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control and on the potential for self-determination, I am pleased to have it in my library.

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**Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico.** By Marc Treib. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. 352 pages.

The pueblos of New Mexico fascinate American historians because these villages, like no others on the continent, contain a profound architectural record of European colonialism. In them, a modest, unbroken building tradition of an ancient indigenous people persists in the shadow of the aggressively monumental churches of Spanish conquerors. Though constructed of the same materials and by means of similar technologies, the two types of buildings are worlds apart. Their superficial similarities cannot disguise the facts of their antithetical origins: The pueblos sought an organic union between a complex society and a severe environment, while the churches were instruments to impose an alien ideology on a people and their land. Therefore, a reading of the architectural record, either by a direct observer of the pueblos or by a scholar of historical documents, is sure to reveal many problems of interpretation.

Some authors, appealing to popular myths and blinded by the exotic character of adobe forms, have overlooked the underlying dilemma of the pueblos as we see them today. The European town is the implicit model for their uncritical acceptance of a village dominated by a monumental church. They have ignored the fact that, unlike European towns, the pueblos have been composed since the sixteenth century as an urban form reflecting the often hostile juxtaposition of two entirely different cultures. Other, more scholarly work has sought to reconcile this cultural confrontation by showing the extent to which European architectural and liturgical ideals adjusted themselves to the demands of life on a colonial frontier, and how in turn the Pueblo people adapted to an alien ideology.

In this context, Marc Treib's *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico* is a valuable contribution to architectural scholarship. Following on the canonical texts in the field by Bunting, Kessel, Kubler, and others, the book provides a well-crafted overview of the physical

and historical context of Spanish colonial churches in New Mexico as well as detailed descriptions of many of them. The clarity of Treib's prose and graphics is exemplary in this regard, and the book should quickly become a basic text for those new to the subject as well as for architects and historians who have considerable knowledge of the field.

Treib focuses on the churches foremost as architectural artifacts. He pays great attention to the way in which they were constructed and the conditions under which they came into being. Only rarely does he discuss subjects of a more theoretical nature. For example, he explains the two dominant views among those involved in restoration. One approach seeks authenticity through a return to the earliest known form of a given structure. The contrasting theory argues that the churches are a reflection of a dynamic historical process and should therefore not be arrested in any particular time; restoration to what may be only a romantic notion of originality is perhaps an architectural equivalent of taxidermy.

Theoretical questions abound in the study of the Spanish churches of New Mexico, and a book such as this is perhaps an appropriate setting in which to introduce some of those theories. A full discussion of them is clearly beyond the scope of Treib's analysis, but it is refreshing when he does touch on an issue that transcends the strictly material or historical record. Occasionally, for example, as in the epilogue and the description of San Ildefonso, he recognizes the tenuous connection between the church and the pueblo and the unfathomable resilience of indigenous beliefs despite the relentless intimidation and intolerance of the Spanish and Anglo conquistadors. The relation between church doctrine and Pueblo religious belief is complex and probably impossible for a non-Pueblo to fully understand. The view that the church was merely superimposed, physically and spiritually, upon the Pueblo religion is simplistic. Treib recognizes this and indicates the depths of the actual complexity in his inclusion of accounts by Parsons, Hesse, and others of instances in which church liturgy and Pueblo ritual dances seem to have fused.

The author also touches on other intriguing questions that should be pursued in future research. One of them is the degree to which Muslim architectural ideas influenced Spanish builders in the New World. Most of the Iberian Peninsula was under Muslim control for seven hundred years up to the end of the fifteenth century. Islamic artistic and cultural influences persisted

in Spain well after the retreat of the Muslim armies back to North Africa in 1492, an event that closely preceded the Spanish Catholic conquests in the New World. The original Muslim conquerors of Spain, the Umayyads, brought with them from Syria, across North Africa, an ancient tradition of construction in sun-dried mud brick. Technologically, this was the principal contribution the Spanish made to Pueblo construction in New Mexico—a modular approach to constructing earthen walls rather than the traditional Pueblo technique of piling mud in thick layers.

More significant, however, is a question that Treib does not address, relating to the overall form of Spanish churches in New Mexico. It is not a question of how the friars and native builders constructed the outer shell of the churches but rather of how they conceived of the space within the churches. In the answer to the question lies perhaps an entirely different way of understanding the significance of these buildings.

The spatial principle by which European churches were constructed was a structural module that enclosed a cell of space. The European architectural precedents that the Spanish brought with them to New Mexico, either in their memory or in architectural treatises, were all based on the idea that large spaces were to be made of smaller cells of space. This gave European churches their characteristic spatial rhythm and structural clarity. However, none of the Pueblo churches built before the mid-nineteenth century follow this rule. Spatially they are unitary; neither structure nor apertures for natural lighting provide any hint of modularity or subdivision of the overall space. Although the churches follow a typically European longitudinal plan, the spatial condition of their interior is more similar to the seamless unity of a Pueblo kiva. Treib does not explicitly address this issue but correctly illustrates how the quality of light that enters the interior through small windows along the side or through a clerestory more closely resembles the lighting effect in a kiva than in a European church. This phenomenon suggests that, although in many cases the vast size of the colonial church may have succeeded in overwhelming the modest pueblo houses and kivas, within, the church form surrendered to the far more potent idea of what was proper for traditional Pueblo ritual space.

This observation about the way in which the Pueblo people were perhaps able to subvert and redirect the spiritual power of the church through architectural form (and other examples could be cited) leads to a larger issue about historical perspective. As

elegant and scholarly as *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico* is, it follows steadfastly in a lineage that does not question the monstrosous presence of these buildings within the pueblos. Much is made of them as monuments to faith and persistence. Little is mentioned of them as monuments to coercion and intolerance. It is dismaying likewise, considering the bloody history of the Spanish conquistadors in New Mexico, that the only time a word as strong as *massacre* is used in this book is in reference to Spanish victims of the futile Indian revolt of 1680. It is easy to find aesthetic pleasure, as so many artists and architects have, in the sensual haunches of the church in Ranchos de Taos; or to admire the play of light across the mud-plastered buttresses of the church of San Agustín in Isleta. However, such epicureanism is the privilege of those who can indulge in a convenient history of kindly friars and compliant natives. The Spanish were fundamentally hostile to native culture; a church was their brand on a pueblo, a sign of possession. And the Pueblo people's superficial compliance with the Spanish, and later Anglo, regimes disguised a deep commitment to their own beliefs.

Paradoxically, these monuments to the destruction of a culture are at times fiercely protected, but not on religious grounds. A visitor to Santo Domingo or Acoma is soon informed that, whatever the church may represent to the people of the pueblo (such as slaughter and slavery in the case of Acoma), it is nevertheless theirs and theirs alone. There is as little sympathy for aesthetics as there is for scholarly analysis. It is now a part of the pueblo's cultural landscape, neither venerated nor neglected. A conventional history of the churches in New Mexico can scrupulously recount martyred friars, allotments of nails, and the comings and goings of expeditions without a word about what these extraordinary structures mean to those who built them.

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**Stress and Warfare among the Kayenta Anasazi of the Thirteenth Century A.D.** By Jonathan Haas and Winifred Creamer. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1993. 211 pages.

*Stress and Warfare* is a dense book of 211 pages that investigates the relationship between warfare and political formation among the