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The Impact of Sound on Colonization: Spanish, French and British Encounters with Native American Cultures, from Colonial Guatemala to Virginia

Summary

The colonization of the New World gave rise to unprecedented political and social changes, but these varied among the actors, and depended on the time of contact, the nature of interaction(s), societal ontologies, and other factors. Some information about the encounters is contained in ethnohistoric accounts but they are often biased, and the material record on its own is at the mercy of environmental factors and excavation choices. Music and music-accompanied events, on the other hand, can retain cultural messages (sonic preferences, myths, cultural ties etc.) that escape detection by censors (of both the human and nature kind). In this paper I use music evidence as a lens through which to view contact's range of effects on Europeans and Amerindians in three areas of interaction.

Keywords: music; politics; New World; colonization; sound

Die Kolonialisierung der Neuen Welt führte zu beispiellosen politischen und sozialen Veränderungen, die sich für die Betroffenen u. a. je nach Kontaktzeitraum und Art und Weise der Begegnung(en) unterschieden. Manche Informationen über diese Begegnungen finden sich in ethnohistorischen Quellen, allerdings sind diese oftmals einseitig und die Materiallage ist abhängig von Umweltfaktoren und Ausgrabungsmethoden. Auch Musik und Musikveranstaltungen können kulturelle Botschaften bewahren, die menschlicher und natürlicher ‚Zensur' entkommen sind. In diesem Beitrag werden musikalische Zeugnisse als Analyseperspektive verwendet, durch die die Kontaktreichweite der Einwirkungen auf Europäer*innen und ‚Amerindians' in drei Interaktionsräumen beobachtet werden sollen.

Keywords: Musik; Politik; Neue Welt; Kolonisation; Klang

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1 Introduction

The ideal method for documenting aural encounters between Colonial-era Europeans and Native Americans would employ an etymology understood by both groups for use in comparisons (Fig. 1). By doing this we could define soundmaking terms and systems for each of the groups covered in a manner allowing for similarities and differences, while simultaneously highlighting cases where culture-specific terms have been re-defined. To give an example of the latter; the K'iche' Maya word *k'ojom*, once restricted to drumming, has over the centuries been modified to now also mean music. This change could indicate K'iche' terminological refinement of what music mostly is, or contrarily indicate adoption of Western perceptions of K'iche' music. Either way, the term could be analyzed according to both its current and past meanings and why and when the meaning changed could perhaps be determined. There are myriad examples like these but as soundmaking in this chapter concerns measurable phenomena like pitch, volume, and timbre, a review of such terms should not be needed. One confession, however, must be made; despite the title and evidence that European dance and song forms like the *Pavanne*, *Sarabande*, and *Villancico* owe much to indigenous practices: here I do not propose to emphasize contact's impact on European soundmaking. That is a study that has been done before, and admirably,[1] although with new information it is one that is certainly due a revisit.

2 The Spanish and the K'iche' Maya of Guatemala

In 1537 the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas began one of the earliest and grandest experiments in acculturation by establishing Verapaz, or the land of True Peace, in the area between the two largest Guatemalan mountain ranges, the Cuchamatanes and the Chuacus (Fig. 2). He chose this region, formerly known to the Spanish by its Mexican name *Tezulutlán*, "Place of the Owl", corrupted to mean Land of War for its untamed reputation, and marked it as a conspicuous testing ground for his revolutionary alternative to war, which he proposed to the Spanish monarchy as a Christian doctrine of conquest through God.[2]

1 Laird 1997; Stevenson 1960; Stevenson 1962.

2 Akkeren 2000; Carmack 1981.The reader may be familiar with Las Casas' debates with Sepulvida on the nature of Amerindian civil rights, a polemic nominally won by the humanitarian but which did little to alter imperial policy; Wood 2002, 269.

