

Enduring Conquests

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Rethinking the Archaeology of “Rebels, Backsliders, and Idolaters”

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In the midnight shadows of Christmas Eve in 1492, the keel of the Spanish ship *Santa María* ground to a halt on a coral reef off the coast of an island known to its Taíno inhabitants as Ayiti. The loss of don Cristóbal Colón’s flagship forced him to leave a contingent of thirty-nine crewmembers behind to construct a fortified settlement they dubbed Villa de la Navidad, while the admiral and the rest of his fleet departed to report to their sovereign patrons in Europe. When Colón returned to the island nine months later, he found the corpses of his men strewn along the coast, their fort burned to the ground. The colonists’ possessions were scattered about the remains of the settlement, with the *Santa María*’s anchor and remnants of European clothing discovered in the houses of a nearby village. None of the thirty-nine Spaniards had survived. They had been killed, the island’s native inhabitants reported, at the hands of neighboring Taíno warriors (Cohen 1969:90–91, 144–50).

The fate of this abortive initial attempt at Spanish settlement in the “New World” calls attention to the fact that indigenous peoples resisted the European colonization of the Americas from the very beginning (Deagan, Chapter 3). This was not an anomalous incident, but merely the first episode in a long pattern of native opposition to Spanish colonialism that spanned more than three centuries and ranged across two continents. Historical documents record repeated challenges to colonial authority by

American Indians between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries: La Noche Triste in Tenochtitlan, the Gualé Revolt in Florida, the Mixtón War in northern Mexico, the Taki Onqoy movement in the Andes, the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and the Caste War of Yucatán are just a few of the most famous examples. Yet while these legendary acts of resistance have been celebrated by contemporary scholars as influential in shaping the colonial program throughout the Americas from 1492 to the present day, armed confrontation is but one of an array of strategies employed by indigenous peoples in their interactions with the hirsute foreigners who began appearing in their homelands five hundred years ago. As the contributions in this volume document, aside from direct opposition, indigenous peoples throughout the Americas navigated the colonial encounter at various times by means of cooperation, compliance, collusion, mimicry, mockery, ambivalence, flight, feigned ignorance, dissimulation, and a host of other calculated tactics. In the incident at La Navidad, for example, Taínos both destroyed the settlement and allied with the Spaniards, serving as informants, trading partners, servants, laborers, and brothers-in-arms for the colonial forces.

Much of what we think we know about the native negotiation of Spanish colonialism is founded upon modern readings of historical texts—and rightly so, as these documents provide an unparalleled level of detail (Church et al., Chapter 9; Sheptak et al., Chapter 8). Yet basing our understanding of Indian life in the Spanish colonies solely upon the written record can be problematic. The primary historical sources regarding this era tend to have been authored by Spanish officials, colonists, and missionaries, providing reports that have been filtered through the eyes and inkwells of nonnative interlocutors, in which indigenous perspectives were systematically excluded. Moreover, the masses of un- and underrepresented persons in Spanish colonial texts included not only native persons but also the multitudes whose identities fell into the ambiguous interstices between Indian and Spaniard. On the rare occasions that these “persons of little note” did create texts, they were commonly penned by elites and nearly always by males. Clearly these records must be considered with a critical eye, and even then they provide only partial versions of subaltern experiences in Spanish Colonial America. Furthermore, primary documents from this era tend to detail only the most overt, public, and seemingly exotic behaviors of native actors (Graham 1998:28–29), making it a challenge to discern the more mundane aspects of daily life within (and outside) the missions, villas, and *reducciones* of the New World, particularly those of nonelite persons.

Archaeology can help remedy these issues by providing new data with which we can investigate the various ways subaltern peoples navigated their lives under the yoke of Spanish colonialism. Archaeology complements historical studies of post-1492 life in the Americas (and vice versa) in many ways, providing a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of the diversity of indigenous, mestizo, and criollo practices during the colonial era than that afforded by documents alone. The study of material culture can act as a corrective against inaccuracies in the historical canon, as well as corroborate ambiguous elements of the documentary record. More importantly, archaeology has the advantage of documenting the actions of “common” people independent of colonial-produced texts, because the bits and pieces of daily life they left behind reveal subtleties not recorded in historical documents. As a result, archaeology is not constrained by the same partialities as the historical record. Thus material culture can aid in representing the silent masses that have been muted via omission in colonial texts, helping to rescue native voices from what historian E. P. Thompson famously called “the enormous condescension of posterity” (1963:12).

