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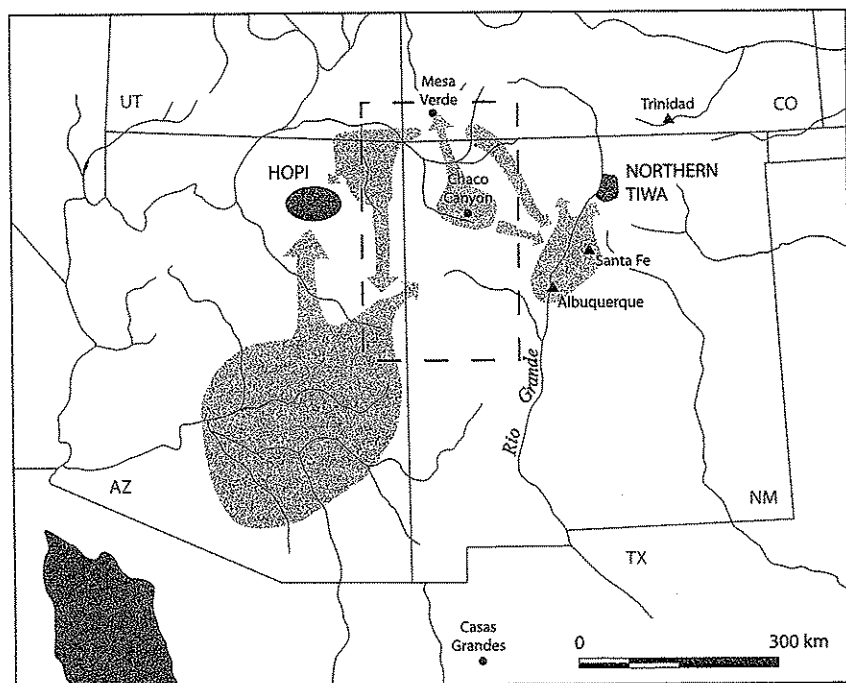
BECOMING HOPI, BECOMING TIWA

Two Pueblo Histories of Movement

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In the Rio Grande Gorge is a large boulder on which have been pecked two parallel rows of dots extending roughly two meters across the rock face. It is a simple design, easily set to the side by archaeologists as semantically impenetrable and aniconic. Recently, however, a Pueblo consultant offered a more careful reading, suggesting that such petroglyphs are reminiscent of the rows of corn kernels laid on kiva floors in the recitation of group histories. With the placement of each kernel, he noted, a step in the group's travels through time and space is narrated (cf. Cushing 1979), so one might reasonably conclude that whoever pecked the rows of dots in the past was employing a similar mnemonic device to aid in the retelling of history. In this reading, the parallel rows of dots become an icon of historical movement or, more accurately, of *two* movements, the histories of two social groups that traveled along a common path.

In this chapter we lay out our own series of parallel dots as we trace two specific histories of immigration, assimilation, and social transformation in the northern Southwest. The histories we consider—one Ancestral Hopi, the other Ancestral Taos—lie on opposite ends of the greater Pueblo world (Figure 16.1), and we therefore entered into this comparative exercise assuming that our primary task would be to account for the many divergences in their individual trajectories. After all, twentieth-century ethnographic wisdom concluded that Western and Eastern Pueblo social organization



16.1. Hopi and Northern Tiwa regions in the context of the Greater Southwest. Dashed line indicates Chacoan sphere of influence at AD 1100. Arrows indicate major post-Chacoan population movements.

developed in rather different directions.¹ In the West, a strong clan system came to dominate on the Hopi Mesas (Eggan 1950). In the East, communities along the Rio Grande, such as Taos Pueblo, came to be governed by an overriding ceremonial organization of non-kin-based moieties and kiva sodalities (Dozier 1970; Ortiz 1969). Without denying these broad structural tendencies, we came instead to be impressed by the surprising number of parallelisms not only in the social organizations at Hopi and Taos but also in the histories of group movement that appear to have led to this organizational convergence. The Hopi and Taos communities, much more than we previously realized, traveled along similar paths.

We make three main points in this chapter. The first, quite simply, is that twentieth-century ethnographers may have overstated the case for opposed Western (Hopi and Zuni) and Eastern (Tewa and Tiwa) forms of social organization (with the “Keresan Bridge” as a sort of muddle in the middle). As we emphasize later, the structures of both the Hopi villages and Taos Pueblo have emerged through the interplay of kin-based groups and supra-kin dual organizations and ritual sodalities. Matrilineal Hopi clans are paralleled at Taos by a complex organization of patrilineal “People” groups long overlooked in the ethnographic literature. And the ceremonial division of Taos

Pueblo into north-winter and south-summer halves is paralleled on the Hopi Mesas by the division of clans into local and late-arriving components, the Motisinom and the Nùutungkwisinom.

Our second point, building from the first, is that neither the kin-based groups (Hopi clans and Taos Peoples) nor the supra-kin groups (dual divisions or other ritual sodalities) can be properly understood outside the complex histories of immigration and assimilation that have strongly influenced the social organization of both regions. In each case, the successive immigration of groups with different linguistic, cultural, and geographic backgrounds introduced multiple lines of division that were preserved in the newly aggregated villages. But both the Hopi and Taos appear to have overlaid their particular histories of immigration with a broader contrast between the relatively autochthonous groups (the Hopi Motisinom and the Taos Winter People) and those who arrived more recently (the Hopi Nùutungkwisinom and the Taos Summer People). Dualism may be more pronounced at Taos (and even more so among the neighboring Tewa villages); however, in each case the dual divisions seem to have sprung from the process of immigration itself.

Because of the nature of the immigration process in both the Hopi and Taos cases, this broad division of society into autochthons and newcomers also appears to have institutionalized a particular configuration of social power, and this is our third point. Intuitively (and often anthropologically; see Eggan 1966:124–125; McGuire and Saitta 1996), one might imagine that the earliest arrivals in a region held a certain advantage: first comers would have gotten the first shot at monopolizing key resources, building local traditions, and inscribing their ideologies into the landscape. But such was not the case in our examples. Both Hopi and Taos histories indicate that it was a group of immigrants or latecomers from the south (the Hopi Nùutungkwisinom and the Taos Summer People) who more or less took control of ritual life on the receiving end. The processes of “takeover” may have varied, but a combination of ceremonial clout and physical force provided the means.