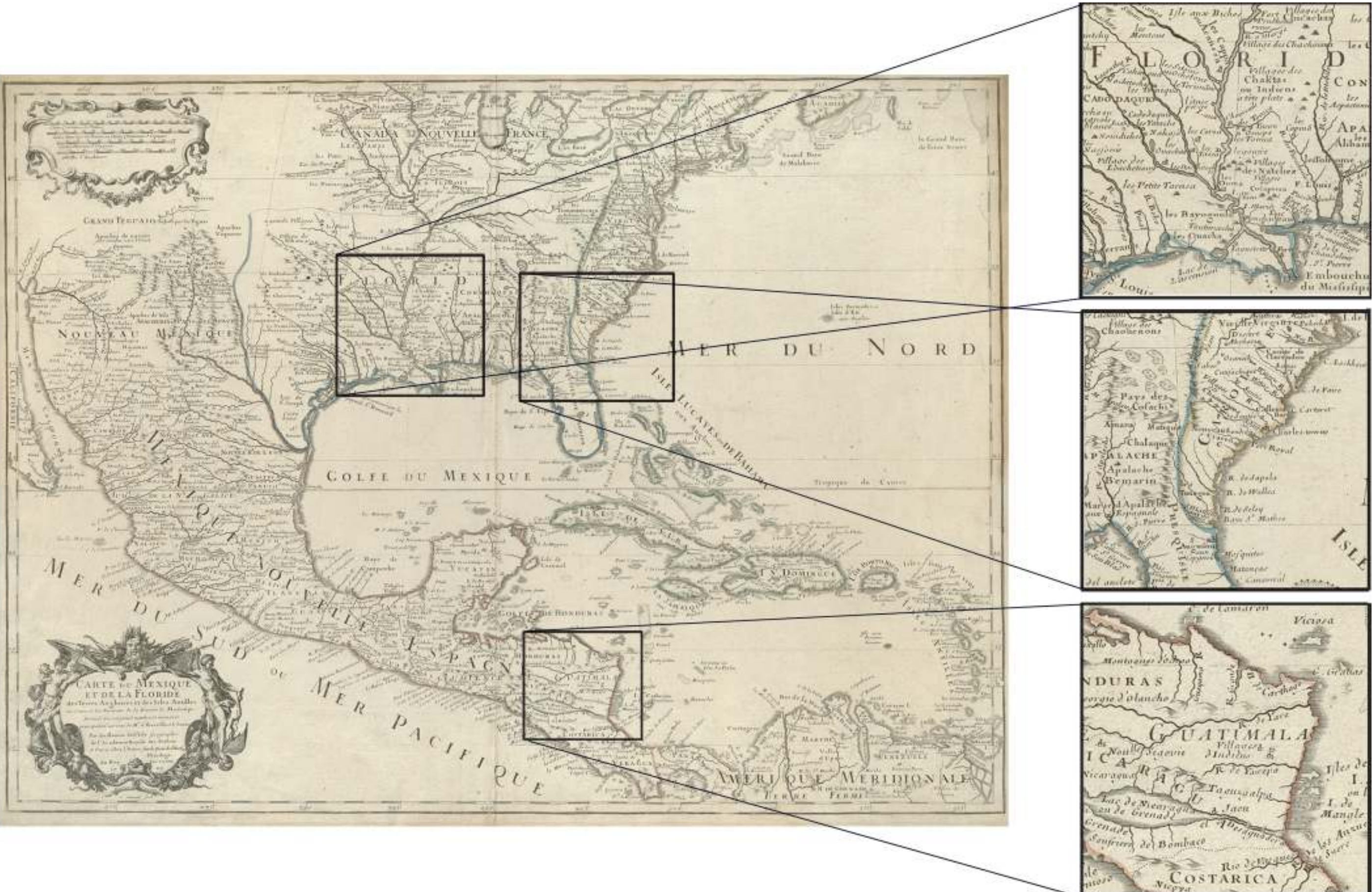

Fig. 1 The three areas of interaction. DeLisle and Baldwin's "Carte du Mexique et de la Floride" (1703). Highland Guatemala is located at the bottom close to the second "E" in "Espagne". The Lower Mississippi River Valley juts out from the central northern Gulf Coast, and the Cherokee homeland sits along the green line running parallel to the Mer Du Nor coast.

Fig. 2 Map of Guatemala showing the locations of Alta and Baja Verapaz.

Las Casas' experiment lasted officially for only a few decades, but in the lower half of the land of peace, Baja Verapaz,[3] it continued unofficially for some 200 years more.[4] The dominant ethnic group in this area was and remains K'iche' Achi Maya, famous for a mock sacrifice dance-play called the *Rab'inal Achi*; known by this name since 1855, which has been performed somewhat regularly in its namesake town until as recently as January of last year, 2015 (Fig. 3). The *Rab'inal Achi* dance-play, or *baile*, is of a type locally called *tun*, which has specific and unique characteristics, including a plot of capture-captivity-trial and sacrifice, references to pre-Columbian Guatemalan history, costumes

3 Even in the mid-20th century the central valley of Baja Verapaz was approached by only a single mule trail, which was improved shortly before 1945 at the order of the then president Jorge Ubico to facilitate military suppression of uprisings against his right-wing government. In spite of the improvement this trail remained unpaved until the 1950s. 82 % of the 24 063 residents speak K'iche'-Achi (a highland Maya dialect), and for many this is their primary or only language; Howell 2004.

4 King 1974, 21.

Fig. 3 Rab'inal Achi' performance excerpt, 2001.

and masks, ensemble dances between speeches, and an accompanying ensemble of valveless trumpet(s) and/or slit drum that play for the dances and cue the speeches. Of all of the *baile* dance-plays currently performed in Guatemala, such as variously named animal bailes, conquest bailes, and conversion bailes, the *tun*, or sacrifice baile, is the best candidate for having originated in pre-Columbian times. Anthropologist Dennis Tedlock notes iconography on pre-Spanish pottery from the Guatemala highlands that replicates its sequence of capture-captivity-trial and sacrifice.[5] And Ruud Van Akkeren lists evidence for the baile's antiquity in several Colonial-era documents indicating its origin at least 100 years before the arrival of the Spanish.[6] What is more, the instruments used in accompaniment, the slit-drum, and the valveless tube trumpet, are often depicted in pre-Hispanic images accompanying sacrificial rites.[7]

Along with its musical and theatrical elements are the circumstances of performance. The *Rab'inal Achi*, like other bailes in the Maya highlands, is featured in Catholic saint-day celebrations where it is performed at various sacred locales, including churches, graveyards, and religious brotherhood, or *cofradia*, houses. In many of these settings it is enacted simultaneously alongside other bailes presenting their own stories and sounds. Typically, bailes compete with one another for space, often intruding into areas set aside

5 Tedlock 2003, 127–28.
6 Akkeren 2000, 476–480.
7 Howell 2004.

for rival dance-plays. Most, if not all, will also be paraded through a town's streets in processions going from one performance area to another.