Archaeology, however, is by no means a more objective or straightforward way of knowing the past than traditional text-based histories. To be sure, interpretations that build upon material culture suffer from vagaries and biases all their own. This is particularly true of archaeological studies concerned with how and what people in the past were *thinking* (Renfrew and Zubrow 1994:xiii), a category into which the archaeology of resistance often falls. Resistance is not always observable in and of itself, but rather can be an intent, a state of mind, and a rationale (Hodder 2004:32). An act characterized as resistance by one person can be classified as something else entirely by another—be it coercion, vandalism, ineptitude, or some other motivation. Furthermore, while resistance is often manifested in behavior, it can just as easily yield inaction. As a result, resistance is an inherently difficult topic to study archaeologically (Quilter, Chapter 6). The contributors to this volume are not the first to concern themselves with the motivations behind native acts during the colonial era. As historian Inga Clendinnen observes (2003:131), the missionaries who participated in the evangelization of the Americas were interested in discerning indigenous intentions too. “But they arrived at those ‘intentions,’” she notes, “less by observation and enquiry than by imputation.”

The challenge for archaeologists is to not fall into this same trap. Unfortunately, by their very nature many everyday acts of resistance leave no material signature (Singleton 1998:179; Spielmann et al. 2009:104), such as refusal, foot dragging, feigned ignorance, and dissimulation (Scott

1985:xvi). Those that do leave material traces are often equivocal at best. Consequently, the identification and interpretation of resistance in the archaeological record is often more art than science and can be heavily dependent upon historical and material contexts (Schurr 2010:57). Nonetheless, the studies assembled here take indigenous resistance to the Spanish Conquest as their starting point, examining not only the problems with this endeavor but also possible alternative interpretations that will improve our collective understanding of Native American lives under European colonialism.

ROMANCING THE CONQUEST

For most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, two opposed (but equally Spanish-centered) perspectives dominated depictions of the colonial period. On the one hand, pro-Spanish artists and scholars glorified their heroes' Conquest-era accomplishments, praising the conquistadores and missionaries as "harbingers of civilization" in a "realm of heathendom" (Bolton quoted in Keen 1985:662; Restall 2008:94). No less than the patriarch of Anglophone Conquest-era scholarship, William H. Prescott, commented in 1843 that "the remarkable achievements of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century...[have] the air of romance rather than sober history" (2000[1843]:4). On the other hand, this rosy view of Spanish colonialism has traditionally been countered by purveyors of the "Black Legend," who envisioned the Spaniards of the Conquest era as exceptionally backward, cruel, and "priest-ridden" (Keen 1985:658). The lack of attention to native agency that characterizes both of these Eurocentric perspectives has had repercussions down to the present day, with the persistence of popular imaginings of the Spanish Conquest as a history of forceful invasion, decisive subjugation, and the ultimate conversion (or extinction) of native populations (Cummins 2002:199).

With the flowering of ethnohistory as a distinct field in the latter twentieth century, new perspectives emerged emphasizing the combined use of anthropological and historical approaches to the study of Spanish colonialism, fostering a shift from investigations of colonial elites to an explicit focus on Native Americans (Spicer 1962; Gibson 1964; Wachtel 1977). Many of these studies abandoned the feigned neutrality of earlier histories, adopting an explicitly pro-Indian stance. Even so, they often perpetuated a view of indigenous peoples as passive subjects caught in a process of acculturation that they had no ability to shape (Keen 1985:672-73). That trend began to change in the 1980s as historians paid increasing attention to native resistance to Spanish control, making, in their words, "a mockery of

the notion of ‘the passive Indian’ (Spalding 1984:334). These studies examined the creative adaptations of indigenous actors to colonial rule, highlighting not only the instances of armed rebellion, but also the ways in which native actors manipulated legal proceedings, production, and systems of labor on a daily basis (Stern 1982; Borah 1983; Farriss 1984).

