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**Christianity, Kachinas, Crosses, and Kivas:  
Religion, Resistance, and Revolt in Seventeenth Century New Mexico**

According to Bruce Lincoln, religion "is not different in essence from other ideological forms. That is to say, it is in itself a neutral tool or weapon which may be appropriated by any contesting class or faction within socio-political struggles, up to and including the extreme form of such struggles – revolution."<sup>1</sup> Because of the seemingly endless appropriability of religion as ideology, Lincoln categorizes religions into four categories: *religions of the status quo*, *religions of resistance*, *religions of revolution*, and *religions of counterrevolution*. Although Lincoln confesses that this functionalist categorization is "admittedly crude," such designations avoid the pitfall of reducing any given religion to a single, monolithic entity.<sup>2</sup>

This distinction is important, since much of the literature that has been written concerning the Pueblo-Spanish relations in the early colonial period tends to reify both Spanish Catholicism and a wide variety of Pueblo religious traditions. This paper considers the history of Spanish-Pueblo interactions in seventeenth century New Mexico, especially events surrounding the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, in light of Lincoln's fourfold classification of religions and James Scott's concepts of "hidden" and public transcripts.<sup>3</sup> These theories illuminate the dynamic interaction between power and meaning as well as the construction and corrosion of authority in this history. Insofar as these theoretical frameworks are capable of explaining the historical data, it is a testament to their strength. As Thomas Tweed maintains, however, "theorists always have blind spots," and thus, any given theory "obscures some things as it illumines others."<sup>4</sup> As Christianity was used by various agents of Spanish colonialism as a tool to pacify and subdue Pueblos, Pueblo religions were repositioned as religions of resistance. In this context, I will argue that Pueblo religions manifested themselves in a variety of interesting and unexpected ways, particularly during the revolt of 1680.

Whatever Christianity may have been at the time of its founder and in other places throughout the world and history, when Don Juan de Oñate came to conquer and pacify the Kingdom of New Mexico in 1598 through the military intimidation and conversion of its indigenous inhabitants, Christianity, according to Lincoln's typology, was a religion of the status quo par excellence. He defines a religion of the status quo as "a legitimation of the dominant party's right to hold wealth, power, and prestige; and endowment of the social order with a sacral aura, mythic charter, or other transcendent justification; and a valorization of suffering within this world, concomitant with the extended promise of non-material compensations for such suffering."<sup>5</sup>

Crucial to Lincoln's notion of a religion of the status quo is that it serves the interests of the dominant party with an ultimate goal of complete hegemony and that its ideology is vigorously promoted by an institution that the dominant party supports. One form that this may take is an alliance between church and state. As an example, Lincoln notes the "strong support given to missions by colonial administrations, which regularly cede control of all education, and medical service to them, coerce colonial peoples to attend them, and provide them with abundant free colonial labour."<sup>6</sup> The reciprocal relations between power and the ideologies that justifies and sustain power relations are essential according to Lincoln: "this symbiosis I take to be the hallmark of the religion of the status quo."<sup>7</sup>

This mutuality is clear in the conquest of New Mexico. The designation of Christianity as the religion of the status quo, however, seems inappropriate here since it had first to become positioned as a religion of the status quo through conquest. Still, if we consider this manifestation of Christianity to be a religion of conquest, then much of that which characterizes the religion of the status quo still applies. For example, Christianity was to be the instrument that preserved the expansive territorial claims for the Crown of Spain. Conversely, the Church could not command authority without Spanish military support. Therefore, Oñate was ordered to insure that the seven Franciscan friars and two lay brothers who accompanied his envoy would be "respected and revered, as ministers of the gospel should be" by Oñate's men. "[W]ith this example, the Indians may attend and honor them and accept their persuasions and teachings."<sup>8</sup> As Michel Foucault has argued, "power is tolerable only on condition that it mask a substantial

part of itself."<sup>9</sup> Or, as Pierre Bourdieu put it, "[e]very established order tends to produce...the naturalization of its own arbitrariness."<sup>10</sup> Things do not always go as planned, however, and the relationship between Church and state was fraught with conflict in the following century. Consequently, the small and divided Spanish colonial presence repeatedly undermined its own authority exposing the arbitrary and intolerable nature of its power. However, Pueblos were not merely passive players in this struggle and were able to capitalize on these opportunities to win several concessions within the factional colonial environment.<sup>11</sup>

According to Lincoln, religions of resistance "result from the inevitable failure of the religion of the status quo to permeate and persuade all segments of society, and the extent to which they flourish at any given time will provide an inverse index of the ideological hegemony of the dominant party and its religious apologists."<sup>12</sup> In this respect, Lincoln follows Foucault, who argues that "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power."<sup>13</sup> At the same time, as James Scott has demonstrated, we might add that "power is never in a position of exteriority in relation to resistance."<sup>14</sup>