We review each case study in turn and conclude with a general discussion in which we offer a few more systematic statements on the relationship among immigration, history, and social organization in the pre-Columbian Southwest.

BECOMING HOPI

Scales of Identity

The current anthropological understanding of Hopi social organization, derived primarily from the ethnographic work of Mischa Titiev (1944) and Fred Eggan (1950), emphasizes three primary scales of identity: clan, village, and tribe. The clan—a totemically named, exogamous matrilineal descent group—is “the outstanding feature of social life, in Hopi eyes” (Eggan 1950:62), the primary medium through which identity is expressed in the community. Each clan has a unique migration history that recounts its origins and legitimizes its control over a particular ceremony.² Villages grew through the aggregation of clans, each of which (according to Hopi traditional knowledge) was required to demonstrate the efficacy of its ceremony before gaining entrance to

the village (Eggan 1950:64; Fewkes 1900:585). Today, each village is a largely autonomous political, ritual, and subsistence unit, although "daughter" villages, which lack the full complement of ceremonies, are ritually dependent on "mother" villages (Connelly 1979). Above the level of the village, the Hopi population is united by a common clan and ceremonial system and a common language.³ With a few notable exceptions (e.g., the Pueblo Revolt and the destruction of Awat'ovi), however, there is little evidence of coordinated activity at the level of the "tribe" (what Titiev [1944:59] referred to as "the amorphous Hopi state") outside the federally organized tribal government system.

The ethnographic focus on Hopi clans has obscured a dual division in Hopi society that constitutes a fourth scale of identity. While each Hopi clan has a unique migration history, in Hopi traditional knowledge clans are grouped into two major categories: Motisinom and Nüutungkwinom—literally, first people and last people, respectively (Anyon 1999:41; Dongoske et al. 1997:603; Ferguson 2003:63). Thus the Motisinom-Nüutungkwinom distinction is in part chronological, with the Motisinom the clans that have always resided on the Colorado Plateau and the Nüutungkwinom the clans that joined them at a later date. Together, the Motisinom and Nüutungkwinom comprise the Hisatsinom, or "people of long ago" (Kuwanwisiwma 2002), with contemporary Hopi society the result of the merging of these two groups and their respective ideologies.

Embedded in the chronological difference between Motisinom and Nüutungkwinom is a difference in origin. Although all Hopis share a generalized origin story that describes the emergence of all peoples into the current Fourth World from a common Sípàapuni in Öngtupqa, the Grand Canyon (e.g., Eggan 1971:x; Ferguson et al. 1993:27; Fewkes 1907:566), each clan also has a more specific origin place cited in its clan-specific migration traditions. Motisinom clans trace their origins to emergence points close to the Hopi Mesas such as Kishyu'ba, a mountain spring of the Katsina thirty miles northwest of Walpi (Stephen 1936:1072n4, 1158), or the San Francisco Peaks in Flagstaff, Arizona, about seventy-five miles southwest of the Hopi Mesas (Stephen 1936:539–540). Motisinom traditions mention local movements but do not emphasize stories of long, chain-like migrations (e.g., Stephen 1936:860n1). In contrast, Nüutungkwinom clans trace their emergence to Palatkwapi ("red-walled city" [Hill et al. 1998:383]), believed by many Hopis to be far to the south, perhaps in Central America (Ferguson and Lomaomvaya 1999:78). Nüutungkwinom clans have elaborate migration traditions, often detailing dozens of named, sequentially occupied villages (e.g., Fewkes 1900).

The Motisinom-Nüutungkwinom division in contemporary Hopi society is most visible in the structure of the annual ritual cycle. At each Hopi village, clan ceremonies are organized into a calendrical cycle, with "a fixed time of year during which a society is expected to celebrate the observances entrusted to its care" (Titiev 1944:103). The ritual cycle, however, does not simply comprise unrelated, clan-specific ceremonies. Instead, the Hopi ceremonial calendar is divided into two distinct halves: katsina and non-katsina ceremonies (Wright 1973:258, 1977:7). The katsina season is controlled by two Motisinom clans, Badger and Katsina. The non-katsina season is controlled by a series of Nüutungkwinom clans.

Historical Processes

The Motisinom and Nüutungkwinom were geographically distinct populations, with different cultural traditions, religious practices, and languages. What was the historical process by which these groups entered the area of interest? Oral histories provide critical insight, but to what extent are these histories visible in the archaeological record?

The Motisinom were the autochthonous inhabitants of the Colorado Plateau. The archaeology of northeastern Arizona records shifting populations of hunters and gatherers in the Paleoindian and Archaic periods, transitioning to a widely—if thinly—dispersed Basketmaker pithouse occupation exhibiting a relatively stable and homogeneous material culture beginning ca. 1300 BC (Adams 1989; Colton 1974; Ellis 1974a; Plog 1986). A shift to aboveground masonry architecture and small-scale aggregation of the population into small (ca. fifty-room) pueblos in the AD 900–1250 period can be attributed largely to local population dynamics. The Motisinom can thus be equated to at least the Basketmaker and pre-Basketmaker populations on and around the Hopi Mesas, potentially extending to ca. AD 1250.