In recent years archaeological studies have followed suit, using material culture as a tool for documenting indigenous resistance (e.g., Deagan 2004; Dillehay 2007; Kepecs and Alexander 2005; Milanich 1999; Palka 2005; Preucel 2002; Rodríguez-Alegría 2008; Silliman 2001a, 2004; Spielmann et al. 2006, 2009). As Van Buren (2010:151–52) notes, these studies exemplify the fundamental shift that occurred following the Columbian Quincentenary (see Thomas 1989, 1990; Thomas, ed., 1991), with subsequent archaeological investigations underscoring the importance of a “bottom-up” understanding of colonialism and the recognition of the fundamental role of agency in the constitution of social life (see Beck et al., Chapter 2). In the past decade archaeologists have increasingly emphasized the fact that while the conquest of the Americas was indubitably brutal and exploitative, it was not uncontested by the indigenous populace, nor was it the swift, wholesale blitzkrieg it is sometimes made out to be (Rodríguez-Alegría 2008:33–35). Rather the colonial landscape was a patchwork of domination, resistance, accommodation, and negotiation, as indigenous peoples exerted a variety of strategies in their attempts to adapt to the colonizing and evangelizing efforts of the Spaniards (Wernke, Chapter 5; Liebmann, Chapter 10). This volume strives to continue the dialogue initiated by these recent archaeological and historical studies of indigenous resistance, and to further explore the multiplicity of tactics native peoples employed under Spanish colonialism.

THE DOMINATION OF RESISTANCE

Few topics have occupied the attention of anthropologists in recent years like that of resistance (Hollander and Einwohner 2004:533). Over the past two decades resistance has taken center stage in the investigation of social life, becoming increasingly popular—some would say trendy (Given 2004:11)—in part because the concept appears to be almost infinitely malleable. Building upon the works of Michel Foucault (1975, 1978, 1980) and James C. Scott (1985, 1990, 1998), anthropologists have found resistance seemingly everywhere in recent years, from white-collar bloggers (Schoneboom 2007) to fur-clad hunter-gatherers (Sassaman 2001). Indeed, in the landscape of twenty-first-century anthropology, resistance dominates. Nowhere is this domination more conspicuous than in contemporary

archaeology, where the prominence of practice theory (and the concomitant emphasis on the role of agency in social life), the rise of household/domestic archaeology, and interest in the archaeology of enslaved and colonized peoples have combined to focus heretofore unprecedented attention on resistance among subaltern peoples.

This proliferation of interest has had both positive and negative consequences for the study of resistance. On the plus side, the consideration of opposition to power in its many forms has fostered investigations of the micropolitics of daily life, building upon the contributions of feminist approaches in anthropology (Geller and Stockett 2006). Focusing on resistance has led to a rethinking of long-held Marxist perspectives that denied agency to subordinate groups and viewed them as hapless victims and dupes (Giddens 1979). Attention to defiance (both active and passive) has also encouraged anthropology to broaden its horizons beyond a restricted focus on normative patterns, shared cultural traits, and social solidarity (Brown 1996:733). Maybe most significantly, the identification of “hidden transcripts” of resistance (Scott 1990) in their many forms has forced a general rethinking of hegemony (Greenhouse 2005; Sivaramakrishnan 2005), breaking down traditional binary understandings of domination and resistance. As a result, contemporary anthropologists recognize that not only are both power and resistance much more pervasive than had generally been acknowledged by previous generations (Ortner 1995:174–75), but also that rigid binary conceptions of colonialism mask considerable diversity within the supposedly polarized groups of colonizer and colonized (van Dommelen 2002, 2005).

Resistance is Futile...

In other ways, however, resistance has become a victim of its own success. Critics complain that the concept is overused and underanalyzed (Brown 1996:729–30; Ortner 1995:175–77). They argue that the notions of resistance that anthropologists commonly deploy are so vague as to undermine their utility. The assumption that resistance is the natural response to domination—and the concomitant identification of resistance in seemingly every social interaction (Foucault 1978:95–96)—dilutes its analytical value, say its critics. Resistance thus becomes “a seductive but ultimately infertile subject when promiscuously applied” (Holland and Eisenhart 1990:57). By homogenizing the varieties of opposition to power under the single umbrella term of *resistance*, archaeologists not only neglect important variations among its multiplicity of forms but also equate relatively minor power imbalances with attempts of the “truly oppressed” to

ensure their very survival. This “savage leveling” can have the unintended consequence of diminishing, rather than assisting, our ability to identify inequities in social relations (Brown 1996:730).

