

ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture

Edited by
**Nicholas C. Markovich,
Wolfgang F. E. Preiser and
Fred G. Sturm**



Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture

Few architectural styles evoke so strong a sense of place as Pueblo architecture. This book brings together experts from architecture and art, archaeology and anthropology, philosophy and history, considering Pueblo style not simply architecturally, but within its cultural, religious, economic, and climate contexts as well. The product of successive layers of Pueblo Indian, Spanish, and Anglo influences, contemporary Pueblo style is above all seen as a harmonious response to the magnificent landscape from which it emerged.

Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture, first published in 1990, is a unique and thorough study of this enduring regional style, a sourcebook that will inform and inspire architects and designers, as well as fascinate those interested in the anthropology, culture, art, and history of the American Southwest.

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Contents

Foreword vii

George Anselevicius

Preface ix

Nicholas C. Markovich

Contributors xi

Acknowledgments xiv

Introduction xv

John L. Kessell

I. Overview I

V. B. Price

PART I. PUEBLO WORLD VIEWS AND VALUES 9

2. Aesthetics of the Southwest II

Fred G. Sturm

3. Pueblo Space, Form, and Mythology 23

Rina Swentzell

4. Learning from the Pueblos 31

Tony Anella

PART II. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION 47

5. Understanding the Development of Pueblo Architecture 49

David G. Saile

6. The Great Pueblo Period in Southwestern Archaeology 64

Stephen H. Lekson

7. Modernization and Pueblo Lifeways: Isleta Pueblo 78

Theodore S. Jojola

PART III. MODERN TENDENCIES 101

8. Contemporary Zuni Architecture and Society 103

T. J. Ferguson, Barbara J. Mills, and Calbert Seciwa

9. **The Metaphors of Hopi Architectural Experience in Comparative Perspective** 122
Louis A. Hieb
10. **Tewa Visions of Space: A Study of Settlement Patterns, Architecture, Pottery, and Dance** 133
Tsiporah Lipton

**PART IV. REVIVAL ARCHITECTURE:
THE ROMANTIC TRADITION 141**

11. **The Myth and Power of Place: Hispanic Revivalism in the American Southwest** 143
David Gebhard
12. **The Aesthetics of Holmes and Bandelier** 159
George Kubler
13. **Escape from the Southwest: The Pueblo Style in Minnesota and Florida** 167
Carl D. Sheppard and Stephen D. Schreiber
14. **New Mexico in the Tradition of Romantic Reaction** 175
Chris Wilson

PART V. REVIVAL ARCHITECTURE: ANGLO INITIATIVES 195

15. **Santa Fe Renaissance: City Planning and Stylistic Preservation, 1912** 197
Nicholas C. Markovich
16. **Symbol and Reality: The Cultural Challenge of Regional Architecture at the University of New Mexico, 1889–1939** 213
Michael E. Welsh
17. **Georgia O'Keeffe's New Mexico: The Artist's Vision of the Land and Its Architecture** 225
Ethel S. Goodstein

PART VI. REGIONALISM 237

18. **Regionalism in American Architecture: A Comparative Review of Roots** 239
Buford L. Pickens
19. **Ritual and Regional Genesis of Architecture** 260
Folke Nyberg and Farouk Seif
20. **On Regions and Regionalism** 272
Amos Rapoport
21. **Pueblo Images in Contemporary Regional Architecture: Primal Needs, Transcendent Visions** 289
Glade Sperry, Jr.

PART VII. PHOTOGRAPH PORTFOLIO 307

Foreword

Architectural regionalism is cultural, climatic, and technological. It should not be thought of as a parochial concern but as a principled attitude no matter where one builds. It must also accommodate change. The task before us is not to revive, but to revitalize style not merely as external decoration but as a response to a life-style, creating places that are particular and distinctive through a creative synthesis linking past and present and leaving its own heritage.

It is unfortunate that the word "regional" has often taken on a derogatory connotation such as in "regional painter" or "regional writer," implying something less than first, or world, class. This is not quite as true in the field of architecture, however, where both in academe and in the profession there recently has been a growing concern with regional issues.

If regionalism is the thesis, then in dialectical terms the antithesis must be cosmopolitanism, internationalism, eclecticism. This is the province of major capital cities. Thesis and antithesis demand a synthesis, creatively linking past and present, developing a new heritage.

In a world of mass consumerism and instant communication, the dichotomy is ever more obvious. On the one hand, our globe as seen from outer space encourages a "one world" view, financial markets are international, technology ("high tech") is cosmopolitan, satellites make television reception possible in the most remote villages of the third world. On the other hand, there is a strong reaction, a revival of fundamental tribalisms, a wish to hold on to deeper cultural, mystical, and religious roots. Dreams of the family tribe abound. Essentially regional, and resisting becoming part of a melting pot, the roots can be Basque, Welsh, Hopi, Armenian, Sikh, Kurd, or Lithuanian. Architecturally this resistance favors so-called appropriate technology (generally "low tech"). In Hungary, regional and historically oriented designs now confront the official governmental style, which is seen as progressive and international.

Germany during its recent unfortunate period straddled both sides, demanded romantic regionalism (*Heimatstil*) for its residential buildings, the "cozy look," yet pompous, cleansed international classicism (à la Speer) for its public edifices, "the impressive look." The word "kitsch" could be applied to both. This shows the importance ascribed to physical images and their effect on the general public.

The dichotomy continues—regionalism rooted in the life and work of many generations against designs and patterns often abstract and rootless, which at worst result in buildings that cannot be distinguished whether they be in Tel Aviv, Chicago, Hong Kong, or London, cities where skyscrapers, an international building style, now dominate the skyline.

New Mexico benefits from romantic regionalism; regional traditions are everywhere evident and continuing. Three architectural styles are clearly dominant: (1) the

Territorial style, an imposition of classical details onto native building forms, (2) the Spanish Mission style, used by the Santa Fe Railroad for its stations and not as prevalent as the other two styles, and (3) the Pueblo Revival style, called Spanish Pueblo by John Gaw Meem, which is the subject of this book. I believe that the power and continuity of these styles is due to the centuries-long isolation of New Mexico, its comparative poverty, the cultural pride of its various ethnic communities, and the wishes of newcomers to participate in its collective memories and myths. It is also now evident, as tourism becomes a major financial resource, that being different and distinctive is beneficial economically.

