There's No Such Thing as "Prehistory": What the Longue Durée of Caddo and Pueblo History Tells Us about Colonial America
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Juliana Barr

THERE are many uses of *pre-* in history—premodern, preindustrial, pre-Enlightenment—but the one that still unconsciously looms large in early American history is the distinction between "prehistory" and "history." Their demarcation is set in stone: 1492.[1] Truncating the past of indigenous people of North America, *prehistory* declares time before European arrival unconnected to what came after; its end marks the beginning of a modern age for the Americas, the moment when they entered "history." *Pre-* may cling to our frames of American history because of our fondness for *post-*, the lure of seemingly forward progress. More

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[1] Steven Conn dates the first use of "prehistory" to 1851, when European historians latched onto it for its utility in constructing national history. But whereas in Europe the term provided the means to trace the roots of modern nation-states back to ancient eras, in the United States it meant writing America's ancient history and American Indians out of the narrative of the North American past. Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 2004), 211 (quotation). See also Donald R. Kelley, "The Rise of Prehistory," *Journal of World History* 14, no. 1 (March 2003): 17–36; Daniel Lord Smail and Andrew Shryock, "History and the 'Pre,'" Forum, *American Historical Review* (*AHR*) 118, no. 3 (June 2013): 709–37; Pekka Hämäläinen, ed., "Pre-contact America," special issue, *OAH Magazine of History* 27, no. 4 (October 2013); Peter R. Schmidt and Stephen A. Mrozowski, eds., *The Death of Prehistory* (New York, 2014).

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critically, a desire to measure the power and depth of European colonialism's destructive force keeps alive an image of premodern indigenous stasis shattered by the incendiary rupture of "contact." Simultaneously, as historians move forward from 1492, we go big, expanding out spatially to frame colonial North America within Atlantic world, hemispheric, or global history. Here a different historical lens allows the big spaces to "engulf" North America, transmogrifying indigenous settlements, villages, or towns into timeless locales within a continent awaiting incorporation into a global history that had been going on without them until the colonial moment.[2]

In the wake of a pre-post or before-after turning point in such narratives, time does not exactly begin, but it speeds up, becoming what is recognized as real historical time. On the ground, conceptualizations of prehistory paint a picture of seasonal shifts in the rhythms of Native life with no great changes in the annals of years. On the world scale, models of deep history or the longue durée cast prehistorical change as protracted shifts in environment, climate, demography, and economy. Yet we can, in fact, detect events, dramas, individual and group choices, and the rise and fall of great powers in Native history before 1492. The archaeological record and Native oral tradition provide the data to tell such stories.[3]

Time was not interrupted upon European arrival, nor did it stop (and then begin again). Rather, Europeans arrived and became caught up in

[2] For grounding perspectives in local, indigenous, and hemispheric history, see Karen Halttunen, "Grounded Histories: Land and Landscape in Early America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 68, no. 4 (October 2011): 513–32 (Halttunen uses "engulfed" on 516); James Taylor Carson, "Ethnogeography and the Native American Past," *Ethnohistory* 49, no. 4 (Fall 2002): 769–88, esp. 774; Eric Hinderaker and Rebecca Horn, "Territorial Crossings: Histories and Historiographies of the Early Americas," *WMQ* 67, no. 3 (July 2010): 395–432, esp. 429–30; Juliana Barr and Edward Countryman, eds., *Contested Spaces of Early America* (Philadelphia, 2014).

[3] Archaeologists of late have also been debating the pre-post divide. Kent G. Lightfoot, "Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology," *American Antiquity* 60, no. 2 (April 1995): 199–217; Stephen W. Silliman, "Crossing, Bridging, and Transgressing Divides in the Study of Native North America," in *Across a Great Divide: Continuity and Change in Native North American Societies, 1400–1900*, ed. Laura L. Scheiber and Mark D. Mitchell (Tucson, Ariz., 2010), 258–76; Silliman, "Between the Longue Durée and the Short Purée: Postcolonial Archaeologies of Indigenous History in Colonial North America," in *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology*, ed. Maxine Oland, Siobhan M. Hart, and Liam Frink (Tucson, Ariz., 2012), 113–31; John Robb and Timothy R. Pauketat, "From Moments to Millennia: Theorizing Scale and Change in Human History," in *Big Histories, Human Lives: Tackling Problems of Scale in Archaeology*, ed. Robb and Pauketat (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2013), 3–33. For a discussion of rupture, see Charles R. Cobb, "Archaeology and the 'Savage Slot': Displacement and Emplacement in the Premodern World," *American Anthropologist* 107, no. 4 (December 2005): 563–74; Smail and Shryock, *AHR* 118: 728. Relatedly, Matthew Liebmann points out that the pre-post divide also lumps all Native history post-1492 into a "deceptively uniform" and static era. See Liebmann, "The Rest Is History: Devaluing the Recent Past in the Archaeology of the Pueblo Southwest," in Oland, Hart, and Frink, *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories*, 19–44 (quotation, 25).

the tide of Native events and processes, the currents of Native history. It seems worthwhile to ask, then, what happens when we recognize early or colonial America as one point—a late point—along a much longer continuum of North American history? How does the narrative of the American past change if it begins in the Native past and flows right over the pre-post divide as if it were not there? The point is not to describe the state of things in 1491, nor is it to put Europeans and European colonialism "in their place." Instead, focusing on the prior centuries of Native history makes us reconfigure our story of 1492 . . . and 1592, and 1692, and 1792.[4]

If we place the events and processes of European colonialism within the longer timescale of indigenous history, we can better recognize Native strategies for negotiating change and more fully understand the ways that those strategies were the products of Native history rather than simply determined by the environment, socioeconomic variation (for example, horticultural versus hunter-gatherer), or political classification (egalitarian versus chiefdom) at one moment in time. Putting the disruptions brought about by European arrival within a longer timeline of other ruptures, realignments, and reformations is intended not to deny the force or the trauma of colonialism but to avoid the confines of a colonial history that all too often casts the post-1492 trajectory of American Indians as one of only declension and decimation. Early American historians need that longer time depth to put regeneration as well as destruction in context, just as European historians seeking to understand the Black Death's impact on that continent's population must write in terms of not a decade or a generation but three centuries. The North American continent has not yet arrived at a postcolonial era—Native nations within the United States, after all, still struggle to be recognized as fully sovereign—and thus the greater timescale reminds us that the heritage of colonialism and the deeper heritage of Native history both reach into our present.[5]

[4] A key inspiration here is the work of Stephen Foster, who makes the case that colonial English history needs to be annexed "to the long flow of English history before the Atlantic migration" because we then can see it in its proper context: "set somewhere in the middle of an extended story." When the past worlds of Europe and America are "placed together on a continuum," we see a European past "continuing to unfold in an American present along lines laid down before colonization but necessarily subject to the accidents of history in the New World"; Foster, *The Long Argument: English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570–1700* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), x ("long flow"), xii ("placed together").

[5] Comparing the pulverizing effects of epidemics and enslavements in North America to those of the Black Death in Europe, Paul Kelton argues that we cannot stop the clock and measure only the devastation; we must extend the same timeline for recovery to American Indians as they rebound in the wake of colonialism's destruction. Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715* (Lincoln, Neb., 2009). See also Lightfoot, *American Antiquity* 60: 199–217; Neal Ferris, *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes* (Tucson, Ariz., 2009); Lee M. Panich, "Archaeologies of Persistence: Reconsidering the Legacies of Colonialism in Native North America," *American Antiquity* 78, no. 1 (January 2013): 105–22.

The power of such long-term Native histories proves compelling in studying the earliest Spanish *entradas* across the American Southwest. The eleventh-century phenomena of Chaco and Cahokia hover in the background of Pueblo and Caddo responses to Spanish arrival in the sixteenth century. Both great cities have figured in narratives of prehistory as high-water marks of the Native past—mysterious, even mystical, models for ancient American civilizations whose ends have been spun as tragic falls or collapses à la Jared Diamond. Popular fixation on the two cities as seemingly anomalous moments in the Native past has obscured recognition of the equally fascinating long-term processes that they set in motion. Here we can see how power could be regenerated and reformed, occasioning counter models of power. One "counterculture" can be seen in Pueblo societies of present-day New Mexico and Arizona as they consciously moved away from the elite hierarchies and inequalities of Chaco. Another appears in the southern Caddo societies of present-day Texas and Louisiana, where the Caddo world developed simultaneously with Cahokia and other centralized Mississippian chiefdoms but also in contradistinction to them. The alternative paths chartered by Caddos and Pueblos in the centuries after Cahokia and Chaco set the course that colonial relations would take when Spaniards became players in Caddo and Pueblo history.[6]

It is within the greater scale of the Caddo and Pueblo past that we may discern explanations for the divergent outcomes of two of the most infamous European entradas to North America, those of Hernando de Soto and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, and the colonization projects that followed on their heels. On the ground, the stories of Caddo and Pueblo experiences with Spanish invaders turned on moments that manifested long histories, but the moments and the turns for each were singularly different, as each was the product of a unique past. On a world stage, these stories suggest that the scale of time is just as critical as that of space if we are to locate the Native past in our larger conceptual frames, be they Atlantic, continental, hemispheric, or global.

[6] Severin Fowles, "A People's History of the American Southwest," in *Ancient Complexities: New Perspectives in Precolumbian North America*, ed. Susan M. Alt (Salt Lake City, Utah, 2010), 183–204 ("counterculture," 187). Fowles uses the notion of cultures and counterpower to discuss Pueblo communities in New Mexico, arguing that we need to "narrate the deep history not of 'power' per se but of *counterpower*, the organizational strategies that arise to safeguard personal freedoms and to encourage decentralized, consensus-based decision making." Ibid., 192. For comparative models of standing apart from more hierarchical power structures, see Kenneth E. Sassaman, "Hunter-Gatherers and Traditions of Resistance," in *The Archaeology of Traditions: Agency and History before and after Columbus*, ed. Timothy R. Pauketat (Gainesville, Fla., 2001), 218–36; Sassaman, *The Eastern Archaic, Historicized* (Lanham, Md., 2010). A classic formulation for this argument is found in Pierre Clastres, *Society against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology*, trans. Robert Hurley, rev. ed. (New York, 1987), 189–220. Jared Diamond uses Chaco as one of his case studies in Diamond, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (New York, 2005).

THE FIRST STORY REVOLVES AROUND WHAT ROBBIE ETHRIDGE terms the "singular case" of Caddo domains spread over what would later become eastern Texas and western Louisiana—"singular" "because of the persistence of their chiefly order." Caddos did not suffer through the cycles of political volatility and reformation that by 1600 had reordered or wrecked many of the Mississippian centers across the Southeast. As a result, Caddos participated in an extended Mississippian sphere but remained safeguarded from its economic and political fluctuations. For Caddos, then, their political, economic, and territorial stability uniquely positioned them to deal with a long line of Spanish entradas that sought to transgress their borders beginning with Hernando de Soto in 1542, and, as a result, the pre-post divide left no mark on their polities.[7]

Archaeologists have argued that patterns of migration, settlement, monument building, and ceramics hold stories that we are not always conditioned to read properly. A long-running interpretation has held that Mississippianization was a Cahokia-centric "culture-making" process that spread a new social order, ideology, and material culture from the Mississippi Valley throughout the Midwest and Southeast. Caddo societies are often placed within that storyline, but even "on the far edges of the Mississippian world" they present a scholarly "conundrum." They did not fit; they diverged; they were distinct. To be sure, Caddos built platform and burial mounds as the centers of ceremonial life and had hierarchical social systems marked by the use of prestige goods, all founded upon expansive and prosperous agricultural economies—and their trade networks did extend to Cahokia. So Caddos look something like the people whose societies fall under the umbrella description of Mississippian. But there surface resemblances and connections peter out.[8]

A conundrum only exists when Caddos are positioned and defined within a Cahokian or Mississippian periphery, but Caddos never existed as

[7] Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540–1715* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2010), 251 (quotations). The *Mississippian* label conceals a vast diversity within its categorization (as does *Caddoan*), meaning that the flux of Mississippian worlds made for "ethnic variation or multifaceted identities." An obvious takeaway is that we must understand the history of each community or society—beyond or within existing classification schemes such as *Mississippian*—if we are to accurately explore the indigenous past. Cobb, *American Anthropologist* 107: 570 ("ethnic"). For territorial stability, see Jeffrey S. Girard, Timothy K. Perttula, and Mary Beth Trubitt, *Caddo Connections: Cultural Interactions within and beyond the Caddo World* (Lanham, Md., 2014), 101, 122–28; Adam King, "Mississippian in the Deep South: Common Themes in Varied Histories," in *The Oxford Handbook of North American Archaeology*, ed. Timothy R. Pauketat (New York, 2012), 509–22.