Lincoln argues that "whereas there will as a rule be only one religion of the status quo within a given society at any given time, the variety of religions of resistance which may thrive simultaneously is well-nigh endless, and history attests a rich variety of exemplars."<sup>15</sup> This is certainly true in the context of seventeenth century New Mexico. Scott distinguishes between four types of political discourse among subaltern groups, which we may also apply to Lincoln's notion of religions of resistance. The safest and most public form of political discourse, or for our purposes a religion of resistance, "takes as its basis the flattering self-image of elites."<sup>16</sup> The most private form of resistance takes place in what Scott calls the "hidden transcript," comprising not only speech acts but also a wide range of practices which are beyond the direct observation of the powerholders that conversely constitutes the "public transcript" which is most likely to be recorded into written history and studied by social scientists.<sup>17</sup> A third strategy is "a politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in public view but is designed to have a double meaning or to shield the identity of the actors."<sup>18</sup> A fourth strategy is that of open defiance, when the hidden transcript becomes public, usually incurring further repression or ushering revolution.<sup>19</sup>

An example of Scott's first form of resistance, that of flattery and emulation, comes in 1598, when Oñate's *entrada* arrived at Hopi and met something entirely unexpected. Here, "whenever the Spaniards approach" the Hopi wore crosses "large and small...on their foreheads." While these Hopis did not invest the same meanings into this symbol as the Spanish, the symbol was doubtlessly invested with some meaning. One Franciscan of Oñate's party who recorded the event explained its meaning as follows:

It is known how many years ago a religious of the Franciscan Order passed through the land who told that if at any time they were to see white men with beards, if they did not want them to treat them badly, they should put on those crosses, which are a thing which they [the Spaniards] esteem. They took this to memory and have not forgotten it.<sup>20</sup>

Whether or not this interpretation is correct, the passage suggests the Hopis understood that the Spaniards' reverence for the symbol could be manipulated to their own advantage.

Unfortunately, no direct historical evidence may be found to illustrate Scott's second form of resistance, that of the hidden transcript itself, because it is just that – hidden from the surveillance of powerholders who recorded written history. Thus, the foremost problem with Scott's theory of resistance is the non-falsifiability of its most pivotal concept: the hidden transcript.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, according to Scott, evidence of such hidden transcripts may be inferred from the third form of resistance in which double meanings (from the hidden transcript) are encoded into the public transcript. Two examples illustrate this point: baptism and crosses.

Although the Franciscans converted many Pueblos, it may not be assumed that baptism necessarily meant the same thing to those who accepted the rite and those who administered it. In 1628, Fray Roque de Figueredo arrived at the Zuñi pueblo of Hawikuh where the *cacique* informed him that he and his people had no interest in becoming "wet-heads...because with the water of baptism they would have to die."<sup>22</sup> Rumors of baptismal death seemed to be circulating throughout various pueblos. One Indian apostate, according to Fray Estevan de Perea, had been traveling ahead of him on his mission declaring the inhabitants of each Pueblo "should not allow them to sprinkle water on their heads because they would be certain to die from it."<sup>23</sup>

In 1626, Fray Alonso de Benavides recorded an event that he interpreted as a clear recognition of the superiority of Christianity over traditional religions. A *cacique* by the name of Sanaba presented him with a gift of a deerskin painted "with the sun and the moon, and above each a cross." Sanaba reportedly explained the symbolism saying, "you have taught us who God, the creator of all things is, and that the sun and moon are His creatures, in order that you might know that we now worship only God, I had these crosses...painted above the sun and moon."<sup>24</sup>

While such a clearly articulated Christian meaning may have been the intent of the painting, we have already seen that the Hopi in 1598 had already appropriated the Christian symbol of the cross for their own needs.<sup>25</sup> Surely, the ability to manipulate the meaning of Spanish symbols was not an anomaly, as demonstrated by the usage of the term "wet-heads." Furthermore, the symbol that Spaniards knew as the cross had been widely used by Puebloans before European contact. Rather than representing the Christian message of salvation, however, the symbol was used to represent stars, birds, dragonflies, and insects. During the early period of contact, the Pueblos incorporated the Christian meaning. This multi-referential symbol bore cross-cultural meanings and could be used as a potent form of resistance to cloak older meanings within a symbol revered by their oppressors. Archaeologist Jeannette L. Mobley-Tanaka argues that the increased use of the symbol on Puebloan pottery after the period of contact constituted a subversive hidden transcript.<sup>26</sup> According to James Scott, "what permits subordinate groups to undercut the authorized cultural norms is the fact that cultural expression by virtue of its polyvalent symbolism and metaphor lends itself to disguise."<sup>27</sup>