The autochthonous population of the Hopi Mesas apparently did not participate in the Chaco Phenomenon of the AD 900s to early 1100s (Adams 1996) or in the post-Chacoan developments of the later 1100s (unlike regions to the south [Herr 2001; Kintigh, Howell, and Duff 1996]). Many nearby Four Corners populations were active participants in Chaco; however, some of them joined villages on the Hopi Mesas in the diasporic migrations following the abandonment of the Four Corners region in the late thirteenth century. Hopi Mesa villages also appear to have received significant numbers of immigrants from the Kayenta region to the north—another area that opted out of Chaco—in the late AD 1200s (Dean 1996). Some late AD 1200s Four Corners migrants skipped over Hopi and moved further south into central Arizona (Clark 2001; Woodson 1999). It was not until the mid- to late AD 1300s that a number of these groups turned back toward Hopi, joined by large numbers of fellow immigrants from the Silver Creek, Homol'ovi, Chavez Pass, Sinagua, Salado, and adjacent regions (Adams 2004; Adams, LaMotta, and Dongoske 2004; Bernardini 2005; Ferguson and Lomaomvaya 1999; Lyons 2003) (see Figure 16.1). The arrival of these latest immigrants had a substantial demographic impact, at least doubling the population on the Hopi Mesas by AD 1400 (Adams, LaMotta, and Dongoske 2004; Bernardini 2005). While our understanding of the Hopi concepts of Motisinom and Nüutungkwinom is still incomplete, Hopi use of the term "Nüutungkwinom" appears to refer primarily to the last waves of immigrants from the south beginning in the AD 1300s.

In the wake of these immigrations, the post-AD 1250 period on the Hopi Mesas witnessed significant changes. Large aggregated settlements of several hundred rooms began to dominate the landscape, and local pottery traditions incorporated styles from a variety of areas to the south (Adams 1996; Adams, LaMotta, and Dongoske 2004; Gilpin and LeBlanc 2007; Lyons 2003). By the early AD 1300s all of the villages that would become today's "mother villages" had been established, and by AD 1450 almost all residents of the Hopi Mesas were living in one of these large settlements.

Tension between autochthonous and immigrant groups is recorded in Hopi traditional knowledge. As Parkingyam informants told Alexander Stephen, "[W]e are

recent comers here; when we came from Pala'tkwapi, the Wal'pitü [people of Walpi] were already here, and after we came here we had much trouble with them over the apportionment of land" (1936:943). The archaeological record of the late AD 1200s and early AD 1300s, when large numbers of immigrants were arriving at Hopi, may reflect some of this tension. Many sites from this time period are located on defensible buttes and cliff edges, although evidence of actual physical violence has not yet been documented. A number of Kiqötutuwtusi, or Hopi ruin legends, which recount conflict between neighboring villages, also date to this time period (e.g., the stories of Huk'ovi and Pivanhonkyapi [Malotki 1993]). Hopi consultants emphasize that the conflict between ancestral groups at this time was ritual in nature rather than physical, as people struggled to reconcile different ideologies (Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, personal communication, 2006). After AD 1350, sites on the Hopi Mesas no longer exhibit defensive positioning or layouts, indicating resolution of high-level tensions (Bernardini 1998).

Social Impact of Immigration

What was the social impact of immigration, and to what extent can we read the existing organization of Hopi society as a partial response to the challenges immigration once presented? Here, traditional knowledge and ethnography combine to answer these questions.

A common theme in Hopi migration accounts is the ranking of clan status according to order of arrival at a village. As Eggan noted:

[A]t the head of the prestige hierarchy is the Bear Clan, the members of which arrived first in the Hopi region and made a compact with Masu'u, the god of life and death, in which he gave the Hopi land and crops in exchange for carrying out the proper rituals. Late-comers received portions of this estate in exchange for the performance of ceremonies for rain for the crops, but the "last" arrivals often possessed no rituals and offered their services as guards. Their position was marginal, and usually they were not assigned clan lands. (1966:124–125)

Although the Bear Clan is almost always listed as the first arrival at Hopi, in fact the Motisinom were the original occupants of the Colorado Plateau. The Motisinom clans were cautious, however, and ceded the responsibility (and prestige) of organizing subsequent immigrants to the Bear Clan (Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, personal communication, 2007). Thus despite the Motisinom clans' primacy of place, the original mother villages were Nüutungkwinom villages. The Nüutungkwinom did not simply settle at Hopi freely, however. According to Hopi traditional knowledge, when Palatkwapi people arrived at Hopi they had to submit to Maasaw, the spiritual leader of the Motisinom. Thus, First Mesa informants told Alexander Stephen that "Masau'wu possessed this land" (1936:676, also 141).

The manner in which Motisinom and Nüutungkwinom groups combined to form contemporary Hopi society is largely a product of their historically informed ideologies and cosmologies. The primary contrast is between the katsina-based rituals of the Motisinom and the non-katsina rituals of the Nüutungkwinom. Katsina and

non-katsina ceremonies differ dramatically in their history, membership, content, form, power, and status.

Today, Motisinom ritual is associated with the katsina religion.⁴ Contemporary katsina ritual is democratic, public, and benign. Katsina culture emphasizes a life of humility and hard work revolving around corn agriculture, embodied in the practice of hopivötskwani, "the Hopi path of life" (Hill et al. 1998:101). According to Hopi traditional knowledge, the Motisinoms' deliberately simple life did not require elaborate ceremonies (Ferguson 2003:106). The power of Maasaw, the lord of the Fourth World and spiritual head of the Motisinom, stems not from any special ceremonial knowledge but instead from his mastery of simple but essential materials: a planting stick, water, and seeds. In contemporary Hopi society, admission to the Katsina society is universal for all village members. The composition of individual katsina performances includes members of many different clans and ceremonial societies, and katsina performances are public, held in village plazas with large audiences. Few katsina dances are subject to centralized control; during the bulk of the katsina season, dances can be sponsored by anyone in the village (Parsons 1939:138), and new katsina songs can be written by any member of the community. Both participants and the audience have open access to the full ceremonial content of katsina ritual.

The non-katsina ceremonies of the Nüutungkwinom, in contrast, are restrictive, esoteric, and dangerously powerful. These ceremonies were imported from Palatkwapi, which collapsed in part because of the abuse of ritual power by ceremonial leaders (Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, personal communication, 2007). So great was the power and risk of non-katsina ceremonies that Maasaw granted the Nüutungkwinom permission to live with him only after they demonstrated that they could limit their ceremonial knowledge to the bringing of rain. Membership in many non-katsina ceremonial societies requires sponsorship by an existing society member, and many performances are private, held in proprietary kivas. Access to knowledge is restricted even among initiates, with the esoteric knowledge required to perform non-katsina ceremonies held closely by the core maternal household of the controlling clan.