It is especially in the Pueblo Revival style that there exists a "there" in New Mexican regional architecture. It is, of course, commercially exploited. The Santa Fe style of furniture, clothing, and other artifacts is now fashionable. Santa Fe prides itself on being the "City Different" and controls its architecture to make sure that there is visual continuity even if only skin deep. While I do not like the superficial and cosmetic nature of much that occurs, it is liked generally by the inhabitants, and it is useful as a tourist attraction. The irony is that this tourism may help retain some of the past, even if only as "memory wallpaper." This is probably the best we can ask for at this moment in time.

This book, however, should help in the task of going beyond such superficiality in search of a truly contextual architecture adding to our understanding of what makes New Mexico special, what we were, what we are, and what we can be.

George Anselevicius, FAIA
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Preface

In a world that is increasingly tending to think alike and look alike, it is important to cherish and preserve those elements in our culture that belong to us and help differentiate us. We are fortunate in this region in that we have a style of architecture that uniquely belongs to us and visually evokes memories of our history and our earth itself. (John Gaw Meem, "Development of Spanish Pueblo Architecture in the Southwest," *New Mexico Architecture*, Sept.-Oct., 1966.)

Within the lexicon of architecture in the Americas, New Mexico possesses a rich and time-honored legacy. The traditions of architecture in this southwestern region of the United States have developed over many centuries, building on the cultural essence of the Anasazi and other peoples of the pre-Hispanic period. After the virtual abandonment of the urban centers of the Anasazi, later Puebloan groups of this region inherited and extrapolated these earlier concepts of space, form, and being, carrying on an already centuries old architectural tradition.

That early concept has survived and was developed further in the architecture of the Spanish, from the time of their arrival in the 1500s. Other European-American groups developed their own concepts of a regional interpretation of architecture from the time of their entrance into the area during the period of U.S. colonization in the 1800s. This historically recent period of settlement has brought about the most change and has placed the regional concept in the greatest state of flux. New Mexican architecture now is at a point of earnest conflict between the evolving tradition of regional architecture and new imported ideologies of architectonic form and image.

The semiarid climate of New Mexico protects and preserves the ancient building tradition, presenting the expressions of meaning from the past to us in the present. A short distance from twentieth century New Mexican towns and cities, we are quickly transported to places still replete with the expressions of meaning left by other cultures and manifesting ancient times. We are, by the nature of the southwestern cultural and geographic landscape, made acutely aware of the meaning of diverse human experience. In this place, the cosmology of the Pueblo World and its ancestry meets directly with the cosmology of the European-American world. The two must confront each other and accommodate each other, presenting a concept of meaning unique to the southwestern United States. The new cosmology formulates what we know as New Mexico and becomes part of our physical and cultural meaning. Here fragments of ancient architecture dot the landscape, and the questions of preservation and the promulgation of tradition are serious ones.

This project effort, which entertains the notion of Pueblo style and regional architecture, was the result of a collaboration among many individuals speaking to the

phenomenon of architecture, place, and culture that are so uniquely presented to the world in the region of New Mexico. This humanistic endeavor has brought together archaeologists and anthropologists, artists and historians, as well as architects and philosophers. Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Anglos joined together in this project to search for regional meaning in the architectural expression of this region, which is the epicenter of culture and heritage for the American Southwest. Our journey is a search for the evidence of truth in the meaning of our ancient cultures and the new. Our collective intellectual gesture was toward the rediscovery of ancient and continuing myths. Our search, presented in the chapters of this book, is a first attempt at an interdisciplinary understanding of culture, architecture, and place in the American Southwest.

A symposium on Pueblo style and regional architecture was held, and a traveling photographic exhibit was designed to illustrate the evolution and varied interpretation of that style, with photographic examples ranging from Chaco Canyon to modern-day architecture in New Mexico. The project reflects what Paul Horgan stated so aptly in his foreword to Bainbridge Bunting's book, *John Gaw Meem: Southwestern Architect*. It reads as follows:

People who come to New Mexico in answer to a need—for health, informality in ways of living, livelihood in what seems a surviving frontier—often end up being possessed by the landscape. I use the term most broadly for I mean not only the physical beauty of the plains, the mountains, the quality of the sky with all its variations of color and light: I mean also what the poet Hopkins means by “inscape”—that lodgement of spirit whose work it is to take the materials of the known world and unify them through an embracing philosophy.

The ancient earth visions made manifest in the American Southwest bear long witness to the way in which the land itself formed ways of living for several laminations of culture; so that prehistoric dwellings and enclosures of ceremony, followed by the town structures of Spanish colonialism and the early Anglo-American plains settlements, all seem like features of the grand landscape itself in their shapes, materials, and survivals of weather. In their turns, generations of new arrivals can see the visible evidence of a particular sequence of social history speaking across many centuries. A recognition of this, often unspoken but powerful, must surely be a strong element in the spell cast upon the newcomer by the *ambiente* of the land of New Mexico.

This, despite the threat against the spell begun in 1880 with the triumphant coming of the transcontinental railroad, and its quickening promise of commercial prosperity. Headlong developments in the technological network of social and commercial exchange have worked for over a century a kind of erosion against old forms of the local heritage. It is not a new process—older cultures everywhere throughout time have been modified or wholly overthrown by the newer. But what has had the dignity of survival can be protected if recognized for what its value really is in the sum of a heritage provided there are those who can see it, respect it, and work, fight if necessary, to keep it for its own sake amidst the tendency of modern commerce to inspire hideous novelties of individual taste in a contest for customer attention that has wrecked much of the visual decorum of clustered America.

Nicholas C. Markovich

Contributors

Tony Anella is an architect working on his apprenticeship in Los Angeles. A native of Albuquerque, he is primarily interested in how man builds in the landscape of the American Southwest. His Master of Architecture thesis was the design of a visitor center and archaeologic research facility for Mesa Verde National Park.

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George Kubler is Professor Emeritus and Senior Research Fellow at Yale University. After publishing *Religious Architecture in New Mexico* he became interested in

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Carl D. Sheppard is Professor Emeritus at the University of Minnesota. He taught at UCLA and now resides in Santa Fe, New Mexico. His earlier research interest was the art and architecture of the Middle Ages, but since retirement from teaching his focus is on the development of Pueblo style. He is co-author of *Looking at Modern Painting* and *Creator of the Santa Fe Style: Isaac Hamilton Rapp, Architect*.

Glade Sperry, Jr., heads the Albuquerque firm of Westwork Architects, whose works have been featured in *Architecture* and *Architectural Record*. Several of his projects have received honor awards from the American Institute of Architects.