[8] John H. Blitz, "New Perspectives in Mississippian Archaeology," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18, no. 1 (March 2010): 1–39, esp. 11–12 ("culture-making," 11), 7 ("far edges"); Timothy R. Pauketat, "The Caddo Conundrum," in *Medieval Mississippians: The Cahokian World*, ed. Pauketat and Susan M. Alt (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2015), 14 ("conundrum").

outposts or frontiers of the Mississippian sphere. They stood both beyond a Cahokian grasp and at the core of a world with an emergence story entirely its own. And though some Caddos traded with Cahokia, none that we can trace archaeologically or in the archives adopted Cahokian political, social, or artistic forms. Thus they were not simply outside Cahokian spheres of influence by dint of their location or happenstance; rather, they remained outside by origin and choice.[9]

Caddo archaeology documents a counter history of power and hierarchy through the development of their more dispersed system of political, ritual, and social organization and the flourishing of a "sense of identity as separate peoples for whom power resides in maintaining their distinctness." Identifiably Caddo cultural tradition emerged by 900 C.E.—150 years before what some scholars have termed the "Big Bang" of 1050 that produced the city of Cahokia almost overnight. Despite scholarly claims that Cahokia's emergence "reset the historical clocks," "disrupted the histories of the unsuspecting people of the woodlands and plains of eastern North America," and "ushered in a whole new way of life across much of the North American continent," sociopolitical and cultural forms in Caddo domains continued to develop over time and across space according to their own tune and rhythm. The far-flung might and influence of the Cahokian metroplex made little mark on Caddo societies as they took a "manifestly different" form over their one-thousand-year record.[10]

Linkages to Cahokia highlight the historical moments when Caddos forged divergent paths from the structures and patterns of the Mississippian

[9] They stood outside Cahokian spheres of influence consciously, since the Mississippian city was undoubtedly known to them and visited by Caddo agents and traders. Cahokia so marked historical memory across the southern Plains that when Spanish invader Francisco Vázquez de Coronado demanded in 1541 that El Turco (a captive Caddoan-speaking Wichita) lead his expedition from Pueblo settlements to the fabled city of Quivira, El Turco responded that he knew just the place. Through Nahua translators and by signs, he told of a hierarchical society with "lords," on a vast river with massive fish, powered by organized labor. For El Turco's detailed testimony, see Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2008), 135–36 (quotation, 135), 163–64; Mildred Mott Wedel, "The Indian They Called *Turco*," in *The Wichita Indians, 1541–1750: Ethnohistorical Essays*, Reprints in Anthropology, vol. 38 (Lincoln, Neb., 1988), 38–52, esp. 45.

[10] Raymond D. Fogelson, "The Ethnohistory of Events and Nonevents," *Ethnohistory* 36, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 133–47 ("sense," 139–40); Timothy R. Pauketat, "Cahokian Political Economy," in *Cahokia: Domination and Ideology in the Mississippian World*, ed. Pauketat and Thomas E. Emerson (Lincoln, Neb., 1997), 30–51 ("Big Bang," 31); Pauketat, *Cahokia: Ancient America's Great City on the Mississippi* (New York, 2009), 10 ("reset"), 20–23; Timothy K. Perttula, "The Archaeology of the Caddo in Southwest Arkansas, Northwest Louisiana, Eastern Oklahoma, and East Texas: An Introduction to the Volume," in *The Archaeology of the Caddo*, ed. Perttula and Chester P. Walker (Lincoln, Neb., 2012), 1–25 ("manifestly," 5); Perttula, *"The Caddo Nation": Archaeological and Ethnohistoric Perspectives* (Austin, Tex., 1992); Charles R. Cobb and Adam King, "Re-Inventing Mississippian Tradition at Etowah, Georgia," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12, no. 3 (September 2005): 167–92, esp. 170.

world. Trade, indeed, is evident, but far more Caddo ceramics have been found at Cahokia than Cahokian goods found at Caddo sites. As Caddo pottery traveled to Cahokia, prestige goods—flint clay figurines and copper ornaments—from Cahokia and other Mississippian centers came into the Caddo domain. Yet the symbolic value and use of such prestige items never underwrote an elaborately ranked or empowered hierarchy in Caddo country. As at Cahokia, prestige goods legitimated ideologies of social rank, but among Caddos they did so by connecting numerous separate, smaller-scale societies dispersed over broad settlement regions. Caddo mortuary rituals and mound building also signaled leaders' position in and relationship to their communities in different ways. As Cahokian mounds increasingly reflected individual-oriented ritual tied to the status and power of elites, Caddo construction focused on public-oriented ceremonialism. After 1300, Caddos' temple mounds increasingly "contain[ed] the remains of important buildings rather than important people." Caddos burned wooden structures of religious significance and then built mounds over them, and community cemeteries—not mounds—came to be the burial places of elites. Smaller single mounds served the needs of larger villages or of several villages at the center of an extended political community; mounds did not separate the elite from the community or the spiritual from the human. Community cemeteries spread all around Caddo villages communicated a similar message, reflecting a sense of continuity by keeping the dead close to the living and thereby consecrating place and ancestral memory. Indeed, "it was their households and associated cemeteries (i.e., their ritual space) that were the center of their universe."[11]

Caddo social and political geography expressed the intimate—not distant—relationship between elite leaders and their communities. Caddo people did not mass in concentrated urban complexes such as those of the

[11] Frank F. Schambach, "Mounds, Embankments, and Ceremonialism in the Trans-Mississippi South," in *Mounds, Embankments, and Ceremonialism in the Midsouth*, ed. Robert C. Mainfort and Richard Walling (Fayetteville, Ark., 1996), 36–43, esp. 40–41 ("contain[ed]," 41); Perttula, "The Character of Fifteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Caddo Communities in the Big Cypress Creek Basin of Northeast Texas," in Perttula and Walker, *Archaeology of the Caddo*, 363–410 ("households," 393). At least two mound sites, built over burned buildings, continued to have shaft burials for elites dug through the burnt structure: Sam Kaufman and Morse Mounds. Additionally, no mass accumulations of Cahokian goods have been found at Caddo sites except for Gahagan, which, being neither a large nor a prominent center, is not where one would expect to find elite trade goods. For Gahagan and a general discussion of Caddos as distinct from Mississippians, see Richard F. Townsend and Chester P. Walker, "The Ancient Art of Caddo Ceramics," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South*, ed. Townsend and Robert V. Sharp (Chicago, 2004), 231–45; Girard, Perttula, and Trubitt, *Caddo Connections*, 60–61. For public-oriented, not individual-oriented, ceremonialism, see Timothy K. Perttula and Robert Rogers, "The Evolution of a Caddo Community in Northeast Texas," in Perttula and Walker, *Archaeology of the Caddo*, 209–38, esp. 234–35. For community-oriented mound construction and community cemeteries, see Perttula, "Fifteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Caddo Communities," 371, 383, 387, 393–96.

Mississippian world. Rather, Caddo communities dispersed across broad expanses of their landscape in towns and villages of varying sizes, usually spread along the terraces above floodplains of rivers and large streams within a day's walk of a civic and ceremonial center that bound them together. As that suggests, one town or village might consist of multiple hamlets or farmsteads surrounded by agricultural fields, with family and community cemeteries spread throughout. Or a village might have a single mound at one end and a community cemetery at the other, with individual homesteads spread between. Leaders lived within the community (not above it on mounds), with only centralized locations and extended entranceways to their homes denoting their elite status. Unlike Mississippian polities, the spacing of Caddo centers and surrounding communities reflected "territorially distinct authority over large areas" resulting from the existence of many discrete sociopolitical entities rather than a single overarching one.[12]

Spatial dispersion mirrored a diffusion of political authority and decision making even as the regional breadth and coordination of governing systems grew over time. Such a structure is inscribed in Caddo mytho-historical traditions. Origin stories tell that from the beginning there were so many people that they had to be divided into groups, each of which would require its own leader. The first directive of Moon, the culture hero who instituted the new world by leading the Caddo people out of the darkness of the underworld, called on them to assemble in councils to choose their first caddís (chief, cacique). Once they had successfully established homes and towns, Moon then ascended to the sky to become Ayo-Caddi-Aymay (Great Father Above), though on earth Caddos would be led by a multiplicity of governing officials: *xinesís* (paramount religious leaders), *caddís* (village headmen), *canahas* (village elders), and *amaxayosas* (decorated warriors). This vesting of authority not only among a number of individuals but also across the numerous villages that defined (and defended) the Caddo world proved essential both as political upheaval swept much of the Mississippian world and, later, as that world underwent Spanish invasion.[13]

[12] The diffused nature of Caddo settlements also served practical goals of lessening competition for and stress upon natural resources and of expanding habitat and subsistence variation. Tristram R. Kidder, "Rethinking Caddoan–Lower Mississippi Valley Interaction," in *The Native History of the Caddo: Their Place in Southeastern Archeology and Ethnohistory*, ed. Timothy K. Perttula and James E. Bruseth (Austin, Tex., 1998), 133 (quotation); Perttula, "An Introduction"; Perttula and Rogers, "Evolution of a Caddo Community in Northeast Texas"; Jeffrey S. Girard, "Settlement Patterns and Variation in Caddo Pottery Decoration: A Case Study of the Willow Chute Bayou Locality," in Perttula and Walker, *Archaeology of the Caddo*, 239–87; Perttula, "Fifteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Caddo Communities"; Girard, Perttula, and Trubitt, *Caddo Connections*, chap. 2.

[13] For the hierarchy of Caddo officialdom, see Don G. Wyckoff and Timothy G. Baugh, "Early Historic Hasinai Elites: A Model for the Material Culture of Governing Elites," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 5, no. 2 (1980): 225–88; George A. Dorsey, *Traditions of the Caddo* (Lincoln, Neb., 1997), 8–12. For multiple references to "councils"

The distinctive Caddo political geography first becomes critical when one follows the making and unmaking of polities throughout the Mississippian world. Recent scholarship indicates that Cahokia's very real power did not engender a "*Pax Cahokiana*"; rather, its power had coercive elements that contributed to escalating confrontation and violence. After 1200, as populations expanded across Mississippian regions, the value of prime agricultural lands rose to a premium, mobility became increasingly restricted by competing territorial claims, buffer zones developed between rival societies, chiefdoms fell into patterns of coalescence and collapse, and warfare became endemic to many areas. In the upper and central Mississippi Valley, communities developed notably compact and palisaded villages where embankments, ditches, and curtain walls with bastions defended both residents and sacred mortuary sites. Archaeological remains document the rising death tolls from violence across a "conflict crescent" through the Midwest. The ranks of leadership became increasingly war related, chiefs amassed armies, walled cities manifested rulers' power, and status objects of elite men showcased mythical war heroes and figures brandishing war clubs and severed heads. The rise of such feudal chiefdoms reflected war's frequency as well as the increasingly self-contained worlds of each society as distances grew between their settlements and as violent competition for resources curtailed travel beyond one's own borders. By the time of European arrival, the preceding centuries had made for a fortified and contentious landscape, and Soto expeditionary narratives recorded Native fortifications across present-day Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas.[14]

But the sociopolitical situation was different in Caddo country. Archaeological records indicate that Caddo lands in present-day Texas

throughout the oral traditions recorded by Dorsey, see also ibid., 7–9, 13–15, 24, 41–43, 46–48, 54, 61–63, 80–81, 86–87, 103–4, 113, 115, 119, 124; Vynola Beaver Newkumet and Howard L. Meredith, *Hasinai: A Traditional History of the Caddo Confederacy* (College Station, Pa., 1988), 4–12.

[14] David H. Dye, *War Paths, Peace Paths: An Archaeology of Cooperation and Conflict in Native Eastern North America* (Lanham, Md., 2009), 149 ("*Pax*"), 12; George R. Milner, George Chaplin, and Emily Zavodny, "Conflict and Societal Change in Late Prehistoric Eastern North America," *Evolutionary Anthropology* 22, no. 3 (May/June 2013): 96–102 ("conflict crescent," 98). Construction of fortifications and palisades peaked in the thirteenth century and began to drop off after 1550. See Charles Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun* (Athens, Ga., 1997), 17–30, 355; Patricia M. Lambert, "The Archaeology of War: A North American Perspective," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 10, no. 3 (September 2002): 207–41; David H. Dye, "The Transformation of Mississippian Warfare: Four Case Studies from the Mid-South," in *The Archaeology of Warfare: Prehistories of Raiding and Conquest*, ed. Elizabeth N. Arkush and Mark W. Allen (Gainesville, Fla., 2006), 101–47; Marisa D. Fontana, "Of Walls and War: Fortification and Warfare in the Mississippian Southeast" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2007); Gregory D. Wilson, "Living with War: The Impact of Chronic Violence in the Mississippian-Period Central Illinois River Valley," in Pauketat, *Oxford Handbook of North American Archaeology*, 523–33. For what Soto saw, see Claudine Payne, "Mississippian Capitals: An Archaeological Investigation of Precolumbian Political Structure" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1994), 212–14.

and Louisiana were exempt from the tumult that engulfed more central Mississippian regions. Caddo settlements exhibited none of the defensive architecture seen elsewhere; they had no walls, no palisades. Indeed, evidence suggests "Caddo groups may have been virtually unchallenged from outsiders within their homeland." Caddo archaeological sites tell not only of a lack of fortifications and a paucity of violent death but also of the absence of the population collapse that characterized the Southeast after Spanish arrival. In stark contrast to Mississippian demography, Caddo populations reached their peak in the period 1500–1650 as their numbers grew in response to flourishing trade networks, the acquisition of horses, and distance from vectors of disease. Elsewhere, warfare and raiding were the handmaidens of epidemics from the sixteenth century onward; if multiple forces struck a society at once or sequentially, all forces became more deadly. For many chiefdoms, the Spanish conquistadores who brought with them war and disease proved a fatal addition to the cycles of conflict, coalescence, and collapse. Tellingly, the bounds of the later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century "shatter zone" were those of the former Mississippian world.[15] Caddos remained outside those bounds, both before and after 1500, and it is their centuries-long historical continuity and consciousness that point toward the Caddos' singular experience after European arrival.