In a similar vein, Hodder (2004:32) points out that archaeological studies of resistance often homogenize the intentions of past actors, implying that social groups operate as a unitary whole and overlooking the cross-cutting divisions that may have characterized them. While in most cases it is not practical (or even possible) for archaeologists to discern the intentions of specific individuals, there has often been a lack of consideration of the variability of intragroup intentionality when investigating resistance in the archaeological record. The assumption of social unanimity has directed attention away not only from the variety of responses to domination that might be manifested in the archaeological record, but also from the multiple social processes used to coordinate communal action in the past.

A related problem stemming from the abundant attention to resistance in recent decades has been a degree of disciplinary myopia, with anthropologists focusing overwhelmingly upon conflict and opposition at the expense of collaboration and reciprocity (as predicted by Ortner 1984:157). This problem has been particularly acute in archaeological analyses of colonial encounters. Yet as we know from ethnographic observations, cooperation, compliance, and collusion should be as much in evidence in the archaeological record as are resistance and domination (White 1986:56). This lopsided concentration undoubtedly stems in part from the romanticization of resistance characteristic of modern life in the West (Abu-Lughod 1990). In an age of unprecedented institutionalized hegemony, we live vicariously through the would-be resisters of the past, celebrating the underdogs who valiantly defied oppression (a romantic impulse stoked by Hollywood through an endless parade of movies such as *Avatar*, *Amistad*, *Apocalypto*, *Braveheart*, and *Dances with Wolves*, to name but a few). Yet this romantic yearning for the triumph of the human spirit over domination can blind us to the other forms of social interaction frequently employed by colonized peoples in their struggles for survival, including accommodation, collusion, and cooperation (Liebmann, Chapter 10; Voss, Chapter 12).

The cottage industry of resistance studies in archaeology has been buoyed by the ever-expanding influence of theories of practice and structuration in recent years (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984) and the concomitant recognition of agency’s role in social life. By acknowledging that cultural formations are not wholly determined by restraining structures and that human actors are not simply “dupes” of forces beyond their

control (Meskell 1999:4), Bourdieu and Giddens opened a theoretical space for archaeologists to examine how individuals and groups can exert opposition to power. As studies invoking agency in the past became more common during the 1990s and 2000s, so too has the identification of resistance. Ironically, however, invoking resistance as a cause to explain indigenous actions can have the opposite of the intended effect. Rather than emphasizing agency, native peoples can be seen as merely responding to external stimuli, as knee-jerk re-actors rather than dynamic participants in the structuration of the colonial encounter.

If left unchecked, the problems provoked by the popularity of resistance studies—homogenization, myopia, romanticization, and the denial of agency—can lead to an unintentional “flattening” of the past, producing histories that are superficial, or worse, inaccurate. In the past, archaeological investigations have sometimes deployed resistance to explain aberrant patterns in material culture, invoking it as a conclusion. “The reason this artifact/feature/assemblage is different from the others,” we are told, “is because it is a product of resistance.” In the process, the documentation of resistance can become a conversation-ender rather than an invitation for further analysis. Thus, rather than developing the richer, more nuanced, and more complete understandings of the past that should be one of the primary goals of archaeology, cursory studies of resistance can force past actors into rigidly predetermined roles in which the colonizers dominate, the colonized resist, and never the twain shall meet. The reality of colonial experiences is, of course, never quite so simple.

Some of the problems identified here undoubtedly stem from the fact that archaeological studies of resistance are still in a relatively nascent stage. As with any intellectual endeavor, initial studies lead to further questions and deeper understandings of the complexity of social phenomena. Earlier studies were crucial in the establishment of resistance as a viable topic of investigation in archaeology, and as we build upon them, resistance can become a point of departure for investigation. The chapters assembled herein attempt to address some of these critiques through nuanced studies of resistance, acknowledging the complexities and problems associated with this topic while also contending with related social phenomena in their study of the colonized subjects of the Spanish Empire throughout the Americas.

RETHINKING RESISTANCE: CASE STUDIES

This volume originated with a session held at the 2007 Society for American Archaeology annual meetings titled “The Archaeology of

Indigenous Resistance to Spanish Colonization in the New World,” which brought together archaeologists working in contexts throughout North, Central, and South America. Following that symposium, the contributors reconvened in Santa Fe for a short seminar at the School for Advanced Research in November 2008 to continue our discussions and reexamine our individual case studies from a variety of new perspectives. Initially, contributors were tasked with investigating the archaeology of indigenous resistance; however, by the time of the SAR seminar, it became clear that framing our investigations in this way was problematic for multiple reasons. Aside from focusing attention on seemingly obligatory responses rather than the active negotiation of colonial life, concentrating on resistance alone seemed to overlook and mischaracterize many crucial aspects of native experiences under colonial rule. For this reason we chose to broaden the focus of this volume, and thus while the chapters collected here take resistance as a starting point, they go on to investigate a multiplicity of actions and tactics other than overt opposition alone.

