes (1893:372–373, 1896:570) believed he located it, and inside he found many bones. This kiva was in the plaza facing the mission church, which would suggest it was a focal point of antithetical imaginaries. Witchcraft, whatever else it may be, is a discourse of the interstices, where pollution

and liminal chaos dwell together (e.g., Douglas 1966). Witchcraft accusations involve an agonistic charge of failure to adhere to the terms of the social contract. Therefore, if Christian reconversion were taken as an index of sorcery, this would suggest its virulently polluting status vis-à-vis a culturalist movement of Hopi revitalization and reformation. Pollution and taboo implicitly entail their corollary of purity, and translated into ritual action, this is realized as purification. Purification, including of the evil of witchcraft, is a central idea in Hopi religious philosophy, and is denoted by the term *naavotsiwni* (see, e.g., Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987). Escape from evil circumstances, via the destruction of previous worlds, or villages, and subsequent regeneration of a purified Hopi life is a prominent theme in Hopi historical narratives. The third world (below the present, fourth one), Sikyatki, Palatkwapi, Pivanhonkyapi, and numerous other villages were purified—by flood, fire, or other catastrophe—and then life could be restored anew.<sup>32</sup> The destruction of Awat'ovi thus appears as the instantiation of a paradigmatic purification process and the emergence of a renewed, refigured form of social and cultural structuration throughout Hopi society as a whole.

### Conclusion

The events at Awat'ovi in 1700, while susceptible of only circumstantial inference and interpolation, are nonetheless pregnant with structural import. The presence of numerous Rio Grande refugees, many of them implacably hostile to the Spanish, is surely a critical element, despite the fact that Hopi accounts largely fail to mention their presence or their influence in these events. However, it seems evident that this was a time of much cultural exchange among these Pueblo peoples, and it is likely that their conjoint political resistance to the Spanish state was partly framed in terms of a ritually refigured social imaginary of pan-Pueblo proportions. The collective efforts to throw off the Spanish yoke, especially in 1680 and 1696, had forged a new imagined community (where circulating messages did not await the development of print capitalism, but could be manifest in knotted cords,

and shared katsina representations, among other symbols). The re-imagining of community at Hopi after the Revolt included direct transfers of ideas and people, both from the Rio Grande and internally among the shifting or rebuilding Hopi villages. Nevertheless, whatever the degree of cause these transfers provided, they appear to be part of a full-blown revitalization and transformation of Hopi culture and society, whose internal structures had been seriously constricted since 1630. Revitalization, pivoting on the axis of the ritual system, was the basis of political resistance, and appears to have centered in *Wuwtsim* at Awat'ovi. Here, *Wuwtsim* served as the specific occasion of radical transformation in 1700, and was the heart of a reborn politico-ritual system that, forged in the sacrificial purification of Awat'ovi's corruption and pollution, restructured the Hopi social and cultural orders in other villages subsequently. The possibility seems strong that this revitalization was led by a charismatic, conjunctural figure like Espeleta. Judging by certain Hopi accounts and circumstantial documentary evidence, the process of revitalization appears to have included the use of peyote, as the imaginative fuel of a re-envisioned cultural and social system. Espeleta's new "magic of the Hopi state," so to speak,<sup>33</sup> may have involved a hallucinogenic lubrication of the social imaginary, transforming the existing sense of Hopi identity, cultural value, and social form. This would suggest that what we know of as Hopi social structure and the system of cultural categories from nineteenth and twentieth century ethnography is not so much the historyless precipitate of continuous structural reproduction in the social engagement with nature (à la Lévi-Strauss), but as a particular, conscious, historic product in which Hopis systemically re-imagined their culture and society in the crucible of resistance to the imperial foe.