That experience began with Hernando de Soto's expedition—an expedition that wrought havoc and despair across the sixteenth-century Southeast but took an unexpected turn when it reached "the edges of the Mississippian world" and "crossed into another country" upon entering Caddo domains in 1542. It is striking how often scholars have tried to explain that turn by arguing that the Spaniards were tired by that point, were running out of supplies, had lost their spirit, had even—with Soto's death in May 1542—lost their leader. No one ever suggests that the reason for the turn, the different experience, might in fact rest with Caddos themselves. It did. The stability of their alternative models of hierarchical power as well as the cultural autonomy and memory at the core of the Caddo world make assumptions about coincidence or silly good luck seem blinkered and untenable.[16]

[15] Girard, Perttula, and Trubitt, *Caddo Connections*, 100 ("Caddo groups"); Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw*, 4 ("shatter"). It was not until the eighteenth century that disease began to exact serious tolls in the Caddo world. For sixteenth- and seventeenth-century peace and prosperity, see Girard, Perttula, and Trubitt, *Caddo Connections*, 101–2, 109–10. For rising population numbers and a lack of decline, see ibid., 123; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*.

[16] Girard, Perttula, and Trubitt, *Caddo Connections*, 103 ("edges"); Frank F. Schambach, "The End of the Trail: The Route of Hernando de Soto's Army through Southwest Arkansas and East Texas," *Arkansas Archeologist* 27 (1989): 9–33 ("crossed," 10). It seems no coincidence that the least studied part of the Soto expedition is the stage at which they reached Caddo lands. And it is not only historians and archaeologists who have

Caddos had no counterparts to the bastions and palisades that characterized Mississippian centers, but their choice to live in dispersed as opposed to compact towns did not make them more vulnerable to foreign intrusion. Instead, they had a well-ordered system of border control and defense. Caddo domains might be best understood as made up of concentric rings, with hunting territories providing an outer buffer, within which were multiple regions of farming settlements—each with its own caddí—which in turn surrounded ceremonial complexes of the paramount theocratic leader, the xinesí. The rings functioned as multilevel defensive perimeters, and border patrols monitored and policed the highways that gave access to the core. As a result, the Spanish expedition, led by Luís de Moscoso after Soto's death, never really even saw the communities into whose lands they sought entry. Diligent Caddo guards, tasked with impeding any attempt by the foreigners to approach settlement areas, kept the Spaniards from straying off the major highway (known as the "Caddo" or "Hasinai" Trace). Assigned to oversee all Spanish movements, patrols had been commanded by their caddís "to ascertain what people he [Moscoso] had and of what manner they were." The border patrol, whom Spaniards mistakenly called "guides," constantly misled the intruders or tried to get them lost. "If they had to go toward the west, [they] guided them toward the east, and sometimes they went through dense forests." When ultimately tortured by frustrated Spaniards, the Caddos simply explained that they "had been ordered to lead them into a region where they would die of hunger" or to place them "where we could never get out."[17]

Members of the Soto expedition never came close to understanding the impressively conceptualized landscape and built environment, a fact that speaks volumes about Caddo success at constraining Spanish movements. There were at least twenty ceremonial centers, each with one to eleven mounds, along the route Spaniards took to reach the Red River Valley, meaning that they were "always within about 20 miles of an active temple mound, whether they knew it or not" (Figure 1). Nor did the Spaniards see towns and farmsteads, or not nearly as many as they might have. Earlier Native contacts had told expedition members that the way to Naguatex (the "place of the red earth") "lay through an inhabited region," but the only communities they saw were family compounds of one to three homes. As

given it a pass; Spanish expeditionary narrators were significantly terse about their time among Caddos.

[17] James Alexander Robertson, ed. and trans., "The Account by a Gentleman from Elvas," in *The De Soto Chronicles, Volume I: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539–1543*, ed. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1993), 19–219 ("ascertain," 142, "guides," 145, "ordered," 212 n. 265); John E. Worth, ed. and trans., "Relation of the Island of Florida by Luys Hernández de Biedma," ibid., 221–43 ("where we could," 244). For analysis of archaeologists' assessments of the expedition's route through Caddo lands, see Girard, Perttula, and Trubitt, *Caddo Connections*, 103.

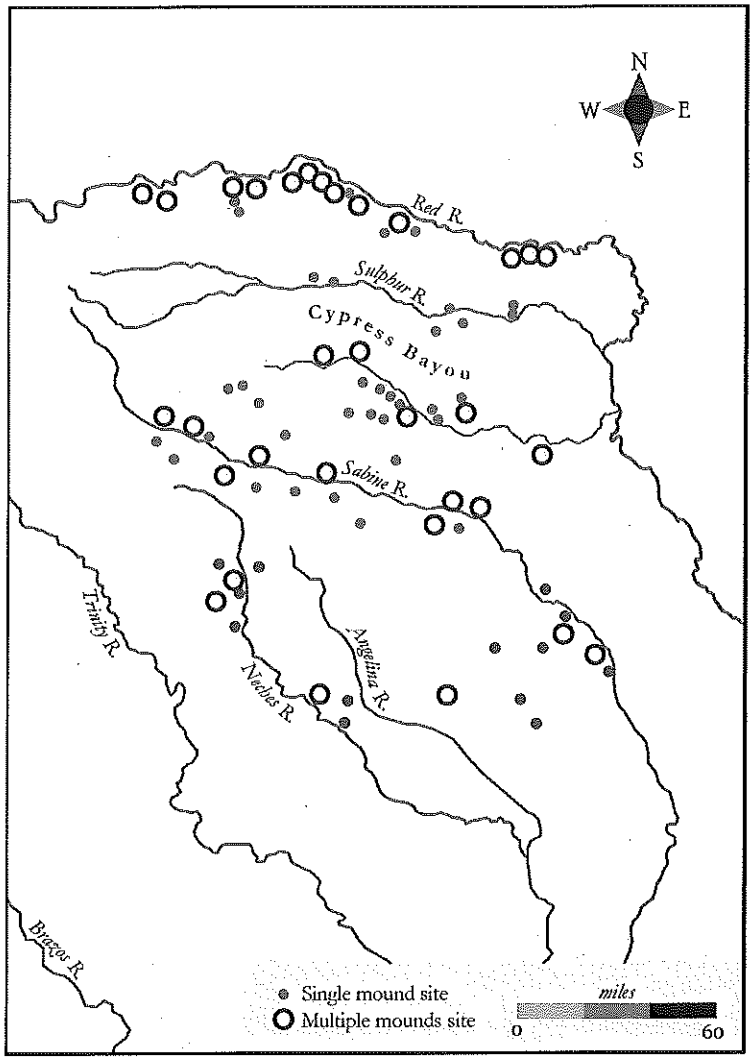

FIGURE I

Caddo mound sites, provided courtesy of Timothy K. Perttula; original prepared by Sandra Hannum. Redrawn by Rebecca Wrenn.

a result, the Spaniards got no sense of Caddo settlement breadth, strength, and population. The only sizable town they made it to was that of the paramount caddí of the Naguatex province, but they found it deserted, another of the Caddos' defensive tactics. The "very extensive" town spread for miles along both sides of the Red River, but the caddí had strategically moved everyone to the opposite side of the river and stationed men all along the banks to forbid the Spaniards' passage.[18]

Naguatex forces proved so daunting that Moscoso made no attempt to seize the town's "many provisions" and instead demanded a meeting with the paramount caddí. After his deputies had first inspected the foreigners, the paramount leader deigned to appear, gave lip service to Moscoso's demands for food and obeisance, returned across the river, and ignored the Spaniards (and their demands). By all accounts, the Spaniards sat around for another twelve days before they finally managed to get across the river, where they found the southside settlements equally deserted. Moscoso again attempted to summon the caddí, and again he was ignored. At this point, the Spaniards had been camped outside the town for three weeks without getting (or taking) anything they wanted. Upon the second dismissal, Moscoso angrily ordered the town burned, and that got a response. The caddí sent nine men to escort the expedition out of the province, and the invaders "immediately left" empty-handed from a town with resources well beyond what the Spaniards could beg, steal, or burn anywhere else. The Caddo leader had clearly won the battle of wills. But why was it a battle of wills and not one of military force? This was an expedition that still had more than three hundred fighting men, at least five hundred captive and enslaved Indians, forty horses, seven hundred hogs, and war dogs trained to attack and kill humans. The expedition narrators never divulged what the Spaniards saw in the Naguatex defensive forces that forestalled a Spanish attack.[19]

Things then went from bad to worse for the foreigners. The guards sent to ensure their departure from Naguatex led the Spaniards every which way but the way that would take them to another Caddo settlement. The expedition reached the borders of Nondacao ("place of the bumblebee"), where eight

[18] Schambach, *Arkansas Archeologist* 27: 17 ("always within"), 21 ("red earth"). For the events at Naguatex, see Clayton, Knight, and Moore, *De Soto Chronicles*, 142–45 ("lay through," 142, "extensive," 143). For Caddo built environments, see Timothy K. Perttula, "Extended Entranceway Structures in the Caddo Archaeological Area," *Southeastern Archaeology* 28, no. 1 (Summer 2009): 27–42; Gregory Vogel, "Viewshed Characteristics of Caddo Mounds in the Arkansas Basin," in Perttula and Walker, *Archaeology of the Caddo*, 139–76; Robert L. Brooks, "Decisions in Landscape Setting Selection of the Prehistoric Caddo of Southeastern Oklahoma: A GIS Analysis," ibid., 335–62; Duncan Paul McKinnon, "Battle Mound: Exploring Space, Place, and History of a Red River Caddo Community in Southwest Arkansas" (Ph.D. diss., University of Arkansas, 2013).

[19] Clayton, Knight, and Moore, *De Soto Chronicles*, 143 ("many provisions"), 145 ("immediately"). For a summation of expedition numbers at this point, see Schambach, *Arkansas Archeologist* 27: 13.

village areas ringed a twenty-seven-acre ceremonial and civic center, with three mounds, a plaza, and at least one cemetery. But the expedition never got near the outer farmsteads, much less the center, because the local caddí and his retainers went out and met them on the highway, gave them some fish, and sent them on their way with new escorts to take them in new misdirections. And they went right into the arms of Caddo enemies, identified as Aays (Ais or Eyeish). There the "country was aroused" as soon as the inhabitants discovered that invaders had transgressed their borders. More than one hundred fighting men rapidly assembled along both sides of the road, attacked repeatedly, drew Spanish forces into ambushes, and inflicted "great damage." An entire day of fighting forced an about-face on the part of Moscoso.[20]

At this point, another aspect of Caddo authority structures distinct from those of Mississippians came into play to thwart Spanish plunder. The Soto expedition had found that among many of the southeastern chiefdoms grain was stored communally in the cacique's compound—reflecting the leader's authority and the status he gained through feasting and the redistribution of food. Therefore, if the Spaniards could take control of a cacique's compound, they would also control the chiefdom's food and its food-based leadership hierarchy. But Caddos' dispersed political authority and settlement pattern meant that individual homesteads maintained their own granaries, and it was community members who fed caddís by ritual custom, not vice versa; in fact, one of the clear marks of a caddí compound was the absence of grain storage. That fact of Caddo life presented the Soto expedition with a true challenge: with farmstead communities spread out for miles and miles around their leaders' compounds, if the Spaniards wished to plunder, they could do so only by going house to house, a process that clearly would have meant pushing through border patrols and fighting rear- and front-guard actions to leave the highway and find the houses. Not surprisingly, when the Spaniards did return through the lands from which the Nondacao caddí had so neatly deflected them, the expedition's members could report only that they "endured great need and suffering" as they marched for twenty days through a supposedly "unpeopled region." The lands in which Moscoso and his men "found maize to eat with great difficulty" did not lack corn or other hallmarks of agricultural prosperity. Rather, the layout of Caddo domains allowed no easy means for foreigners to locate grain stores.[21]

[20] For a description of Nondacao province, see Ross C. Fields, "The Pine Tree Mound Site and the Entrada of the Hernando De Soto Expedition of 1542," *Journal of Northeast Texas Archaeology* 28 (2008): 1–8 ("bumblebee," 5); Clayton, Knight, and Moore, *De Soto Chronicles*, 145 ("country"), 146 ("great damage").