A related issue concerns the archaeology of “indigeneity.” As many contributors note, the identification of indigeneity in the complex, hybrid forms of material culture that resulted from conquest and colonization in the Americas is no simple task. Indeed, in the post-1492 world the opposed categories of “indigenous” versus “European” were quickly found to be inadequate for describing the assorted ethnic and racial identities forged from colonial miscegenation. Contributors to this volume explore some of these thorny issues in their chapters, including the ways in which Spanish colonialism created and shaped ethnogenesis among indigenous populations.

The title of the volume, *Enduring Conquests: Rethinking the Archaeology of Resistance to Spanish Colonialism in the Americas*, reflects the variety of contexts and insights presented in the studies collected here. We chose the term *enduring* precisely because of its multiple meanings. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, in its transitive form the verb *endure* means “to undergo without succumbing or giving way.” In this sense, *Enduring Conquests* emphasizes the experiences of native and subaltern peoples under the yoke of Spanish colonialism, a period that they faced, suffered, and ultimately outlasted. As an adjective, however, *enduring* can also mean “lasting or persisting.” In this light, *Enduring Conquests* emphasizes the protracted nature of Spanish attempts to control the Americas. As the chapters in this volume demonstrate, this was not a swift and uncontested takeover, but rather a long and drawn-out series of engagements with ramifications that persist to the present day. Furthermore, the use of the plural form of *conquest* in the title is deliberate as well, reflecting a prominent theme

running throughout the chapters of this volume: the fact that the Spanish invasion of the Americas was not a single monolithic event. Rather, *Enduring Conquests* emphasizes that Spanish colonialism in the Americas was variegated and diverse and was manifested in various ways according to differences in the culture, geography, and sociopolitical complexity of local conditions throughout the “New World.”

In organizing this volume we have consciously chosen to cast the net wide, bringing together studies from urban and rural contexts, coastal and inland areas, deserts and swamps, and highlands as well as lowlands throughout the Spanish colonial Americas. In some of these regions the archaeology of Spanish colonialism has been studied for more than a century (Graham 1998; Fowler and Wilcox 1999; Ivey and Thomas 2005), while in others it is still in its nascent stages (Rice 1996a & b; Gasco et al. 1997; Jamieson 2005; Wernke 2007b:131). The contributions assembled here explore a wide range of temporal contexts as well, spanning the colonial era from 1492 to the mid-1800s, with some examining the very early contact/entrada period, while others look at the denouement of Spanish colonialism and how it has been memorialized. The volume is loosely organized geographically (Figure 1.1) with studies focusing on the Caribbean and southeastern United States (Beck et al., Chapter 2; Deagan, Chapter 3); the central Andes (Murphy et al., Chapter 4; Wernke, Chapter 5; Quilter, Chapter 6); Mesoamerica (Charlton and Fournier, Chapter 7; Sheptak et al., Chapter 8; Church et al., Chapter 9); and the western United States (Liebmann, Chapter 10; Preucel, Chapter 11; Voss, Chapter 12). By taking this pan-American perspective, we hope to draw out the local forces that shaped the implementation of Spanish colonialism, as well as break down the illusion that Spain’s imperial system was monolithic, with identical policies (and results) throughout the Western Hemisphere (Weber 2005:xiii).

In Chapter 2, Robin Beck, Christopher Rodning, and David Moore examine domination and resistance in the encounters among members of the Juan Pardo expedition (1566–68) and native polities at the Spanish garrison of Fort San Juan de Joara (located in present-day North Carolina). They explore the shifting and changing nature of these encounters, from cooperation to the destruction of Pardo’s garrison. Using Sewell’s (2005) perspective on agency, their chapter examines several types of relations between native polities and the Spaniards (including labor mobilization, gift exchange, and military support), arguing that indigenous peoples used these relations to advance their own agendas. They point out that different polities advanced varying programs, and for some, the successful execution

