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#### **Chapter 4: Occupational History of Town Creek**

Town Creek provides an opportunity to examine the changes that took place within a Mississippian community over a long period of time. Part of this study includes a diachronic comparison of the community before and after mound construction. Another aspect of this study is to explore synchronic intracommunity differences. In this chapter, a brief history of the late prehistoric through early historic-period community that existed at Town Creek is presented. Diachronic and synchronic aspects of Town Creek's architecture are addressed by attributing architectural elements to different periods in Town Creek's history. The history of Town Creek is discussed in terms of different occupations. While these occupations are based on the phases discussed in Chapter 2, the two cannot be equated because it does not appear that the site was occupied for the entire Town Creek or Leak phases as I have defined them.

The discussion of each occupation consists of the buildings, burial clusters, and other architectural elements that appear to date to the same period, at least in an archaeological sense. A number of excavated burials and other features, as well as some unexcavated structures, are not assigned to an occupation because it is unclear where they should be placed temporally. Contemporaneity is determined directly in some cases based on associated ceramics or patterns of overlap and superposition. In other cases, it is inferred based on architectural similarities (e.g., examples of a structure type date to the same phase). Also, spatial relationships among architectural elements and overall site structure are

considered. While each occupation is discussed as a discrete stage in Town Creek's history, the evolution of the site likely was a gradual process and the reader should keep in mind that each occupation is an arbitrary division—based on attributes of ceramics, architecture, and site structure—of a continuous history.

#### PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN THE SOUTHEAST

Mississippian towns generally can be thought of as being divided into domestic and public spheres (Hally 1994:233; Holley 1999:28; Lewis et al. 1998; Polhemus 1990:134). The domestic sphere would have included the structures and facilities used and controlled by individual households to perform the production and consumption activities necessary for the household's maintenance (Wilk and Netting 1984). As the composite product of the entire community's daily activities, the domestic sphere constitutes the bulk of most archaeological collections. I assume that domestic structures were built by household or community groups that drew from a long tradition of efficient construction techniques (see McGuire and Schiffer 1983:278). Assuming also that these techniques would have been stable and subject to only gradual change, contemporary dwellings in the same community should be similar architecturally. Since each household would have performed its activities largely independently, the domestic structures across a community should be characterized by repetitive facilities and assemblages (Winter 1976:25). In the South Appalachian Mississippian region, houses have been identified based on their similarity in size and style as well as on the presence of artifacts and ecofacts that are consistent with domestic activities (Hally and Kelly 1998:53).

The public sphere cross-cut the domestic by drawing from individual families resources and people to fill public roles within the community (Dillehay 1990:230). The activities that took place within the public sphere included the community-level storage of resources, the performance of rituals, and the conducting of political affairs (Hally 1996:93-94). Forms of Mississippian public architecture included special-purpose buildings, delineated open spaces, monuments made from wooden poles, and earthen platform mounds (Knight 1985; Lewis et al. 1998).

Public structures, as focal points within the community, are distinct from domestic buildings for functional as well as ideological reasons (Marcus and Flannery 1996:87). Mississippian public buildings were often literally set apart, either vertically or horizontally, from the rest of the community. Public buildings were located in prominent places (e.g., mound summits, adjoining the plaza, in a central location, or on a natural elevation) (Holley 1999:30; Kelly 1990; Polhemus 1990:131; Schroedl 1998:78; Sullivan 1987:27). Mississippian public buildings often are distinguished from domestic structures by both external and internal construction characteristics. They are usually larger than contemporaneous houses (Blitz 1993a:84; Hally 1994:241; Hally and Kelly 1998:54; Holley 1999:30; Polhemus 1990:131; Rudolph 1984:33; Ryba 1997:44; Schnell et al. 1981:137; Schroedl 1998; Sullivan 1995). Unlike domestic buildings, some public structures were paired with smaller buildings (Blitz 1993a:70; Hally 1994:241; Polhemus 1990:131; Rudolph 1984:33; Schroedl 1998:70). Public buildings sometimes were oriented the same as other nondomestic buildings (Blitz 1993a:84). Some public buildings were constructed differently (e.g., with earth-embanked walls) (Rudolph 1984:33) or rebuilt more frequently (Blitz 1993a:82; Kelly 1990; Pauketat 1992:37) than domestic structures. Interiors of some public

structures were distinct because of unique furniture (e.g., prepared clay altars, benches, or hearths) (Kelly 1990; Polhemus 1990:131; Rudolph 1984:33; Schroedl 1998:70), more partitions (Hally and Kelly 1998:54; Holley 1999:30; Ryba 1997:35; Schroedl 1998:70; Shapiro and McEwan 1992:10), or more open space between the central support posts (Polhemus 1990:131). Additionally, many Mississippian public buildings contain associated burials considered to be unique because of their associated artifacts (e.g., large quantities and/or high quality) or age-sex composition (e.g., an overrepresentation of adult males) (Hally 1994:241-245; Polhemus 1990:131; Sullivan 1987:27, 1995:117-118).

Public and domestic structures are distinguished at Town Creek based on attributes of architecture that include size, location, and construction techniques, as well as the types and arrangements of associated features. The ensuing discussion considers the most common type of structure domestic while those that have unique architectural attributes (e.g., size, pairing, placement) are considered public. Public structures are recognized using certain attributes of their construction—primarily size, orientation, and construction methods. Public buildings also are identified based on aspects of their associated burial population, primarily burial density and age-sex profiles.

#### LATE WOODLAND-PERIOD OCCUPATION (CA. A.D. 800 TO 1000)

Pottery that predates the Pee Dee occupation is ubiquitous at Town Creek, which clearly indicates the presence of a Woodland-period occupation. Unfortunately, this component is typically manifested as a few Woodland sherds mixed with predominantly Mississippian materials (see Coe 1995:90). The only exceptions are Feature 58/Mg3 and several of the smaller features it superimposes. Thus, Structure 18 appears to be the only

clearly Woodland-period structure at Town Creek. The presence of a stone, bent-tube, winged pipe with incised geometric designs (Figure 3.60) in one of the burials (Burial 135/Mg3) in Structure 18 indicates that it is a Late Woodland construction (see Irwin et al. 1999:77).

Structure 18 consists of a large (36 ft diameter), circular arrangement of well-spaced postholes surrounding a broad, shallow circular feature (Feature 58/Mg3). The large area encompassed by the circular posthole pattern and the lack of interior support posts is consistent with it having been an enclosure rather than a roofed building. In Chapter 3, circular constructions approximately 1020 ft<sup>2</sup> or greater in area were interpreted as unroofed enclosures and Structure 18 is 1019 ft<sup>2</sup> in area. The excavators in the field interpreted the circular feature located within this enclosure as a single large feature that superimposed and was superimposed by a number of smaller ones.<sup>1</sup> Coe (1995:90) referred to this set of features as the Yadkin Hearth Circle, which was formed by “a chain of overlapping hearths contained in a circular ditch.” It seems likely that Feature 58/Mg3 represents a palimpsest of numerous features—including hearths, postholes, pits, and burials—that were serially placed in the same, circumscribed space. This would explain why Feature 58/Mg3 superimposed and was in turn superimposed by a number of smaller features. It would also explain why the burials within Structure 18 are all within or adjacent to Feature 58/Mg3 rather than being clustered near the building’s center as is the case with other constructions.

Structure 18 and Feature 58/Mg3 are similar to features that have been documented at several South Appalachian Mississippian sites. One of these is at Coweeta Creek in western North Carolina where a shallow, segmented, circular ditch feature (Feature 37-Ma34) with an opening to the southwest was excavated (Rodning 2004:107). Rodning (2004:353-354)

attributes this feature to a period prior to the Middle Qualla phase (A.D. 1500-1650) founding of the town at Coweeta Creek. Feature 37 at Coweeta Creek and Feature 58 at Town Creek are approximately the same size, with the former being about 40 ft in diameter (Rodning 2004:107) and the latter 36 ft. Interestingly, the circular ditch features at Town Creek and Coweeta Creek are also similar in that they both occupy the same location relative to each site's plaza and single mound. Both are located at the southwest corner of the plaza, just south and east of the mound (Rodning 2004:111). A similar ditch feature, which was associated with Woodland-period Napier-series pottery, was excavated at the Cullowhee Valley School site in western North Carolina (Rodning 2004:353). A similar feature also was found at the Townsend site in eastern Tennessee (Brett Riggs, personal communication 2004), where it has been interpreted as a Woodland mortuary structure. It was clear in the Townsend case that a series of superimposed features had formed a continuous, circular pattern similar to the one in Structure 18 at Town Creek. The repetitive placement of burials and other features in a circumscribed area delineated by an enclosure is consistent with Structure 18 having been used for mortuary ritual, an important part of Woodland period societies at various times and places in the Southeast (Steponaitis 1986:379)

Although Burial Cluster 40 partially superimposes it, Structure 18 was largely not superimposed to the same degree as other structures located around the plaza, even though it is the oldest identified structure at Town Creek. Based on this, it seems likely that its location was marked in some way, possibly by a low earthen mound.<sup>2</sup> In southeastern North Carolina, just to the east of Town Creek in the Sandhills region and southern Coastal Plain, a sand burial-mound tradition marks the Late Woodland period (A.D. 800-1000) (Irwin et al. 1999:79; Ward and Davis 1999:206-210). Most of these burial mounds are circular with a

diameter between 25 and 50 ft (Ward and Davis 1999:206). Structure 18 is 36 ft in diameter which fits comfortably within this range. There is a wide variation in the number of people interred in these mounds, from 10 to 300, and in the types of interments represented (e.g., primary and secondary) (Irwin et al. 1999:61; Ward and Davis 1999:207). The seven burials in Structure 18, all in a flexed position, approximate this range of variation. Additionally, stone pipes are frequently found with burials in these sand mounds (Irwin et al. 1999:73-78). Two stone pipes were found with Burial 135/Mg3 in Structure 18. One of these is a straight, stone smoking tube. The other is a winged, bent-tube pipe with incised geometric designs (Figure 3.60) that is similar to a pipe from the McLean mound (Irwin et al. 1999:Figure 11), a Late Woodland sand burial mound located near the Cape Fear River in Cumberland County (Ward and Davis 1999:207). The one radiocarbon sample from McLean produced a date of A.D. 970  $\pm$  110 (Irwin et al. 1999:62).

In summary, the Late Woodland community at Town Creek appears to have consisted of a single, circular structure that may have been used for mortuary rituals. For several reasons, it is possible that this building was covered with a low mound that was standing when the initial Mississippian community was founded and that it was incorporated into the spatial structure of this community. The sand burial mounds of the Coastal Plain were located away from habitation sites (Ward and Davis 1999:207) and are seen as vacant ritual centers that served dispersed populations (Irwin et al. 1999:80). The ubiquity of Woodland pottery at Town Creek but the dearth of Woodland features is consistent with the site having served initially as a vacant ritual center.

#### TEAL-PHASE OCCUPATION (CA. A.D. 1000 TO 1150)

There are several indications that Town Creek was occupied during the Teal phase, but the evidence is not definitive. First, ceramics diagnostic of the Teal phase (e.g., fine cordmarked and top-thickened rims) are present, although in relatively small numbers. Only 25 fine cordmarked sherds were identified among the 27,704 Pee Dee sherds analyzed for this research from Town Creek. Second, a date of A.D. 1010 $\pm$ 40 (cal. A.D. 1033-1153)—which spans the Teal and early Town Creek phases—is associated with a feature within Structure 5a, a Small Circular Structure that was beneath the mound. Third, there are several architectural elements (e.g., Structure 29 and Palisade Group 1) that appear to date to the early end of Town Creek's Mississippian occupation but that do not fit within the spatial plan of the early Town Creek-phase occupation, suggesting that they predate this occupation (Figure 4.1). Based on this evidence, it is possible that a small-scale, intermittent, or as yet largely unexcavated occupation of Town Creek took place during the Teal phase.

#### EARLY TOWN CREEK-PHASE OCCUPATION (CA. A.D. 1150 TO 1250)

The earliest identifiable, intensive occupation of Town Creek occurred during the early Town Creek phase. This occupation consists of a ring of at least 10 Small Circular Structures surrounding the plaza (Figure 4.2). It is likely that these buildings were dwellings. The clustering of burials and postholes associated with Small Circular Structures suggests that these buildings were moved only slightly or were rebuilt in the same place during the early Town Creek phase. A gap in the western part of this ring of Small Circular Structures contains at least five superimposed rectilinear structures that were public buildings. The shifting and rebuilding of public structures contrasts with the fact that many Small Circular

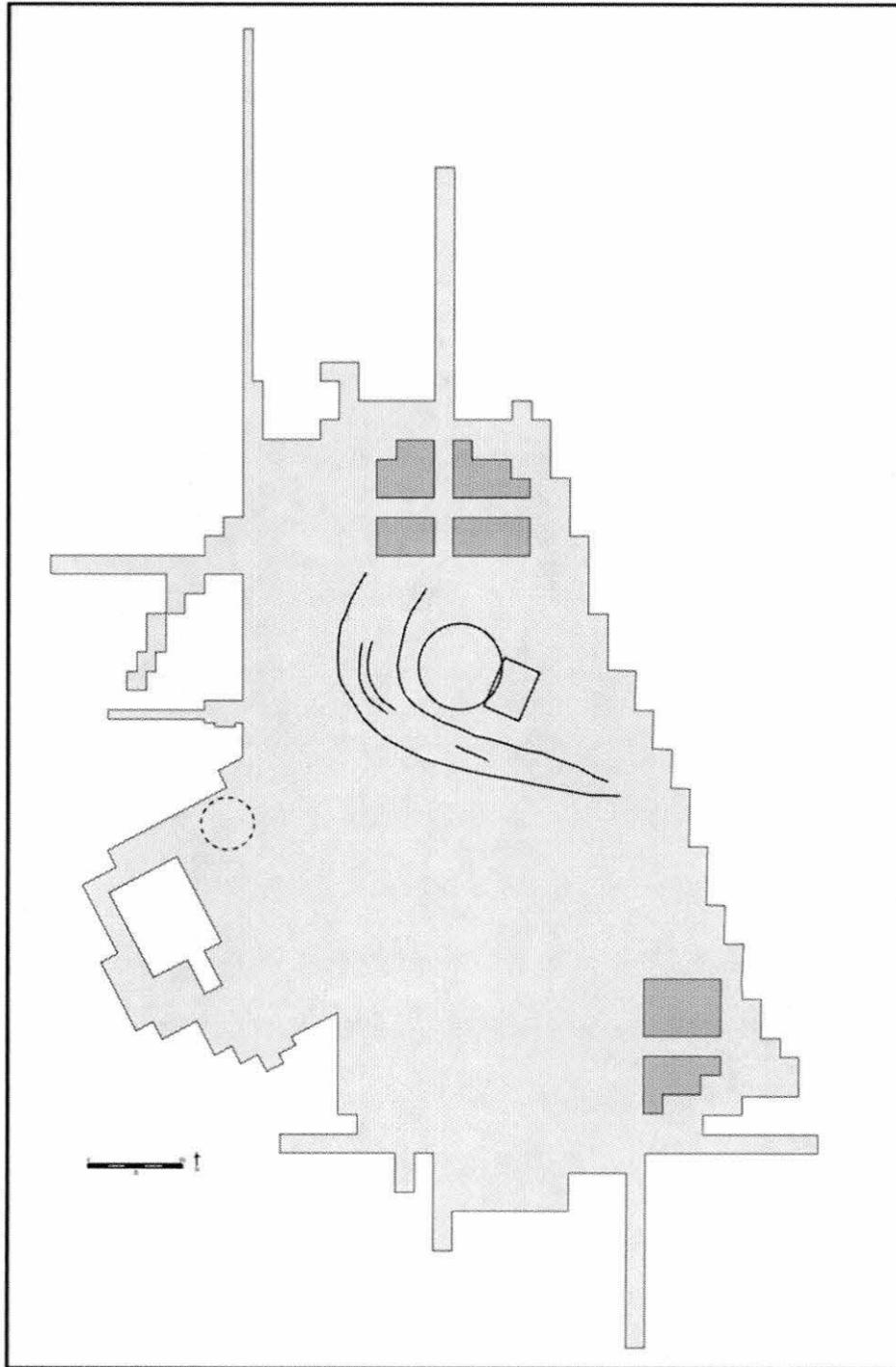


Figure 4.1. Schematic map of possible Teal-phase architectural elements (Note: dashed line indicates structure that may date to this occupation).

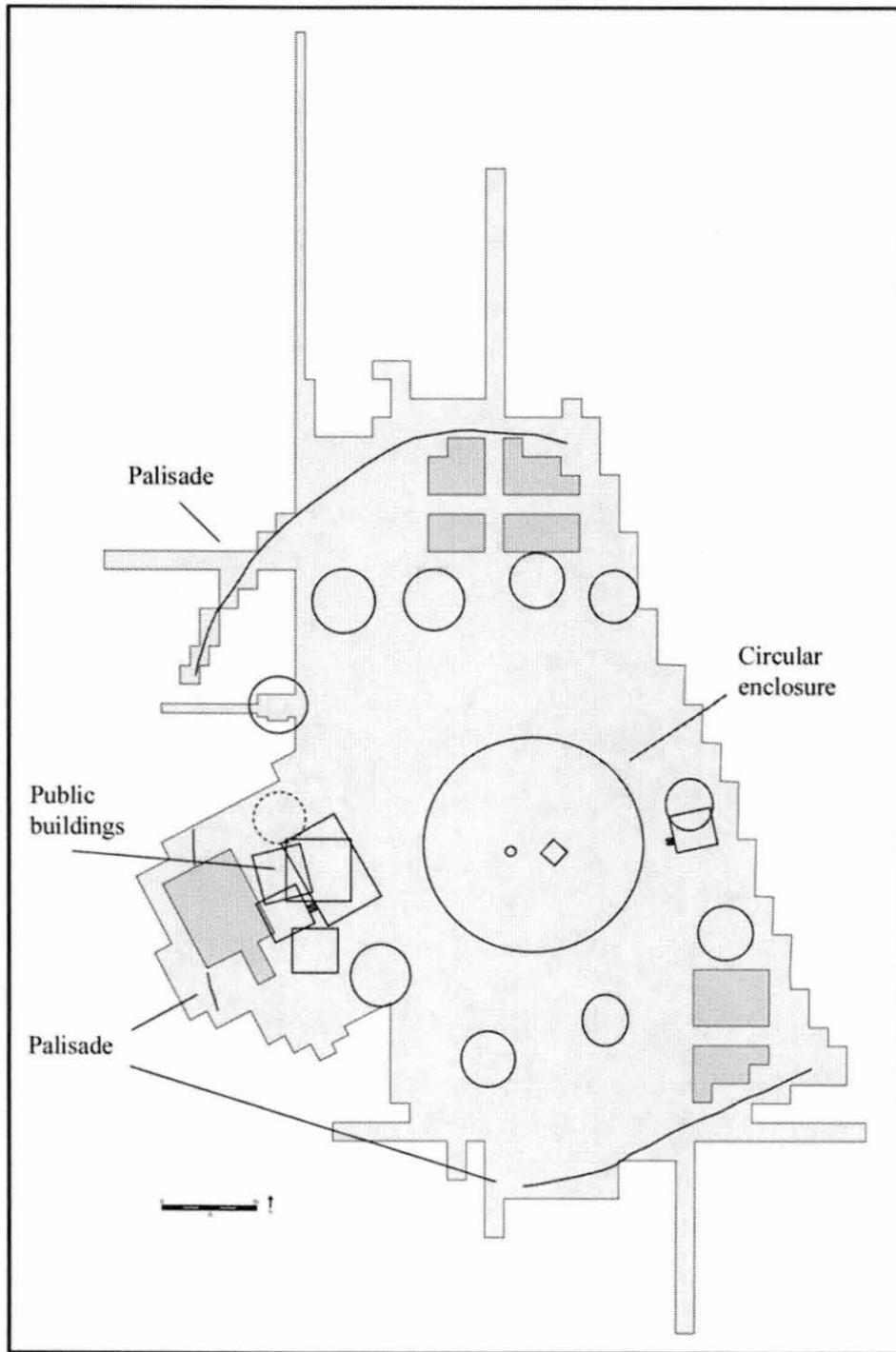


Figure 4.2. Schematic map of the early Town Creek-phase occupation (Note: dashed line indicates structure that may date to this occupation).

Structures were rebuilt in place. Structures 4a and 24 were the first public buildings (Figure 4.3). These were followed by the earth-embanked Structure 4b which was likely paired with a large, rectangular structure to its east. The paired Structures 23a and 23c—an earth-embanked structure and a large, rectangular building that was more ephemeral in construction—were last. It is possible that Structure 22—an earth-embanked building located across the plaza—was in use at the same time as Structure 23a. The two are identical in construction, approximately the same size, and oriented the same. If they were in use at the same time, the two earth-embanked buildings would have faced each other across the plaza with the large, circular enclosure being between them (Figure 4.4).

The most obvious architectural distinction during the early Town Creek-phase occupation is between circular and rectilinear structures. There are several reasons to believe that the rectilinear structures were public in nature. First, the facts that the circular structures are the most numerous and widely distributed suggests that they were dwellings. In contrast, the location of the rectilinear structures in only two parts of the site, locations that later in time would be covered by a platform mound and delineated by an enclosure, is consistent with their having been public buildings. Second, the relatively frequent rebuilding of rectilinear structures on the west side of the plaza and their reconfiguration through time are qualities shared with public buildings at other Mississippian sites (Blitz 1993a:82; Kelly 1990; Knight 1985:113-114; Pauketat 1992:37). Third, the idea that circular and rectilinear structures probably functioned differently during the early Town Creek-phase occupation is supported by a significant difference in burial density between the two (Figure 4.5). A histogram of burial density in structures shows a break in the distribution at 1 burial per 100 ft<sup>2</sup> (Figure 4.6). Structures with burial densities less than this are all rectilinear and located in

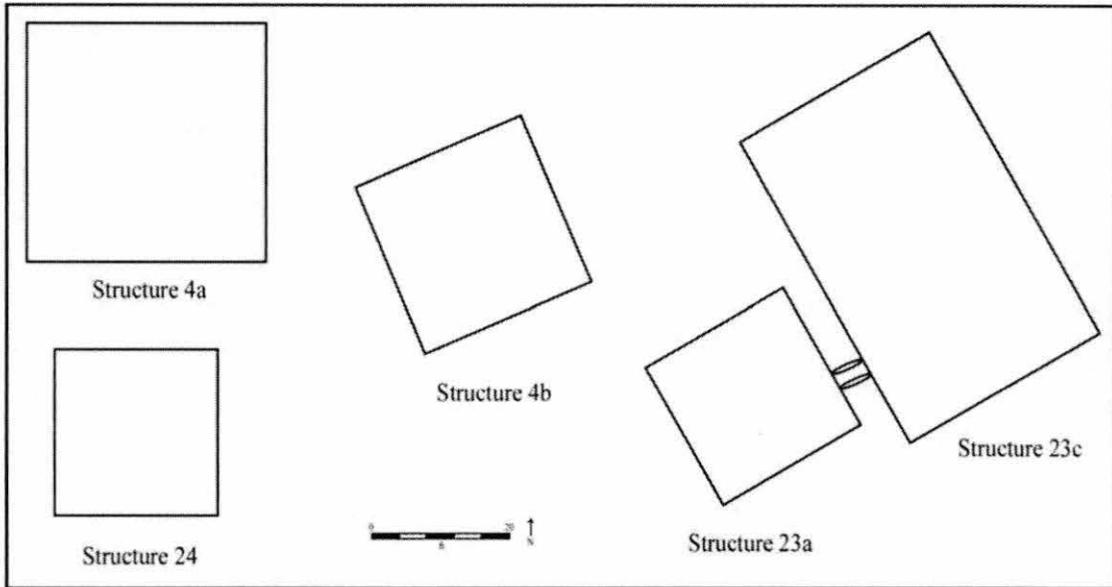


Figure 4.3. Schematic drawings of submound public buildings.

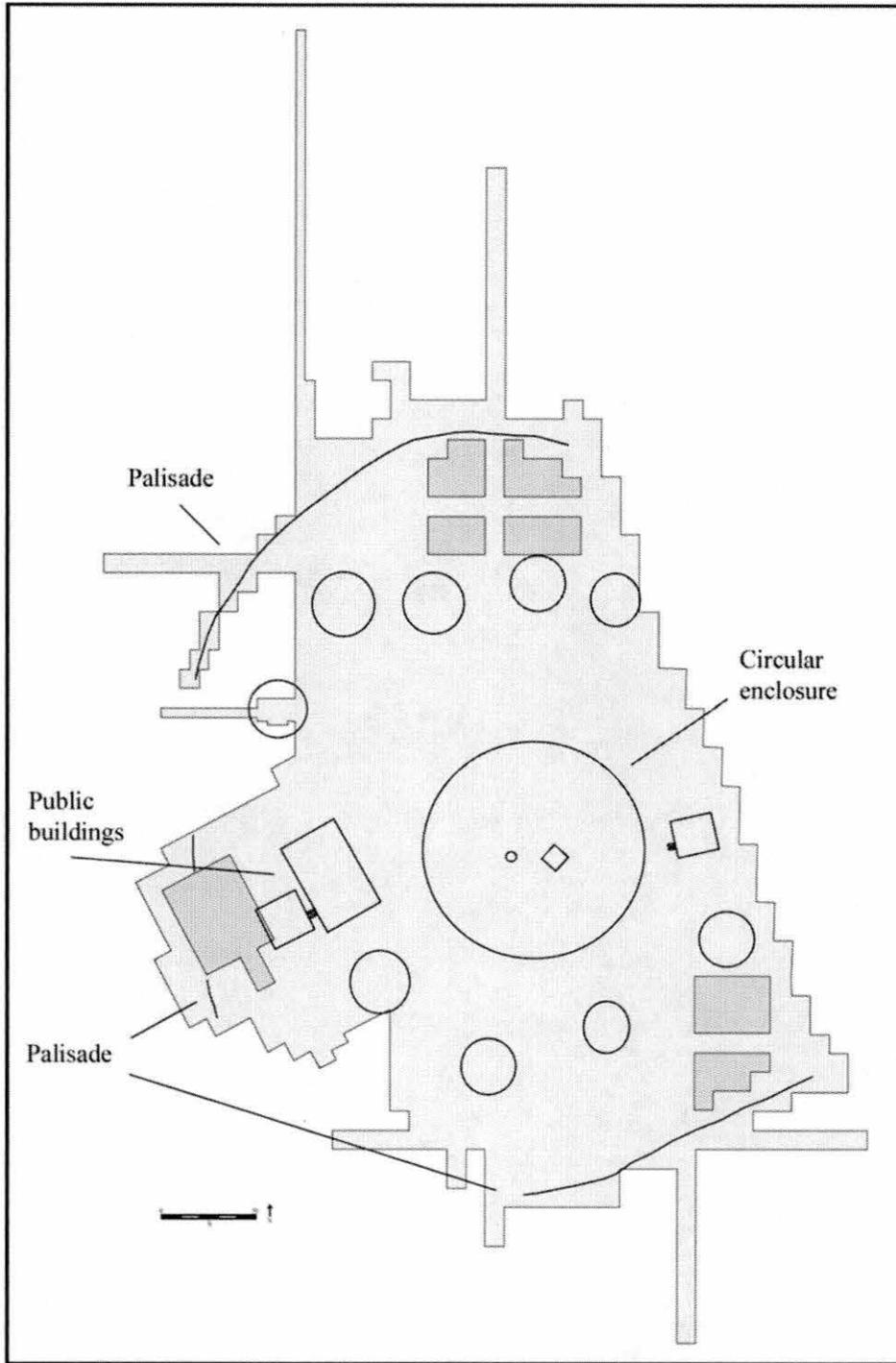


Figure 4.4. Schematic map of the terminal early Town Creek-phase occupation.

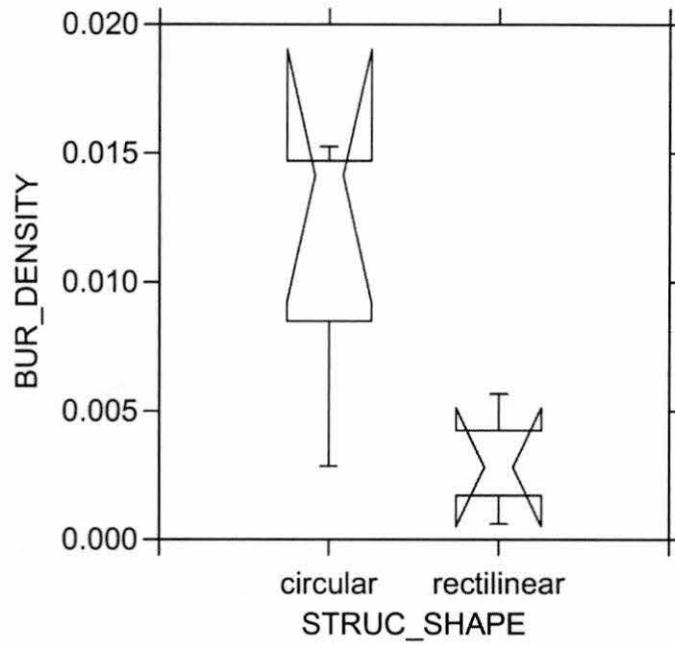


Figure 4.5. Boxplot comparing burial density (count/100 ft<sup>2</sup>) between early Town Creek-phase circular and rectilinear structures.

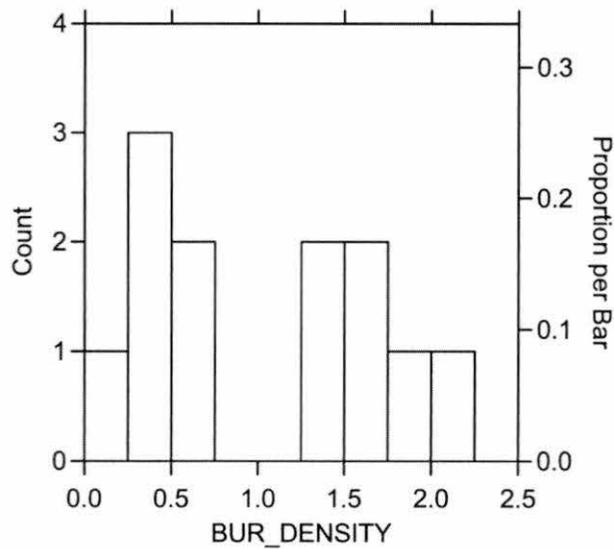


Figure 4.6. Histogram of burial density (count/100 ft<sup>2</sup>) in early Town Creek-phase structures.

submound contexts while those with densities greater than this are all Small Circular Structures found across the rest of the site. The fact that posthole densities, used as a proxy measure of duration of structure use, are significantly higher for rectilinear structures during this occupation<sup>3</sup> (Figure 4.7) indicates that the differences in burial density are not the result of rectilinear structures being used for a shorter amount of time than circular ones. Instead, the lower burial densities for rectilinear structures suggests that different sets of criteria determined who could be buried within each type of structure, with those criteria used for circular structures being more inclusive than those used for rectilinear ones. Fourth, two of the rectilinear structures are distinguished by their large size, a common characteristic of Mississippian public buildings (Blitz 1993a:84; Hally 1994:241; Hally and Kelly 1998:54; Holley 1999:30; Polhemus 1990:131; Rudolph 1984:33; Ryba 1997:44; Schnell et al. 1981:137; Schroedl 1998; Sullivan 1995). A histogram of structure area for early Town Creek-phase structures shows a break in the distribution at 1000 ft<sup>2</sup> (Figure 4.8). The two structures that are larger than this are submound, rectilinear structures 4a and 23c. Both of these were sufficiently distinct to prevent me from assigning either of them to a structure type (see Chapter 3). Fifth, while three of the other rectilinear structures—Structures 4b, 22, and 23a—are within the same size range as circular, domestic structures, these rectilinear structures are distinct among early Town Creek-phase buildings because they had earth-embanked walls and at least two of them had entrance trenches. Earth-embanking is a common feature of public buildings in the South Appalachian Mississippian area (Hally 1994:154). Sixth, there are clear relationships among all of the rectilinear structures. Structure 22 faces Structure 23a across the plaza. Structures 23a and 23c were joined by an entrance trench. Although the exact spatial and chronological relationships are unclear,

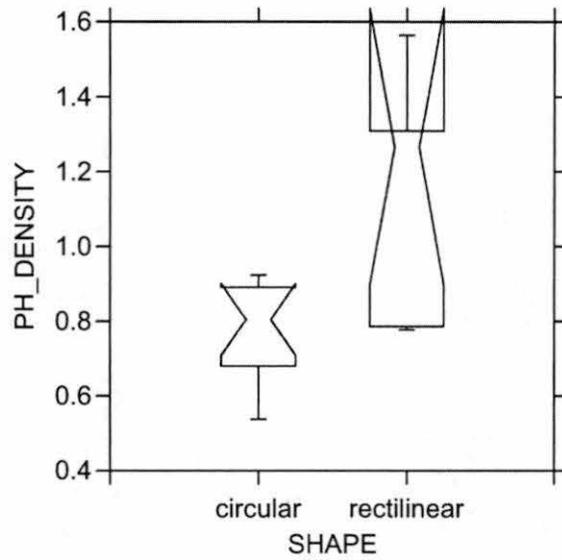


Figure 4.7. Boxplot comparing posthole density (count/perimeter) between excavated circular and rectilinear early Town Creek-phase structures.

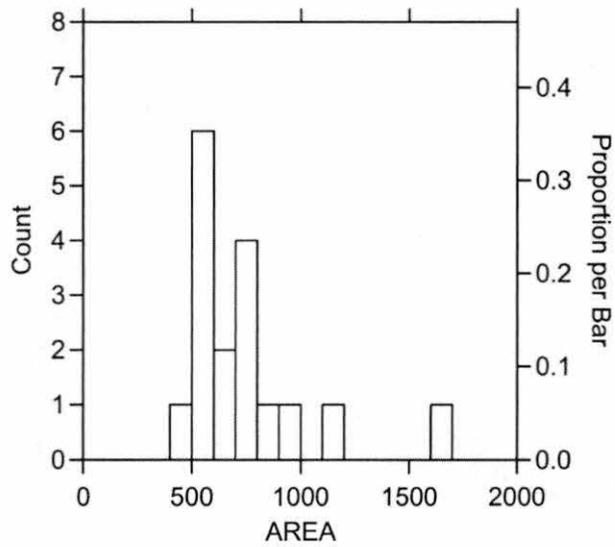


Figure 4.8. Histogram of early Town Creek-phase structures by area (ft<sup>2</sup>).

internal features of Structures 4a and 4b suggest that these structures were built in reference to each other. Also, Structure 24 is located close to and oriented the same as Structure 4b. The existence of paired structures—clearly the case with Structures 23a and 23c, possibly so with Structure 4a, and probably so with Structures 4b and 24—is a common element of Mississippian public architecture (Blitz 1993a:70; Hally 1994:241; Polhemus 1990:131; Rudolph 1984:33; Schroedl 1998:70).

The plaza was mostly open during the early Town Creek-phase occupation, but it did contain a very large monument consisting of individual posts arranged in a circular pattern. One or more large posts were in use within the western part of the circle's interior, as indicated by deep postholes with rocks in their fill. It is possible that a series of small buildings was located in the eastern part of the interior. The entire town was surrounded by a palisade that was rebuilt several times during the early Town Creek phase.

#### LATE TOWN CREEK AND LEAK PHASE OCCUPATIONS (A.D. 1250 TO 1350)<sup>4</sup>

The late Town Creek phase was marked by the presence of a platform mound on the western edge of the plaza, over the area that had been occupied by public buildings during the early Town Creek phase (Figure 4.9). Public buildings probably stood on the summit of the first construction stage, but excavations did not extend down to this surface. Based on the public buildings that were excavated immediately above and below and the configuration of mound summit buildings at other South Appalachian Mississippian sites (Hally 1994:157; Polhemus 1987:1213-1214, 1990:131; Smith 1994:38 and Figure 14), one can speculate that the late Town Creek-phase public buildings on the mound consisted of a large, ephemeral, rectangular building on the eastern side, closest to the plaza, and one or more small, square,

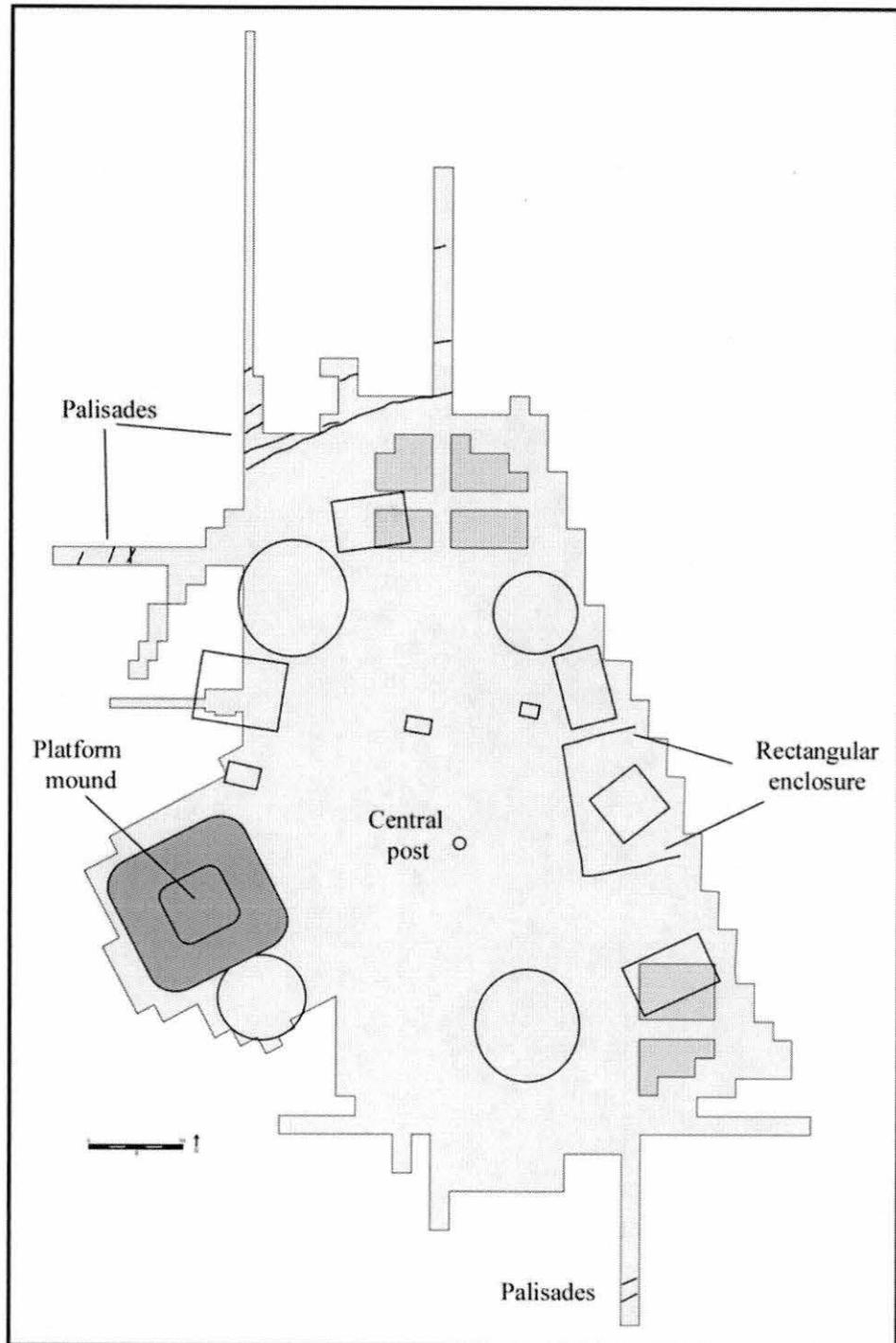


Figure 4.9. Schematic map of the late Town Creek-Leak-phase occupation.

earth-embanked buildings connected by entrance trenches on the western side, away from the plaza.

Public architecture during the early Leak phase included the addition of construction stages to the platform mound. Unlike the large construction stage of the late Town Creek phase, though, the layers added to the mound during the early Leak phase were much smaller. Portions of buildings were identified on the summits of the two mound-construction stages attributed to the early Leak phase. Unfortunately, most of these two surfaces had been destroyed when the eastern part of the mound was excavated by relic collectors. The buildings that remained were located on the western edge of the mound summit, on the side of the mound away from the plaza. The architecture that was preserved consisted of two rectilinear buildings joined by an entrance trench, suggesting that they were earth-embanked, on each construction stage. The location of these buildings on a mound summit as well as the fact that they were paired and probably earth-embanked are all attributes consistent with them having been public structures (Hally 1994:154). Although there is no way to know what the building on the plaza side of the mound was like, information from other mound sites (Hally 1994:157; Polhemus 1987:1213-1214, 1990:131; Smith 1994:38 and Figure 14) as well as the configuration of submound public buildings can be used to offer an informed speculation. It is plausible that the public buildings on the mound consisted of a large, ephemeral, rectangular building on the eastern side closest to the plaza and two or more small, square, earth-embanked buildings on the western side away from the plaza.

Enclosure 1 was built on the eastern side of the site at some point during the late Town Creek-Leak-phase occupation. The fact that this area may have been delineated by burials aligned with features of submound public buildings indicates that a plan existed early

in the site's history for incorporating the eastern edge of the plaza as a public area into the overall site structure. Although it is not clear if Structure 22 and Enclosure 1 were in use at the same time, the facts that they are located close to each other and have the same orientation indicate that they were related, even if only as diachronic forms of public architecture in the same area. Structure 51 was located within the space delineated by Enclosure 1. Structure 51 is unique because it has a very different orientation than all contemporaneous structures. The distinctive nature of Structure 51, its location within an enclosure and the uniqueness of its orientation, is consistent with it having been a public building. Burial clusters 11 and 13 were also located within Enclosure 1. Although the activities that took place within Enclosure 1 are unknown, it is clear that this area, presumably including some or all of the burials and structures that it contained, was set apart from the rest of the site.

The presence of the rectangular enclosure next to the river during the Leak phase means that the circular enclosure in the plaza could not have been standing at this time since the two overlap. While there is not direct evidence that the large posts near the center of the plaza were in use during the late Town Creek-Leak phases, they may date to this period because their erection may have been related to episodes of mound construction (David Hally, personal communication 2003). The three Small Rectangular Structures aligned across the north side of the plaza may date to the late Town Creek-Leak-phase occupation, although they could date to a later time. It seems likely that some of the outer palisade lines were also in use during this time, but there is no direct evidence for this.

