Title
Dancing Breath: Ceremonial Performance Practice, Environment, and Personhood in a Muskogee Creek Community

Author
Koons, Ryan Abel

Publication Date
2016

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Dancing Breath:

Ceremonial Performance Practice, Environment,

and Personhood in a Muskogee Creek Community

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Ethnomusicology

by

Ryan Abel Koons

2016

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Dancing Breath:

Ceremonial Performance Practice, Environment,

and Personhood in a Muskogee Creek Community

by

Ryan Abel Koons

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Tara Browner, Chair

This dissertation presents an ethnography utilizing a multispecies perspective of the "busk" ritual cycle as performed by the southeastern Muskogee Creek American Indian community, Pvlvcekolv (Apalachicola). Humans construct humanity and personhood partially via interactions with other-than-human persons, such as animals, plants, and objects. I examine ritualized interactions between humans and others-than-human in a southeastern Indigenous "natureculture," exploring the intersections of ontology, personhood, and performance practice. Pvlvcekolv, an animistic Florida-based tribal town with a ceremonial Fire that pre-dates European Contact, maintains a centuries-old ritual tradition, the busk. Sometimes known as "Green Corn Ceremonialism," many Native communities share this tradition, including

Cherokee, Chickasaw, Seminole, Yuchi, and other Creek peoples historically and in the present day. Performing the songs, dances, and ritual actions of the busk places participants into dialogue with other-than-human persons. Participants thank, propitiate, and communicate and transform with these beings. Busk performance articulates worldview and actuates inter-species relationality.

Ethnomusicological studies often ignore movement/dance in favor of sound/music. Especially in Indigenous contexts, however, excluding the corporeal privileges a Euro-Americentric construction that splits sonic and physical activities into separate categories. I develop a method of performance analysis that addresses both modalities using Pvlvcekolv's ethnophilosophy. With this analytical model, I investigate meanings that arise in Pvlvcekolv's busk performance practice. I explore the Turtle and Bench Dances as forms of Indigenous library/archive/museum/storehouse (LAMS) science. These dances facilitate participants' interactions with, and corporeal accessioning of, history and ritual. I also contrast the life histories of object persons accessioned in LAMS with the lives and experiences of their cousins in use in ceremony, treating another facet of Pvlvcekolv's Native LAMS practice. Several animal dances, such as the Feather and Buffalo Dances, place performers into dialogue with animal persons. Through ritual, humans and other beings merge, further developing their interrelationships. Pvlvcekolv community members regularly interact with plants, conversing with, and, in turn, hearing plant speech and song. I push at boundaries surrounding "voice," developing a definition that can apply equally to humans and others-than-human in an animistic cosmology. I conclude with breath and silence, the media through which all beings interrelate in Pvlvcekolv's cosmology. Based on over a decade of collaborative ethnographic research, observation-participation, and LAMS research, this dissertation proposes that ritual performance

practice articulates relationality between beings, maintaining inter-species relationships in this southeastern Indigenous natureculture.

The dissertation of Ryan Abel Koons is approved.

Elisabeth Le Guin

Daniel Neuman

Anthony Seeger

David Delgado Shorter

Tara Browner, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2016

Dedication

For Hakopē.

For Kim Lacey Rogers and Jean Weaver.

And for those of Pvlvcekolv who have already traveled to the Campfires of the Departed.

Mvto.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Musical Examples

Note on Terminology, Capitalization, Pseudonyms, and Spelling

Writing about sacred performance practice and the Native Americans who do it is a politicized endeavor that often hinges on word choice. I use a variety of terms interchangeably to refer to the people who appear in this study, including "Indian," "American Indian," "Native American," and "Indigenous" because Pvlvcekolv community members use these terms to describe themselves. Following a convention in Native Americanist ethnomusicology and Indigenous Studies more broadly, I capitalize "Indigenous" as a matter of respect and, as Victoria Lindsay Levine has noted, to achieve parity with the way scholars represent other undifferentiated groups in writing. Although my case study resides in the southeastern United States, I do not limit the discussions in this document to Indigenous populations in the United States, instead drawing upon literature that treats Indigenous peoples internationally. I therefore use geographic markers to clarify the population(s) to which I refer. For example, I might differentiate between Indigenous peoples globally versus American Indians in the United States.

Except in quoted material, I do not use the term "tribe," preferring instead "community, "group," or "tribal town." As a self-described mixed-blood town, Pvlvcekolv community members tend to alternate between English and Muskogee language terms, and I have chosen to avoid monotonous prose by doing the same. I also have chosen to refer to the community in both singular and plural terms. Pvlvcekolv is one community containing a variety of individuals and opinions. Sometimes community members agree with one another, sometimes they do not. In order to communicate this diversity, I refer to "Pvlvcekolv," of "the community," of "community members," and so on, shifting back and forth between singular and plural noun forms.

Following Pvlvcekolv convention, I capitalize ceremonially important positions, objects, and concepts: Creation, Creator, Maker of Medicine, Matriarch, Medicine, Power, dance titles, etc. I capitalize specific busks, such as the Green Corn Busk, and use lower-case when referring to the busk in general. The Muskogee language spelling in this document reflects Moravian-derived orthography. The sometime-relationship between Creek communities and Moravian missionaries resulted in the adoption of the Greek letter upsilon (υ) to represent the English "ou" as in "tough." In 1843 the Presbyterian minister Rev. Robert M. Loughridge replaced the upsilon with a "v." Similarly, the letter "c" denotes "ch" sounds like the "ch" in "chunk," and "r" denotes a lateral fricative as the "thl" in "athletic" and "Bethlehem" (Martin and Mauldin 2000:xvii-xviii). I render the community's name, therefore, as "Pvlvcekolv," and not the anglicized "Palachicola" or "Apalachicola."

Acknowledgements

In a relational cosmology, we are all products of the interactions with the persons in our networks. I am very grateful to those in my networks, and appreciatively acknowledge their help, support, time, and effort on my behalf and on the behalf of this project.

Funding

A number of grants and granting institutions have funded me and this project. While an undergraduate at Dickinson College, the Community Studies Center twice awarded me Student Research Grants in 2008 and 2009. My thanks especially to Susan Rose, the late Kim Lacy Rogers, and the late Jean Weaver for their help, support, and advice with both grants. The UCLA Graduate Division funded field and archival research in Florida during summer 2012 through a Graduate Summer Research Grant. The UCLA American Indian Studies Center (AISC) funded research in Florida during the 2012-13 academic year through an Institute of American Cultures (IAC) Research Grant. My thanks to Cathy Yu and Rebecca Rosser of AISC and former Vice Provost M. Belinda Tucker of the IAC for their help. Additionally, the UCLA Herb Alpert School of Music has funded many brief research trips through the Student Opportunity Fund, and I thank Shannon Hickman, Jennie Molina, Erika Rycina, and for their help managing those grants. Throughout my graduate studies at UCLA, the Departments of Ethnomusicology and Musicology funded me through numerous teaching assistantships, and I thank the faculty and administration of both departments for providing me with funding and an academic home for the past six years. My thanks especially to Donna Armstrong, Jessica Gonzalez, Sandra McKerroll,

and Barbara Van Nostrand for their work, support, and advice in wending through complex UCLA bureaucracies.

Archives, Archivists, Libraries, and Librarians

Few scholars can be successful without the aid of archivists and librarians, and I am indebted to those I met over the course of this project. While space necessitated I incorporate into the dissertation research from only a few of the institutions I visited, I enjoyed my time at all of these institutions, and I look forward to continuing to work with the people and materials I encountered there. At the University of Florida, my thanks to Richard Bennet, James Cusick, and Florence Turcotte of the George A. Smathers Libraries; to Austin Bell (now at the Marco Island Historical Society), Elise LeCompte, William Marquardt, and Karen Walker of the Florida Museum of Natural History; and to Deborah Hendrix, Matthew Mariner, and Paul Ortiz of the Samuel Proctor Oral History Project. My thanks to the staff of the Florida State University Libraries and Archives, and the staff of the Florida State Archives. At the Moravian Archives, Northern Province, my thanks to Claire Klatchak and Paul Peucker. At the Moravian Archives, Southern Province, my thanks to Richard Starbuck. At the Berea College Archives, my thanks to Harry Rice.

During summer 2014, I conducted research in a number of Smithsonian Institution museum and archive collections at the Suitland, MD, museum support center. At the National Museum of the American Indian Cultural Resource Center, my thanks to Victoria Cranner, Cali Martin, Rachel Menyuk, and the inestimable Veronica Quiguango. At the Department of Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History, my thanks to Carrie Beauchamp, Susan Crawford, and Felicia Pickering. At the National Anthropological

Archives, my thanks to Sara Ganderup, Adam Minakowski, and Gina Rappaport. At the Museum Support Center, my thanks to Sweet Dee and Juanita Hood. At the Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives, my thanks to Greg Adams and Jeff Place for research help and a wonderful tour.

At the Goucher College Library, my thanks to Pamela Flinton, Randi Kennedy, Nancy Magnuson, and Tom Minnema for providing an unexpectedly rich research library home during summer 2015. At the Thurgood Marshall Law Library of the University of Maryland Francis King Carey School of Law, my thanks to Joe Neumann for long-distance research assistance. At the UCLA Music Library, my thanks to David Gilbert, the understanding Bridget Risemberg, and the long-suffering Thomas Feng and Niccolo Scolieri. At the UCLA Young Research Library, my research home for the past six years, my thanks to the tireless Interlibrary Loan staff and to Valerie Rom-Hawkins for working miracles. A special thank you to Angela Riggio, copyright librarian extraordinaire, for her invaluable help working through the inconsistencies of copyright law, practice, and reuse. At the UCLA American Indian Studies Center Library, my thanks to Ken Wade for access, research help, and stimulating conversations. At the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive, my thanks to Aaron Bittel and Maureen Russell for conversations and coursework, editing help, research materials, and advice. At the UCLA Law Library, my thanks to Amy Atchinson for bibliographic advice and to the wonderful Lynn McClelland for last minute, detailed research help.

Copyright and Reuse

My thanks to the copyright holders who granted me permission to reuse their work in this dissertation: Frederick Courtright on behalf of Bernie Krause (Figure 9.9); Jody Kreiman (Figure 8.1); Taylor and Francis Publishers on behalf of the Association of American Geographers and

Erhard Rostlund (Figure 7.11); and Taylor and Francis Publishers (www.tandfonline.com) and Michelle Dickson on behalf of Maney Publishing, Southeastern Archaeological Conference, John F Scarry, and Claudine Payne (Figure 2.1). Thanks to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Kaitlyn Pettengill for facilitating permission to reuse William Bartram's figures of the "Plan of the Public Square" (Figure 2.2), "A Plan of the Muscogulge or Upper Creek Town" (Figure 2.3), and "Chunky Yard" (Figure 3.4). Thanks also to Katherine Krause for her interest in this project. I include two maps by Charles C. Royce in this document (Figures 2.4 and 2.5), both of which now fall under the public domain.

Individuals

I am grateful many people for their time, support, and ideas. Michael Bakan facilitated my access to the Florida State University collections in 2012. Ruth Auckerman aided me in an initial foray through documents I digitized at the Moravian Archives. While conducting research at the Moravian Archives, Southern Province, Pam Snyder, previously a stranger, generously facilitated the completion of my research by charging my camera batteries. Sam Baltimore, Russell Krupen, and Angela Honeymustard gave me a home while I conducted archival research in Washington, DC, in summer 2014. The long-suffering Arreanna Rostosky, my dear friend, digitized far too many research materials for me during summer 2015. Leland Taylor provided me with much needed perspective on a number of occasions. Michael Biros suggested a number of productive paths regarding environmental breathing. Jamie Campbell provided me with the technology and space to digitize many materials in the personal archives of Pvlvcekolv community members.

At and through UCLA, I have met and learned from many wonderful people in and out of the classroom. I explored beginning drafts of the ideas and chapters in this dissertation in courses taught by Aaron Bittel, Tara Browner, Jessica Cattelino, Nina Eidsheim, Jody Kreiman, Daniel Neuman, Helen Rees, Maureen Russell, Anthony Seeger, and David Delgado Shorter. I also explored early ideas and prose in this dissertation through numerous conference presntations. I am grateful to those who attended and gave me feedback and suggestions: at the 2009 Oral History Association conference in Louisville, KY; the 2001 International Council for Traditional Music conference in St Johns, Newfoundland; the 2011, 2012, and 2014 Society for Ethnomusicology conferences in Philadelphia, PA, New Orleans, LA, and Pittsburgh, PA, respectively; the 2013 and 2016 Southeastern American Indian Studies conferences in Pembroke, NC; the 2016 Eastern American Studies Association conference in Lancaster, PA; and the 2016 inertia conference in Los Angeles, CA. Through our six years together, my graduate cohort has shaped my ideas and my mind, and I would not be the scholar I am now without our supportive relationships and the experiences I have had in their company. Thank you, Logan Clark, Scott Linford, Larry Robinson, Vivek Vrani, and Dave Wilson; I look forward to the next six years and more!

Elaine Sullivan facilitated introductions, tendered research and theoretical advice, read drafts, and gave hugs: thank you for so very much. Zachary Wallmark provided information and citations on neurology; Turya Nair advised, explained, and provided citations on fasting; Megan Bartlett engaged me in intriguing conversations on plant life and ecology; and Martin Daughtry provided a number of ideas on voice. Mitchell Morris offered a willing and interested ear for working out new ideas. Alyssa Mathias and Badema Pitic suggested literature to read and theories to pursue. Susan Leigh Foster, A. J. Kluth, and Roger Savage guided me through the

realms of embodiment. Josh Armenta, Michael Biros, Andrew Cohen, Alyssa Coltrain, Nick Georgopoulos, Gillian Gower, Hakopē, Jesse Ruskin, Eric Schmidt, Elaine Sullivan, Kanwal Sumnani, and Samantha Weiner offered vocabulary suggestions. Celia Kelly helped track down the James Adair Latin translation and explanation. Monica Chieffo shared literature and ideas. Michael Iyanaga engaged me in a fascinating and useful conversation on history and heritage. Having recently gone through the same process, Jessie Vallejo offered invaluable advice as a recently-minted UCLA PhD in ethnomusicology.

Many people offered useful advice and critical feedback on my prose. Alexandra Apolloni, Sarah Hutson, Ken Koons, Stephanie Koons, Raphael Seligmann, Elaine Sullivan, and Alessandra Williams offered critical advice on various grant applications. Lauren Poluha, CedarBough T. Saeji, and Kathleen Wiens read and offered helpful suggestions regarding the dissertation prospectus. Lee Bloch and Scott Linford were invaluable in helping me re-imagine the Introduction and Chapter Three. Tara Browner pushed me through Chapter Two. Tuyra Nair edited sections of Chapter Four for medical accuracy. Jesse Ruskin, Roger Savage, Tim Taylor, Glenn Patterson and Thomas Western made several helpful suggestions on a precursor of Chapters Five and Six. Aaron Bittel and Maureen Russell offered feedback on Chapter Six. Megan Bartlett gave research advice and read Chapter Eight for ecological accuracy. Nina Eidsheim and Jody Kreiman helped improve Chapter Eight, as did Lee Bloch and Scott Linford. I am indebted to my classmates in David Delgado Shorter's WAC 400 writing class for their help on Chapter Four, and throughout this dissertation and other documents; I look forward to many more years of fruitful editing and revision collaborations with Amy Alterman, Sevi Bayraktar, Shamell Bell, Cyndy M. García-Weyandt, Thalia Marlyn Gomez, Shweta Saraswat, Arushi Singh, Elaine Sullivan, and Alessandra Williams.

An unusual genre, a graduate student writes a dissertation through a form of collaboration with the dissertation committee members. I am very grateful to my dissertation committee: Tara Browner, Elisabeth Le Guin, Daniel Neuman, Anthony Seeger, and David Delgado Shorter. Thank you for simultaneously challenging and supporting my work and me. Thank you, Tara, for several eye-opening conversations about the similarities between Pvlvcekolv traditions and the Choctaw traditions your grandfather passed on to you. I appreciate your efforts and mentorship; thank you also for pushing me to ask the uncomfortable questions. Thank you, Elisabeth, for so many breakfast mentoring conversations, a sympathetic ear, and so much else. Thank you, Dan, for one of the first seminars in which I probed some of these topics and for your encouragement. Thank you, Tony, for your long-term advice, bi-coastal mentoring, and copious citations. Thank you, David, for your mentorship and for pushing me to become a more nuanced writer. Many thanks to Helen Rees and Timothy Taylor for their presence and advice while on the committee early in the process.

The presence, support, and patience of family and friends have made the dissertation-writing and general graduate education processes possible and palatable. I am indebted to my friend and colleague in archaeology Lee Bloch, who also collaborates with Pvlvcekolv; I look forward to further collaboration and many more fascinating, useful, and refreshingly honest conversations with you. Thanks to Marc Bolin and to Ginger Chulack for providing me a home and supportive community for my last half-year spent working on this dissertation. Thanks to Jean-Louis Rodrigue and Misako Tsuchiya for keeping me sane and improving my use of self. Thanks to Georgia Broughton for encouragement and to Megan Sarno for mutual encouragement while we wrote from our respective coasts. Thanks to Sam Gleaves, Xiaofeng Gu, Calvin Ho, Abilash Mishra, and Patrick Rock for offering comfort and conversation along the way. Many

thanks to my partner, Niccolo Seligmann, for challenging and satisfying conversations, for offering me unconditional love, and for putting up with the "other woman" that is this dissertation! Many thanks to Dana Isaacoff, Raphael Seligmann, and Hart Isaacoff for their love, support, and humor. Many thanks to Ken Koons for too much to list here, but especially for starting me on the road to ethnography. Many thanks to Stephanie Koons for far too much to list here, but especially for gifting me *Braiding Sweetgrass* and nursing me through the ridiculousness of mononucleosis when I should have been writing.

Perhaps most importantly, this project would not have been possible without a well-timed invitation from Hakopē and the support of the Pvlvcekolv community. Like many others, I am indebted to Hakopē, my adopted grandfather, for his ideas, his patience, his learning, and his time and effort on my behalf. My thanks to my adopted parents Hokte Eco and Kusko for welcoming me home, and for their ideas, suggestions, support, and generosity. Thanks to Vhicv for research help and clearing up my many questions. My thanks to my adopted uncle, Mvhayv-rakko, for conversation, pedagogy, and laughter. Many other community members have welcomed me, taught me, and challenged me. I cannot possibly express my thanks fully except to say, Mvto!

VITA

EDUCATION

2012	M.A., Ethnomusicology University of California, Los Angeles
2010	B.A., Music History, *Magna cum laude* Dickinson College

SELECTED AWARDS

2016	Member, Edward A. Bouchet Graduate Honor Society, UCLA
2015	Honorable Mention, Ford Foundation Dissertation Completion Fellowship
2012-13	Dr. Hyman Eugene Oxman Scholarship for the Arts, UCLA
2012-13	Institute of American Cultures Research Grant, American Indian Studies Center, UCLA
2012	Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Grant, Graduate Division, UCLA
2010	Carmen Neuberger Award for leadership and scholarship in the performing arts, Dickinson College
2009	Trust-T Award for Musical Creativity, Dickinson College
2006-10	John Montgomery Merit Scholarship, Dickinson College

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

2015-2016	Teaching Fellow, Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA
2015	Reader, Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA
2014-15	Managing Director/Teaching Fellow, Musicology Department, UCLA
2013-14	Teaching Associate, Musicology Department, UCLA
2012-14	Teaching Associate, Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA
2012, 2014	Assistant, Ethnomusicology Laboratory, Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA

2011-12	Teaching Assistant, Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA
2010-present	Co-director, Archivist, and Filmmaker, World Community Productions
2009-10	Teaching Assistant, Music Department, Dickinson College
2006-present	Instructor, Common Ground on the Hill traditional arts summer school, McDaniel College

RECENT SELECTED PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Forthcoming	"Sweden: Contemporary Performance Practice," *The Sage Encyclopedia of Music and Culture*, Sage Publications
2016	"Untangling Constructions of Ethnicity/Race in a Mixed-Blood Muskogee-Creek Tribal Town," 6th Annual Meeting of the Eastern American Studies Association, Lancaster, PA, April 1-2
2015	"The Politics of Performing the Other: Curating an Early Music Concert," with Elisabeth Le Guin, in *Ethnomusicology Review* 20
2014	"Ritualizing the Past: Archives, Heritage, and Ceremony," 59th Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Pittsburgh, PA, November 13-16
2013	"Through the Lens of a Baroque Opera: Gender/Sexuality Then and Now," 58th Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Indianapolis, IN, November 14-17
2012	"Comfort, Engagement, Encouragement, Dissent: Freedom and Liberation Songs during the Anti-Apartheid Struggle," with Atandi Anyona, in *Ethnomusicology Review* 17
2012	"Göran Olsson: The Role of the Individual in Musical Networks," 6th Annual Echo Conference, Department of Musicology, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, October 18-19
2011	"People of One Fire Continuing a Centuries-Old Tradition: Winter," 41st World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music, St. Johns, Newfoundland, Canada, July 13-19
2009	"Recreating Process, Culture, and Interpretation: Using Technologies to Present and Represent Community Histories," 43rd Annual Meeting of the Oral History Association, Louisville, KY, October 14-18

Chapter One: Introduction

This work presents an ethnographic account employing a multispecies perspective on a southeastern North American Indian community's ritual performance practice. Scholars increasingly understand human nature as derived from interactions and relationships with other species and other entities (Tsing n.d.; Haraway 2008:19). To understand any guise or incarnation of humanity, we must also account for the other-than-human. We can no longer assume human exceptionalism, and a study of musical performance offers no exception. Overcoming human exceptionalism is perhaps especially necessary today, in what some scholars have termed the "Anthropocene" era of Earth's planetary history, a time when human activity has become a significant geological and morphological force in the world (Crutzen and Stoermer 2000:17). In this period, we no longer have the supposed privilege to ignore the other entities with whom we make our world—if indeed we ever did.

In an effort to address the relationships between human and other beings, the present study explores the ritualized "natureculture borderlands" of a Muskogee-Creek tribal town (Haraway 2003; Kirksey and Helmreich 2010:545). While ethnographic inquiry into Indigenous cultures around the world have flourished over the past several decades, studies regarding southeastern peoples in North America have lagged, especially musical ethnographies. Although a few exceptions exist (c.f. Howard and Levine 1990; Jackson [2003] 2005, 2004; Jackson and Levine 2002; Levine 1991, 1993, 1997), scholars lack an in-depth understanding of the worlds and music cultures of southeastern peoples. Much of the literature dates to the early days of anthropology, when ethnologists were cutting their eyeteeth in a new discipline. Southeastern peoples, like their cousins across the Americas, have much to contribute to scholastic and lay

conversations regarding ontologies, tradition, performance practice, and humanity writ large. At the express invitation of a southeastern community, I write this ethnography explicitly to begin addressing that dearth of scholarship.

I write this dissertation also to address a methodological deficiency in Native Americanist ethnomusicology specifically, and ethnomusicology more generally. American Indian peoples often conceptualize music and dance as a single category rather than two distinct categories (Browner 2009:xiii-xxvii; Heth 1975:76; Kurath 1957; Seeger [1987] 2004; R. Stevenson 1973:402-403). Yet, few Native Americanist ethnomusicologists have incorporated choreographic analysis into their work in any substantial way (exceptions include Browner 2009; Jackson and Levine 2002; Kurath [1964] 2000; N. Smith 1962; and J. D. Sweet [1985] 2004). Because of our long-time study of sound and music-making as cultural activities, we ethnomusicologists tend to focus on the aural and the cultural flows around the aural while ignoring the corporeal. Corporeal analysis, however, must join musical analysis in order to depict Native American and, I argue, all other forms of performance practice, accurately (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2015:94). People not only express their perspectives verbally, they also "theorize, map, inscribe, and document" them in performance (Shorter 2009:13).

Any study of the music of American Indian ritual performance practice must include the choreographic component (Browner 2009:xxvii). Excluding the corporeal aspects of performance privileges a Euro-Americentric construction that splits sonic and physical activities into separate categories. When we reduce music only to sound, we remove the people who make the music (N. Brown 2006:37; Rahaim 2012:1). While ethnomusicologists have explored dance in their research (T. Hahn 2007; Howard and Kurath 1959; Kaeppler 1970, 1971, 1972, 1983; Kealiinohomoku 1965, 1970, 1976; Kurath et al. 1963; N. Smith 1962; Phillips 2013; Powers

1968; Rossen and Colbert 1981), they rarely focus on bodily experience. This absence is unfortunate and more than a little puzzling. We humans create and consume music with our bodies: musical action involves motion. While attending a concert or making music with other people, I not only hear sound with my ears, but also feel it reverberating through my entire, moving body. Electronic music is no exception: it, too, involves somatic contribution, though interacting with computers and other machines differs from playing an instrument or singing. To address this deficiency, I develop an ethnophilosophical sound- and movement-focused analysis that combines ethnomusicologically-derived approaches to sound and music with dance and performance studies-derived approaches to corporeal experience.

My case study is the Florida-based Muskogee-Creek Pvlvcekolv Tribal Town "busk," a ritual cycle that pre-dates Contact with Europeans and has continued to the present day. Derived from the anglicization of the Muskogee word *posketv* ("to fast"),[1] the busk has been, and is still, performed by several southeastern Native American cultures, including Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, and Yuchi communities. The busk has also been called "Green Corn ceremonialism" after the Green Corn Busk, the ritual that marks the beginning of the cycle. This cycle mediates performers' interactions with each other and with a host of diverse beings that outsiders might more readily recognize as animals, plants, objects, and spirits. In so doing, the cycle engages human and other-than-human persons together in a mutual undertaking, a multispecies performance practice. My research illuminates intersections between performance practice and worldview, revealing a function of the busk as an ontological means for performers

[1] The Creek-derived "busk" bears no relation to the English words of the same spelling. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the English "busk," which can mean "to seek," "to prepare," or can refer to the rigid material in a corset, among other definitions, derives from the Spanish *buscar*, the Icelandic *búask*, or the French *busq*, respectively. The definition of the English "busk," meaning to perform music in a public place, also likely derives from the Spanish *buscar*.

to understand and renew their world and their place in it. Participation in the busk cycle facilitates community members' ability to make sense of personhood and cosmos.

I write this document as an ecomusicological multispecies ethnography. Once a metaphor for global musical diversity, ecomusicology has recently blossomed into a vibrant sub-field wherein music/sound scholars engage ecology (Allen 2011a, 2011b; Challe 2015; Guy 2009; Titon 2013). I weave ecomusicological literature and perspectives throughout this dissertation. This subfield addresses the role of music scholarship to welfare and human longevity; the relationships between music, nature, other species, and the environment; and the relationship between music and music scholarship and contemporary ecological crises; among other questions (Allen 2011a:392). This area exhibits a heterogeneous mixture of approaches, however. Some scholars consider ecomusicology to be a continuation of the study of music and place; others approach it as a stage of ideological critique of ecological and musicological scholarship (Rehding 2002). Broadly, however, a portion of this scholarship treats connections between music and ecological environments (Perlman 2014). As such, ecomusicology connects with research that comes under the anthropological rubric of multispecies ethnography.

Anthropologists S. Eben Kirksey and Stefan Helmreich pose a guiding question for multispecies works: "what happens when *Homo sapiens* and its interspecies, multispecies, and quasi-species familiars, burrow into the biology that animates anthropos?" (2010:566). More broadly, what happens when humans and other-than-humans interact? In writing this dissertation, I echo ethnomusicologist Marcello Sorce Keller in his calls for musical scholarship on/with other species and proposal of a musical multispecies ethnography (2011, 2012). I therefore adapt Kirksey and Helmreich's guiding question to ask what happens when humans and other-than-humans dance and "musick" together (Small 2001:9)?

While pursuing this project, one of my goals has been to explore and communicate a remarkable and beautiful cosmology and performance tradition. I have collaborated with Pvlvcekolv and documented their traditions, not as an act of "salvage ethnography" in order to record a vanishing culture before it "goes extinct" (Clifford 1989), but rather to create something of a snapshot of a particular worldview and performance practice. Pvlvcekolv and the busk have much to teach those outside of the community and I share the material of this dissertation in part to facilitate wider access to their understandings. In this respect, I further Pvlvcekolv's general goal of education. Echoing Tina Ramnarine (2009), I find that Pvlvcekolv's cosmology and ritual performance practice provide important perspectives on environmental issues by constructing a nature that intimately connects with humans. I hope that their worldview and this work can generate new understandings of human and other-than-human relations and lead to "a politics of understanding an environment that is not external to the human agent" (Ramnarine 2009:192, 198, 209, 212).

I make it my goal to contribute to the conversations around the social scientific ideas underlying this material. "Why" and "how" form two of the larger questions that we humans, whether scholars or not, have struggled to answer across our existence. In a very real way, our understandings and constructions of ourselves as humans, as people, derive from our interactions with other entities, human and otherwise. In exploring this performance practice and this cosmology, I focus on some of the issues at the heart of being human.

Approaching the Body

Much corporeal research comes from dance and performance studies, where scholars have written meticulously about the import and analysis of the body over the past several

decades (Bial 2004; Blacking 1977; Doolittle and Flynn 2000; Feher et al. 1989; Jaggar and Bordo 1989; Schechner and Appel 1990; Synnot 1993; Thomas and Ahmed 2004). In her landmark 1970 article "An Anthropologist Looks at Ballet as a Form of Ethnic Dance," Joann Kealiinohomoku critiqued previous research that discusses dance while ignoring culture and the body. Allegra Fuller Snyder's 1974 call for approaching dance as a "way of knowing" also significantly altered movement scholarship. The field then approached movement as culture and pushes the moving body into the center of analysis (Cowan 1990; Ness 1992; Novack 1990; Sklar 2001). Marta Savigliano in particular explored the connections between choreography and political economy, tying together the seemingly disparate threads of race, class, gender, sex, and national identity with the knot of tango (1995). Moving bodies "always gesture towards other fields of meaning, but at the same time instantiate both physical mobility and articulability" (S. L. Foster et al. 1996, xi). Movement can and does articulate cultural phenomena.

Cultural meaning exists not solely as symbols, as in Clifford Geertz' classic example of winking taken from Gilbert Ryle (Geertz 1973:7; Ryle 1971:480-481), but also as kinetic dynamics in specific social worlds (Sklar 2001:3). One does not generate cultural meaning solely through the act of winking; we also create meaning in the ways in which we wink. In this regard, movement is not solely a physical activity, but also a tool for expressing meaning (Barba 2011:83). Different meanings arise depending on the speed, movement/energy quality, and affect of the choreography involved. We generate and perceive these meanings through the bodily senses: sight, touch, smell, hearing, and taste.

The senses provide us with more than mere information. They also orient us in the world and allow us to construct "parameters of existence," ways of defining the world, social group, self, and body (T. Hahn 2007:3). We organize our experience through the acts of discerning

information from the senses, distinguishing differences and similarities in movement structures and qualities, and comprehending motion patterns. This often-subconscious ordering and analysis of data from the senses result in meaning-making. We synthesize information deriving from the senses and understand that we just witnessed a facetious wink, an arousing wink, or a caricature of a wink.[2] Meaning does not exist objectively or inherently in any situation or movement. Rather, analysis from the senses renders corporeal data comprehensible and allows us to construct meaning.

The synthesis of this body-derived data is an epistemological process that is the making of the body itself. A variety of scholars has examined a seemingly infinite number of bodies (Alter 1992; Hirschkind 2006:80; Wulff 2006; Bowman and Powell 2007; Rahaim 2012). These bodies do not "hold" experience like a container, vehicle, or object. Rather, the body is itself the process, the experience. The body—your body, my body, the Pvlvcekolv Matriarch's body: *specific* bodies—configure and incorporate information in a constant process of becoming. Deidre Sklar and others have proposed that knowledge exists simultaneously as a somatic state and a content that we articulate corporeally. If so, we cannot meaningfully disentangle any of the component parts of that process (Sklar 2001:186). These components include movements, sounds, and interactions with other entities. Experiences of busk activities intersect with experiences from beyond the Square Grounds. Seemingly disconnected aspects of one's daily life interconnect because we mediate them all through the lens of somatic experience. For example, Jason Baird Jackson notes that Yuchi ceremonialism in Oklahoma connects with other Indigenous cultures and with non-Indigenous cultures in the surrounding environs because Yuchi

[2] Neurological research has made great strides in understanding how the human mind goes about making sense of these data. This topic moves beyond the perimeters of this project. Rather than review it here, see O'Callaghan (2012) for an excellent introduction to the subject.

people themselves interact with those cultures and peoples ([2003] 2005:281). Because humans understand them all through these same corporeal processes of becoming, we cannot ignore or separate the intersections between ceremonial performance practice and extra-ritual phenomena.

Tomie Hahn writes about the confluence of experience through the conduit of the body in a different way (2007). A scholar and practitioner of Japanese *nihon buyo* dance, T. Hahn draws on her research and collaboration with her teacher, Hiroyo Tachibana, to propose that one cannot dance without first experiencing life. Only after synthesizing the various sensory-derived data and integrating them into the corporeal process of becoming can a person be sufficiently balanced to achieve the necessary sense of self to enact the dance (T. Hahn 2007:42). Expressing this sentiment differently, the identities we embody arise from a synthesis of the wealth of "sensational" information that we encounter throughout our lives. Extra-choreographic understandings and experiences vitally connect to movement (T. Hahn 2007:167).

T. Hahn casts performance as a process through which one can metaphorically negotiate cultural boundaries of identity. Rather than suggesting that performance becomes a means to communicate integral details of self (Bauman 1984:21), she proposes that we transgress the boundaries of our everyday identities and reorient ourselves through practice (T. Hahn 2007:161). She asserts that performance practice allows us to enact multiple identities in the continual process of becoming that is a body in motion. No person embodies only one identity category; everyone has multiple identities within racial, ethnic, gendered, sex, sexual, tribal, class, species, and other categories. Through performance, we display and negotiate the boundaries between them.

Literature Survey

This dissertation places several fields of study into conversation. Here I survey southeastern Indigenous music studies, literature from the budding "new animism" discipline, and several additional works that are key to this dissertation. There exists an impressive literature on southeastern Indigenous peoples.[3] American Indians in the Southeast have had sustained contact with European and African peoples from the earliest moments of colonial exploration and settlement. Consequently, a relatively large body of travelogues and ethnographies describe encounters with the peoples of the Southeast (Adair 2005; Bossu 1962; Milfort [1802] 1959; Nairne 1988; Randolph 1973). Later, ethnologist Frank Speck conducted formal field research with Creek and Yuchi peoples, writing several detailed ethnographies (1907a, [1909] 2004) and a study on Creek and Yuchi ceremonial music (1911b). Bureau of American Ethnology ethnologist Frances Densmore recorded and published widely on the music of American Indians (Hofmann 1968), including studies on the music of Gulf states Natives, the Choctaw, and the Florida Seminole (1934, 1937, 1943, 1956). Louis Capron (1953) and William Sturtevant (1954, 1960) published on Seminole ritualism, including discussions on music.

More recently, ethnomusicologist James Howard collaborated with Willie Lena on religious ritual, Medicine, and magic traditions of the Oklahoma Seminoles (1984). Howard also wrote a manuscript on Choctaw music and dance, which Victoria Lindsay Levine completed and published after Howard's death (1990). Levine later published on pantribal and Choctaw traditions (1991, 1993, 1997). David Draper (1980, 1981) has also written on Choctaw performance practice, as has George Stevenson (1977), albeit in a Christian context. More recently, Jackson and Levine produced a study on social dance music among post-Trail of Tears

[3] Rather than recreating several excellent bibliographies on the subject, see Green (1979), Kanen et al. (1983), Keeling (1997:341-362), and Perdue and Green (2001).

Woodlands communities that proposes revisions to the concept of pan-Indianism (2002). A subset of southeastern studies literature treats "Green Corn ceremonialism," the rituals of the most widely studied of the busk cycle ceremonies (Ballard 1978; A. R. Bell 1984; Gilbert Jr. 1930; Howard 1968; Jackson [2003] 2005; Schupman 1984; Swanton 1932; Witthoft 1946, 1949). I treat this busk literature in detail in Chapter Three.

I have used Jackson's publications on Yuchi peoples as something of a model for my own work (2008, 2013), especially his study on Yuchi ceremony ([2003] 2005). Although not on a southeastern people, David Delgado Shorter's monograph on Yoeme (Yaqui) religion and dance in the Southwest also forms a model for this dissertation (2009). Both studies examine the relationships between religion, dance/music, and performance practice. Because of its focus on the Yuchi, Jackson's book forms a key layer in the foundation of this dissertation, not only methodologically, but also culturally. He devotes a chapter each to the Stomp Dance, the Arbor Dance, the Green Corn Ceremony, and the Soup Dance: four ritual events I also treat. His work serves as an excellent model. So too does Shorter's work, which concentrates on the connections of contemporary Yoeme traditions, dances, and processions with historical consciousness. Shorter proposes that contemporary embodied action or performance practice documents Yoeme history. He makes clear the relationship between larger cultural phenomena and nonverbal actions such as dance.

This dissertation takes part in conversations in the so-called "new" animism studies. Much of this research focuses on Amazonian communities and no little of it derives from scholars in Europe. Most animists trace their scholastic genealogy to the work of Victorian anthropologist Edward Burnett Tyler and his pseudo-evolutionary definition of "religion" as a belief in spiritual beings (1871). Slightly less than a century later, anthropologist Irving

Hallowell explored Ojibwa animism in connection with ontology and cosmology ([1960] 1975). Following Hallowell, a slow explosion of scholarship begins with anthropologist Nurit Bird-David's article, "Animism Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology" (1999). In it, she explores the animistic cosmology of Nayaka, a South Indian hunter-gatherer society. Her article marks the beginning of what some now term the "new animism."

A hefty literature is growing around animism (Descola 1992; Gell 1998; Halbmeyer 2012a, 2012b; Lenaerts 2002; Praet 2014; Tindall 2013; Vitebsky 2003), including Graham Harvey's monumental edited volume, *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism* (2013). Drawing together many of the contemporary leading lights in animistic scholarship, the *Handbook* reprises accepted understandings of animism and then pushes beyond them. For example, Douglas Ezzy (2013) considers the grammatical constructions necessary when humans relate to other beings. Tim Ingold (2013) and Amy Whitehead (2013a) examine the personhood of objects, while Matthew Hall (2013) explores the personhood of plants, as does ecologist Robin Wall Kimmerer elsewhere (2003, 2013). Like many of their peers in the *Handbook*, these authors have published compelling work on contemporary animism outside of the *Handbook*, too (Hall 2011; Ingold 2000; Whitehead 2013b).

Constructions of the body develop from interactions with other humans and with a variety of other beings. Anthropologists have focused on the interactions between humans and non-humans especially in the past two decades, studying the host of organisms whose lives and deaths link to human social worlds (Kirksey and Helmreich 2010:545). This scholarship concerns the "effects of our entanglements with other kinds of living selves" (Kohn 2007:4). Such studies center on the contact zones between "culture" and "nature," such as Donna Haraway's book *When Species Meet* (2008). Other works include studies of insects, such as

Hugh Raffles' writings on the racialization of lice, bee language, and butterfly collecting (2001, 2010). These and other works take their roots from classic works in anthropology, of which Lewis Henry Morgan's 1868 *The American Beaver and His Works* forms but one example. (For an excellent review of multispecies literature, see Kirksey and Helmreich 2010.)

A subset of animistic literature treats the musical side of animism. Much of this work focuses on the sonic world of Amazonian Indigenous societies. Perhaps first among them is the work of Anthony Seeger (1981, [1987] 2004, 2013) with his decades-long collaboration with the Suyá (Kisêdjê) community of Brazil. His scholarship treats the way in which the Suyá's music connects to cosmology and, in one particular instance, he answers the now-famous ethnomusicological question, why Suyá sing ([1987] 2004). Other key publications in this area include Rafael José de Menezes Bastos' work in Lowland South America (2007, 2013a, 2013b), Bernd Brabec de Mori's work on voice and song in the Amazon (2008, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2015; Brabec de Mori and Seeger 2013), Jonathan Hill's study on Amazonian ritual poetics (1993, 2013), and others. In a different cultural context, Richard Jones-Bamman (1993) and Juha Pentikäinen (2000) treat Sami animisms in Scandinavia. Taking case studies from their respective field research with different Indigenous peoples, these scholars set out to achieve an ethnomusicology of animism.

Methods and Field Research

The data for this dissertation derives from ethnographic and archival research I have conducted with and about Pvlvcekolv since 2005. I first met Pvlvcekolv ceremonial leadership at a traditional arts program in my hometown in Maryland in 1997 when I was a nine: Hakopē, the Pvlvcekolv *mekko* ("king," "tribal leader") and *heles-hayv* ("Maker of Medicine"); Hokte Eco,

the Matriarch; Kusko, her husband the Beloved Warrior; Fiepe, the flute maker and player; and several other community members. For several years, I took the classes that Hakopē and Fiepe offered on southeastern Native American philosophy, southeastern flute making, and flute playing. In 2005, Hakopē, my father, and I entered into a series of fascinating conversations that we were unable to finish. Before the program ended that year, Hakopē gave us his phone number and requested that we call him the following Sunday evening. After a long and absorbing phone date, we were still unable to draw the conversation to a close. Over the years, we have spoken almost every Sunday evening, sometimes for a few moments, sometimes for two or more hours. These weekly conversations laid the foundation for this fieldwork as I learned about the people and cultural traditions of Pvlvcekolv.

While in college, I interviewed Hakopē for an introductory anthropology class assignment. Not long after I completed the assignment, he asked me if I would be interested in studying the Pvlvcekolv Harvest Busk. No one had ever examined it before, he said. His invitation morphed into a formal research collaboration with Pvlvcekolv and resulted in two research trips to Florida and my bachelors thesis.

Our mutual desire to continue collaborating developed into my doctoral project. I continued to attend ceremonies and, in 2012, the community decided to adopt me. (I detail part of this process in Chapter Eight.) Although I have no American Indian ancestry, the ceremonial leadership deemed my nature-centric childhood and my association with the community while growing up to be grounds for adoption. Several southeastern Indigenous populations have traditions of adoption only to replace deceased individuals. Over the past century and especially during World Wars I and II, Pvlvcekolv has prematurely lost many community members: my adoption is as a drop in a bucket toward remedying the population decline. As many community

members say, the ceremonial Fire recognizes its own. Pvlvcekolv adopted me as Matriarch's son (Deer Clan), Maker of Medicine's grandson, and nephew to several other members of the ceremonial leadership.

Since formalizing our research collaboration, my research methods take the form of observation-participation style ethnography, documentation and participation in ritual events, extensive oral history interviews, and archival research around the United States. I have also developed an archival collection with the community. To date I have conducted ninety-two interviews, documented and participated in thirteen ceremonies, and made twenty-one research trips archives, museums, and/or historic locations. Since 2005, I have spent more than nine months cumulative time in person with the community during twenty-six research trips.

As an observer in addition to a participant, I often have my field notebook close to hand. Rituals feature regular periods of "downtime," moments where participants rest in between actions. Given that everyone is fasting, these periods offer participants the time to replace energy through napping. When I can, I use these periods to take notes on the immediate proceedings. When not possible, I would end my day with an overview of the day's events, points from discussions, and so on.

During ceremonies and other community events, I set up a video camera to record. Although I occasionally bring the camera inside sacred space with me, more often I place it outside, on a post overlooking the ritual area. When possible, I bring a hand-held audio recorder with me into the ritual. Recording audio and video using separate devices not only lessens the risk of losing or damaging fragile, digitally-born materials, but also facilitates different perspectives on the same event. In this way, I can simultaneously document and participate in ritual.

I employ oral history interviews extensively in my research. The discipline of oral history emphasizes the importance of collaboration between narrator and interviewer in the process of creating an oral history document (Yow 2005). While the interviewer can ask any question he or she wants, the narrator need not necessarily feel obliged to respond. This form of collaboration ensures that elders can limit the information I can access, such as song lyrics or certain Medicine rituals, promoting an ethical relationship with the community.

I have interlaced my ethnographic research with forays into various libraries, archives, museums, and storehouses (LAMS) in the United States. These institutions include: Creek Council House Museum; Department of Anthropology at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History; Florida State University Archives; Kolomoki Mounds State Park; Letchworth-Love Mounds Archaeological State Park; Mission San Luis; Moravian Archives, Northern Province; Moravian Archives, Southern Province; National Anthropological Archives; National Arboretum; Object, Paper, and Photo Collections of the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian; Ocmulgee National Monument; San Marcos de Apalache Historic State Park; Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian; Special Collections, University of Florida; State Archives of Florida; and the United States Botanic Garden.

I include LAMS research in this project for several reasons. As I explore in Chapters Five and Six, LAMS institutions, professionals, and their patrons are culpable in creating and maintaining narratives that privilege supposedly objective forms of documentation. This documentation includes physical instantiations such as books, letters, recordings, monuments, and others. By privileging these documentation forms, we often construct LAMS to deny veracity to embodied or corporeal forms of documentation, such as dance, ritual, and others. These narratives largely ignore the fact that people themselves create and access those

supposedly objective types of documentation through embodied actions. I include LAMS research and its fruits to interrogate the relationships between American Indians and LAMS as a way of knowing. Although Pvlvcekolv's presence in historical sources constructs the community's place and legitimacy in American Indian history, it also speaks to the complimentary tension and between accessioned and performative ways of knowing.

In addition to the institutions I list above, I have also conducted research in the personal collections of Pvlvcekolv community members. As part of my collaboration with the community, I have also created digital copies of these personal collections and centralized them in a single collection (PAP, WCPA). This collection also includes the recordings I have created over the course of my field work and the materials I gathered from other LAMS. I explore the creation of this collection and its importance in Chapter Six.

Although the typical field research model involves little contact with the field community when not geographically located at the field site, travel and communication technologies increasingly render this model obsolete (Lewellyn 2002; Seeger [1987] 2004:142). I have taken full advantage of the fact that both my field site and I are located in the United States, and therefore easily accessible in person and by telephone. Because of this accessibility and my regular contact with community leaders, the line between being in and out of the field is extremely blurry. My continual contact makes it possible to argue that I have been carrying out research continually for the past ten or more years.

The delicate nature of my research topic, sacred performance practice, has shaped how I conduct research. When we formalized our research collaboration, Pvlvcekolv had me present my intentions and goals to the community immediately prior to the 2008 Harvest Busk. Although the ceremonial leadership had already agreed to my project, the community as a whole had to

agree to it before I could begin. To my relief, they welcomed me and my proposition. Part of the agreement, however, necessitated that I help the community as much as possible to maintain its privacy and not post research materials on the internet (Seeger [1987] 2004:xi). In addition to not posting research materials online, I respect Pvlvcekolv's desire for privacy in several ways. First, I ask elders to read over ideas and/or publication drafts to check for accuracy. When we formalized our collaboration, Hakopē told me that I could write whatever I wanted, as long as it was accurate to my experience. Due to the size of this dissertation and the schedule of my doctoral degree, I have been unable to show elders the document in full. The process of having the community give their opinions on this dissertation would add at least another year to my graduate education. Hakopē decided it was more important for me to graduate than take that year. Thankfully, Hakopē and one or two other elders looked over an early draft, and I have discussed the ideas contained in the document with several elders since then. I look forward to dialoguing about prose and content with the community while turning this document into a monograph in the coming years.

I also respect Pvlvcekolv's preference for privacy by using pseudonyms for living persons. While I use the proper names of deceased community members, such as former Matriarch Jonnie MacKenzie, I utilize a series of Creek-language pseudonyms for all living community members, such as Hakopē, Hokte Eco, and Fiepe. "Pvlvcekolv" itself is the community's formal Creek name; the group uses an English language name for more common parlance. By using these pseudonyms, community members can identify each other, but cultural outsiders cannot, thereby maintaining comparative privacy.

I have permission from Pvlvcekolv to conduct this project and write this dissertation on them and the busk. As I explore in Chapter Three, however, the busk as intangible cultural

heritage belongs to more communities than Pvlvcekolv. In addition to Muskogee or Creek communities, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Seminole, and Yuchi communities performed their versions of this ceremonial cycle for centuries, and continue to do so. I do not have permission from these disparate communities to write this dissertation, nor is getting permission feasible, nor, I might argue, necessary. Miriam Jorgensen and others have written about the importance of Indigenous peoples retaining control over their intangible cultural heritage (2012:1). A gray area, however, arises regarding control of intangible cultural heritage shared in different forms across different communities. Speaking about different Indigenous perspectives on object persons, A. Claxton notes, "I cannot speak for other Nations[;] this is protocol, that we respect what belongs to other and not place our opinion on objects we know nothing about" (Clavir 2002:70). While many communities in addition to Pvlvcekolv have and continue to practice the busk, their versions are different. Although clearly part of the same broad tradition, each community performs a distinct busk. Differences involve the specific busk ceremonies a community performs, when they perform them, performance practice, community arrangement, ritual interpretation, and so on. This dissertation concerns the busk as practiced at Pvlvcekolv; I cannot and do not make any statements or analysis regarding busks performed elsewhere except when drawing on literature that directly discusses them (see Chapter Three).

I guide my methods and field research with themes of the body, corporeality, and empirical embodiment. Corporeality looks for meanings communicated via bodily motion, movement quality, and comportment, taking the body as a locus for articulating, mediating, and reconciling potentially incongruent experiences and ideologies (Shorter 2009:13; S. L. Foster 1996). This approach ultimately bases itself on the premise of social constructionism from sociology, which posits that "the ways in which we collectively think and communicate about the

world affect the way that the world is" for us (Elder-Vass 2012:4). Rather than a single constructive synthesis, however, the way we perceive the world results from a range of possibly dissimilar or even mutually incomprehensible social constructions. Arising from this perspective, corporeality analyzes constructs and meanings conveyed through the body as it attempts to make sense of those incongruent constructions. How someone moves, when someone moves, and why someone moves expresses a diversity of culturally specific meanings.

Corporeality relates to but is distinct from embodiment. Although "embodiment" has become a much-used term over the past twenty years in performance studies, scholars have not come to any agreement about its precise meaning. We often associate the term with phenomenology, the philosophic study of experience and consciousness, and with the philosophers Edmund Husserl ([1913] 1989) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962) among others. Scholars using phenomenology frequently speak of "embodied knowledge" and "embodied practices." While not unuseful, on the surface this approach perpetuates the mind/body divide made famous by the seventeenth century French philosopher René Descartes. I doubt that knowledge or practices that are unembodied or somehow separate and/or distinct from the body can exist. We access and comprehend even forms of (presumably extra-bodily) information storage such as computer databases through bodily interactions (S. L. Foster 1995:12). While it informs the theoretical backdrop for this project, I have found phenomenology to be less useful than corporeality and embodiment.

In order to avoid the inconsistencies inherent to phenomenological embodiment, I echo musicologist Elisabeth Le Guin (2006, 2014) in practicing an "empirical embodiment." Simultaneously a scholar and performer, Le Guin proposes that the study of music account for how musicians realize that music: performance as inescapably physical. Subsequently, empirical

embodiment—much like the participation portion of the anthropological observation-participation method—assumes "in-feelings" to be as useful and meaningful as "insights." The "embodied experiences" of the ethnographer (accessed through participation) and of the cultural insider (accessed through interview and conversation) are therefore as admissible to the study of culture as observations made by the ethnographer. As such, this approach develops a practical version of phenomenological embodiment: a method not merely about the body, but from the body (Csordas 1994).

Additionally, empirical embodiment allows the scholar to avoid the restrictions inherent in assuming that, by being of the body, embodiment cannot therefore also be of the mind. From this perspective, if a theoretical paradigm (by virtue of being theoretical) is of the mind, it can presumably therefore not be of the body. Although this false dichotomy is impractical and potentially dangerous, it does reveal one useful point. Scholars most often use theory as a tool to answer questions. Empirical embodiment as a method and paradigm allows one instead to explore the questions, spiraling through the gray areas between the answers (Le Guin 2006). I take this mode inquiry as my own. Although I attempt conclusions, the process to those conclusions is perhaps more revealing.

Empirical embodiment also allows for the realization of what dance scholar Susan Leigh Foster calls a "bodily theoric," or an understanding of the positional relationship between the embodied meanings of the researcher and the researched (1995:8, 1996). This kind of approach necessitates that I become a character in this ethnography to address honestly and openly the relationships, power structures, and potent experiences that ethnographers enter into when conducting ethnographic scholarship. In order to realize successfully S. L. Foster's bodily theoric, I cannot ignore my own experiences. Rather than the historical and stereotypical

ethnography written by a social scientist who sits outside the action more often observing than participating, I write through the perspective of my experiencing body, rather than merely my experienced eye, taking advantage of the participation portion of the observation-participation method (Scheper-Hughes 1992:23). As such, I speak *about* and *with* Pvlvcekolv, but make an effort not to speak *for* Pvlvcekolv. I do not write this document as Pvlvcekolv representing Pvlvcekolv, but rather from the perspective of an ethnographer and ritual participant who has spent time with Pvlvcekolv during a specific period: 1997 to date, and more formally 2005 to date.

Throughout my somatic discussions and analyses, I work to overcome biases inherent in the English language. Cartesian dualism permeates English with its inherent split of mind versus body. Words like "corporal," "corporeal," "body," etc. define as not of the spirit: relating to the physical as distinct from the metaphysical. This split intrinsically opposes my goal of exploring the simultaneously physical and spiritual experience of busking at Pvlvcekolv. While speaking with me about the body in English during several interviews, Hakopē got caught in a trap that often irritates him. On several occasions, he resorted to the Muskogee language and then spent the following hour of the interview translating, picking apart, and explaining the significance of those few Muskogee sentences. The same thing often occurs during ceremonial occasions. As ceremonial leader, Hakopē long ago stated that he would not lead or conduct any ritual act or event unless the community understood its nature and import. Subsequently, ritual occasions often become educational, as those present discuss the events of the day, especially actions and concepts that translate from Creek only with great difficulty.

These discussions and my interviews with Hakopē and other elders direct attention to the fact that Pvlvcekolv members, like most Indigenous groups in the United States, necessarily live

and interact within or alongside the mainstream Anglo-American world. They speak English as the lingua franca, even at the Square Grounds. Muskogee functions as a ceremonial language there, not the primary language. We struggle to escape the conceptual and linguistic biases inherent in English itself.

Several members of the Pvlvcekolv community and I have joked over the years that I should write this document in Muskogee, a language wherein one can express these ideas more easily and fully. Creek language and culture feature an underlying monistic animism, a belief in the interconnectedness and oneness of all things. As I discuss in greater detail in the next chapter, the Creek cosmology includes a great many "beings." These beings connect together through the vehicle of respiration into a single, connected unit: Creation (I examine respiration in detail in Chapter Nine). This interconnectedness imbues the Muskogee language. For example, there are *hvmketicetv*, being made into a wholeness from all parts, seen and unseen; and *hvmecicetv*, to take in everything, all things (Loughridge and Hodge 1890). These terms exemplify the way in which the physical, the mental, the spiritual—all aspects of experience—twine together in an inseparable whole in Creek culture.

Rather than invent new jargon words or use hyphens to create something new like "corpora-spiritual," I hereafter assume the connotation of Muskogee animistic monism inherent in *hvmketicetv* and *hvmecicetv* in my use of terms such as "corporeal" and "corporal." As such, I approach an older meaning of "spiritual" in English. Through its derivation from the Latin *spiritus*, "spiritual" once referred to breath, breathing, life, and soul. The former three parts of that definition assume the presence of the body if not explicitly stating it. Although this definition of the term undermines the Cartesian split inherent to English, I do not include "spiritual" here to describe Pvlvcekolv religiosity. I agree with David Shorter (forthcoming) in

replacing the adjective "spiritual" with the term "related" to describe the interconnections between Indigenous peoples and other-than-human persons. At the same time, refining these terms allows me to realize a description and analysis of the entirety of a Pvlvcekolv ceremonial experience while recognizing the limitations of language.

Outline of the Dissertation

This document explores Pvlvcekolv history and ritual performance practice, and develops and implements a sound and movement-focused analysis. This Introduction and Chapters Two and Three form the conceptual, ethnographic, historical, and cosmological backdrop for Chapters Four through Ten. In these latter chapters, I examine the interconnections between busk performance practice and everyday life. In each, I explore a different ritual or rituals from the busk. I end each chapter with the "Vnahetv" section, also the title of Chapter Ten. *Vnahe* is Muskogee for "I am done speaking, I have nothing more to say," and *vnahetv* translates into a concluding section. The term sometimes functions as a salutation to end conversations. I use the term to sum up the main points of each chapter and, in Chapter Ten, to sum up the main points from the dissertation.

Where this Introduction sets up the scholarly background for my study, Chapter Two explicates Pvlvcekolv's historical background so as to make the remainder of the document comprehensible. In this second chapter, I outline Pvlvcekolv's community history as a mixed blood town in the Southeast following the Trail of Tears, and then explore that history in relation to constructions of Indigenous "authenticity," addressing various inaccurate accusations of "inauthenticity" or "ethnic fraud" that have been leveled against Pvlvcekolv.

After this historical outline, I explain the Creek cosmology and survey historical and contemporary accounts of the busk in southeastern Native communities in Chapter Three. Pvlvcekolv's Muskogee cosmology contains a single being: Creator. From Creator enfolds all of Creation as we know it. This Creation divides into a tripartite structure: the Three Worlds. We humans live in the Middle World. Much like the milled edge of a coin, the Middle World lies sandwiched between the Upper World and the Other World. These Worlds contain beings of order and chaos, respectively. Ritual performance practice largely focuses on maintaining or re-establishing balance among the beings of the Middle World that we might further balance the interactions between the Upper and Other Worlds. No two Muskogee communities are precisely alike; they more accurately form a related yet distinct network. Because of this, Pvlvcekolv's cosmological understanding cannot be assumed to be accurate for other Creek communities. Although they might overlap, minute differences between cosmological expressions and larger differences in performance practice exist between different communities.

Following this outline of the Creek cosmology at Pvlvcekolv, I move into an examination of the busk. I explore the busk historically through a copious literature. A surprising number of sources offer perspectives on the busk across written history in the Southeast. These sources not only treat the Creek busk, but also the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Seminole, and Yuchi versions of the cycle. I treat both historical and more contemporary accounts of the busk by travelers, government agents, and scholars. I then outline a typical busk at Pvlvcekolv, noting several of the larger distinctions between the four rituals that comprise a single busk cycle: Berry and Arbor Busk, Green Corn Busk, Little Green Corn Busk, and Harvest Busk. I also explain the place in the ceremonial cycle of several smaller, comparatively private rituals, such as Soup Dance and Bug Dance.

Chapters Four through Nine explore distinct dances and ritual actions outside their chronological context within the busk. Chapter Four treats Ribbon Dance and the fast, Chapter Five the Turtle Dance and the Bench Dances. Chapter Seven focuses on the Feather, Owl, Buffalo, and Bug Dances. Chapter Eight details the Berry and Arbor Dance and the Harvest Dance, and Chapter Nine describes a series of actions that occur in-between other actions such as setting the Fire, Sweeping, and various busk preparations. Chapter Six does not include analysis of a specific dance or dances, but instead focuses on a variety of object persons that play key roles during ceremonial actions, such as axes, turtle shell shakers, and ceramic pots.

In addition to these ritual actions, each chapter treats a different set or series of beings at Pvlvcekolv. As I explain in detail in Chapter Three, this Indigenous community recognizes the animistic personhood of a variety of "beings:" entities with form, substance, purpose/function, and place. The category of beings includes humans, animals, birds, insects, plants, and objects. Chapters Three, Four, and Five focus primarily on human persons, while Chapter Six takes object persons as its topic. Chapter Seven treats animal and insect persons and Chapter Eight explores plant persons. Chapter Nine treats all persons and their interconnections.

In Chapter Four, I build the ethnophilosophical analytical foundation upon which the rest of the dissertation rests. Here I explore Muskogee approaches to the body, movement, and music and then apply them to case studies of the fast and the Ribbon Dance. Dances fall into one of two categories: social dances that performers *do*, and sacred dances that participants *enter*. Those dances that community members enter are on-going since the moment of Creation, similar to a carousel that dancers get on and off during a busk. The community constructs the melodic movement of ritual songs as meaningful. This motion connects to the three World structure of the Creek cosmology. The highest notes correlate with the Upper World, the middle notes with

the Middle World, and the lowest notes with the Other World. The manner in which the melody line moves through these worlds connotes meaning, for example, of avian flight or bison migration.

Chapter Five treats the Turtle and Bench Dances as examples of Pvlvcekolv's Indigenous archival practice. These two dances tell portions of the Creation Story, perhaps the primary or only story at Pvlvcekolv; all other stories form chapters in this key cultural narrative. Dancing these rituals retells the Creation Story, maintaining its importance. As such, these and other dances form an Indigenous way of remembering, and render the body into an archival repository. Because it, too, maintains cultural memory, the busk also functions as an archive in its own right. I use my analyses of these sung dances to critique Euro-American archival practice, suggesting that this science would be strengthened by an understanding of other archival traditions.

Chapter Six functions as the companion of Chapter Five in that both treat Indigenous library, archival, museum, and storehouse (LAMS) practice. Where Chapter Five focuses on Turtle and the Bench Dances, Chapter Six examines the lives of beings who live in LAMS. In Pvlvcekolv's animistic cosmology, LAMS objects and records comprise beings. I contrast the lives of ceremonial objects in use in Pvlvcekolv's busk with the lives of cousins of these objects housed in LAMS collections. Removing these objects from the embedded relationships in which they exist in their originating communities removes their life histories, in a sense rendering them into orphans. Understanding objects as autonomous persons with perspectives facilitates a more ethical approach to LAMS sciences and has the potential to improve relationships between LAMS and Indigenous communities.

Chapter Seven examines the animal dances of the busk, including Feather, Buffalo, Bug, and Owl Dances. While outlining these particular choreographies and the ecological facts from

which they derive, I develop a theory of "becoming" to explain what occurs when Pvlvcekolv dances these dances. The animal dances do not comprise imitations of the eponymous animals. The choreography, however, quotes directly from the habits of these eponymous animals. No mere mimicry, these dances place humans in performance with animals and other beings, and result in something that is neither human nor animal, but some combination of the two—what philosopher Gilles Deleuze has called a "becoming-animal." These becomings place the humans of Pvlvcekolov in dialogue with the animal beings that comprise their ecosystem. Over the past few decades, elders have begun to incorporate research from the ecological sciences community discussions and understandings of the beings that surround them. I echo that practice by incorporating pertinent information from the biological sciences, especially regarding the ecological habits of diverse beings.

Where Chapter Seven treats animal persons, Chapter Eight focuses on plants and voice. As animistic persons, plants often speak with and sing to community members. Pvlvcekolv's understanding of plant voices traditionally derives from an episode in the Creek Migration Legend and multi-generational observations and relationships with plants. Plants vocalizing relates to Pvlvcekolv's understanding that voice derives from the ability to breathe. Because all beings can breathe, all beings can speak or sing, including plants. As such, plant voices constitute communication writ large. Two danced songs, the Berry and Arbor Dance and the Harvest Dance, comprise instances when Pvlvcekolv formally interacts with plants. Braiding together these threads of ceremonial performance practice, and traditional and scientific approaches to voice and plant life, I explore the relationship between plants and humans, proposing that performances of the Berry and Arbor and Harvest Dances constitute intertwinings of human and plant voices.

In Chapter Nine, I treat the relationships between breath, voice, and being. This chapter takes up where Chapter Eight leaves off regarding voice. Instead of examining only the voices of plants, here I discuss the voices of all beings and focus on breath as the medium that connects all beings together. In Pvlvcekolv's cosmology, Creator is the ultimate building block of creation. As such, the breath of any single being ultimately is the breath of Creator. Creator connects together all beings through this commonality of being and breath. Voice and breath function to wrap up my dissertation, in an analysis that ties together all beings in the Muskogee cosmology.

I draw the document to a close with Chapter Ten. There I reiterate my conclusions and connect each chapter to the larger dialogues I address in this dissertation. As a whole, this dissertation focuses on the way in which a particular community performatively creates and maintains its world, constructing personhood and humanity in a wider natureculture. Through ritual enactment, Pvlvcekolv connects to and communicates with a plethora of beings. In the process, they develop their specific construction of humanity. As a multispecies ethnography in the Anthropocene, this study on a southeastern Indigenous community's ceremonial cycle offers a model for ways in which outsiders might conceptualize relationships with others-than-human, focusing on the relationships through which we mutually exist.

Chapter Two: Pvlvcekolv History and "Authenticity"

Religious scholar Joel W. Martin concludes an essay on Muskogee religious change with the following hypothesis:

> Perhaps one day the green corn ceremony will be danced again where it was first performed, near a river in Alabama. If this happens, it may signal the end of a long phase of colonialism and exile, and the beginning of a new chapter in the history of one of the most persistent and dynamic living traditions in the New World. (2000:103)

Martin's essay sketches the broader differences and relationships between what he defines as four distinct periods in Creek religion across history: Woodland, Mississippian, Colonial, and post-Trail of Tears. His concluding statement assumes the busk to no longer be practiced in the geographic Southeast. Even the Alabama-based Poarch Band of Creek Indians, to date the only federally recognized Creek community east of the Mississippi River, does not busk, he says (J. W. Martin 2000:103). He therefore proposes that, if the busk should ever again be performed east of the Mississippi, a fifth period of religious change may be added to his list.

Martin does not know that at least one Creek community continues to perform the busk in the Southeast, even after the Trail of Tears. During the increasing transition towards religious privacy following Andrew Jackson's defeat of the Creek Redsticks' sacred revolt in 1814, many Muskogee communities removed their ritual activities and paraphernalia from the gaze of non-Creeks, developing a kind of cultural "underground" prior to Removal (J.W. Martin 2003). As but one example, the ceremonial leadership of Tvkvpacē (sometimes spelled "Tuckabatchee") no longer displayed their ancient copper plates or ceremonial cycle to whites (J. W. Martin 2000:100). For the few Creek communities who remained in the Southeast after the Trail of Tears, this cultural underground became a way of life. In order to maintain the busk tradition in the Southeast, Pvlvcekolv has also had to sustain this cultural underground.

Martin's concluding statement exemplifies the widespread scholarly assumption that, with the exception of Poarch, Creeks no longer live in the Southeast (Hudson 1976; Paredes 1974, 1975, 1992, 1995). This situation is not dissimilar to that of the Yuchi people in Oklahoma. In much the same way that a number of scholars have mistakenly written about the Yuchi as a socially extinct group (Jackson 2004:v), other scholars have referred to the Creeks as a population bounded exclusively within present-day Oklahoma. Similarly, in recent decades in the Southeast, a number of Indigenous communities that successfully avoided the Removals have begun working to create a public presence, including the Poarch Band of Creek Indians in Alabama, the Eastern Band of Cherokee in North Carolina, and MOWA Choctaw in Mississippi, in addition to Pvlvcekolv in Florida (Finger 1991; Greenbaum 1991; Matte 2006; Paredes 1992:120-139). The presence of these communities demands a more nuanced understanding of Removal and post-Removal history in the Southeast. To critique narratives of post-Removal "authenticity" in the Southeast, I outline Pvlvcekolv's history and explore constructions of race and authenticity as they relate to the community.

Mississippian Pvlvcekolv

I compile Pvlvcekolv's history by braiding together the archaeological record, historical and archival sources, and community oral histories to present a picture of tribal town presence and importance in the Southeast throughout that region's history (Atalay 2012:207). I begin with the archaeological record to explore Mississippian culture in the Southeast. Although archaeologists have recently made great strides in this area, the oral nature of Mississippian cultures and significant archaeological methodological issues render it difficult to achieve clear lineages between colonial-era Creek communities and their Mississippian ancestors. Colonial

history features a variety of Euro-American peoples in contact with Pvlvcekolv; their journals, maps, and other documents locate the community and relate parts of their history. After the widespread Removal of southeastern Indigenous peoples to Indian Territory, a number of social scientists documented the Creeks. Combining these perspectives with Pvlvcekolv oral histories, I sketch the community history of this private Muskogee tribal town.

Pvlvcekolv elders trace tribal town history back to the Mississippian period and the beginning of what scholars sometimes call the "Southeastern Ceremonial Complex" (Hakopē, interview, 28 July 2014; Waring and Holder 1945). Mississippian cultures arose in a series of river valleys across the Eastern Woodlands region of North America. The Mississippi River, Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico coasts, and the Great Lakes/Saint Lawrence River form the broader geographic boundaries this region. The first of these cultures, Cahokia, came to prominence in the Mississippi River Valley, hence the designation of these cultures as "Mississippian." Significant hubs existed also in the valleys of the Apalachicola, Flint, Chattahoochee, Ohio, Missouri, and other rivers (B. Smith 1978).

Mississippian communities comprised a series of geographically diverse societies with a diverse range of cultural and historic backgrounds (B. Smith 1990:1). The variations between them draw from the diversity of their environments and the cultural bases from which they developed (Pauketat 2007; Scarry 1990:227). Archaeologists typically identify distinct Mississippian areas based on differences in form, method of production, and style of pottery. Despite their differences, these isolated communities connected together in communication and trade networks that also linked them to much of the rest of Indigenous North America. Some archaeologists suggest that the trade especially of prestige goods facilitated and fueled the

parallel transformations in different river valleys (Brown, Kerber, and Winters 1990; Wesson 2008).

In recent years, archaeological research on Mississippian societies has accelerated. Technological advances, for example in physical and chemical analyses and remote sensing techniques, alter how archaeologists conduct research and expand the data they can recover. Increasingly, scholars of these societies focus on agency, identity, factionalism, ideology, and meaning at the center of cultural change. Larger scale work on and between individual sites has resulted in new insights into local, regional, and extra-regional Mississippian phenomena (Blitz 2010). Despite these advances, scholars still have difficulty tracing clear, direct lineages between Mississippian communities and their colonial-era Creek tribal town heirs (Hudson 1976:36; Knight [1989] 2006, 1994:378, 380).

Mississippian cultures include the rise of what scholars have called the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (J. Brown 1997; Knight 1986). One of the first to explore and propose this Complex, Antonio Waring and Preston Holder's 1945 article treats a series of similar imagery found at mound sites across the Southeast. They conclude with the hypothesis that the prehistoric Southeast contained a highly developed cult or cult complex dependent on agriculture. Archaeologists such as James A. Brown have since critiqued the normative assumptions of the concept as it has led to the proliferation of numerous smaller complexes in an effort to account for fuzzy boundaries and artistic differences (1976). More recently, Vernon James Knight (2006) and others have discarded the concept of a united Complex, calling instead for more nuanced understandings of Mississippian similarities. Nevertheless, scholars still occasionally refer to the Complex and include under its umbrella the colonial and contemporary heirs to the Mississippians.

Despite the inherent relatedness between prehistoric and historic southeastern populations, southeastern scholarship has long evinced the monolithic view of southeastern Native Americans being different from their ancestors. Archaeologist H. Thomas Foster (2007:258) and anthropologist Jason Baird Jackson ([2003] 2005:17, 290) both note the erroneous nature of this view: recent studies have documented a series of significant continuities between Mississippian, colonial, and contemporary communities (Bell 1999; Jackson [2003] 2005; Urban 1994; Wickman 1999). While tracing specific towns remains difficult, we know quite a lot about Mississippian peoples in specific geographic areas.

Archaeologist Ned Jenkins has posited that the core of what would become the colonial period Creeks developed through a synthesis of Woodland peoples already present and Woodland peoples who migrated to the area between 1350 and 1650 CE (2009:188). Archaeologists refer to one of the Mississippian regional areas that hosted post-contact Creeks as the Fort Walton area. This area existed broadly at the confluence of present-day Florida, Georgia, and Alabama (see Figure 2.1). Like other Mississippian regional areas, the Fort Walton area consisted of a series of smaller, independent polities or "phases" whose interactions caused them to share a distinct material culture (Scarry 1990:228).[4] The twelve Fort Walton phases existed in four distinct areas, including the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee River valleys, the Mariana lowlands, and the Tallahassee hills. Although some scholars have posited that the rise of Fort Walton societies derived from outside invasion (Caldwell 1955; Sears 1962, 1964, 1967, 1977; Willey 1949) or diffusion (Griffin 1950), others increasingly form the opinion that these societies developed from peoples already present in the area (Brose 1984, 1985; Brose and Percy 1978; Marrinan and White 2007; Scarry 1990). Pvlvcekolv oral histories state that the

[4] The archaeological taxonomic term "phase" refers to a chronological unit within a site or region—usually between fifty to two hundred fifty years (Jenkins 2009:189).

community migrated between various southeastern croplands prior to and during the colonial period, a pattern we know several towns followed (Hakopē, interview, 7 December 2009; Hann 1996:68, 76). Continual migration over time may perhaps look like invasion and/or diffusion. Pvlvcekolv's understanding suggests that the above hypotheses might all share a grain of truth.

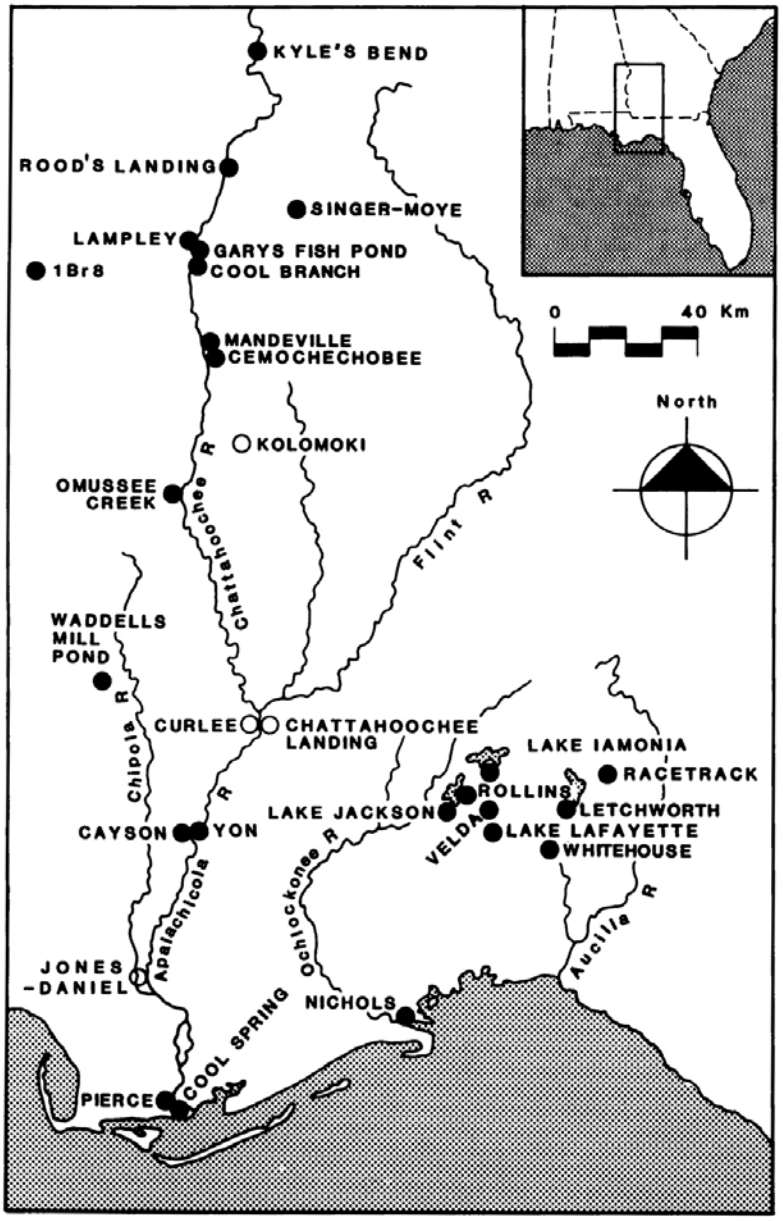


Figure 2.1 The Fort Walton Mississippian regional area, which hosted peoples known after Contact as Creek or Muskogee (Scarry and Payne 1986:80).

The adoption of large-scale maize production and the construction of huge earthwork pyramid burial mounds characterized Fort Walton societies and most Mississippian cultures. The development of intensive corn agriculture supported larger populations. In addition to permitting craft specialization, larger populations facilitated the communal production of the mounds. Scholars believe the tradition of mound building developed from the Archaic era mortuary practice of building small mounds over the dead (Hudson 1976:55).

The presence of these mounds has caused some to call Mississippian peoples the "mound builders" (Milner 2004; Swanton 1912; Knight [1989] 2006). The most famous of these mounds look like truncated pyramids: pyramids with their tops cut off, leaving a platform on the summit. Some summits housed leaders and other elite, temples, and mortuary buildings for the preparation of the dead. Many temples contained a continually burning Fire that symbolized the sun, the ancestor of the Fires still maintained by Creek peoples today. The people of these large population centers usually did not make a mound in a single construction event. Rather, they added to their size a little at a time, sometimes over the course of many decades. Different communities built up their mounds at different rates; however, most mounds received a new layer every fifteen to twenty-five years (Bowne 2013:32-34).

Although every mound site had a different layout, most shared a series of similarities. A plaza, a flat, rectangular open space large enough to hold a significant number of people, generally lay adjacent to the mound. At some of the larger sites, smaller mounds ringed the plaza. A number of community elites built their homes on top of these smaller earthworks. If not on mounds, elites of the smaller mound communities still built their homes close to the plaza (Lewis and Stout 1998). Mound sites existed in a series of bubbles: buffer zones separated each center. More than political boundaries, these buffer zones provided wild game, fish, firewood,

and other resources (Bowne, 2013:35, 37). Although Mississippian cultures have changed in the past thousand years, hundreds of the mounds still exist today. In the area near Pvlvcekolv's current grounds, excellent examples survive at Ocmulgee National Monument in Macon, GA, at Lake Jackson in Florida, and others.

Not all Mississippian peoples lived in places like Cahokia, the biggest period population center north of Mexico located at the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. Others lived on isolated farmsteads, in small villages, and within chiefdoms, in addition to the several "paramount chiefdoms" like Cahokia (J.W. Martin 2003). The nature of these chiefdoms comprises a methodological issue for archaeologists (Pauketat 2007). Bruce D. Smith notes that as a concept, "chiefdom" encompasses a useful label for the middle ground between egalitarian tribes and formal states (1990b:1). H. T. Foster finds the designation "chiefdom" problematic, however (2007:5-6). Working backwards from the colonial era, he draws attention to the communal and corporate nature of colonial Creek communities. For example, Creek people could voluntarily participate in centralized food storage and excess redistribution systems. The *mekko* or tribal leader oversaw the redistribution, but could not compel participation (Harper 1998:326). The assumption that Indigenous culture altered so drastically as to transform supposed Mississippian autocrats into colonial mekkos seems highly improbable. H. T. Foster calls instead for the simpler explanation that Creek political organization did not change so radically and that, like colonial Creek culture, Mississippian political organization was corporate and communitarian. Given the comparative scarcity of detail, however, we do not know which of these competing models is historically accurate.

Mississippian cultures went into a steep population decline when European explorers and colonists arrived on North American shores during the Age of Discovery. The expeditions of

Juan Ponce de Leon, Hernando de Soto, and others to and through the Southeast resulted in the massive spread of disease across the region (Davis 1935; Hudson, Smith, and DePratter 1984; Swanton 1939). The large population centers of the mound builders began decreasing rapidly. By the sixteenth century, their populations dwindled below the quorum necessary to maintain or continue building the mounds for which they have become so famous. By the seventeenth century, the relationships between large and small polities broke down, forcing the remaining populations to evacuate mound sites they could no longer maintain (Hudson 1997:425). Into this drastically altered world, the colonists arrived, seeking their fortunes in the New World.

Colonial Pvlvcekolv

With the fall of the Mississippian cultures, Southeastern peoples were forced to account for colonial Europe. Pvlvcekolv and the Creeks at large traded with, married with, fought with, and were often pitted against, colonial powers. Spain claimed and missionized a portion of the Southeast beginning in the sixteenth century, as did France. The Spanish gave way to the British with the 1763 Treaty of Paris that ended the Seven Years War/French and Indian War.

These and other long-term frictions between Indigenous and colonial European populations and politics eventually gave rise to what scholars have called the Creek Confederacy, an alliance between the Upper and Lower Creeks. The English constructed the "Upper" Creeks as the towns closer to the headwaters of the Alabama, Chattahoochee, Flint, Ocmulgee, Oconee, and Savannah Rivers, and the "Lower" Creeks as those towns closer to these river's insertions into the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean. The term "Confederacy," however, fails to capture the complexity of loosely organized tribal peoples. Creek communities might better be viewed not as a Confederacy, but rather as an extended family united through

clan affiliation, marriage, and ritualized friendships (S. C. Hahn 2004:5). Steven C. Hahn argues for the eventual rise of a new, ambiguous political concept: a territory-based "Creek Nation" rather than the "Creek Confederacy" (2004:8). At first a loosely organized alliance of independent and autonomous tribes, this new entity began to assert the powers of nationhood by the late eighteenth century (Green 1982:xi). Whether called a Nation or a Confederacy, Creek populations included fragments of Koasati, Shawnee, Natchez, Alabama, Yuchi, and other tribes around a core of people from the area (Jenkins 2009:189).

The colonial era brought an influx of literate peoples into the Southeast. The journals, letters, maps, and other documents of European travelers, explorers, and government agents paint a different picture of southeastern communities, including Pvlvcekolv. These documents name the community variously as "Apalachicola," "Palachicola," "Parachucles," "Apalachicoly," and others. H. T. Foster and others have attempted to pin down Pvlvcekolv's precise location (2007:46-48; Wright 2003:7-9). Pvlvcekolv oral history, however, understands the community to have migrated almost continuously between southeastern rivers and croplands between 800 CE and 1821 CE (Hakopē, interview, 7 December 2009). After using one cropland for a number of years, the community would allow it to lie fallow for a time by moving to another location. This form of horticulture appears to have been typical among Muskogee peoples (H. T. Foster 2003, 2010). For this reason, the written record correctly reveals Pvlvcekolv in diverse locations across the Southeast.

The earliest written record to locate the town, French cartographer Nicholas Sanson's 1656 map, places it southwest of the Chattahoochee River near Choctawhatchee Bay in the Florida panhandle (Sanson 1656). Twenty years later, Spanish Bishop Díaz Vara Calderón lists "Apalachôcoli" among the thirteen villages of the Lower Creeks in 1675 (Wenhold 1936:9).

Joseph Caldwell (1948) and John R. Swanton (1922:131) locate the community on the Savannah River in present-day Georgia in the late seventeenth century. In 1700, Spanish Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada of Florida built a blockhouse at "Apalachocoli" near present-day Columbus, GA, that remained garrisoned for about one year (Hann 1986:175; Knight 1984:178).

Pvlvcekolv continued to migrate during the 1700s. Three maps by cartographer Guillaume Del'isle position Pvlvcekolv in three different locations in the early 1700s: the 1702 map places them on the Apalachicola River, the 1718 map locates them between the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers, and the 1731 map positions them more broadly between the Mobile and Apalachicola Rivers (Del'Isle 1702, 1718, 1731). Swanton tracks the community to the lower Chattahoochee River and the forks of the Apalachicola River at "Apalachicola Fort" following the 1715 Yamasee War (Swanton 1922:129). In 1716, Spanish traveler Diego Peña encounters Pvlvcekolv nearby, six leagues away from "Caveta," the Spanish spelling of Cowetv tribal town (Boyd 1949:25; Hann and McEwan 1998:363). This designation places the town by or around the Flint, Apalachicola, and Chattahoochee Rivers. The 1735 Lotte-Oglethorpe map, however, situates "Palachocolas" again on the Savannah River (Lotter and Oglethorpe [1735] 1740). While accompanying a wave of Salzburg immigrants to the New World, the Baron of Hanover, Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck, also encountered "Palachocolas" on the Savannah River in the mid-1700s (von Reck 1980).

Between the mid and late 1700s, most records position Pvlvcekolv on the Chattahoochee River between the Point and the Florida state line; the 1748 Bowen map is the first source to do so (Bowen 1748; Wright 2003:7). Combining a variety of data, H. T. Foster attempts to align archaeological sites in this area with historical records that describe Pvlvcekolv's location (2007:46-48). The data remains rather spotty, as for example, when Indian agent Benjamin

Hawkins locates "Palachoocle" fifteen minutes away from "Hitchiti," or Auhegee Creek in this area. Defining the distance he might have covered in fifteen minutes paints a vague picture at best (Hawkins 2003).

During the colonial era, the British maintained a trading house at Old Apalachicola and permanent "Scottish" garrison. This influx of Scots resulted in many Gaelic family names entering the community through marriage. Hakopē occasionally jokes that a list of Pvlvcekolv family names reads like the Glasgow telephone directory because of the number of marriages between Pvlvcekolv people and Scottish immigrants. Some of the family names of community members include Daniels, Evans, Jones, MacKenzie, McKendry, Smith, Thompson, Wilson, and others. Because of the British presence, many prominent members of Pvlvcekolv spoke English and some adopted English names in addition to Scottish surnames. Although the community, like many southeastern peoples, was "migratory on a regular basis," Pvlvcekolv members would often respond to inquiries about their birth towns with the name of the white settlement closest to their tribal town birthplace (Hakopē, email, 9:21AM, 12 February 2016).

Most, if not all, Muskogee communities laid their towns out similarly: always near running water, and preferably between two bodies of water as, for example, on an isthmus between two streams or creeks (Pennington 1930:159; B. Smith 1978). A Square Grounds, rotunda or town house (see Figure 2.2), and "chunkey" yard functioned as the collective center of the community (see Figure 2.3). The square contained four three-sided buildings aligned with the cardinal directions; the Fire lived at the center of the square. During the summer months, the community hosted town governance, ritual, and celebratory occasions in the square. Outside the northwest corner of the square, the rotunda or town house functioned as the cold-weather equivalent of the square. The chunkey yard, placed on the far side of the square from the town

house, featured a clear, rectangular space surrounded by low earthen banks. This yard hosted games and dances; townsmen would also torture captives there (Waselkov and Braund 1995:174).

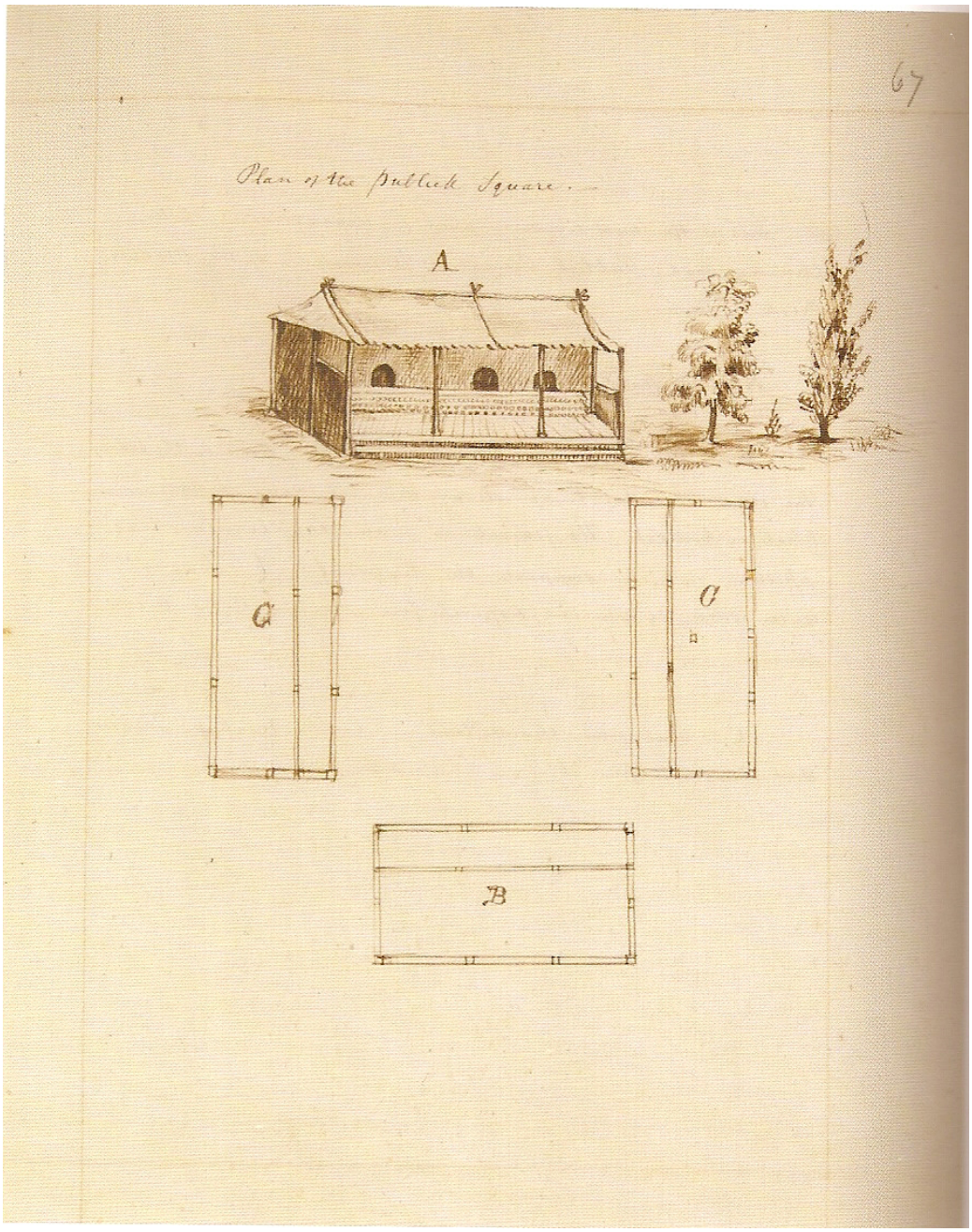


Figure 2.2 "Plan of the Public Square" by William Bartram (Bartram Family Papers).

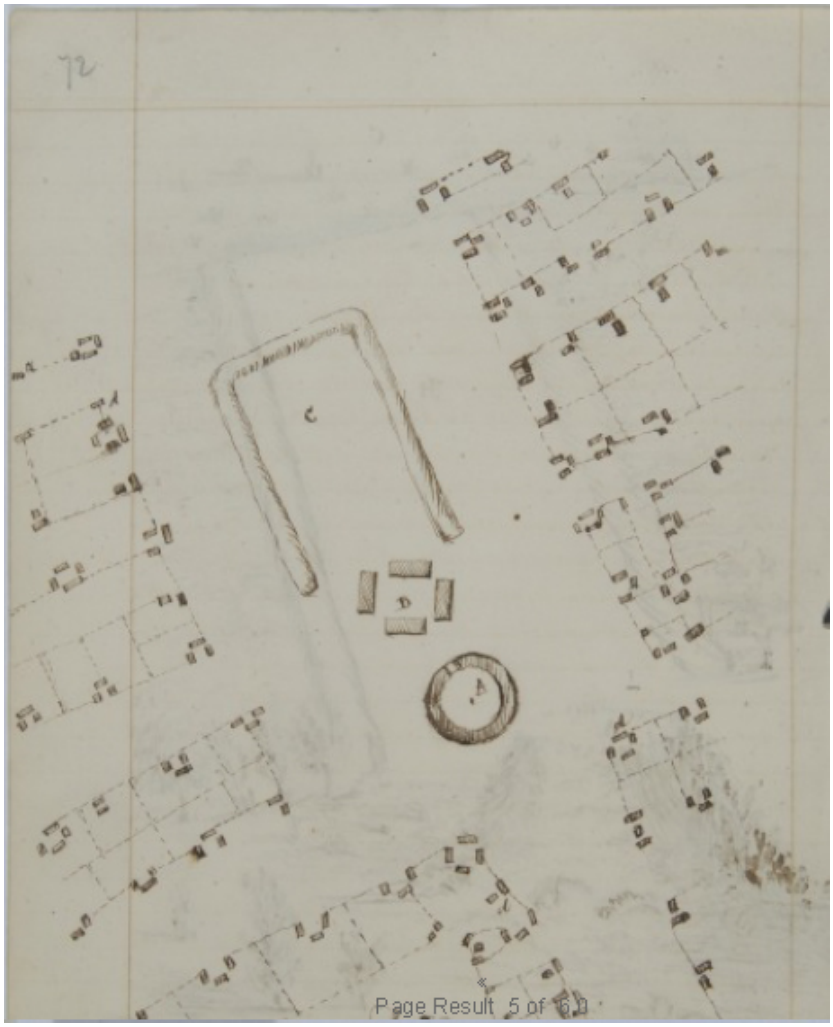


Figure 2.3 "A Plan of the Muscogulge or Upper Creek Town" by William Bartram (Bartram Family Papers).