In addition to being known from iconography, the instrument types used in the *Rab'inal Achi'* are archaeologically attested. Scores of wooden slit-drums have been found during controlled excavations throughout Mexico and Central America, including Guatemala, while a handful of ceramic tube trumpets have been similarly recovered.[8] Slit-drums used today resemble their pre-Columbian predecessors, while the valveless trumpets – once apparently made of wood or gourd, as well as clay – are now made of brass, an obvious consequence of Spanish influence (Fig. 4). Both the slit-drum and valveless tube trumpet are among a small number of instruments with ancient roots still used in ritual contexts, a list that also includes flutes, skin drums, and container rattles. However, for some rituals and other indigenous purposes, introduced instruments have replaced the originals, although there appears to have been an attempt to at least preserve the timbres (tone colors) of the latter. Take for example the *chirimía*, a double-reed instrument invented in Europe and prevalent in 16th-century Spain and Spanish America that is now only used in Spanish-speaking countries of the Americas (Fig. 5). Its nasal-like timbre is similar to the tone quality of the Mesoamerican *mirliton* flute, equipped with an exterior buzzing membrane (sometimes made from the web of the funnel-wolf spider *Lycosidae sosippus*). The similarity in tone between the two instruments might explain the chirimía's continued appeal to the Maya some 500 years after its introduction – it is prominent in the Guatemalan version of the *Baile de la Conquista*. In addition to buzzing sounds, there is a Maya fascination with sounds made by edgetone instruments, such as flutes and whistles. In one particular case, single chamber duct flutes used for the modern highland Maya version of the *Baile de los Moros y Cristianos* often have modified apertures, which duplicate those found on certain pre-Columbian specimens, a modification affecting the number of harmonics audible in a sound (Fig. 6). In my research I have found examples of cut plastic (PVC) plumbing pipe made into flutes, with bees' wax kneaded around the apertures used to replicate pre-Columbian versions. Again, like the buzzing sound of the chirimía, the idea seems to be the perpetuation of a specific Maya-preferred timbre.

The contexts of use of soundmakers like the slit-drum, valveless tube trumpet, and aperture-modified duct flute illustrate the retention of another probable pre-Columbian characteristic – exclusivity – whereby specific instruments and their sounds are restricted to certain dance-plays, games, and prayers.[9] Conquest-themed dance-plays like the *Baile de la Conquista* require flutes (or chirimías) and skin drums, and tun dance-plays require trumpets and/or slit-drums. This level of sonic specificity seems to have flown under

8 Howell 2004.

9 Howell 2004.

Fig. 4 Rab'inal Achi' musicians with slit-drum and valveless tube trumpets, 2001.

the radar of Spanish awareness, and subsequently of most archaeologists for that matter, which is why these aspects are now so revelatory. However, in Latin America the Colonial-era Spanish were at least able to exert control over the performances themselves, or so they assumed.

Records indicate that during the time of Las Casas' True Peace experiment there were more *tun* bailes in Alto and Baja Verapaz than the *Rab'inal Achi* (theorized by Van Akkeren, Mace, Edmonson, and Tedlock to have been present at that time, whether called by that name or not). Some of those in addition were the *Lotzo Tun*, *Tum Teleche*, *Trompetas Tun*, and *Quiché Uinac*.[10] The Colonial-era vitality of *tun* bailes may explain the eleven official edicts enacted against them in Guatemala between the 16th and 18th

10 Akkeren 2000; Edmonson 1976 [1965]; Mace 1967; Tedlock 2003.

Fig. 5 Guatemalan *chirimía*.

Fig. 6 Mesoamerican duct flute with raised aperture.

century, the first in 1593 and the last in 1770.[11] In 1625 they were even banned in the two Verapazes.[12]

In an attempt to fight the bans, the Maya periodically defined *tun* bailes to Colonial administrators as historical dramas, apparently cognizant of the fact that this was a theatrical genre respected and thus hopefully tolerated by the Spanish. In 1676, citizens in San Juan Sacatepequez (San Miguel Milpa Duenas today) used the historical nature of the *Trompetas Tun* to attempt to overturn the prohibition of its performance, characterizing it as an "entertaining history in song." The Maya further noted the baile to be a "very common dance among all the Indians".[13] The two adjectives used imply

11 Tedlock 2003, 201.

12 Bans are recorded in 1593, 1624, 1631, 1632, 1650, 1678, 1679, 1684, 1748, 1749 and 1770; Tedlock 1998. They apply to dance-plays performed in the towns of San Bernadino, Sanayac, Putalul, Mazatenango, San Martin Zapotitlan, Retalhuleu, Alotenango, and the above mentioned San Miguel; Tedlock 2003, 201. In addition, there was a plea by colonial-era authorities for the prohibition of a similar dance-play performed in Tabasco, a southern gulf coast state of Mexico; Tedlock 2003, 200.

13 Acuña 1975, 109.

Fig. 7 *Baile de los Moros y Cristianos* procession, Coban, Guatemala, 2000.

two possible – not mutually exclusive – strategies for baile re-instatement: one, that it was entertaining and common, and thus benign in character, not demanding serious concern; the other, that its widespread popularity could be used to Spanish advantage – as a distraction perhaps, while more serious papal or bureaucratic business could be tended to. Yet despite appeal to Spanish tastes and administrative aims, authorities proved less interested in preserving Maya histories than in eradicating all indigenous customs. With this resolve, one would think that sacrifice dance-plays would have been completely eliminated. They certainly celebrated the most conspicuously anti-Christian of all Mesoamerican practices, human sacrifice. Yet along with Rabinal, six other highland towns allegedly hosted tun bailes well into the twentieth century.[14]

As illuminating as this type of dance-play is, using it as the sole barometer of cultural resilience minimizes the importance and extent of the dance tradition zeitgeist in Maya Guatemala. There are at least 25 other baile types currently performed there. Most are hybrids, combining Spanish Catholic and Amerindian traditions, such as the *Baile de los Moros y Cristianos* and *Maximon*, and most can be traced to the early Colonial period. Because of the marriage of indigenous beliefs to Christian symbolism it could be argued that hybrids were as subversive as *tun* bailes (Fig. 7).