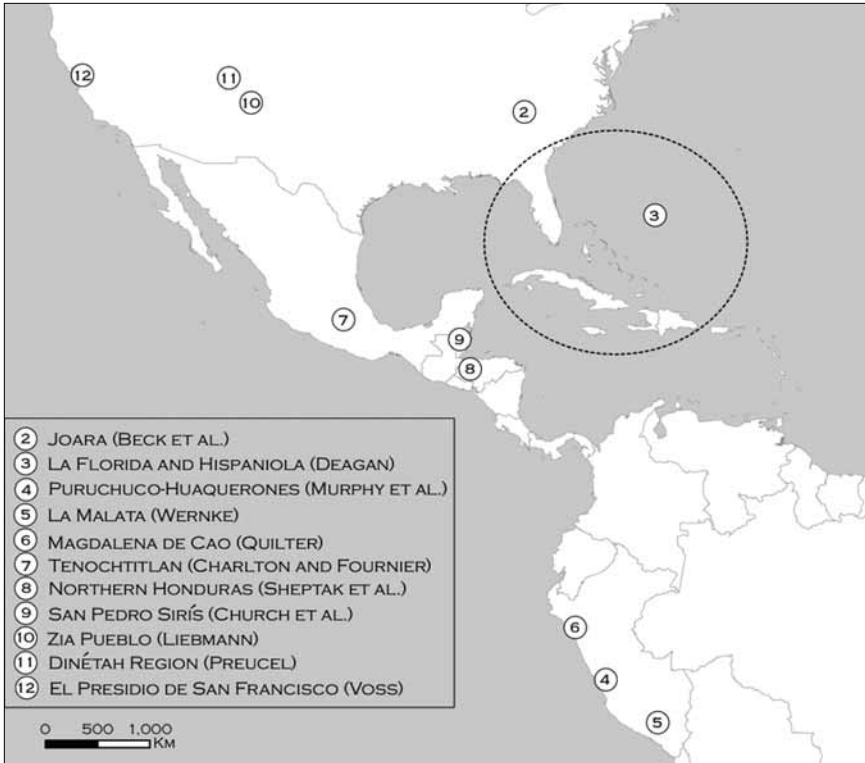


Figure 1.1.

Locations discussed in this volume. Labels correspond to chapter numbers.

of these agendas resulted in arguably higher prestige and social standing and the concomitant intimidation or elimination of political rivals. Their chapter demonstrates the critical need to situate colonizer–native interactions within both the local sociopolitical context and the nature of the colonial presence (in this case, with little institutional support). They caution against reliance upon the domination–resistance dichotomy in developing improved understandings of the relationship between polities of what became the southeastern United States and the Pardo expeditions.

In Kathleen Deagan’s contribution (Chapter 3), “Native American Resistance to Spanish Presence in Hispaniola and La Florida, ca. 1492–1650,” she notes that resistance to Spanish control appeared early in the circum-Caribbean and was not restricted solely to indigenous peoples, but was also enacted by enslaved and free Africans, white criollos, and mixed-race peoples throughout the region. She argues that the concept of

resistance is problematic and ambiguous, and advocates flexibility in its conceptualization. Deagan reviews examples of organized, overt violent resistance by Tainos, mestizos, and Africans, as well as cases of ambivalence or outright rejection of Spanish cultural and religious elements both outside and within Spanish missions. Most notably, this chapter teases out how overt and organized resistance and accommodation followed class divisions in the regions under Spanish influence and how the absence of European artifacts in nonelite contexts could reflect rejection, indifference, or exclusion, but could also indicate the biases of archaeological investigations, which have tended to emphasize missions over non-Spanish communities of the post-Columbian era.

Chapter 4, by Melissa Murphy, Elena Goycochea, and Guillermo Cock, is unique to this volume in its use of bioarchaeological evidence to explore the colonial encounter. Through two bioarchaeological data sets, the authors trace the reconfiguration of traditional mortuary practices at the Inca cemetery of Puruchuco-Huaquerones (ca. 1470–1540) shortly after the Spanish Conquest and explore its significance for understanding indigenous entanglements with the Spanish in Peru. They argue that a subsample of burials from the cemetery likely represents individuals who fought against the Spaniards, perhaps during the Siege of Lima in 1536. The nature and location of traumatic injuries suggest armed conflict, and several individuals exhibit injuries from European weapons. Their chapter goes on to examine an idiosyncratic Early Colonial burial that likely represents a reinterment after Christian burial. Murphy and her coauthors propose that the burials of Puruchuco-Huaquerones can be interpreted in multiple ways—as resistance, persistence, accommodation, and/or complicity—pointing to the difficulties of assessing resistance in the archaeological record.