Creek agriculture was changing during the colonial period. In addition to small gardens located next to their houses, each town had an unfenced, common plantation nearby (Waselkov 1997). In these common areas, cultivating domestic plants had been an activity that bound community members together. While aspects of social organization, including the clan and family, were important, plant-based agriculture depended on the town unit. With the colonists came cattle, however, a new form of agriculture in the New World. Raising livestock increasingly developed new patterns of land use and interpersonal relationships. Herding domesticated animals required more land; raising cattle gradually encouraged social and spatial

division. As they built more fences and moved further apart to ensure sufficient grazing, townspeople increasingly questioned their fundamental relationships, values, and identities (Piker 2004:111-112, 130).

Beyond agriculture, the presence of missionaries formed another change during the 1700s. In August 1737, Moravian missionaries from Savannah, GA, collaborated with mekko Tomochichi and Pvlvcekolv to build a schoolhouse for the "Indian children" not far outside Savannah (Fries 1967:152-153). The Moravians had recently received a land grant from the Georgia Trustees and fled persecution in Saxony in what is now Germany (Kohnova 1932:352). After the carpenters completed the building in late September, the missionaries moved in and began teaching both male and female offspring of Pvlvcekolv to read and write. Political machinations between the Spanish colonists further south and the English of Georgia soon resulted in the dissolution of the mission and the removal of the Moravians to present-day Nazareth, PA, and Bethlehem, PA, in 1740 (Fries 1967:154-155; Kohnova 1932:353). The influence of the Moravians lasted longer than their mission: Pvlvcekolv and other Creek communities continued to use the Moravian orthography. This system uses "v" for "uh" sounds, like the letter u in "but;" "c" for "ch" sounds, like the ch in "chunk;" and "r" for a lateral fricative, like the "thl" in "athletic" or "Bethlehem." Pvlvcekolv and other Creek communities use this orthography to this day (Hakopē, interview, 17 August 2012; Martin and Mauldin 2000).

Parsing Pvlvcekolv's position in the Creek Nation remains difficult. As a loosely knit organization, it seems unlikely that any one headman or community would hold a position of power over the remainder of the Nation. Despite this unlikelihood, community oral histories and historical accounts both point to Pvlvcekolv's sometime prominence within the Creek Nation. Used to monarchies, colonial forces preferred dealing with single Creek representatives rather

than committees. For example, trader Thomas Nairne increased the power of Pvlvcekolv's mekko, Brim, in the eyes of European officials by calling him Emperor and bestowing similar titles on other mekkos in the early 1700s. The English went so far as to name Brim's successor (S. C. Hahn 2004:70, 124).

Multiple sources tell of the community's prominence. Although sometimes at odds with archaeological findings, historical evidence and several "mythistories" (see Chapter Eight) assert that Pvlvcekolv represented the original inhabitants of the Chattahoochee River valley (Hann 2006:17). As far back as the early 1600s, Spanish sources use "Apalachicoli" to refer to what the English called the Lower Creeks, the nine or ten towns in the region of present-day Columbus, GA, and the principal town among these southern towns. In the 1680s, the Apalachicoli mekko acted as spokesperson for all but the four northern-most towns when interacting with the Spanish (Hann 2006:6). Swanton references a Spanish document stating that the Oconee Tribal Town was "under Apalachicolo," and another stating that the Pvlvcekolv mekko spoke for all at a 1738 conference at San Marcos (1922:129). In 1768, a Lower Creek speaker referred to Pvlvcekolv as the Head Town of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Ten years later, John Stuart, a British agent present at that 1768 meeting, stated that the town "'is considered as the Mother and Governing Town of the whole Nation'" (Swanton 1922:129-30). These reports likely contain politically motivated exaggerations. Nor was Pvlvcekolv the only town said to have a larger voice or more power in the Creek Nation. Cowetv tribal town might also have played a larger role in the Nation as a whole; its chiefs were attributed with offering the vision of a unified Creek unit with Cowetv's right to exercise authority over it (S. C. Hahn 2004:8). The precise results of these various machinations remain tangled between European and Indigenous political interests.

Nevertheless, Swanton suggests that Pvlvcekolv did indeed have "a sort of prominence among the peace towns of the Lower Creeks" (1922:133).

Around 1800, Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins writes of his earlier visit to Pvlvcekolv, describing a community in decline formerly first among the Creeks (2003:65s; Grant 1980:137). This decline, a community losing its "former consequence," relates to what Pvlvcekolv still calls "The Great Humiliation" (Hawkins (2003:65s; Swanton 1928a:252-53). The community tells the story of the Humiliation at every Harvest Busk as part of the ritual that removes the War Post from the grounds. William Bartram's *Travels* remains one of the few secondary sources to document the story ([1791] 1958:388-389). The tale relates a tragedy dating to 1756 or, according to Pvlvcekolv oral history, 1763. Noting the discrepancy in dates, Pvlvcekolv elders state that the events carry greater importance than their precise time (A Letter Regarding the Great Humiliation…, PAP8.2). Enraged by colonial European machinations, warriors involved in nearby conflicts trapped and burned alive the British traders and their Indian families then taking refuge from the hostilities at Pvlvcekolv.

As a white, peace town, Pvlvcekolv could not allow any violence to occur within its precincts (Swanton 1928a:163). Although no Pvlvcekolv community members purportedly participated in the tragedy, they knew about it and permitted it to take place. For their crime, the National Creek Assembly met at Tvkvpacē Tribal Town and stripped Pvlvcekolv of its white town status, making it a red town. The Assembly banned members of the town from hosting, and holding office in, the Nation for ten generations; compelled the community to erect a War Post in the corner of the Square Grounds; and required an annual recitation of the Great Humiliation (A Letter Regarding the Great Humiliation…, PAP8.2). I treat the Great Humiliation and its recent aftermath in detail in Chapter Eight. Following this massacre and the stripping of the

community's status and voice, the community split asunder over the next half-century. Some members went as refugees to other tribal towns, others stayed together. Although Pvlvcekolv still existed, its former prominence was tarnished and the community increasingly held a marginal place among Creek populations.

Treaties, Removals, Hiding in Plain Sight

Portions of the larger Pvlvcekolv community have entered into treaty agreements with the United States and other entities on several occasions, both as "Apalachicola" and under the umbrella of the "the Creeks." Henry Knox, the US secretary of war under George Washington, argued at the beginning of his tenure that the fledgling United States ought to recognize Indigenous peoples as sovereign peoples possessing a legitimate claim to their lands. Knox did not think Natives would remain sovereign forever; he proposed that the US had a duty to prepare American Indians for eventual assimilation through a "civilization plan." With the 1790 Treaty of New York, the Creeks became the first southeastern tribe to conclude a treaty with "civilization" provisions (Kappler 1904:25-29). While stating it would respect Creek borders as set out in previous treaties, the US included a civilization clause with provisions to provide the Creeks with domestic animals and farming materials, giving them the funds and instruction necessary to "civilize" them (Garrison 2008:265).

Pvlvcekolv concluded treaties on its own behalf independent of the "Creeks" as a whole, as well.[5] On Sept 18, 1823, several communities of "Florida Indians" signed the Treaty of Camp Moultrie. Among other provisions, this treaty created a Seminole reservation in central Florida.

[5] The "Creeks" as a generic group are involved in a number of treaties with the United States. See Donald L. Fixico for more information (2008).

This reservation appears in Figure 2.4 as the large green oval labeled 173 in central Florida (see Figure 2.4). More importantly for this narrative, an additional article at the end of the treaty permitted the leading negotiator, Neo Mathla,[6] and five other mekkos to keep their villages on the Apalachicola River (Mahon 1962). These mekkos all headed Pvlvcekolv towns: John Blunt, Tuski Hajo, Mulatto King, Emathlochee, and Econchatimico. The article described the reservations for each. The inset on Figure 2.4 shows these reservations numbered in green: 119 is Neo Mathla's reservation, 176 is Blunt's and Tuski Hajo's reservation, 184 is Mulatto King's and Emathlochee's reservation, and 185 is Econchatimico's reservation. The article also mentioned the number of men each mekko retained: 43 (Blunt), 45 (Tuski Hajo), 30 (Mulatto King), 28 (Emathlochee), 38 (Econchatimico), and 30 (Neo Mathla) (Kappler 1904:203-207). At a conservative estimate and assuming that each of these men had a spouse and 1-3 children, each mekko likely would have housed between 95 and 158 people on average.

Nine years after the Treaty of Camp Moultrie, the United States signed a removal treaty with "the Apalachicola Band." The Treaty of Camp Moultrie had combined John Blunt and Tusko Hajo and their people together onto one reservation on the Apalachicola River at present-day Blountstown on the Florida panhandle (176 in green on the inset of Figure 2.4). On that reservation, Blunt and his people lived at Iola and Tusko Hajo and his people lived at Spanawalka (Drake 2000:291). On October 11, 1832 at Tallahassee, Blunt and Tusko Hajo's successor, O Saa-Hajo or Davy Elliot, surrendered title to their reservation in exchange for land west of the Mississippi. Their combined communities of 256 total people agreed to remove west at the expense of the United States (Kappler 1904:352).

[6] Pvlvcekolv community member Richard Smith, recently deceased, traced his family tree back to Nea Mathla (or "Nea-Mathla" or "Neamathla") through Smith's great grandfather, Chief Justice of Florida B. K. Roberts. Smith was Neo Mathla's great-great-great-great grandson (Hakopē, email, 12 February 2016).

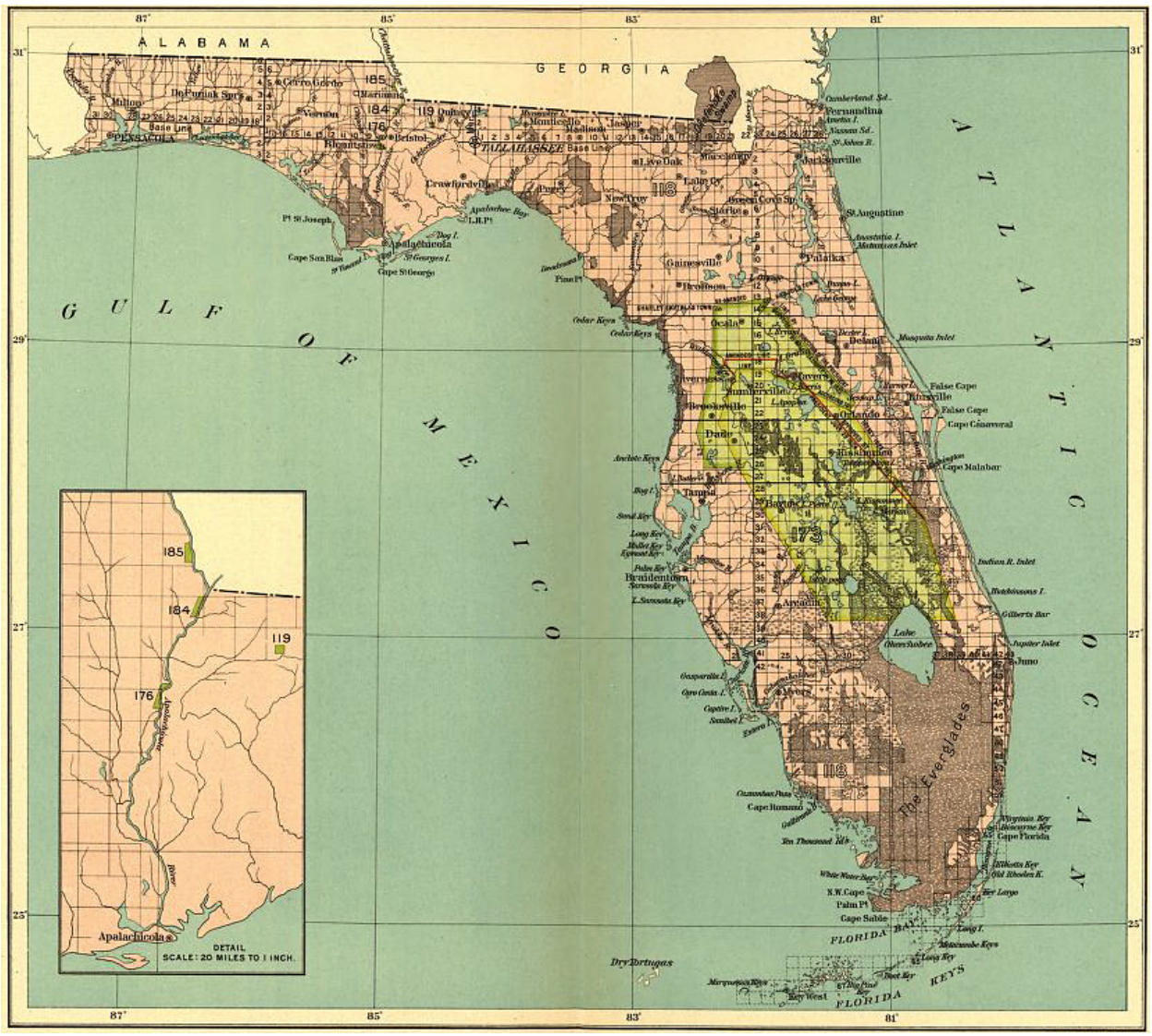


Figure 2.4 Plate 121 from Charles C. Royce's article on Indian land cessions (1899). Scale: 50 miles to one inch. The numbered green reservations relate to the 1823 Treaty of Camp Moultrie.

Following the 1832 signing, however, Blunt delayed removal. Blunt, who had guided Andrew Jackson through Florida in 1818 during the First Seminole War, responded favorably to Jackson's 1830 suggestion that he educate his son at Choctaw Academy. Senator Richard Johnson founded the Kentucky-based Indian boarding school in 1825 to further the United States' goal of "civilizing" the Indians. Those Natives who sent their sons there often wanted their communities to gain skills that would sustain political and economic autonomy and counter

outside pressure (Drake 2000:289-290). Blunt's neighbors, O Saa-Hajo and Mulatto King, agreed, and in 1830 the three mekkos sent their sons and several other young men to the Academy. After signing the 1823 removal treaty, Blunt refused to leave until his son returned to the community. Henderson, the Academy superintendent, delayed, both because he did not want to lose the tuition, and because he had difficulty in identifying which of the Pvlvcekolv boys to send (Drake 2000:301).[7] After thinking that Blunt's son had died during a cholera epidemic, the boy was finally discovered as the student the Academy had renamed Charles Phillips. After machinations on the part of Choctaw Academy to retain the boys and their tuition funds, the remaining Pvlvcekolv boys returned to their homes on the Apalachicola River. Soon after, Blunt and his people emigrated to the Trinity River in Texas.[8]

After Blunt and his community had left, the two remaining Pvlvcekolv communities along the Apalachicola River signed another treaty with the United States. Like the 1823 treaty involving Blunt and O Saa-Hajo, this June 18, 1833 Treaty with the Apalachicola Band called ceded lands reserved for Mulatto King and Ematlochee in the 1823 Camp Moultrie Treaty (184 labeled in green on the inset of Figure 2.4). However, rather than equivalent land to be held in common west of the Mississippi, Mulatto King and Tustenuggy Hajo, Ematlochee's successor,

[7] While Blunt, O Saa-Hajo, and Mulatto King are said to have sent their sons to Choctaw Academy, it is more likely that they instead sent their nephews. As I note below, Creeks traditionally observes maternal kinship. An individual is related to one's biological mother, but not one's biological father. A man raises his sister's children, not the children he himself sired. Given this kinship system, it is much more likely that Anglo-Americans would understand the Pvlvcekolv boys attending Choctaw Academy to be the "nephews" of the mekkos, not their "sons." The boys were present at Choctaw Academy for three years, 1830-33. Part of the goal behind the Academy was to assimilate Indians into Anglo-American society; three years was likely long enough to be inundated with Anglo-American culture, including the Anglo-American kinship system. When school superintendent Thomas Henderson asked the boys which of them was Blunt's son, they responded that none of them were (Drake 2000:301). Speaking from the Anglo-American kinship system, their statements were likely true: in this foreign kinship system, Billy was the nephew, not the son, of Blunt. The difference in cultures and the attempted forced assimilation resulted in a huge confusion.

[8] Blunt's community constitutes the forebears of the Texas-based Apalachicola band of Creeks, who I discuss further below.

agreed to individual or small group reservations. Additionally, the treaty stipulated that, should the Natives remain in Florida, the United States would withdraw federal protection after Blunt's community had removed. The United States would no longer consider Mulatto King and Ematlochee's communities to be sovereign a nation or nations; instead they would be subject to the laws of the then-Territory of Florida if they remained (Kappler 1904:398-400). In essence, staying on ancestral lands terminated their formalized federal-Indian relationship.

Unusually, the 1833 Apalachicola Band treaty includes a provision for future removal. At "any time hereafter," if any of the Natives party to the treaty decide migrate to the Indian Territory land allotted to them, they come under the obligations set forth in an 1832 Treaty with the Seminole. This Seminole Treaty, signed at Payne's Landing on the Ocklewaha River, ceded all Seminole Florida lands (including the reservation laid out in the 1832 Camp Moultrie Treaty) in favor of similarly sized land west of the Mississippi River (Kappler 1904:344-345). If they decided to remove on a different schedule than that put forth in the 1833 Apalachicola Band Treaty, Pvlvcekolv members surrender all rights and privileges acquired through that treaty in order to partake in the 1832 Seminole Treaty rights. Anyone who decided to follow this plan would become part of the Seminole Tribe as constituted on the Arkansas River (Kappler 1904:398-400).

Although their mekkos signed the 1833 Apalachicola Band treaty, it is not clear how many members of Mulatto King's and Ematlochee's towns removed from Florida.[9] A quorum of Mulatto King's community stayed; we catch of glimpse of them a few years later. The 1837-1838 muster roll of Captain Stephen Richard's Company of Mounted Friendly Indians of the First

[9] Though John Swanton intriguingly notes that Pvlvcekolv's "remnant" can be principally found in the neighborhood of Okmulgee, OK (1922:134). He does not cite or note a source for this information, nor does he explore the history of how that "remnant" came to be there.

Brigade of the Florida Militia lists men from Walkers Town in Jackson County, FL (Florida Department of Military Affairs n.d.:19-20).[10] The list includes "Isaac Yellowhair," a Pvlvcekolv community member whose land "improvements" formed the starting point in defining Mulatto King and Emathlochee's Apalachicola River reservation in the 1823 treaty. The text describing that land reads, "commencing on the Apalachicola, at a point to include Yellow Hairs improvements; thence, up said river, for four miles; thence, west, one mile; thence, southerly, to a point one mile west of the beginning; and thence, east, to the beginning point" (Kappler 1904:205-206). Yellowhair connects the two documents together, permitting us a glimpse of Mulatto King's community post-treaty.

Mulatto King himself also appears in the late 1830s in another document, the October 1839 issue of *The American Phrenological Journal and Miscellany*. That issue's "Miscellany" section includes portions of a June 20, 1839 letter written by a phrenologist from Pensacola, Dr. Buchanan (1839:140-141).[11] Phrenology was the now-outdated pseudoscience that correlated skull measurements with personality, race, etc. (Gould 1996). In his letter, Buchanan outlines the histories surrounding three skulls he obtained during his recent travels. One skull was that of Coa-harjo, a Creek chief. The second skull belonged to "the Indian Lewis," who was apprehended and shot after stabbing and murdering Coa-harjo.

The third skull belonged to Mulatto King (Vacca Pechassee), who had already been dead for five or six years. Coa-harjo had come to Walkers Town the year before with a government agent and was shortly planning to remove to Indian Territory. While Coa-harjo's group was there, Lewis, a member of Pvlvcekolv, stabbed him—Buchanan does not say why. According to

[10] I am grateful to Vhicv for connecting me with this document.

[11] I am grateful to Vhicv for connecting me with this document.

Buchanan, one of the white men there deliberately agitated the Indians. This man was a translator; Buchanan hypothesizes that he wanted the Indigenous-US hostilities to be prolonged in order that he might continue to enjoy his salary. After he alarmed them with tales that the whites would prove treacherous over Coa-harjo's death, "they fled and joined the hostilities" (Buchanan 1839:140). Rather than removing to Indian Territory after Coa-harjo's death, the rest of his band apparently joined the Seminoles in their fight against the United States. Buchanan's account does not clarify if just Coa-harjo's people fled, or if Pvlvcekolv fled, too. Since the service of the Walkers Town Pvlvcekolv men who appear on the Company of Mounted Friendly Indians muster roll ended on April 23, 1838, it is possible that Pvlvcekolv accopmanied Coa-harjo's men in joined the Seminoles.

After the 1832 and 1833 removal treaties, no more treaties exist between the United States and Pvlvcekolv. The 1832 and 1833 Treaties with the "Apalachicola Band," however, include provisions only for the towns of John Blunt, Tuski Hajo, Mulatto King, and Emathlochee as set forth in the 1823 Treaty of Camp Moultrie. The communities of Neo Mathla and Econchatimico never made additional treaties with the United States after receiving their Apalachicola River reservations in 1823, although one could argue that the March 24, 1832 treaty with the Creeks or the May 9 1832 treaty with the Seminole stripped their rights to that land.[12] A portion of Pvlvcekolv at Mulatto King's Walkers Town clearly also remained in the Southeast after these treaties.

[12] Charles C. Royce notes that Neo Mathla's reservation lands have never been specifically ceded. He notes, however, that Econchatimico's reservation (185 in green on the inset of Figure 2.4) was ceded as part of a "June 18 1833 Treaty between the United States and certain Florida chiefs" (Royce 1899:707). I can find no record of this particular treaty in Kappler (1904) or Fixico (2008); I suspect his assertion to result from a typo or misunderstanding.

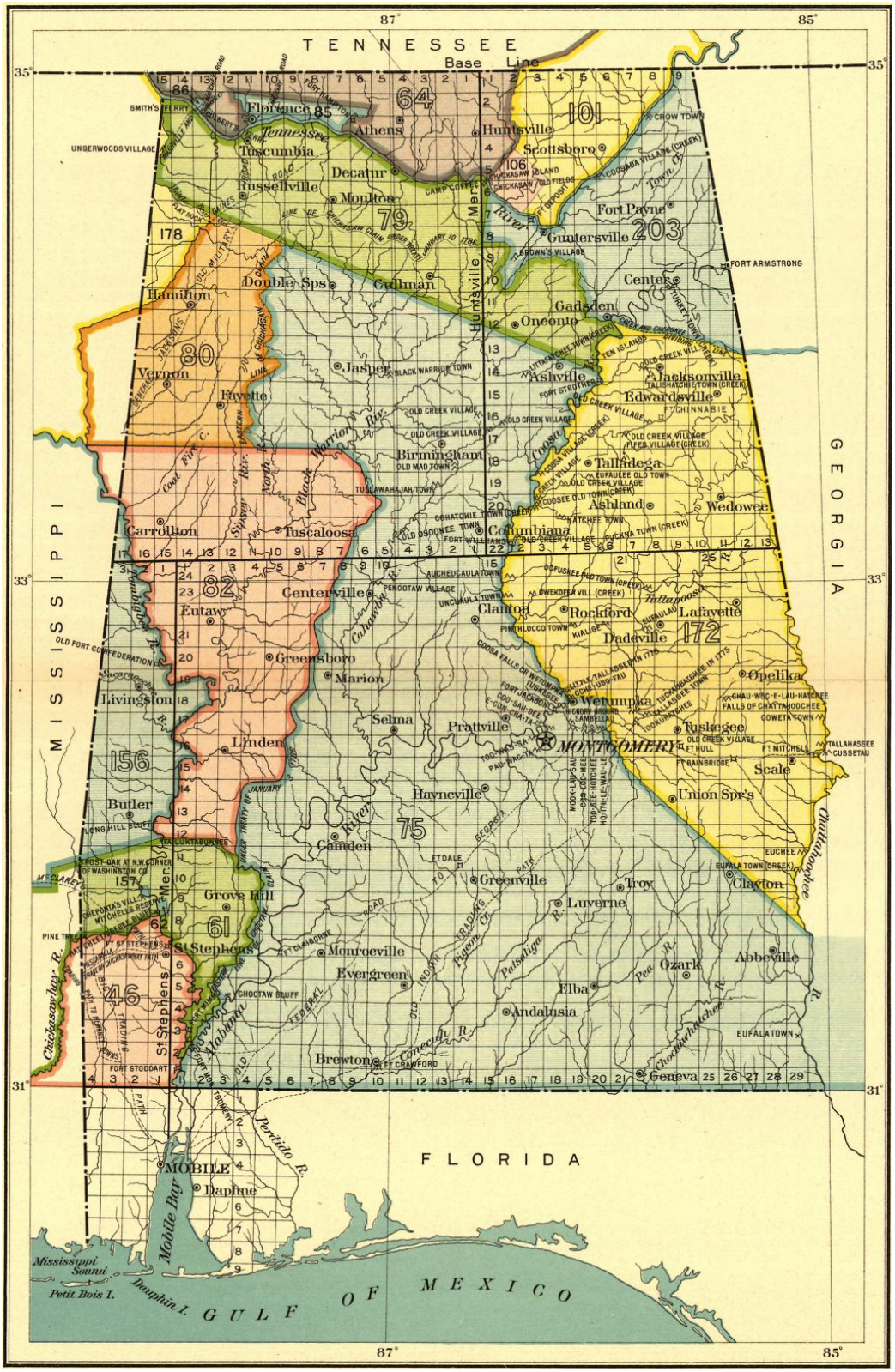


Figure 2.5 Plate 108 from Charles C. Royce's article on Indian land cessions (1899). Scale: 35 miles to one inch. The yellow area labeled 172 relates to the Parsons and Abbott Rolls following the March 24, 1832 treaty with the Creeks.

In addition to these treaty-populations, the Creek census rolls of 1832-33 list two Pvlvcekolv towns.[13] Benjamin S. Parsons and Thomas J. Abbott compiled this census in Alabama, Parsons surveying the Upper Creeks and Abbott the Lower Creeks. The census resulted from the March 24, 1832 treaty between the United States and "the Creeks" *en masse* (Kappler 1904:341-343). With this treaty, the Creeks ceded all land claims east of the Mississippi River—specifically lands in eastern Alabama. This land is labeled 172 in yellow on Figure 2.5. Over the course of census, Abbott surveyed "Pah lo cho ko lo" and "To lo war thlock o Town," a branch of "Pak lo cho ko lo." These two towns in Alabama, which unfortunately do not appear on Figure 2.5, also constitute Pvlvcekolv.

Although the United States concluded treaties with "the Apalachicola Band" in 1832 and 1833, these particular treaty groups do not represent the entirety of the greater Pvlvcekolv community. Instead, Hakopē says, they were more accurately, "small bands of family groupings or related clans." The communities surrounding Neo Mathla, John Blunt, Tuski Hajo, Mulatto King, Emathlochee, and Econchatimico on their reservation lands constituted a very small fraction of the nation, which also had settlements on the St. Mary's River in Florida and Georgia, at Dogtown, FL, and Fowltown, GA. Pvlvcekolv also had major town settlements on the Chattahoochee, Coosa, Flint, and Oconee Rivers in Georgia and Alabama (Hakopē, email, 7:59AM, 12 February 2016). Examining the treaties provides a perspective into a portion of Pvlvcekolv in the early 1800s, but not a complete picture.

[13] Because portions of Pvlvcekolv were never removed to Indian Territory, they rarely appear on the various rolls or census records. Some community members went out of their way, when possible, to avoid appearing on any of the government documents. Other times, they are subsumed under other tribes. A number of rolls exist; the US National Archives makes a number of rolls available through the Ancestry.com website. One webspage lists 39 different Creek rolls and censuses between 1795 and 1921 (Ancestry.com 2005). Other rolls, such as the Eastern Creek Docket rolls, exist elsewhere.

Other members of Pvlvcekolv were removed as part of the infamous Trail of Tears, including Milly Francis (sometimes also spelled" Millie" or "Malee") (Barrett and Markowitz 2005:172; Dale Cox 2013; Davis 1943). Milly, the "daughter" (that is, niece, in the Creek kinship system) of Josiah Francis and Hakopē's maternal great-great grandmother, had been living at Hickory Ground since 1819. In 1836, Milly and her children were among the 1,984 Creeks assembled at Tallassee on the Tallapoosa River for removal (Dale Cox 2013:119). Milly's husband, Cochar Hoboiethly, was not with them. Hoboiethly, who lies buried on Hakopē's family's property, had been recruited to fight the Seminoles in 1836 as part of the 1835-1842 Second Seminole War or Florida War. He appears as No. 34 on an 1848 congressional "Creek Regiment death list." Hoboiethly's entry under the heading "Information in relation to the widows, orphans, and nearest relations of the deceased Indians" reads that he left behind "Wife, Milly; 5 children. (Wife Milly Francis was daughter of the Prophet Josiah Francis)" (S. Rep. No. 30-55).[14] Hoboiethly died on July 26, 1837 not long after his wife was removed to Indian Territory.

The United States government removed Creek peoples beginning with the passing of the Indian Removal Act by Congress in 1830 until after the Civil War (1861-1865) (Ehle 1988; Green 1982; Jahoda 1975; Langguth 2010). During that forty-year period, they sometimes brought Creeks back to their original lands. While there, the government compelled visitors to convince their relatives to remove as well (Holm 2008:103). Telling me about this, Hakopē noted that, after returned kin spoke with family who had stayed, his Florida family converted to Baptist Christianity and decided to hide in plain sight (Hakopē, interview, 8 February 2016). This secrecy was all the more necessary because of several laws passed in the Territory of Florida.

[14] I am grateful to Vhicv for connecting me with this document.

For example, in 1827, the Territory passed legislation to prevent Indians from roaming at large through the Territory (*Laws of the Colonial and State Governments…* 1832:247). Hiding in plain sight often makes it difficult to track individual family lines through written records (Hudson 1976:477; Paredes 1974, 1992).

Pvlvcekolv community members and other Indigenous peoples could only continue to maintain their presence in the Southeast if they also publically acted white or black, not Indian. As J.W. Martin describes for other communities (2003), Pvlvcekolv pushed their ceremonial life into a cultural underground. On the surface, they looked like the surrounding white and/or black population; however, they sustained Creek cosmological knowledge and identity and maintained their performance of the busk. The community managed to survive this way, rarely publicizing themselves for fear of being removed to Oklahoma. After the threat of Removal died away, a strong anti-Indian racial bias remained in the surrounding majority population. Pvlvcekolv continued to busk while still avoiding public notice.

Between 1821 and 1970, the community's primary Square Grounds were located on private property near Tallahassee, FL. Depending on the season, they sometimes busked at grounds located at the Georgia dairy farm of one relative or the farm of another relative, but the Tallahassee grounds were the principal busking place. The community used to have a photograph of Square Grounds activities dating to the mid 1800s. Unfortunately, this photograph was destroyed in a fire in 1950; I have been unsuccessful in finding a copy. Similar documentation was lost when the Flint and Apalachicola Rivers flooded in 1998, destroying portions of Pvlvcekolv's Museum collection, notably a quantity of slides and negatives (see Chapter Six). In 1970, the state commandeered the grounds and surrounding land for the I-10 motorway right of way. Forced to move, they busked on nearby land owned by community friends for five years

(see Figure 2.4). After the couple's death, the grounds moved again for a decade to the private property of the late Matriarch, Jonnie MacKenzie. When her health started failing, her conservative Christian children compelled the community to move in 1985 to Blountstown in the western part of the Florida panhandle.

In 1962, the Creek Nation won a decade-long lawsuit, Docket No. 21 in the Indian Claims Commission, against the US government for land ceded to the US as part of the Treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814. A portion of Creeks known as the "Friendly Creeks" had aided Andrew Jackson's Redstick War efforts. Despite their crucial help, Jackson forced the 1814 treaty upon the entire Creek Confederacy, taking over eight million acres of their Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi land in the process (Kappler 1904:107-110). These lands, along with those taken from the unfriendly Creeks against whom Jackson fought, were to serve as war damages for the Creek War. The value of the Friendly Creeks' land, however, far exceeded the costs of the Redstick or Creek War, and the lawsuit sought the monetary difference. The government now owed more than three million dollars to the descendents of the Creek Nation as it existed in 1814. The official plaintiff in the case was the Creek Nation; to fulfill the stipulation of remunerating the descendents of the pre-Removal Creek Nation, the Indian Claims Commission added the "Creek Nation East of the Mississippi" as "intervenor," or co-plaintiff, in 1958. Muskogee people who had not been Removed would benefit from the lawsuit alongside officially enrolled members of the federally recognized Creek Nation in Oklahoma (Ind. Cl. Comm. Docket No. 21).

Instead of consulting tribal elders for their membership lists, the government advertised for Creek descendants in southern newspapers. A number of descendants came forward and

signed up on what is now called the "Eastern Creek Claims Docket Rolls."[15] To the disgust of Hakopē and other Pvlvcekolv community members, however, some people apparently without any Indigenous connection or heritage attempted to partake of the lawsuit award by "becoming Indian." The national census reflected this phenomenon when the "Indian" population in the Southeast increased 42%, while the entire population of the Southeast only increased by 12.2% between 1960 and 1970 (Paredes and Lenihan 1973:45-56). Part of this population surge derived from more and more people admitting to and taking pride in their Indigenous heritage due to the Red Power Movement and other national civil rights movements.

Hakopē and others, however, attribute part of this population increase to the "faux Creeks:" non-Indigenous people entering pre-existing communities like Pvlvcekolv or forming their own communities to partake of the lawsuit funds.[16] As a result, Hakopē and most of Pvlvcekolv did not sign up, complete the necessary paperwork, and/or cash the checks that resulted from the lawsuits. Their reasoning related to a line in the paperwork stating, "accepting these payment[s] fully discharged any government obligations toward you now and forever" (Hakopē, email, 9:21AM, 12 February 2016). At the advice of the larger community, two community members, did cash their checks to defray medical costs. The rest of the community refused to cash their checks.

As Pvlvcekolv mekko and Maker of Medicine, Hakopē's "job description" is to administer to the people under his purview without requiring any sort of "proof" of authenticity.

[15] The index to the Eastern Creek Docket Rolls are now housed at the University of Western Florida and West Florida History Center (WF804/WF804, Eastern Creek Claims Docket Index).

[16] In an effort to be clear and fair, I must state that I am uninterested in passing judgments on the real or supposed "authenticity" of any American Indian community. My exposure to the "faux Creek" phenomenon has been second and third hand through oral history and archival research. I perceive the racisms and contentions around Indigenous authenticity as counterproductive, and as ways of obscuring the narrative—rather than "inherent"—nature of authenticity. The subject position of one Indigenous community differs from the next; no two can be completely alike. I treat authenticity in detail below.

To his chagrin, this open-door policy and Pvlvcekolv's long-time tradition of hospitality resulted in a quantity of what they considered faux Creeks entering the community between the mid-1960s and 1980s. While some of these individuals were genetic Indians who grew up outside of Muskogee culture (Hudson 1976:478), a certain number had no connection to Pvlvcekolv or any other Creek community and were only interested in the docket money.

The influx of faux Creeks caused a number of changes. Pvlvcekolv's population first expanded and then slightly decreased: when newcomers discovered the docket money amounted to little more than $100 per head, some left. Others stayed, among them Christian genetic Creeks. Reacting to the newcomers' vocal dislike for the non-Christian busk tradition, a number of Pvlvcekolv elders decided to cease busking, preferring to avoid the conservative Christianity espoused by many of the newcomers.

Following the influx of newcomers, the community began proceedings to achieve federal recognition as an American Indian tribe. Soon motivated by a desire to preserve community privacy and avoid federal control, however, elders withdrew the petition. In the interim, several individuals wrote letters of support for Pvlvcekolv as part of their later-abandoned bid for acknowledgment. Several such letters came from Robert W. Trepp, then-manager of the Government Policy and Research Administration of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation's Division of Tribal Affairs. The long-standing correspondence between Trepp and the community includes Trepp's advice on the federal recognition process and his offer to help prepare the basic document for the community's petition for federal recognition (Trepp, letter, 2 July 1979). I discuss Trepp and his correspondence in detail below.

Unfortunately, subsequent internal political machinations about which I know little resulted eventually in a community split. In 1999, a portion remained at the Blountstown location

and adopted a new name. The remainder removed to a new grounds location on private property bought for that purpose by Hokte Eco and Kusko outside Tallahassee and retained the name "Pvlvcekolv." This latter location has been the site of my ethnographic research. Relating especially the past twenty years of Pvlvcekolv's history requires that I draw distinctions between the community with whom I have collaborated and the now-separate community in residence at Blountstown. It has been practical and politic for me to focus my research efforts at Pvlvcekolv and I have had very little direct contact with any of those who busk at Blountstown. I am therefore unable to write about them. Following the community split, Pvlvcekolv has continued to maintain a quiet profile.

Pvlvcekolv Now

Reacting to tales told by removed relatives during Removal, many Pvlvcekolv members who wanted to stay in the Southeast joined church communities and did their best to blend into rural white and black populations. Despite this blind, the community was and still is very cosmopolitan. Historically, the community's position as capital of the Creek Confederacy and its long-time relationship with the English resulted in many multi-lingual and, some might argue, bi-cultural individuals. More recently, the community's proximity to Tallahassee, the Florida state capital, places community members in contact with a variety of people from around the country and around the world. As state capital, many politicians, government employees, and business people and their families live there. The presence of Florida State University, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, and other colleges attracts a variety of academics, teachers, and students from around the world. The city, which I have heard described affectionately as the "Redneck Riviera," features the goods, services, and multiculturalism of a

metropolis with the sleepy and sometimes conservative feel of a typical southern town. Community members who live locally interact with these diverse peoples, continuing their long-time tradition of international relations and cosmopolitanism on a comparatively reduced scale.

On the surface, Pvlvcekolv's maintenance of the busk cycle appears to be antithetical to a cosmopolitan identity. The busk tradition is based on an agricultural foundation that connects human participants to animal, plant, object, and land beings. The Square Grounds themselves are located outside Tallahassee in a sheltered valley that remarkably obscures the city's light pollution. Given the grounds' location and the ecological focus of the ritual tradition, one might assume Pvlvcekolv to be a rural, isolated community still. At least over the past seventy years, however, and likely longer, Pvlvcekolv as a group has placed great importance on education. The community works to ensure that individuals in the group receive a college education; several have one or more graduate degrees. One elder is a recently retired judge also with a graduate degree in marine biology, another has a PhD in sociology.

Hakopē himself has several degrees, including a master's degree in ethnomusicology from Florida State University, and he has taught in American Indian studies programs at several universities around the country. He also authored the *Muskogee Words and Ways* series beginning in the 1980s, a set of two published and several more informally published volumes on Creek language, culture, and tradition, still in use in Muskogee language classrooms in Oklahoma today (Daniels-Sakim 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1990a, 1990b; Kanen et al. 1983). Learning has placed community members into contact with diverse perspectives and people. At the same time, the community prefers to keep to the older ways, sometimes presenting an appearance that appears at odds with their location. Hakopē notes, "We might live in modern downtown Tallahassee, but within we still are pretty much a primitive society at one level"

(Hakopē, interview, 8 February 2016). As a broad statement, many members appear to come to appreciate their positions as comparatively global persons who maintain a land-focused tradition.

Of all Pvlvcekolv community members, I have worked most closely with Hakopē, the tribal town mekko and Heles-hayv, or Maker of Medicine. A self-defined mixed blood Pvlvcekolv Creek, Hakopē grew up between Indigenous and Euro-American cultures. During and for a while after World War II, his family lived in rural Florida, eventually relocating to Jacksonville, FL, where a small Creek enclave thrived. Hakopē was his mother's youngest child, born late enough that several of his siblings had grown up, had families of their own, and died before his birth date. Although he did not know them all, he had between five and sixteen siblings, depending on how he accounts for the stepsiblings. The number of siblings also alters based on how one accounts for Creek versus Euro-American kin systems. Creek kinship runs through the maternal line, meaning that one is related to one's mother and mother's relatives, but not related to one's biological father. Both Hakopē's parents had many siblings in their own right, and both parents had several marriages. Between that and bi-cultural kinship relationships, Hakopē grew up surrounded by a plethora of relatives.

Hakopē's mother, Barbara, born in the late 1800s, was Turtle Clan Pvlvcekolv Creek and Pvlvcekolv's Matriarch. She traced her ancestry to Josiah Francis and Milly Francis through her mother Mary and grandmother Mariah, who was Milly's only surviving daughter. Although Milly was removed to Indian Territory, Mariah and one of her borthers returned to Florida following her mother's death (C. Cox, letter, 18 September 1978). From an Anglo-American perspective, Josiah Francis was Milly's uncle—her "father" in Creek kinship terms, where men care for their sisters' offspring. Hakopē is hereditary Pvlvcekolv mekko through his mother's side. Hakopē's biological father, J.R., had Creek, Shawnee, and British Isles ancestries. In our

interviews, Hakopē distinguishes between his biological father, J.R., and Barbara's brothers, Robert, Gus, Vernon, Augustus, and others. In addition to raising and disciplining Hakopē and his siblings, Barbara's brothers shared the duties of Pvlvcekolv heles-hayv and mekko. Following his uncles' deaths, the community requested that J. R. perform the duties of mekko and Maker of Medicine in their stead, which he did until his death in the late 1970s (Hakopē, interview, 7 February 2016). Hakopē notes that, "We don't have the population that other tribal towns have. And although we know the traditions and we know the standards, we're not always able to follow them" (interview, 8 February 2016). The community's small population required they become creative; naming J. R. as mekko and heles-hayv made things easier for Pvlvcekolv. Hakopē observes that the community lives by nineteenth-century Creek traditions in the twenty-first century and plays "by both sets of rules. It causes some confusion" (interview, 8 February 2016).

Hakopē's became heles-hayv when his father died. He learned Muskogee Medicine from several teachers. J. R. started teaching Hakopē Medicine ways when he was four or five. In addition to other jobs, J. R. worked for a furniture wholesale company, often traveling across the Southeast in the course of business. He would often take Hakopē with him, showing him mound sites, historic places, medicine plants, "constantly pointing out things, telling me about them, telling me how to use them" (Hakopē, interview, 8 August 2012). During Hakopē's childhood, Josie Billie, the Seminole research associate of Louis Capron (1953:166), Francis Densmore (1933:93), William Sturtevant (1954:24), and others, was a frequent visitor to north Florida. Billie, who had a family connection to Pvlvcekolv through his mother, gave Hakopē some of his first formal training during his visits. He later studied with John Lawton and John McIntosh in Oklahoma, also informally learning from Barney Leader, the mekko at New Tulsa Square Grounds in Oklahoma, and the Makers of Medicine there from the mid-1960s through the mid-

1970s. Robert Trepp, Muskogee Creek historian and former Muskogee (Creek) Nation commissioner, noted that Hakopē "is the only individual 'eastern Creek' who has undergone the required training through sixteen summer ceremonial cycles here in the Muscogee Nations" (Trepp, letter, 28 September 1992). Additionally, every fall for several years, Hakopē "sort of had a refresher course" when Oklahoma Yuchi leader Tema Tiger and his wife Hazel would take part in a Native festival at a Tallahassee museum until Tema's death in the late 1990s (Hakopē, interview, 8 August 2012). Following his father's death, Hakopē sacrificed his budding academic career to serve the tribal town. One cannot be a heles-hayv without a community to serve; the community accepts the Medicine person into the position. Following his father's death, the Pvlvcekolv community and several elders quizzed Hakopē on his Medicine education and then accepted him into the role of Pvlvcekolv heles-hayv.

Now, Pvlvcekolv's busking population varies between ten and fifty or more individuals depending on the ceremony. All told, the community encompasses approximately 250 families. Some families are entirely Christianized and do not busk, some families contain individuals who busk and others who do not, some families only busk and do not attend a church. Whereas Pvlvcekolv members once lived in the same place, work and family have spread them across much of North America and beyond. I know of one community member in Great Britain and another who works on an oil rig in the Pacific Ocean. One of Hakopē's stepsiblings lives in the San Francisco Bay area in California; another community member lives near Philadelphia, PA. Most of those who busk regularly are either local to the grounds or live nearby in Florida, Georgia, or Alabama. The community has also welcomed a few people like myself with no genetic or cultural connections to any Indigenous population who connect to the busk essentially as a form of religion.

The community maintains a small but strong presence in the geographic Southeast. Given the traumas surrounding many of those machinations, the community has preferred to maintain a low profile, avoiding public notice as much as possible. At the same time, the community has worked to perform its ritual cycle continuously and maintain as much traditional culture as possible. The group has done this while, for safety's sake, posing primarily as rural white or black families. Their history of passing as white or black, once the main reason they successfully stayed in the Southeast, has since become problematic, in that it has provided the community's detractors with superficial evidence with which to accuse Pvlvcekolv of ethnic fraud, suggesting that community members are only "playing" at being Indian, to use Philip Deloria's term (1999). These accusations directly tie into Indigenous identity politics and constructions of race in the United States and in the Southeast.

Issues of Race

Historically, many people constructed race as synonymous with genetic heritage (Baker 2010). Although many scholars now distinguish between the categories of race—differences based on physical appearances—and ethnicity—differences based on national origin, language, religion, food, and other cultural markers—in practice the two categories braid together in a complex tangle. Many factors go into the construction of racial identities, including genetic heritage, enculturation to ways of performing ethnicity, self-identification, external identification by other people, the experiences one undergoes as a raced body, and so on. Because of this entanglement, I deliberately use "race" and "ethnicity" as rough synonyms (Mittelberg and Waters 1992:425).

Racial constructions peculiar to the United States tend to include caucasian or white persons as individuals without a single "drop" of "colored" blood (Painter 2010:129). This construction has existed perhaps most visibly in the "one drop rule," which defines an individual with even one ancestor from sub-Saharan Africa as "black" (Baker 2010; Hagan 1985; Young [1990] 2004). Conversely, one is "white" only if one does not have other raced "colors" in one's blood stream (DeGruy Leary 2005). Whiteness often problematically is constructed as somehow "unmarked" by race or ethnicity (Dyer 1997). United States President Barack Obama, whose mother is white of English descent and whose father was black Kenyan, exemplifies this point. Despite his "mixed-race" ancestry, some perceive Obama as black—not white, not mixed (Cilliza 2014). Native Americans did not fit the bifurcated white/black or white/colored social classification, however, perhaps especially in the post-bellum South (Paredes 2001:3).While United States federal law lacks a formal definition of "American Indian," acceptance into a tribe often requires a specific percentage, or quantum, of blood (Garroutte 2001:224, 227). Even when a tribe does not requires a specific blood quantum, for example, for tribal enrollment in the Cherokee Nation, American Indians tend to be perceived as more Indian if they have Indian phenotype (Sturm 1998). Conversely, they are often considered less Indian if their phenotypes are less visibly Indian. Of course, exceptions exist to these constructions, notably in cases of community or ritual leaders, who tend to be considered more Indian based on their community role. By and large, however, phenotype is a primary marker in perception of "Indianness" (Garroutte 2001:225).[17]

Racial categorization remains problematic because it can assume phenotype to represent genetic makeup. Even the development of mixed race identities "presupposes the existence of

[17] The politics of federal recognition add additional layers of complexity. See Barker (2005, 2011) Cramer (2005), M. Miller (2004), Saunt (2005), Saunt et al. (2006), Sturm (1998, 2002)

clear, discernible, and discrete 'races'" (Omi 2001:x). Following cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1990:225), literary critic Lisa Lowe suggests that, rather than considering racial identity to be "fixed" or "given," racial identity might be better considered as a derivation of cultural practices that produce identity. These cultural practices are "never complete" and "always constituted in relation to historical and material differences" (Lowe 1996:64). Like the body (Sklar 2001:186), as I explore in the Introduction, racial identity is always in a state of becoming, and never static: ethnic identities are social constructions. Speaking of Asian American ethnic identities, literary critic Vincent Cheng (2004) notes the political power inherent in this identity category. The United States government and some people and institutions classify everyone from the Asian continent as a single category. Because of this over-simplification, the category "Asian-American" carries real political weight and power. Cheng suggests that individuals or groups can perhaps turn the "sheer inauthenticity (even absurdity)" of the constructed category to their advantage (2004:169). While taking on the Asian American identity can become a useful political tool, Cheng's concept of "inauthentic performance" points to the obviously constructed nature of this identity category. Cheng proposes a practice of "*performing inauthenticity* as a conscious strategy by which to remind ourselves of the importance of a shared, coalitional identity and, at the same time, of the voluntary, nonauthentic nature of all such identities" (2004:169-170; italics original). By conceptualizing identity as a construct, those who take it on can use it both to create and/or maintain community, and to draw attention to the constructed nature of this and other identities.

Cheng and Lowe's proposals apply to ethnic/racial identities beyond Asian Americans identities. For example, one could make a case that contemporary pan-Indianism rests on a similar construction of ethnicity. At least before Contact and during portions of US colonial

history, American Indians perceived differences at the clan and tribal level; there did not yet exist an all-encompassing concept of "American Indian." Colonial history and the construction of race and ethnicity categories in the United States evolved a distinct, somewhat homogenized category of Native American, with "Indian" first appearing on the US census in 1860 (Collins 2006). One might construe a pan-Indian "American Indian" identity as a social construction similar to the category "Asian American." Cheng's term "performing inauthenticity" is perhaps misleading, however, in that all ethnicities and races are, to a degree, performances. Performing "inauthentically" as Cheng defines it equates with performing one's ethnicity in a way that is true to oneself. Perhaps more importantly, performing inauthentically reminds the performer that "all identities are inauthentic at base," "all messy mixes that defy any attempts at defining an authentic identity" (Cheng 2004:170). By "performing inauthentically," he does not mean to detract legitimacy from the identity, but rather to draw attention to the constructed nature of all identities.

Although all racial/ethnic identities might be "messy mixes," this construction has not altered the racism that Pvlvcekolv community members have experienced. For them, the relationship between phenotype and perception of race has crucially informed community members' experiences of racism. In the present day because of their primarily caucasian phenotypes, members of Pvlvcekolv are perceived as "not Indian enough" both by some American Indians and Euro-Americans, and therefore somehow inauthentic, no matter their history, heritage, relationship with tradition, or role in the community. In this model, where African Americans, Indians, and others are racially or ethnically marked and whites are not, Pvlvcekolv's busking population is perceived as primarily or only white, and therefore insufficiently racially or ethnically marked to be "Indian." Where once being perceived as white

allowed the community to stay on ancestral land and continue their traditions, essentially they are now too white.

This bias as experienced by Pvlvcekolv members conflates authenticity with "race." One is "authentically Indian" if one is racially marked as Indian. This model focuses on race as a primary marker of authenticity and assumes authenticity to be an inborn trait, something inherent. Folklorist Regina Bendix has written on this type of authenticity, humorously noting that, "once tomato sauce carries the label 'authentic,' the designation loses its special significance" (1997:7). She characterizes the quest for authenticity as downright dangerous, explaining that "identifying some cultural expressions or artifacts as authentic, genuine, trustworthy, or legitimate simultaneously implies that other manifestations are fake, spurious, and even illegitimate" (1997:9). Inherent authenticity results in a highly restrictive binary, where one either is authentic or one is not. This binary ignores a variety of experiences, histories, and identities that exist within the inevitable gray area between the imposition of a binary set. This gray area includes, among other things, the experiences of so-called mixed-race individuals.

Authenticity is not an inherent trait, however, as Cheng highlights with his concept of inauthentically performance of ethnic identity. Elsewhere Bendix proposes that, "removing authenticity and its allied vocabulary is one useful step toward conceptualizing the study of culture in the age of transculturation" (1997:9). She suggests that, as scholars, we perhaps ought to cease attributing the concept of "authenticity" any respect and remove it from our discourses. As an etic analytical category, authenticity is highly problematic, dangerous, and potentially useless because it is exclusionary and socially contingent. The term can be made useful, however, when we recast it as a discursive concept: a socially constructed emic "evaluative concept," as characterized by sociologist Theo Van Leeuwen (2001:392). Instead of an inherent

trait, we ought to view it and chart it out as "some sort of ideal, highly valued and sought by individuals or groups as part of the process of becoming" (Vannini and Williams 2009:3).

Most people understand authenticity as something "genuine, of undisputed origin." This definition assumes a realist perspective, where authenticity is a property inherent in the substance itself. Yet we can derive a more useful view of authenticity as a social construct from its Greek origin *authentes* (αὐθέντης): "'one who acts of authority' and 'made by one's own hand'" (Bendix 1997:14). If we eliminate the most common connotation of "authenticity" as somehow objectively genuine or real and replace it with the connotation of its Greek derivative—constructed, subjective, and contingent on one's experience—we are working towards a practical definition of the term. When applied to racial/ethnic identities, this definition recognizes the constructed nature of these phenomena.

Perhaps in an effort to avoid overly simplistic constructions of Indigenous identity, southeastern historian Charles Hudson differentiates between different types of American Indian identity. In his 1978 landmark history, *The Southeastern Indians*, Hudson defines "genetic," "cultural," and "social" American Indians, especially in relation to those populations who succeeded in avoiding the Trail of Tears and still reside in the Southeast. Hudson classifies a "genetic Indian" as someone with an Indian phenotype; a "cultural Indian" as someone who "sees the world from the point of view whose premises are historically derived from an aboriginal belief system;" and a "social Indian" as someone who "occupies the status of Indian in the social system" (1976:478). Most individuals are a combination of these three types.

Hudson's terms do not denote objectively fixed points, but rather fluid spectra of possibilities. Take, for example, Hakopē. He was born to a mixed white-Creek mother who, like the rest of Pvlvcekolv, ignores blood quantum in favor of linear descent and traces her Creek

heritage through the maternal line, and to a father with Creek, Shawnee, and British Isles ancestry. Hakopē grew up in a culturally Creek household and has a strongly Caucasian phenotype. Through both parents, Hakopē is genetically Native American, and through his mother, Creek. Because of his enculturation, he is culturally Creek, and his duties as heles-hayv require that he also be socially Creek. Due to his white phenotype, however, Hakopē has dealt with extreme discrimination and accusations of inauthenticity.

"Authenticity"

Over the course of my research collaboration with Pvlvcekolv, Hakopē and other community members occasionally discuss experiences with "authenticity" during our conversations and interviews. Beyond encounters with bias that result from being non-Christians in a conservative area of the South, the community has often faced allegations of somehow being "inauthentic." Although these allegations nominally focus on cultural authenticity, they more often relate to perceptions of race in relation to stereotypical Native American features or phenotypes. While employing their mixed race heritage to their benefit allowed Pvlvcekolv to stay on ancestral lands during Removals, their caucasian phenotypes have now become problematic. Although the community tends to experience indirect racism and bias, one academic publication exists that directly questions Pvlvcekolv's authenticity. I place this piece into dialog with the perspectives of other scholars, and perhaps more importantly, the informed perspectives of other Indigenous peoples who maintain long-term relationships with Pvlvcekolv. By charting the ways in which Pvlvcekolv relates to other communities, I go beyond the "authenticity" narrative with something more concrete and respective of Indigenous realities.

In an entry in the Smithsonian Institutions' *Handbook of North American Indians* volume on the Southeast, the late anthropologist J. Anthony Paredes directly questions Pvlvcekolv's authenticity. While discussing post-Removal Creek peoples in the east, he states,

> Two of the more controversial of the self-styled Creek Indian groups were the Lower Muskogee Creek Tribe headquartered near Cairo, Georgia (A. B. Walker 1977), and [Pvlvcekolv] near Bruce, Florida [the community has since moved from this location]. The former adopted a very public stance in asserting their Indianness, while the latter generally retreated from public scrutiny, not seeking federal recognition, and claimed to follow Creek ceremonial practice. By the 1980s, some Oklahoma Creeks and some scholars gave credence to the activities at [Pvlvcekolv]. Nonetheless, Poarch leaders, other Indians in the area, and well-informed scholars found the self-proclaimed traditionalism of the leader completely bogus, while perhaps acknowledging the sincerity of the followers whether of demonstrable Creek descent or not. (Paredes 2004:406)

Although he cites Amelia Walker Bell's 1977 analysis of what she calls the Cairo, Georgia, "Instant Indians," and what he calls the Lower Muskogee Creek Tribe, Paredes does not cite any ethnographic research or scholarly source on Pvlvcekolv. In essence, he compares them against an unarticulated metric of "Indigenousness." Paredes' prose implies that other Indigenous communities are uncontroversial and authentic. Calling the "leader" "bogus" and the community "controversial" and "self styled" answers an unhelpful or unrevealing question in an ethnographic context: "is this group 'authentic?'" Because of the close-ended nature of the question, any answer must necessarily be "yes" or "no" without regard for the gray area between the binary, and without regard for the narrative nature of the authenticity concept. Rather than querying a community's inherent authenticity, more illuminating and useful questions address Pvlvcekolv's position, the relationships the community and members of the community maintain with other Indigenous peoples and communities, the group's history, and the perspectives of those in and connected to the community. These open-ended questions facilitate a significantly more nuanced and accurate depiction of any group. Additionally, no single population, Indigenous or otherwise, has the same subject position or history; measuring one group against

the metric of another group does a disservice to both populations. The assumption that Pvlvcekolv is somehow inauthentic because it does not have federal recognition, because the group does things differently from another Creek group(s), because people with only superficial experience of the community say so, and/or because community members by and large have caucasian phenotypes results from uncritical analysis.

Over the course of conducting research with and on Pvlvcekolv, I have compiled perspectives on Pvlvcekolv from diverse outside sources, tracing networks of relationality that connect Pvlvcekolv into a system of southeastern native communities. I have been in touch with Paris Rutherford, the current chief of the Apalachicola Band of Creeks, and I draw on archival letters written by members of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation in Oklahoma on behalf of the Pvlvcekolv community. In addition, I draw on two academic publications, one that details a vignette of Hakopē in his role as Pvlvcekolv Maker of Medicine, and another that involves Hakopē as a research associate on Creek myths. Perhaps more importantly, I interviewed several people outside the community regarding their experiences with, and opinions on, Pvlvcekolv. These individuals include other Native Americans and scholars: Rosemary McCombs Maxey, a respected Creek language instructor and member of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation; Sam Curren, a Creek speaker of Creek and Choctaw ancestry and an enrolled member of the Choctaw Nation; and Bill Grantham, an anthropologist with Creek ancestry who has conducted research on the busk. Each of these individuals has spent time at Pvlvcekolv, busking as guests of the community, and maintains long-term relationships with individuals in the community. Combining these perspectives from outside the community, I address and critique Paredes' poorly researched statement on Pvlvcekolv and less formal community detractions.

To my knowledge, the Texas-based Apalachicola Band of Creek Indians is the only other Apalachicola Creek community in the United States. This community apparently derives from the descendants of John Blunt and his band, who were removed to Texas from their Florida reservation through the 1832 Treaty with the Apalachicola Band. Like Pvlvcekolv, the Apalachicola Band of Creek Indians does not have federal recognition, although the group did apply for it in 1996 (Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) 1996). As the current chief, Paris Rutherford, notes, "the government considers us part of the history books (which is obviously incorrect)" (Rutherford, email, 17 November 2015). Although the Apalachicola Band of Creek Indians retains ties to Pvlvcekolv, the ties remain tenuous and informal. "The conditions that led to the fragmentation of our people in the early-to-mid 1800's," Rutherford says, "have cemented the more detached situation we live within" (email, 17 November 2015). According to Rutherford and the Band's website, the group followed Chief John Blunt to Texas, where they were known there as Blount Indians, Texas Creeks, and Pakana Muskogees (Blount 2011-2014). Despite the distance and comparative lack of contact, Rutherford considers that "Those that remained in Florida are those that disbanded from the main parties that either vacated to Texas, were forcibly moved to Oklahoma, or [are] related to those that returned" (email, 15 November 2015).

Unlike the Apalachicola Band of Creek Indians, members of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation in Oklahoma maintain active relationships with Pvlvcekolv and Pvlvcekolv members. Among these individuals are former-Principal Chief Claude A. Cox, historian and former-commissioner Robert W. Trepp, and David Proctor, the Tallahassee Wvkokaye mekko and a Traditional Cultural Specialist for the Muscogee (Creek) Nation's Historic and Cultural Preservation Department. C. Cox, the first elected (rather than President-appointed) Principal

Chief, led the Muskogee (Creek) Nation between 1971 and 1991. In 1978 and 1979, he wrote several letters on behalf of Pvlvcekolv. One, addressed to the Secretary of the US. Department of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal, proposed Milly Francis as an "appropriate representative of U.S. women" for a new coin design. After outlining the place of Milly Francis in U.S. history, C. Cox noted that her story "has been preserved by the people of the [Pvlvcekolv] Community of eastern Creek Indians in Tallahassee, Florida. Two of Millie Francis' children re-emigrated to the old Creek country in Florida after Millie's death, and their descendants preserved the story of Millie Francis to this day" (C. Cox, letter, 18 September 1978). Here he called attention to the genealogy of certain Pvlvcekolv members as descendants of Milly Francis. The following year, C. Cox wrote to L. Ross Morrell, Florida state archaeologist. In order to "increase the communication between our respective staffs and provide Muscogee people to assist your staff in the evaluation of Muscogee sites and cultural artifacts," C. Cox appointed Hakopē and another community member as tribal liaisons to the Florida Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties (C. Cox, letter, 22 August 1979). C. Cox's third letter requested a religious reservation in the Apalachicola National Forest near Tallahassee from the National Park Service "for the exclusive use and occupancy of the [Pvlvcekolv] Indian Community of Tallahassee" for "religious purposes," naming Hakopē as the Pvlvcekolv contact person (C. Cox, letter, 5 September 1979).

The correspondence by Robert W. Trepp with and on behalf of Pvlvcekolv is more extensive and revealing than that of C. Cox.[18] Across his career, Trepp has played a number of important roles in the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. In addition to being a historian, he was one of the commissioners in charge of drafting the constitution of the Nation in 1979, and served as Manager of the Government Policy and Research Administration in the Division of Tribal

[18] Despite my best efforts, I did not succeed in making contact with Robert Trepp until too late to interview him for this dissertation. I look forward to working with him as I move forward with this project.

Affairs, and as a policy analyst for the principal chief. One of his earliest letters I have encountered revealed some of the history of fraud accusations against Pvlvcekolv. Trepp wrote a formal apology to Hakopē and other Pvlvcekolv elders, referencing a letter he had written several years prior that I have been unable to locate. He stated that his earlier "letter was written in response to accusations which have proven false, vindictive, and baseless. I no longer accept the word of the individual involved for any purpose" (Trepp, letter, 10 August 1978). Following this 1978 communication, a comparative flood of correspondence developed between Trepp on behalf of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation and Pvlvcekolv. This flood included an introduction between Hakopē and Wayne Faircloth, then director of the Valdosta State College (now University) Herbarium, with a request that Hakopē assist Faircloth with his Creek ethnobotanical research (Trepp, letter, 17 August 1978; Trepp, letter, 21 August 1978). While writing to Faircloth, Trepp contrasted "Two Creek communities which have retained only fragments of their Creek Culture" with Pvlvcekolv, "Another Creek Community in your area, one which has retained much of its language and tradition" (Trepp, letter, 17 August 1978).

Trepp devoted some of his correspondence to urging Pvlvcekolv to seek federal recognition, calling attention to hunting, fishing, and water rights, the practice of traditional religion, and other privileges that result from recognition. He thought the community had a documentable case (Trepp, letter, 2 July 1979). He later aided Pvlvcekolv's application with treaties, other documents, and advice (Trepp, letter, 20 August 1979). In one letter to the Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior, Trepp remarked that Pvlvcekolv's primary concern was to address the "preservation of their ceremonial ground." He agreed that, "The Eastern Creek [ethnic fraud] problem is a serious one," and called attention to

the fact that "There are legitimate Creek Indians in the area" at Pvlvcekolv (Trepp, letter, 2 November 1979).

Trepp also co-authored a letter in support of Pvlvcekolv's bid for federal recognition with David Proctor. Proctor, the mekko of Tallahassee Wvkokaye ceremonial grounds and a Traditional Cultural specialist in the Muscogee (Creek) Nation's Historic and Cultural Preservation Department, visited Pvlvcekolv with Trepp in August 1979. Addressing the Secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior, Trepp and Proctor described the results of their visit. They found that the Pvlvcekolv "people speak a recognizable (but different) dialect of the Mvskoke language and, with a few local variations, practice the same ceremonies carried out in the Muscogee Nation today." They also highlighted the similarities between the foods served at Pvlvcekolv versus in Oklahoma. They ended the letter with a sincere recommendation for the community's federal recognition, saying, "We found a mixed-blood community who, over a century and a half of separation, had preserved the language, religion[,] and philosophy of the greater portion of our tribe" (Trepp and Proctor, letter, 13 November 1979). They based their statements on comparisons between Pvlvcekolv and contemporary Creek ceremony and culture, noting differences, but more importantly calling attention to the relationship between them.

Although Pvlvcekolv eventually decided not to complete their application for federal recognition, Trepp composed several additional letters on behalf of the community and Hakopē. Following vandalism to the Pvlvcekolv grounds in November of 1982, Trepp wrote to the Tallahassee chief of police, explaining the value of the stolen and/or destroyed artifacts, urging the police to do everything in their power to recover the artifacts and prosecute the vandals. He attested to the antiquity of the community's ceremonial objects, bringing attention to their value

on the antiquities market (Trepp, letter, 19 November 1982). Another missive reads as a general letter of recommendation on behalf of Hakopē. In it Trepp stated,

> After visiting the [Pvlvcekolv] community personally in the summer of 1980, I am now aware that [Hakopē] is the primary practitioner of traditional Muscogee medicine in the community. [Hakopē] is accepted in that position by his community because of his training by elder practitioners, by his recognition that herbal and related 'medicines' are for both physical healing and spiritual healing, and by his repeated positive contacts with community members. (Trepp, letter, 20 September 1982)

In a similar letter to James Miller and George Percy of the Florida Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties, Trepp acknowledged the difficulties and controversies surrounding the "legitimacy of persons who profess to know the practices of Muscogee (Creek) traditional religion." He characterized Pvlvcekolv as "the only traditional Muscogee (Creek) Indian ceremonial ground east of the Mississippi. [Hakopē] and the other leaders of that square ground are the only people in Florida who persistently maintain contact with the fourteen ceremonial grounds here in the Muscogee Nation." Furthermore, he stated that Hakopē "is the only individual 'eastern Creek' who has undergone the required training through sixteen summer ceremonial cycles here in the Muscogee Nations. His knowledge and understanding can be relied upon, and his unique ability to access the oral histories of the Florida Creek peoples should be treasured." Trepp concluded with a statement regarding the long-term positive relationship between himself and Hakopē during Trepp's career with the Muscogee (Creek) Nation (Trepp, letter, 28 September 1992).

Trepp, Proctor, and C. Cox were not the only ones to endorse Pvlvcekolv and Hakopē. Will Adler, a writer for the Florida Department of Commerce and later for Florida's Human Services Magazine *Access*, wrote to Robert Trepp about his experiences with Pvlvcekolv. He remarked that he was "impressed with the concern for these Creek people in preserving the traditions of their forefathers." He spoke to "the beauty and significance of the lifestyle of my local Creek friends," notably Hakopē, and closed by saying he has "found the Creeks of North

Florida to exist as a tribe for at least the past fifteen years" (Adler, letter, 22 October 1979). Similarly, Michael Hittman, an anthropologist and scholar of Northern Paiute religion at Long Island University, Brooklyn, also wrote a letter of recommendation for Pvlvcekolv's federal acknowledgement. After meeting Hakopē at a conference in Brooklyn, Hittman attended a Pvlvcekolv Harvest Busk. Contrasting historically "authentic" Creek culture with contemporary Creek culture, he intriguingly stated that,

> The past is dead. No one can expect to revive ancient cultures. But when elements of the past live, when men and women dedicate themselves to the modern world -- for I saw and spoke with geneticists, computer engineers, and the like -- while emphasizing continuity with the past, their past, then here is a community worth beholding. It was alive in [the Pvlvcekolv] Tribal Town Community. (Hittman, letter, 1 November 1979)

Although he noted Hakopē's importance, he stated that, "the community he represents is larger than the man" and he advocated for the community to receive federal acknowledgement (Hittman, letter, 1 November 1979). Louis Tesar, a Florida archaeologist affiliated with the state, also wrote a letter of recommendation on behalf of Pvlvcekolv's federal acknowledgement to Robert Trepp. Although his research primarily concerns pre-1850 events, he stated his "observation that the community does exist as a viable unit […] which views itself and is viewed by others as Creek." He observed how the Pvlvcekolv community treated Hakopē, saying "it was quite evident that he is viewed as their principal ceremonial leader and as an important community leader." In his opinion, Hakopē "is an important factor in maintaining the traditional Creek ceremonies and community cohesion," although "the leadership and viability of the community does not depend solely on the leadership of one individual" (Tesar, letter, 15 November 1979).

Beyond these letters of recommendation, David Freidel, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker briefly included Hakopē in a vignette in their book, *Maya Cosmos* (1993). Freidel, an

archaeologist, Schele, an art historian, and Parker, a writer, collaborated on a volume that explores the cosmology of historic Mayan peoples. In their introductory "A Personal Note from the Authors," they related an emotionally moving meeting between three shamans at a private potluck dinner that occurred in conjunction with a 1992 Mayan cosmology workshop in Austin, TX. Along with Dennis Tedlock, a trained K'iche' (Guatemala Mayan) day-keeper, Freidel moderated and translated a conversation between Martín, a Kaqchikel Maya from Guatemala, and Hakopē. The three shamans contrasted the differences between their cosmologies and discovered similarities in their concepts of balance and the importance of humans in maintaining that balance. At one point, Schele showed Hakopē a thank-you note she had received from Martín written in modern Kaqchikel using the old Mayan hieroglyph writing system. Hakopē, "no longer able to contain himself, began to pray in Creek over the page. Surrounded now by three adepts speaking four languages, David felt as if he were witness to the first meeting of an American united nations" (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:13). Because the subject of their book was Mayan cosmologies, Freidel, Schele, and Parker did not address Hakopē or Pvlvcekolv's position in relationship to other southeastern peoples. This anecdote spoke to Hakopē's abilities as a heles-hayv, however, and recognition of those abilities by shamans from other traditions. As a ceremonial leader at Pvlvcekolv, Hakopē's spiritual talents play an important role in his ability to lead the community, and this recorded interaction with other shamans demonstrates recognition by other Indigenous ceremonial specialists of his capabilities.

To date, two other scholars and I have and are conducting formal, long-term research with and on Pvlvcekolv. Lee Bloch, currently a doctoral student in archaeology at University of Virginia, conducts research on Pvlvcekolv's perspectives on mound site archaeology, while Robert Pullen, a professor of sociology at Troy University in Alabama, is preparing a monograph

on Pvlvcekolv ethnoastronomy. Our current and future publications and presentations treat Pvlvcekolv's star lore, archaeology, oral history, language, and ceremonial performance practice (Bloch 2014a, 2014b, 2015; Bloch and Hantman 2015; Koons 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014). Through our research and publication efforts, we work to dismantle the hegemony constructed around Indigenous populations in the United States by early anthropologists. Through their scholarship, those ethnographers helped "ratify the idea that the genuine Indian identity could be constituted only through the race, language, and culture of specific tribal populations, and anyone who fell out of bounds of these narrow demarcations was simply not a real Indian" (Baker 2010:115-16). These narrow demarcations still plague American Indian communities today, as indicated by Paredes' analysis of Pvlvcekolv, and the research in which Pullen, Bloch, and I engage with Pvlvcekolv directly addresses those inequalities.

In addition to these letters and publications, I also interviewed Rosemary McCombs Maxey, Sam Curren, and Bill Grantham about their relationships with Pvlvcekolv and their experiences there. Rosemary McCombs Maxey lives near Okmulgee, OK, on allotment land she inherited from her mother and grandmother, and attends the Weogufkee Indian Baptist Church, the church of her childhood. An enrolled member of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, her grandmother belonged to the Arpekv Hvcce Sufkee grounds before those grounds were closed or moved. She has visited Tallahassee Wvkokaye Creek ceremonial grounds in Oklahoma during Green Corn ceremonies, and busked at Pvlvcekolv in Florida. A respected teacher of the Muskogee language, Maxey teaches at Oklahoma State University-Stillwater, and has taught at McDaniel College in Religious Studies and at Emory University in Environmental Studies. During the spring 2016 semester, she is working with linguistic students of Jack Martin, author of dictionaries and grammars in Creek and other southeastern Indigenous languages, at the

College of William and Mary (Cypress and Martin 2006; J. Martin 2011; J. Martin and McKane Mauldin 2000).

While living in Pittsburgh in the early 1970s, Maxey became a member of the Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center, an institution that continues to serve urban Indigenous peoples in the area. The leadership of the Center invited a Creek speaker, Hakopē, to help them develop a library and give language lessons. When Maxey arrived at the event and saw Hakopē,

> who looks very European, you know, I thought, 'Well, uh, I don't know!' [Laughs] But a lot of what he had to say were words that I understood. He had a different kind of accent and different presentation from what I was accustomed to here, but it was the language that was familiar. (Maxey, interview, 18 November 2015)

Despite her initial surprise and misgivings, Maxey soon developed a relationship with Hakopē. In particular, she found his linguistic training, pedagogical skills, and knowledge invaluable in her own teaching,

> I had no comprehension of [the linguistic analysis of the Creek language], really, it was just a language that I used, and I think that when I saw the work that he had put into these notebooks[, which would become the *Muskogee Word and Ways* series] that he brought along and used—and he had color-coded the tense markers and the person markers and the kinds of sentences, and whether it was male or female—he had a wealth of knowledge that way that helped me look at the language. (Maxey, interview, 18 November 2015)

Although she has been teaching Muskogee for years now, Maxey still uses Hakopē's teaching materials (Daniels-Sakim 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1990a, 1990b; Kanen et al. 1983) as a reference. Several times over the course of my fieldwork, I witnessed one calling the other with language questions. They maintain an active dialogue regarding the differences in the Muskogee language between Florida and Oklahoma.

After their Pittsburgh introduction, Maxey again encountered Hakopē via several Creek-centric list serves in the 1980s. At the time, one of her sons was looking for a spiritual mentor and she thought that what Hakopē had written on those list serves was compelling enough to get

in touch with him. Hakopē soon became her son's mentor, and he participated in as many Pvlvcekolv ceremonies he could attend. The distance between Oklahoma and Florida and conflicts between the academic and busk schedules made it difficult for Maxey herself to busk at Pvlvcekolv. Since 2008, however, she has participated in three Harvest Busks. She spoke to the importance of the community busk discussions at Pvlvcekolv,

> these rich discussions about the meaning of the rituals they perform, the reason why they have gathered. And they reminisce about other times in their lives when they have performed these rituals, and so now what does it mean? And then do some philosophical unpacking of what they have just done. So there's a different way of re-living the ritual: […] you get to talk about it, think about it, and do it. And then out here [in Oklahoma], you do it and then find people with whom you can talk about it [rather than talking about it with the entire community], and think about it. (Maxey, interview, 18 November 2015)

She drew attention to the distinctions between how Florida and Oklahoma Creek communities discuss or do not discuss ceremony, saying that the communication style patterns differ. Yet,

> You kind of need both ways—the world that we live in is bi-cultural if not tri-cultural or whatever other cultures that we absorb as we live our lives. And so to have what [Pvlvcekolv] does in the way of gathering, I think is just one way, and what the Muskogee people [of Oklahoma] do at the *tvlwvs* or their grounds is another way. One's not necessarily bad and the other one good, or the other more Indigenous than the other. (Maxey, interview, 18 November 2015)

Maxey countered the idea that Pvlvcekolv is somehow less Indigenous because its traditions do not mirror those in Oklahoma.

During our interview, Maxey laughingly called Hakopē "different," saying, "And I would say, 'Ah, he's not telling the truth,' but then I would find out that, yes indeed, he was telling the truth about, you know, certain things that I found incredible or unbelievable for the most part." Like Bill Grantham below (2002:283), Maxey cited Hakopē's long-term friendship with the late Mary Frances Johns, Hakopē's second cousin, a member of the Seminole Tribe, and a Maker of Medicine in her own right who regularly busked at Pvlvcekolv. Speaking about Hakopē, Johns once commented to Maxey that, "'I know that what he knows is incredible, and I study with him

because he has a wealth of knowledge that I need to know in my work.'" Maxey noted that Johns often "authenticated" Hakopē's information and position. Similarly, Maxey suggested that, "The people who accuse him or speak of him disparagingly don't really know him. They don't know who he is or what he does" (Maxey, interview, 18 November 2015). In order to understand him and the rest of Pvlvcekolv, as with any individual or community, she said, one must get to know them.

I also interviewed Sam Curren, a Maker of Medicine. An enrolled member of the Choctaw Nation, he also has Cherokee and Creek "blood." Curren is a self-professed tradition bearer, saying that, "I managed to hang onto a lot of the old culture. I worked hard to save it all my life." He started attending busks at Pvlvcekolv in 2012, shortly after my academic schedule made it difficult for me to busk regularly. Since then he has attended most, if not all, busks because, as he says, "That's my religion." During his seventy years, he made an effort to attend a ceremonial grounds at least once a year, busking at grounds in the Muskogee (Creek) Nation, Seminole Nation, and others. He described Pvlvcekolv as one of the few grounds east of the Mississippi, and one of the few grounds that is "regularly run." While speaking about the community's performance practice, he noted that, "They use a water drum. I like that. And I like the singing—it's real good. It's as authentic as they can be. [. . .] It's an authentic ceremonial ground. I have seen full bloods come from Oklahoma and Seminole Nation of Florida [to attend busk there]." Although he said, "I'm not a member there," he attends "for the praying-ship. [. . .] and the brotherhood that comes out of the grounds. [. . .] I like to go there to see it and participate in it." Together, Hakopē and Curren are "about the only two" Muskogee speakers "east of the Mississippi that's left." Although other Pvlvcekolv community members who busk regularly know some Creek, none are native speakers, and several have told me that those present often

observe with joy the Muskogee language conversations between the two elders (Curren, interview, 23 November 2015).

In addition to Curren and Maxey, I also interviewed Bill Grantham, an anthropologist and associate dean at Troy University in Alabama. Although not enrolled in, or currently involved with, an Indigenous community, his family tradition "is that we have Creek ancestors. Some of my ancestors moved into the last remaining Creek territory in Alabama before Removal and, of course, there are no records […] my grandmother […] said that her grandmother was half Creek—half Muskogee." He noted how difficult it is to track down genealogical paper trails in the Southeast, because "If they stayed behind, they probably were passing as white" (Grantham, interview, 24 November 2015). A DNA test revealed him to have European, Indigenous, and African ancestry.

Grantham first met Hakopē while studying at University of Alabama, Birmingham, in the 1980s when Hakopē gave several lectures there. After Grantham moved to Troy, AL, in 1994, he got in touch with Hakopē and busked with Pvlvcekolv through the late 1990s. Unfortunately, his increasing duties at the university necessitated he busk less and less. Grantham has since published a study on Creek creation myths and legends, including a detailed section on historical Creek ceremonial life (2002:38-82). This section required he delve into historical documentation on the busk. Based on that research and his experiences busking at Pvlvcekolv in the 1990s, he calls the Pvlvcekolv busk very "historically accurate." Based on "everything I've read and gathered, all the research I did for my book, what they were doing at [Pvlvceklv] as long as I was active there, very much matched what I read in the historical documents" (Grantham, interview, 24 November 2015).

In his book, Grantham drew attention to Hakope as a hereditary tribal town king and carrier of tradition, noting that he is the only fully trained Maker of Medicine east of the Mississippi recognized by the Creek Nation. Grantham noted how Hakopē spent over twenty years collecting, archiving, and translating traditional native stories from Muskogee, Creek, and Mikasuki speakers in collaboration with the late Mary Frances Johns (2002:283). He also called attention to the *Muskogee Words and Ways* series on Creek culture and language that Hakopē compiled over the years (Daniels-Sakim 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1990a, 1990b; Kanen et al. 1983). Grantham painted a brief portrait of an individual who has made a number of important contributions, both to his own community, and to the academic world of southeastern scholarship.

During his time at Pvlvcekolv, Grantham met the late Tema Tiger, then one of few native Yuchi speakers. Although they lived in Oklahoma, Tema and his wife Hazel would often visit and busk at Pvlvcekolv. During one of those visits, Tema and Grantham discussed traditional Muskogee culture. Tema was of the opinion that, where a lot of traditional Muskogee culture "got lost in the migration to Oklahoma," "a lot of the traditional culture probably remained with the mixed people who stayed behind" (Grantham, interview, 24 November 2015). Their conversation made Grantham "think about it ways I had never thought about it before." He was aware of the massive population declines across colonial history and the mortality rate of the forced Removals to Indian Country in the early 1800s. He agreed with Tema that likely a large portion of traditional culture "was retained in the Southeast, but not necessarily in an organized fashion." During our interview, he noted how a significant portion of contemporary southern culture is "actually bits and pieces of Creek and Cherokee culture," and other Indigenous cultures from the area (Grantham, interview, 24 November 2015). Although history and community

position render this kind of comparison between populations difficult or problematic, Tema's statement speaks to his relationship with, and respect for, Pvlvcekolv and the community's relationship to tradition.

While I have not been in contact with members of the Poarch Band of Creek Indians regarding their perspective on Pvlvcekolv, I have compiled perspectives from members of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Choctaw Nation, Apalachicola Band of Creeks, and scholars, some with Indigenous connections. Several of these sources agree that Pvlvcekolv is somewhat difficult to characterize. For example, Maxey suggested that "measuring" authenticity through different metrics—blood quantum, descent, cultural involvement, and ceremonial involvement—would lead to different measurements of Pvlvcekolv's "authenticity." Nevertheless, these affidavits regarding Pvlvcekolv go a long way towards "proving authenticity" in that Pvlvcekolv was and remains a community with ties to other closely related Indigenous communities.

Perhaps more importantly, Maxey suggests that, "When we're looking for authenticity and credibility, we do look at a person's life and how they relate to, how they are related to us, but then how are they related to the community and how are they embraced within that community. That's what lends to our authenticity" (Maxey, interview, 18 November 2015). Relationality, she posits, becomes proof of "authenticity." Focusing on Hakopē, she speaks to the importance of authenticity of self, of the relationship between the individual and his or her community. She and others I quote above note the important role Hakopē plays at Pvlcekolv, a role acknowledged by members of the Pvlvcekolv community and by other Indigenous peoples in other communities.

Maxey brings up an important point about "Creekness" at Pvlvcekolv and in Oklahoma. In speaking about her church community, the Weogufkee Indian Baptist Church, Maxey

describes how identities and activities there relate to Creek culture: half the congregation has Muskogee ancestry, "our ancestors are buried there, so we clearly belong there because we are their children as well as members of the church as well as being Muskogee people." Yet, one cannot make a blanket statement that everyone or everything there is Creek because "we have married people outside of the Muskogee people, so we have white and black members who come and participate." To address these differing populations within the same community, the church offers the sermon in English, sings hymns in English and Creek, and church meals feature "our traditional foods as well as Kentucky fried chicken," adaptations similar to what Pvlvcekolv has done to address issues of changing language facility and cultural change. While the church clearly has Muskogee roots, a Muskogee population, and cultural expressions, Maxey hesitates to call it all Muskogee:

> I think we can say that our church is a contemporary church, and maybe that's what we would say about [Pvlvcekolv], and we are beginning to say that about many of the ceremonial grounds in Oklahoma. Because there are those who are, who have ancestry, who were not raised culturally as the Muskogee people here is Oklahoma, and yet they participate in all the activities. So, it's not just a Creek thing out there at the grounds, and it's not just a Creek thing at the church, or the community. (Maxey, interview, 18 November 2015)

Elsewhere in our interview, Maxey speaks of a globalized world, suggesting that even Indigenous cultures are no longer mono-cultural—if indeed they ever were. She states that contemporary Oklahoma ceremonial grounds, like Pvlvcekolv in Florida, welcome people who do not necessarily have Creek descent or cultural connections. Jason Baird Jackson touches on this same point when he speaks to increased cultural variability created by "twentieth-century transformations" in contemporary Oklahoma Yuchi communities ([2003] 2005:146). Rather than making these places, activities, or institutions "less Creek" or "less Indigenous," these realities

speak to an increasingly globalized world, one where constructions of identity become increasingly fluid and difficult to track.

The Vnahetv ("Conclusions")

Construction of authenticity as inherent do not account for fluidity of identity constructions, for extra-local and global connections that tie diverse populations together, and for different histories of distinct communities. Asking if a group is or is not authentic does not begin to represent fully the complexity of any identity, and especially not a complex population like Pvlvcekolv. By virtue of their geographic location in the Southeast, one might call Pvlvcekolv's position comparatively more marginal or liminal than Indigenous populations in Oklahoma. Although the Southeast is the region from which southeastern peoples in Oklahoma were removed, its comparative population density constructs the Oklahoma portion of contemporary Indian Country as a center. Like certain ceremonial grounds on the periphery of Oklahoma, Pvlvcekolv's geographic distance from this particular center renders it comparatively marginal (Jackson [2003] 2005:143). The generally caucasian phenotypes of Pvlvcekolv members compounds this marginality, leading some to consider the community and others like it to be "inauthentic." The relationships between Pvlvcekolv community members and between Pvlvcekolv and other Indigenous communities/individuals, however, function as statements of the community's place in Indian Country more broadly, as statements "proving" "authenticity." Conceptualizing "authenticity" as a concept that speaks broadly to the construction of identity, in the way Vincent Cheng speaks of "inauthentically performing" ethnic identity, more accurately describes contemporary identities in a globalized world.

Returning to J. W. Martin's statement with which I open this chapter, there is as yet no need to recognize a fifth period of Creek religious change. Instead, we must extend our understandings of what he defines as the present, post-Removal era of Creek culture and religion. Although they necessarily differ from related post-Removal populations in Oklahoma, Native peoples in the Southeast are American Indians, albeit with different histories, subject positions, and relationships. As scholars of southeastern Indigenous populations, we cannot ignore the populations that remain in the Southeast. Questioning their authenticity not only harms them, but harms any and every other Native population and community by association, forcing complex realities into restrictive and unnecessarily simplistic binaries. An accurate representation of Indian Country and of Creek history incorporates a space for these peoples, their cultures, and their perspectives.

Chapter Three: Pvlvcekolv Cosmology and the Busk

Southeastern Indigenous peoples have maintained relationships with colonial populations for most of colonial and national history. The longevity of these relationships has resulted in, among many other things, a wealth of descriptions and analyses of the busk, a southeastern ceremonial tradition that dates to pre-Columbian times and the Mississippian moundbuilders. Although the tradition has changed over time as its practitioners moved or were removed into different geographies, it remains a strong and vital tradition to many southeastern Native cultures. The focus of this dissertation is Pvlvcekoklv's particular version of the busk tradition and busk performance practice. The community's version of the busk does not exist in a vacuum, but rather is part of a long ritual history. Here I contextualize Pvlvcekolv's busk in the Creek cosmology, survey literature of busk accounts, and outline Pvlvcekolv's ritual tradition.

Creek Cosmology

While the cosmologies of individual Creek towns or communities exhibit many similarities to one another, the cosmology of each separate community appears to have been different. For example, William Bartram, an eighteenth century botanist who spent time with several Muskogee communities, noted in 1791 that, "Every Tribe which constitutes the Muscogulge [sic] Confederacy has separate customs and many of them different Systems of Legislation" (2010:369). Although related culturally and genetically, each community was and is a distinct entity. These differences continue today and are perhaps most visible in the distinctions

between Oklahoma Creeks and Pvlvcekolv.[19] Pvlvcekolv's cosmology is an animistic, dualistic, monistic, and relational worldview. As animistic, the community's cosmology constructs "plants, spirits, objects and animals as other-than-human persons, that is, as volitional, sentient, sensitive, aware, and intelligent beings" (Rival 2012:139). These beings exist in a non-hierarchical system with human persons at Pvlvcekolv and act upon and with each other.

Duality is everywhere: the community constructs everything in related sets of two. For example, when ceremony begins, no one may exit sacred space except with a second person. As I explore in the next chapter, all beings have a dualistic counterpart opposite us in the lower portion of the Middle World. Even opinions divide in half. For example, community elders have long discussed the possibility that souls exist either as two related entities, or as a single entity divided in half. While they have yet to concur, elders have agreed that, following duality, the community must maintain two opinions on the topic!

Pvlvcekolv's Creek cosmology is monistic, consisting of a single being: *Ofvnkv*, Creator, or *Hesaketvmese*, the Master of Breath. Ofvnkv is neither male nor female, and both male and female. Ofvnkv is Ofvnkv, and does not take the form of any particular species. Especially in myths, however, the species directly interacting with Ofvnkv at a given moment observes Ofvnkv to have the superlative form of their species. For example, deer observe Ofvnkv to be the lithest and fastest stag with the largest rack; birds observe Ofvnkv to be the largest, fastest, and most majestic bird; and so on.

Out of Ofvnkv enfolds the entirety of Creation. Hakopē explains the relationship between Ofvnkv and Creation through the metaphor of a piece of paper. This piece of paper is Ofvnkv. Like Ofvnkv and exhibiting duality, it has two sides. Hakopē folds the paper in half. The two

[19] Compare this study with, for example, Amelia Rector Bell (1984:21-331).

sides now each split into two, revealing four sides total. Folding it in half again, he reveals each of those four sides to have two sides each: eight sides total. Folding it in half again, he reveals each of those eight sides to have two sides each: sixteen sides. Folding it in half again, he reveals each of those sixteen sides to have two sides each: thirty-two sides. He keeps folding the paper until it can fold no more, revealing the smallest division, which has two sides.

Having reduced the paper to the smallest division and largest number of sides, Hakopē unfolds it to reveal richly textured paper. Despite the number of sides, it remains a single sheet of paper. The paper is Ofvnkv; the theoretically infinite number of folds reveals the entirety of Creation. The smallest folds equate with sub-atomic particles; groupings of folds comprise plants, animals, objects, rocks, spoons, books, mountains, continents, and every other aspect of Creation. All beings collectively form the body of Creator, yet are themselves distinct. Pvlvcekolv elders teach that all beings relate monistically to Ofvnkv: there only exists Ofvnkv, the single being. Within this one being exists everything. Although we might perceive ourselves to be different from other species, from objects, from mountains, we all consist of the same building blocks: Ofvnkv. By virtue of consisting of the same basic material, all beings in this cosmology relate together. Pvlvcekolv defines "beings" as all entities within Creation.

Creation, Creator's body, divides into a tri-partite structure: the Upper World, the Middle World, and the Other World (see Figure 3.1). Our reality lies in the Middle World. Our continents, mountains, houses, trees, animals, plants, and objects all live in the Middle World. We are sandwiched by the Upper World above us and the Other World below us. The Upper and Other Worlds are opposites and house order and chaos, respectively. Elders sometimes liken this three-world structure to a coin. The Upper and Other Worlds comprise the two faces of the coin; the Middle World comprises the milled edge of the coin that separates the two sides from one

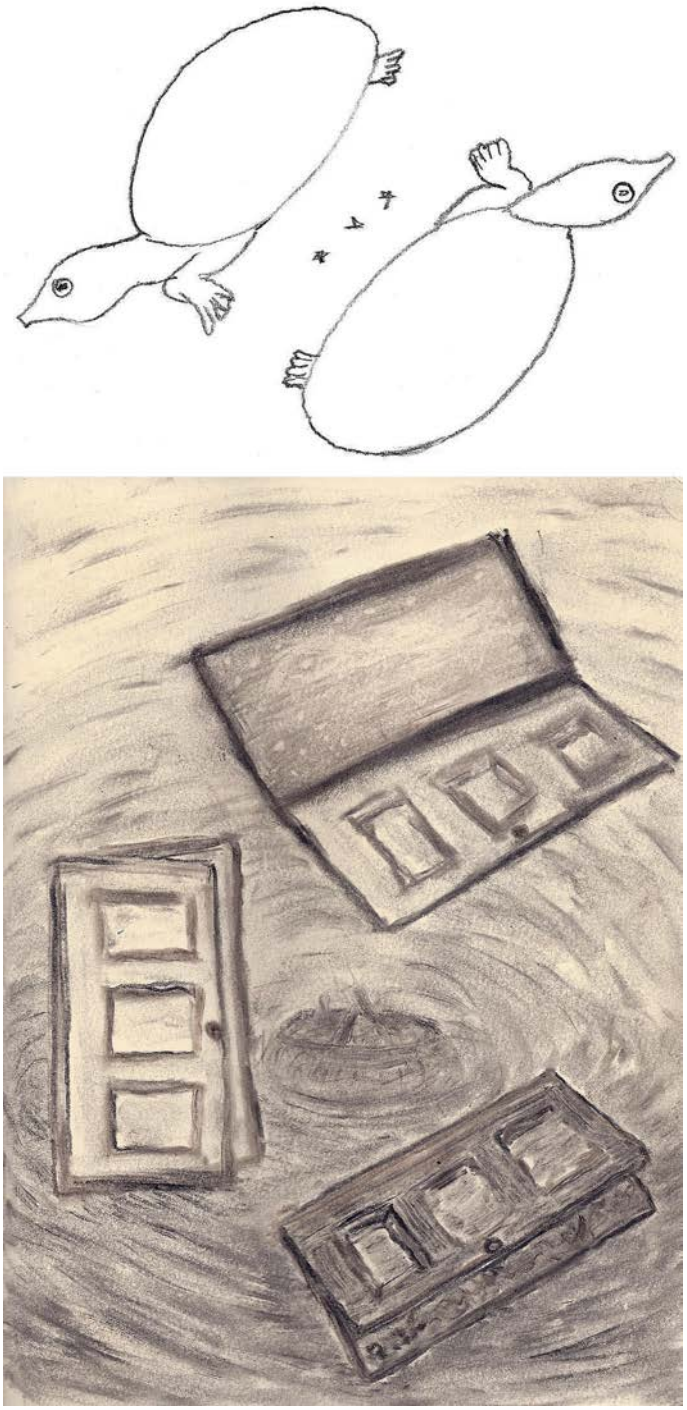


Figure 3.1 Two different perspectives of the three World Structure drawn by Mvhayv-rakko. Top: A star diagram showing two soft shell turtles on either side of the three hearth fires. The three hearth fires are the belt in the Orion Anglo-American constellation. The upper, left side turtle represents the Upper World; the lower, right side turtle represents the Other World; and the space in between the two represents the Middle World. Bottom: A perspective on the place where the three Worlds meet. The upper door to the Upper World opens to reveal stars; behind the middle door to the Middle World lies the ritual Fire; and the lower door to the Other World opens to reveal swirling shadows.

other. The Middle world attaches to the Upper World and Other World by four cords of light and four cords of darkness, respectively (see Figure 3.2). The four cords of darkness occasionally rip free and rush across the landscape in the form of tornados.