14 These six are San Pedro Laguna, San Juan Ixcoy, Aguacatán, Momostenango, Santa Catarina Ixtahua-

In a survey of the 314 major Guatemalan towns in the 22 departments of the country, 150 or 47 % regularly present bailes, and over half of these present two or more. When broken down by department, Alta Verapaz presents the most. Of its fourteen major municipalities, thirteen host dance-plays, meaning 96 % of the towns in Alta Verapaz have a baile tradition. Six of the eight towns in Baja Verapaz do the same. Only two other departments have a comparably high average: Totonicapan and El Quíche (each in the high 90 % range). The latter, being the population center of Guatemala, and the the former, being situated in rugged terrain, perhaps explain why these departments preserve Maya colonial and pre-colonial traditions.[15] A few departments in the extreme north present none.

Whatever the ultimate explanations for the retention and high number of tun bailes and Colonial-era hybrid dance-plays in the two Verapazes, we should at least partially credit a progressive Spanish Colonial policy of tolerance; effective for however briefly in time and imperfect in application. But a more critical question, especially for music archaeologists, is: did Las Casa's isolation of Verapaz help preserve pre-Columbian instruments? This is hard to prove, but the survival of slit-drums, valveless tube trumpets and aperture-modified duct flutes owes much to cultural insulation, whether engendered through official quarantine, rural immigration, or prohibitive location. And beyond the preservation of the material instruments themselves is the preservation of the sounds they make. Here, there is substantial evidence for timbral retention throughout areas where Maya traditions remained strong. The maintenance of such a culturally relevant sonic diagnostic for nearly five centuries seems to lend a measure of credence to Lü Buwei's theory of an intertwining of governments with the musics they promote, support, and suppress.[16]

3 The French and the Natchez and Tunica in the Lower Mississippi River Valley

In 1700, when Louis XIV's Colonial governor Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville made his way up the Mississippi River to re-establish French contact with the Tunica, Natchez, and

can, and Samayac. San Pedro Laguna and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacan are both in the department of Sololá. San Juan Ixcoy and Aguacatán are both in the department of Huehuetenango. Momostenango is in the department of Totonicapán and Samayac is in the department of Suchitepéquez. If true and indicative of the survival of a pre-Columbian tradition, it is noteworthy that none of these six towns are located in Verapaz (Baja or Alto) and that the only apparent similarity between them and Rabinal is their locations in mountainous regions in the west of the country; areas that only recently became accessible to outsiders and are still home to relatively large Maya populations noted for maintaining cultural traditions.

15 Departamento 1971.

16 See Monson 1996; Journeau, this volume.

other tribal groups met with twenty years earlier by Sieur de la Salle, the party noted in the water a red cypress tree purposely stripped of its bark, which the French called "le baton rouge".[17] This marker, though originally placed to delineate the boundary between Houma and Bayou Goula hunting grounds, effectively fixed the southern border of Mississippian culture, pre-Columbian mound builders and agriculturalists whose settlements were centered along the eponymous river and its tributaries.

During the time of their adventures the French largely remained in the river's flood plain, and their approach to colonization adhered to expected French hierarchical affiliations – country first, independent entrepreneur second. Their loyalty to this system implies that the full weight of the French government was behind the colonists, which was the case initially and was a goal always, but the level of intercontinental commitment eventually placed too much of a strain on overtaxed French bureaucracies involved in seemingly never-ending conflicts in Europe – King William's War of 1689 to 1697; Queen Anne's War of 1702 to 1713; The Seven Years' War of 1756 to 1763 – and as a result the colonists were often left to fend for themselves. None liked this outcome and several attempts were made to find more workable solutions, including the outsourcing of the colonial enterprise to The Company of the West Indies between 1717 and 1731, but the lack of direct involvement in Native affairs proved to be the downfall of the French in the American south.[18] By 1763 the lands they controlled east of the Mississippi River, save New Orleans, were ceded to Great Britain (by the Treaty of Paris) while those west were ceded to Spain (by the Treaty of Fontainbleau). France would occupy the river valley one final time, starting in 1800 (following the Treaty of San Ildefonso), but only three years later the emperor Napoleon Bonaparte sold those possessions to the United States of America. During their brief time in the valley, the most significant French relationships were with the Natchez and Tunica, neither of which now exists as a tribal entity.

17th and 18th-century reports by Frenchmen describe Natchez and Tunica agricultural practices, commerce, rituals, and other aspects of life.[19] An account and accompanying ink drawing of the funeral of the Natchez war chief Tattooed Serpent, for instance, shows individuals nested together, and rotating from that small nucleus in a continually circling route – similar in appearance to the spiraling arms of a galaxy. This has been used by archaeologists in countless ethnographic analogies to elucidate centuries-earlier

17 J. F. Barnett personal communication 2011. Baton Rouge is now, of course, the capital of the state of Louisiana.

18 The French had originally entered the Lower Mississippi River Valley from Canada in the 1670s and over the ensuing years wrestled not only with the English but with the Spanish for control of the river and the adjacent lands and waterways of the northern Gulf of Mexico.

19 Barnett 2007. D'Iberville, Jean-Françoise Buisson de Saint-Cosme, André Pénicaut, and Antoine-Simone Le Page du Pratz provided many of these accounts.