Finally, many examples of Scott's final form of resistance, open defiance itself, may be found in seventeenth century New Mexico. When Lopez de Mendizábal (r. 1659-1662) was the governor of New Mexico, he harshly criticized the friars for not observing their own vows of chastity. As Mendizábal toured the pueblos listening to disputes and complaints, he exceeded his jurisdiction and sought charges against, tried, and sentenced members of the clergy. In one case, a ninety-year-old friar was convicted for defaulting on payment for sexual favors from a Pueblo woman.<sup>28</sup> Many Pueblos also complained of sexual abuse. Upon arriving in Santa Fe, a subordinate of Mendizábal's said that "he knew many women who told him that they did not go to confession because they were solicited in the confessional."<sup>29</sup> Rumor held one Fray Diego de

Parraga of Tajiique to have fornicated with as many as forty of his parishioners, twenty of whom testified to the governor. Eventually, Parraga confessed to various forms of sexual misconduct, including the carnal knowledge of one of his own children from another unlawful union.<sup>30</sup>

According to Lincoln, such "corrosive discourse," is "not only nonauthoritative, but downright antithetical to the construction of authority."<sup>31</sup> Lincoln argues that, "in short, corrosive discourse restores to the level of the human those frail and fallible individuals who would prefer to represent themselves as the embodiment of some incontestable office or some transcendent ideal."<sup>32</sup> Thus, when the Spanish colonial government quarreled with Franciscans over power in the region, they did more than merely undermine the authority of the Franciscans (although they certainly did do that). They also undercut their own authority because the rationale for the Spanish invasion and occupation of New Mexico depended on the ideology that the Franciscans espoused. Lincoln maintains that

those who wrap themselves in the cloak of religion make themselves vulnerable to the charge that they are insufficiently, inadequately, or improperly religious, for the proposition

{+Religion → +Authority}

is potentially subject to a most strategic inversion:

{-Religion → -Authority}.<sup>33</sup>

Hence, Spanish colonial authority, much like Franciscan authority, hinged on the success of Christianity to justify and naturalize the exploitative Spanish presence in the region.

Lincoln's functionalist classification of religion is, however, strained to explain this. While by this time Christianity in New Mexico was a religion of the status quo, its representatives came under fire from the very colonial authorities that it supported. Thus, simultaneously, Catholicism was a religion of the status quo and a religion of resistance. Nevertheless, Lincoln does not deny internal struggle, even within religions of the status quo and it is not contradictory that a religion would play more than one role at the same time, particularly while performing for multiple audiences.

Additional examples of open resistance may also be found. In 1623, Jémez apostates killed their friars, burned the church, and fled to the hills. At Taos, medicine men often added urine and mouse meat to their *padre*'s corn tortillas, finally killing him in 1631. The Zuñi effectively halted missionary activity in their region when they killed, decapitated, and scalped two friars in 1632, taking their severed hands and feet as trophies.<sup>34</sup> Purportedly, "when the converted and baptized Indians were summoned to mass...they all rose in rebellion and attacked [Fray Francisco Letrado] in a body, smashing his head with their clubs in order to prevent him from preaching the word of God to them any longer."<sup>35</sup> Only five days later, Fray Martín de Arvide arrived at Zuñi and "found the barbarians in a conspiracy against the ministers of Jesus Christ, but they allowed him to feel safe, and then...shot him with an harquebus which they had taken from the Spaniards and...took his life."<sup>36</sup>

Either contributing or responding to these and other similar events, many Franciscans strove to emulate the martyrdoms of Jesus and St. Francis. As Saint Francis's internal devotion earned him Christ's stigmata, so too could the Franciscans of New Mexico seek martyrdom among the Pueblos as an outward sign of their inward virtue.<sup>37</sup> In their hearts and on their lips was Jesus's injunction that "whoever loses his life for me and for the gospel will save it,"<sup>38</sup> and Ignatius of Antioch's exaltation of the martyr's death with the lyrical rapture: "I am yearning for death with the passion of a lover. My love has been crucified; in me there is left no spark of desire for mundane things, but only a murmur of living water that whispers within me, 'Come to the Father.'"<sup>39</sup>

Fray José Trujillo spent thirty-one years of his life on a quest for martyrdom, but neither in Spain, the Philippines, Japan, or Mexico could he fulfill his calling. When he came to New Mexico in 1670, though, his fate would eventually change; he was clubbed to death at Zuñi during the events of 1680. However, Ramón Gutiérrez reminds us:

[T]hough the martyrdoms of these Franciscans may appear like supreme acts of pacifism, they were, quite the contrary, supreme acts of aggression. The Indians were provoked to murder only when they were pushed beyond their human limits. More to the point, the Spanish soldiers always retaliated with brute force whenever the Indians killed their friars. For the friars, then, the means justified their ends.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, Lincoln argues that although violence may be "effective in the short run, [it is always and everywhere] unworkable over the long haul."<sup>41</sup> Therefore, in violently suppressing violent uprisings, "force can quell these outbreaks only at the cost of further alienating subject populations."<sup>42</sup>