It is hard to identify clearly domestic architecture during the late Town Creek-Leak phases. A histogram of all structures by area from this occupation can be divided into three

groups (Figure 4.10). The first of these, structures less than 500 ft<sup>2</sup>, consists of the three Small Rectangular Structures and the innermost circular pattern of Enclosed Circular Structure 10. I believe that the inclusion of Structure 10 here is an anomaly, perhaps because it was not excavated and is therefore poorly defined. The fact that the Small Rectangular Structures are all approximately the same size, oriented the same way, and located in a line along the north side of the plaza strongly suggests that they were contemporary and served a similar function, although it is unclear exactly what that function was. South identified one of these buildings and it was interpreted as a shed analogous to structures used by historic Creeks during community rituals (Coe 1995:96). Whatever they were used for, there are several reasons to believe that Small Rectangular Structures were not dwellings. First, they are not like other structures at Town Creek that have been identified as houses. They are significantly smaller than Small Circular Structures and they contain few or no burials. Also, Small Rectangular Structures appear to have been more ephemeral than Small Circular Structures. One pair of opposing walls in each Small Rectangular structure consists of clearly defined postholes, but the other two walls do not. Second, the location of Small Rectangular Structures within the plaza and away from the zone of superimposed structures on the plaza's periphery indicates that Small Rectangular Structures may have been related more to plaza activities than to domestic ones.

The second group in the histogram consists of structures with areas between 500 and 1500 ft<sup>2</sup>. These include nearly all Large Rectangular Structures and the innermost pattern in almost all Enclosed Circular Structures, whose exterior patterns constitute most of the third group of structures in the histogram (>1500 ft<sup>2</sup>). It is unclear what is represented by Enclosed Circular Structures. The two most plausible possibilities are that they represent

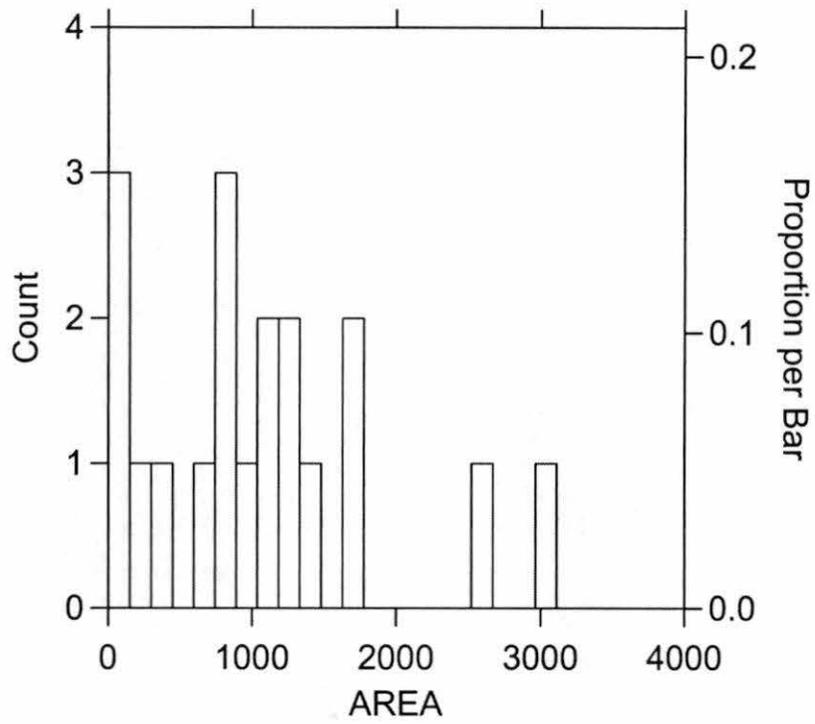


Figure 4.10. Histogram of all late Town Creek-Leak-phase structures by area (ft<sup>2</sup>).

a contemporaneous structure and enclosure or that the pattern is a palimpsest of an earlier structure and a later enclosure. Each possibility has different implications for interpreting the late Town Creek-Leak-phase occupations at Town Creek. If Enclosed Circular Structures represent a contemporaneous structure and enclosure, I would assume that the structure was domestic based on its size and the fact that I have identified as houses identical structures (i.e., Small Circular) during the early Town Creek phase. Obviously, though, Enclosed Circular Structures cannot be viewed simply as typical houses because the presence of an enclosure signals that these were special in some way, possibly as public buildings or the residences of important people within the community (Blitz 1993a:84; DePratter 1983:118; Holley 1999:29; Larson 1971:59; Payne 1994:223).

If the enclosures and structures date to different periods, I think that a plausible interpretation of Enclosed Circular Structures is that they represent an area recognized as a former house site that was delineated by an enclosure and used as a cemetery after the house itself was no longer in use. I suspect that Enclosed Circular Structures began as Small Circular Structures occupied during the early Town Creek and possibly initial late Town Creek phases but that were enclosed and used as cemeteries at some point during the latter phase. There are two cases in the eastern part of the site where structures of the Small Circular type overlap with Enclosed Circular Structures (Structures 15a and 15b, Structures 10 and 49), indicating that they could not have been standing at the same time. In both cases of overlap, one of the overlapping structures is the interior circular pattern of an Enclosed Circular structure (Structures 10 and 15b). It is clear that these overlapping circular structures could not have been in use at the same time. I assume that the Small Circular Structure was occupied first, during the early Town Creek phase, but that at some point this

structure was abandoned or moved slightly and the structure that formed the center of the Enclosed Circular Structure was occupied next. This assumption is based on the fact that the Small Circular Structures were clearly present during the early Town Creek phase and that several lines of evidence show Small Circular Structures to be the oldest Mississippian buildings at Town Creek (see Chapter 3).

The presence of late burials within Enclosed Circular Structures provides direct evidence that they were used as cemeteries in the later stages of their existence. While there is no direct evidence that these structures were also nondomestic at this time, to have a building set apart by an enclosure is a distinctive treatment within the Mississippian world (Blitz 1993a:84; DePratter 1983:118; Holley 1999:29; Larson 1971:59; Payne 1994:223) and it seems unlikely that at least four families living in the same relatively small community would have been so special.

The third group in the histogram of late Town Creek-Leak-phase structures consists of those larger than 1000 ft<sup>2</sup>. This group consists solely of Large Rectangular Structures. The fact that these buildings are in a size class by themselves suggests that they were not domestic in nature. Also, they are comparable in size to Structures 23c and 4a, which are clearly examples of preeminent public architecture from the early Town Creek phase. Further support for the idea that Large Rectangular Structures were public buildings is that their rectilinear shape and low burial density is similar to other structures interpreted as public buildings at Town Creek.

A histogram of late Town Creek-Leak-phase structures by burial density shows a gap in the distribution at 1 burial/100 ft<sup>2</sup> (Figure 4.11), the same distinction that was noted with early Town Creek-phase structures. During the late Town Creek-Leak phases, all structures

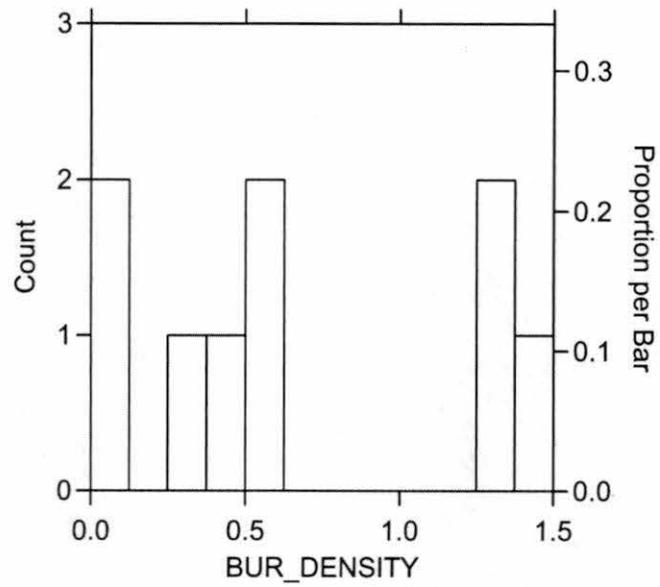


Figure 4.11. Histogram of late Town Creek-Leak-phase structures by burial density (count/100 ft<sup>2</sup>).

with densities less than 1 burial per 100 ft<sup>2</sup> were rectilinear. Some of these were located on the mound and within the area delineated by Enclosure 1. The others were Large Rectangular Structures which largely alternate with Enclosed Circular Structures around the plaza. Structures with a burial density greater than 1 burial per 100 ft<sup>2</sup> include Enclosed Circular Structures and a single Small Rectangular Structure.

There is an apparent absence of domestic architecture during the late Town Creek-Leak phases at Town Creek, at least in the exposed parts of the site adjacent to the plaza. During this time, the earlier houses that had surrounded the plaza were replaced by cemeteries and large, rectangular buildings. The cemeteries seem to have started as domestic structures during the early Town Creek phase that were later enclosed by a circular wall of wooden posts. The primary structure type in use at the same time as these enclosed cemeteries was a large, rectangular structure with a relatively low density of interior burials. It is likely that these enclosed cemeteries and large, rectangular buildings date to the same period because they both contain late Town Creek-Leak-phase diagnostics, they have comparable ratios of plain to decorated rims, and they have a complementary spatial distribution.

At this time, one can only speculate about the functions of Enclosed Circular and Large Rectangular Structures. It seems plausible that Enclosed Circular Structures began as houses—in the floors of which burials were placed—occupied by a family group. These house sites were later maintained by these groups—which may have been lineages or clans—as places where members could continue to be buried, even though people were no longer living there. Although the pattern is by no means clear, it may have been the case that Enclosed Circular and Large Rectangular Structures alternated around the plaza during the

late Town Creek-Leak phases and that one of each structure type together constituted a pair of structures that was itself a functional unit. One structure in this pair appears to have served as a cemetery in which most group members were buried while the other structure served as a place for the entire group to meet and as a place where a select portion of the group could be buried.

If it was the case at Town Creek that during the late Town Creek-Leak phase-occupation there was a pattern in which clan houses and cemeteries alternated around the site, where does that leave us with an interpretation of the mound and the rectangular enclosure directly across the plaza? The mound may have been analogous to Large Rectangular Structures in that it served as a focal point for the group and as a place in which a subset of the group could be buried. Unlike Large Rectangular Structures, though, the mound would have served as a focal point for the entire community. This could have been the case even if leaders were consistently drawn from a single clan or lineage and the mound as well as Enclosure 1 were associated with a particular corporate group (see Blitz 1993a:12; Knight 1990:17) because these people still would have been perceived as community leaders. Within such a scenario, the rectangular enclosure, including the square structure and burial clusters that it contained, would have been analogous to the enclosed cemeteries of the village. The possible relationship at Town Creek between the mound and the rectangular enclosure, where the former may have served as a public building while the latter may have been primarily mortuary in purpose, is one that has been proposed for public architecture at several other Mississippian sites (Blitz 1993:96; Knight 1998:52; Schnell et al. 1981:Figures 2.3 and 2.6).

## LATE LEAK-PHASE OCCUPATION (CA. A.D. 1350 TO CA. 1450)

The presence of late rim treatments in the top layers of the mound indicates that it was used during the late Leak phase. While the upper mound contexts were disturbed and no summit architecture could be identified, one can assume that a building was located on the mound summit during the late Leak phase. Based on the depth of the layers that were preserved, mound construction was minimal during this time and did not add significantly to the mound's volume. There is no direct evidence for the existence of plaza architecture or a palisade surrounding the site during the late Leak-phase occupation, although there is no direct evidence that these features did not exist.

At least three Medium Rectangular Structures date to this occupation, one along the north side of the plaza and two along the south side (Figure 4.12). Two of these structures are aligned along a northeast-southwest axis on the south side of the plaza while a third is across the plaza along a northwest-southeast axis. It seems likely that there are more structures located along these axes that are either unexposed or exposed but undefined at this time. A possible Medium Rectangular Structure on the northeastern side of the plaza may represent a fourth building that dates to this occupation.

The site structure that existed during the late Leak-phase occupation was distinctive in some ways. The corners of Medium Rectangular Structures are oriented to the cardinal directions which is unique among rectilinear structures. This orientation clearly deviates from the orientation of the mound, which still would have been the most prominent feature at the site. Also, the apparent arrangement of Medium Rectangular Structures into southwest-northeast trending rows would have reorganized the plaza and reoriented the spatial structure of the entire site.

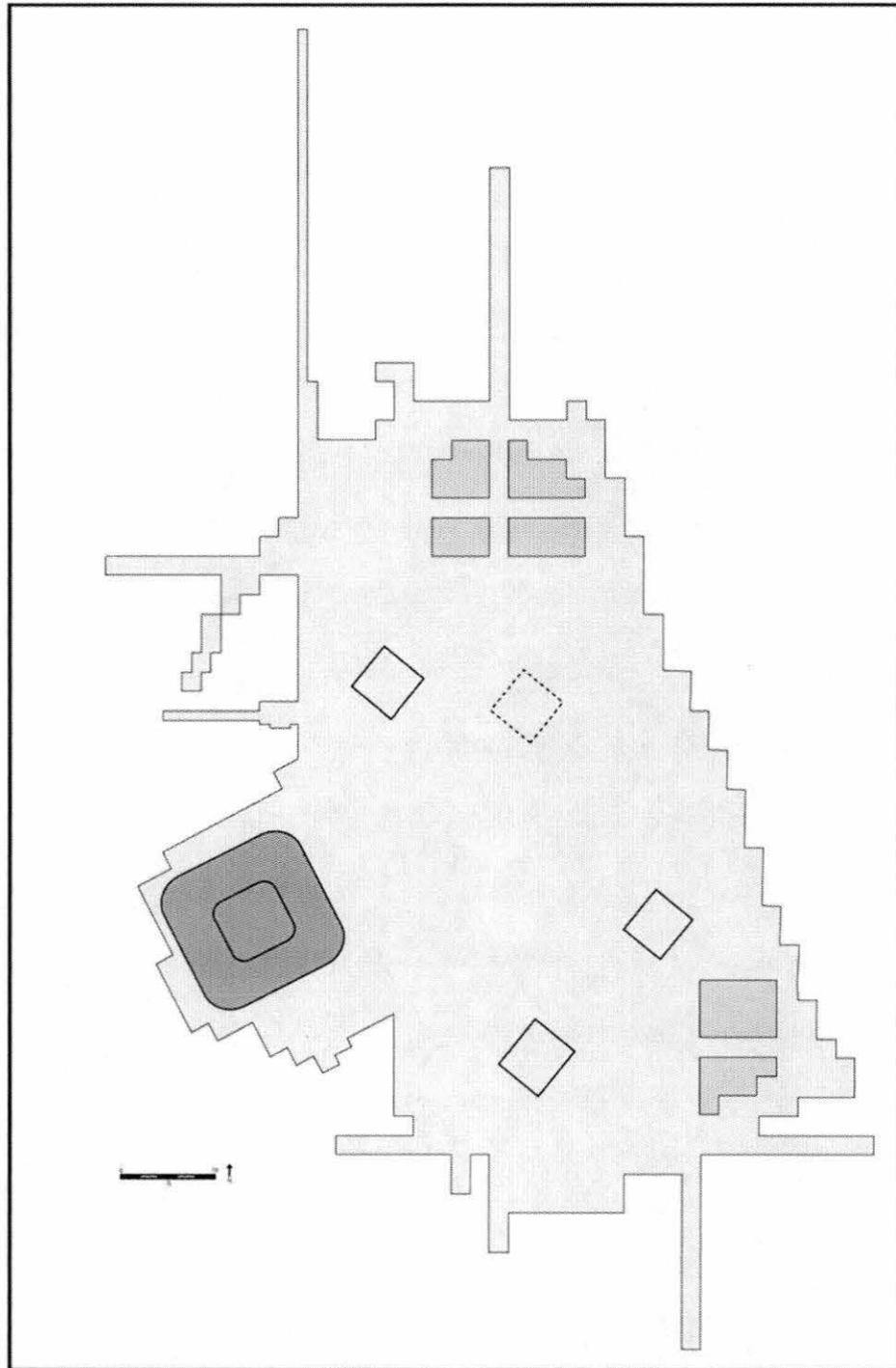


Figure 4.12. Schematic map of the late Leak-phase occupation (Note: dashed line indicates possible structure).

The site structure of the late Leak-phase occupation also shows continuity with earlier occupations. As was the case throughout the Town Creek phase, the plaza was maintained during the late Leak phase with structures being placed along its periphery. Also, at least two earlier or partially contemporaneous structures had their corners oriented to the cardinal directions. Structure 51 is oriented this way. The enclosure associated with Structure 7 is somewhat rectilinear with its corners oriented to the cardinal directions. Furthermore, it is oriented the same as and adjoins with Structure 28, a Medium Rectangular Structure in the Northwestern Area, suggesting that their use coincided or that the construction of the latter at least acknowledged the location of the former.

#### CARAWAY-PHASE OCCUPATION (CA. A.D. 1550 TO 1700)

Little can be said about the Protohistoric occupation of Town Creek. The presence of glass beads in the upper layers of the mound indicates that it was used during the Caraway phase (A.D. 1500-1700), the Protohistoric phase for the southern Piedmont which shows a great deal of affinity with Lamar phases to the south and west (Hally 1994; Ward and Davis 1999:134-137). The mound layers attributable to this occupation were disturbed, so Protohistoric activities and architecture could not be identified. Away from the mound, two Protohistoric cemeteries were located in the southeastern part of the site near the Little River (Figure 4.13). One of the Protohistoric burials contained a circular brass gorget with a small central hole, a type that postdates A.D. 1630 (Waselkov 1989:123).

Over 3000 glass beads were recovered at Town Creek and the dates of these beads span the time from A.D. 1500 to 1800 (Deagan 1987:Table 4). Almost 90 percent of the beads from Town Creek came from the Mg2 area with nearly all of these coming from the

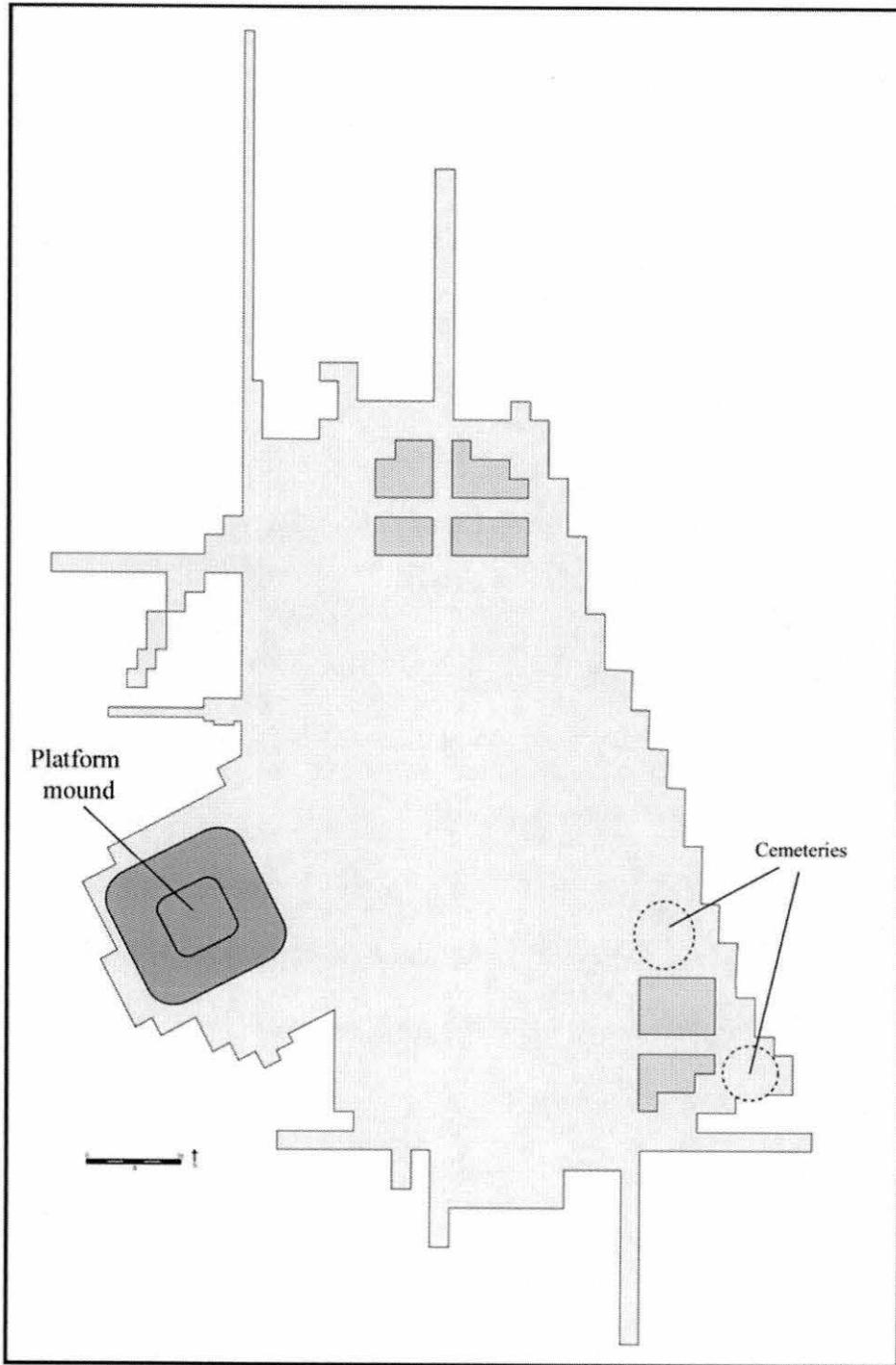


Figure 4.13. Schematic map of the Caraway-phase occupation.

upper layers of the mound (Table 4.1). The presence of these beads is important because it indicates that the mound summit continued to be used into the Contact period. Most of the types represented were used for hundreds of years, so they can tell us little about a more specific period of use. The one exception is an unfaçeted chevron bead from the mound, Kidd and Kidd (1970) type IVK4, which has a more specific date range of A.D. 1550 to 1650 (Deagan 1987:Table 4). The low number of glass beads away from the mound, which suggests that the beads were acquired prior to regular contact with Europeans (see Ward and Davis 1999:254), is consistent with the early seventeenth-century date suggested by the unfaçeted chevron bead. Two other Piedmont phases in which European goods are present but in low numbers are Jenrette (A.D. 1600-1680) and Middle Saratow (A.D. 1620-1670) (Ward and Davis 1999:237 and 247), both of which date to the seventeenth century. Also, the absence of wire-wound beads at Town Creek is consistent with the Caraway-phase occupation predating the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries (Brain 1979:115; Deagan 1987:175).

#### CONTINUITY IN SITE STRUCTURE AND PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE

Throughout the history of Town Creek, there is an overall continuity in the use of space that implies that the residents of the community were not only aware of preceding activities and constructions, but that they also acknowledged these earlier events. A large-scale example of this is the maintenance of the integrity of the plaza by the placement of buildings on its periphery. The plaza appears to have been used for nondomestic purposes throughout the history of the site and it contained only a few special-purpose structures. In contrast, the periphery of the plaza contained a palimpsest of structures from every stage of

Table 4.1. Glass beads.

Context	Bead Type													Total	
	IIA7	IIA13	IIA14	IIA13/14	IIA27	IIA40	IIA41	IIA44	IIA55	IIA56	IIA57	IIA61	IIB5		IVK4
Mg2	-	3	69	2942	1	41	210	1	2	185	-	1	14	1	3470
Mg3															
Bu. 124a	-	-	80	-	-	-	101	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	183
Bu. 51	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	24
Bu. 52	-	-	-	6	-	-	12	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	19
Bu. 55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
General	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Sub-total	2	-	81	6	-	1	113	-	1	24	1	-	-	-	229
Total	2	3	150	2948	1	42	323	1	3	209	1	1	14	1	3699

the community's history. Thus, it was acknowledged throughout the occupation of the site that structures were to be built in a zone surrounding the plaza while the plaza itself was to remain open. Coe (1995:265) noted that even the post-Pee Dee people respected this tradition and placed their dead around the outer limits of the plaza. Another example of continuity is that the Late Woodland mortuary structure largely was not superimposed by later structures, even though it was built early in the site's history. It is possible that this structure was marked in some way, perhaps by being covered with a low mound. Not only was this structure not superimposed, but it also seems to have been incorporated into the site structure of the subsequent Mississippian community. The overall map of Town Creek shows this structure as one of many circular structures located along the plaza.

The Enclosed Circular Structure type provides another clear example of continuity, but this time within the framework of an overall functional change. These structures seem to have started as houses, but evolved at some point into enclosed cemeteries. Thus, there was continuity in the occupation of a space, which may have been associated with a particular kin group, while the way in which that space was used seems to have changed significantly. The changes in the orientation of buildings and the overall site structure that occurred later during the late Leak-phase occupation are striking within this overall pattern of continuity, although the maintenance of the plaza during this period and references to earlier structures represents some continuity.

Several points of continuity were present within Town Creek's public architecture as well. A public axis appears to have existed within the site structure of the community at Town Creek throughout the Mississippian period. This axis includes: (1) the western part of the site, which was always used for public architecture; (2) the plaza, which included a large

circular monument and massive central posts; and (3) the space defined by Enclosure 1, which included two burial clusters and at least two rectilinear structures. Another point of continuity within public architecture is that some of the buildings beneath and on the mound appear to have been laid out in reference to earlier public buildings. In the submound contexts, the two earth-embanked structures appear to have been aligned with features of buildings that they superimposed. On the mound summit, the structures located on superimposed mound-construction stages clearly have the same floor plan. Other points of continuity within the mound-related public buildings are the presence of paired public buildings during several periods in the site's history.

#### CONCLUSION

The analysis of architectural patterns, the distribution of diagnostic ceramics, and the ranges of radiocarbon dates from Town Creek all suggest that the site was occupied for hundreds of years during the late prehistoric and early historic periods. Intermittent occupation began in the tenth century during the Late Woodland period and may have continued through the middle of the twelfth century at the end of the Teal phase. Intensive occupation began around this time during the early Town Creek phase and continued for 200 to 300 years. The occupation of Town Creek became less visible and probably more episodic in nature during the fifteenth century, a pattern that continued through the seventeenth century.

The Mississippian occupation of Town Creek has been interpreted as the remains of an intrusive culture that occupied the Piedmont of North Carolina for a relatively short amount of time (Coe 1952:308, 1995:89-90; Oliver 1992:240). Continuity between the Late

Woodland and Mississippian occupations of Town Creek does not support the idea of an intrusive culture. Also, radiocarbon dates from submound contexts relate Town Creek to a growing body of evidence for the widespread presence of Early Mississippian culture—also represented at the Payne (Mountjoy 1989) and Teal (Oliver 1992) sites—in southern North Carolina. While the Mississippian culture represented at Town Creek is remarkably different from the small-scale societies documented to the north and east (Ward and Davis 1999), the ceramics and site structure of Town Creek are very similar to those documented to the south and west (Anderson 1989; Cable 2000; DePratter and Judge 1990; Hally 1994; Ward and Davis 1999). It seems plausible that Town Creek's existence can be accounted for through the adoption of Mississippian ways by a local Late Woodland group rather than the migration of people into the area.

Whether its development was the result of diffusion, migration, or a combination of the two processes, Town Creek was located on the northeastern edge of the Mississippian world. Earlier interpretations presented Town Creek as a briefly occupied frontier community that was surrounded by hostile neighbors. The occupational history presented in this chapter does not support this interpretation. During the late prehistoric period, Town Creek was occupied at least intermittently for about 700 years. The site was intensively occupied as a formal town with a consistent site structure for between 200 and 300 years beginning around A.D. 1150. Although located on the periphery of the Mississippian culture area, the community at Town Creek evolved and thrived for centuries, demonstrating a history whose development parallels and longevity rivals sites located nearer the core of the Mississippian world (see Anderson 1994:219; Cable 2000).

#### Endnotes to Chapter 4

1. Feature 58 was excavated and interpreted over the course of several years by David Phelps, Jack Wilson, and Gary Petherick. They recorded their observations on feature forms that are curated by the RLA.
2. My thinking on this matter has been influenced a great deal by discussions with Brett H. Riggs of the RLA.
3. Posthole densities were calculated by dividing the number of postholes comprising the walls of a structure by the structure's perimeter. GIS software was used to obtain both values. First, a polygon was drawn to approximate the outline of each structure. The perimeter of this polygon was used as the value for the structure's perimeter. Second, a 1-ft buffer (i.e., 1 ft on the interior and 1 ft on the exterior) was created around the polygon and the number of postholes within this buffer was used to calculate posthole density.
4. With the exception of the stratified deposits in the mound, the spatial distribution of diagnostic ceramic artifacts was such that I was unable to consistently segregate deposits from the early Leak phase. Therefore, the late Town Creek-phase and the early portion of the Leak-phase have been combined into a single occupation. Combining these two subphases into a single occupation is supported by the fact that doing so allowed the development of a relatively coherent site structure for this occupation.

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## Chapter 5: Mortuary Analysis

In preceding chapters, spatial and temporal units have been defined within the archaeological record of Town Creek through the refinement of the area's ceramic chronology, the definition of structure types, and the development of an occupational history for the site. In this chapter, these spatial and temporal units are used to explore variation and change within the community at Town Creek through an analysis of mortuary patterns. This analysis is based on the assumption that differences in the treatment of individuals at death (e.g., location, associations, position) reflect distinctions that existed in life (see Binford 1971). While many aspects of social life are considered in this analysis, an emphasis is placed on recognizing the manifestation of leadership status. The demographic profiles of public buildings are used to see who may have been political leaders and how this may have changed through time. Leadership also is explored through the distribution of associated artifacts and the placement of burials in the community based on the assumption that distinctive social and political roles were marked by an association with atypical objects or locations. Since social and political statuses can be manifested in numerous ways in the mortuary record, additional burial attributes—such as position (e.g., flexed or extended) and type (e.g., primary, bundle, disarticulated)—also will be considered.

## ROLES AND STATUSES IN THE MORTUARY RECORD OF TOWN CREEK

A great deal of variability exists at Town Creek in the ways individuals were treated at death. The dimensions on which this variability is expressed include the position of the body within the grave (e.g., flexed or extended), evidence for postmortem processing of the body (e.g., secondary bundle burial), the location of the burial (e.g., in public or domestic contexts), and the kinds and quantities of associated artifacts. My analysis and interpretations are based on the assumption that the spaces in which individuals were buried, the position in which they were placed, and the items that were interred with them reflect the statuses the individuals held in life and the social roles they played within their community (see Binford 1971:13-15). The ethnohistoric record of the Southeast supports the idea that an individual's social status had a great deal of influence on their treatment at death (Brown 1971:104-105). Ethnohistoric and ethnographic observations indicate that native Southeastern Indian communities contained individuals who fulfilled numerous social and political roles. These included various grades or types of warriors, priests, and community leaders (Hudson 1990:61-67; Lefler 1967:210; Scarry 1992; Swanton 1979:641-665; Waselkov and Braund 1995:118; Worth 1998:92). Based on cross-cultural studies (Binford 1971) and the documentary record from the Southeast in particular, I assume that social and political factors can explain much of the variation in the mortuary record at Town Creek. While the mortuary rituals of some societies actually obfuscate distinctions that existed in life, the consideration in this research of nonmortuary contexts from across the site should allow the recognition of any stark disjuncture between the daily expression of social and political differences and their manifestation in death (see Hodder 1982:152-153).

In this chapter, mortuary data are used to explore leadership roles and how they may have changed through time at Town Creek. Leadership is a status that is marked within many small-scale societies world-wide through the differential treatment of individuals at death (Feinman and Neitzel 1984:57; Flannery 1999; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Whalen and Minnis 2000:172). Artifact distributions can be useful in this regard. If objects signified particular statuses held in life, then burials of community leaders—as individuals who hold the most diverse number of roles in small-scale and middle-range societies—should contain a greater diversity (i.e., high richness) of associated objects (Howell 1995:129, 1996:63; Kintigh 2000:104). Therefore, one of the ways in which Town Creek burials are compared is the number of artifact types (NAT) included as grave goods<sup>1</sup> (see Bennett 1984:36). Also, the presence of artifacts that are distinctive within the context of a particular community (e.g., copper plates and axes, stone celts, the remains of litters, conch shells) have been recognized as symbols of particular leadership statuses in some Mississippian cases (Blitz 1993a:104; Brown 1971:101; Peebles and Kus 1977:439; Scarry 1992:179). Another way to recognize leaders is that they may be set apart physically from others, for example being buried in special places within the community such as public spaces (DePratter 1983:189; Sullivan 1995:117). Also, the remains of leaders may have been processed in distinctive ways. The ideas of special burial location and extra processing were combined in the practice among Mississippian groups of venerating past chiefs through the storage of their cleaned and bundled skeletal remains in mound-top temples (Brown 1997:475). Additionally, leaders may have been set apart by the arrangement of their body within the grave (e.g. orientation, seated vs. prone, extended vs. flexed, etc.) (Marcus and Flannery 1996:84-85) as well as by the form of the grave itself (Sullivan 1995:118-119).

The interpretations presented here are based on contrasting the individuals and artifacts associated with public buildings with those found in domestic structures. Public buildings in historic Southeastern native towns were architecturally, socially, and politically the most prominent buildings in the community. They were the loci of daily meetings concerning intracommunity and intercommunity decision-making (Braund 1999:144; Lefler 1967:42-43; Waselkov and Braund 1995:62 and 102; Worth 1998:93). They also often were the locations of important social events such as the entertaining and housing of significant guests and community-wide ceremonies (Lefler 1967:43-47; Waselkov and Braund 1995:85; Worth 1998:93). It is clear in the ethnohistoric and ethnographic record that there were social proscriptions regarding who could access public buildings. In some cases, access was always limited to a certain social group (Kenton 1927:427; McWilliams 1988:92; Sattler 1995:220; Waselkov and Braund 1995:102 and 149; Worth 1998:88). In others, access may have been more limited in some situations and more inclusive in others (Speck 1979:120). Based on the few funerals in public buildings documented in the historic record, it is clear that the person being interred in the public building in death was also one who could access the building during life (Swanton 1911:138-157). I assume that the public buildings at Town Creek were similar to those documented in the ethnohistoric record in regard to function and social proscriptions determining access. The activities that took place within public buildings at Town Creek probably involved primarily community-level decision-making and the hosting of intracommunity social events. I also assume that the people buried in public buildings were individuals who frequented those buildings in life.

The social groups living in the domestic structures that constituted the Mississippian community at Town Creek were likely kin-based entities such as lineages and clans. Among

historic native groups in the Southeast, regional tribal units were subdivided into a small number of clans (Knight 1990). For example, the Cherokees were divided into seven clans (Gearing 1958:1150) and the Choctaws into six to eight (Swanton 1993:79). Clan membership was matrilineal with each person becoming a member of their mother's clan at birth (Hudson 1976:185). Clans were manifested at the local level as matrilineages which often consisted of a single household or group of closely related households organized around a matriarch (Hudson 1976:189; Knight 1990:6). Historic native communities were composed of multiple matrilineages that represented several different clans (Hudson 1976:190; Knight 1990:6). While clans were only weakly corporate groups, members of matrilineages met often and it was matrilineages that controlled access to particular economic resources such as agricultural land (Hudson 1976:193; Knight 1990:5-6).

#### DATA AND METHODS

The Town Creek burial population includes 239 individuals of which 218 derive from Mississippian contexts, seven from the Late Woodland Structure 18, and 14 from two Protohistoric burial clusters (Appendix I). Age and sex information comes primarily from Patricia Lambert's analysis of the human skeletal remains for the site's NAGPRA inventory (Davis et al. 1996). Age and sex determinations for an additional 29 individuals not included in Lambert's analysis came from Elizabeth Driscoll's (2001) dissertation. Lambert and Driscoll's age determinations were used to assign each individual to an age class. The classes are children (5 years of age and younger), adolescents (6 to 14 years), young adults (15 to 24 years), mature adults (25 to 34 years), and older adults (35 years and older).<sup>2</sup> Burial position, orientation, and grave morphology were obtained from the Town Creek

burial forms and field notes that are curated by the RLA. Artifact identifications and counts are based largely on my own analysis. The exceptions are items that were not collected in the field or had been collected and subsequently lost. In those cases, identifications and counts are based on the field notes.

### THE TOWN CREEK MORTUARY RECORD

Burials were attributed to either the Late Woodland, Mississippian, or Protohistoric cultural periods based on their artifactual and architectural associations (see Chapters 3 and 4). In this section, an overview is provided of the Town Creek mortuary record. This discussion includes burial attributes such as age, sex, burial position, burial type, and associated artifacts. For the Mississippian period, the overview is organized primarily by structure type. In the next section, some of the diachronic changes and synchronic variation in the mortuary data regarding Town Creek's social and political structure are discussed.

#### **Late Woodland Period**

The only Late Woodland burials identified at Town Creek are those that were placed in and around Feature 58/Mg3 within Structure 18 (Figure 5.1). Structure 18 contained seven burials, five adults and two adolescents. Six of these were flexed and one was of indeterminate position. Structure 18 is unique at Town Creek because all of the adults buried within it were males. It seems that sex was the determining factor for burial within Structure 18 because all age classes except for infants were represented.

Only two of the burials within Structure 18 were associated with artifacts. One (Burial 128/Mg3) contained a cache of flakes. The other (Burial 135/Mg3) was a mature

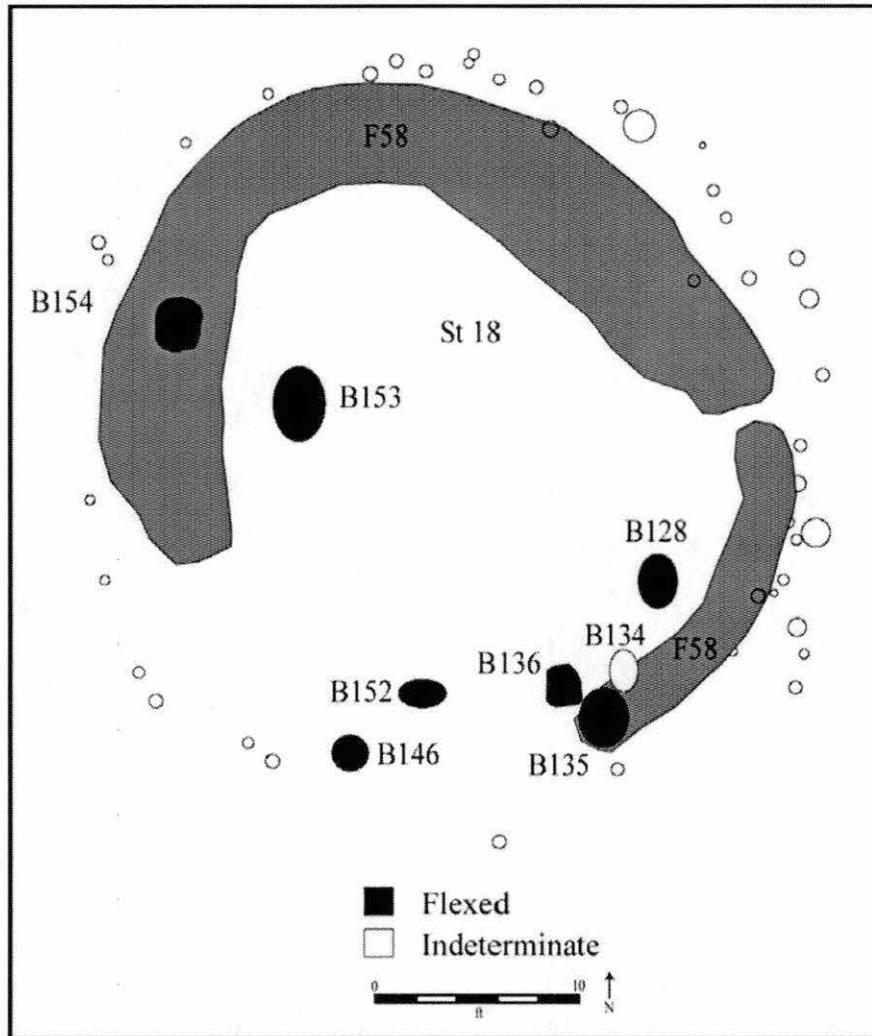


Figure 5.1. Burials associated with Structure 18.

adult male associated with three unique stone artifacts (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). One of these was a stone smoking tube. Another was a bent-tube, winged style stone pipe (Irwin et al. 1999:75) with geometric designs carved on it. Coe identified this burial as being "Siouan" (1995:223), but pipes of this type are more consistent with Late Woodland or Mississippian contexts in eastern North Carolina (Irwin et al. 1999:77). The third artifact associated with Burial 135/Mg3 was a human face carved from stone (Coe 1995:Figures 11.6a and 11.7). The back of this artifact was hollowed out and three holes were drilled into its bottom.

### **Early Town Creek Phase**

As defined in Chapter 4, the early Town Creek phase community consisted of a series of submound public buildings and an adjacent village consisting of at least 10 Small Circular Structures.<sup>3</sup> In this section, the mortuary record associated with these two parts of the community is discussed. Early Town Creek-phase burials largely or wholly predate mound construction.

#### *Public Structures*

Three sets of public buildings were located beneath the mound at Town Creek. The first set consisted of a larger, rectangular structure (Structure 4a) and a smaller, square one (Structure 24) (Figure 5.4). Structure 4a contained at least four burials. One of these is the burial of a child (Burials 44/Mg2) and the three others are of adult females (Burials 7, 36, and 41/Mg2). Interestingly, there were no adult men buried in this public building. Three of the burials were associated with artifacts which included marine shell fragments and beads, stone beads, and a ceramic pot. As discussed in Chapter 3, burials appear to have been

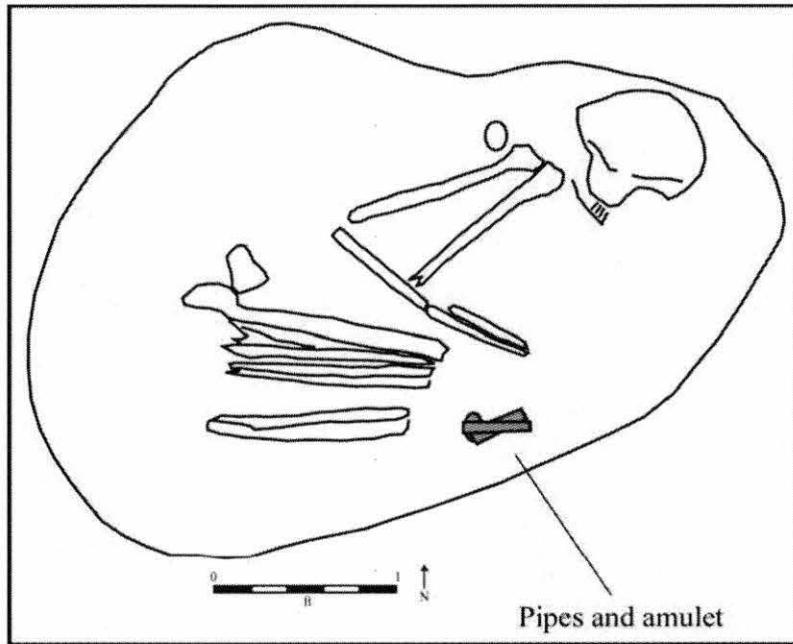


Figure 5.2. Burial 135/Mg3.