Mississippian funerary rites.[20] Other accounts (philological and iconographical) highlight, among other things, dancing, singing, and instrument playing. As if in response, among the standard items traded to Amerindians of the Lower Mississippi River Valley were brass and silver bells of the crotal (jingle) type and tinkling cones. The desirability and use of these soundmakers is noted in ethnohistoric accounts. "When dancing they don their best clothes; and, they wear a belt made up of about 40 *potin* (brass) hawk-type bells".[21] The extent of bell trade is also recorded in shipping inventories, such as in a 1701 entry for the Biloxi fort, "for the presents to be made to the Indians of said county, are six gross (864) of Hawk's bells," and for the fort at Mobile, "two gross (288)".[22] In addition to being documented in ledgers and reports, a number of European bells and 'tinklers' have survived archaeologically. Recovered in just one mound at the Natchez Grand Village site were 33 brass bells, two silver bells, and 13 conical brass tinklers.[23] At smaller nearby Tunica sites: 18 or more brass bells were found at Trudeau, 16 or more were found at Bloodhound, 11 at Gilbert, and at least 6 at Angola Farms.[24]

Before the advent of European metal bells, Amerindians in the valley made use of shell shakers for similar purposes (Fig. 8).[25] In a casual review of 32 site reports, I located in excess of 12 shell-artifact assemblages indicating their primary or secondary use as soundmakers. In fact, one of the most intriguing examples in North America of reverse acculturation concerns metal tinklers cut and fabricated by Amerindians out of European brass objects, like plates and kettles, then re-made to resemble and function as cone-shaped shell tinklers similar in appearance and function to those used in pre-Columbian times (Fig. 9). But trading bells provide us perhaps with our best insight into Native American-French commerce, indigenous sonic preferences, and changing culture (Fig. 10).[26]

20 Barnett 2007; Swanton 1979 [1946]; Wells 1994.

21 Brown 1979.

22 Brain 1979, 291.

23 These bells and tinklers were all found in Mound C.

24 In addition to the bells Trudeau yielded at least 13 tinklers and there were dozens found at Angola Farms. One reason for the lack of specificity regarding the numbers of the latter is that the tables of artifacts and the lists in the text of site reports do not always match up. Strangely, the Tunica, the most loyal of all French allies in the valley, had a large number of English-derived bells, a situation unique for French affiliated Amerindians; Brown 1979.

25 Brain 1988. Though it is possible that pre-Columbian southeastern Amerindians made copper bells, metal soundmakers did not appear in substantial numbers until the 17th century. Still, several copper beads from Mississippian and predecessor sites possibly served a secondary or even primary function as soundmakers. Small copper beads are reported for some Marksville sites of the southern Hopewell, 200 BCE–400 CE, (Brookes 1976, 25–26), and pieces of rolled copper (possibly bells or bell preforms) are known from the pre-Marksville at Jackson Landing (Williams 1987, 55–56, 59).

26 Brass bells were first brought to the southeast in the 16th century by the Spanish, ostensibly as attachments to horse harnesses, and a substantial number have been found at sites associated with Hernando de Soto's e*ntrada* (1539–1543). In most cases trade bell origin can be determined through bell maker marks, site contexts, and metal alloy analysis. Still, it might surprise some that a type of 16th century Spanish bell was stamped with the *Fleur de Lis* (J. Connaway personal communication 2011). Metal bells destined for the Lower Mississippi River

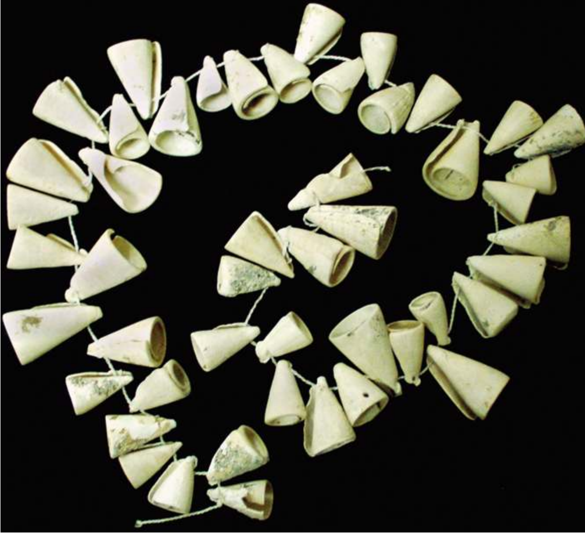

Fig. 8 Conus shell-tinklers. Collection of the Arizona State Museum, Catalog No. GP 4243. Photo: Emily Brown.

Fig. 9 Brass cone-tinklers (below) and conus shell-tinklers (above).

Valley were usually inventoried for trade as "sleigh bells," "hawk bells," or "Morris bells"; Brown 1979. In Europe they had practical and recreational uses; such as tracking livestock and for use in the sport of falconry, explaining the term hawk bell. (It is not known if falconry was ever practiced in the Colonial-era new world.) Colonial-era metal bells found in the Lower Mississippi River Valley are almost always globular with a slot in the bottom and internal free-floating clapper, typically of iron. The majority were either cast in a mold or hammered into a cup-shaped mold. These two manufacturing processes produce what have been grouped as bell

Fig. 10 Brass bells from the wreck of *La Belle*, a sample of all maker-mark types.

In a report on Tunica migrations, archaeologist Jeffrey Brain tangentially tracked bell distribution patterns and noticed among other things that bell circumferences decreased in size over the course of the 18th century.[27] One economic explanation supposes that Native Americans cared little about the sizes of bells, and as more were exported French cost concerns dictated that they be made smaller so that less copper, zinc and/or silver would be used in manufacture. An acoustic corollary, however, is that – other factors such as density being equal – smaller bells produce higher pitches, and consequently the decrease in size over time may have been due to Amerindian sonic preferences rather than European manufacture and shipping costs. There are several reasons for supposing the latter to be the case.

Colonial-era Native Americans interacting with the French were more often compelled to travel to French trading posts for transactions than not. These posts were semipermanent settlements (some like New Orleans and Mobile still remain) and offered a larger assortment and quantity of goods than would have been available through export to Native settlements, the preferred English approach. With more choices of merchandise offered at French posts, Amerindians trading at these could have been more

classes that are subdivided into types and varieties; Brown 1979, 197, 201. Bells of cast brass are classified as either key types, arch types, or dome types, with these names representing the shapes of the small handles on the bells; while those of sheet brass are classified as either flush-edge type, flange-edge type, or lapped-edge type, with the differences having to do with how the two bell hemisphere halves are joined. The two most important trading bells were the flush-looped variety, which is a sub category of the flush-edged sheet-brass bell type, and the Saturn variety, which is a sub category of the flange-edged sheet-brass bell type. Both are almost always found on sites associated with French occupation; Brain 1979, 205.