## Notes

1. As Shuichi Nagata has put it (personal communication).
2. Rick Hendricks has searched long and hard, in Spain and Mexico, for the Cubero period documents, which he infers Cubero took with him when he returned to Mexico at the end of his governorship in 1703 (personal communication). Were they ever to be found, the testimonials of 1702 would undoubtedly be the major historical source on the events at Awat'ovi.
3. *The New Yorker's* (Preston 1998) rendering of Turner's explanation of Awat'ovi includes a lethal mix of Charles Manson, leading a gang of prehistoric psychotics, Genghis Khan, Pol Pot, and Joseph Stalin, in addition to Adolf Hitler, "tinkers," the Toltecs, and Thuggery. One might well wonder what happened to *The New Yorker's* injunction to "Block That Metaphor!"
4. See, for example: Bahr et al. 1994; Basso 1996; Biersack 1991; Bloch 1989; Cohn 1980; Collins 1998; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Fowler 1987; Geertz 1980; Hastrup 1992; Hill 1988; Kirch and Sahlins 1992; O'Brien and Roseberry 1991; Price 1983, 1990; Rosaldo 1980; Sahlins 1981, 1985; Schneider and Rapp 1995; Shryock 1997; Tonkin et al. 1989; Vansina 1985; Whiteley 1988a; Wolf 1982. For an excellent discussion of varieties of Native American history, historiography, and historical consciousness, see Nabokov 1996.
5. The paralysis is less apparent in the world-systems-type, materialist historiography of Eric Wolf (1983) and others (e.g., O'Brien and Roseberry 1991; Schneider and Rapp 1995). But here the cause of transformation lies outside culture itself, which is seen as the largely passive, superstructural respondent to material historical forces, in the Marxian tradition.
6. In this regard, I have recently (1999) taken to recommending that Southwestern archaeologists pro-actively reconceive their projects in the mold of Classical Archaeology. Recent archaeological nods to diversity tend to set the "Native" interpretation side-by-side with the archaeological interpretation, rather than seeking analytical conjuncture.
7. This is, of course, a key problem for all social theory, and centrally preoccupies Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, as well as their myriad heirs.
8. From a recent Third Mesa account specifying that the attack occurred on *Wuwtsimtotokya* (the seventh night of the eight-day *Wuwtsim* ceremony), Malotki (1993:291) infers that it took place in the last week of November 1700. He may be correct, although given the historical tumult at Hopi during this period and my sense that *Wuwtsim* was in a process of reformation (below), this account may rationalize the timing a little too closely to the current *Wuwtsim* ceremonial march.
9. The name is a contraction of 'awta,' a bow, and '-ovi,' 'on top,' a place marker. But Fewkes (1898:594) is surely correct when he notes that the village name refers, "to the Bow clan, one of the strongest in the ancient pueblo."
10. In other passages, it is evident that some of Curtis's informants use the name Taapalo generically to refer to a chief who founded Awat'ovi prehistorically (e.g., Curtis 1922:84–85), as well as the chief at the Revolt period, telescoping these events into the same frame. The temporal inference of the borrowing of *Wuwtsim* during the Revolt period may thus be unwarranted, but clearly, other ritual

borrowings were occurring from Pueblo refugees at this period (see below).

11. 'Lengya'ovi' appears to be a contraction. Two lexical possibilities occur: if it is from 'Leenanguya'ovi,' this would refer directly to the performance of the Flute ceremony occurring in the place on top. If it were 'Lenngyam'ovi,' that contains a direct reference to the clan: 'Flute clan on top place.' The former seems more intuitively likely to me, but both possibilities are no more than guesses on my part. Anthropologists have frequently confused *Lenngyam*, 'Flute clan,' with *Leengyam*, 'Millet clan,' suggesting that there is no Flute clan per se. Hopi usage (including in English translation) is unambiguous, however, and these are two distinct clan names.

12. The instrumentality of bows and flutes as transducers of masculine power is reported more widely in Hopi culture than just in these clans and sodalities themselves, and at least in the case of flutes is a continent-wide motif, occurring prominently, for example, in the *yurupari* cult in Amazonia.

13. By this, I do not intend that the totemically named clans—especially Bear, Spider, Parrot, Badger, Snake—were any less significant as transformational operators in relation to nature, quite the contrary. However, in their ritual manipulations, these clans borrow from mimetically appropriate forces intrinsic to nature—for example, the Badger clan's mastery of herbal medicines, or the Snake clan's powers with snakes, and thence rain. It is striking that both Bow and Flute were (and the Flute clan still is) notably powerful clans in the Hopi imaginary of ritual hierarchy. I would also include the totemically-named clans as originally non-clan collectivities with different marriage rules before establishment at the Mesas; but this thesis must await development elsewhere.