Figure 3.2 The four cords of light that connect the Upper and Middle Worlds together.

The orderly and chaotic beings of the Upper and Other Worlds, respectively, cannot directly interact except in the Middle World. For example, an orderly, Upper World being cannot enter the Other World, and a chaotic, Other World being cannot enter the Upper World. Instead, if they interact, they do so in the Middle World. As opposites, the Upper and Other Worlds maintain a constant tension. The balance between the two Worlds can easily shift in favor of one or the other. This imbalance might be fatal to the entirety of Creation.

Figure 3.3 The Fire at the 2009 Little Green Corn Busk.

To ensure such an imbalance does not occur, beings in the Middle World must maintain or reset balance. Pvlvcekolv understands the busk cycle as the primary means to establish or re-establish balance in the Middle World. It resets the balances of the individuals who participate in it, of the community that enacts it, and of the land upon which it occurs. It also balances the relationships between the beings involved, for example, resetting the relationships between humans and birds, humans and animals, humans and plants, humans and objects, humans and humans, humans and Creator. This act of rebalancing has a domino effect that ripples outward from the epicenter of the busk ritual. Eventually it affects all of Creation. By properly and consistently performing the busk, participants ensure that Creation as a whole remains balanced.

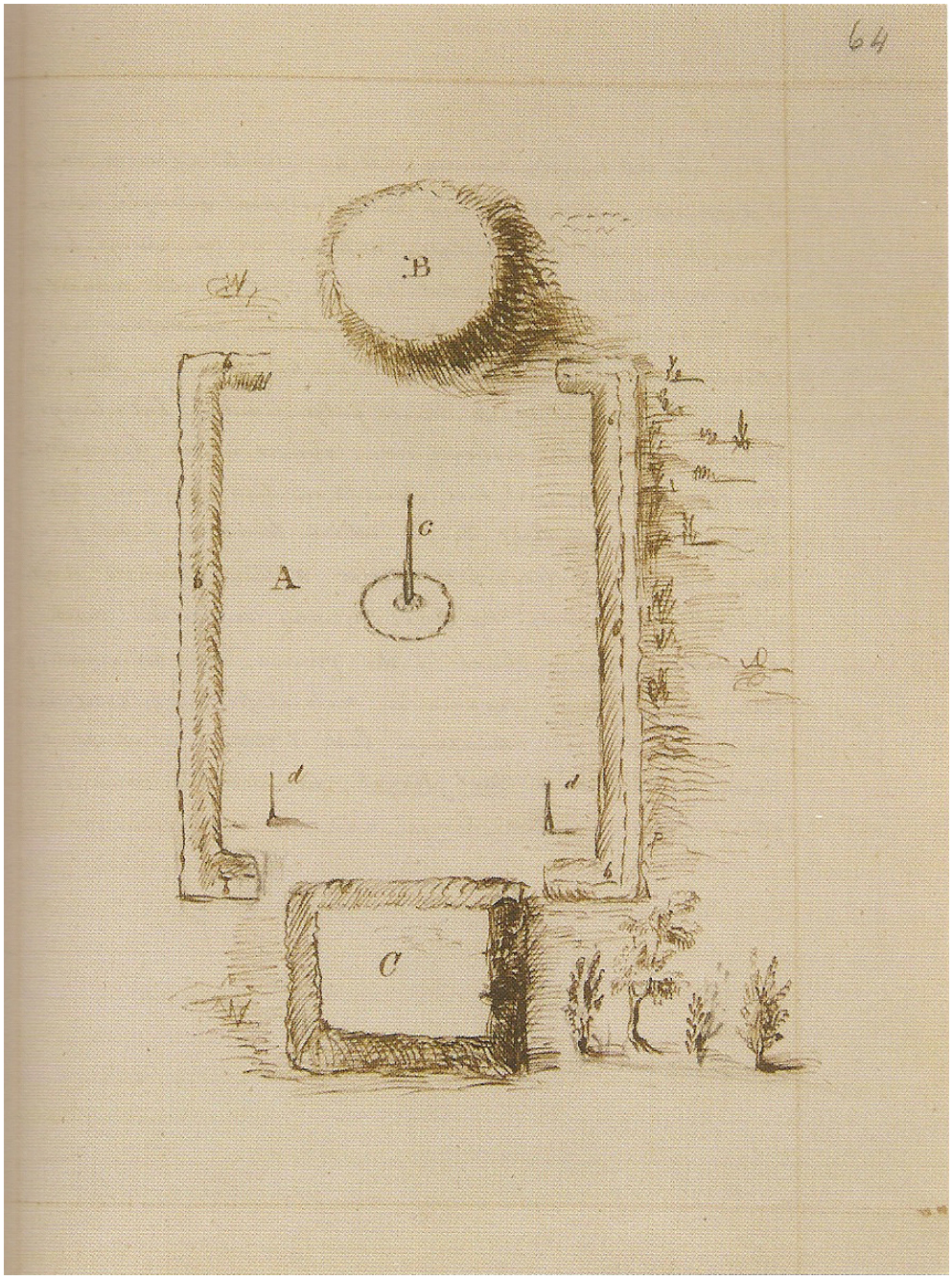


Figure 3.4 William Bartram's "A View of the Ancient Chunky Yard" (Bartram Family Papers).

Busk occurs on the Square Grounds. The epicenter of the busk exists as a visible marker on the grounds: the sacred Fire (see Figure 3.3). Like its ancestor Mississippian and colonial Creek Fires, this Fire both symbolizes Creator and functions as the physical location of Creator during the busk. Part of the ceremony involves a direct invitation to Ofvnkv to sit down and busk

with the community. Pvlvcekolv dates its Fire to the Mississippian period and earlier. As during the colonial period (see Figure 3.4), busk participants equidistantly space themselves out around the Fire in a series of arbors located at the cardinal points (see Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5 Aerial view of the Pvlvcekolv Square Grounds.

Different populations sit in different arbors. Where once Pvlvcekolv community members sat according to clan, now one's arbor location denotes one's ceremonial age and role (Swanton 1928a:202-203). The women and children, those who give birth and those recently birthed, sit in the East Arbor, the arbor at the place of the sun's daily birth. Guests sit in or behind the East Arbor where the women might look after them. The South Arbor contains the young men. Youth in this instance does not necessarily coincide with calendar age. Rather, it refers to one's age in terms of ceremonial participation. The North Arbor houses men of ceremonial

middle age. The West Arbor, the marker of the end of the sun's journey, houses male elders and ceremonial leadership.

Historic Accounts of the Busk

The busk remains perhaps the most-documented and -studied Indigenous ritual of southeastern North America. Anthropologist Bill Grantham, who has written on historic busk accounts, outlines the primary elements of this ritual (2002:68-82). Although considerable variations existed and exist between towns, each busk performance shares a series of vital elements. A number of these elements occur at all busks, while several are specific to the Green Corn Busk. Most historical accounts refer to Green Corn Busk as "the busk." While the busk cycle appears to have been truncated somewhat in contemporary Oklahoma busking communities, other groups like Pvlvcekolv observe a multi-ceremony cycle that takes place across the year. This cycle includes the Green Corn Busk that celebrates the new year, and also other busks. (I discuss Pvlvcekolv's version of the busk cycle below.)

The vital events of the busk include the act of fasting and abstaining from sexual contact as a means of purification and ritual preparation. Grantham suggested that the act of fasting allowed participants to disassociate themselves from the activities of the Middle World and focus attention entirely on the spiritual matters at hand. Each busk also involves "taking" Medicine. Historically several of these Medicines were emetics to induce vomiting, an additional form of purification. Grantham also mentioned the importance of scratching, but suggests that this ceremonial form of bloodletting might have originated in Yuchi communities, and not necessarily "diffused to other groups among the Creeks" (2002:80). Some historic Creek communities scratched, notably Tuskegee (Speck 1907a:134), but not necessarily others.

An additional important element, notably of the Green Corn Busk, is sacrificing the new corn crop to the ritual Fire. J. W. Martin hypothesized that this sacrification functions as the central element of the busk (1991:38), but Grantham suggested that, while a common element, it is likely a "late addition to the festival" (2002:81). Especially given that certain towns sacrificed the first of most crops, not just corn, he believes this ritual to derive from a "first fruits" rite. The most important element of the busk, Grantham proposed, is the extinction of the old Fire and the starting of the new Fire. Another ritual specific to Green Corn, extinguishing and restarting of the Fire serves to re-establish the purity of the Fire. Over the previous ceremonial calendar year, the Fire "could become polluted" (Grantham 2002:81). As an extraordinarily powerful embodiment of the sacred that possessed the power to resanctify individuals, relationships, and the community as a whole, the Fire itself had to be resanctified from pollution deriving from acts of violence, misuse of spiritual power, and similar violations (J.W. Martin 1991:36).

The accretion of resanctifying the Fire, sacrificing the new crop, scratching, sexual abstinence, and fasting functioned as a way to reset balance and harmony between individuals, communities, and cosmos. Grantham proposed that the busk "be interpreted as a temporary unraveling of that balance and a division of those opposing forces into contradiction" preparatory to resetting balance. As with most ceremonies, the busk encompasses a liminality wherein "existence returns to the state of nothingness that existed before creation; the universe if ended, only to be restarted with the creation of New Fire." The new Fire represents a theophany, an "eruption of the Cosmic Force into nonexistence," that reestablishes balance (Grantham 2002:82). As such, order derives from chaos through the successful performance of the busk.

While surveying this series of vital ritual elements, Grantham drew on a series of historic accounts of the busk. Descriptions of the Green Corn Busk in particular derive from a variety of

sources. Accounts by travelers, government agents, and, later, social scientists combine into a detailed portrait of this particular series of rituals from the 1700s to the present day. An examination of these sources could easily fill an entire monograph. Here I first survey historic busk accounts and then transition into studies of the busk by social scientists, focusing on four historical and five contemporary accounts.

With one exception, all published accounts of the busk come from non-Indigenous Anglo-Europeans. Edwin Schupman Jr., a member of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation of Oklahoma who wrote his master's thesis on Green Corn ceremonialism in 1984, appears to be the sole exception to this rule. No women wrote historic accounts—a great loss. Because of the ceremonial separation between the genders, the writers of the surviving accounts would only have been permitted to view the men's side of the busk. We therefore lack of a significant portion of busk history. The publication history of busk accounts is complex. Rather than be exhaustive here, I include a representative swath of accounts and analyses, both historical and contemporary.

The accounts from the 1700s and 1800s are largely traveler accounts: James Adair (2005), William Bartram ([1791] 1958, [1853] 1987; Harper 1998; Waselkov and Braund 1995), Hodgson ([1824] 1923), Charles Jones Jr. (1873), Louis Le Clerc Milfort ([1802] 1959), John Howard Payne (Swanton 1932), John Pope ([1792] 1979), and Caleb Swan (1795). Benjamin Hawkins' writing (Grant 1980; Hawkins 2003) forms an exception; Hawkins held the position of US government agent to the Creeks in the late 1700s and early 1800s. In the interest of space, here I survey busk accounts by Adair, Bartram, Hawkins, and Payne. Adair presumably witnessed a series of Chickasaw busks and then wrote a composite account in which he assumes the Chickasaw version to be representative of all Muskogee busks. Bartram, a botanist who

traveled across the eastern seaboard and the South, most likely witnessed a busk in 1774 at the Cuscowilla or Atasi Creek tribal towns, and possibly more. Hawkins, a Creek government agent, witnessed a busk at a larger Creek tribal town, "Cussetuh," that took place over four days in the 1790s. Payne's traveler account of an 1835 Tvkvpacē busk remains one of the most detailed historic busk accounts.

James Adair on the Busk

More than 200 years later, we still know remarkably little about James Adair's biography, beyond the few explicit statement found in his monumental 1775 *History of the American Indians* (2005). Possibly born in Ireland in 1709, Adair (d.1783) was a trader among southeastern Indigenous peoples beginning sometime before 1736. He described himself as both "English Chikkasah" and an "English warrior," however, leaving many scholars puzzled about his ethnic background (Adair 2005:289, 311, 449fn4). His occupation permitted him to witness and later describe at least one Green Corn Busk (Adair 2005:144-154). Unfortunately, he writes what appears to be a composite description of the busk, rather than an account of a specific, single event. Although he attempts to universalize his description to all Muskogee peoples, scholars generally understand his account to refer to a Chickasaw ceremony or ceremonies, not a Creek ritual (2005:494fn106). Adair undermines his ethnographic writing on Native peoples with the assumption that all Native Americans are actually the Lost Tribes of Israel. He prefaces his busk narrative with a description of "the principal Jewish feasts" before turning to "the copper colour American Hebrews" (2005:140-141). Nevertheless, reading carefully between the lines, one can perceive a decent description of the busk.

In his account, Adair draws attention to the ceremonial separation between the sexes and illustrates making Medicine and lighting the Fire, noting the importance of the lunar calendar, the ripening of the new corn crop, the daylight fasts, and community-wide cleaning to the busk. He observes a taboo against blowing breath directly onto the Fire; instead, the Fire tender fans the Fire using the unsullied wing of swan (2005:149). Adair also depicts the act of feeding the Fire the first fruits from the new corn harvest. He outlines a Long Talk or speech/sermon given by the "Archhi-magus," or heles-hayv, commenting that "Our own christian orators do not exert themselves with half the eloquence or eagerness" (Adair 2005: 150).

Adair portrays what appear to be the Feather Dance and a Stomp Dance. In the former, the men wear "their wild martial array, with their heads covered with white down." Carrying canes topped with feathers, they dance in "three circles" to the instrumental accompaniment of two clay-pot drums "covered at the top with thin wet deer-skins, drawn very tight, on which each of the noisy musicians beats with a stick, accompanying the noise with their voices." To this music, the men

> prance it away, with wild and quick sliding steps, and variegated postures of body, to keep time with the drums, and the rattling calabashes shaked by some of their religious heroes, each of them singing their old religious songs, and striking notes *in tympano et choro* [with timbrel and dancing].[20] (Adair 2005:152-53)

His account communicates the dancers' energy.

The second dance Adair describes is likely a social or Stomp Dance. Here he includes fewer details. Now the women join the men wearing their finest apparel, including "silver earbobs, or pendants to their ears, several rounds of white beads about their necks, rings upon

[20] Adair quotes the line *in tympano et choro* from Psalm 150, which lists different ways to praise God, including, according to the King James Bible translation, "with timbrel and dancing." The Israelite timbrel was likely a percussion instrument, possibly similar to the contemporary tambourine (Sellers 1941:36). My thanks to Celia Kelly for helping track this information down.

their fingers, large wire or broad plates of silver on their wrists," and turtle shell shakers. Once so adorned, the women join the men, again in three circles, "and dance a considerable while around the sacred Fire, and then they separate" (Adair 2005:153). Except that this is an occasion of importance, as indicated by the fine apparel, we can perceive only the three lines, presumably moving around the Fire in an ever-moving spiral. The women wearing their turtle shell shakers on their legs vitally maintain the rhythm of this performance. These shakers produce a singular, loud sound. Given his earlier critique of the "noise" of the Feather Dance, that Adair does not depict the sound of the shakers is perhaps curious. This lack of description might indicate that a significant amount of time passed between the event and his writing about it. It may instead suggest Adair's inability to describe movement and sound in any detail, or a distinction between Chickasaw and Creek historical performance practice.

William Bartram on the Busk

Unlike the trader Adair, William Bartram (1739-1823) was a naturalist and ecologist from Philadelphia. Like his father John, Bartram traveled across the eastern seaboard, spending time with various southeastern tribes between 1773 and 1776. His resulting *Travels*, once the largest work of natural history published in the US, and several other works combined his botanical drawings and research with a number of observations regarding the various indigenous peoples with whom he interacted (Bartram [1791] 1958, [1853] 1987; Waselkov and Braund 1995). Bartram, an important figure in the history of American botany, was an unorthodox thinker in many ways. He held strong opinions on slavery, Indian relations, and environmental protection, most of which were ahead of his time. He was one of few Anglo-Americans of this

era who "did not simply assume that the 'white' way was the best, nor did he presume that the Indians were inferior intellectually or morally" (Waselkov and Braund 1995:12).

When Bartram first arrived in what is now Alachua County, FL, he was given a Creek title by Cowkeeper, the Cuscowilla mekko: "Puc Puggy," which Bartram translated as "Flower Hunter" (Porter 2010:222). This title allowed him safe passage and access to other Creek communities. Unfortunately, the twelve years between his travels and the writing and publication of his observations somewhat counteracted his sympathetic view of Indigenous populations. Although based on notes taken during his travels, he did not organize his *Travels* chronologically, and historians have questioned certain details. For example, John Witthoft suggested that Bartram may have written his account of a 1773 Green Corn Busk using second-hand information rather than his own observations (Witthoft 1949:58). Evidence suggests that he did witness a busk in August 1774, however, perhaps at Cuscowilla or Atasi Towns (Waselkov and Braund 1995:262fn159).

Given his talent for detailed observation, Bartram wrote an unfortunately brief Green Corn Busk description. He noted the creation of new clothes, pots, pans, furniture, and other household items and the burning of the old items in preparation for the new year. Following a three-day fast, the community extinguished all fires in the town. The next day the "high priest" rekindled the fire by "rubbing dry wood together." The women then gathered some of the new harvest and created a feast with which to break the fast. After consuming it, the whole community gathered in the evening "to the public square, where they dance, sing[,] and rejoice during the whole night, observing a proper and exemplary decorum; this continues three days" (Waselkov and Braund 1995:125-26). Unconnected with this particular description, he later depicted the ceremonial separation between genders, noting that women were not allowed into

the "Great Rotunda, which is guarded by the priests" (Waselkov and Braund 1995:149). Beyond the assertion that they dance, sing, and rejoice during the whole night, Bartram excluded any form of performance practice from his description.

Benjamin Hawkins on the Busk

Benjamin Hawkins (1754-1816) included more information that Bartram, though he, too, gave little detail regarding performance practice (2003). Hawkins served variously as an elected member of the North Carolina legislature and the first US Senate, as agent to the Creeks, and General Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He grew up on a North Carolina plantation and, after moving to Georgia as a Creek agent, established his own plantation there (Hawkins 2003:vii). Hawkins observed a Green Corn Busk at "Cussetuh" sometime in the 1790s. This busk took place over the course of eight days, although he noted that in towns "of less note" it sometimes only lasted four days (Hawkins 2003:75s). He portrayed the men cleaning and preparing the grounds with white sand. He described occasions when the community takes Medicine: the emetic "possau" on the first day, a "strong decoction of the cassine yupon" called "ā-cee" on the fifth day, and a final Medicine combining fourteen different plants on the eighth day. On the third, sixth, and seventh days, the men only "sit in the square;" apparently no other activity occured at this time.

Hawkins listed a number of dances that occurred on different days of this busk. The first day featured the "pin-e-bun-gau," or Turkey Dance, performed by the "women of the turkey tribe" and the "Toc-co-yule-gau," or Tadpole Dance, performed by four men and four women. Between the evening of the first day and the next morning, the men danced the "E-ne-hou-bun-gau," or "dance of the people second in command." On the second day, the women danced "Its-

ho-bun-gau," or the Gun Dance. On the fourth day, the men (and also possibly the women—his phrasing obscures this point) performed the "Obungauchapco," or Long Dance. Finally on the eighth day, "they" (again unclear if he refers just to the men or a mixed group) danced the "O-bun-gau Haujo," or Mad Dance, in the evening to end the busk (Hawkins 2003:75s-78s). Although he listed these six dances, he gave no information regarding how the community performs them.

At the end of his Green Corn description, Hawkins noted that the "happy institution of the *Book-ke-tuh* [busk] restores man to himself, to his family[,] and to his nation" (2003:78s). With this statement, he appeared to be one of the first to recognize the causative relationship between the ceremonial events of the busk and the wider world. By "restoring" the individual to himself, his clan, and his wider world or "nation," busk participants reset a cosmological balance, a point that Hawkins appeared to have understood.

John Howard Payne on the Busk

John Howard Payne (1791-1852) wrote the last traveler account before Removal that described a busk of the 1835 Tvkvpacē (which he spells "Tukabatchie") Green Corn Busk (Swanton 1932). Payne, perhaps best known as the author of the 1822 song "Home! Sweet Home!," was an American actor and playwright. Most of his theatrical success occurred in London after his 1813 debut there. While in Europe, he began writing plays and contributed to several operas, notably Henry Bishop's 1823 *Clari, the Maid of Milan*, for which Payne co-wrote his infamous "Home! Sweet Home!" Following his 1832 return to the US, Payne traveled, spending part of 1835 in the Southeast.

While in the Southeast, he witnessed and wrote an account of a Creek Green Corn Busk before becoming the US Consul to Tunis in 1841 (G. Harrison [1885] 1969:177). His account first appeared as a letter to his sister in New York State in 1835 and then published in the *Continental Monthly* in 1862; John R. Swanton later re-published and annotated Payne's account in 1932. Like Bartram, Payne evinced remarkable sympathy for Indigenous peoples for the time, describing how many "white rogues—border cutthroats" took advantage of Native peoples, especially in order to get their land (Swanton 1932:174). Elsewhere he sympathetically wrote that busk participant expressions "were as full of solemn awe as I have ever seen at any Christian ceremony; and certainly the awe was more universal than usually pervades our churches" (Swanton 1932:181). The Tvkvpacē busk he witnessed took place over eight days. Payne was only present for the third through sixth day; therefore, some of his description was necessarily second-hand.

As perhaps befit a man of letters, Payne's account was one of the most detailed historic descriptions of "the famous religious festival" that is the busk (Swanton 1932:175). Swanton noted several points of interest in Payne's account, either material previously unknown, or greater detail regarding little understood traditions. First, pre-ceremonial preparations of the Square Grounds included the placement of "soil yet untrodden" (Swanton 1932: 177). He suggested that the Feather Dance immortalizes triumphs won at ball play and provides the most detailed account of the gun dance (Swanton 1932:171). Payne also stated that there are many forms of the "black drink," a form of medicine made from Yaupon holly leaves—a statement that echoed Hawkins' description of three different ritual medicines consumed over the course of the busk (Swanton 1932:178). Given that Payne was present only for days three through eight of this particular busk, some of his account was necessarily hearsay. Despite his relative absence, he

touched on several points common to most busks: he noted that community leaders schedule a series of meetings prior to the busk to schedule community manufacture of new pottery, new matting, and then sticks. These sticks "are broken into parts, and then put up in packages, each containing as many sticks as there are days intervening previous to the one appointed for the gathering of clans" (Swanton 1932:176). Runners than transported these sticks to outlying communities so that all arrived in time for busk.

Payne's account of performance practice varied; at times he included remarkable detail, at others, only vague suggestions. Although he missed seeing it, he stated that the women danced in sacred space "Before the solemnities begin" and then remained separate from the men until after the breaking of the fast—most likely a reference to the women's Ribbon Dance (Swanton 1932:179). Immediately prior to the community taking Medicine, Payne described hearing,

> a strange low, deep wail,—a sound of many voices drawn out in perfect unison, and only dying away with the breath itself, which indeed was longer sustained than could be done by any singer I ever yet heard. This was followed by a second wail, in the same style, but shrill, like the sound of musical glasses, and giving a similar shiver to the nerves. And after a third wail in another key, the statue-like figures moved and formed two diagonal lines opposite to each other, their backs to opposite angles of the square. (Swanton 1932:180)

The participants then drank a quantity of Medicine, before vomiting it onto the ground. Throughout this ritual, he noted the "most reverential expression" of "the worshippers" (Swanton 1932:180).

He described a dance step. To the accompaniment of rattles made of whitened gourds filled with pebbles, "there arose a sort of low sustained chant as the procession went on; and it was musical enough, but every few seconds, at regular intervals, a sound was thrown in by all the dancers, in chorus, like the sharp, quick, shrill yelp of a dog." While chanting, the men "never crossed their feet, but first gave two taps each with the heel and toe of one foot, then of the other,

making a step forward as each foot was tapped [on] the earth; their bodies all the while stately and erect" (Swanton 1932:181). At the same time, each dancer fanned himself with a feather fan. The dance "was quickened" till "it became nearly a measured run" when suddenly they all "uttered a long shrill whoop" and rushed down a steep, narrow ravine into the river. Later, the men "went through other dances around the fire, varying in figure and accompaniment." He described a series of animal dances as "alluding to conquests over bears and panthers, and even the buffalo," though he may have poorly understood his interlocutor's explanation (Swanton 1932:182).

Before ending his description, Payne touched on a scratching ritual. Instead of scratching all community member or all men, this ritual featured children aged four to twelve, youths, and young men. After they presented their limbs, male elders plunged sharp instruments—"sail-needles, awls, and flints"—"into the thighs and calves of the legs," drawing them downward. After blood started to stream, the "wounded would scoop it up with bark or sticks, and dash it against the back of the building." The point of this ritual, Payne hypothesized, was to submit "without flinching, without even consciousness." If any of the scratchers detected a shudder, they "gashed deeper. But where they saw entire firmness, an involuntary glow of admiration would flit over their stony faces" (Swanton 1932:183). Following this ceremony, Payne directed his letter onto other topics unconnected to the busk he witnessed. Combining Payne's account with those of Hawkins, Bartram, and Adair, we can perceive a continual tradition of busk performance practice in the Southeast prior to Removal.

Social Scientists Write the Busk

Historic busk accounts rarely deviated from pure description. After the Removals, accounts came from social scientists working primarily in Indian Territory: William Ballard (1978), Amelia Rector Bell (1984), Norman Feder (1968), William Gilbert (1930), James Howard (Howard and Lena 1984), Jason Baird Jackson ([2003] 2005), Edwin Schupman Jr. (1984), Frank Speck (1907a, [1909] 2004, 1911b; Speck, Broom, and Long 1951), William Sturtevant (1954), John R. Swanton (1928b, 1931a), and John Witthoft (1946, 1949). While each of these social scientists treated some version of the busk, they did not do so exclusively in Creek communities. Howard treated the Oklahoma Seminole, Jackson the Yuchi, Sturtevant the Mikasuki Seminole, and Witthoft the Cherokee. Speck treated the Yuchi, Creeks, and Cherokee, and Ballard, Bell, Feder, Schupman, and Swanton treated the Creeks.

These social scientists varied greatly in their analysis. With the exception of Gilbert's survey of new fire ritualism across the Americas, these scholars wrote from the perspective of their own ethnographic field research. How they analyzed the fruits of their fieldwork differs. Speck, Swanton, and Witthoft came from the era of salvage ethnography; one of their primary goals was to document and describe Indigenous lifeways before it disappeared (Clifford 1989:73). Beyond functional explanations of various rituals, their work exhibited comparatively little analysis. Works by later social scientists exhibit more analytical approaches. Schupman's 1984 thesis remains one of the few expressly musical analyses of Muskogee music; most other scholars of busk traditions are anthropologists and rarely discuss concrete sonic details. Schupman focused on Creek musical aesthetics and the importance of musical activity together in a community environment. Conversely, A. R. Bell's dissertation focused on the function of Creek ritual as a means of maintaining life and balance. Although she described the Stomp Dances, her analysis emphasized more the cultural rather than the performative. Jackson's

monograph was one of the first to examine the relationship between religion, dance/music, and performance practice in a southeastern context. I survey Speck's analysis of the Taskigi Creek busk and his treatment of the Sand Creek Yuchi busk, Witthoft's analysis of a Cherokee busk, and A.R. Bell's and Schupman's analyses of Creek busks. I conclude this section with Jackson's ethnography on the Yuchi, the most recent and in-depth study of a busk. These studies demonstrate that southeastern Indigenous peoples continue to practice the busk after Removal.

Frank Speck on the Busk

Ethnologist Frank Speck (1881-1950) collaborated with a number of Indigenous American communities across North American over the course of his remarkable career. He spent time with Algonkian, Beothuk, Catawba, Delaware, Massachusett, Micmac, Nauset, Powhatan, Wampanoag, and other communities, as well as Creek, Cherokee, and Yuchi peoples (1907b, 1907c, 1911a; Speck, Broom, and Long 1951). His research with southeastern groups included observations of several Creek and Yuchi busks (Speck 1907a, [1909] 2004, 1911b). Speck's 1907 publication treated the history and ethnography of Taskigi, a Creek tribal town in Oklahoma (1907a).

In analyzing the Taskigi busk, which he called the "Annual Harvest Ceremony" or "*Páskida*, 'Act of Fasting,'" Speck introduced the ritual, and then described the events that occur over the course of the seven day-long ceremony (1907a:137-144). The preparations began when the town chief deemed the corn ready to harvest, and included "a few dances for pleasure," clearing off the top layer of soil from the Square Ground, and tidying up the lodges around the grounds. Before returning home after the preparations, the chief gave each family a bundle of sticks with which to mark the passage of time until the start of ceremony (Speck 1907a:137). The

first day of the busk proper featured two men with faces blackened with soot procuring red root and button snake root for Medicines. When they returned to the Square Grounds with the plants, they announced their success with "singing and whooping." Over the course of the day, the community also danced the Crazy Dance and the Drunken Dance. The Drunken Dance involved the song leader followed by several women with turtle shell shakers tied onto the calves. During the dance, "the men jostle and grab the women in an obscene manner. This dance is followed also by wantonness." Both Drunken and Crazy Dances were "chiefly for pleasure," but "there is some connection in the minds of the Indians with procreation and the supernatural beings who control childbirth" (Speck 1907a:138-139). Later in the evening and the next night, the town danced a series of ritual dances. Unfortunately, Speck merely listed these without details of performance practice. Several included the Buffalo Dance, Fish Dance, Duck Dance, Leaf Dance, and others (Speck 1907a:135).

The second busk day was "the most important" day of the ceremony. In the morning, the two men who had obtained the Medicine plants steeped them before the town shaman enacted a ritual whereby he blew his breath into the steeping Medicines through a tube while the men fasted. After the shaman doctored the Medicines, the community drank it, often vomiting profusely, and then the women "engaged in dancing." During the afternoon, the men alternated bouts of Medicine consumption with rounds of the Feather Dance. Speck wrote about the ritualized creation of the six-foot wands, each topped with several feathers, that the men carry during the ritual. He suggested that the dance honored the feathers, "an important white fetish which shields the people from the attacks of human or spiritual enemies." Regarding the performance practice of the Feather Dance, he noted that, following the second verse of the Dance, the participants "whopped and rushed as a body first to the western lodge where the chief

was." Stopping suddenly, they raised their wands high and then stuck them in the ground. They subsequently performed this same choreography before each lodge around the grounds at the end of each new song (Speck 1907a:141). Following the Feather Dance, the men consumed more Medicine. They then rekindled the Fire, and from it, the women re-lit all fires of the community. Before sunset, the community played the ball game. At sunrise on the third day of busk, families dispersed to their homes. Four days later, they returned for another bout of Medicine consumption. This occasion, however, was comparatively informal.

Elsewhere, Speck cited town elders who attributed their recent decline over the previous century to their failure to maintain the busk (1907a:134). Writing of ceremonial dances, he suggested that their primary function was to propitiate prosperous entities and placate dangerous entities. For example, the Screech Owl Dance functioned as a prayer for immunity from the visits the "unfavorable spirit of the dead" from which the dance received its name. This and other dances that emulated animals "affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth"(1907a:135). Although vague and ill-defined, Speck's analysis uncovered the foundational animism of the busk.

While researching with Taskigi, Speck also conducted research with the Sand Creek Yuchi community ([1909] 2004). Here he continued an elementary analysis of southeastern ritual animism. Over the course of a detailed description of Green Corn Busk at Sand Creek in 1904 and 1905, Speck hypothesized that the main object of the "annual festival is the placation of every possible animus" ([1909] 2004:116). He suggested that the ceremonial dances served to propitiate and/or thank malicious spirits and the spirits of animals, fish, and vegetables. He listed a series of dances, some of which worship or placate the spirits of animals who have the capability of inflicting illness, trouble, or death; other dances interact with "the spirits

dominating certain inanimate objects " ([1909] 2004:113). Speck was one of the first outsiders to realize and correctly describe the busk in animistic terms, approaching the ritualized relationship between human and other persons.

In addition to his analysis, Speck also outlined the Sand Creek Yuchi busk. As with most other busk traditions, the preliminary day involved grounds preparation and breaking sticks to count down to the event. Over a hundred community members arrived on the first day of this Yuchi busk. In the evening, they ate a large meal, after which they consumed nothing until after they take Medicine. Later, they danced the Big Turtle Dance for about two hours. Beginning in the southeast corner of the square, the song leader walked in a circle, the others close behind him. The leader then headed toward the Fire. At this point, the dancers held hands, and a woman with turtle shell shakers came from the northwest corner of the grounds to hold hands with and dance with the song leader. The leader directed the dancers sunwise around the Fire. At certain moments, the men "whooped." At the first whoop, two more women joined the dancers, at the second whoop, all women left the line. Following several additional revolutions around the Fire, "the leader stopped, stamped[,] and whopped and the ranks broke up, the dancers dispersing to their various lodges around the square." After an interval, the song leader began the second song while circling the Fire, and several songs followed. After the chief gave a speech around midnight, the community dispersed for "sleep or carousing" (Speck [1909] 2004:119-120).

The second day included a series of rituals, dances, and other events. Several men searched for Medicine plants while the chief prepared the new Fire rite. Upon their return, the community gathered for this ritual. Four men took the four logs of the new Fire, and walked sunwise around the center of the grounds. After they placed the logs in the fashion of an equal armed cross, the chief sparked a Fire into dried kindling with flint and steel. Several men then

pounded the Medicine plants and prepared the Medicines. The men scratched and took Medicine. That evening, the men performed a series of dances, including a Stomp Dance, Feather Dance or Corn Dance, Gun Dance, Duck Dance, and others. Speck outlined the broad choreographies of each dance; most occur counter-clockwise around the Fire with certain variations. For example, the Rabbit Dance opened with the dancers "squealing like rabbits;" the end of each song of the Horse Dance featured the dancers grunting "like stallions;" and the Leaf Dance involved the dancers waving their hands "imitating leaves blown by the wind" (Speck [1909] 2004:124-130). Similar to Taskigi Town, the Sand Creek Yuchi returned home on the third and fourth days and returned to the grounds to dance and feast on the sixth and seventh days of the busk.

John Witthoft on the Busk

Over forty years after Speck's Oklahoma field research, John Witthoft (1921-1993) published an article on the Cherokee Green Corn Festival (1949). Witthoft studied anthropology with Speck at the University of Pennsylvania, and later became the state archaeologist, chief curator of the Pennsylvania State Museum, and state anthropologist for Pennsylvania. He aided Speck during field research with the Cherokee of the North Carolina Qualla Reservation in 1944-1946, from which his 1949 article originated. His descriptions derived from interviews he conducted with Will West Long, a Cherokee dance leader and tradition bearer. Long had never witnessed the Cherokee busk, but he shared accounts from his mother and older brother regarding this "extinct ceremonial complex" with Witthoft (1949:214). He painted a picture of a vastly different, yet related, busk tradition, which focused primarily on divination. The night before the start of the ceremony, the community consumed the new corn crop, they prepared and consumed Medicine and danced a series of animal and social dances long into the night. The

divination ceremony marked a primary difference between this Cherokee Green Corn and the Muskogee versions. The morning after the celebration, the leader performed a series of divinations person by person to see if they would live until the next Green Corn. If the divinations revealed that someone will die prior to that occasion, those present take Medicine and danced the dances a second time that night. They repeated this cycle until the divinations divulged that the person will live for another year (1949:215).

This busk tradition, unlike the other busk traditions I survey here, no longer relied on the ripening of the new corn crop, and could occur at any time of the year, though it did once mark the corn harvest (Speck, Broom, and Long 1951:53; Schwarze 1923:78-79). Unfortunately, Witthoft provided little information regarding the performance practice of the animal and social dances that occurred during this Cherokee busk. He stated that the "dance series seems to have been the same as that found in the Green Corn Feast used for curative purpose as described by Dr. Speck" (Witthoft 1949:214). Witthoft's citation to Speck's work referred only to an unpublished manuscript, *Eastern Cherokee Songs and Dances*, presumably the manuscript for Speck's 1951 book on Cherokee ceremony, *Cherokee Dance and Drama*, which he co-authored with Leonard Broom and Cherokee elder Will West Long (Witthoft 1949:213fn5). In that work, Speck analyzed a complex set of choreographies that have elements of other dances found in other accounts (Speck, Broom, and West 1951:47-54). The "Green Corn Dance" had four distinct periods that take place over an entire day and night. Men and women danced accompanied by the women's turtle shell shakers and a man off to the side with a drum. This choreography included separate men's and women's portions, and mixed sections. One of the highlights involved the men firing off guns as they circled behind the leader, a way of symbolizing thunder (Speck, Broom, and West 1951: 47).

Amelia Rector Bell on the Busk

Amelia Rector Bell (b. 1944) remains one of the few women to publish on Creek ritual and tradition (1984, 1999; Walker 1977, 1979a, 1979b). Although I refer to her in this document as "A. R. Bell," she formerly published as Amelia Bell Walker, and is now more properly Amelia Rector Bell Knight, although she appears to have left academia for a foreign service career in crisis management and diplomacy. Her 1984 dissertation in anthropology derived from ethnography conducted between 1980 and 1981 at several Oklahoma Creek Square Grounds and church communities. In her dissertation, she treated stomp dances, the Women's Dance, Feather Dance, and Buffalo Dance (A. R. Bell 1984:157-289).

When she treated the Women's, Feather, and Buffalo Dances, A. R. Bell tended to center on description rather than analysis. Her analysis in this document focused more on the function of ritual in Creek life. The Women's Dance featured the women lined up: the eldest in the front, the children at the end, and the rest arranged by clan. They all had ribbons streaming from their shoulders and backs. The dance involved a series of counterclockwise circles around the Fire, displaying the women's hierarchy of the town to the men, who watched from the sidelines. While they circled, they demonstrated that they were of "one body," a united population unified through the sound of their turtle shell shakers and the outline of their choreography. The Feather Dance, which occurred later, featured the men also dancing as a unified group. Their choreography involved the men in a circle in front of first the mekko's arbor. After singing one song, they gave "a long whoop," and then quickly ran to the next arbor counterclockwise while uttering a long, guttural "wail" (A. R. Bell 1984:169). The choreography before each arbor featured one song, and each transition featured similar vocalizations. The Buffalo Dance involved the participants carrying the stick ball clubs by the cups rather than the handles so that the clubs become the front hooves of the buffalo as performed by the participants. This reversal of the clubs reveals that the

dancers were not ready for aggression, displaying their lack of non-hostile intentions. The men who headed the two parallel lines both enacted the movements of the buffalo in an exaggerated manner, "stamping their ballsticks on the ground and rolling their heads from side to side as they move" (A. R. Bell 1984:173-174). The Maker of Medicine led the two lines around the ball pole counterclockwise, forming an ever-moving spiral. When the spiral of dancers became quite tight, the leader abruptly turned to unwind the spiral, leading the lines onto the grounds and repeating the spiral winding and unwinding.

After describing these dances, A. R. Bell concluded that this dance formed the primary vehicle for ritually sustaining life and health (1984:321). She also spoke to the duality underlying Creek culture, of the distinction of "two interacting categories…without annihilating the differences between them" (A. R. Bell 1984:323). A. R. Bell asserted that the most basic form of duality was sex: men versus women, the separate people who comprised the community (1999). Men and women dancing a stomp dance functioned as a staged negotiation between complimentary pairs of human categories that sustains life (A. R. Bell 1984:329). Although she did not treat the animistic component of Creek performance practice, A. R. Bell clarified the causative relationship between performance and sustaining life.

Edwin Schupman Jr. on the Busk

The same year A. R. Bell published her dissertation, ethnomusicologist Edwin Schupman Jr. (b. 1953) completed his master's thesis in music (1984). An enrolled member of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation, Schupman has since worked on the Federal Cylinder Project for the Library of Congress and on other educational projects (Gray and Schupman 1990). He has also worked as a content manager for the "American Indian Responses to Environmental Challenges"

website established by the Smithsonian Foundation's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI n.d.). His master's thesis derived from ethnographic research he conducted on the Green Corn Busk with the Tulsa Cedar River and Fish Pond Stomp Grounds communities in Oklahoma in 1983.

His thesis explored the general musical practices of these Creek communities, and he treated both vocal and instrumental genres, focusing on the performance practice of Green Corn Ceremonies at the Tulsa Cedar River and Fish Pond Stomp Grounds. Among other events, he described the Feather, Ribbon, Buffalo, Old, Long/Friendship/Love, and Stomp Dances. His descriptions of the Feather, Ribbon, and Buffalo Dances generally aligned with those witnessed and described by A. R. Bell (1984). The Old Dance involved the men and women participants join hands and circle the Fire while singing a strophic song that features an introduction, which also functioned as an inter-verse ritornello (Schupman 1984:13). The dancers always followed it with a Stomp Dance. The Long, Friendship, or Love Dance featured a large number of songs, from which derived the name "Long Dance." These songs were responsorial between the Song Leader and the other participants. Unfortunately, Schupman did not describe the choreography for the Long Dance. In contrast to the Long Dance, which Schupman only witnessed once during his fieldwork, the Stomp Dance was the most social and frequent dance of Green Corn. The dancers formed a single-file line behind the Song Leader around the Fire in a counterclockwise direction. After an elaborate introduction, the song leader directed the other participants in any number of songs, from one to as many as twenty. This large corpus of Stomp Dance songs resulted in a large degree of variation in performance.

Schupman described individual ritual dances and characterizes ceremonial songs in terms of melodic movement, rhythm, texture, and form, one of few scholars to do so. He concluded

with a statement of Creek musical aesthetics. The emphasis relied less on how "good" or "bad" one sounds, but more on the honesty, sincerity, and courage one exhibits while singing in front of others. As one of his collaborators stated, "'as long as your heart's there, everybody else is with you'" (1984:79). Sharing song and voices together in ritual undertakings comprised the aesthetic.

Jason Baird Jackson on the Busk

Of all the busk accounts I survey here, Jason Baird Jackson's (b. 1969) monograph on Yuchi ceremonialism remains, with the possible exception of A. R. Bell's dissertation, the most in-depth and theoretically rigorous study ([2003] 2005). Prior to Jackson's publication, William Ballard's treatise on the Yuchi Green Corn Ceremonial was the classic case study (1978). Jackson's work moved beyond Ballard's monograph, however, and he grounded his research more deeply in the ethnographic and historic contexts of the communities with which he collaborated. Reviews of his monograph characterized it as an "amazing feat" and Jackson as "one of the foremost scholars in American Indian studies today," although reviewer Tom Mould critiqued him for not including more "visceral descriptions" of performance practice (J. Miller 2005:188; Mould 2007:364, 365). Based on field research he conducted in the 1990s with the Sand Creek, Polecat, and Duck Creek Yuchi ceremonial grounds in Oklahoma, this monograph treated the relationships between religion, dance/music, and performance practice. He devoted a chapter each to analyses of the Stomp Dance, the Arbor Dance, the Green Corn Ceremony, and the Soup Dance, and he treated the poetics of the Long Talk. He concluded that Yuchi ceremonial life could not be detached from the wider social world of neighboring communities.

As but one example of Jackson's excellent scholarship, he constructed a social analysis of the Stomp Dance. He suggests that maintenance of the Stomp Dance resulted in the persistence of Yuchi ritual life and of Oklahoma Woodland tribal ceremonialism more generally. The Stomp Dance facilitated these traditions because this dance performance practice relied on social networks of inter-marriage and reciprocity. In addition to the members of the grounds hosting the Stomp Dance, song leaders, shell shakers, and dancers from other tribes in the area also attended. The social occasion afforded by the Stomp Dance was the means by which news circulates in and between the communities. These dances also permitted younger community members the opportunity to court and socialize. Perhaps most importantly, Jackson suggested, informal conversation and more formal discourse reinforced "shared presuppositions and ideological tenets of culturally of culturally conservative Woodland Indian life" ([2003] 2005:143). As such, within the realm of social interaction afforded by the Stomp Dance and the social circuits that sustained it, individuals and groups negotiated and renegotiated their ties with one another (Jackson [2003] 2005:141-170).

The sum total of Jackson's and other contemporary and historic accounts presents a surprisingly clear picture of busk traditions across the past two hundred fifty years. The rituals took place over several days to an extended week. They featured a series of dances and songs. Medicine Makers prepared and doctored Medicine and the participants took it. The agricultural season generally formed a foundation of the ritual undertaking, and the sacred Fire played a leading role. The dances and scheduling of these events differed community to community and period to period. These minute differences braided the different versions of this ritual into a distinct busk tradition.

The Busk at Pvlvcekolv

Although a different community in a different time/place than those I survey above, Pvlvceklv's version of the busk ritual exists in the same tradition as those I discuss above. The men still perform the Feather Dance much as James Adair witnessed in the late 1700s. The Maker of Medicine still doctors Medicines and the community still consumes them much as Hawkins described in the 1800s, although the community has altered the historical emetic purpose. The community still performs animal dances like those Speck observed in the early 1900s. The men and women still observe ritual separations and still Stomp Dance together as A. R. Bell observed in the 1980s.

Yet, like contemporary busks in Oklahoma, the Pvlvcekolv busk has changed over time. Going underground in reaction to the Trail of Tears had a lasting effect on the community's ceremonialism (J. W. Martin 2003:141). Most especially, the need for privacy forced Pvlvcekolv to remove the busk from public view, performing it quietly on private property. Gone are the days when a large tribal town performed the busk in the town square with travelers observing from the sidelines. Colonial politics, Removal, and racial biases turned one of the most visible forms of Indigenous identity in this geographic area almost into a classified undertaking. This need for secrecy changed when and where Pvlvcekolv performed the busk, but many of the essentials remain. In order to discuss and analyze the busk at Pvlvcekolv throughout the remainder of this dissertation, I briefly characterize and outline the tradition at Pvlvcekolv as I have observed it over the course of my collaboration with the community since 2008.

Pvlvcekolv observes four busks over the course of the year; these rituals align with the terrestrial calendar, the agricultural cycle of the warmer months. Alongside the busks, there exist a series of smaller, comparatively private rituals that comprise the celestial calendar of the cooler months (see Figure 3.6). The terrestrial and celestial calendars combine into the ceremonial

calendar. This ceremonial calendar has several different starting places, and agricultural and/or natural phenomena often define ritual timing.

Terrestrial Calendar Ceremonies
Berry and Arbor Busk (*Tasahce em Posketv*)—Late March-early June
Bug Dance (*Wenahokuce*)—Late May-late June
Green Corn Busk (*Vce-Lane em Posketv*)—June-August
Little Green Corn Busk (*Posketvce*)—August-early October
Harvest Busk (*Posketv-Rakko*)—October-mid December

Celestial Calendar Gatherings
Soup Dance (*Rvfo Hompetv-Rakko em Pvnkv*)—early January-February
Lighter Knot Fishing Night (*Calo Netkv*)—January-early March
Wild Onion Day (*Tafvmpoce*)—Late February-April

Figure 3.6 Pvlvcekolv terrestrial and celestial ritual calendar.

The busks occur during the growing season. The ceremonial leadership schedules each busk over a weekend as close to the pertinent new moon as possible. Green Corn Busk, the most widely studied of the busks, occurs at the new moon when the corn crop first becomes viable between June and August. Little Green Corn marks the new moon of the second viable corn crop, usually between August and early October. Harvest Busk occurs at the new moon after community gardeners have harvested their crops between late October and early December. Berry and Arbor Busk occurs at the new moon closest to the beginning of the growing season in late March-early June.

The cycle starting at Green Corn marks the lifespan of the ceremonial Fire. At Green Corn the community births the Fire, who remains an infant. Over the course of this busk, someone stays with the Fire at all times, even through the night, ensuring that it has enough wood. Participants treat the Green Corn Fire with great respect and care, not unlike the way one treats a baby. At Little Green Corn, the Fire has grown into a youth. It appears to have more

energy and burns more fiercely at this ceremony. By Harvest, the Fire has matured into adulthood. Finally, by Berry and Arbor, the Fire has aged into an elder. As at Green Corn, those present take great care of the Fire, ensuring that it has enough good, dry wood to burn without needing to take a great deal of effort.

When viewing the entire ceremonial calendar, one can also connect other ritual events to the lifespan of the agricultural season. The Soup Dance, which occurs in January, features the women of the community sorting seeds for the upcoming growing season. Also in January, the Lighter Knot Fishing Night falls when supplemental food, like the fish gathered at this time, makes useful additions to the foodstores. Wild Onion Day happens when the wild onions have sufficiently sprouted to be consumed, marking the tail end of winter and the beginning of spring in late February or early March.[21] Berry and Arbor Busk marks the time when seeds may be planted, Bug Dance the time when insect involvement, as with pollination, becomes key for a successful crop in May or June. Green Corn Busk marks the first harvest, Little Green Corn Busk the second harvest, and Harvest Busk the end of the harvesting season as the year turns back into winter.

The English word "busk" derives from the Muskogee word *posketv*, "to fast." Ritual activities take place over the foundation of the fast. As I explore in the next chapter, the fast involves abstinence from solid food during the daylight hours, from salt, from non-prescription drugs and alcohol, and from sexual contact with others. Those attending a busk will fast for the week prior to the ritual. The fast ends when the women feed the Fire the first and finest foods they have prepared. After the Fire has partaken, the community breaks the fast with a feast.

[21] Although I list them here and in Figure 3.6, Pvlvcekolv did not hold a Lighter Knot Fishing Night during my fieldwork period, and my academic schedule did not allow me to be present for Wild onion Day. Because I did not take part in or witness either event, I do not treat them in this dissertation.

Each busk is something of a "retreat event" (Vhakv-Hvyv, interview, 29 November 2008). Over the course of a long weekend, Friday evening through Sunday morning, those who are able gather at the Square Grounds. There they prepare the space, make Medicine, Scratch, cook, and perform a series of sung dances or danced songs. All busks share a common corpus of dances; several other dances occur only at specific busks. All busks include the Ribbon, Feather, Turtle, Owl, Buffalo, and Stomp Dances. In addition, the Berry and Arbor Busk and the Harvest Busk each feature an eponymous dance; similarly, Green Corn Busk features the Sunday morning Dawn Stomp Dance.

Soup Dance, a quieter, family-focused gathering, features the Bench Dances, the Friendship Dance, and often the Booger Dance. The Bug Dance features an eponymous ritual. In addition, each busk includes a series of activities that occur in between or before other actions. Their placement in relation to the danced songs might lead to the supposition that these actions are not very important. Nothing could be further from the truth. Ritual actions such as setting the Fire, Sweeping, and grounds and Medicine preparations are integral to the busk and reveal key concepts in Pvlvcekolv cosmology and philosophy.

Because each busk includes a slightly different series of events, the chronology of every busk differs slightly. A basic chronology of the busk might look like this: During the week prior to the busk, those able begin the fast. Some attendees gather Thursday, Friday, or earlier to help Kusko and Hokte Eco prepare the grounds and the food, respectively. By Friday evening or Saturday morning, most of those attending have arrived. The women work in the indoor and outdoor kitchens to prepare the meals. The men prepare the grounds, tidying the Fire Mound, laying fresh sand on the mound and on the grounds, putting fresh willow on the arbors, and other

duties. One or two men prepare the Medicines in the Medicine shed and in front of the East Arbor.

On Saturday morning at regular intervals, two men announce the first through fourth calls for the Ribbon Dance. To give the women time to prepare for Ribbon, preparations and other events occur around these calls. One such event involves the closing of the grounds. Two men stand together. One blows three clarion calls on a conch shell horn. The other man then announces the closing of the grounds and lists the rules: one remains on the grounds as much as possible and exits only in the company of a second person; menstruating women are requested to not enter the grounds so as not to overload the "electrical system" of the busk. Elders enjoin those present to be as quiet and contemplative as their duties allow.

After closing the grounds, a ceremonial leader might give a Long Talk. These Long Talks can range from sermon-like speeches by the heles-hayv or his speaker to community discussions on a particular topic. Ribbon Dance follows. Participants then set and light the Fire. At Green Corn Busk, Ribbon Dance must precede lighting the Fire; Feather Dance usually occurs after the lighting. At all other busks, Feather Dance, Ribbon Dance, and lighting the Fire may occur in any order; however, performers have completed all three by early afternoon.

Later in the afternoon, participants dance Buffalo Dance. Perhaps before or right after Buffalo Dance the community Scratches and touches Medicine. The men use their stickball clubs to form the front legs of the buffalo in the Buffalo Dance. With the ball clubs close to hand, a stickball game might take place after Buffalo Dance. After trouncing the men at stickball (as usually happens), the women feed the Fire with the first and best foodstuffs. When the Fire has consumed its share, the community breaks the Fast with a meal. Quiet conversation and community discussion often take place after the meal. Sometimes elders request one or more of

the flute players present to perform a piece for the community. Later in the evening, participants dance Turtle Dance and Owl Dance. Turtle and Owl Dance might each occur Friday evening instead of Saturday evening. Stomp Dances can occur at several different times. Often the Song Leader transitions into a Stomp from the end of the Buffalo and Turtle Dances.

The chronology of Sunday morning alters depending on the busk. At Green Corn, the Dawn Stomp takes place at first light to welcome in the new year. Later in the morning, usually after a morning meal, the community dances the Berry and Arbor Dance or the Harvest Dance at the respective busks. After breakfast, those not cleaning up will sometimes dance social dances or practice the choreography of a particularly complex dance. More often everyone pitches in to clean up after the busk; most of the community leaves by mid-afternoon. A particular busk ends, only to flow easily into the next ceremony in a few months. The cycle continues, busk to busk to busk.

The Vnahetv ("Conclusions")

The busk remains an important part of Pvlvcekolv culture, and an important tradition in related southeastern Native communities, no matter their geographic location. Different versions of historic and contemporary Creek, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Yuchi busks reveal a long-maintained tradition. Accounts by travelers and ethnographers paint a series of pictures that demonstrate cultural tenacity and resilience, and one might argue that the busk has become a cultural focal point that facilitates cultural sustainability. When contextualized with other busk accounts, Pvlvcekolv's ritual tradition becomes part of a narrative that reveals southeastern Native cultural and ceremonial tenacity and resilience.

The remainder of this dissertation treats ritual actions in isolation from the larger context of the busk chronology. Chapter Four focuses on the fast and the Ribbon Dance. Chapter Five treats the Turtle Dance that occurs at every busk, and the Bench Dances, which take place at the Soup Dance. Chapter Six primarily considers object beings rather than specific actions, although I do briefly touch on the process of birthing an object or person into ceremonial participation. Chapter Seven examines the animal dances: Feather Dance, Owl Dance, Buffalo Dance, and Bug Dance. Chapter Eight explores the Berry and Arbor Dance and the Harvest Dance. Chapter Nine investigates the small, unobserved actions that occur before or between the more visible ritual actions, such as busk preparations, sweeping, making Medicines, scratching, and others. Chapter Ten concludes the dissertation. Although I treat them "out of order" and context, they each occur in relationship with one another to form the busk as a whole.

Chapter Four: Embodying the Busk

The Fast and the Ribbon Dance

Ethnomusicology has a long history of treating music and/or sound and de-emphasizing aspects of movement tangled into the sonic. Those scholars who treat both rarely go as far with their analyses as they might (T. Hahn 2007; Kurath [1964] 2000; Rahaim 2012; N. Smith 1962; and J. D. Sweet [1985] 2004). Perhaps because of our long-time goal to promote music as an important topic of study, we are more comfortable with the aural and the cultural flows around the aural. Pvlvcekolv and, indeed, all humans, however, communicate meaning and perspective through performance (Shorter 2009:13). The choreographic, corporeal, and/or physical must join the sonic in order to produce a complete descriptive analysis. In this chapter, I draw on Pvlvcekolv's ethnophilosophy to develop an analytical framework that integrates both music and dance aspects of the busk.

Approaching Sound and Movement

Pvlvcekolv, like many Native American communities, constructs music and dance as halves of the same category. That which European and American-derived cultures split into two separate divisions exists as one whole in this and other Indigenous cultures (Browner 2009:xiii-xxvii; Heth 1975:76; Kurath 1957; R. Stevenson 1973:402-403). A culturally accurate and ethical discussion of Pvlvcekolv's busk cycle demands the analytical merger of dance and movement with music and sound. The busk cycle contains a corpus of ritual dances. They include: Bench, Berry and Arbor, Buffalo, Bug, Feather, Harvest, Owl, Ribbon, Stomp, and Turtle Dances. Other important choreographic elements of the busk include the rituals of setting

the Fire, preparing the grounds, the Broken Days period prior to a busk, and Sweeping. Most of these rituals comprise both choreographic and sonic elements, and communicate meaning together.

The community maintains an active school of philosophy. During every ritual and most community gatherings, those present engage in discussions on the cosmological underpinnings of the activities at hand. These discussions are similar to those that members of the Polecat ceremonial grounds and the Euchee (Yuchi) Tribe of Indians sponsored in 1997 shortly after their Green Corn Ceremony (Jackson [2003] 2005:145). Pvlvcekolv has coined the term "cosphilic" to designate conversations that tie together their cosmology and philosophy. Building on a long tradition of community education, Hakopē decided when he took over the role of Maker of Medicine upon his father's death that he would not direct any ceremony if participants did not understand the cosmological underpinnings. He now sometimes devotes entire Long Talks, speeches not unlike sermons that occur through the busk, to cosphilic discussions. Conversations about the aesthetics of ceremonial performance or critiques of correct or incorrect performance often transition into discussions about those cosphilic underpinnings. Contrasting Oklahoma Creek and Pvlvcekolv Creek practice, Oklahoma Creek elder Rosemary Maxey notes that,

> "[Pvlvcekolv] ha[s] these discussions, these rich discussions about the meaning of the rituals they perform, the reason why they have gathered. And they reminisce about other times in their lives when they have performed these rituals, and so now what does it mean. And then do some philosophical unpacking of what they have just done. So there's a different way of re-living the ritual. So you get to talk about it, think about it, and do it. And then out here [in Oklahoma], you do it and then find people with whom you can talk about it, and think about it." (Rosemary Maxey, interview, 18 Nov 2015)

In her experience, Pvlvcekolv has formalized discussions that occur comparatively informally in Oklahoma Creek communities. Despite the distinctions, Maxey characterizes the two

perspectives as merely different; one is not necessarily better or worse than the other. These talks, conversations, and discussions explore the links between the Creek cosmology as I outlined in Chapter Three with ritual actions, traditions, stories, and myths to explore the cosmological reasons behind those actions. Drawing on this philosophy, I outline Pvlvcekolv's approach to the body, movement, and music.

The community understands somatic experiences as the provenance of "beings," animistic persons who exist only in the Middle World. As I explore in this chapter, the dances these beings perform fall into one of two categories: dances the community "does," such as social dances, and dances in which the community "participates," such as the Ribbon, Feather, Buffalo, and other dances. These latter dances are always taking place from the beginning of Creation. During busks, the community joins in with these already-occurring rituals, dancing alongside those who have danced it/are dancing it before them. The music that beings make carries melodic import. The notes in a given melody line connect to the Three World Structure: the upper two notes to the Upper World, middle two notes to the Middle World, and lower two notes to the Other World. Melodic movement through these Worlds communicates meaning. For example, a descending melodic figure might trace a shaft of sunlight or the flight of a bird to earth.

I apply this analytical framework throughout the remainder of this dissertation. I begin in this chapter with case studies of fasting and the Ribbon Dance. The act of fasting gives the busk its name, *posketv* ("to fast") in Muskogee, and underlies most busk activities. As such, it plays a role of central importance. Similarly, the Ribbon Dance might be the most important ritual dance of the busk. The women's dance, it features the women moving around the grounds while the

men accompany musically or stand in respect. Underneath this straightforward performance practice lies a world of meaning.

Corporeal Ethnography

Beginning in this chapter, I tread what is at best a blurry line between emic and etic—not as a Native American, but as a sometime ritual participant. When Pvlvcekolv and I concluded the formal research agreement through which I collaborate with the community, Matriarch Hokte Eco demanded that I not look through a lens, and instead experience and participate in the busk. Following her wishes, I would set up recording equipment, and then let it run without supervision while I performed as one of the group of ritual participants. I attempt to write this ethnography from the same perspective, one that is accurate to my experience as ethnographer, and respectful of Hokte Eco's wishes, and the wishes of other elders.

As I outlined in the introduction, I write from the perspective of my experiencing body as well as my experienced eye and ear. I am not alone in this; one can argue that, by default, all ethnographers bring themselves into their work. Anthropologist Ruth Behar writes of the personal nature of ethnography (1996). In a discussion on the paradoxes of fieldwork, she critiques Clifford Geertz (1988) and ethnopsychatrist George Devereux (1967) for approaching the cause of subjectivity with "only half a heart" (1996:8). Devereux, Behar says, champions ethnographic vulnerability for the sake of science; Geertz characterizes anthropology as resolutely person-specific, but somehow not personal. She calls for vulnerable observation, and suggests several possible avenues taken by other scholars in diverse disciplines (A. Kaplan 1994; Jamison 1995; Limón 1994; Steedman 1987). No one objects to the genre of autobiography in its own right, she notes. What makes many uncomfortable is the insertion of personal stories into

what we are taught are or must remain impersonal social facts. In her call, she does not suggest that "anything personal goes." Rather, she proposes that the "exposure of the self who is also a spectator has to take use somewhere we couldn't otherwise get to" (Behar 1996:11, 13). Incorporating the ethnographer's voice can be a useful and powerful tool and, I argue, a vital one when studying other people.

To a degree, every ethnography contains the auto-ethnographic. In ethnographic situations, the ethnographer studies a bounded group as they interact amongst themselves when he or she is present, and studies how that bounded group as individuals or larger sections interact with the ethnographer her or himself. We can never know if the group and/or individuals in the group act the same when we, the ethnographer, is not present (Behar 1996:6). Ignoring ourselves, the ethnographers, presents at best an incomplete, and at worst an inaccurate, depiction of the ethnographic event. Ignoring this vital part of the work of ethnography ignores the relationships into which we enter, the experiences we have, and the power structures we access.

The focus of this dissertation, ritual performance practice in an Indigenous community, and my position as a white male ethnographer perhaps add additional layers to this discussion. Some might characterize ritual as extremely subjective. Whether one calls it "spirituality," "ritual," "religion," or something else, it remains a phenomenon almost antithetical to "objectivity" (Shorter forthcoming). The politicized nature of Indigenous identities and traditions adds another layer, especially because I am not Indigenous. As I discuss in Chapter Two, American Indian racial politics generally remain fraught. As both a caucasian and male ethnographer, I might easily fit into the negative stereotype of the "social scientist studying the Indians." The ritual nature of the topic only compounds this stereotype.

I attempt to address these ethnographic issues throughout this document via the idea of empirical embodiment gleaned from Elisabeth Le Guin (2006, 2014) and Susan Leigh Foster's concept of the "bodily theoric" (1995:8). Le Guin proposes the study of music necessarily account for how musicians make music: the inescapably physical nature of performance. Similar to the participation portion of the anthropological observation-participation method, empirical embodiment admits "in-feelings" to be as useful and meaningful as "insights." In addition to the observations made by the ethnographer, we must include the "embodied experiences" of the ethnographer (accessed through participation) and of the cultural insider (accessed through interview, conversation, and observation) in the study of culture. This approach develops a practical version of phenomenological embodiment: a method not merely about the body, but from the body (Csordas 1994; Seeger [1987] 2004).

S. L. Foster's bodily theoric accounts for the relationship between the researcher and the researched (1995). Any particular set of activities, metaphors, etc. encode notions of identity for body and person. The principals with which we construct our bodies cast them into larger the "arenas of meaning" we call culture, where they move with other bodies with related or different "signage." In essence, bodily theorics "make palpable ways in which a body's movement can enact meaning." (S. L. Foster 1995:8). Because we enact meaning in relation to those around us, we as ethnographers must enter dialogues with the others around us: the "people we are studying." Perhaps more importantly, when writing we must enter into dialogue with that bodily discourse that is our relationships and interactions with the people in the ethnographic context. Effective ethnographic writing, as Behar suggests, must "become inhabited by all the different bodies that participate in the constructive process" of ethnography (S. L. Foster 1995:9). In

practical terms, a bodily theoric requires that I, the ethnographer, become a character in this ethnography.

By occasionally entering the ethnography in the shape of "I" and "we," I easily run the risk of coming across as someone trying to "play Indian" (P. Deloria 1999). Writing about ritual performance practice using first person pronouns means that the prose risks appearing as "New Age," or like the prose of Carlos Castaneda in popular and problematic works like *The Teachings of Don Juan* (1970). Nevertheless, I can see no other way to address honestly the relationships and potent experiences that underlie this ethnography. To realize S. L. Foster's bodily theoric, to describe and analyze truthfully and fully the material in this dissertation, I cannot ignore my own experiences. I therefore write of individuals of Pvlvcekolv, groups of Pvlvcekolv individuals or Pvlvcekolv as a group, and of myself as a sometime ritual participant alongside Pvlvcekolv community members. I do not pretend to speak for any individual or the community as a whole, even when using the first person plural pronoun. Rather, I write as an adopted "lay" member of Pvlvcekolv without any genetic connection to an Indigenous population who has spent time with the community over a specific period (1997-present). During that time I have experienced rituals as both an observer and as a participant; more often from somewhere in between in the classic position of observer-participant. In writing this ethnography this way, I attempt to demonstrate my respect and appreciation for this tradition, the community, and the rituals themselves.

Muskogee Approaches to the Body and Movement

Interviews with Hakopē often result in his translating Creek concepts into terms comprehensible to outsiders. On a beautiful day in mid-June 2014, we sat under a cedar tree outside the Pvlvcekolv farmhouse and talked about traditional Muskogee conceptualizations of

body, movement, and dance (Hakopē, interview, 19 June 2014). Time, colonial presence, and Christianization in many communities have altered traditional ideas around these topics. I combine insights from this particular interview with informal conversations with Hakopē and other members of the ceremonial leadership and community to establish how Muskogee people, at least at Pvlvcekolv, approach physicality.

Pvlvcekolv elders understand that somatic experiences are limited to *estē*, "beings." In the Creek cosmology, a being is any entity with form, substance, purpose/function, and place. Humans, dogs, plants, spoons, houses, clans, towns, rocks: these and other beings each have these four attributes. For example, while ceremonial axes are not "living" creatures in Anglo-American culture, they are beings in a Muskogee context. Their forms are the physical shape of an ax, their substance worked wood and iron, they play particular roles during ritual events, and reside in a specific location during and after ceremony.

Beings in this Muskogee context comprise animistic persons. Animism describes perspectives wherein other-than-human entities are autonomous, relational persons with perspectives, thoughts, and agency (Harvey 2005:3). After twenty years' renewed discussion, scholars have yet to come to an agreement of the precise nature of animism or animistic worldviews (Rival 2012:128). Most, however, agree that a significant part of the concept rests on personhood. In most if not all animistic cultures, a "person" can be animal, plant, object, and other entities, not only humans. These beings have the "capacity to be with others, share a place with them, and responsibly engage with them"(Naveh and Bird-David 2013:28). As such, all beings in an animistic cosmology relate together, and these cosmologies privilege knowing how to behave within these relationships.

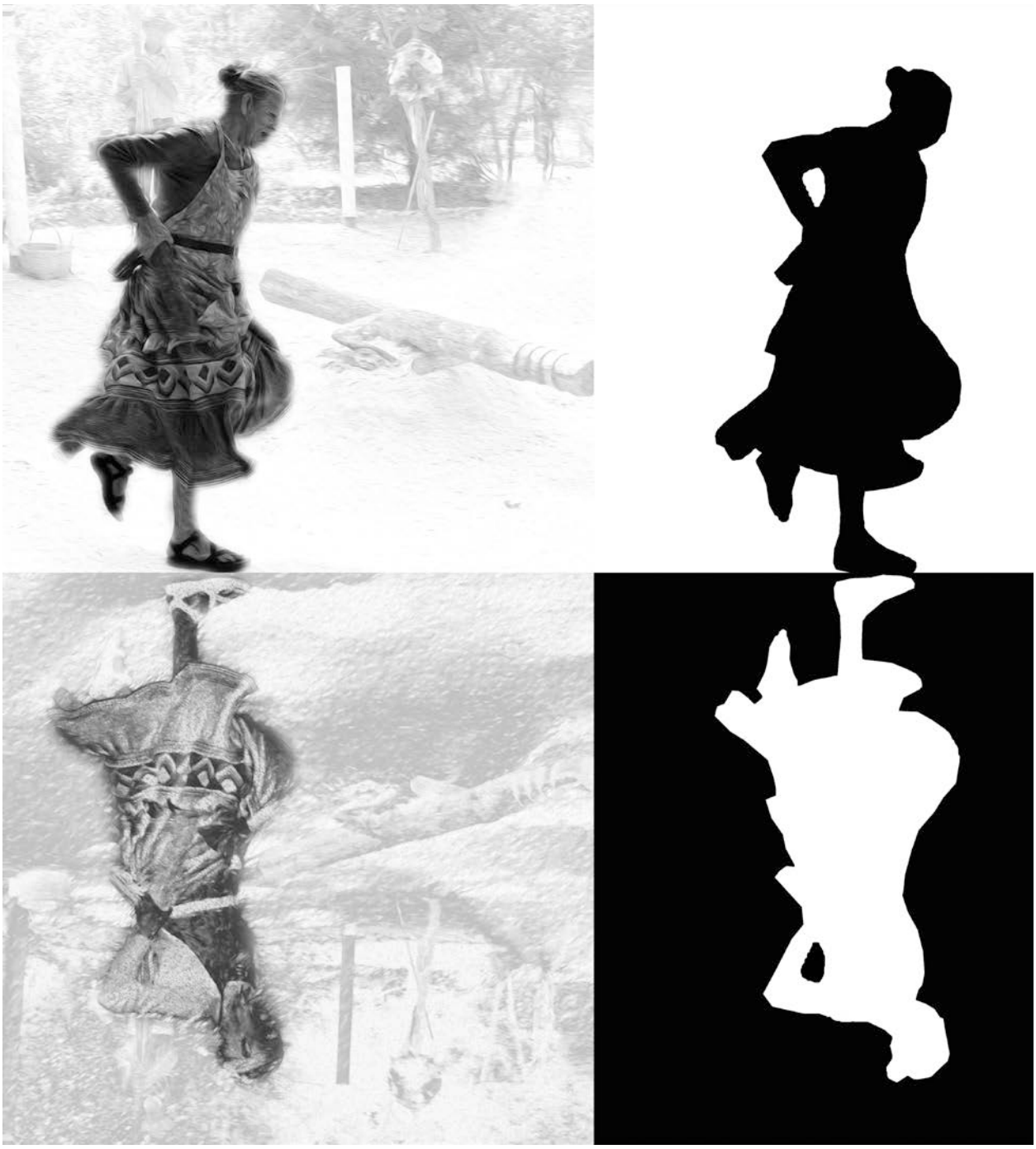


Figure 4.1 Illustration of the duality of the Middle World.

The edge of a being exists not at the skin or surface of that entity, but rather at the boundary of influence of the entity. For example, as I write, Hakopē strongly influences me through our informal conversations, formal interviews, email conversations, and my

observations. I sit in Los Angeles. He lives a continent away in north Florida. Yet because of the influence he exerts over me and my work, a boundary of Hakopē's being lies in southern California. Essentially, this range of influence, of boundaries, sets up local, national, and international networks of influence and connection, binding the world together.

Similarly, the community understands that every being has an analogous opposite entity (see Figure 4.1). Pvlvcekolv has long debated the accurate location of these opposite entities. Some think they reside in the Other World; others believe they reside in the lower half of the Middle World. Assuming a basic duality to all things, this latter view might make the most sense cosmologically. Wherever they live, these beings are a person's opposite in all things. To illustrate, Figure 4.1 shows Matriarch Hokte Eco running around the Fire mound during the 2012 Harvest Busk as she prepares to place the Medicine Pounding Stick into the Fire at the end of its ceremonial life span. In this captured moment of her locomotion, one foot touches the ground, propelling her forward. Below Hokte Eco exists another being, also running around the Fire mound. At the precise location where her foot contacts the ground, the foot of her opposite touches the ground below her. Where Hokte Eco is solid, her opposite is not solid; where air flows around Hokte Eco, solid boxes around her opposite. I illustrate this opposite relationship through contrasting black and white shading in both portions of Figure 4.1.

Hakopē explains the nature of these opposites using the metaphor of the voids in the ash layer in Pompeii, Italy. The voids date to the volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius and the resulting burial of Pompeii and surrounding areas in southern Italy in 79 CE. These voids hold the decomposed remains of humans. During the 1860s excavation of the site, archaeologist Giuseppe Fiorelli injected plaster into the voids to reveal the shapes of the bodies they once held before ash and time destroyed them (Lobell 2011). Like these voids, a person's opposite being

has solid where the person has air and air where the person is solid. Every being has such a counterpart. Pvlvcekolv does not know if the being initiates the movement and the opposite shadows it, or vice versa. No matter who actually has agency in the situation, persons and their opposites connect together at all times.

Beings can only exist in the Middle World of the threefold Muskogee worldview. A number of entities, often called *nak-hecko* ("things unseen") in Creek and "ethereals" in English, derive from the Upper and Other Worlds, the metaphysical realms of order and chaos, respectively. These ethereals only possess two or three of the four necessary components that comprise a being. Only when they enter the Middle World can ethereals become beings; prior to that point, they exist intangibly. By moving into the Middle World, they gain the necessary remaining components. Upper World entities appear to be translucent, gossamer entities that blend into daytime environments like mist or fog. Conversely, creatures from the Other World are chaotically mischievous, dark and solidly colored that blend into nighttime environments.

Over the course of many discussions, Pvlvcekolv has established that physical reality is the same for all beings. "The interpretation of that physical reality is an entirely different matter. And therein is the rub and the difference" (Hakopē, interview, 19 June 2014). In this regard, community philosophy takes a middle ground between acceptance and rejection of anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's well-known concept, perspectivism (1998:469). Drawing on ethnographic material on Indigenous Amazonian cosmologies, Viveiros de Castro posited that humans, animals, and other beings "participate in the same world" with different sensory apparati that result in "only partially overlapping" ontologies (Kirksey and Helmreich 2010:553). In other words, different species see and know the world differently despite living in the same world. Pvlvcekolv's cosmology appears to be partially, if not completely, perspectival.

While exploring this idea, Hakopē notes that Pvlvcekolv Creeks traditionally consider the heart and the liver as inseparable. When one is present, the other is, too, even if only by implication. The two organs, however, separately house the two souls of a being; "It is our view held by the majority of the people that the body possesses two souls separate and independent. Those that don't hold that view hold the view that the body possesses a soul of two separate parts. Either way, we have a duality" (Hakopē, interview, 19 June 2014). As with all things, the soul(s) exhibit(s) a duality. Hakopē notes that Creek people have debated the exact dualistic nature of the soul for eons; this debate can even be found in accounts by colonial agent Benjamin Hawkins (2003:80s) and ecologist William Bartram (Waselkov and Braund 1995:148) dating to the 1700s. I doubt it will ever be resolved. Just as everything Muskogee exists in a duality, so too must the opinion of the exact nature of the soul(s)!

The soul splits into the warm soul and the cool soul. This first soul—the breath or conscious soul—is active when a being wakes during the day. This soul dominates conscious experience and locates itself in the upper portion of the body, including the lungs, heart, and head. It enters and leaves the body through the mouth, the nose, and the eyes. The second soul, or the second half of the soul, is the cool, imbedded, deep, or instinctive soul (Hakopē, interview, 19 June 2014). This second soul governs unconscious experience and locates in the lower half of the body, especially the liver. Just as the warm breath soul moves in and out of the body primarily through the mouth, the cool breath soul enters and exits through the anus, often as flatulency.

While the warm breath soul dominates waking experience, it can wander away from the body when a being sleeps. The adventures it has while away from the body are dreams. Sometimes it does not return intact. Lacking even a portion of the soul(s) results in extreme

fatigue and confusion; often it can be rectified only ceremonially by a traditionally trained Maker of Medicine. Unlike its opposite in the duality, the cool soul does not completely leave the body until death. The community discussed this soul at the 2013 Little Green Corn Busk. During pregnancy, materials from the Middle World and the Other World merge to form the embryo. The egg and sperm from the mother and father, respectively, combine with sustenance from the mother's body to form the body of their child. At the same time, little-understood elements from the Other World coalesce to form the cool soul. At the moment of birth, Creator gives the newborn its breath soul: the infant literally breathes this soul in with his or her first breath.

The monistic Creek worldview ignores Cartesian duality. That split between mind and matter that philosopher Maxine Sheets-Johnstone characterizes as a "gaping wound" occasionally covered by conceptual band aids like "embodiment" does not exist in traditional Creek culture (2009a:375). Rather, the Creeks observe a duality. The soul(s) partially define(s) the body and life, yet can move in and out of the body and sometimes get lost. The suffering the individual experiences from this loss of soul speaks to the connection between body and spirit.

Traditionally Creeks construct the body as a whole, complete entity with interrelated component parts much like a family clan. For example, the hand is *enkē*. The most important digit, the thumb, is *estkē enkē*, or "mother of the hand." Continuing the clan metaphor, Hakopē states that "our bodies are just not an independent entity that houses us, the individual. Our bodies are part of a collective," the clan. As a member of a family, the individual is inseparable from the clan body (Hakopē, interview, 19 June 2014). The human body therefore functions as part of this whole. A former science teacher, Hakopē employs the metaphor of a plant or animal cell in fleshing out the relationship between the individual's body and the clan body. Each cell, like each clan, has a series of component parts that comprise it. All assure the health and proper

functioning of that cell. In the same way, an individual's body forms an integral part of the body that is the family clan and ensures the health and proper functioning of that clan.

This construction of the body as part of a whole has particular implications for movement and dance. Two different types of locomotion exist in Pvlvcekolv's cosmology: quotidian movement and dance (see Figure 4.2). Unlike "movement," "dance,"

> is when we move as a body in unison. That kind of movement is actually a form of communication. We don't think of that as "movement" as such. It's called a dance in English, but it's really a communication with the cosmos, with the One Above, with Creator. It's a means by which we make a statement. It's also a means by which we hear the statement from on high. (Hakopē, interview, 19 June 2014)

By definition, (ceremonial) dance differs from mere movement like walking, by being a form of communication. In particular, ritual dance comprises communication and communion with Ofvnkv. Even in instances like the Ribbon Dance or Bench Dances that feature soloists of sorts, those soloists perform in conjunction with the community as a whole.

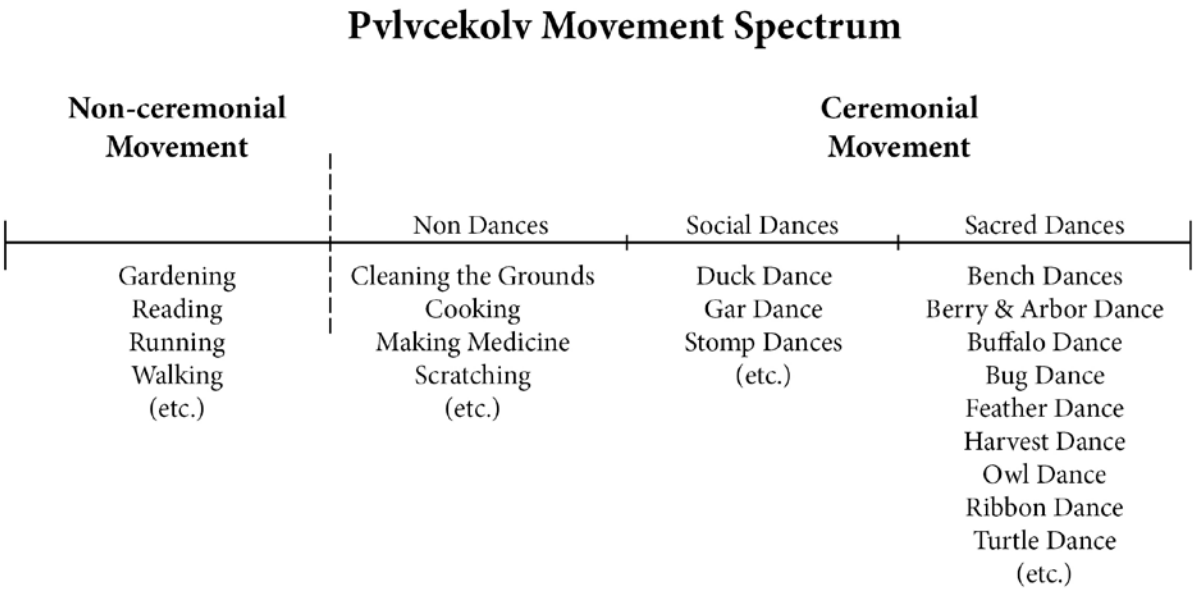


Figure 4.2 The Muskogee spectrum of movement.

Hakopē characterizes ritual music/dance as "the physical voice of the people as one . . . with one idea, one focus, one purpose" (Hakopē, interview, 19 June 2014). The synesthesia underlying this statement represents a rare moment when English may perhaps explicate a Muskogee concept. Muskogee dance is communication across multiple sensory modalities. Phrases like "singing a dance" or "dancing a song" might better articulate the phenomena. When enacting busk rituals, participants actually create song with dance and dance with their voices. Given that one's body forms a vital component of a larger clan structure, the sung dances and danced songs performed by the clan or community body during ritual exemplify the clan or community functioning as a healthy and complete community whole (Jackson [2003] 2005:168).

In this regard, dance in a Creek context is a form of entrainment, which neuroscientist Jessica Phillips-Silver, psychologist Athena Aktipis, and cognitive scientist Gregory A Bryant have defined as spatiotemporal coordination resulting from rhythmic responsiveness (2010). The connection to an "outside auditory impulse" that allows multiple individuals to "time-lock their behavior by integrating information across different sensory modalities" forms a vital part of entrainment (Phillips-Silver et al. 2010:7). Beyond the simple beats of a drum, rattle, or the steps of one's fellow performers, the outside auditory impulse of the busk is the voice of Creator: silence. Human silence accompanies a significant portion of the busk. One instead hears the sounds of the natural world: birdsong, breezes, coyote calls, the drones of insects and frogs. And if one listens closely enough, one can hear the voice of Creator behind and through it all. (I expand on this point in Chapter Nine).

While connected to this outside auditory impulse, Creek busk choreography does not feature movement entrainment with the precision of, say, the dancers of the American Ballet Theatre. Rather, like North American Indigenous music in general, their entrainment features

choreographic heterophony (Browner 2009:xxvi). Participants step at different times, elders with mobility issues are often out of time, and the whole thing may seem superficially haphazard from an outsider's perspective. The performance fulfills its function, however, and that is key. As a substantive communication with Ofvnkv, the peroformance therefore functions correctly.

I witnessed an excellent example of the importance of function over accuracy when the ceremonial leadership once formally requested the late Richard Smith, then an elder with increasing health and mobility issues, to lead the Owl Dance. It differed substantially from the Owl Dances I had previously and have since witnessed at Pvlvcekolv. As such it was not "correct," and included enough mistakes that the Matriarch requested I not use it to represent the Owl Dance in my research. In our ensuing discussion, she expressed how important it was that Richard receive a tangible expression of how valued he is in the community. Asking him to lead the dance had fulfilled that necessary function, and even I could observe his comparatively positive attitude afterwards. He had momentarily overcome his increasing ill health and stepped into the healing space of the clan body functioning as a whole. That whole-clan function takes precedence over "correct" performance (Jackson [2003] 2005:169; Schupman 1984:79).

The Creation Story forms the script of this community whole. Like most good stories, it has a beginning, a middle, and an end. Creation in the Muskogee cosmology, however, is in fact an "ongoing, continual process that never ends" (Vhicv, email, 15 December 2014). In the same way that Creation is a never-ending process, so too are most of the dances. During conversations at the 2014 Green Corn Busk, Hakopē clarified several points. "We *do* social dances, like Duck, Gar, and Stomps," he noted, "We *participate* in dances like Ribbon, Feather, and Buffalo." Participants "enter" into these latter dances: they are concepts, actions that were begun in the beginning. Like Creation, they are ongoing. The women do not "perform" the Ribbon Dance, but

instead join in and participate in a Ribbon Dance that has never ceased. Vhicv uses the apt analogy of a continuously moving carousel,

> As [C]reation and [P]ower turn around in a spiral, it is very easy to jump in when the time is appropriate as it circles by us. Like getting on a continuous moving carousel. If we get on and the white horse is in front of us, then we get to ride the white horse. We go around the carousel with the white horse. If the point that we jump on the carousel has an elephant or the hippo, then we ride the elephant or hippo around with the elephant or hippo dance. We step on the Grounds, and we step off the Grounds. Whatever is in front of us as appropriate for that time, that is what we do. (Vhicv, email, 15 December 2014)

One does not reenact Creation, but joins it. The dancers in these dances do not perform the dances. Rather, they are the dances. No audience attends the busk. In the Ribbon Dance, for example, the men observe the women from the arbors. Even though they do not dance with the women out of the grounds, they still form a component of the dance; their presence and participation are necessary even if visually uneventful. This instance relates to the "small dance" of modern dance choreographer Steve Paxton, where the dancer stands "still," becoming aware of the millions of miniscule muscular events involved in keeping oneself stationary (Novack 1990:62). Through these tiny movements and their very presence, the men and other entities in the area, including plants, other animals, and ethereals, partake in this and other dances.

Stepping onto the "carousel" of any non-social dance renders visible what has always been going on, even though it might be difficult to perceive. These dances comprise visible forms of Power—Power made solid and visible. As a man witnessing the Ribbon Dance from the vantage point of the arbors, for example, I become vitally aware of the circular and spiral nature of Creation as I observe the women dance. The choreography is minimalist to the point that one can perhaps more easily observe the flow of Creation than in other dances. Matriarch Hokte Eco notes that, while the different dances fall on a continuum of movement, they also interrelate: "Is a [S]tomp less sacred than Turtle [Dance]? Seems to be, but it is a [S]tomp sometimes that really

allows you the opportunity to slip into that portal as much as Turtle. Just tells a different story in the continuum of the dance cycle" (Hokte Eco, email, 16 December 2014). In this way, the different ritual dances connect to one another, weaving together the busk.

Muskogee Approaches to Music

Making music comprises part of the same epistemological process as dance. As I discuss in the Introduction, together they partially constitute the reflexive formation of the body. As with dance-making, music- and song-making form vital components of Creek corporeality. The sonic elements of ceremonial dances communicate meaning about that dance. This information does not flow through a textual channel, however. Many of the ritual songs that accompany/are the dances do not contain lexically meaningful words. Instead, most song texts contain vocable syllables such as *wi*, *hi*, *yo*, and *ni*. Several exceptions, such as Turtle Dance, contain simple repetitions of the Muskogee word for the entity named in the dance title. In the case of Turtle Dance, the lyrics are "*Lo-cv*, *Lo-cv*" ("Turtle, Turtle"). Buffalo Dance is similar: "*Yv-nv-so*, *Yv-nv-so*," a contraction of the Muskogee word *Yvnvsv*, "bison." Beyond the basic enaction of the dance's namesake, these lyrics do not have textual meaning.

Instead, the contours of the melody line communicate much of the meaning of the dance event. Hakopē notes that the southeastern Native American flute functions as a useful teaching tool in explaining how to interpret Creek melodic contour because it models the Muskogee structure of music. There does not exist a causative relationship between the flute and ceremonial melodies; rather, the two merely correlate. The flute functions as a good model, but, like all models, there are melodic exceptions that prove the rule. This flute features six finger holes (see Figure 4.3). From top to bottom, each pair of holes "sounds" a different world in the Creek

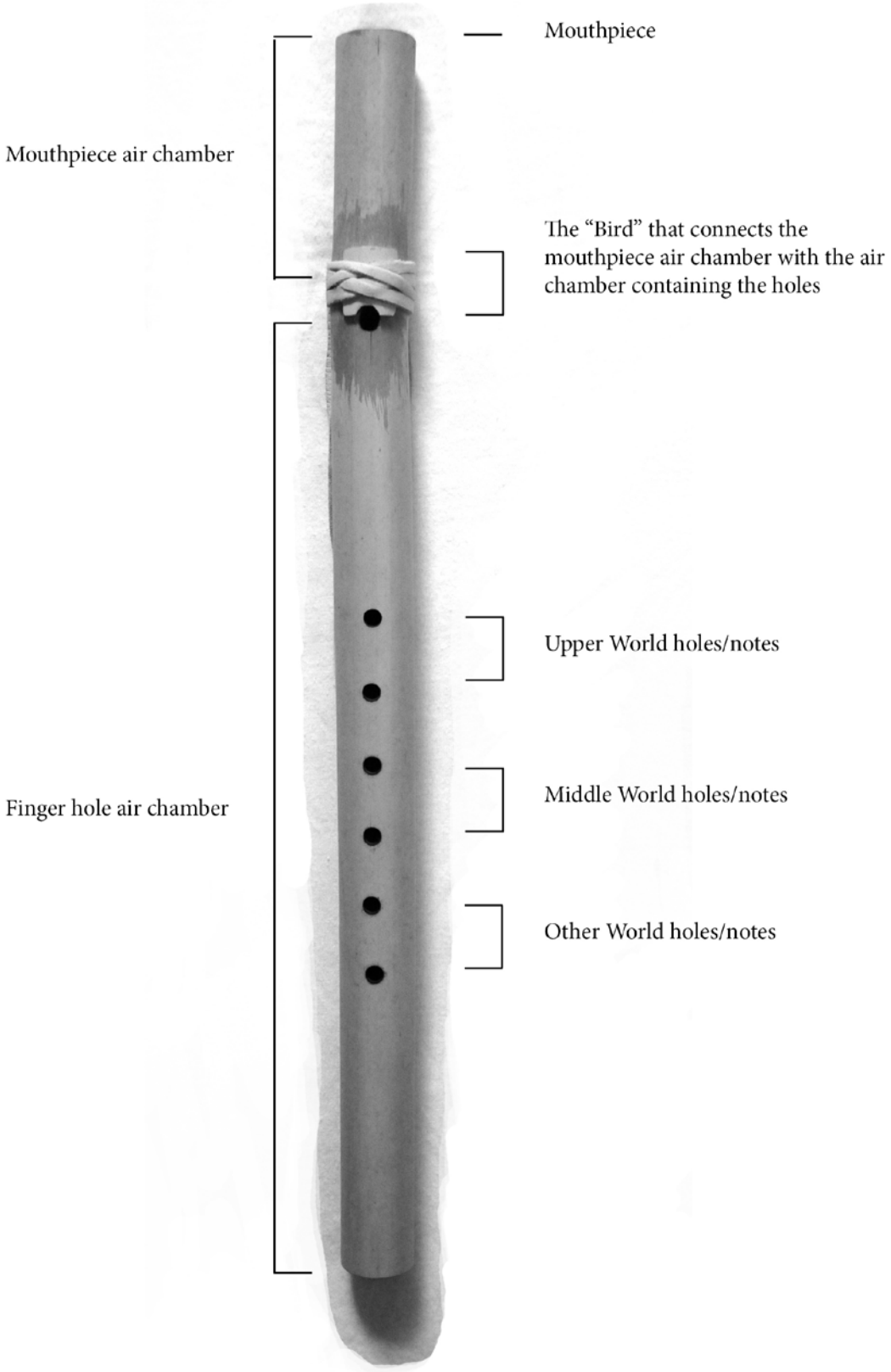


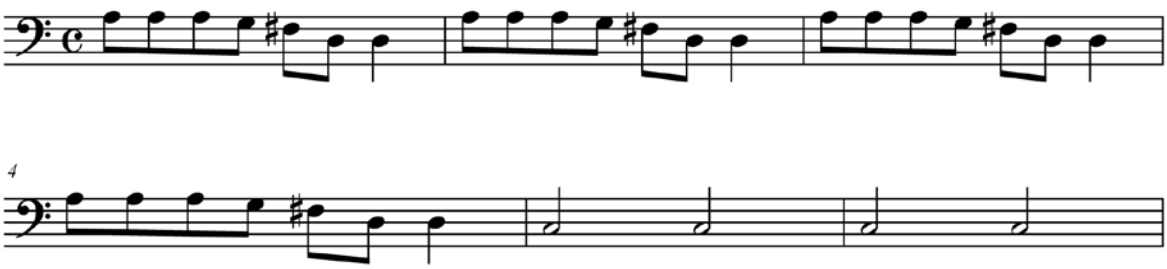
Figure 4.3 The southeastern Native American flute and the three Worlds.

cosmology. The top two holes produce the Upper World sounds, the middle two the Middle World sounds, and the lower two the Other World sounds. The higher Middle World hole connects with human beings in the Middle World. Typical performance practice leaves this hole covered to ensure that those present remain grounded in the Middle World.