Fred G. Sturm is chair of the Department of Philosophy at the University of New Mexico, Honorary Professor of Foreign Languages and Literatures at Shaanxi Teachers University (Xi'an, China), Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of Chinese Studies*, and director of the Institute for Pueblo Indian Studies of the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center and its research library and Pueblo archives. He is a philosopher of art and aesthetics, and also publishes extensively in the fields of East Asian and Latin American philosophy.

Rina Swentzell is an architectural consultant in Santa Fe, New Mexico. She is a native of Santa Clara Pueblo. Her M.A. thesis on the history and significance of Santa Clara architecture is well known. Her interest in the relation between built environment and cultural world view and values has been expressed in her doctoral dissertation and recent work.

Michael E. Welsh is Assistant Professor of History at Cameron University. He previously taught at Oregon State University, St. John's College in Santa Fe, and the University of New Mexico. He has published a *History of Army Engineers in the Southwest* and has been commissioned to write the official centennial history of the University of New Mexico.

Chris Wilson is Adjunct Assistant Professor of Architecture at the University of New Mexico. As an architectural historian he has served since 1983 as consultant to the State Historic Preservation Division of New Mexico. His M.A. thesis was a study of the architectural and cultural history of the Plaza of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

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Introduction

As a somewhat conventional historian of the region, I confess to a heady rush every time I dare use a term so patently interdisciplinary as "the built environment." This book, as we shall see, goes far beyond—to emic and etic landscapes, rituals and metaphors of building, earth navels, mythologizing and demythologizing. Together, we are off again, as we should be periodically—anthropologists, archaeologists, architects and planners, art historians, a philosopher and a poet, scholars and observers—on tour through a unique cultural landscape. We share the hope of better understanding the Pueblo world through its architecture and perhaps discovering along the way something of the mystique of New Mexico.

John L. Kessel
Associate Professor of History
University of New Mexico

PUEBLO STYLE AND REGIONAL ARCHITECTURE



V. B. Price

The "mystique of New Mexico," like the spirit of any distinct cultural environment, is an essential quality, a gestalt, that transcends the sum of its parts. In a state that calls itself the land of enchantment, this mystique arises from the chemistry among exotic incongruities. These include majestic land forms; geographic isolation; the remains of a pre-Columbian urban civilization and the cultural survival of its Pueblo descendants; a rich Hispanic history of conquest, adaptation, and nurturing insularity; and a romantic Anglo idealization of the images emerging from this unique cultural and geographic florescence.

This book on Pueblo style and regional architecture brings together some twenty scholars and thinkers of diverse persuasions from many parts of the country to explore the complex interplay of culture and design in New Mexico. The richness of the interdisciplinary mix sees architects and archaeologists, Pueblo Indian scholars, art historians, planners, critics, and cultural investigators come to grips with one of the thorniest architectural problems of our century and the next—the preservation of regional and local identity as it manifests itself in the built environment.

The wealth of perspectives removes scholarly and cultural barriers to permit a stimulating interchange of new information and points of view. These chapters almost defy summary, their range is so wide and multifaceted. What follows, therefore, must be an interpretive and subjective overview. It begins with a few opening remarks, then distills the highlights of the volume, and closes with a brief analysis of its implications.

The synergy created by the diversity of topics reveals an undercurrent of unexpected questions, such as the following.

- Are architecturally traditional Hopi villages more culturally secure than modernized Zuni Pueblo, or, in other words, does architecture not only contain culture but also shape and reinforce it?
- Is there a fundamental discontinuity or a continuity of spirit between ancient and vernacular forms and New Mexico revival styles?
- What are the functional and symbolic differences between vernacular models, high-style regional architecture based on those models, and mass-produced suburban products that allude to them both?
- Is there an inherent conflict, an economic and semantic clash, between the meaning of symbolic and nostalgic forms and the architectural packaging of public relations tourist imagery?
- Can historic preservation conserve cultural iconography without freezing cultural imagery in the past and blocking the design flexibility that financially impoverished cultures must exhibit to survive?
- What are the major differences among archaeological ruins, vernacular building traditions, and regional revival styles with respect to the influence they might have on contemporary architectural practices?
- Is regionalism in architecture irrevocably bound to mass-market tourism, or does it have higher cultural, educational, and psychological functions?

- What are the implications of the differences between architecture as sculptural form and architecture as the moral and cosmological symbol it is among the Pueblos?
- Given its deeply materialistic culture, is it possible for "European" America to develop a cosmologically symbolic architecture as the Pueblos have done? Or, to ask the question another way, can buildings of symbolic significance contribute to the creation of a new social ethos?
- Can the blend of modernism and regionalism such as is found at the central campus of the University of New Mexico serve as a prototype for Pueblo peoples in their battles with the federal government for culturally appropriate and efficient new housing?
- Is architecture as memory doomed to be replaced by architecture as commerce?
- Is there, to quote Eliel Saarinen, a "fundamental form" for the architecture of New Mexico in the twenty-first century?

Such questions arise from the broad social context in which this book takes place, a context that many fear will prove to be on the threshold of a radical transformation of the architectural and human environments on this planet. A world once rich in architectural diversity has become increasingly homogenized—conquered, if you will—by a steady encroachment of international corporate and consumer culture, one in which the creation and consumption of standard products in a standardized and predictable marketplace is the pragmatic end that justifies virtually any means. Cultural variety, not to mention sense of place, is vanishing along with rain forests, stratospheric ozone, healthy oceans, and innumerable plant and animal species.

Yet in the uniform global economy of the twenty-first century, cultural landscapes will be, paradoxically, among the most valuable commodities. Their essential rarity alone will ensure their continued demand. Like the nascent international economy of the nineteenth century, the marketplace of the future will be leavened by tourism and its exotic products. Unique human habitats will be looked upon as antidotes to the miseries of competitive existence. The economy of the future, however, like that of the present, is more likely to devour cultural localities than to preserve them. It is much handier, after all, to create a controllable likeness of a culture than to have to deal with the unpredictable nature of that culture itself.

One of the most pressing environmental issues for architects and planners in the twenty-first century will concern the preservation of unique localities and the people who inhabit them. The overwhelming temptation in the corporate marketplace will be to "Santitize" such places using the temptingly successful Santa Fe model. When it comes to economic development, regionalism as commodity can be based on the manufacture of inauthentic environments—gentrified Disneyland, if you will—or the protection of authentic and evolving cultural landscapes that are at once places to live as well as places to market.