The different ideologies and histories of the Motisinom-Nüutungkwinom map roughly to a status distinction in contemporary Hopi society. As discussed by Peter Whiteley (1988:65), the cardinal status division in Hopi villages is between pavansinom ("ruling people") and söqavungswinom ("common people") (see also Hill et al. 1998:398, 530). The status of the pavansinom stems from control of ritual knowledge and offices, with the highest-ranking pavansinom the Soyal chiefs and the Wuwtsim chiefs (Titiev 1944:59–60; Whiteley 1988:68). While there have been pavansinom at the head of both Motisinom and Nüutungkwinom clans, high-status village offices were overwhelmingly held by members of Nüutungkwinom clans, at least in twentieth-century Orayvi (Table 16.1). Thus Hopi village governance has been largely in the hands of the Nüutungkwinom.

While Motisinom have been underrepresented in formal village offices, they still contributed important parts of Hopi society. The principles of humility and hard work that define Hopi identity to insiders and outsiders alike are rooted in Maasaw and katsina culture. The ritual submission of all Hopis to Maasaw is also reflected in contemporary

Table 16.1. Clan and dual-division affiliation of village offices at the Third Mesa village of Orayvi, 1906.

Office	Clan	Group
Soyal officer	Rabbit	Nūutungkwisinom
Aa'alt chief (two-horn chief)	Bow	Nūutungkwisinom
Qaleetaqmongwi (war chief)	Spider	Nūutungkwisinom
Soyal officer	Pikyas	Nūutungkwisinom
Soyal officer	Parrot	Nūutungkwisinom
Soyalmongwi (Soyal chief)	Bear	Nūutungkwisinom
Taatawkyam (singers) chief	Parrot	Nūutungkwisinom
Tsaakmongwi (crier chief)	Greasewood	Nūutungkwisinom
Wuwsimt chief	Sparrowhawk	Nūutungkwisinom
Kwaakwant chief (one-horn chief)	Maasaw	Motisinom

Source: Titiev 1944.

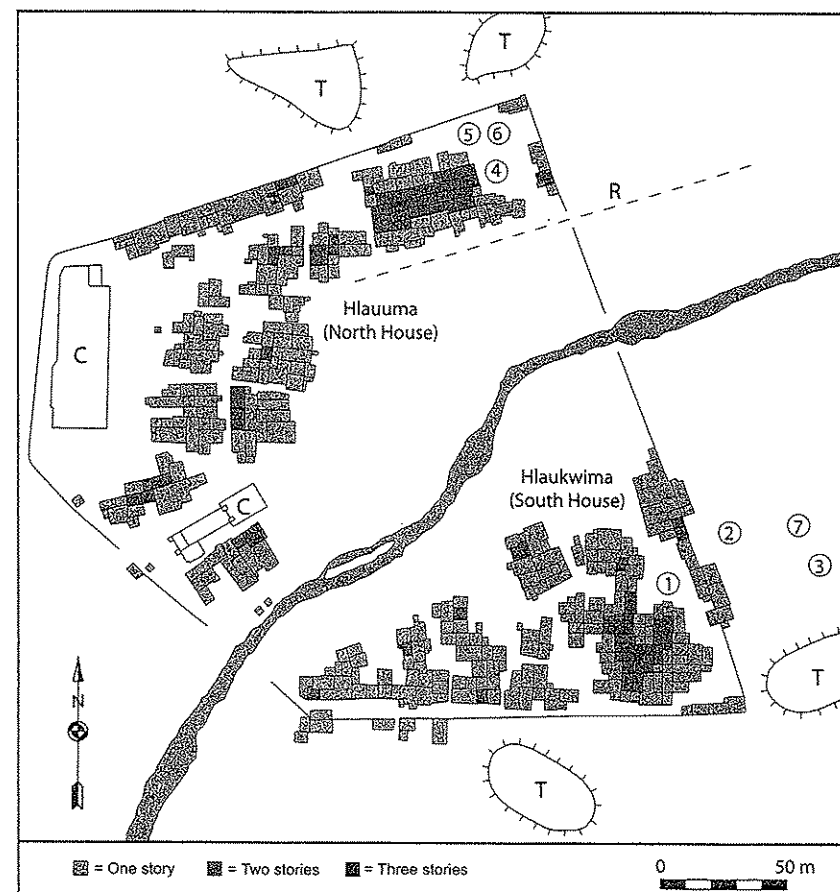
Hopi society in the fact that the first ritual any Hopi learns is Katsina. The Katsina initiation can be seen a symbolic reaffirmation of all Hopis' obedience to Maasaw.

BECOMING TIWA

Compared with the Hopi, remarkably few ethnographic records exist for the Tiwa-speaking pueblo of Taos. True, Taos is one of the most visible pueblos (as a World Heritage Site, the community receives tens of thousands of tourists each year). Ironically, however, it also has the reputation of being among the most secretive. "Mysterious Taos, Taos out of which the anthropologists have never been able to get any information" is how Jaime de Angulo (1985:36) described the pueblo in 1924, and things have changed little since then. Indeed, despite repeated efforts, no true ethnography of Taos has ever been written, and the pueblo's current leadership prefers to keep it that way. That said, we do know enough about the social organization, oral history, and archaeology of the region to make certain key comparisons with trends at Hopi.

Scales of Identity

Taos Pueblo lies in the northeastern corner of the Pueblo world, near the Plains and far from the Hopi Mesas. Its closest neighbor, geographically and culturally, is Picuris Pueblo, although a great many social characteristics are also shared with the Tewa pueblos further south—the most significant of which is a village organization dominated by a dual division. Dualism is powerfully evident in the overall spatiality of Taos: Red Willow Creek runs through the heart of the pueblo, dividing the roomblocks, kivas, and middens into mirroring north-south groups (Figure 16.2). In recent times, this dual division has been only loosely institutionalized. While Taos's architecture is divided



16.2. Map of Taos Pueblo (based on Bodine 1979). Southside kivas: 1 = Feather, 2 = Water, 3 = Old Axe, 7 = "Disused" or Earth Mother. Northside kivas: 4 = Big Earring, 5 = Day, 6 = Knife. T = trash pile. R = race course. C = Catholic Church

explicitly into named North and South houses (Hlauuma and Hlaukwima, respectively), there are no recorded names for north or south religio-political divisions per se; therefore, individuals do not identify explicitly as members of a "moiety."