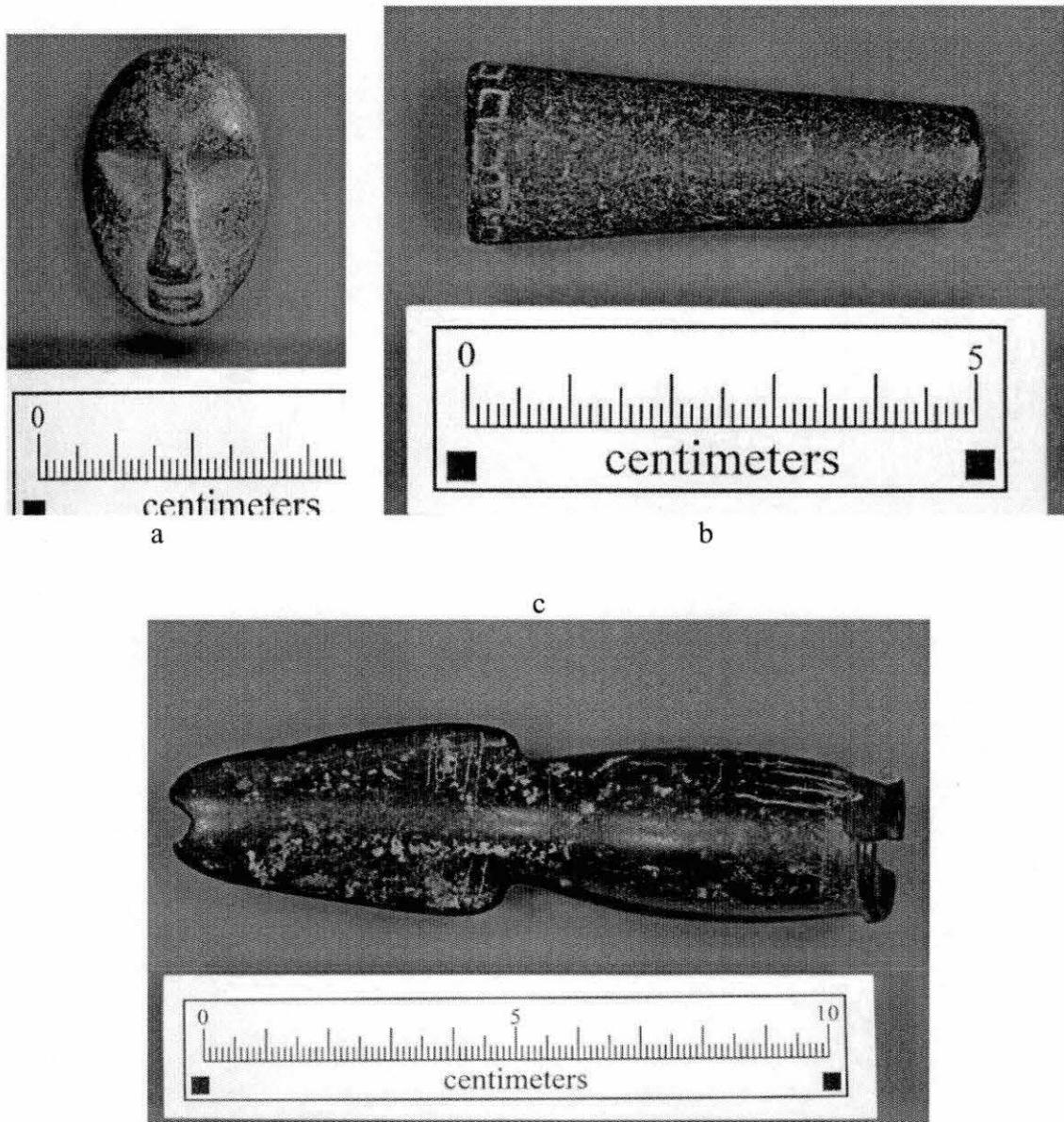


Figure 5.3. Objects associated with Burial 135/Mg3: (a) carved stone human face (b) stone tube pipe (c) stone bent-tube, winged pipe (Photographs by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

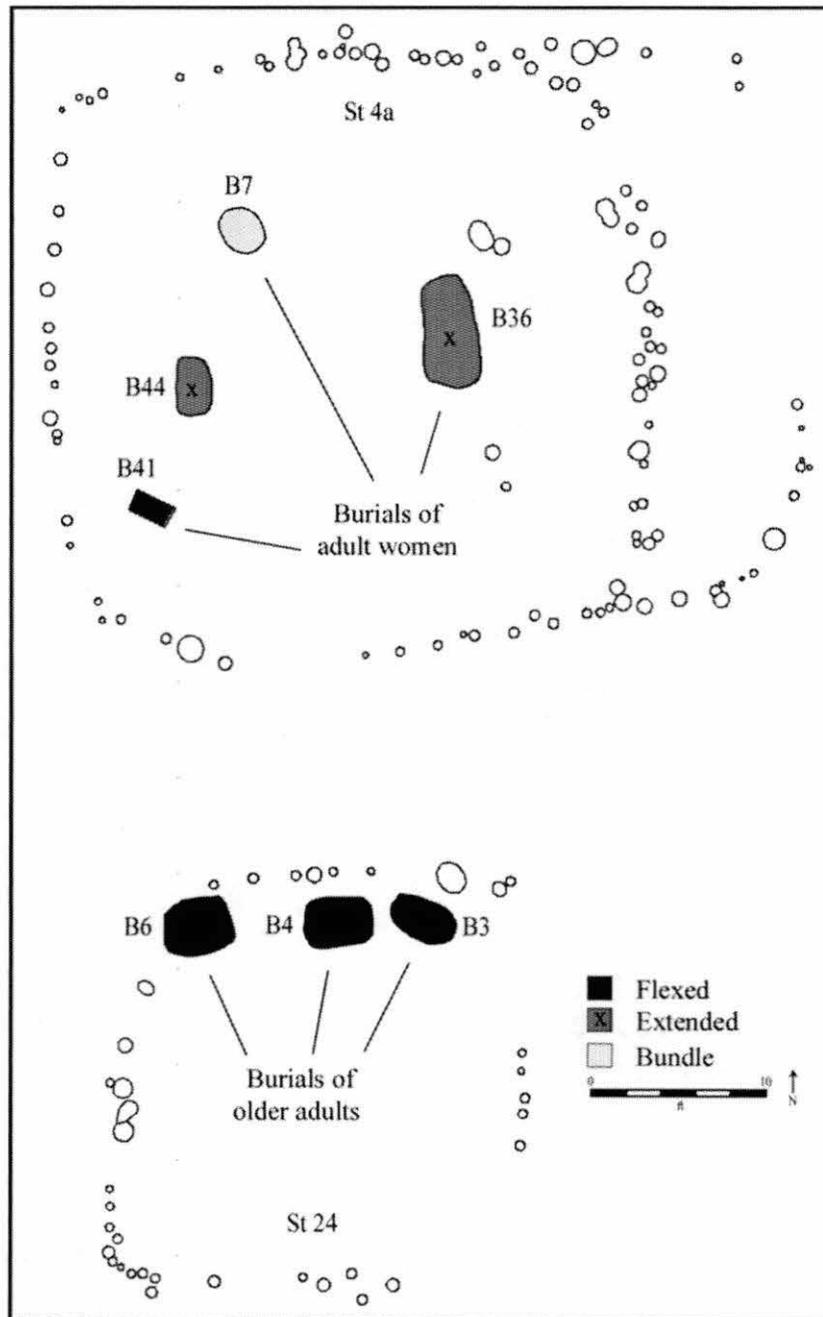


Figure 5.4. Burials associated with Structures 4a and 24.

placed within Structure 4a along one of two axes (Figure 3.20). One of these is an east-west axis that bisects the structure. Two extended burials, of an adult (Burial 36/Mg2) and a child (Burial 44/Mg2), and two hearths were located on this axis. Two other burials were aligned with Burial 44/Mg2 along a northeast-southwest axis. Burial 7/Mg2 is an adult female bundle burial and Burial 41/Mg2 is the flexed burial of an adult female that was located beneath the northeast corner of Structure 23c.

Structure 24 contained three flexed burials on its north side and a possible fourth burial (Feature 8/Mg2) that only contained a few human bones on its south side. The three definite burials were all older adults which were at least 35 years old at the time of death. Two of these individuals were males (Burials 4 and 6/Mg2) and the third was possibly a female (Burial 3/Mg2). One of the males (Burial 6/Mg2) was buried with a number of small, columella beads and six needle-like bone artifacts. These six items were found side-by-side and likely together composed a single tool (Figure 5.5). This artifact has been interpreted as a ceremonial skin scratcher like those used by historic native groups (Coe 1995:240). These were items used by ritual practitioners for blood-letting in curing rituals (Hudson 1976:415-416; Swanton 1979:564). They are perhaps best known from James Mooney's (1890:121-122) documentation of their use among the Cherokees prior to stick ball games (see also Culin 1975:580-581 and Plate 14; Hudson 1976:415-417). The archaeological specimen from Town Creek is similar to ethnographically documented scratchers (Hudson 1976:Figure 98; Speck 1979:Figure 40). That the archaeological specimen served the same function as the ethnographic ones seems plausible based on their similarity of form.

The second early Town Creek-phase public building was the earth-embanked Structure 4b (Figure 5.6). The two burials within this structure were located along the same

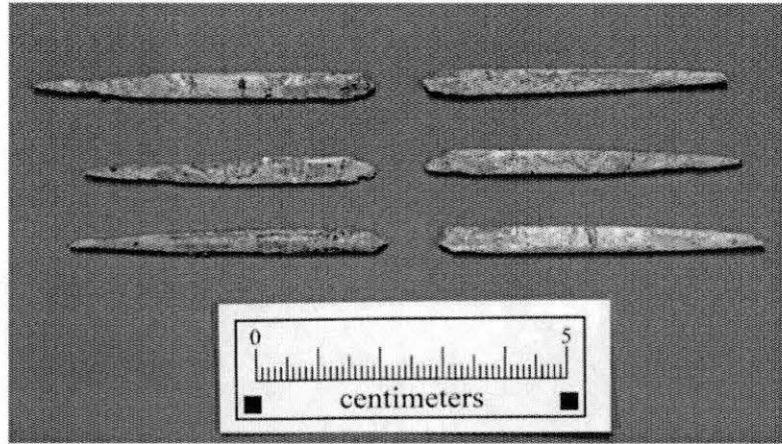


Figure 5.5. Bone scratchers associated with Burial 6/Mg2 (Photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

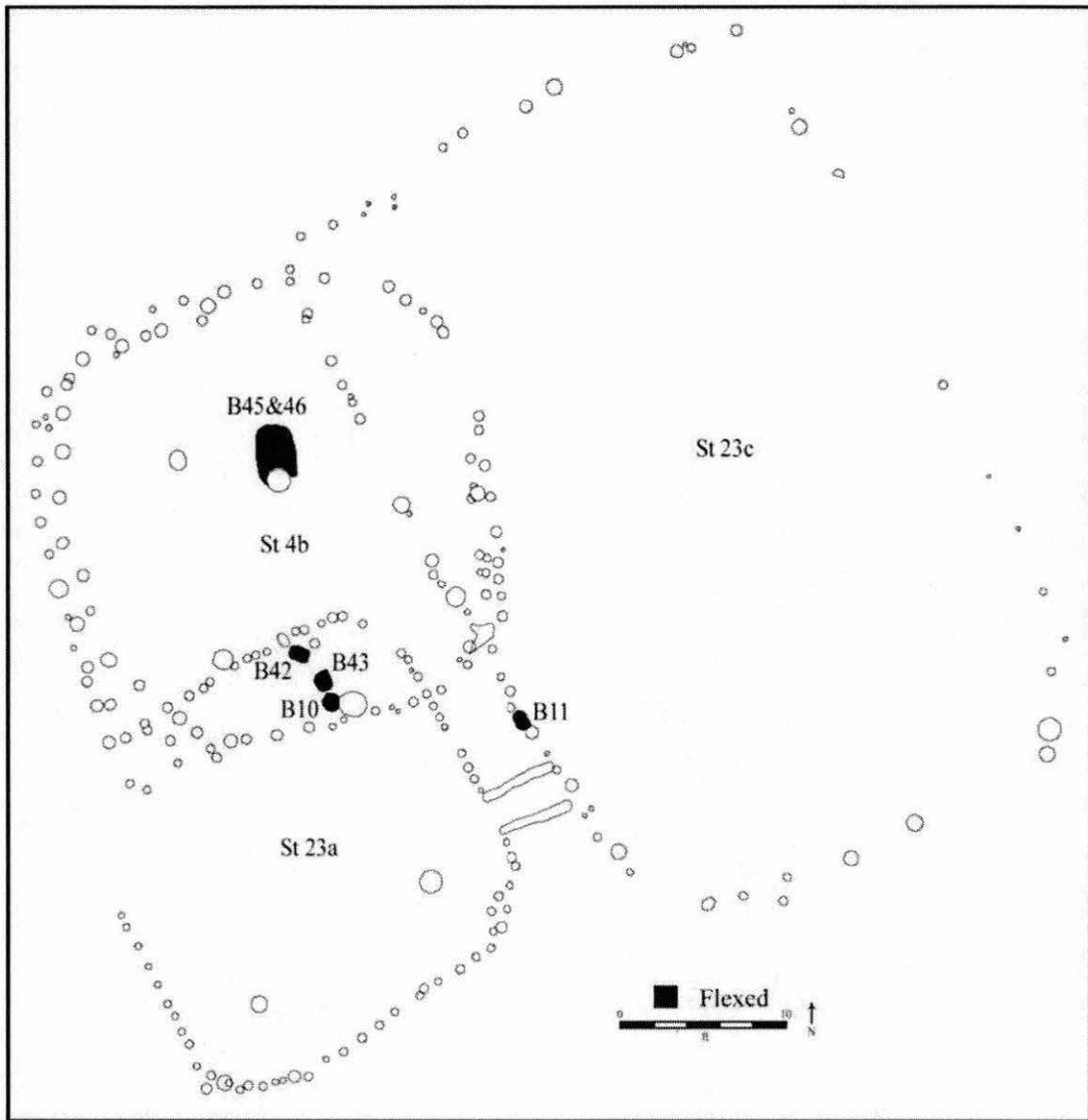


Figure 5.6. Burials associated with Structures 4b, 23a, and 23c.

east-west axis that bisected Structure 4a, so it is unclear with which structure these burials were associated. One of these interments was the extended burial of an adult female (Burial 45/Mg2) and the other was a child (Burial 46/Mg2) who was buried with six shell pendants.

The third cohort of early Town Creek phase-public buildings consisted of Structures 23a and 23c (Figure 5.6). These were the public buildings in use immediately prior to mound construction. Structures 23a and 23c were paired structures consisting of a square earth-embanked building connected to a large, relatively lightly constructed rectangular building. The burials of four infants were located in these structures, but they did not contain any adult burials. Three of the infant burials (Burials 10, 42, and 43/Mg2) were located in the northeast corner of Structure 23c, adjacent to an interior roof support and a line of postholes forming a wall. The fourth (Burial 11/Mg2) was located in the line of postholes forming the west wall of Structure 23a. The fact that they may have been the only burials, coupled with their location within the buildings—adjacent to a roof support post and, in one case, in a line of wall posts—suggests that these burials may represent ritual interments, possibly related to the construction of these structures. The association of infant sacrifices with Mississippian public buildings has been documented in the archaeological and ethnohistoric record (Blitz 1993a:88-89; Butler 1934:41; Kenton 1927:341 and 431; McWilliams 1988:90, 93-95; Peebles and Kus 1977:439-440). The situation at Town Creek is not as clear cut as these examples, though, and is open to alternative interpretations.

#### *Small Circular Structures*

Seventy-two individuals were buried within Small Circular Structures at Town Creek. The general pattern is that burials were placed in a cluster near the center of each structure

(Figure 5.7). All age-sex categories are represented in Small Circular Structures, which is consistent with them having been used by an entire family group. The representative demographic profile of Small Circular Structures, coupled with their size and ubiquity, indicates that these were domestic structures.

Most individuals within Small Circular Structures were buried in a flexed position (n=48). The exceptions were several urn (n=8) and extended (n=4) burials. Urn burials are interments in which infants were placed in large complicated-stamped or textile-impressed jars that were buried in pits in structure floors (Figure 5.8) (see Coe 1952:309; Ferguson 1971:206). In at least one case, a ceramic bowl had been inverted over the mouth of the jar and used as a cover. It is likely that more, possibly all, urn burials also included an inverted bowl as a lid but that these were not preserved in plowed contexts. Urn burials were found in three of the excavated Small Circular Structures (Structures 2, 12, and 49).

In four of the six excavated Small Circular Structures (Structures 2, 6, 14, and 49), the extended burial of an adult was located within the cluster of flexed burials. Thus, it seems clear that one adult in each domestic structure was distinguished at the time of death with a unique burial position. One exception to this pattern is Structure 5a, but position was not recorded in the field for the central burial in this structure, so it could well have contained an extended burial. The other exception is Structure 12, a Small Circular Structure located next to the river. This structure was superimposed by at least two other structures and a large, shallow pit, so it is possible that it also contained an extended burial but that it was destroyed by subsequent activities.

Artifacts were associated with 22 of the burials in Small Circular Structures. Columella beads were the most ubiquitous. Noteworthy occurrences include several copper

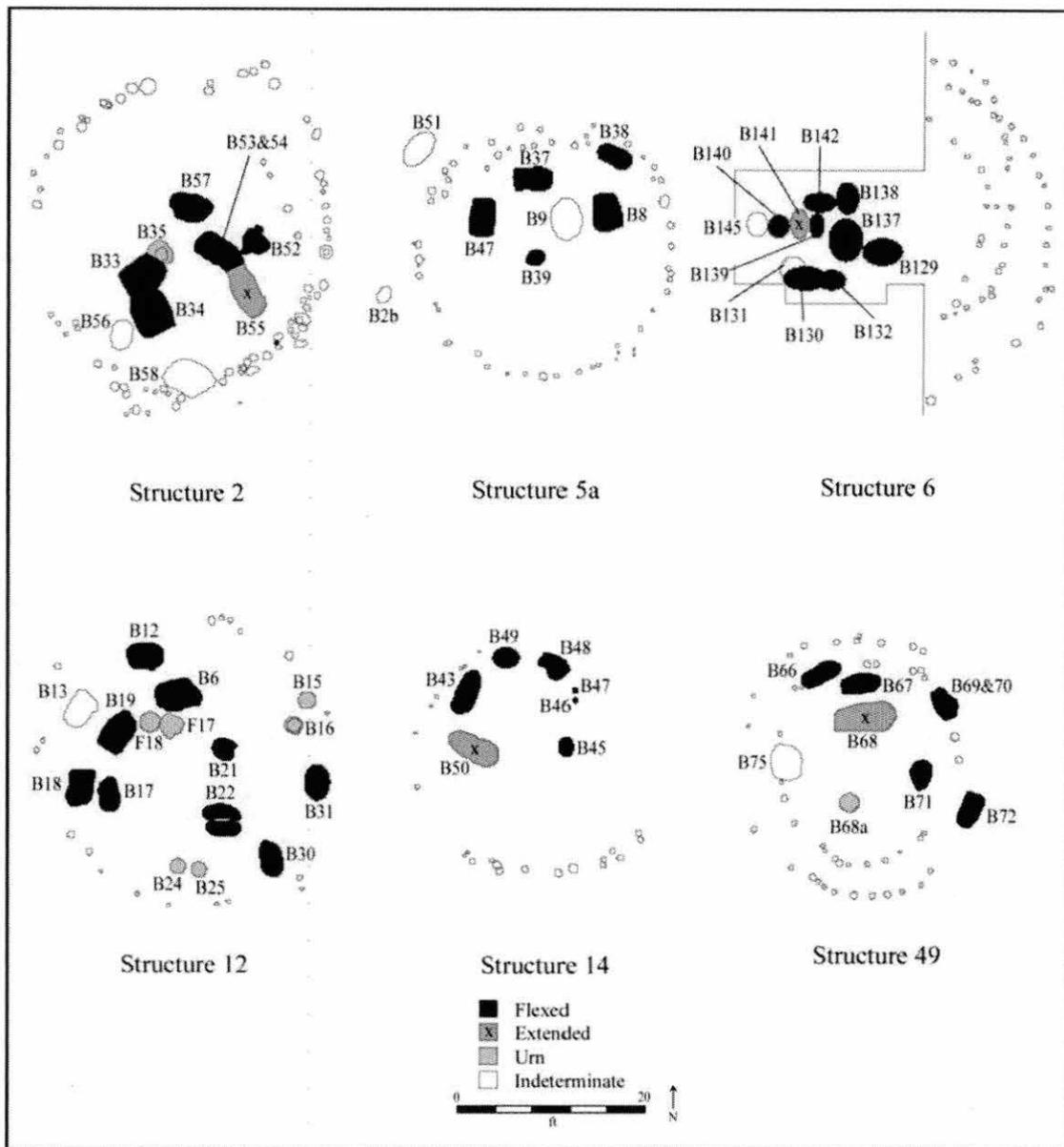


Figure 5.7. Burials in Small Circular Structures.

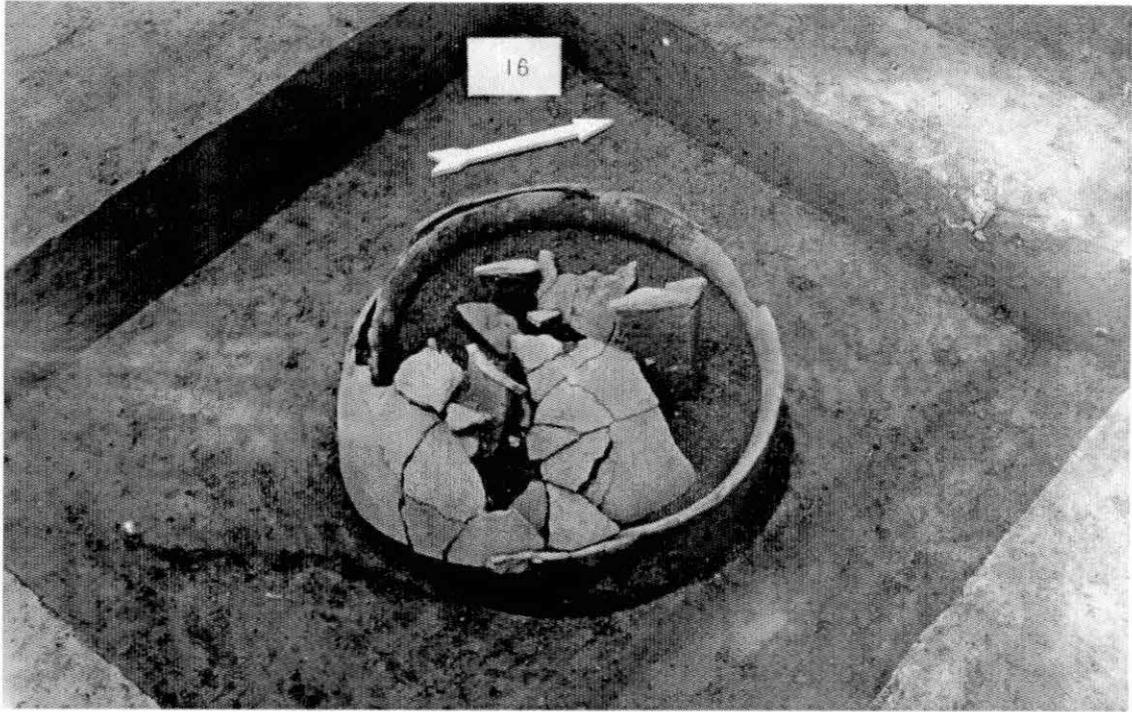


Figure 5.8. Urn burial *in situ*, 1937 (RLA image 84).

fragments with Burial 47/Mg2 in Structure 5a and a Pine Island style gorget (see Brain and Phillips 1996:28-30) with Burial 43/Mg3 in Structure 14 (Figure 5.9). The most distinctive artifact associated with a burial in a Small Circular Structure was a copper axe found (Figure 5.10) with Burial 50/Mg2, an extended burial located within Structure 14 (Figure 5.11). Five of the infants in urn burials were associated with artifacts other than the urns themselves. Most of these were columella beads. The one urn burial with more than shell beads was Burial 68a/Mg3 within Structure 49 that included a Pine Island style shell gorget and a quartz crystal (Figure 5.12).

### **Late Town Creek-Leak Phase**

The late Town Creek-Leak-phase community consisted of public buildings on the mound summit, a special area next to the Little River that was set apart by a rectangular enclosure, and a plaza that was surrounded by Enclosed Circular, Large Rectangular, and Small Rectangular Structures. The burials from this phase largely or wholly postdate mound construction.

#### *Summit Structures*

Two sets of buildings located on two different mound summits were excavated. Each set consisted of two small, square structures joined by an entrance trench. As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, it is likely that these two buildings were located behind a large, arbor-like, rectangular structure located on the plaza side of the summit. The northern building (Structure 45a) in the earlier set of structures contained two flexed burials that were located next to a central hearth (Figure 5.13). An additional grave-shaped pit (Feature 29/Mg2) was



Figure 5.9. Pine Island style shell gorget associated with Burial 43/Mg3 (Photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

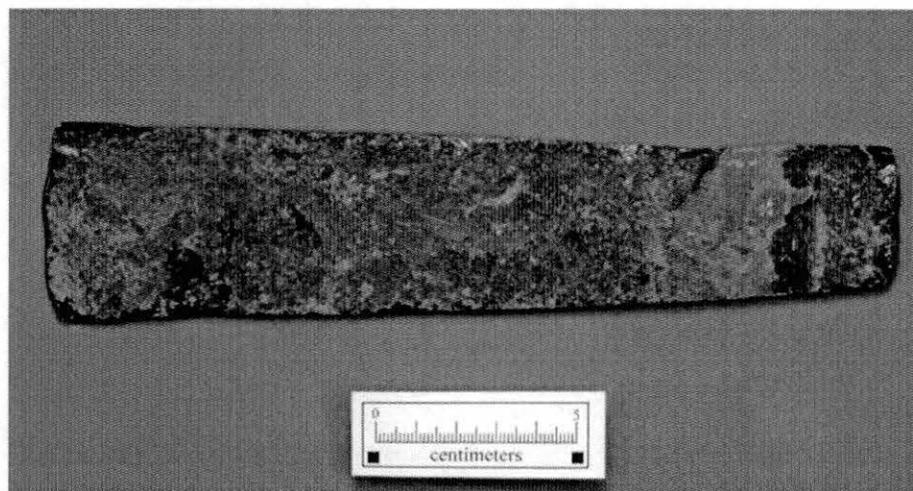


Figure 5.10. Copper axe associated with Burial 50/Mg3 (Photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

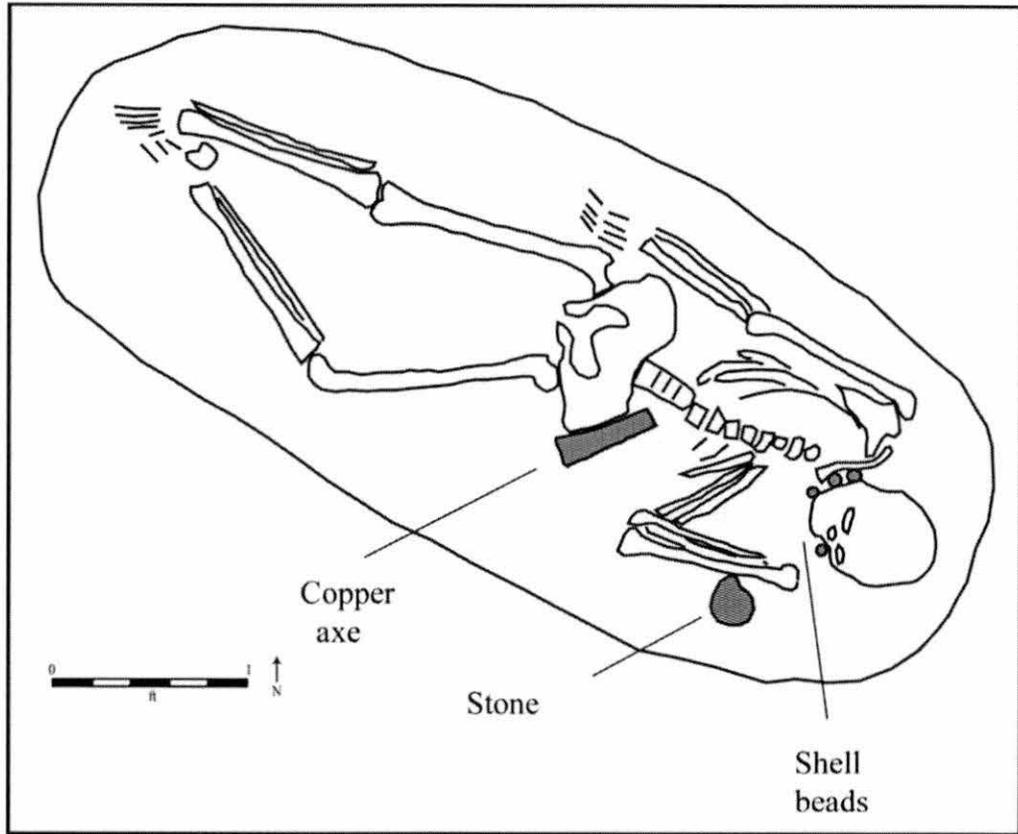
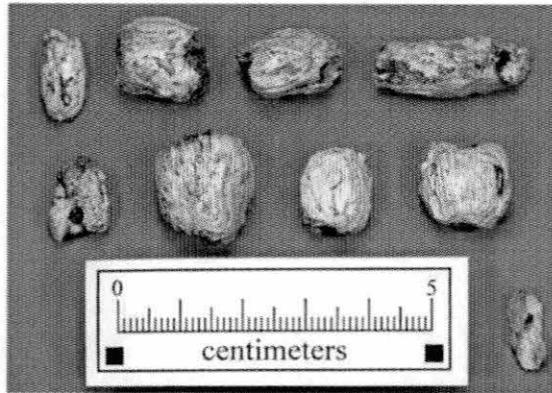
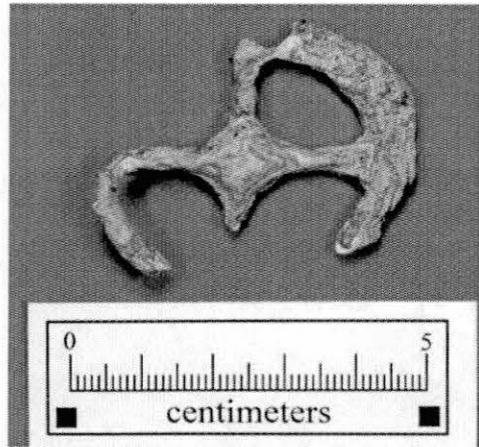


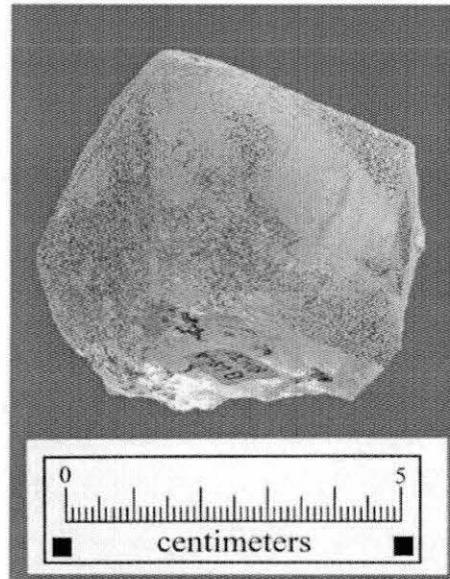
Figure 5.11. Burial 50/Mg3.



a



b



c

Figure 5.12. Objects associated with Burial 68a/Mg3: (a) shell beads (b) Pine Island style shell gorget (c) quartz (Photographs a and b by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

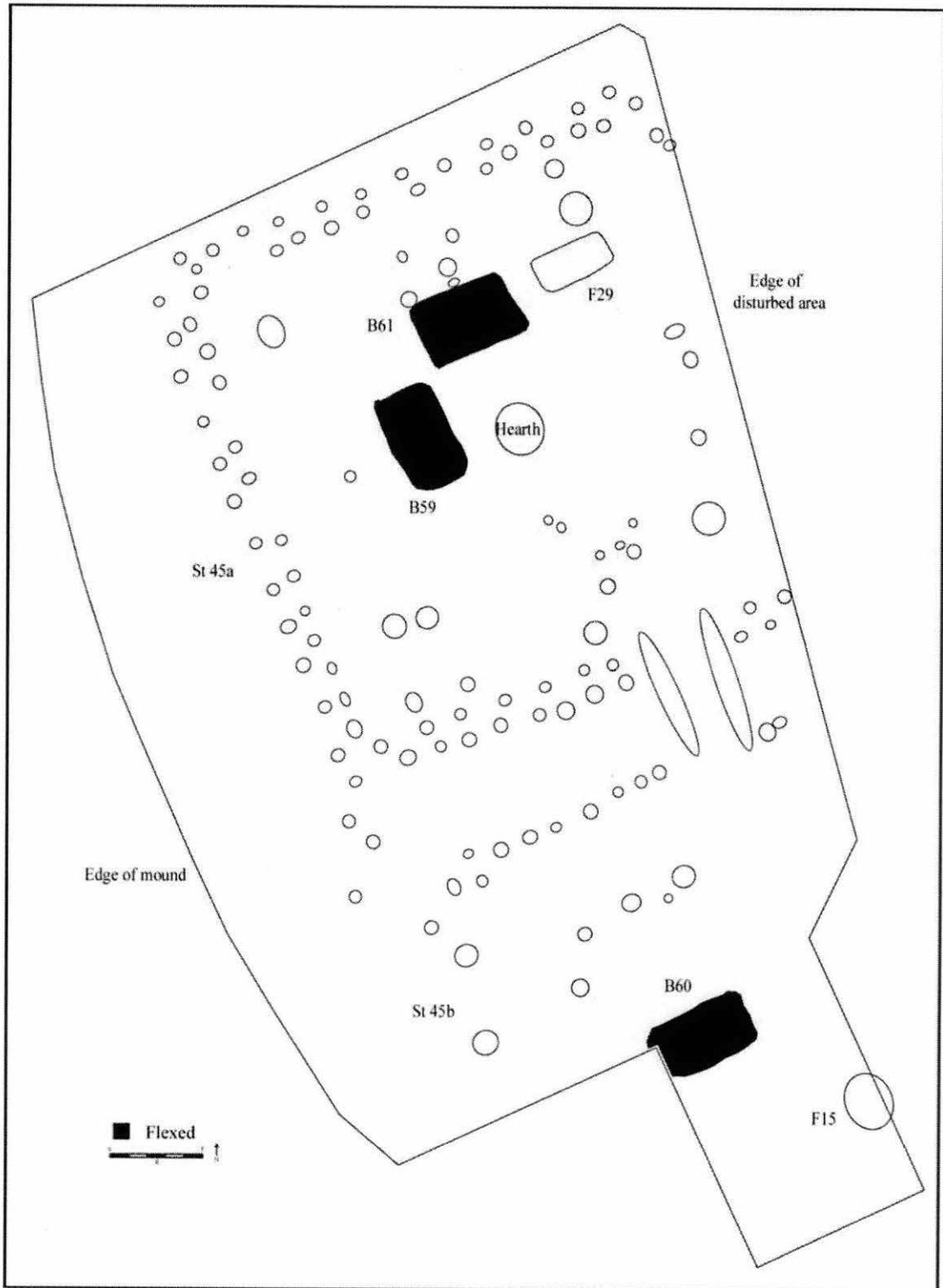


Figure 5.13. Burials associated with Structures 45a and 45b on the mound summit.

located nearby, but it did not contain any bone. Both of the individuals in Structure 45a were young adults. Sex could not be determined for one of them (Burial 61/Mg2). This person was buried with two pieces of quartz crystal. The other was a male (Burial 59/Mg2) who was buried with six different types of artifacts (Figure 5.14). These included a piece of red ochre, two projectile points, and a number of columella beads, several of which were made of large, relatively unmodified portions of shell. This individual was also buried with three circular mica ornaments that were in the form of an excised cross (Figure 5.15). Two piles of small pebbles located in the grave were interpreted as the remains of rattles. The southern building (Structure 45b) in the earlier set of summit structures contained one flexed burial (Burial 60/Mg2) and an empty circular pit (Feature 15/Mg2). The burial was an adult for which age and sex could not be determined. This person was associated with fragments of mica and a pile of pebbles that indicated the presence of a rattle (Figure 5.16).

Only two burials were associated with the two structures on the later summit (Figure 5.17). The northern structure (Structure 46a) contained several large and small empty pits as well as a bundle burial (Burial 48/Mg2) located near the entrance. This person was a young adult female who was buried with a marine shell pin (Figure 5.18). The only feature that was not a posthole identified within the southern structure (Structure 46b) was the bundle burial (Burial 49/Mg2) of a young adult for which sex could not be determined. This person was not buried with any artifacts.

#### *Public Structures Next to the River*

Several superimposed structures, a number of burials, and a rectangular enclosure were located in the area next to the Little River across from the mound (Figure 5.19).

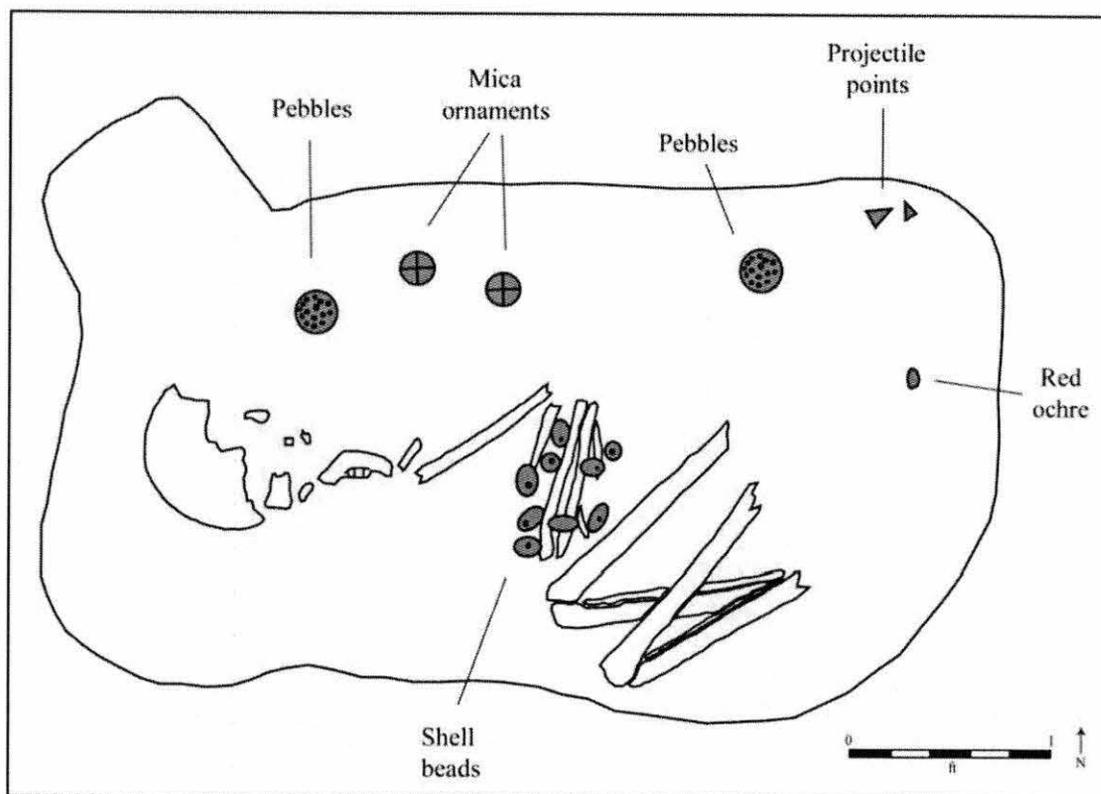
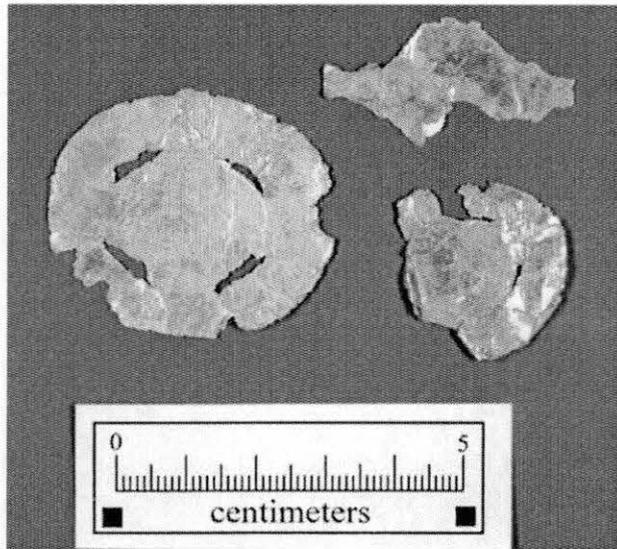
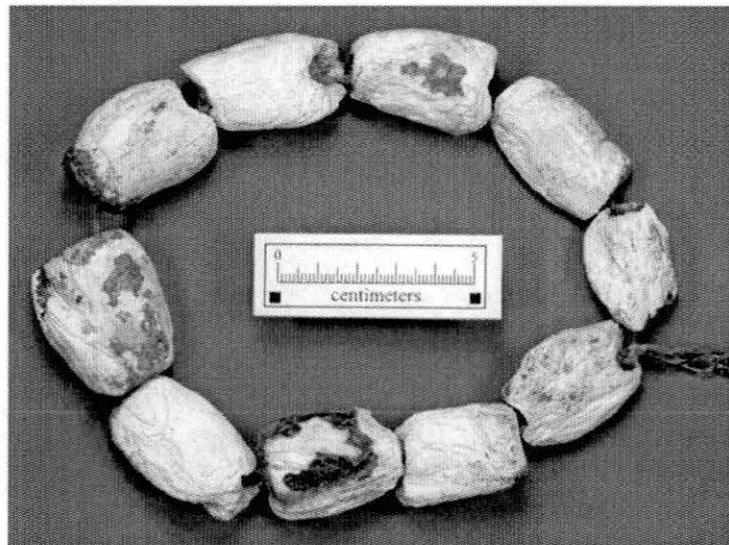


Figure 5.14. Burial 59/Mg2.



a



b

Figure 5.15. Objects associated with Burial 59/Mg2: (a) mica ornaments (b) large shell beads (Photographs by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

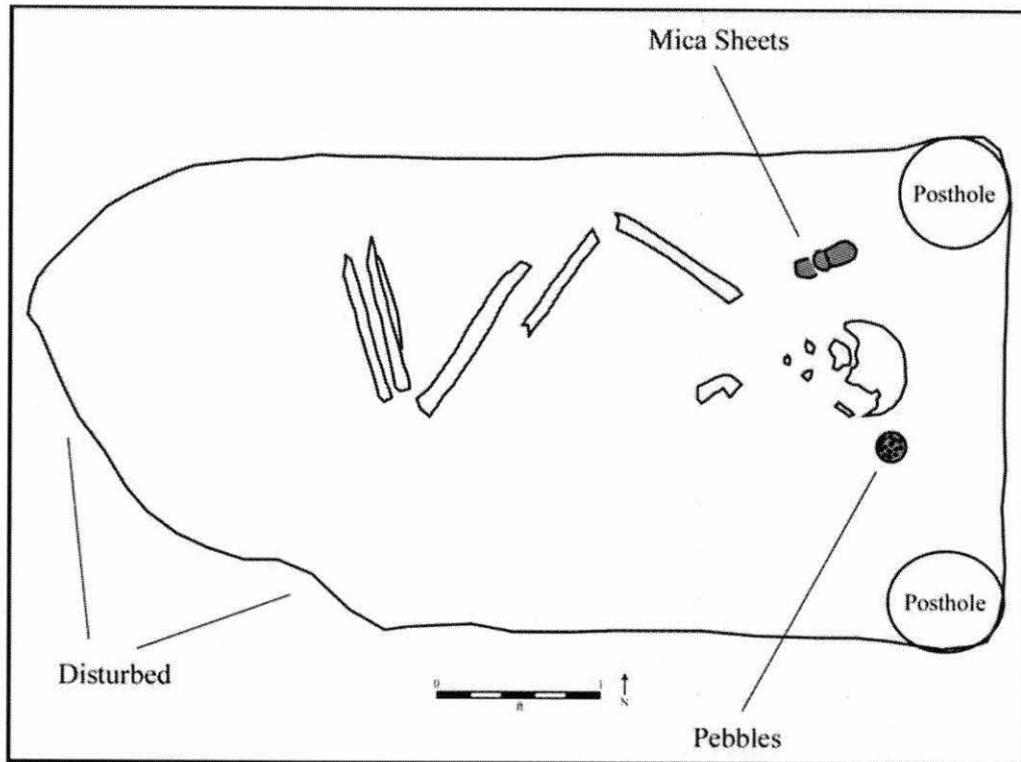


Figure 5.16. Burial 60/Mg2.