27 Sheet-brass class, flush-edge type, flush-loop variety bells have the largest spatial and longest temporal distribution of any historic trade bell, Brain 1979, 203; John Connaway personal communication 2011.

discriminating. Thus the increasing number of smaller bells over time in Lower Mississippi River Valley Amerindian settlements suggests that Native Americans may have been exercising choice regarding bell size and not merely having small ones imposed upon them, as would be assumed with a Franco-centric economic distribution model. But whether Amerindians were choosing bells for their pitch or for their small size is unclear, as some larger ones can be high pitched; and an analysis I did on a large bell collection from the wreckage of La Salle's flagship (destined for the Mississippi River Delta in 1685) only partly clears up the matter. However, since I have already presented the results of this analysis elsewhere, here I will limit my discussion primarily to bell sizes and pitches.[28]

Thirteen hundred ninety nine brass bells in excellent shape were recovered from the hold of La Salle's flagship (coincidentally called *La Belle*) and their sounds were digitally recorded and analyzed. All but a small number had one of five maker-marks engraved on their surfaces: either the Roman letters 'N' or 'S', or designs resembling an arched cat, bow-tie, or snowflake; and all were between 12 and 19 mm in diameter. The smallest were those engraved with the maker-mark 'Cat', at an average diameter of 12,4 mm, and the largest were those with an N, at an average of 19,2 mm. The majority of bells were in the category with maker-mark S, totalling 633 specimens. The smallest bells, the Cats, were second fewest in number, 84, only the slightly larger Snowflakes being fewer, at 23. This is interesting since though low in number in this sample, bells of the latter two types would be the most coveted later in the century. Cats were also the highest in pitch. They have a mean frequency of 6,6 kHz. The largest bells, those with an N, have a mean frequency of 3,3 kHz, an octave lower than the Cats. This is expected based on the relative diameters of the two bell types, with larger bells usually pitched lower; but what is surprising is that the second largest, S bells, were nearly as high in pitch as the smallest. S bells average 5 kHz. S's are thus higher in pitch than their size might suggest, being only a fraction of a millimeter smaller than the largest bell type, N's, which again are the lowest in pitch. In explanation, though dissimilar in diameter, the density of metal in S's and Cats might be similar. Whether or not this is so (few tests regarding thickness have been conducted), S's, the greatest in number, combined with the similarly pitched Cats, means that the majority of bells from La Salle's ship have a mean frequency of 5,8 kHz, a higher pitch than an average for the other bells in the sample (3.6 kHz). La Salle's bells were shipped to the New World at the beginning of the 18th century, but the preference for smaller bells culminates after the middle part of that century. There were not many small bells in La Salle's shipment, perhaps indicating the taste at that earlier time. But there were, as shown, a large number of high-pitched bells – the largest

28 The broader treatment was read to the 2006 Berlin conference of the International Study Group on Music Archaeology; Howell 2008.

in number in the collection in fact – but as these bells never made their way to French trading posts, we are unlikely ever to know if the large high-pitched bells would have been as preferred as small high-pitched bells.

4 The British and the Cherokee of the Southern Interior

After several failed attempts at establishing a presence on the American continent, in 1607 the English founded a permanent colony at Jamestown, on the Atlantic coast of what is now the state of Virginia.[29] Other British colonial communities sprang up north and south of there, providing bases for interior reconnaissance and opportunities for trade. Due west are the interior piedmont and high mountains of the southern Appalachians, which are among other things the ancestral home of the Cherokee (although most now live on tribal land in Oklahoma). Like the Natchez and Tunica, these were descendants of Mississippian mound builders.

The British approach to trade began as a matter of trial and error, with traders operating first as independent agents and second as representatives of the Crown, the direct opposite of the French approach.[30] To counter this libertarian streak British governments established a series of trade regulations that traders themselves eventually supported since it helped those so authorized to monopolize the business. By circumstance, therefore, British traders were calculating businessmen as well as independent frontiersmen – experts at exploration and wilderness survival.

Before Europeans arrived on the continent one of the ways that Native American authority figures like chiefs maintained control over their populations was by granting or limiting access to coveted resources. After arrival, when tribal hierarchies underwent profound changes due to introduced diseases and wars, old Amerindian hegemonies began to quickly collapse. This destruction, of course, played into the hands of European traders who were not as interested in preserving tribal traditions as in maximizing profit. As the early trade network revolved around animal skins, primarily deer, traded for utilitarian European objects like iron pots, knives, and wool blankets, it was a network where one could substitute any number of Amerindian or European actors with results that would largely be the same. Over time, however, British traders maneuvered themselves into privileged positions within certain tribal groups by marrying Amerindian women

29 British sailors explored the southern Atlantic Coast of North America as early as the 1497 voyage of John Cabot.

30 It is noteworthy that the first seeds of Colonial independence were sown by Englishmen in the British south: John Pott's Virginia rebellions in 1635, Nathaniel Bacon's in 1676, and John Culpeper's Carolina revolt in 1677. Andrews 1958; Greene 1905; Washburn 1957.

and/or by assisting in the elevation of Native business partners into positions of authority. They did this as the chiefs had earlier, by granting or limiting access to resources, in this case European ones. The individuals so elevated, 'Big Men' (as they were called), began to exert control over less well-connected Amerindians, both in intra-tribal and inter-tribal affairs.[31] One of the most intriguing remainders of this time is a ritualized Cherokee dance-play called the 'Booger Dance'. In structure and costuming it is remarkably similar to post-Conquest Maya dance-plays, like the *Baile de los Moros y Cristianos* and the *Baile de la Conquista*.[32]