14. Bow is also associated with the *Wuwsimt* sodality as well as the total *Wuwsim* ceremony at Orayvi, although the Sparrowhawk clan held a leading role in the *Wuwsimt*. Again, there is an Awat'ovi connection here: Sparrowhawk is a close phratry mate of Squash, which organized the *Wuwsimt* society at Walpi (Curtis 1922:186) and thus logically appears to have been introduced from Awot'ovi. At Horvela (on Third Mesa), the Squash clan is in charge of Hawiwvi kiva, the kiva of the *Wuwsimt* society; a kiva of the same name at Orayvi was also the *Wuwsimt* kiva.

15. My combination of Bow/Reed and farther on of Rabbit/Tobacco is designed to show close connections and infer possible historic identities. There are some circumstances in which the conjoint names may be thought of as referring to the same clan, or as lineages of the same clan, as is the case also with Parrot and Crow, and in some settings with Parrot and Katsina, and Katsina and Crow. Bow, Reed, and Greasewood were different clans at Orayvi and subsequently in Third Mesa society. But they form a phratry together and there are clearly interrelated and partly conjoint ritual roles in certain contexts. The absence at First Mesa of a Bow clan, but the presence there of a Reed clan of Awat'ovi which is regarded as separate from a pre-existing Walpi Reed clan, may reflect an assimilation of Bow to Reed at Walpi, or it may reflect the dying out of a Bow clan group there (Hopi population was still being decimated by smallpox in 1898, not to mention other diseases), and the taking over of its ritual responsibilities by Reed. At Walpi, Reed owns the *Aa'alt*

(Two Horn sodality) as its principal ritual prerogative, as Bow did at Orayvi. So Bow at Orayvi and Reed at Walpi occupy the same socio-ritual sphere—hence my reasoning for inferring an identity.

16. While Third Mesa clan migration narratives situate the Bow clan as arriving from the southwest (e.g., Voth 1905), there is a clear association between the Third Mesa Bow clan and the Bow clan of Awat'ovi.

17. 'Taapalo' is a nickname: it is Spanish for 'shawl' (e.g., Hopi Dictionary Project 1998). The historical import of this, if any, is unclear, but it obscures the possibility of inferring a ritual connection (i.e., with his godfather's clan), were we to know his Hopi name. I am assuming he was fully Hopi: some of the principal Rio Grande Pueblo leaders in the Revolt were mestizos (e.g., Espinosa 1988:34). If there is any possibility that his nickname indicates Taapalo or Espeleta (see below) were of mixed ancestry (Spanish, Black, or Mexican Indian, even possibly the son of a Franciscan priest: abuse of Hopi women by the priests is recounted in Hopi oral history), this would further complicate matters, particularly in light of events discussed below.

18. Pre-Revolt Walpi was located on a bench below the mesatop, in the area Hopis today refer to as Qöösaptuvela, 'ash slope.'

19. Brew (1949:16–18) speculates that he might have been the same person as "Juan," a boy imprisoned at the Awat'ovi mission who attended the infamous Father Salvador de Guerra, who had a penchant for setting Hopis on fire with burning turpentine. José de Espeleta spared Juan's life when another missionary sought to have him hanged, for reasons unspecified. Francisco was apparently not his first Spanish name (Brew 1949:16–18). But Francisco, or its diminutive 'Panchuelo,' are the only forenames applied to him after the Revolt (Espinosa 1942:348).

20. Interestingly, José de Espeleta was evidently fluent in Hopi; indeed, he was one of a mere three missionaries recorded in 1699 as having been fluent in any Pueblo language—a situation that was inferred as a major cause of Pueblo hostility at the 1680 Revolt (Espinosa 1942:345). The fact that Father José was fluent in Hopi, and that his long-term assistant Francisco was fluent in Spanish, is another index of the latter's conjunctural status (see below).

21. Beaver's negative commentary is in response to Slotkin's translation of the item discussed below.

22. William Merrill (1994; personal communication 1999) has published an account of a multi-ethnic band of peyotists in northern Mexico in the eighteenth century, and it remains possible that Hopis participated in a regional trade for the cactus, but again, if so, this would be a novel piece of information in Hopi ethnology. Slotkin (1955:205) infers peyote use at Hopi from the 1720 document discussed in some detail below, but he offers no elaboration beyond simply including Hopi in a list of places where peyote is recorded. La Barre (1969:203) takes Slotkin to task for this, citing Beaver (1952) to confirm his own negative reading of Slotkin's inferences and specifically repudiating the implication of Hopi use. See below, however.