Historically, the flutes do not conform to a specific mode or tuning system, but rather fit the specific hand of the player. Flute music intimately connects to the body and sonically reveals the physical unique characteristics of the flute player. More recently, flute makers place the finger holes so they align with the European model of pitch. In order to communicate the musical portions of this document more easily, I have chosen to reference pitches as they exist on the European-derived twelve-tone pitch system (Agawu 1995:394-395; Browner 2009:xiv). The holes on the flute comprise an excellent metaphor for understanding the relationship between pitch and World, but this relationship is not absolute. Pvlvcekolv sings ritual songs; they do not perform them on the flute. Subsequently, the pitches in any given song form a scale which, when arranged in ascending or descending order, correspond to the three Worlds like the finger holes on the flute. It does not matter the specific Hertz value of the pitches that define a song; rather, any collection of pitches, no matter their "mode," communicates the World structure.

The scales of ritual songs do not have differently-functioning pitches defined by location in the scale. Unlike diatonic scales, for example, no relationships exist that require or expect the second or seventh scale degrees to resolve down or up, respectively, to the modal center. Instead, movement between fixed pitches aligns with the three-world structure to communicate meaning via melodic contour. For example, the Ribbon Dance, which I treat below, propitiates the sun (see Example 4.1). Its melodic line floats down the scale from the Upper through the Other Worlds like a ray of sunlight breaking from behind the clouds (Hakopē, interview, 24 December

2014). Similarly, the Turtle Dance, treated in Chapter Five, flows through a repeated descending minor third in the Other World that swims up a fifth to the Middle World before slowly scaling downward back to the Other World (see Example 5.1). In this regard, melodic motion outlines the slow and measured movements of Turtle herself as she brings up mud from the watery depths to form Turtle Island in the Creation Story.



Example 4.1 The song accompanying Hvsē Opvnkv, the Ribbon Dance. This transcription is based on the 2008 Harvest Busk Ribbon Dance performance. At the request of Pvlvcekolv, I have redacted the lyrics of this song for this transcription.

The crucial nature of melodic contour brings out the fact that any dance event is incomplete without the song. Only when the community combines the vocal line and choreographic pattern in performance can the event be considered complete. This point highlights how, as with many Indigenous cultures, music and dance form two sides of the same coin at Pvlvcekolv. The event is not whole without the two together.

The Fast

The anglicized "busk" derives from the Creek *posketv*, "to fast." One might say that fasting holds the place of highest importance in the ritual event. Unfortunately, few have conducted research on specifically Indigenous fasting. Scientists have conducted research on

fasting in other religious contexts, however, including Islam (Azizi 2002; Rouhani and Azadbakht 2014; Talib et al. 2015; Trabelsi et al. 2011) and Greek Orthodox Christianity (Papadaki et al. 2008; Trepanowski and Bloomer 2010). "Correct" busk performance practice requires participants to maintain empty, fasting bodies. In a sense, fasters create vacuums with their bodies to invite Power into ourselves, a form of sacrifice to evoke a compassionate response in other beings such as Creator (Irwin 1994:110). Fasting allows participants to disrupt their personal corporeal balance and the general balance of the clan body prior to ceremony. Participants then reset those balances by participating in ceremony. The fasts have three distinct functions: 1) resetting balance for each individual, 2) resetting balance for the clan body, and 3) resetting balance for the macrocosm of Creation by performing rituals together as a united and fasting community body.

For the week prior to busk (and longer for certain members of the ceremonial leadership) ritual participants observe four distinct fasts: 1) from food during the daylight hours, 2) from salt, 3) from alcohol and drugs, and 4) from sex. Participants observe them until the community-wide breaking of the fast at the Saturday evening meal during busk. Although a number of ritual activities occur after this meal, participants need no longer observe the fasts.

Like all aspects of Muskogee life, threads of practicality weave into the fast. The food fast is not meant to debilitate. Several community members must eat food in conjunction with medication; others are diabetic or hypoglycemic. They therefore observe moderated versions of the fast from food, consuming food as necessary, though not their usual amounts. The food fast ensures that everyone experiences hunger as an undercurrent across most busk activities. Although participants replenish their nutrient intake after dark, some experience minor amounts of weight loss. This weight loss results from their bodies making up for the lack of nutrient

intake by breaking down the carbohydrates, proteins, and fats already present in the body (Forbes 1970:1212). Of all community members, the ceremonial leadership undergoes this weight loss more because they generally fast longer than non-ceremonial leadership.

The salt fast does not ban all salt consumption. Rather, it allows salt as necessary to a recipe, but no more. One cannot shake extra salt onto a dish, for example. Many fasters make a point of avoiding foods with excess salt content, such as fast food french fries. Kusko finds this fast particularly difficult. His metabolism needs and craves salt, and the community always enjoys watching his antics with the saltshaker when breaking the fast on Saturday. Unless the faster typically incorporates a large amount of extra salt in his or her daily diet, the fast from salt does not greatly affect the body. The combination of the salt and food fasts may cause mild hyponatremia, however, a sudden decrease in the blood-sodium level (Thurston, Hauhart, and Nelson 1987:223). Hyponatremia can occur if the faster becomes dehydrated or consumes liquids with insufficient levels of sodium and other electrolytes. As the primary organ responsible for maintaining a healthy level of electrolytes in the blood, the kidneys must alter their typical pattern to ensure balance.

The fast from drugs and alcohol primarily targets recreational substance use. During the fasting period, participants consume soft drinks, coffee, tea, and lots of water. This fast does not extend to those who take medications. Elders still take their heart medications, others still consume their vitamin pills. To my knowledge, none of the regular attendees of the Square Grounds use recreational drugs or alcohol in any quantity in their day-to-day lives. Therefore, few if any attendees experience the withdrawal symptoms that form the main effect of ceasing substance consumption (DiPadova 1987:1169).

The fast from sex specifically prohibits the exchange of biological fluids with another person. One may still enjoy solitary masturbation. This particular fast partially connects to the separation between the genders during ceremony. Men and women have busk duties that rarely overlap. Participants behave as separate peoples, speaking to members of the opposite gender respectfully and formally, but no more than necessary lest they impinge on their duties (A. R. Bell 1999:332). Because of the combination of gender separation and the fast from sexual activity, many opposite-sex couples do not sleep in the same bed together during this period. Same-sex couples abstain from sexual contact but can ignore this portion of the gender separation.

The fast from sex has the effect of altering hormone levels in the body (Katherine Dexter McCormick Library 2007). Assuming that the faster engages in sexual intercourse on a regular basis, the cessation of sex during the Broken Days can lower the release of corticosteriod pathways, adrenaline/epinephrine pathways, and oxytocin pathways, also known as the "stress response," "fight-or-flight," and "cuddle" hormones, respectively. The first two, corticosteriods and adrenaline/epinephrine, regulate heart rate, alertness, and other preparations associated with arousal. Oxytocin, which the body releases immediately after orgasm, creates feelings of bonding to a partner and the need and/or enjoyment of intimacy. Although little research has been done on these topics, it appears that masturbation initiates these same hormone shifts but not to the same degree as intercourse because of the difference in stimulus (Katherine Dexter McCormick Library 2002). No sexual activity during the fasting period further decreases the levels of these hormones.

In addition to resetting balance through the fast, participants work to create the sense of a vacuum in their bodies. One cannot fill an already full space. The food, salt, and drug fasts

empty the body of food and of the influences of non-medication drugs and alcohol. The sex fast ensures that a partner does not fill the body with sexual fluids. Historically Creeks consumed the White Drink, a tea made from Cassine (*ilex vomitoria*) leaves and often known as the Black Drink in colonial sources, in a quantity sufficient to act as an emetic (Hudson 1979:227), a way of emptying the body upon which many colonial-era observers remarked (Nairne 1988:35; Waselkov and Braund 1995:248 fn70). Pvlvcekolv no longer uses the White Drink as an emetic, preferring to empty the body in less a dramatic way. Observing the fasts, however, constructs the sense of a vacuum in the body. Once empty, the body might then be filled with Power via participation in the busk. This filling with Power resets balance on the individual, clan, and macrocosmic levels.

Ribbon Dance

Ribbon Dance is perhaps the most important dance. Although called *Hvsē Opvnkv* or Sun Dance in Creek, I have chosen to refer to it as "Ribbon Dance" both to differentiate it from the unrelated Sun Dance of Lakota and other Plains peoples, and because most Pvlvcekolv community members use the English language name. This is the women's dance. Much of the tradition surrounding this dance in particular is the sole province of the women. While men actively participate, notably a few of the ceremonial leadership and two others whose roles I describe below, men respectfully support and encourage from the sidelines.

While men and women share many things, the community observes a series of gender-specific practices, traditions, and webs of information. The women do not share certain aspects of the Ribbon Dance with the men, just as the men do not share certain aspects of the Feather Dance (treated in Chapter Seven) with the women. Because of Pvlvcekolv's small population

now, ceremonial participants sometimes relax or adjust these restrictions. Nevertheless, my position as a man necessarily limits my perspective on and knowledge regarding the Ribbon Dance. I have spent time speaking with and interviewing several women, notably Matriarch Hokte Eco, regarding the dance and their experiences of it. I have also been a witness to the dance on multiple occasions and performed an active role several times. While completing various tasks from the position of son of the Matriarch rather than man of the South Arbor, I have been able to observe yet a different side to Ribbon preparations. Additionally, as a gay man and therefore a resident of the edge between Creek dualities, I am located sufficiently in the middle of the gender duality to learn about other aspects of the women's traditions. Nonetheless, I do not know a great deal, and nor should I. My perspective therefore limits this section.

The English name "Ribbon Dance" derives from the practice of the women to wear ribbons pinned to the backs of their shirts. Historically, Hokte Eco tells me, the women danced a victory dance and wore "scalps or bones" from recent conquests. The Scottish immigrants who increasingly lived with and married into Creek society thought that to be "kind of a grizzly thing to watch their wives do that dance, so they invited them to use ribbons. And so, ribbons became the trophies" (Hokte Eco, interview, 01 December 2008). Since then the ribbons have taken on a different symbolic importance: they now each connect the wearer to a person or event and "collectively represent war trophies, great accomplishments, personal battles[,] and cherished moments" (Ribbon Dance, PAP8.2). Hokte Eco makes a point of taking a walk before the dance to

> have a quiet space where I see the ribbon that I carry for my daughter, I see the ribbon that I carry for my son, and I send them prayers; and I see my mother and her sisters, and I witness the fire that destroyed my home and the Fire that brings me so much peace and happiness and tranquility here." (interview, 25 January 2009)

For her, time spent remembering meaningful people, places, and events forms a crucial component in her experience of the Ribbon Dance.

Approximately two hours prior to the dance, two *emarvs* run around the grounds and surrounding camps formally announcing the Ribbon Dance four times. The emarvs are ceremonially designated prompters or "deacons"—usually younger men still learning their ceremonial duties. The women chose me as an emarv on several occasions. To make the calls, we take up two of the feather wands held by all the men during the Feather Dance. At four different locations around the grounds, we shout in unison "Hvsē opvnkv: first call for the Ribbon Dance." We then run to the next location and shout again. We must take care to stand well back from the women, especially during the third and fourth calls. In every aspect of life, Pvlvcekolv community members incorporate humor. As we call the women to the Ribbon Dance, they retaliate with derisive laughs, catcalls, tongue-in-cheek insults, and sometimes projectiles. I remember once narrowly avoiding a stream of water thrown by a woman washing dishes at the time!

The emarvs never give the fourth call without the express permission of the women. The women prepare themselves for the event over the course of the four calls, dressing in their finest ceremonial clothing and spending time with their ribbons and memories. Before taking on the mantle of Matriarch, Hokte Eco was mentored by the late Mary Frances Johns. Although an enrolled member of the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Johns had family connections to Pvlvcekolv through Hakopē's family and preferred to busk there. In her honor, many of the women wear the Seminole-style skirts and blouses the she left Hokte Eco upon her death.

After the fourth call, the women gather in the East Arbor. Hakopē and Kusko or Fiepe bring the women several ceremonial objects for the dance. One is the crown owned and worn by

Milly Francis, a foremother of Hakopē. Another is a stone celt ax blade (I discuss these and other objects in Chapter Six). Each woman then grasps a small handful of willow and sweet gum leaves. The willow symbolizes a testament of truth, "it means that our…words are in our heads and our hearts. Those are our truths: and [you're] speaking the truth when you carry willow in your hands. You are held to be honest" (Hokte Eco, interview, 25 January 2009). The women also carry sweet gum to purify and cleanse the proceedings. Hokte Eco observes that,

> there is a story of a sweet gum that grew next to a place where women gathered water. And so they would go down there and, as people do, you stop, you see a friend, you rest, you talk . . . and as they talked, the sweet gum kind of absorbed their [worried] stories and went from being a wood that is straight to a wood grain that is very gnarled inside. (Hokte Eco, interview, 25 January 2009)

When carried in the Ribbon Dance, sweet gum absorbs any emotional and spiritual debris, smoothing out the foundation for the ceremonial event in process.

The choreography of the Ribbon Dance is beautiful in its simplicity (see Figure 4.4). This characteristic also makes it difficult to describe. Before beginning, the women decide how many rounds and sets they will perform on this particular occasion. A certain number must be completed in any given ceremonial cycle and can take place across the cycle or in larger groupings. When I have been present, they tend to perform eight rounds broken into two sets of four with a short rest period in between sets. While Ribbon Dance must be danced at Green Corn Busk, its inclusion in any other busk is optional but typical.

The choreography consists of three main components: the actions of the line of women, the actions of the Head Woman, and the actions of the emarvs. The women line up by age, the eldest first, and walk a series of counterclockwise circles around the inner perimeter of the grounds. They step softly and relax their arms by their sides, perpendicular to the ground except

Figure 4.4 Clockwise from top left: the women line up prior to beginning Ribbon Dance; Hokte Eco's ribbons; Ribbon Dance panorama. All photos from Harvest Busk 2008, before the community put arbors on the grounds.

when someone carries an object. They soften their gazes and often direct their attention to the ground or the woman in front of them.

The Head Woman or lead dancer leads the Ribbon Dance. Because the population of Pvlvcekolv is small, Hokte Eco serves as both Matriarch and Head Woman; larger communities separate the positions. She dances ahead of the remainder of the women. Where the Song Leader sets the tempo and dance beat in other sung dances, the Head Woman reserves this right in Ribbon Dance. The line of women follows Head Woman after she establishes a beat and enters the dance. She must clear the way for the rest of the community, not unlike the lead bird in a V-formation of geese, who creates a wake in the air to make flying easier for those behind.

In this respect, Hokte Eco takes on the responsibilities of Turtle who, in the Creation Story, dives under the waters and brings up the mud that becomes land to save the other creatures from drowning in the waters. As such she moves ahead of, and more quickly than, the line. When she reaches the center post of an arbor, she rotates toward the Fire mound, still keeping time with her step. When the line catches up with her, she moves on to the next arbor and repeats the phrase arbor by arbor.

On the penultimate and final rounds, the Head Woman changes her pattern. Upon reaching it, she first paces a line from the center post of the North Arbor to that of the South Arbor, encircling the Fire mound in the process. When she arrives at the South Arbor, the line of women has caught up with her (see Figure 4.5). She then continues with her choreography as before. During the final round, she completes the same variation, this time from the West Arbor into the center, tightly circling around the mound again, and alighting in front of the East Arbor (see Figure 4.6). Through the combination of these variations, she paces a stylized outline on the grounds of the pattern known as the Muskogee Knot or the Wheel of Life (see Figure 4.7).

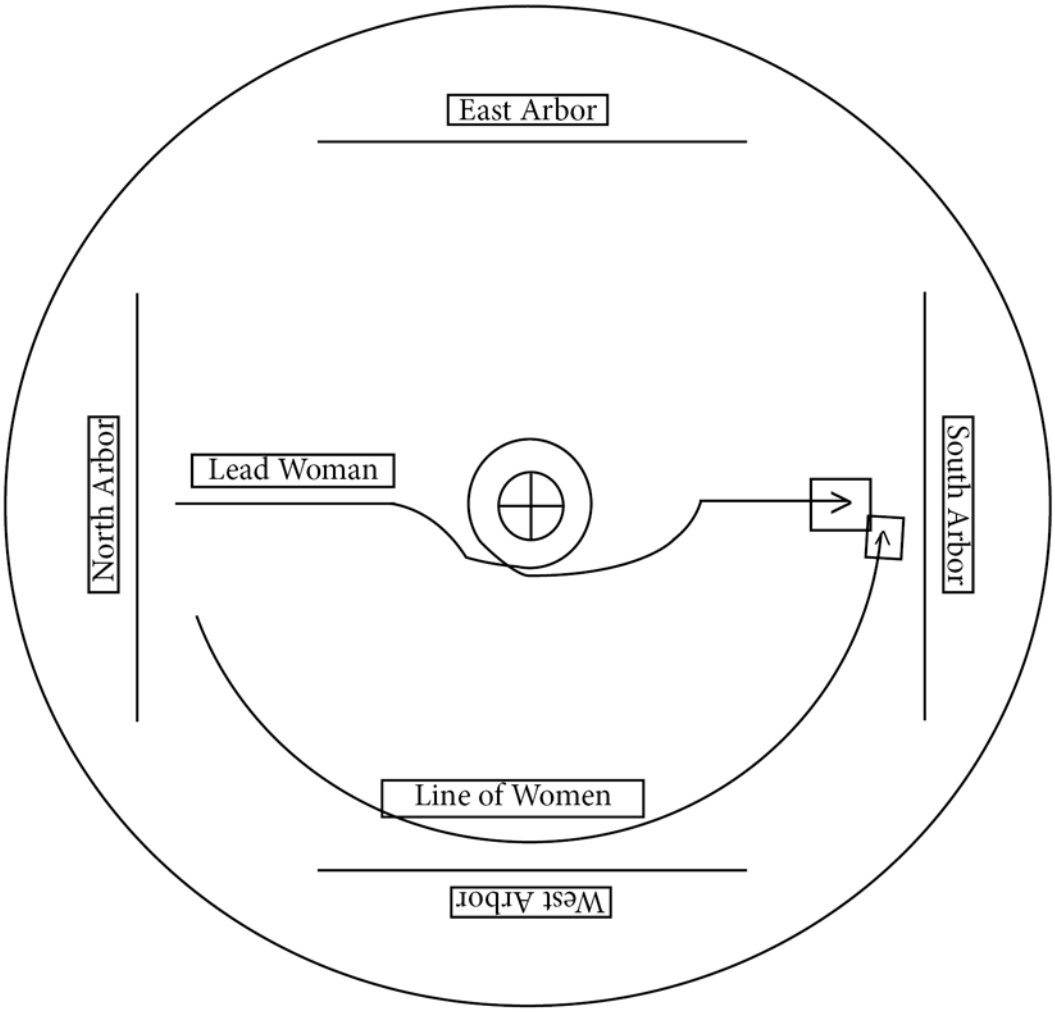


Figure 4.5 The Head Woman's Ribbon Dance penultimate choreographic outline.

In addition to announcing the Ribbon Dance, the emarvs clear the way for the Head Woman during the dance itself. We walk, jog, and sometimes run ahead of her. While she rotates toward the Fire mound at each arbor waiting for the line of women to catch up with her, we wait just ahead. As soon as she turns to continue her circuit, we hustle to the far end of the following arbor. Interacting with, and reacting to, the movements of the Head Woman require the emarvs to observe her closely. Our choreography reacts to hers. We therefore observe her movements in minute detail from close quarters. There forms an almost magnetic relationship between the

Head Woman and the emarvs. We are like small magnets with the same magnetic charge as she, the large magnet. When she turns and glides to the next arbor in a round, she pushes us ahead of her with her strength and Power. We keep count of the number of rounds and sets completed in the dance. One scratches a tally on the ground immediately north of the East Arbor after each round. This allows the Head Woman to lose herself in the dance and not worry about keeping track of the number of rounds.

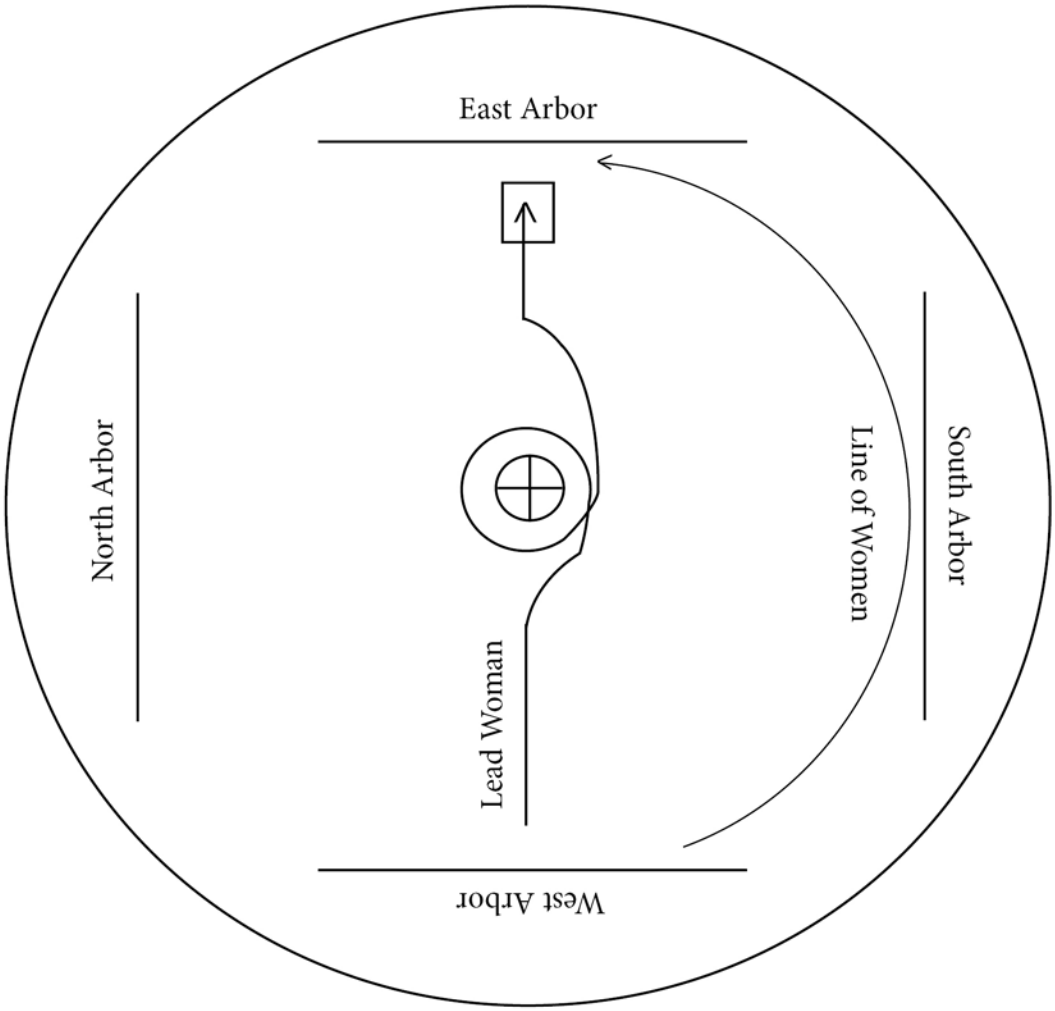


Figure 4.6 The Head Woman's Ribbon Dance final choreographic outline.

Figure 4.7 The Wheel or Knot of Life drawn onto the Fire mound prior to lighting the Fire at the 2008 Harvest Busk. This photo has been darkened to render the pattern visible.

After the Head Woman sets the tempo and both she and the line have completed several rounds, one or two men will join in with a rattle or two. Eventually the men also accompany with a song. As one of the most important sung dances and therefore the most dangerous if performed incorrectly or without full understanding, the community has requested I exclude the lyrics of this particular song and only describe its content (see Example 4.1). Although vocables, words without lexical meaning, comprise the lyrics of the Ribbon Dance song, their exclusion inhibits the ability to perform it completely.

The melodic line, like its Creek name, "Sun Dance," reflects the path of sunlight, descending and bouncing around like dappled sunlight and shadow. It descends to earth from the Upper World like a ray of sun, finally hitting the ground in the Middle World, the pitch D in measures one-four of this transcription. At the end of the verse, there is a moment of shadow as

the melody line dips below into the Other World, the pitch C in measures five and six. This momentary darkness represents the shadow cast by the ray of sunlight, a necessary component of the duality (Hakopē, interview, 19 January 2015).

As the dance nears completion, the tempo and pitch tend to accelerate and rise. During the 2012 Green Corn Busk, for example, the tempo rose from about eighty beats per minute to around 140 beats per minute. As pitch and tempo alter, so too does the performance of the Head Woman. She increases intensity by introducing a series of kick steps. Subdividing each beat, she steps on the beat and touches her heel to the ground on the subdivision. In my opinion, this kick-step looks like that of the Brown Thrasher (*Toxostoma rufum*), a bird found throughout the Southeast and beyond, who has a distinctive hop while rummaging through undergrowth for food. It "kicks" back and forth, often raising dust, just as the Head Woman does with her kick-step.

The women are not the only beings engaged in the Ribbon Dance. The men also play a role. Like the women, they are dressed in their finest busk outfits to demonstrate reverence and show respect for the women and the undertaking. As the Head Woman reaches the center poll of an arbor during the first round of the dance and turns to face the mound, all the men in that arbor stand in respect and remain standing for the duration of the set. They also offer encouragement, shouting things like "*Dvske, dvske*" ("jump, jump")! In this regard, the men symbolize Creation by making sound while the women symbolize Creator by being silent (I explore this sound-silence duality in Chapter Nine). During the rest periods in between and after the sets, two men from the South Arbor bring a bucket of water lightly flavored with mint leaves to each of the women and then to the rest of the community so that everyone may refresh themselves.

As Head Woman and leader of the Ribbon Dance, Hokte Eco notes that she finds it easy to move beyond the detail of the choreography and loose herself in the dance: "That is a dance where consistently I've gotten out of myself and joined the cosmic dance" (Hokte Eco, email, 16 December 2014). During the 2012 Green Corn Busk Ribbon Dance, I witnessed her intensity noticeably increase towards the end of the Ribbon Dance. Her respiration accelerated and more closely resembled the deep breathing of a woman giving birth. Her eyes streamed tears, her frame tensed and shook with a concentrated energy, and she was both completely embodied in the moment and no longer aware of what was going on outside of the dance. Hakopē and Mvhayv-rakko, the Song Leaders at the time, echoed her intensity by augmenting their musical performance with a vocal descant variation that, in my opinion, rang across the grounds like a clarion call of joy and victory. They sang with such strength that Hakopē sounded like a man twenty or thirty years younger than his seventy-odd years of age.

Throughout this and other Ribbon Dances, the line of women functions as a ground. While the Head Woman leads and clears the way, often loosing herself to the Dance, the line maintains its steady march around the Square Grounds. Their sedate movements vitally maintain the overall affect of Ribbon. They provide and ensure a calm, smooth surface from which the Head Woman may then kick up energy. As the Dance continues and increases in intensity, energy constantly moves. It bounces back and forth between the Head Woman and the line of women, between the women and the Song Leaders, and between the women and the men. It moves between Ofvnkv—as the Master of Breath alights upon the Mound to take part in the proceedings—and the community, mediated by the Head Woman. The intensity of her experience derives from mediating that divine flow of Power from Ofvnkv to the community and the proceedings.

As the mediator of that energy, Hokte Eco often enters a state called the "mystic," "zero," or "void experience." Religious theorist Jordan Paper (2004) describes these experiences as a sensation of unity, of merging with light or Power to the point that one's sense of self often evaporates. These moments are extremely moving and leave one with an "understanding that what was experienced was more real/important than any prior experience" (Paper 2004:4). Accessing a void experience necessitates that one "not think." Kusko characterizes it as "If you think too long, you are bound to go wrong" (Hokte Eco, email, 16 December 2014). Just as Mvhayv-rakko found his "social science mind" knocking him out of mindful states of awareness during his early busk experiences, the void experience more easily occurs when one allows oneself to be and not think.

Certainly, witnessing the void experience of another is an awesome experience in the original sense of the word. Immediately after the 2012 Green Corn Ribbon Dance, Hokte Eco turned to Nvfkv, Yvhikv, and me who were then helping with the duties of women as sons of the Matriarch and sitting in the East Arbor. She requested that we collect pots and pot lids from the kitchen so that the women might welcome the soon-to-be-lit Fire with a loud and joyous cacophony. As she made the request, she dripped sweat and the remnants of tears. Her voice sounded ragged as though she had been running or weeping, and she spoke not as the kind, fun, and human Hokte Eco, but instead fully embodied as Matriarch. Her authority was absolute and she wore Power like a mantle. My arbor brothers and I, already rendered emotional from what we had just witnessed, hurried to do her bidding. Observing her demonstrated the weight of the Ribbon Dance that derives from the fact that it is always occurring in an ever-present now.

The Vnahetv ("Conclusions")

Despite their differences, the Ribbon Dance and the fast exemplify busk performance practice. The Ribbon Dance can be considered perhaps the most important sung dance in the corpus. The seemingly simple choreography belies its importance. The calm grounding force of the line of women, the Powerful choreography of the Head Woman, the respect of the men: all combine to form a beautiful and effective ritual. Without the Ribbon Dance, Power from Ofvnkv does not enter the proceedings like the ray of sunlight as depicted in the Ribbon Dance song.

The fast, like the Ribbon Dance, underlies an effective busk. Fasting resets balance and creates a physical and spiritual vacuum. Emptying the body of food, salt, drugs, and sexual fluids opens up a space in the body of the busk participant. Once opened and emptied, Ofvnkv responds to the sacrifice inherent in the act of fasting by filling the participants with Power. Fasting allows Power to enter the body more easily during the busk, resetting the balances of the individual, family, and macrocosmic levels.

I have juxtaposed fasting with the Ribbon Dance in this chapter to highlight the related nature of busk performance practice. These two rituals seem disconnected: the Ribbon Dance as the ritual of supreme importance and the fast as something occurring in the background. Just as persons relate to one another, however, so too do rituals. At Pvlvcekolv, as with many animistic cultures, the cosmology privileges "knowing how to behave within relations in order to nourish these relations more than knowing things in and for themselves as objects separate from the knower" (Naveh and Bird-David 2013:29). In essence, the ways in which persons relate carries greater import than knowing any single individual. In the instance of rituals, the way in which individual rituals interconnect into the whole of busk carries greater import than any single ritual on its own. The keys to both Ribbon Dance and the fast lie in how they combine with each other and with the other components of the busk.

Busk performance practice combines music and dance. Pvlvcekolv understands music to connect with the three Worlds that compose the Creek cosmology. Melodic motion across this world structure communicates meaning. The manner in which the choreography moves across the Square Grounds communicates similar meaning. The dancers enacting the choreographic songs, like the entities that surround, observe, and sometimes dance and sing with them, are beings. These animistic persons live only in the Middle World and have form, substance, purpose/function, and place. By virtue of busking together, of performing with and for each others, humans connect to these persons. Performance practice thereby serves to actuate the relationships between beings.

The discussions of this chapter draw attention to ethnophilosophical ways of treating sound and movement at Pvlvcekolv. Like many Indigenous cultures, this Native American community constructs music and dance as the same category. Native Americanist ethnomusicologists rarely consider this fact in their research. My analysis of the fast and Ribbon Dance here and other rituals throughout this document demonstrate one possible way of merging sonic and movement aspects of American Indian performance practice. Accounting for both halves of this whole results in a clearer picture of Indigenous tradition and a culturally ethical analysis.

Chapter Five: The Body as "Archive"

Turtle Dance and the Bench Dances

Two of Pvlvcekolv's ritual dances, the Turtle Dance and the Bench Dances, contain choreographic narratives of Creation and the Creek "Creation Story." In addition to their role as part of the intangible cultural heritage that is Pvlvcekolv's busk, these dances facilitate community members' interaction with Indigenous history and constructions of the past. I draw on performance scholar Diana Taylor proposed linked concepts, the "archive" and the "repertoire," which reveal the relationships between record and performance. Here I explore Pvlvcekolv ritual performance practice as a Native form of library, archive, museum, and storehouse (LAMS) sciences, discussing the connections between LAMS and the past, history, and heritage. I treat the Turtle Dance and the Bench Dances as an Indigenous LAMS practice centered in the body.

LAMS

Over the past decade, information specialists in archival, library, and museum sciences have initiated dialogues regarding the similarities of their institutions and institutional functions (Duff et al. 2013; Rayward 1998; Tibbo and Lee 2010; Waibel and Erway 2009). Especially with the rise of digital, internet-based collections and services, these distinct institutions increasingly share ideas and practices in a process called "convergence" (Marty 2009; Robinson 2012; VanderBerg 2012). In order to discuss the relationships and commonalities between these institutions more easily, these dialogues have resulted in a new acronym, typically rendered as

"LAM:" library-archive-museum (Novia 2012).[22] To that acronym, I add an ultimate S: storehouse. As "memory institutions" (Dempsey 1999), many policy makers construct LAMS as storehouses or reservoirs to be tapped for a variety of purposes (Trant 2009:369). In certain contexts, as I explore here, Indigenous peoples construct LAMS as storehouses especially because these institutions house ethnographic material. LAMS-as-storehouses meshes well with the main thrust of these next two chapters: a corporeal LAMS science and the personhood of LAMS materials.

By referring to LAMS so broadly, I deliberately collapse some of the distinctions between these institutions. All LAMS house cultural resources; however, why and how they do so differs. On perhaps the most general level, archives tend to house documents, museums tend to house objects, and libraries tend to house books. Archives and libraries frequently place greater import on the content held within the object, whereas museums commonly place greater import on the object itself. Library scientist Howard Besser (2004) characterizes libraries as user-driven, museums as curator-driven, and archives as research-driven. Libraries provide access to a large amount of material, allowing patrons to roam freely and develop their own connections between works. In contrast, museums and archives restrict access. Museums exhibit materials using particular interpretations or contexts. Archivists sort archival materials into highly organized collections, for example, by donor (Besser 2004). The increase in digital repositories has begun to blur the formerly sharp boundaries between LAMS (Tammaro, Madrid, and Casarosa 2013:184). For the purposes of this chapter, I have found it easiest to refer to these

[22] The International Federation of Library Associations renders LAM as LAMMS: libraries, archives, museums, monuments, sites (IFLA 2014). No matter the precise compilation of institutions that fall under this rubric, these institutions acquire and accession cultural items. Collaborations between LAMS can result in compelling and useful projects, such as the First Nations Collections in the Southern Oregon Digital Archives (SODA) project on the Siskiyou-Klamath-Cascades bioregion spearheaded by the Southern Oregon University Hannon Library (Hollens 2014).

institutions collectively rather than separating them out. My argument does not engage the points that distinguish one LAMS institution type from another, but rather addresses the cultural resources they hold in common.

The Archive, History, and Heritage

My research collaboration with Pvlvcekolv has involved documenting and archiving the rituals and cultural events I attend. Since our first formal collaboration in 2008, I have been taking photographs, video and audio recording, and writing up notes of what I have observed, experienced, and learned. There soon came a point when I had amassed so much material that I realized I must organize it, if only so that I might be able to use any of it. To my surprise, a LAMS collection, now the PAP collection in the WCPA archive (see Bibliography), had started to create itself with little help from me. As I spent more time at Pvlvcekolv, elders invited me to make digital copies of community members' personal collections and include them in the ever-growing repository. Digital copies of Creek-related materials I encountered while conducting research in other LAMS around the country joined them (See Appendix). As of this writing, this collection has grown into over seventy-five physical folders, over two hundred physical recordings (CDs, DV tapes, etc), and close to five terabytes of digitally born or copied material. The collection represents over four hundred years of history and tradition with the bulk highlighting roughly the last seventy years.

Participating in this process of documenting and accessioning ceremony sparked a series of questions for me regarding the role and nature of the LAMS and the relationships between the LAMS, its contents, and those who access and use that content. I also began to explore LAMS functions in the busk. This chapter treats these questions in concert with Chapter Six. Chapter

Six explores the lives of ceremonial object persons who live in LAMS. In this chapter, I examine the relationship between ceremonial performance practice and archival practice as centered in participants' bodies.

LAMS fulfill crucial roles for their access communities. In a very real way, LAMS help a people construct their present and future identities through interactions with the historical rare and valuable cultural materials they preserve (Dritsas and Haig 2014; Jorgensen 2012:1; Kaye et al. 2006). In a discussion on the importance of archival science, ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger has called archives the storehouses of the tools of self-determination; his comment might easily expand to cover all institutions under the LAMS umbrella (2015). Many societies consider LAMS and their holdings to be very important (Niles 2004): witness the number of war crimes that involve the destruction of LAMS (c.f. Al-Tikriti 2007; Douglas Cox 2011; Halilovich 2014). If these institutions and their holdings were not important, there would be no reason to destroy and create them anew (O'Toole 2002). In less extreme contexts, LAMS still play important roles in memory and identity, "over the fundamental ways in which a society seeks evidence of what its core values are and have been, where it has come from, and where it is going" (Schwartz and Cook 2002:1).

LAMS tangle into constructions of the past, history, and heritage. These ideas overlap and weave amongst one another, making it difficult for us to observe what LAMS institutions actually are. I attempt to map out the relationships between the concepts, connecting together the dots between past, history, heritage, and LAMS in order to explore the connection between the archive and the body. In order to dialogue more easily with D. Taylor's idea of "the archive," which I explain below, I define LAMS in this chapter as storehouses for information or materials. In an attempt to simplify matters, I refer to this definition of LAMS-as-storehouses

even when working with D. Taylor's concept of the archive. Collaborating on the busk-focused LAMS collection has focused more on the archival side of the LAMS umbrella; I therefore draw more heavily on archival approaches and science in this chapter and Chapter Six. The aspects of archival science I examine, however, can apply to all LAMS institutions in this Indigenous context.

Of the LAMS institutions, the development of the archive began in the late 1500s and early 1600s in Europe and correlated with the developments of modern science. During the Age of Enlightenment, archives were tools of absolute monarchies, increasingly used for political purposes. Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, archives began to transition from political and legal tools in the hands of government to "warehouses of sources for historical research" that resemble LAMS surprisingly closely (Rumschöttel 2001:145). As scholastic interests overtook political uses, archival training centers, journals, conferences, and methods handbooks began to serve the profession. The invention of audio and film recording equipment in the late 1800s also required ways to accession them, resulting in the founding of AV archival institutions, such as the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv (Topp-Fargion 2008:61). Audio, film, and more recently video and other new formats created new challenges in organization, conservation, technology, and documentation. When combined with a greater number, and improved quality, of records, these new formats created a surge of interest and increased differentiation between types of archives beginning in the 1950s. Business, government, personal, political, and other types of archive became useful (Rumschöttel 2001:146-49). Now, LAMS have devoted disciplines, sciences, and communities of professionals around the world exchanging ideas (Horsman, Ketelaar, and Thomassen 2001).

Ethnomusicologists have built an impressive literature around the importance of the archive and similar institutions. While promoting a series of best practices for recording both for research and for accessioning, Janet Topp-Fargion (2008) explores how ethnomusicology became viable after the onset of audio recording technology. Anthony Seeger has written a series of excellent publications regarding the practical and theoretical uses and applications of audiovisual archival practice to the field (1986, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2015; Seeger and Chaudhuri 2004). Carol Muller examines several case studies of archiving "Africanness" in the process of music composition and archival formation (2002), while Jesse Ruskin treats the role of the archive both in storing and creating knowledge (2006). Several studies have focused on repatriation (Landau and Topp-Fargion 2012; Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub 2012). The discipline also features a series of articles on the state and contents of various archives and/or calls for the same (Korson and Hickerson 1969; Landry 1972; Russell 2012; Stuppan 1964; Thiel 1986). These and other sources, however, largely leave unquestioned the basic nature of the archive, or its relationship to the past and to heritage.

By its very nature, we can never access the past. In the ever-present now, it has ceased to exist and we cannot return to it. We can only construct or represent it. Historian John Lewis Gaddis likens the past to a fog-shrouded landscape seen from afar. We might be able to describe larger swathes of it, but many details remain vague (Gaddis 2002). Although we cannot directly access the past, we can construct it in a variety of ways (Elder-Vass 2012). Euro-American cultures tend to construct history and time as linear trajectories, while many Indigenous cultures, such as Pvlvcekolv, tend to construct circular or spiral temporalities. Many Western cultures assume that event one leads to event two to event three; certain Indigenous cultures perceive events as regular reoccurrences or rotating instantiations of the same event (Fabian [1983] 2002).

No matter the specific constructions of the past, we often access it as heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995:369). Heritage celebrates and professes faith in a past tailored to purposes of the present day. Heritage and heritage activities have become ways of interacting with the past now in the present. Cultural geographer David Lowenthal (1985, 1998) has suggested that the ever-increasing rise of heritage and heritage activities around the world derives from new, Euro-American ways of interacting with time beginning in the 1800s. With the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, massive change became increasingly common, a phenomenon that today continues to increase exponentially and globally. Rapid change has made it possible to see "time move," and people especially in Europe and the US became aware of their position in a temporal space abruptly different from that of fifty or one hundred years earlier.

Among these "seas of change," we humans often construct the past into points of stability. These constructions can now function as "islands of security," offering people comfort from their fear of change (Lowenthal 1998:6). We create heritage when we display and designate those islands of security, which take physical form as monuments, places, and objects (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995:369). In an effort to preserve them, we often place physical fences around these monuments and places and glass cages around these objects in museums and archives (Karp and Lavine 1991; Karp, Kratz, et al. 2006; Karp, Kreamer, et al. 1992; NMAI 2005, 2011).

Heritage forms an important site for power politics. Controlling heritage sites, resources, and access to them is to control identity, political and cultural legitimacy, and even basic belief systems. Besides being a stabilizing rock in the midst of postmodernist seas, heritage becomes a political tool. As a tool, many individuals, institutions, and groups have used it to bring

recalcitrant peoples to heel (L. Smith 2006:30). Often in colonial contexts, controlling heritage sites, access to them, and narratives surrounding them has been synonymous with controlling Indigenous populations themselves.

In addition to sites and objects, heritage includes a variety of "embodied practices" or performances. Discourses on heritage as embodied practice focus on "intangible cultural heritage" as championed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and a variety of other institutions (McKercher and du Cros 2002; L. Smith and Akagawa 2009; Saeji 2012). The UNESCO version of intangible cultural heritage includes "traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts" (UNESCO n.d.:3).

Because it contains materials related to heritage, the archive forms another route to construct, access, and celebrate heritage (H. Taylor 1982-3, 1995). As an institution designed to "prove" heritage and history, the archive plays an integral role in the discourses that are heritage and history (Niles 2004:197). Many forms of imperial or colonial heritage and history have long marginalized Indigenous and other subaltern peoples. Using history, heritage, and the archive, colonial actors often denied validity to many of the "embodied practices" that comprise intangible cultural heritage. Instead, these same actors tended to favor what historian Hayden White has defined as "events:" "considered to be time and place specific, unique and unrepeatable, not reproducible under laboratory conditions, and only minimally describable in algorithms and statistical series" (1999). These events comprise unique and verifiable occurrences with protagonistic social actors, and colonial actors preferred those verifiable

through documentation (D. Taylor 2006:69). Yet events are themselves the compilation of embodied practices communicated through the very documentation we commonly call heritage materials, such as manuscripts, recordings, photographs, bones, and sites.

People create and accession LAMS materials in social settings for social purposes with a concept of their social setting works, their role in it, and how they might change it (Nesmith 2006:352). By creating those records, they construct the event(s) the records relate to as important (D. Taylor 2006:69). The construction of the importance of an event closely relates to what Laurajane Smith calls the authorized heritage discourse (AHD): a discourse that privileges knowledge and values by "experts" regarding the past and its material manifestations (2006:4). Transmitters of the AHD self-define the "legitimate" spokespersons for the past by virtue of the inherent vagueness of the past. The mystery and what L. Smith characterizes as the "hard to pin downness" of the past render it subject to the judgment of experts such as historians, archaeologists, and other social scientists (L. Smith 2006:29). These specialists become stewards and caretakers of the past, and assume institutionalized power over it. Through their control, these experts have the power to control "what is, and will be, known about the past, about the power of remembering over forgetting" (Schwartz and Cook 2002:3). These experts have the ability to disempower subaltern peoples by not permitting their public engagement with, and interpretations of, the past when they clash with the AHD.[23]

These statements about expert control of heritage via the AHD also hold true for colonial history. Colonial forces denied validity to certain forms of embodied practice. Performance practices were forcibly expelled from systems of colonial meaning-making when they

[23] At the same time, experts have the ability to empower them; see, as but one positive example, the collaboration between Anthony Seeger and the Suyá/Kisêdjê Amazonian people (Seeger 1981, 1991, 1994, [1987] 2004, 2013, 2015).

transmitted Native histories, values, and claims. Colonial authorities recognized that a variety of Indigenous performances not only transmitted Native perspectives and narratives, but also empowered Indigenous populations and challenged colonial power. To combat these performance practices, they strategically positioned performance as a way of knowing and transmitting information outside of "history," making it un- and anti-historical. History as a discipline increasingly became a tool to subject Indigenous populations further during the colonial era using the tools provided by the archive (D. Taylor 2006:70).

In the present day, historians and archivists still interact with this trajectory of power dynamics (Schwartz and Cook 2002). Like other "stewards of heritage," historians and LAMS specialists have long held the upper hand in creating the narratives surrounding the past, maintaining a series of discourses that echo the AHD. In their pursuit of new "scientific" history, historians since the mid-nineteenth century required an archive that was a neutral repository of facts. Archivists obliged until very recently, "extolling their own professional myth of impartiality, neutrality, and objectivity" (Schwartz and Cook 2002:1). Historians founded their historical discourses on documentary evidence, or "archival memory:" documents, maps, literary texts, letters, archaeological remains, bones, videos, films, and CDs—all those items supposedly resistant to change (D. Taylor 2003:19-20). An authentic record is one that can be proven to be what it claims to be, and that has not been altered or corrupted in essential respects, and the authenticity of these sources remains a primary concern for archivists (MacNeil 2005:265). Proving the authenticity of non-physical records like performances remains difficult, and archival evidence sustained historical inquiry, and, through it, those self-defined experts mediated and maintained historical discourses (Booms 1987:76).

In an archival LAMS context, for example, the archive is often necessarily complicit in these critiques of heritage and history. Scholars of archival practice increasingly call for more nuanced understandings of the role of the archive and the archivist in representation and power dynamics (Butler 2009; E. Kaplan 2002; MacNeil 2005; Schwartz and Cook 2002). Heather MacNeil discussed the relationship between archivist and textual critic. She suggests that, through the act of describing a record in a collection, the archivist is actually an editor of records' authenticity (2005:271). Terry Cook articulates the archival function of appraisal as archivists "doing nothing less than determining what the future will know about its past: who will have a continuing voice and who will be silenced. Archivists thereby co-create the archive" (Cook 2011:606). The relationship between the archivist and the archive, or indeed an LAMS specialist and their institution is one of creation. Despite these and other critiques and calls for awareness, LAMS practices to an extent remain bound up in modes of thought and practice derived from nineteenth century positivism. Unfortunately, some LAMS specialists continue to resist their peers' efforts to alter this long-term isolation from contemporary understandings and critiques (E. Kaplan 2002:211). Despite their reticence, others continue to call for LAMS and specialists to relinquish dominant "archival grand narratives" in favor of "more humane therapeutics" (Butler 2009:68).

For much of LAMS history, scholars tended to construct LAMS on the idea that the object of analysis, a piece of "archival memory," is "out there" and somehow separate from the knower (D. Taylor 2006:69). In this model, the investigator examines pre-existing data rather than producing it, sustaining the idea of LAMS stability and objectivity. A LAMS object, however, is the product in addition to the source of historical inquiry. The presence of an object in a LAMS collection means that it has successfully passed a process of identification, selection,

and classification in order to be defined now as an "archival source." While this process does not negate the fact that the object existed prior to entering a collection, by virtue of undergoing the archival process the object is the product of, to some degree a necessarily subjective, selection. An object derives cachet and power from its inclusion in a LAMS collection. The object's inclusion renders it part of the historical discourse it is meant to prove. Although we might perceive LAMS sources to be naturally objective by virtue of being in a LAMS, they are nonetheless the subjective products of the systemic construction of history and heritage (D. Taylor 2006:69).

LAMS sources relate to an event and impart information about it, but are not themselves the event, much the same as how a description of a dance is not the dance itself. Performance scholar Diana Taylor distinguishes these two categories as "the repertoire" and "the archive." The repertoire encompasses performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing: essentially any act usually considered to be ephemeral and nonreproducible. Practitioners maintain these practices; they "are always present, though in a constant state of againness" (D. Taylor 2003:20-21). The opposite of the repertoire, "the archive" comprises a form of memory and includes items supposedly resistant to change, such as those same documents, archaeological remains, CDs, and monuments. Insofar as it houses materials that seem to endure, "the archive exceeds the live" (D. Taylor 2003:19). According to D. Taylor, the LAMS encompasses representations of the repertoire; the repertoire instantiates practices that must be reduced before they can enter the LAMS.

Although colonial peoples and institutions often considered the embodied repertoire to be un- or anti-historical, historians do in fact study it, albeit via LAMS sources. Despite this, few claims by Indigenous peoples to self-government, land rights, and legal status are accepted by

government and legal authorities when based on the repertoire and not also on documentary evidence. D. Taylor goes so far as to suggest that "events are not necessarily entered into history and archives because they are pivotal, but that they become pivotal by virtue of the fact that they are entered into history and archives" (2006:69). This statement speaks to the generative role of the LAMS in historical discourse, reaffirming that the LAMS is not merely a source for historical inquiry, but also its product.

Dancing History

The primary story at Pvlvcekolv—one might argue, the only story—is the "Creation Story." Its primacy means that all ritual and non-ritual actions are ways of enacting and/or continuing Creation. The choreographic and sung forms of expressing Creation do not constitute "re-creations" of the event, nor are they theatrical events merely telling its narrative. Instead, sung ritual dances are continuations of the event itself. Where every dance connects to Creation in some fashion, two dances, the Turtle Dance and the Bench Dances, directly enact the "Creation Story." I tell an abbreviated version of the "Creation Story" using a written version of the tale compiled at Pvlvcekolv. In its telling, I deliberately fuse present and past tenses in an attempt to communicate the ever-occurring nature of Creation. I then explore the Turtle and Bench Dances as choreographed forms of history-making and LAMS practice (Creation Story, PAP8.2).

The "Creation Story" does not tell of a one-time event, something that happened once in the far distant past. Rather, Creation is the story of everything that is happening and occurring now in the ever-present moment. This ever-present moment stretches back to "the first time, which became the beginning." At that time, "Earth and all that exists, 'was.'" *Ofvnkv*, Creator,

thinks it, so it became. However, this was Creator's "first time at creating. There was no experience in these matters." As a result, everything exists without a place to be; all was chaos and confusion—"it isn't very Muskogee to be without order." From amidst the chaos, Turtle cries out. Hearing her, Ofvnkv created water. "It was good all now had a place[, but] it was bad that it was water. Almost everything was drowning!" Seeing how desperate the other beings in the water were, Turtle taught some to swim. Those who could not swim she places on her back to rest. But tiredness came quickly and "fear came to be." The fearful cries all around her worry Turtle "and compassion was born" (Creation Story, PAP8.2).

With compassion her companion, Turtle remembers "her own cries—memory came to be." Moved by compassion, Turtle acts. She dives "beneath the Waters, swam about, and found some mud. Turtle piled up the mud, and dives again and again. Soon, there was much land being formed all around." Turtle forms land with the help of many other beings who dry the mud and pound it together. Now everyone receives their habits and places in Creation from Ofvnkv. From these they derived their relationships to one another. The Turtle and Bench Dances enact these portions of the Story: the initial Creation, the making of land, and all beings finding their places and relationships.

Turtle Dance

Turtle Dance takes place at every busk, usually late on Friday or Saturday night in darkness symbolizing the lightless confusion of the early stages of Creation.[24] The performers

[24] Frank Speck described a Yuchi "Big Turtle Dance," which honors a supernatural "horned reptile , denoted in the Yuchi as a turtle though having a snake-like body" (1911b:201-202). Neither the performance practice ([1909] 2004:119) nor the song transcription (1911b:202-203) resemble Turtle Dance choreography as I witnessed or performed it at Pvlvcekolv. However, given that the two dances appear to have different functions—the Yuchi in honoring of Big Turtle and the Pvlvcekolv in honoring Turtle from the Creation Story—this is not surprising or

begin by preparing the grounds, removing the benches from under the arbors so that they might dance through them unimpeded. As people gather behind the East Arbor, two men sweep the grounds in preparation for the dance (I treat sweeping in Chapter Nine). Outside the shell ring, participants line up in pairs, women on the left, men on the right. At most busks, more men can typically attend than women; after the women place themselves, men fill the remainder of the left half of each pair.

After lining up, the community steps the outline of Turtle onto the grounds. Beginning outside the shell ring, outside Creation, they move into sacred space, into existence. The act of stepping over the shell ring enacts the moment of Creation. It often takes several minutes for all dancers to make that transition between the time before and Creation. This time directs attention to the fact that Pvlvcekolv considers Creation to be on-going: Muskogee Creation does not take place in a single instant. Rather, Creation is happening even now.

Moving in and out of the arbors, performers outline Turtle (see Figure 5.1). This outline actuates the mud that Turtle brings up after Creator creates water. With their feet, performers join Turtle and her helpers in stamping the mud together to dry it out and form land. Either the North American continent or the entire planet Earth depending on the interpretation, Pvlvcekolv sometimes calls that land Vnewetv or "Turtle Island." By outlining Turtle, by outlining the land, participants "remind" the land upon which they dance that it still exists, that it retains a variety of relationships with the beings who created it and who now shelter on it, and that it should continue to exist and maintain those relationships.

Against a background of crickets and the chirping of night birds, participants sing, "Lo-cv, Lo-cv" ("Turtle, Turtle"), enacting that being and her brave and necessary deeds (see Figure

---

unusual. Frances Densmore transcribed two Choctaw Terrapin Dance Songs (1943:172-173), both of which appear to be social, not ritual, dances.

5.2). While dancing her outline, the performers also, in a sense, become her (see Chapter Seven). They make our steps slow and measured and sing quietly, doing nothing quickly. Instead, they are certain and deliberate in the choreography, just like Turtle.

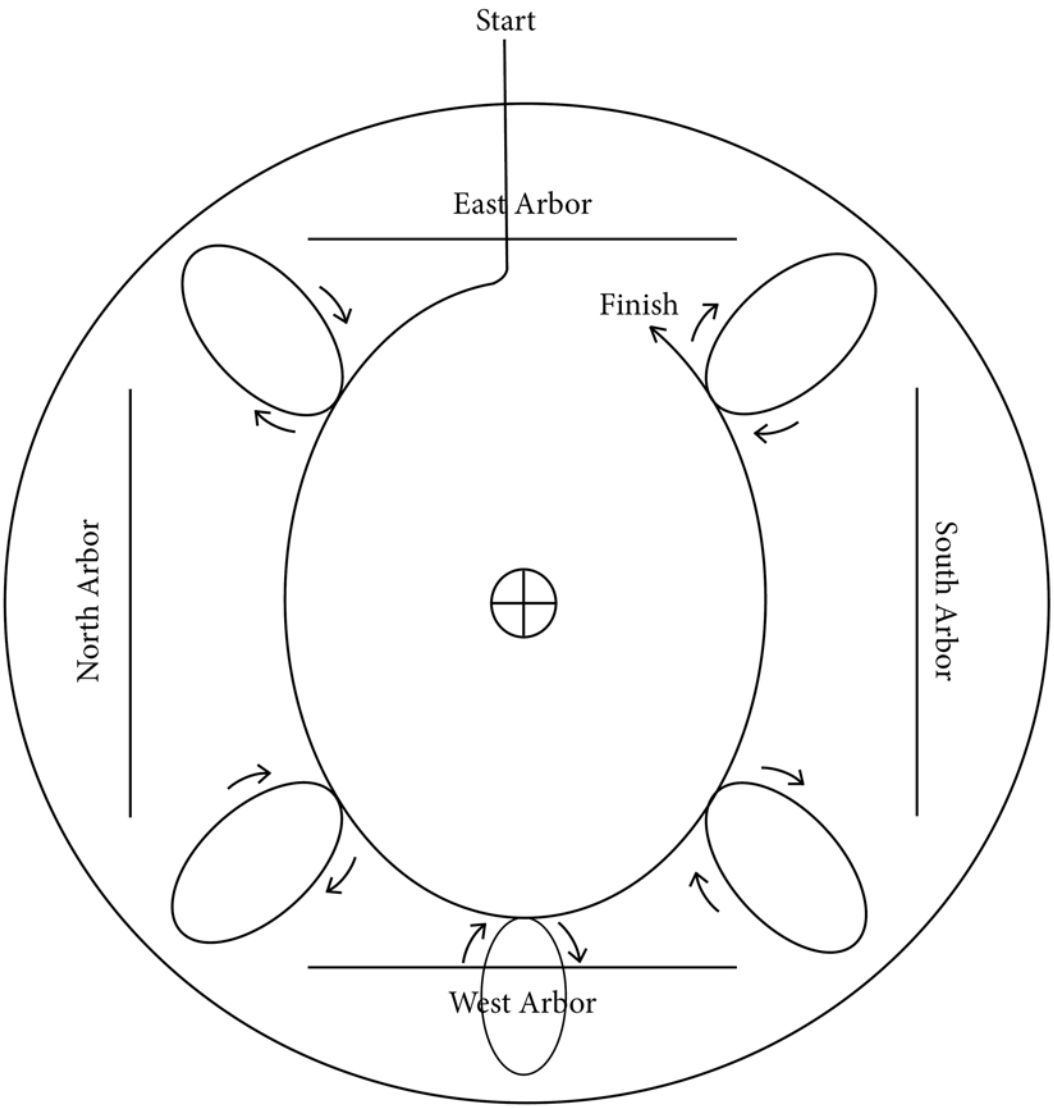


Figure 5.1 Turtle Dance choreographic outline.

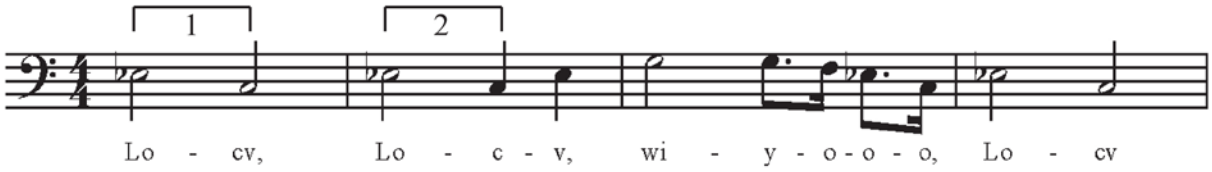
Unlike the Buffalo or Feather Dances detailed in the Chapter Seven, Turtle Dance does not feature any connections with the ecological habits of turtles. From a Muskogee perspective,

this makes perfect sense. Turtle Dance treats the early stages of the "Creation Story" prior to the receipt of original instructions and teachings. No being yet knows what they are supposed to do. At this point, Turtle does not have any ecological habits. Or perhaps I might more accurately state that the dance intimately connects to the sum total of the ecological habits that Turtle had by this point in the "Creation Story:" saving others from drowning and creating land.

Figure 5.2 Forming the southeastern leg of Turtle during the 2013 Green Corn Busk Turtle Dance. Video Still.

The Turtle Dance song follows these habits, and I analyze this and other songs in this chapter using the model I develop in Chapter Four (see Example 5.1). As I explain there, Pvlvcekolv understands melodic contours to communicate meaning. The Turtle Dance song features two descending thirds at the beginning, labeled "1" and "2" in Example 5.1. According to Hakopē, over the course of these two descending thirds, Turtle swims under the water, gathering mud. Rising with the fifth between measures two and three, she plants the mud on the

ever-growing land. Then, using that new land as a diving board, she dives back down into the water with the descending fifth to continue gathering mud for Vnewetv. When he was a child, Hakopē remembers several of the older women in the community softly singing the Turtle Dance song as a lullaby for the children. While they sang, they made hand motions, mimicking a slightly different motion of Turtle. In their interpretation, Turtle sticks her head out of the water on the pitch I have transcribed as E-flat, goes underwater with the descending third, only to stick her head out of the water again with the return of the E-flat (Hakopē, interview, 11 April 2015). Whatever her precise choreography, the melodic motion follows her movements through her watery environment as she helps to create new land.



Example 5.1 The Turtle Dance song.

The Bench Dances

Whereas Turtle Dance occurs at every busk, the Bench Dances take place once annually only during the Soup Dance gathering in the depths of winter. Soup Dance is a multi-layered event. Unlike the comparatively public nature of busks, Soup Dance tends to be more private and focus more on individual families rather than the community as a whole. When the community's population was larger, each family would observe its own Soup Dance separately from each other. Now that the busking population has dwindled, several families gather at the Square Grounds. Within the larger group, however, individual family groups tend to stay together.

During the busks, the women take care of the men, preparing food, feeding, and guarding them during their time of purification. The Soup Dance functions as the primary time when the men take care of the women in thanks for their busking care. We "prepare a feast for the women. And since it's men in the kitchen, to use the word 'feast' is kind of a stretch of the imagination, but we do the best we can," Hakopē notes with characteristic humor (interview, 26 January 2009). In practice, of course, the small population of women present at most busks necessitates that men help them with their duties. The Soup Dance, however, functions as the official time for thanks from the men to the women for their efforts.

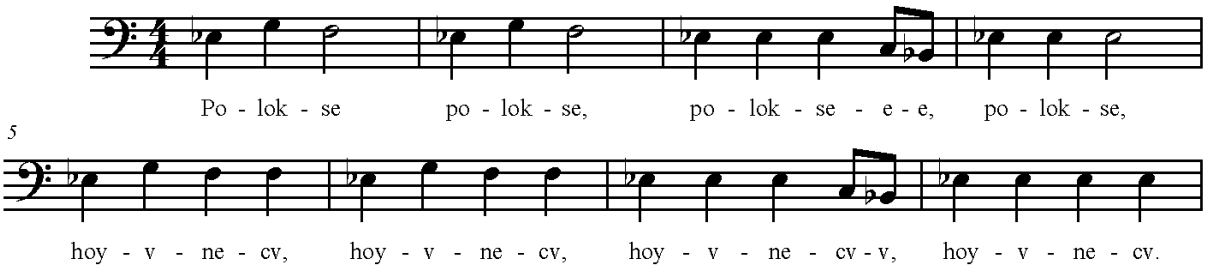
While the men cook for and wait on them, the women sort seeds. As with every ceremonial event, some portion of the proceedings connects to community agriculture. Removing any rotten or eaten seeds, they sort them into various categories. Some will return home with each family, some will be eaten, and some will become compost. While they sort, they converse and keep track of each individual in the community, of the weddings, births, deaths, and other notable events that occur in every community. An oral history of the community entangles into the seeds planted by the community, connecting that history into the earth.

Later, after consuming the food cooked by the men, everyone gathers in the eating tent, away from the grounds. The tent usually also contains several tables, but now holds only two parallel benches along the sides upon which everyone sits. Conversation and other activities soon transition to the Bench Dances. Even more than Turtle Dance, this ritual event comprises the wider narrative arc of the "Creation Story" and connects together multiple shorter choreographies all under the Bench Dance umbrella.

Someone takes out a rattle and another person a water drum. Hakopē begins telling the "Creation Story." He begins in Creek and then translates each line into English. The Bench Dances flow about the narrative as the choreographic component in its telling. As he tells of the confusion that accompanies the early stages of Creation, everyone gets up and mills about, calling in fear. The drum and rattle augment the confusion with arrhythmic flurries of sound. As the rattle and drum die down, Hakopē continues the Story. When Creator makes water, a place for everything to be, an elder in the community scatters white river sand between the benches as the water that Creator makes (see Figure 5.3). The dancers now have a place in which to hold the Bench Dances.

Figure 5.3 Scattering sand during the 2015 Soup Dance.

The men now sit as the Story describes how Creator first created the females of all species. The women stand in between the benches while the men designate a Head Woman for the upcoming ceremonial cycle in a brief ritual called Hooping the Head Woman (Hokte Eco, interview, 25 January 2009). The Head Woman leads the dances, especially the Ribbon Dance. The community sometimes also calls her the Lead Dancer or the First Woman. At the beginning of the Hooping ceremony, four men glide into the tent balancing a hoop braided with ribbons on four sticks. While they sing "*Po-lok-se hoy-vne-cv*," a contraction of "the hoop is passing by" (see Example 5.2), they lazily walk along the line of women, two men behind the line, two in front, the hoop overhead. The melody line of this song circles around in measures one, two, five, and six much like the hoop it represents. The four men designate the Head Woman by dropping the ribboned hoop over her head (see Figure 5.4). Measures three and seven show the descending motion of the hoop as it slides over the Head Woman's head. Following her election, the "Creation Story" narration continues.



Example 5.2 The song accompanying the hooping of the Head Woman.

Everything now exists and has a place: water. But most beings are now drowning. As many struggle to remain afloat, the community raises a cry. Turtle dives down into the waters and brings up mud bit by bit. As land begins to form, the other beings help Turtle by stamping the earth together. Seated on the benches, the participants begin slapping their thighs, tamping down the earth that Turtle is forming.

Figure 5.4 Top: The men rehearse how to hoop the Head Woman at Soup Dance 2009. Bottom: Hooping the Head Woman at Soup Dance 2013.

After pounding out the new earth, everything has a place to be. But no being knows what, where, or why they should do or be. Now the hilarity and humor of the Bench Dances come to the fore. Everyone present rises one by one from their seats and enacts a being while those seated try to guess what that being is. The only limit is to avoid beings connected to the earth like trees or rocks. I have witnessed portrayals of humans from both inside and outside the community, and a host of other beings. During the 2009 Soup Dance, one person strutted around like George W. Bush, then the often-belittled president of the United States, to scads of laughter. Another dancer minced down the space between the benches as the Matriarch, before a third waddled around as Hakopē before he had had his coffee in the morning. The participants greeted these caricatured enactions with hilarity; those being portrayed laughed hardest (though President Bush was not present).

Where portrayals of specific humans tend to be theatrical caricatures, depictions of certain beings, especially animals and birds, exhibit a detailed understanding of the habits of those beings. Vhicv's 2009 enaction of a heron (*Ardea herodias*) exhibited the precise wading pattern that bird makes while hunting (see Figure 5.5). When portraying a spoonbill (*Platalea ajaja*) at the 2013 Soup Dance, he combined ecology with humor by flying around the tent with a long cooking spoon in his mouth! After everyone enacts a being, the laughter dies down somewhat and quiet conversations complete the evening.

Bench dancing ensures the continued existence of a variety of people, animals, and other beings crucial to the health and continued longevity of the community, the continent, and even the entire earth. By enacting and naming them at Soup Dance, participants place them within their sustaining relationships to assure their place and continuity in the world. A community-wide conversation several years ago underscored the gravity of the superficially comedic Bench

Figure 5.5 Top: Vhicv enacting a heron at the 2009 Soup Dance. Bottom: a heron fishing.

Dances when two children hypothesized that dinosaurs became extinct because somebody a long time ago forgot to name them at a Bench Dance. The elders were delighted, both with the children's insight into the efficacy of ceremonial action, and their realization of the cosmological importance of ceremonial enactment.

Without these regular enactions or reminders, these beings might well cease to exist like the dinosaurs. If Pvlvcekolv does not pound out the earth that Turtle brings up, the earth may cease to exist or function as it does. Hakopē and other elders have often hypothesized that some of the most important cultural and ritual events occur in the background, quietly, and without fanfare. What could be more important than the maintenance and continuity of life itself and all beings that comprise it, they might ask.

Enacting the Bench Dances and Turtle Dance not only creates spaces for the community to thank, honor, and ensure the longevity of the beings named. These rituals also create spaces for participants to experience in analogous circumstances what characters from the "Creation Story" themselves experienced. In a sense, therefore, the living become mythical heroes (Seeger 1991). Performers take into their bodies the actions, thoughts, words, and habits of those beings and become them. While stepping out the outline of Turtle on the grounds, performers not only remind the earth under their feet and themelves of what Turtle did, they also collectively become Turtle for a time. Vhicv did not merely perform a heron or spoonbill crane at the 2009 and 2013 Soup Dances, respectively; he became them, and waded and flew around the eating tent with his feathers slicked back, a fish in his bill. (See Chapter Seven for a more in-depth analysis of "becoming.")

That performers become the beings they enact brings into question the relationship between a performative tradition and history. When performing the Turtle and Bench Dances,

participants are not merely mimicking the "Creation Story," nor are they reenacting. They are entering into a process that has been ongoing since "the first time, which became the beginning." Just as the community enters the Feather and Ribbon Dances (see Chapter Four), so too do they enter the ever-revolving carousel of the Turtle Dance and the Bench Dances. These dances are always happening, always spiraling around, and they enter them at specific times and enact them in the Middle World. As the story at Pvlvcekolv, the "Creation Story" is history.

The Body as LAMS

In her scholarship on history and performance, D. Taylor (2003, 2006) employs two terms: "the repertoire" and "the archive." She defines them as existing in a constant state of interaction and notes that many often conceptualize them as opposites (D. Taylor 2003:19-21). The repertoire encompasses any act usually considered ephemeral and non-reproducible; the "archive" encompasses representations of those same ephemeral and non-reproducible actions. A live performance can never be captured or transmitted through the LAMS; a recording of a performance is not the performance. The recording can be part of the LAMS, but what it represents is part of the repertoire.

D. Taylor examines the history of "archive" in making her points. The etymology of "archive" from the Greek *arkhe* (ἀρχή) reveals it not only as a public building where records are kept, however, but also as "a beginning," the "first place." After shifting the dictionary definitions into a syntactical order, D. Taylor concludes that "the archival, from the beginning, sustains power" (2003:19). This statement can also apply to libraries, museums, and storehouses. And indeed, the LAMS as an institution derives from colonial forms of history making that privilege unique and remarkable events that take place chronologically. Colonial powers founded

this kind of history on documentary, LAMS-based forms of evidence, foregrounding their own narratives and protagonists. In the process, colonial history dispossessed those unable to prove their claims to protagonists, discoveries, or land through documentation (D. Taylor 2006:69).

If we focus on the etymology of "archive" and the similarities and relationships between the archive and the repertoire, however, this dichotomy begins to break down, perhaps especially in relation to the Creation Story. "An institution designed to sustain power" can describe both archive and repertoire. In my case study of Pvlvcekolv, the repertoire tells the largest and most important cosmological story: the "Creation Story." Community members have discussed numerous times that any and every story exists as part of the larger "Creation Story." The story of how Blue Jay got his voice, for example, tells of the portion of the "Creation Story" wherein all beings receive their first instructions, their roles and functions, from Creator. A more recent, casual story Hokte Eco told me of an appealing lesson she taught in her class at school constitutes a continuation of Creation and an analogy for those first instructions from Ofvnkv. Other stories similarly tell subsections or portions of Creation.

On a deeper level, enacting Creation connects to the ecological world. Hakopē notes that "ceremony" or "ritual" do not accurately describe the event. He prefers "procedure" or "procedural," especially because these actions "are merely human interpretations of things that [we] observe in the natural world" (Hakopē, interview, 15 April 2015). Dancing out the "Creation Story" stands as something of a metaphor for dancing out a human interpretation of ecological phenomena. For example, when Pvlvcekolv dances the Bench Dances, they are choreographically realizing the habits of specific species; other dances, such as Feather and Buffalo Dances, function similarly. The "Creation Story" becomes a narrative of "creation" in the widest sense. When telling the "Creation Story" through choreographies, enacting it, entering

into the always already moving nature of Creation, the "againness" of it, Pvlvcekolv from the beginning sustains its power.

Part of the distinction between the archive and repertoire lies in the form of memory each mode takes. LAMS memory exists in documents, bones, monuments; repertoire in bodily memory via fleshy articulations. Yet the LAMS researcher approaches those documents, bones, and monuments with her or his body (S. L. Foster 1995:6). Extending the concept that a performance is a text, dance theorist Susan Leigh Foster characterizes all bodily movement as "bodily writing," perhaps a way of depicting the transformation of the repertoire into the archive. With this understanding, a "historian's body wants to consort with dead bodies," it "wants those dead bodies to lend a hand in deciphering its own present predicament and in staging some future possibilities." She understands the production of history as a physical endeavor, one requiring large quantities of sitting, reading, and moving slowly among similar bodies, "staring alternatively at the archival evidence and the fantasies it generates" (S. L. Foster 1995:6). A recording—be it on paper, film, or otherwise—might not be the dance, but we create and access both dance and recording via corporeal experience and embodied practices. And, like the archive, the repertoire transmits communal memories, histories, and values between groups and generations. Both modes generate, record, and transmit knowledge.

The archive and the repertoire unite through the body. The repertoire is not precisely the archive, nor is the archive precisely the repertoire. Instead, the body is an archive, a LAMS (Taddia 2013:6). Writing on re-enactments of contemporary dances, performance scholar Andre Lepecki proposes that there is "no distinction left between archive and body" (2010:31). Although a different cultural context, Pvlvcekolv's busk performance might be characterized as re-enactments in Lepecki's use of the term in that the community performs the same dances

every year. For Lepecki, the process of bodily accessioning takes place before an audience as a re-enacting (2010:32). Intriguingly, he wonders if "a body may have always already been nothing other than an archive" (Lepecki 2010:34). The bodily LAMS preserves memory and validates experiences, perceptions, narratives, and stories. In essence, LAMS "are our memories" (Schwartz and Cook 2002:18). By achieving a kind of bodily memory, a "body that knows," our bodies become LAMS repositories for human action and experience (McCallum 1996).

At Pvlvcekolv, the body becomes a LAMS when community members consistently and regularly practice ceremony, taking ritual into their bodies (Hakopē, interview, 15 April 2015). Embodied memory, muscle memory, or indeed just "memory" constitute the LAMS documents, physical movements comprise the recordings. In this sense, bodies constitute the direct repositories for the repertoire, a source of knowledge. D. Taylor's archive holds representations of the repertoire in physical formats such as papers and DVDs. The body LAMS does not hold representations of the repertoire; rather, it holds the repertoire itself.

The body-as-archive ties into the archival concept of "instantiation." Especially useful for media broadcasting repositories, this concept describes the phenomenon of realization in time, the manifestation of a "work" (Smiraglia 2005). For example, in the PAP collection I have created with Pvlvcekolv (PAP, WCPA, Finksburg), the representation of the Harvest Dance from the 2008 Harvest Busk exists in several instantiations: 1) as the DV tape upon which I originally recorded, 2) as a DVD backup of the same, 3) duplicated onto an external hard drive, 4) mirrored onto additional external hard drives in order to "spread" or minimize the risk associated with limited longevity of digital-born archival materials, and 5) in a number of photographs I and others took of the event. Beyond the WCPA collection, additional instantiations of that Harvest Dance exist in the bodily archives of the beings present for the event. Between the physical,

digital, copied, and bodily formats, this piece of archival memory exists simultaneously in anywhere from five to twenty-five or more instantiations. Perhaps more accurately, these various versions of the 2009 Harvest Dance comprise instantiations of the Harvest Dance as an always-continuing ritual process.

Materials that become a collection in a LAMS undergo processes of selection and curation. In the brick or stone building version of the repository, the specialist directs this process. Writing on the relationship between "documentary heritage" and the archive, German archivist Hans Booms proposes that society has assigned the archivist the job of converting societal data into historical sources (Booms 1987:76), a process arguably shared by the librarian, the museum curator, the collector, and the storehouse steward. In the corporeal version of the repository, however, we are our own LAMS specialist and wield experience and memory to the same end (Lepecki 2010:34; Massumi 2003:150). Our very bodies themselves are these processes (Sklar 2001:193). Neither form of LAMS merely contains information statically. We constantly process, reassess, add to, and recreate the materials in each form of repository.

In essence, ritual performance forms an Indigenous form of LAMS practice. By entering the Turtle Dance, I become an additional repository sharing a particular instantiation of the Turtle Dance. Re-entering the "carousel" of a dance involves dancing with others now past, and we dance it together. I have noticed that the longer I busk at Pvlvcekolv, the more difficulty I have in remembering who was present or absent for which busk and when such-and-such particular event occurred. They all enfold into a larger whole of my experience. In the never-ending spiral of busk experience and performance, the details of the precise year something took place or someone was present become relatively unimportant. Just as Creation is a never-ending, spiral-shaped process, so too is the experience of Creation as a never-ending spiral. Such-and-

such event did not happen just that one time; Creation is always happening, an endless carousel that we step onto and then momentarily step off after ritual finishes (Vhicv, email, 15 December 2014). The archive and the repertoire merge and spiral around each other through the body and the bodily archive during ceremony.

The Busk and the LAMS

In addition to the body, the busk is itself a kind of LAMS and certain LAMS institutions a kind of busk.[25] Both share similarities, including access, specialists, and goals. The LAMS and Square Grounds are restricted spaces. LAMS personnel require visitors to honor business hours and often be accompanied by a staff member. The prerequisite of "researcher status" with plenty of advance notice controls the typical LAMS guest. Similarly, Pvlvcekolv opens the Square Grounds only to initiates and certain outsiders. Anyone bringing guests must notify Hakopē and Hokte Eco, and inform their guest of Square Ground rules and expectations. The community allows few guests to do more than observe.

In the LAMS, few visitors ever access the restricted locations. The sole time LAMS staff admitted me into their storage facilities during my archival research for this project was while conducting research at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History's (NMNH) Department of Anthropology, and even then, a museum specialist accompanied me. As in this instance and many others, specialists perform most tasks while the visitor or guest only watches. NMNH museum specialist Felicia Pickering led me to the storage facilities that held the items in

[25] Here I refer more to archives, museums, and storehouses—institutions that accession for posterity, rather than the open, public aspect of most libraries. This particular instance constitutes one example where the LAMS acronym begins to fall apart, a point to address as we continue to develop scholarship on LAMS.

which I was interested, opened cabinets, and removed objects for me. Only when they were flat on the table was I allowed to touch them, gingerly, with gloved hands and bated breath.

Access to the Square Grounds is not that different. Hakopē, Kusko, Fiepe, and/or Mvhayv-rakko perform most of the sensitive actions. Only Hakopē doctors the Medicine, only women with "good hearts" prepare the foods for the community, only pre-chosen men care for the Daughters of the Forest and participate in the ritual to light the Fire (see Chapter Nine). Specialists exclusively do these and other tasks. These specialists hold a great deal of power. The archivist may refuse entry or access, or conversely share any amount of institutional knowledge regarding the collection or object. During my research time at the National Anthropological Archives, photo archivist Gina Rappaport took half an hour from her busy schedule to talk with me about the details of a particular collection and the implications of that collection's history upon its contents. Conversely, reference archivist Adam Minakowski of the same institution was rather firm in ensuring that I did not have more than one folder open at any one time. Both experiences illustrated the control and power of both individuals over the collection.

Likewise, the Pvlvcekolv ceremonial specialists are partially responsible for the efficacy of the undertaking. Ofvnkv may deign not to alight on the Fire mound and partake of the busk with the community of Ofvnkv's own accord. The lack of proper actions by the necessary ritual specialists renders Creator's presence impossible, however. The necessary people must sweep the grounds, everyone must keep the fast, the Maker of Medicine must imbue breath into the Medicine just so, the Head Woman must enfold herself into the Ribbon Dance in a certain way. Without these specialists performing their required functions, the ritual cannot occur as necessary.

Both LAMS and ritual spaces evoke a sense of reverence in the initiate. During most of my LAMS forays over the course of this project, I always felt at least a ghost of bubbling joy and veneration no matter the institution. I feel a cousin of that awe during ritual, too. Experiencing this kind of veneration in both locations perhaps reveals a corporeal relationship between LAMS and busk. Despite their different locations and functions, the two link together.

LAMS and Square Grounds both feature high stakes that are not immediately obvious to outsiders. In the LAMS, preservation is often key: from flood, theft, fire, earthquakes, even warfare. Preserving and maintaining the collections sometimes disallows access. The Square Grounds are home to multiple goals. Healing spiritual wounds and regaining natural equilibrium are vital, as is the efficacy of the busk for those directly involved in it. These goals can also affect access to the grounds, especially of outsiders. A guest might augment or, conversely ruin a ritual event. Although effects of an extreme nature are rare, they are not unknown and have since made the community wary.

Like ceremony, I experience the LAMS as a sanctuary. People tend to speak in whispers, even if no one else is present in the space, as when I conducted research at the National Anthropological Archives in Washington, DC in summer 2014. While waiting for the archival assistant to bring materials to me, I found myself gazing around the room at the few posters, the many books and binders lining the shelves. Once the archivist arrived with my request, I ignored my surroundings and hunched over, gazing at things immediately on the table in front of me. I shuffled through papers, attempting to avoid shredding old manuscripts, receiving paper cuts, and getting fingerprints on photographs. The air barely moved; the atmosphere was hushed. We all kept to ourselves, sometimes barely moving. Any movement tended to be slow and stilted, as though we were sloughing through thick mud.

Figure 5.6 Hakopē (left) and Vhakv-Hvyv napping in the sun at Harvest Busk 2012.

Lack of food and sleep combined with the Florida heat makes me feel as though I am sometimes sloughing through thick mud when I attend ceremony, too. This space is a sanctuary of a different sort, but a sanctuary nonetheless. The buzz of insects, the cries of birds, and the afternoon sun can lull many buskers to sleep between procedures. Sleep sometimes replaces food in maintaining our energy. I might write up notes and impressions or just listen to the wind as it wicks away the sweat from my brow. Soon I am nodding over my notebook while, from the corner of my eye, I see Hakopē and Vhakv-Hvyv fast asleep in their chairs in front of the West Arbor (see Figure 5.6).

The Vnahetv ("Conclusions")

The busk-as-archive instantiates in human bodies. As Hakopē noted, the body best functions as a repository for ceremony when community members regularly participate in ceremony (interview, 15 April 2015). Like other Indigenous peoples, Pvlvcekolv values bodily and subjective accumulation in the form of embodied knowledge, body memory, or corporal information over material things: the body as LAMS. The accumulation of this information into a corporeal LAMS establishes and maintains information anchored in the relationships that form our being. Lepecki's statement that perhaps our bodies have always been nothing other than archives accurately characterizes a facet of Pvlvcekolv's understanding of the body (2010:34).

The body as LAMS and ceremony as LAMS reveal a specific form of Indigenous LAMS practice. Pvlvcekolv takes pride in the great age of their busk tradition, which dates back to before the colonial period. Before Contact, they maintained historical narratives exclusively via oral and corporeal modes of transmission. The sometimes violent and sometimes gradual processes of colonization have changed certain things. The busk and body as LAMS have not altered, however, despite the introduction and development of Anglo-American LAMS practices. As I explore in Chapter Six, the companion to this chapter, Pvlvcekolv once maintained a community museum, library, and archive. Elders successfully embraced the newcomers' LAMS practices without giving up their own, Indigenous LAMS practice.

LAMS specialists and scholars have critiqued Anglo-American LAMS practices for tacitly maintaining modes of thought and practice that date from nineteenth century positivism (Butler 2009; E. Kaplan 2002; Schwartz and Cook 2002). We can no longer simplify the LAMS as only a neutral storehouse of facts, nor can we maintain the specialists' "professional myth of impartiality, neutrality, and objectivity" and the specialists as neutral guardians of those facts

(Schwartz and Cook 2002:1). These myths not only damage the populations whose stories are ignored, but they also damage the LAMS and the librarin/archivist/curator/steward.

As archivists Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook have stated, maintaining the status quo inhibits specialists from adopting multiple and ambient ways of seeing and knowing. The practice of finding an original order of materials and maintaining that order inhibits "allowing for several orders or even disorders to flourish among records in archives" (Schwartz and Cook 2002:18). Materials from the past do not tell stories in and of themselves. Only when we analyze and organize them do they tell these stories (D. Taylor 2006:69). Specialists who create and maintain collections create stories and maintain narratives. This practice in and of itself is not negative or damaging. It only becomes damaging or problematic when we ignore the specialist's role and ability to author and uphold these narratives (Schwartz and Cook 2002:1).

In addition to the critiques I have surveyed here, I call for increased awareness that there exist additional LAMS practices beyond the Anglo-American tradition (McKemmish, Gilliland-Swetland, and Ketelaar 2005). Indigenous communities like Pvlvcekolv also maintain LAMS practices. The fact that they might greatly differ does not invalidate them. LAMS practice as centered in a ritual performance practice—the busk and body as archive—is Pvlvcekolv's long-time form of maintaining their memory and narratives. The stories told through these modes present several "orders and even disorders" that flourish. Perhaps more importantly, these Indigenous forms of LAMS practice tell Indigenous stories. Given the "strong predilection of archives and archivists to document primarily mainstream culture and powerful records creators," different LAMS telling different stories enrich all traditions of LAMS practices (Schwartz and Cook 2002:18).

Chapter Six: Objects' Bodies

Object Lives in LAMS (Libraries, Archives, Museums, Storehouses)

Busk participants interact with a series of ritual object persons over the course of the busk. Many of these beings also live in LAMS (library, archive, museum, storehouse) collections around the world. This chapter discusses an Indigenous LAMS practice in concert with Chapter Five. In that chapter, I propose that the busk comprises an LAMS practice centered in the body: a corporeal archive. Here, I merge Indigenous and Euro-American LAMS sciences by examining "The Museum," Pvlvcekolv's one-time LAMS. I also explore the life histories of several object persons who live in LAMS, contrasting them with their cousins at the Pvlvcekolv Square Grounds. Combining my experiences in collaborative archive creation with the Pvlvcekolv community with literature on LAMS science and on animistic object persons, I focus this chapter on the lives of beings in LAMS.

Ceremonial Documentation

As in Chapter Five, I treat LAMS in this chapter, collapsing the distinctions between these types of institutions. The institutions I explore in this chapter exist in the gray areas between LAMS: Pvlvcekolv's Museum, the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) Object Collections, and the archival collection that Pvlvcekolv and I have collaboratively created throughout this dissertation project. "The Museum," the institution Pvlvcekolv once maintained deliberately combined the functions of archive, library, museum, and storehouse. Although expressly a museum, NMAI organizes its Object Collections similarly to an object archive. While I refer to it as an "archival collection," the collection I have created with Pvlvcekolv does

contain a few objects and functions as a storehouse of information. Each of these LAMS functionally blurs some of the distinctions between institution types, and I therefore attempt to simplify matters by referring to them as LAMS.

Performance scholar Diana Taylor (2003, 2006) distinguishes between two different modes of knowledge production: the "repertoire" and the "archive." As I discuss in Chapter Five, the repertoire includes any act considered ephemeral and nonreproducible, such as singing, dancing, performances, and gestures. D. Taylor's definition of the archive comprises representations of these acts frozen in forms comparatively resistant to change, such as documents, archaeological remains, CDs, and monuments (D. Taylor 2003:19-21). In essence, she refers not exclusively to archival institutions, but also to libraries and museums, those institutions that hold cultural items. In an effort to simplify this prose, I refer throughout this chapter to LAMS in the same way D. Taylor refers to "the archive." I find D. Taylor's distinction between the LAMS and the repertoire most useful when analyzing the stories told via the two different modes. The body is an archive (see Chapter Five), but this conclusion does not mean that all boundaries between LAMS and the repertoire disintegrate. The distinction between the two can provide useful analytical tools. Members of Pvlvcekolv have long documented ritual, sometimes placing that documentation into a repository along with various ceremonial items. To understand better Pvlvcekolv's archival practice and its relationship to busk performance practice, I explore documentation at Pvlvcekolv and the rise and fall of the Pvlvcekolv repository, "The Museum."

My research collaboration with Pvlvcekolv has involved extensive documentation of ritual and other events. Early in my field research, however, Hokte Eco requested that I participate more and document less. She was concerned that I would mediate the events

exclusively through a camera lens rather than experience them bodily. She based her concern on observing other members of the community who document ceremony regularly. Instead of being in the moment, taking time with their fellows and Creator, their focus sometimes redirects to seeking out a good shot, a good angle, a desire to capture this moment for posterity. Perhaps unsurprisingly, when I was present as documentarian, those same people tended to spend more time in the moment, leaving the documenting to me. In an effort to find a personal middle ground, experiencing busk myself and documenting for my research and for the community, I now generally place a video camera on a post outside of the grounds, set it to its widest field of view, and record actions via remote control. This compromise means that I can participate and still document the event.

Perhaps because the community already has a long tradition of reflexive documentation, the presence of my recording equipment rarely has disturbed anyone. I have come across some charming footage of several of the children gazing at my camera with interest, especially at night when only the red recording indicator light reveals the camera's presence. Few of the adults pay it any attention. Elders have occasionally requested that I turn it off during announcements or conversations of a sensitive nature, especially earlier in my time at the grounds. Several times certain individuals requested I record audio and not video of a given moment. By and large, however, ceremonial participants ignore it and forget its presence. I find myself doing the same. The longer I spent at the grounds, the more likely I am to forget to stop recording after we completed an action. An increase in post-event "dead time" in the videos I shot suggested to me that I was finally beginning to get my "busk legs!"

I have come to understand that part of the busk experience for the community involves the presence of recording technology. Even Hokte Eco, perhaps the most vocal proponent of

being present in the moment and undisturbed by especially technological distractions, once thanked me for my documentation efforts. Acknowledging the importance of ethnological research writ large to Indigenous communities, she compared my efforts to those of Frank Speck, William Sturtevant, or John R. Swanton, social scientists whose research materials have sometimes become very useful to contemporary southeastern Indigenous communities in understanding earlier instantiations of their traditions. My work now with Pvlvcekolv will have similar importance in the future, she said. Hearing her heartfelt words and observing the reactions of the community to recording technology suggests that busk might be incomplete without the presence of documentation technology of some kind.

The history of recording technology at ceremony dates to the 1950s. Then, community elders met the late Florida State University music professor Jack Swartz who became a long-time friend and ally of Pvlvcekolv. He witnessed the busk and heard several community oral histories. Swartz recommended the community begin documenting themselves and their traditions, maintaining records of their traditions for posterity. This auto-ethnography developed into the community-wide tradition I have observed throughout my time there.

In the late 1950s, elders founded "The Museum," a relatively private archive, museum, and library, that gathered and privately stored historical artifacts, historical items, documents, and books for the community. The Museum also housed ritual items in current use, such as the bundle box, gorgets, axes, pots, and a host of other materials. Ritual leaders would remove them for ceremonial occasions, use them, and then return them to the climate-controlled Museum for safe-keeping. The Museum flourished until the 1990s, when mismanagement, a series of robberies, a 1998 flood, and a botched relocation scattered the collections and forced the remainder into storage. Now The Museum is primarily an idea and a memory, an institution

without a dedicated physical repository. The collections remain scattered, and I am saddened to suspect that what materials remain in storage have likely been stolen or destroyed by Florida's humid climate.