Leading up to the revolt, the Spaniards extracted increasingly hefty quantities of Pueblo land, labor, and tribute. Adding insult to injury, the governorship of Juan Francisco Treviño (r. 1675-77) rigorously enforced a policy of unprecedented intolerance for Pueblo religious traditions. Pueblo meetings in kivas were outlawed and many kivas were destroyed.<sup>43</sup> In 1675, Treviño ordered the arrest, public whipping, and imprisonment of forty-seven medicine men from pueblos across the region. Four were sentenced to public hanging. In reaction to this brutality, seventy Pueblo warriors stormed Treviño's residence and demanded the immediate release of the remaining medicine men.<sup>44</sup> The governor's capitulation staved off the immediate threat of rebellion, but it also showed the Pueblo world that Spaniards could respond to force. Furthermore, it served to develop solidarity between the diverse Pueblos, who had little in common with each other outside of their shared experience of the oppressive Spanish colonial presence.

Despite this brief victory, Spanish colonial and church authorities perpetuated a policy of rigorous Pueblo religious persecution. One medicine man in particular, Popé from San Juan Pueblo, emerged from the persecutions of 1675 committed to the idea of a violent revolution. His dedication to revolt seems to have solidified perhaps in response to the unjust imprisonment and public whippings that he endured, as according to Scott, "a public insult...is never fully laid to rest except by a public reply."<sup>45</sup> Popé continued to defy Spanish authority and was forced to flee to the security of the secluded northernmost pueblo of Taos. From here, news spread through the Pueblo world of this medicine man and his visions of rebellion. In one of the Taos kivas, Popé was said to have had a great vision:

There appeared to the said Popé three figures of Indians who had never come out of the estufa [kiva]. They gave the said Popé to understand that they were going underground to the lake of Copala. He saw these figures emit fire from all the extremities of their bodies,

and that one of them was called Caudi, another Tilini, and the other Theume; and these three beings spoke to the said Popé.<sup>46</sup>

According to tradition, these kachinas gave to him a plan of liberation from Spanish oppression and a return to traditional ways "because the God of the Spaniards was worth nothing and theirs was very strong, the Spaniard's God being rotten wood." Bruce Lincoln argues that since charismatic leaders lack legitimate forms of authority, as appears to be the case with Popé, and as such they must resort to "an altogether different and superior source of legitimacy: the sacred itself, claiming that their authority rests on revelations or visions."<sup>47</sup> Thus, Popé's religious claims sought to invest him "with an authority, the source of which lies *outside the human*. That is, these claims create the appearance that their authorization comes from a realm beyond history, society, and politics, beyond the terrain in which interested and situated actors struggle over scarce resources," naturalizing (or rather supernaturalizing) these claims "beyond the possibility of contestation."<sup>48</sup> Popé's powerfully articulated millenarianism promised "who shall kill a Spaniard will get an Indian woman for a wife, and he who kills four will get four women, and he who kills ten or more will have a like number of women." The pan-Pueblo movement only excluded the Piro pueblos to the far south, who perhaps were deemed too Christianized. Dispatching runners to both near and distant pueblos, Popé secretly recruited *caciques* from all of the pueblos. By meeting only during saint's day festivals of the sympathetic pueblos, the growing coalition was able to conceal their plans and largely avoid Spanish suspicions of insurrection. August 11, 1680, the first night of the new moon, was selected as the date for the revolt.<sup>49</sup>

In order for a religion of resistance to become a religion of revolution, Lincoln claims that material conditions must degenerate, the religion of resistance must articulate a counter-hegemonic ideology, and it must proselytize energetically in order to gain a wide base of support.<sup>50</sup> In the summer of 1680, these preconditions for revolution were definitely met.

The revolt of 1680, however, was not easily accomplished. Historian David Weber notes that it required extensive planning and cooperation to coordinate "an offensive involving some 17,000 Pueblos living in more than two dozen independent towns spread out over several hundred miles and further separated by at least six different languages and countless dialects,

many of them mutually unintelligible."<sup>51</sup> For Scott, a revolution is the moment the hidden transcript becomes public, uniting disparate groups that otherwise pursue their own self-interests.