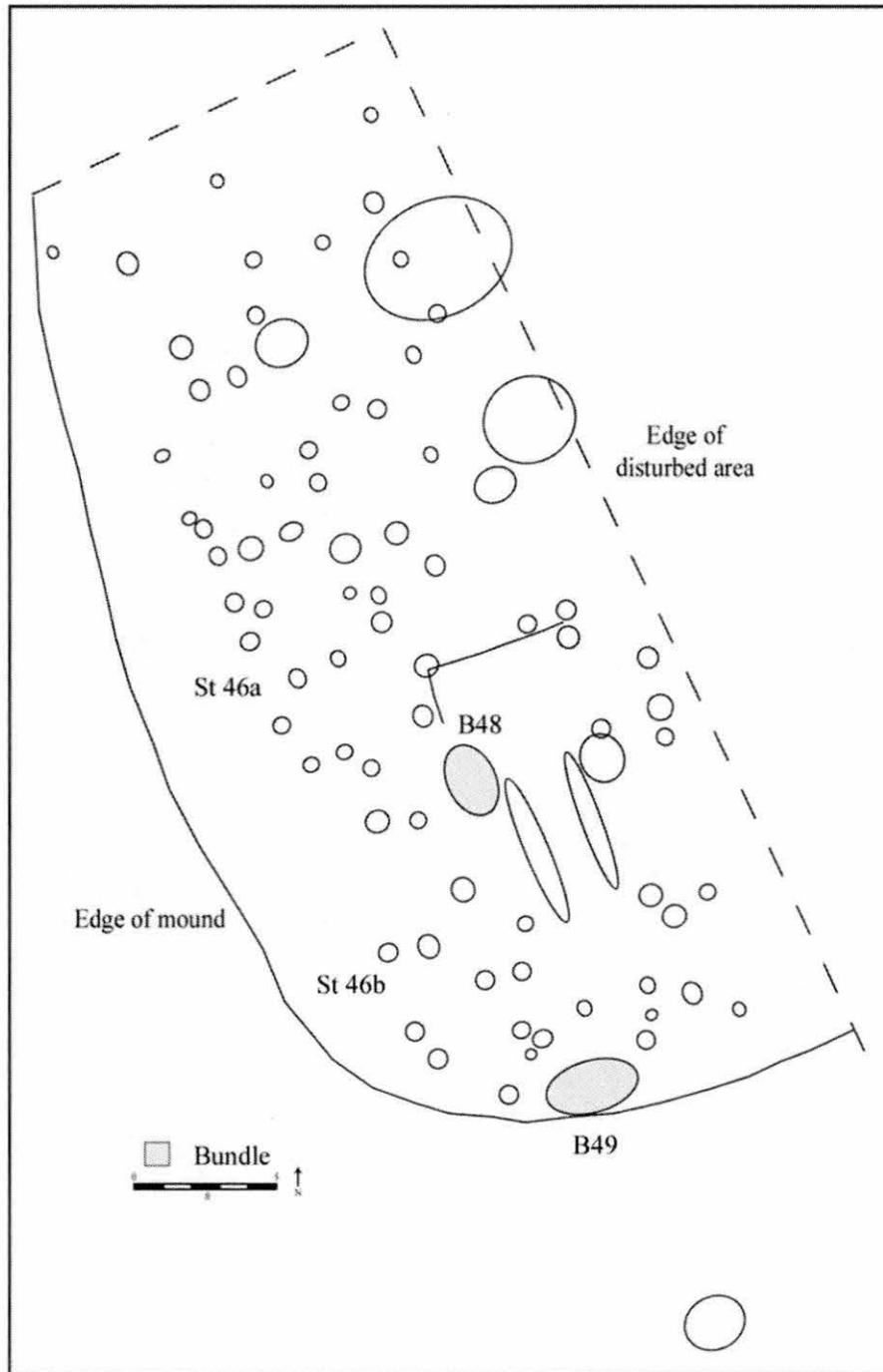


Figure 5.17. Burials associated with Structures 46a and 46b on the mound summit.

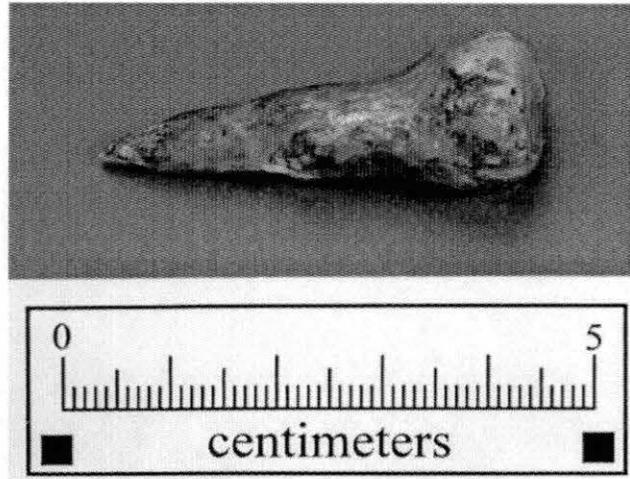


Figure 5.18. Marine shell pin from Burial 48/Mg2 (Photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

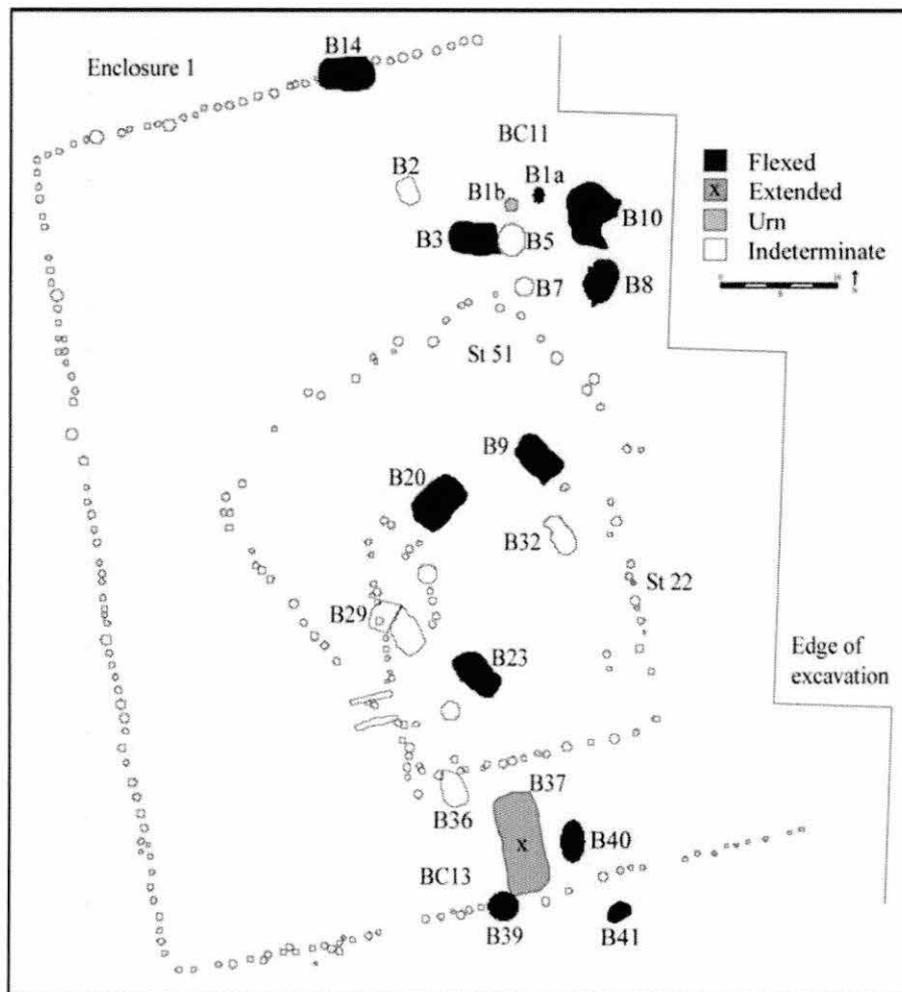


Figure 5.19. Burials associated with Enclosure 1 and Structure 51.

Enclosure 1 encompasses Structure 51 as well as two burial clusters. Burial Cluster 11 is located on its north side and Burial Cluster 13 on its south side. Burial clusters 11 and 13 at least approximately date to the same period as Enclosure 1. Burial clusters 11 and 13 included 16 human burials. Interestingly, Burial Cluster 11 also contained the urn burial of a dog (Figure 3.48). Each cluster consists of several burials around the central burial of an adult woman associated with unique artifacts (Burials 5 and 37/Mg3). All age classes are represented in the burial clusters within Enclosure 1. The adults for which sex could be determined were female (n=6), with the one exception being an older adult male in Burial Cluster 11. Except for Burial 37/Mg3, the individuals in these two clusters were buried in a flexed position (n=10).

Seven of the 17 individuals in Burial Clusters 11 and 13 were associated with artifacts. These include some of the most distinctive artifacts found at Town Creek. The central interment in Burial Cluster 11 is the flexed burial of a young adult woman (Burial 5/Mg3) who was associated with three projectile points and a rattle (Figure 5.20). This woman was also buried with four conch-shoulder gorgets<sup>4</sup> (Figure 5.21). The remains of an infant (Burial 3/Mg3) were located near the feet of Burial 5/Mg3 and a skull (Burial 4/Mg3) was near her head. It is not known if these additional individuals were associated with Burial 5/Mg3 or if they are unrelated burials that were disturbed by Burial 5/Mg3. The flexed burial of another young adult female (Burial 1a/Mg3) in Burial Cluster 11 was associated with fragments of marine shell and a section of a large, complicated-stamped jar. The central interment in Burial Cluster 13 is the extended burial of a mature adult woman (Burial 37/Mg3) who was interred next to the south wall of Enclosure 1 and oriented perpendicular to it (Figure 5.22). In addition to her unique location and burial position, this woman was

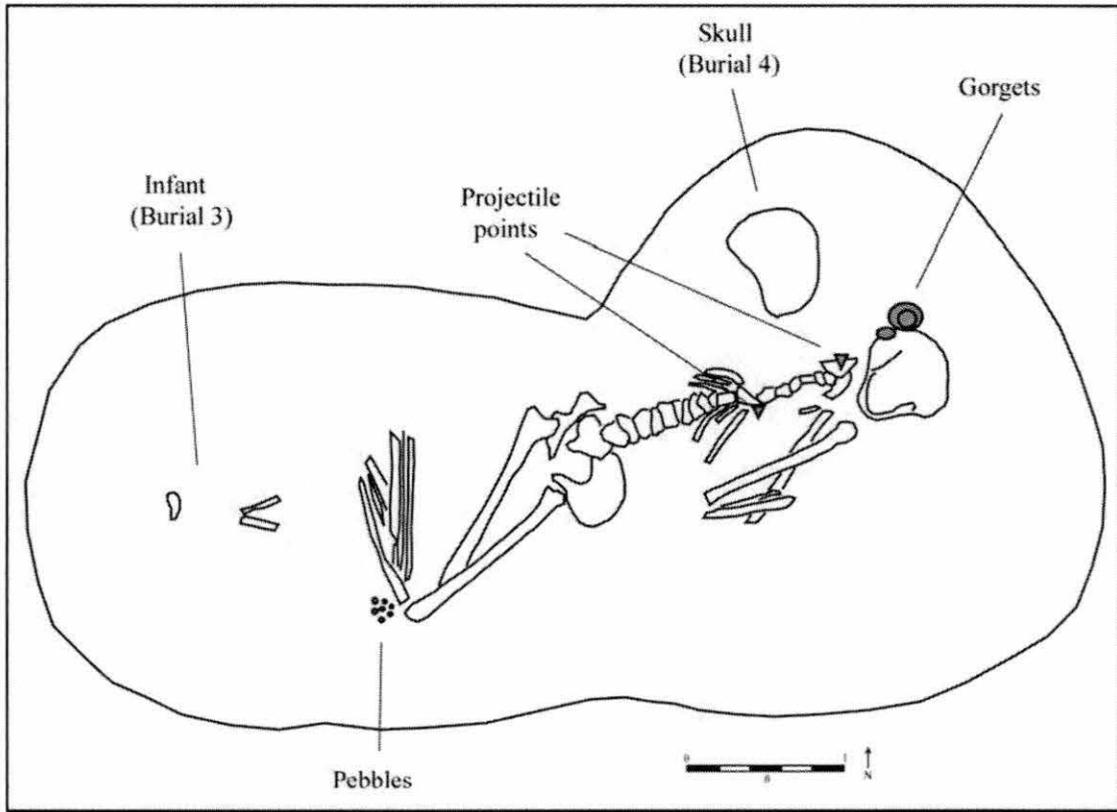
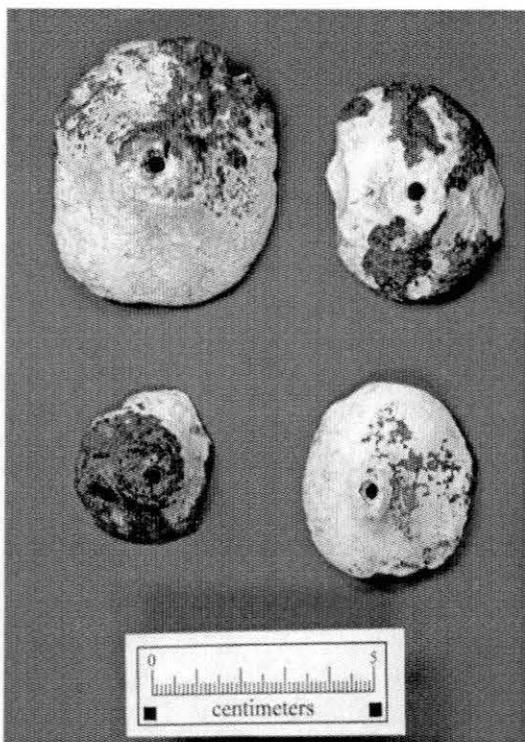
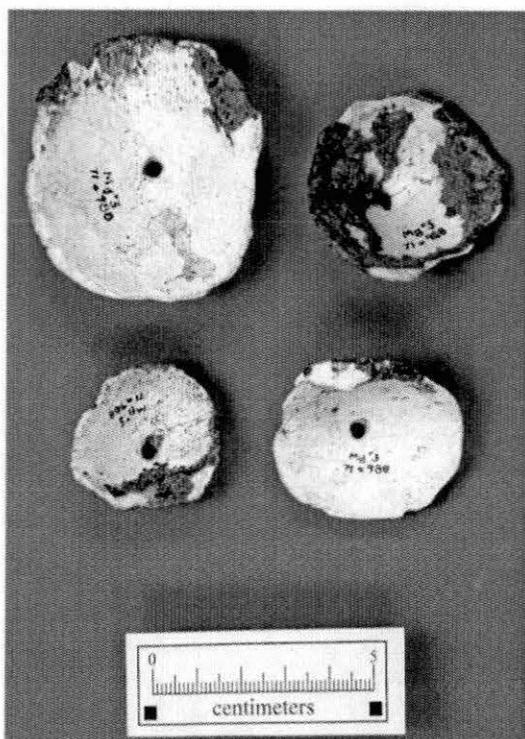


Figure 5.20. Burial 5/Mg3.



Front



Back

Figure 5.21. Conch-shoulder gorgets from Burial 5/Mg3 (Photographs by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

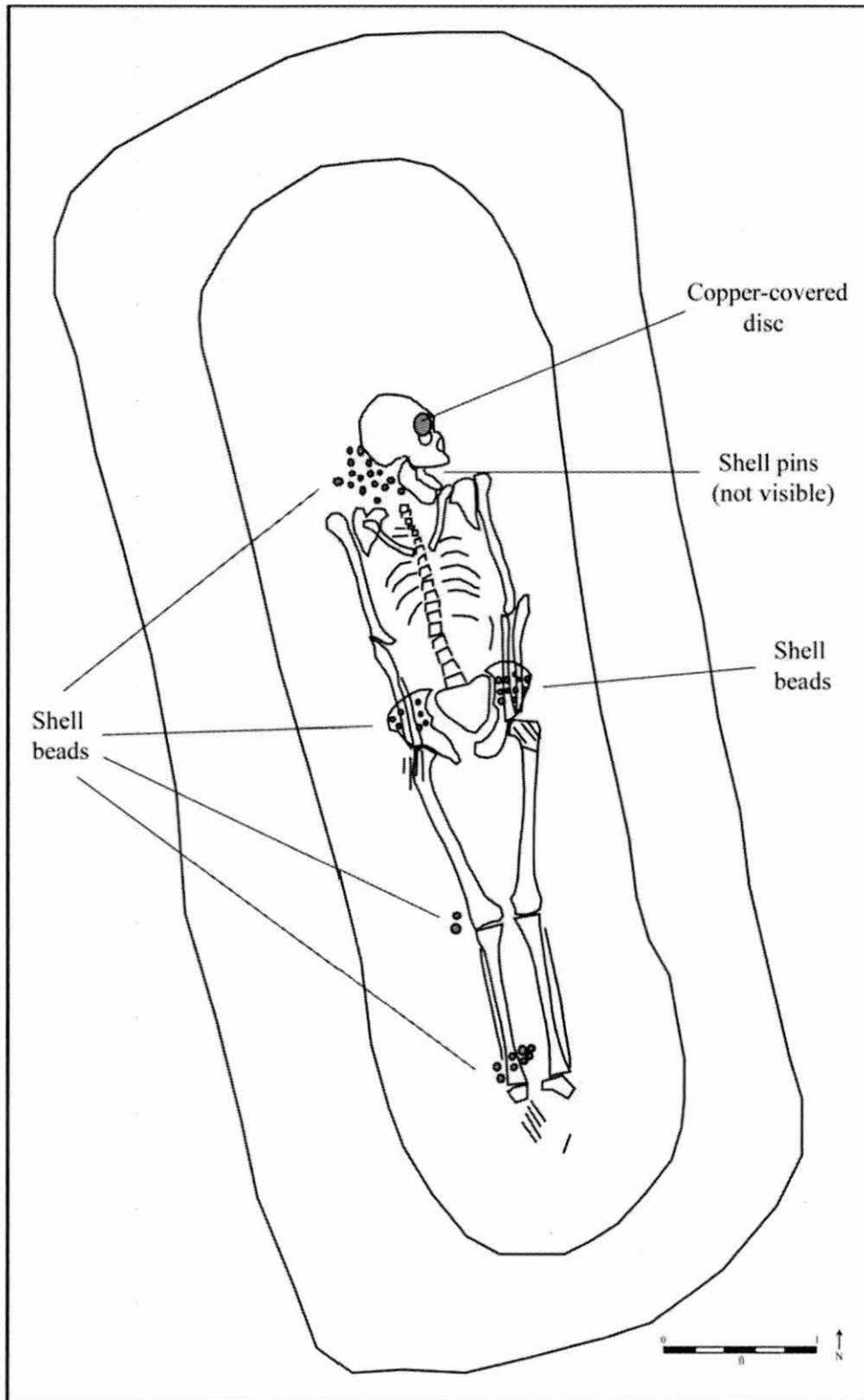
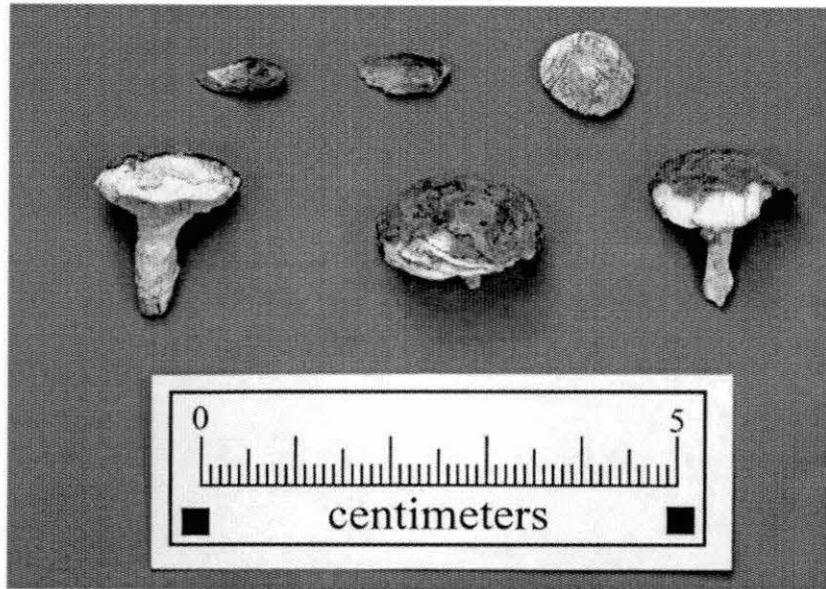


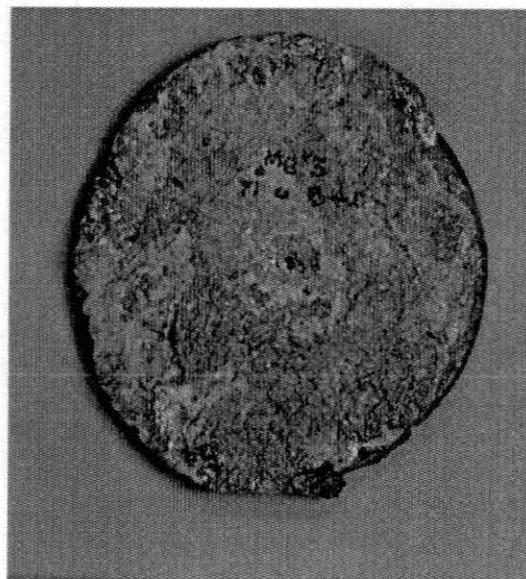
Figure 5.22. Burial 37/Mg3.

associated with 98 columella beads, four bracket-style marine shell ear pins (see Brain and Phillips 1996:362), and a copper-covered wooden ear spool (Figure 5.23). Another individual in Burial Cluster 13 with a unique artifact is the flexed burial of a young adult woman (Burial 33/Mg3) who was interred with two disks made of polished, nonlocal stone that may have been ear ornaments (Figure 5.24). A child burial (Burial 36/Mg3) was associated with two ceramic disks, a polished stone disk, two copper-covered wooden ear spools, and a rattle (Figure 5.25).

Five individuals were buried inside of Structure 51. Burials were aligned to the wall of the structure and they were arranged in a square near its center. The burials for which position could be determined were flexed and those for which age could be determined were young adults. Sex could be determined for only one individual, an adult male. Three of the burials were associated with artifacts. The flexed burial of a young adult (Burial 9/Mg3) located on the east side of the structure contained a large columella bead and a large stone had been placed near the person's head. The flexed burial of a young adult (Burial 23/Mg3) located on the west side of the structure was associated with 16 relatively unmodified columella beads and fragments of mica (Figure 5.26). The flexed burial of an adult male<sup>5</sup> (Burial 20/Mg3) was located near the center of Structure 51 and exactly at the center of Enclosure 1 (Figure 5.27). In addition to being clearly buried in relation to prominent public structures, this person was associated with one of the most diverse and unusual burial assemblages at Town Creek. This man's burial included one columella bead, four projectile points, mica fragments, a pottery pipe, a rattle, and a raccoon skull (Figure 5.28).



a



b

Figure 5.23. Objects associated with Burial 37/Mg3: (a) shell pins (b) copper-covered wooden ear spool (Photographs by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).



Figure 5.24. Polished stone discs with Burial 33/Mg3 (Photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

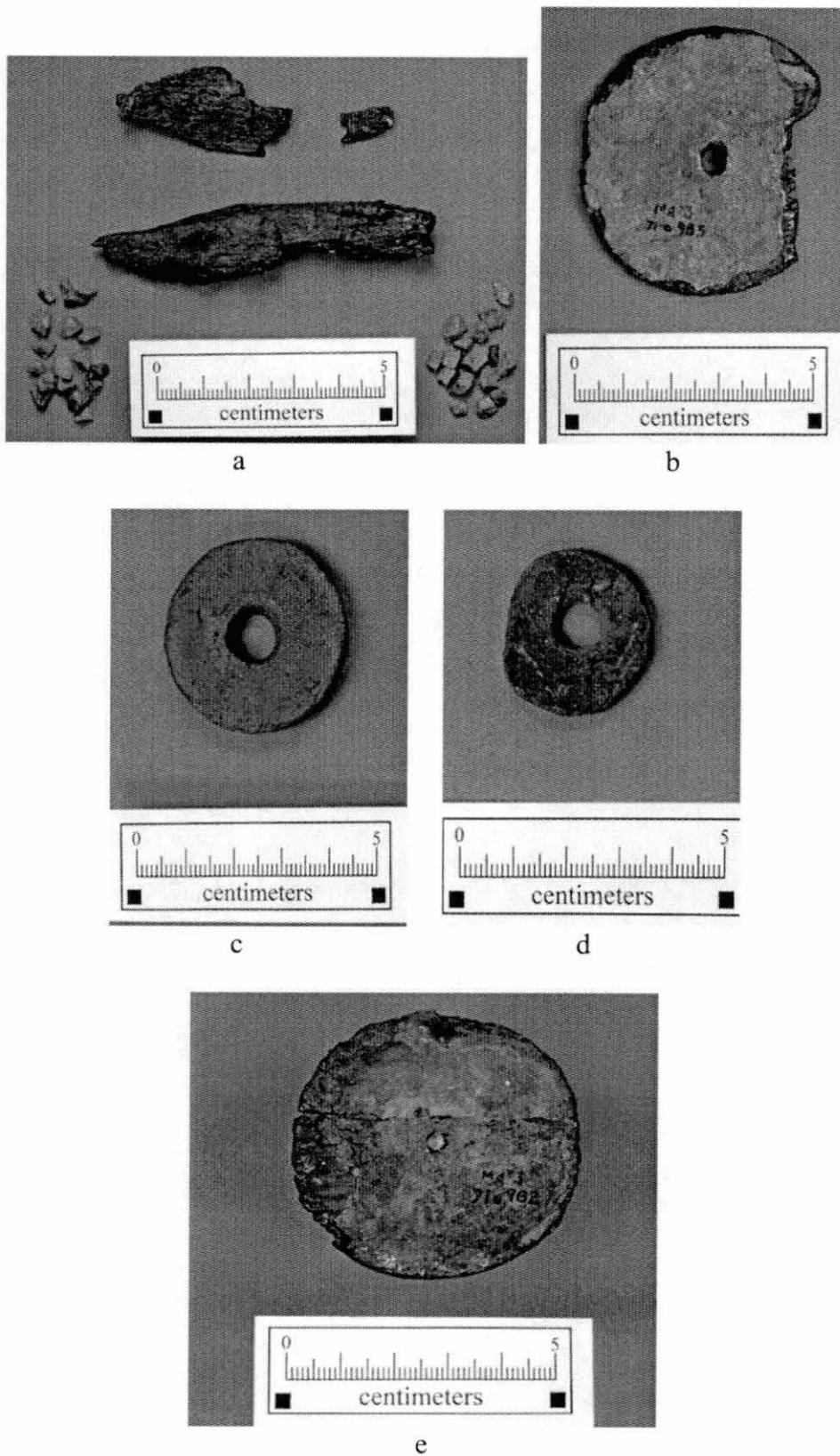


Figure 5.25. Objects associated with Burial 36/Mg3: (a) rattle (b and e) copper-covered wooden ear spools (c) stone disk (d) ceramic disk (Photographs by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

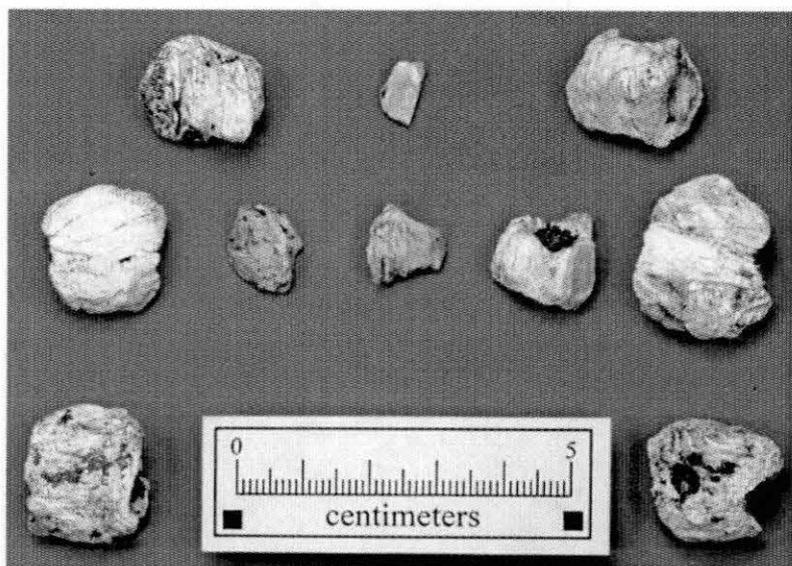


Figure 5.26. Columella beads associated with Burial 23/Mg3 (Photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

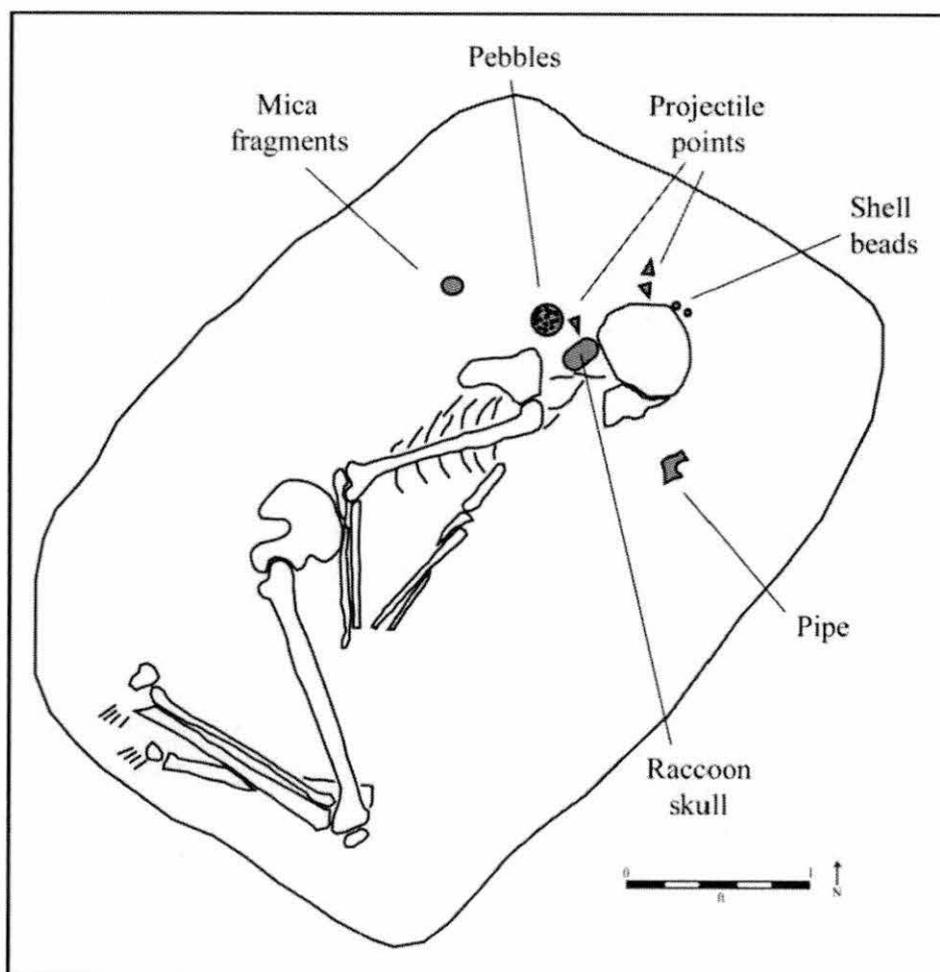
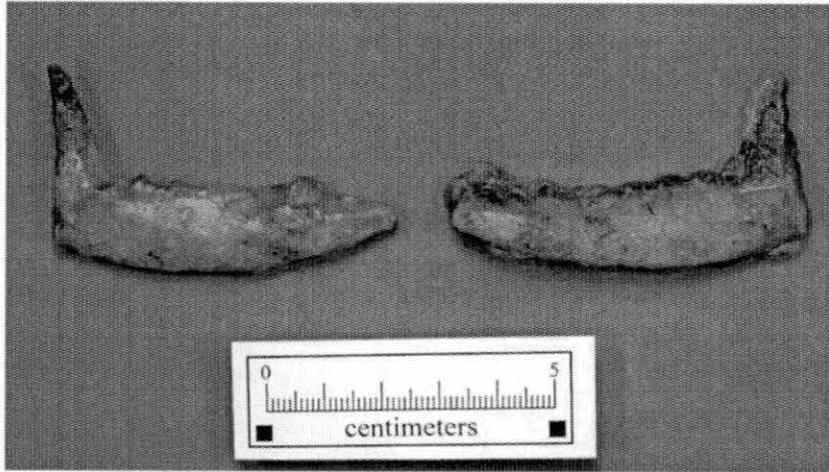
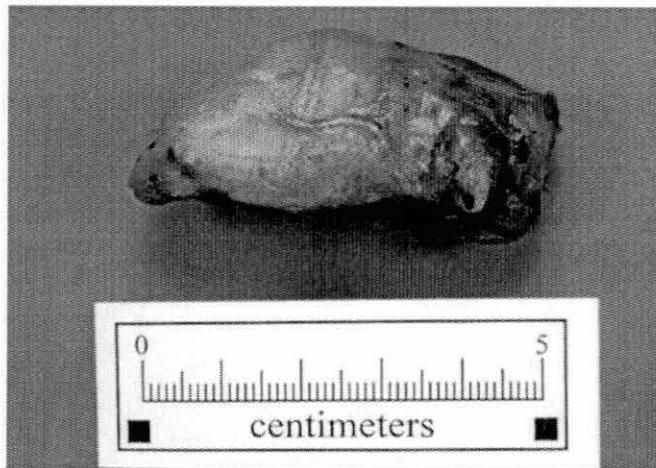


Figure 5.27. Burial 20/Mg3.



a



b

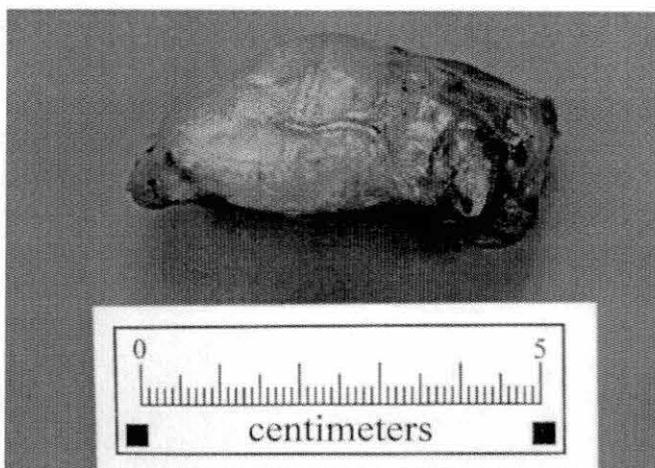


c

Figure 5.28. Objects associated with Burial 20/Mg3: (a) raccoon jaw (b) raccoon skull (c) clay pipe (Photographs by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).



a



b



c

Figure 5.28. Objects associated with Burial 20/Mg3: (a) raccoon jaw (b) raccoon skull (c) clay pipe (Photographs by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

### *Enclosed Circular Structures*

Eighty individuals were buried in the two excavated Enclosed Circular Structures. Burials were located in a dense cluster at the center of each structure (Figure 5.29). They were entirely within the inner circular pattern for Structure 7 and mostly within the inner circular pattern for Structure 1. All age-sex categories are represented in Enclosed Circular Structures. This suggests that Enclosed Circular Structures were used by domestic groups, but it seems unlikely that they were houses. The facts that there were possibly four Enclosed Circular Structures, that they have a high density of burials, and that they were enclosed all suggest that these were special-purpose buildings and not typical houses. Instead, as discussed in Chapter 4, it seems that Enclosed Circular Structures began as houses that eventually became enclosed cemeteries.

Most of the individuals in Enclosed Circular Structures were buried in a flexed position (n=45). Urn burials that contained infants were placed near the center of the burial cluster in both structures, seven in Structure 7 and one in Structure 1. Several of these burials also had a bowl inverted over the top of the jar. Similar to Small Circular Structures, both of the Enclosed Circular Structures also contained extended burials. Unlike Small Circular Structures, though, each Enclosed Circular structure contained two individuals buried in an extended position. In each case, one person was buried near the center of the cluster of burials and the other was buried on the periphery. Structure 1 also contained a bundle burial and a disarticulated burial.

Twenty-three of the individuals buried in Enclosed Circular Structures were associated with artifacts. Columella beads were the most common type of artifact. Two children (Burials 109 and 124a/Mg3) in Structure 7 were associated with a number of

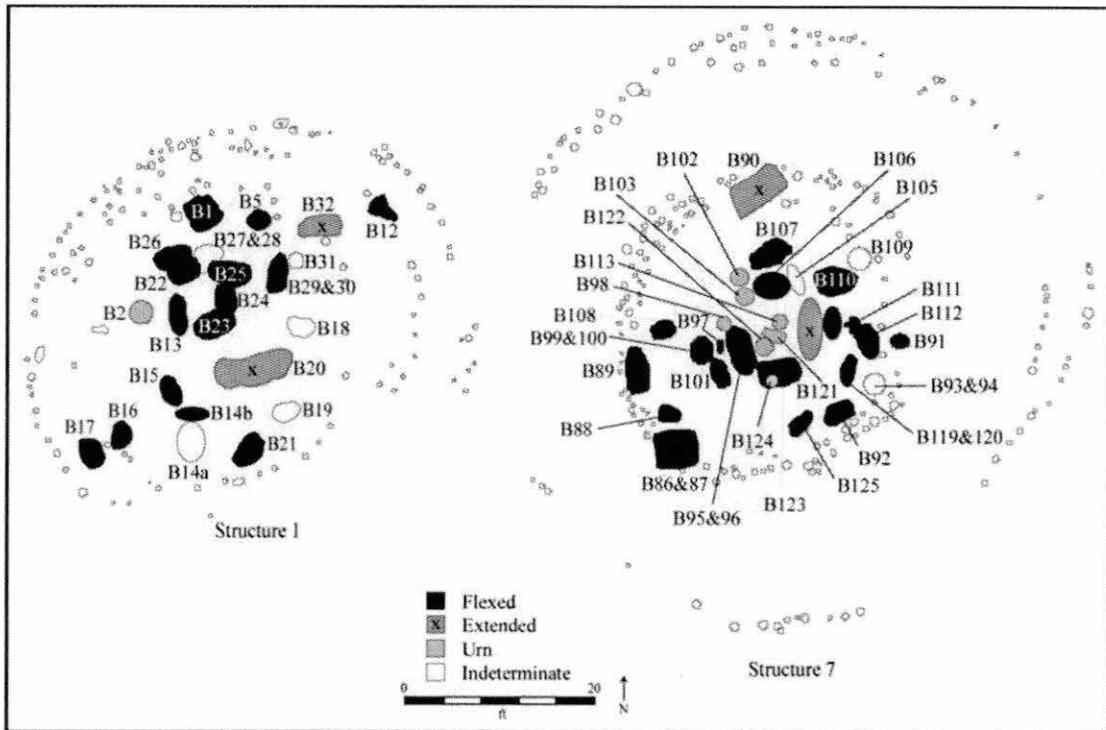


Figure 5.29. Burials in Enclosed Circular Structures.

marginella shell beads (n=63 and 1655) which suggests that they were buried with a beaded garment. Five of the eight urn burials included beads with four individuals having shell beads and one associated with a bone bead. Copper fragments were found with two individuals, the bundle burial of a young adult female (Burial 30/Mg2) in Structure 1 and the flexed burial of an older adult male (Burial 92/Mg3) in Structure 7. Two children (Burials 111 and 118a/Mg3) in Structure 7 were each buried with two conch-shoulder gorgets.