The situation may have been different in the past. As discussed later in this chapter, Taos oral histories refer to the early union of the Winter (or Ice) People from the north and the Summer People from the south, suggesting that the division once may have marked a viable cultural or ethnic division. At present, however, the most important aspect of Taos dualism is the way it divides the six active kivas into north and south groups, each of which assumes responsibility for certain seasonal ceremonies and is led by its own religio-political leader: the Big Earring Man of the north group and the Cacique (or Water Man) of the south group (Parsons 1936a; Stevenson 1906:file 3.1).

These positions provide an informal means of balancing the overall distribution of power.

Kiva affiliation, in contrast, is more overtly marked. All members of the Taos community, both male and female, are "given" or dedicated to a particular kiva by their parents soon after birth. For boys, association with a kiva also involves a lengthy initiation process at about age eight or ten, during which they are secluded from the larger community and schooled in the group's sacred knowledge and religious prescriptions (Bodine 1979; Parsons 1936a:45–46). On the surface, kiva membership is not inherited, although strong patrilineal overtones point to a more complex relationship between kiva and kinship than past scholarship has acknowledged.

The relationship between kiva and kinship is complicated further by the presence of numerous named clan-like groups embedded within the more visible kiva system. To speak of clans or lineages at Taos is to go against ethnographic orthodoxy, although the assumption of northern Tiwa clanlessness has always had a shaky foundation. Its source is Elsie Clews Parsons's brief Taos monograph in which she argued (based on very little data) that the pueblo "had no conception . . . of any matronymic or patronymic exogamous group" (1936a:38). Parsons, it seems, was unaware of Matilda Stevenson's (1906: file 3.1) earlier research that had clearly documented the existence of multiple patrilineal groups within each kiva. Stevenson referred to these groups as "gens"; in Tiwa they are referred to as different *tai'na*, or "People" (e.g., the Golden Warbler People, the Green Leaf People, Elk People, etc.) (see also Bandelier 1975 [1885–1888]:79; Hodge 1912).

Much could be said about the People groups at Taos based on Stevenson's notes, but let us underscore three key observations. First, while most Taos Peoples are associated with a given kiva, some are distributed over many kivas and others are the traditional leaders of kivas whose memberships are diverse. Clearly, then, this kin-based system is not just a subdivision of the kiva-moiety system but has a pronounced structural autonomy. Second, People groups, not the kivas or moieties, appear to own the ceremonies, songs, and ritual objects (e.g., flutes, fetishes, sacred bundles), even though the performative aspects of these lineage-based possessions may have come to be associated with particular kivas over time. Third, each People group has its own migration history prior to arriving at Taos and its own ancestral language given to it by Kwathlowúna, the creator deity (Stevenson 1906:file 3.1). In all these respects, the Taos People groups look surprisingly like Hopi clans.

Individuals at Taos, then, have a complicated set of social identities derived in part through inheritance (their patrilineal People group, complimented by less formal affiliations with the People group of their mother) and in part through parental dedication (their kiva and, indirectly, their moiety affiliations).

Historical Processes

As in the Hopi case, the contemporary social organization of Taos Pueblo prompts a number of historical questions. What were the processes by which different Peoples came to reside within the pueblo? How and why did Taos overlay its kin-based system of Peoples with a more elaborate supra-kin kiva-moiety system? How are we to explain

in historical terms the structural similarities and differences between the Taos and Hopi cases?

In the absence of extensive Native commentary on the Tiwa past, we must rely on archaeological evidence to flesh out the handful of recorded oral histories. The archaeological record of the Taos region extends back to Folsom times, and Pueblo members have recently indicated that their histories explicitly describe an early period characterized by atlatl use, suggesting that certain types of knowledge may indeed have been preserved over very long periods of time. Be that as it may, it is at the start of the second millennium AD that the resolution of both archaeological and oral historical accounts increases significantly. This period—the early Valdez phase, roughly AD 950–1150—saw the fairly abrupt establishment of the region's first pithouse settlements. In most of the known Taos origin narratives, the Winter People (the Peoples of the Day Kiva) were the first of the Ancestral Northern Tiwa to emerge into the present world, after which they traveled from the Chimney Rock–Piedra district of Colorado to establish a community just north of Taos (Ellis 1974b:123; Ellis and Brody 1964:326). This area, in fact, is where the earliest pithouse settlements have been recorded (Fowles 2004; Loose 1974), and there are good reasons for relating the Valdez phase archaeological record to the early arrival of the Winter People.

The end of the twelfth century witnessed another major wave of immigration, this time marked archaeologically by both population increase and abrupt stylistic shifts in unpainted pottery (Fowles 2005). These later immigrants were committed agriculturalists living in tight clusters of unit pueblos, and ceramic evidence indicates that their former home was to the south in the Tewa Basin near Española or Santa Fe (Fowles et al. 2007). Significantly, their appearance is broadly correlated with a pronounced peak in traumatic deaths at the last of the Valdez phase or Winter People pithouse settlements, suggesting that the relationship between locals and newcomers may have been violent (Fowles 2004).

Much of the Taos origin narrative recorded by Stevenson (1906:file 2.29) focuses on an epic battle between a southern group of Summer People (Pilaína) who traveled north from the Tewa region to conquer the Winter People (Biänbäturna) of Taos, and we consider it likely that this battle references the late-twelfth-century developments just noted. "The Taos Indians have a tradition," wrote David Miller in a late-nineteenth-century letter to Lewis Henry Morgan, that when they first migrated to their present home "they found other Indians at this place (Taos). . . . [T]hese they ejected after much fighting, and took and have continued to occupy their place" (Morgan 1965 [1881]:166; see also Miller 1898:46–47). In the 1920s, Jeançon (1930:7–8) further learned from his Taos informants that it was the Winter People who originally occupied the region and were defeated when a group known as the Summer People arrived. Stevenson, however, recorded the most detailed account. "On reaching the land of the Winter People," she was told, "the associate to the father of the Summer People was sent to the Winter People whom he questioned. 'What have you to say? Are you friends or enemies?' The representative of the Winter People replied, 'We are not your friends.' 'It is well,' said the man of the Summer People. 'We will fight you'" (as narrated to Stevenson 1906: file 2.29).