*It is only when this hidden transcript is openly declared that subordinates can fully recognize the full extent to which their claims, their dreams, their anger is shared by other subordinates with whom they have not been in direct touch....The process [of unification], then is more one of recognizing close relatives of one's hidden transcript rather than of filling essentially empty heads with novel ideas [emphasis in original].*<sup>52</sup>

On August 9, 1680, Popé dispatched two runners to each of the pueblos with each runner carrying a knotted cord. Both cords were "passed through all the pueblos of the kingdom so that the ones which agreed to it might untie one knot as a sign of obedience, and by the other knots they would know the days which were lacking; and this was to be done on pain of death to those who refused to agree to it."<sup>53</sup> The runners also delivered the corollary message that "all of them...should rebel, and that any pueblo that would not agree to it they would destroy, killing all the people." This threat was not to be taken lightly as Popé had already murdered his own son-in-law, Nicolás Bua, the governor of the San Juan pueblo, upon his discovery of the plans to rebel.<sup>54</sup> Juxtaposed to the religious claims that Popé invoked to construct his own authority, his use of violence to enforce his authority in this instance may have endangered his authority more than it enhanced it. Lincoln argues, "[i]n the moment they resort to force, they abandon their claim to authority, and one can thus describe violence as a speech that delegitimizes itself in the very act of speaking."<sup>55</sup> Conversely, according to Scott, such violence may be necessary as "solidarity among subordinates, if it is achieved at all, is...achieved, paradoxically, only by means of a degree of conflict."<sup>56</sup>

Nonetheless, on that same day, August 9, the Tano *caciques* of San Marcos, San Cristóbal, and La Ciénega broke their informal alliance, betraying the secrecy of the revolt's plans to Governor Antonion de Otermín. The governor responded swiftly, ordering the arrest of Popé's runners at Tesuque. Taken to nearby Santa Fe for interrogation, both confessed that they had been sent clandestinely to spread the word that only two days remained before the revolt, but said "that they knew nothing [more] because they were youths." The Tewas of Tesuque, however, upon hearing news of the arrest of Popé's runners, had already dispatched runners to the allied pueblos informing them that they should rebel the next day.<sup>57</sup>

Early on the morning of Sunday, August 10, Fray Juan Pío left Santa Fe on foot with an armed escort for Tesuque to give Mass. The pueblo was deserted on arrival. Searching for the Indians, the two eventually found them in an *arroyo* fully armed and wearing war paint. According to legend, he cried out to them: "what is this children, are you mad? Do not disturb yourselves; I will die a thousand deaths for you."<sup>58</sup> Miraculously, his prophecy was fulfilled in one moment as "a shower of arrows pierced his breast."<sup>59</sup> The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 had begun.

When the stirs of rebellion had stilled with the last of the Spaniards retreating south to El Paso (Ciudad Juárez), the many Pueblos of present day New Mexico and Arizona accomplished what no other Native American societies had been able to achieve on such a broad scale before them and what none have been able to achieve since – a massive reversal of European expansion in the New World. In the wake of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, more than eighty years of a Spanish colonial presence in New Mexico ended in ruins. The defeated Spaniards reported,

they killed twenty-one missionary religious—nineteen priests and two lay brothers—and more than three hundred and eighty Spaniards, not sparing the defenseless women and children. They set fire to the temples, seizing the images of the saints and profaning the holy vessels with such shocking desecrations and insolences that it is indecent to mention them.<sup>60</sup>

Nevertheless, for the Pueblos, a larger, more complicated battle remained. All traces of Christianity had to be removed. After all, had Popé not promised a return "to the state of their antiquity" where there would be everlasting peace, prosperity, and harmony? Images of the cross, Jesus, Mary, and all the saints were to be desecrated, smeared with feces, and finally destroyed. They were to "wade into the rivers and wash themselves with yucca root" to wash away their Christian baptism. Christian names were to be forgotten and only their native ones were to be used. Spanish was never to be spoken and the names of the saints never again invoked. Men were to abandon their Christian wives "for any women whom they might wish." Even the plants and animals the Spaniards had brought to New Mexico were to be burned. All of this was to be done with severe punishments for those who did not comply.<sup>61</sup> According to Bruce Lincoln, "[d]eliberate sacrilege, sexual abandon, and wholesale violation of taboos appear frequently in moments of revolutionary upheaval....Such spectacular gestures irrevocably bind

those who have witnessed or participated in them together in an enterprise from which there can be no turning back."<sup>62</sup>

Revolutions can be profitably interpreted as "iconoclastic rituals intended to dismantle the symbolic and ideological constructs by which the dominant party of the past sought to perpetuate its rule."<sup>63</sup> Lincoln argues, however, that iconoclasm is not performed to destroy an icon's sacred power, but rather, "it is their intent to demonstrate dramatically and in public the *powerlessness* of the image and thereby to inflict a double disgrace on its champions, first by exposing the bankruptcy of their vaunted symbols and, second, their impotence in the face of attack."<sup>64</sup> The killing of Franciscans, burning of churches, desecration of sacra, and smearing them with all with excrement illustrate what Lincoln has called "profanophany," or "a revelation of the profanity, temporality, and corruption inherent to someone or something."<sup>65</sup> According to Foucault, "the body is...directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs."<sup>66</sup> Thus, whatever signs Christian bodies may have emitted before the revolt, in its wake, they conveyed the impotence of the Christian god and the religion of the status quo in the face of the Popé's millenarian religion of revolution.