[21] Clayton, Knight, and Moore, *De Soto Chronicles*, 146 ("endured"), 147 ("unpeopled"), 149 ("found maize"); Schambach, *Arkansas Archeologist* 27: 13–16; Nancy Adele Kenmotsu, James E. Bruseth, and James E. Corbin, "Moscoso and the Route in Texas: A Reconstruction," in *The Expedition of Hernando de Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541–1543: Proceedings of the de Soto Symposia, 1988 and 1990*, ed. Gloria A. Young and Michael P. Hoffman (Fayetteville, Ark., 1993), 106–31. Moreover, in contrast to other southeastern

Caddo border control and protocols for dealing with Moscoso exhibit compelling similarities to those used when Spaniards and Frenchmen sought entry into the Caddo world at the end of the seventeenth century. A century and a half after Soto's entrada, Caddo communities still needed no palisades or fortifications for their settlements. As in 1542, seventeenth-century expeditions to Caddo lands were met in the hunting zones by individuals tasked with monitoring the borders; foreigners proceeded into the Caddo heartland only with prior approval of caddís and traveled under escort for the entirety of the journey (Figure II). Caddo leaders, these later outsiders learned, maintained a system of passports, providing Spanish officers with certain ritual objects that would identify them on their way along highways from one Caddo community to another. The passports likely signaled a new diplomatic opening, but the rules and rituals developed over the long Caddo past still governed the terms by which their leaders allowed a handful of Spaniards to pass through their domain.[22]

In the seventeenth century, another long-standing Caddo tradition and a different kind of border within the Caddo realm came to the fore in Caddo-Spanish dealings—centuries-old boundaries delineating realms of the human and the spiritual. The construction and layout of ceremonial centers and of local communities produced consciously structured sacred landscapes. Anthropologist George Sabo III has argued persuasively that the map of a Nasoni Caddo village, drawn by a member of the 1691 Domingo Terán de los Ríos expedition, conveys the careful positioning of twenty-five clusters of buildings—including a temple mound complex, the caddí's compound, and twenty-three surrounding farmsteads dispersed along the Red River—that as a whole combined to reflect cosmological principles defining the inhabitants' relationship with the numinous world. In other words, the Caddos had used their settlement pattern to construct not only a cosmogram but also—and more interestingly still—a concentric cosmogram, reminiscent of the ringed borders of Caddo domains (Figure III).[23]

chiefdoms, among whom internecine rivalry and competition were rife, the "greater social solidarity" of Caddo polities meant the Spaniards found no one interested in allying with them against a rival. Thus, they were not offered a single gift by any Caddo community except Nondacao, where the caddí's presentation of fish was diplomatic grease meant to keep them moving smoothly along a road that would eventually "strand them in the wilderness." For the lack of Caddo gift giving and diplomatic overtures, see George Sabo III, "Indians and Spaniards in Arkansas: Symbolic Action in the Sixteenth Century," in Young and Hoffman, *Expedition of Hernando de Soto*, 192–209, esp. 207–8 (quotations, 208), 205.

[22] Juliana Barr, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the 'Borderlands' of the Early Southwest," *WMQ* 68, no. 1 (January 2011): 5–46, esp. 21.

[23] George Sabo III, "The Terán Map and Caddo Cosmology," in Perttula and Walker, *Archaeology of the Caddo*, 431–47.

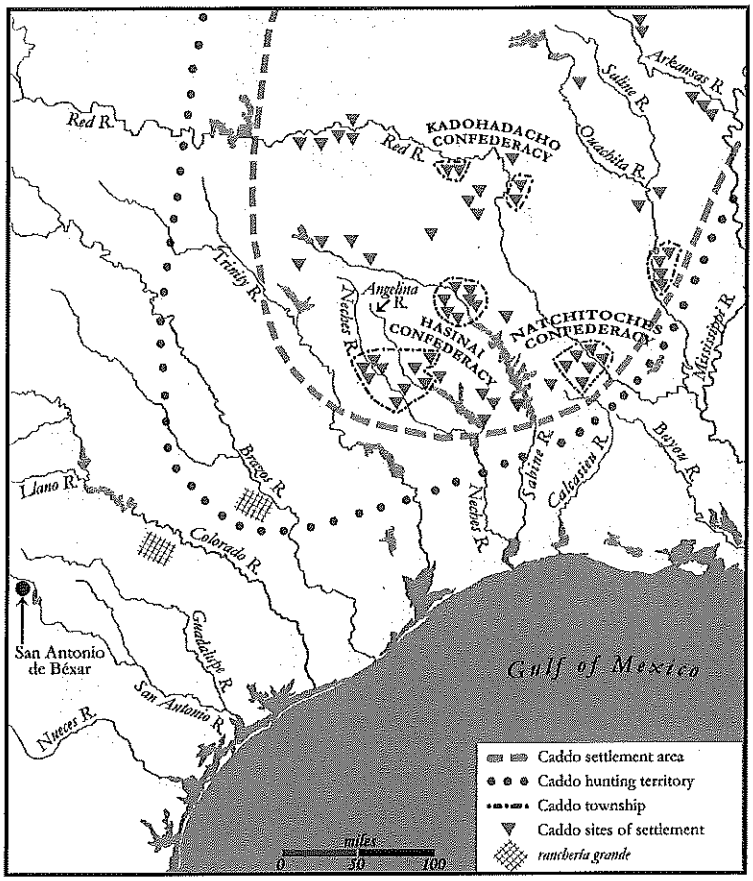

FIGURE II

Rings of the Caddo domain expanding out from its core, ca. 1700. Drawn by Rebecca Wrenn.

As Sabo explains, the spatial order depicted in the map indicates a "nesting" of two critical places, the xinesí's temple complex and the caddí's compound. The temple, with its perpetual sacred fire made of four crossed logs oriented to the four cardinal directions, served as a gateway between the natural and supernatural worlds and signaled the xinesí's responsibilities to mediate between the two and to communicate with Ayo-Caddi-Aymay. Meanwhile, the caddí's residential compound—including a ceremonial complex, housing for canahas during council meetings, a plaza for public

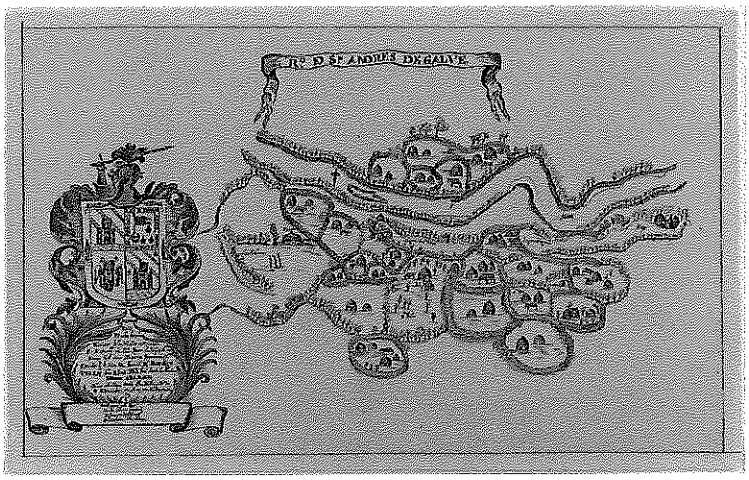

FIGURE III

Hand copy of map of Nasoni Caddo settlement on the Red River drawn by unknown member of the 1691–92 Domingo Terán de los Ríos expedition. J. P. Bryan Map Collection, di_09638, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

dances, and more outbuildings—represented the figurative center of the phenomenal world and thus relationships between people and within a community. The farmstead compounds radiated all around, and the whole constituted an ordered and ranked community within which all activities and relationships were spatially oriented to those two central places.[24]

Each home in turn became a "house-as-icon," marking the Caddo residents as constituent members of the community as a whole. Houses were built only with the dispensation of the caddí, and caddís orchestrated each home's construction, calling upon all members of the community to assemble on a selected day to participate under his watchful eye and to build according to ritual measurements laid out by *connas* (shamans or healers). At the dwelling's completion, they topped the beehive house with a grass figure, lit the central hearth with embers from the xinesí's temple fire, and thus blessed the home. Fire was the key element that tied together

[24] Ibid., 431–47 ("nesting," 446). See also McKinnon, "Battle Mound"; Duncan P. McKinnon, "Landscape as a Ritual Object: Exploring Some Thoughts on Organized Space in the Great Bend Region of Southwestern Arkansas," *Caddoan Archeology Journal* 23 (2013): 67–84. For a description of the sacred temple fire, see George Sabo III, "The Structure of Caddo Leadership in the Colonial Era," in Perttula and Bruseth, *Native History of the Caddo*, 159–74, esp. 169.

the constructed landscape, as every single Caddo home was supplied with a small piece of burning wood from the temple's "holy sacramental fire," as one Franciscan identified it, creating a virtual lifeline maintained by everyone's oath to keep the fires burning at all times to preserve the security and well-being of the community. Construction also included providing each home with an elevated bench reserved for visits by caddís and connas, either for their own seating or for ritual offerings to be blessed by the exalted visitors. The presence of the fire and bench thus signaled that each home could potentially serve as a site where sacred power became manifest. One Franciscan described Caddo images of God as having "a face of fire," and another recorded the Caddo belief that fire was the creator or securer of good crops and successful hunts; all Caddos knew that if a fire went out it would mean death for the home's residents and misfortune for the community. At its simplest level, then, everything and everyone had their place in a settlement pattern (and thus a cosmological order) dispersed across the landscape but consolidated by spiritual principles. And these principles both harked back to traditions developed over the past centuries and foretold the limits that would face Europeans who eventually sought to take up residence within Caddo borders.[25]

What kind of place might Spaniards be assigned in this world of dispersed but united communities? Seventeenth-century expeditionary leaders and missionaries who visited Caddo lands were initially housed as guests in a caddí's compound, the site for diplomatic exchange. If Spaniards wished to stay longer, they remained under the authority of caddís whose permission had to be gained in order to build or move a dwelling within their domains. In their diaries, missionaries and expedition leaders liked to imply that they chose the sites of occupation, but even as they made such claims they also included some phrase to the effect that "we found a spot, which was decided upon by the Indians." It also seems suggestive that when houses were built for commanders Domingo Ramón and the Marquis de Alarcón in 1716 and 1720 respectively, the celebrations for their completion were held outside the new dwellings and did not include a central hearth being lit from the sacred fire. Rather, caddís directed that "many fires" be lit outside the houses while both men were installed on makeshift seats in front of or in the doorway of the house for the ceremony. The two Spaniards were certainly being honored (and purified), but their dwellings, without inner fires

[25] For house construction, see Sabo, "Structure of Caddo Leadership," 171 ("house-as-icon"), 168–69; Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesús María to the Viceroy of Mexico, Aug. 15, 1691, cont. in Mattie Austin Hatcher, trans., "Descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians, 1691–1722, II," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (*SHQ*) 30, no. 4 (April 1927): 283–304 ("sacramental," 291); Fray Francisco Hidalgo to the Viceroy, Nov. 4, 1716, in Hatcher, trans., "Descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians, 1691–1722, III," *SHQ* 31, no. 1 (July 1927): 50–62 ("face," 56). For fire as creator or securer, see Isidro Félix de Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de la Nueva España*, ed. Lino G. Canedo (1746; repr., Washington, D.C., 1964), 697.

or elevated benches, would not be sites within the Caddo sacred order. The newcomers were not being inducted as full-fledged members of the Caddo community represented by the spirit of the fire; their "place" was something else, something apart.[26]

Spanish outsider status proved even more apparent once Franciscans set up missions. In total, ten different mission and two presidio sites were built at different times and places, and only three lasted more than thirteen years. No missions were ever established among the populous communities along the Red River. All the presidio and mission sites were concentrated among a limited group within the Hasinai confederacy, and within that small range, all of the Spanish sites except one were located in marginal settings in the western periphery of the Hasinai domain, often along the highway, never within the interior of communities. The choice of that periphery may also be significant, because the two westernmost groups housed a majority of the missions and acted as gatekeepers for all the other Caddo settlements. So Spaniards resided in the peripheries of peripheries.[27]

Not only were missions on the borders, or outside the borders, of communities, they also were far from xinesís' temple complexes, the cores of the Caddos' concentric world. In 1690, when Spaniards established the first mission, San Francisco de los Tejas, the nearest caddí invited the xinesí to attend and give his approval to the building's placement. But the caddí had to allow the religious leader (as well as community residents) a day's travel to reach the distant site. The xinesí's attendance accorded with Caddo tradition that a blessing must accompany the establishment of a new dwelling before occupation, but it was equally significant in its suggestion that Caddos did not see the mission or the presence of the missionary as something at odds with their temples or religious leaders. The temple mounds stood as staunch defenders of the Caddos' spiritual landscape. The Franciscans appeared to recognize such power. Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa likened the temples to "cathedral[s]" that kept united in spirit all their constituents. The missions, by contrast, were inconsequentially positioned, consigned to the physical and cosmological hinterlands of the Caddo world.[28]

[26] Debbie S. Cunningham, ed., "The Domingo Ramón Diary of the 1716 Expedition into the Province of the Tejas Indians: An Annotated Translation," *SHQ* 110, no. 1 (July 2006): 38–67 ("found," 65); Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide*, 716 ("many fires" [se encendieron muchas luminarias]). Translations throughout the article are the author's. For housing rituals, see also Francisco Céliz, *Diary of the Alarcón Expedition into Texas, 1718–1719*, trans. Fritz Leo Hoffmann (Los Angeles, 1935), 75.

[27] One exceptional case exists—mission Nuestra Senora de la Purísima Concepción de los Hainais, built in 1716 in close proximity to the caddí's village. Whether this mission spoke to growing confidence among Caddo leaders that Spaniards represented little threat or to a desire to keep the threat under the caddí's watchful eye, it still remains an exception to a demonstrable rule of keeping Spaniards outside the bounds of Caddo settlement.