Throughout the arc of The Museum's history, Pvlvcekolv continued to document ceremony, and many members maintain their personal collections. Although many objects were stolen or destroyed, photographs tell the stories that absent objects can no longer communicate. Over the course of my research and while centralizing personal collections, I have encountered some of that earliest documentation. Though incomplete, this documentation tells a variation of the Creation Story. Where the Creation Story tells the tale of all of Creation, the remains of the Museum collection tell the story of a community maintaining tradition while surrounded by the heirs of a settler colonial state.

The relationship between LAMS, history, and the valuation of LAMS sources suggests that objects and materials may take on power in a specifically Euro-American/colonizing historical context through the act of inclusion in a LAMS collection. As D. Taylor (2003, 2006) and a several archivists have critiqued (Butler 2009; E. Kaplan 2002; Schwartz and Cook 2002), some LAMS remain wrapped up in nineteenth century-derived modes of thought and practice. These modes assume the archive to be a neutral storehouse of facts. Instead, the LAMS are institutions that wield power through control of information, through control of what will remembered and forgotten about the present and the past in the future. LAMS specialists like archivists, curators, and librarians wield this power when they create and maintain collections (Schwartz and Cook 2002:3). Because our literate culture rests upon these foundations, Euro-American governments and other social actors rarely accept embodied practices or performances as "evidence" in, for example, claims to self-governance, land ownership, and autonomy (D.

Taylor 2006:69). Instead, they privilege especially document-based forms of evidence like those in LAMS repositories.[26]

As an Indigenous population under colonialism, community longevity even now is not assured. The community's status as a Native American community without federal recognition further threatens this longevity. Additionally, Pvlvcekolv's stereotypically caucasian phenotypes force them into a contested middle ground between "Indigenous" and "non-Indigenous" where they must continuously resist received definitions of authenticity that function to discredit them (see Chapter Two). In all these situations, the power implicit in LAMS is a potentially useful weapon. D. Taylor has noted that, "the event cannot simply be turned into a source as a form of evidence." "Yet," she continues, "if no source substantiates the event, how can communities ground assertions of cultural, intellectual, property, and human rights" (2006:70)? In order to be legally valid in this particular state of settler colonialism in the United States, government and other powers require assertions of cultural, intellectual, property, and human rights to be grounded in physical evidence.

In a sense, Pvlvcekolv created The Museum in order to provide the power and cultural cachet that accompanies the existence of LAMS. If events "become pivotal by virtue of the fact they are entered into history and archives," then a community that self-defines through ceremonial participation might become pivotal and power-bearing because documentation of their culture and ritual cycle enter history via a LAMS (D. Taylor 2006:69). By compiling a museum collection, Pvlvcekolv employed the biases inherent in LAMS and history to their own

[26] While this critique of LAMS is not inaccurate, the information studies landscape is slowly changing. Certain LAMS do cling to these nineteenth-century understandings, or do acknowledge the power they hold over information. Thankfully, however, more and more the information science fields are shifting as archivists, curators, librarians, and scholars publish, critique, and improve standards and best practices. I might better describe these fields as disciplines in flux. While I do discuss these and other critiques in this chapter, my main goal is to explore the nuances of Indigenous LAMS practice, and treat ways to incorporate that practice into comparatively mainstream LAMS science.

advantage. Through the Museum, Pvlvcekkolv created an institution from which to ground assertions of cultural, intellectual, property, and human rights.

Documenting busk has become a heritage activity and the one-time Museum and now personal collections of individuals have become the launching pads for personal and community activism. Through the very act of creating and/or maintaining a LAMS collection, Pvlvcekolv reasserts its community identity, demonstrates control over heritage as a political resource, and creates a politicized identity from which to assert and interact with official government entities legitimately over a range of cultural and civil rights. By controlling the information in, and the access to, collections, Pvlvcekolv regains control of its history and returns to itself active agency over its own affairs. Without this control, the group might again become subjected to received notions and ideas about who they are or what they should be. Pvlvcekolv has been rendered liminal through received constructions of race and authenticity and by being geographically peripheral from the post-Trail of Tears center of Creek activity in Oklahoma. Their control over archived forms of heritage therefore maintains community longevity and sense of self. By documenting for a collection, the community both celebrates their heritage and unique worldview and provides themselves with a series of empowering political tools.

Beings in LAMS

Just as involvement with the LAMS affects and empowers the human persons at Pvlvcekolv, so too does it affect certain other-than-human members of the community. As I have explored throughout this document, the Muskogee cosmology contains a series of non-human persons. These beings are any entity with form, substance, purpose/function, and place. Beings include humans, animals, plants, rocks, field recordings, and ceremonial "objects," among others.

I discuss the natures of these beings and then turn to those ceremonial objects and field recordings, their occasional accessioning into LAMS collections, and the consequences of being placed into a LAMS.

In the past two decades, the explosion of scholarship on the "new animism" has focused on object beings in addition to the animal and plant persons who appear elsewhere in this dissertation. In the area of so-called "material culture," several studies explore how objects, things, or artifacts fit into Indigenous cosmologies as persons (Harvey 2012; Hornborg 2013; Ingold 2013; Lagrou 2009; Olsson 2013; Santos-Granero 2009; Whitehead 2013b). These and other studies take into account the person-hood of entities sometimes called "objects," "things," and "artifacts." I use Pvlvcekolv's preferred term "being" as a catch-all term that includes supposedly inanimate objects.

Studies of objects within animistic cosmologies relate to what many consider an out-dated term, fetishism. Amy Whitehead (2013a, 2013b) develops a theory of fetishism as a subspecies of animism. She proposes a perspective on the "spirit of matter" rather than the "spirit in the object (Whitehead 2013a:261; Pels 1998:91). Objects do not house spirits separately from their matter; the matter itself lives.[27] She asserts that, far from being "inanimate," these beings are relational participants in social and ritual contexts and maintain power independent of human agency. Speaking on the power and agency of religious statues, she states that these and other objects are more than mere representations of an "otherworldly counterpart." Rather, they are powerful persons (Whitehead 2013a:261). Ethnomusicologist Eliot Bates approaches this concept of powerful objects persons in his study of the social lives of musical instruments

[27] The matter lives only in certain cultures. In certain West African cultures, for example, people perceive that objects can have effects, but only through human agency: these objects do not have life force innately, but are dependent on invocation through human devotion (Roberts 1994:44).

(2012). While Bates critiques typical constructions of organology and organologists as morticians "preparing dead bodies for preservation and display," he does not follow his idea through to its possible conclusion. Following Arjun Appadurai (1986) and Igor Kopytoff (1986), he describes instruments, making a case study of the Anatolian *saz*, as social actors "who facilitate, prevent, or mediate social interaction with other characters." He posits that instruments do not constitute the *doppelgänger* of their creators, but rather the louthier's golem, one that creates "desire and affect through soundings" (Bates 2012:364). Bates could take his argument further, following Whitehead, to suggest that instruments constitute powerful persons and not just social actors within social networks.

Like Whitehead, political theorist Jane Bennett has made important contributions to our understanding of materialism. Bennett proposes the concept of "vital materialism," an ontological field "without unequivocal demarcations between human, animal, vegetal, or mineral" (2010:116-117). Bennett suggests that human cultures are inextricably enmeshed with vibrant, nonhuman agencies. As such, human intentions can only exhibit agency when accompanied by "a vast entourage of nonhumans" (Bennett 2010:108). She introduces the term "thing-power," an idea that recognizes the strange ability of man-made items to exceed their status as objects and manifest traces of independence or aliveness (Bennet 2010:xvi). New animism defines others-than-human as independent and autonomous persons with whom humans can interact and relate. Bennett, however, appears to move beyond the human/other-than-human dichotomy, suggesting that, "an affective, speaking human body is not radically different from the affective, signaling nonhumans with which it coexists, hosts, enjoys, serves, consumes, produces, and competes." Instead, "*All* forces and flows (materialities) are or can become lively, affective, signaling" (Bennett 2010:116–17; italics original). Although she speaks to case studies

not explicitly in Indigenous cultures such as North American power grids, obesity, metal, and works by European philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, her ideas translate effectively into dialogues currently taking place in new animism studies, pushing aside the perhaps unnecessary demarcations between persons.

Other Native American cosmologies incorporate definitions similar to that of Pvlvcekolv. In Pvlvcekolv's Muskogee context, having form, substance, purpose/function, and place define a being. Form and substance comprise the corporeality of a being. The appearance or form might be a human being, an axe, or a pine tree. The substance is flesh, muscle, and fat; worked wood and iron; or xylem and phloem tissues. In Nahua and Wixárika (Huichol) contexts in Mexico, having form and substance, or a body and "covering," functions to "activate" an entity. The entity then receives a point of view and becomes a "subject" or being (Viveiros de Castro 2003, 2004). The *Florentine Codex*, a bi-lingual Spanish-Nahuatl document from 1570s Mexico, contains a number of beings that Euro-Americans would more easily recognize as illustrations, works of art (Gell 1998; Mitchell 2005). These black ink line drawings are beings or *ixiptlah* because they are "covered" by pigments (Magaloni Kerpel 2014). These illustrations, "powerful people" that "must be venerated," are beings by virtue of the combination of form and substance (Neurath 2010:104).

Part of the Muskogee definition of a being relates to the relationships in which a being interacts. In my earlier hypothetical example, the human, axe, and pine tree connect together: to stay warm, the human needs firewood and therefore chops the pine into logs with the axe in the forest or at the woodpile. Religion scholar Kenneth Hayes Lokensgard (2010) investigates similar relationships between humans and other beings. He takes a case study from his long-time collaboration with Blackfoot peoples of Montana regarding ceremonial Medicine bundles.

Traditional Blackfoot people consider these bundles to participate willfully and socially in their world: as intentional and social actors, the bundles are persons (Lokensgard 2010:75). In a Blackfoot context, nearly any and every encounter is a type of reciprocal exchange. Recognition of that fact and the attempt to live one's life accordingly "is the hallmark of a person" (Lokensgard 2010:2). As Blackfoot leaders ceremonially exchange or transfer bundles within the community, the roles or purposes of the bundles in their relationships define their places.

In Blackfoot, Wixárika, and Nahua cultures, as well as at Pvlvcekolv, various "objects" are persons. More than mere objects, these persons embody beings with whom one may communicate rather than merely about which one can communicate. As such, they have intentionality, agency, and varying degrees of autonomy and freedom (Harvey 2005:xvii). These beings form a vital part of the experience of busk, but they sometimes lead lives removed from their ceremonial contexts. I explore several case studies of ceremonial items now in LAMS and then examine a case study of an accessioned field recording. In these discussions, I often use the pronoun "it" to prefer to these and other beings. Muskogee does not have a grammatical system of gendering nouns; context often offers the only clue of the gender of the conversational subject. Resorting to English, I use the plural "they" whenever possible but sometimes this option is inappropriate. I do not use "it" to denigrate these beings; rather, I use it as something of a last resort.

A variety of objects play important roles in ceremony. During busk, ceremonial axe blades hang on the arbors. Many participants wear shell gorgets. The men each play the stickball game with two stickball clubs and fashion their "front legs" with the same during the Buffalo Dance. The women sometime wear turtle shell shakers. A variety of pots, baskets, and other containers encompass foods, Medicines, plants, and other entities. During the Ribbon Dance, the

Head Woman carries a ceremonial knife blade. Several members of the Pvlvcekolv community bring flutes to busk and sometimes play them during the pauses between procedures. The men carry feather wands during the Feather Dance and the two *emarvs* additionally carry them during the Ribbon Dance as they clear the way for the Head Woman. All of these ceremonial items are other-than-human persons. In addition to living within ceremonial relationships in ritual locations, these beings sometimes also enter LAMS collections.

During a 2014 summer research trip, I encountered cousins of some of the ceremonial beings I list above at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) Object Collections. This collection forms part of the Smithsonian Institution system in Washington, DC and is located at a Suitland, MD, museum annex separate from the Washington, DC National Mall location of the museums proper. Funding and timing restraints necessitated that no Pvlvcekolv elders could conduct research with me; I therefore rely on my own experiences with these beings. I explore the lives, life histories, and my interactions with these beings in three case studies: 1) a ceremonial axe at NMAI and the cousins who grace the Pvlvcekolv arbors, 2) a set of NMAI turtle shell shakers and the cousins worn by Hokte Eco, and 3) a NMAI pottery bowl from a funerary mound and a cousin in use as a water drum at the grounds. I then treat the life history of a field recording I made during my ethnographic research with Pvlvcekolv and my relationship to it as archivist/curator/caretaker.

Pvcvswv ("Axe")

At the NMAI Objects Collections in early August 2014, my heart leapt when museum specialist Veronica Quiguango opened the locked door and ushered me into the climate-controlled workspace. I felt a similar sensation, a burst of heat in my chest radiating outwards

Figure 6.1 Object 102884.000, a "pipe tomahawk," at NMAI.

while a smile exploded on my face, while touching and examining the objects themselves, albeit on a smaller scale. Access to the collections required me to wear nitrile gloves so that oil from my hands might not harm the objects. Even impeded by this thin membrane, I felt contrasting temperatures emanating from Object 102884.000, a "pipe tomahawk." This *pvcvswv* or axe was the first accessioned being I laid hands on that morning, and the high, humid temperatures of a DC summer heightened my experience of the metallic chill. Running my hands along both metal and the wooden length, I became aware of the underlying spiritual warmth, the slow "heat" I associate with Power. NMAI collection records note that this Muskogee (Creek) pvcvswv comes from Oklahoma and was owned by William Clark Barnard before the Museum of the American Indian (MAI), the precursor of the NMAI, acquired the lead and wooden being in 1920 (see Figure 6.1). The records reveal little else beyond a reference in a treatise on "tomahawks" (Peterson 1971:142). As Mary Nooter Roberts notes in relation to African art in museums, documentation for objects "entangled" between cultures often remains poor or completely lacking (1994; Thomas 1991). Whether the warmth derived from the pvcvswv itself, its new location in the NMAI Object collection, or its unknown life history or previous location, I could not say. Beyond the scanty records, my own visceral interaction with the being, and clues that

Figure 6.2 Top: an axe hangs on the West Arbor at Berry and Arbor Busk 2013. Bottom: the axes prior to ascending the arbors.

might be read by an art historian, metal smith, woodworker, or archaeologist, the life history of this pvcvswv was lost.

Object 102884.000's cousins at the Square Grounds retain their life histories, both their personal histories and their connections with community history. These pvcvswv hang on the front of the arbors during busks and live in the bundle box in the Medicine Shed the rest of the time (see Figure 6.2). Several are very old and have been passed down through generations. Like all beings, however, these pvcvswv age and the community sometimes puts them to rest. During my time at the grounds, two pvcvswv died and needed to be replaced. Ceremonial leadership requested two blacksmiths, Shelton Browder and Ted McNett, to make replacements in the exact style of the predecessor pvcvswv. Pvlvcekolv has long-time relationships with both smiths and spent several years assessing their hearts prior to making the respective requests. In addition to ability and skill, the state of the maker's heart and her or his relationship with the community become paramount when making new ceremonial items. After Shelton and Ted made them, the new pvcvswv each spent two to four years gestating at the grounds, observing the busk, but not yet actually participating. Just as all offspring must gestate for a time in her or his mother's womb, so too must ritual non-human persons.

While I was not present to witness the process of "birthing" the new pvcvswv into full participation at the grounds, I have experienced the birthing process first hand. During the 2012 Harvest Busk and unbeknownst to me, the community leadership decided it was time I transition from the East Arbor and my ritual role as a child to the South Arbor, which houses the young men. While I was dozing over my field notes in the early afternoon sun of Harvest Busk, two ceremonial leaders grabbed me without any warning and lifted me bodily off the bench. While the women screamed and wailed in a sympathy of labor pains, I was dazedly run around the

grounds four times and then lofted over top of the Fire mound (see Figure 6.3). I came to stop in front of my new home, the South Arbor. The element of surprise, of sudden motion startled from a half doze, left me little time to think, to worry, or to wonder what was going on (although I admit to speculating that the ethnographer was being ceremonially thrown out!). Instead, I moved in the directions I was guided, leapt as high as I could over the coals of the Fire, my mind empty while my body followed the directions it received.

Figure 6.3 The author, center in red, being born into the South Arbor from the East Arbor, Harvest Busk 2012.

By being born into a new Arbor or new position, one's place in the community alters. Just as I had now been placed into new relationships with new duties, so too do ceremonial objects

when they are birthed. These beings can take up their full and correct functions now that they have had several cycles to gestate and "see how things are done." Like the pvcvswv predecessors, they too will grow old and die out of their ceremonial life, just as their human counterparts. After the gestational period and the birthing process, these pvcvswv have joined the others who all proudly hang on the arbors.

Beyond the personal histories of these two specific pvcvswv, all four pvcvswv intimately connect with an important event in Pvlvcekolv history. According to community oral history, Pvlvcekolv members in the 1600s and 1700s were "most cruel and vengeful." After warfare, they would put heads, scalps, and other plunder from battle on display around the Square Grounds and celebrate. Yet,

> At some time unknown, the Four Great Teachers, Being of Light called the *Hayahvlke* visited us from on high. They instructed out people in the ways of peace. We were taught the errors of our former practices. Our hearts were emptied of blood lust. We hung our hatchets upon the arbor posts where they remain to this day. (A Letter Regarding the Great Humiliation…, PAP8.2)

With the instructions from the Hayahvlke came the designation of White or Peace Town. The White Towns house the peacekeepers, the people who craft treaties after conflicts. They are also safe havens. In 1763, British traders and their Indian families sought sanctuary at Pvlvcekolv, then something of a capital in the Creek Confederacy. Fleeing from conflicts in neighboring tribal towns, they took shelter in the council house. Enflamed by the armed conflict nearby and a strong dislike for the British monarch, King George III, young hot-headed warriors surrounded the council house with brush and set fire to it. They threw anyone who attempted to escape back into the flames.

That this mass murder occurred at a White Town compounded this heinous crime. Afterwards, the National Creek Assembly met at Tvkvpacē Tribal Town and stripped Pvlvcekolv

of its White Town status. Although only a few of the community were directly involved, no one had stepped in to stop the atrocity. The National Assembly therefore decided that Pvlvcekolv must maintain a visible symbol of its new status: the community annually replaces a war post at the southeastern side of the grounds (see Figure 6.4). Additionally, no Pvlvcekolv citizen might hold a national office for ten generations, and the community must annually retell the story of this crime, now known as "The Great Humiliation."

Figure 6.4 The War Post in the southeast corner of the grounds at Green Corn Busk 2012.

The ten generations of punishment ended during the 1990s. Perhaps surprisingly, the community decided to maintain the White Town atmosphere, Red Town status, and continue retelling the Great Humiliation in memory of those who died. In January 2015 as part of the bicentennial of the Battle of New Orleans, Vhicv delivered a formal speech of apology for the

events of the Great Humiliation to the British Consulate (A Letter Regarding the Great Humiliation…, PAP8.2). Vhicv's apology on behalf of Pvlvcekolv recently resulted in a letter of thanks from the Consulate, along with the notice that the letter of apology would be housed in the archives of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London (Millar, letter, 19 February 2015). As a visible symbol of peace, the pvcvswv still hang on the arbors, where they have hung since the Hayahvlke taught Pvlvcekolv peace.

Perhaps surprisingly, my response while interacting with pvcvswv on the grounds differs from the awe and joy with which I interacted with their cousin at NMAI. While preparing for ceremony, I have helped place several pvcvswv in their proper locations on a front post of the South, North, and West Arbors. Placing the pvcvswv has never elicited a sense of awe in me, however. More often I am struggling against lack of energy, little sleep, and low blood sugar levels, as well as against the weight of north Florida's heated humidity. These and other preparations can be a chore at worst. At best, placing the pvcvswv is part of a series of contemplative activities, where those of us preparing the grounds complete our duties as in light meditative states.

Mindfulness replaces awe as we connect with our surroundings, the activities and beings at hand, and each other. I might notice the play of light on a blade's edge, the weights of the pvcvswv, a spot of rust. I make sure that the nails upon which they hang are firmly rooted into the arbor post. But these items are quotidian; I have cut wood with the help of their non-ceremonial cousins and have observed the woodworkers in the community engage in more skillful work with those same siblings. Unlike their NMAI cousin, Object 102884.000, they have become companions in everyday endeavors, not guests to be visited with great care, funding, and

time. I do not meet these ritual pvcvswv with the joy of a long lost relation, but rather with the easy greeting of old friends and partners.

Locv Saukv ("Turtle Shell Shakers")

This same dichotomy of wonderment and quotidian reaction marked the differences between my interactions with Object 027493.000, a set of "women's leg rattles," housed at NMAI, and their cousins at the grounds. Shining a flashlight through Object 027493.000's apertures revealed white pebbles inside shells from two different species of turtle. Too small for an adult, Quiguango and I hypothesized they might have been made for a girl or young woman. As with the ceremonial pvcvswv, the life story of these turtle shell shakers remains incomplete. The collection records state that this Oklahoma Muskogee (Creek) "pair of turtle shell leggings" was collected by Mark Raymond, an MAI agent (see Figure 6.5). The names of Chief William M. Skye and collector Leo Walker are also associated with the object, but the insufficient detail paints an incomplete picture.

At the grounds, the women and some of the men know the story of every set of *locv saukv* ("shell shakers"). Hokte Eco wears a pair that once belonged to former Matriarch Barbara Conway, Hakopē's late mother (see Figure 6.6). She purchased these locv saukv from a Ms. Heniha, a maker at the New Tulsa Square Grounds in the 1950s or late 1940s. After Barbara's death, they were passed eventually to Hokte Eco (Hakopē, interview, 11 April 2015).

Like the pvcvswv, the locv saukv are old companions. They are not the most comfortable things to wear, however. They are heavy and require padding to remain correctly placed on the calves and not cut into the flesh. At the 2013 Green Corn Busk, Yvhikv and Nvfkv played their roles as sons of the Matriarch, and at Hokte Eco's request, stepped temporarily into the roles of

women for a few dances because very few women were able to attend. Little Green Corn is more typically the "rehearsal" busk, a time of teaching, where mistakes and "transgressions" become instances when the entire community can learn together about the activities and the cosmology and philosophy behind them these moments. These teaching moments can and do occur at every busk, however, as in this instance. Two young men wearing locv saukv as women and dancing as women became a time for the men to learn what and why the women do what they do.

Figure 6.5 Object 027493.000, "women's leg rattles," housed at NMAI.

For much of my formal time at Pvlvcekolv, the women have not worn locv saukv especially during the Ribbon Dance and during most other dances, although they might occasionally bring them out for Buffalo and Stomp Dances. The locv saukv's presence at this Little Green Corn was surprising, but not out of place. The women do not wear locv saukv when the United States is in a state of war and/or fighting. Although a distinct "nation," members of

Figure 6.6 Hokte Eco's turtle shell shakers at Harvest Busk 2008.

Pvlvcekolv have and do fight as members of the United States armed forces; United States wars therefore directly affect the community. If the women wore their locv saukv, soldiers on the battlefield might be prevented from traveling properly to the Camp Fires of the Departed. The sound of the locv saukv would hold them in the Middle World and not allow them to travel onward as they must. The United States has been either in an official state of war and/or involved in a series of armed conflicts and military operations continuously since the Gulf War in 1990-91 (and arguably for of the country's history). More recently, the United States' involvement in the international War on Terror has kept the women from wearing their locv saukv except on rare

occasions. These rare occasions usually align with teaching moments, as in the case of this Green Corn Busk.

Men rarely interact with the locv saukv physically, and meeting Object 027493.000 was the first time I had actually touched a set. Inclusion in the archive meant that I was able to access and interact with ceremonial objects with which, as a man, I would normally only connect with sonically as I danced with locv saukv-clad women. Removing the locv saukv to the archive means that individuals with little access to them at ceremonial occasions can now interact with them; retaining the locv saukv in their ritual contexts means that the community can maintain their life histories.

Vlocuwv ("Pot")

Accessing items removed from their original contexts is not always "safe," especially in the case of mortuary items. Object 075146.000, a small ceramic *vlocuwv* or pot, and several other vlocuwv (Objects 075133.000 and 180406.000) came to NMAI from burial mounds in Decatur County, GA, not far from the current Pvlvcekolv Square Grounds (see Figure 6.7). Archaeologist Clarence B. Moore excavated them in the early 1900s from two burial mounds along the Flint River (1907, 1918). MAI obtained them from Moore in 1918 and 1931 (Kimball 1979). While handling them, my eyes pricked with some few, small tears. I felt torn by excitement at encountering ceramics that came from Pvlvcekolv's territory and distress that they derived from burial mounds. I was relieved to smudge myself in the NMAI smudge room at the end of the day and to wash with Grave Medicine at the end of my research trip.

I do not pretend to be an expert on pre-Columbian southeastern ceramics, but Objects 075146.000, 075133.000, and 180406.000 appear to be not dissimilar to items in use at

Figure 6.7 Top to bottom: Object 075146.000, Object 075133.000, and a detail of Object 180406.000, all pots taken from burial mound sites in Georgia now housed at NMAI.

Pvlvcekolv, at least in function. Community members have a quantity of pottery. As the need dictates, the Matriarch and the women fill some with food; others contain Medicines; some hold produce from the gardens around the grounds. One vlocuwv in particular (see Figure 6.8) is a relatively recent acquisition at Pvlvcekolv. Less than a decade old, Kusko received this vlocuwv from Jane Osti. An Oklahoma Cherokee potter and friend of Pvlvcekolv, Osti has won numerous awards for her traditional-style work. She made the vlocuwv on the pattern of older pieces such as Objects 075146.000, 075133.000, and 180406.000. Her gift to the community now often plays the role of water drum during certain rituals. As with the pvcvswv, this and other ceramic beings are every-day companions.

Figure 6.8 A pot by Jane Osti in use as a water drum at Soup Dance 2009; the beater lies at left.

Moving items to archival and museum collections removes them from the relationships in which they functioned. Ceramics objects no longer contain foodstuffs or Medicines, locv saukv no longer keep time during Stomp Dances, pvcvswv no longer adorn the arbor posts. Instead, their functions and histories change as these beings become entangled between two cultures (Thomas 1991). In the cases of NMAI Objects 102884.000 and 027493.000, the ritual pipe axe and the turtle shell shakers, we do not know their respective relationships and life histories prior to entering the NMAI. While unlikely, Object 027493.000 might have been crafted specifically for the collection. Creating items for a collection ensures that their relationships are not disrupted: their primary relationships are with the curators and visitors to the collection instead of community members and ritual leaders. Object 102884.000, the pipe axe that belonged to Dr. W. C. Barnard, and Objects 075146.000, 075133.000, and 180406.000, the ceramic pots from Flint River burial sites, were not made for the museum. Their relocation into the NMAI Object Collection reflects an exchange system of historical Indigenous items connected with commoditization.

The commoditization of Indigenous cultural items, the beings that now inhabit archival collections, comprises a type of conquest. The act of gathering items for a collection demonstrates the connections between ones knowledge of the world and personal identity and being. The resulting collection necessarily reflects the relationship between the culture collected and the collector (Clifford 1988:218). Anthropologists Constance Classen and David Howes depict the display of Indigenous artifacts as material signs of victory, the collector and curator conquering a cultural Other (2006:209). By commoditizing and therefore "owning" these beings, collectors and collections can interpret them as symbols or "artifacts of culture" "without

inherent meaning and incapable of self-disclosure" (Lokensgard 2010:128). They are regarded and treated as merely objects.

Internment in LAMS alters these beings. Deprived of the relationships that partially maintain them, they might sleep or become dormant. Irvine Scalplock, a Blackfoot collaborator of Lokensgard, describes their new state as "suspended animation" (Lokensgard 2010:132). Certain collectors, generally Euro-Americans or those on the fringes of traditional cultures, believe that these items "die" once they enter a collection. At least in Blackfoot society, however, keepers of items such as Medicine bundles deliberately avoid discussing bundle "death." Because they are powerful beings, negative suggestions are actually dangerous to make around these items. From the Indigenous perspective, these and other items might wake if they return to their Native environment and receive proper care. While in LAMS, bundles have been known to communicate with Blackfoot visitors, requesting to be taken home. Although no longer in their original settings, they retain their full significance and Power, even while sleeping (Lokensgard 2010: 132-33).

When the lives of these beings alter through inclusion in the LAMS, our experience of them also alters. Only when accessing objects—actually touching them—did I feel the burst of joy and tears that I describe above. Although here I only describe my reactions while at the NMAI Object Collections, I experienced similar reactions at other LAMS, including: the National Museum of Natural History, DC in 2014; National Anthropological Archives, DC in 2014; Creek Council House Museum in Muscogee, OK in 2010; Moravian Archives at both Southern Province, NC, and Northern Province, PA, locations in 2012 and 2013; the State Archives of Florida in 2012; and elsewhere. Becoming aware of the "presentness" of the past through tactile contact with materials from the past sparked a feeling of reverence. I felt

privileged to access and touch those objects. That reverence and privilege are noticeably absent from my direct interactions with these beings during the busk. Busking with these beings is akin to interacting with old friends with whom one has a comfortable relationship, a friendship that contains easy silences.

Field Recordings

Ceremonial objects are not the only beings in archives. Field recordings and documents make up the majority of especially archival holdings. Like their object cousins, these entities are also beings. Unlike any of the objects that live in the NMAI and other collections I visited, I maintain multiple relationships with many of the beings in the WCPA collection I am creating with Pvlvcekolv: participant, creator/co-creator, organizer, steward, researcher. In a number of instances, I recorded the field recordings, photographed the photos, wrote the field notes. In other cases, I photographed copies of the photographs or made copies of the recordings from personal collections within the community. In some of these recordings, I appear as a co-participant with other community members. I have organized the materials into a searchable order, and act as steward of the collection. Over the course of this dissertation project, I have also consulted this collection as its primary researcher. Because I hold so many different relationships to the material, my relationship with these items differs substantially. I am not a visitor to this collection, no mere guest. I am instead the primary caretaker and organizer and hold the power-bearing position of archivist, curator, or steward as critiqued by Joan Schwartz and Terri Cook (2002) and others (Butler 2009; E. Kaplan 2002).

During a conversation regarding LAMS and their inhabitants, I asked Hakopē about the distinction between The Museum as an institution and other LAMS collections not under

Indigenous control (interview, 11 April 2015). I wondered how Pvlvcekolv avoided situations, for example, as narrated by Kenneth Lokensgard (2010) wherein Blackfoot bundles are removed from their primary relationships with their source communities and housed in LAMS without tribal affiliation. Hakopē stated that Pvlvcekolv founded The Museum in part to store and safeguard ritual objects. By founding the institution themselves and maintaining it, the various beings housed in it were not removed from the community relationships that sustain them. The community just stored them in a safer location to care for them more effectively.

I maintain a relationship with the materials in the WCPA collection similar to the relationship that existed between the objects in The Museum and certain humans in the community. As steward, I ensure the materials reside in a logical and searchable order; live in a safe, dust-free, climate-controlled location; and can be accessed by community members and those the community invites/allows. Labeling and organizing folders of papers, filing documents into those folders, copying digital objects onto mirrored external hard drives, and updating and disseminating the finding aid are the actions that sustain these beings. Regular access and use sustains them, as when I, others in the community, and the other scholars collaborating with Pvlvcekolv examine, discuss, and cite them in our discussions and research. Although I do not need to know specific details, I do know that the various beings housed in the Pvlvcekolv bundle receive regular care and attention. Their involvement in appropriate busk rituals constitutes an important part of that care and attention (Capron 1953:160). Although the specific actions differ, both LAMS and ritual objects must receive this proper care not only to maintain their bodies, but also to maintain their selves in the community structure.

The Museum's existence under Pvlvcekolv's auspices allowed the community to continue the sustaining practices that maintain the relationships with the objects. In this same way, I, too,

am able to maintain the materials in the WCPA collection. My role in the community as an associate and ritual participant, and the fact that the community plays a role as co-creator for much of the collection, places the collection under the Pvlvcekolv umbrella. Unlike the lamentable situations Lokensgard narrates describing the circumstances of too many Indigenous objects housed in non-tribally affiliated institutions, the beings in this WCPA collection, at least, are able to sustain their relationships.

Although ceremonial items like the axes, turtle shell shakers, and pots I describe above do not live in this LAMS, the WCPA collection contains many recordings of ceremonial activities. These recordings take on something of the sacred nature associated with busk. For example, the audio recording STE-006-Turtle Dance (PAP11) derives from the 2013 Green Corn Busk. When played, the recording, housed on mirrored external hard drives, crackles to life with the sounds of crickets and other night insects. My spoken label for the recording precedes more such night sounds during the downtime immediately prior to the dance. Around 04:20, we begin our stepping pattern and begin singing around 04:40. As with a number of audio recordings I made during my field research, I carried my audio recorder in my hand while dancing.

This recording, like all recordings, not only provides a document of the song and the step patterns, but also documents the space and the movements of my fellow dancers and me. When we circle around into the figures that outline the feet and head of Turtle (see Figure 5.1), our singing and stepping grow louder. A knowledgeable listener may be able to identify upon which part of the Square Grounds we dance on at any given point. The grounds have a slight downhill slant from the southeast corner to the northwest corner. Due to the slant, the southeast corner has less sand covering it as rain over the years has carried that sand to rest in the northwest quadrant. One can hear on the recording that the closer we get to the southeast quadrant of the grounds, the

harder and more percussive our steps; the closer to the northwest quadrant, the softer the sound. Hakopē, the song leader for this particular instantiation of Turtle Dance, did not dance the steps with us. Instead, he stayed stationary near the West Arbor. The recording tracks our movements as we move closer and or further away from him.

By virtue of having been made in the heat of the Turtle Dance and of recording the Square Grounds, STE-006-Turtle Dance partakes of the Power of the busk. Additionally, by virtue of containing a sonic portion of an enactment of the Creation Story, STE-006-Turtle Dance contains a portion of the entirety of Creation. Housed on one external hard drive and mirrored on two others, this being incorporates Power and Creation as crucial parts of its personhood. Though a "mere" archival "object," STE-006-Turtle Dance and its many archival object cousins housed throughout the WCPA PAP collection contain the Power of a busk as inherent characteristics of their selves. Although I, a human, pressed the record button, processed the recording into its current state and locations, and accessed it as part of my research, STE-006-Turtle Dance retains power and agency independent of me as creator. This and other recordings do not constitute "inert objects of social scientific or historical inquiry," but instead "energetic and conversational creatures" who are alive to us (Stokes 2010:8). Unfortunately, the disciplines that constitute LAMS do not account for this understanding of the relationship between the archivist/curator/librarian and the beings in a collection.

In the archival world, the seminal "Protocols for Native American Archival Materials" (Underhill 2006) draws on previous work by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Library and Information Resource Network (1995) and outlines culturally responsible archival practices regarding Indigenous communities that can be generalized across the spectrum of LAMS institutions. These Protocols emphasize consultation and agreement with tribal communities, the

need for repatriation, and the requirement of special treatment for culturally sensitive materials. In the case of the latter practice, the protocols suggest that maintaining cultural privacy can be more important than dissemination of information (Nason 1997:252).

The practical application of the "Protocols" remains problematic. Similar to the "Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" adopted by the United Nations in 2007, the "Protocols" do not constitute legally binding law like the "Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act" of the United States (Morse 2012:116). Instead, they are recommendations for best practices. No ruling body exists to enforce the suggestions within the "Protocols." Even with the best intentions, their application can be difficult. Few LAMS have unlimited budgets, and fulfilling the "Protocols" would likely require institutions with Indigenous-derived materials to hire one or more additional staff members to take on the resulting workload.

For non-tribal archivists and archives approaching the "Protocols," the difference in worldview can create moments of pushback against the suggestions they contain. In particular, non-tribal archivist John Bolcer (2009) considers a number of the guidelines problematic or impractical. He finds that consultation with tribes when a collection includes materials from a large number of communities is neither temporally nor financially feasible. Of particular note, Bolcer questions the right of Indigenous communities to accessioned materials culturally affiliated with them. He agrees that they have compelling interest and perhaps form part of the provenance (Nesmith 2006:353). He opines, however, that interest does not equate a right (Bolcer 2009:4).

Beyond practicalities and rights, the "Protocols" fall short of understanding the relationships between LAMS, the materials in them as living beings, and bodies. While not all American Indian or Indigenous cosmologies understand personhood or construct bodies the same

way, a quorum of Native cultures and communities recognize the personhood of so-called objects. I suspect that information specialists like Bolcer and others might come to a greater appreciation of American Indian-related archival holdings if they understood something of the personhood of objects as seen from animistic Indigenous cosmologies. These materials may well be "culturally sensitive," but that label barely reveals even the surface of these issues.

The Vnahetv ("Conclusions")

In Chapter Five, I call for archivists to take into account differing traditions of archival practice and propose Pvlvcekolv's tradition of the busk and the body as forms of archives. Recent critiques of archivist and archive draw attention to the power these institutions and persons have over narratives and the people and institutions that tell them (Butler 2009; E. Kaplan 2002; Schwartz and Cook 2002; D. Taylor 2003, 2006). These critiques are resulting in a field increasingly in flux, as LAMS specialists and institutions increasingly alter their practices and assumptions to account for the power structures in which engage. Yet, these critiques fail to take into account the nature of being regarding their holdings. Animistic cultures such as Pvlvcekolv and other American Indian communities consider all entities to be persons, including objects in LAMS. This perspective holds a number of implications for LAMS sciences and practices.

Potawatomi ecologist Robin Wall Kimmerer writes about the difficulty of speaking and writing about non-humans. While developing a grammar of animacy, she calls for us to

> Imagine seeing your grandmother standing at the stove in her apron and then saying of her, "Look, it is making soup. It has gray hair." We might snicker at such a mistake, but we also recoil from it. In English, we never refer to a member of our family, or indeed to any person, as *it*. That would be a profound act of disrespect. *It* robs a person of selfhood and kinship, reducing a person to a mere thing. (Kimmerer 2013:55)

Euro-American cultures, in which the mainstream LAMS traditions arose (Hedstrom and King 2003, 2006; Rumschöttel 2001), rarely recognize the personhood of non-humans. I struggle with pronouns throughout this dissertation while discussing these beings. English lacks any respectful non-gendered pronoun; we understand "he" and "she" to refer almost exclusively to humans. These linguistic and cultural constructions, however, do not excuse archivists and their institutions from being unaware of the perspectives of the animistic cultures from which their holdings derive.

I echo critiques made especially of archives by D. Taylor (2003, 2006), Schwartz and Cook (2002) and others. Archivists, curators, and librarians no longer have the luxury of maintaining comfortable myths about their professions, if indeed they ever did. Positivism aside, LAMS were never neutral storehouses of facts and archivists/curators/librarians were never impartial caretakers of those facts. I agree with the critiques that acknowledge LAMS as power-bearing institutions and these specialists as powerful persons who have positions to control what is remembered, forgotten, and, at least to a degree, how it is remembered and forgotten. I add to these critiques something at which Schwartz and Cook only hint (2002:18). The records with which specialists work are not unmoving objects, pieces of paper, recordings, and miscellany. Rather, they can constitute intentional and social actors and persons (Lokensgard 2010:2).

Understanding LAMS materials who originate in animistic cultures, or indeed any culture, to be persons alters the relationship between specialist and record. As I outline above when discussing my relationship to STE-006-Turtle Dance, I as steward ensure the safety, longevity, and accessibility of this and other LAMS beings. I undertake activities that most, if not all, LAMS specialists perform: labeling and organizing objects, filing, updating finding aids, curating and backing up digital materials—the list always seems to continue beyond available

time and budget. These activities mutually constitute me as steward and these beings as records. Understanding these entities to be persons in their own right need not necessarily require more or different output in time or budget. This understanding does, however, affect the relationships present in the archive.

Recognition of the symbiotic, mutualistic relationship between specialist and object places both into a relational cosmology. As persons, LAMS objects can affect the specialist. I do not refer, for example, to paper cuts, dust accumulation, or similar results of working in LAMS. I refer instead to the rationale behind the smudging room at NMAI's Suitland, MD museum annex. As an institution run in collaboration with and for American Indian communities around the country, NMAI has wisely included a smudge room in which visitors can smudge before they leave the annex. The act of smudging involves burning something, often dried sage or sweetgrass, and "bathing" in the smoke to remove unwanted substances, influences, etc. For many Indigenous peoples, the act of smudging can remove any number of harmful influences originating, in this instance, with the objects touched by the researcher. I was relieved to smudge after having worked with pots from burial mounds in Decatur Country, GA. The experience, metaphorically, is like touching a fork covered with maple syrup. The syrup is very difficult to remove without soap and water. I do not pretend to know what kinds of "syrups" these records might hold—that is the provenance of Maker of Medicine. As I learned at Pvlvcekolv, the act of smudging functions as the "soap and water" that removes the "syrup."

The interactions between LAMS specialist and object are not necessarily negative. As persons, these objects can communicate with humans, like the bundles who told Blackfoot museum visitors they wanted to return home (Lokensgard 2010:132-33). When working with PAP materials, I often feel a ghost of the refreshing joy I experience during and after a busk. I

learn from these materials, not just about the information contained in them, but also through the manner in which they interact with me. Understanding LAMS repositories to house persons deepens the specialist's relationship with the collections and the materials they house and improve the ethics of that relationship.

Chapter Seven: Ritual Becomings

The Animal and Bug Dances

Pvlvcekolv's busk includes a series of ritual sung dances named after and involving a series of beings. All feature choreography and song wherein the performers become the beings named in the dance titles: the Feather, Owl, Buffalo, and Bug Dances. These choreographies do not comprise imitations or caricatures of the eponymous beings. Rather, these rituals place human performers in concert with these others-than-human as the humans transform into, and with, them. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Gauttari (1987) propose a concept they call "becoming," a way to explain what happens when persons mingle in a multispecies context. Taking "becoming" as my foundation, I develop a theory for understanding and analyzing the performative multispecies interactions that are the animal and insect dances of the busk cycle, taking case studies from the Feather, Owl, Buffalo, and Bug Dances.

Science, Ecomusicology, and Native Traditions

As I note earlier, the busk functions as an important mode of communication between human and others-than-human at Pvlvcekolv. These communications occur between the community as a whole and Ofvnkv, animals, plants, objects, and other entities. Every person or entity in a biome exists in mutually constituted environments or "naturecultures." The longevity of one species assures the continued longevity of other species, too. From Pvlvcekolv's perspective, busk-based communication and busk-mediated relationships vitally maintain that longevity.

Unfortunately, and to our cost, humans have abused our roles in this equation over the past two hundred years or more. As I mentioned in Chapter One, chemist Paul Crutzen and biologist Eugene Stoermer (2000) recently proposed the term "Anthropocene" to define the latest and current era in Earth's history. This period follows the Holocene and begins some two hundred years ago with the invention of the steam engine and the subsequent acceleration of industry and population growth. As a result, human activity has gradually grown into a significant geological morphological force (Crutzen and Stoermer 2000:17). Although other scholars have proposed different dates to begin the Anthropocene (Ruddiman 2003), the precise start date is rather arbitrary (Crutzen and Steffan 2003:251). Whatever the date, human agency has recently reached a scale capable of endangering the longevity of the entire planet. We have been proven to be the primary agents driving climate change, mass extinctions, and large-scale destruction of ecological communities worldwide (Kirksey and Helmreich 2010:549; Masco 2004).

Alongside ecologists, biologists, and other scientists, scholars within the ecomusicology subfield have voiced a number of criticisms of the role of humans on the longevity of the planet (Challe 2015; Guy 2005; Perlman 2014; Titon 2013). Aaron Allen (2011a, 2011b) proposes a series of questions regarding the relationships between music scholarship and environmental degradations, including asking if music scholarship is part of the problem or solution. He calls for studies that account for how nature informs music, and what music can tell us about humans, other species, the built environment, and their connections (Allen 2011a:392). Heeding his and others' calls, I write this chapter and the remainder of the dissertation as an ecomusicological multispecies ethnography, an exploration of the musical relationships between Pvlvcekolv and the species that mutually constitute their environment.

The human role in endangering the longevity of the planet places the multispecies relationships celebrated, maintained, and propitiated in the busk into high relief. Anthropologists S. Eben Kirksey and Stefan Helmreich (2010:549) have characterized multispecies ethnographies as writings in the Anthropocene, work that brings attention to the "situated connectivities that bind us into multispecies communities" (Rose 2009:87). I write this document expressly, and necessarily, as a multispecies ethnography. One cannot fully or accurately describe and/or analyze busk performance practice without taking into account the other beings with whom Pvlvcekolv interacts (Morrison 2000). With these caveats in mind, I focus on humans performing with animal, plant, and other persons.

In this and subsequent chapters, I follow Pvlvcekolv's tradition of merging traditional understandings with perspectives from Western science. In many community discussions, elders gleefully tell others of new scientific research or conclusions that parallel points that in Pvlvcekolv's corpus of traditional knowledge. The community enjoys juxtaposing scientific and Indigenous traditions and exploring the dialogues that result. In this regard, the community agrees with anthropologist Laura Rival regarding the utility of incorporating research and perspectives from the ecological sciences. Rival (2012:138) makes a critique of Tim Ingold, Philippe Descola, and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro for theorizing animism as antithetical to modern scientific knowledge. Their rejection of biology, she says, oversimplifies that collection of disciplines as an objectivist knowledge system predicated on a binary opposition between nature and culture (Richards 1993). The ecological sciences have much to offer discussions of animism, the relationship between human and other-than-human persons, and multispecies performance practice, and I incorporate them here.

In combining narratives and understandings from seemingly polar opposite ontologies, I take the writing of Potawatomi ecologist Robin Wall Kimmerer as my model. Kimmerer's two books (2003, 2013) effectively weave together Indigenous understandings of the world, scientific knowledge, and first person experiences with plant life. She explores the points of commonality and difference between Indigenous and scientific ways of knowing the world, noting that the two tend to align more often than we might expect. Several Pvlvcekolv elders read Kimmerer's *Braiding Sweetgrass* at my suggestion and were quite excited at the positive interactions between Indigenous and Euro-American perspectives in her prose. After finishing the book, Hokte Eco called attention to the similarities between Kimmerer and Hokopē: both, she told me, sought the common ground between diverse world views and worked to facilitate a bridge between them. Following their example, I attempt to create this bridge in this and subsequent chapters.

While I incorporate material from the natural sciences, however, I do not do so uncritically. Sioux political scientist Vine Deloria Jr. makes a critique of many scientists and lay persons who still believe that traditional knowledge systems are inferior to the "hard" sciences and that Indigenous ways of knowing reveal only superstitions (V. Deloria Jr. 1992:14; 1995). Kimmerer herself deplores how "getting scientists to consider the validity of Indigenous knowledge is like swimming upstream in cold, cold water" (2013:160). Yet, in addition to a method and a body of testable facts, science is at heart a set of beliefs and practices about nature that derive from seventeenth and eighteenth-century European culture. Science might better be understood as a Euro-American culture or subculture and certainly not an unquestionable voice of power (Marks 2009:x-xi). When properly contextualized, however, the sciences have much to offer dialogues on animism and vice versa (Kirksey and Helmreich 2010).

Becoming-Animal

Throughout the busk cycle, Pvlvcekolv performs a series of "animal dances." In these rituals, the choreography and/or music connect with the being(s) named in the title and the performers connect with that being(s). To understand what occurs during these danced songs, I draw on the idea of "becoming" from philosopher Gilles Deleuze and psychoanalyst Félix Guattari (1987:237). Becoming constitutes a process and relationship that emerges from nonhierarchical alliances, symbiotic attachments, and the mingling of creative agencies in multispecies contexts (Kirksey and Helmreich 2010:546). Becomings do not amount to dreams, fantasies, or imitations. Rather, they form distinct categories patterned through "sorcery" or alliance (Deleuze and Gauttari 1987:238; Haraway 2008:28). What Deleuze and Guattari define as "sorcery" from European perspective might describe the rituals that comprise the busk in the Pvlvcekolv context. "Becoming" is its own verb, "becoming-X" its own noun—"it lacks a subject distinct from itself" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:238). I therefore write of ritual participants becoming becomings-bison, becomings-birds, and other becomings.

Becoming occurs in concert with others. Donna Haraway has criticized Deleuze and Guattari for the misogyny, fear of aging, and incuriosity regarding actual animals in their proposal and discussion of becoming. She notes the concept's utility, however, and that "becoming is always becoming *with*" (Haraway 2008:28, 244 italics original). The process neither occurs alone, nor in a context peopled with only a single species. Rather, it occurs in mutually constituted ecologies filled with a variety of beings and species. Furthermore, becoming takes place in a situation when "the outcome, where who is in the world, is at stake" during situations of great importance (Haraway 2008:244).

"Becoming" explains what occurs during certain danced songs in the busk. This ritual cycle constitutes a situation of great importance in that it resets social and metaphysical harmony

on a local and universal scale. During the danced songs named after plants and animals, the human performers become becomings-other: becomings-birds, -bison, -owl, -insects, -turtle, and –plants (Abram 2010). These danced songs include: Feather, Buffalo, Owl, and Bug Dances, as well as Turtle Dance (see Chapter Five) and Harvest and Berry and Arbor Dances (see Chapter Eight). As Haraway notes, becoming it always a becoming *with*. Participants cannot become becomings-bison or becomings-turtle without interactions with bison and turtle, respectively. The danced songs themselves comprise these interactions. Although performers might engage in Buffalo or Turtle Dances without the physical presence of a bison or turtle, those beings' influence is present.

"Becoming" in this context connects to the Muskogee verb, *ometv*. Difficult to translate into English, ometv functions as a kind of umbrella term. It can mean "to be like," "to become," "to emulate," "to imitate," "in the manner of," or "by means of." In a ceremonial situation, the verb connotes a sense of physical transformation (Hakopē, interview, 23 August 2015). In his Creek glossary, Albert Gatschet notes the word can mean, "to be alike to" ([1888] 1969:114). Deleuze, Gauttari, and Haraway's "becoming" describes much the same phenomena as ometv: becoming like something/one by means of ritualized interaction with that something/one.

In this respect, ometv and becoming are not unlike the Saami *joik*. A vocal practice among the Saami, an Indigenous group in Scandinavia, joik is a noun and a transitive verb that requires an object: one does not joik about something, one joiks the entity itself (Ramnarine 2009:209). A joik is not, or not only, a musical description of the entity, but serves to evoke the entity and implicates the entity's presence (Jones-Bamman 1993). In essence, "the joiker, the joiked, and the joik are one and the same" (Ramnarine 2009:205). Similarly, becomings do not

imitate the entity, they instead transform into something involving the entity, evoking the entity's presence, becoming-the entity.

As I explored in the Introduction and Chapter Four, bodies are processes, not static containers or vehicles. Humans constantly configure and incorporate information (and matter and energy) in a constant process of becoming (Sklar 2001:186). In these rituals, performers become more than human, or, put another way, participants become more human. Haraway and others have proposed that, given that humans live alongside multiple species, our very state of humanity derives from multispecies interactions (Haraway 2008; Kirksey and Helmriech 2010). Pvlvcekolv's animal and plant dances do not therefore form multispecies exceptions to a monospecies rule. Rather, they comprise culturally specific examples of multispecies interactions that form their particular state of humanity.

These becomings-animal or becomings-other in ritual contexts can occur because of the nature of being and body in this Muskogee context. As I discussed in Chapter Four, the edge of a being exists not at the skin or surface of that being, but instead at the boundary of that being's influence. When singing certain dances during the busk, performers slip inside the area of influence of specific beings and become becomings-other (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). As becomings-birds, for example, participants acknowledge the importance of birds to their mutual ecology, their mutual natureculture. They also enlarge birds' area of influence, and enact these beings.

The nature of these ritual actions as becomings with others requires attention to prose and diction. In the Introduction, I explain how crucial the participation portion of the observation-participation method has been in my research. I have performed almost every dance I treat here multiple times during my research collaboration with Pvlvcekolv. My participation allows—

perhaps demands—that I acknowledge its importance by occasionally using first person pronouns "I" and "we." Use of these pronouns takes into account my relationship with the Pvlvcekolv community, promoting an ethical collaboration.

While preparing this dissertation, however, I long avoided first person pronouns, preferring to maintain "objective distance" through use of third person pronouns. Although the community formally adopted me, I do not have Indigenous ancestry; use of the first person felt too much like I was "playing" at being Indian (P. Deloria 1999). The fact that ritual becoming is actually "becoming with," however, demands that I acknowledge the vital presence of multiple persons, human and otherwise, in ceremony. To best account for the inclusion of these persons and my relationships with the community, I have chosen to do this through strategic use of the first person plural pronoun "we" throughout the remainder of this dissertation.

Feather Dance

The Feather Dance functions as a space for Pvlvcekolv men to interact and become with avian beings. By dancing Feather Dance, participants propitiate the birds to maintain their ecological roles.[28] The Feather Dance also functions as a celebration of masculinity and a place for the men of the community to bond as a group. This danced song usually takes place as the first ceremonial action on Saturday. The exception to this rule is Green Corn Busk, when it takes place after lighting the new Fire following the Ribbon Dance. The men of the grounds begin

[28] Ethnologist Frank Speck described Feather Dance performance at Taskigi Town and included two different transcriptions of Feather Dance songs (1911b:186-190), one from Taskigi and another learned by a Taskigi man from "a Tulsa town leader years ago" (1911b:188-189). He noted that the songs bore little resemblance to each other, and he suggested that this point "is interesting ethnographically because it shows that in such details the various town differed from one another" (1911b:189). One hundred years earlier, naturalist William Bartram similarly noted that "Every Tribe which constitutes the Muscogulge Confederacy has separate customs and many of them different Systems of Legislation" (2010:369).

preparations to enter Feather Dance by putting on white shirts. They wear predominantly white for this particular dance because white echoes the feathers that top the wands they carry, which in turn reference the white birds that appear in the lyrics in one of the Feather Dance songs. If not white, each man wears the best shirt he has with him regardless of color or design.

After dressing their finest, they each collect a feather wand or pole from where they lean against the South Arbor. Two or three feathers blossom from each of these six- or seven-foot long canes (see Figure 7.1).[29] As part of his preparations for each cycle, Kusko gathers egret feathers he finds along the sides of several north Florida rivers specifically for these wands. The two emarvs carry these same wands during the four calls to Ribbon Dance and in Ribbon Dance itself. Unlike the wands carried by the other men, the emarv's wands have the addition of several small ribbon strands tied alongside the feathers, which connect them to Ribbon Dance.

The men begin the dance in a circled cluster, shoulder to shoulder, at the northwest ordinal post. At the center of the men's circle lies a circle drawn in the sand called the Bird Mound (see Figure 7.2). At several previous locations of the Square Grounds, notably that currently under Interstate-10, the Bird Mound was a physical mound of earth anywhere from eight to fifteen feet in diameter. Now mostly conceptual, a ritual leader draws the mound on the ground when needed. It represents the birds and, like them, can migrate, both around the Square Grounds and from location to location (Bloch and Hantman 2015).

While standing around the Bird Mound, participants name people they want to keep in mind during the dance and to whom they want to dedicate their actions. They name ailing or aging relatives and friends, people suffering recent losses, persons with sudden problems and/or medical issues, individuals unable to be present on this particular occasion. They then develop a

[29] The Taskigi Feather Dance as witnessed by Frank Speck included six-foot long sticks "with a fringe of white heron feathers attached" (1911b:186).

Figure 7.1 The tips of the feather wands as they lean against the South Arbor during the 2009 Harvest Busk.

repertoire of birdcalls, remembering a plethora of birds similar to the way they have just remembered a plethora of people connected to Pvlvcekolv. Many community members maintain intimate connections with their surrounding environments and several are amateur or professional naturalists. I was astonished when I first witnessed the high degree of accuracy with which the men vocalized a breadth of birdcalls during my first Feather Dance in 2008. Since then I have come to appreciate and admire this ability and have developed a modest personal repertoire of birdcalls myself. Following these bird calls, we enter the Feather Dance.

Figure 7.2 Left: The Bird Mound drawn on the grounds at the 2008 Harvest Busk. Right: Detail of the Bird Mound. Both images are black and white to render the circle more easily visible; the detail has been darkened for the same reason.

From the northwest corner, the men move counterclockwise to the South Arbor, East Arbor, North Arbor, and West Arbor (see Figure 7.3). This single rotation constitutes a round (see Figure 7.4). Although they might not occur contiguously, each Pvlvcekolv Feather Dance usually features four rounds on the grounds and a fifth around the Ball Post with a different song per round. The dance has two primary choreographic components: participants circle together in

Figure 7.3 Top to bottom: Standing around the Bird Mound (Harvest Busk 2009); inside the circle, dancing in front of the West Arbor (Harvest Busk 2012); outside the circle, dancing in front of the West Arbor (Harvest Busk 2009).

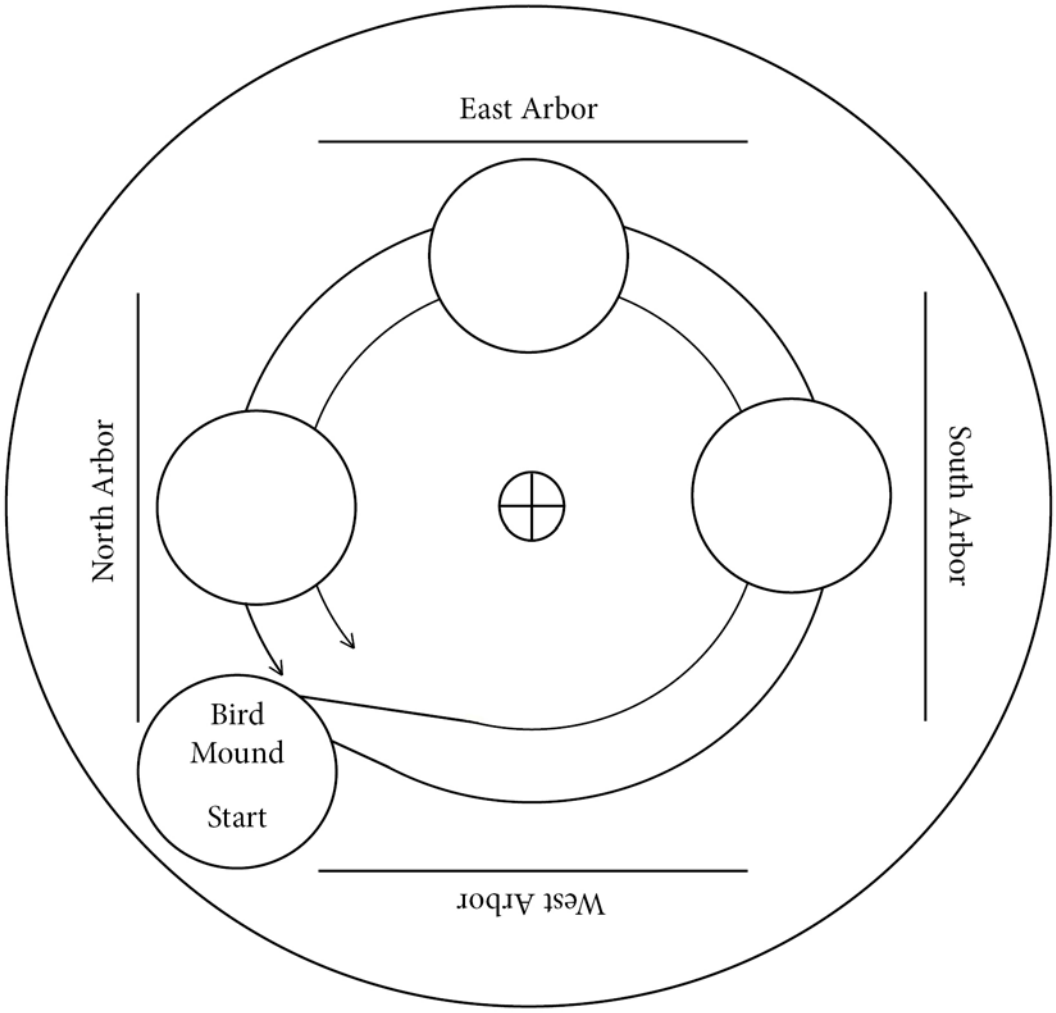


Figure 7.4 Feather Dance choreographic outline, round one.

front of each arbor (and initially around the bird mound) and move in two parallel lines between arbors.[30]

Performers make exceptions to this choreographic outline. Because the Feather Dance intimately connects with avian life, the dance observes and echoes the south-bound winter and

[30] Speck's description of Taskigi's Feather Dance differed. The Taskigi circled around the Square Grounds single file behind the leader. At the end of the second song, they grouped together in a "squad, elevate their wands[,] and rush whooping toward the west arbor of the square where the town chief sits. Bringing themselves suddenly to a halt, they raise the wands high, then drive them into the earth before the arbor. This performance is enacted successiuvely before each of the four arbors, after which the occupants take a drink of the emetic" (1911b:187).

north-bound spring migrations of many species of birds. So as not to impede this seasonal movement, the men do not alit in front of the South Arbor in the winter at Harvest Busk, nor in front of the North Arbor in spring at Berry and Arbor Busk. Not solely symbolic, the Square Grounds encapsulate both the spiritual center and home of Pvlvcekolv and, during ceremony, contain the entirety of Creation therein. The space inside the shell ring becomes a microcosm of, a synecdoche, for all that lies outside of it. Actions that take place inside the grounds and in their immediate vicinity during ritual events have very real effects and repercussions (Kimmerer 2013: 125-26). Havoc results in the world if the Feather Dance includes a verse danced in front of the South Arbor at Harvest Busk or in front of the North Arbor at Berry and Arbor Busk. They take great care to dance with the birds and not against them.

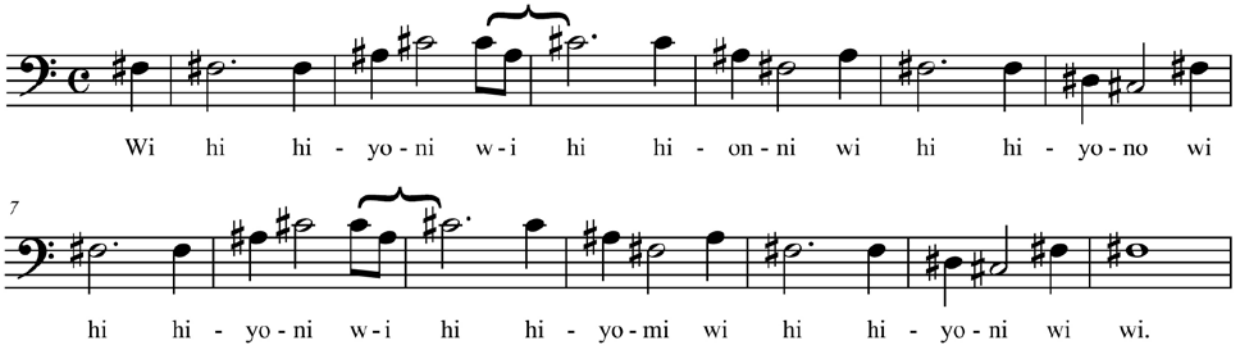
The men perform a distinctive step specific to the Feather Dance, the scratch step. It involves a light stomp, pressing first one foot then the other into the circle. This step does not produce a sharp percussive sound; rather, as the foot "scratches" against the sand-covered ground, a soft shush sounds. Harder ground helps the sound resonate more. In places where more sand has drifted downhill with the numerous rains typical of north Florida, they create an almost hissing sound of the sand rubbing against shoes or bare skin.

Of the five rounds, only four include music performed aloud. One round is a silent, when each man sings inside his own head but not through his lips. (I explore this silence in Chapter Nine). The current Pvlvcekolv repertoire contains sixteen Feather Dance songs, although during my times at the grounds, the Song Leaders often choose the four songs I analyze here. As they circle in front of an arbor, they sing one or two verses of the song of that round. They then raise their voices in a high-pitched cry punctuated with birdcalls as they move between circle formations in front of the arbors. As the performers alight into the next circle, they raise a

beautiful cacophony of birdcalls. Then a moment of quiet, as they fold their ruffled feathers, and they continue into the next verse. During my time at the grounds, the following songs typically line up with the following rounds: the first round accompanies a song containing only the vocables, "*wi hi hi-yo-ni*;" the second round celebrates birds with the song "*eh-elo v-li-he-no*" ("there are white birds there"); the third round celebrates masculine fertility through the song "*Hi-yok'ne*;" the fourth round is silent; the fifth round, performed around the Ball Post, includes the vocables-only song, "*Hi-yo hi ya*." The arrangement of these songs into the above order does not result from ceremonial "rules," but rather from personal preference on the part of the Song Leaders. Performers can perform any song in the Feather Dance corpus in any round of the Feather Dance.

Performing the first song, "Wi hi hi-yo-ni," formally brings we participants together as a community of men for the first time since the previous Feather Dance at the last busk. Before entering the dance this time, we have been working together to prepare the grounds and ourselves for busk. In completing these actions, we function as a community of men only informally. As we enter the pre-busk fast from sexual contact and minimize contact with the women, we coalesce into our gendered groups, reestablishing the ties that bind us together. The first round of Feather Dance visibly formalizes those ties, as we dance together as a group. In this respect, this round creates a space for us to reestablish our sense of community. Because we are entering into a dance that is already moving, we reconnect with those entities already/still dancing it. These people include non-deceased elders and relatives. Entering into Feather Dance allows us also to incorporate the people we name around the Bird Mound into the dance by interacting with their influence. Naming them and then dancing the first round with them in mind brings their presences into the dance itself.

The melody line of "Wi hi hi-yo-ni" aurally represents the flight of birds, although the text contains only vocables and has no lexical meaning (see Example 7.1). The melody depicts avian flight between the Middle World, Upper World, and Other World or ground. We begin and end the piece on, in this transcription, an F# that might represent the Middle World, or more likely something attached to the Middle World, like a low tree or bush. Beginning from this tree or bush, the birds launch themselves into the sky, occasionally flapping their wings, as when the melody line dips a third before returning to the originating pitch between measures two and three and between measures eight and nine (see bracketed intervals in Example 7.1). As the melody descends, so too do the birds, alighting upon the earth (C# in this particular instance). They remain grounded for a half note, perhaps pecking at a seed or eating an insect, before taking off again and gliding back into the sky. They end where they began, returning to that bush or tree branch. As such, the melody line illustrates their motion and reaffirms their ability to move between Worlds with ease.



Example 7.1"Wi hi hi-yo-ni," the song accompanying Feather Dance, round one.

The second song, "Eh-elo v-li-he-no," generally accompanies the second round of Feather Dance (see Figure 7.5) and further develops the avian theme (see Example 7.2). These lyrics contract a longer phrase meaning, "There are white birds here." Similar to "Wi hi hi-yo-ni," this

melody also mimics avian movement. This melody line seems to mirror the diving motion of certain water birds. The first four iterations of "eh-elo v-li-he-no" (mm. 1-4) quickly descend the scale, like four egrets diving into a river after food. In this particular scale, G# is likely the water's surface. The second four iterations of the line (mm. 5-8) similarly illustrate how the birds wing for height (mm. 5 and 7) before plunging again into the water (mm. 6 and 8). The final two iterations of this text (mm. 9-10) represent the birds swimming about in the watery depths. Performing these first two songs facilitate our transformation into becomings-birds.

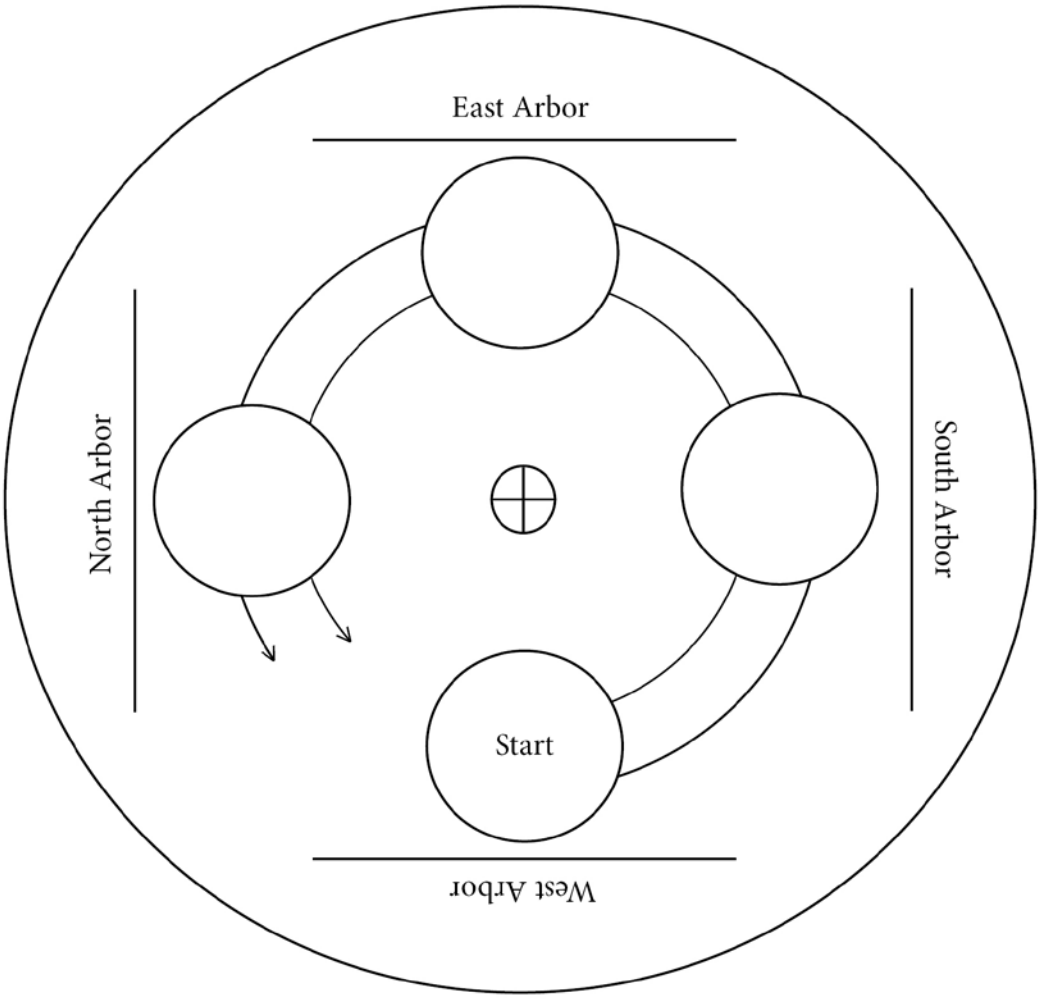
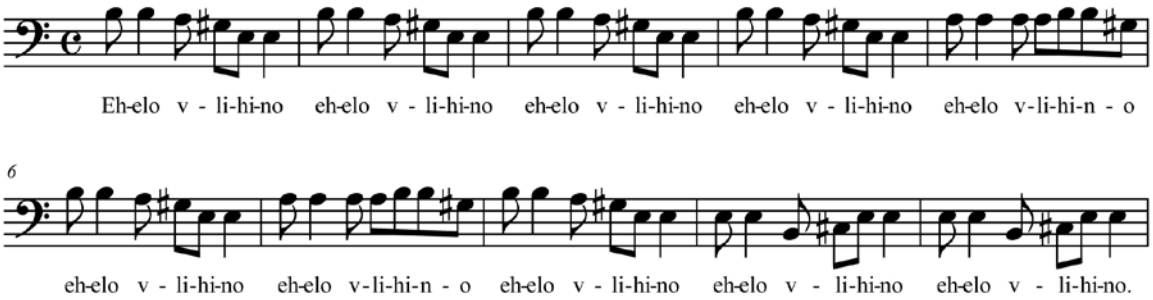


Figure 7.5 Feather Dance choreographic outline, rounds two and three.

In addition to the melodic connections to birds, Feather Dance features a number of egg-like symbols: the initial outline around the Bird Mound, the circular formation in front of each arbor, and the formation around the Ball Post. Although the choreography is flexible and not always "done right," the men ideally form egg-like oval outlines. In practice, however, these circular formations are more free-form and fluid. Whatever their precise configuration, these outlines represent bird eggs. The eggs the men dance out on the Square Grounds further facilitate their becomings-birds, connecting them to the birds.



Example 7.2"Eh-elo v-li-hi-no," the song accompanying Feather Dance, round two.

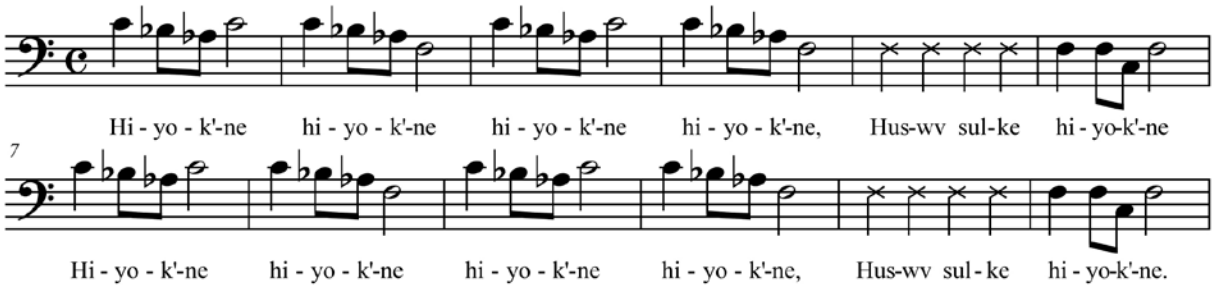
Avian beings hold an important place in Muskogee cosmology. In the Creation Story as told at Pvlvcekolv (see Chapter Five), birds help Turtle create land. After Creator creates water, the birds find themselves swimming closest to the land that Turtle was forming. After scrambling up to it, they spread their drenched wings open to dry them. Some flap their wings, removing the water and drying the land. As Turtle brings up more mud from beneath the waters, more and more birds flap their wings to dry them and the new-forming land. Some few beat their wings so hard that they rise to great heights to see Ofvnkv. Pleased with their work, Creator gives "them songs, calls, and wild cries so all would know of Creator's pleasure" (Creation Story, PAP8.2). Creator blows on the breast feathers of the birds that have flown the highest, making them soft

and delicate. Pvlvcekolv considers these feathers visible prayers, and often calling them "prayer feathers." Because feathers are the means by which birds reached Ofvnkv, feathers become the "companions to peace, prayer, and thankfulness" (Creation Story, PAP8.2).

Birds of all kinds play a crucial role in making the newly-formed land habitable in the Creation Story. Because Creator gifts birds with songs, calls, and wild cries out of pleasure, Pvlvcekolv intimately associates birdsong with Creator. The phrase "*Fuswv yvhiket os*," "The birds, they are singing," acknowledges birds and their role. Many songs in the Feather Dance repertoire are the musical equivalent, as in the case of "eh-elo v-li-he-no" and "Wi hi hi-yo-ni. Similarly, the feathers that tip the wands recall the feathers upon which Ofvnkv blows breath. Their presence on the wands forms the visual component of the musical or spoken acknowledgements of birds' presence.

In addition to the Creation Story, birds play crucial roles in their ecosystems. For example, many avian species spread the seeds of various plants. As they eat the fruits and/or seeds of these plants, they disperse them across their habitat in their droppings. This dispersal ensures greater plant genetic diversity and lowers plant competition by scattering the plants across a wider area. Similarly, certain species of birds pollinate flowers as they feed from nectar-producing blooms. Many water bird species disperse fish eggs to different parts of their aquatic environment, which also promotes genetic diversity (Şekercioğlu 2006). Scientists consider several birds to be keystone species in their environments because of the effect they have on other organisms. One example, the woodpecker (*Picidae* family), creates cavities in rotting trees in which a variety of insects and other animals then live (Jones, Lawton, and Shachak 1996). Dancing Feather Dance celebrates the place of birds in these symbiotic relationships and ritually ensures their continuity.

The Feather Dance addresses other topics in addition to the importance of avian life. As evidenced by the third round, "Hi-yok’ne," an integral thread of male fertility weaves through the ritual. Here the Feather Dance, and by association the entire busk, are stylized sexual intercourse. In this interpretation, the wands become phalluses and the feathers stylized semen and proof of fertility. "Hi-yok’ne" is another of the few ceremonial songs with actual lexical text. Reacting against outsider bias, the community has requested I not include the exact translation, but instead just describe the content. A contraction of a longer phrase, the song lyrics speak to the full glory of the male body and the proof of fertility inherent in the image of recent ejaculation. Euro-American taboos surrounding the body, sex, and sexuality do not exist in the traditional Pvlvcekolv worldview. Instead, these aspects of the body not only form biological fact, but also aspects to celebrate and propitiate, as in this song.



Example 7.3"Hi-yo-k'-ne," the song accompanying Feather Dance, round three.

The contours of the "Hi-yok’ne" melody line explicitly demonstrate proof of male fertility (see Example 7.3). Rather than portraying sexual intercourse, this song melodically represents a man's penis and ejaculate after an orgasm. Now in the post-orgasmic refractory period, the state of bliss following orgasm and ejaculation, this penis slowly loses its erection. Across four measures (mm. 1-4), the line descends the total of a fifth, the aural depiction of the increasingly flaccid penis. In measures one and three, the melody descends only to return to the

starting pitch, still luxuriating in the high of the refractory period following a satiating orgasm. The final measures in the phrase (mm. 6 and 12) each briefly descend a fourth to C before returning, perhaps the melodic illustration of a blob of semen dripping onto the ground.

Singing this round of the Feather Dance involves great comedy and over-performance. The men often belt out the first and highest pitch (C in this particular performance), giving it the most power and the loudest dynamic level of the entire line. Some sing this note also with a greater amount of vibrato than they use elsewhere in this song. Given the image communicated through the melody line, this performance practice has the effect of focusing attention on the erect state of the penis rather than its increased softening.

The line "*Hus-wv sul-ke*," which I have chosen to transcribe with X-shaped note heads in measures five and eleven in Example 7.3, also receives emphasis. The men generally perform this measure in an almost spoken, declamatory-style. The performance of "Hus-wv sul-ke" also contains a cluster of pitches as the men speak or declaim the text in a comparatively low part of their vocal ranges. Each note receives an accent that slightly decays, drooping like the post-orgasmic penis the line depicts.

The choreographic affect of this round of the Feather Dance both accentuates and mocks the masculinity and sexual nature of it. The men spread their legs a little wider, they twist their bodies and gyrate their hips a little more, they wave the wands a little more, and they heighten the vocal quality of the song. Some men slightly slide up to the pitch at the beginning of each four-bar phrase and tense their epiglottises, vocalizing something akin to a growl. Instead of birdcalls while transversing the space between arbors, they perform a series of call and response grunts that bounce between the song leader and the rest of the group. The deeper-pitched and louder the grunt, the better and funnier. The grunts, vocal tightening, and heightened

choreography and performance combine to create a caricature of masculinity. The men of the grounds do not behave like this, do not vocalize like this outside this round of the Feather Dance. This element of play is crucial. They do not take the masculinity they put on display in this round seriously. Rather, they poke fun at masculinity and render it comic by over-performing it.

At the same time, the performers experience joy, they take pleasure in their male bodies and masculinity even as they caricature it. This particular round celebrates both the pleasure that results from orgasm and the fertility inherent in ejaculate. The spermatozoa in semen contribute to human procreation. A performance of Feather Dance, as a celebration of male sexuality, facilitates the mens' acknowledgment of that connection between sexuality and fertility. While they depict and poke fun at a hypermasculine variation of male sexuality, they also celebrate the potential fertility in male ejaculation.

Having written the above description, I admit to feeling more than a little uncomfortable. Topics of sex and sexuality are typically taboo in English and English-language cultures. Yet I experience no such discomfort when performing this particular round of the Feather Dance, and nor do the other men. This performance is neither "dirty" nor "disgusting." Instead, we are celebrating Pvlvcekolv constructions of sex and gender and the abilities of the male body. And this round can be fun and downright hilarious! One of the kitchens lies within easy shouting distance of the grounds. Scattered amongst our performance of this round, we often hear some of the women mocking us in good fun from afar. A high tongue trill, a raucous laugh, or a mocking suggestion all egg us on while also acknowledging the silliness of this round. Our only possible response to their good-natured mockery can be to make the performance yet bigger: sway our hips and wands more, sing louder and with additional melodic slides, and tighten our voices further.

Following the display and celebration of masculinity in the third round, the men transition into the silent round and the Ball Post round of the Feather Dance. Choreographically, the silent round does not differ from the previous three rounds. They still move from circle formation to circle formation in front of the arbors. They still perform the scratch step. Yet, they neither vocalize birdcalls between the arbors, nor sing aloud while in front of them. The participants "sing," instead, a song inside their heads to the accompaniment of the Song Leader's ever-present rattle. Perhaps because Pvlvcekolv generally performs it immediately after the third round, the silent round always seems remarkably solemn to me. This round recalls the gravity of naming people they wish to remember around the Bird Mound before they join the Feather Dance. I occasionally notice that I become more aware of my surroundings during these moments, paying attention to the bird who has decided to accompany our silent round with her song, feeling the breeze cooling my sweaty cheek, becoming aware of the buzz of the ever-present insect life. This round is an occasion where participants cease creating the sound of Creation and can instead listen to the voice of Creator, to the silence around us. Feather Dance, like the entirety of the busk, juxtaposes moments of sound and moments of silence.

After completing three quarters of the silent round, and before they step out of the Feather Dance, the men move to the Ball Post. Forming a single-file, stomping line, they curve around the Fire mound and exit the grounds at the northeast ordinal point. They then march to the Ball Post. Just as they have in every other round of the Feather Dance, they form an inward-facing circle around it (see Figure 7.6). They then scratch-step their way through "*He-yo he ya*." Mvhayv-rakko brought this song back into regular use after learning it at Helvpē Square Grounds in Oklahoma where he also regularly busks. The text lies somewhere between vocables and contractions. What were once lexically meaningful phrases are now little more than vocables.

Hakopē suggests that the lyrics speak about the singers passing or dancing by silently like Old Grandfather, or Creator (interview, 19 January 2015).

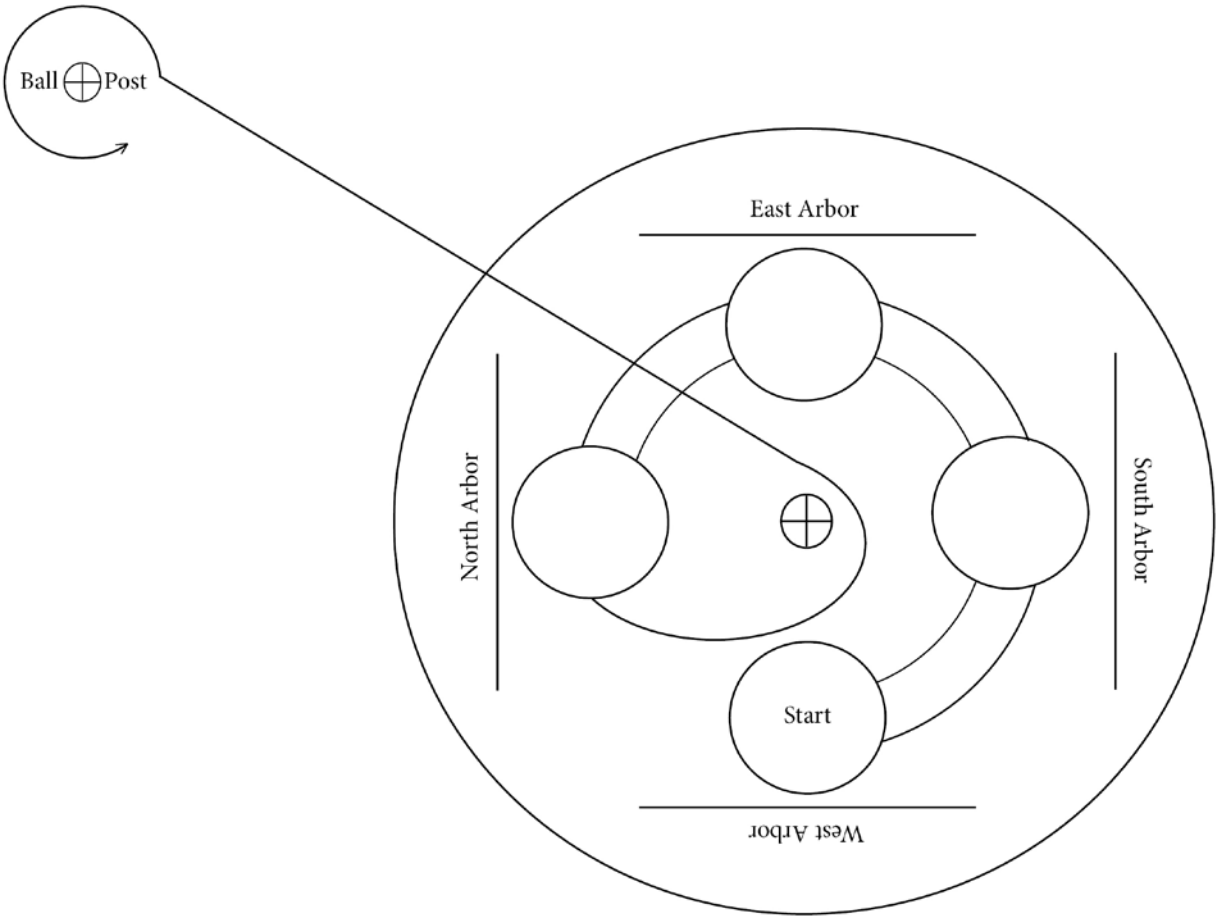
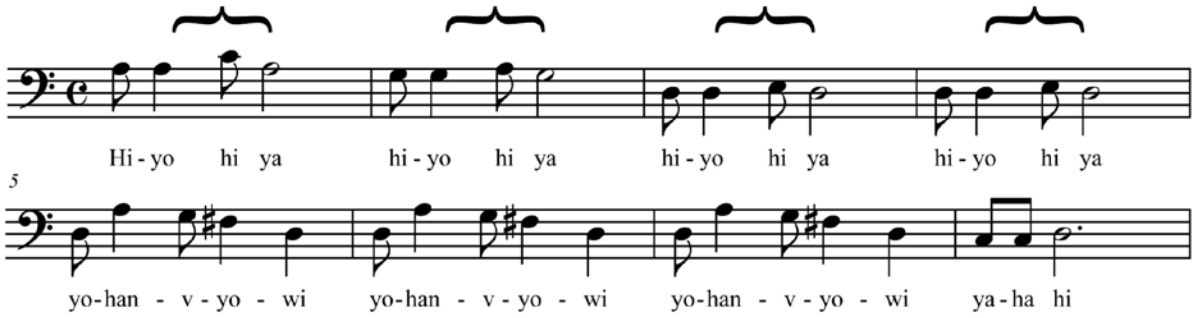


Figure 7.6 Feather Dance choreographic outline, rounds four and five.



Example 7.4"Hi-yo hi ya," the song accompanying the Feather Dance, Ball Post round.

Like "Eh-elo v-li-he-no," the "Hi-yo hi ya" melody line illustrates bird flight. Here, birds on top of the Ball Post or perhaps on top of an arbor flutter down to the ground (see Example 7.4). Across a verse, the overall melody line descends. Like "Eh-elo v-li-he-no," the leaps up and down a third in measure one and up and down a second in measures two-four might be wing beats as the birds descend ever lower (see the brackets in Example 7.4). Similarly, the ascending fifth leap prior to a descending scale paint a picture of a flight pattern wherein the bird flaps its wings once to rise before gliding down (measure five) only to repeat the pattern twice more (measures six and seven). The final measure perhaps illustrates the bird briefly skimming the ground (the pitch C) before again rising.

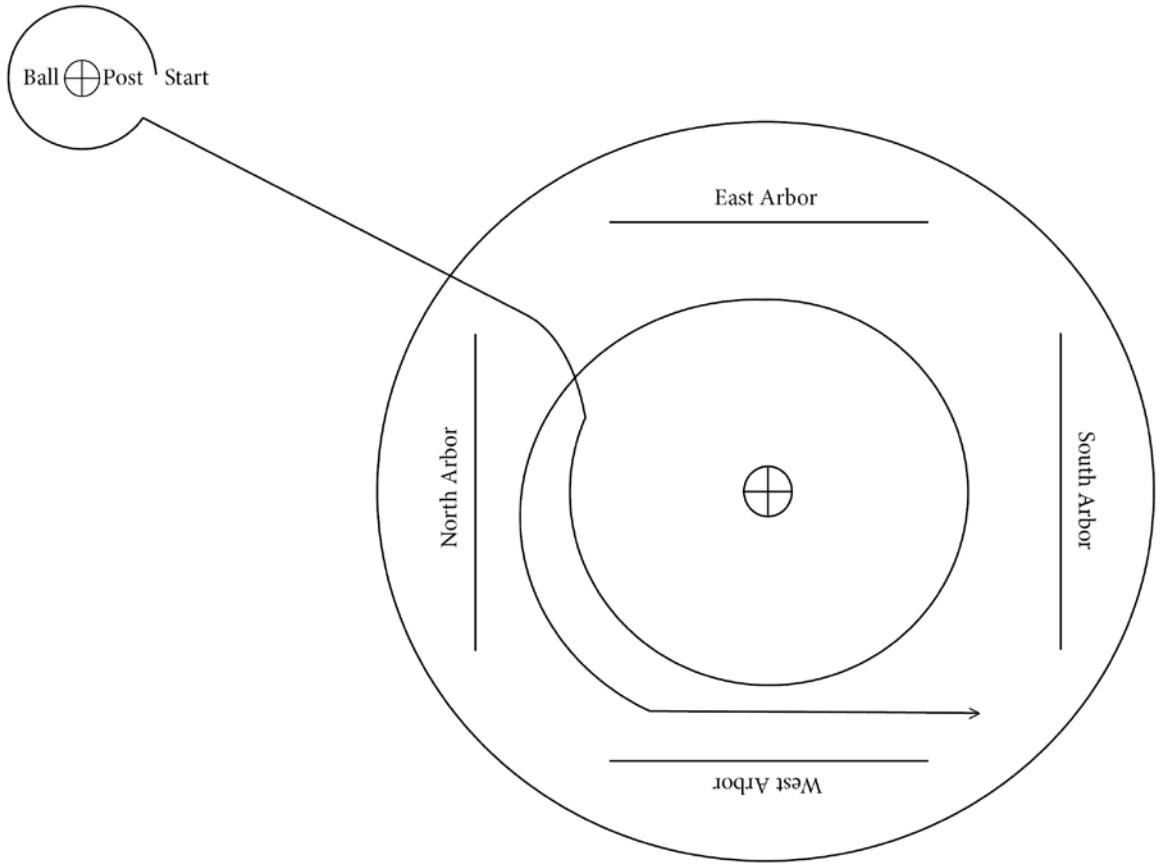


Figure 7.7 Feather Dance choreographic outline, end.

After completing one or two verses of "He-yo he ya," the performers return to the grounds, make a final loop around the perimeter, and form a line facing the West Arbor (see Figure 7.7). Once there, the Song Leader directs the men in a call and response shout. From high in his chest voice he cries, "Ofvnkv!" The rest answer, also high in their vocal registers, "Mvto!" They hold the fourth cry of "Mvto!" for several seconds before allowing the pitch to slide down the scale as the sound dissipates.[31] They exit the Feather Dance as they return their feather wands to the side of the South Arbor.

Owl Dance

Although a bird, Pvlvcekolv honors Owl with a dance separate from the Feather Dance. Owl Dance often occurs on the Friday or Saturday night of every busk, sometimes right after the Turtle Dance. Unlike the Turtle Dance, which focuses on time immediately before and during Creation, the Owl Dance treats life as it exists now. Unlike the Feather Dance and other danced songs, it is a quiet and contemplative dance, well suited for the quiet time late at night.

This choreography is quiet and slow.[32] Unlike, for example, the Buffalo Dance, which can speed up to 130 beats or more per minute, Owl Dance often features rhythms of 75 beats per minute or slower. The choreography begins with those still awake—men and women—lining up in front of the East Arbor facing the Fire. Maintaining a single file line, participants take very small stomp-steps (right-right, left-left, right-right, etc.) towards the Fire while singing one verse of the Owl Dance song very softly (see Figure 7.8). The performers then move counter-

[31] This form of vocalization is common in South American Amazonian Indigenous contexts (Seeger [1987] 2004).

[32] Frank Speck included a transcription of a "Screech Owl Dance" performed at Taskigi Town (1911b:178-179). However, he did not provide any information about performance practice, except to note that the dance propitiated the owl, whose call announced the death of someone, and that "the hand rattle is shaken by the leader" (1911b:178). The melody he transcribed was different from Pvlvcekolv's Owl Dance.