### *Large Rectangular Structures*

Structures 27 and 30b are the only Large Rectangular Structures that were excavated at Town Creek (Figure 5.30). Structure 27 represents the eastern portion of a Large Rectangular Structure located on the northwest side of the plaza. The western part of this structure extends into an unexcavated part of the site. Nine individuals were buried in the eastern part of this structure and their graves are, for the most part, widely spaced across the structure's interior. Two adolescents (Burials 81 and 82/Mg3) were buried in a flexed position in the northeast corner, and a child (Burial 80/Mg3) was buried in a flexed position in the southeast corner. Two burials of young adult females (Burials 61 and 63/Mg3) were located near what was probably the center of the structure. Also near the structure's center was a large, square pit that contained the disarticulated remains of four individuals (Burials 62a, 62b, 62c, and 62d/Mg3)—an adult, a young adult, and two adolescents (Figure 5.31). A deer jaw and a pottery disk in this pit are the only burial associations within this structure.

Four burials were widely spaced across the interior of Structure 30b and another possibly related burial was located just outside of the building. The interior burials were all flexed. They consisted of two older adult females (Burials 11 and 83/Mg3), a young adult

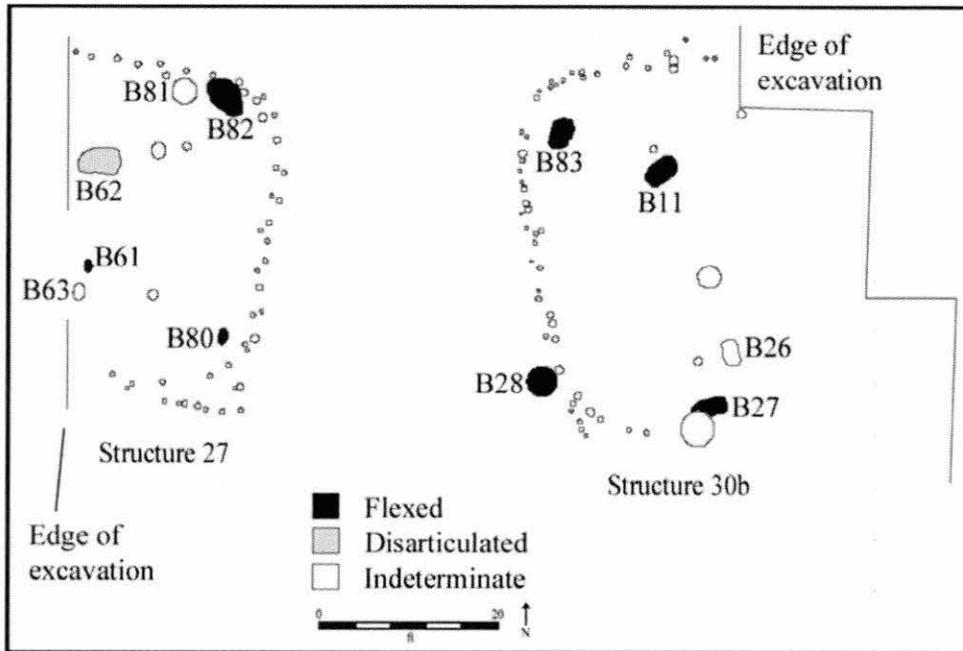


Figure 5.30. Burials in Large Rectangular Structures.

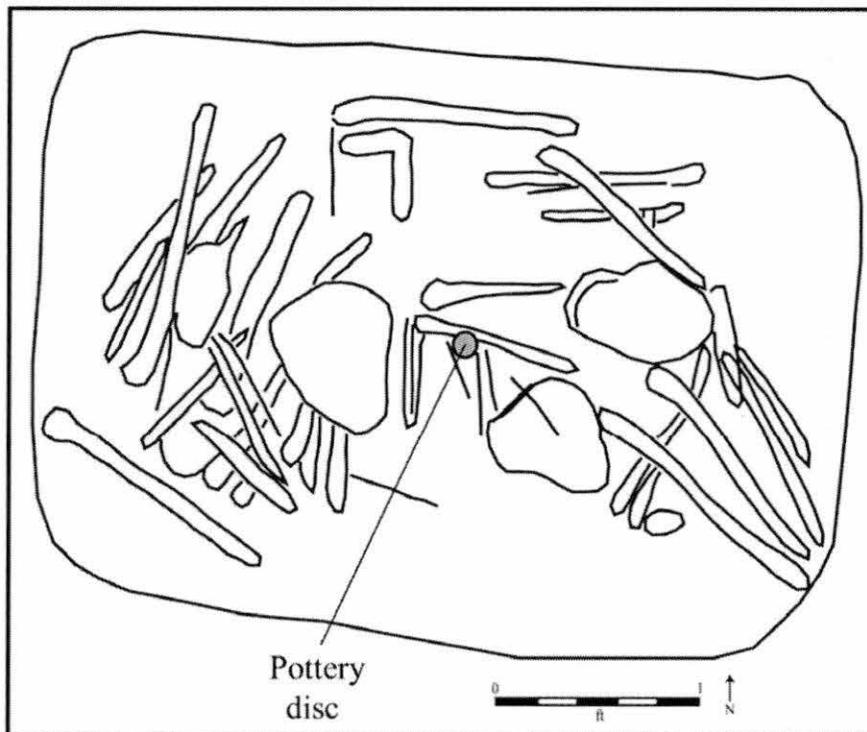


Figure 5.31. Burial 62/Mg3.

female (Burial 26/Mg3), and a young adult of indeterminate sex (Burial 27/Mg3). The only associated artifact was a quartzite pebble with one of the older adult women (Burial 11/Mg3). The exterior burial (Burial 28/Mg3) was a mature adult male in the flexed position who was not buried with any artifacts.

#### *Small Rectangular Structures*

Structure 5b is the only Small Rectangular Structure that was associated with burials. Two burials were aligned with the walls of this building (Figure 5.32). One of these was an adolescent (Burial 40/Mg2) and the other was indeterminate (Feature 35/Mg2). Neither was associated with artifacts.

#### *Medium Rectangular Structures*

One Medium Rectangular structure (Structure 28), located on the northwest side of the plaza, was excavated. Three burials were located within Structure 28 (Figure 5.33). All of them had been placed in corners of the building. The northwest corner of the building contained the flexed burial of a child (Burial 85/Mg3) and the flexed burial of a mature adult (Burial 84/Mg3) who had been buried with columella beads and a bone awl. The third burial was that of an adolescent in the flexed position (Burial 76/Mg3) who had been placed in the northeast corner.

#### **Caraway Phase**

Fourteen Protohistoric burials were found in two amorphous clusters (Burial Clusters 14 and 20) in the southeastern part of the site (Figure 5.34). Thirteen of the Protohistoric

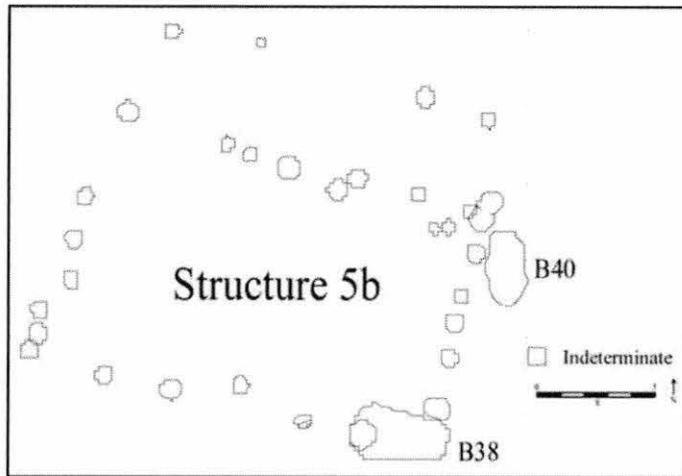


Figure 5.32. Burial associated with Structure 5b.

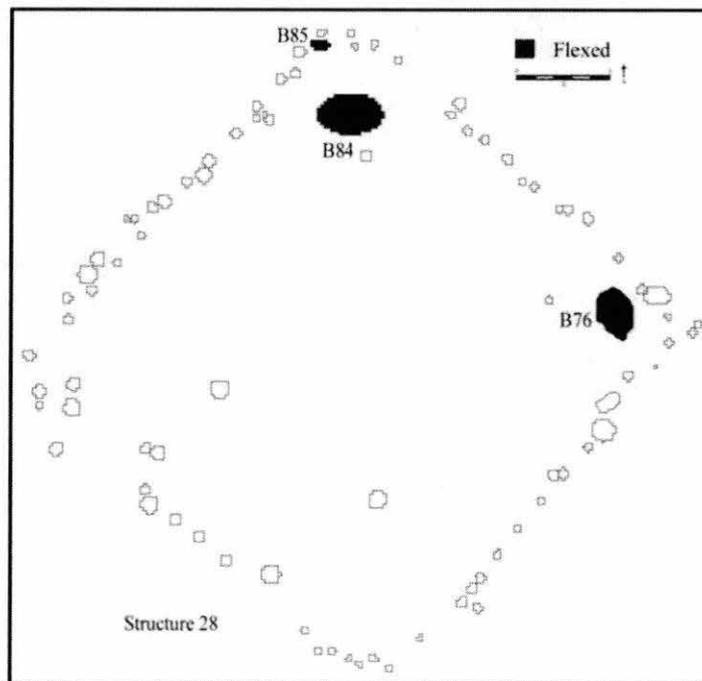


Figure 5.33. Burials associated with Structure 28.

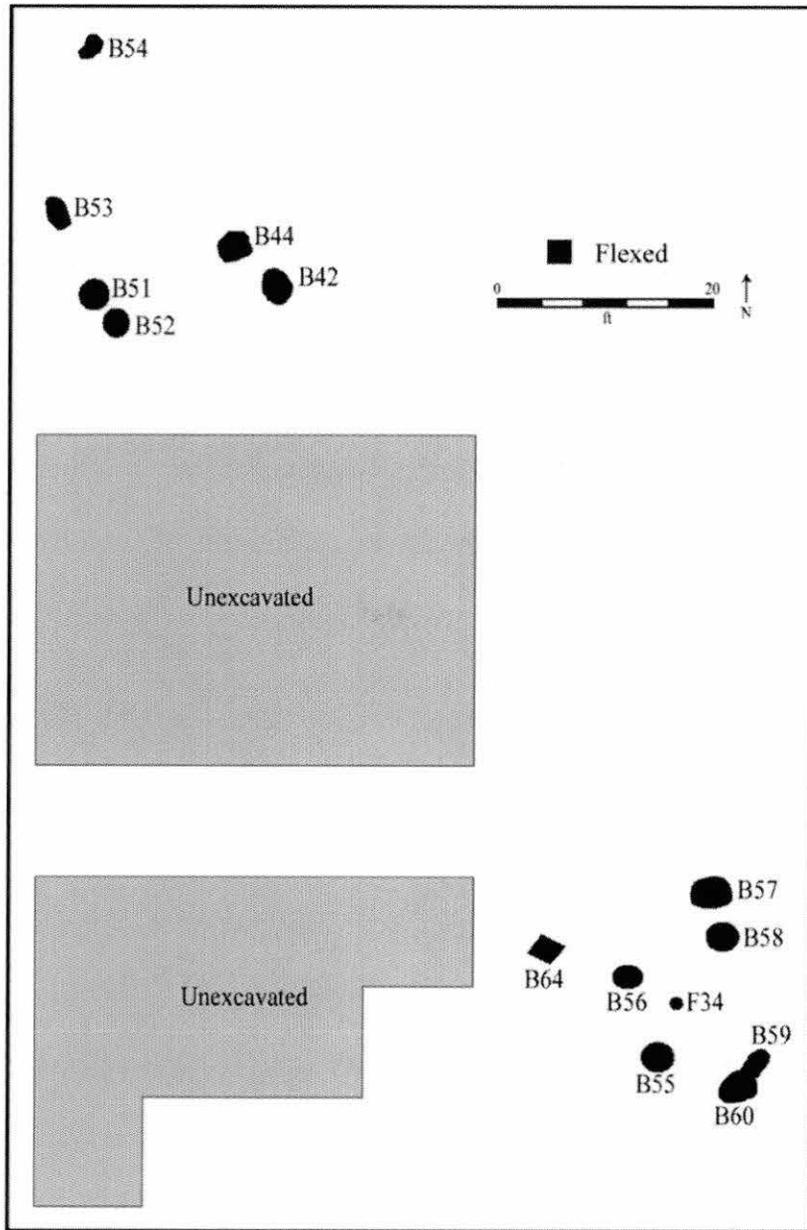
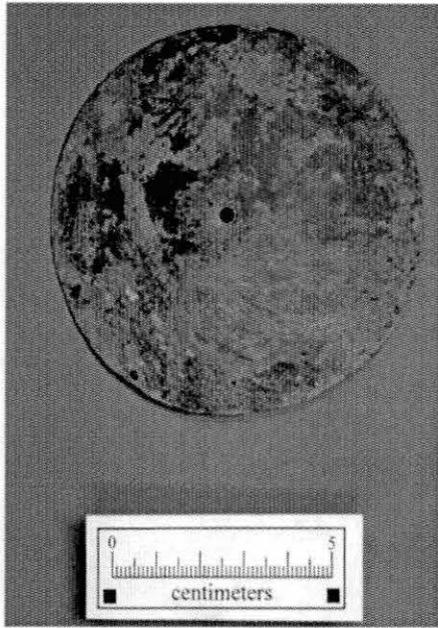


Figure 5.34. Burials in the Caraway-phase burial clusters.

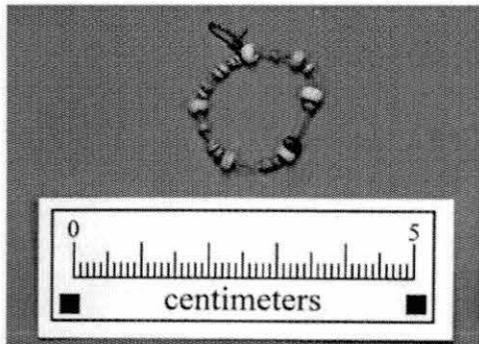
burials were flexed, with the one exception being a poorly preserved skeleton for which a burial position could not be determined. Half of the Protohistoric burials contained grave goods. Burial Cluster 14 consisted of three children, a young adult female, and two older adult females. Four burials in this cluster contained artifacts. One of the older adult females (Burial 44/Mg3) was buried with six columella beads and the young adult female (Burial 42/Mg3) was associated with two olivella shells and a fragment of a ceramic vessel. One of the children was buried with a disk-shaped shell bead and glass beads (Burial 51/Mg3). Another child burial (Burial 52/Mg3) was relatively lavish because it contained a number of disk-shaped shell beads, glass beads, and a centrally perforated circular brass gorget (Figure 5.35). This is an artifact type that has been associated with individuals of high status during the Contact period in Virginia (Potter 1989:162). Burial Cluster 20 consisted of an adolescent, four young adults, and three individuals of indeterminate age and sex. Two of the young adults were male and sex could not be determined for the other two. The adolescent (Burial 58/Mg3) was associated with a copper bead and one of the indeterminate burials (Burial 55/Mg3) contained a glass bead. A young adult burial (Burial 60/Mg3) included mica fragments. The most distinctive Protohistoric burial was that of a young adult male (Burial 57/Mg3) who was buried with six different artifact types. These included a pottery pipe, a stone bead, a scraper, a copper bead, a brass or copper pendant, and a piece of quartz crystal (Figure 5.36).

## MORTUARY PATTERNS

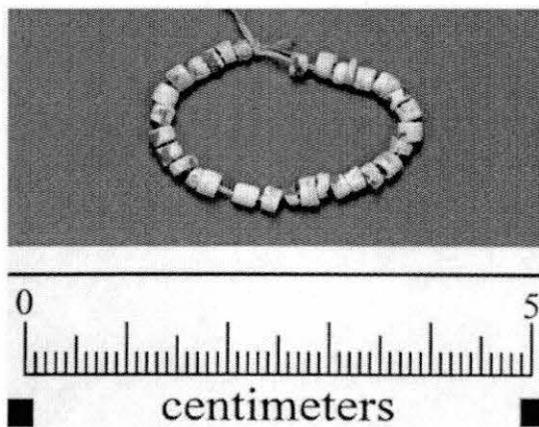
In this section, the mortuary record of Town Creek is examined in regard to burial type, burial position, and demographic profiles associated with individual structures and



a

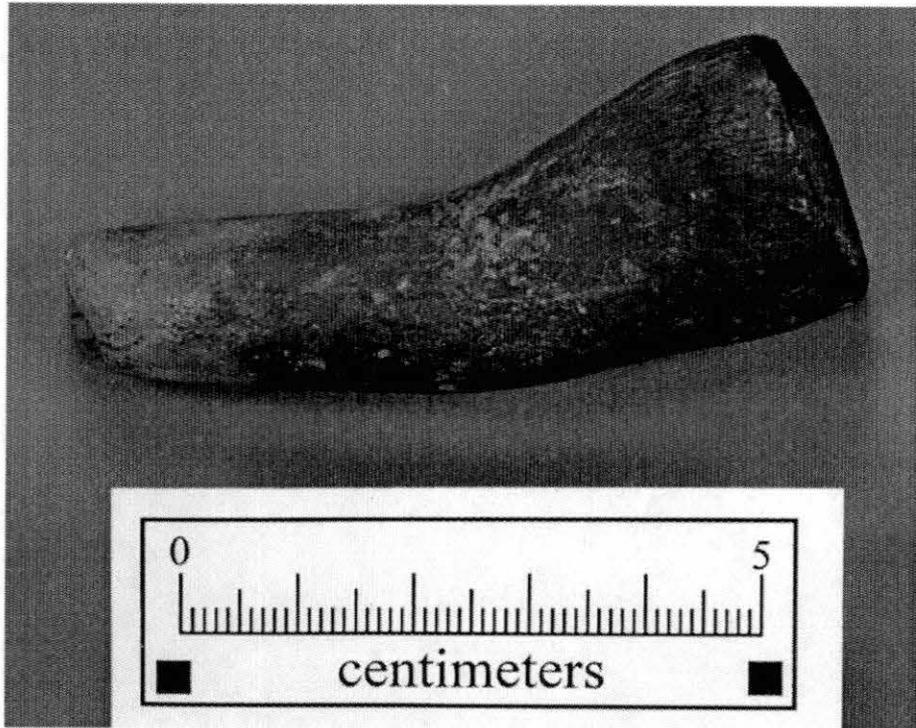


b

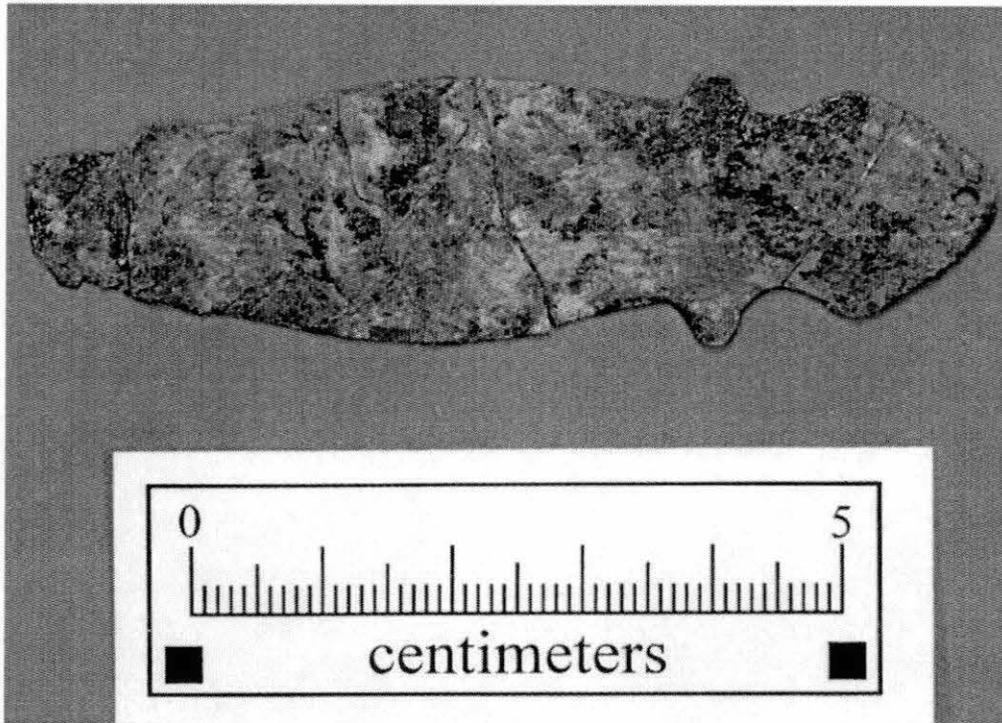


c

Figure 5.35. Artifacts associated with Burial 52/Mg3: (a) brass gorget (b) glass beads (c) shell beads (Photographs by Stephen Davis, Jr.).



a



b

Figure 5.36. Artifacts associated with Burial 57/Mg3: (a) clay pipe (b) brass or copper object (Photographs by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

structure types. Additionally, demographic profiles, artifact distributions, and the locations of burials are used to explore the expression of community leadership roles and how these might have changed through time.

### **Demographic Profiles**

The demographic profiles of the burials associated with different structures are important because they indicate who used the buildings in life which in turn allows a consideration of the structure's function. One can expect that structures accessible to an entire social group will exhibit demographic profiles in which all age and sex categories are represented. In contrast, the demographic profiles of structures to which access was more restricted should have gaps where individuals of certain age and sex categories are absent. The investigation of structure accessibility and function is a critical step in the process of exploring community organization and change. Once an argument can be made about how individual structures and structure types were used, then differences and changes in the community at Town Creek can be discussed in regard to the functions of and spatial relationships among contemporaneous structures.

#### *Late Woodland*

The age profile of Structure 18 suggests that it was a relatively accessible structure with four out of five age classes represented (Figure 5.37). However, the age-sex profile shows that the only adults buried in this structure were males (Figure 5.38). This is a pattern that is distinct from every other structure and burial cluster at Town Creek. Although we know nothing about the community with which Structure 18 was associated, it is clear that

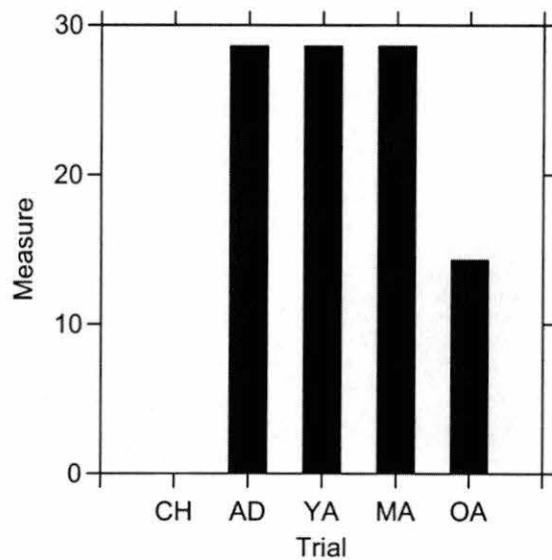


Figure 5.37. Burials by age class (percent) in the Late Woodland Structure 18.

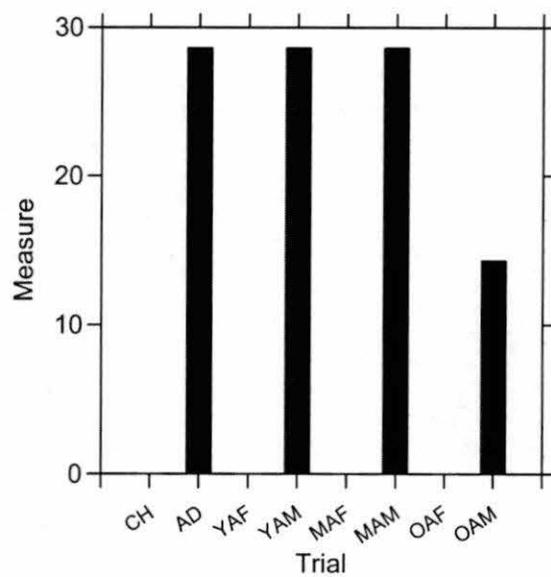


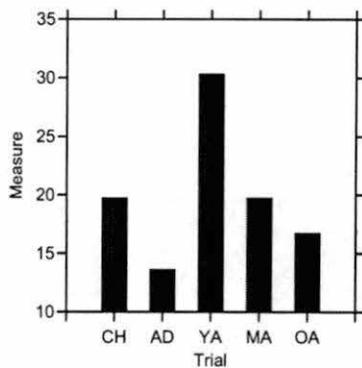
Figure 5.38. Burials by age-sex class (percent) in the Late Woodland Structure 18.

some males in the Late Woodland community located at or near Town Creek were distinguished at death, probably because they occupied a gender-linked status, by being buried within Structure 18. As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, the size of Structure 18 and the presence of a circular arrangement of superimposed features indicates that this was probably not a typical domestic building. It is possible that this was a circular enclosure within which mortuary rituals were performed. These rituals may have involved the repetitive placement of features, including burials, along the interior of the enclosure wall.

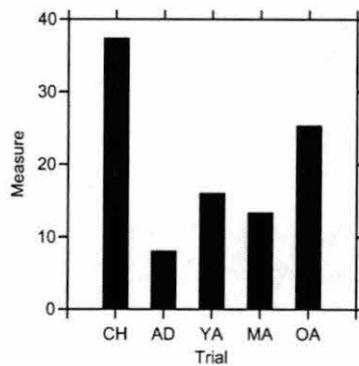
### *Mississippian*

All five age classes and both sexes are represented in Small Circular, Enclosed Circular, and Large Rectangular Structures (Figures 5.39 and 5.40). This suggests that burial within these structures was open to all members of a social group regardless of age. Because there are multiple examples of each of these structure types located at Town Creek, it seems likely that Small Circular, Enclosed Circular, and Large Rectangular Structures were used by kin-based groups, most likely clan-based matrilineages. When both age and sex are considered, Small Circular and Enclosed Circular Structures are the only two types in which all classes are represented. Large Rectangular Structures, in contrast, are less representative which suggests that access to them may have been limited to a subset of the kin-based group.

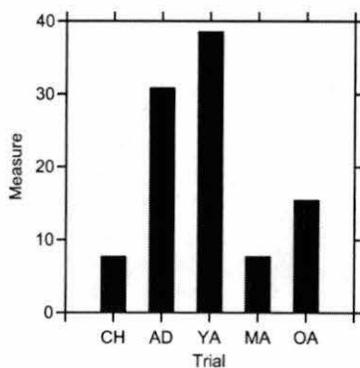
The demographic profiles of public buildings located in submound and mound-summit contexts as well as next to the Little River are less representative than those of other structure types (Figures 5.41 and 5.42). This is consistent with the idea that access to public buildings was limited in some way to a subset of the community. Public buildings, both in the area of the mound and next to the river, exhibited five or fewer age-sex classes. The less



Small Circular Structures

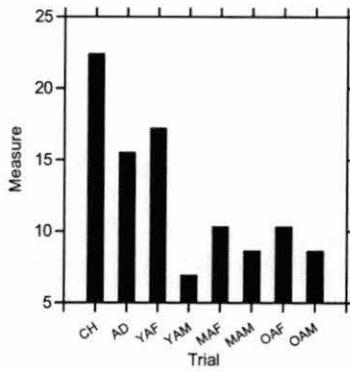


Enclosed Circular Structures

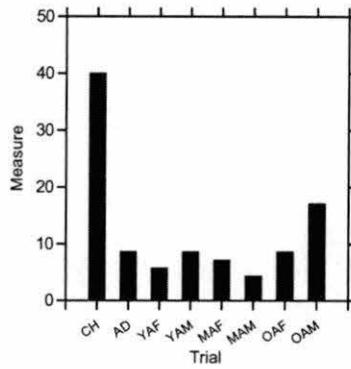


Large Rectangular Structures

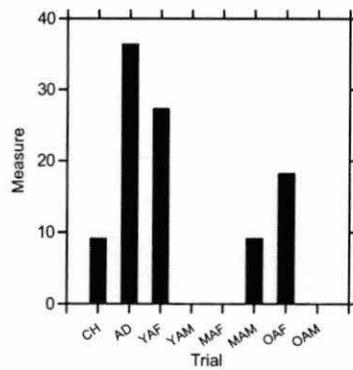
Figure 5.39. Burials by age class (percent) in Small Circular, Enclosed Circular, and Large Rectangular Structures.



### Small Circular Structures

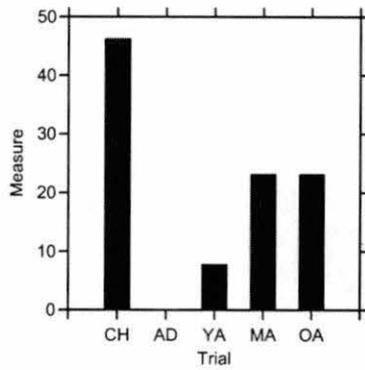


### Enclosed Circular Structures

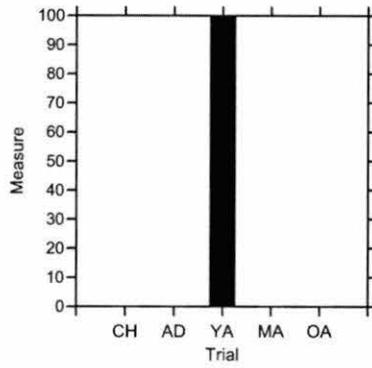


### Large Rectangular Structures

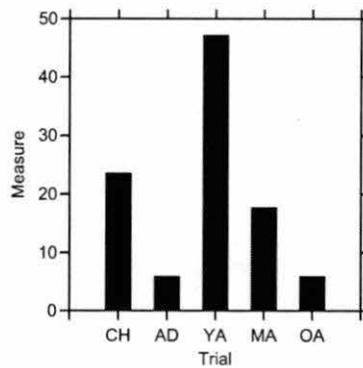
Figure 5.40. Burials by age-sex class (percent) in Small Circular, Enclosed Circular, and Large Rectangular Structures.



Premound Public Structures

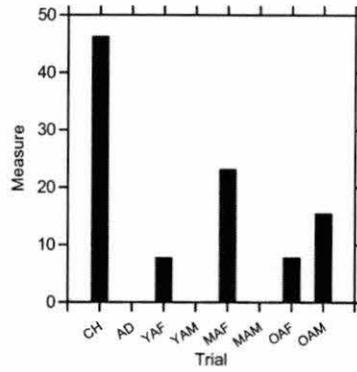


Mound-summit structures.

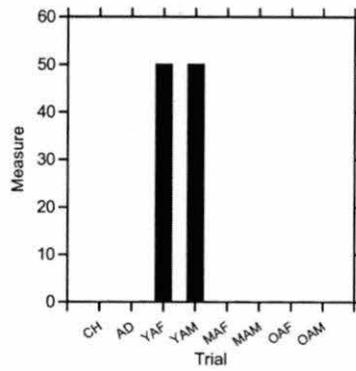


Enclosure 1

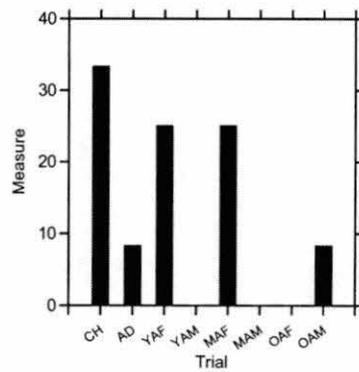
Figure 5.41. Burials by age class (percent) in Premound Public Structures, Mound-summit Structures, and Enclosure 1.



Premound Public Structures



Mound-summit Structures



Enclosure 1

Figure 5.42. Burials by age-sex class (percent) in Premound Public Structures, Mound-summit Structures, and Enclosure 1.

representative nature of the burials in the mound area is consistent with proscriptions about access to public buildings and mound summits that were documented among historic groups (Kenton 1927:427; McWilliams 1988:92; Sattler 1995:220; Waselkov and Braund 1995:102 and 149; Worth 1998:88). The fact that all age and sex categories are not represented in the burials in the public structures next to the river is consistent with the fact that this area was set off by an enclosure, a construction that has been interpreted as a barrier to access in other Mississippian contexts (Blitz 1993a:84; DePratter 1983:118; Holley 1999:29; Larson 1971:59; Payne 1994:223).

Little can be said about the Small Rectangular and Medium Rectangular Structures because only one example of each type was excavated. Individuals from three or fewer age and age-sex classes were found in each building, which suggests that burials within them may have been limited to a subset of a social group. However, one structure from each type is not a representative sample.

### *Protohistoric*

The demographic profile of the Protohistoric burial clusters suggests they represent the remains of domestic groups (Figures 5.43 and 5.44). There is an approximately even representation of males and females. Almost all age classes are present, with mature adults being the only ones absent. However, age and sex could be determined for only a small number of Protohistoric burials.

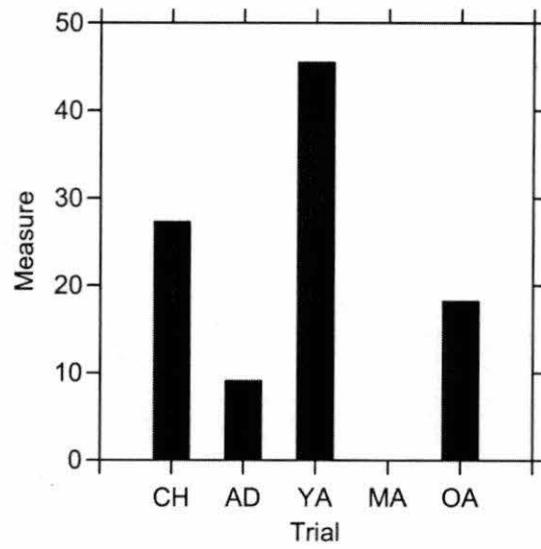


Figure 5.43. Burials by age class (percent) in Protohistoric burial clusters.

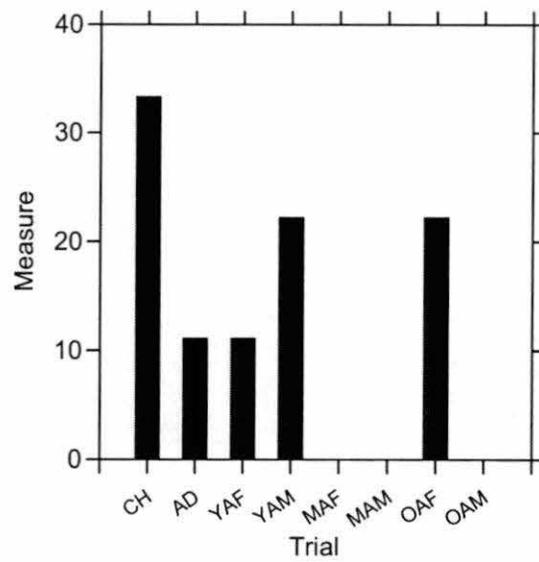


Figure 5.44. Burials by age-sex class (percent) in Protohistoric burial clusters.

## Burial Type

The overwhelming majority of burials (n=182) at Town Creek were primary interments. This figure includes all Late Woodland and Protohistoric burials. The few secondary burials were all Mississippian. The disarticulated remains of a mature adult female (Burial 28/Mg2) were placed near the head of the flexed burial of an older adult male (Burial 27/Mg2) within Structure 1. The remains of an infant (Burial 146a/Mg3) were found with an older adult male (Burial 146/Mg3) in Burial Cluster 40 (Figure 5.45). In Burial Cluster 11, an infant (Burial 3/Mg3) and an isolated skull (Burial 4/Mg3) were found near Burial 5/Mg3. In Structure 27, the disarticulated remains of four individuals (Burials 62a, 62b, 62c, and 62d), two adults and two adolescents, were mixed together at the bottom of a large, rectangular pit. It is hard to say much about these few disarticulated individuals. In the case of Structure 1 and Burial Clusters 11 and 40, it is possible that the disarticulated individuals were earlier burials that were disturbed during the interment of the primary burials and the former were reburied with the latter. Alternatively, it is possible that the disarticulated burials had been processed after death and intentionally placed with the primary burials. There is no ambiguity to the situation in Structure 27, however, where the disarticulated remains of at least four individuals were found at the bottom of a large pit. Based on Structure 27, it could have been that the activities which took place in Large Rectangular Structures included rituals involving the manipulation of skeletal remains and/or their reburial.

Five bundle burials were located across the site. One was the burial of a mature adult female that was located in the pre mound public building Structure 4a. The other four came from Leak-phase contexts. One was a young adult located in Burial Cluster 21 in the

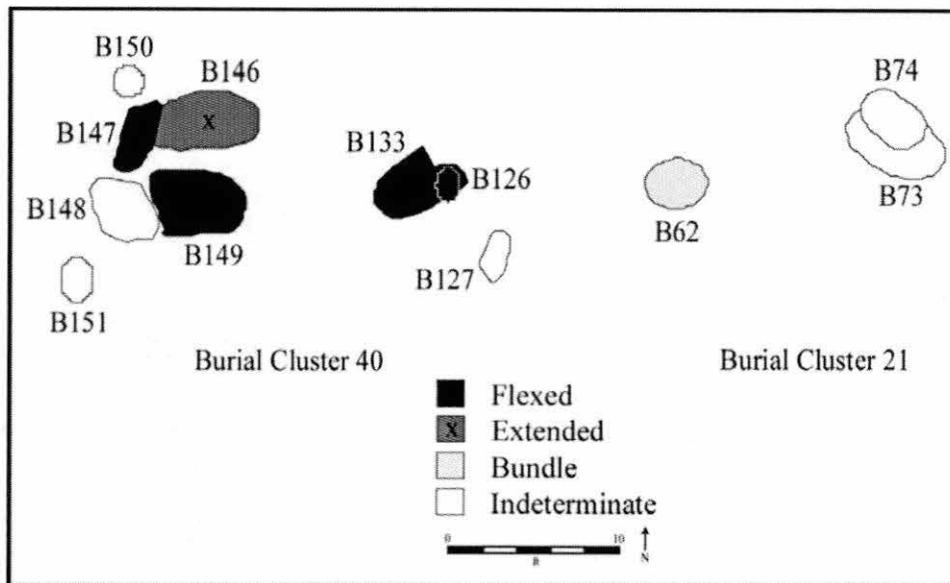


Figure 5.45. Burial Clusters 40 and 21.

northeastern part of the site (Figure 5.45). Two bundle burials were located in Structures 46a and 46b, the two structures on the uppermost intact mound summit. Both of these burials were of young adults, one of which was female. This is different from the two structures (Structures 45a and 45b) on the preceding mound summit which contained only primary interments. This could represent a change in the mortuary ritual associated with mound-summit burials where earlier summit burials were primary interments and later ones were subjected to postmortem processing and then reburied as a skeletonized bundle.

Alternatively, it is possible that this apparent pattern of change is an artifact of the excavations. Although the burials on the mound were attributed to different summits, it could have been that the excavators were not able to accurately attribute burials to either of the two superimposed summits. Earthen mounds are complex to excavate stratigraphically because they consist of a number of different fills. At Town Creek, sorting out the stratigraphy would have been further complicated by the fact that the previously disturbed mound was excavated by an unskilled labor force. Thus, it may be better to think of the summit burials as a single group. The features located on the two summits when considered together include empty pits, primary burials, and secondary burials. This assemblage of features may represent a mortuary program in which individuals were interred on the summit and exhumed after the remains had become skeletonized. These remains were possibly stored for a period of time in above-ground containers such as a box or a basket and then reinterred as a bundle in the structure floor (see Brown 1971:105).

The burial of infants in urns occurred in Small Circular and Enclosed Circular Structures. Urn burials are absent in clearly public spaces such as the submound and mound-summit public buildings as well as in contexts associated with Enclosure 1 and Structure 51

next to the river. This indicates that placing children in urns was an important part of household and kin group mortuary rituals, but was not a part of rituals that took place in public buildings. The absence of urn burials in Large Rectangular Structures is consistent with the idea that these were public structures that were possibly associated with individual kin groups.

### **Burial Position**

It is difficult to determine the status signified by the extended burial position. Nine of the 13 extended burials were in circular structures, two in burial clusters, and two in the pre-mound public building Structure 4a. With the exception of two children, one child each in Structures 4a and 7, all of the individuals buried in the extended position were adults. There are two indications that the extended burial position marks an important status. First, only one or, in the case of both Enclosed Circular Structures and Structure 4a, two individuals per structure or Burial Cluster were treated in this way. Second, extended burials were generally placed in a central location within an architectural element. Whatever the status may have been, it does not seem to have been determined by sex because three of the individuals in circular structures are men and six are women, with one being indeterminate. The 10 adult burials represent all three stages of adulthood. Nine out of the 10 extended burials possibly could have been 30 years or older at the time of death. The one exception is Burial 141/Mg3 in Structure 6 who was a female between 15 and 19 years old. Thus, nearly all of the individuals buried in the extended position were at least 30 years old at the time of death. Whatever this status may have been, it was signified by burial position and location, but not durable objects; only three of the 10 extended adult burials had artifacts.

Interestingly, two of these (Burials 37 and 50/Mg3) had some of the most unusual artifacts at the site, including polished columella beads, a copper axe, shell ear pins, and a copper-covered wooden ear spool.

The presence of no more than one extended adult burial in each Small Circular Structure, burial cluster, and Structure 4a suggests that only one adult throughout the use life of the structure or burial space could occupy the particular role manifested by this burial position. If Small Circular Structures were used and rebuilt in place for 20 to 30 years, as may have been the case with structures at other Mississippian sites (see Hally 2002:91), then perhaps one person in a generation occupied the role signified by an extended burial position. The distribution of extended burials across the site may indicate that the status marked by this burial position existed in many of the social groups that constituted the Mississippian community at Town Creek, perhaps in each household or matrilineage. It is possible that the extended burials in Small Circular Structures and burial clusters are those of senior lineage members. In the case of Enclosed Circular Structures, two individuals within each structure were distinguished through burial in an extended position. I have argued that Enclosed Circular Structures probably began as Small Circular Structures that were encircled with an enclosure and used as a cemetery later in time. If the status signified by the extended burial position was filled by one person per generation in each group, then the presence of two extended burials in each of the Enclosed Circular Structures would be consistent with their use for a longer period of time than Small Circular Structures.

### **Community Leadership Roles: Non-Mississippian Contexts**

Structure 18 is the only Late Woodland structure that has been identified at Town Creek. One mature adult male within this structure was distinct because he was buried with two stone pipes and a stone object carved in the form of a human face. These artifacts suggest that he was a ritual practitioner, a person who possessed the knowledge and objects necessary for the performance of rituals. Smoking was part of ceremonial and ritual activities among Historic-period groups (Hudson 1976:318), and pipes have been an important element of ritual paraphernalia in the Eastern Woodlands for thousands of years (Brown 1997:472-473). Also, it is not hard to imagine that the carved stone face was a ritual object. The presence of a distinctive burial in a mortuary structure is consistent with this person having been a community leader, although this cannot be tested through comparisons with contemporaneous domestic structures.