[28] For blessings of new housing, see Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide*, 697 ("cathedral[s]" [catedral]). One missionary, fray Francisco Casañas de Jesús

Caddo traditions of settlement dispersal and border control carried a multitude of implications for Spaniards, all of them rooted in long-standing Caddo belief and practice. Of all the missions eventually built by Spaniards across the province of Texas, only those in Caddo lands lacked walled enclosures. Caddos needed no palisades, and for the missionaries, "living on the margin of the caddi's village surrounded by hundreds of Hainais may have made the construction of a protective wall meaningless." Yet within the security of the Caddo domain, Franciscans remained segregated and alone. Their potential flock resided nowhere near them, and the missionaries themselves were dispersed at great distances, eight to fifteen leagues from one another, scattered among "an infinity of rancherías" and extensive agricultural fields. They bemoaned their isolation in a repeating loop of frustrations about Caddo refusal to relocate into pueblos near the missions, but that fact of Caddo life, too, was grounded in Caddo history. As fray Francisco Hidalgo wrote when expressing his dismay that Caddos would not move their homes close to his mission, "they do not wish for fire to be taken from their houses"; to resettle near the missions would mean a lost connection to the sacred fire. At the most important level, fray Espinosa recorded, Caddos believed that "our [Spanish] fire is different"; Spanish fire, he noted, was "made by flint and iron," but Caddos' repudiation of it went much deeper than that. And that repudiation explains why a 1727 official inspection tour found one mission after another sitting empty except for a single missionary in residence whose purpose, the inspectors scornfully declared, "is to administer to the Indians if they should decide to become Christians" or "may want to receive the Faith." Where else might one expect to find missionaries quietly sitting and patiently waiting for the day when Native neighbors might "decide" or "want" conversion? Only on the margins of a Native nation whose security for centuries had depended upon the dispersal of multiple settlements held together by spiritual and sovereign communal borders.[29]

María, attempted to take over a fire temple in order to claim it as a site for his mission. He failed miserably, and his actions proved to be one of many transgressions that got the Spaniards evicted from the Caddo domain in 1693. Never again would a Franciscan make such a mistake. For fire temple (la casa del fuego), see ibid., 697, 703. For the xinesí blessing on the first mission, see Letter of Fray Damián Massanet to Don Carlos de Sigüenza, 1690, in Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542–1706* (New York, 1916), 353–87, esp. 380. For the thwarted temple takeover, see Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesús María to the Viceroy of Mexico, in Hatcher, *SHQ* 30: 292–93.

[29] Morris K. Jackson et al., *Trade and Cultural Interaction along* El Camino Real de los Tejas *during the Spanish Colonial and Republic Periods in Nacogdoches County, Texas* (Nacogdoches, Tex, 2012), 1: 145 ("living"); Cunningham, *SHQ* 110: 38–67 ("infinity," 65); Fray Francisco Hidalgo to the Viceroy, in Hatcher, *SHQ* 31: 56 ("do not wish"); Espinosa, *Crónica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide*, 704 ("fire is different" [decían que era otra lumbre o fuego el nuestro, por ser sacado con pedernal y fierro]); Pedro de Rivera, *Diario y Derrotero*, in *Imaginary Kingdom: Texas as Seen by the Rivera and Rubí Military Expeditions, 1727 and 1767*, ed. Jack Jackson and William C. Foster (Austin, Tex., 1995), 35–37 ("administer," 35, "may want," 36). For Caddo refusal to relocate, see also Fray

THE SECOND STORY TO TRACE HOW THE *PRE-* INFORMED THE *POST-* takes place farther west in Chaco, another remarkable eleventh-century Native world. There too, as historian James F. Brooks recently argued, we can see "longitudinal insights into local responses" that run throughout the history of the Southwest.[30] As we move to this region, however, we leap from a Caddo world where centuries of territorial continuity helped ward off political instability to a Pueblo world where stability was forged from age-old upheaval. That is because in the Pueblo world the story tells of polities that emerged out of the implosion of Chaco and the three centuries of reformation and reorganization that followed. Yet whether dominated by coherence or discord, both the Caddo and the Pueblo stories center on the power of past events and the consciousness of those events. Pueblo history shaped how Pueblos dealt with Spaniards and thus how the region's colonial story played out.

In the Southwest, migrations, depopulations, disease, and disaster were the occasions for reinvention, but the traditions, cosmologies, and social structures being reinvented remained rooted in the past, its memories, and its lessons. The multitude of people who came to be called "Pueblo" by Spaniards spoke many different languages and lived in seventy-five to one hundred towns and villages spread across present-day New Mexico and Arizona at the end of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, they shared similar systems of governance, architecture, subsistence, material culture, and religious practices that had arisen from their intertwined pasts. Together, they had centuries of previous experience, as much with worlds of destruction and flux as with worlds of creation and order. Once later events associated with European colonialism are seen within that deeper context, Spaniards do not stand out as superhumanly illimitable and Pueblos do not appear as unworldly and unarmed. In turn, that contextualization makes sense of both the strife of Spanish colonization and the success of Pueblo revolt.

Pueblo historical traditions document serial moments of realignment, reconfiguration, and reinvention, each moment heralding a new or, perhaps more accurately, a reconceived world.[31] Mythohistorical narratives about

Francisco Casañas de Jesús María to the Viceroy, in Hatcher, *SHQ* 30: 285, 288. In 1730, three of the six missions in Hasinai lands were closed and their staff transferred to San Antonio. For the remainder of the eighteenth century, the three missions that persisted in the Caddo homeland served primarily as sites for diplomacy and negotiation; one presidio, Los Adaes, remained as well. For this shift of mission location and/or purpose, see Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007), 103–8.

[30] James F. Brooks, "Women, Men, and Cycles of Evangelism in the Southwest Borderlands, A.D. 750–1750," *AHR* 118, no. 3 (June 2013): 739–64 (quotation, 739).

[31] Dennis Tedlock, "Pueblo Literature: Style and Verisimilitude," in *New Perspectives on the Pueblos*, ed. Alfonso Oritz (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1972), 219–42; Tedlock, *The Spoken World and the Work of Interpretation* (Philadelphia, 1983); Michael Lomatuway'ma, Lorena Lomatuway'ma, and Sidney Namingha Jr., narr., *Hopi Ruin Legends: Kiqötutuwutsi*, ed. and trans. Ekkehart Malotki (Lincoln, Neb., 1993); Andrew

past eras and about the new worlds that came into being as the result of past decisions and events were told and retold in revised form across the Southwest to serve exigencies grounded in particular historical moments. Those narratives explain how a group got to a specific place in time, built a specific set of relations, and forged a specific world order. Thus they feature migrations, lessons in how to live, the rise of gods and rulers, and admonitory messages about past mistakes to avoid in order to ensure present propriety, but they do not always do so in providential tones. The mix of myth, legend, and historic events addresses cycles of destruction and regeneration that reflect the presence of evil in society, translating famine, epidemics, violence, warfare, and destruction through an idiom of witchcraft. According to Hopi belief, for example, witchcraft emerged from the underworld alongside the Hopi people, with witches taking up the "responsibility of maintaining the institution of death in the new world."[32] Violence in the Pueblo world thus was understood not only in ethical, moral, and political terms but also in cosmological ones. Something could be sacred without necessarily being good, and the need to recognize that distinction more often than not signaled a moment for reinvention.

One particular realignment in the Pueblo past was especially critical because it involved a repudiation of the hierarchical rule by elites who acquired too much wealth and power. This moment, or momentous era, featured as a central lesson from the Pueblo past—a lesson that proved integral to the emergence of an egalitarian Pueblo society by 1450. The Pueblo peoples who faced down Spaniards in the sixteenth century had "developed not *from* their past but as a *deliberate rejection of* that past."[33] And that past was Chaco.

What has come to be called the Chaco Phenomenon represented a monumental migratory movement translated into a kind of pilgrimage, when Great Houses sprang up and expanded throughout Chaco Canyon and then satellite communities followed, fanning out all around the region. In 850–900, the Great Houses began as "trophy homes" for people of high rank who served the common good by banking surplus corn for times of need. Yet from 1000 to 1125, these structures grew exponentially, in both number and size, becoming palaces that functioned as civic spaces (not residences) for religious, political, and economic purposes. Ritual and ceremonial authority became the mark of elite rule, grounded in the canyon's

Wiget, "Oral Literature of the Southwest," in *Handbook of Native American Literature*, ed. Wiget (New York, 1996), 53–63; Malotki, ed., *Hopi Tales of Destruction* (Lincoln, Neb., 2002); George Bryant, *Xiipúktan (First of All): Three Views of the Origins of the Quechan People* (Cambridge, 2013).

[32] For witchcraft, see Lomatuway'ma, Lomatuway'ma, and Namingha, *Hopi Ruin Legends*, 151–53 (quotation, 153).

[33] Stephen H. Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2008), 3 (quotation), 189–216.

urbanized epicenter of earthen mounds, plazas, highways, ponds, gardens, and the greatest of Great Houses—all of this in the middle of the desert Southwest. Two hundred smaller Great Houses spread out in all directions for at least 150 kilometers, but many more were built even farther away, some up to 250 kilometers from the core at Chaco. These "outliers" represented colonies, imitators, or adopters of the Chacoan styles, but no matter how distant, all held a place within the region's system of politics, economy, and religion. The architecture of three of the six greatest Great Houses—structures known today as Pueblo Bonito, Chetro Ketl, and Pueblo Alto—tells a tale of critical theological and philosophical debate and cosmological (and political) revolution. Innovative cardinal architectural orientations won out over traditional solstitial ones, and under elite direction, a north-south and east-west layout replaced previous ones emphasizing a southeast-focused alignment keyed to the solstice. This revolution did not simply explain the course of the later north-south progression of Pueblo development from Chaco north to Aztec and south to Paquimé along what is now called the "Chaco Meridian." It also signaled a flourishing of spiritual ideas "that necessitated certain ways of building, dancing, trading, traveling, leading, following, giving, taking, living, dying."[34]

The Chaco Phenomenon likely centered in the canyon because it was the site of historically significant settlements in the sixth and seventh centuries, and this bow to ancestral history would have offered an initial and important foundation for Chaco's early leaders. Yet, once their newly configured spiritual power became emplaced in Great Houses, it all too easily translated into political power—and eventually into power that generations long after remembered as corrupt. Archaeologist Stephen H. Lekson finds the Chacoan governing system that emerged to be similar to that of a Mesoamerican *altepetl,* with clusters of noble families (in Great Houses) each exacting tribute from particular communities of commoners, and minor nobility (in smaller outlying Great Houses) doing the same in the hinterlands. Equally critical, Chaco appears to have involved at its heart the coercion of labor and the subordination of laborers. Pueblo traditions of the White House and Navajo traditions of the Great Gambler hint at the possibility that Chaco and its ruling elite may have been overthrown in a people's or "class revolt."[35]

[34] For numbers and distances of Great Houses, see ibid., 124 ("trophy"), 130–32. For a discussion of "outliers," see Stephen H. Lekson, *The Chaco Meridian: One Thousand Years of Political and Religious Power in the Ancient Southwest,* 2d ed. (Lanham, Md., 2015), 15–21; Severin M. Fowles, *An Archaeology of Doings: Secularism and the Study of Pueblo Religion* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2013), 78 ("necessitated").

[35] Lekson, *History of the Ancient Southwest,* 206 ("class"), 242; Fowles, "People's History." For the *altepetl* model, see Lekson, *Chaco Meridian,* 38–40; Stephen H. Lekson and Catherine M. Cameron, "The Abandonment of Chaco Canyon, the Mesa Verde Migrations, and the Reorganization of the Pueblo World," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14, no. 2 (June 1995): 184–202; Steven A. LeBlanc, "Regional Interaction and

Navajos remember the Great Gambler as an outsider or stranger who came to the region, won power over people through rigged betting games, coerced Pueblo and Navajo labor, and made them build a palace, Pueblo Alto, for him and then other Great Houses for his cohort, which together formed the major seats of power at Chaco. The people, according to legend, eventually rebelled against the Gambler king and overthrew his subjugation. The White House stories appear within narratives of different Pueblo people, though not always in the same form. The White House was a long-inhabited place the people happily shared with spirit beings who became known as *katsinas* and who taught them how to live. Then came a time when wizards misled and corrupted some people who, through their corruption, acquired too much wealth and power and undermined the respect for katsinas. Supernatural punishments followed, tensions led to violence, wars broke out, the katsinas departed, and all those left behind had to disperse. Strife at Chaco had driven the katsinas to leave, but as the people sought new lives in new lands where proper behavior might be resumed, they were aided by katsinas who became integral to their religious re-creation and reconsolidation. In his explorations of the fundamental historical reorientation of power that these traditions relate, archaeologist Severin Fowles rejects any vision of this post-Chacoan transformation as one of "regression" or "devolution." He sees instead an age of "religiopolitical reformation" in search of the greater simplicity of an antistate.[36]

Reformation seems a particularly fitting descriptor, as it took a bevy of supernatural powers to reorder the world from 1200 to 1500, and the same would be true in the late seventeenth century. The sacred and vernacular were inseparable realms in the early Southwest, and the forests, deserts, villages, and homes that provided the setting for the historical events that unfolded were filled with spirits, both good and bad. Stories of intervening gods and monsters may capture our attention because of their

Warfare in the Late Prehistoric Southwest," in *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction: Religion, Warfare, and Exchange Across the American Southwest and Beyond*, ed. Michelle Hegmon (Boulder, Colo., 2000), 41–70. Archaeological evidence supports a hypothesis of coerced labor if not slavery. Debra Martin, "Violence against Women in the La Plata River Valley (A.D. 1000–1300)," in *Troubled Times: Violence and Warfare in the Past*, ed. Martin and David W. Frayer (Amsterdam, 1997), 45–75; LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1999), 184–85; Fowles, *Archaeology of Doings*.