Furthermore, during the seventeenth century, the Franciscans filled many kivas with sand, above which they built the main altars of their churches. Such actions sought to physically demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over Pueblo religions. Like the missionary position itself, however, these patriarchal impositions were easily inverted in the course of the events of 1680. As the Christians had redefined sacred geography to appropriate the power of indigenous religions, so too did Pueblos reclaim churches and *conventos* by reconstructing kivas at these same sites. These so-called "convento kivas" served to reaffirm traditional Pueblo practices while inverting the authority usurped by Christianity.<sup>67</sup>

Nonetheless, much like revolutions themselves, the religion of the revolution must be short lived. "Ironically, [both] victory and defeat alike spell the end....Its rising defeated, it falls back to become a religion of resistance again, or disappears completely. Successful, it becomes a new religion of the status quo in the service of that party which it helped bring to power."<sup>68</sup> In

the case of the successful pan-Pueblo coalition, it soon fractured into a new religion of the status quo headed by Popé and a variety of religions of resistance that opposed Popé's rule. Purportedly, Popé declared himself leader of the eastern pueblos in the Río Grande basin, touring the region demanding tribute not unlike the colonial governors before him whom he had helped to depose.<sup>69</sup> By the time of Otermín's attempted *reconquista* in 1682, other potentially oppressive leaders had already deposed Popé. As the former coalition grew increasingly factionalized, oscillations between religions of the status quo, religions of resistance, and religions of revolution became all the more frequent and blurry within the fragmentary historical record. In such a chaotic state, it seems that Lincoln's typology of religions becomes harder to apply, requiring additional nuance.

With regard to Christianity, according to Lincoln, "as for the defeated religion of the status quo, it too assumes new form as a religion of resistance, albeit a very special one...the 'religion of the counterrevolution.'"<sup>70</sup> The Zuñis, for example, were deeply divided in their attitudes toward Spanish colonialism and Catholicism. When Diego de Vargas's *reconquista* was welcomed into the Zuñi pueblo of Dowa Yalanne, he was shocked to find the Indians actively practicing the Catholic faith of their own accord, and maintaining a collection of Christian sacra, which had been spared the desecrations of 1680.<sup>71</sup> Although the historical record states that "no one was left alive" in Zuñi, since the Zuñis sent no one to participate in the siege of Santa Fe, any statement about Zuñi must be treated as hearsay.<sup>72</sup> However, the Zuñi oral tradition of Father Juan Greyrobe tells of a Franciscan whose life was spared in 1680 on the condition that he live among the Zuñi as a Zuñi and abandon his identification with the former religion of the status quo.<sup>73</sup>

Although no Franciscans were found at Zuñi in 1692, it is possible that Father Greyrobe continued to minister to a sizable minority of Zuñis who retained ties with Catholicism despite the renewal of ancestral Zuñi religion. Therefore, according to Zuñi oral tradition and historical evidence, an indigenized Christianity thrived among the Zuñi and perhaps even other Pueblos in the years following the revolt of 1680. Furthermore, since the Zuñis enthusiastically received Vargas and 294 Zuñis were baptized one could surmise that this form of Zuñi Christianity could be classified as a religion of the counterrevolution.

As Scott would argue, however, "the public transcript is not the whole story."<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, "to confine the analysis to behavior alone [as recorded in Spanish records]...is to miss much of the point."<sup>75</sup> What looks plainly like an act of joyful submission to Spanish hegemony at the return of the religion of the status quo could be the safest public form of resistance: flattery and imitation. The tactic had worked on Spaniards before 1680 and there is no reason that it would not have worked in 1692. Noting the general continuity of resistance, Scott notes that "the revolution, when and if it does come, may eliminate many of the worst evils of the ancient regime, but it is rarely if ever the end of peasant resistance."<sup>76</sup>

While the Hopi pueblos remained independent for the remainder of the Spanish colonial period and the Western pueblos generally exercised more freedom than their Eastern counterparts along the Río Grande basin, the Spaniards had learned to govern with less of an iron fist. The *encomienda* system was never again reinstated, labor and tribute demands were reduced, Pueblos were given title to their lands, and Spanish authorities were more tolerant of traditional Pueblo religions.