23. "Our herbs, that's nawar. But the one that the medicine [men] use, the peyote, that's wartur. . . . Some grind it at home and already have it wrapped in a little corn husk, so they'll open up their little corn husk, you know they've got it folded over, and they keep it in their pouch you know, and they'll open it up and take a dab like this and

put it in their mouth. . . . All medicine men use it" (Pueblo Transcripts, Roll 7, Tape 495, Pt. 4 [1967], pp. 20–21).

24. Kimball Romney notes that there is no evidence of a term for peyote in proto-Uto-Aztecan, and infers that "there is no linguistic evidence for any great time depth for the use of peyote among Uto-Aztecan peoples" (quoted in Slotkin 1955:203).

25. The Franciscan missionaries certainly had lay assistants of indigenous Mexican origin: The Hopi word *totaatsim*, 'dictators, tyrants,' used to refer to the priests, is of Nahuatl origin (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998). Malotki (1993:295) infers a direct presence of one or more Nahuas with the priests at Hopi. In Nahuatl, *totahtzin* means "our honored father" (Malotki 1993).

26. The document mostly refers to "pellote/peyote," but one passage suggests it may have been something else—see note 29.

27. For example, Espinosa records this as a motivating narrative for those who participated in the second Revolt. Upon his capture, Xenome, the cacique of Nambé, who had been one of the leaders of the 1696 Revolt, reported:

At Cochití a Spaniard had told him and other natives that Governor Vargas had decided to massacre within the month all the men of the pueblo, sparing only the small boys. Thereupon the leaders of the Jemez, and the Keres of Santo Domingo and Cochití, joined by partisans from San Felipe, Santa Ana, and Sia, had held a council and decided to join in the uprising. Acting swiftly, Naranjo of Cochití had sent messengers with knotted cords to the different pueblos, as far as Ácoma, Zufi, and Moqui, and to the Apaches.

—[ESPINOSA 1942:251]

28. Ellis records a Jemez pattern that further reflects the events at Awat'ovi, Sikyatki, and other Hopi villages destroyed during rivalries:

According to Jemez tradition, the several original villages each consisted of members of a single religious society. These periodically became jealous of another society's apparent "power," which embodied a threat for disapproved competition and also suggested possible dangers from witchcraft should a society decide to use its magic for evil. More than once men from one village are said to have slipped into another, either pretending to be guests or entering while the males of the second village were known to be on some project, the actual object of these visitors being to burn the entire village or at least a society house or kiva. . . . The legends of specific societies record this distrust and turmoil and the integration of survivors and their cults into the conquering villages.

—[ELLIS 1964:11]

29. The only sentence in the document that suggests the herb may not have been peyote (see note 26, above) is ambiguous: ". . . des cubri haver bebido No el peyote sino Una yerva que Juanillo el Ynterprete de naz.n tiguas truxo de moqui" ("I [Alba, Governor Valverde's secretary, hearing the witnesses] discovered that they had drunk not peyote but a herb that Juanillo the interpreter had brought back from Hopi.") In thinking that the two (peyote and "the herb brought back from Hopi") were not identical, Alba may have simply been confused;

in disputing that it was peyote, his purpose seems to be to emphasize its source (Hopi), rather than to identify the plant itself. Since the rest of the document that follows this passage, as well as that which precedes it, continues to refer to peyote, I do not interpret Alba's remark here as a definitive indication it was not peyote. Incidentally, Slotkin's (1951) translation of 'No el peyote' is "Noel peyote" (a Christmas subspecies?!), which makes no sense, but clearly the passage troubled his translator too.

30. Many thanks to Bob Preucel (personal communication, 2000) for bringing this passage in Espinosa (1988) to my attention.

31. In this regard, my inference that Espeleta was Badger clan may gain support from the cultural logic that this clan is associated with the control of powerful medicines (see above).

32. Fewkes (1898:647) specifically discusses the use of fire as a purificatory process.

33. The reference is to Taussig's (1997) argument, though I am taking liberties with his use of "the state."

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