Figure 7.8 The first part of Owl Dance, video still, Green Corn Busk 2013.

clockwise around the grounds to the North Arbor (see Figure 7.9) and step a little closer to the Fire while repeating the song. They subsequently move to the West Arbor and the South Arbor, performing the same choreography in front of each arbor. As they rotate around the grounds, they step ever closer to the Fire singing one verse per arbor. After the South Arbor, they return to the East Arbor. This time they turn to face the arbor and step towards it singing a final verse (see Figure 7.10).

The Owl Dance pleads with Opv ("owl") for its skill in maneuvering through the dark actions of fellow humans (see Example 7.5). Hakopē has humorously noted that,

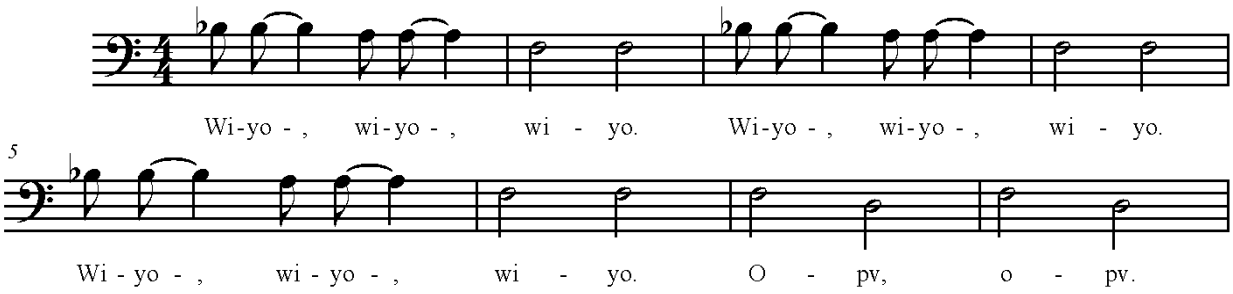
> You sort of quote Shakespeare: "Feathered friends, ex-Romans, and owl countrymen, lend me your feathered ears, give me your night vision and your eyes, because you see, you are the masters of dark." [For this reason, the dance] propitiate[s] the owl for its ability. He is the master of darkness, but for human beings, the darkest places that can be known are in the hearts of fellow humankind. (Interview, 23 January 2009)

The choreography facilitates participants' transformations into becomings-owl. Their movements are slow and deliberate and very quiet. Because of a combination of feather serrations that break up airflow and soft feathers that absorb the remaining flight noise, owls can fly without creating

Figure 7.9 The second part of Owl Dance, video still, Green Corn Busk 2013.

Figure 7.10 The final part of Owl Dance, video still, Green Corn Busk 2013.

a sound (Graham 1934; Sarradj et al. 2011). This silence permits them to hunt without alerting their prey. Performers echo that silence with the dynamic level of the song and with the pace of their movements. On the Square Grounds, they constantly pace to the Fire, the source of light and wisdom, from the darkness, the place of chaos. They approach from the four cardinal directions, which, on the microcosm of the grounds, expand to encompass all of Creation. The performers end by pacing towards the East Arbor, which houses the women, children, and guests. This arbor stands for the start of life. Walking towards this arbor as the beginning of life, they bring with them the light, wisdom, and "night vision" they derive by dancing ourselves into becomings-owl.



Example 7.5 The Owl Dance song.

Singing the Owl Dance song also assists participants' transformation into becomings-owl (see Example 7.5). The lyrics consist of two word: *wi-yo*, a vocable, and *O-pv*, "owl." A verse consists of three iterations of a two-measure phrase (mm. 1-2 repeated 3-4 and 5-6) followed by two iterations of a single-measure phrase (mm 7-8). One might say that mm 1-6 follow the owl's motion as it glides through the air, perhaps beginning in a tree and hunting across a meadow. The last two measures might echo the bird's wing movement while slowly flapping, or they might indicate its sudden loss of height onto its next meal. As they sing, they transform into Opv, able

to see well in the dark and able to fly as quietly. These skills stand them in good stead to brave the dark depths of the "hearts of fellow humankind" (Hakopē, interview 23 January 2009).

Like all animals in an ecosystem, owls play important roles. Part of performers' transformation in transforming into becomings-owl and other animals is to thank the owl and other creatures for their ecological roles and to propitiate them to maintain these positions. In addition to some of the general roles of birds I outline in conjunction with the Feather Dance, owls control the populations of small mammals (Abramsky et al. 1996). As one of few non-migratory avian species (Johnsgard 1988:25), owls control these high reproducing populations year-round. This control in turn means that these, often rodent, populations do not overwhelm a particular ecosystem.

Within the larger structure of a single busk, the Owl Dance always takes place as the last danced song of the evening. As such, community member Yvhv states that the Owl Dance "doesn't close the grounds, but it says, 'We are done here for tonight.' And . . . we'll just honor the owl and then go to our place" (interview, 30 November 2008). Some few will stay up to feed the Fire. Most ritual participants will now sleep for the night, secure in their owl-derived abilities.

Buffalo Dance

The Buffalo Dance generally occurs on Saturday afternoon after Scratching and before the Stickball Game, feeding of the Fire, and breaking the fast.[33] It is possibly surprising to

[33] In this section, I distinguish between the "Buffalo" Dance and the animal connected with it, the American bison. The bison is only distantly related to the species that are considered true buffalo, which are indigenous to parts of Africa, Asia, and Europe. Although a distinct species, American bison have long erroneously been called "buffalo." The Oxford English Dictionary notes the earliest recorded conflations of the two in the anonymous *A Relation of Maryland* (1635), Robert Beverly's *The History and Present State of Virginia* (1705), and Mark Catesby's *The*

encounter a Buffalo Dance in the Southeast; we associate bison-focused ceremonialism perhaps exclusively with Plains Native cultures. Yet bison lived in habitats across the continental United States prior to Contact. In addition to the typical open grasslands of the Great Plains, bison lived in lightly wooded areas and river valleys. Although they quickly disappeared from the Southeast during colonial American history, archaeologists uncovered bison kill sites in the Florida panhandle (see Figure 7.11). One such site lies on the Wacissa River in Jefferson County, FL, not far from the current Pvlvcekolv Square Grounds (Webb et al. 1983).

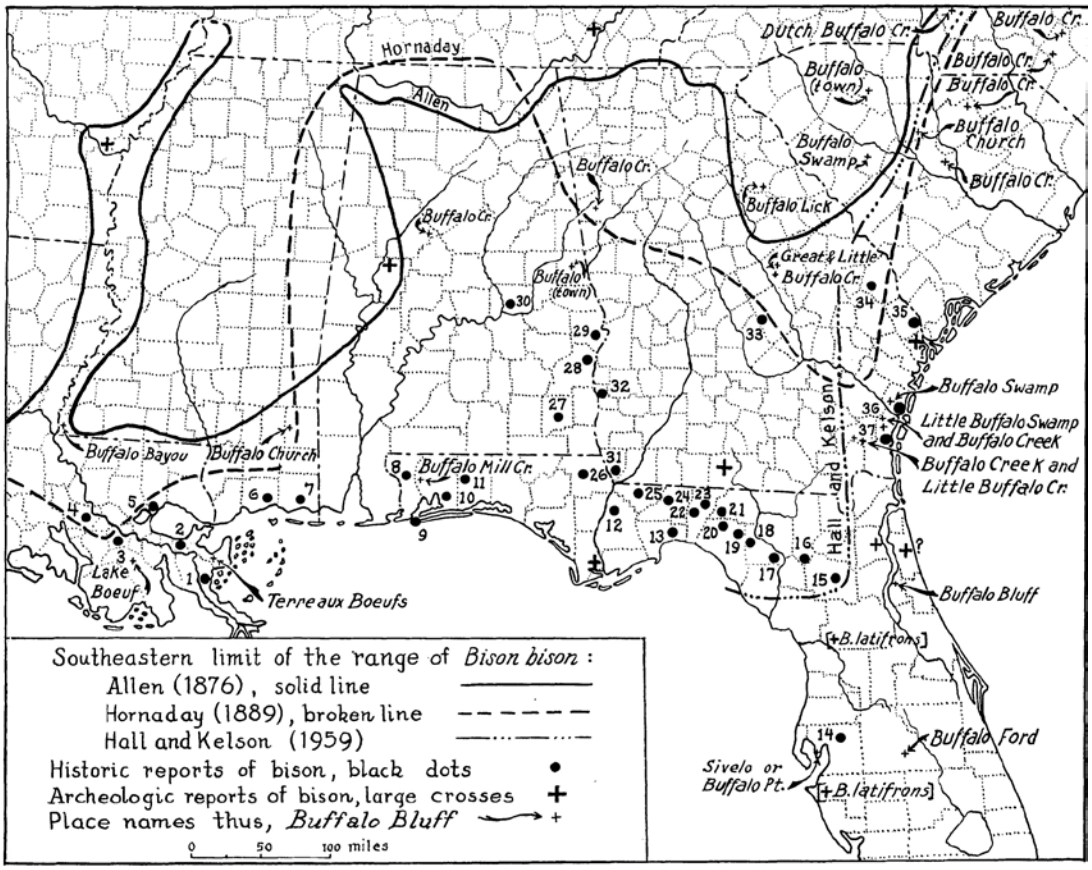


Figure 7.11 Partial range of colonial and pre-colonial bison habitats as communicated via archaeological sites, historical reports of bison sightings, and place names that include "buffalo" in them (Rostlund 1960:396).

Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands (1743). Here I differentiate between the "Buffalo" Dance and the ecology of "bison."

Historian John Hann (2006) recounted an expedition led by Diego Peña in 1716 from St. Augustine to the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers at the behest of the Spanish governor. Most of the Indigenous population in this area had been killed or enslaved in a series of British raids against the Spanish mission system in 1704 and 1705. These raids effectively created the ideal environment for bison, who increasingly spread east over the next ten years. In 1716, Peña stated that bison were particularly abundant on the abandoned mission sites. Later at the nearby village of Chislacaliche, one of Peña's guides, the benches of the council houses were softened with bison hides (J. Hann 2006:149). Peña also witnessed two bison killed near present-day Gainesville, FL (Rostlund 1960).

Naturalist William Bartram also noted the presence of bison during his travels throughout the Southeast in the 1770s. He described Creek drawings, especially on the sides of the arbors around the Square Grounds. Certain drawings variously combined the bodies and heads of humans and various animals, including the "Buffalo" (Waselkov and Braund 1995:144). He also observed the "very large Bones" of bison in the "Forests of West Florida and North of Georgia" (Waslekov and Braund 1995:167).

Geographer Erhard Rostlund amassed a number of archaeological, historical, and geographic sources regarding the locations of bison habitats in the Southeast. He mapped the presence of archaeological sites including bison bones well into central Florida. Historic sources cite the presence of bison all around north and central Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana. Numerous place names incorporate "Buffalo," such as "Buffalo Bluff," "Buffalo Creek," and "Buffalo Ford." These various points existed around the Southeast and even along the Atlantic coast (see Figure 7.11) (Rostlund 1960). While American Bison did not have nearly as large a presence in the Southeast as they did on the Great Plains, they were very much present

historically and comprised an important component of historical Pvlvcekolv ceremonialism. Embodied in the Buffalo Dance, the community still performs this vital link today.

In preparation for Buffalo Dance, everyone puts on as much red clothing as possible and each man collects a pair of stickball clubs. Participants line up in front of the West Arbor in couples, first two men, then two women, then two men, then two women, until everyone has found a place.[34] At Pvlvcekolv, men outnumber the women; the last few couples are usually two men. During the 2013 Green Corn Busk, Yvhikv and Nvfkv, as sons of the Matriarch, performed the Buffalo Dance as women complete with shell shakers. Much hilarity ensued as several men dancing as men flirted with the two new "ladies!" Once everyone is in a line oriented counterclockwise around the grounds, the Song Leader and his second, who plays a small drum, stand at the head of the line and face us. They dance Buffalo backwards while the rest of the community dances it forwards.

Just before entering the dance, all hunch over as they transform into becomings-bison. Each man carries a stickball club in each hand. These become the front hooves of the buffalo. Some clubs have a small hoof design carved on the handle, further connecting the two. Although the women do not carry clubs, they also hunch over to look at the ground (see Figure 7.12). The dance step of Buffalo Dance is a step-stomp. Performers first step forward and then lightly stomp each foot on the ground: right, right, left, left. The men stomp their ball clubs on the ground at the same time, the club held in the right hand in time with the right foot and the club held in the

[34] Frances Densmore described two versions of the Seminole Buffalo Dance (1956:42-45, 53-54). In the first description, she noted that the dancers line up in this same way: two men followed by two women followed by two men, etc. (1956:43). Josie Billie, one of Hakopē's Medicine teachers, sang four of the Buffalo Dance songs she transcribed. Although these songs were not the same as Pvlvcekolv's Buffalo Dance song, one song especially ("No. 1. Buffalo Dance Song (a)") featured movements that might connote bison movement similar to Pvlvcekolv's Buffalo Dance: descending fourths that resemble bison walking patterns (1956:43).

left hand in time with the left foot. The Song Leaders do this same step backwards and without clubs.

Figure 7.12 Buffalo Dance, Harvest Busk, 2008.

The women also perform this step. Because the women often wear shell shakers during the Buffalo Dance, they stamp the ground with more force than the men do in order to set the pebbles inside flying, which creates an awesome rumble. During the 2013 Green Corn Busk, I danced Buffalo Dance close to the front of the line in between two couples of women. As a relative newcomer to the community, I usually dance closer to the back of the line. I had not previously been bookended by women wearing shakers. The sound filled my body and senses and surrounded me, inspiring awe.

Performers enter the Buffalo Dance to the beat of the drum played by the Song Leader's second. The Song Leader himself, usually Hakopē, keeps time with a rattle. These two men lead us in a counterclockwise circle around the inner perimeter of the grounds. When the circle reaches first the southeast and then the northwest ordinal points, participants step out a spiral pattern (see Figure 7.13). This pattern first twists inward into a circling spiral and then twists outward, returning them to the circle around the perimeter.

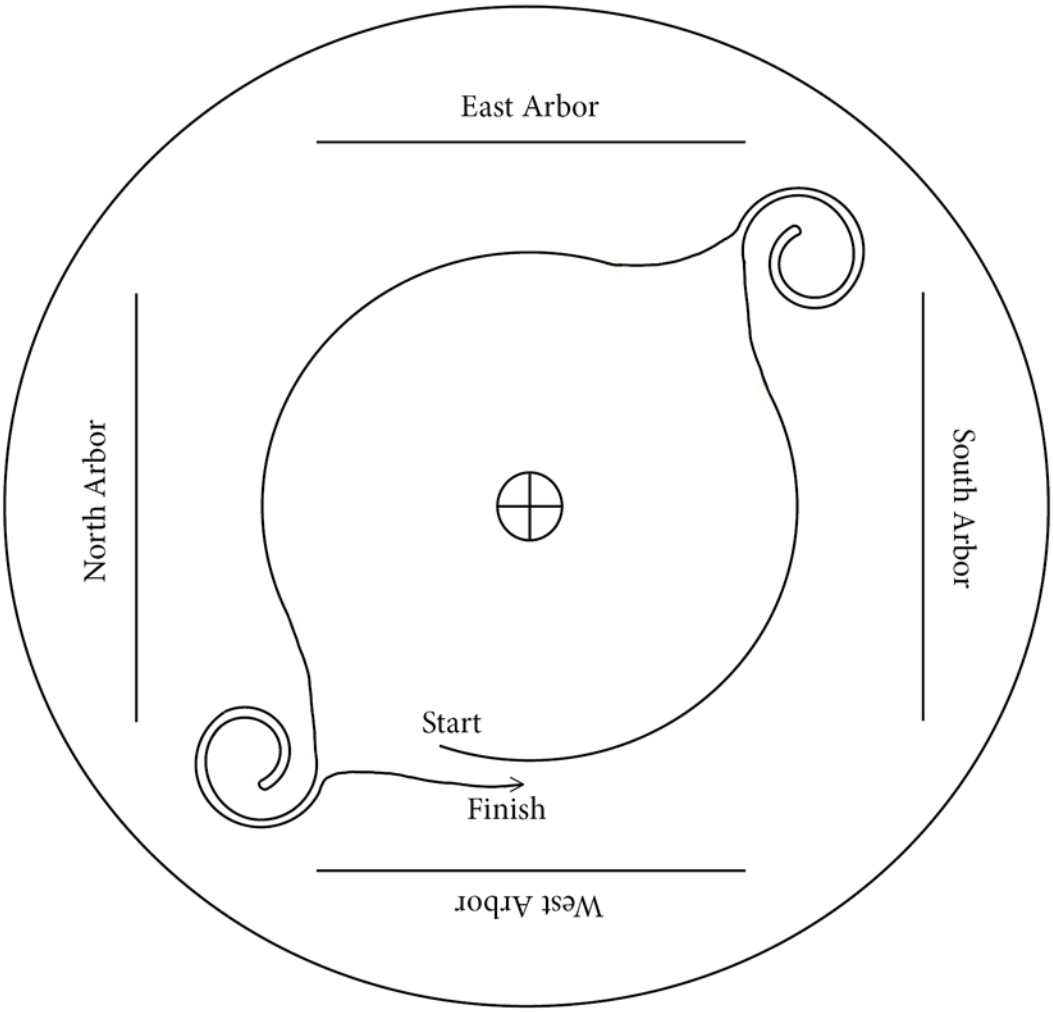


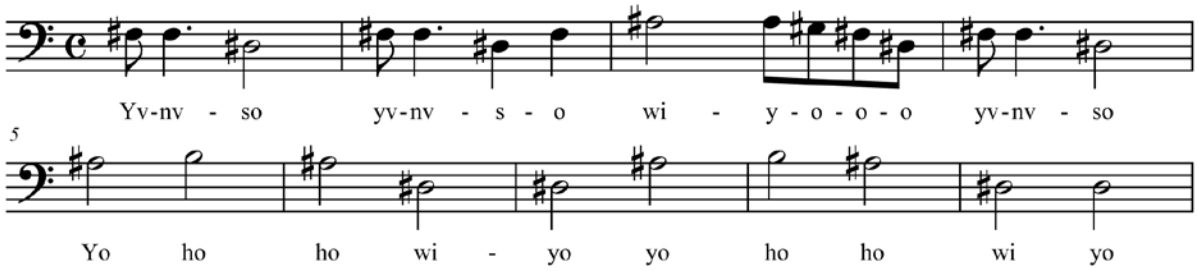
Figure 7.13 Buffalo Dance choreographic outline.

These spirals demarcate the beginnings and endings of bison seasonal migration patterns. Although their specific routes differ between habitats, bison migrate based on the availability of certain plants, overgrazing, and other factors (Chisholm et al. 1986). Grazing animals such as bison form a vital link in the ecosystem: grazing promotes plant growth. Bison regulate the growth processes of plants in their environment by ensuring a regular rhythm of vegetation defoliation and re-growth at any particular site (Frank et. al. 1998).

Connecting to these bison behaviors, the spirals in the Buffalo Dance have two main functions. First, by enacting the necessary movement of bison across time over the course of the Buffalo Dance, performers ensure that these animals continue to follow their usual migration patterns. Performing this movement in the microcosm of the Square Grounds during busk effects the macrocosm outside the Square Grounds. Just as the men seasonally avoid the North and South Arbors in the Feather Dance to maintain correct avian migration, so too does the Buffalo Dance ensure proper and continued bison migration. Second, transformation into becomings-bison choreographically draws attention to the vital roles bison play in the biological feedback loops of the ecological communities in which bison live. In order to survive, bison migrate over a wide geographic area and thus impact plant growth over a large area. Bison and grasses form a mutualistic symbiotic relationship as the bison convert the plants into food and thereby promote greater plant growth. Dancing out their migration in the Buffalo Dance recognizes this and other connections between animals and plants. The community is not merely dancing the bison, they are also dancing their entire environment and the symbiotic relationships in which they exist.

Performers accompany Buffalo Dance with a series of songs, one of which I include here (see Example 7.6). Hakopē states that these songs musically represent the movement of a group of bison at different speeds. In this song, "*Yv-nv-so*," which derives from *Yvnvsv* ("bison"), one

can hear the slower-paced movement of a bison herd. The descending thirds in the first two measures might be the motion of a grazing bison as it lowers and raises its head to the ground while feeding. At the ascending fifth between measures two and three (between D# and A#), it raises its head, perhaps to look for other members of the herd, for potential predators, or even to consume some of the lower foliage of a tree or shrub in a lightly wooded portion of its environment. As the melody descends, so too does its head as it continues to consume the plants on the ground. This melodic motion might also be evocative of the motions of bison while walking. These huge animals can weigh up to 2,000 lbs. Those initial descending thirds may evoke steps, the rise and fall of the shoulders, as a single bison moves between grazing areas. Similarly, the step-wise half note motion of measures five-nine might portray the motion of an ambling bison as it meanders from one grazing ground to the next.



Example 7.6"Yv-nv-so," a song accompanying Buffalo Dance.

At certain moments in between verses of the Buffalo Dance song, the Song Leaders pause choreographically and musically. They sometimes lengthen this moment with excellent comedic timing. The rest of the participants cease their movement and watch them carefully. Suddenly the drum and rattle erupt in a flurry of sound. The drummer strikes the drumhead as quickly and loudly as possible and the other shakes the rattle as hard as he can. This is the signal!

All the dancers suddenly spin around, pawing at the ground, raising dust, snorting, lowing, grumbling, and making a commotion.[35] They are imitating the actions of bison in their wallows.

These wallows are natural depressions in the landscape that contain rainwater and runoff. Bison paw at the ground and roll in the now-exposed soil. These actions, which performers quote choreographically, combine grooming activities with more aggressive interactions as bulls compete for cows (Coppedge and Shaw 2000). As bison spend more and more time in a wallow, they pack down an increasingly hardened bottom in the depression. The wallow then holds water for longer periods, resulting in a flora different from the surrounding area. This flora includes wetlands species during rainy seasons and drought-tolerant plants during dry seasons (Knapp et. al. 1999). This bison-derived form of "disturbance" promotes greater ecological diversity and contributes to greater overall health of the environment (Collins and Barber 1985). Bison play such an important in the maintenance of their environments that biologists Alan Knapp et al. call them "keystone" species in these habitats (1999).

By taking choreography based on the bison-esque antics of Buffalo Dance into their bodies, the performers become bison. As they enter the dance, a dance which Pvlvcekolv elders understand to have gone on since the start of Creation, they enter as humans and become becomings-buffalo. As when the men seasonally avoid the North and South Arbors during the Feather Dance, by mimicking the migrations of the birds through ritual choreography, they become them. Like many of the Pvlvcekolv animal-focused ceremonial repertoire, by dancing them, community members re-member them into the cosmology (Shorter 2009:29). They remind

[35] Frank Speck recorded Taskigi Town's version of the Buffalo Dance. He described it as a "highly animated performance with much heavy stamping, grunting[,] and buffalo-like pantomine [sic]" (1911b:168). Here the dancers wore the skin from the head and sometimes the back of the buffalo, "the whole affair resembling the buffalo dance of the prairie tribes" (1911b:168). Speck transcribdedTaskigi's Buffalo Dance song (1911b:168-169), which differed from Pvlvcekolv's.

these entities that they are important, that they play a crucial role in the symbiotic relationships that compose the world.

The community employs Buffalo Dance metonymically for all animals. Bison were once an important food source. Although they have been long absent from the Southeast, the performers remember them and the other animals who have taken their place in the food chain through this performance. As they dance for and as bison, they reestablish the place of animal life in the cosmology.

Bug Dance

Animals and birds are not the only important beings in Muskogee naturecultures. Insects also play key ecological roles. Pvlvcekolv maintains them through performance of the Bug Dance. Wenahokuce, or the Bug Dance, occurs late in the spring or early in the summer. It does not take place as a sung dance within a busk(s). Like Soup Dance, it occurs as a separate but linked event. Also like Soup Dance, it does not take place on the Square Grounds, but outside them. Because the dance thanks the insects for their key roles in agricultural activities, the dance takes place in the garden. The one Bug Dance I witnessed occurred in early June 2012, not long before that year's Green Corn Busk.

Bug Dance has perhaps the most freely-formed choreography of any Pvlvcekolv ritual I have witnessed or in which I have participated. The performers enter and exit the garden in two different groups, first the adults and then the children. The adults go through the garden enacting various gardening activities as becomings-gardener. They stylistically weed, water, pick flowers or fruits. Their activities encompass the actions necessary for humans to tend cultivated plants. The children (and a few of the adults, like the Matriarch) transform into becomings-insect. They

move from flower to flower as though pollinating or attack some of the adults, playfully "stinging" them. One bug dancer stood for a time as a praying mantis. Another bug chased his mother as she chuckled and pretended to swat him (see Figure 7.14).

Figure 7.14 Foreground: Hokte Eco (left) helps one of the children (right) "sting" Vhocv (center) in this video still of the 2012 Bug Dance.

The Bug Dance does not have a song. The dance leader does maintain a beat with a rattle, structuring ritual time with rhythm as his fancy takes him. In place of a formal song, the becomings-insect make a number of bug-like sounds: buzzing and zooming and flapping around. The becomings-gardener might playfully shriek about being stung or tell a fly to go away. The dance is fun and playful. Not unlike the wallowing portions of Buffalo Dance, it often draws laughs from the dancers. The dance leader, who stays close to the entrance to the garden with a rattle, often eggs on the becomings-insect to go after certain adults—often the becomings-gardener find themselves running from a giggling bee or fly.

The insect focus and free-form choreography mean that the Bug Dance might easily be under-estimated. The dance, however, enacts and therefore continues insects' vital role to agricultural. Plants cannot live without insect involvement. Although some birds and animals partake in the process, insects, especially bees, do the vast majority of pollination (Allsopp et al. 2008). Without pollination, many plant species would quickly die, creating a vast and negative domino effect in the ecosystem. Besides pollination, insects also function as environmental custodians, consuming and thereby recycling waste materials and the dead. The larvae of the Black Soldier Fly (*Hermetia illucens*), for example, consume and break down rotting vegetable matter, making compost and rich soil. Pvlvcekolv elders often tell how, in the Creek cosmology, butterflies and dragonflies carry the souls of the recently dead to the Camp Fires of the Departed in the Upper World. As such, they play an integral role in the cycle of life.

By becoming becomings-insect, performers thank the insects and remind them of their proper duties through choreographic enaction. Hokte Eco and Kusko have noticed that their gardens are healthier now that Bug Dance occurs every year. Before moving the Square Grounds to their property and holding annual Bug Dance performances in their gardens, they often had issues with insects eating their produce or even killing certain plants. Now, rather than problems, the insects more often fulfill their benign roles in their garden.

No small thing, Bug Dance is also fun. As with the Bench Dances I treat in Chapter Five, healing results from hilarity. By laughing together, the performers frighten off disease entities and make those involved feel better, too. The children also learn a great deal about the crucial roles of insects during the discussions preceding the dance. After learning about the roles played by insects, they then enact them ritually.

The Vnahetv ("Conclusions")

The environs around the Pvlvcekolv Square Grounds have changed over the course of the community's history there. The managed woodlands that provided food and fuel during the Mississippian era and the early colonial period have altered to include a large human population. As with much of the rest of the planet, that human population is the largest in the history of the species. Different ways of knowing and interacting with diverse beings have evolved across time. The hunters, gardeners, and foragers of the community now hunt and forage in local grocery stores and supermarkets, not the woods and garden. Although the community still contains a number of gardeners and hunters, their entire livelihood does not, cannot, derive exclusively from their own labor.

As Kimmerer has noted, alterations in subsistence patterns effect the way we humans conceptualize and thereby interact with our sustenance sources (2013:175-201). Stores and malls lack the "pulsing animacy" of the garden, of the foraged woods—every product "for sale here is dead" (Kimmerer 2013:198). Contemporary lifeways make it impractical, difficult, and likely impossible for most people to maintain traditional agricultural practices. Yet the rituals of the busk permit Pvlvcekolv to maintain some if not all of their traditional attitudes towards the sources of their sustenance.

And of course, the animals and plants are not and never were merely sources of sustenance. These beings play crucial roles in their ecosystems. Bison and vegetation maintain mutualistic symbiotic relationships, birds and insects maintain plant life and thereby all life through pollination, owls control certain rodent populations. Taken together, these beings form a network of symbiotic relationships that is the environment. Although the details of human relationships with these beings have altered over the centuries, we do not have, nor have we ever had, the luxury of ignoring them.

The ritual activities I treat in this chapter and throughout this dissertation do not merely symbolize. Pvlvcekolv community members do not "go through the motions," nor do they make the movements and activities of busk the end goals in and of themselves. Rather, they seek balance, which "is not a passive resting place—it takes work, balancing the giving and the taking" (Kimmerer 2013:94). An important component of that "work" at Pvlvcekolv is the busk itself. Yet, because balance constantly flows and evolves, it is not a fixed target. As a cosmological "reset button," the busk must therefore be regularly "pushed" in order to achieve that balance.

If a function of the busk is to reset balance, then a key component of that balance is ecological. Propitiating the various beings that comprise the ecosystem to continue fulfilling their functions maintains or resets a part of that harmony. Pvlvcekolv is nothing if not practical, and maintaining metaphysical harmony at the cost of ecological harmony strikes elders as foolhardy. It is also impossible, given that the metaphysical and ecological largely refer to the same thing in this cosmology. As I describe in Chapter Three, this Middle World in which humans live exists at the center of a cosmological "sandwich." In between the Upper and Other Worlds, our naturecultures constitute the Middle World. Like ripples on a pond, the rock of busk flung into the water of the Middle World does not just affect a small area, but flows on, influencing the rest of the Middle World and the Upper and Other Worlds as well. This maintenance and balance form key points in much of Pvlvcekolv's ritualism, especially in regards to the animal dances.

The performance practice of the animal dances does not constitute mere imitation of the eponymous beings. Dancers do not pretend to be bison during the Buffalo Dance, nor insects during the Bug Dance, although the choreography does derive from the habits of those beings.

Instead, they transform into becomings-other with them. As Deleuze and Gauttari, and Haraway have proposed and refined, respectively, the process and relationship of becoming does not mean that the human performers suddenly turn into shaggy bison in the Buffalo Dance, for example. What they transform into is neither human nor bison, but something that is both and neither at the same time. After coming under the influence of the bison and other animals through the acts of singing and dancing, performers transform with them, with their influence, into becomings-bison. These processes of becoming mean that participants are no longer human, or possibly more human that before. In keeping with Haraway's proposition that humanity derives at least partially from our relationships and interactions with other species, these ritualized becomings result in increasing participants' humanity. Certainly the dances provide an opportunity to interact formally with these beings.

As human sustenance increasingly relies upon the intermediaries of shopping malls and grocery stores, perhaps these animal dances have gained import as the primary means of interaction with these beings. Yet, at least at Pvlvcekolv, community members' informal interactions and observations of their ecosystems inform their ceremonial practice and vice versa. Although they shop now at the grocery store more often than they go hunting or foraging, they stay in close contact with their environment. These animal dances, like the busk as a whole, comprise a vital component of this tradition.

Chapter Eight: Plant Voices

The Berry and Arbor Dance and Harvest Dance

Plant life and agriculture form the foundation of Pvlvcekolv's entire busk cycle. The community bases its ritual schedule on certain botanical cues: pre-planting seed sorting, the germination of green onions after winter's end, the first viable corn crop, the harvest, and others. Two ritual sung dances function as spaces for formal community-plant interaction: the Berry and Arbor Dance and the Harvest Dance, in which Pvlvcekolv honors and enacts plant life. In these and more informal interactions, plants are not passive things to be used, but rather active partners who help. In addition to lending their essences and Medicines to the proceedings, plants give advice, actively speaking with their human partners. Sometimes, plants also sing. Weaving together a Pvlvcekolv "mythistory,"[36] ecological perspectives, and busk performance practice, this chapter explores plant vocality and human-plant interspecies relationships in the busk.

Approaching Plant Vocality

In an important Muskogee-Creek mythistory, the "Migration Legend," four plants vocalize: Pasv, Mekko-huyvnecv, Sowvcko, and Vccē-lvpocke. Each sings of its respective Medicine virtues in varying dynamic levels to an entire tribal community. Hearing the story and later reading this section of the "Migration Legend" made me pause. As an ethnomusicologist and musician, I am familiar with a number of vocal traditions across the world; however, these are human vocal traditions and not those of another species. Like Gary Tomlinson (2007), I find

[36] Following William H. McNeill (1986:19) and David Delgado Shorter (2009:179-180), I refer to this tale as a "mythistory," a term that juxtaposes insider and outsider perspectives on a particular narrative.

myself examining a phenomenon I have never personally witnessed. As he treats now-undetectable pre-Contact Indigenous songs and voices, I scrutinize plant voices I have never heard.

This chapter on plants voices stands in concert with Chapter Nine, which examines Pvlvcekolv's understandings of breath and voice as they relate to, and connect together, all life. Although these two chapters both focus on voice, I avoid as much overlap as possible. Pvlvcekolv defines voice as a by-product of breath and the ability to breathe. The community understands all beings to be able to vocalize, including plants, by virtue of their broadly-defined abilities to breathe. I make the relationship between being and breath the focus of Chapter Nine, and the voices of plants the focus of this chapter.

To explicate Pvlvcekolv's concept of voice, I deliberately move back and forth between literal and metaphoric definitions of "voice." As I discuss below, scholars struggle still to define the human voice, let alone the voices of entities without humanoid vocal tracts. For example, ethnomusicologist J. Martin Daughtry has compiled a list of potential ways of approaching voice, including voice as physiological process, performance, agency, a lack of control, and violence itself, among others (2012:257). The concept we call "voice" can and does refer to multiple phenomena. I echo Daughtry's tactic by exploring multiple "voices," moving away from my starting point of the human voice into the voices of animals with humanoid vocal tracts and then into plant species without larynges. "Voice" subsumes many concepts, and I intentionally treat the grey area between them.

Here I continue the practice I set up in Chapter Seven of braiding together Indigenous tradition and scientific approaches. Following the thought-provoking work of Robin Wall Kimmerer, an ecologist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, I explore plant histories,

bodies, and traditions, as well as the interactions between flora, humans, and other beings (2003, 2013). Like ethnomusicologist Marcello Sorce Keller (2011, 2012), Kimmerer proposes we pay attention to the other organisms. I therefore contrast human performance practice in the busk with ecology-derived understandings of plant lives and communication in an exploration of plant vocality.

Pvlvcekolv's traditional understanding of plant voices derives from the Creek "Migration Legend" and multi-generational observations and relationships with plants. Over the past few decades, elders have begun to involve research from the ecological sciences into community discussions and understandings of plants and plant vocality. Elders have been very excited to learn of, for example, mycorrhizal networks, underground fungal systems that connect together the roots of trees and smaller plants over a large area. These networks allow the embedded plants to shuttle nutrients and hormones back and forth, not merely between same-species groups, but also across species, in order to improve network longevity. In certain respects, mycorrhizal networks and busk-based interspecies communication relate to one another, as I explore below. Elders consider these research conclusions to be different ways of viewing what Pvlvcekolv has long understood: plants communicate among themselves and with other species. As in Chapter Seven, I incorporate Pvlvcekolv's practice of braiding together the biological sciences with traditional Indigenous modes of knowing in my treatment of Pvlvcekolv's views on plants and plant vocality.

The Creek "Migration Legend"

There exist a number of different migration legends in southeastern Indigenous cultures. Anthropologist Bill Grantham compiled eleven different stories of migrations from Alabama,

Chickasaw, Choctaw, Hitchiti, and Muskogee traditions (2002:134-158). The tales he included are often short and do not tell the mythistory often known in the literature as *the* "Migration Legend." This latter "Legend" is by far the longest and most detailed of the various migrations, and the events it tells appear to have occurred earlier than those in the other stories. This mythistory tells of a pre-historical movement of Creek peoples across the southern portion of North American to the Southeast.

The Coweta mekko, Cekēle (elsewhere spelled "Chigelly") told the "Legend" in the Muskogee language over the course of two days in a 1735 Long Talk at Savannah, Georgia. Unusually, a translator translated it immediately into English while the Englishman Thomas Causton penned the translation onto a buffalo hide. Cekēle made a gift of the hide to the trustees of the Georgia colony, but it unfortunately vanished after entering the trustees' London office. Thankfully, the Baron of Hanover, Philipp Georg Friedrich von Reck, made a German translation of the English translation of the "Migration Legend" in 1736 while bringing a wave of Salzburg emigrants to the New World (S. C. Hahn 2006:73; G. Jones 1963, 1965; von Reck 1980). In the 1860s, the amateur scholar Daniel G. Brinton encountered von Reck's German translation and published a re-translation into English (Brinton 1870). Using Brinton's version, anthropologist Albert Gatschet later translated the "Legend" back into Creek ([1884] 1969). Gatschet's publication has become the source for much of the scholarship that treats the "Migration Legend" (S. C. Hahn 2006; Knight 1981:23-42; Saunt 1999:14-15; Walker 1979a, 1979b).

The number of translations the "Migration Legend" has undergone may render its contents suspect. I doubt that any story can pass through so many languages and cultures and remain intact. Yet, in addition to von Reck's German translation, there also exists a copy of the

original English translation in the papers of the Earl of Egmont, a supporter and promoter of the Georgia colony (Candler et al. 1916:381-387). This copy presumably derives directly from the buffalo hide transcription or the original telling. The discrepancies between the Egmont version and the Gatschet version are minimal and do not alter the overall meaning or content of the "Legend" (S.C. Hahn 2006:74).

Despite the apparent accuracy of the Gatschet text, I have chosen to use the "Migration Legend" as told at Pvlvcekolv. An important mythistory, the "Legend" actually tells the story of the third of three waves of migration: Kvssettv (elsewhere spelled "Cussita" and "Kashita"). Pvlvcekolv made the first migration and arrived in the Southeast to discover the Yvcvlkē (Yuchi) already there. The Kusv (Coosa) made the second migration and the Kvssetv the third. Pvlvcekolv does retain the story of the "Pvlvcekolv Migration," but, because elders have not had time to translate it from Muskogee or write it down, I cannot yet access it, nor have I been present for one of its recitations and discussions. In 2009, however, Hakopē and other elders completed their translation and annotation of Pvlvcekolv's version of Gatschet's "Migration Legend" of the Kvssetv. Although not the Pvlvcekolv migration itself, Hakopē tells me that there are sufficient similarities between the two to use this version to explore plant vocality (interview, 26 April 2015).

The Kvssetv's migration begins in the North American Southwest; some sources suggest they began further south in what is now Mexico (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014:21). Broadly speaking, they travel in a northeasterly direction until they reach roughly the center of North America before crossing a northerly section of the Mississippi River. They then loop through what are now Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and/or Tennessee south to the confluence of Mississippi and Alabama. After traveling east again, they spread into Georgia, the Carolinas, along the coast of

the Gulf of Mexico, and into Florida (Hakopē, interview, 26 April 2015). Along the route, they meet with, and are affected by, a variety of beings. I provide a synopsis of the Pvlvcekolv version of the Kvssetv "Legend" and then pick apart its treatment of voice (Migration Legend of the Creek Indians, PAP8.2).

At an ancient time, the earth opened in the west "where its mouth is under the place where the sun sleeps." When it opened, the Kvssetv came out of its mouth and made that place their home. Because they did not thank the earth for allowing them to leave the dark underground, it "became angry and ate all their children." An old woman said, "'the earth is full of dissatisfaction and will kill us all.'" She plunged her walking stick upright in the earth in front of the Kvssetv leader, "became like smoke," and could be seen no more. Her walking stick immediately leaned quickly in the direction where the sun awakens each day. Seeing this, the headman interpreted that they should journey toward sunrise. They left immediately.

Eventually becoming tired, they reached a "thick, muddy river whose slimy water was green." They made their first camp here and the headman stood the old woman's walking stick at the edge of the camp by the river. It immediately leaned again to the east. The next day, the staff was gone; in its place were four stones. The headman interpreted this to mean they must travel for four winters to reach their new home. Continuing their journey, they reached a river colored blood red. They stayed by this river for two summers hunting food for their journey. During the second summer, a series of springs appeared, causing the Kvssetv to become ill. Moving on, they followed the red river to its end, only to hear a noise like thunder. The thunder came from a mountain belching red-tinged smoke and roaring like thunder. In addition to the thunder, several of the Kvssetv heard what they thought to be someone singing. They went to see and "found a

great Fire, which blazed upward, and made this singing noise." They made camp there to observe the Fire and the mountain.

After making camp, people from three different nations, the Chickasaws, Alabamu, and Apekv, joined them. Each had brought Fire from the mountain, each nation from a different side of the mountain. The four nations joined the Fires into one and "the Fire began to sing like the mountain but not as loudly. From this singing they learned their first knowledge of herbs and many other useful things." The now-four nations camped as one and stayed at the mountain, supposing it had more to tell them. Suddenly a white Fire came from the east, but they did not keep it. Then a blue Fire came from the south, but they did not keep it. Then a black Fire came from the west, but they did not keep it. Then a red and yellow Fire came from the north. The Kvssetv offered this Fire to stay in their midst. It mingled with the Fires taken from the mountain and suddenly had the colors of all the Fires that had come. This Fire is still here and sits on a little mountain, the Fire Mound. It, too, sometimes "sings to those who tend it. They then tell others what they have learned from the [F]ire."

The Fire decided that the four stones would be its home. The headman gave a stone to each of the four nations now camped as one to take with them as they continued their journey together. As they began to depart, they heard a sound on the mountain. Upon investigating, they discovered the sound coming from a pole swaying in a circular motion and "keening. It was painful and very sad to hear." They assumed it to be the walking stick of the old woman who had left them. Thinking the pole lamented that the old woman had never had any children, they offered the pole a motherless child. The pole struck the child dead, quieted, and leaned again towards the east. Taking the pole with them, the Kvssetv left.

When they next made camp, they placed the pole upright in the ground and laid the four stones around it. After they did so, they saw four plants appear beside each rock. Then the plants began to sing, disclosing their virtues. *Pasv* sang the strongest. *Mekko-huyvnecv* "sang of its virtues in a quieter voice. It sang only of red from within the earth." The third, *Sowvcko*, "declared its strengths still quieter." The fourth, *Vccē-lvpocke*, "sang in a whisper like the sound of smoke roiling up from a Fire." These plants now constitute four of the most crucial Medicine plants in the busk. After hearing them sing, the people decided that the eldest among their four nations must guard and protect the virtues of the plants and see to their proper use, but they could not agree who was the eldest.

Suddenly, the old woman's pole set itself upright with a loud roar "like a mighty wind" and leaned towards each of the four nations. Seeing it do this four times, each nation sent out young men to bring back a pole for each nation, thinking that it, too, would have such powers. The women covered their respective poles with clay and laid them next to their respective stones. The Fire concealed in each stone baked the clay red. The four nations thought the change in color meant they must war against one another, but they did not want to fight.

From the plants that sang of blue came two small blue rats and from the plant that had sung of red came a small white rat. These rats counseled that war was inevitable because the poles had forecast it. Half a day's march to the north and to the south camped the enemy, the rats said. "You will go to them, take their scalps[,] and return to cover your poles with them. Whoever covers their pole first is surely the oldest among you." The war parties set out, only to encounter the "pitiful sight of tired, exhausted[,] and haggard people shivering from cold, hunger[,] and fear." Moved to pity, each of the war parties rushed towards their supposed enemies crying, "We will help you, come with us to our camp." Some of the enemy rushed them

with sharp stones, sticks, and clubs raised to strike. These they killed and took their scalps. None of the others moved, instead cowering with fear. Coming up to them, they discovered that those they had killed "were true enemies who had captured these people and intended them great harm." Those recently captured joined them and returned with them to the camp.

Upon returning to camp, the Kvssetv succeeded in completely covering their pole first, the Chicasaws covered only three-quarters of theirs, the Alabamu half of theirs, and the Apekv covered only a small portion of their pole. Four lines now cover the War Post, Ball Post, and Medicine Shed in remembrance of covering the pole first and completely. The two recently liberated tribes agreed to live in peace under the protection of the four nations and departed the next day. The rats took council with the four nations and explained the recent battle: "You were tested to see if you deserved a new country and to know how you could rule over it," said the first rat. The second said, "You were sent to learn to distinguish your true enemy from those who are merely disagreeable or look disgusting." The first rat said, "This we believe you have now earned." The next morning, the third, white rat, told them to maintain a common Fire and set up a pole to remember all that has come to be. "You must offer your enemy friendship before you have the right to destroy them. If they accept, you will make a place for them at your Fire." Following the counsel of the rats, the Kvssetv again left on their travels.

As they neared the end of their journey, a large, blue bird set upon them. Daily it would land on the pole and kill and carry off someone. After many plans to kill it failed, they made the figure of a woman out of reeds, vines, and cattails. The bird took the form away, only to return it after a time. Out of it climbed a small, red rat. Correctly supposing the rat to be the son of the blue bird, the people took council with him and together hatched a plan to kill the bird. When next the blue bird landed on the pole, the rat scurried to the top of the pole and bit through the

bird's bowstring. The people were able to kill him with four large stones. After burning the body, they discovered the bird's bones to be white on one side and blue on the other. Thinking him to have been a "great king of some kind," they decided to commemorate him and their battle with him with the invention of the Stickball Game.

Journeying on for four days, they followed a friendly, white path and crossed a wide creek, Tvskolos-hvtcē, whose waters "flowered" with spray from the rapids. Crossing it, they came upon the town of the Kusv (Coosa) and stayed with them for four years. During that time they helped the Kusv catch and kill a fierce beast who plagued them. Leaving the Kusv, they traveled on and spent two years by a river "where many beech trees grew," which they called Nvfape in honor of the beech. Continuing on, they came to a creek peopled with many noisy cranes. They also encountered another river whose banks were covered with stripped elm bark. Crossing it, they avoided an unfriendly town and crossed another river. Finding another unfriendly town, they attacked and killed all but two of its inhabitants. Chasing after those two down a white path, they came to the town where the Pvlvcekolv lived.

The Pvlvcekolv, who had made the white and friendly path, gave them the black drink in friendship and talked the Kvssetv out of their war lust. The Kvssetv settled on either side of that last river. Those on the one side became known as the Kvssetv, those on the other side the Kowetv. The Kvssetv maintained the red, or war Fire, having first seen the red smoke and the red Fire; the Kowetv maintained the white, or peace Fire. They understood, however, that the two differently-colored Fires were the same Fire with two differently-colored sides and that the people were two halves of the same whole. "For this reason, we all now sing together." Here ends the story.

In addition to the humans who speak and sing, a number of entities throughout the story do, too. The Fire on the mountain sings, as does the smaller Fire derived from this larger Fire. The old woman's walking stick (the proto-Ball Post) keens with grief until the Kvssetv offer it a motherless child to kill. The pole also steadily communicates the direction the Kvssetv ought to travel, though not vocally. The four Medicine plants sing to the people of their virtues and of different colors. The two blue rats and the white rat that come out from the Medicine plants speak, as does the red rat who is son to the blue bird. The cranes they encounter after leaving the Kusv "whoop."

I have chosen to focus on the portions of the "Legend" that treat plant personhood, voices, and songs. Like most stories, myths, or mythistories, the Migration Story has far too many elements to explore here. Hakopē has noted that, in the Creek tradition of storytelling, certain elements in any story need not achieve resolution (interview, 26 April 2015). In keeping with this tradition, I focus on plant life here and leave the other portions of the story aside. Although I do not specifically examine their voices, I examine the perspectives of additional beings elsewhere in this dissertation: animals such as the rats and birds such as the cranes and the blue bird in Chapter Seven, objects such as the walking stick in Chapter Six, and the Fire and humans throughout. Here I focus on the perspectives and voices of plants.

Voice

The various beings who sing or speak in the Migration Story do so with their voices. We are left to understand constructions of the voices of diverse beings, some without vocal tracts. Although music scholars have produced a number of compelling voice-centric studies (Abbate 1991, 1993; André 2006; Calame-Griaule 1986; Cone 1974; Feld [1982] 1990; Hill 1993;

Kreiman and Sidtis 2011; Lavonis 2004; Rahaim 2012; Seeger 1981, [1987] 2004; Smart 2000; Sugarman 1997), voice remains an understudied topic. Voice scholars are making strong efforts to overcome the dearth of information in voice studies, but there remains much work to be done (Eidsheim and Meizel forthcoming). We do not precisely understand the voice of humans, let alone the voices or "voices" of non-humans. Voice scientists Jody Kreiman and Diana Sidtis state that the broad range of functions enacted through voice makes it difficult if not impossible to achieve a single, all-purpose, cross-discipline definition (2011:5). Johann Sundberg, another voice scientist, suggests that everyone knows what voice is until they try to "pin it down" (1987:2).

In an attempt to pin it down, Kreiman and Sidtis focus on the physical and physiological foundations of the human voice that connect to the acoustic signal generated by the vocal production system. Human voice results when airflow from the lungs converts to acoustic energy when vibrated by the vocal folds, which sit in the larynx (see Figure 8.1). We move air from our lungs, through the trachea, past the vocal folds, causing the folds to phonate and create sound. With throat, mouth, tongue, and lip manipulations, we tailor that sound as it moves past the vocal folds (Keriman and Sidtis 2011:25-71). The brain of the listener then psycho-acoustically translates what we hear into meaningful sound (see Dickson and Maue-Dickson 1982; Kent 1997; and Zemlin 1998 for reviews of speech physiology). The bodies in which our voice production systems lie exist in specific sociocultural contexts and have histories of actions, movements, labels, and so on. Although necessarily limited by the physiology from which they flow, our voices result also from social constructions of what voice should be (Bertau 2008:101-102).

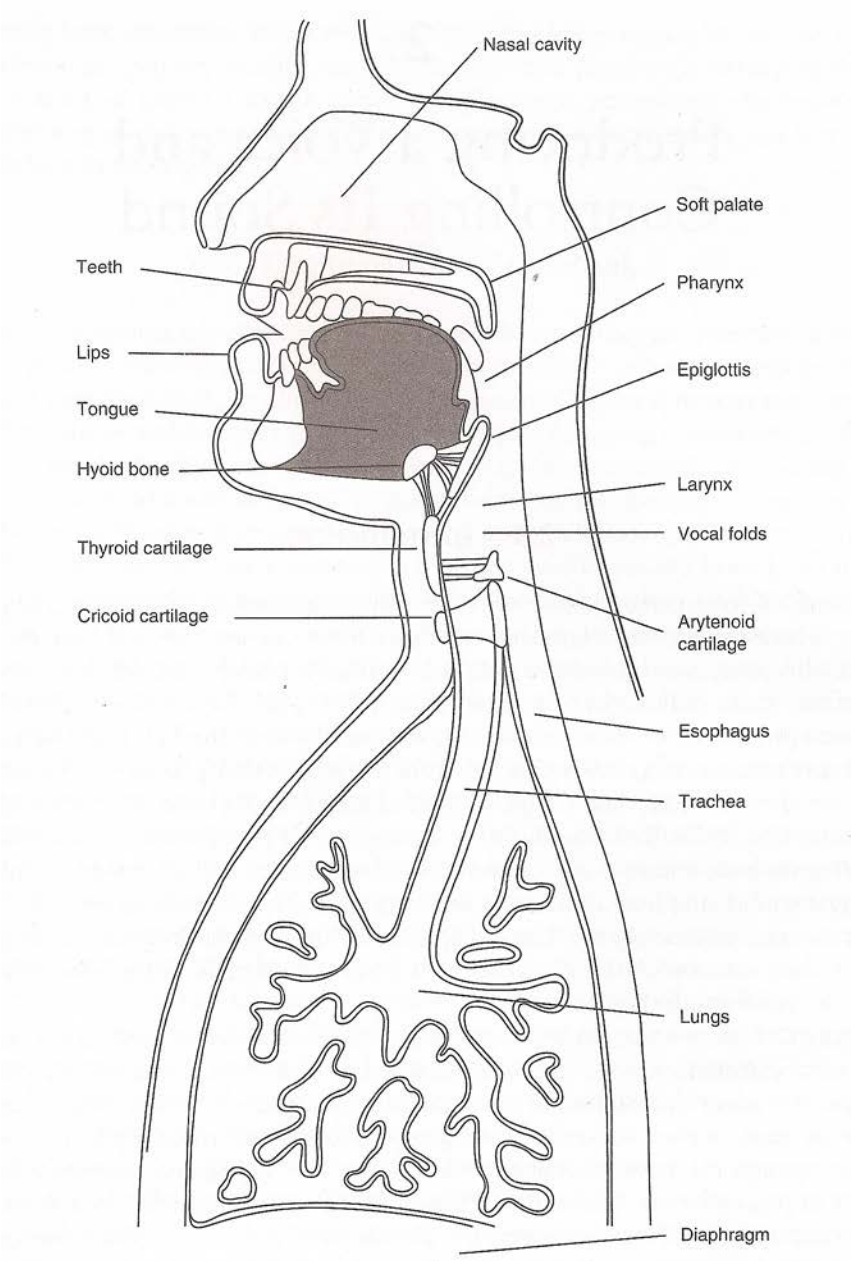


Figure 8.1 Overview of human vocal tract (Kreiman and Sidtis 2011:26).

While these definitions characterize the human voice reasonably well, they begin to fall apart in animistic cosmologies that attribute voices also to other-than-human persons, especially those without vocal tracts. Given that our humanity results from interactions with other species (Haraway 2008), these definitions therefore fall short when describing human voice, as well. The Pvlvcekolv community understands most or all beings to have voices. These voices result from

their breath or respiration (I make this connection the main thrust of Chapter Nine). Some of these beings have vocal tracts, or systems that resemble vocal tracts. For example, in the Creation Story, Turtle hears the fearful cries of every other being, and she cries out, too (see Chapter Five). In Pvlvcekolv's story of how Blue Jay got a scratchy voice, Blue Jay ends up stealing the voice of a very talkative human. The rats from the "Migration Legend" have numerous conversations with the Kvssetv.

Turtle, Blue Jay, and the rats have vocal production systems reasonably similar to humans. Turtles (order *Testudines* or *Chelonii*) do not have vocal folds, but they can articulate a variety of hisses, clicks, grunts, and other sounds by manipulating air through their throats and mouths (Campbell and Evans 1967; Mrosovsky 1972). Like the cranes in the "Migration Legend" and most birds, Blue Jays (Cyanocitta cristata) push air from their lungs through the syrinx, trachea, mouth, and beak to create sound. Unlike mammalian larynges, birds have a syrinx, a vocal organ that sits where the lungs join to form the trachea. Birds phonate by making the tissues of the syrinx vibrate, similar to the way mammals vibrate their vocal folds to create sound (Chen and Maher 2006:2975). Although the details vary between species, the rats (genus *Rattus*) of the "Migration Legend" join all mammals in having vocal folds (Fitch 2000; Harrison 1995:30). The plants of the "Migration Legend," however, have completely different physiologies and no vocal tracts.

Plants

Like the manifold beings I treat throughout this document, plants are persons or beings in Pvlvcekolv's animistic Muskogee cosmology: entities with form, substance, purpose/function, and place. More than mere symbols (Rival 1998), plants comprise one of a series of beings that

includes animals, rocks, objects, and a host of others. As persons, flora are autonomous beings with their own perspectives and agency who exist in a series of relationships with other beings (M. Hall 2011:105; Shebitz and Kimmerrer 2004). In certain cosmologies, plants might even have kinship systems of their own in addition to the systems that link them to non-plant species (Chaumeil and Chaumeil 1992). Beyond kinship systems in the plant kingdom, we are all bound together in what ethno-botanist Enrique Salmón terms a "kincentric ecology," a heterarchical continuum of persons (2000:1327). As "proper persons" (Descola 1992:115), plants are relational beings with awareness, intelligence, knowledge, and the capacity to communicate with other beings (M. Hall 2013:388).

Because they are persons, using the pronoun "it" to refer to plants is perhaps disrespectful both to plant persons and the animistic cosmologies they inhabit. Kimmerer draws the analogy of observing one's grandmother "standing at the stove in her apron and then saying of her, 'Look, it is making soup. It has gray hair'" (2013:55). At least in English, "it" robs a being of personhood and kinship and denotes disrespect. Lacking gendered pronouns, Muskogee does not help in this instance. An animistic grammar respects and takes into account the personhood of all beings, but English is not an animistic language. Much as I dislike it, I find no recourse but to refer occasionally to non-human persons with the pronoun "it" when "they" is not applicable.

Kimmerer provides an excellent example of the types of relationships that exist between plants and other beings with a case study of mosses in the conifer forests of the Northwest North American coast. A temperate rainforest, this environment receives vast quantities of rainfall annually. Little of this precipitation enters this ecosystem by falling directly onto the forest floor, however. Instead, raindrops fall onto tree leaves and flow down stems, moss-covered branches, and eventually tree trunks in a phenomenon called "stemflow." The stemflow dissolves

sediments from the branches, recycling the nutrients of those sediments into the roots. The mosses slow the stemflow, ensuring that the "miniature Niagaras [that] form over ledges in the bark" do not become floods (Kimmerer 2003:142). Without a moss-laden forest to retain this moisture, clear-cut temperate rainforest land is often extremely dry. The streams that drain these clear-cut watersheds carry greater quantities of water that run brown with soil and choke the fish and other amphibious creatures. Mosses hold that excess water, slowly dripping it to the ground to maintain soil moisture for the trees. At the same time, they provide habitats for a variety of animals, including salamanders, waterbears or Tardigrada (*Hypsibius dujardini*; eight-legged microanimals), wood thrushes, and other creatures.

Mosses also maintain relationships with humans in their environments. Indigenous peoples used mosses to chink the cracks between logs in their homes and to line boots and mittens, sealing in warmth. Certain mosses make excellent bedding and pillows. Others became basket decorations, lamp wicks, and dish scrubbers. Perhaps most importantly, mosses played vital roles in children's diapers and women's sanitary pads. Certain species of moss can absorb twenty to forty times their weight in liquid. Mosses in the *Sphagnum* genus have many air spaces that can easily wick away urine or menstrual blood. Their acid astringency and antiseptic properties likely prevented rashes (Kimmerer 2003:107). They can also be used to staunch a wound, and in certain forms of food preparations. In the Northwest, American Indian women historically used mosses to wipe away the slimy toxic coating from newly caught fish. Likewise, mosses simultaneously provided a source of steam and a way to isolate baking camas lily bulbs, a historical food staple that remains a honored ceremonial food in Nez Perce, Calapooya, and Umatilla communities of the Northwest (Kimmerer 2003:109).

Figure 8.2 Pasv (Snakeroot, *Eryngium yuccifolium*).

Other plants play equally important roles to Pvlvcekkolv in their southeastern environment. The Medicine plants that sing to the Kvssetv in the Migration Legend are but four examples: Pasv (Snakeroot), Mekko-huyvnecv (Red Root), Sowvcko (Blue Flag), and Vccē-lvpocke (Yaupon Holly). In the Muskogee language, words rarely have narrow meanings. Instead they can be more easily described as "categories of meaning" (Hakopē, interview, 05 May 2015). The names of these four plants do not define them in the way that Latinate species names do in scientific discourses. Rather, they connote the plants through association with their uses and users. Pasv, the plant commonly known as Snakeroot in English (*eryngium yuccifolium*), means "sweeping" (see Figure 8.2). During busk, the two men who make a Medicine with Pasv also sweep the grounds at key points during ceremony (I explore sweeping in Chapter Nine). Pasv got its name because those who prepare Medicine with it also sweep.

Figure 8.3 Mekko-huyvnecv roots (Red Root, *Salix tristis*) on a log.

Figure 8.4 Sowvcko (Blue Flag, *Iris versicolor*).

Similarly, Mekko-huyvnecv directly translated means "chief-passing by," or passing by the tribal town mekko. Often known as Red Root (*Salix tristis*) in English (see Figure 8.3), the

roots of this dwarf willow comprises the main ingredient in another important ceremonial Medicine. After the Maker of Medicine doctors this Medicine, the men who prepare it walk the tub of Medicine around the Square Grounds passing it by the tribal king, the Fire, and the rest of the community. The third plant, Sowvcko or Blue Flag (*iris versicolor*), literally means "vomit" (see Figure 8.4). Although not in regular use at Pvlvcekolv, a Medicine made from Sowvcko can be a powerful emetic in small doses. One might ingest it in preparation for a strenuous fast or before a special activity in order to empty and purify the whole body (Hakopē, interview, 05 May 2015).

Figure 8.5 Harvesting Vccē-lvpocke (Yaupon Holly, *Ilex vomitoria*).

The final plant, Vccē-lvpocke or Yaupon Holly, translates literally to "tea-little" (see Figure 8.5). "Little" in this instance refers to the small size of the Yaupon holly leaves (*Ilex vomitoria*); "tea" refers to a common use of the drink made with Vccē-lvpocke's leaves (Hakopē, interview, 05 May 2015). Like its cousin Sowucko, Vccē-lvpocke can be used as an emetic, but only in large doses. More often, the community makes an everyday beverage that strengthens the drinker with its caffeine content: the leaves contain .27% of the stimulant (Turner 2009:134; Power and Chesnut 1919). The names of these plants thus derive not from a Latinate system of differentiation and identification, but rather from their relationship to human practice and consumption.

In addition to the human portion of Pvlvcekolv, these plants maintain important symbiotic relationships with other beings in their environments. Vccē-lvpocke's natural range lies on the coastal plains that rim the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean from modern-day Virginia southward, and across central Florida into Texas. It additionally grows beyond this range, but arrived there as the result of trade between Indigenous communities (Merrill 1979:40). Like other plants in the ilex or holly genus, Vccē-lvpocke has red berries. These berries provide food for a variety of beings. Birds eat them especially during the winter months (Turner 2009:134). Small mammals such as raccoons, skunks, foxes, and armadillos also consume them. Although not a preferred food, deer browse the foliage. Like other members of its genus, Vccē-lvpocke retains its leaves in the winter and often grows in dense thickets. As such, the plant offers crucial cover for an array of wildlife, especially in the winter (Shadow 2011:1).

Sowvcko lives as far north as present-day Newfoundland and Manitoba in Canada and south to Florida and Arkansas. Residing typically along waterways and wetlands, it provides food for insects and small, riparian mammals. Bumblebees and others drink nectar from its

flowers (National Plant Data Center 2002a). The insects in turn play a role in fertilization as they transfer pollen from one Sowvcko to another (Kron et al. 1993:1504). While the insects partake of the flowers, muskrats eat its roots (National Plant Data Center 2002a).

A number of beings also consume Mekko-huyvnecv. Caterpillars in particular enjoy its leaves. These trees, along with their compatriots in the salix genus, provide nesting spaces for a variety of birds. In areas with a greater concentration of avian species and healthy nesting sites, these birds in turn control the predatory insects that consume Mekko-huyvnecv's leaves (Heltzel and Earnst 2006). Deer, rabbits, and other herbivores also browse the leaves. As one of the smaller members of the salix genus, Mekko-huyvnecv helps control erosion along small stream channels, where it additionally provides cover for small animals (National Plant Data Center 2002b).

Pasv lives throughout the Southeast and Midwest and prefers open woodlands and prairies. In its prairie environments, it often resides with a number of flowering plants (Henry and Bruckerhoff 2002). As such, Pasv and its brethren stagger their flowering times to reduce competition for pollinators (Anderson and Schelfhout 1980). In both prairie and open woodlands, over one hundred species of bees pollinate Pasv and other flowering plants (Bartholomew et al. 2006). Certain species of moths also feed on their ovules and seeds (Molano-Flores 2009). When it grows in open woodland environments, Pasv relies on humans. Southeastern Indigenous peoples have a long history of environmental manipulation, including controlled burns (Denevan 1992). Without these burns, the open spaces become overgrown and impede the abilities of Pasv and other plants to survive (K. L. Martin 2006:2).

Kimmerer suggests that plants communicate and "tell their stories not by what they say, but by what they do" (2013:128). In other words, communication comprises actions over time:

corporeal movements and enactions. Plants act chemically, visually, and physically. Plants communicate with each other and with other organisms in a variety of ways. I synthesize ecological research on plant-plant communication and plant-animal communication. While this research does not necessarily concern plants in the Southeast, it represents the types of intra- and inter-species communication that occurs at Pvlvcekolv.

Some flora communications can be inadvertent, as when neighboring plants "eavesdrop" on the chemical signals produced by a plant attacked by insects. For example, when tent caterpillars attack and colonize a willow tree, neighboring willows produce phenolic and tannic warning chemicals that render their leaves unpalatable to the insects and stave off a similar attack (Rhoades 1983). Likewise, soybean leaves attacked by beetles emit a series of volatile, warning chemicals. While nearby soybean plants take these chemicals as a cue to armor themselves against the beetles, ecologist Martin Heil and geneticist Juan Carlos Silva Buena (2007) have proven that the attacked plant uses the chemicals to communicate with and protect its other leaves; the neighboring plants are actually "eavesdropping" on that chemical signal.

Concrete examples of direct communication between plants also exist. New research by forest ecologist Suzanne Simard and colleagues explore communication via mycorrhizal networks (Badri et al. 2009; Beiler et al. 2010; Nardi and Pizzeghello 2004; Simard 2015; Simard and Durall 2004; Simard et al. 2012). Mycorrhizas are root fungi, so called because they colonize plants' roots. A positive symbiotic relationship occurs between the mycorrhizas and the colonized plants: the fungus provides the plants with soil nutrients and water while the plant supplies the fungus with photosynthesized carbon. Although certain mycorrhizal fungi colonize only one plant species, others colonize many. Of primary importance, these fungi have the ability to connect together the root systems of their host plants and generate large networks. These

networks facilitate the transmission of carbon, macronutrients, micronutrients, biochemical signals, and hormones, usually from a replete plant to a plant in need. The larger, older trees and plants function as hubs or "mother trees" in these networks. Mother trees can distinguish kin from stranger seedlings and will shuttle nutrients to those close relatives, giving them a competitive edge. They also communicate nutrients with stranger plants, however, suggesting that these networks facilitate community-wide rather than species-specific longevity and stability.

Plants also communicate with non-plant life. Pollinating or seed-dispersing plants rely on animals, insects, and birds for their reproduction. By attracting the beings that can best disperse their seeds or distribute their pollen, the plants communicate with these beings (Schaefer and Ruxton 2011:224). For example, mistletoe grows parasitically on only a few select tree species. It has developed a way to avoid random dispersal of its seeds so that it might reach those select tree species successfully. Mistletoe makes its seeds tasty to a variety of birds. The seeds of one type of mistletoe, *Viscum album*, stick to the beaks of those birds while they consume the mistletoe berries and to their rumps after they defecate. In both instances, the birds wipe the seeds off. This action increases the likelihood the seeds will end up in a suitable environment. By attracting the birds to their seeds, mistletoe communicate with those birds in order to propagate itself (Schaefer and Ruxton 2011:51-52).

"Speaking" or communication connects with plants' ability to "hear." Although Charles Darwin (1892) himself made a "fools experiment" on the ability of plants to hear, few studies of scientific merit or method have treated the subject since. (The infamous *The Secret Life of Plants* [Tompkins and Bird 1973] relies on subjective impressions based on only a small number of largely uncontrolled experiments.) Instead, experiments testing other variables occasionally

derive results that suggest that plants in fact cannot hear and that sound does not affect them (Chamovitz 2012:80).

Although this research is still in its infancy, several scientists have begun exploring the ramifications of plant audition. Biologists Roman Zweifel and Fabienne Zuegin (2008) have hypothesized that the ultrasonic vibrations that emanate from pine and oak trees during droughts might form a communicational signal. These vibrations passively result from changes in the water content of the tree's water-transporting xylem vessels (a result similar to the way a rock makes a sound when bouncing off a cliff). Zweifel and Zeugin, however, wonder if the vibrations might signal other trees to prepare for dry conditions. Similarly, theoretical biologist Lilach Hadany has proposed that, to create an experiment that might indicate the hearing abilities of plants, we must study the sounds in the natural world that connect to plant-specific processes. She gives the example of the buzzing of a bee. Bumblebees engage in a process known as "buzz pollination" with a flower, where the bees rapidly vibrate their wing muscles without actually flapping their wings. When done in physical contact with a flower, the resulting high-frequency vibration stimulates the flower to release pollen onto the bee. Although the plant perceives the bumble bee buzz primarily as a vibration, Hadany wonders if the sonic aspect of buzz pollination might affect the flower in some yet undetected way (Chamovitz 2012:87).

Though different from our human-centric concept of communication, plants regularly engage in communicative interactions with each other and with other species. As evidenced by the research on mycorrhizal networks, the botanical sciences continue to discover new forms of plant "voices." Botanist František Baluŝka and horticulturalist Stefano Mancuso (2009) describe plants as "social organisms" whose interactions among themselves and with other species form the basis of "plant societies." Science increasingly recognizes plants as active, communicative,

cognitive, and autonomous organisms, much the same way that animistic cosmologies do (M. Hall 2013:392-3). Scientists do not question if plants can communicate with a variety of beings; rather they ask how plants communicate: through chemical, visual, and physical modes. Euro-American science might call these plant communication modes the voice of plants. In addition to these same modes of communication, mammals, birds, and other beings also communicate orally. Their different physiologies render communication through different channels. Assuming that beings must vocalize through laryngeal phonation the same way as humans is human-centric and antithetical in an animistic cosmology. And, at least in Pvlvcekolv's animistic Muskogee cosmology, all beings have voices by virtue of breathing or respiring. At least in this particular indigenous animistic cosmology, chemical, visual, and physical modes of plant communication constitute plant voice.

Plant Voices

During one of our phone conversations, I asked Hakopē to describe the sound of plants' voices (interview, 26 April 2015). As a Maker of Medicine, part of his job description involves interacting with and taking advice from plants and other beings. He struggled to find words in English and found it easier to describe what they are not. Flora, in his experience, have distinct voices plant by plant, as opposed to species by species. Although "androgenous" is perhaps an inappropriate term for these beings, he found that plants do not feature clearly male or female voices. Vocally they are perhaps neither, both, or between the two. We "hear" human gender through relative larynx sizes and a series of culturally-learned cues (Carson 1995:119-137; Harb and Chen 2005; Hughes, Mogilski, and Harrison 2014). Plants are a different species and,

presumably, of a different culture(s); perhaps gender connotations cannot effectively communicate across species.

Plants, Hakopē told me, never communicate with more than one-two people at a time except when they communicate with an entire group. Hakopē hears plants speaking often when he is alone. Yet, in the early 1980s, Hakopē joined several of his female relatives in a search for a specific species of pine tree. His usual source came from an area that had recently been clear-cut and they had to range further afield than usual. They would never have found the pine if it had not called them to it. In this experience, the pine spoke to Hakopē and all of his companions. Having found it and harvested a portion of the root bark, Hakopē was able to doctor a Medicine that prevented miscarriages for one of the women. Her son has since graduated college and is now an optometrist. This history would have been possible had the pine not told the entire group where it was.

Although he has long heard them, Hakopē was uncertain whether he hears the plants aurally via his ears or via another mode. The "Migration Legend" does not hold an answer to this question. The "Legend," however, does depict the singing of Pasv, Mekko-huyvnecv, Sowvcko, and Vccē-lvpocke in aural terms. Each plant has a different vocal character. Pasv sings in a "strong" voice, whereas Mekko-huyvnecv and Sowvck sing more quietly. In contrast, Vccē-lvpocke sings "in a whisper like the sound of smoke roiling up from a Fire" (Migration Legend of the Creek Indians, PAP8.2). The descriptions of the vocal qualities of Pasv, Mekko-huyvnecv, and Sowvcko approximate vocal communication: voices that are strong or have varying dynamic levels. Vccē-lvpocke's voice, however, almost defies description. It clearly has the softest dynamic level of the four: a whisper. Yet the "Migration Legend" describes it through the simile as the sound of smoke roiling up from the Fire.

Although I immediately construed the descriptions of the voices of Pasv, Mekko-huyvnecv, and Sowvcko in vocal terms, this depiction might be inaccurate. Returning briefly to the ecological point of view, one may also attribute varying levels of strength to the visual, chemical, or physical modes of plant communication. For example, we might speak of a strong color, a shade that is extremely bright or saturated like certain flower petals or leaves. We might also speak of strong scents, such as the fragrance of Tobacco (genus *Nicotiana*) blossoms. And, although comparatively rare, the Venus Fly Trap's (*Dionaea muscipula*) mode of physical communication with the sources of its nutrients—literally encaging its meal—is anything but subtle! From these examples of comparatively strong "voices," there exist gradients in color, scent, and physicality. The voices of all four "Migration Legend" plants might exist in any of the available modes and the descriptions of their voices read most easily to we "phonational" beings as vocal.

Kimmerer notes that traditional Indigenous knowledge, like scientific knowledge, arises from the careful observation of nature, "from the results of innumerable lived experiments" (2003:101). In this fashion, plants reveal their gifts to the attentive observer. In the "Migration Legend," the entire Kvssetv community sat on the ground and saw the plants appear and sing. Kvssetv observed them closely and received the gifts as the plants sang of their respective virtues.

Similarly, Pvlvcekolv maintains a detailed tradition of ecological observation. Watching and interacting with their environment remains a long-standing tradition. Indigenous ecological observation parallels the scientific method of controlled experimentation and often results in similar information. As but one example, Hakopē delights in telling the story of his well-known ancestor, Tomochichi (ca1644-1739). Although born and raised at Pvlvcekolv, Tomochichi

eventually became mekko for a Yamasee tribal town (Peach 2013:609). In 1734, he and the Pvlvcekolv mekko, Umphichi, traveled to England with James Edward Oglethorpe, founder of the Georgia colony (Vaughan 2006:153). During his time in London, he answered numerous questions by the Royal Society regarding Indigenous understandings of health and Medicine (J. A. Sweet 2002:361). When queried about the cause of disease, he replied that it resulted from an imbalance of small plants and animals in the body. What else, Hakopē asks his audience, might his ancestors have called bacteria and viruses but small plants and animals? Although Tomochichi's audience among the Royal Society scoffed at his explanation, Hakopē notes, Muskogee observation had arrived at a conclusion the scientific community would take several centuries to reach. Pvlvcekolv not only listens to plants, however; the community also communicates with them in turn. In addition to one-on-one conversations between a plant and Maker of Medicine, the community as a whole formally communicates with plants via the busk ceremonial cycle.

Berry and Arbor Dance and Harvest Dance

Among the sung dances of the busk, two feature direct communication with, and incorporation of, plant beings: the Berry and Arbor Dance (see Figure 8.6) and the Harvest Dance (see Figure 8.7) at the eponymous spring Berry and Arbor Busk and the fall Harvest Busk, respectively. Both ritual events involve human-plant communication. Human performers also become the plants through ceremonial enactment. These two dances connect together: each features the same song and almost identical choreography. They bookend the growing season: the Berry and Arbor Dance marks its beginning and the Harvest Dance marks its end. Both take place on the Sunday morning of their respective busks.

Figure 8.6 Berry and Arbor Dance, video still, Berry and Arbor Busk 2013.

Figure 8.7 Harvest Dance, Harvest Busk 2012.

Unlike the Ribbon Dance (see Chapter Four) and Bench Dances (see Chapter Five), which feature soloists of sorts, Pvlvcekolv performs the Berry and Arbor and Harvest Dances as a community, divided into gendered lines. At most ceremonial occasions, more men can be present than women. After the women line up at the front of their line, men fill in at the end until both lines contain a roughly equal number of dancers. For the Berry and Arbor Dance, the women and men line up in front of the South and North Arbors, respectively (see Figure 8.8). For the Harvest Busk, the women and men line up in front of the East and West Arbors, respectively. The choreography involves pacing the outline of the Muskogee Knot onto the grounds (see Figure 8.9), each line enacting the same choreography in the opposite section of the knot. The dance step is a "stomp-step:" the performers first gently stomp their right feet upon the grounds before stepping their weight onto the right as they stomp on the left foot and then step their weight onto the left. Each foot touches the earth twice in a row as they slowly locomote around the grounds: right-right, left-left, right-right, left-left.

The participants begin a counterclockwise circle around the perimeter of the grounds between the Fire and the arbors. After each line returns to its starting point, the South and North Arbor center posts, it shuffles toward the Fire. Each line then completes the outline of a quadrant of the circle: the women in the southwest, the men in the northeast. Both lines continue moving counterclockwise around the circle until the women's line and the men's line reach the center post of the East Arbor and West Arbor, respectively (see Figure 8.10). Now each line charts the remaining quadrants: the women in the southeast, the men in the northwest (see Figure 8.11). Returning to the Fire (see Figure 8.12), both lines pace out tendrils on the grounds in the southwest and northeast quadrants (see Figure 8.13).

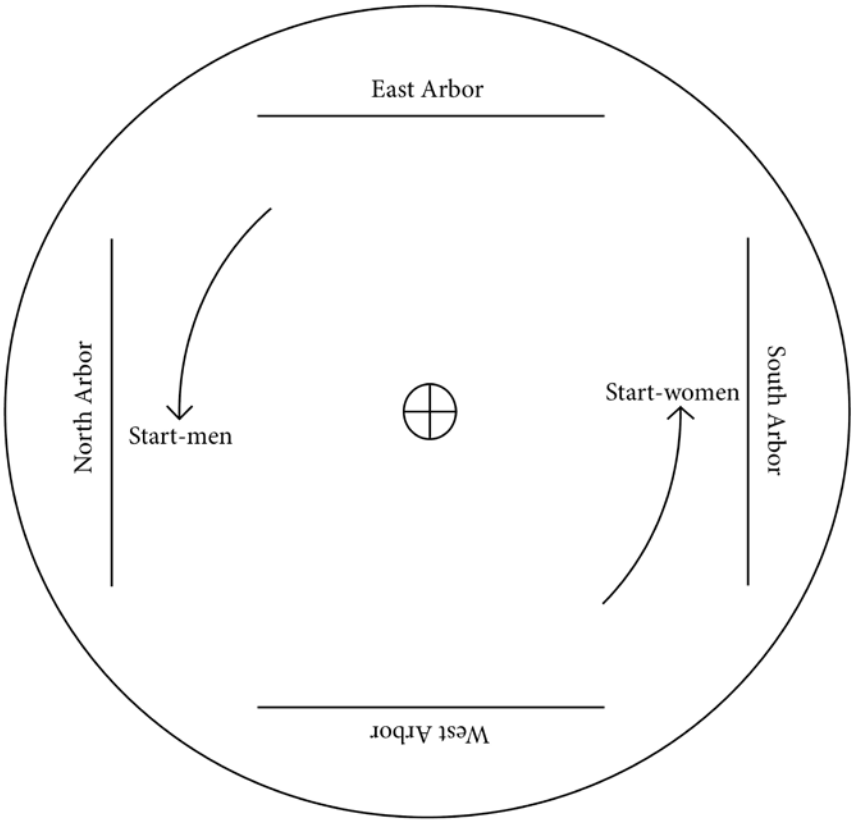


Figure 8.8 Berry and Arbor Dance choreographic outline, part one.

Figure 8.9 The Muskogee Knot drawn onto the grounds before the Berry and Arbor Dance at the 2013 Berry and Arbor Busk.

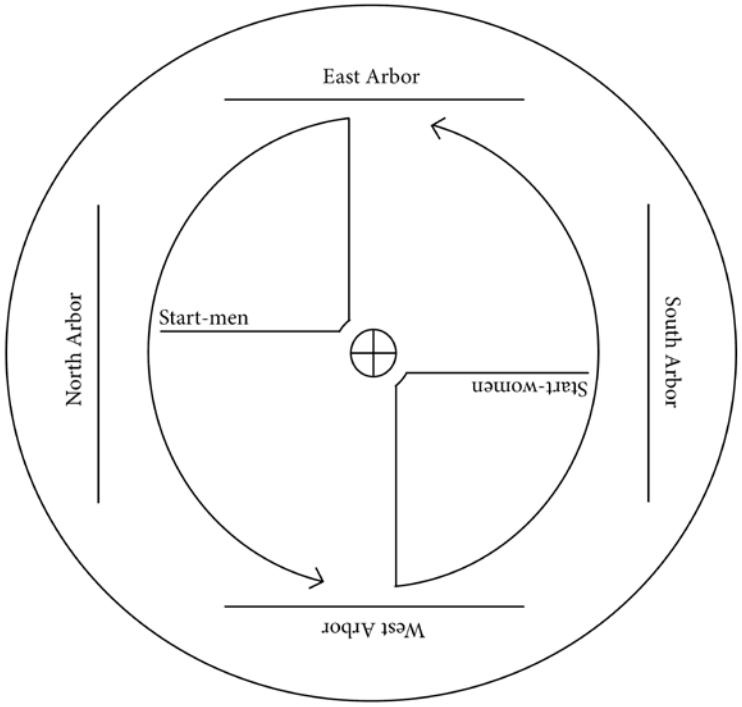


Figure 8.10 Berry and Arbor Dance choreographic outline, part two.

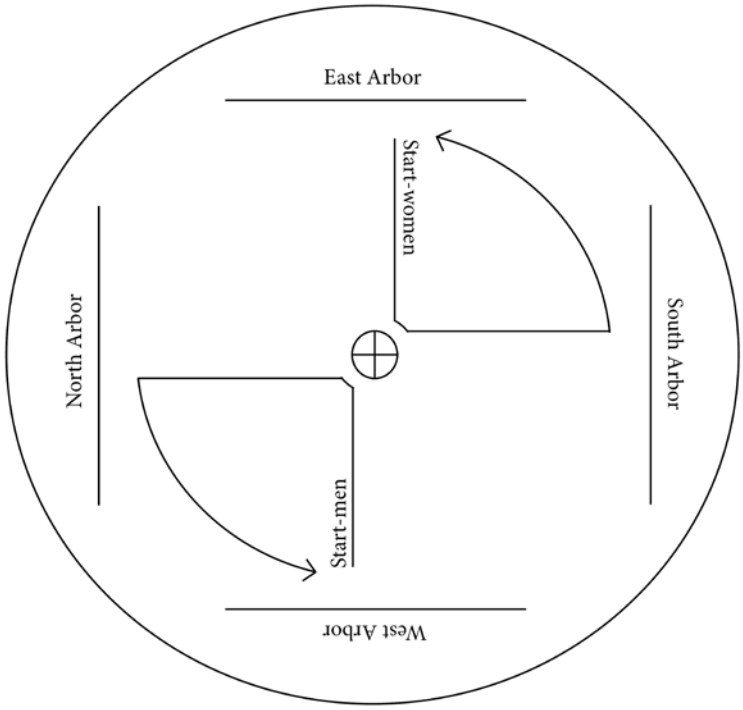


Figure 8.11 Berry and Arbor Dance choreographic outline, part three.

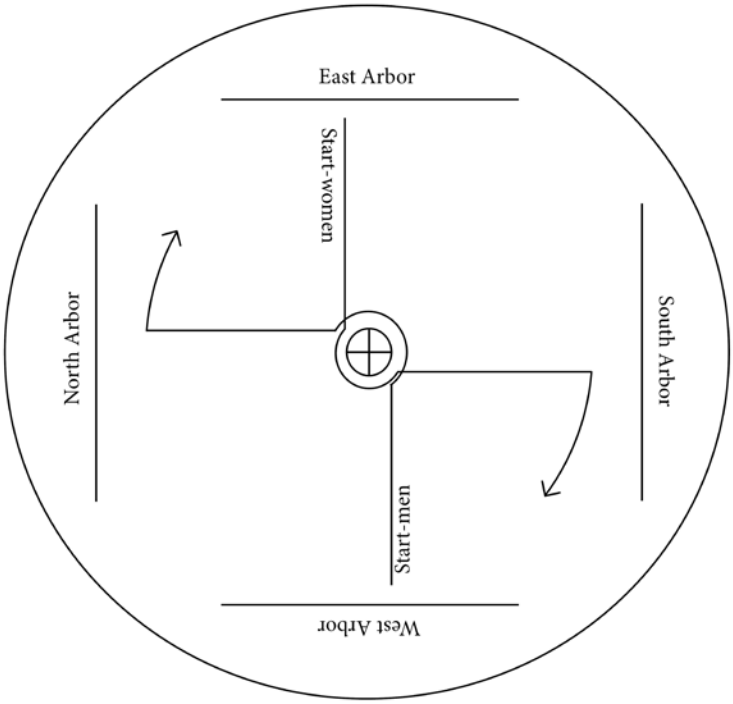


Figure 8.12 Berry and Arbor Dance choreographic outline, part four.

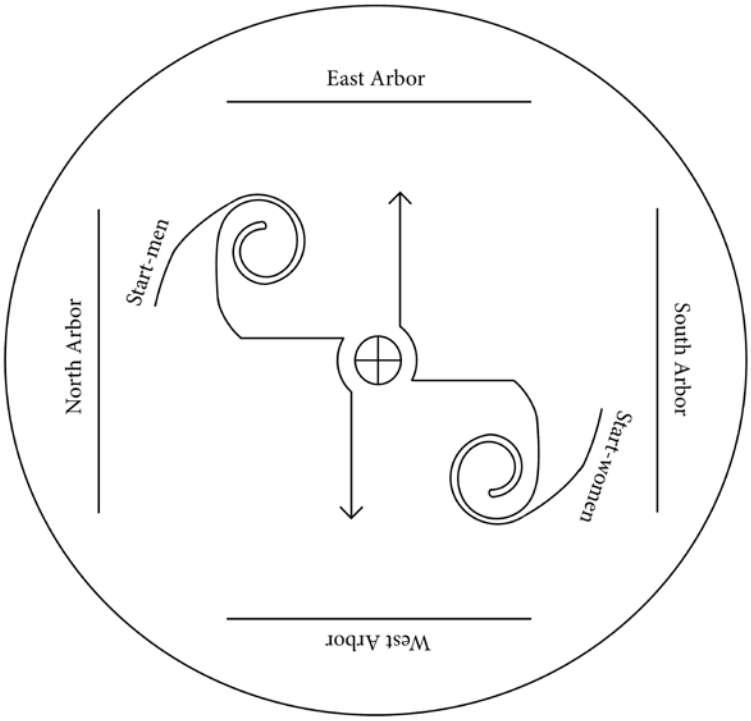


Figure 8.13 Berry and Arbor Dance choreographic outline, part five.

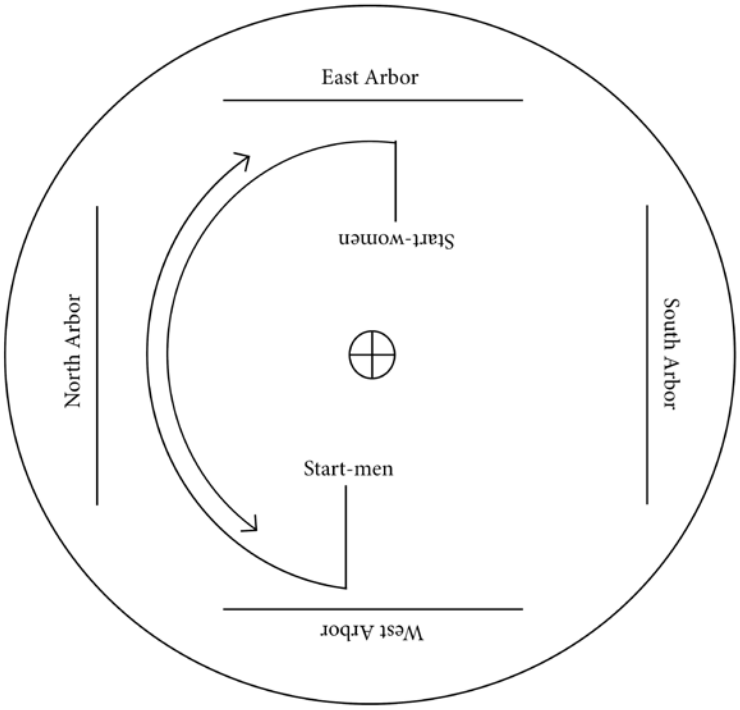


Figure 8.14 Berry and Arbor Dance choreographic outline, part six.

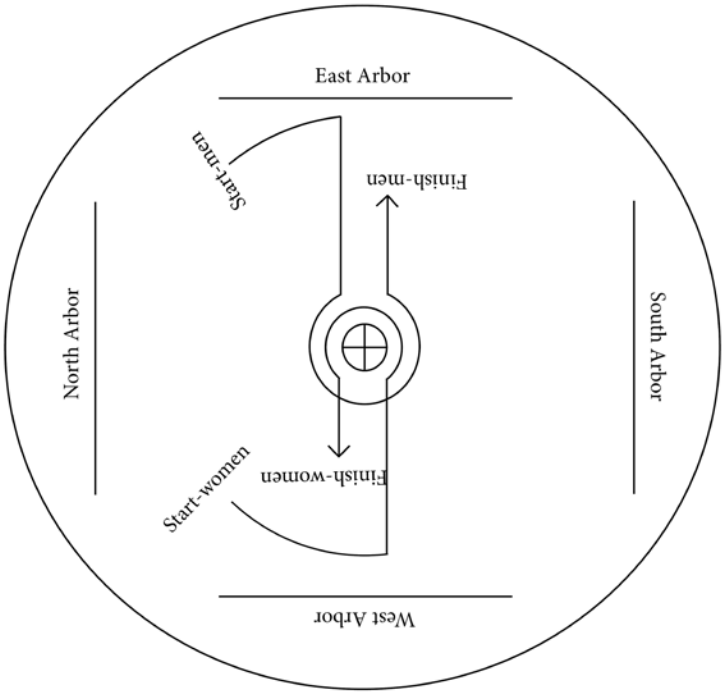


Figure 8.15 Berry and Arbor Dance choreographic outline, part seven.

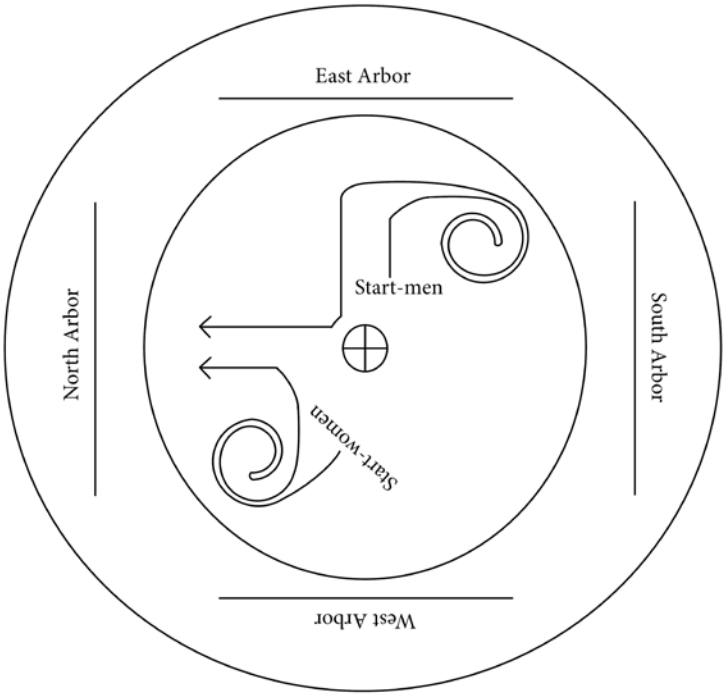


Figure 8.16 Berry and Arbor Dance choreographic outline, part eight.

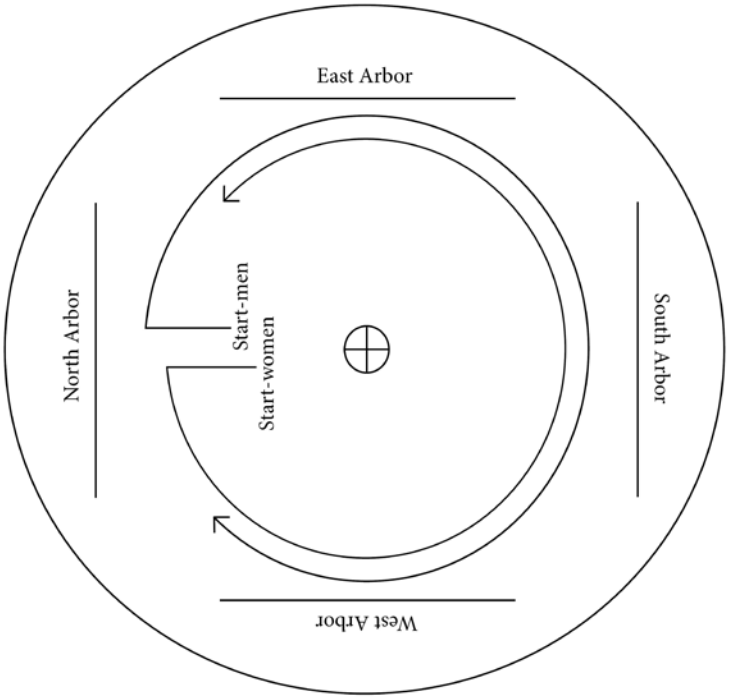


Figure 8.17 Berry and Arbor Dance choreographic outline, part nine.