Within the Caraway-phase burials, a young adult male was distinct because he was buried with six artifact types (Figure 5.46). Two of these objects, a pottery pipe and a piece of quartz crystal, suggest that this man may have played a prominent role in rituals. Pipes were an important ritual artifact in the Southeast (Brown 1997:472) and quartz crystals were powerful objects that were associated with conjuring as well as success in hunting and warfare among historic groups (Brown 1997:473; Hudson 1976:166-169). Thus, this man who had the highest NAT value among Caraway-phase burials, which suggests that he may have been a community leader (see Howell 1995:129, 1996:63; Kintigh 2000:104), appears to have been a ritual practitioner as well. As with the Late Woodland burials, though, the assessment of this individual as a community leader would be more compelling if comparisons could be made among multiple contemporaneous contexts.

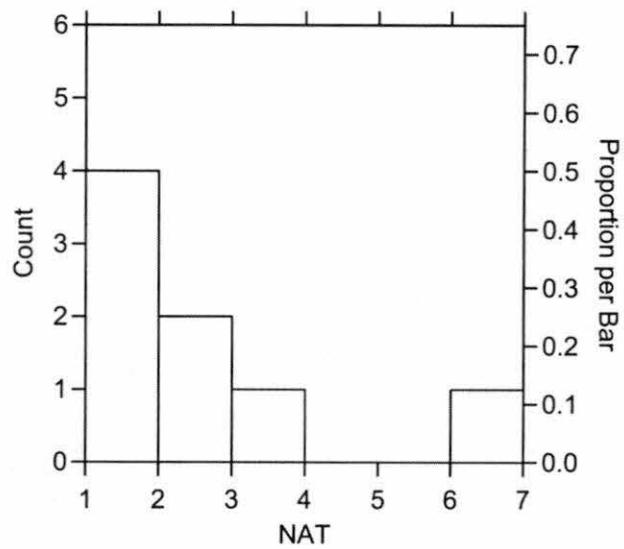


Figure 5.46. Histogram of NAT for Protohistoric burials with grave goods.

## Mississippian Contexts

In this section, evidence is discussed pertaining to the manifestation of leadership roles in the Mississippian mortuary record and how these roles changed during this period. Change will be explored by comparing premound-construction and postmound-construction contexts. The premound data come from the early Town Creek-phase submound, public buildings and Small Circular Structures. Postmound data come from late Town Creek and Leak-phase contexts; the mound-summit structures, Enclosed Circular Structures, Large Rectangular Structures, Small Rectangular Structures, and contexts located within Enclosure 1. While Enclosed Circular Structures are problematic because they appear to be essentially Small Circular Structures that were used later as cemeteries and their burial populations may represent a palimpsest of phases, Enclosed Circular Structures will be considered as part of the postmound sample for comparative purposes because the ultimate use of these structures—as indicated by pottery and their distribution relative to Large Rectangular Structures—occurred after the mound was in use.

### *Premound Mortuary Data.*

The mortuary data attributed to the premound Mississippian occupation of Town Creek date to the early Town Creek phase. The earliest Mississippian public buildings at Town Creek were a large, rectangular structure (Structure 4a) and a small, square structure (Structure 24) oriented the same way and located next to each other on the western edge of the plaza (Figure 5.47). Structure 4a was associated with the burials of at least three and possibly four adult women and one adolescent. The exclusive association of adult women with a public building and the absence of adult men is an uncommon situation in the

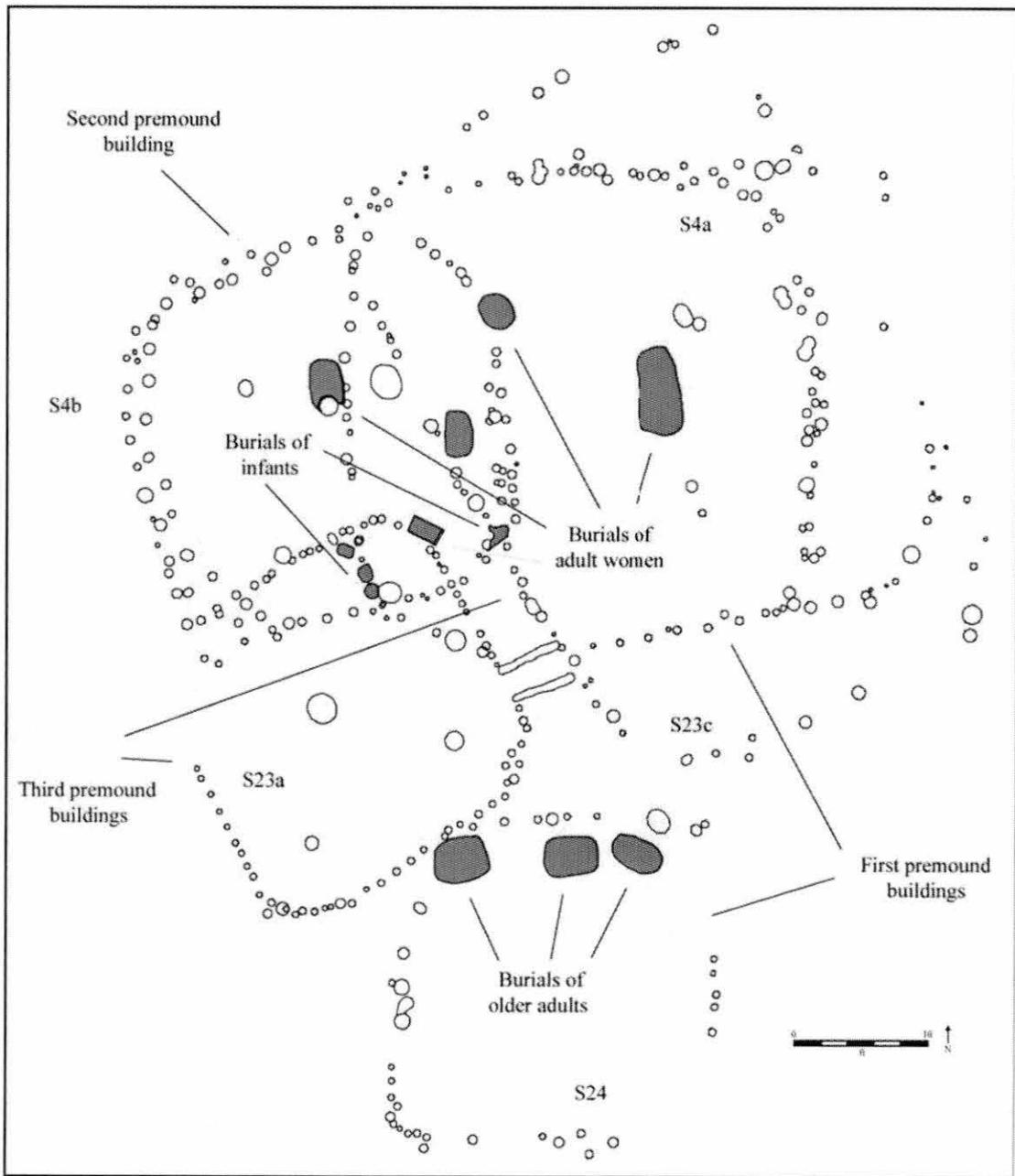


Figure 5.47. Submound public buildings and associated burials.

Mississippian world (Sullivan 2001:110). It is not what one would expect from reading the ethnohistoric record in which men predominantly and in some communities exclusively met in councils to make political decisions (Braund 1999:145; Lefler 1967:49; Sattler 1995:220; Speck 1979:120; Waselkov and Braund 1995:62, 105, and 149; Worth 1998:88 and 94). Indeed, it is a very different pattern from what has been observed archaeologically at other Southeastern sites. At the late Mississippian and protohistoric Qualla phase Coweeta Creek site in western North Carolina, Rodning (1999:12, 2001:94-97) has documented a pattern in which men were overwhelmingly associated with public buildings while women were associated with domestic ones.

If males generally were the preferred leaders in Mississippian and historic period communities (see Worth 1998:88), why are only women interred in one of the early Town Creek-phase public buildings? Ethnohistoric accounts clearly indicate that women played prominent social and political roles in many native communities. Although not common, women could be political leaders (Clayton et al. 1993:278; Worth 1998:86). Even if they did not occupy a formal political role, there is ample evidence that women as clan and lineage leaders could influence the male-dominated realms of warfare and politics (Perdue 1998:52; Sattler 1995:222). Additionally, it was through female ancestors that kin-group membership was determined among most Southeastern Indians. Being a member of a kin group was essential to participating in community life because kin groups—in the form of clans and local lineages—were directly associated with rights and obligations within the community (Hudson 1976:189; Knight 1990:6 and 10; Perdue 1998:24, 46, and 47). The fact that access to community life was determined by kinship through women is clearly demonstrated by the practice of adoption in which it was women who decided if prisoners would be killed to

atone for the deaths of clan members or adopted to replace a member and given full rights within the clan (Perdue 1998:53-54; Sattler 1995:222). Clearly, participation in society was made possible by one's membership in a lineage through a relationship, either natal or adoptive, with a woman (Perdue 1998:54). Thus, women must have held a great deal of power and influence in native communities because they provided access to the kin-groups which constituted much of the social and political structure of these communities.

The exclusive presence of adult females in one of the early Town Creek-phase public buildings at Town Creek could indicate that women were political leaders at this time. Their political power probably was related to the fact that it was through women that kin group membership and the ability to participate within the community was conferred. The presence in a public building of only adult females may reflect the importance of kinship and clan or lineage leadership to participation in the political process within the early Town Creek-phase community.

Another early Town Creek-phase public building (Structure 24), which was contemporary with the one associated with the adult females, contained only older adults—all three of which were at least 35 years or older at the time of death. Two of these individuals are males and the other is a female. The association of older adults with a public building is consistent with observations about Southeastern societies in the ethnohistoric record. Older individuals, especially those who had distinguished themselves through their achievements, were esteemed in native communities (Gearing 1958:1149; Lefler 1967:43; Sattler 1995:225; Waselkov and Braund 1995:118). A recurrent feature of political organization among historic groups was a council of older adults, primarily men, that advised the chief (Hudson 1976:225; Muller 1997:83). The presence at Town Creek of a public

building with only older adults during the early Town Creek phase indicates that older individuals were esteemed at a community-wide level and that these individuals probably participated in the political process at this time.

The distribution of early Town Creek-phase adult burials by NAT is continuous (Figure 5.48). Assuming that there was a correlation between the number of artifact types interred with a person and the number of different roles they played within the community, then there are no individuals that clearly stand out as potential community leaders based on NAT. A slightly higher percentage of the burials in premonument public buildings during the early Town Creek phase were associated with artifacts than were those in domestic contexts<sup>6</sup> (Figure 5.49). If burial goods marked some status held or role played by an individual during life, the fact that individuals placed in public buildings were more likely to have associated artifacts than individuals placed in the village is consistent with the former having played more prominent roles in the community than the latter.

It is interesting that the individuals buried in the early Town Creek-phase public structures are not distinguished by either the quality or quantity of their associated artifacts. The one exception, an older adult male, was buried with a tool that is similar to the ceremonial scratchers that were used during the historic period (Coe 1995:240), indicating that this person may have been a ritual practitioner (see Hudson 1976:415-416; Swanton 1979:564). Interestingly, there was an association in some historic communities between ritual blood-letting with scratchers and leadership (Lefler 1967:49; Speck 1979:121; Waselkov and Braund 1995:71). Also, bone tools that may have been used for bloodletting or tattooing have been associated with high-status males at Koger's Island, a late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century Mississippian cemetery in the Tennessee Valley of North Alabama

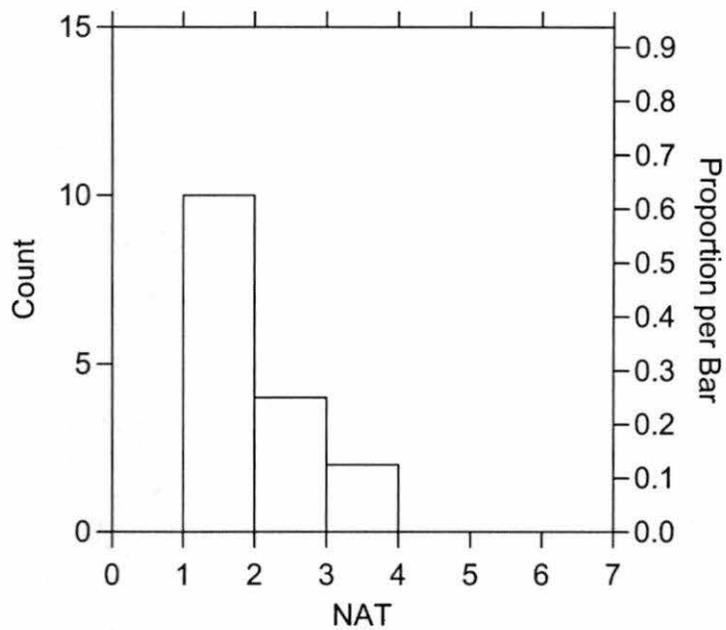


Figure 5.48. Histogram of NAT for early Town Creek-phase burials with grave goods.

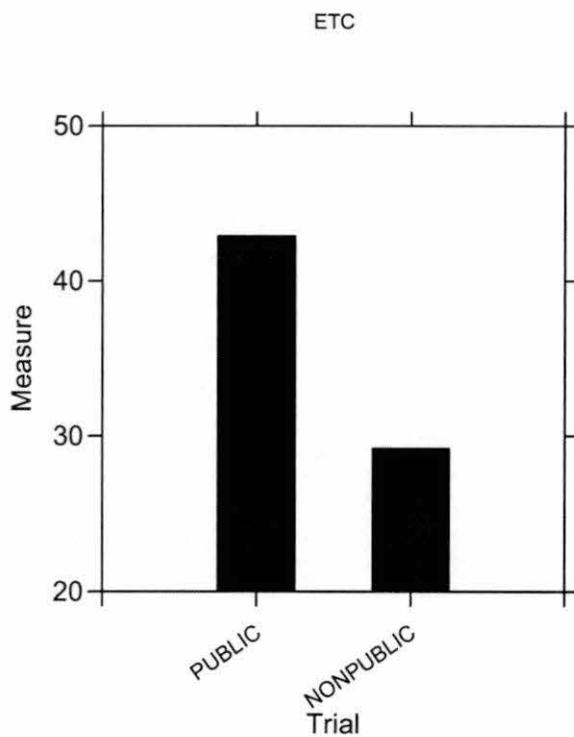


Figure 5.49. Bar chart of percentage of early Town Creek-phase burials with grave goods in public and nonpublic contexts.

(Dye 2000:8). Additionally, observations by Bartram (Waselkov and Braund 1995:122 and 144) suggest that tattooing may have been related to status in some Southeastern groups during the late eighteenth century.

Generally, it is the placement of some early Town Creek-phase individuals within public buildings, rather than their grave accompaniments, that is most distinctive. This resembles historic Cherokee communities in which burials of community leaders are distinguished only by their placement in the vicinity of the townhouse (Sullivan 1995:117). In contrast, there is an older adult male (Burial 50/Mg3) in the early Town Creek phase-village who was buried with a copper axe, the only such artifact at Town Creek. This type of artifact is distinctive in Mississippian contexts because it is generally associated with mound burials in conjunction with other unusual artifacts that are often made from exotic materials (Brain and Phillips 1996:362). Copper axes have been interpreted as symbols of political authority at other Mississippian sites (Brain and Phillips 1996:362; Fox 2004; Peebles 1971:82; Scarry 1992:178-179). If this was also the case at Town Creek, then the most likely candidate for a political leader in the early Town Creek-phase community based on artifacts was not buried in a public building, but was instead interred in what appears to be a typical house.

The patterns from Town Creek as well as the ethnohistoric and archaeological observations discussed previously allow for some speculations regarding the political organization of the early Town Creek-phase community. For lack of a better term, the overall political organization of the early Town Creek-phase community seems relatively diffuse, spread among many individuals and multiple social groups. The association of adult women with one public building and older adults with another implies that both groups

participated in the political process and that they did so in complementary ways. If the political power of the adult women was based on their role as clan or lineage leaders, then the inclusion of these women in a public building may reflect their status as representatives of these kin groups. If the older adults represent a group of esteemed individuals that served as a council, then it seems that one could also participate in the political process based on lifetime achievements. The representation of all three adult age classes in pre-mound public buildings indicates that the political process involved individuals from all stages of adulthood. Early Town Creek-phase public contexts contain an equal representation of mature adults and older adults while young adults are the least well-represented. This seems to indicate that adults in the latter two stages of their lives were preferred for positions of leadership during the early Town Creek phase. The extended burial position of one of the adult women in an early Town Creek-phase public building may also speak to a relationship between kinship and politics. The overall distribution of extended burials and their location near the center of circular structures indicates that individuals buried in this way were distinctive within their kin groups. If the extended burial position signifies some important status based on kinship, then the presence of an extended burial in an early Town Creek-phase public building may indicate the importance of kinship, perhaps as the leader of a preeminent kin group, within the leadership process at this time. It may have been that in addition to lifetime achievements, the representation of kin groups was an important element of the early Town Creek-phase political process.

The fact that the individual who most likely was a community leader, based on artifacts, was buried in a house rather than a public building implies an egalitarian nature to the political organization, one in which the community leader's political role was equal or

even subservient to their role within their own household. Perhaps a formal, institutionalized role of community-wide political leader did not exist at this time. The fact that this individual was an older adult speaks to the relationship between lifetime achievement and leadership during the early Town Creek phase.

#### *Postmound Mortuary Data*

The mortuary data attributed to the postmound Mississippian occupation of Town Creek date to the late Town Creek and Leak phases.<sup>7</sup> An examination of the people buried in public buildings during the late Town Creek-Leak phases suggests a very different political situation than that of the premound community. Only young adults were buried on the mound summit. This pattern contrasts with premound public buildings where young adults represented the lowest percentage of any age category. If the mound was the locus of political decision-making within the community, then the exclusive presence of young adults in summit buildings indicates a change in the nature of leadership that followed the construction of the mound. It appears that after the mound was built, leaders were drawn from a different, more restricted subset of the adult population. While lifetime achievement may have been an important factor affecting leadership status prior to mound construction, it is possible that leadership following mound construction was closely linked to current or recent achievement with individuals being eligible for such positions during a period of their lives when they would have been heavily involved in the community's economy, politics, social life, and military defense.

Only two of the five individuals buried on the mound summit could be classified according to sex.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the following discussion is more hypothetical regarding Town

Creek than I would like. It is possible that men buried in the mound were those individuals with the appropriate genealogy (i.e., members of the clan or lineage from which leaders were chosen) (Blitz 1993a:12; Knight 1990:17) who had differentiated themselves through their ability. Young adulthood for males was the time when they were most likely to distinguish themselves in warfare or politics (Sullivan 2001:124). The presence of young adult females is more perplexing, though, because the avenues available for women to enhance their status through achievement likely were open during the later stages of life rather than during early adulthood (Sullivan 2001:120). These could have been women who were buried in the mound because they were from the appropriate kin group and were only coincidentally young adult women (see Sullivan 2001:124).

One of the major differences thought to have existed between the political organization of Mississippian and other societies in the Southeast is a transition from informal leadership positions, which were based primarily on the charisma and ability of a singular individual who built and maintained a following, to a formally defined office of leadership, which existed independently of any one person (Scarry 1996:4; Steponaitis 1986:983). The absence of individuals from age categories other than young adult implies that the status of community leader may not have been held for life following mound construction. Perhaps political leaders gave way to younger rivals at some point and it was only those individuals that died while occupying the status of leader that were eligible for mound burial (cf., Driscoll 2002:25-26). This is consistent with the idea that an office of "community leader" existed at Town Creek after the mound was built.

It was after the mound was built that political leaders became more distinctive based on where and with what they were buried. All adults during the early Town Creek phase had

a NAT value of three or less. Most adults during the late Town Creek-Leak phases also had a NAT value of three or less, but there were two males buried with six artifact types each that were distinct from all of the others (Figure 5.50). Thus, the postmound pattern seems to have been largely the same as the premound pattern with the critical difference being the addition of two outliers. Assuming that artifact types placed in a burial represent a role played by the individual during life, then the two individuals with the highest NAT values may represent late Town Creek-Leak-phase community leaders (see Howell 1995:129, 1996:63; Kintigh 2000:104). This idea is supported by the fact that these two individuals were buried in public spaces, perhaps two of the most exceptional locations in the postmound-construction community (Figure 5.51). One of these individuals was buried on the mound summit (Burial 59/Mg2) and the other was placed at the center of the rectangular enclosure across the plaza (Burial 20/Mg3). The location of these two burials and the variety of their associated artifacts shows a marked change from the early Town Creek-phase pattern in which no individuals were distinguished by their NAT values and in which the individual most likely to represent a community leader based on artifacts was buried in a house rather than a public building. The higher NAT value could mean that leaders were occupying more roles in the community following mound construction. Also, their placement in public places, which implies an association with the whole community, rather than in their houses, which implies a primary association with their own families, is consistent with the idea that following mound construction leadership was more of an office connected with the political institutions of the town rather than something based solely on the abilities of a singular individual who still had strong ties to his own kin group.

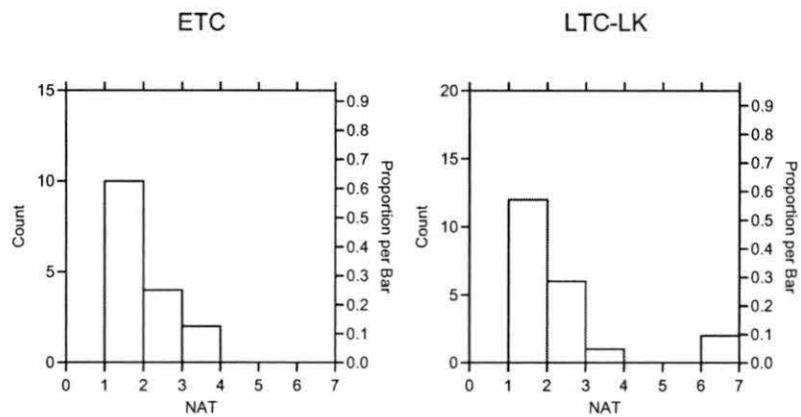


Figure 5.50. Histograms of NAT for early Town Creek and late Town Creek-Leak-phase burials with grave goods.

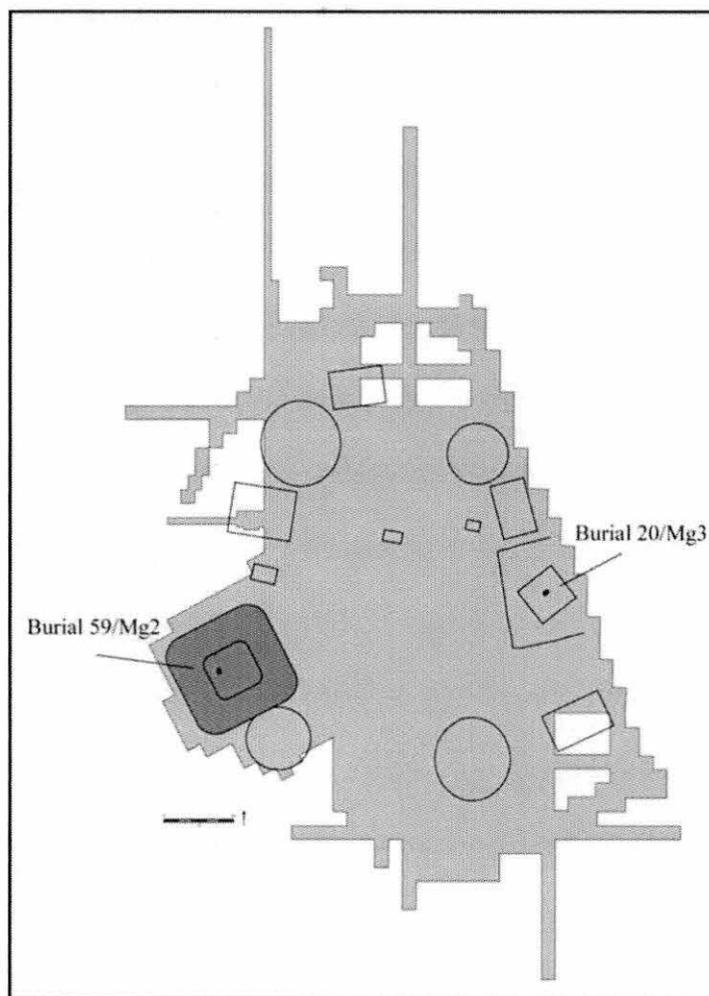


Figure 5.51. Location of the two late Town Creek-Leak-phase burials with the highest NAT values.

Kinship may have been the dominant organizational principle of the early Town Creek-phase community at Town Creek. The placement of burials in the floors of houses shows that individuals were kept with their kin group even in death. The predominance of adult women in public buildings and the burial of a community leader in a domestic building is consistent with the importance of kinship. Kinship continued to be important after the construction of the mound. Family cemeteries that began in earlier stages were maintained throughout the late Town Creek-Leak phases. However, it seems that there was an additional organizational principle at work during this time, one in which certain individuals were recognized as being first and foremost community leaders and one in which public spaces were at least partially associated with community leaders rather than used as displays of the importance of kinship and lifetime achievement.

Another change with the use of public space following mound construction has to do with the concentration of unusual artifacts within the two primary public spaces—the mound summit and the rectangular enclosure next to the river. The individuals buried in pre-mound public buildings were mostly indistinguishable with regard to the kinds and quantities of artifacts with which they were associated. There were several notable changes that followed mound construction. One change, as discussed previously, is that the two individuals with the highest NAT values were located in public spaces. A second change has to do with the percentage of burials that contained grave goods. The percentage of burials with grave goods in public spaces during the late Town Creek-Leak phases was much higher than in both earlier public space burials and contemporaneous village burials (Figure 5.52). If grave goods can be seen as markers of roles occupied by individuals in life, then the higher percentage of public-space burials with grave goods in postmound-construction contexts

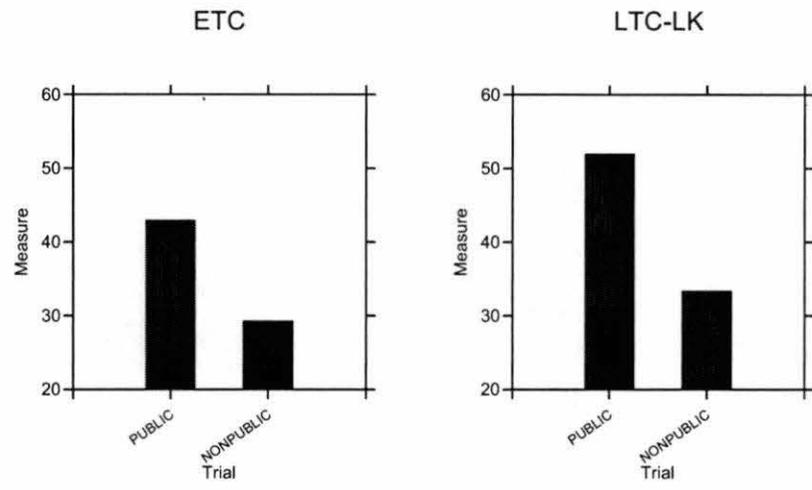


Figure 5.52. Bar chart comparing percentages of burials with grave goods in public and nonpublic contexts by phase.

could mean that these individuals played a more prominent role in the community at that time than did their contemporaries buried in domestic contexts and than did their early Town Creek-phase predecessors. A third change has to do with the kinds of artifacts that were found with burials in public spaces. During the early Town Creek phase, there was no association between the burials in public buildings and unusual artifacts, with the exception of the previously discussed bone scratcher. In contrast, distinctive artifacts during the late Town Creek-Leak phases were found only in burials on the mound summit or within the rectangular enclosure across the plaza (Driscoll 2002:22-23). These distinctive artifacts are mostly made from nonlocal materials and include whole and fragmentary mica objects as well as two types of ear ornament, one made from polished stone and the other from copper-covered wooden discs. The rattle is another distinctive artifact type, the presence of which was inferred by the occurrence of fragments of wood and/or a cluster of pebbles.

The types of artifacts found with some of the public-space burials during the late Town Creek-Leak phases can give us insights into the roles that these individuals may have played within their communities. The two most distinctive burials both contained rattles and mica. Rattles were often used among historic Indians in dances that were a part of social and ritual events (Swanton 1979:626-627). Based on iconographic depictions, artifact associations, and the ethnohistoric record, it is clear that high-status individuals in at least some Mississippian communities played critical roles in community rituals (Blitz 1993a:92; Dye 2000:11; Emerson 1997:258; Kenton 1927:427; Knight 1989a:209; Larson 1957:9, 1989:140; McWilliams 1988:92; Pauketat 1994:183-184). The association of rattles exclusively with public spaces during the late Town Creek-Leak phases at Town Creek and their presence in the burials of community leaders is consistent with this idea. The

distribution during the late Town Creek-Leak phases of mica, which may have been part of regalia worn during rituals (Blitz 1993a:86; Larson 1989:140), is also consistent with the idea that the mound summit and rectangular enclosure at Town Creek contained burials of individuals who played important roles in rituals. Additionally, the distinctive burial on the mound also contained a lump of red ochre, a mineral thought to have been important as a pigment in various ritual contexts (Blitz 1993a:86). In addition to mica fragments and a rattle, the distinctive burial at the center of the rectangular enclosure also contained a ceramic pipe and a raccoon skull. Among historic groups, pipes were an integral part of meetings that took place in public buildings (Waselkov and Braund 1995:50, 72, 102, and 104). Regarding the raccoon skull, raccoons were frequently depicted in Mississippian iconography (Phillips and Brown 1978:136 and 154-155), indicating that they were an important part of the belief system. Interestingly, one of the ways in which raccoons were used by Southeastern Indians is that pouches were made from their hides (Swanton 1979:250). The presence of a skull is consistent with the fact that the animal's head sometimes figured prominently into the design of a pouch (Swanton 1979:480). The raccoon skull was found near a cluster of pebbles that indicated the presence of a rattle, an item that could have been enclosed in a pouch. Among Southeastern Indians, pouches were an important part of the tool kit used by ritual practitioners and were used to hold a variety of sacred objects (Dye 2000:11; Hudson 1976:370; Moore 1988:42-43; Swanton 1979:477-479). Although the exact significance of the raccoon skull will never be known, the fact that it was from an animal that was depicted in religious art and that it may have been part of a pouch that contained a rattle is consistent with the idea that the man buried at the center of the rectangular enclosure played a prominent role in the ritual life of the postmound-construction community at Town Creek.

The differences in the composition of the burial populations between pre-mound-construction and post-mound-construction public buildings, with an emphasis on older and mature adults in the former and young adults in the latter, coupled with the presence of new artifact types suggests that the people buried in public spaces during the late Town Creek-Leak phases occupied new social and political roles. Mica artifacts, ear ornaments, and rattles are all artifact types that were not present in the early Town Creek-phase community. The presence of nonlocal materials (e.g., copper, mica, nonlocal stone) may have been an attempt to legitimate social and political statuses through ties to the external world. These nonlocal materials not only expressed external contacts in the real world, but they also could have been used as a metaphor for contact with the supernatural (Helms 1979:110). It has been argued that in many chiefdom-level societies, including those of the Mississippian Southeast, expressing ties with the supernatural was a common strategy for legitimating positions of authority (Earle 1989:85-86, 1997:143-144; Helms 1979:120; Keyes 1994:112; Knight 1989a:209-210). It seems that an early Town Creek-phase political organization that was more diffuse and representative and that could still be seen as equal to or less important than family and household ties was replaced by a form of social and political organization during the late Town Creek-Leak phases in which some individuals—primarily young adults—were clearly distinct and their ties to a community-wide status, which seems to have been closely related to ritual activities, were more important than their ties to family and household.

## Endnotes to Chapter 5

1. In this method, comparisons are made based on the number of types—as defined by the analyst—associated with each burial rather than the number of artifacts (Bennett 1984:36). I counted each artifact type separately. Exceptions to this occurred within the class of shell beads where I differentiated among distinctive beads (e.g., those made from relatively unmodified columella portions, highly polished beads, disk beads) and more common beads, counting each as a separate type. I also made a distinction between columella and marginella beads. I also counted separately artifacts that were the same type but that were made from different materials (e.g., beads made from shell, pottery, or stone).
2. The age range for each particular class was based on two factors. First, the analytical age classes roughly correspond to stages in the life cycle of individuals that would have been recognized in native Southeastern communities (see Eastman 2001:58-60). Second, the age classes correspond to those used in other mortuary studies in the Southeast (Eastman 2001; Driscoll et al. 2001; Rodning 2001), and they will facilitate regional inter-site comparisons. Lambert (Davis et al. 1996) and Driscoll (2001) assigned specific ages to individuals, followed by an error term—a range of years above and below this age (e.g.,  $25 \pm 5$  years). In my analysis, the error term was ignored and individuals were assigned to age categories based on the specific age. While this greatly reduces the variability represented in the age data, this simplification is necessary for generating interpretations from the large amount of burial data from Town Creek. In order to avoid confusion, it should be noted that the classes used here are not the same ones used by Driscoll (2002:22) in her research at Town Creek.
3. Although a radiocarbon date associated with Structure 5a suggests that it may date to the Teal phase, the nature, or even existence, of a Teal-phase occupation is unclear at this time. Therefore, I have included the burials associated with Structure 5a in the discussion of the early Town Creek phase.
4. These are ornaments made from the curved portion of shell that encompasses the spire, shoulder, and body portions of a conch. At the center of each gorget was one of the spines located along the conch's shoulder. In each gorget, the spine had been perforated.
5. These remains are missing and were not included in the NAGPRA inventory. The individual was identified as a male in the field.
6. For the early Town Creek phase, public contexts include all of the submound public buildings and nonpublic contexts include all of the Small Circular Structures. For the late Town Creek-Leak phases, public contexts consist of all of the structures on the mound summit and Structure 51 as well as Burial Clusters 11 and 13 which were within Enclosure 1. Late Town Creek-Leak-phase nonpublic contexts include Enclosed Circular and Large Rectangular Structures.
7. With the exception of the stratified deposits in the mound, the spatial distribution of diagnostic ceramic artifacts was such that I was unable to consistently segregate deposits from the early Leak phase. Therefore, the mortuary data from nonmound contexts that date to the late Town Creek phase and the early portion of the Leak-phase are treated as a single unit.

8. Two of the individuals on the mound classified by Lambert as being indeterminate in regard to sex were considered by Driscoll (2001:214-215, 2002:Figure 9) to be possibly females. In this case where two analysts both had trouble making a definitive determination regarding sex, I chose to be conservative and consider the sex of the skeletal remains to be indeterminate. Also, this is consistent with my use of Lambert's data (Davis et al. 1996) throughout this research except in cases where Driscoll analyzed skeletons that Lambert did not.

## Chapter 6: Vessel Analysis

The earthlodge-to-platform mound model proposes that changes in Mississippian public architecture reflect a centralization of political power that accompanied the appearance of platform mounds (Anderson 1994:119-120, 1999:220; DePratter 1983:207-208; Rudolph 1984:40). While the mortuary data from Town Creek show that there were changes in the nature of leadership between pre-mound and post-mound contexts (see Chapter 5), it is not clear that these changes reflect centralized political authority. In this chapter, ceramic vessel data are used as a proxy to assess the centralization of political authority in the post-mound community at Town Creek. First, domestic and non-domestic assemblages are identified from vessel function data. This is important in regard to the evolution of leadership at Town Creek because the existence of a house on the mound—the probable loci of political power—rather than a non-domestic, public building would suggest that political authority was closely associated with a single person or family (i.e., more centralized) after mound construction. Variation within the Town Creek community in the types of food-related activities (e.g. various types of cooking, consumption, serving, processing, storage) being performed should be reflected in differences among contexts in frequencies of vessel types (Blitz 1993b:87-93; Turner and Lofgren 1966; Welch and Scarry 1995:413-414). While the types of activities indicated by a particular vessel assemblage may not always be clear, it is likely that contexts with similar assemblages were associated with similar sets of activities while those with different assemblages were not (see Hally 1984:58-59). Due to

the variety of activities associated with household production and consumption, domestic vessel assemblages should include a broad range of vessel types and sizes to accomplish diverse tasks (Blitz 1993b:93; Taft 1996:57). In contrast, some Mississippian public buildings probably were associated with more restricted activities such as feasting and large-scale, communal food storage (Blitz 1993a:72; Kenton 1927:341, 430-431; McWilliams 1988:88; O'Neill 1977:244; Taft 1996:56-57). It has been argued that the specialized activity of feasting is reflected by more restricted assemblages in which large vessels, both cooking and serving, and serving vessels are proportionally over-represented in comparison with domestic assemblages (Blitz 1993a:84-85; Emerson 1997:161; Maxham 2000:348; Taft 1996:67-68; Welch and Scarry 1995:412-414). Feasting also has been attributed to short-term deposits that contain high densities of pottery as well as deposits with a number of large vessel fragments (Pauketat et al. 2002:269).

The second way in which vessel data are used is to assess the accessibility of public buildings. If political authority was centralized after mound construction, then fewer people would have been participating in the decision-making process and accessing the public buildings where political decisions were made. For public buildings, exploring assemblages by size could indicate the relative size of the group that had access to them. Differences in vessel size are important because, assuming that group size and the amount of food consumed were correlated, vessel size—as a proxy for the amount of food cooked and served at one time—should reflect the relative number of people who used a context (see Turner and Lofgren 1966). In the case of public buildings in which community-wide decisions were made, knowing the relative size of the group that had access to them could indicate the relative size of the decision-making group.

## DATA AND METHODS

In this chapter, vessel classes and types are defined based on vessel shape and vessel size. Then, the function of vessel types is inferred based on shape and patterns of use-alterations (see Hally 1983, 1986; Skibo 1992). Finally, differences among assemblages from different periods and contexts are explored. The two main goals of this analysis are to examine differences in food-related activities through the distribution of functional types and to explore differences in the size of the social groups using different contexts through a comparison of vessel sizes. The assemblage of 180 Pee Dee vessels on which this analysis is based (Appendix II) consists of completely reconstructed and partially reconstructed vessels as well as large rim sherds. In order to be considered, enough of the rim had to be present so the sherd could be oriented in order to estimate vessel shape and circumference. Most of the vessels in the assemblage are from Town Creek (n=148), but others from Leak (n=25) and Teal (n=7) were also included. The assemblage of Pee Dee vessels used for this analysis includes all of the known specimens from Town Creek that fit the criterion of being large enough to be properly oriented. These specimens are either curated by the RLA or are on display in the museum at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site. The specimens in the assemblage from Leak and Teal include large rims from surface collections and excavations performed by Keel and South (see Chapter 2). They also include several large, reconstructed vessels that washed out of features at both sites, four from Leak and one from Teal. Finally, there are five vessels on display in the museum at Town Creek for which the only known provenience is that they came from either Town Creek, Leak, or Teal (Archie Smith, personal communication 2004).

Vessel classes and types were defined largely by shape. A profile drawing was made of each vessel in the assemblage. Drawings of all complete and mostly complete vessels were made using a pantograph (see March 1967:45-50) while drawings of sherds were made using a form gauge and calipers. Vessels were then assigned to classes (e.g., bowls or jars) and types (e.g., carinated, open, restricted) based on similarities in profile contours. These shape-based classes and types are probably related to vessel function because morphological differences can affect a vessel's performance in the manipulation, removal, and heating of vessel contents (Braun 1980:173; Hally 1986:278-280; Henrickson and McDonald 1983:630; Smith 1988:912; Wilson and Rodning 2002:30).

Use-alterations were identified by examining vessel interiors and exteriors with a 10x magnifying lens. For the use-alteration analysis, only complete vessels and large vessel sections—those that approximated half the vessel or more—were considered because I was not confident in the patterns that could be identified on smaller specimens. Thus, the sample considered for use-alterations is the most restrictive within the vessel analysis. The use-alterations recognized in this analysis and my assumptions regarding the activities that produced them are based largely on the work of Hally (1983; 1986) and Skibo (1992). The use-alterations identified in the Pee Dee assemblage include scratches and pits on vessel interiors which might be the result of manipulating (e.g., stirring and mixing) vessel contents (Hally 1983:20; Skibo 1992:132-138). A distinction was made between light and heavy interior use-alterations. Light use-alterations were generally shallow and 1 mm or less wide while deep modifications were generally large, often deep enough to expose clay and temper particles within the interior of the vessel's body. The differences between light and deep interior modifications might be due to the frequency and intensity of the manipulation of

vessel contents. Exterior use-alterations include thermal alterations such as soot accumulation, oxidation, and reduction which were related to the vessel's use over fire, presumably for cooking (Hally 1983:11-12; Skibo 1992:154-162; but see Hally 1983:10). The most common exterior use-alteration was a horizontal pattern of thermal alteration in which bases were sooted, the lower parts of vessels were oxidized, and the upper portions were reduced and/or sooted.

Orifice diameter was used as a proxy measure for vessel size. While vessel volume would be the appropriate measure of vessel size, complete vessels are rare in archaeological contexts. Instead, orifice diameter can be estimated from much more commonly found rim sherds. A correlation between orifice diameter and vessel size has been established for other ceramic assemblages (Whallon 1969:89), including those from other Mississippian sites (Hally 1986:279; Shapiro 1984:705), and I assume such a relationship also exists within the Pee Dee assemblage. The orifice diameter of complete and mostly complete vessels was measured and a template of concentric semicircles spaced at 1 cm intervals was used to estimate the diameter of vessel fragments and sherds.

#### VESSEL CLASSES AND TYPES

All of the Pee Dee vessels analyzed were either bowls or jars. Bowls are defined as vessels with an orifice diameter-to-depth ratio greater than or equal to one while jars are defined as having a value less than one. Within the categories of bowls and jars, open and restricted forms were recognized with the former referring to vessels whose maximum diameter is at the lip and the latter to vessels whose maximum diameter is not at the lip (see Shepard 1957:228). The primary vessel types recognized in the Pee Dee assemblage based

on shape were carinated bowls, open bowls, restricted bowls, carinated jars, open jars, and restricted jars (Figure 6.1). In this section, vessel types are defined, size classes identified, and patterns of use-alterations discussed (Figures 6.2 and 6.3) (Tables 6.1 and 6.2).

### **Carinated Bowls**

Carinated bowls are defined as bowls whose maximum diameter is below the lip at a corner point, a sharp change in the vessel's contour (Figure 6.4) (see Shepard 1957:226). Breaks in the distribution of the orifice diameter of carinated bowls (Figure 6.5) show that three size classes may be represented, although only a small number of carinated bowls were present in the assemblage. These size classes are small (< 20 cm), medium (21-30 cm), and large (> 31 cm). Internal use-alterations include light to moderate pitting and scratching. Carinated bowls do not exhibit external thermal alterations, indicating that these vessels were not used for cooking. All of the carinated bowls are burnished plain which suggests that they were serving rather than cooking vessels (see Rice 1987:232).