From the theoretical perspective of semiotic ideology, Steven Wernke (Chapter 5) examines Spanish evangelization at the early Franciscan *doctrina* (doctrinal settlement) at Malata in the Colca Valley of southern highland Peru and sketches its transition from an Inca administrative outpost to a locus of early Spanish colonial rule. Wernke argues that the organization of domestic, public, and ritual spaces at Malata reflects the convergence of Inca imperial structures with the materialization of the semiotic ideology of the Franciscan friars as they strove to impose a new Christian order. Rather than viewing this convergence through the lens of domination and resistance, Wernke sees negotiation in new domestic and ritual spaces and practices under Spanish colonial rule.

In Chapter 6, Jeffrey Quilter engages with the problematic identification and differentiation of resistance, accommodation, and ambivalence

(among other [re]actions) in archaeological contexts through an investigation of architecture and landscape, textiles, religious material culture, and paper from the reducción of Magdalena de Cao, in the Chicama Valley of northern Peru. Like the contributions of Deagan (Chapter 3) and Murphy and her colleagues (Chapter 4), Quilter lays bare the difficulties of discerning resistance from the archaeological record without knowledge regarding the rationales of the would-be “resisters,” as well as the problems of uncovering domination, accommodation, or ambivalence without understanding the intents of those in power. Quilter’s rich and varied data set highlights the complexities involved in interpreting the colonial experience, as well as the many nuanced and perhaps contradictory meanings that can be ascribed to material remains and the built environment.

Drawing upon Spanish documents and the Codex of the Potters, Thomas Charlton and Patricia Fournier (Chapter 7) investigate the significance of indigenously produced Early Colonial Red Ware ceramics recovered from two ethnically distinct and socially stratified areas in the Basin of Mexico in the century following the Spanish conquest of Tenochtitlan. In the production of these ceramics, potters retained prehispanic techniques and some design elements, but they also incorporated new Spanish forms. Charlton and Fournier consider whether these vessels resulted from creative invention on the part of the indigenous potters or whether they represented their makers’ recognition of an economic opportunity in the growing demand for these ceramics. They explore the possibility that the Red Wares represent resistance, but not that of the indigenous producers. Rather, these ceramics may have been used by their young colonial *consumers* in challenging and rejecting the Spanish metropole. Their contribution calls attention to the ambiguity of the colonial project and the diverse interests often subsumed under the monolithic categories of “Spaniard” and “colonizer” in the American colonies.

In Chapter 8, Russell Sheptak, Rosemary Joyce, and Kira Blaisdell-Sloan examine colonial resistance, appropriation, and “making do” among indigenous communities in northern Honduras through the lens of Michel de Certeau’s (1984) concept of “tactics.” They present evidence for both violent resistance and the reconfiguration of social relationships through ordinary acts. In one example, Sheptak and his colleagues describe how local Roman Catholic churches were built, maintained, and controlled by *indios* who then tactically appropriated these spaces for their own meaningful rituals and other newly emerging activities. This illustrates how a structure that might at first blush be viewed as an obvious locus of Spanish power and control can also serve to maintain and perpetuate indigenous

cultural formations. This contribution thus explores the sophisticated ways in which indigenous peoples and their descendants redefined and appropriated Spanish colonial spaces, institutions, discourse, and material objects to perpetuate their own identities and histories.

Minette Church, Jason Yaeger, and Jennifer Dornan (Chapter 9) examine colonial encounters in nineteenth-century British Honduras between Maya peoples and colonial populations after the Caste Wars. Their study complements the others in this volume by contrasting British colonial policies with those of the Spaniards. Marshalling information about military operations, commerce and subsistence, religion, and education from archival records, oral histories, and material culture, they expose the often competing and conflicting agendas of the British authorities, loggers, and merchants, as well as the shifting and complicated relationships among Maya communities and between those communities and the colony. Their contribution underscores the fluidity of the relationships that occur among the varied constituents of the colonized groups and colonizers, as well as the complicated and tangled interpretive frameworks that accompany resistance studies.