[36] Severin Fowles, "The Pueblo Village in an Age of Reformation (AD 1300–1600)," in Pauketat, *Oxford Handbook of North American Archaeology*, 631–44 ("regression," 633, "devolution," 632, "religiopolitical," 641); see also Fowles, "People's History"; Fowles, *Archaeology of Doings*, 84, 93. For discussion of the White House and Great Gambler traditions, see Franz Boas, *Keresan Texts* (New York, 1928), 1: 9; Leslie A. White, "The World of the Keresan Pueblo Indians," in *Primitive Views of the World*, ed. Stanley Diamond (New York, 1964), 83–94, esp. 85, 88–90; Alfonso Ortiz, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, *Southwest* (Washington, D.C., 1979), 379, 383–84, 404, 412–13, 440; Lekson, *History of the Ancient Southwest*, 200, 242.

dramatic nature, but they were part and parcel of the ordinary, of everyday life—which is not to say that systems of belief continued unchanged, that priests and laypeople prayed to the same gods, that sacred sites and shrines remained in the same places, or that mythohistorical traditions taught the same lessons of history and memory. Tradition had to be reinvented for a new age, and that process took three hundred years because of the unprecedented chaos that ensued with the implosion of the Chacoan system.

The first step was just that: steps and movement. Migration must be understood as "a species of Pueblo ethics, social critique, and political practice" mandated in Pueblo tradition since time immemorial. The legends of Chaco reflected in the Great Gambler and White House are just two of many stories of sites and villages whose corruption could be rectified—or exorcised—only with destruction and abandonment. Viewing discrete abandonment events across a longer time span reveals a "historical chain of movements extending all the way back to a group's distant origins" that in sum encompassed a cumulative past but also a future. In that sense, movement away from Chaco was one of many Pueblo mythohistorical migrations that led ultimately to settlement sites that remain in use today at Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, and Laguna and along the Rio Grande valley.[37]

As people dispersed from Chaco and its satellites, they scrambled for purchase in new settings and in concert with new allies and rivals. Disorder emanated from the rise and fall of Chaco as violence became commonplace—violence on par with that unleashed both across the Southeast over the same three hundred years and across Pueblo lands by Spaniards in later centuries. One archaeologist bluntly describes the years from 1250 to 1540 as an age of "crisis and catastrophe," but perhaps it is more accurate to say that it was an age of cycling crises and catastrophes. Towns were burned to the ground, group executions occurred at multiple sites, and victims included women and children. Combat became institutionalized, village against village, and the extremity of destruction visible archaeologically implies that "much of the violence during this time was intended to do more than simply kill people." When immigrants from the more urban centers of Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde joined smaller autochthonous populations, they did so in ways that sometimes looked an awful lot like "'conquest' or 'takeover.'" Aggregation could represent coercive control rather than alliance, but the coercion came also by ritual (as opposed to physical) force. Other

[37] Fowles, "Pueblo Village in an Age of Reformation," 635 ("species"); Wesley Bernardini, *Hopi Oral Tradition and the Archaeology of Identity* (Tucson, Ariz., 2005), 7–8 ("historical," 7); Peter M. Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture through the Oraibi Split* (Tucson, Ariz., 1988); Malotki, *Hopi Tales of Destruction*; Jeremy Kulisheck, "'Like Butterflies on a Mounting Board': Pueblo Mobility and Demography before 1825," in Scheiber and Mitchell, *Across a Great Divide*, 174–91. For a recent study of a well-known moment of destructive purification, see James F. Brooks, *Mesa of Sorrows: A History of the Awat'ovi Massacre* (New York, 2016).

communities accepted migrant outsiders in order to gain spiritual knowledge and skills. Ritual power therefore might sow the seeds of a new collectivity after it had first inspired revolt and then facilitated localized conquest in the revolt's aftermath.[38]

It is in this context that iconography, architecture, and ceremonialism emerged as mirrors of the violence and, simultaneously, as mechanisms to promote social unity in the aggregated towns. The social landscape that materialized by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provided evidence of the warfare that had created it. People built concentrated villages with inward-facing masses of room blocks surrounding enclosed plazas, solid exterior walls that offered no openings and no entrances, flat roofs that provided ideal platforms from which to fight, and ladders that gave rooftop access to interiors but could be withdrawn in times of attack. These towns were often built on high or defensible ground, with no-man's-land separating one village's territory from another's. At the same time, in rejection of the hierarchies of Chacoan Great Houses, domestic room blocks in the new villages were impressively uniform in size and, critically, plazas replaced great kivas as the site for community-wide masked dances and dramas. These would be the sites where sacred power, having unglued Chacoan society, now took new shape in the creation of a reformed communal world.[39]

The evolution of katsina ceremonialism in this era came to echo collectivist Pueblo "settlement logic." Katsinas are powerful supernatural beings, more spirits than deities, who represent Pueblo ancestors and intercede between their human descendants on earth and the gods with whom they live for half the year in the underworld. Katsinas have the power to take the form of clouds and bring rain for crops, to cure (or to cause) disease, to ensure victory in war, and to reward as well as to punish. While on earth, katsinas allow human impersonators to take their form and embody their spirit when in mask and costume during public dances and ceremonies; humans thereby gain access to beneficent power that can summon rain, promote fertility, regulate proper behavior, bring about cures, or win battles.

[38] LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest*, 197–276 ("crisis," 197); Kristin A. Kuckelman, Ricky R. Lightfoot, and Debra L. Martin, "Changing Patterns of Violence in the Northern San Juan Region," *Kiva* 66, no. 1 (Fall 2000): 147–65 ("violence," 159); Wesley Bernardini and Severin Fowles, "Becoming Hopi, Becoming Tiwa: Two Pueblo Histories of Movement," in *Movement, Connectivity, and Landscape Change in the Ancient Southwest*, ed. Margaret C. Nelson and Colleen Strawhacker (Boulder, Colo., 2011), 268 ("conquest"), 262–66. See also Jonathan Haas and Winifred Creamer, "Warfare among the Pueblos: Myth, History, and Ethnography," *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 2 (Spring 1997): 235–61; Stephen H. Lekson, "War in the Southwest, War in the World," *American Antiquity* 67, no. 4 (October 2002): 607–24; Deborah L. Nichols and Patricia L. Crown, eds., *Social Violence in the Prehispanic American Southwest* (Tucson, Ariz., 2008); Fowles, *Archaeology of Doings*, chap. 4.

[39] James E. Snead, "Warfare and Conflict in the Late Pre-Columbian Pueblo World," in Pauketat, *Oxford Handbook of North American Archaeology*, 620–30.

The katsinas' dual nature finds reflection in the imagery that came to represent them in this era. On the one hand, petroglyphs, pictographs, ceramics, and kiva mural paintings depict the anthropomorphized figures and masks of katsinas in the context of flowers, butterflies, and stepped clouds associated with rain and fertility. Simultaneously, however, katsinas appear alongside shield bearers and warriors—armed with arrows, bows, axes, and clubs—and with icons and motifs connoting militarism such as horned serpents, eagles, snakes, crosses, stars, star faces, spread-winged birds, swastikas, lightning, and checkerboard designs. They appeared as heralds of the social dissension and tumult of the era even as they became focal points of democratized ceremonial functions that sought social cohesion. In newly aggregated settlements, ritual katsina societies and public dances cut across lines of kin and clan, elite and nonelite, and immigrant and autochthon to bring together postmigration multicultural populations in community plazas where all participated equally. Ceremonies of masked katsina dancers thereby became institutionalized to ensure concord and blessings of the spirit beings who remained figures of protection and unification long after the years of migration, warfare, and reorganization.[40]

AT THE TIME OF SPANISH ARRIVAL, then, Pueblo people had undergone three hundred years of warfare initiated by an overreach of ritual power that resulted in wholesale social and theocratic reorganization. Imagine, then, how Pueblos in the sixteenth century who had achieved relatively stable, egalitarian societies might have reacted to facing a new, yet familiar, threat—would-be elites who sought to impose hierarchical rule that had at its heart the coercion of labor and the compulsion of religious belief. Pueblo peoples' Caddo contemporaries could rest on a tranquil confidence garnered from stable systems that had seen them through thick and thin—mostly thick—for centuries, but Pueblos had honed the tools they needed to deal with threats over centuries of punishing reformation. Indeed, the stakes of the coming struggle may have appeared even higher to Pueblos than to Caddos because the consequences of failure were so vivid in the recent Pueblo past.[41]

When explosive violence returned to the Southwest, signaled by the arrival of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Pueblos drew upon hard-won lessons in how to extinguish the chaos and destruction occasioned by the

[40] Fowles, "Pueblo Village in an Age of Reformation," 635–36 ("settlement logic," 635);, E. Charles Adams, *The Origin and Development of the Pueblo Katsina Cult* (Tucson, Ariz., 1991); Stephen Plog and Julie Solometo, "The Never-Changing and the Ever-Changing: The Evolution of Western Pueblo Ritual," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7, no. 2 (October 1997): 161–82; Polly Schaafsma, *Warrior, Shield, and Star: Imagery and Ideology of Pueblo Warfare* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2000); John Kantner, "Religious Behavior in the Post-Chaco Years," in *Religion in the Prehispanic Southwest*, ed. Christine S. Vanpool, Todd L. Vanpool, and David A. Phillips Jr. (Lanham, Md., 2006), 31–51.

[41] James F. Brooks compares the evangelical efforts of Catholic Franciscans to processes at Chaco in Brooks, *AHR* 118: 739–64.

presence of evil in their world. How reminiscent of Pueblo tales of a troubled past and corrupted power might have been the Spanish expeditions that began traveling north in 1539 bent on capturing men, women, and children for their labor and later for their souls? Spaniards, like Pueblos, lived in entangled worlds where spirits had beneficent and malevolent potential, violence might take spectral as well as physical form, gods intervened in war as well as peace, and divine will determined victory or defeat. For both, war was "a virtual magico-religious magnet," and the collision of their worlds decreed holy combat.[42]

This war, defined in religious terms and fought with religious icons, began long before any Franciscans arrived to pursue missionization. In calling on their spirits and gods to aid them against the invaders, Pueblos matched their own crosses and embodied deities (katsinas) to the crucifixes, rosaries, and icons of saints carried by Spanish forces. Surface similarities abounded and may have blinded Spaniards to the sacred forces arrayed against them by the prayers and invocations of Pueblo people. The likeness of Christian crosses and crucifixes to the cruciforms and prayer sticks used as shrine offerings and ritual tools in Pueblo ceremonies led Spanish observers to see miraculous signs of Christian knowledge among a people they considered pagan. As early as Coronado's expedition, Spaniards took special note of a spring near Acoma (clearly a shrine, but they may not have understood it as such) marked by "a cross made from a stick, two *palmos* tall and of the thickness of a finger, with its stone [base] a *vara* square," surrounded by prayer sticks decorated with feathers and dried flowers.[43] The same resemblances, however, heightened Pueblos' understanding of the battle being brought by the strangers. As with the earlier contest between solstitial and cardinal directional symbolism at Chaco, surface degrees of familiarity did nothing to hide the extremes of hierarchical power that the new invaders ultimately sought to impose. Indeed, they may have foretold Spanish ill intentions even more explicitly, especially to Pueblo people who had been there, done that, before.

Thus spiritual dialogues of a sort began in the sixteenth century when Spanish expeditions bent on slave raiding (missionization awaited the seventeenth century) traveled into Pueblo domains carrying before them crosses and the royal standard emblazoned with Christ and the Virgin Mary. Spaniards littered the region's highways with crosses they set up as route markers and emblems of protection, but those crosses shared space with wayside shrines built by Pueblos and decorated with feathers and painted

[42] R. Brian Ferguson, "Explaining War," in *The Anthropology of War*, ed. Jonathan Haas (Cambridge, 1990), 26–55 (quotation, 46).

[43] "The Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera's Narrative, 1560s (copy, 1596)," in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542. . . .*, ed. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Dallas, Tex., 2005), 378–493, esp. 433 (quotation), 418; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (Chicago, 1939), 1: 184, 186, 230–31, 247, 270–85, 2: 1073–74.

prayer sticks that marked off cosmic boundaries between their towns. If a Pueblo settlement offered Spaniards food, the visitors erected a cross, seemingly in reciprocity. Yet those crosses represented neither trade nor reciprocity but rather a Spanish marker of the pacification (conquest) of an indigenous town. Pueblo people's responses also carried meanings beyond surface appearances. Expedition narrators filled their pages with wonder at the sight of Pueblo crosses—whitewashed, decorated with feathers, and surrounded by sacred cornmeal—newly erected in villages upon Spanish arrival. The sight of Pueblo individuals who put crosses made of colored sticks on their heads or painted crosses on their foreheads as gestures of peace and welcome inspired equal astonishment.[44] Yet these were Pueblo crosses and Pueblo prayer sticks, icons long used for sacred protection from evil.