By the time Mexico ceded much of what is today considered to be the American Southwest in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the Pueblos had already displayed their veteran status as resilient champions of cultural preservation for over three centuries. Today, the struggle for survival continues. Great losses have been sustained, but gains have also been achieved. Popé's promise of a return "to the state of their antiquity" was never realized, but the Pueblos have persevered in their fight to retain their sovereignty. Ultimately, in 1680, some marks of Spanish contact, such as horses, sheep, and goats, were far too useful to be easily dispelled. Similarly, although Christianity could not be destroyed, Catholicism could be recreated in a Pueblo image. After the *reconquista* in 1692, Pueblos articulated a hybrid Catholicism for which they remain well known today. Here, again, Lincoln's typology requires further nuance as the religion of the status quo is at once a religion of resistance. Likewise, Scott is of little help, since it would be offensive – not to mention inaccurate – to assume that all contemporary (and historical) Pueblo Catholics have adopted the "flattering self-image of elites;" the conjecture goes too far by implying that their religious identities and beliefs are somehow

disingenuous.<sup>77</sup> Even so, such theoretical limitations are to be expected. Any theory, however useful it may be, maintains currency only as long as it remains useful in interpreting data. Although the theoretical frameworks developed by Lincoln and Scott have been useful in explaining much of seventeenth century Pueblo-Spanish relations, they have not explained away history. As Thomas Tweed upholds, "all theories are situated" and "there is no single 'correct interpretation.'"<sup>78</sup> Nonetheless, these approaches do illuminate the dynamic interaction between power and meaning as well as the construction and corrosion of authority in seventeenth century New Mexico.

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## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Bruce Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution: An Interdisciplinary and Cross-Cultural Collection of Essays* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), (p. 8).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, (p. 282).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, (p. 266-292); James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), (p. 21,171).

<sup>5</sup> Lincoln, "Notes Toward a Theory of Religion and Revolution," in Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution*, (p. 269).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, (p. 271).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, (p. 272).

<sup>8</sup> The Appointment of Don Juan de Oñate as Governor and Captain General of New Mexico, October 21, 1595, *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*, ed. and trans. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, 2 vols.,

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- (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953) 1:59-63; Andrew L. Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth Century New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), (p. 20-21); Edward P. Dozier, *The Pueblo Indians of North America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), (p. 46); Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962) (p. 156).
- <sup>9</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1 – An Introduction*, Robert Hurley, trans., (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), (p. 86).
- <sup>10</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Richard Nice, trans., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), (p. 164).
- <sup>11</sup> Knaut, *Pueblo Revolt*, (p. 88-89); see also Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991: (p. 95-99).
- <sup>12</sup> Lincoln, "Notes Toward a Theory of Religion and Revolution," in Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution*, (p. 272).
- <sup>13</sup> Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, (p. 95).
- <sup>14</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), (p. 111).
- <sup>15</sup> Bruce Lincoln, "Notes Toward a Theory of Religion and Revolution," in Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution*, (p. 272-73).
- <sup>16</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, (p. 18).
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, (p. 2,4,13,18).
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, (p. 18-19).
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, (p. 19).
- <sup>20</sup> Translated from José Porrua Turanzas, ed. *Documentos para servir a la historia de Nueva México, 1583-1778* (Madrid, 1962), (p. 162-163) in Knaut, *Pueblo Revolt*, (p. 33).
- <sup>21</sup> However, it should be noted that this restriction applies more to historians than ethnographers. While history tends to be written by the elites – indeed, so does ethnography – ethnographic research can seek out traces or telling absences of such "hidden transcripts." In turn, this depends to a degree on the extent to which an ethnographer may gain access to a group's discourse as an insider.
- <sup>22</sup> *Oñate*, 1:466; see also Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*, (p. 65).
- <sup>23</sup> Fray Alonso de Benavides. *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*, Fredrick W. Hodge et al., eds. and trans. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), (p. 217).
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, (p. 83).
- <sup>25</sup> Indeed, even within a resistant community there may well be multiple meanings in play and at stake.
- <sup>26</sup> Jeannette L. Mobley-Tanaka, "Crossed Cultures, Crossed Meanings: The Manipulation of Ritual Imagery in Early Historic Pueblo Resistance," in Robert W. Preucel, ed., *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), especially (p. 77-81).
- <sup>27</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, (p. 158).
- <sup>28</sup> Hearing of June 16, 1663, requested by López, in Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Viscaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 3 vols. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937), 3:200.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:197.
- <sup>30</sup> Deposition of Nicolás de Aquilar, May 8, 1663, *ibid.*, 3:169-170; see also Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*, (p. 123); Knaut, *Pueblo Revolt*, (p. 106-109).
- <sup>31</sup> Bruce Lincoln, *Authority: Construction and Corrosion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), (p. 78).
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, (p. 79).
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, (p. 112-113).
- <sup>34</sup> Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*, 65-66; Knaut, *Pueblo Revolt*, (p. 76-77).
- <sup>35</sup> Fredrick W. Hodge et al., eds and trans., *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*. Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), (p. 77).
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, (p. 78).
- <sup>37</sup> Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*, (p. 68-69).
- <sup>38</sup> Mark 8:35; see also *When Jesus Came*, (p. 69, 129).
- <sup>39</sup> Ignatius's Epistle to the Romans, in Maxwell Staniforth and Andrew Louth, trans. and eds., *The Apostolic Fathers: Early Christian Writings* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), (p. 87).