Issues such as these underlie the subject matter of this volume. The authors have sought to come to terms with both the phenomenal survival of Pueblo culture into the twentieth century and the unique process of mutual adaptation that characterizes Anglo, Hispano, and Pueblo culture in New Mexico. It could be said in a backhanded way, for instance, that Pueblo and Hispano cultures have adopted, from time to time, a form of big city, Anglo provincial architecture, a classical or international style, just as Anglo New Mexico has created a Spanish and Pueblo Revival style architecture. In New Mexico, mutual influence is the key.

The twenty-one chapters can be grouped into three broad categories:

1. Assessments of Anasazi and Pueblo architecture, the cultures that produced them, and the influences they have had on regionalism in New Mexico. This includes critical views on scholarly and popular misconceptions of these

vernacular sources as well as sensitive revelations of their mythological and spiritual contexts.

2. Analyses of regionalism as an aesthetic, scientific, political, and cultural phenomenon in America, New Mexico, and the rest of the world.
3. Discussions of both the dangers and the values of regionalist sentiment in New Mexico as it wears its various guises as a revolutionary force, a loving expression, a conservative tradition, and a reactionary institution embodied in rigid zoning codes.

In the first category, archaeologist Stephen Lekson discusses in Chapter 6 his contention that the preoccupations of early archaeologists to help modern Pueblos substantiate land claims led to what he considers misinterpretations of data. Debunking what he calls "Southwestern hyperbole," Lekson sees an Anasazi world "almost perpetually out of balance," characterized not by permanence but by "remarkable" mobility, and although ancestral to the Pueblos also culturally distinct from their settled urban way of life. Using an ethnographic approach to interpret Anasazi architectural artifacts is, he maintains, fraught with intellectual dangers.

In a somewhat similar vein, Yale emeritus art historian George Kubler discusses in Chapter 12 the preoccupations and accomplishments of W. H. Holmes and Adolf Bandelier, two men who did much to establish the mystique of Pueblo and Indian culture in America. Bandelier viewed American Indian culture from an early sociological and anthropological perspective, whereas Holmes approached it from an artistic and natural history point of view. To my mind, it seems that both projected onto the past the biases and ignorance of their day, as we continue to do with ours. Holmes, the first director of the National Gallery of Art, adopted an evolutionary approach of "primitive" art with a hierarchical view that had "savages" at one end of the scale and "civilization" at the other. Bandelier, author of *The Delight Makers*, made often wild, supposedly unromantic, protoscientific observations, such as claiming that Native American religious and social organization was the same for the entire continent and denying that the Pueblos possessed any aesthetic sense. Both, Kubler writes diplomatically, "were precursors of anthropological archaeology, without themselves being able to practice it before its appearance."

In Chapter 5, the historian David Saile presents an overview of the Pueblo built environment, which emphasizes the living quality of Pueblo architecture as a natural and spiritual entity. Saile remarks on the fragmentation of scholarship in the field and discusses the regrettable absence of an integrated gestalt interpretation of Pueblo building and design.

From another viewpoint, in Chapter 7, Theodore Jojola, a Native American scholar, counteracts the image of Pueblo culture as static and frozen in time by showing how "the Pueblo community has undergone significant change over relatively short" periods. His examination of modernization and Pueblo lifeways at Isleta Pueblo argues that it "has been the adaptive behavior of the Pueblo people that has kept their communities vital and progressive." In Chapter 8, anthropologists T. J. Ferguson, Barbara Mills, and Calbert Seciwa of Zuni Pueblo, in their examination of contemporary Zuni architecture and society, support Jojola's views. The Zuni people have, they affirm, "historically chosen function over form as they have rebuilt their village to keep pace with modern times." "Innovation in Zuni architecture," they write, "has been guided by a pragmatic approach that favors cost-effective solutions to basic problems." Although Zuni Pueblo "no longer looks like it did in the past," in important social and ceremonial ways "it continues to function as it always has." Housing built by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), on the other hand, has had profound negative effects on Zuni social, cultural, and economic ways of life. HUD housing was called "a Trojan horse," bringing modernizing conveniences to Zuni Pueblo along with a hidden cache of extra social and financial costs.

Unlike Zuni, Hopi villages have maintained a strong connection with traditional building materials and symbolic forms. Among the most conservative of the Pueblos, Hopi is perhaps the most successful at warding off modern influence. Anthropologist/librarian Louis A. Hieb in Chapter 9 discusses the concerns of "symbolic anthropology" and its shifting of analysis from "function" to "meaning." He argues that "Hopis perceive, experience, and describe their architectural forms metaphorically in terms of their conception of the world and their place within it." Vernacular architecture at Hopi is a language, a "cultural construction," Hieb writes, in which physical form is bonded to cultural meaning and value.

In a similar way, dance historian Tsiporah Lipton analyzes Tewa visions of space in Chapter 10. Exploring the relationship between space in settlement patterns, architecture, pottery decoration, and dance, Lipton reveals an affinity between perception, symbolization in pottery, and actualization of space in dance. Tewa cosmology, which emphasizes a "consanguinity between the land and the people, serves to shape consistent patterns." Tewa villages, for instance, "carry out a visual dialogue with the landscape, not simply blending into the background, but also being active participants."

In Chapter 3, Santa Clara Pueblo architect Rina Swentzell writes that Pueblo myths "give a clear description of the nature of the cosmos, as well as the structuring of the house, kiva, and community forms. The Pueblo world . . . is an altogether hallowed place where 'the breath,' or life energy, flows through both the animate and inanimate realms in such a manner that even the house, kiva, and community forms breathe of that breath and are essentially alive." The myths show, she says, how structure at the physical level is integral with structure at the metaphysical level. She concludes by saying that a Pueblo house or structure is "not an object—or a machine to live in—but is part of a cosmological world view that recognizes multiplicity, simultaneity, inclusiveness, and interconnectedness."

In Chapter 19, Folke Nyberg and Farouk Seif explore the relationship between the ritual and architecture of the ancient Egyptians and those of the Hopi, concluding that religious rituals "relate to regional qualities of place," with the Egyptians in "processional" and symbolic architectural space, with the Hopi in "landscape-oriented and antimonumental ceremonial dances."

The lesson of Pueblo architecture for the modern world, Los Angeles architect Tony Anella observes in Chapter 4, is that the modern built environment can come "to complement the land" when we learn "to live with it, and not merely on or in spite of it." Anella contrasts the Albuquerque bedroom community of Rio Rancho and its "bulldozed grid" of roads with the built environments of Taos, Sandia, Santa Ana, and Tesuque pueblos in which natural mountains and man-made buildings are considered to be part of the same urban whole, with natural landmarks completing the urban form.