Following a lengthy battle, the Winter People retreated to their kiva where the Summer People subdued them by throwing “medicine” (*walô*, or ritual substances) down the kiva entrance. Victory was finally achieved, in other words, not by brute physical force but by the immigrants’ superior ritual power. The Winter People were then at the mercy of their aggressors, and as the narrative continues, we learn that this meant accepting a new social order whose terms were to be set by the Summer People: “Then the father of the Summer People said, ‘It is well. Now you are my child. Now I have a good large family (referring to the Winter People). . . . Now we are as one family. If you desire, come to where I live. We will have summer and we will also have winter’” (as narrated to Stevenson 1906:file 2.29).

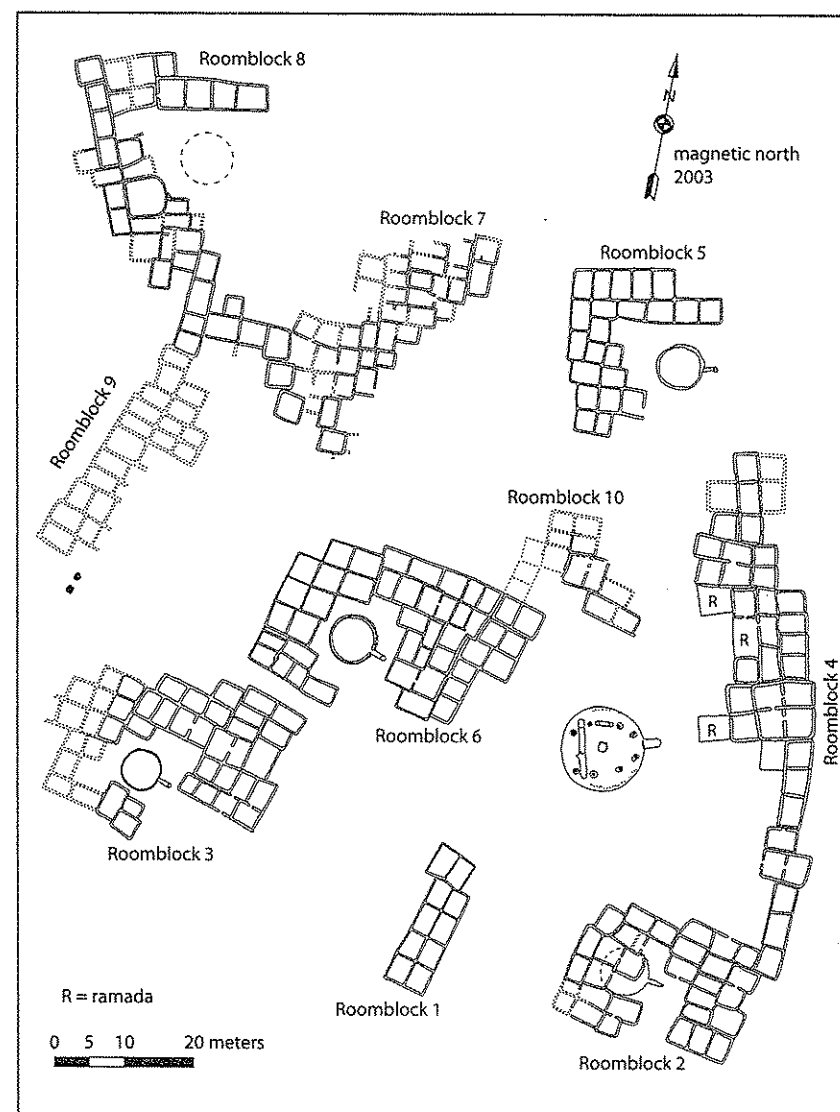
Here, then, is indigenous commentary on the birth of the Taos dual division: a merger of Summer People and Winter People, of ritually powerful immigrants and less organized autochthons, of conquerors and conquered, all in the wake of a period of extraordinary ethnic confrontation.

Social Impact of Immigration

The neat narrative division between “summer” and “winter” is probably far too neat and undoubtedly represents a post facto means of conceptually structuring a more complicated set of encounters among a diverse array of groups in the highly unstable post-Chacoan landscape. Stevenson (1906:file 3.1) learned, for instance, that the Winter, or Ice, People actually represented a composite of the “Sun People,” “Day People,” and “Very Small Olivella Shell People,” all of whom are today associated with the Day Kiva. Similarly, she learned that the Summer People were composed of the “Golden Warbler People,” the “Macaw People” and the “Eagle People,” whose descendants are now in the Feather Kiva. These details are significant, for in the story’s grouping together of lineage or clan-like Peoples into supra-kin corporate entities, we gain insight into the long-term social impacts of late-twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century immigration.

In this regard, we would do well to remember David Stuart and Rory Gauthier’s (1988:51) observation that both site and room counts point to a *tenfold* population increase across the northern Rio Grande between AD 1150 and 1250, and the Taos region was indeed part of this increase. The key point is that the Pueblo III period witnessed a punctuated period of immigration in much of the Eastern Pueblo world that would have created bold lines of cultural difference between a local Rio Grande population that had never really been part of the Chacoan sphere during Pueblo II and a large number of newly arrived immigrants who had.