### **Open Bowls**

Open bowls are those bowls with straight to slightly outwardly sloping walls whose maximum diameter is at the lip (Figure 6.6). The distribution of open bowls by orifice diameter indicates that they can be divided into small (< 13 cm), medium (14-39 cm), and large (> 40 cm) size classes (Figure 6.7). The only small open bowl complete enough to be included in the vessel analysis is a unique pot. It has a thick, broken bottom that suggests it may have had a pedestalled base (Figure 6.8). This is the vessel that Coe (1995:190) has referred to as a chalice. This vessel has no evidence of thermal alterations indicating that it

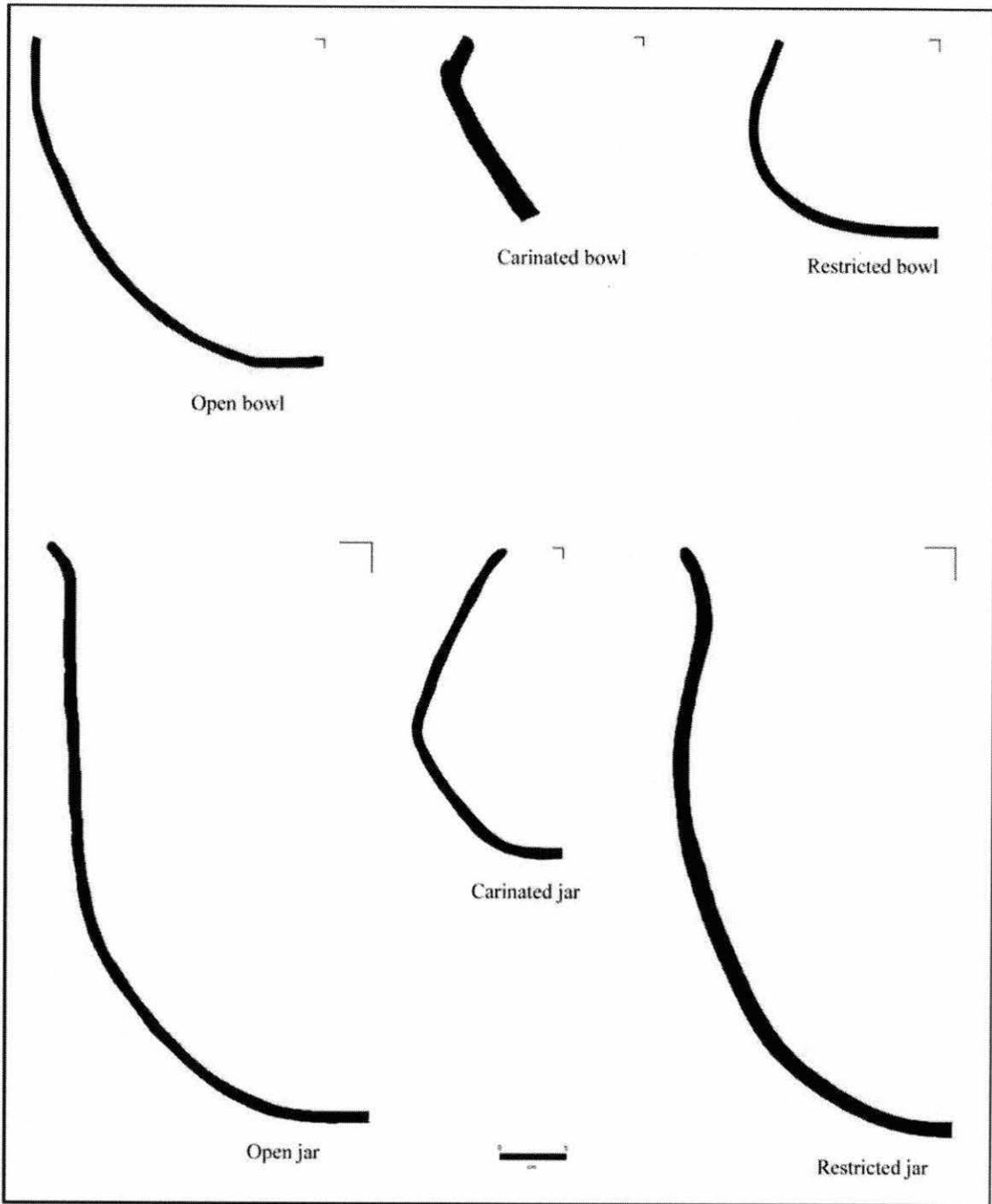
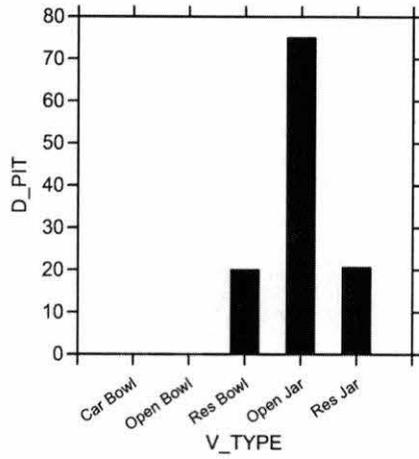
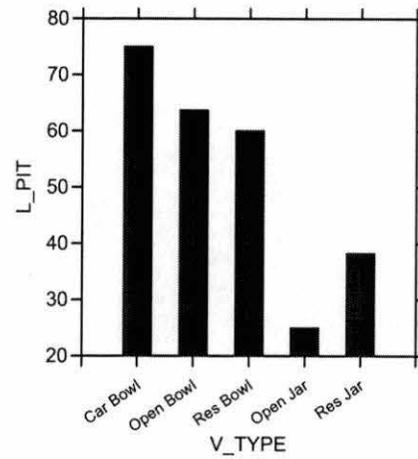


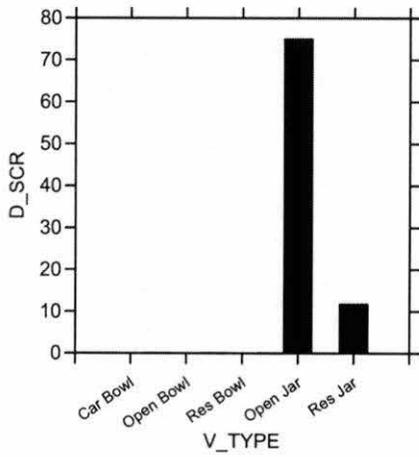
Figure 6.1. Pee Dee vessel types.



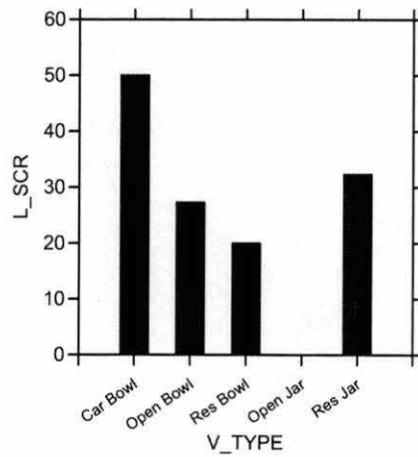
Deep Pitting



Light Pitting

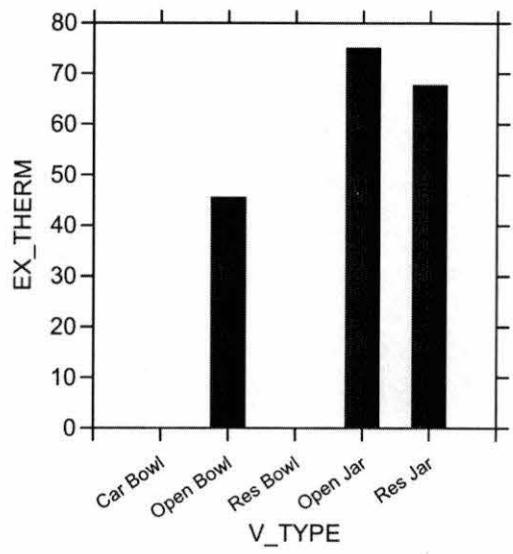


Deep Scratching

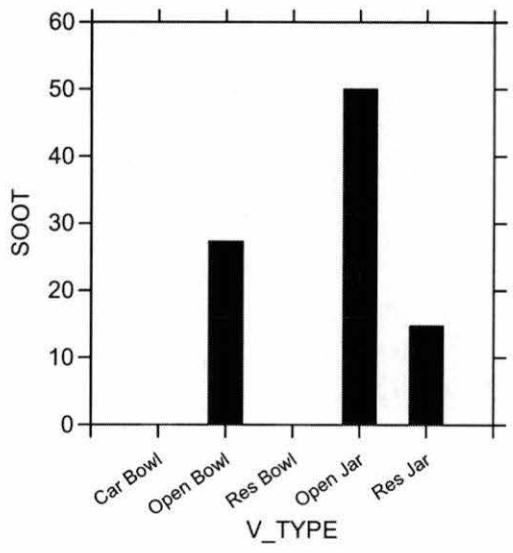


Light Scratching

Figure 6.2. Bar charts showing percentages of vessels with interior use-alterations (deep and light pitting, deep and light scratching) by vessel type.



Horizontal Pattern of Thermal Alteration



Sooting

Figure 6.3. Bar charts showing percentages of vessels with exterior use-alterations (horizontal pattern of thermal alteration and sooting) by vessel type.

Table 6.1. Counts of use-alterations by vessel type.

Vessel Type	Total Vessels	External Soot	Horizontal Thermal	Deep Pitting	Light Pitting	Deep Scratching	Light Scratching
<b>Bowls</b>							
Carinated							
Large	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Medium	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Small	2	-	-	-	1	-	1
Subtotal	4	-	-	-	3	-	2
Open							
Large	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Medium	8	3	4	-	4	-	2
Small	2	-	1	-	2	-	1
Subtotal	11	3	5	-	7	-	3
Restricted	5	-	-	1	3	-	1
<b>Jars</b>							
Carinated							
Open	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Open							
Large	3	2	2	3	-	3	-
Medium	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
Subtotal	4	2	3	3	1	3	-
Restricted							
Medium	29	5	21	7	12	4	10
Small	5	-	2	-	1	-	1
Subtotal	34	5	23	7	13	4	11
Total	59	10	32	11	27	7	17

Table 6.2. Percentages of use-alterations by vessel type.

Vessel Type	Number of Vessels	Horizontal Thermal	External Soot	Deep Pitting	Light Pitting	Deep Scratching	Light Scratching
<b>Bowls</b>							
Carinated							
Large	1	-	-	-	100.0	-	-
Medium	1	-	-	-	100.0	-	100.0
Small	2	-	-	-	50.0	-	50.0
Subtotal	4	-	-	-	75.0	-	50.0
Open							
Large	1	-	-	-	100.0	-	-
Medium	8	50.0	37.5	-	50.0	-	25.0
Small	2	50.0	-	-	100.0	-	50.0
Subtotal	11	45.5	27.3	-	63.6	-	27.3
Restricted	5	-	-	20.0	60.0	-	20.0
Open							
Large	3	66.7	66.7	100.0	-	100.0	-
Medium	1	100.0	-	-	100.0	-	-
Subtotal	4	75.0	50.0	75.0	25.0	75.0	-
Restricted							
Medium	29	72.4	17.2	24.1	41.4	13.8	34.5
Small	5	40.0	-	-	20.0	-	20.0
Subtotal	34	67.6	14.7	20.6	38.2	11.8	32.4

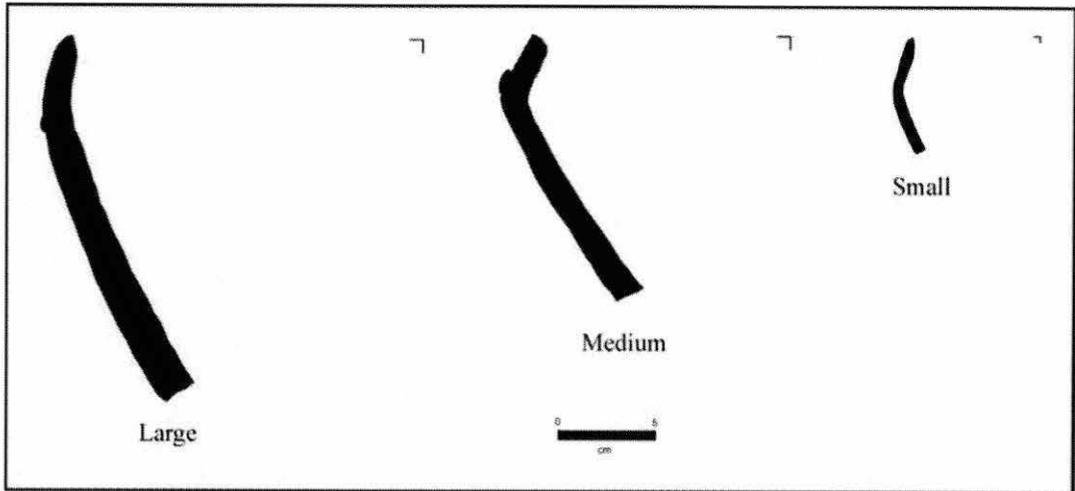


Figure 6.4. Carinated bowls.

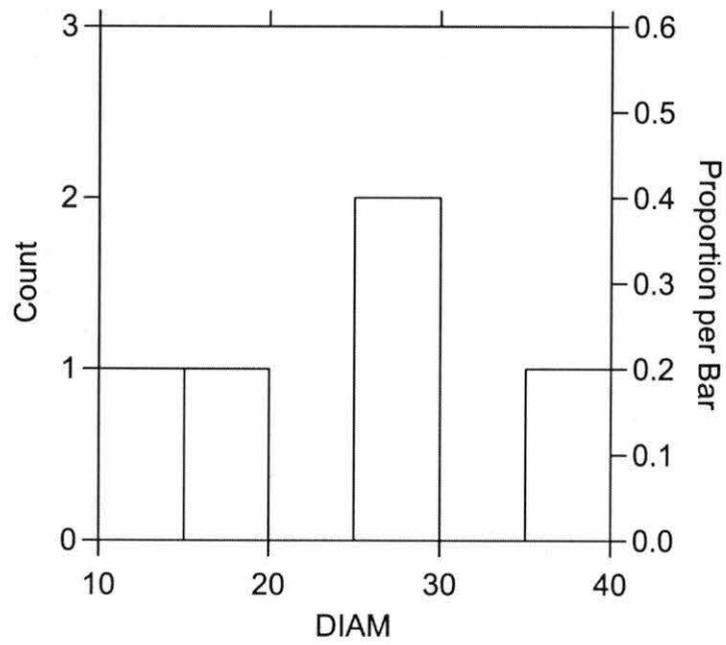


Figure 6.5. Histogram of carinated bowls by diameter (cm).

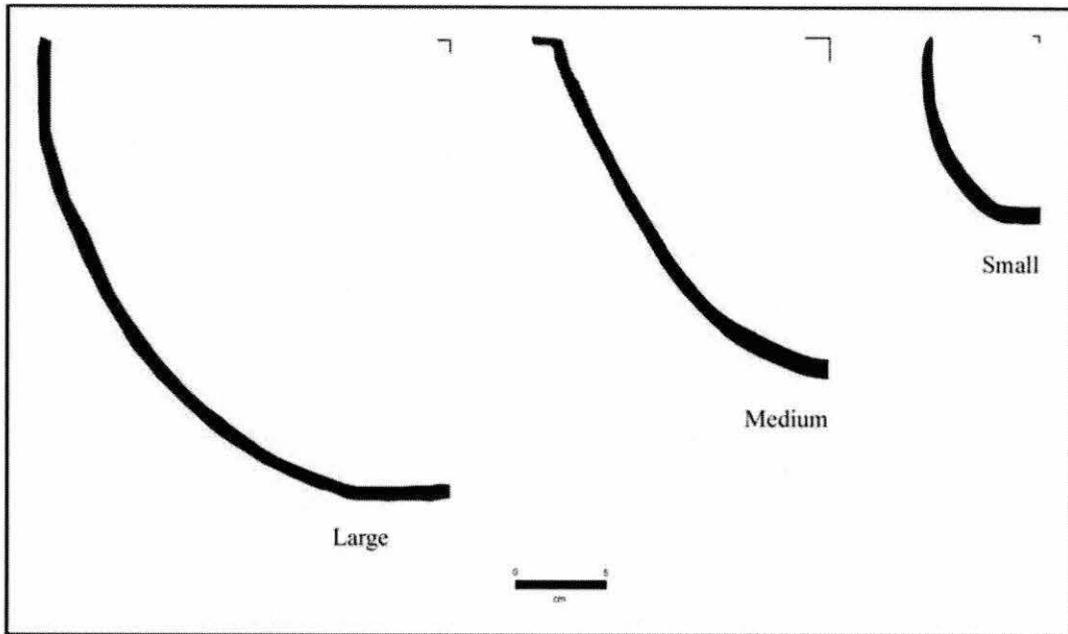


Figure 6.6. Open bowls.

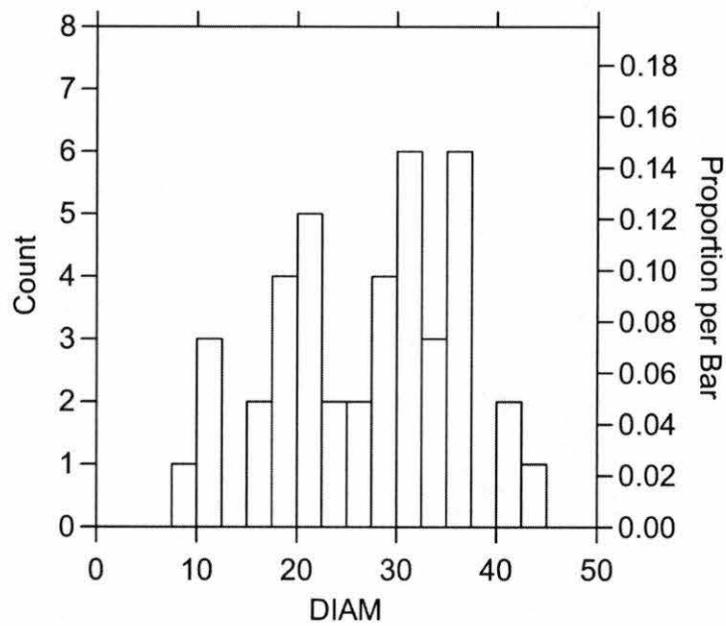


Figure 6.7. Histogram of open bowls by diameter (cm).

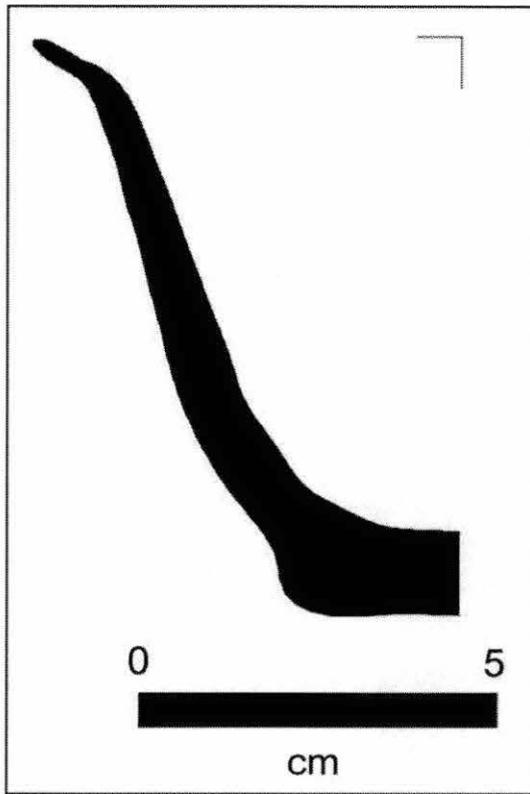


Figure 6.8. Open bowl with pedestalled base.

was not used for cooking. Two bands of pitting were present on the vessel's interior, indicating that its contents were manipulated. The pedestal form of this vessel's base would have made it fairly stable while its contents were being manipulated.

It is clear that some of the medium open bowls were used for cooking. Five vessels, all of which were either complicated stamped or textile impressed, showed a horizontal pattern of thermal alteration. Several of these were sooted on their upper, exterior surface, and none showed any interior use-alterations. Four other medium open bowls, all of which were burnished plain, do not show any evidence of having been used for cooking. One of these showed light pitting on its interior and the other three did not show any interior use-alterations.

Overall, medium and large open bowls do not show any deep pitting or scratching, indicating that the vigorous manipulation of contents was not an important aspect of their use. Almost half of these vessels show a horizontal pattern of thermal alteration and over a quarter of them are sooted. This is a surprising pattern because the open, shallow shape of these vessels does not seem to be optimal for cooking (Hally 1986:280-281; Henrickson and McDonald 1983:63). While these vessels are not well-suited for extended periods of cooking, the sooting and thermal alterations present on some of them may have been from the heating or final preparation of foods that had been cooked primarily in other pots (see Hally 1986:288). Additionally, the shape of these open bowls would have been ideal for the subsequent serving of these foods (Hally 1986:279-280; Henrickson and McDonald 1983:632). While those with stamped and textile-impressed exterior surfaces appear to have been used for short-term cooking and serving, the medium and large open bowls with

burnished plain exteriors do not seem to have been used for cooking and may have been serving vessels exclusively.

### **Restricted Bowls**

Restricted bowls are bowls whose maximum diameter is at a point of vertical tangency in the vessel's contour that is below the lip (Figure 6.1) (see Shepard 1957:226). The distribution of restricted bowls by orifice diameter is continuous (Figure 6.9), so the existence of different size classes is not apparent. Also, the range of sizes represented in the restricted bowls is the smallest of all bowl types. The relative uniformity of orifice diameter for restricted bowls could mean that these vessels were used for a specialized purpose. All of the restricted bowls have burnished plain surfaces and none show evidence of having been used for cooking. None are sooted or show a horizontal pattern of thermal alteration. Four of these vessels have light to moderate pitting on their upper interior surfaces just below the lip. Of the other two restricted bowls, one had heavy pitting on the bottom half of the vessel and the other did not have any interior use-alterations. The absence of thermal use-alterations and the low frequency of deep pitting and scratching indicates that restricted bowls were used for serving rather than cooking (see Henrickson and McDonald 1983:632; Skibo 1992:67).

### **Carinated Jar**

A single carinated jar is present in the Pee Dee assemblage (Figure 6.1). It is a vessel whose maximum diameter is at a corner point approximately half way up its profile. This pot is thought to be from the Leak site (see Coe 1995:Figure 9.35), although this is not known for

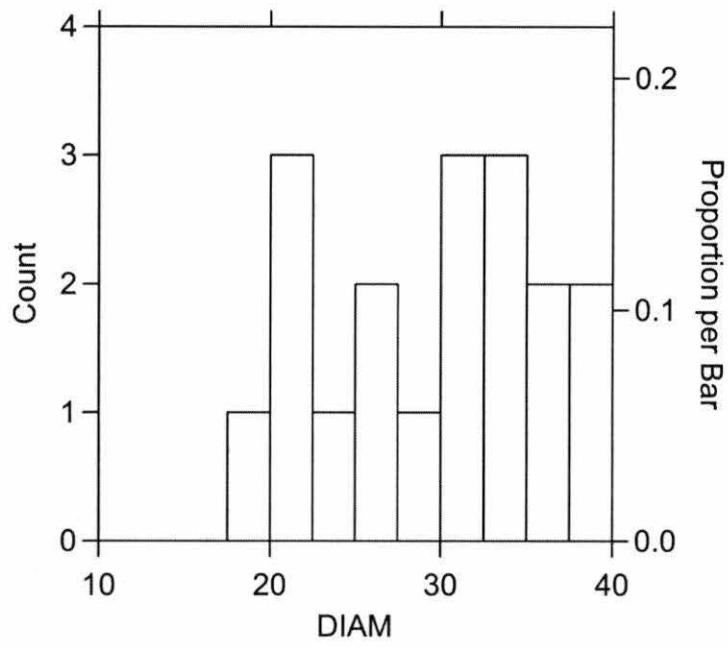


Figure 6.9. Histogram of restricted bowls by diameter (cm).

sure (Archie Smith, personal communication 2004). This jar did not show any evidence of having been used for cooking and it did not have any interior use-alterations. The shape of this vessel and the fact that it was not used for cooking suggests that it may have been used as a small serving or storage jar, possibly for liquids (see Hally 1986:288).

### **Open Jars**

Open jars are defined as those jars with straight to slightly outwardly sloping walls with a maximum diameter at the lip (Figure 6.10). The distribution of open jars by orifice diameter indicates that these vessels can be divided into the size classes of small (< 10 cm), medium (11-39 cm), and large (> 40 cm) (Figure 6.11). The two small open jars, which look like small cups, do not show any thermal use-alterations. It is possible that these were individual serving vessels.

All four of the large open jars appear to have been used for cooking because they show evidence of thermal use-alterations. All exhibit a horizontal thermal-alteration pattern and two of them have significant soot accumulations. They also have heavy pitting on the lower half of their interiors and three have deep scratching on the upper half of their interiors. Although no examples of medium open jars were large enough to be included in the examination of use-alterations, it is likely that they were also used for cooking. The open jar class has the highest percentages for any vessel type of horizontal thermal alterations, external sooting, deep pitting, and deep scratching. It is clear that large open jars were used for cooking and that their contents were frequently and vigorously stirred. The presence of thick soot deposits on several of the large open jars may be related to their size. The soot present on the surface of these vessels is the kind that could be removed through cleaning

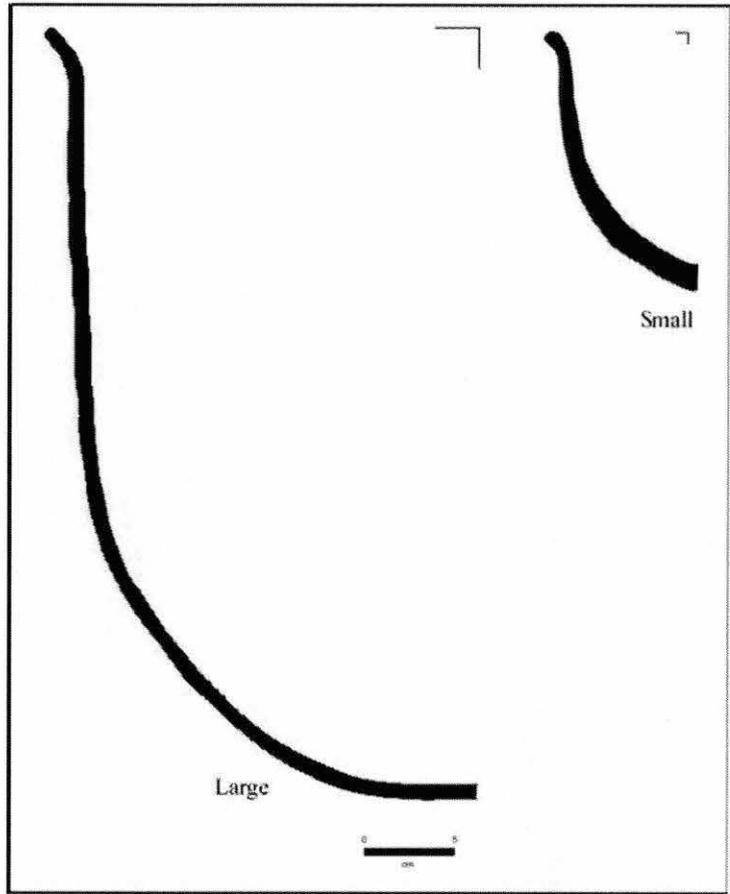


Figure 6.10. Open jars.

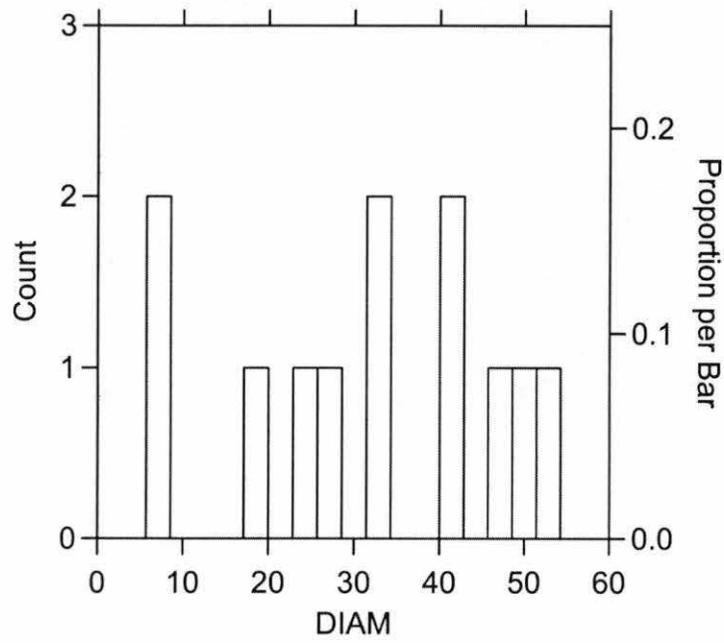


Figure 6.11. Histogram of open jars by diameter (cm).

(see Hally 1983:8; Skibo 1992:157-159). The presence of this kind of soot suggests that large open jars were cleaned less frequently than vessels of other classes, possibly because of the difficulty involved in moving them. This would be consistent with ethnographic evidence that vessel size is negatively correlated with frequency of movement (DeBoer 1985:348).

### **Restricted Jars**

Restricted jars are vessels whose diameter at the neck, or uppermost point of vertical tangency (Shepard 1957:226), is smaller than at the lip (Figure 6.12). Restricted jars are the most frequently occurring vessel type in the assemblage. Over two-thirds of the restricted jars exhibit a horizontal pattern of thermal alteration indicating that they were placed directly on fires. The presence of soot on some but not all restricted jars is consistent with the idea that they were used for cooking but that they were small enough to be moved for cleaning. The high frequency of interior use-alterations within the restricted jars class is consistent with their contents having been frequently stirred while cooking. The distribution of restricted jars by orifice diameter indicates that restricted jars can be divided into the three size classes of small (< 13 cm), medium (14-49 cm), and large (> 50 cm) (Figure 6.13). Three of the small restricted jars do not show any use-alterations. The other three show a horizontal pattern of thermal alteration. One of these shows light interior pitting and another one shows light scratching. This indicates that small restricted jars may have been used for cooking and for serving, perhaps as individual serving vessels. The high frequencies of thermal-alterations and interior use-alterations indicate that medium restricted jars were used for cooking and that their contents were frequently manipulated during this process.

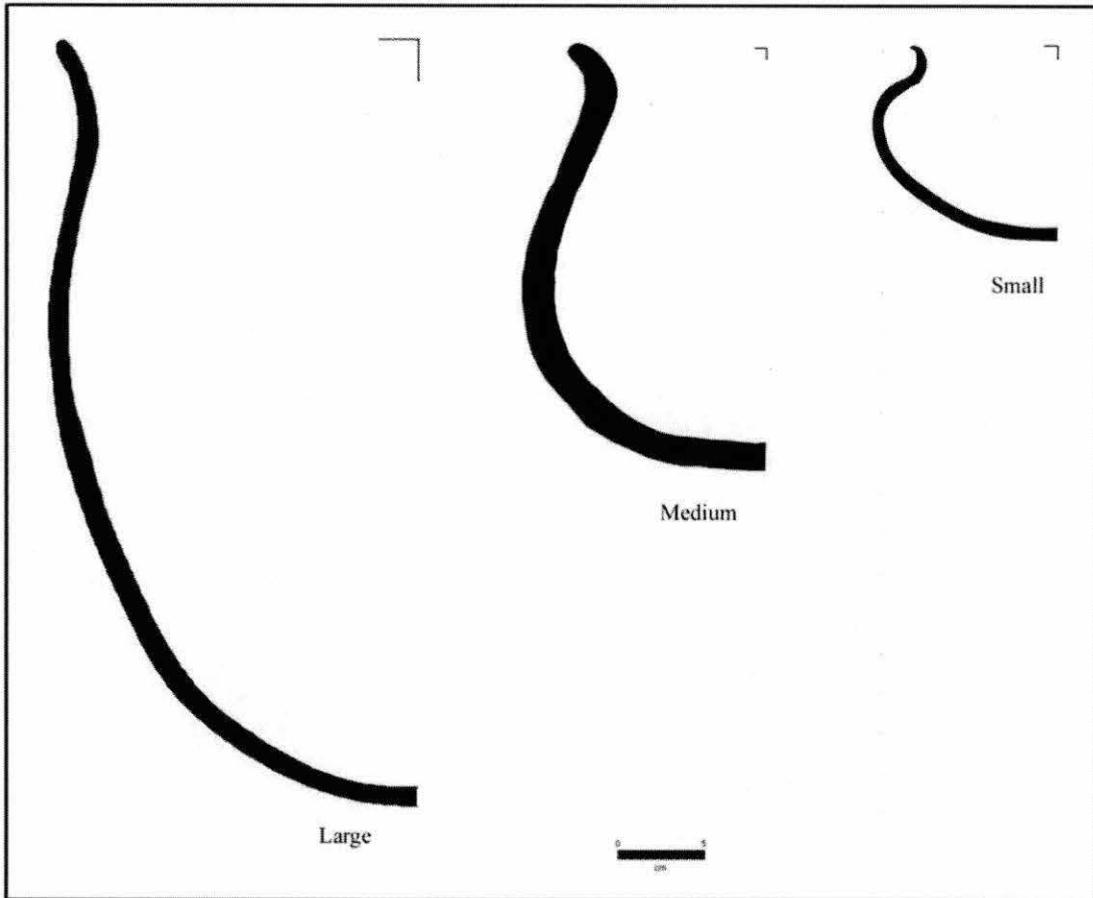


Figure 6.12. Restricted jars.

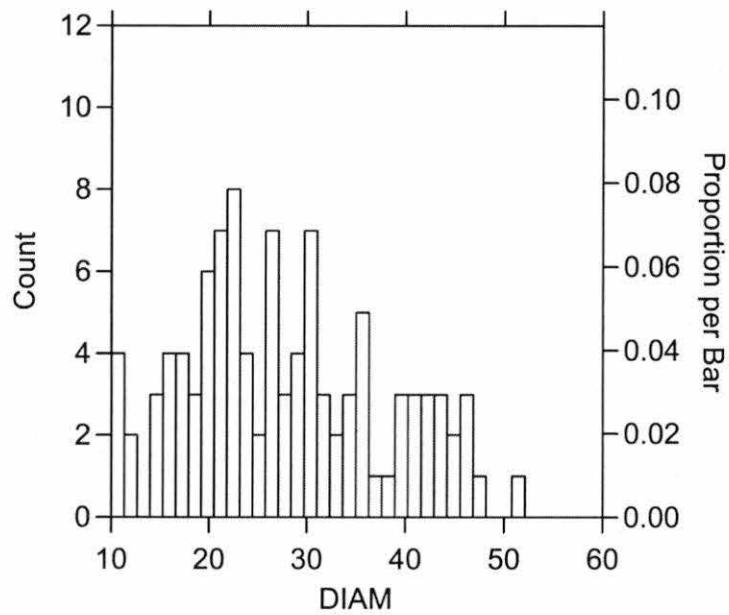


Figure 6.13. Histogram of restricted jars by diameter (cm).

Although no large restricted jars could be included in the functional analysis, it is likely that they were used for cooking as well.

## FUNCTION

Patterns of use-alterations and characteristics of vessel profiles can be used together to make some inferences about the basic functions of the vessel types identified in the assemblage of whole and partial Pee Dee vessels. It seems that carinated bowls and restricted bowls were serving vessels. All of them are burnished plain and none of them show any thermal use-alterations. Some medium open bowls, those that are burnished plain, appear to have been exclusively serving vessels as well. Small open jars were possibly cups used as serving vessels for individuals. Some small restricted jars and the carinated jar also may have been small serving vessels or they could have been used for small-scale storage. Other small restricted jars may have been used for cooking. Some medium open bowls, those with stamped or textile-impressed surface treatments, appear to have been used for short-term cooking and subsequently for serving. It is possible that some of the larger jars were used for storage, but the high proportion of horizontal thermal alterations among medium and large open jars as well as medium restricted jars indicates that larger jars were used predominantly for long-term cooking.

### **Burial Urns**

The burial of some infants and children in ceramic jars that were placed in pits in structure floors has been recognized as one of the defining characteristics of Pee Dee culture (Coe 1952:309; Ferguson 1971:206) and a number of such burials have been documented at

Town Creek (Coe 1995:274-277). It is likely that some of the larger jars and bowls from Leak and Teal included in this analysis are also from urn burials—a burial type that has been documented at both sites (Oliver 1992:86 and 176). Twelve of the vessels discussed in this chapter were used as burial urns at Town Creek (Table 6.3). Seven of these are medium restricted jars and five are either medium open bowls or restricted bowls. The remains of the deceased were placed in the bottom of the jars and the bowls were inverted over the jar's mouth to form a lid. Half of the bowls and all of the jars used for urn burials at Town Creek exhibit a horizontal pattern of thermal alteration. Several vessels of each class were sooted and a number of vessels of each class show internal use-alterations. Thus, while the ultimate use of these vessels was as a container and lid for the burial of infants and children, they do not appear to have been specially made for this purpose. Instead, it seems that these vessels had been previously used for daily, domestic tasks such as cooking (cf., Coe 1995:276).

### **Intrasite Patterns at Town Creek**

In this section, differences among vessel assemblages from various contexts at Town Creek are explored. Only specimens from contexts associated with a particular spatial context, such as a structure or discrete midden deposit, are considered (Tables 6.4 and 6.5). The sample used for exploring the distribution of functional types is drawn from those whole vessels, partial vessels, and large rims used for the functional analysis. The sample used for examining differences in vessel size is slightly more inclusive, consisting of those sherds that could be oriented and for which orifice diameter could be estimated.

The ability to make comparisons among spatial and temporal units was determined by where measurable rims were found. In order to have sample sizes large enough to make

Table 6.3. Use-alterations on vessels used for urn burials.

Context	Spatial Unit	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Vessel Class	Horizontal					
					Thermal Alteration	Sooting	Heavy Pitting	Light Pitting	Heavy Scratching	Light Scratching
Bu. 3	BC 11	curv. comp. st.	36	med. rest. jar	X	-	-	X	-	X
		burn. pl.	34	rest. jar	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bu. 35	St. 7	text. imp.	32.5	med. open bowl	X	X	-	X	-	X
		curv. comp. st.	39	med. rest. jar	X	-	-	X	-	-
Bu. 98b	St. 7	curv. comp. st.	31	med. open bowl	X	X	-	-	-	-
Bus. 102-107	St. 7	curv. rect. st.	45	med. rest. jar	X	X	X	-	-	-
Bu. 102	St. 7	plain	31	med. open bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-
		curv. comp. st.	33	med. rest. jar	X	X	-	X	-	X
Bu. 113	St. 7	curv. comp. st.	36	med. open bowl	X	X	-	X	-	-
		curv. comp. st.	36	med. rest. jar	X	-	X	-	X	-
Bu. 121	St. 7	curv. comp. st.	31	med. rest. jar	X	-	-	X	-	X
Bu. 124	St. 7	curv. comp. st.	30	med. rest. jar	X	-	-	X	-	X

Table 6.4. Vessel types by context including burial associations.

Context	Bowls						Jars						Totals	
	Small Carinated	Medium Carinated	Small Open	Medium Open	Large Open	Restricted	Small Carinated	Medium Open	Large Open	Small Restricted	Medium Restricted	Large Restricted		
<b>Counts</b>														
Leak	1	-	-	8	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	11	-	25
Teal	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	7
Town Creek (all)	1	1	1	7	0	4	0	1	1	0	4	38	1	59
Enclosed Circular	-	-	3	7	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	13	-	27
Large Rectangular	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Level X	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	9
Medium Rectangular	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	3
Premound Public	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	4	10	-	19
Riverbank	1	-	-	5	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	24	1	34
Small Circular	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	6
<b>Percentages</b>														
Leak	4.0	-	-	32.0	-	12.0	4.0	-	4.0	-	-	44.0	-	
Teal	-	-	-	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	-	71.4	-	
Town Creek (all)	1.0	1.0	4.0	17.0	1.0	8.0	-	2.0	2.0	1.0	5.0	57.0	1.0	
Enclosed Circular	-	-	11.1	25.9	3.7	3.7	-	3.7	-	-	3.7	48.1	-	
Large Rectangular	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	
Level X	-	-	-	22.2	-	33.3	-	-	11.1	-	-	33.3	-	
Medium Rectangular	-	-	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	-	33.3	-	
Premound Public	-	5.3	5.3	5.3	-	5.3	-	-	5.3	-	21.1	52.6	-	
Riverbank	2.9	-	-	14.7	-	5.9	-	2.9	-	-	-	70.6	2.9	
Small Circular	-	-	-	16.7	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	66.7	-	

Table 6.5. Vessel types by context excluding burial associations.

Context	Bowls						Jars						Totals	
	Small Carinated	Medium Carinated	Small Open	Medium Open	Large Open	Restricted	Small Carinated	Small Open	Medium Open	Large Open	Small Restricted	Medium Restricted		Large Restricted
Counts														
Leak	1	-	-	8	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	11	-	25
Teal	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	7
Town Creek (all)	1	1	1	6	0	4	0	1	1	0	4	37	1	57
Enclosed Circular	-	-	1	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	7	-	15
Large Rectangular	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Level X	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	9
Medium Rectangular	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	3
Premound Public	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	4	10	-	19
Riverbank	1	-	-	5	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	24	1	34
Small Circular	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	4
Percentages														
Leak	4.0	-	-	32.0	-	12.0	4.0	-	4.0	-	-	44.0	-	
Teal	-	-	-	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	-	71.4	-	
Town Creek (all)	1.2	1.2	2.3	15.1	1.2	9.3	-	1.2	2.3	1.2	5.8	58.1	1.2	
Enclosed Circular	-	-	6.7	26.7	6.7	6.7	-	-	-	-	6.7	46.7	-	
Large Rectangular	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	-	
Level X	-	-	-	22.2	-	33.3	-	-	11.1	-	-	33.3	-	
Medium Rectangular	-	-	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	-	33.3	-	
Premound Public	-	5.3	5.3	5.3	-	5.3	-	-	5.3	-	21.1	52.6	-	
Riverbank	2.9	-	-	14.7	-	5.9	-	2.9	-	-	-	70.6	2.9	
Small Circular	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	75.0	-	

meaningful comparisons, rims are pooled by structure type and the rims from the submound public buildings are considered as a single analytic unit. All of the rims from premound public buildings either possibly or definitely came from one of the small, square structures (i.e., Structures 4b, 23a, or 24). The premound public buildings and Small Circular Structures date to the early Town Creek phase. Enclosed Circular Structures, which may represent a palimpsest of earlier domestic structures and later enclosed cemeteries, probably contain rims from both the Town Creek and Leak phases. Rims from the mound-flank midden Level X date to the late Town Creek phase while those from Large Rectangular Structures date to the late Town Creek-Leak phases. The riverbank midden contains mixed deposits that span the entire Town Creek and Leak phases. Although there are stratigraphic differences in the riverbank midden, the levels that produced measurable rims cross-cut these strata resulting in a great deal of temporal mixing. Thus, the riverbank midden will be considered as a single unit.