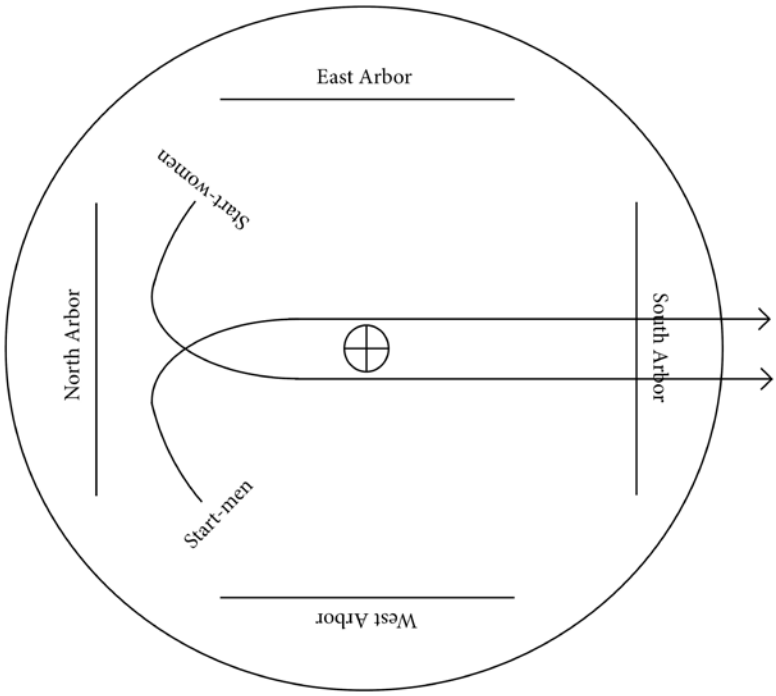


Figure 8.18 Berry and Arbor Dance choreographic outline, end.

After looping into and out of our spirals, each line delineates the north half of the circle from opposite directions (see Figure 8.14) and circles once around the Fire (see Figure 8.15). The Performers again dance out tendrils on the ground, the women in the northwest, the men in the southeast (see Figure 8.16). They close the Knot by making a final circle around the grounds. Unlike the circle that began the dance, the men now pace clockwise, the women counter-clockwise (see Figure 8.17). When both lines meet at the center post of the North Arbor, they merge and cross, heading towards the South Arbor. First a woman crosses in front of the men's line, then a man in front of the woman's line, then a woman, then a man, until the women's line steps past the west side of the Fire and the men's line steps past the east side of the Fire. Both lines exit the grounds through the South Arbor, completing the dance (see Figure 8.18).

Four women carry baskets in both dances. Each basket has participated in the entire busk, sitting at the corner post of an arbor. During the Berry and Arbor Busk, they are empty, waiting

to be filled with foods from the upcoming growing season. During the Harvest Busk, however, families with gardens fill the baskets to overflowing with the best produce from the year's harvest (see Figure 8.19). Squash, greens, flowers, nuts, and other fruits of the harvest overflow the baskets and busk with us. Their presence comprises one way in which we involve them during ceremony. At Berry and Arbor Busk, even though the agricultural cycle is just now starting and the baskets are empty, the plants are still present. Here the baskets function like vacuums, waiting for our labors and the growing season to fill them at Harvest Busk.

Figure 8.19 Baskets filled with produce at the 2012 Harvest Busk.

Figure 8.20 Harvest Dance dancers pour produce onto the Fire as an offering at the 2012 Harvest Busk.

Immediately after or before exiting the grounds, different actions occur depending on the dance. After exiting the grounds during the Berry and Arbor Dance, the community gives a great cry and engages in a call and response cries with the Song Leader. To each of his four shouts of, "Ofvnkv" ("Creator"), the rest reply "Mvto" ("Thank you")! As the last and longest "Mvto!" dies away, the Song Leader proclaims, "Rvfo en era kvccetos!" ("Winter's back is broken!"). Winter is now over and the growing season begins. In contrast, participants pause around the Fire at Harvest Busk while exiting the grounds and share the produce contained in the baskets with

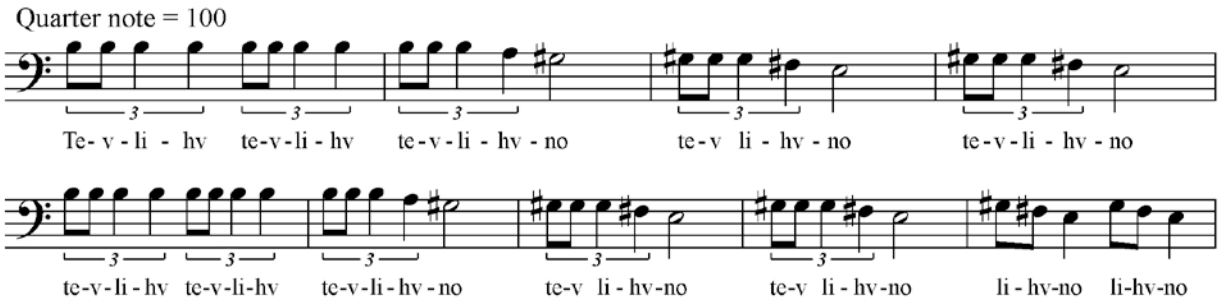
Creator by placing it in the Fire (see Figure 8.20). After giving the fruits of their labors, they continue off the grounds and shout a great "Mvto!" and the Song Leader cries, "Posketv pokes!" ("The fast is over!").

In addition to incorporating plants physically in the baskets, performers also become them through the choreography. The outlines they step onto the grounds form stems and leaves, ever growing and ripening. In particular, the spirals they loop onto the four quadrants shape the tendrils of ever-growing plants. Their actions promote and nurture plant growth. Curling into these ever-tightening spirals echoes the slower motion of, for example, a squash vine as it germinates and thrusts itself out of the ground at the beginning of the agricultural cycle. As the dancers come together in a tendril of movement, they ask the plants around them, the plants waiting to fill the baskets, to make of themselves even as the performers make of themselves. At Harvest, participants thank those same plants for having expended their energy during the growing season and providing the community with the nourishment that now overflows the baskets held by the women.

Dancers also sing the spirals they step onto the grounds in the song that accompanies both dances. The text is "*Te-v-li-ya/hv-no*," with the "ya" and "hv" syllables interchangeable. The phrase is a contraction of what Hakopē has translated as "They, unto themselves, are over there. Can you not see? The harvests." The text refers to the contents of the baskets, both when overflowing during the Harvest Dance and when functioning as vacuums during the Berry and Arbor Dance. Just as they dance growth on the grounds, so too do they verbalize it.

At Berry and Arbor, Hakopē adds additional verses to the song. At the 2013 Berry and Arbor Busk, he placed these additions into the middle of the song, after several verses of "Te-v-li-ya/hv-no." Because his largely improvised lyrics do not translate well into English, I gloss

them rather than provide an exact translation. To the same melody line as "Te-v-li-ya/hv-no," he named as many different plants as he could think of at that moment followed by the word "*ma-he*" three times. Ma-he is an untranslatable intensifier. When applied to corn, for example, it means that the corn shall grow tall. When applied to other plants or beings, it might mean they shall grow strong or great; the English translation depends on the entity to which the singer applies the term. By singing "ma-he" three times in a row, Hakopē intertwined the action of plant growth into the three worlds of the Muskogee cosmology: "Ma-he, ma-he, ma-he; Upper World, Middle World, Other World; grow, grow, grow; or do your best" (Discussion on Berry Dance Music, PAP11). Plant growth does not merely occur here in the Middle World, but also in the other two Worlds. The roots grow down into the Other World, and the foliage reaches into and/or resides in the Upper World.



Example 8.1 The Berry and Arbor Dance/Harvest Dance song.

In addition to these lyrics, dance participants connect to the plant growth melodically. As with all ceremonial music at Pvlvcekolv, the melodic motion of a song communicates meaning (see Chapter Four). Each rendition of the Harvest and Berry and Arbor Dances melody line descends a total of a fifth, B to E in this transcription (see Example 8.1). In measures three-four and seven-nine, the line returns again and again to G#, only to spiral down to E (measures three, four, seven-nine in Example 8.1). This circling motion musically realizes those same tendrils that

we dance out in the four quadrants of the dance. As the tendril on a squash vine buds out of its parent stem, for example, it elongates as it grows and reaches out. Gravity takes it ever closer to the ground, to E, as it continues to elongate, widen, and produce leaves and buds. As the melody line returns to the top B, a tendril coils out of this new vine, continuing the process. One can hear and almost see the melodic twists of a vine in that circling motion of measures 3-4 and 7-9 (see Figure 8.21).

Figure 8.21 Coiled tendrils on a Seminole pumpkin (*Cucurbita moschata*).

As I outline in Chapter Seven, participants do not "echo" or "symbolize" plants in these performances. Rather, through performance, they communicate with and become plants and promote their health and longevity. As when they become bison and other mammals in the Buffalo Dance, they become corn, squash, beans, Pasv, Mekko-huyvnecv, Sowvcko, and Vccē-lvpocke in the Berry and Arbor Dance and the Harvest Dance. Performers become the tendrils on

a squash plant as they spiral around the Square Grounds, they become the corn stalk as they step towards to the Fire, they become rootstocks as they grow circles around the grounds. Just as the plants give of their selves and their essences to humans that they might live, humans give of themselves during these ceremonial enactments. The dancers envoice plants, singing of them, with them, and as them. As the performers become plants physically through the choreography, they become them vocally through the song. These ritual dances function as the formal version of more quotidian actions when planting, harvesting, weeding, and watering the plants in gardens and husbanding the plants in ecosystems.

Communication with plant persons into the busk through the Berry and Arbor Dance and the Harvest Dance involves physical, visual, and sonic modes of communication similar to plants physical, visual, and chemical modes. Singing and dancing these dances comprises a ritual version of the types of communication that occur between plants and other species. This analogy is perhaps best illustrated by mycorrhizal networks. As I explore above, these networks form when fungi connect together the roots of diverse plant species and facilitate the transmission of nutrients, signals, and hormones across species. The larger, older trees within these networks function as hubs or "mother trees," shuttling nutrients to other plants in need. In a similar fashion, nutrients in the shape of Power move from Creator, the mother tree, to the participants of the busk across the network formed by busk performance practice. This busk network is interspecies, and includes plants through the Berry and Arbor Dance and the Harvest Dance, insects through the Bug Dance, and animals and birds through the animal dances (see Chapter Seven). Both mycorrhizal and busk networks facilitate community-wide, rather than species-specific, longevity, promoting the overall health of the natureculture.

While the Harvest and Berry and Arbor Dances facilitate our ritual communication with and enaction of plant life, the entire ceremonial schedule correlates with the agricultural season and the lifespan of many plants. The women sort seeds at Soup Dance in preparation for the new growing season. Wild Onion Day occurs when the Wild Onions (*Allium canadense*) send up enough green shoots to be consumed. Berry and Arbor Busk marks the beginning of the growing season. Green Corn Busk denotes when we can begin consuming the new corn crop. Little Green Corn Busk indicates the ripening of a second corn crop. Harvest Busk defines the end of the growing season and the start of winter. Additionally, many ceremonial actions incorporate plants in some fashion. Pvlvcekolv men green the arbors with fresh willow and gather various plants for the Medicines. Two men who sweep the grounds do so with a broom they make with specific plants (see Chapter Nine). The women cook foods that include plants. The men hold feather-tipped wands made of river cane during the Feather Dance. The women hold sprigs of sweet gum and willow during the Ribbon Dance. These ceremonial events communicate with plant life as much as they do animals, humans, objects, humans, and other persons.

The Vnahetv ("Conclusions")

Pvlvcekolv's increasing juxtaposition of traditional and scientific approaches to plants creates a nuanced dialogue in understanding plant vocality. Pvlvcekolv understands plants to speak, to communicate, but not necessarily to phonate. Unlike humans, mammals, and birds, plants do not have larynges or similar organs with which to set air vibrating into sound. Elders have experienced plants speaking and singing and conversed with them, but they are uncertain if they hear the plant side of the conversations with their ears, or in some other fashion. Hakopē

had difficulty describing the voices of the plants with which he had interacted, finding it easier to describe the content they communicate, not the manner in which they communicate.

As I state at the beginning of this chapter, the community understands voice to derive from the ability shared by every being to breathe. By virtue of being a being, one can breathe. The ability to breathe, to respire, also denotes an entity's voice. This concept explains plant vocality as the ability to communicate, writ large. Western plant science has made a number of inroads into the areas of plant communication, proving that plants communicate with other plants and with other species. In order to maintain individual and species longevity, plants communicate nutrients, hormones, predator warnings, regeneration techniques, and other important messagese to each other and to birds, animals, humans, and other entities. In Medicine contexts at Pvlvcekolv, plants have called Medicine people to them in order to share their attributes or abilities, or made suggestions regarding specific Medicines. Continuing to braid together the traditional and scientific understandings, plants' ability to communicate as explored by Western science equates with what Pvlvcekolv understands as the voices of plants.

Humans are perhaps most familiar with "voice" as the direct result of air molecules converted into acoustic energy via vibrating vocal folds. Despite this familiarity, we also use the term to include a variety of concepts, such as performance and agency (Daughtry 2012:257). This flexibility permits multiple, nuanced understandings of the term. Pvlvcekolv constructs plant vocality as the ability to communicate. This animistic definition pushes aside human-centric definitions of voice. Kirksey and Helmreich (2010) emphasize the importance of accounting for multispecies interactions; Donna Haraway notes that human exceptionalism is foolish (2008:244). Following their lead and Pvlvcekolv's traditional wisdom, an additional

understanding of voice-as-communication writ large expands voice beyond the human, forming a multispecies definition of voice.

In keeping with this multispecies approach, the Berry and Arbor and Harvest Dances serve as occasions when Pvlvcekolv community members formally interact with plant life. Drawing on Deleuze and Gauttari's (1987) concept of "becoming" (see Chapter Seven), these plant-focused dances also function as instances of ritualized becoming. In this context, human performers transform into becomings-plant with plants. These becomings-plants are not human, not plant, not imagined, and not imitations. Rather, when performers undertake choreography and song that derive from the habits of plants and thereby place themselves under the influence of those beings, they transform into something new: becomings-plants. As becomings, the human performers dance and sing with the plants. Performing the Berry and Arbor and Harvest Dances constitute acts of communication and "nutrient sharing" with plant persons. If "voice" can encompass communication in addition to its many other definitions, then these performances facilitate intertwined interspecies voices. As humans at Pvlvcekolv pace out and sing growing tendrils in performance, human and plant voices interlace, linking the two together.

Chapter Nine: Creator's Body

Breath, Voice, Song, Dance

A Pvlvcekolv Square Grounds adage has it that created beings "sound" and "move" while Creator remains silent and still. The community's busk performance practice includes a variety of sung dances that focus on sound and movement. Yet, the silence and stillness portions of the respective cultural dualities perhaps carry more importance. Pvlvcekolv's cosmology overflows with beings: animals, plants, objects, and others. By virtue of existing in Creation, these beings can sound and move. By virtue of being beings, these entities enact their voices, speak, sing, move, and dance. The cosmological explanation for these phenomena forms the foundation for the inter-relationality of all beings. In Chapter Eight I treated the vocality of plants. Using the Creek "Migration Legend" and performance practice of the Berry and Arbor and Harvest Dances, I concluded that, although voices derive from beings with bodies, they do not require a larynx. By definition, a being is capable of enacting a voice. Illustrating the interwoven relationships between beings in the Muskogee cosmology, I now take up that discussion where I left off in Chapter Eight. Combining the ecomusicological, scientific, and multispecies perspectives I have addressed throughout this document, I explore the role of breath in voice enactment and the ways breath, voice, and song connect the whole of Creation together.

Breath, Ceremony

Human respiration plays a number of crucial roles in ceremonial actions beyond ensuring participants' continued living states. The Maker of Medicine prepares Medicines using his breath. Many busk attendees blow breath onto tobacco prior to making an offering to the Fire. A

flute player harnesses his breath to make the flute sing. Dancers aspirate the vocables of the Bench Dances. These and other ceremonial actions require consciously directed breath, breath harnessed for a purpose. The process of creating ceremonial Medicines generally involves several people. Fiepe or Kusko often fry the Vccē-lvpocke (Yaupon Holly, *Ilex vomitoria*) leaves for that Medicine. Two men crush the Mekko-huyvnecv (Red Root, *Salix tristis*) roots and steep them in water. Others fulfill similar duties. Once they brew the Medicines, the Maker of Medicine doctors them. Doctoring involves different procedures depending on the Medicine. Consistently, the Maker aerates the Medicines. Using a tube, often a section of river cane that has remained closed at both ends, he blows his breath into the Medicines (see Figure 9.1). While he infuses the liquid with his breath, he also thinks a text or texts into the Medicine via his breath. Some might call these texts song lyrics, prayers, blessings, incantations, instructions, requests. With the tube, he also outlines figures in the Medicine; one such figure is the Muskogee Knot (see Figure 4.7).

Through the crucial use of breath, the community makes one of the better-known Muskogee Medicines with Vccē-lvpocke. Pvlvcekolv and other Creek communities call it the "White Drink;" European colonists knew it as the "Black Drink," a name that derives from the color of the Medicine (Fairbanks 1979:131). The Pvlvcekolv community observes that the Maker has correctly doctored the White Drink when it exhibits a tall white head, not unlike the head on a glass of beer. This head connotes the Medicine's efficacy; the presence and color of the head also give it its Creek name, the White Drink. During the 1970s, a chemist associate of Pvlvcekolv took samples of the White Drink before and after its doctoring. Hakopē tells me that the chemist's tests revealed that aeration alters the chemical makeup of the White Drink. The

breath of the Maker of Medicine not only changes the spiritual properties of the liquid, but also its chemical properties.

Figure 9.1 Hakopē blowing breath into Medicine, Harvest Busk 2008. This photo was taken before the community built arbors at the Square Grounds.

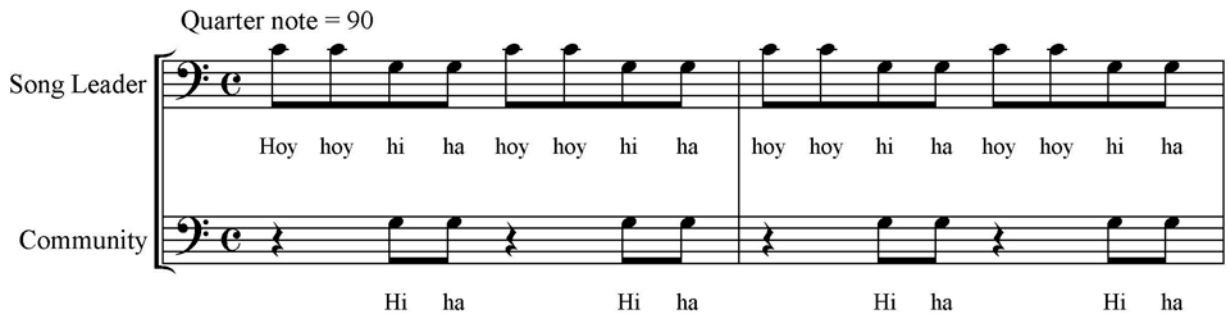
While doctoring Medicines is the domain of the Maker of Medicine, any member of the community may use their breath to make an offering of Tobacco (genus *Nicotiana*) to the Fire during the busk. After filling their hands with a small amount of dried Tobacco, they cup their hands together and breathe into them and onto the Tobacco three times. Most of the women make their offering immediately following the Ribbon Dance. Some of the men make their offering then, too. Others choose to make their offering or offerings at other times. As they breathe into their hands, they communicate their thanks, prayers, requests, or petitions through their breath into the Tobacco. They then place the infused Tobacco into the Fire. As both the symbol for Ofvnkv or Hesaketvmese ("Master of Breath"), Creator, and the place upon which Ofvnkv alights during ceremony, the Fire is a direct link to Hesaketvmese. When community members place the Tobacco in the Fire, they communicate their thanks, prayers, requests, or petitions to Ofvnkv. Hakopē occasionally uses the metaphor of a postal system to explain this practice: breath forms the letter written to Ofvnkv, Tobacco the envelope in which they place the letter, and the Fire the mailbox through which they communicate with Creator. Breath comprises an important mode of communication with Hesaketvmese.

As with the Tobacco offering, anyone may play the southeastern flute. Pvlvcekolv considers the southeastern flute (see Figure 4.3) to be part of a personal tradition, rather than a public tradition. The individual develops an intimate relationship with his or her flute. Once someone has entered into that relationship with a particular flute, no other person ought to play it. Flutes do not have a formal presence on the grounds during busks because of that personal relationship. Despite the personal nature of the tradition, elders will often request Fiepe, the community flute maker, or several other individuals to play their flutes for the community. These

occasions generally occur late in the evening or during the spaces between formal, daytime actions.

Like all aerophones, the southeastern flute creates sound through the movement of air (Sachs [1940] 2006:457). In the case of this flute, the player blows into the mouthpiece air chamber. An aperture at the other end of this air chamber opens to the front of the flute. Half an inch or so down the front lies another aperture that opens into the finger hole air chamber. A decorated piece of wood placed called the "bird" connects the two air chambers together, not unlike a tunnel. Air moves from the player's mouth, into the mouthpiece chamber, through the tunnel created by the bird, into the finger hole air chamber, and out the finger holes and hollowed end of the flute. The pitch alters depending on which hole(s) the player covers. The moving air spins into sound when it splits across the lip that forms the entrance into the finger hole chamber (see the flute in Figure 4.3). Without the player's breath, the flute would remain silent.

During the Bench Dances, the participants employ breath in a particular way. As I depict in Chapter Five, the Bench Dances feature the community seated on two, parallel benches facing each other. While those seated clap their thighs in time and sing, a soloist dances between the benches. Depending on the Bench Dance, those seated must name an entity for the dancer to enact, or the soloist dances as an entity while those seated guess at the impression. All the while, those seated sing aspirated vocables, "Hoy hoy hi ha" (see Example 9.1). Each time participants sing a syllable, they exhale slightly more breath than strictly necessary on the initial "h," drawing attention to the breath. The result emplaces their breath into the thin space between the two benches where it mixes together. While the soloists dance, they move through the collective breath of the community. As they breathe it in, they return to it their own breath, creating a duality of movement as the community shares its collective breath.



Example 9.1 An excerpt of "Hoy hoy hi ha," a song accompanying the Bench Dances.

In these examples of doctoring Medicine, making a Tobacco offering, playing the flute, and singing the Bench Dances, breath from an individual acts as a mode of communication or conduit to another person or people. The Maker of Medicine doctors Medicine for the entire community, an individual makes a tobacco offering to Ofvnkv, the flute player shares his flute song with those present, and the Bench Dances feature a give-and-take between the seated group and the dancing soloist. In these examples and elsewhere in the Muskogee worldview, breath unites all beings.

Breath and Being

As I have explored throughout this dissertation, Pvlvcekolv constructs a variety of beings or persons as entities with form, substance, purpose/function, and place. Having these attributes defines personhood. If all four components are present, if the entity is indeed a person, the ability to breathe results (Hakopē, interview, 30, June 2015). Breath, however, has only a limited meaning in English: the air received into and expelled from the lungs in the act of respiration. The Creek *hesaketv* ("breath") means far more than the air moving and out of human lungs. It means to be alive, living, and to have the Power that animates (Hakopē, interview, 26 April 2015). Respiration, then, connotes more than mere airflow: it connotes existence.

To understand hesaketv in a Muskogee context, I use terms and research from the western scientific establishment as I have done in Chapters Seven, and Eight. As I discuss there, Pvlvcekolv has long incorporated portions of western science into community discussions, placing traditional community understandings in dialogue with new discoveries. Science, of course, does not comprise the sole way to understand the world (V. Deloria Jr. 1992; Marks 2009). Indigenous worldviews offer equally valid, if different, perspectives. Like science, a large number of Indigenous cultures also rely on detailed observation of the world around them. Pvlvcekolv's classification system differs from the scientific system by focusing on characteristics discernible with the naked eye, ear, and/or by touch rather than also by genetic or microscopic details. In this system, for example, Pvlvcekolv considers cats and snakes to be closely related: both hiss, both shake their tails and lie close to the ground when angry or upset (although they are low to the ground to begin with, snakes further flatten themselves when angered [G. Miller 1988:171]), and both bite. Scientific terminology becomes something of a lingua franca in my discussion of a series of processes that fall under the Muskogee rubric of breath. I begin with human physiological respiration, the bi-directional movement of air through respiratory organs. After detailing how humans breathe, I turn to the respiration of other life forms. I then move into other processes that explicate Pvlvcekolv's understanding that land, atmosphere, bodies of water, and other beings breathe.

Breathing as performed by humans involves the transportation of oxygen from the atmosphere into the bloodstream via lungs and the release of carbon dioxide out of the bloodstream into the atmosphere via the lungs. This bi-directional flow of air in and out of the lungs involves the muscles of the chest and the abdomen. Lungs themselves, networks of air passages ending in elastic air cells, do not have any muscles of their own. Instead, we fill and

empty our lungs with air primarily through the contraction and relaxation of the chest muscles: the pleurae, the intercostals, and the diaphragm. Pleurae link the lungs to the chest wall so that the lungs move with the movements of the other two muscle groups. Intercostals connect the ribs together. External intercostals muscles, which run from the bottom of one rib to the top of the next lower rib, expand the chest cavity during inhalation. Internal intercostals muscles, which run from the bottom of each rib to the top of the next higher rib, contract the ribs during exhalation. The diaphragm lies below the lungs and separates the chest from the abdomen (see Figure 8.1). When the diaphragm contracts, it moves downward, thereby increasing the size of the chest cavity (Kreiman and Sidtis 2011:27-29).

Human breathing involves the alteration of air pressure in the lungs caused by the contraction of these muscles. The contraction of the diaphragm and the external intercostals decreases air pressure inside the lungs. When these muscular contractions make the air pressure inside the lungs lower than the atmospheric pressure outside the body, the lungs fill with air during inhalation (Kreiman and Sidtis 2011:28). Unlike inhalation, which requires active muscle movement, we effect exhalation through both muscular motion and passive forces. The relaxation of the diaphragm, the contraction of the internal intercostals, and/or the contraction of abdominal muscles below the diaphragm can decrease the size of the lungs, pushing air out. Air can also leave the lungs without the application of muscular movement. Lung tissue is naturally elastic. After stretching from air pressure during inhalation, the tissue shrinks back to its original shape in a process known as elastic recoil. Without muscular action, the similar elasticity of the ribcage returns it to a resting configuration (Kreiman and Sidtis 2011:29). This series of muscular contractions, relaxations, and elastic recoil effect respiration in human persons.

Other beings with related physiologies undergo respiration similarly. These beings include persons in the tetrapod superclass of biological taxonomy, such as amphibians, reptiles, birds, and other mammals (Harrison 1995). A number of variations exist, such as water mammals like whales and dolphins who breathe through blowholes located on the tops of their heads rather than through their mouths (Díaz López et al. 2000:125; Würsig et al. 1984:1910). Fish respire, not through their mouths, but through a series of gills that extract oxygen from the surrounding water in a process called aquatic respiration (P. Williams and del Giorgio 2005). Beyond the tetrapods, a number of insects respire via gas exchange in "book lungs" and tracheae, two different types of organs filled with alternating stacks of air pockets and tissue, and a series of blood tissues, respectively (Paul and Fincke 1989:420).

Although they do not have lungs, plants undergo a comparable respiration process. Where tetrapods inhale oxygen and exhale carbon dioxide as a waste gas, plants do the opposite, taking in carbon dioxide and expelling oxygen as the waste gas. Plants do not have lungs or analogous structures. Instead, plants effect gas exchange through stomata, a series of openings on their leaves. By and large, however, the respiratory process is comparable across these species. Despite their differences, the above series of species also hold cellular respiration in common. Cellular respiration occurs in most species at the cellular level as a process whereby nutrients convert into useful energy (Songer and Mintzes 1994). This conversion, like hesaketv in general, unites these beings together.

Beyond the respiration of these life forms, hesaketv includes the abilities of land, atmosphere, bodies of water, and other beings to respire. Land respiration includes processes Western science calls rock osmosis, georespiration, filtration, and soil respiration (Rindfleisch 2013:599). These phenomena involve bi- or multi-directional movements over time, in this

instance, within rock or soil strata. During the first three processes, liquids, gases, and certain solutes move in and out of rocks and/or entire geologic membranes (Keller and Bacon 1998; Keijzer, Kleingeld, and Loch 1999). For example, rain falling onto a flat, rocky surface will eventually reach aquifers or other bodies of water below as the rock breathes the water underground (Kharaka and Berry 1973). Soil respiration involves gas exchange between plant roots and the soil in which they grow. As when plants respire through leaf stomata, they also inhale and exhale gasses and other soil nutrients through their roots (Hanson et al. 2000).

Carbon respiration and ecosystem respiration comprise forms of atmospheric hesaketv. Also known as the "carbon cycle," carbon respiration involves the movement of carbon into and out of the atmosphere. Like physiological respiration, carbon respiration follows the bi-directional flow of carbon in and out of a system. Carbon exists in the atmosphere and outside of it in peat bogs, fossil fuels, plants, and elsewhere. The "dissolution" process transports carbon out of the atmosphere via rain and plant photosynthesis, among others. Once in plants and bodies of water, carbon eventually enters soil and rock layers. It returns to the atmosphere through volcanic activity, physiological respiration, and by burning wood and fossil fuels. Volcanic activity frees carbon locked into the earth through heat-reliant chemical reactions, tetrapod respiration releases carbon dioxide as a waste gas, and humans release the carbon locked into plants when they burn wood or fossil fuels that comprise the decomposed remains of plants (Dorrepaal et al. 2009). The constant flow back and forth breathes the carbon into and out of the atmosphere.

Similar to carbon respiration, ecosystem respiration follows the movement of carbon dioxide within a specific environment: hesaketv between atmosphere and land. This loop includes the intake of oxygen and the release of carbon dioxide as a waste gas during tetrapod

respiration. The loop continues with the intake of carbon dioxide and the release of oxygen as a waste gas during plant respiration. Beyond this loop, carbon dioxide in an environment might additionally derive from geological activity, industry, or the waste products of motor vehicles like cars, trains, and boats (Reichstein et al. 2005). The environment breathes carbon dioxide in and out as the gas flows through the ecosystem.

Bodies of water also breathe. Science casts these phenomena variously as upwelling, monsoons, glacial-interglacial cycles, geysers, and the water cycle. Upwelling describes the movement of water strata between the surface and the bottom as the ocean breathes. Wind replaces warmer, nutrient-depleted surface water with upwelled cooler and denser nutrient-rich water from the bottom to the ocean surface (Bakun 1990:198). Although typically understood to refer to a rainy season, monsoons are seasonal changes in atmospheric circulation and precipitation connected to the uneven heating of land and bodies of water as the two respire together over time. Additional factors affect the quantity of precipitation and intensity of the monsoon, such as human-derived pollution (Thompson et al. 2000:1917). Similarly, glacial cycles, or ice ages, refer to longer periods in global temperature reduction that result in the expansion of continental and polar ice sheets and glaciers (Broecker and Denton 1990:49). These periods align with temperature-based water respiration. On a smaller scale, geysers exhibit the land breathing water in and out. This phenomenon occurs when surface water explodes upward after coming into contact with hot rocks below the surface (D. White 1967:641).

The water cycle also exemplifies hesaketv. Like the carbon cycle, this looped process describes the multi-directional movement of water through a system. As water moves between liquid, gaseous, and solid states, it flows on, above, and below the earth's surface. Portions of the water cycle include atmospheric water precipitating as rain and fog, or solidifying into snow,

hail, or sleet. Once on the ground, the water forms runoff as it flows into bodies of water. Once there, it can evaporate into the atmosphere as it transitions between liquid and gas phases. If it does not evaporate first, water might infiltrate the ground, moistening the soil and perhaps becoming part of the groundwater system (Huntington 2006). As the globe breathes water, its various forms pour across the biosphere.

Petrichor, a term coined by chemists Isabel Joy Bear and Richard Grenfel Thomas (1966) to identify the pleasant and refreshing odor that accompanies rain, forms a unique example of hesaketv. Bear and Thomas combined the Greek roots *petra* ("stone") and *ikhor* ("ethereal liquid") when inventing the word. The phenomenon it describes involves the humidity shift ahead of a rainstorm that loosens several chemicals from the earth. These chemicals include geosmin, which produces the scent of fresh, moist earth, and terpenes. Plants release terpenes into the atmosphere; these chemicals form the essence in most essential oils and include the "freshness in pine, the cool in peppermint, the spice in ginger" (Barnett 2015:214). Rocks and clays absorb these and other molecules like sponges. The drier the ground, the more geosmin and terpenes the land breathes out. During a dry period, the oils have longer to accumulate. This buildup gives the season's first storm a particularly strong scent as the ground and the rain exhale together during the first shower (Barnett 2015:213-15).

These varying processes across diverse species and beings comprise examples of hesaketv. Pvlvcekolv understands these processes as examples of breath across multiple beings. Hesaketv does not refer merely to the exchange of gases that identifies human and general tetrapod respiration. Rather, it means to be alive, living, and to have the Power that animates (Hakopē, interview, 26 April 2015). Existing in the Middle World, being a being, results in the ability to breath. Hesaketv, then, connotes more than mere airflow: it connotes existence. As

such, Pvlvcekolv understands these bodies of water, storms, atmospheres, animals, plants, and other beings to exist by virtue of breathing.

Voice, Song, Creator

The above examples of bodies of water, atmosphere, land, plants, animals, and others respiring not only denote their ability to breathe, but also their ability to enact a voice. As I discuss in Chapter Eight, different beings have different voices that "sound" differently. Because their means of respiration differ from those of humans, other beings do not necessarily vocalize in the same manner as humans. Vocalization through laryngeal phonation is not possible for entities without larynges. As with the case study of plants, these beings enact their voices differently. No matter their form of vocal production, respiration results in the entity's ability to enact a voice and sing, and thereby connect with Creator.

Hesaketv connotes personhood, living, and having the "Power that animates." The Power that animates refers to the connection between breath and Creator. "Power" references specific manifestations of Creator: matter and energy. Following the folded paper metaphor I outline in Chapter Three, Creator is Creation. The distinct entities that come to be in Creation derive from the separation of Creator into ever-decreasing divisions. These divisions form particles that account for all of Creation and express themselves variously as matter or energy: as Power. Consequently, hesaktev references the connection of a being to Creator. We are all made of Power and we all connect together through our common makeup.

At Pvlvcekolv, the monistic Muskogee cosmology recognizes the existence of a single body: Creator. Anything and everything exists within this body. Hesaketv becomes a way of connoting the fact that, at some level, we all exist as part of Creator. Humans, plants, stones,

dogs, axes, and all other beings are to Creator as individual cells are to a body. Collectively, we form Ofvnkv's body (Hakopē, interview, 30 June 2015). Similarly, our collective breath comprises Ofvnkv's breath. Breath contains Power because we form Ofvnkv's body and our breath forms Ofvnkv's breath. Because it lacks conscious direction, however, breath comprises an inactive form of Power. For human persons, at least, to activate Power, we must convert the air molecules that flow through our larynges into sound waves through the process of phonation. We must phonate our breath into voice.

Different beings enact voice differently. As in the act of human phonation, voice can result from the conversion of air molecules into meaningful sound waves. For beings without larynges or similar phonating structures, voice occurs through other means, too numerous to discuss here (see Chapter Eight). No matter the mode of enaction, voice results from the placement of intention into one's breath. Because different beings breathe differently, voices manifest differently. Combining these literal (human) and metaphoric (other-than-human) definitions of voice recognizes the reality of "voice" as perceived by Pvlvcekolv. No matter the being, however, voice is Power: intention-laden breath realized as speech or song (Brabec de Mori 2012a:379).

Human speech and song derive from the movement of air through the vocal apparatus articulated into meaningful sound we call words. Words result when we form, shape, and direct our breath. Pvlvcekolv elders teach that breath contains only passive Power. Directing breath into words activates that Power. While both speech and song contain Power by virtue of deriving from directed breath, song contains more Power because it contains a greater amount of breath than speech. The act of singing forms one of the most Power-laden actions a member of Pvlvcekolv can make, especially in the already powerful circumstances of ceremony.

The degrees of Power inherent in different modes of communication require certain separations between them. Hakopē often uses an electricity metaphor to explain the relationship between Power and the busk. An electrical system can contain only a certain wattage of electricity. Too much electricity and the system might destroy the electrical conduit, as when the resulting surge from a lightning bolt destroys a house's electric system. Continuing the metaphor, the busk is an electrical system. Beings, words, and the acts of speech and song have wattage. Certain combinations of words, beings, and/or speech and song would destroy the electrical system that is the busk.

Because of its Powerful nature, generations of Pvlvcekolv ritual leaders have placed several restrictions on busk singing. One grouping to avoid is the combination of Powerful words and the act of singing. As I have explained in previous chapters, very few ceremonial songs contain words with lexical content. Vocables comprise most songs: *ho, ho, he, he*, and so on. The few lexical words in the ritual song tradition generally reference the title of the dance, such as "Ya-na-so" ("Buffalo") in Buffalo Dance. Other song texts contain longer sentences or phrases that time and tradition have abbreviated into contractions. The contractions, title-derived texts, and vocables serve to separate Powerful song from Powerful text (Brabec de Mori 2008:124).

Similarly, the women of Pvlvcekolv do not sing the songs during ceremony. Women are extremely Powerful persons. As co-Creators, women have a higher wattage than men. The wattage of the women is too high to combine with the wattage of song without shorting out the busk system. The men's wattage, which is lower than that of the women, is low enough not to short out the busk system when combined with the wattage of song.

While breath and voice embody manifestations of Ofvnkv, they derive from the specific configurations of Power that we call bodies. Though connected through the common foundation

of Power, every body is different. Our human voices derive from our bodies, from the fleshy articulations and collaborations of muscle, bone, and cartilage. The voices of other beings derive from the articulations of their bodies, whatever their form. In essence, when we hear a voice, we are hearing the body of another being. Literature scholar Wayne Koestenbaum asserts that singing reveals the interiority of the listener, not the interiority of the singer (1993:43). While discussing the interiorities of queer persons in an operatic context, Koestenbaum notes that socialization in a hetero-normative society forces queer people to "discard their bodies." Listening, especially to a female diva, a woman somehow "marked" or stigmatized in a patriarchal culture, restores a queer embodiment. This queer embodiment opens the listener's body and interiority (Koestenbaum 1993:42). The act of listening for Koestenbaum allows the listener to become the singing diva: her "vibrations are *inside my body*…. Am I listening to Leotyne Price or am I incorporating her, swallowing her, memorizing her. She becomes part of my brain" (1993:43; emphasis original). For Koestenbaum, singing focuses attention on the listener and his or her interiority.

From Pvlvcekolv's perspective, the singer reveals both the interiority of the listener, as Koestenbaum asserts, and also the body of the singer himself. The singer exposes his throat, his mouth, vocal folds, lungs, and the rest of his body (Lenthem 2011:307; Leonardi and Pope 1996:197). No other body may produce that same voice. Even studies of vocal impersonators expose key differences between the impersonator and the voice they impersonate (Meizel Forthcoming). A difference in body results in a difference in voice. One does not merely hear a voice, one hears the body from which the voice derives.

In a sense, when beings hear a phonated voice, they do not take only the sound waves into their bodies through their ears. They also take the originating body or bodies into their own

bodies. Through the medium of the voice, the beings mingle together. In the instance of Pvlvcekolv ceremonialism, a group of ten to forty people singing together in close proximity means that within each individual body co-exist the voices and therefore the bodies of every other person present. When Pvlvcekolv community members dance a Stomp Dance, they take each other into their bodies through their voices. Unlike Koestenbaum's model, the act of singing in a Muskogee context connects together singer and listener, creating a multi-directional relationship with voice acting as the point of intersection.

As I discussed in Chapter Four, Pvlvcekolv's construction of the body places the edge of a being not at his or her skin or surface, but instead at the edge of their influence. The furthest extent of a vocal range exists within that influence, meaning that, according to Pvlvcekolv elders, everyone is taking each others' bodies into their own bodies. In a similar way, humans take in small amounts of atmosphere into our lungs in order to achieve our human voices (Connor 2010:9). This atmosphere is also breathing, thereby connecting humans to the atmosphere and to other beings that breathe it (Draper 1983:289).Through ceremonial participation, participants enter more closely into the aligned configuration that is Ofvnkv's body. As expressions of Power, vocal interactions facilitate this merger.

Although the women do not sing during ritual activities, they are present and incorporate their own essences through their breath and through the awe-inspiring sound of their turtle shell shakers. In this instance, the sounds of the shakers perhaps comprise the women's voices. By virtue of being co-Creators with Ofvnkv, the Power wattage of the women would overpower the proceedings if made manifest through vocalized song. Instead, the women sometimes allow their shell shakers to become their voices during ritual.

The sounds of the shell shakers analogously relate to the vocable lyrics of many ritual songs. Neither the sounds of the shakers nor the vocable lyrics contain any lexical content. Yet both play crucial roles in ceremonial dances by maintaining the rhythms and energy of the dance. Speaking of the different modes of communication available to deaf and hearing humans, Hakopē notes that there is more than one way to enact a voice. For deaf persons, seeing sign language and feeling sound reverberate through their bodies can be equally communicative as spoken language for hearing persons (Hakopē, interview, 30 June 2015). Continuing this logic, the women can make their shell shaker voices heard and felt across the Square Grounds. During many Stomp Dances, I lose myself into the awesome sounds of the shakers. This mode of communication can be as effective as a phonated voice.

Sound/ Silence, Movement /Stillness

The idea of turtle shell shakers-as-voice exemplifies the relationship between sound and movement, song and dance. Although I deliberately couch the previous section in almost exclusively vocal terms, most of the points I make regarding sound and voice also apply to movement and dance. As I discuss in the fourth chapter, movement and sound comprise opposite sides of the same coin. Pvlvcekolv, like many Indigenous cultures, recognizes music and dance as a single category (Browner 2009:xiii-xxvii; Heth 1975:76; Kurath 1957; R. Stevenson 1973:402-403). One does not occur without the other. Music does not occur without some sort of movement, and dance cannot occur without resulting in sound.

Drawing on a synesthetic metaphor, movement is the sound of the body's voice. Just as humans create sounds with their voices, so too do they create movement with their bodies. The parallel is not exact; after all, the human voice derives also from bodily movements. The

synesthesia inherent in "dance as the sound of the body's voice," however, accurately describes the relationship between sound and movement at Pvlvcekolv. For example, in the same way that song reveals the interiority of the singer's body, so too does dance. Just as each body has a distinct voice, so too does each body create a distinct movement pattern even when engaged together in the same choreography.

Sound and movement exist as interconnected principles. The opposite of sound is silence, and the opposite of movement is stillness. Returning to the sonic side of the equation, a Pvlvcekolv Square Grounds adage maintains that sound is the voice of the created; silence is the voice of Creator. In the same way, movement is the motion of the created; stillness is the motion of Creator. Silence and stillness characterize the sound/movement of Creator. For this reason, when not engaged in ceremonial activities, elders remind those present to spend time in still silence. In so doing, we might more easily perceive Creator.

When humans stop speaking and moving, however, silence and stillness do not result. Instead, the voices of other persons become audible: the breeze, insects, birds, animals. These other persons continue moving while humans become still and silent. Silence and stillness do not exist in this instance. As I move into a discussion of Creator's voice, I often refer solely to the sound or silence side of the sound/movement coin for sake of comprehensible prose. Despite the difficulty of merging sound and movement in English, I connote movement even when I do not expressly state it.

Hakopē describes silence as "the sound of Creator giving its instructions, directions, and teachings in a way that is beyond our knowing, beyond our ears" (interview, 30 June 2015). He utilizes bats and bees as examples. Bats hear differently than humans, to the point where they can identify an insect a quarter mile away (Goerlitz et al. 2010:1568). Similarly, bees can see

differently and can identify significantly greater number of colors than humans (Avarguès-Weber, Mota, and Giurfa 2012:245). These persons perceive things that no human can. Yet, the fact that humans cannot perceive the insect a quarter mile away or see the additional colors does not mean there is no insect there or that those colors do not exist. Rather, this fact demonstrates the perceptional ability of humans. Following these differences, Hakopē explains that Creator's voice is Creator's conversation with the universe, to which humans are not privy because of our limitations.

Creator does not enact Creator's voice in silence. Rather, Pvlvcekolv elders think that humans find it easier to comprehend Creator's voice when humans are silent. Similarly, a number of ceremonial actions connect most directly with the silence of Creator's voice. These activities appear to be unimportant, but actually constitute some of the most cosmologically revealing actions of the busk. They occur before or between the dances, what one might consider the main events of the busk. These ritual actions constitute the movement version of Creator's voice. Their de-emphasis conversely reveals their importance.

Importance through de-emphasis, and therefore Creator's voice, occurs throughout Pvlvcekolv ritual. Hakopē once explained that, at least at Pvlvcekolv, many of the events of the highest importance occur without fanfare. For example, Jonnie McKenzie, the previous Matriarch, designated Hokte Eco as her successor in a brief, private conversation she had with Hokte Eco and Hakopē while Jonnie lay in hospice. The designation of Matriarch, the primary woman elder, is of the first importance. In contrast, their conversation was an everyday occurrence without flourish. I hypothesize that the reason for this kind of de-emphasis is similar to the reason Powerful words and the Powerful act of singing are separated: to ensure overwhelming amounts of Power do not overwhelm the system (see Chapter Four).

Like this example, community members remove a series of crucial and Powerful ceremonial actions from positions of obvious importance to ensure an appropriate level of Power. In so doing, they re-emphasize their importance, but place these activities into spaces where their Power will not overwhelm the busk system. Broken Days, busk preparations, making Medicines, setting the Fire, and sweeping are each vital to the busk. Without them, no busk may be held. The lack of fanfare around them conversely speaks to their significance. While Ribbon Dance, for example, may be the most important event of the busk, the women cannot dance it unless Broken Days have taken place, the community has made the necessary preparations, the Medicines have been brewed, the Fire has been set, and the grounds have been swept. While not disputing the importance of Ribbon Dance, I hypothesize that these under-estimated activities form the foundation for a successful busk.

Broken Days

"Broken Days," which encompass the twenty days immediately prior to a busk weekend, constitute one of a series of busk-related actions that separate activities of great importance from prominent positions to ensure that improper levels of Power do not overwhelm the busk system. When Broken Days begin, Kusko often mails busk participants a bundle of twenty painted cedar sticks with a short message stating the Broken Days start date. He paints the end of each cedar stick with red and white pigments (see Figure 9.2). The recipient breaks one stick per day to mark the passage of time. In this way, everyone attending busk synchronizes schedules, all counting down to busk together.

With modern communication and time-keeping technologies, the sticks seem to serve no practical purpose. One breaks a stick not only to mark the passage of time, but also as a way of

preparing oneself for the upcoming busk. Hokte Eco once explained breaking the sticks as a means to center oneself over a twenty-day period and place oneself into a "good space" for busk. As the period progresses, participants increasingly place themselves in a busking frame of mind. In practical terms, this mindset involves setting aside time to pack, do laundry, and plan transportation to the grounds. Getting into a busk mindset also involves a conscious effort to slow down, to take time to prepare oneself for the distinct experiences that characterizes a busk.

Figure 9.2 Broken sticks.

For a portion of the community, Broken Days also involves time spent traveling to the Square Grounds. Some drive or fly to the grounds from around the country. Only a portion of Pvlvcekolv lives close to the grounds or in the Southeast. Despite occasionally hectic travel, they enter a busk environment that often feels as though they never left after the previous busk. As

several community members have remarked, busk events exhibit a timeless quality, an always-present feeling. Although the precise population attending any given ceremony always differs slightly, participants experience a sense of continuity. Cokv-hvyv, who in 2012 attended his first busk after living in Arkansas for twenty years, felt he had never left. After not busking for close to two decades, he said that attending Green Corn Busk again felt like putting on a pair of old comfortable blue jeans. He was able to pick up where he left off. Traveling to the grounds facilitates participants' emplacement into this temporal structure and busking mindset. Creator's voice becomes a little easier to hear.

Busk Preparations

Busk preparations are another action that, though seemingly unimportant, constitute part of the vital foundation of a successful busk. As with each of these seemingly insignificant rituals, their very de-emphasis reveals the way they connect to Creator's voice and Creator's movement. Before the community can busk together, participants must prepare the grounds. First, they ready the space and the materials for a successful busk. Second, they reconnect with other community members. Third, and perhaps most importantly, they enfold fully into busk mindsets and reconnect with Creator. Many of these preparations occur to the accompaniment of human silence as they tune into Creator's voice.

Friday morning of the busk weekend marks the earnest beginning of busk preparations. For the past week, the ceremonial leadership has been busy. Hokte Eco and the other women prepare as much food beforehand as possible. If Pvlvcekolv is gathering for Green Corn Busk, they instead lay by as much unprepared food as possible and cook it after the lighting of the new Fire. The men harvest certain plants, procure river sand, and gather white feathers for the feather

wands of Feather Dance. Most attendees arrive on Friday. As participants flow into place, they add ourselves onto the work rosters. The women help Hokte Eco, the men help Kusko.

Community preparations the day before busk are myriad. One year, someone brought new shells to rejuvenate the shell ring that surrounds the Square Grounds. The sharp tangs of salt water and rotting shellfish that accompany the shells strangely juxtaposed the rounded scent of rotting leaves and wood smoke. Placing them on the shell ring brought me into contact with pointed edges, the sting of salt water, and the weight of an over-flowing bucket. Outside, mosquitoes and gnats are close by. I always end up sweating uncomfortably in long sleeves, pants, high socks, and thick shoes, or turning into a human-sized bug bite if I wear anything less. Most often, I experience both. Creator's voice is audible in the whining of the gnats, even as I scratch my new bug bites ruefully.

While I or someone else places the shells evenly about the ring, Kusko might scrub the benches that sit under the arbors. Especially during the long, humid summers, the benches need a cleansing bleach bath and drying time in the sun. The scritch of Kusko's scrub brush combines with bird-song and the whirring of insect flight in an oddly fugal arrangement. Car exhaust lazily wafts by as the latest arrival kills her engine before heading into the kitchen with a large basket. Mvhayv-rakko trims back the old dead willow covering the arbor tops from last busk. He has already gathered a large pickup truck load's full of new willow to cover the old. The celadon scent pours green and liquid into the air: a bouquet unique to busk preparations.

A regular duty is preparing the Fire mound. The grounds lie on a slight incline, and the community must occasionally reset the mound as it slowly flows down the hill over time. With a small spade and mortarboard, those present set to. Ensuring the uniform height and smooth sides and top of the mound removes any sand and ash and reveals the deep brunneous earth that

comprises its visible portion. During the fast, one can all too easily perceive the mound as a dark chocolate cake and the river sand covering as icing sugar. Participants put the sand on by scooping it out through wire mesh sieves. This duty has a choreographic nature that varies with the number of people engaged in the activity (see Figure 9.3). At one busk, elders delegated it to my South Arbor brother, Yvhikv, and me. We had a bucket of sand and a sieve each. After covering the mound, we positioned ourselves across from one another, and walked in ever-increasing spirals to the outer edge of the grounds. We eventually created a double helix in our paced outlines, covering much of the freshly cleared and tidied grounds with a gritty blanket of white. It looked much like the Milky Way in the night sky, a galaxy floating in space.

Figure 9.3 Mvhayv-rakko putting sand on the Fire mound, Harvest Busk 2008.

Perhaps the most moving instance I remember of hearing Creator's voice during busk preparations occurred late in the Broken Days period preceding the 2012 Green Corn Busk. Hakopē told Kusko that the Fire mound needed to be flipped. Kusko, Mvhayv-rakko, and I dug the mound into buckets and reformed the mound in reverse order. The earth formerly on the very top of the mound was now flush with the grounds; the earth from the base of the mound was now at the top. A variation of this activity involves the underground portion of the mound, for the mound exists above and below ground level in equal portions. This time, however, Hakopē decided that flush with ground level would suffice in this instance.

During this activity, the wet heat of a north Florida summer day augmented the spiritual "heat" from the mound itself. The mound serves not only as the receptacle of a physical Fire, but also the location whereupon Ofvnkv alights during ceremony. Although I do not know how others experience it, I have come to experience certain forms of Power in terms of heat over my years of busking. I sense it as the awareness of sunlight on skin, of a Fire warming and comforting on a cold winter evening, of waves of heat radiating off asphalt at the height of summer. Some items, like the bundle box, are so "hot" that I find them uncomfortable to handle for long periods. Turning the mound, however, was a pleasant experience. The "heat" from the mound did not overpower, but merely made itself known.

I always enjoy spending time with the Kusko and Mvhayv-rakko. Both men always have a joke or an intriguing anecdote close at hand. This time, however, we did not spend much time in oral conversation. We instead connected to the mound and to Ofvnkv and listened to Ofvnkv's voice. As we finished our work, we each felt and spoke of a renewed and deepened connection with the grounds, the Fire, and the event itself. Sharing the activity with Kusko and Mvhayv-rakko brought me closer to them. At the same time, turning the mound emplaced me deeply into

a frame of mind where I had trouble distinguishing the end of myself and the beginning of the plants, animals, people, and environment around me. We all melded into a single organism, a single body; it was something of a "void" or "zero" experience (Paper 2004). That melding sensation did not last more than an hour after turning the mound, but it moved me deeply and left me with the afterglow of a Powerful experience.

Making Medicines and Scratching

Part of busk preparation involves the collection and treatment of Medicine plants. At the request of the community, I deliberately avoid discussing these plants and the processes that render them into Medicine beyond several generalities. Ingesting Medicine made incorrectly or poorly can result in sickness and any number of other negative side effects. Additionally, I have not been educated in the ways of their correct concoction. I am unable to go into detail, even if detail were appropriate.

There are five forms of Medicine at the busk: four of them might be described as herb "teas" doctored with breath by the Maker of Medicine. The foodstuffs prepared by the women for the breaking of the fast comprise the fifth Medicine. Kusko, Fiepe, or Mvhayv-rakko generally make the first four Medicines, although others help gather the plants when the need arises. Once they have been prepared and doctored, the community gathers to "touch" them. With the first Medicine, this involves literally touching a few drops to the lips. One drinks the second Medicine four times. One washes as much of one's skin as possible with the third. The men who scratch everyone rub the fourth Medicine onto the skin immediately before scratching it.

Figure 9.4 Scratching Tokvca-Catē's calf at Harvest Busk 2008 with the jawbone of a Gar Fish (*Atractosteus spatula*).

After the two men rub the fourth Medicine onto the skin, they take a gar fish jaw bone and scratch the teeth across the skin (see Figure 9.4). This process causes the skin to bleed and creates apertures through which this fourth Medicine can enter the body. Men who touch Medicine must scratch; women, by virtue of the bloodletting of their menses cycle, are not required to Scratch, but they can if they want. Participants can scratch the back, the backs of the arms or calves, and/or the forearms. Surprisingly, the process is not painful. The application of

the Medicine means that the teeth of the gar jawbone cut into the skin quite easily. The anticipation is far worse than the Scratching itself.

Setting the Fire

As with other busk preparations, setting the ritual Fire forms a crucial and de-emphasized component of ceremonial performance practice. By Saturday mid-morning, the arbors are tidy and ready to house those attending ceremony. Eventually all the men gather in their respective arbors; sometimes the women join them, especially at Green Corn Busk. The previous evening, the women designated four men to care for the Daughters of the Forest, the four logs that structure the Fire during ceremony (see Figure 9.5). A Daughter can weigh anywhere from five to ten pounds; her bark is rough, and she stands about a foot high. The women honored me by designating me to care for a Daughter of the Forest several times during my ceremonial participation. During busk preparations on Friday, the Daughters sit on end, one at each ordinal point on the grounds. When we retire for the evening, we caretakers take one of the Daughters with us to guard her and care for her over the night. The next morning, we return the Daughter to her ordinal point.

When the time comes to light the Fire, we caretakers again go to our ordinal point and pick up our logs. Balancing them on our left shoulders, the shoulders closest to the Fire Mound, we begin walking around the grounds in ever-tightening, counterclockwise circles. We attempt to maintain equidistant points along the circle as we pace decreasing spirals onto the grounds (see Figure 9.6). When we reach the Fire Mound, we end at the cardinal point most closely related to our starting ordinal point. For example, at the 2014 Little Green Corn Busk, I cared for the

Daughter of the Forest at the southeast ordinal point. When we reached the Mound, I placed her at the south cardinal point on the Mound.

Figure 9.5 The four Daughters of the Forest clearly visible as they lend structure to the Fire at the 2008 Harvest Busk.

We place the Daughters so that they form an equal armed cross (see Figure 9.7). The width of a palm measures the space between the center point of each Daughter. This distance ensures sufficient space for other men to start the Fire with twigs and small sticks. Our duty done, we return to our respective arbors as the Fire starters begin their duties. At every busk but Green Corn, this involves creating a small teepee of sticks, twigs, and other easily burnable materials in the center of the logs. They light the Fire with a lighter. The Maker of Medicine specially doctors this lighter at Green Corn so that its flame derives from the Fire.

Figure 9.6 Three of the four men who cared for the Daughters of the Forest carry their Daughters to the Fire mound during Harvest Busk 2012 (the fourth man is not visible in this photograph).

Figure 9.7 The author (left) and Fiepe place kindling around the Daughters of the Forest prior to igniting the Fire at Harvest Busk 2012.

Lighting the Fire at Green Corn Busk requires a more complex ritual. As the start of the new ceremonial year, the community has put out all Fires in preparation for the new cycle. After Ribbon Dance, the Fire Keepers build the mound of sticks and twigs as usual. They then move off the grounds, behind the East Arbor, the arbor that marks the beginning of the sun's journey. There they create a coal of Fire using a friction bow drill. Once the coal is hot, they place it into a birds nest. Gently swinging the slowly smoking birds nest back and forth through the air like a child in a cradle, they aerate the nest and cause it to catch Fire. They then walk the nest onto the grounds and place it on the Fire Mound underneath the teepee of sticks and twigs. They gently fan the base of the baby Fire, until it maintains a steady blaze. Immediately after the Fire's birth, the women wail and bang pots and pans together in a wild frenzy, creating a beautiful cacophony. Their efforts exist between the sounds of labor pains and heraldic trumpets, welcoming the new Fire and, through it, Ofvnkv.

Except for any necessary communication to direct or adapt the actions of those involved, setting and lighting the Fire occurs in almost total human silence. No rattles keep time, no feet stomp out rhythms on the grounds, no voices rise in song. Those seated in the arbors hardly speak. Yet all around us sing the voices of nature. Cicadas, locusts, bees, birds, breezes, plants moving in cooling eddies of air. Our silences magnify their sounds, placing them front and center. Through their audition and our silence, we hear the voice of Creator very clearly.

Sweeping

Sweeping adds to the list of seemingly unimportant events during the busk. Of all of ritual actions the community de-empahsizes to separate Powerful actions from one another for cosmological safety's sake, sweeping most closely connects to the sound/stillness and

movement/stillness dichotomies. Sweeping often takes place immediately before a dance while those present prepare themselves. As such, sweeping often appears to get lost in the general hubbub. Despite this, it forms a crucial action and speaks to the heart of the issue of sound versus silence. As with many ritual actions at Pvlvcekolv, the actions are simple: two men walking around the grounds with a broom. They start at the Fire Mound. The man closest to the mound carries the broom. The two then pace ever-increasing spirals counterclockwise around the grounds, dragging the broom after them. This action leaves spirals grooved into the sand (see Figure 9.8).

Figure 9.8 Kvsko sweeps the grounds during the 2008 Harvest Busk. The swept area has been darkened to reveal the spiral path of the broom.

Part of the pre-busk preparations involves making the broom with several Medicine plants. As with the Medicine above, the community has requested I not provide specific details regarding these plants or the construction of the broom beyond generalities. The plants in the broom add their essences and their voices to the occasion. The action of sweeping, therefore, does not include merely the silent voices of the two men sweeping, but also the voices of the plants that comprise the broom.

Although a seemingly unimportant event, sweeping is of the first importance. Sweeping clears away foot prints and the outlines of the previous ritual actions, leaving a clear space for the next event. Perhaps most importantly, sweeping functions as a direct invitation to Creator to be present during ceremony. The process is not unlike clearing off a chair for an honored guest. Sweeping clearly illustrates the juxtaposition of sound and silence. While those observing the process may be conversing as they prepare for the upcoming sung dance, the two men sweeping do not speak. They make no sound apart from the percussion of their feet walking the grounds. The broom itself makes a sustained and gritty percussive sound as it flows around the grounds, but hearing its sound is difficult unless one is sweeping.

Sound/Movement, Silence/Stillness

Sweeping, setting the Fire, making Medicines, busk preparations, and Broken Days are each vital to the busk. No ceremonies may occur without these activities. Next to, for example, the Ribbon or Buffalo Dance, these smaller and quieter rituals might be ignored or underestimated. Their very de-emphasis speaks to their Power and importance. Using the electricity metaphor of Power, generations of ritual leaders have kept events with high wattages separate from one another. Their combination could all too easily result in a destructive outcome

as the electrical system of the busk gets blown out from too much Power. Words, and especially songs, contain great amounts of Power. For this reason, those involved in these activities rarely speak, especially when making Medicine, setting the Fire, and Sweeping, actions that put those involved in direct contact with Power, Ofvnkv, and/or the Fire.

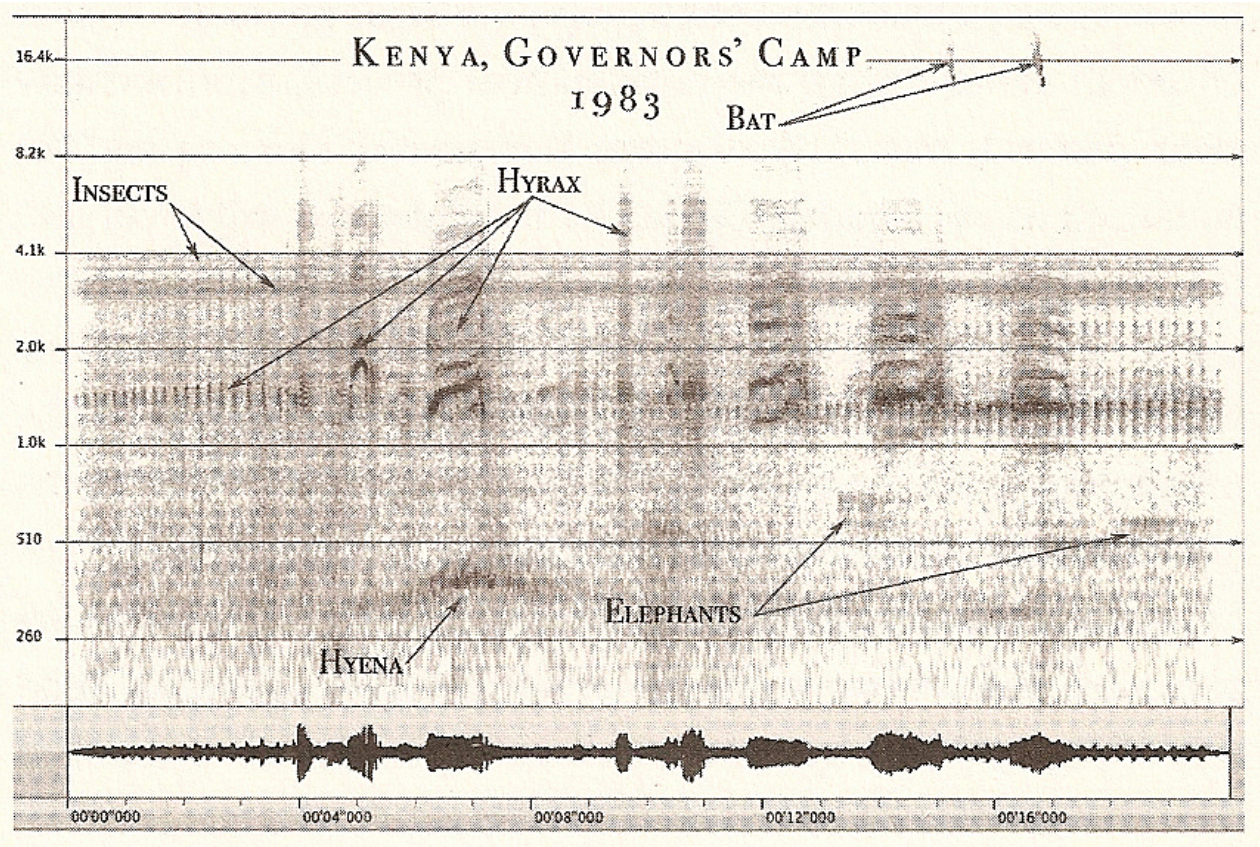


Figure 9.9 A biophony spectrograms taken from a recording Bernie Krause made at Masai Mara National Reserve in Kenya in the early 1980s. This spectrogram demonstrates niche discrimination, and the perhaps surprising lack of overlap between sounding species (Krause 2012:86).

The overall organization of the busk perhaps matches the concept of the niche hypothesis. Bio-acoustician Bernie Krause developed this theory as part of a long career recording audio in different biomes around the world. While recording in the Masai Mara National Reserve in Kenya and subsequently in healthy habitats globally, Krause noticed that beings arranged their

vocal or sonic productions into a cohesive sonic event. Rather than an unorganized, overlapping cacophony, each distinct being's voice "seemed to fit within its own acoustic bandwidth" (Krause 2012:84). Later, looking at the spectrogram of the Masai Mara recordings, he noticed distinct patterns emerge, especially when examining the spectrograms of his recordings (see Figure 9.9). Few beings overlapped their sonic output. Instead, they performed in a pattern Krause calls "niche discrimination," where different species "mark their own acoustic turf" (Krause 2012:87). As other animals, birds, insects, reptiles, and amphibians entered into the consort, they filled previously uninhabited niches in the overarching sonic structure of the biome. In essence, they vocalized in distinct kinship with each other.

Extrapolating this concept of niche discrimination to Pvlvcekolv ritual, the busk functions as a ceremonial spectrogram. This spectrogram partitions ritual actions into their own temporal spaces that reveal their kinship with one another. That kinship comprises the busk as a whole. Each busk activity, just like each being vocalizing in Krause's biophony, exists in relation to one another. Like the beings it draws together, the busk and busk performance practice "expedites mutuality" (Morris 2009:7). The busk is incomplete when even one niche is unfilled, just as the "animal orchestra" is incomplete when beings do not fill in their niches. The busk is also incomplete when it lacks any of the beings involved: the human participants, the animals, the plants, the ethereals, and other beings. Only when the compete network—like the mycorrhizal fungi networks I explore in Chapter Eight—connects together is the community complete.

The Vnahetv ("Conclusions")

In Pvlvcekolv's Muskogee cosmology, sound and silence intertwine in the being of Creator. The sound/movement of Creator are phenomena that the human members of Pvlvcekolv

cannot always perceive. They can observe the effects and portions of Creator's sound/movement. Returning to the bat and the bee, both can discern things that humans are unable to perceive. But humans see bats and bees acting upon their senses, for example, observing bats hunting successfully, catching insects that are too far away for humans to hear or see. The fact that they can both detect these insects and catch them demonstrates their different ability. Similarly, bees can perceive more colors than humans. Although humans cannot see the same range of colors bees can, humans can observe them pollinating based on flower color.

Since Creation consists of divisions of Creator, Pvlvcekolv elders teach, the ability of any and all beings to sound/move are observational proof of Creator's sound/movement. As beings composed of portions of Creator, Pvlvcekolv elders note that humans connect to all other beings by virtue of our common building blocks. The abilities of plants, animals, lands, waters, and atmospheres to breathe and therefore speak and sing demonstrate Creator's ability to speak. The ability of these beings to move demonstrates Creator's ability to move. Furthermore, as beings connected together through the building blocks of Creator, our breath, voices, and movements are themselves smaller portions of the breath, voice, and movement of Creator. Creator composes Creation, and Creation composes Creator. The voice of a plant or human being in Creation comprises portions of Creator's voice.

Voice and movement, then, serve Pvlvcekolv as visible markers of the commonality of all beings. The ability to make sound and be silent, to move and keep still unites all beings in the Muskogee cosmology through the common denominator of Creator. This aspect of the animistic Muskogee cosmology easily breaks down the barriers between distinct groups. By virtue of collectively composing the body of Creator and Creation, the dividing boundaries dissolve. As

the structure through which we formally interact with the other beings in our naturecultures, the busk allows us to visualize these relationships and our mutual relationality.

I choose to end this dissertation with the seemingly unimportant aspects of ritual to highlight the related nature of busk performance practice. Just as persons relate to one another, so too do rituals. The Pvlvcekolv cosmology privileges "knowing how to behave within relations in order to nourish these relations more than knowing things in and for themselves as objects separate from the knower" (Naveh and Bird-David 2013:29). In essence, the ways in which persons relate carries greater import than knowing any single individual. Rituals are themselves persons and the way in which rituals interconnect into the whole of busk carries greater import than any single ritual on its own. The key to sweeping, setting the Fire, and the other ceremonies in this chapter lie less in their character in and of themselves, and more in how they combine with each other and with the other components of the busk. The busk as a whole is important, much more so than any single section of it. Therefore, the rituals in this chapter carry as great an importance as any other ceremonial event I treat in this dissertation because they comprise the greater whole.

Chapter Ten: The Vnahetv ("Conclusions")

This dissertation has explored the intersections of busk performance practice, cosmology, and personhood in a southeastern Indigenous community. The niche hypothesis, which I explored in Chapter Nine, functions as a particularly useful metaphor for Pvlvcekolv's busk and performance practice. This concept describes the manner in which different beings in an ecosystem sonically communicate their relationships with one another. Bio-acoustician Bernie Krause, who developed the idea, noted that beings in the Masai Mara National Reserve made sound in relation to one another: while one animal sang, howled, cried, or roared, others did not (see Figure 9.9). Rather than an unorganized cacophony, the different beings made room for one another, creating a sonic representation of their relationships across the ecosystem (Krause 2012:84).

The niche discrimination hypothesis analogously describes the relationship between the diverse beings who participate in the busk. When beings mark their own acoustic turf through niche discrimination, they vocalize in kinship with one another. In much the same way, the busk contains niches for every being with whom Pvlvcekolv community members live. Animals, plants, objects, and others take part in the busk in addition to humans. Pvlvckolv's busk contains and communicates their entire cosmology within a ritual spectrogram. Just as niche discrimination audibly represents the relationships across a specific ecology, the busk draws together the beings in Pvlvcekolv's environment and ecology. Conceptualizing the busk as a ritual spectrogram has facilitated my discussion of the relationships Pvlvcekolv maintains with the other beings around them.

Following the Introduction and the foundations I laid in Chapters Two and Three, I treated inter-human relationships in Chapters Four and Five through case studies of the Ribbon Dance and fasting, the Turtle Dance, and Bench Dancing. Chapter Six examined human-object relationships in libraries, archives, museums, and storehouses (LAMS), contrasting human-object relationships in a museum collection context versus in a ceremonial context. Chapter Seven explored human-animal relationships in the animal dances, observing the manner in which performance practice connects to the ecological habits of animals and birds as humans become with those beings. Chapter Eight investigated the vocality of plants, delving into the concept of "voice" across species in case studies of human-plant communication in the Berry and Arbor Dance and the Harvest Dance. Chapter Nine surveyed all beings in Pvlvcekolv's Muskogee cosmology and the way they interconnect through the shared medium of breath. By way of closing this dissertation, I review the conclusions of Chapters Four through Nine and examine this dissertation in a wider context.

In Chapter Four, I fashioned a theoretical understanding of movement, the body, and music at Pvlvcekolv. Based on conversations and interviews with elders and experience gained through ceremonial participation, I explored Pvlvcekolv's Muskogee construction of the body and movement, examining the implications of this philosophy of the body on ritual dance and movement. The community recognizes a distinction between quotidian "movement" and "dance." Elders define dance as the community moving in unison, a way of communicating with Ofvnkv and other beings. Similarly, music—and especially song melody—communicates meaning. As a song contours across a performance, the melody lines moves between Upper, Middle, and Other Worlds of the Muskogee cosmology. The precise way it moves communicates meaning: a bison's step, a diving Turtle, a shaft of sunlight.

Using these ethnophilosophical ideas, I contrasted fasting and the Ribbon Dance, arguably two of the most important ceremonial actions of the busk. These two ceremonies exemplify busk performance practice. Fasting forms a key layer of the foundation of this and other successful rituals. Creating a vacuum in the participant's body and mind opens a space for Ofvnkv to enter. For a successful busk to occur, for Ofvnkv to take part, the participants must fast. The Ribbon Dance asks Creator, Ofvnkv, to join the proceedings like the ray of sunlight depicted in the Ribbon Dance song melody line. Ribbon Dance features the women dancing as a unit behind the Head Woman. This choreographically uncomplicated dance communicates directly with Ofvnkv. As the women step around the Square Grounds, they petition Creator to partake in the busk and fill the vacuums the participants have created through fasting. By virtue of busking together, of performing with and for each other, humans connect to these beings. Performance practice thereby serves to actuate relationality between beings.

Chapter Five also treated humans. I explore the Turtle Dance and the Bench Dances as an Indigenous archival practice centered in the body. Both dances choreographically narrate the "Creek Creation Story," in a sense creating the world anew or reminding the world that it still exists through each performance. This chapter relied on Diana Taylor's concepts of "the archive" and "the repertoire," which describe the relationship between record and performance. Centered in the body, the archive and the repertoire spiral around one another, constructing the body as an archive.

At Pvlvcekolv, elders understand community members' bodies to become repositories of ritual when they participate in ceremony regularly. Like many Native communities, Pvlvcekolv values bodily accumulation in the form of embodied knowledge, body memory, or corporal information over material things. The body itself becomes the archive. Because the Turtle Dance

and the Bench Dances enact the "Creation Story," the "Story" exists in community members' corporeal archives. As a result, the bodies of community members who regularly perform these ceremonial dances instantiate the whole of Creation in the body from Pvlvcekolv's perspective. These and other dances constitute a corporeal archive, a parallel tradition that compliments western archival science.

Chapter Six treated a topic related to Chapter Five: object persons in libraries, archives, museums, and storehouses (LAMS). This chapter was the first to explore relationships between humans and others-than-humans. In addition to relating the history of Pvlvcekolv's former LAMS, The Museum, I explored the life histories of a series of objects accessioned in the National Museum of the American Indian's Object Collections and cousin objects in use at the Square Grounds and actively involved in ceremony. Acquiring and accessioning LAMS materials often removes them from the relationships they maintain with members of their originating communities and sometimes destroys portions of their life histories.

This chapter contrasted the life histories of, and my experiences with, these objects. In the process, I explored an Indigenous form of LAMS practice, one that acknowledges the personhood of materials in LAMS. Increasingly, critiques of LAMS focus on the ethnocentric nature of western library, archival, and museum sciences, and call for global LAMS sciences that incorporate local other-than-Western ontologies. Pvlvcekolv and other Indigenous communities' understanding of object personhood alters the power dynamics in LAMS, placing the librarian/archivist/curator in the position of steward caring for object persons.

In Chapter Seven, I explored processes of becoming with animals and insects. The busk features a number of animal dances, such as the Feather Dance, the Buffalo Dance, and the Bug Dance. These dances feature choreographies that quote from the ecological habits of the

eponymous beings. The Buffalo Dance, for example, includes choreographies that demonstrate bison wallowing and melodic lines that depict bison locomotion. Similarly, Feather Dance performance practice requires the participants to develop a repertoire of birdcalls, and follows avian migration patterns.

The choreography of these animal dances do not mimic the eponymous beings. Rather, the busk opens up a space for humans to communicate with these beings in a process Gilles Deleuze and Félix Gauttari have called "becoming." In the Owl Dance, for example, humans and owls become "becomings-owl," an admittedly awkward term that describes a transformative process. What they transform into is neither human nor owl, but something that is both and neither at the same time. Becomings always involve other beings, placing humans into communication with these beings through performance. Becoming with another being or beings means that humans are no longer human—or are possibly more human that before. In keeping with the idea that our humanity derives at least partially from the relationships and interactions we have with other species, these ritualized becomings increase participants' humanity.

Chapter Eight focused on plants and plant-human interactions. I explore the vocality of plants in the Creek "Migration Legend." The "Legend" includes a vignette in which plants speak and sing to humans, echoing experiences Pvlvcekolv elders have had. Plant speech or song pushes at assumptions regarding the construction of "voice." Although we do not understand the multi-faceted phenomenon of human voice as well as we want, a typical definition of voice assumes the presence of a larynx. This human- or mammal-centric definition falls apart in an animistic cosmology like Pvlvcekolv's.

Two busk rituals involve plants: the Berry and Arbor Busk and the Harvest Busk. Similar to the animal dances in Chapter Seven, these two ceremonies facilitate a space for Pvlvcekolv

community members to communicate with, and become with, plants. The choreographies and songs feature twining tendrils, growing stems, blossoming flowers, and fruiting crops. These ritual spaces allow participants to thank plants for their bounty while at the same time encouraging plants and gardens to grow strong and healthfully. The communication in these dances resemble nutrient sharing between plants, ways of sharing resources: a form of plant communication. This and other forms of plant communication might constitute a different way of depicting what Pvlvcekolv calls plant "voice."

Chapter Nine examined all beings and the medium through which they all interact and relate: breath. Ofvnkv constitutes all the building blocks of creations through subdivisions. The entirety of Creation unfolds from ever-increasing dualities. When combined into a whole, the created constitute Creator. By virtue of being part of creation, beings breathe: respiration denotes existence. As such, breath contains Power. Voice, which Pvlvcekolv understands in this instance as directed breath or conscious existence, connects the vocalizer to Creator.

A Pvlvcekolv proverb states that sound is the voice of the created and silence is the voice of Creator. This sound/silence duality underlies several critical yet seemingly unimportant ritual actions, among them ceremonial sweeping. Two men perform this action without vocalizing. They walk in a spiral around the Square Grounds with a broom, cleansing the area in preparation for ceremony. Like the Ribbon Dance, sweeping prepares a space and functions as an invitation for Creator to join in the proceedings. Other rituals, such as setting the Fire and taking Medicine function similarly in this sound/silence duality. Through breath and recognition of the entities vocalizing through sound and through silence, all brings connect together through Creator in Pvlvcekolv's cosmology.

Several directions exist for future research in this area. As I surveyed in Chapter Three, a surprisingly large body of busk accounts exist, both historical and more recent. These accounts describe various busks in different southeastern Indigenous communities: Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, and Yuchi. These accounts document a clear, related tradition among southeastern peoples, yet few have conducted work on them. A collaborative study of this material by contemporary Indigenous tradition bearers and social scientists would allow us to shed a clearer light on historic accounts of the busk, and highlight similarities and differences between southeastern peoples historically and in the present day.

I have written this dissertation with the express goal of participating in the compelling conversations occurring in ecomusicology and southeastern studies. Despite my best efforts, I was unable to access several recently published works in time to incorporate them in this document. I especially wanted to explore Aaron Allen and Kevin Dawe's co-edited volume, *Current Directions in Ecomusicology: Music, Culture, Nature* (2015), and Christopher Haveman's 2016 *Rivers of Sand: Creek Indian Emigration, Relocation, and Ethnic Cleansing in the American South*. As I continue working on this project with Pvlvcekolv, I look forward to exploring the ideas from these and other new publications in order to maintain and strengthen dialogues in these areas.

I have written with the express goal of incorporating perspectives on the body and on movement into ethnomusicological scholarship. As I illustrate in the Introduction, no act that results in music or sound can occur without some form of movement. Like music and sound, these movements contain culturally specific meanings. Our analyses remain incomplete when we ignore the choreographic or corporeal sides of music. Perhaps especially in Indigenous contexts,

where sound and music constitute halves of the same epistemological process, we must account for both modes.

Multispecies ethnographies and ecomusicology more generally take into account the relationships between humans and species with which we connect in our naturecultures. Pvlvcekolv community members make up their environments with a variety of plants, animals, and other beings. The community formally articulates the relationships they maintain with these beings through the medium of the busk. Singing and dancing together brings community members into direct contact with the other entities that constitute their environment. By interacting with other beings, participants place themselves in their care, or acknowledge that they are already under their care. In essence, Pvlvcekolv sings and dances their relatedness to other entities. The busk functions as a site of multispecies relationality, drawing a complete picture by connecting the dots through ceremonial performance practice.

In a broader context, Pvlvcekolv animism, like the animisms of other Indigenous cosmologies, provides "invaluable resources for living, perceiving, and knowing in a critical time of the planet when the continuation of modernity and the liberal humanist subject spells the continuation of the militarism, nuclearism, and ecological devastation in which it is historically and politically implicated" (Horner 2012:63). The relationality that the busk ritually manifests not only affects Pvlvcekolv, but also provides a model for outsiders. Approaching the other-than-human entities as relational persons goes against many of the phenomena that Paul J. Crutzen and Eugene F. Stoermer have defined as the causes of the Anthropocene (2000:17). As humans move forward as a species bounded together with other species, however, I propose the cosmology and ecological perspectives of Pvlvcekolv and many other Indigenous cultures

around the world as models. The rich and nuanced worldview that I have treated in this dissertation and those like it elsewhere have much to offer the rest of us. Vnahe.

Appendix: Field Research Completed to Date

2005-07 to present: weekly phone conversations with primary community leader
2005-07-04 to 07-15: interacted with community elders at traditional arts gathering
2006-07-03 to 07-14: interacted with community elders at traditional arts gathering
2007-07-02 to 07-13: interacted with community elders at traditional arts gathering
2007-09-30: conducted one phone interview
2007-11-12: conducted one phone interview
2008-01-06 to 01-08: preliminary field site examination
2008-01-10: conducted research at the Ocmulgee National Monument
2008-01-18: conducted two phone interviews
2008-07-7 to 07-18: interacted with community elders at traditional arts gathering
2008-11-27 to 12-02: Harvest Busk documentation, conducted eight interviews, foray into community archives
2009-01-23 to 01-27: Soup Dance documentation, conducted four interviews
2009-04-04: conducted one interview
2009-07-06 to 07-17: interacted with community elders at traditional arts gathering
2009-07-15: conducted one interview
2009-12-04 to 12-07: Harvest Busk documentation, conducted three interviews
2010-07-05 to 07-16: interacted with community elders at traditional arts gathering
2010-07-14: conducted one interview
2010-09-10 to 09-11: research trip to Ocmulgee, OK
2010-09-10: conducted research at the Creek Council House Museum
2011-07-04 to 07-15: interacted with community elders at traditional arts gathering, conducted four interviews
2011-09-18 to 09-25: conducted two phone interviews
2011-10-02 to 10-30: conducted three phone interviews
2011-11-06: conducted one phone interview
2011-12-04 to 12-11: conducted two phone interviews
2012-01-22 to 01-29: conducted two phone interviews
2012-02-19: conducted one phone interview
2012-04-01 to 04-15: conducted two phone interviews
2012-06-02: Bug Dance documentation
2012-06-21 to 06-23: Green Corn Busk documentation, conducted one interview, foray into community archives
2012-06-27: conducted one interview
2012-07-2 to 07-13: interacted with community elders at traditional arts gathering
2012-08 to 2012-09: resided in Tallahassee for summer field research, forays into community archives
2012-08-08 to 09-07: conducted sixteen interviews
2012-08-10 to 08-13: Little Green Corn Busk documentation
2012-08-29 to 08-31: conducted research at Special Collections, University of Florida
2012-09-03: conducted research at San Marcos de Apalache Historic State Park

2012-09-4: conducted research at the State Archives of Florida and the Florida State University Archives
2012-09-13: conducted research at the Moravian Archives, Southern Province
2012-11-09 to 11-11: Harvest Busk documentation, foray into community archives
2012-12-18: conducted research at the Moravian Archives, Northern Province
2013-01-26: Soup Dance documentation, foray into community archives
2013-04-15 to 04-17: conducted research at the Moravian Archives, Southern Province
2013-05-04 to 05-05: Berry and Arbor Busk documentation, foray into community archives
2013-06-07 to 06-09: Green Corn Busk documentation, foray into community archives
2013-07-01 to 07-14: interacted with community elders at traditional arts gathering
2013-07-30: conducted one phone interview
2013-08-02 to 08-04: Little Green Corn Busk documentation, foray into community archives
2013-11-10: conducted one interview
2014-01-25: conducted one interview
2014-06-19: conducted one interview
2014-06-20 to 06-22: Green Corn Busk documentation, foray into community archives
2014-06-23: conducted one interview
2014-06-30 to 07-11: documented courses taught by elder at traditional arts gathering
2014-07-23: conducted one interview
2014-07-24: conducted one interview; conducted research at San Marcos de Apalche Historic State Park and Letchworth-Love Mounds Archaeological State Park
2014-07-25: recorded community-wide discussion
2014-07-25 to 07-27: Little Green Corn Busk documentation, foray into community archives
2014-07-27: conducted research at Kolomoki Mounds State Park
2014-07-28: conducted one interview
2014-08-04 to 08-05: conducted research in the Object, Paper, and Photo Collections of the National Museum of the American Indian
2014-08-06 to 08-20: conducted research in the National Anthropological Archives
2014-08-18: conducted research in the National Museum of the American Indian
2014-08-21: conducted research in the Dept of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History
2014-12-21: conducted one phone interview
2014-12-24: conducted one phone interview
2015-01-19: conducted one phone interview
2015-01-25: conducted one phone interview
2015-01-28: conducted one phone interview
2015-04-11: conducted one phone interview
2015-04-12: conducted one phone interview
2015-04-15: conducted one phone interview
2015-04-26: conducted one phone interview
2015-05-05: conducted one phone interview
2015-05-17: conducted research at the United States Botanic Garden
2015-05-17: conducted research at the National Arboretum
2015-05-17: conducted research at the National Museum of the American Indian
2015-06-28 to 07-12: interacted with community elders at traditional arts gathering
2015-06-30: conducted one interview

2015-07-11: conducted one interview
2015-07-26: conducted two interviews
2015-08-23: conducted one interview
2015-10-25: conducted one interview
2015-11-18: conducted one interview
2015-11-22: conducted one interview
2015-11-23: conducted two interviews
2015-11-24: conducted one interview
2015-12-10: conducted one interview
2016-02-07: conducted one interview
2016-02-08: conducted one interview
2016-02-11: conducted two interviews

Time: approx. 9< months (39 weeks) spent with community in person since 2005, in addition to more than 400 weekly phone conversations

Totals: 92 interviews conducted, 13 ceremonies documented, 21 archives/museums/historic research trips, 26 field research trips made

Glossary of Muskogee Words

These words appear throughout the dissertation. Definitions derive from dictionaries or word lists by C. Randall Daniels-Sakim (1985), R. M. Loughridge and David M. Hodge (1890), and Jack Martin and Margaret McKane Mauldin (2000), and through conversations and interviews I conducted during fieldwork.

Eco: Deer.

Emarv: Deacon.

Enkē: Hand.

Estē: Beings.

Estkē Enkē: Thumb.

Heles-hayv: Maker of Medicine.

Hesaketv: Breath.

Hesaketvmese: The Master of Breath, Creator.

Hokte: Woman.

Hvmecicetv: To take in everything, all things.

Hvmketicetv: Being made into a wholeness from all parts, seen and unseen.

Hvsē: Sun.

Locv: Turtle

Locv Saukv: Turtle shell shakers.

Mahe: an intensifier; bigger, stronger, more.

Mekko: Tribal leader, king.

Mekko-huyvnecv: Red Root.

Nak-hecko: Things unseen, ethereals, spirits.

Ofvnkv: Creator, deity.

Ometv: To be like, to become, to emulate, to imitate, in the manner of, by means of.

Opv: Owl.

Opvnkv: Dance.

Pasv: Snakeroot.

Pvcvswv: Axe.

Pvlvcekolv: Apalachicola Tribal Town.

Posketv: To fast.

Sowvcko: Blue Flag.

Tvlwv: Tribal town.

Vccē-lvpocke: Yaupon Holly.

Vlocuwv: Pot.

Vnahe: I have no more to say.

Vnewetv: Turtle Island; North America or the Earth.

Wenahokuce: Bug Dance.

Yvnvsv: Bison.

Bibliography

Published Resources

Abbate, Carolyn. 1991. *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 1993. "Opera: Or, the Envoicing of Women." In *Musicology and Difference*, edited by Ruth Solie, 225-58. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Library and Information Resource Network. 1995. "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Library and Information Resources Network Protocols." http://www.wipo.int/export/sites/www/tk/en/databases/creative_heritage/docs/atsilirn_protocols.pdf

Abram, David. 2010. *Becoming Animal: An Earthly Cosmology*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Abramsky, Z., E Strauss, A Subach, B. P. Kotler, and A Reichman. 1996, "The Effect of Barn Owls (tyto alba) on the Activity and Microhabitat Selection of Gerbillus allenbyi and G. pyrmidum." *Oecologia* 105(3):313-319.

Adair, James. 2005. *The History of the American Indians*. Edited by Kathryn Holland Braund. Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press.

Agawu, Kofi. 1995. "The Invention of 'African Rhythm.'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48(2):380-395.

Allen, Aaron S. 2011a. "Ecomusicology: Ecocriticism and Musicology." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64(2):391-394.

———. 2011b. "Prospects and Problems for Ecomusicology in Confronting a Crisis of Culture." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64(2):414-424.

Allen, Aaron A., and Kevin Dawe. 2015. *Current Directions in Ecomusicology: Music, Culture, Nature*. New York: Routledge.

Allsopp, Mike H., Willem J. de Lange, and Ruan Veldtman. 2008. "Valuing Insect Pollination with Cost of Replacement." *PLoS ONE* 3(9):e3128.

Alter, Joseph S. 1992. *The Wrestler's Body: Identity and Ideology in North India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Al-Tikriti, Nabil. 2007. "'Stuff Happens': A Brief Overview of the 2003 Destruction of Iraqi Manuscript Collections, Archives, and Libraries. *Library Trends* 55:730-745.

Ancestry.com. 2005. "List of Indian Rolls Available on Microfilm at the National Archives." *Ancestry.com* http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~texlance/records/nafilm.htm

Anderson, David G. and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr. 2002. *The Woodland Southeast*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Anderson, David G., and Kenneth E. Sassaman, eds. 1996. *The Paleoindian and Early Archaic Southeast*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Anderson, Roger C. and Stephen Schelfhout. 1980. "Phenological Patterns Among Tallgrass Prairie Plants and their Implications for Pollinator Competition." *American Midland Naturalist* 104(2):253-263.

André, Naomi. 2006. *Voicing Gender: Castrati, Travesti, and the Second Woman in Early-Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Atalay, Sonya. 2012. *Community-based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Avarguès-Weber, Aurore, Theo Mota, and Martin Giurfa. 2012. "New Vistas on Honey Bee Vision." *Apidiologie* 43(3):244-268.

Azizi, F. 2002. "Research in Islamic Fasting and Health." *Annals of Saudi Medicine* 22(3-4):186.

Badri, Dayakar V., et al. 2009. "Rhizosphere Chemical Dialogues: Plant-Microbe Interactions." *Current Opinion in Biotechnology* 20:642-650.

Barba, Fabian. 2011. "Research into Corporeality." *Dance Research Journal* 43(1):82-89.

Baker, Lee D. 2010. *Anthropology and the Racial Politics of Culture*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bakun, Andrew. 1990. "Global Climate Change and Intensification of Coastal Upwelling." *Science* 247(4939):198-201.

Ballard, William L. 1978. *The Yuchi Green Corn Ceremonial: Form and Meaning*. Los Angeles: University of California, American Indian Studies Center.

Baluŝka, Frantiŝek, Peter Barlow, Stefano Mancuso, and Dieter Volkmann. 2006 "Preface." In *Communication in Plants: Neuronal Aspects of Plant Life*, edited by Frantiŝek Baluŝka, Stefano Mancuso, and Dieter Volkmann, v-ix. Berlin: Springer.

Baluŝka, Frantiŝek, and Stefano Mancuso. 2009. "Plant Neurobiology: From Sensory Biology, via Plant Communication, to Social Plant Behaviour." *Cognitive Processing* 10(suppl 1):S3-S7.

Barker, Joanne. 2005. *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

———. 2011. *Native Acts: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Barnett, Cynthia. 2015. *Rain: A Natural and Cultural History*. New York: Crown Publishers.

Barrett, Carole A., and Harvey Markowitz. 2005. *American Indian Biographies*. Pasadena: Salem Press.