These new lines of division appear to have been resolved in structural terms within individual villages such as the Ancestral northern Tiwa site of T’aitôna (“People House” in Tiwa, or “Pot Creek Pueblo” to the archaeological community), located a short distance south of Taos. T’aitôna was established in the mid-thirteenth century as the region’s first large village, and Fowles (2005) has argued that by the start of the fourteenth century it already exhibited a spatial structure clearly ancestral to the kiva-moiety organization of modern Taos Pueblo. The site is divided into northern and southern halves distinguished from one another by their overall roomblock morphol-



16.3. Map of early-thirteenth-century T’aitôna (“People House,” aka Pot Creek Pueblo). Dashed lines indicate probable walls.

ogy and their different orientations toward the June and December solstice sunrise positions, respectively (Figure 16.3). Excavations have also revealed three corporate kiva-roomblock complexes in the southern portion of T’aitôna (Roomblocks 2, 3 and 6), as well as two or three⁵ kiva-roomblock complexes in the north (Roomblocks 5 and 8). It is tempting, therefore, to read T’aitôna as the location where the three Summer Peoples

and the three Winter Peoples banded together—significantly, under the leadership of the more powerful Summer father—to form “a good large family.” To form, in other words, a new model for Pueblo IV aggregated village life in the region.

Of course, our archaeological narrative of emergent village dualism at T’aitōna may be too neat as well. Late-phase architectural additions at the site partly obscure the initially clear association of kivas and domestic roomblocks, and this may signal the growing autonomy of kiva societies from the kinship system as intermarriage between immigrants and autochthons increased. Patricia Crown (1991; Crown and Kohler 1994) has also drawn upon tree ring evidence to suggest that additional migrants joined the community in the early fourteenth century. This may have been the case; indeed, Taos oral history specifically refers to the continued arrival of new Peoples. The most commented upon of these later arrivals were the Water People, immigrants from Santa Fe who traveled north along the Rio Grande, “up the Taos River, and to the Ranchos de Taos creek until they arrived near the place where the *Fiadaina* [Feather or Summer People] and the *Holdaina* [Day or Winter People] were living together [presumably T’aitōna]” (Espinosa 1936:133). They traveled as fish:

[M]any of the [Summer] People hurried to the river to learn something of the strangers. They saw many fish and the old men said, “Why these are the *Ba tai’na* [Water] People! . . . It is well, we guess all of the Water People will come.” . . . The Summer People threw much medicine water from large vases over the fish and covered them. . . . When the cover was finally removed, men, women, and children were found sitting beneath the vine. Then the Water People thanked the Summer People. (Stevenson 1906:file 2.19)

Thus were the Water People, like the Winter People before them, drawn into Taos society through the power of the Summer People’s “medicine.” Unlike the Winter People, however, the Water People’s initiation was entirely nonviolent, perhaps because they joined what by then was an established kiva-moiety system built precisely to overcome the challenges of immigration and cultural assimilation.

T’aitōna was vacated shortly after AD 1319, with at least part of the village moving to Taos Pueblo where additional People groups continued to join (and occasionally leave) the community. The social identity of these groups—rooted in a common genealogy, migratory history, cultural heritage, and set of sacred possessions—has never been effaced, even though most Taos Peoples have become attached to one of the much more visible kiva societies and, through their kiva, to the ceremonial moieties. Rather than standing in opposition to clan organization, then, the kiva-moiety system appears to have been a strategy of providing each People group with a structured place in the ceremonial life of the pueblo.

CONCLUSIONS

Our comparison of Hopi and Taos histories has revealed a number of parallels in both pre- and post-contact social organization, complicating simple contrasts between Eastern and Western Pueblo patterns. Communities formed from distinct immigrant

groups that curate migration histories and proprietary ceremonies—thought to be a distinctively Hopi pattern—also occur at Taos. Likewise, pronounced dualism in community ritual organization—thought to be a distinctively Rio Grande pattern—serves as an organizing principle of Hopi religion as well. What accounts for these parallels in community organization on either end of the Pueblo world?

Twentieth-century ethnography, recall, tended to link geographic with social difference, broadly assuming that matrilineal clans gave way to non-kin sodalities as one moved from west to east. Indeed, in Eggan’s (1950) and Edward Dozier’s (1983) influential accounts, this east-west patterning was grafted onto a broad evolutionary model in which Hopi-style matrilineal clans served as models for Ancestral Pueblo societies, and the non-kin sodalities of the Eastern Pueblos were presented as recent adaptations to life in dense aggregates organized around irrigation agriculture. John Ware (2001, 2002) recently revisited this issue, offering the provocative thesis that the divergence of Eastern Pueblo sodalities from Western Pueblo clan organization began in the eighth century AD, five centuries earlier than Eggan and Dozier had proposed. Ware’s thesis is compelling in many respects—not least for the connections it draws between Tewa and Chacoan traditions—but, if accepted, it merely makes the similarities we have noted between Hopi and Taos that much more surprising.

The answer, we suggest, lies in setting aside both sweeping evolutionary accounts of the shift from clan to moiety and our assumptions of a smooth, clinal change in organizational forms across the landscape. History has a way of making its own patterns, of shuffling the deck according to its own logic of contingency. In the case of Hopi and Taos, history appears to have dealt them similar cards. Both were characterized by an initial occupation of relatively small, dispersed populations. Both were at the receiving end of relatively rapid, large-scale immigrations by diverse post-Chacoan groups with recent experience in aggregated village life. Both came to be ceremonially dominated by these immigrants through the creation of dual divisions that bound society together but also institutionalized hierarchies. All this is to say that Hopi and Taos share aspects of social organization because they share comparable histories of immigration, assimilation, and social transformation.

We suspect that an important variable explaining the nature of host-immigrant relations has to do with prior experience (or lack thereof) with aggregated village life, regional ceremonial systems, or both. That is, the autochthonous populations of both regions were living in a relatively dispersed settlement pattern prior to AD 1250 when immigrant groups arrived at Hopi and Taos with prior experience in cosmopolitan centers such as Mesa Verde, Totah, and Chaco Canyon, among other places. Differences in participation in the Chaco Phenomenon may have been especially important in structuring the interaction of autochthonous and immigrant groups. The Taos region, along with the greater Rio Grande Valley of which it is a part, contains no Chaco era outlier great houses, and the Hopi Mesas contain only three debated outlier candidates and no great kivas (Gilpin 1989). In contrast, many of the immigrants to Taos and Hopi (or their ancestors) had likely participated in the Chaco and post-Chaco phenomena. This, we suggest, may have been a source of their influence and power in post-migration contexts.