A major misconception of regionalism in New Mexico concerns the image of harmonious triculturalism. Philosopher Fred G. Sturm, in his presentation on the aesthetics of the Southwest, (Chapter 2), writes that to understand the development of the Pueblo Revival style of architecture it is necessary "to take note of the conflicting value systems of the Pueblo societies, Hispanic culture, and Northwest European Anglo culture." "Rather than constituting a modern development of an architectural style that reflects a Pueblo Indian aesthetic," Sturm observes, revival style architecture in Santa Fe, and at the University of New Mexico in particular, reflects "the disparate pluralism of the Southwest in which three separate systems of aesthetic values coexist precariously."

In the second category of presentations analyzing regionalism as aesthetic, scientific, political, and cultural phenomena, Amos Rapoport, from the University of Wisconsin School of Architecture, writes in Chapter 20 that in environmental design a region "is any portion of the earth's surface that stands apart from others in terms of [a] set of

perceptible characteristics . . . that produce a cultural landscape with a distinct character or ambience." Such landscapes are "taken to be intimately related to human life and are primarily for living and working in rather than just for looking at. They are also," he emphasizes, "always symbolic; that is, they have *meaning*." He concludes by observing that while the future of "regional architecture seems problematic," regional cultural landscapes, which are "never designed" have "a better chance" for survival in the twenty-first century. In other words, self-sustaining cultures are hardier than economically vulnerable architectural styles.

In prefacing his presentation "Regionalism in American Architecture: A Comparative Review of Roots" (Chapter 18), Buford Pickens sees regionalism in the United States today as having recovered from "a strong pejorative taint" that began in the 1930s. While cautioning against provincialism and stressing inspiration over imitation, Pickens observes that many American architects believe that the "potentials for an 'authentic regionalism'" now exist in "vernacular architecture" rooted in "human ecology." American architecture has evolved "like an ecological experiment, testing the effects of many new environments," he writes. "The seeds from Old World species of architecture and town plans were sown at different places on virgin soil, under conditions of producing vital new characteristics."

New Mexico architectural historian Christopher M. Wilson puts Spanish/Pueblo Revival style architecture in the "soil" of the tradition of romantic reaction and picturesque aesthetic in Chapter 14. "Resistance to cultural homogenization," he observes, "has taken two forms": one, by traditional people such as the Pueblos and Hispanic Americans defending their "local vernacular culture from the pressures of the dominant, industrial culture"; the other by the reaction of the romantic movement against Renaissance classical culture and later against industrial capitalism in the Arts and Crafts movement, in New Deal regionalism, and in the counterculture/environmental movement. "New Mexico and its regional architecture," he writes, "does not represent some backwater that refuses to join the modern age, but instead is a valuable example of a continuing Romantic tradition." He concludes by saying that regional styles have a profound "symbolic and psychological dimension" and that "tourism is not some silly diversion at the fringe of our culture but instead is an integral part of the modern industrial world."

Art historian David Gebhard in Chapter 11 on Hispanic revivalism in the American Southwest quotes California architect preservationist Arthur B. Benton, who argued in 1910 that the "Southwest and California should develop their own regional architectural mode." Gebhard says that Benton contended that the essence of regional architecture in our region was "the sense of romance and of a deep-set desire to return to that which was the natural, the rural, and the rustic." Gebhard sees this desire as bound up not only with the "classic Jeffersonian distrust of the city" but more positively with the Emersonian and Whitmanesque "sentiment of folk nationalism" that "sustained the democratic ideal of returning to the simple and puritanical rural life."

Nicholas Markovich, assistant dean of the University of New Mexico's School of Architecture and Planning, details in Chapter 15 the political and pragmatic realities behind the creation of the Santa Fe style in the capital city just after New Mexico statehood in 1912 when newcomer developers, or "modern conquistadores" as they were called locally, had shown a blatant disconcert for the unique Southwestern architectural context of the city. Markovich analyzes the values, sentiments, political and educational decision making that made revivalism in Santa Fe possible. He takes a positive view of regionalist design politics, seeing the Santa Fe Revival style not only as a statement of continuity with traditional New Mexican culture but also as planning and design strategy that has resulted in a cityscape unique in the nation.

The third category of presentations deal with both the values and the dangers of regionalist sentiment in New Mexico. Two chapters on the University of New Mexico—

which next to Santa Fe is the great bastion of revivalist iconography in the state—discuss the image and the paradoxes inherent in campus design.

Historian Michael Welsh, in his presentation on the social and cultural implications of the University of New Mexico's Revival style architecture (Chapter 16), asks rhetorically what such a style says "about the uniqueness and complexity of New Mexican life. Did acceptance of Southwestern building styles by the recently arrived Anglo population also indicate a willingness to accommodate other aspects of Indian and Hispanic culture, such as language, art, music, cuisine, government, or religion?" Welsh details some of the brutal blindspots and prejudices of Anglo newcomers at the turn of the century regarding traditional New Mexican cultures and the turmoil and bigotry that surrounded the early development of Revival style architecture on campus.

The popularity of regional styles in architecture, especially Southwestern styles, is discussed by University of Minnesota art historian emeritus Carl Sheppard and Miami University's Stephen D. Schreiber. In Chapter 13 they document the far-reaching influence of the Southwest style. Their examples give evidence of Pueblo style in Minnesota and Miami, where developers have capitalized on the romantic nature of faraway places.

When regionalism becomes an ideology ossified in zoning codes, the effect can both damage vernacular forms and inhibit contemporary designers. This occurs when a regional aesthetic ceases to be a reaction against homogenizing influences and becomes instead a force for blind conformity. In writing of Pueblo images in contemporary regional architecture, Albuquerque architect Glade Sperry contends in Chapter 21 that the "Pueblo style is not a style, it is a way of life shaped by reaction to the desert climate, available building materials, and cultural and mythological forces. . . . To replicate the evidence of cultures that came before dooms the culture of the present." Sperry calls for a new kind of regionalism, a "transcendent regionalism," that would expand to include "the region of the mind" and come to "honor the heritage of its place not by replicating its built forms but by capturing the spirit that brought them into being."

For all the sentiment against traditional regionalism—or regional forms as we know them evolving from the turn of the century—those of us who inhabit such buildings and have been influenced by them understand what art historian Ethel Goodstein means in her chapter on Georgia O'Keeffe's New Mexico (Chapter 17) when she writes that "character of place and creation of place are interwoven; vernacular traditions of expression and space have the potential to be conceptional points of departure rather than preconceived esthetic ends."