Bartholomew, Chanda S., Dorothy Prowell, and Terry Griswold. 2006. "An Annotated Checklist of Bees (Hymenoptera: Apoidea) in Longleaf Pine Savannas of Southern Louisiana and Mississippi." *Journal of the Kansas Entomological Society* 79(2):184-198.

Bartram, William. [1791] 1958. *Travels*. Edited by Francis Harper. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.

———. "Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians, 1789." *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* 3(1):1-81.

———. [1853] 1987. "Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians, 1789." In *A Creek Sourcebook*, edited by William C. Sturtevant, no page numbers. New York and London: Garland Publishing.

Barz, Gregory F. and Timothy J. Cooley, eds. 1997. *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2010. *William Bartram, The Search for Nature's Design: Selected Art, letters, and Unpublished Writings*. Edited by Thomas Hallock, Nancy E. Hoffmann, and Joel T. Fry. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Bates, Eliot. 2012. "The Social Life of Instruments." *Ethnomusicology* 56(3):363-395.

Bauman, Richard. 1984. *Story, Performance, and Event: Contextual Studies of Oral Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bear, Isabel Joy, and Richard Grenfel Thomas. 1966. "Genesis of Petrichor." *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 30:869-879.

Behar, Ruth. 1996. *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Beiler, Kevin J. et al. 2010. "Architecture of the Wood-Wide Web: *Rhizopogon* spp. Genets link Multiple Douglas-fir Cohorts." *New Phytologist* 185:543-553.

Bell, Amelia Rector. (Formerly Walker, Amelia Bell.) 1984. "Creek Ritual: The Path to Peace." PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.

———. 1999. "Separate People: Speaking of Creek Men and Women." *American Anthropologist* 92(2):332-345.

Bell, Catherine. 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 1997. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bendix, Regina. 1997. *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of a Folklore Studies*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Bennett, Jane. 2010. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Benso, Silvia. 2000. *The Face of Things*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Bertau, Marie-Cécile. 2008. "Voice: A Pathway to Consciousness as 'Social Contact to Oneself.'" *Integrative Psychological & Behavioral Science* 42:92-113.

Besser, Howard. 2004. "The Museum-Library-Archive." Excerpt from *Report to the Canadian Heritage Information Network*. http://www.nyu.edu/tisch/preservation/program/04spring/chin-libraries.html

Beverly, Robert. 1705. *The History and Present State of Virginia*. London: R. Parker.

Bial, Henry, ed. 2004. *The Performance Studies Reader*. London: Routledge.

Bird-David, Nurit. 1999. "'Animism' Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology." *Current Anthropology* 40:S67-91.

Blacking, John, ed. 1977. *The Anthropology of the Body*. London: Academic Press.

Blitz, John. 2010. "New Perspectives in Mississippian Archaeology." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18(1):1-39.

Bloch, Lee. 2014a. "Beyond 'Sex' and 'Death' in the Mississippian Cosmos: Intersectional Approaches to Mortuary Moth Art at the Okeeheepkee/Lake Jackson Site." Annual meeting of the Theoretical Archaeology Group, Champaign-Urbana, IL, May 23-25.

———. 2014b. "The Unthinkable and the Unseen: Community Archaeology and Decolonizing Social Imagination at Okeeheepkee, or the Lake Jackson Site." *Archaeologies* 10(1):70-106.

———. 2015. "Esnesv Stories: Muskogee Oral Traditions, Trader-Diplomats, and Sacred Landscapes." Annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, San Francisco, CA, April 15-19.

Bloch, Lee, and Jeffrey Hantman. 2015. "Archaeological Ethnographies of Migrating (Living) Native American Mounds." Annual meeting of the Theoretical Archaeology Group, New York, NY, May 22-24.

Blount, Mary Sixwomen. 2011-2014. "Who We Are." *Apalachicola Band of Creeks*. http://apalacicolabandofcreekindians-org.webs.com/

Bolcer, John. 2009. "*The Protocols for Native American Archival Materials*: Considerations and Concerns from the Perspective of a Non-Tribal Archivist." *Easy Access: Newsletter of the Northwest Archivists, Inc.* 34(4):1-4.

Booms, Hans. 1987. "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources." *Archivaria* 24:69-107.

Bossu, Jean-Bernard. 1962. *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1751-1762*. Edited and translated by Seymour Feiler. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Bowen, Emanuel. 1748. "A New Map of Georgia." London: John Harris. UCLA Henry J. Bruman Map Collection.

Bowman, Wayne, and Kimberly Powell. 2007. "The Body in a State of Music." In *International Handbook of Research in Arts Education*, edited by Liora Bresler, 1087-1106. Dordrecht: Springer.

Bowne, Eric E. 2013. *Mound Sites of the Ancient South: A Guide to Mississippian Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Boyd, Mark F. 1949. "Diego Peña's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicolo in 1716: A Journal Translated and with an Introduction." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28:1-27.

Brabec de Mori, Bernd. 2008. "Words Can Doom. Songs May Heal: Ethnomusicological and Indigenous Explanations of Song-Induced Transformative Processes in Western Amazonia." *curare* 31(2-3):123-144.

———. 2012a. "A Medium of Magical Power: How to Do Things with Voices in the Western Amazon." In *Electrified Voices: Medial, Socio-Historical and Cultural Aspects of Voice Transmission*, edited by Dmitri Zakharine and Nils Meise, 379-401. Göttingen: V&R Unipress.

———. 2012b. "About Magical Singing, Sonic Perspectives, Ambient Multinatures, and the Conscious Experience." *Indiana* 29:73-101.

———. 2013. "Shipibo Laughing Songs and The Transformative Faculty: Performing or Becoming Other." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 22(3):343-361.

———. 2015. "Singing White Smoke: Tobacco Songs from the Ucayali Valley." In *The Master Plant: Tobacco in Lowland South America*, edited by Andrew Russell and Elizabeth Rahman, 89-106. London: Bloomsbury.

Brabec de Mori, Bernd, and Anthony Seeger. 2013. "Introduction: Considering Music, Humans, and Non-humans." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 22(3):269-286.

Braund, Kathryn E Holland, and Charlotte M Porter, eds. 2010. *Fields of Vision: Essays on the* Travels *of William Bartram*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Brindley, Erica Fox. 2012. *Music, Cosmology, and the Politics of Harmony in Early China*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Broecker, Wallace S., and George H. Denton. 1990. "What Drives Glacial Cycles?" *Scientific American* 262(1):49-56.

Brose, David S. 1984. "Mississippian Period Cultures in Northwestern Florida." In *Perspectives on Gulf Coast Prehistory*, edited by D. Davis, 165-197. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida.

———. 1985. "'Willey-Nilly' or the Archaeology of Northwest Florida and Adjacent Borderlands Revisited." *The Florida Anthropologist* 38:156-162.

Brose, David S., and George W. Percy. 1978. "Fort Walton Settlement Patterns." In *Mississippian Settlement Patterns*, ed B. D. Smith, 81-114. New York: Academic Press.

Brown, James A. 1976. "The Southern Cult Reconsidered." *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 1 (2): 115–35.

———. 1997. "The Archaeology of Ancient Religion in the Eastern Woodlands." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26: 465–85.

Brown, James A., Richard A. Kerber, Howard D. Winters. 1990. "Trade and the Evolution of Exchange Relations at the Beginning of the Mississippian Period." In *The Mississippian*

Emergence, edited by Bruce D. Smith, 251-280. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Brown, Joseph. 1977. *The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian*. New York: Crossroad Press.

Brown, Nicholas. 2006. "The Flux Between the Sounding and the Sound: Towards a Relational Understanding of Music as Embodied Action." *Contemporary Music Review* 25(1/2):37 46.

Browner, Tara. 2009. *Songs from "A New Circle of Voices:" The 16th Annual Powwow at UCLA*. Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions.

Buchanan. 1839. "Dr. Buchanan in Florida." In "Miscellany" section. *The American Phrenological Journal and Miscellany* 2(1):139-143

Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). 1996. "Receipt of Petition for Federal Acknowledgment of Existence as an Indian Tribe," 61 Fed. Reg. 19314. May 1.

Butler, Beverly. 2009. "'Othering' the Archive—From Exile to Inclusion and Heritage Dignity: The Case of Palestinian Archival Memory." *Archival Science* 9:57-69.

Calame-Griaule, Geneviève. 1986. Voice and the Dogon World." *Notebooks in Cultural Analysis* 3:15-60.

Caldwell, Joseph R. 1948. "Palachacolas Town, Hampton County, South Carolina." *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 38(10):321-324.

Campbell, Howard W., and William E. Evans. 1967. "Sound Production in Two Species of Tortoises." *Herpetologica* 23(3):204-209.

Campbell, Thomas. 1959. "Choctaw Subsistence: Ethnographic Notes from the Lincecum Manuscript." *Florida Anthropologist* 12(1):9-24.

Candler, Alan, Kenneth Coleman, and Milton Ready, eds. 1916. *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, vol. 20. Atlanta: A. P. Byrd.

Capps, Walter, ed. 1976. *Seeing with the Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion*. New York: Harper and Row.

Capron, Louis. 1953. *The Medicine Bundles of the Florida Seminole and the Green Corn Dance*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 151, Anthropological Paper No. 35, 155-210. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

Carson, Anne. 1995. *Glass, Irony, and God*. New York: New Directions.

Castaneda, Carlos. 1970. *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Catesby, Mark. 1743. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*. London: Benjamin White.

Cattelino, Jessica R. 2008. *High-Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Challe, Tiffany. 2015. "Ecomusicology: Back to the Roots of Sound/Music and Environmental Sustainability." Master Thesis, City University of New York.

Chamovitz, Daniel. 2012. *What a Plant Knows: A Field Guide to the Senses*. New York: Scientific American/Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Chaumeil, B. and J.-P. Chaumeil. 1992. "L'oncle et le neveu: La Parenté du vivant chez les Yagua (Amazonie Péruvienne)" ("The Uncle and the Nephew: The (Peruvian Amazon) Yagua Relationship of Living"). *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 78(2):25-37.

Chen, Zhixin, and Robert C. Maher. 2006. "Semi-automatic Classification of Bird Vocalizations using Spectral Peak Tracks." *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 120(5):2974-2984.

Cheng, Vincent J. 2004. *Inauthentic: The Anxiety over Culture and Identity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Chilkovsky, Nadia. 1961. "Techniques for the Choreologist." *Ethnomusicology* 5(2):121-127.

Chisholm, Brian, Jonathan Driver, Sylvain Dube, and Henry P. Schwarcz. 1986. "Assessment of Prehistoric Bison Foraging and Movement Patterns via Stable-Carbon Isotopic Analysis." *Plains Anthropologist* 31(113):193-205.

Cilliza, Chris. 2014. "Is Barack Obama 'Black'? A Majority of Americans Say No." *The Fix. Washington Post*. April 14. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2014/04/14/is-barack-obama-black/

Classen, Constance, and David Howes. 2006. "The Museum as Sensecape: Western Sensibilities and Indigenous Artifacts." In *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums, and Material Culture*, edited by Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B Phillips, 199-222. New York: Berg.

Clayton, Martin, ed. 2008. *Music, Words and Voice: A Reader*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Clifford, James. 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

———. 1989. "The Others: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm." *Third Text* 3(6):73-78.

Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cobb, Charles R. 2003. "Mississippian Chiefdoms: How Complex?" *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32: 63–84.

Collins, James P. 2006. "Native Americans in the Census, 1860-1890." *Prologue* 38(2). http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2006/summer/indian-census.html

Collins, Scott L. and Susan C. Barber. 2000. "Effects of Disturbance on Diversity in Mixed-Grass Prairie." *Vegetatio* 64:87-94.

Cone, Edward T. 1974. *The Composers Voice*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Connor, Steve. 2010. *The Matter of Air: Science and the Art of the Ethereal*. London: Reaktion Books.

Cook, Terry. 2011. "The Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape." *The American Archivist* 74(2):600-632.

Coppedge, Bryan R. and James H. Shaw. 2000. "American bison *Bison bison* Wallowing Behavior and Wallow Formation on Tallgrass Prarie." *Acta Theriologica* 45(1):103-110.

Cowan, Jane. 1990. *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cox, Dale. 2013. *Milly Francis: The Life and Times of the Creek Pocahontas*. Bascom, Fl: Old Kitchen Books.

Cox, Douglas. 2011. "National Archives and International Conflicts: The Society of American Archivists and War." *The American Archivist* 74(2):451-481.

Cramer, Renee Ann. 2005. *Cash, Color, and Colonialism: the Politics of Tribal Acknowledgment*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Crutzen, Paul J., and Eugene F. Stoermer. 2000. "The Anthropocene." *Global Change Newsletter* 41:17-18.

Crutzen, Paul J., and Will Steffen. 2003. "How Long have We Been in the Anthropocene Era?" *Climatic Change* 61(3):251-257.

Csordas, Thomas J., ed. 1994. *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cypress, Carol, and Jack Martin. 2006. *A Dictionary of Miccosukee (Elaponke)*. Clewistown, FL: Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum, Seminole Tribe of Florida.

Daniels-Sakim, C. Randall. 1982. *Muskogee Words and Ways*. Wakulla Springs, FL: Muskogee Press.

———. 1984. *More Muskogee Words and Ways*. Wakulla Springs, FL: Muskogee Press.

———. 1985. *Mvkoke Empunakvn Svlumkvke. Dictionary of the Muskogee Creek Language*. Wakulla Springs, FL: Muskogee Press.

———. 1986. *Muskogee Legends, Lore, and Mythology*. Wakulla Springs, FL: Muskogee Press.

———. 1990a. *The Willow Still Grows*. Tallahassee, FL: Muskogee Press.

———. 1990b. Ekvnfaske, *Indian Place Names of Florida*. Tallahassee, FL: Muskogee Press.

Darwin, Charles. 1892. *Charles Darwin: His Life Told in an Autobiographical Chapter and in a Selected Series of his Published Letter*, edited by Francis Darwin. London: John Murray.

Daughtry, J. Martin. 2012. "Afterword: From Voice to Violence and Back Again." In *Music, Politics, and Violence*, edited by Susan Fast and Kip Pegley, 243-263. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.

Davis, T. Frederick. 1935. "History of Juan Ponce de Leon's Voyages to Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 14:7-70.

———. 1943. "Milly Francis and Duncan McKrimmon: An Authentic Florida Pocohontas." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 21(3):254-265.

DeBaillou, Clemens. 1961. "A Contribution to the Mythology and Conceptual World of the Cherokee Indians." *Ethnohistory* 8(1): 93-102.

DeGruy Leary, Joy. 2005. *Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America's Legacy of Enduring Injury and Healing*. Milwaukie, Oregon: Uptone Press.

Del'Isle, Guillaume. 1702. "Carte du Canada et du Mississipi." Paris: L'Academie Royal des Sciences. UCLA Henry J. Bruman Map Collection.

———. 1718. "Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi." Paris: L'Academie Royal des Sciences. UCLA Henry J. Bruman Map Collection.

———. 1731. "Carte du Mexique et de la Floride..." Paris: Quai de l'Horloge David Rumsey Map Collection. http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/s/mwvvv9 (accessed October 14, 2011).

Deloria, Philip. 1999. *Playing Indian: Otherness and Authenticity in the Assumption of American Indian Identity*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.

Deloria Jr., Vine. Deloria Jr., Vine, ed. 1985. *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

———. 1992. "Ethnoscience and Indian Realities." *Winds of Change* 7(3):12-18.

———. 1994. *God is Red: A Native View of Religion*. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum.

———. 1995. *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact*. New York: Scribner.

Dempsey, Lorcan. 2000. "Scientific, Industrial, and Cultural Heritage: A Shared Approach." *Ariadne* 22.

Denevan, William M. 1992. "The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82(3):369-358.

Densmore, Frances. 1933. "Recording Seminole Songs in Florida." In *Explorations and Field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1932*, 93-96. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

———. 1934. "A Study of Indian Music in the Gulf States." *American Anthropologist* 36:386-389.

———. 1937. "The Alabama Indians and Their Music." In *Straight Texas*, edited by J. Frank Dobie, 270-293. *Publications of the Texas Folklore Society*, No. 13. Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates.

———. 1943. *Choctaw Music*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 136. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1956. *Seminole Music*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No.161. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Descola, Philippe. 1992. "Societies of Nature and the Nature of Society." In *Conceptualizing Society*, edited by Adam Kuper, 107-126. London: Routledge.

Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Deverux, George. 1967. *From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences*. The Hague: Mouton.

Díaz López, B., et al. 2000. "Respiration Patterns of Fin Whales off Ischia, Archipelago Campano, Mediterranean Sea." *European Research on Cetaceans* 14:125-129.

Dickson, D. R., and W. M Maue-Dickson. 1982. *Anatomical and Physiological Bases of Speech*. Boston: Little, Brown.

DiPadova, Carlo, et al. 1987. "Effects of Fasting and Chronic Alcohol Consumption on the First Pass Metabolism of Ethanol." *Gastroenterology* 92(5):1169-1173.

Dolar, Mladen. 2006. *A Voice and Nothing More*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Doolittle, Lisa, and Anne Flynn, eds. 2000. *Dancing Bodies, Living Histories: New Writings about Dance and Culture*. Banff, Alberta: Banff Centre Press.

Dorrepaal, Ellen, et al. 2009. "Carbon Respiration from Subsurface Peat Accelerated by Climate Warming in the Subarctic." *Nature* 460(30):616-620.

Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.

———. [1970, 1973] 1996. *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*. London: Routledge.

Drake, Ella Wells. 2000. "A Choctaw Academy Education: The Apalachicola Experience." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 78(3):289-308.

Draper, David. 1980. "Occasions for the Performance of Native Choctaw Music." *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* 3(2):147-173.

———. 1983. "Breath in Music: Concept and Practice among the Choctaw Indians." *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* 4:285-300.

Dritsas, Lawrence, and Joan Haig. 2014. "An Archive of Identity: The Central African Archives and Southern Rhodesian History." *Archival Science* 14(1):35-54.

Duff, Wendy M., et al. 2013. "From Coexistence to Convergence: Studying Partnerships and Collaboration among Libraries, archives, and Museums." *Information Research* 18(3).

Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. 2014. *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Dunn, Leslie C. and Nancy A. Jones, eds. 1994. *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dyer, Richard. 1997. *White*. New York: Routledge.

Ehle, John. 1988. *Trail of Tears: Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*. New York: Doubleday.

Eidsheim, Nina Sun. 2011 "Sensing Voice: Materiality and the Lived Body in Singing and Listening." *Senses and Society* 6(2):133-155.

Eidsheim, Nina Sun, and Katherine Meizel, eds. Forthcoming. *The Oxford Handbook of Voice Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Elder-Vass, Dave. 2012. *The Reality of Social Construction*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ezzy, Douglas. 2013 "Embodied Morality and Performed Relationships." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey,181-190. Durham, UK: Acumen Publishing.

Fabian, Johannes. [1983] 2002. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fairbanks, Charles H. 1979. "The Function of the Black Drink Among the Creeks." In *Black Drink: A Native American Tea*, edited by Charles M. Hudson, 120-149. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Feder, Norman. 1968. "Appendix: The 1965 Green Corn Dance at Kellyville, Oklahoma." In *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex and Its Interpretation*, by James Howard,165-69. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Feher, Michel, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi. 1989. *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, 3 vols. New York: Urzone.

Feld, Steve. [1982] 1990. *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Finger, John R. 1991. *Cherokee Americans: The Eastern Band of Cherokee in the Twentieth Century*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Fitch, W. Tecumseh. 2000. "The Phonetic Potential of Nonhuman Vocal Tracts: Comparative Cineradiographic Observations of Vocalizing Animals." *Phonetica* 57:205-218.

Fixico, Donald L., ed. 2008. *Treaties with American Indians: An Encyclopedia of Rights, Conflicts, and Sovereignty*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO.

Florida Department of Military Affairs. N. D. *Florida Militia Muster Rolls: Seminole Indian Wars*. Vol. 9. St. Augustine: State Arsenal.

Fogelson, Raymond D. 1961. "Change, Persistence, and Accommodation in Cherokee Medico-Magical Beliefs." In *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*, edited by William N. Fenton and John Gulick, 213-225. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 180. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1962. "The Cherokee Ballgame: a Study in Southeastern Ethnology." PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

———. 1971. "The Cherokee Ballgame Cycle: An Ethnographer's View." *Ethnomusicology* 15(3):327-338.

Forbes, Gilbert B. 1970. "Weight Loss During Fasting: Implications for the Obese." *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 23(9):1212-1219.

Foster II, H. Thomas. 2003. "Dynamic Optimization of Horticulture among the MuscogeeCreek Indians of the Southeastern United States." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 22:411-424.

———. 2007. *The Archaeology of the Lower Muskogee Creek Indians, 1715-1836*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

———. 2010. "Risk Management among Native American Horticulturalists of the Southeastern United States (1715-1825)." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 66(1):69-96.

Foster, Susan Leigh. 1995. "Choreographing History." In *Choreographing History*, edited by Susan Leigh Foster, 3-21. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———, ed. 1996. *Corporealities*. New York: Routledge.

Foster, Susan Leigh, et al. 1996. "Introduction." In *Corporealities*, edited by Susan Leigh Foster, xi-xvii. New York: Routledge.

Frank, Douglas A., Samuel J. McNaughton, and Benjamin F. Tracey. 1998. "The Ecology of the Earth's Grazing Ecosystems." *BioScience* 48(7):513-521.

Franko, Mark. 2010. "Editor's Note: States of the Body." *Dance Research Journal* 42(1):v-viii.

Freidel, David, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker. 1993. *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path*. New York: William Morrow.

Fries, Adelaide L. 1967. *The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company.

Gaddis, John Lewis. 2002. *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Galloway, Patricia, ed. 1989. *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.

Garrison, Tim Alan. 2008. "Southeast and Florida." In *Treaties with American Indians: An Encyclopedia of Rights, Conflicts, and Sovereignty*, edited by Donald L. Fixico, 259-265. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO.

Garroutte, Eva Marie. 2001. "The Racial Formation of American Indians: Negotiating Legitimate Identities within Tribal and Federal Law." *American Indian Quarterly* 25(2):224-239.

Gatschet, Albert S. [1888] 1969. "Kasi'hta Legend in the Creek and Hitchiti Languages, With a Critical Commentary and Full Glossaries in Both Texts." *Transactions of the Academy of Sciences of St. Louis* 5(1-2):33-239.

———. 1901. "Towns and Villages of the Creek Confederacy in the XVIII and XIX Centuries." *Publications of the Alabama Historical Society, Miscellaneous Collections* 1:386-415.\

———. [1884] 1969. *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*. New York: AMS Press.

Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Geertz, Armin. 1984. "A Reed Pierced the Sky: Hopi Indian Cosmography on Third Mesa, Arizona." *Numen* 31(2):216.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.

———. 1988. *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gilbert Jr., William H. 1930. "New Fire Ceremonialism in America." M.A. thesis, University of Chicago.

———. 1943. "The Eastern Cherokees." In *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* No. 133, 169-414. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1957. "The Cherokees of North Carolina." *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1956*, 529-556.

Goerlitz, Holger, et al. 2010. "An Aerial-Hawking Bat uses Stealth Ecolocation to Counter Moth Hearing." *Current Biology* 20(17):1568-1572.

Gould, Stephen J. 1996. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York: Norton.

Grant, C. L. 1980. *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins, Vol. 1*. Savannah, GA: Beehive Press.

Graham, R. R. 1934. "The Silent Flight of Owls." *Journal of the Royal Aeronautical Society* 286:837-843.

Grantham, Bill. 2002. *Creation Myths and Legends of the Creek Indians*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Gray, Judith A., and Edwin J. Schupman Jr., eds. 1990. *The Federal Cylinder Project, Vol. 5: California Indian Catalog, Middle and South American Indian Catalog, Southwestern Indian Catalog-I*. Washington, DC: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress.

Green, Michael D. 1979. *The Creeks: A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington, IN: Newberry Library.

———.1982. *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Greenbaum, Susan. 1991. "What's in a Label? Identity Problems of Southern Indian Tribes." *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 19(2):107-126.

Griffin, John W. 1950. "Test Excavations at the Lake Jackson Site." *American Antiquity* 16:99-112.

Grimes, Ronald L. 2010. *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*. Lexington, Kentucky: Ritual Studies International.

Guy, Nancy. 2009. "Flowing Down Taiwan's Tamsui River: Towards and Ecomusicology of the Environmental Imagination." *Ethnomusicology* 53(2):218-248.

Hagan, William T. 1985. "Full Blood, Mixed Blood, Generic, and Ersatz: The Problem of Indian Identity." *Arizona and The West* 27(4):309-326.

———. 2006. "The Cussita Migration Legend: History, Ideology, and the Politics of Mythmaking." In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited by Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, 57-93.Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Hahn, Steven C. 2004. *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Hahn, Tomie. 2007. *Sensational Knowledge: Embodying Culture through Japanese Dance*. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.

Halbmeyer, Ernst. 2012a. "Amerindian Mereology: Animism, Analogy, and the Multiverse." *Indiana* 29:103-125

———. 2012b. "Debating Animism, Perspectivism, and the Construction of Ontologies." *Indiana* 29:9-23.

Halilovich, Hariz. 2014. "Reclaiming Erased Lives: Archives, Records, and Memories in Post-war Bosnia and the Bosnian Diaspora" *Archive Science* 14:231-247.

Hall, Matthew. 2011. *Plants as Persons: A Philosophical Botany*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

———. 2013. "Talk among the Trees: Animist Plant Ontologies and Ethics." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey, 385-394. Durham, UK: Acumen.

Hall, Stuart. 1990. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, edited by Jonathan Rutherford, 222-237. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Hallowell, Alfred Irving. [1960] 1975. "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View." In *Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*, 141-178. Edited by Barbara Tedlock and Dennis Tedlock. New York: Liveright.

Hann, John H. 1986. "Translation of Alonso de Leturiondo's Memorial to the King of Spain." *Florida Archaeology* 2:165-225.

———. 1996. "Late Seventeenth-Century Forebears of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles." *Southeastern Archaeology* 15(1):66-80.

———. 2006. *The Native American World Beyond Apalachee: West Florida and the Chattahoochee River*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Hann, John H., and Bonnie G. McEwan. 1998. *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Hanna, Judith Lynn. 1968. "Field Research in African Dance: Opportunities and Utilities." *Ethnomusicology* 12(1):101-106.

Hanson, P. J., N. T. Edwards, C. T. Garten, and J. A. Andrews. 2000. "Separating Root and Soil Microbial Contributions to Soil Respiration: A Review of Methods and Observations." *Biogeochemistry* 48:115-146.

Haraway, Donna. 2003. *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness*. New York: Routledge.

———. 2008. *When Species Meet*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Harb, Hadi, and Liming Chen. 2005. "Voice-based Gender Identification in Multimedia Applications." *Journal of Intelligent Information Systems* 24(2-3):179-198.

Harper, Francis, ed. 1998. *The Travels of William Bartram*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Harrison, D. F. N. 1995. *The Anatomy and Physiology of the Mammalian Larynx*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harrison, Gabriel. [1885] 1969. *John Howard Payne, Dramatist, Poet, Actor, and Author of Home Sweet Home!: His Life and Writings*. New York: Benjamin Blom.

Harvey, Graham. 2005. *Animism: Respecting the Living World*. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. 2012. "Things Act: Casual Indigenous Statements about the Performance of Object persons." In *Vernacular Religion in Everyday Life: Expressions of Belief*, edited by Marion Bowman and Ülo Valk, 194-210. Sheffield, UK: Equinox Publishing.

———, ed. 2013. *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*. Durham, UK: Acumen Publishing.

Haveman, Christopher. 2016. *Rivers of Sand: Creek Indian Emigration, Relocation, and Ethnic Cleansing in the American South*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Hawkins, Benjamin. 2003. *The Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1810*. Edited by H. Thomas Foster. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

Hedstrom, Margaret, and John Leslie King. 2004. "On the LAM: Library, Archive, and Museum Collections in the Creation and Maintenance of Knowledge Communities." Manuscript published by the Center for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). http://www.oecd.org/edu/innovation-education/32126054.pdf

———. 2006. "Epistemic Infrastructure in the Rise of the Knowledge Economy." In *Afvancing Knowledge and the Knowledge Economy*, edited by Brian Kahin and Dominque Foray, 113-34. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Heil, Martin, and Juan Carlos Silva Bueno. 2007. "With-in Plant Signaling by Volatiles Leads to Induction and Priming of an Indirect Plant Defense in Nature." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 104(13):5467-72.

Heltzel, Jeannie, and Susan L. Earnst. 2006. "Factors Influencing Nest Success of Songbirds in Aspen and Willow Riparian Areas in the Great Basin." *The Condor* 108:842-855.

Henry, Jimmy, and Steven Bruckerhoff. 2002. "Plant Fact Sheet: Rattlesnake Master *Eryngium yuccifolium* Michx." USDA-Natural Resources Conservation Service. Elsberry, Missouri: Elsberry Plant Materials Center.

Herndon, Marcia. 1971. The Cherokee Ballgame Cycle: An Ethnomusicologist View." *Ethnomusicology* 15(3): 339-352.

Heth, Charlotte. 1975. "The Stomp Dance of the Oklahoma Cherokee: A Study of Contemporary Practice with Special Reference to the Illinois District Council Ground." PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Hill, Jonathan D. 1993. *Keepers of the Sacred Chants: The Poetics of Ritual Power in an Amazonian Society*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

———. 2013. "Instruments of Power: Musicalising the Other in Lowland South America." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 22(3):323-342.

Hirschkind, Charles. 2006. *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hodgson, Adam. [1824] 1923. *Remarks During a Journey Through North America*. New York: J. Seymour.

Hofmann, Charles. 1968. *Frances Densmore and American Indian Music*. New York: Museum of the American Indian.

Hollens, Deborah. 2014. "The Southern Oregon Digital Archives: Unique Opportunity and Continuing Challenge." *OLA Quarterly* 12(1):16-18.

Holm, Tom. 2008. "Reservations and Confederate and Unratified Treaties, 1850-1871." In *Treaties with American Indians:An Encyclopedia of Rights, Conflicts, and Sonvereignty*, edited by Donald L. Fixico, 95-108. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO.

Hornborg, Alf. 2013. "Submitting to Objects: Animism, Fetishism, and the Cultural Foundtaions of Capitalism." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey, 244-259. Durham, UK: Acumen Publishing.

Horner, Chip. 2012. "The University of the Forest: Plant Spirits in Ayahuasca Shamanism." Masters Thesis, University of Colorado ,Boulder.

Horsman, Peter, Eric Ketelaar, and Theo Thomassen. 2001. "Editorial: Presenting Archival Science." *Archival Science* 1(1):1-2.

Howard, James H. 1968. *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex and Its Interpretation*. *Memoir of the Missouri Archaeological Society*, No. 6. Columbia: University of Missouri.

Howard, James H. and Gertrude P. Kurath. 1959. "Ponca Dances, Ceremonies and Music." *Ethnomusicology* 3(1):1-14.

Howard, James H. and Willie Lena. 1984. *Oklahoma Seminoles Medicines, Magic, and Religion*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Howard, James H. and Victoria Lindsay Levine. 1990. *Choctaw Music and Dance*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hudson, Charles. 1976. *The Southeastern Indians*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

———. 1979. *Black Drink: A Native American Tea*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

———. 1997. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Hudson, Charles, Marvin T. Smith, and Chester B. DePratter. 1984. "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha." *Southeastern Archaeology* 3(1):65-77.

Hughes, Susan M., Justin K. Mogilski, and Marissa A. Harrison. 2014. "The Perception and Parameters of Intentional Voice Manipulation." *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 38: 107-127.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1979. *The Religions of the American Indians*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Huntington, Thomas G. 2006. "Evidence for Intensification of the Global Water Cycle: Review and Synthesis." *Journal of Hydrology* 319:83-95.

Husserl, Edmund. [1913] 1989. *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy*. Translated by F. Kersten. Boston: M. Nijhoff.

IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations). 2014. "Libraries, Archives, Museums, and Sites." IFLA. http://www.ifla.org/lamms

Ihde, Don. 2007. *Listening and Voice: Phenomenologies of Sound*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Indian Claims Commission. Creek Nation v. United States. Docket No. 21.

Ingold, Tim. 2000. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling, and Skill*. London: Routledge.

———. 2013. "Being Alive to a World without Objects." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey, 213-225. Durham, UK: Acumen Publishing.

Irwin, Lee. 1994. *The Dream Seekers: Native American Visionary Traditions of the Great Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Jackson, Jason Baird. [2003] 2005. *Yuchi Ceremonial Life: Performance, Meaning, and Tradition in a Contemporary American Indian Community*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

———. 2004. "Introduction." In *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, by Frank G. Speck, v-xvi. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

———. 2008. "Traditionalization in Ceremonial Ground Oratory: native American Speechmaking in Eastern Oklahoma." *Midwestern Folklore* 34(2):3-16.

———. 2013. *Yuchi Folklore: Cultural Expression in a Southeastern Native American Community*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Jackson, Jason Baird, and Victoria Lindsay Levine. 2002. "Singing for Garfish: Music and Woodland communities in Eastern Oklahoma." *Ethnomusicology* 46(2):284-306.

Jaggar, Alison M., and Susan R. Bordo, eds. 1989. *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Jahoda, Gloria. 1975. *The Trail of Tears*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Jamison, Kay Redfield. 1995. *An Unquiet Mind*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Jenkins, Ned. 2009. "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks, 1050-1700CE." In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuk-Hall, 188-249. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Johnsgard, Paul A. 1988. *North American Owls: Biology and Natural History*. *Paul Johnsgard Collection*. Paper 46. http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/johnsgard/46.

Johnson, Mark. 1987. *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jones Jr., Charles C. 1873. *Antiquities of the Southern Indians, Particularly of the Georgia Tribes*. New York: Appleton.

Jones, George Fenwick. 1963. "Commissary Von Reck's Report on Georgia." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 47(1):95-110.

———. 1965. "Von Reck's Second Report from Georgia." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 22(2):319-333.

Jones, Clive, John Lawton, and Moshe Shachak. 1996. "Organisms as Ecosystem Engineers." In *Ecosystem Management: Selected Readings*, edited by Fred B. Samson and Fritz L. Knopf, 130-147. New York: Springer Science and Business Media.

Jones-Bamman, Richard. 1993. "'As Long as We Continue to Joik, We'll Remember Who We Are." Negotiating Identity and the Performance of Culture: The Saami *Joik*." PhD dissertation, University of Washington.

Jordan, Ann T., and David Lewis Jr. 2002. *Creek Indian Medicine Ways: The Enduring Power of Mvskoke Religion*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Jorgensen, Miriam. 2012. *Sustaining Indigenous Culture: The Structure, Activities and Needs of Tribal Archives, Libraries and Museums*. (Oklahoma City: Association of Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums.

Kaeppler, Adrienne. 1970. "Tongan Dance: A Study in Cultural Change." *Ethnomusicology* 14(2):266-277.

———. 1971. "Aesthetics of Tongan Dance." *Ethnomusicology* 15(2):175-185.

———. 1972. "Method and Theory in Analyzing Dance Structure with an Analysis of Tongan Dance." *Ethnomusicology* 16(2):173-217.

———. 1983. *Polynesian Dance: With a Selection for Contemporary Performances*. Honolulu: Alpha Delta Kappa.

Kaeppler, Adrienne, Judy Van Zile, and Carl Wolz, eds. 1977. *Asian and Pacific Dance: Selected Papers from the 1974 CORD-SEM Conference*. New York: Committee on Research in Dance.

Kanen, Ronald, Sue B. Richardson, C. Randall Daniels-Sakim, Charles Simpson, Mary Johns. 1983. *A Bibliography of the Creeks and Other Native Americans of the Southeast*. Wakulla Springs, FL: Muskogee Press.

Kaplan, Alice. 1994. *French Lessons: A Memoir*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kaplan, Elisabeth. 2002. "'Many Paths to Partial Truths': Archives, Anthropology, and the Power of Representation." *Archival Science* 2(3-4):209-220.

Kappler, Charles J., ed. 1904. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Vol. II: Treaties*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Karp, Ivan, and Steven D. Lavin, ed. 1991. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Karp, Ivan, Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, et. al. 2006. *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Karp, Ivan, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine. 1992. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Katherine Dexter McCormick Library. 2002. "Masturbation—From Stigma to Sexual Health." *White Paper*. Planned Parenthood Federation of America. http://www.plannedparenthood.org/files/5513/9611/7867/masturbation_11-02.pdf

———. 2007. "The Health Benefits of Sexual Expression." *White Paper*. Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality. http://www.plannedparenthood.org/files/3413/9611/7801/Benefits_Sex_07_07.pdf

Kaye, Joseph, et al. 2006. "To Have and To Hold: Exploring the Personal Archive." *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, edited by Rebecca Grinter et al, 1-10. New York: ACM.

Kealiinohomoku, Joann. 1965. "Dance and Self-Accompanist." *Ethnomusicology* 9(3):292-295.

———. 1970. "An Anthropologist Looks at Ballet as a Form of Ethnic Dance." *Impulse*: 24-33.

———. 1976. "Theory and Methods for an Anthropological Study of Dance." PhD dissertation, Indiana University.

Keeling, Richard. 1997. *North American Indian Music: A Guide to Published Sources and Selected Recordings*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Keijzer, Th. J. S., P.J. Kleingeld, and J. P. G. Loch. 1999. "Chemical Osmosis in Compacted Clayey Material and the Prediction of Water Transport." *Engineering Geology* 53:151-159.

Keller, C. Kent, and Diana Holford Bacon. 1998. "Soil Respiration and Georespiration Distinguished by Transport Analyses of Vadose CO_2, $^{13}CO_2$, and $^{14}CO_2$." *Global Biochemical Cycles* 12(2):361-372.

Keller, Marcello Sorce. 2011. "Why Do We Need Zoomusicology as Much as it Needs Ethnomusicology?" 41st World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music. St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada. July 14.

———. 2012. "Zoomusicology and Ethnomusicology: A Marriage to Celebrate in Heaven." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 44:166-183.

Kent, R. D. 1997. *Speech Sciences*. San Diego: Singular Publishing.

Kharaka, Yousif K., and Frederick A. F. Berry. 1973. "Simultaneous Flow of Water and Solutes through Geological Membranes." *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 37:2577-2603.

Kilpatrick, Jack, and Anne Kilpatrick. 1964. "Cherokee Rituals Pertaining to Medicinal Roots." *Southern Indian Studies* 16(October):24-28.

———. 1965. *Walk in Your Soul: Love Incantations of the Oklahoma Cherokee*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.

———. 1967. *Run toward the Nightland: Music of the Oklahoma Cherokee*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.

———. 1970. "Notebook of a Cherokee Shaman." *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* 2(6):83-125.

Kimball, Katherine. 1979. "The Potter: Pre-Columbian Cultures of the Southeastern United States." In *The Ancestors: Native Artisans of the Americas*, edited by Anna C. Roosevelt, and James G. Smith, 158-177. New York: Museum of the American Indian.

Kimmerer, Robin Wall. 2003. *Gathering Moss: A Natural and Cultural History of Mosses*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.

———. 2013. *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teachings of Plants*. Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions.

Kirksey, S. Eben, and Stefan Helmreich. 2010. "The Emergence of Multispecies Ethnography" *Cultural Anthropology* 25(4):545-576.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 1995. "Theorizing Heritage." *Ethnomusicology* 39(3):367-380.

Knapp, Alan K., et al. 1999. "The Keystone Roll of Bison in North American Tallgrass Praire." *BioScience* 49(1):39-50.

Knight, Vernon J. 1981. "Mississippian Ritual." Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Florida.

———. 1984. "Tukabatchee: Archaeological Investigations at an Historic Creek Town, Elmore County, Alabama." Tuscaloosa: Office of Archaeological Research, University of Alabama Museum Report.

———. 1986. "The Institutional Organization of Mississippian Religion." *American Antiquity* 51 (4): 675–87.

———. [1989] 2006. "Symbolism of Mississippian Mounds." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley, 421-434. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

———. 1994. "The Formation of the Creeks." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indian and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1724*, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 373-392. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

———. 2006. "Farewell to the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex." *Southeastern Archaeology* 25 (1): 1–5.

Koestenbaum, Wayne. 1993. *The Queen's Throat: Opera, Homosexuality, and the Mystery of Desire*. New York: Vintage Books.

Kohn, Eduardo. 2007. "How Dogs Dream: Amazonian Natures and the Politics of Transspecies Engagement." *American Ethnologist* 34(1):3-24.

Kohnova, Marie J. 1932. "The Moravians and their Missionaries: A Problem in Americanization." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 19(3):348-361.

Koons, Ryan. 2010. "Dancing Breath: A Study of Music, Dance, and Cosmology at Tvlwv Pvlvcekolv." B.A. Thesis, Dickinson College.

———. 2011. " Transcribing the Owl Dance: Examining Performance and Transcription in a Native American Community." Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Philadelphia, PA, November 17-20.

———. 2013. "'Authenticity' and Cultural Survival in a Mixed-Blood Creek Town." Annual Southeast Indian Studies Conference, UNC Pembroke, Pembroke, NC, April 11-12.

———. 2014. "Ritualizing the Past: Archives, Heritage, and Ceremony." Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Pittsburgh, PA, November 13-16.

Kopytoff, Igor. 1986. "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64-91. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Korson, Rae, and Joseph Hickerson. 1969. "The Willard Rhodes Collection of American Indian Music in the Archive of Folksong." *Ethnomusicology* 13(2):396-304.

Krause, Bernie. 2012. *The Great Animal Orchestra: Finding the Origins of Music in the World's Wild Places*. New York: Little, Brown, and Company.

Kreiman, Jodi and Diana Sidtis. 2011. *Foundations of Voice Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Voice Production and Perception*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kroeber, Alfred L. 1940. "The Work of John R. Swanton." *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America: Published in Honor of John R. Swanton in Celebration of His 40th Year with the Smithsonian Institution*. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* No. 100, Publication No. 3588. Washington DC: Government Printing Office.

Kron, Paul, Steven C. Stewart, and Allison Black. 1993. "Self-Compatibility, Autonomous Self-pollination, and Insect-mediated Pollination in the Clonal Species *Iris versicolor*." *Canadian Journal of Botany* 71(11):1503-1509.

Kubiak, Anthony. 2012. "Animism: Becoming-performances, or Does this Text Speak to You?" *Performance Research: A Journal of the Performing Arts* 17(4):52-60.

Kurath, Gertrude, Rose Brandel, Nadia Chilkovsky, George List, Reginald Laubin, Gladys Laubin, Donald Brown, and Frances B. Wright. 1963. "Dance Ethnology, Dance Education, and the Public." *Ethnomusicology* 7(3):234-247.

Kurath, Gertrude. 1957. "Dance-Music Interdependence." *Ethnomusicology* 1(10):8-11.

———. [1964] 2000. *Iroquois Music and Dance: Ceremonial Arts of Two Seneca Longhouses*. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications.

Lagrou, Els. 2009. "The Crystalized Memory of Artifacts: A Reflection on Agency and Alterity in Cashinahua Image-Making." In *The Occult Life of Things: Native Amazonian Theories of Materiality and Personhood*, edited by Fernando Santos-Granero, 192-213. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Landau, Carolyn, and Janet Topp-Fargion. 2012. "We're All Archivists Now: Towards a More Equitable Ethnomusicology." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 21(2):125-140.

Landry, Renée. 1972. "The Need for a Survey of Canadian Archives with Holdings of Ethnomusicological Interest." *Ethnomusicology* 16(3):504-512.

Langguth, A. J. 2010. *Driven West: Andrew Jackson and the Trail of Tears to the Civil War*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Lavonis, William J. 2004. *A Study of Native American Singing and Song*. Lewistown, New York: Edwin Mellen Press.

[Author Unknown.] 1832. *Laws of the Colonial and State Governments, Relating to Indians and Indian Affairs, from 1633 to 1831*. Washington, DC: Thompson and Homans.

Le Guin, Elisabeth. 2006. *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2014. *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain*. Berkeley: University Of California Press.

Lenaerts, Marc. 2002. "Nos Sœurs Manioc et l'Etranger Jaguar: Diversité et Changement des Savoirs sur les Etres de la Nature, chez les Ashéninka 'de l'Ucayali' (Amazonie péruvienne et brésilienne)." ("Our Manioc Sisters and the Strange Jaguar: Diversity and Change regarding Beings of Nature of the Ashéninka 'of the Ucayali' (Brazilian and

Peruvian Amazon).") PhD dissertation, Université Libre de Bruxelles (Free University of Brussels).

Lenthem, Jonathan. 2011. *The Ecstasy of Influence: Nonfictions, etc.* New York: Doubleday.

Leonardi, Susan J., and Rebecca A. Pope. 1996. *The Diva's Mouth: Body, Voice, Prima Donna Politics*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Lepecki, André. 2010. "The Body As Archive: Will To Re-Enact and the Afterlives of Dances." *Dance Research Journal* 42(2):28-48.

Levine, Victoria Lindsay. 1991. "Arzelie Langley and a Lost Pantribal Tradition." In *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, edited by Stephen Blum, Philip Bohlman, and Daniel Neuman, 190-206. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———. 1993. "Musical Revitalization among the Choctaw." *American Music* 11(4):391-411.

———. 1997. "Music, Myth, and Medicine in the Choctaw Indian Ballgame." In *Enchanting Powers: Music in the World's Religions*, edited by Lawrence E. Sullivan, 189-209. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Lewellen, Ted C. 2002. *The Anthropology of Globalization: Cultural Anthropology Enters the 21st Century*. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey.

Lewis, R. Barry, and Chalres Stout, eds. 1998. *Mississippian Towns and Sacred Spaces: Searching for an Architectural Grammar*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Lewy, Matthias. 2012. "Different 'Seeing'—Similar 'Hearing.' Ritual and Song among the Pemón (Gran Sabana/Venezuela)." *Indiana* 29:53-71.

Limón, José E. *Dancing with the Devil: Society and Cultural Poetics in Mexican-American South Texas*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Lokensgard, Kenneth Hayes. 2010. *Blackfoot Religion and the Consequences of Cultural Commoditization*. Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing.

Lobell, Jarrett A. 2011. "Pompeii's Dead Reimagined: An Artist Interprets the Ancient City's Most Evocative Artifacts." *Archaeology* 64(5):39-41.

Lotter, Tobias Conrad, and James Edward Oglethorpe. [1735] 1740. "A Map of the County of Savannah." Halle, Germany: Viertes Stuck Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

Loughridge, R. M. and David M. Hodge. 1890. *Dictionary of the Muskokee or Creek Language in Creek and English*. Red Fork, Indian Territory: Indian Mission.

Lowe, Lisa. 1996. *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Lowenthal, David. 1985. *The Past Is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1998. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MacNeil, Heather. 2005. "Picking Our Text: Archival Description, Authenticity, and the Archivist as Editor." *The American Archivist* 68(2):264-278.

Magaloni Kerpel, Diana. 2014. *The Colors of the New World: Artists, Materials, and the Creation of the* Florentine Codex. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.

Mahon, John K. 1962. "The Treaty of Moultrie Creek, 1823." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 40(4):350-372.

Marrinan, Rochelle A., and Nancy Marie White. 2007. "Modeling Fort Walton Culture in Northwest Florida." *Southeastern Archaeology* 26(2):292-318.

Marks, Jonathan. 2009. *Why I am Not a Scientist: Anthropology and Modern Knowledge*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Martin, Jack. 2011. *A Grammar of Muskogee (Creek)*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Martin, Jack, and Margaret McKane Mauldin. 2000. *A Dictionary of Muskogee/Creek*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Martin, Joel W. 1991. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogee's Struggle for a New World*. Boston: Beacon Press.

———. 2000. "Rebalancing the World in the Contradictions of History: Creek/Muskogee." In *Native Religions and Cultures of North America: Anthropology of the Sacred*, edited by Lawrence E. Sullivan, 85-103. New York: Continuum.

———. 2003. "From 'Middle Ground' to 'Underground:' Southeastern Indians and the Early Republic." In *Religion and American Culture: A Reader*, edited by David G. Hackett, 142-158. New York: Routledge.

Martin, Katherine Lee. 2006. "Restoration of Fire-Dependent Depression Wetlands." Masters Thesis, University of Georgia.

Marty, Paul F. 2009, "An Introduction to Digital Convergence: Libraries, Archives, and Museums in the Information Age." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 24(4):295-298.

Marx, Karl. 1934. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Masco, Joseph. 2004. "Mutant Ecologies: Radioactive Life in Post-Cold War New Mexico." *Cultural Anthropology* 19(4):517-550.

Massumi, Brian. 2003. "The Archive of Experience." In *Information is Alive*, edited by Joke Brouwer, Arjen Mulder, and Susan Charlton, 142-151. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.

Matte, Jacqueline Anderson. 2006. "Extinction by Reclassification: The MOWA Choctaws of South Alabama and Their Struggle for Federal Recognition." *Alabama Review* 59(3):163 204.

McCallum, Cecilia. 1996. "The Body that Knows: From Cashinahua Epistemology to a Medical Anthropology of Lowland South America." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 10(3):347-372.

MacCauley, Clay. 1887. "The Seminole Indians of Florida." In *5th Annual Report of the Bureau of [American] Ethnology [for] 1833-1884*, 469-531. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

McKemmish, Sue, Anne Gilliland-Swetland, and Eric Ketelaar. 2005. "'Communities of Memory': Pluralising Archival Research and Education Agendas." *Archives and Manuscriupts* 33(1):146-174.

McKercher, Bob, and Hilary du Cros. 2002. *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. New York: Haworth Hospitality Press.

McNeill, William H. 1986. *Mythistory and Other Essays*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Meizel, Katherine. Forthcoming. "Fluid Voices: Processes and Practices in Singing Impersonation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Voice Studies*, edited by Nina Sun Eidsheim and Katherine Meizel. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Menezes Bastos, Rafael José de. 2007. "Music in the Indigenous Societies of Lowland South America: The State of the Art." *Mana* 3 http://socialsciences.scielo.org/scielo.php ?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-93132007000100001&lng=en&nrm=iso

———. 2013a. "Apùap World Hearing Revisited: Talking with 'Animals,' 'Spirits,' and other Beings, and Listening to the Apparently Inaudible." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 22(3):287 305.

———. 2013b. *A Festa da Jaguartirica: Uma Partitura Crítico-Interpretivo*. ("The Jaguar Ceremony: A Critically Interpreted Score.") Florianópolis, Brazil: Editora UFSC.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. 1962. *Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge.

Merriam, Alan. 1964. *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press.

Merrill, William L. 1979. "The Beloved Tree: *Ilex vomitoria* among the Indians of the Southeast and Adjacent Regions. In *Black Drink: A Native American Tea*, edited by Charles Hudson, 40-82. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Michaels, Axel, ed. 2010. *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Milfort, Louis Le Clerc. [1802] 1959. *Memoirs or, A Quick Glance at My Various Travels and My Sojourn in the Creek Nation*. Edited and translated by Ben C. McCary. Savanna, Georgia: The Beehive Press.

Miller, Gavin S. P. 1988. "The Motion Dynamics of Snakes and Worms." *Computer Graphics* 22(4):169-178.

Miller, Mark Edwin. 2004. *Forgotten Tribes: Unrecognized Indians and the Federal Acknowledgment Process*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Miller, Jay. 2005. "Review of *Yuchi Ceremonial Life: Performance, Meaning, and Tradition in a Contemporary American Indian Community*." *Plains Anthropologist* 50(194):188-189.

Milner, George. 2004. *The Moundbuilders: Ancient Peoples of Eastern North America*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Mitchell, W. J. T. 2005. *What Do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mittelberg, David, and Mary C. Waters. 1992. "The Process of Ethnogenesis Among Haitian and Israeli Immigrants in the United States." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 15(3):412-435.

Molano-Flores, Brenda. 2009. "Insect Herbivory of Ovules and Seeds in Native and Restored Prairies." *Restoration Ecology* 17(2):187-191.

Mooney, James. 1891. "The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees." In *7th Annual Report of the Bureau of [American] Ethnology for 1885-1886*, 301-397. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

———. 1899. *The End of the Natchez*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

———. 1907. "Albert Samuel Gatschet—1832-1907." *American Anthropologist* 9(3):561-570.

———. 1932. *The Swimmer Manuscript. Cherokee Sacred Formulas and Medicinal Prescriptions*. Edited by Frans M. Olbrechts. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 99. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Moore, Clarence B. 1907. "Mounds of the Lower Chattahoochee and Lower Flint Rivers." *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*. *Second Series*. 13:427-457.

———. 1918. "The Northwestern Florida Coast Revisited." *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*. *Second Series* 16:513-581.

Morgan, Lewis Henry. 1868. *The American Beaver and his Works*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott.

Morris, Mitchell. 2009. "Ecologies of Mind, Economies of Desire." Keynote presented at the 75th annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Philadelphia , Pennsylvania, 12 15 November.

Morrison, Kenneth M. 2000. "The Cosmos as Intersubjective: Native American Other-than-human Persons." In *Indigenous Religions: A Companion*, edited by Graham Harvey, 23 36. London: Cassell.

Morse, Bradford W. 2012. "Indigenous Human Rights and Knowledge in Archives, Museums, and Libraries: Some International Perspectives with Specific Reference to New Zealand and Canada. *Archival Science* 12:113-140.

Mould, Tom. 2007. "Review of *Yuchi Ceremonial Life: Performance, Meaning, and Tradition in a Contemporary American Indian Community*." *Journal of American Folklore* 120(3):364-365.

Mrosovsky, N. 1972. "Spectographs of the Sounds of Leatherback Turtles." *Herpetologica* 28(3):256-258.

Mu, Yang. 2012 "Music and Dance for Interment Rituals in a Chinese Village." *Ethnomusicology* 56(1):1-30.

Muller, Carol. 2002. "Archiving Africanness in Sacred Song." *Ethnomusicology* 46(3):409-431.

Nairne, Thomas. 1988. *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River*. Edited by Alexander Moore. Jackson and London: University of Press of Mississippi.

Nannyonga-Tamusuza, Sylvia. 2015. "Music as Dance and Dance as Music: Interdependence and Dialogue in Baganda *Baakisimba* Performance." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 47:82-96.

Nannyonga-Tamusuza, Sylvia, and Andrew Weintraub. 2012. "The Audible Future: Reimagining the Role of Sound Archives and Sound Repatriation in Uganda." *Ethnomusicology* 56(2):206-233.

Nardi, Serenella, and Diefo Pizzaghello. 2004. "Rhizosphere: A Communication between Plant and Soil." *Recent Developments in Crop Science* 1:349-360.

Naroditskaya, Inna. 2000. "Azerbaijanian Female Musicians: Women's Voices Defying and Defining the Culture." *Ethnomusicology* 44(2): 234-256.

Nason, James D. 1997. "Native American Intellectual Property Rights: Issues of Control of Esoteric Knowledge." In *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, edited by Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao, 237-254. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

National Plant Data Center. 2002a. "Plant Fact Sheet: Blue Flag *Iris versicolor*." USDA-Natural Resources Conservation Service. Beltsville, MD: Northeast Plant Materials Program.

———. 2002b. "Plant Fact Sheet: Dwarf Willow *Salix x cotteti* Kerner." USDA-Natural Resources Conservation Service. Beltsville, MD: Northeast Plant Materials Program.

Naveh, Danny, and Nurit Bird-David. 2013. "Animism, Conservation, and Immediacy." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey, 27-37. Durham, UK: Acumen.

Nesmith, Tom. 2006. "The Concept of Societal Provenance and Records of Nineteenth-Century Aboriginal-European Relations in Western Canada: Implications for Archival Theory and Practice." *Archival Science* 6:351-360.

Ness, Sally Ann. 1992. *Body, Movement, and Culture: Kinesthetic and Visual Symbolism in a Philippine Community*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Neurath, Johannes. 2010. "Anacronismo, *pathos*, y fantasma en los medios de expresión huicholes" ["Anachronism, *Pathos*, and Ghosts in Huichol Mediums of Expression"]. In *Las artes del ritual: Nuevas propuestas para la antropología del arte desde el occidente de México* ["*The Arts of Ritual: New Proposals for the Anthropology of Art from Western Mexico*"], edited by Elisabeth Araiza, 99-125. Zamora, México: Colegio de Michoacán.

Niles, Don. 2004. "Reclaiming the Past: The Value of Recordings to a National Cultural Heritage." In *Archives for the Future: Global Perspectives on Audiovisual Archives in the 21st Century*, edited by Anthony Seeger and Shubha Chaudhuri, 196-206. Calcutta: Seagull Press.

NMAI (National Museum of the American Indian). 2005. *The Native Universe and Museums in the Twenty-First Century*. Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

———. 2011. *Past, Present, and Future: Challenges of the National Museum of the American Indian*. Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

———. n.d. *American Indian Responses to Environmental Challenges*. http://nmai.si.edu/environment/

Novack, Cynthia. 1990. *Sharing the Dance: Contact Improvisation and American Culture.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Novia, Jennifer. 2012. "Library, Archival and Museum (LAM) Collaboration: Driving Forces ad Recent Trends." *Endnotes: The Journal of the New Members Round Table* 3(1):1-10.

O'Callaghan, Casey. 2012. "Perception." In *The Cambridge Handbook of Cognitive Science*, edited by Keith Frankish and William M. Ramsey, 73-91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Olsson, Tord. 2013. "Animate Objects: Ritual Perception and Practice among the Bambara in Mali." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey, 226-243. Durham, UK: Acumen Publishing.

Omi, Michael. 2001. "Forward." In *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-heritage Asian Americans*, edited by Teresa Williams-Leon and Cynthia L. Nakashima, ix-xiii. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

O'Toole, James M. 2002. "Cortes' Notary: The Symbolic Power of Records." *Archival Science* 2:45-61.

Pakes, Anna. 2011. "Phenomenology and Dance: Husserlian Meditations." *Dance Research Journal* 43(2):33-49.

Painter, Nell Irvin. 2010. *The History of White People*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Papadaki A., C. Vardavas, C. Hatzis, and A. Kafatos. 2008. "Calcium, Nutrient, and Food Intake of Greek Orthodox Christian Monks during a Fasting and Nonfasting Week." *Public Health Nutrition* 11(10):1022-1029.

Paper, Jordan. 2004. *The Mystic Experience: A Descriptive and Comparative Analysis*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

———. 2005. *The Deities Are Many: A Polytheistic Theology*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Paredes, Anthony J. 1974. "The Emergence of Contemporary Eastern Creek Indian Identity." In *Social and Cultural Identity: Problems of Persistence and Change*, edited by Thomas K.

Fitzgerald, 63-80. Athens: Southern Anthropological Society, University of Georgia Press.

———. 1975. "The Folk Culture of the Eastern Creek Indians: Synthesis and Change." In *Indians of the Lower South: Past and Present*, edited by John K. Mahon, 93-111. Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference.

———. 1979. "Back from Disappearance: The Alabama Creek Indian Community." *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era*, edited by Walter L. Williams, 123-141. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

———, ed. 1992. *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late 20th Century*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

———. 1995. "Paradoxes of Modernism and Indians in the Southeast." *American Indian Quarterly* 19(3): 341-360.

———. 2001. "Introduction." In *Anthropologists and Indians in the New South*, edited by Rachel A. Bonney and J. Anthony Paredes, 1-8. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

———. 2004. "Creeks in the East Since Removal." In *Handbook of North American Indians: Southeast, Volume 14*, edited by William C. Sturtevant and Raymond D. Fogelson, 404-406. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution; US Government Printing Office.

Paredes, J. Anthony, and Kaye Leniham. 1973. "Native American Population in the Southeastern States, 1960-1970." *Florida Anthropologist* 26:45-56.

Pauketat, Timothy R. 2007. *Chiefdoms and Other Archaeological Delusions*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Paul, Rüdiger, and Till Fincke. 1989. "Book Lung Functions in Arachnids." *Journal of Comparative Physiology B* 159(4):419-432.

Peach, Steven J. 2013. "Creek Indian Globetrotter: Tomochichi's Trans-Atlantic Quest for Traditional Power in the Colonial Southeast." *Ethnohistory* 60(4):605-635.

Pels, Peter. 1998. "The Spirit of Matter: On Fetish, Rarity, Fact, and Fancy." In *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Places*, edited by Patricia Spyer, 91-121. London: Routledge.

Pennington, E.L. 1930. "Thomas Campbell to Lord Deane Gordon: An Account of the Creek Indian Nation, 1764." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 8(3):156–163.

Pentikäinen, Juha, ed. 2000. *Sami Folkloristics*. Turku, Finland: Nordic Network of Folklore and Gummerus Printing.

Perdue, Theda, and Michael D. Green. 2001. *The Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Southeast*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Perlman, Marc. 2014. "Ecology and Ethno/musicology: The Metaphorical, the Representational, and the Literal." *Sounding Board: Ecomusicology, Ethnomusicology Review* http://www.ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/content/ecology-and-ethnomusicology-metaphorical-representational-and-literal

Peterson, Harold L. 1971. *American Indian Tomahawks*. New York: Museum of the American Indian.

Phillips, Miriam. 2013. "Becoming the Floor/Breaking the Floor: Experiencing the Kathak-Flamenco Connection." *Ethnomusicology* 57(3):396-427.

Phillips-Silver, Jessica, Athena Aktipis, and Gregory Bryant. 2010. "The Ecology of Entrainment: Foundations of Coordinated Rhythmic Movement." *Music Perception* 28(1):3-14.

Piker, Joshua. 2009. *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America*. Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press.

Pope, John. [1792] 1979. *A Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North-America*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

Porter, Charlotte M. 2010. "Bartram's Legacy: Nature Advocacy." In *Fields of Vision: Essays on the* Travels *of William Bartram*, edited by Kathryn E. Holland Braund and Charlotte M. Porter, 221-238. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Power, Frederick B., and Victor K Chesnut. 1919. "Ilex Vomitoria as a Native Source of Caffeine." *Journal of the American Chemical Society* 41(8):1307-1312.

Powers, William K. 1968. "Contemporary Oglala Music and Dance: Pan-Indianism versus Pan-Tetonism." *Ethnomusicology* 12(3):352-372.

Praet, Istvan. 2014. *Animism and the Question of Life*. New York: Routledge.

Raffles, Hugh. 2001. "The Uses of Butterflies." *American Ethnologist* 28(3):513-548.

———. 2010. *Insectopedia*. New York: Pantheon.

Rahaim, Matthew. 2012. *Musicking Bodies: Gesture and Voice in Hindustani Music*. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.

Ramnarine, Tina K. 2009. "Acoustemology, Indigeneity and Joik in Valkeapää's Symphonic Activism: Views from Europe's Arctic Fringes for Environmental Ethnomusicology." *Ethnomusicology* 53(2):187-217.

Randolph, J. Ralph. 1973. *British Travelers among the Southern Indians, 1660-1763*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press.

Rayward,W. Boyd. 1998. "Electronic Information and the Functional Integration of Libraries, Museums, and Archives." In *History and Electronic Artifacts*, edited by E. Higgs, 207-224. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rehding, Alexander. 2002. "Eco-Musicology." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 127(2):305-320.

Reichstein, Markus, et al. 2005. "On the Separation of Net Ecosystem Exchange into Assimilation and Ecosystem Respiration: Review and Improved Algorithm." *Global Change Biology* 11:1424-1439.

[Author unknown.] 1635. *A Relation of Maryland*. London: William Peasley.

Rhoades, David F. 1983. "Responses of Alder and Willow to Attack by Tent Caterpillars and Webworms: Evidence for Pheromonal Sensitivity of Willows." In *Plant Resistance to Insects*, edited by Paul Hedin, 55-66. Washington, DC: American Chemical Society.

Rice, Timothy. 2010. "Ethnomusicological Theory." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 42:100-134.

Richards, Paul. 1993. "Cultivation: Knowledge or Performance?" In *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance*, edited by Mark Hobart, 61-78. London: Routledge.

Rindfleisch, Bryan. 2013. "'Our Lands are our Life and Breath': Coweta, Cusseta, and the Struggle for Creek Territory and Sovereignty during the American Revolution." *Ethnohistory* 60(4):581-603.

Rival, Laura, ed. 1998. *The Social Life of Trees: Anthropological Perspectives on Tree Symbolism*. Oxford: Berg.

———. 2012. "The Materiality of Life: Revisiting the Anthropology of Nature in Amazonia." *Indiana* 29:127-143.

Roberts, Mary Nooter. 1994. "Does an Object Have a Life?" In *Exhibition-ism: Museums and Africa Art*, edited by Mary Nooter Roberts, Susan Vogel, and Chris Müller, 36-55. New York: The Museum for African Art.

Robinson, Helena. 2012. "Remembering Things Differently: Museums, Libraries, and Archives as Memory Institutions and the Implications for Convergence." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 27(4):413-429.

Rose, Deborah Rose. 2009. "Introduction: Writing in the Anthropocene." *Australian Humanities Review* 47:87.

Rossen, Jane Mink, and Margot Mink Colbert. 1981. "Dance on Bellona, Solomon Islands: A Preliminary Study of Style and Concept." *Ethnomusicology* 25(3):447-466.

Rostlund, Erhard. 1960. "The Geographic Range of the Historic Bison in the Southeast." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 50(4):395-407.

Rouhani, Mohammad Hossein, and Leila Azadbakht. 2014. "Is Ramadan Fasting Related to Health Outcomes? A Review on the Related Evidence." *Journal of Research in Medical Sciences* 19(10):987-992.

Rowe, Sharon Māhealani. 2008. "We Dance for Knowledge." *Dance Research Journal* 40(1):31-44.

Royce, Anya Peterson. 1977. *The Anthropology of Dance* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Royce, Charles C. 1899. "Indian Land Cessions in the United States." In *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 527-650. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Ruddiman, William F. 2003. "The Anthropogenic Greenhouse Era Began Thousands of Years Ago." *Climatic Change* 61(3):261-293.

Rumschöttel, Hermann. 2001. "The Development of the Archival Science as a Scholarly Discipline." *Archival Science* 1:143-155.

Ruskin, Jesse. 2006. "Collecting and Connecting: Archiving Filipino American Music in Los Angeles." *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology* 11 http://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/journal/volume/11/piece/514

Russell, Maureen. 2012. "Highlights from the Ethnomusicology Archive-John Williamson." *From the Archives, Ethnomusicology Review* http://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/content/highlights-ethnomusicology-archive-john-williamson.

Ryle, Gilbert. 1971. "The Thinking of Thoughts: What is 'Le Penseur' Doing?" In *Collected Papers, Vol. II, Collected Essays 1929-1968*, 480-496. London: Hutchinson.

S. Rep. No. 30-55 (1848).

Sachs, Curt. [1940] 2006. *The History of Musical Instruments*. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications.

Saeji, CedarBough. 2012. "Transmission and Performance: Memory, Heritage, and Authenticity in Korean mask Dance Dramas." PhD dissertation, UCLA.

Sahlins, Marshall. 1981. *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Salmón, Enrique. 2000. "Kincentric Ecology: Indigenous Perceptions of the Human-nature Relationship." *Ecological Applications* 10(5):1327-1332.

Samuel, Raphael. 1994. *Theaters of Memory: Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. London: Verso.

Sanson, Nicholas. 1656. *Le Canada ou le Nouvelle France, &ce*. Paris: Pierre Mariette.

Santos-Granero, Fernando, ed. 2009. *The Occult Life of Things: Native Amazonian Theories of Materiality and Personhood*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Sarradj, Ennes, Christoph Fritzsche, and Thomas Geyer. 2011. "Silent Owl Flight: Bird Flyover Noise Measurements." *AIAA Journal* 49(4):769-779.

Saunt, Claudio. 1999. *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2005. *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Saunt, Claudio, et al. 2006. "Rethinking Race and Culture in the Early South." *Ethnohistory* 53(2):399-406.

Savigliano, Marta E. 1995. *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Scarry, John F. 1990. "Mississippian Emergence in the Fort Walton Area: The Evolution of the Cayson and Lake Jackson Phases." In *The Mississippian Emergence*, edited by Bruce D. Smith, 227-250. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Scarry, John, and Claudine Payne. 1986. "Mississippian Polities in the Forth Walton Area: A Model Generated from the Renfrew-Level Xtent Algorithm." *Southeastern Archaeology* 5(2):79-90.

Schaefer, H. Martin, and Graeme D. Ruxton. 2011. *Plant-Animal Communication*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Schechner, Richard. 1993. *The Future of Ritual: Writings on Culture and Performance*. London: Routledge.

Schechner, Richard, and Willa Appel, eds. 1990. *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theater and Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1992. *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schupman Jr., Edwin. 1984. "Current Musical Practices of the Creek Indians as Examined through the Green Corn Ceremonies of the Tulsa Cedar River and Fish Pond Stomp Grounds." M.A. thesis, Miami University of Oxford, Ohio

Schwartz, Joan M., and Terry Cook. 2002. "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory." *Archival Science* 2(1):1-19.

Schwarze, Edmund. 1923. *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States*. Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society Special Series, Vol 1. Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Company.

Sears, William H. 1962. "An Investigation of Prehistoric Processes on the Gulf Coastal Plain." Manuscript on file. National Science Foundation. Washington.

———. 1964. "The Southeastern United States." In *Prehistoric Man in the New World*, edited by J. D. Jennings and E. Norbeck, 259-287. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1967. "The Tierra Verde Burial Mound." *The Florida Anthropologist* 20:25-74.

———. 1977. "Prehistoric Culture Areas and Culture Change on the Gulf Coastal Plain." In *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, edited by C. E. Cleland, 152-185. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology.

Seeger, Anthony. 1981. *Nature and Society in Central Brazil: The Suya Indiana of Mato Grosso*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

———. 1986. "The Role of Sound Archives in Ethnomusicology Today." *Ethnomusicology* 30(2):261-276.

———. 1991. "When Music Makes History." In *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, edited by Stephen Blum, Philip V. Bohlman, and Daniel M. Neuman, 23-34. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———. 1994. "Whoever We Are Today, We Can Sing You a Song about It." In *Music and Black Ethnicity: the Caribbean and South America*, edited by Gerard H. Béhague, 1-16. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

———. 2001. "Intellectual Property and Audio Visual Archives and Collections." In *Folk Heritage Collections in Crisis*, 36-47. Washington, DC: Council on Library and Information Resources.

———. 2002. "Archives as Part of Community Traditions." In *Music Archiving in the World: Papers presented at the Conference on the Occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv*, edited by Gabriele Berlin and Artur Simon, 41-47. Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung.

———. [1987] 2004. *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———. 2006. "New Technology Requires New Collaborations: Changing Ourselves to Better Shape the Future." *Musicology Australia* 27:94-111.

———. 2013. "Focusing Perspectives and Establishing Boundaries and Power: Why the Suyá/ Kisêdjê Sing for the Whites in the Twenty-First Century." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 22(3):362-376.

———. 2015. "What do the Suyá Think about Why They Sing? Lessons from the Portuguese Edition of a 1987 Book." Lecture for Center for World Music, UCLA, 27 October.

Seeger, Anthony, and Shubha Chaudhuri. 2004. *Archives for the Future: Global Perspectives on Audiovisual Archives in the 21st Century*. Calcutta: Seagull Press.

Şekercioğlu, Çağan. 2006. "Increasing Awareness of Avian Ecological Function." *Trends in Ecology and Evolution*. 21(8):464-471.

Sellers, Ovid R. 1941. "Musical Instruments of Israel." *The Biblical Archaeologist* 4(3):33-47.

Sewell, William. 2005. *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shadow, Robert A. 2011. "Plant Fact Sheet for Yaupon, *Ilex vomitoria*." USDA-Natural Resources Conservation Service. Nacogdoches, Texas: East Texas Plant Materials Center.

Shebitz, Daniela J., and Robin W. Kimmerer. 2004. "Population Trends and Habitat Characteristics of Sweetgrass, *Anthoxanthum nitens*: Integration of Traditional and Scientific Ecological Knowledge." *Journal of Ethnobotany* 24(1):93-111.

Sheets-Johnstone, Maxine. 2009a. "Animation: The Fundamental, Essential, and Properly Descriptive Concept." *Continental Philosophy Review* 42, 375-400.

———. 2009b. *The Corporeal Turn: An Interdisciplinary Reader*. Charlottesville, VA: Imprint Academic.

Shorter, David Delgado. 2009. *We Will Dance Our Truth:* Yaqui *History in Yoeme Performances*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

———. Forthcoming, April 2016. "Spirituality." In *The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History*, edited by Fredrick Hoxie. London: Oxford University Press.

Simard, Suzanne. 2015. "Conversations in the Forest: The Roots of Nature's Equanimity." *SGI Quarterly* 78:8-9.

Simard, Suzanne, and Daniel M. Durall. 2004. "Mycorrhizal Networks: A Review of their Extent, Function, and Importance." *Canadian Journal of Botany* 82:1140-1165.

Simard, Suzanne, et al. 2012. "Mycorrhizal Networks: Mechanisms, Ecology, and Modelling." *Fungal Biology Review* 26:39-60.

Sklar, Deidre. 2001. *Dancing with the Virgin: Body and Faith in the Fiesta of Tortugas, New Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Small, Christopher.1998. *Musicking: The Meaning of Performance and Listening*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press.

Smart, Mary Ann, ed. 2000. *Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Smiraglia, Richard R. 2005. "Instantiation: Toward a Theory." In *Conference Proceedings for the Canadian Association for Information Science: "Data, Information, and Knowledge in a Networked World*, edited by Liwen Vaughan. http://www.cais-acsi.ca/search.asp?year=2005

Smith, Bruce D. 1978. *Mississippian Settlement Patterns*. New York: Academic Press.

———. 1990. "Introduction: Research on the Origins of Mississippian Chiefdoms in Eastern North America." In *The Mississippian Emergence*, edited by Bruce D. Smith, 1-8. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Smith, Laurajane. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge.

Smith, Laurajane, and Natsuko Akagawa. 2009. *Intangible Heritage*. London: Routledge.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. [1999] 2003. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.

Smith, Nicholas N. 1962. "St. Francis Indian Dances – 1960." *Ethnomusicology* 6(1):15-18.

Snyder, Allegra Fuller. 1974."The Dance Symbol." In *CORD Research Annual VI New Dimensions in Dance Research: Anthology and Dance—The American Indian*. New York: CORD.

Songer, Catherine J., and Joel J. Mintzes. 1994. "Understanding Cellular Respiration: An Analysis of Conceptual Change in College Biology." *Journal of Research in Science Teaching* 31(6):621-637.

Speck, Frank G. 1907a. "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town." *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 2(2). Washington, DC.

———. 1907b. "Notes on Chickasaw Ethnology and Folk-Lore." *Journal of American Folklore* 20(76):50-58.

———. 1907c. "Some Outlines of Aboriginal Culture in the Southeastern United States." *American Anthropologist* 9(2):287-295.

———. [1909] 2004. *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*. Introduction by Jason Baird Jackson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

———. 1911a. "Missions in the Creek Nation." *Southern Workman* 40:206-208.

———. 1911b. *Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians*. *Anthropological Publications*, 1, no. 2. Philadelphia: The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

Speck, Frank G., Leonard Broom, and Will West Long. 1951. *Cherokee Dance and Drama*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Spencer, Paul, ed. 1985. *Society and the Dance: The Social Anthropology of Process and Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stanley, Douglas. [1929] 1932. *The Science of Voice*. New York: Karl Fischer.

Steedman, Carolyn Kay. 1987. *Landscape for a Good Woman: A Story of Two Lives*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Stevenson, George William. 1977. "The Hymnody of the Choctaw Indians of Oklahoma." PhD Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Stevenson, Robert. 1973. "English Sources for Indian Music until 1882." *Ethnomusicology* 17(3):399-442.

Stille, Alexander. 2002. *The Future of the Past*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Stokes, Martin. 2010. *The Republic of Love: Cultural Intimacy in Turkish Popular Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stuppan, Wolfgang. 1964. "The German Folksong Archives (Deutsches Volksliedarchiv) 1914-1964." *Ethnomusicology* 8(2):166-169.

Sturm, Circe. 1998. "Blood Politics, Racial Classification, and Cherokee National Identity: The Trials and Tribulations of the Cherokee Freedman." *American Indian Quarterly* 22(1/2):230-258.

———. 2002. *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sturtevant, William C. 1954. "The Mikasuki Seminole: Medical Beliefs and Practices." PhD Dissertation, Yale University.

———. 1960. "A Seminole Medicine Maker." In *In the Company of Man: Twenty Portraits by Anthropologists*, edited by Joseph B. Casagrande, 505-532. New York: Harper and Row.

Sugarman, Jane. 1997. *Engendering Song: Singing and Subjectivity at Prespa Albanian Weddings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sundberg, Johan. 1987. *The Science of the Singing Voice*. Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press.

Swan, Caleb. 1795. "Position and State of Manners and Arts in the Creek, or Muskogee Nation in 1791." In *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the United States, Vol. 5*, edited by H. R. Schoolcraft, 251-283. New York: Lippencott.

Swanton, John R. 1911. *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 43. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1912. "The Creek Indians as Mound Builders." *American Anthropologist* 14:320-324

———. 1918. "An Early Account of the Choctaw Indians." *American Anthropologist* 5:51-72.

———. 1922. *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 73. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.

———. 1928a. "Social Organization and the Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy." *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1924-1925*, 23-472. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office.

———. 1928b. "Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians." In *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 473-672. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

———. 1929. *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 88. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1931a. "Modern Square Grounds of the Creek Indians." *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 85(8):1-46.

———. 1931b. *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 103. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1932. "The Green Corn Dance." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 10(2):170-195.

———, ed. 1939. " Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission." House Document 71, 76th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, D.C.

———. 1946. *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 137. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1952. *The Indian Tribes of North America*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 145. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Swanton, John R., and James Owen Dorsey. 1912. *A Dictionary of the Biloxi and Ofo Languages*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 47. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Sweet, Julie Anne. 2002. "Bearing Feathers of the Eagle: Tomochichi's Trip to England." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 86(3):339-371.

Sweet, Jill D. [1985] 2004. *Dances of the Tewa Pueblo Indians: Expressions of New Life*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

Synnott, Anthony. 1993. *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self and Society*. London: Routledge.

Taddia, Elena. 2013. "The Body as an Archive." In *Eighteenth-Century Archives of the Body: Conference Proceedings of the International Workshop "Archives of the Body, Medieval to Early Modern*," edited by Elena Taddia, 3-7. *Epistemocritique*.

Talib, Raidh A., et al. 2015. "The Effect of Fasting on Erectile Function and Sexual Desire on Men in the Month of Ramadan." *Urology Journal* 12(2):2099-2102.

Tammaro, Anna Maria, Melody Madrid, and Vittoe Casarosa. 2013. "Digital Curators' Education: Professional Identity vs. Convergence of LAM (Libraries, Archives, Museums)." In *Digital Libraries and Archives: 8th Italian Research Conference, IRCDL*, edited by Maristella Agosti, Floriana Esposito, Steano Ferilli, and Nicola Ferro, 184-194. Padua: Springer.

Taylor, Diana. 2003. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

———. 2006. "Performance and/as History." *TDR* 50(1): 67-86.

Taylor, Hugh A. 1982-83. "The Collective Memory: Archives and Libraries as Heritage." *Archivaria* 15:118-130.

———. 1995. "'Heritage' Revisited: Documents as Artifacts in the Context of Museums and Material Culture." *Archivaria* 40:8-20.

Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios. 2013. "Laying Claim to Authenticity: Five Anthropological Dilemmas." *Anthropological Quarterly* 86(2): 337-360.

Thiel, Helga. 1986. "Global Update: Sound-documents of the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences of Instruction within Informal Musical Education." *Ethnomusicology* 30(3):387-393.

Thomas, Helen, and Jamilah Ahmed, eds. 2004. *Cultural Bodies: Ethnography and Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Thomas, Nicholas. 1991. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Thompson, L. G. et al. 2000. "A High-resolution Millennial Record of the South Asian Monsoon from Himalayan Ice Cores." *Science* 289(5486):1916-1919.

Thurston, Jean Holowach, Richard E. Hauhart, and James S. Nelson. 1987. "Adaptive Decreases in Amino Acids (Taurine in Particular), Creatine, and Electrolytes Prevent Cerebral Edema in Chronically Hyponatremic Mice: Rapid Correction (Experimental Model of Central Pontine Myelinolysis) Causes Dehydration and Shrinkage of Brain." *Metabolic Brain Disease* 2(4):223-241.

Tibbo, Helen R., and Christopher A. Lee. 2010. " Convergence through Capabilities: Digital Curation Education for Libraries, Archives, and Museums."In *Archiving 2010: Preservation Strategies and Imaging Technologies for Cultural Heritage Institutions and Memory Organizations*, edited by Simon Tanner and Astrid Verheusen, 53-57. Den Haag: Society for Imaging Science and Technology.

Tindall, Robert. 2013. "Snake Medicine: How Animism Heals." *European Journal of Ecopsychology* 4:47-63.

Titon, Jeff Todd. 2013. "The Nature of Ecomusicology." *Música e Cultura*8(1):8-18.

Tomlinson, Gary. 2007. *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tompkins, Peter, and Christopher Bird. 1973. *The Secret Life of Plants*. New York: Harper and Row.

Topp-Fargion, Janet. 2008. "Recordings in Context: The Place of Ethnomusicology Archives in the 21st Century." *IASA Journal* 30:61-65.

Trabelsi, Khaled, et al. 2011. "Effects of Ramadan Fasting on Biochemical and Anthropometric Parameters in Physically Active Men." *Asian Journal of Sports Medicine* 2(3):134-144.

Trant, Jennifer. 2009. "Emerging Convergence? Thoughts on Museums, Archives, Libraries, and Professional Training." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 24(4):369-387.

Treat, James, ed. 1996. *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada*. New York: Routledge.

Trepanowski, John F., and Richard J. Bloomer. 2010. "The Impact of Religious Fasting on Human Health." *Nutrition Journal* 9(57). http://www.nutritionj.com/content/9/1/57

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. N.d. "Unruly Edges: Mushrooms as Companion Species." Unpublished manuscript. Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Cruz.

Tyler, Edward Burnett. 1871. *Primitive Culture*. London: John Murray.

Underhill, Karen. 2006. "Protocols for Native American Archival Materials." First Archivists Circle. http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html

UNESCO. N.D. "What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?" http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/01851-EN.pdf

Urban, Greg. 1994. "The Social Organization of the Southeast." In *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture*, edited by Raymond. J. DeMallie and Alfonso Ortiz, 172-193. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

VanderBerg, Robert. 2012. "Converging Libraries, Archives, and Museums: Overcoming Distinctions, but for What Gain?" *Archives and Manuscripts* 40(3):136-146.

Van Leeuwen, Theo. 2001. "What is Authenticity?" *Discourse Studies* 3(4):392-397.

Vannini, Philip and J. Patrick Williams. 2009. "Authenticity in Culture, Self, and Society." In *Authenticity in Culture, Self, and Society*, edited by Philip Vannini and J. Patrick Williams, 1-18. Surrey: Ashby Publishing.

Vaughan, Alden T. 2006. *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vecsey, Christopher. 1990. *Religion in Native North America*. Moscow: University of Idaho Press.

———, ed. 1991. *Handbook of American Indian Religious Freedom*. New York: Crossroad.

Vitebsky, Piers. 2003. "From Cosmology to Environmentalism: Shamanism as Local Knowledge in a Global Setting." In *Shamanism: A Reader*, edited by Graham Harvey, 276-298. London: Routledge.

Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1998. "Cosmological Dexis and Amerindian Perspectivism." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4(3):469-488.

———. 2003. "Perspectivismo y multinaturalismo en la América indígena."["Perspective and Multiculturalism in Indigenous America"]. In *Racionalidad y discurso mítico* ["*Rationality and Mythic Discourse*"], edited by Adolfo Chaparro Amaya and Christian Shumacher, 191-243. Bogotá: Centro Editorial Universidad del Rosario.

———. 2004. "Exchanging Perspectives: The Transformation of Objects into Subjects in Amerindian Ontologies." *Common Knowledge* 10(3):463-484.

von Reck, Philipp Georg Friedrich. 1980. *Von Reck's Voyage: Drawings and Journal of Philipp Georg Friedrich von Reck*. Edited by Kristian Hvidt. Savanna, Georgia: Beehive Press.

Waibel, Günter, and Ricky Erway. 2009. "Think Globally, Act Locally: Library, Archive, and Museum Collaboration." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 24(4):323-335.

Walker, Amelia Bell. (Now Bell, Amelia Rector.) 1977. "Instant Indians: An Analysis of Cultural Identity in the American South." *The Southern Anthropologist* 6(2):15-25.

———. 1979a. "Coming from the Sun: The Kashita Myth." MA thesis, University of Chicago.

———. 1979b. "The Kashita Myth." *Anthropology Tomorrow: The Chicago Review of Anthropology* 12(1):46-63.

Warburton, Edward C. 2011. "Of Meanings and Movements: Re-Languaging Embodiment in Dance Phenomenology and Cognition." *Dance Research Journal* 43(2):65-83.

Waring Jr., Antonio J., and Preston Holder. 1945. "A Prehistoric Ceremonial Complex in the Southeastern United States." *American Anthropologist* 47(1):1–34.

Waselkov, Gregory A. 1997. "Changing Strategies of Indian Field Location in the Early Historic Southeast." In *People, Plants, and Landscape: Case Studies in Paleoethnobotany*, 179 94. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Waselkov, Gregory A. and Kathryn E. Holland Braund, eds. 1995. *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Webb, S. David, Jerald T. Milanich, Roger Alexon, and James Dunbar. 1983. "An Extinct Bison Kill Site, Jefferson County, Florida." *The Florida Anthropologist* 36(1-2):81-82.

Wenhold, Lucy. 1936. "A Seventeenth Century Letter of Gabriel Vara Calderon, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida." *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. 95. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Wesson, Cameron B. 2008 *Households and Hegemony: Early Creek Prestige Goods, Symbolic Capital, and Social Power*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

White, Donald E. 1967. "Some Principles of Geyser Activity, Mainly from Steamboat Springs, Nevada." *American Journal of Science* 265(8):641-684.

White, Hayden. 1999. Keynote Address, Interdisciplinary Scholars Network, 12 November. <http://www.tulane.edu/~isn/hwkeynote.htm>.

Whitehead, Amy. 2013a. "The New Fetishism: Western Statue Devotion and a Matter of Power." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*, edited by Graham Harvey, 260-270. Durham, UK: Acumen Publishing.

———. 2013b. *Religious Statues and Personhood: Testing the Role of Materiality*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Wickman, Patricia Riles. 1999. *The Tree that Bends: Discourse, Power, and the Survival of the Maskoki People*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Willey, Gordon R. 1949. *Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast.* Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 113. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Williams, Drid. [1991] 2004. *Anthropology and the Dance: Ten Lectures*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Williams, Peter J. le B., and Paul A. del Giorgio, eds. 2005. *Respiration in Aquatic Ecosystems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williams, Walter L., ed. 1979. *Southeastern Indians since the Removal Era*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Williamson, Ray. 1984. *Living the Sky: The Cosmos of the American Indian*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Witthoft, John. 1946. "The Cherokee Green Corn Medicine and the Green Corn Festival." *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 36(7):213-219.

———. 1949. *Green Corn Ceremonialism in the Eastern Woodlands*. *Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan* 13. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wright, Jr., Amos J. 2003. *Historic Indian Towns in Alabama, 1540-1838*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Wulff, Helena. 2006. "Experiencing the Ballet Body: Pleasure, Pain, Power." In *The Musical Human*, edited by S. A. Reily, 125-141. Burlington, VT; Ashgate.

Würsig, Bernd, et al. 1984. "Behavior of Bowhead Whales, *Balaena mysticetus*, Summering in the Beaufort Sea: Surfacing, Respiration, and Dive Characteristics." *Canadian Journal of Zoology* 62(1):1910-1921.

Young, Robert J. C. [1990] 2004. *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. London: Routledge.

Yow, Valerie Raleigh. 2005. *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences*. Lanham, Maryland: Altamira Press.

Zemlin, W. R. 1998. *Speech and Hearing Science: Anatomy and Physiology*. Needham Heights, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.

Zweifel, Roman, and Fabiene Zeugin. 2008. "Ultra-Sonic Acoustic Emissions in Drought-Stressed Trees—More than Signals from Cavitation?" *New Phytologist* 179(4):1070-79.

Archival Sources

Bartram Family Papers (Coll. 0036), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA
"A View of the Ancient Chunky Yard," in William Bartram's answers to Benjamin Smith Barton's queries about Indians (DAMS 2003), Vol. 10
"Plan of the Musgogulgee or upper Creek Town," in William Bartram's answers to Benjamin Smith Barton's queries about Indians (DAMS 2003), Vol. 10
"Plan of the Public Square," in William Bartram's answers to Benjamin Smith Barton's queries about Indians (DAMS 2003), Vol. 10

PAP: Palachicola Project Archival Collection, World Community Productions Archive (WCPA), Finksburg, MD
A Letter Regarding the Great Humiliation of the Apalachicola Tribal Town of Creek Indians. PAP8.2.
Adler, Will. Letter to Robert W. Trepp. 22 October 1979. PAP8.10.
Cox, Claude. Letter to Michael Blumenthal. 18 September 1978. PAP8.10.
Cox, Claude. Letter to L. Ross Morrell. 22 August 1979. PAP8.10.
Cox, Claude. Letter to Director, National Park Service. 5 September 1979. Pap8.10.
Creation Story. PAP8.2.
Curren, Sam. Interview. 23 November 2015. PAP11.
Discussion on Berry Dance Music. 05 May 2015. PAP11.
Grantham, Bill. Interview. 24 November 2015. PAP11.
Hakopē. Email to Ryan Koons et. al., 7:59AM 12 February 2016. PAP7.18.
Hakopē. Email to Ryan Koons et. al., 9:21AM 12 February 2016. PAP7.18.
Hakopē. Interview. 23 January 2009. PAP1.9.
Hakopē. Interview. 26 January 2009. PAP1.9.
Hakopē. Interview. 7 December 2009. PAP1.9.
Hakopē. Interview. 8 August 2012. PAP11
Hakopē. Interview. 17 August 2012. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 19 June 2014. PAP1.9.
Hakopē. Interview. 28 July 2014. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 24 December 2014. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 19 January 2015. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 11 April 2015. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 15 April 2015. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 26 April 2015. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 05 May 2015. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 30 June 2015. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 23 August 2015. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 7 February 2016. PAP11.
Hakopē. Interview. 8 February 2016. PAP11.
Hittman, Michael. Letter. 1 November 1979. PAP8.10.
Hokte Eco. Email to Ryan Koons et. al., 16 December 2014. PAP7.15.
Hokte Eco. Interview 01 December 2008. PAP1.10.
Hokte Eco. Interview. 25 January 2009. PAP1.10.
Maxey, Rosemary McCombs. Interview. 18 November 2015. PAP11.

Migration Legend of the Creek Indians. PAP8.2.
Millar, Andrew. Letter to Hakopē. 19 February 2015. PAP8.2.
Ribbon Dance Discussion. PAP8.2.
Rutherford, Paris. Email to Ryan Koons, 15 November 2015. PAP7.17.
Rutherford, Paris. Email to Ryan Koons, 17 November 2015. PAP7.17.
STE-006-Turtle Dance. PAP11.
Tesar, Louis. Letter to Robert W. Trepp. 15 November 1979. PAP8.10.
Trepp, Robert W. Letter to Wayne R. Faircloth. 17 August 1978. PAP8.10.
Trepp, Robert W. Letter to Hakopē. 21 August 1978. PAP8.10.
Trepp, Robert W. Letter to Hakopē. 2 July 1979. PAP8.10.
Trepp, Robert W. Letter to Hakopē. 20 August 1979. PAP8.10.
Trepp, Robert W. Letter to the Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs. 2 November 1979. PAP8.10.
Trepp, Robert W. Letter. 20 September 1982. PAP8.10.
Trepp, Robert W. Letter to Chief of Police, Tallahassee. 19 November 1982. PAP8.10.
Trepp, Robert W. Letter to James Miller and George Percy. 28 September 1992. PAP8.10.
Trepp, Robert W. and David Proctor. Letter to Cecil Andrus. 13 November 1979. PAP8.10.
Vhakv-Hvyv. Interview. 29 November 2008. PAP1.4.
Vhicv. Email to Ryan Koons et. al., 15 December 2014. PAP7.15.
Yvhv. Interview. 30 November 2008. PAP1.8.

Objects Collection, National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), Suitland, MD
Object 027493.000, women's leg rattles
Object 075133.000, ceramic pot
Object 075146.000, ceramic pot
Object 102884.000, pipe tomahawk
Object 180406.000, ceramic pot

University of West Florida University Archives/West Florida History Center, Pensacola, FL
WF804/WF804, Eastern Creek Claims Docket Index