Chapter 10, by Matthew Liebmann, examines the events of the Pueblo Revolt and Spanish Reconquest era (1680–94) in New Mexico, investigating the various strategies the people of the Zia Pueblo employed during this period. By focusing not only on resistance but also on the ambivalence, cooperation, and complicity that characterized Pueblo–Spanish relations during this tumultuous period, he “de-centers” resistance, an exercise that highlights the importance of relations within native communities in these events. His study also argues for the recognition of the importance of individual actors in fomenting resistance and complicity to colonial power. Ultimately, Liebmann suggests that archaeology can play a crucial role in countering the myopia, homogenization, and romanticism that have previously characterized studies of Spanish colonialism through the construction of new histories that give voice to the subalterns of the past.

In “Becoming Navajo: Refugees, Pueblitos, and Identity in the Dinéyah” (Chapter 11), Robert Preucel examines interactions among multiple indigenous groups in northern New Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and how Spanish colonialism in part shaped the changes in these interactions. Taking Navajo ethnogenesis as his starting point, Preucel frames his case study of the “Pueblito phenomenon” through ecclesiastical and governmental correspondence coupled with demographic records of Pueblo families and “souls.” In a reexamination of previous interpretations of this phenomenon that relied upon rapid acculturation as an explanation for Navajo ethnogenesis, Preucel takes a practice-based

approach to considering the distinctive material forms that were forged during this period in architecture, ceramics, and refuse disposal. His study concludes by rejecting essentialized notions of ethnic identity at the *pueblitos* and argues that ethnogenesis and hybridity resulted in the reconfiguration of practices that cannot be considered exclusively Navajo or Pueblo.

The final chapter, by Barbara Voss, focuses on labor relations at El Presidio de San Francisco, Spain's northernmost military outpost in the Americas. She critically reexamines the conventional interpretation that the colonial core, in this case the military fort, represents the material remains of the colonists' social history alone. Voss attends to the ways in which the heritage of native Californians might also be visible in the archaeological remains traditionally classified as “colonial.” She foregrounds the coercion and subjugation of native Californians as laborers and the escalation of colonial violence in her diachronic view of the construction phases of the presidio, especially as they are manifested in the nineteenth-century expansion of the fort. Her chapter concludes with a discussion of heritage practices at the site, detailing how the inclusion of indigenous communities in archaeological research and interpretation at Spanish-colonial military sites allows a multitude of perspectives and gives visibility to unseen, hidden, and/or disenfranchised groups at colonial settlements.

EMERGENT THEMES: NEGOTIATING THE CONQUEST

The chapters in this volume present a host of new interpretations, providing more complex, nuanced pictures of Native American experiences under Spanish colonialism. In doing so, they also challenge us to reexamine our assumptions about the Spanish Conquest of the Americas. These studies push back against a grand narrative that views this era as a clash of civilizations—a narrative produced centuries after the fact—to construct more comprehensive and complex social histories of Native American life after 1492. Most saliently, they de-center traditional understandings of this period through at least two means: first, by employing the perspective of archaeology, they shift the focus of scholarship from the point of contact to the diachronic processes that shaped the Americas before and after 1492. This de-centering helps to emphasize the ambiguity of the colonial encounter, a time when European domination was neither complete nor viewed as inevitable. Second, by focusing explicitly upon the native side of the colonial equation, these studies highlight the importance of indigenous politics in the creation of the Spanish colonial world.

Furthermore, the contributions to this volume critically confront the application of theories of resistance to archaeological contexts. Many note

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the difficulties associated with the identification of resistance via material culture, and rightly so. But they also move the dialogue beyond oversimplified notions of domination and resistance in colonial contexts, drawing out the problems associated with seemingly self-evident notions of (dominant) cores and (dominated) peripheries, active colonizers and passive colonized, and the false dichotomy of indigenous survival versus extinction. Through the identification and examination of the central roles not only of resistance, but also of accommodation, alliance, ambiguity, and ambivalence, the authors emphasize the agency of indigenous life in the Spanish colonies, encouraging us to view Native Americans not as merely responding to colonialism, but as active players, shaping and negotiating the world around them. Native, criollo, and mestizo peoples generated new social forms from the Spanish colonial experience through creative processes such as ethnogenesis, nativism, revivalism, and the production of hybrid material culture. The studies collected here document a variety of these processes, testifying to the crucial roles played by all these groups in the formation not only of the Spanish American Empire, but of the modern world.