When viewed as a whole, this volume suggests that the usefulness of regional style architecture in New Mexico is suspended today in a polarity that has at one end an excess of zeal in promoting Revival styles and at the other end a cynical disregard for the emotional and symbolic importance of regional styles in maintaining the unique cultural landscape of New Mexico. Within this "architectural dialectic," to borrow a phrase from UNM Architecture Dean George Anselevicius, an important struggle for a new synthesis is taking place. The battle is between the antitheses of inclusiveness and exclusiveness more than it is between styles and aesthetic theories. On one side is the meaning of regionalism as a symbol of identity, of psychological nurture, as a container and preserver of self-evolving culture, and as an act of homage in gratitude for the wisdom and richness of the Pueblo and Hispanic traditions. On the other side we see regionalism as purely an economic force, as a gentrifying compromiser of vernacular culture, as a marketing device, and, paradoxically, as a chief opponent of the national franchise, fad, and formula architecture that is inundating the rest of the nation's localities, but unfortunately also as an inhibitor of creativity.

Perhaps the synthesis some seek is, indeed, an evolving, organic regionalism. Such a synthesis would be one in which existing vernacular cultures and their people are

deemed to be more important than zone-enforced building styles. But regionally sensitive design zoning would in turn be viewed as contributing both to a contemporary architecture respectful of context and to a local expression that neutralizes the homogenizing influences of global aesthetic fashion and architecture as forms of bureaucratic utility and corporate advertising. Such a synthesis would be guided by the spirit of self-respecting open-mindedness that is the hallmark of the best of New Mexico's cultural heritage.

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I



Pueblo World Views and Values

When the term "Pueblo style architecture" is used, reference is made to the "Pueblo revival," which began at the first part of the twentieth century, and those building styles that have grown out of that movement. It represents an adaptation of elements appropriated from earlier Hispanic and Indian architectural forms that had been neglected, if not consciously rejected, by Anglo immigrants during the second half of the nineteenth century. The earliest roots of Pueblo style are found in the centuries-old, pre-Hispanic building tradition. Essential to an understanding of the buildings and settlement patterns of the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians are the world views and values upon which they are based and which are expressed through them. The first chapter of part I of the book discusses the conflicting value structures of the three cultures that have been instrumental in the historical evolution of Pueblo style architecture. The conclusion is that present day Pueblo style rests upon a disparate pluralism in which irreconcilable systems of aesthetic values coexist precariously. The second and third chapters address traditional Pueblo Indian world views and values. Rina Swentzell relies on the mythological corpus for a description of the world as sacred and vital, breathing a life energy that enters dwelling units, kivas, and communal forms, making them essentially living entities. Tony Anella contrasts Pueblo Indian settlement patterns where buildings complement the landscape and are viewed as interacting with the land, to Anglo settlements, which are imposed arbitrarily upon the land.

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Fred G. Sturm

If a discussion of the aesthetics of the Southwest is to be meaningful, the two terms *aesthetics* and *Southwest* need to be defined at the outset. At least, I need to stipulate the way in which I propose to use them.

AESTHETICS

Aesthetics is a word that is often employed in a very imprecise way, whether it appears in popular literature (newspaper articles by art critics, for example) or scientific discourse (such as treatises on the psychology or sociology of art). There are times when I am inclined to agree with the author who wrote a century and a half ago

There has lately grown into use in the arts a silly, pedantic term under the name *Aesthetics*. . . . It is however, one of the metaphysical and useless additions to nomenclature in the arts in which the German writers abound. (Gwilt 1842).

The word *aesthetics* can be traced to the Sanskrit root *avia*, which refers to that which is evident, that is, that which appears directly and does not need for its comprehension or grasping any inference or explication. The related Greek root *aisthe-* refers to direct apprehension by and through the senses, as well as the feeling tone that accompanies such apprehension. The word *aesthetics* itself was formulated in the mid-eighteenth century by the German philosopher Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten.¹ It was the time of the great epistemological polemic concerning the sources and process of knowledge between the rationalists headed by Descartes and the empiricists headed by Locke. The Cartesian position grounded the process of obtaining knowledge in reason and not in sense data. The ideas of the mind that are clear and distinct, that have the characteristic of being "self-evident," are capable of initiating a deductive process through which a body of true and certain knowledge can be erected. In contrast, the Lockean position insists that the mind has no ideas of its own and is empty until the moment in which the senses receive "simple ideas" from outside the body, which today we call, using Hume's terminology, "sense impressions."

Baumgarten was a rationalist in the tradition of Descartes and Leibniz. As a rationalist he gave preference to knowledge obtained through rational processes, but as someone interested in art, and especially in the critical process that judges the value of works of art, determining the degree of "beauty"—or artistic value—that the work possesses, and assuming the sensual nature of works of art, Baumgarten became interested in sense data. He wanted to study carefully this level of human experience. In 1750 he published the first volume of a work entitled *Aesthetik*. He defined this neologism in this way: "*Aesthetics* is the science of sensory knowledge, or inferior gnoseology." The purpose of the new science was to establish that which is beautiful or beauty. The greater part of that volume deals with this problem. In sum, the concept "beauty" is shown to consist not in a quality, but rather in a unity of multiple parts. It is an order of sensed parts established internally that is not thought but merely sensed. There is passive reception of multiple sensations, and then an association of these

sensations in a relational unity, and a reaction to that unity, not at the level of reason, but of sensation. The judgment of beauty is not a rational judgment, but rather an immediate and sensory reaction. The study of this process, which Baumgarten designated "aesthetics," "is the youngest sister of logic."

Strongly influenced by Baumgarten's account of aesthetics, Immanuel Kant carried the analysis further in both his *Critique of Pure Reason* and his *Critique of Judgment*. In the former he analyzed the function of reason in the process of obtaining intelligible understanding of sensory experience. The section entitled "Transcendental Aesthetic" describes the process of perception and the a priori conditions of sensory perception through which the spatiotemporal objects of our world of experience are constituted. "Aesthetic" here refers to the method by which we order the objects of our experience by the imposition upon sense data of transcendental forms of space and time. In those pre-Gestaltist days, Kant accepted the Humean version of the nature of sense data: immediate and absolutely discrete sensory elements with no order or relation at all. The epistemological process consisted for Kant in the activity of reason in organizing the data in a reasonable and logical fashion, first relating them spatially and temporally and then relating the spatiotemporal objects within a logical matrix of a "world." "Aesthetics" in the first Kantian critique refers to the way in which we order our experience. In the *Critique of Judgment*, Kant concerns himself with the basis of rational judgments regarding aesthetic value, how reason makes judgments concerning beauty, and the fundamental value of contemplation both of natural objects and of objects of art.