Our conclusions, then, have a broader significance insofar as they cut across the grain of a common archaeological assumption, namely, that Pueblo social organization was governed by a "first-to-come, first-to-lead" logic in which the order of arrival dictated each group's social standing. Part and parcel of being classified as "tribal" perhaps, the Ancestral Pueblos are typically presented as strangers to any notion of "conquest" or "takeover," in either a physical or ceremonial sense. Clearly, however, a more complex understanding of immigration and assimilation is needed, particularly when we are dealing with cases such as the movement of Chacoans or Mesa Verdeans into areas that formerly stood on the Pueblo periphery. In both our cases, we have found that indigenous histories provide a critical means of envisioning these complexities, but comparative examples from outside the American Southwest may be instructive as well. Godelier (1986), for instance, offers the remarkable ethnographic case of Baruya ceremonial hierarchies, which emerged when a number of immigrating clans conspired with one clan in the host community to physically overcome the others and institutionalize their (the immigrants') sacred objects at the heart of social reproduction for the community as a whole. Our point here is not to say that the Hopi and Taos were necessarily "like" the Baruya but merely to open a space for envisioning much more complex host-immigrant relations.

Having just argued for the common historical experiences at Hopi and Taos, we are left to account for the differences. Why did the immigrating Taos Peoples shrink from view rather than develop into true corporate clans, as among the Hopi? Why has Hopi dualism not become institutionalized and more explicitly emphasized? Parallel histories of immigration need not necessarily prompt communities to follow similar post-migration trajectories, and the emphasis on clans versus non-kin sodalities may simply represent two viable organizational solutions to the aggregation of different cultural groups. Nevertheless, the contrast becomes more salient when we note that it is linked to different tendencies toward matrilineality versus patrilineality within the ceremonial system.

Contemporary Hopi society is strongly matrilineal (Eggan 1950; Titiev 1944), with group membership tied to residence in the maternal household (Parsons 1936b), a pattern that appears to have considerable time depth in the Hopi area (e.g., James 1994). Because Hopi ritual and domestic authority are both vested in the maternal line, the sacred physical and intellectual property of the clan resides in maternal clan houses. Although rituals are actually practiced in separate men's houses (kivas) by ceremonial societies that can be categorized as either Motisinom or Nüutungkwisinom, the clear spatial segregation of Hopi ritual in maternal clan houses disguises the overarching duality of the ceremonial system. In contrast, while the domestic sphere at Taos is run by women, ritual is organized around largely patrilineal lines (as it is at Picuris), a pattern that appears to have been established during the fourteenth or fifteenth century AD when kivas were detached from the residential roomblocks with which they previously had unique relationships (Fowles 2006). When ritual authority came to be more centrally controlled by men, kivas appear to have assumed the position of both "clan houses" and men's houses for ceremonial societies, eventually permitting the latter function to eclipse the former. With the ancestral link between

ceremonies and Peoples masked, the overarching duality of the Taos ceremonial system appears more pronounced.

We conclude with one final cautionary note. As we explore the cumulative history and hybridity of Puebloan cultures, it is important not to let our enthusiasm for deconstructing essentialist identities proceed at the expense of the modern-day descendants of populations under study. Many tribes are embroiled in land disputes and cultural patrimony conflicts with both other Native American tribes and the federal government, the outcomes of which depend heavily on perceptions of historical continuity (e.g., Gosden 2001:258). Modern Pueblo peoples embrace their multiethnic pasts as central to, not threatening of, their present identities. As scholars specializing in the study of cultural identity, we should strive to help others—especially those involved in decision making about cultural patrimony—become equally comfortable with these more complex understandings of identity.

NOTES

1. This is not to imply isolation of Eastern and Western Pueblo populations. Important and as yet understudied migrations in both directions characterize the Pueblo Revolt and post-Revolt periods (e.g., Dozier 1983; Riley and Manson 1983; Schroeder 1968; Spicer 1962).

2. Not all Hopi clans control ceremonies.

3. Except for the bilingual Tewa-Hopi speakers of First Mesa (Stanislawski 1979).

4. Current archaeological perspectives on the Katsina religion point to its emergence around AD 1300, along the Little Colorado River and in the Rio Grande (Adams 1991; Schaafsma 1994; see Lekson and Cameron 1995 regarding possible Katsina ritual in eleventh- and twelfth-century Mimbres villages). It is unclear how to reconcile archaeological evidence for post-AD 1300 emergence of Katsina iconography away from the Hopi Mesas with oral tradition of ritual practice of a pre-AD 1300 Motisinom population on the mesas. It is reasonable to expect that the nature and practice of Katsina religion changed over time (Plog and Solometo 1997), and Motisinom ritual may have been less visible, or visible in different ways, in the archaeological record of the pre-AD 1300 era than it was afterward (Bernardini 2008).

5. A third northern kiva-roomblock complex likely exists in the untested portion of the site.

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[17]

STANDING OUT VERSUS BLENDING IN

Pueblo Migrations and Ethnic Marking

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Movement of varying distances across the landscape has long been recognized as an adaptation to Southwestern environments (Nelson 1999; Varien 1999). Larger-scale, longer-distance movements are often attributed to environmental and economic factors that exert a “push” or a “pull” (Anthony 1990, 1992; Lipe 1995). In reality, however, each movement involves complex social processes that may differ depending on the nature of information flows along preexisting social networks; whether the migration stream extends over a short or a long period; whether people move as individuals, families, larger groups, or entire communities; the distances involved; environmental and cultural similarities and differences between the source and host areas; and how migrants are socially integrated into their new homes (Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000; Clark 2001; Stone 2003).

To understand the process of migration and the negotiations of identity that accompany it, we must examine the interplay of numerous factors, including structure-agency interaction, demography, and the social and spatial scales of the movement. Variations in these factors and their interplay may result in very different patterns of behavior and interaction. For example, the interaction between the indigenous, or host, population and the migrants may vary from complete assimilation to the maintenance of separate enclaves to open conflict (Stone 2003). The initial period of interaction appears critical