The Booger Dance is a performance within a performance. Its beginning is traditionally a formal winter social dance that includes Cherokee of both sexes and all ages. Not long after the social dance has begun, outsiders, called 'Boogers', intrude into the dance area. They wear costumes resembling Colonial-era clothing and have wooden or gourd masks with exaggerated features that make them appear non-Cherokee (Figs. 11–12). Some Boogers distort their postures and carry dead animals, indicating that they are hunters or frontiersmen. It is assumed by the attendees that the outsiders are "people from far away across the ocean".[33] Because of their clothing and their place of origin it is apparent that the Boogers are meant to represent Europeans. I posit that beyond the generality of a European origin they are specifically meant to be British. There are two reasons for this. First, the earliest recorded Cherokee legends relate that Europeans initially entered Cherokee land from the east, the direction of the British colonies.[34] Second, the reason the Boogers give for invading the dance ground is because they are looking for women. British traders were those renowned for marrying high-ranking Native American women, partly to establish familial connections to tribal groups with which they desired long-term trade relations. In doing so they were consciously taking advantage of matrilineality endemic to southeastern tribes. British men married to elite Cherokee women also inherited membership in one of the tribe's clans (though not necessarily the wife's), which granted them kinship with members of the same clan in

31 One by-product of the new Colonial-era hegemony was an Amerindian slave trade that began by 1670. Powerful tribal groups or Big Men within these groups expanded an already existing slave tradition by slave-trading for profit (not for prestige, as had been practiced in pre-Columbian times). The British manipulated slavery by arming their Cherokee and Chickasaw allies with firearms, something the French were reluctant to do, and only later did with theirs. The Native American slave trade ended in 1715 when a relatively small Amerindian group, the Yamasee, rebelled against slave traders and were able to convince other Amerindians to follow suit; in essence refraining from participating as buyers or sellers; Barnett 2007, 30–33.

32 The term 'Booger' is said to be equivalent to ghost (or spirit). Despite my assertions (in the text), the dance may very well possess elements of a mechanism compensating for national decay and military and cultural defeat; R. Cain personal communication 2011.

33 Mooney 1995; Speck and Broom 1983.

34 Mooney 1995, 350.

Fig. 11 Booger mask.

other tribes. Whether or not on the whole these marriages were marriages in the modern conventional sense of the word – for love, companionship, families – they certainly served political purposes for all involved.

Having established their probable nationality, how do the Boogers act and how are they perceived? They arrive unannounced and begin harassing the others in attendance. This activity is discouraged by the designated leader of the social dance, called the 'Driver,' who eventually corrals the Boogers into a central spot and calms them down. After accomplishing this, the Driver asks each Booger his name, which they whisper to him in a non-lexical language that he translates into Cherokee (or more often today, English). Their names are sexually provocative or relate to some body function, and are generally met with amusement. Representative examples are "Big Testicles," "Rusty Anus," and "Black Buttocks." After the introductions, the Driver asks the Boogers if they want to dance, they say they do, and each performs a humorous and/or frightening and aggressive solo dance until all have had their turn.

The name of each Booger is the first word of the song for his dance, with the name repeated four times while that individual dances with stomping motions and other exag-

Fig. 12 Booger mask.

gerated movements meant to suggest a clumsy white man imitating a Native American dancer. During this dance, the same song is repeated seven times, and as the dancer's name is mentioned all in attendance applaud and yell. After all of the Boogers have danced, the women choose those they will dance with so that they can teach them the proper Cherokee way to dance.[35]

What do these actions tell us? The Boogers are boorish and hostile foreigners, yet they are chosen by Cherokee women who teach them how to be Cherokee. Rather than being ostracized by Cherokee society, they are apparently being initiated into it. Further evidence for this is that the Boogers wear masks. The other participants do not. Masks transform their wearers, transporting them to liminal, sacred realms, and are typically reserved for important members of the society and for important transitions in life.[36] The Boogers also do not speak Cherokee; they communicate in a non-lexical language that a casual observer may conclude to indicate ignorance. But for Amerindian peoples of the southeast, auxiliary languages, so-called vocables, were used by supernaturals and their employ meant access to knowledge. The transcendent power of the Boogers is reinforced by the symbolic numbers associated with them. Their naming song is sung seven times, and during it their names are pronounced four times. Four is also the number of repeats of the 'teaching song' of the Cherokee women. Culturally, seven is the number of tribal clans, and four stands for the cardinal directions, iconographically represented

35 Worn on the legs of the women dancers are turtle-shell rattles, a prominent female instrument for many southeastern tribes.

36 There are also red masks worn to represent Amerindian characters and black ones to represent African American characters. Even in these cases the Boogers are considered foreigners. Amerindians and African Americans depicted as Boogers are thought to represent one-time allies of the British.

as the shape of two perpendicularly stacked logs signifying fire and its celestial embodiment, the sun. The initiation is confirmed at the end of the Social Dance, when one or more of the Boogers are asked by the Driver to perform an animal dance. The Bear or the Eagle Dance are more often chosen, with the latter being one of the most sacred and ritually complex dances of the Cherokee: a dance that only a person entrusted with power would be given the opportunity and more importantly the accoutrements (like totemic eagle feathers) to perform.