Aesthetics in Baumgarten's usage is primarily passive, although the immediate reaction to direct sensation and perception is included. In Kant's usage, aesthetics becomes active, including the meaningful ordering of sensual experience and judgment regarding the value of that which is experienced. Since the time of Baumgarten and Kant, the word they coined and defined has been employed both in the Baumgarten sense—immediate sensual perception and response—and in the Kantian sense—meaningful organization of sensual experience and judgment of the value of experiential objects and events.

The concept of a special type of experiencing called "aesthetic" that has developed tends to follow the Baumgarten usage in which an object or event is experienced as it appears in and of itself apart from any external or ulterior relationship, without consideration for any possible practical or cognitive utility, and evokes an immediate organic or psychophysiological response. The idea of an act of appreciation designated "aesthetic" tends to follow the Kantian usage. "Appreciation" is derived from the Latin word for "price" or "value." An act of appreciation is that of placing a price on, or better of evaluating the worth of, the term "evaluation" being derived from the Latin that implies drawing value out of or expressing the intrinsic worth of. To appreciate aesthetically is to recognize the intrinsic worth of an object or event, as distinct from any extrinsic value it may possess, and to rank objects and events implicitly in an order of preference according to their values relative to each other.

I shall use the word "aesthetics" with these meanings in mind, referring to the way in which objects and events of the experienced environment are grasped in their immediacy and the responses the grasping evokes, with special attention to the interaction that occurs between that which is experienced and the experiencer, through which the environment is finally constituted meaningfully both in the fashion in which it is interpreted—the perspective we designate as "world view"—and the effort to transform it by giving it those preferred structures that are judged to be of positive value.

It is important to note that the same objects and events can be experienced both aesthetically and nonaesthetically. A tree, for example, can be appreciated for its own sake, attention paid to the form of its trunk and branches, the colors of its bark and

leaves, and the way it relates to its setting. It can be appreciated also for its economic value, comparing the potential board feet of lumber it would provide if it were cut down with the damage to the soil through erosion that might occur due to the cutting. In daily experience, these are not necessarily isolated judgments but often occur almost simultaneously, a decision to preserve or cut a tree depending upon a comparison of the aesthetic and economic judgments. This is certainly true when we consider the creative art of architecture, where a "built environment" is superimposed upon a "natural environment" and where both "aesthetic" and "practical" value judgments come into play. This interplay of various kinds of value helps us see the interrelatedness of the various realms of value, and their ordering. Those values that are "practical," "extrinsic," or "instrumental" are determined ultimately by reference to values that are "intrinsic"; and "intrinsic" values are ultimately related to that which is of "ultimate concern"—to use Paul Tillich's phrase—to an individual or a culture. In this way, an intimate relationship can be seen to obtain between the aesthetic and religious values of a given cultural tradition. When we examine the "aesthetics of the Southwest," I believe that this will become quite evident.

SOUTHWEST

To refer to the "aesthetics of the Southwest" is to break with a fundamental assumption of Baumgarten and Kant. Both of them assumed a uniformity in human reasoning that implied common human experience and universal judgments. Kant's analysis of basic logical categories through which intelligibility was obtained is based on the depth-grammar structures of the Indo-European language family. It did not occur to him that there might be other language families with divergent grammatical structures from which alternative logics could be derived—in other words, that not all human thinking, or experiencing, was necessarily alike. Nor was he aware of the evolution of language as its use entered into a dialectic with the historical experience of a society speaking that language, so that the same language spoken by two different societies might over the course of time develop two quite distinct patterns such that the Spanish spoken in Truchas, New Mexico, for example, would come to diverge considerably from the Spanish spoken in Asunción, Paraguay.

Although it may be evident that there is a basic human commonality between the people of twentieth-century Truchas and the people of twentieth-century Asunción, between the people of modern Xi'an, China, and the people of modern Baghdad, Iraq, between the people of thirteenth-century London and the people of twentieth-century London, nonetheless we find that there are significant differences in both world view and aesthetic valuation. It is meaningful, therefore, to speak of eighteenth-century German aesthetics as distinct from Han Dynasty Chinese aesthetics, and it is possible to refer meaningfully to the aesthetics of the Southwest.

But to what do we refer when we mention the American Southwest or the Great Southwest? These designations are not geographically precise. On the one hand I have heard the terms used to include an area encompassing both Louisiana and southern California; on the other hand, I have encountered them in a use restricted to the state of New Mexico. We are here examining an architectural style called Pueblo as a prime example of regional architecture. Therefore, I shall restrict the term Southwest to "greater" New Mexico, that is, the areas, including southern Utah, southern Colorado, and parts of Arizona, where the origins of this style of building developed before the advent of European intruders. It is a geographico-cultural term, therefore, referring to the region inhabited by the twenty present-day Pueblos and their ancestors.

Clearly, the Southwest as thus defined is multicultural and has been for many decades. This means that within the Southwest there are several senses of what is of ultimate concern, several sets of communal tastes and preferences, several ways of

constituting and interpreting the world of human experience. Any effort to describe or analyze the aesthetics of the Southwest must take this multicultural nature of the region into serious consideration and be prepared to deal with conflict in tastes and preferences, in value judgments and ideals.

It is common to refer to three constitutive cultures in New Mexico: the Indio, the Hispano, and the Anglo. This is, of course, a gross oversimplification. Each of those designations refers not to a single cultural heritage but to a diversity of traditions that are often in conflict. There are three major Indio cultures, for example: the Apache, the Navajo, and the Pueblo. Among the nineteen distinct Pueblos that continue to exist within New Mexico, five different languages are spoken, and these belong to three language families. If we add the Hopi, the twentieth extant Pueblo society in the Southwest, a sixth language belonging to a fourth language family has to be included. Within the Hispano world of New Mexico one must note a major division between the old families who proudly trace their ancestry back to Spanish colonists under the viceroyalty of New Spain and more recent immigrants from Mexico and other Spanish American countries. The Anglo community includes everyone else: non-Hispanic Caucasians, Blacks, Asian Americans—hardly a homogeneous cultural tradition!