A Pueblo war of opposition to those who brought that evil, waged in both spiritual and physical form, started immediately (indeed, almost 150 years before the Pueblo Revolt). The actions described above transmitted confrontation rather than welcome. Yes, prayer sticks might be bound together in pairs or in bundles with the choice of wood and decoration by paint and feathers reflecting clan identity or the specific ritual purpose to which the sticks would be put, be it good health or good harvests. Yet prayer sticks were also accoutrements of battle katsinas, offered to the sun (a celestial war symbol) at winter solstices and associated with the sun shields those katsinas carried into war.[45] Cruciforms too played an integral role in Pueblo war imagery in the form of dragonflies and stars—four-pointed stars, feathered stars, or unilinear crosses representing stars—that figured as "supernaturally empowered entities that aided the Pueblos in their military endeavors" (Figure IV). Most notably, star-faced katsinas carried war clubs or yucca whips in their right hands and bows in their left. Representing the Morning Star or Evening Star, they acted as the heralds and guardians of war. These icons signaled the furthest thing from welcome in the hands of Pueblos.[46]

[44] George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580–1594: The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete, and Leyva de Bonilla and Humaña* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1966), 36, 72, 82, 84, 89, 94, 142, 157, 160, 162–64, 168–69, 173, 175, 184, 186, 190–91, 193, 197, 217, 220, 226–27.

[45] Schaafsma, *Warrior, Shield, and Star*; Stuart J. Baldwin, "Evidence for a Tompiro Morning Star Kachina," *Artifact* 30, no. 4 (1992): 1–14; Haas and Creamer, *Ethnohistory* 44: 235–61; LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest*; Helen K. Crotty, "Shields, Shield Bearers, and Warfare Imagery in Anasazi Art, 1200–1500," in *Deadly Landscapes: Case Studies in Prehistoric Southwestern Warfare*, ed. Glen E. Rice and Steven A. LeBlanc (Salt Lake City, Utah, 2001), 65–83.

[46] Schaafsma, *Warrior, Shield, and Star*, 5 (quotation), 91, 100, 115–16. What is more, in the seventeenth century Pueblos increasingly used crosses interchangeably with or in the place of birds, doing so in a way that may have masked the continued ritual significance of the symbolic design. Jeannette L. Mobley-Tanaka, "Crossed Cultures, Crossed Meanings: The Manipulation of Ritual Imagery in Early Historic Pueblo Resistance," in *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World*, ed. Robert W. Preucel (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2002), 77–84; Kurt E. Dongoske and Cindy

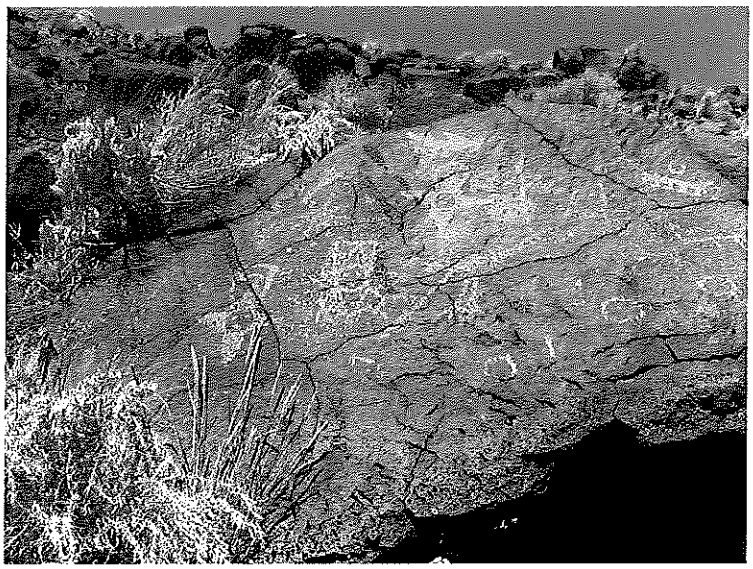

FIGURE IV

Star shrine featuring three star katsinas, Petroglyph National Monument, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Photograph by Juliana Barr.

Defense also came in the form of spiritual barriers. At some pueblos in the 1580s and 1590s, expeditionary members were lodged in kivas, round or square ceremonial spaces constructed partially underground. The Spaniards did not recognize their spiritual nature and instead identified them as council chambers or as communal housing for relief against the winter cold. Contained within sacred walls, though, the Spaniards found themselves surrounded by "paintings of the demons they worship as gods." Yet in Pueblo space, the demons were not the deities with the "fierce and terrible" features observed by Spaniards; the demons were the Spaniards themselves. When Pueblos housed Spaniards in their kivas, notably under the guard of those life-sized images of deities bearing shields and star faces, these were likely efforts to make impotent or ward off spirits and witches who traveled with the Spaniards.[47]

K. Dongoske, "History in Stone: Evaluating Spanish Conversion Efforts through Hopi Rock Art," ibid., 114–31; Carroll L. Riley, *Rio del Norte: People of the Upper Rio Grande from Earliest Times to the Pueblo Revolt* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 2007), 214.

[47] Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá, *History of New Mexico*, trans. Gilberto Espinosa (Los Angeles, 1933), 140 (quotations); George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Don Juan*

The deities who abetted Spanish violence with supernatural power were emblazoned on their expeditionary banners and embedded in the invaders' declarations. Christ, and more particularly the Virgin Mary and Santiago (Saint James), had helped to ensure *reconquista* in the Old World and now oversaw Spanish endeavors in the New. By 1598, no Pueblo could have been surprised that when Juan de Oñate arrived, he marched under a banner embroidered with an image of the Virgin Mary (Nuestra Señora de los Remedios) to declare their lands and labor forfeit. A year later at Acoma, words acting like hexes reinforced the power of Christian icons when Captain Juan de Zaldívar's troops destroyed the pueblo and its people, carrying out the carnage with declarations that Santiago and a "maiden of most wondrous beauty"—clearly the Virgin Mary—stood by their side throughout. To Pueblos, Spanish proclamations of protection in battle granted to shield-carrying soldiers by the spiritual presence of Santiago and the Virgin Mary would have resonated with their own guardian katsina traditions. The Virgin Mary, *La Conquistadora* of Spanish legend, might all too easily translate into a war katsina in their eyes. Pueblos learned to interpret Christian icons as symbols of war from the actions of military forces long before they ever saw them in the hands of Franciscans—not that the missionaries offered much of a different picture. When fray Alonso de Benavides arrived in Santa Fe in 1625 to head up New Mexico's missions, he brought with him a small wooden statue of the Virgin Mary, his own *La Conquistadora* (the title by which the statue became known), dressed in clothes of silk and gold braid. Ceremonies to install the statue began with the entire garrison marching in procession under the royal standard, with its embroidered image of Remedios, followed by the firing of endless rounds of gun and cannon salutes. Who could misinterpret the Virgin's association with militarized Spanish colonial rule?[48]

Given the century of conflict over intermittent Spanish entradas into the Pueblo world, it is no surprise that when permanent colonization began in 1598 it provoked repeated rebellions throughout the seventeenth century, culminating in the Revolt of 1680. And every confrontation testified to an ongoing war that required the invocation of supernatural power even

de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595–1628 (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1953), 2: 1015; James E. Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness: The Architectural History of the Salinas Missions* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1988); Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 66, 68–76, 121, 124, 186–205, 235, 256, 306, 407, 516, 627 n. 71, 678 n. 297.

[48] Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991), 53 (quotation), 48; J. Manuel Espinosa, "The Virgin of the Reconquest of New Mexico," *Mid-America* 18, no. 2 (April 1936): 79–87; Fray Angélico Chávez, *Our Lady of the Conquest* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1948), 33–36; Angelico Chavez, *La Conquistadora: The Autobiography of an Ancient Statue* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1975); Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá, *Historia de la Nueva México, 1610*, ed. Miguel Encinias, Alfred Rodríguez, and Joseph P. Sánchez (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1992), 298.

as it gave voice to a social critique of what had gone before. Spanish labor coercion and the prevalence of disease, drought, and famine all spoke to a perversion of the spirit and the punishments of gods. Tellingly, the revolt came after a 1660s upsurge in Spanish iconoclasm and violence against those who preserved Pueblo icons, prayer sticks, and katsina masks. "Idolaters" were beaten and burnt while Pueblo religious leaders—"sorcerers"—were harassed, arrested, and executed in the 1670s. In response, following "four days of prayer and planting prayersticks," Pueblos struck out to restore order. Their spiritual guide in this quest was P'ose yemu, the mythohistorical hero who first taught Pueblos the art of living but who now would be remembered as the leader who challenged Jesus to a duel of sacred power and won. Spaniards likewise recognized this as a holy war, and P'ose yemu went down in their record books as their version of a devil, with yellow eyes, black skin, and the power to emit fire from all his extremities.[49]

Not surprisingly, when Pueblos struck back in response to the violence of both missionaries and state officials, they targeted the iconic, supernatural sources of Spanish power. All temples, images, crosses, rosaries, church bells, and "everything pertaining to Christianity" were to be burned. Some rebels assumed the masks and dress of katsinas to do so. Holy objects embodied power; thus their destruction was necessary in order to extinguish Spanish dominion. Pueblo rebels surrounded the besieged town of Santa Fe, chanting, "'Now the God of the Spaniards, who was their father, is dead, and Santa María, who was their mother, and the saints, . . . were pieces of rotten wood,' . . . [now] only their own [Pueblo] god lived." To celebrate victory, rebel leaders toured villages where they broke up, mutilated, burned, and scalped images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints while banning even the utterance of their names.[50]

[49] Declaration of one of the rebellious Christian Indians who was captured on the road, in Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., Charmion Clair Shelby, trans., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682*, 2 pts. (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1942), pt. 1, 60–61 ("Idolaters," pt. 1, 61); Andrew O. Wiget, "Truth and the Hopi: An Historiographic Study of Documented Oral Tradition Concerning the Coming of the Spanish," *Ethnohistory* 29, no. 3 (Summer 1982): 181–99 ("four," 187). For descriptions of P'ose yemu, see Declaration of the Indian, Juan, Dec. 18, 1681, Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation, Dec. 19, 1681, Declaration of Juan Lorenzo and Francisco Lorenzo, Dec. 20, 1681, Declaration of Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana, Dec. 22, 1681, ibid., pt. 2, 234–35, 246, 248, 251, 285–91; Richard J. Parmentier, "The Pueblo Mythological Triangle: Poseyemu, Montezuma, and Jesus in the Pueblos," in Ortiz, *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest*, 609–22.

[50] Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation, Dec. 19, 1681, in Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians*, pt. 2, 245–49 ("everything," pt. 2, 247); Declaration of Josephe, Dec. 19, 1681, ibid., pt. 2, 238–42 ("Now the God," pt. 2, 239–40); Declaration of the Indian, Juan, Dec. 18, 1681, ibid., pt. 2, 232–38; Declaration of Lucas, Dec. 19, 1681, ibid., pt. 2, 243–45; Declaration of Juan Lorenzo and Francisco Lorenzo, Dec. 20, 1681, ibid., pt. 2, 249–52. For katsina dress of rebels, see Wiget, *Ethnohistory* 29: 186. For katsina masks of rebels, see Harold Courlander, *The Fourth World of the Hopis: The Epic Story of the Hopi Indians as Preserved in Their Legends and Traditions* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1971), 162.

When Spaniards interrogated captured Pueblos about the reasons behind the revolt, they sacralized the testimony by standing the prisoners under the royal standard and making them swear oaths "in the name of God, our Lord, and on a sign of the cross." The prisoners countered with accusations of Spanish sacrilege, denouncing the fact that they had forbidden Pueblos their own sacred objects and worship: "they resented it greatly that the religious [Franciscans] and the Spaniards should deprive them of their idols, their dances, and their superstitions." These were not simply statements against coercive missionary conversion. There was a history here. Pueblo explanations for their actions offered striking echoes of the ways in which traditions had sought to capture the spiritual illness, the wrongness, the un-Puebloan nature of Chaco. Like the Great Gambler, the Spaniards "required the people to build a house for the priest," and the priest himself "was called Tutaachi, a Hopi word approximating 'dictator,' for his habit of giving orders." At Salinas pueblos, the inhabitants "were tired of the work they had to do for the Spaniards and the religious" and "being weary, they had rebelled." Just as at White House, with its improperly behaving elites, the corruptions of Spanish transgressors had the power to drive away the katsinas. Thus at Awatovi, when Christianity took hold again after the revolt, "before long the rainfall became sparser and sparser. . . . The words of their kachina godfathers and Powamuy godfathers meant nothing." And in both the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, periods of religious disharmony leading to the uprisings were heralded by severe drought, a sure sign of the gods' curses and the rain-making katsinas' abandonment. The Chaco elite and the Spanish invaders produced defiled worlds that could be purified only by destruction.[51]

The Pueblo declaration that they were "at quits with the Spaniards . . . now we shall live as we like" led to another reformation, another search for restored religio-political order that might be blessed by the katsinas. When rebel leaders called on the people to live as they had "in ancient times," however, their references to "their ancient custom" and "the state of their antiquity" did not hark back to Chaco. And nor did the people. They rebuilt kivas in the centers of their plazas, they built new shrines at which they offered flour, feathers, maguey seeds, corn, and tobacco, and they "danced throughout the kingdom the dance of the cazina, making many masks for it." Once they were "living thus in accordance with the law of their ancestors," they

[51] Declaration of an Indian Rebel, Aug. 23, 1680, in Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians,* pt. 1, 19–21 ("name of God," pt. 1, 20); Declaration of one of the rebellious Christian Indians who was captured on the road, Sept. 6, 1680, ibid., pt. 1, 60–62 ("resented," pt. 1, 62); Declaration of Pedro García, an Indian of the Tagno nation, a native of Las Salinas, Aug. 25, 1680, ibid., pt. 1, 23–26 ("tired," pt. 1, 24, "weary," pt. 1, 25); Statement of Pedro García [an Indian], Sept. 6, 1680, ibid., pt. 1, 62; Wiget, *Ethnohistory* 29: 184–85 ("required," 184, "Tutaachi," 184–85); Malotki, *Hopi Tales of Destruction,* 168 ("rainfall").