Are there pre-Columbian elements in the Booger Dance, or is it a creation of modern times, a revivalist reaction to the social disruptions attributable to colonization? Accounts of Early Colonial Cherokee performances suggests that many of the elements in it existed prior to widespread English involvement with the Cherokee. The best descriptions are from the American botanist William Bartram, one of the first non-Native persons to travel in Cherokee country (beginning in 1776). Bartram wrote: "The Cherokee have a variety of dances. The men especially exercise themselves with a variety of gesticulations and capers, some of which are ludicrous and diverting enough." Later, in what could be a description of a proto-version of the Booger Dance, he wrote: "Indeed, all their dances and musical entertainments seem to be theatrical exhibitions or plays, varied with comic and sometimes lascivious interludes: the women however conduct themselves with a very becoming grace and decency".[37]

What of its accompanying soundmakers? All southeastern dances are accompanied by singing, with one or more percussion instruments sometimes added. This is the same for the Booger Dance, but it is significant that it is the only Cherokee dance with accompaniment provided by a water drum (framed out of hickory or fired clay and topped with deer skin) paired with gourd-container and turtle-shell rattles. These three instruments are listed in ethnohistoric accounts – so they are old – but in the Appalachians only the turtle-shell rattles have been found archaeologically. Since there is no evidence for the Colonial or post-Colonial introduction of a water drum or turtle-shell rattles, their indigenous origins in a pre-Columbian past are almost certain. It is therefore important to emphasize that the Booger Dance, which draws so heavily on European characterizations, uses no European-derived instruments. We can contrast this with the highland Guatemalan Maya conquest baile dance-plays, which are accompanied by the skin drum and European-introduced chirimía. There is, however, one introduced sound maker whose employ in another Cherokee dance provides critical sonic information relating to Colonial-era culture contact.

In one of the summer dances centered around an important annual event known as the Green Corn Ceremony, the primary harvest festival of southeastern tribes, a leader is followed by a column of between ten and twenty men carrying guns. They circle

37 Doren 1955, 299–300.

counter-clockwise, the leader singing to a gourd-rattle rhythm while the guns are discharged at intervals throughout. The Cherokee say that the gunshots are not celebratory but are meant to mimic the sounds of thunder, which in earlier times was believed to be produced through supernatural means.[38] This is an interesting and informative juxtaposition of function. The guns in the Cherokee Green Corn Ceremony do not reflect their European use as weapons but are instead used to produce special sounds needed for a specific ritual of the pre-Columbian Cherokee. In this way the Cherokee, like the Maya, are preserving a pre-Columbian timbre (thunder sounds) even when they adopt a European soundmaker: the gun.

5 Consequences of these encounters

For the Maya, musical traditions were rich before the time of Conquest, but Spanish authorities were not as concerned with songs and music instruments as much as with the indigenous performances they accompanied. Highland Guatemala Maya strove to hold onto their performances and were able to embed many pre-Columbian elements into Spanish Catholic rituals to save them. But syncretism varied by degree; one extreme being the barely altered *Rab'inal Achi* and the other, the all but completely adopted *Baile de los Moros y Cristianos*. The K'iche' Maya treated music instruments similarly: retaining some originals, adopting others, and adjusting the remainder by combining Maya and Spanish attributes. Nevertheless, there is a perception by many non-specialists, based on superficial impressions, that the level of acculturation in music, as in performance traditions, is relatively high. A more critical examination of one fundamental component, instrument timbre, however, suggests otherwise. There is ethnohistoric and archaeological corroboration of a significant retention of indigenous tonal preferences (buzzing sounds, altered harmonics), which were so prevalent they were applied even to adopted instruments: the *chirimía* and valveless brass trumpet.

For the Natchez and Tunica, coping strategies are also evident in material remains, where we find indigenous fabrication of European-manufactured metal objects made into copies of culturally significant shell tinklers, and a trend to smaller, higher-pitched metal bells (although this latter possibility is not confirmed). Such adoptions demonstrate strategies for preserving cultural memory and are perhaps suggestive of indigenous soundmakers and pitch preferences, particularly choices of higher versus lower pitches. By exerting an influence over the items traded of the French, these Mississippian descendants may have created sonic references to a more stable past. If so, it was a sonic rebellion acted out during a period of profound cultural change. Sadly, proof of this is that

38 Speck and Broom 1983.

during the 18th century the Natchez and Tunica went on to lose their homelands, their tribal identities, and most of their populations. For the Cherokee, the Booger Dance represents an indigenous view of Europeans of the Colonial period. Components in a possible Booger Dance prototype include the combination of music and theatre, humor and parody. All of these are present in the historically and currently performed Booger Dance, along with European clothing and behaviors attributable to Europeans. Thus, although the Booger Dance might seem to be a parody, it is actually a trope on the impact of individuals – likely, specific British men – on Colonial-era Cherokee communities. These men married into the tribes and brought with them not only a modicum of the wealth and power of Britain but also its social structure of ownership and special forms of violence. Instruments and music sounds in the Booger Dance are completely indigenous, which for cultural retention is significant, while a dance done during the Green Corn Ceremony uses sound itself as a trope. In that dance the Cherokee discharge a firearm, not as a weapon but as a soundmaker whose timbre and volume are similar enough to sounds once made by a pre-European shaman to allow substitution. Pitch preference, timbre retention, and the use of introduced items to preserve indigenous sounds: all provide evidence that nostalgia and/or adaptation were used to varying degrees by different Amerindian groups so as to retain and continue to assert cultural identities in the face of European onslaught. Both of these political uses of sound have been documented for other societies around the world, such as in China during the period of the Warring States[39] and in Iraq during the second millennium BCE.[40] History, now joined by archaeology, proves that anthropomorphized sounds are part of the arsenal used by controlling forces in societies, and in so doing may lend weight to Lü Buwei's premise that "in an age that possesses the Dao one has only to observe its music to know [a state's] customs, to observe its customs to know its government, and to observe its government to know its ruler."[41]

39 Furniss, this volume; Journeau, this volume.

40 Shehata, this volume.

41 Lü Buwei, *Annals*, Book V, Chapter 4, 4; transl. Knoblock and Riegel 2000, 145.

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