However, despite such diversity, it can be stated with historical and sociological accuracy that three fundamental cultural traditions inform the societies of the Southwest:

1. The culture shared by Pueblo societies, despite their differences, many aspects of which have been adopted by the Navajo and Apache over the course of almost six centuries of interaction through acculturation.
2. The old-family Hispanic culture, rooted in the age of discovery of the "New World," its conquest and colonization in the name of God and King, coinciding with the Counter-Reformation and the revival of Scholasticism in sixteenth-century Iberia.
3. Northwest European, predominantly English, German, and French, after immigration to the Atlantic coastal regions of northern North America at the time of the western European "Enlightenment" with all its implications for new ways of thinking theologically, philosophically, and scientifically and for reordering political and socioeconomic institutions.

Although the latter culture predominates today in its contemporary form, the other two continue to be vital, and there is an uneasy coexistence of the three with an underlying conflict of values including those of aesthetic taste and preference, ways of constituting experience and of viewing the world, and approaches to artistic creativity. To fully understand the development of Pueblo style architecture from its origins among the Pueblo Indians and their ancestors, through its adaptation by the Spanish during the periods of colonization and Mexico's early independence, to its "revival" by the Anglo community in the early twentieth century, it is necessary to take note of these conflicting value systems, both at the level of aesthetics and at the deeper level of that which is taken to be of ultimate concern by each of the informing cultures.

THE QUESTION OF ULTIMATE CONCERN

By using "Pueblo" to designate a Southwestern regional style of architecture, reference is being made back to a tradition of building that is associated with Pueblo culture and has its origins with their ancestors. Historically there has been a continuity of architectural evidence, from the semisubterranean pithouses with their associated storage areas and refuse heaps, proceeding to surface dwellings with blocks of storerooms and residential units together with kivas that serve as ceremonial and communal centers

and preserve the pit-house concept, and coming up to the housing of modern Pueblos before the introduction of mobile homes and HUD-financed structures.

It is difficult, if not virtually impossible, to reconstruct with any degree of accuracy the value systems of the ancestors of the present-day Pueblos who initiated Pueblo style architecture, to describe their aesthetics, or to identify what for them was of ultimate concern. When there is an apparent continuity of cultural tradition, there is a great temptation to interpret archaeological data by reference to ethnological information. However, reading modern attitudes back into a reconstruction of the mental attitudes of earlier generations is highly speculative and at best yields interpretations that are merely suggestive. Nonetheless, there does seem to be a good reason for yielding to the temptation in this instance. Coincident with the development of permanent housing was the development of an economy based on settled agriculture. Continuity of material culture, including architectural development, and continuity of agricultural economy would seem to argue for some continuity in thought. Since the traditional value system of the Pueblo societies as expressed through traditional mythology, sacred symbols, and ceremonial observances is closely associated with agriculture and that which is necessary for fertility of the soil and germination of seed, it may be safe to assume that the tradition is one that can be traced back to the time when an agriculture-based economy was first introduced to the region.

It seems evident that for traditional Pueblo culture, that which is of supreme value and ultimate concern is the land. It is the earth that is most sacred, and the spirits of the earth. Referred to often as our Earth Mother, it is seen to be the source of all life, the source of our life, the foundation of our community. The myths of origin vary from Pueblo to Pueblo, but there are common elements. One of these is an origin of the people under the surface of the earth, in an underworld—in the womb, as it were, of the Earth Mother. The history of each people begins with an emergence out of the nether regions up to this plane of existence. The point of emergence plays an important part of symbolism. In the Hopi version, Spider-Woman instructs the people that in building kivas they are to place a small hole of emergence in the floor to remind them of where they originated and what they are looking for (Courlander 1971). After death there is a return to the earth's interior from whence we as humans came. On sacred mountains and hills there are located earth navels, and in the pueblo itself there is located an "Earth Mother Earth Navel Middle Place," which functions as the "center of centers and navel of navels" (Ortiz 1972), the place where medicine men at the end of the winter reach deep into the earth to place seeds in order to reawaken the fertility of the soil. In the Zuni account of origins, the people become very concerned, almost to the point of obsession, to find the Middle Place, the middle of the earth. Finally it is located, thanks to Water-Strider and the Rainbow, both of whom take precise measurements of the earth's surface. Then the myth declares, according to Dennis Tedlock's translations,

That's where he is. Everything all over the wide earth—well—everything depended on him and on the middle place for fertility. For their part the priests would sit down and ask for rain; when it rained at Zuni it would rain all over the earth.

When they first started living this way all the village people, at Santo Domingo, at Hopi, all the villagers would anxiously await the time when our priests went into retreat at Zuni. (Tedlock 1978).

Human origins are in the earth. Human destiny is to return to the earth. Life springs from the earth. The people and the land are intimately related. One of the most powerful contemporary statements of this concept is given in the poem by Simon Ortiz, Acoma Pueblo poet and short-story writer, entitled "We Have Been Told Many Things But We Know This To Be True":

*The land. The people.
They are in relation to each other.
We are in a family with each other.
The land has worked with us.
And the people have worked with it.
This is true:*

*Working for the land
and the people—it means life
and its continuity:
Working not just for the people,
But working for the land.*

*We are not alone in our life;
we cannot expect to be.
The land has given us our life,
and we must give life back to it.*

*The land has worked for us
to give us life—
breathe and drink and eat from it
gratefully—
and we must work for it
to give it life.*

*With this relation of family,
it is possible to generate life.
This is the work involved.
Work is creative then.
It is what makes for reliance,
relying upon the relation of land and people.
The people and the land are reliant
upon each other.*

*This is the kind of self-reliance
that has been—
before the liars, thieves, and killers—
and this is what we must continue
to work for.*

*By working in this manner,
for the sake of the land and people
to be in vital relation
with each other,
we will have life,
and it will continue.*

*We have been told many things,
but we know this to be true:
the land and the people. [Ortiz 1980].²*

The contrast with his view of the land as being of supreme value with the role that the earth plays in the Hispanic view of the cosmos is very revealing of the fundamental axiological difference that exists between the two cultures. I refer, of course, to the Hispanic culture of the time of colonization, although there is a certain cultural continuity with contemporary Hispanic culture in New Mexico that has been preserved through language, customs, and institutions. Sixteenth-century Spanish culture was consciously Christian, and even more consciously Catholic. The fifteenth century came to a glorious end with the final successful struggle against Muslim rule on the Iberian peninsula and the first voyage of discovery by Columbus under the patronage of the