could anticipate great harvests, could erect their own houses, and could "enjoy abundant health." All the things katsinas had long ensured—rain, fertility, and cures—would return, provided people followed the proper ritual. As symbols of protection and unity against hierarchical rule and theocratic coercion, the return of katsinas did not represent mere Native rejection of Christian conversion. They heralded, instead, another Pueblo revolution, another moment within a continuous history of Pueblos acting to reform social, political, and spiritual order.[52]

Pueblo decisions and actions after 1680 echoed those that had followed Chaco's fall. Revitalization once again found expression in strategies of mobility and migration, as some Pueblos such as those at Jemez moved their settlements to more defensible mesas and realigned their plazas and room blocks in new ways. Archaeologist Matthew J. Liebmann terms these developments "Pueblofication," and one might wonder at the similarity to the experiences and innovations of Chaco's refugees who crafted ways that would be newly Pueblo and un-Chacoan. Zunis meanwhile took refuge at Dowa Yalanne, a long-sacred mesa towering eight hundred and twenty vertiginous feet above their river valley (Figure V). It had become a favored retreat since the days when Coronado first attacked Hawikku and had offered them sanctuary from Spanish violence throughout the seventeenth century. From 1680 to 1692, however, they transformed it into a home away from home, building enough room blocks to house the entire Zuni population—every Zuni family—in one settlement, even as their agricultural fields and grazing lands remained below in the valley (Figure VI). In so doing, they reinitiated "long-held mobility strategies," something that many of their fellow Pueblos had done as soon as Spanish colonization began in 1598, a practice that explains why archaeological evidence indicates the existence of numerous pueblos that never made it into Spanish record books. As the Zunis did in the 1680s, the people simply had removed themselves from locations where they would garner Spanish attention or awareness.[53]

[52] Declaration of an Indian Rebel, Aug. 23, 1680, in Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians*, pt. 1, 20 ("quits"); Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation, Dec. 19, 1681, ibid., pt. 2, 247 ("ancient times"), 248 ("antiquity," "living thus"); Declaration of Juan Lorenzo and Francisco Lorenzo, Dec. 20, 1681, ibid., pt. 2, 251 ("ancient custom"); Declaration of Josephe, Spanish-speaking Indian, Dec. 19, 1681, ibid., pt. 2, 240 ("danced"); Declaration of Lucas, Piro Indian, Dec. 19, 1681, ibid., pt. 2, 243–45.

[53] Matthew J. Liebmann, "Signs of Power and Resistance: The Re(Creation) of Christian Imagery and Identities in the Pueblo Revolt Era," in Preucel, *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt*, 132–44 ("Pueblofication," 138). For abandonment as strategy, see Kulisheck, "'Like Butterflies on a Mounting Board,'" 176 ("long-held"). For settlement shifts and realignments, see Liebmann, *Revolt: An Archaeological History of Pueblo Resistance and Revitalization in 17th Century New Mexico* (Tucson, Ariz., 2012), 83–134. For Dowa Yalanne, see T. J. Ferguson, *Historic Zuni Architecture and Society: An Archaeological Application of Space Syntax* (Tucson, Ariz., 1996), 27–30. Jeremy Kulisheck points out that many scholars previously equated abandoned seventeenth-century sites with popula-

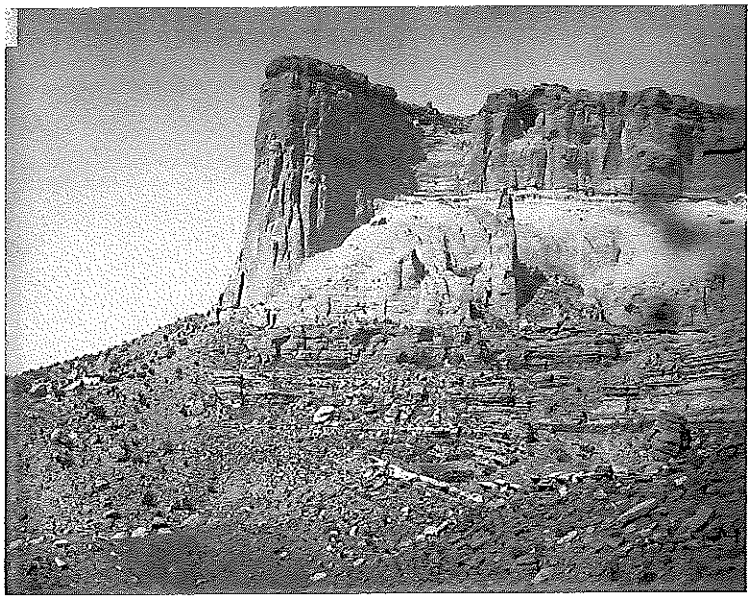

FIGURE V

Dowa Yalanne as it appears in *View of Pueblo Ruins at Southwest Base of Taaaiyalna or Taaiyalone Mountain*, 1886, photograph by Cosmos Mindeleff. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [GN 02345 06386600].

At Astialakwa, one of the 1690s mesa-top settlements of the Jemez, stands a petroglyph believed to be of culture hero Masewi, bedecked with warrior paraphernalia. A perhaps fanciful interpretation might be that he was carved there as iconic protection against a Spanish return—an apt Pueblo answer to Santiago. In contrast, another late seventeenth-century petroglyph twenty-one miles away hides in a remote cave above Frijoles Canyon—seemingly a re-interpretation of the Virgin Mary with the distinctive rectangular mouth of a katsina. Liebmann suggests that her halo invokes the feathered headdresses of sun katsinas, marking her as a colonial object redefined in Pueblo terms (Figure VII). Perhaps she also represents a Pueblo view of La Conquistadora translated into a feared and loathsome Spanish warrior katsina? After all,

tion decline from disease and warfare, whereas they are now recognized as an indication of historical strategies of mobility and relocation. For mobility strategies, see Kulisheck, "Pueblo Population Movements, Abandonment and Settlement Change in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century New Mexico," *Kiva* 69, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 30–54. See also Michael V. Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest: An Indigenous Archaeology of Contact* (Berkeley, Calif., 2009), 79, 95–102.

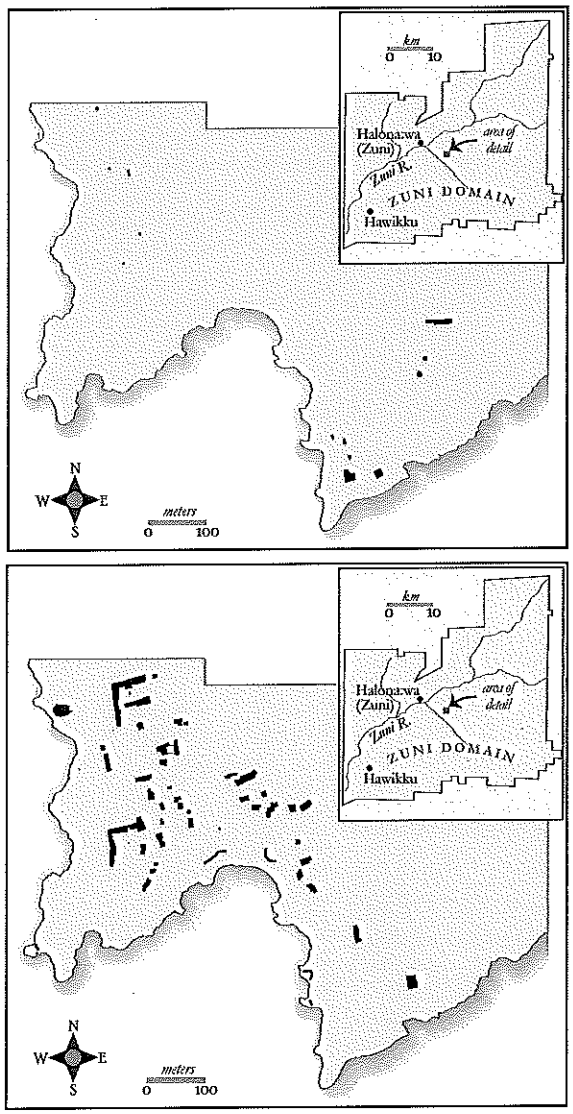

FIGURE VI

Settlement density on Dowa Yalanne, before and after 1680. Adapted from *Historic Zuni Architecture and Society: An Archaeological Application of Space Syntax* by T. J. Ferguson. © 1996 The Arizona Board of Regents. Reprinted by permission of the University of Arizona Press. Redrawn by Rebecca Wrenn. An interactive version is available on the OI Reader.

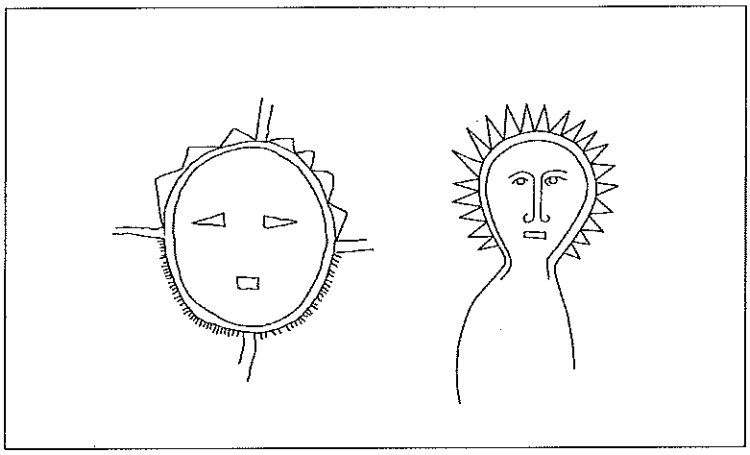

FIGURE VII

Sun katsina (left). Adapted from Polly Schaafsma, *Rock Art in the Cochiti Reservoir District*, Papers in Anthropology Number 16 (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1975), fig. 60, p. 77. Original drawn by Phyllis Hughes. Reprinted by permission of the Museum of New Mexico Press. Redrawn by Rebecca Wrenn.

Virgin katsina (right). Provided courtesy of Matthew J. Liebmann. Adapted from Liebmann, "Signs of Power and Resistance: The (Re)Creation of Christian Imagery and Identities in the Pueblo Revolt Era," in *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World*, ed. Robert W. Preucel (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2002), 137. Redrawn by Rebecca Wrenn.

Pueblos believe the Sun is the sovereign patron of warriors, and it serves as a favored emblem for their battle shields. Perhaps she was carved as a new symbol offering an old reminder of past and future dangers?[54]

INVESTIGATING THE PAST OF CADDOS AND PUEBLOS over a term long enough and a scope great enough to bridge a pre-post divide opens up the ability to see the historicity of their settlement patterns, political structures, religious rituals, diplomatic strategies, and tactics of warfare—all attributes of society or culture that scholars tend to treat as static as they seek to make sense of events at certain moments in time. More than that, the enduring sweep of Caddo and Pueblo histories gives us stories of countercultures and counterpower that make us reconfigure what we might see as the high-water marks in the story of indigenous North America. All too often our historical

[54] For Masewi, see Liebmann, *Revolt*, 199. For the Virgin Katsina, see ibid., 135–42; Liebmann, "Signs of Power and Resistance," 136–38. For sun symbolism, see Schaafsma, *Warrior, Shield, and Star*, 144–49.

gaze is captured by the bold and the bright, by places such as Chaco and Cahokia that fit Western notions of modern or advanced or high civilization. As a result, we miss two more compelling realities: Cahokia and Chaco were only moments along the much longer timelines of Caddo and Pueblo history, and those peoples' long histories shape later histories, including those of colonial America and our world today.

We must contend with the depth and the entirety of that timescale of the Native past. Who would have thought it would not be the fiercest or most powerful chiefdoms of the Southeast but rather the more modest Caddos who stopped Soto in his tracks and frustrated, controlled, and marginalized the conquistadores of the spirit who followed him? Who would have thought the egalitarian Pueblos would launch the most successful Indian resistance movement against European colonialism in North America? Three hundred years later, in 1980, Pueblo runners retraced the routes of their rebel ancestors, routes that still connect their still-sovereign lands at Zuni, atop Acoma and Hopi Mesas, and all along the Rio Grande in celebration of the revolt's anniversary. Surely that celebration amplifies both the revolt's success and the deeper consequence of the long term.[55]

If we take the lesson of not letting Chaco and Cahokia capture all our attention in the long term, then we might also question the habit of fixing our gaze upon a different bold and bright moment: European arrival in the Americas. If we still want to argue that the arrival of Europeans occasioned the creation of a "new world," we might at least see that world as only one of many worlds that occupy points along a very long timeline of history in the Americas. North America's indigenous populations had negotiated many new beginnings, and that greater historical timescale is critical to situating the place of colonial America within the history of the Americas. By grounding ourselves in Pueblo and Caddo country and in the histories that created those places and peoples, we may begin to see how the older and open-ended plotlines of the Native past subsume not only colonial America but also the U.S. nation-state, with beginnings in a time long before 1492 and endings we have not yet reached.

[55] Peter Nabokov, *Indian Running: Native American History and Tradition* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1981).