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- <sup>40</sup> Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*, (p. 130).
- <sup>41</sup> Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), (p. 4).
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> Declaration of the Indian Juan, December 18, 1681, in Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682*, translated by Charmion C. Shelby. 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), 2:245.
- <sup>44</sup> Declaration of Diego López Sambrano, December 22, 1681, *ibid.*, 2:300-301.
- <sup>45</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, (p. 115).
- <sup>46</sup> Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation, San Felipe, December 19, 1681, in Hackett, ed., *Revolt*, 2:246-248; Knaut, *Pueblo Revolt*, (p. 168).
- <sup>47</sup> Lincoln, "Notes Toward a Theory of Religion and Revolution," in Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution*, (p. 275).
- <sup>48</sup> Bruce Lincoln, *Authority*, (p. 112).
- <sup>49</sup> Declaration of Pedro García, a Tango Indian, August 25, 1680, in Hackett, ed., *Revolt*, 1:24-25; Knaut, *Pueblo Revolt*, (p. 168-169); and Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*, (p. 132).
- <sup>50</sup> Lincoln, "Notes Toward a Theory of Religion and Revolution," in Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution*, (p. 276).
- <sup>51</sup> David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), (p. 134).
- <sup>52</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, (p. 223).
- <sup>53</sup> Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation, December 19, 1681, in Hackett, ed., *Revolt*, 2:226.
- <sup>54</sup> Otermín Autos, August 9, 1680, *ibid.*, 1:4-5; Declaration of the Indian Juan, December 18, 1681, *ibid.*, 2:234-35.
- <sup>55</sup> Lincoln, *Authority*, (p. 76).
- <sup>56</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, (p. 131).
- <sup>57</sup> Otermín Autos, August 9, 1680, in Hackett, ed., *Revolt*, 1:3,5.
- <sup>58</sup> Declaration of Pedro Hidalgo, Soldier, Santa Fe, August 10, 1680, *ibid.*, 1:7.
- <sup>59</sup> Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*, (p. 133).
- <sup>60</sup> The viceroy of New Spain makes a report to your Majesty of the general uprising of the Indians of the provinces of New Mexico, and of the measures and means which have been adopted for their restoration, Mexico, February 28, 1681, in Hackett, ed., *Revolt*, 2:3.
- <sup>61</sup> Reply of the Fiscal, Mexico, June 25, 1682, *ibid.*, 2:382; Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, a Queres Indian, December 19, 1681, *ibid.*, 2:248; Declaration of Juan, a Tequa Indian, December 18, 1681, *ibid.*, 2:235; Declaration of Josephe, Spanish-speaking Indian, December 19, 1681, *ibid.*, 2:239; Declaration of Juan Lorenzo, a Queres Indian, December 20, 1681, *ibid.*, 2:251.
- <sup>62</sup> Lincoln, "Notes Toward a Theory of Religion and Revolution," in Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution*, (p. 280).
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, (p. 280).
- <sup>64</sup> Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society*, (p. 120).
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, (p. 125).
- <sup>66</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, ed., (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), (p. 25).
- <sup>67</sup> Kurt E. Dongoske and Cindy K. Dongoske, "History in Stone: Evaluating Spanish Conversion Efforts through Hopi Rock Art," in *Archaeologies*, 116; Matthew J. Liebmann, "Signs of Power and Resistance: The (Re)Creation of Christian Imagery and Identities in the Pueblo Revolt Era," in *Archaeologies*, (p. 138).
- <sup>68</sup> Lincoln, "Notes Toward a Theory of Religion and Revolution," in Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution*, (p. 281).
- <sup>69</sup> Knaut, *Pueblo Revolt*, (p. 175).
- <sup>70</sup> Lincoln, "Notes Toward a Theory of Religion and Revolution," in Lincoln, ed., *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution*, (p. 281).
- <sup>71</sup> Andrew Wiget, "Father Juan Greyrobe: Reconstructing Tradition Histories, and the Reliability and Validity of Uncorroborated Oral Tradition," *Ethnohistory* 43:3 (1996), (p. 459,473,476).
- <sup>72</sup> In Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 1:113; see also Wiget, "Father Juan Greyrobe," (p. 472-473).
- <sup>73</sup> Wiget, "Father Juan Greyrobe," (p. 459-482).
- <sup>74</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, (p. 3).

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<sup>75</sup> James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), (p. 37).

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, (p. 302).

<sup>77</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, (p. 18).

<sup>78</sup> Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, (p. 16-18).