#### *Formation Processes*

The rims used in this vessel analysis came from contexts that were likely subject to a variety of formation processes, so there may be issues about the comparability of samples.<sup>1</sup> These contexts were formed through the intentional discard of sherds in middens, the intentional placement of vessels with individuals at the time of burial, and the unintentional loss of sherds in structure floors. Making comparisons among assemblages that were produced by such a variety of formation processes is less than ideal because any differences may be the result of predepositional and postdepositional formation processes rather than behavior (Schiffer 1987:5). However, these are the only deposits from Town Creek with

which we have to work and I believe it would be better to compare patterns and make interpretations with some qualifications rather than to make no interpretations at all.

The comparison of the Level X and riverbank midden deposits should be relatively straightforward because these appear to have been the result of intentional discard. Assuming that the riverbank midden represents communal debris contributed to by many households (see Schiffer 1987:62), then it could provide a baseline assemblage to which all others can be compared in order to recognize unique assemblages. However, at least two considerations must be included in any comparison of vessel assemblages among all other contexts at Town Creek. First, most of the sherds associated with structures were likely incidental inclusions included in the fill of features and burials. Unlike middens that probably contain the full range of vessel types, the assemblage of sherds that were incidental inclusions may be biased toward smaller sherds and possibly smaller vessels because these sherds are more likely to accumulate in structure floors because they were missed during cleaning. The second consideration is that the opposite is probably true for the jars and bowls used for urn burials, where the functional necessity of having a container large enough to hold the remains of the deceased would likely bias these vessels toward the larger end of the spectrum. Even though the sherds from fill and the vessels associated with burials came from very different behaviors, loss during the performance of daily tasks for the former and the intentional placement with a person as part of a burial ritual with the latter, both have been included within the assemblages from Enclosed Circular and Small Circular Structures because the activities that produced them—while clearly different—were performed within the same kinds of structures and were presumably performed by the same social groups.

Vessels from feature fill and burial associations from within Small Circular and Enclosed Circular Structures are compared in order to assess the differences between these contexts. A boxplot (Figure 6.14) shows that there are no real differences in size between the rims from the two types of context, although sample sizes are small for both. A comparison between jars from fill and those that were burial associations shows that the former tend to be smaller than the latter. Therefore, any comparison among contexts will have to consider the fact that the jars from fill contexts may be biased toward smaller vessels.

### *Functional Types*

There are several indications that an assemblage characterized by a high percentage (> 60%) of cooking jars, primarily those of the medium restricted type, is the typical domestic assemblage at Town Creek. One reason is that the assemblage associated with Small Circular Structures, a type of structure that probably represents houses, is dominated by medium restricted jars (Figure 6.15) (Table 6.6). This pattern is present even when burial associations have been removed (Figure 6.16) (Table 6.7). Another reason is that the riverbank midden assemblage, which presumably represents a community midden that was produced by the refuse from numerous households (see Schiffer 1987:62), was also dominated by restricted jars. Also, if most of the assemblages at a site represent domestic ones based on the ubiquity of households in native communities relative to nondomestic contexts, then the fact that most of the assemblages from Town Creek contained a high percentage of restricted jars indicates that cooking was the predominant food-related activity in domestic contexts.

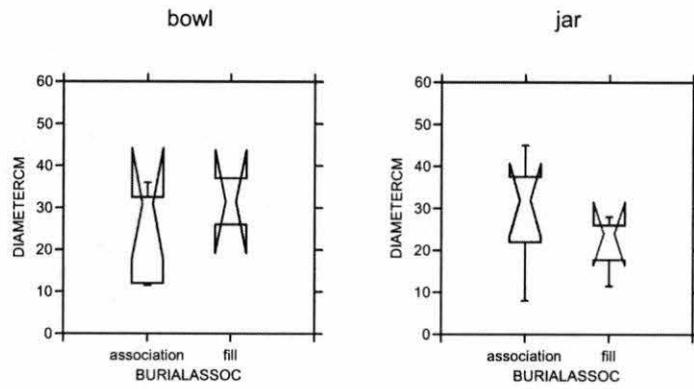


Figure 6.14. Boxplots comparing rim diameter by vessel class between fill and burial association contexts.

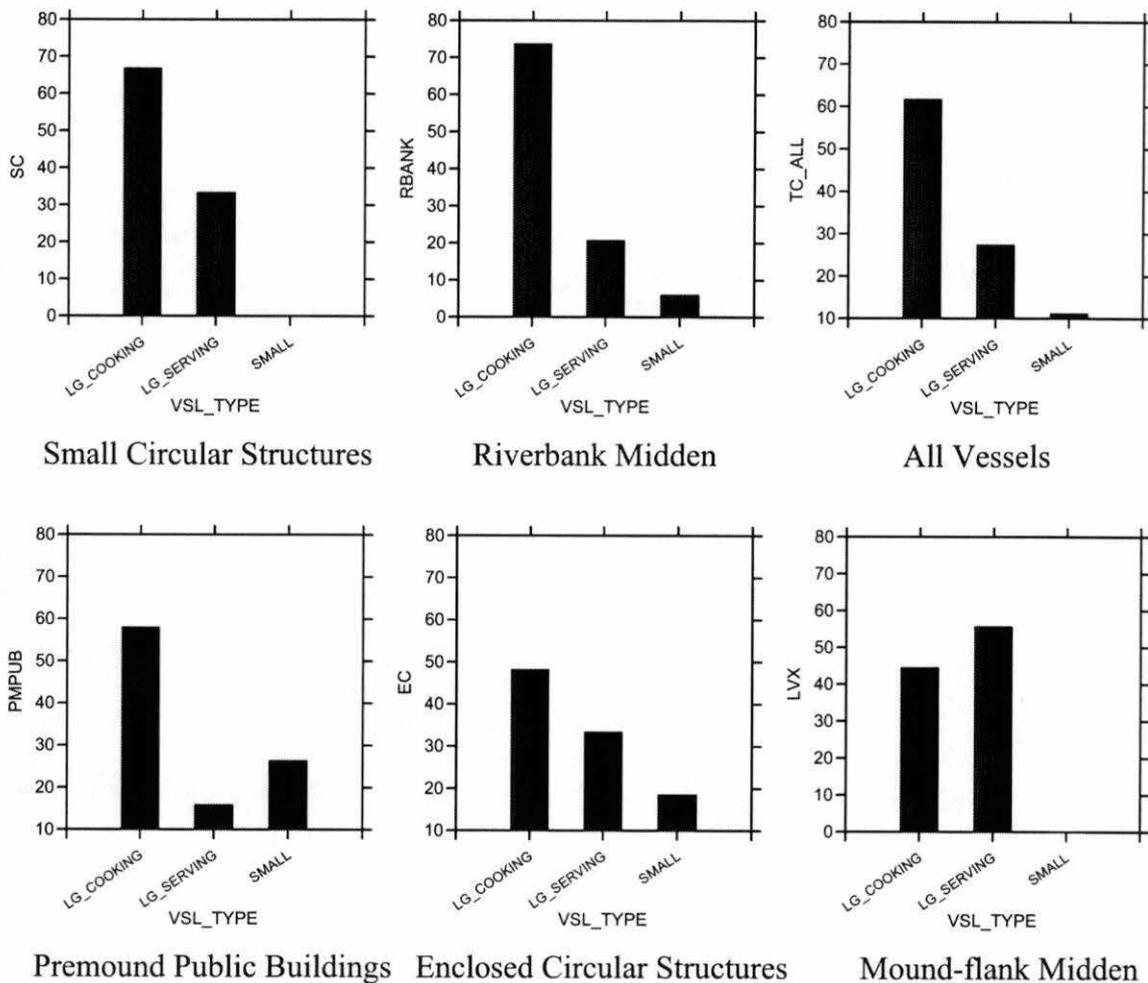


Figure 6.15. Bar charts showing percentages of vessel categories by context (including burial associations).

Table 6.6. Vessel categories by context (including burial associations).

Context	Large Cooking <sup>a</sup>	Large Serving <sup>b</sup>	Small Serving and Cooking <sup>c</sup>
Town Creek (all)	61.6	27.3	11.1
Enclosed Circular	48.1	33.3	18.5
Large Rectangular	100.0	0.0	0.0
Level X	44.4	55.6	0.0
Medium Rectangular	66.7	33.3	0.0
Premound Public	57.9	15.8	26.3
Riverbank	73.5	20.6	5.9
Small Circular	66.7	33.3	0.0

<sup>a</sup> Medium open, large open, medium restricted, and large restricted jars.

<sup>b</sup> Medium carinated, medium open, large open, and restricted bowls.

<sup>c</sup> Small carinated and small open bowls, small open and small restricted jars.

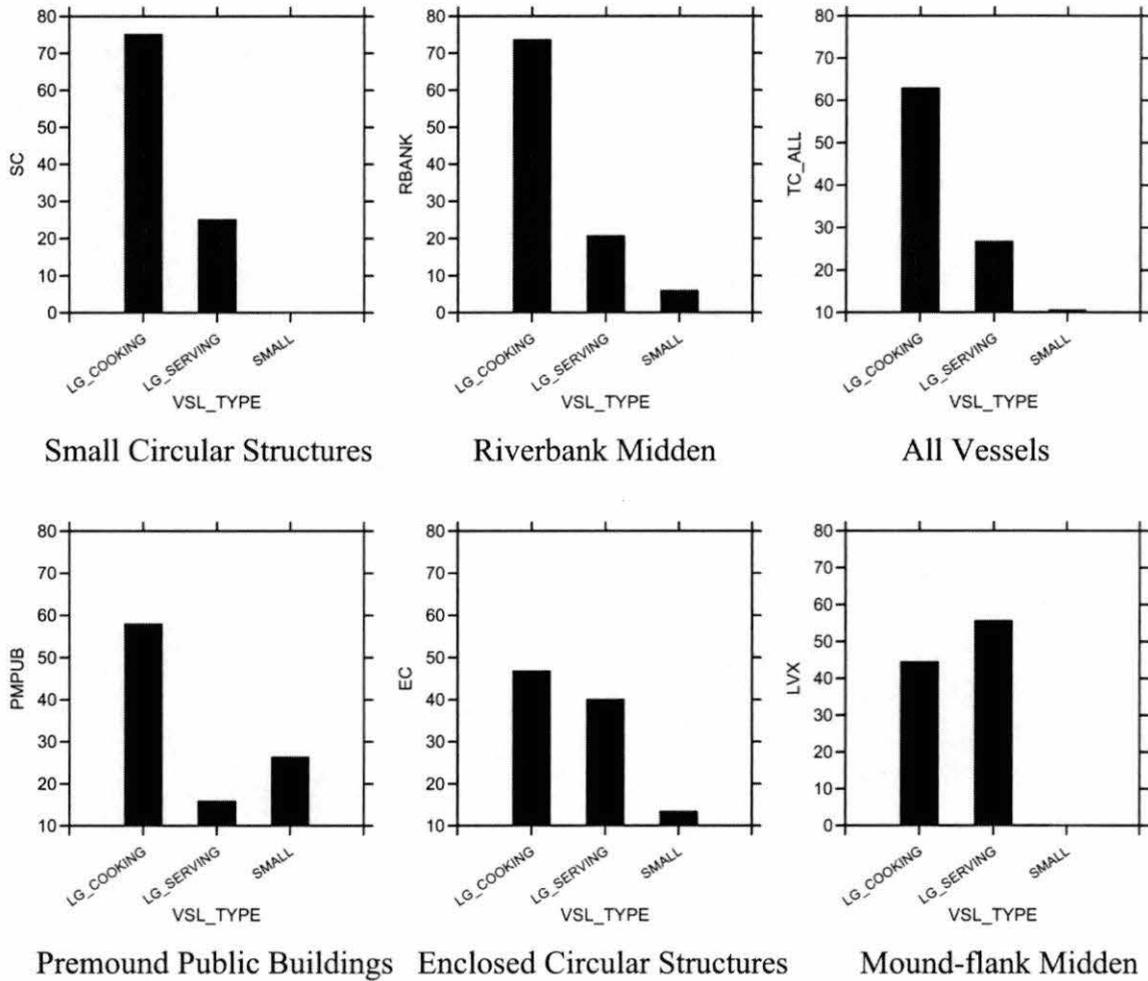


Figure 6.16. Bar charts showing percentages of vessel categories by context (excluding burial associations).

Table 6.7. Vessel categories by context (excluding burial associations).

Context	Large Cooking <sup>a</sup>	Large Serving <sup>b</sup>	Small Serving and Cooking <sup>c</sup>
Town Creek (all)	62.8	26.7	10.5
Enclosed Circular	46.7	40.0	13.3
Large Rectangular	100.0	0.0	0.0
Medium Rectangular	66.7	33.3	0.0
Mound flank	44.4	55.6	0.0
Premound Public	57.9	15.8	26.3
Riverbank	73.5	20.6	5.9
Small Circular	75.0	25.0	0.0

<sup>a</sup> Medium open, large open, medium restricted, and large restricted jars.

<sup>b</sup> Medium carinated, medium open, large open, and restricted bowls.

<sup>c</sup> Small carinated and small open bowls, small open and small restricted jars.

Most of the assemblages consist of at least 60% larger jars, that is medium and large restricted and open jars. The pre mound public buildings, Enclosed Circular Structures, and the mound-flank midden are distinctive because they all had assemblages consisting of less than 60% large jars. This could be an indication that different food-related activities were being performed in these contexts relative to the rest of the site. It is important that these three distinctive vessel assemblages are from contexts that I have argued are unique based on other evidence (see Chapter 3). Two of these contexts were associated with public buildings beneath and on the mound while the third probably represents kin-group cemeteries.

The pre mound public buildings have the highest percentage of small serving and cooking vessels (i.e., carinated bowls, open bowls, and small jars) which were probably used for cooking small amounts of food or serving individuals and small groups of people. Overall, there is less of an emphasis on larger-scale cooking in pre mound public buildings and relatively more of an emphasis on serving and possibly cooking for smaller groups. The emphasis in this assemblage on small-group activities suggests that access to the smaller, pre mound public buildings may have been restricted. Unfortunately, no rims were definitely associated with the large, rectangular Structures 4a and 23c, so it is unclear what variation may have existed among the pre mound public buildings.

The overall assemblage associated with Enclosed Circular Structures consists of 48% larger jars. The remainder consists of mostly larger bowls (i.e., medium and large open bowls, restricted bowls), but also includes individual serving vessels. Relative to domestic assemblages, there is less of an emphasis on cooking in Enclosed Circular Structures and more of an emphasis on serving, both individuals and larger groups. This pattern is strengthened when burial associations are removed from consideration.

The mound-flank midden assemblage has the lowest percentage of larger jars at Town Creek. It also has the highest percentage of larger bowls. The mound-flank midden also does not contain any individual serving vessels. Thus, the mound-flank midden vessel assemblage indicates that the mound summit was associated with relatively less cooking and no individual serving, but that the serving of groups was more important than in any other context.

### ORIFICE DIAMETER

A boxplot comparing bowl orifice diameters by context shows that size ranges overlap among samples (Figures 6.17 and 6.18). This lack of significant differences for bowls indicates that there was not much variation among contexts regarding the size of the vessels used for serving. This is contrary to the expectation that different activity sets were performed in different structure types (see Chapter 3). This suggests that either there was no variation in the size of the social groups that used different contexts or that the same size range of serving vessels was used, regardless of group size. I suspect that the latter was the case because, based on characteristics of the buildings themselves and in the distribution of functional vessel types, it seems unlikely that there was no variation in group size among contexts.

A boxplot of jar orifice diameters by context (Figures 6.19 and 6.20) reflects a similar pattern with the exception that the jars from the mound-flank midden are significantly larger than those from almost all other contexts. The one exception is Medium Rectangular Structures, a context from which only two rims are present. If contexts with two or fewer sherds are eliminated, then the assemblage of jars from the mound-flank midden is

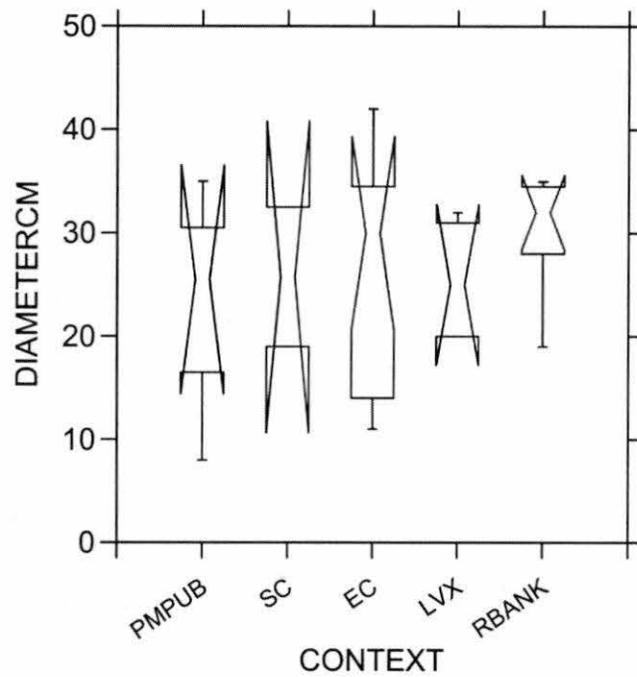


Figure 6.17. Boxplot comparing bowl rim diameters (cm) among contexts (including burial associations): pre mound public buildings, Small Circular Structures, Enclosed Circular Structures, mound-flank midden Level X, and the riverbank midden.

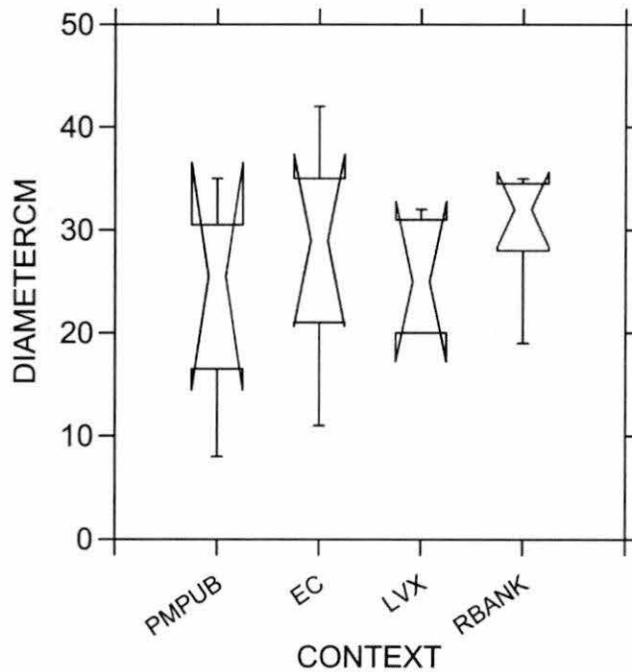


Figure 6.18. Boxplot comparing bowl rim diameters (cm) among contexts (excluding burial associations): pre mound public buildings, Small Circular Structures, Enclosed Circular Structures, mound-flank midden Level X, and the riverbank midden.

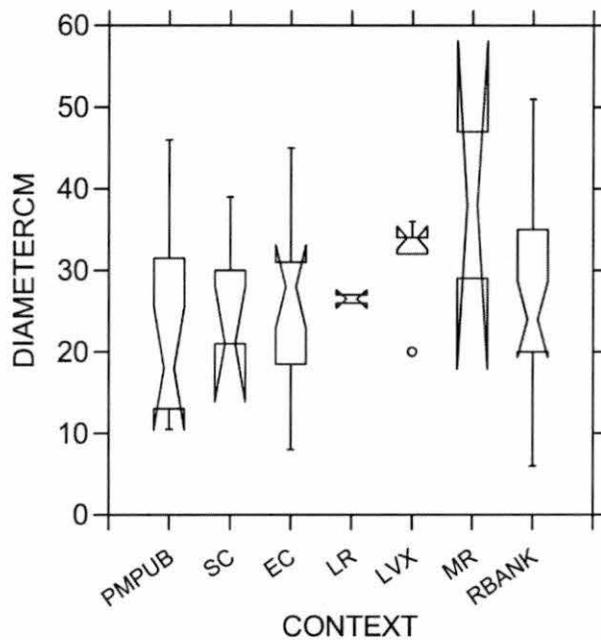


Figure 6.19. Boxplot comparing jar rim diameters (cm) among contexts (including burial associations): pre mound public buildings, Small Circular Structures, Enclosed Circular Structures, mound-flank midden Level X, Medium Rectangular Structures, and the riverbank midden.

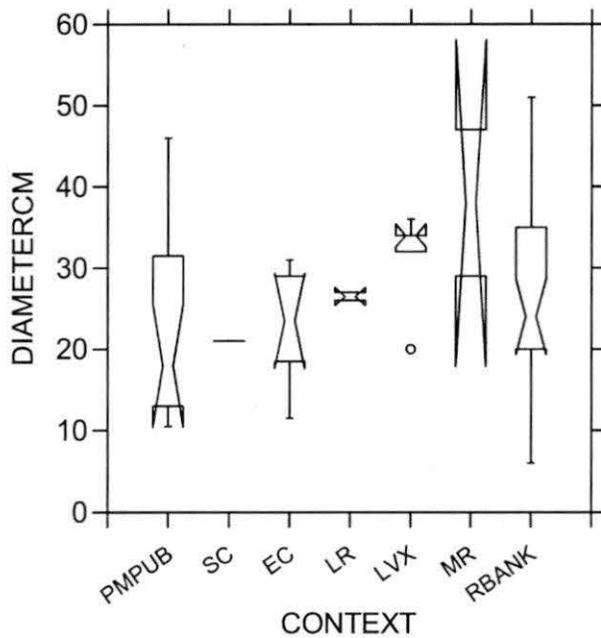


Figure 6.20. Boxplot comparing jar rim diameters (cm) among contexts (excluding burial associations): pre mound public buildings, Small Circular Structures, Enclosed Circular Structures, mound-flank midden Level X, Medium Rectangular Structures, and the riverbank midden.

significantly larger than those from all other contexts (Figure 6.21 and 6.22). As discussed previously, differences among assemblages could have been introduced by formation processes rather than behavior. However, a comparison between the mound-flank midden and the riverbank midden, both of which represent trash dumps that were presumably subject to similar formation processes, shows that the jars from the mound-flank midden, which were likely associated with summit activities, were significantly larger than those from the riverbank midden, which likely came from domestic contexts. Histograms based on the same jar data as the boxplots show a break at 30 cm in almost all of the distributions (Figures 6.23 and 6.24). If this 30 cm mark is used to distinguish small and large jars, then it is clear that all contexts except the mound-flank midden are dominated by jars smaller than 30 cm. Thus, it is not that the largest jars at the site were associated with the mound-flank midden, because they clearly are not, but that most of the jars from this midden are larger than 30 cm while most of the jars from other contexts are smaller. Furthermore, jars smaller than 20 cm were not present in the mound-flank midden, but they were present in most of the other contexts.

#### SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF VESSEL ANALYSIS PATTERNS

The characterization of vessel assemblages by functional type and orifice diameter allows some generalizations about the assemblages and activities associated with different contexts. The domestic assemblage at Town Creek, as indicated by most assemblages and the riverbank midden, is characterized by a high percentage (> 60%) of larger jars and a relatively wide range of vessel sizes. There are three assemblages that are distinctive from the typical domestic assemblage regarding functional types and orifice diameter. These distinctive assemblages are from Enclosed Circular Structures, the pre mound public

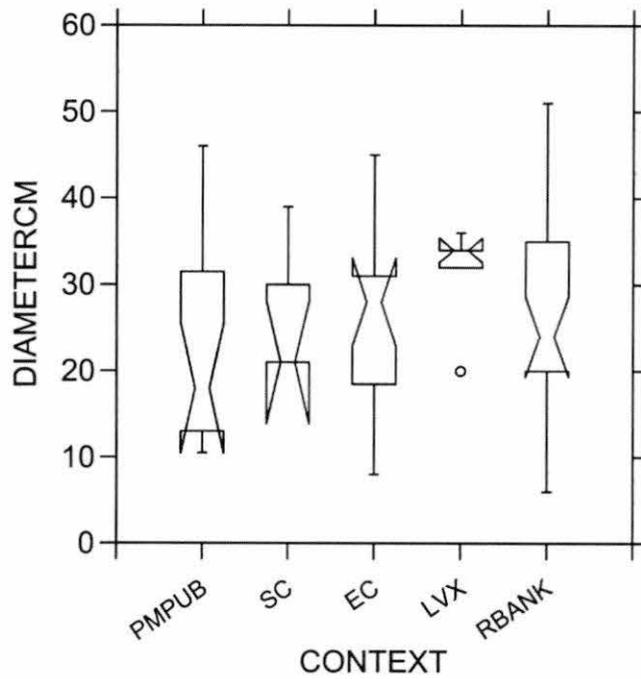


Figure 6.21. Boxplot comparing jar rim diameters (cm) among contexts (including burial associations): pre mound public buildings, Small Circular Structures, Enclosed Circular Structures, mound-flank midden Level X, and the riverbank midden.

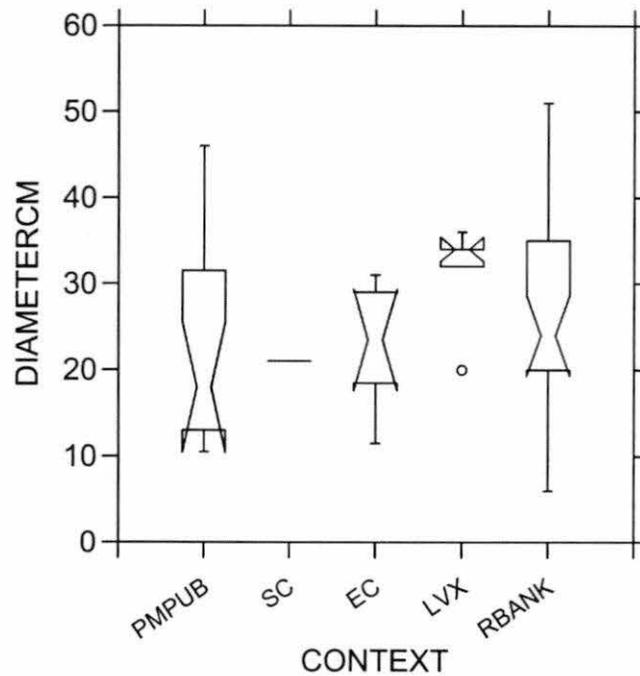


Figure 6.22. Boxplot comparing jar rim diameters (cm) among contexts (excluding burial associations): pre mound public buildings, Small Circular Structures, Enclosed Circular Structures, mound-flank midden Level X, and the riverbank midden.

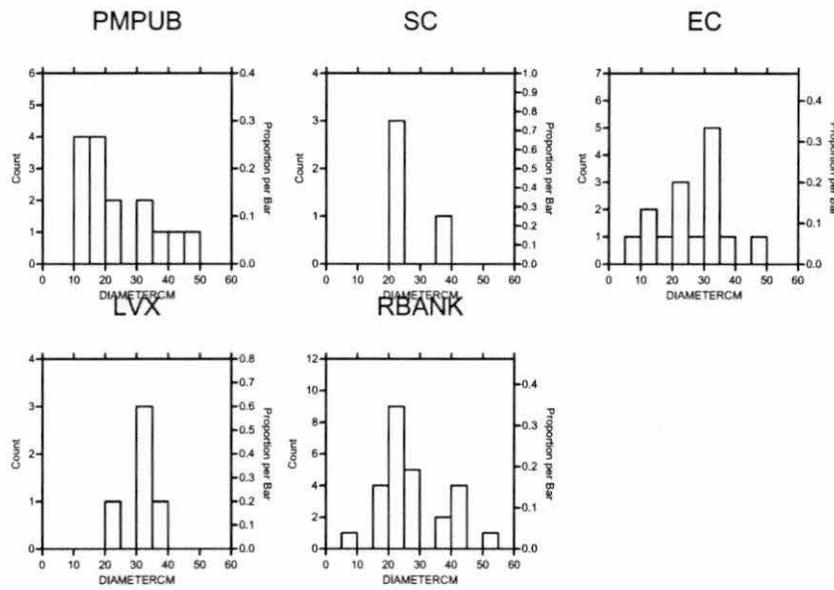


Figure 6.23. Histograms of jar diameter (cm) by context (including burial associations): pre mound public buildings, Small Circular Structures, Enclosed Circular Structures, mound-flank midden Level X, and the riverbank midden.

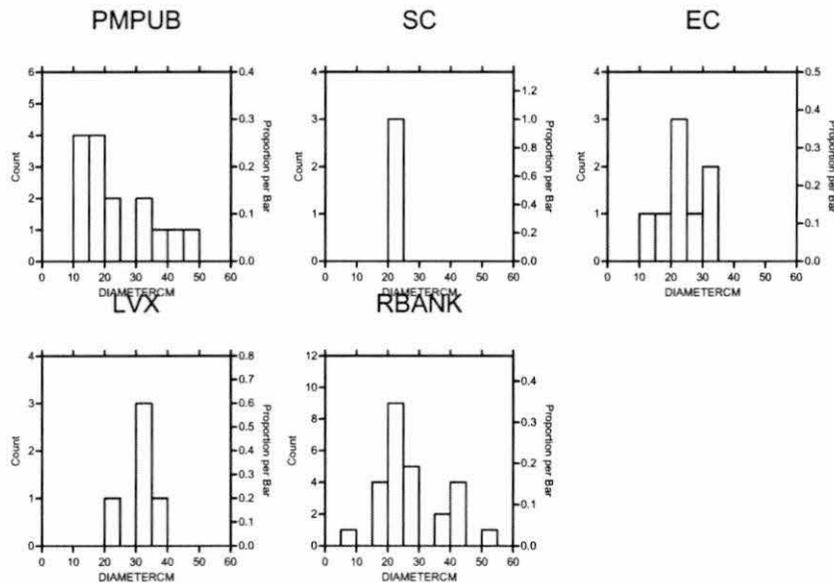


Figure 6.24. Histograms of jar diameter (cm) by context (excluding burial associations): pre mound public buildings, Small Circular Structures, Enclosed Circular Structures, mound-flank midden Level X, and the riverbank midden.

buildings, and the mound-flank midden. The fact that mound area assemblages from pre-mound and post-mound contexts are distinct from domestic assemblages suggests that a dwelling was not located in this area. Therefore, there does not appear to have been an exclusive association between the community's public buildings and the household of a particular individual or family.

Enclosed Circular Structures have a relatively low proportion of larger jars and a relatively high proportion of larger bowls, which indicates an emphasis on the serving of larger groups. That orifice diameters for bowls and jars from Enclosed Circular Structures are not significantly different from those in other contexts indicates that the groups that did meet in these contexts were probably household-size groups. If Enclosed Circular Structures do represent cemeteries that were used by kin-groups, then the vessel patterns indicate that the consumption of food by household-size groups may have been a part of their burial or mourning rituals.

The pre-mound public building assemblage has a relatively lower percentage of larger jars and the highest percentage of smaller serving jars. It also has the lowest percentage of larger bowls. This pattern does not appear to be solely due to formation processes because it is still present in a comparison among structures only, even when burial associations have been removed from consideration. The pre-mound assemblage, which comes largely or exclusively from the smallest sub-mound structures, consists of jars that tend to have smaller orifice diameters than those from other contexts. This does not seem to be solely due to formation processes either because these jars tend to be smaller than those within other structures, even when burial associations are removed. Thus, the vessel function and orifice diameter data suggest that the emphasis in the smallest pre-mound public buildings may have

been on the serving of individuals and small groups with cooking and the serving of larger groups being of relatively less importance.

The mound-flank midden assemblage is the most distinctive at Town Creek. It contains the lowest percentage of larger jars and the highest percentage of larger bowls. It is the only context considered in which individual serving vessels are absent. Thus, it seems that the serving of large groups was one of the most important activities represented in the mound-flank midden. At the assemblage level, the mound-flank midden jars are significantly larger than those from other assemblages. The presence of jars that are significantly larger than those found in domestic contexts, the absence of individual serving vessels, and the near absence of smaller jars indicates that the food-related activities that took place on the mound had as their target audience a much larger group than those that took place in all other contexts. The exact activities represented are less clear, though. The large jars could represent storage vessels, the preparation of food for large groups of people, or both.

The arrangement of public buildings at Town Creek so that one or more smaller, more substantial buildings were paired with a larger, more ephemeral building is similar to the public buildings in some archaeologically and ethnohistorically documented Cherokee and Creek towns which contained a more substantially constructed "winter council house" as well as a more open, pavilion-like "summer council house" or "public square" (Rodning 2002:12-13; Schroedl 1986:219-224; Waselkov and Braund 1995:102-105). In several Cherokee communities, the summer council house adjoined the winter council house with the two being connected by an enclosed entryway (Rodning 2002:Figure 3; Schroedl 1986:223 and Figure 4.2). Among the Creeks, differences in access existed between the two types of council house. Bartram (Waselkov and Braund 1995:105, Figures 21 and 22) identified one

of the buildings on the public square in a Creek town as an open, pavilion-like summer council house where the chiefs, warriors, and citizens of the town assembled to discuss political matters (Waselkov and Braund 1995:104-105). The back of this building was enclosed and accessible only through three small entrances through which one had to crawl upon hands and knees. The enclosed back portion of this structure was used to store sacred objects that included rattles, a calumet pipe, and a pot for making medicine (Waselkov and Braund 1995:105). According to Bartram, access to this enclosed area was limited to the chief, the war-chief, and the high priest with any transgression of this being punishable by death (Waselkov and Braund 1995:105). An adjacent building on the public square was a banqueting hall that accommodated spectators, "particularly at feasts or public entertainments" (Waselkov and Braund 1995:105).

Based on proscriptions recorded by Bartram and the interpretation that the mound-summit midden at Dyar may represent the remains of feasting (Smith 1994:38), there seems to have been a difference in accessibility between larger and smaller paired, public buildings, with the larger, more open buildings being relatively more accessible and the smaller, more enclosed ones being less accessible. While the recovery of measurable rims was such that contemporary large and small public buildings could not be compared, the vessel data suggest that paired large and small public buildings at Town Creek also were more and less accessible, respectively. The vessel assemblage from the smaller, pre-mound public buildings has the highest percentage of small cooking and serving vessels, suggesting that these structures were used by small groups. In contrast, the emphasis on large vessels in Level X and the total absence of small vessels indicates that large-group activities produced that assemblage. I assume that Level X represents the refuse associated with a large mound-

summit building based on the association of a midden possibly from feasting with a large, rectangular structure on the summit of the Dyar mound (Smith 1994:38).

The distribution of functional types and the comparison of orifice diameters suggest that mound-summit activities at Town Creek, at least during the late Town Creek phase, were characterized by food-related activities that involved larger groups of people. Large-scale storage and feasting are two activities that have been associated archaeologically and ethnohistorically with community leaders and public buildings in the Southeast (Blitz 1993a:72, 1993b; Kenton 1927:341, 430-431; McWilliams 1988:88; O'Neill 1977:244; Taft 1996:56-57). The large jars could have been used for communal storage, but the high proportion of larger bowls indicates that food consumption was an important part of these activities. Also, the functional analysis indicates that most larger jars were used for cooking. Therefore, it seems likely that the mound-flank assemblage represents the remains of feasting. Ethnographically, large-scale meals, or feasts, can take a number of forms and serve a variety of purposes (Hayden 2001). They can emphasize social cohesion by establishing and maintaining social ties (Hayden 2001:29; Knight 2001:328). They can also be used as venues for establishing and perpetuating social inequality (Hayden 2001:35; VanDerwarker 1999:24). Among native Southeastern groups, the gathering of community members for feasts was an important and regular part of social and ritual life (Swanton 1979:264; Waselkov and Braund 1995:125). The best-known example of feasting is the communal feast that occurred as part of the annual world renewal rite known as the Green Corn ceremony, an event that did not perpetuate social inequality (Hudson 1976:365; Knight 2001:328).

If feasting took place on the mound summit at Town Creek, it could have been a communal event that fostered social cohesion, a sponsored event that promoted the interests of an individual or particular group such as a lineage, or it could have been some combination of the two. Among historic Southeastern Native societies, group identity was strongly tied to the community's public building or townhouse (DePratter 1983:63; Rodning 2002:10) and a feast located in an analogous context—such as in the public space on the mound summit—at Town Creek also could have been associated with maintaining relationships within the community. The alternative, or perhaps complementary, use of the mound summit at Town Creek for an event that was sponsored by an individual or group would be consistent with a situation in which new political roles were being negotiated. A common way worldwide for leaders to attract and maintain a following in contexts where political roles are not institutionalized is by sponsoring feasts in public places (Dietler 2001:66; Hayden 2001; Kantner 1996:60; Whalen and Minnis 2000:177).

Whether the events that took place on the mound were communal, sponsored, or some combination of the two, the vessel analysis indicates that the place where community-wide political decision-making took place was accessible after mound construction. This runs counter to the earthlodge-to-mound model which proposes that platform mounds indicate an increase in the centralization of political power in which the loci of political decision-making and the decision-makers themselves became less accessible (Anderson 1994:120, 1999:220; DePratter 1983:207-208; Wesson 1998:109). Although there certainly were social and political distinctions among individuals and kin groups in the community at all times at Town Creek, it appears that the mound was built at a time when there was not an

exclusive association between these distinctions and public architecture. While leadership roles existed, it seems that their continuation required the community's support and consent.

## Endnotes to Chapter 6

1. Some vessels from Enclosed Circular and Small Circular Structures were grave goods that were intentionally placed with individuals at the time of their burial. The assemblages from the pre-mound public buildings as well as the Enclosed Circular, Small Circular, Medium Rectangular, and Large Rectangular structure types came from features and nonfeature deposits located within buildings. The rims that came from the fill of features may represent refuse that was intentionally discarded in pits. However, since there are few trash-filled features at Town Creek, most of these rims probably represent primary refuse (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999:21; Schiffer 1987:58), sherds that were lost during the course of daily activities and incorporated into structure floors. These sherds were probably within the soil matrix of structure floors and they made their way into feature and burial fill as incidental inclusions when pits were excavated and filled. This especially would have been true for burial fill since these pits would have been excavated and filled in a relatively short period of time. It is likely that the sherds from nonfeature contexts, that is, general excavation levels, within structures also represent primary refuse. The sherds from the mound-flank midden Level X and the riverbank midden came from accumulations of intentionally discarded debris. Level X is a midden that was located along the southern flank of the mound. This context dates to the late Town Creek phase and it probably represents debris associated with the buildings on the summit of the first mound stage (see Reid 1985; Smith and Williams 1994). The mound-flank midden sherds used in this analysis include some that were excavated in the field as Level X and some from a mound-flank midden, that seems to be the same as Level X, encountered by Coe (1995:62-63) in his first test pit into the mound in 1937 (Figure 3.32). The riverbank midden is a deep, stratified deposit located along the west bank of the Little River. The depth and density of the riverbank midden indicates that it may represent a communal trash dump.

## Chapter 7: Conclusions

Town Creek clearly was an important place in the Pee Dee River valley for thousands of years. Stone tools indicate that the site was first occupied during the Early Archaic period (8000-6000 B.C.) (Coe 1995:Table 10.1) and European trade goods indicate a Native American presence at the site, at least intermittently, through the Protohistoric Caraway phase (A.D. 1500-1700). The presence during the Late Woodland period (ca. A.D. 800-1000) of burials within an enclosure and the apparent repetitive placement of burials, pits, and postholes within a circular ditch feature suggests that the performance of mortuary rituals may have been an important activity at Town Creek during this time. This would be consistent with the importance of mortuary ritual that is known to have existed in numerous Woodland societies across the Southeast (Steponaitis 1986:379).

These more prominent archaeological signatures at Town Creek during the Late Woodland period indicate that activities at this time were more intense and of a longer duration than previously in the site's history. It is possible that local populations were increasing and becoming more sedentary. The Late Woodland structure at Town Creek may have been covered with a low mound similar to those found in the Late Woodland and Early Mississippian burial-mound tradition in the Sandhills region just to the east of the site (Irwin et al 1999; Ward and Davis 1999:206-210). As increases in population and sedentism possibly led to a "filling" of the landscape in some parts of the Southeast at this time, there may have been an increasing association between groups of people and particular territories

(Muller 1997:136-137). Some of the ways a group could have marked its territory include the construction of monuments and the interment of burials, both of which would have provided tangible, immutable evidence of affiliation and ownership (Charles and Buikstra 1983:117; Schroedl and Boyd 1991:83). If the Late Woodland structure at Town Creek had been covered after its destruction by a mound, this monument may have served as a marker of tenure for a group of people living in the vicinity. The act of interring individuals within the Late Woodland structure and essentially turning it into a cemetery could have been a statement about the strength of the group's ties to Town Creek and its vicinity. There is little evidence that this Late Woodland group actually lived at Town Creek, although the intensity and nature of the Late Woodland and other pre-Pee Dee components at the site were only peripheral to this research and are deserving of a much fuller investigation. If there was not a Late Woodland settlement at Town Creek, and the site instead consisted solely of a ritual structure that was later covered by a mound, this would be consistent with the fact that the Sandhills burial mounds are not located near known habitation sites (Irwin et al 1999:80; Ward and Davis 1999:207). Thus, it is possible that during the Late Woodland period Town Creek was a small, largely vacant ceremonial center that was used intermittently for mortuary ritual by a group that lived in the vicinity or within a territory that included the site.

The amount of time between the Late Woodland and early Town Creek-phase components is unknown, as is the nature of the activities that took place at Town Creek during this interval. The Late Woodland building at Town Creek appears to have been incorporated into the design of the early Town Creek-phase community, suggesting that there was not much of a time difference between the building's use and the founding of the Mississippian town. The fact that the Late Woodland and Mississippian occupations both

include circular enclosures in which burials were placed suggests continuity between the populations. This contrasts with Coe's (1952:308) initial view of Town Creek's Pee Dee occupation as a cultural intrusion reflecting the migration of people from the Coast into the Piedmont. Although I have not directly tested this idea—and there are indeed methods for doing so (see Blitz and Lorenz 2002)—the apparent continuity between the Late Woodland and early Town Creek-phase occupations of Town Creek would be consistent with the latter developing from the former.

Town Creek may have been occupied during the Teal phase (A.D. 900-1050; cal A.D. 1000-1150). There are several unexcavated or partially excavated architectural elements in the northern part of the site, including palisade lines in the plaza, that probably predate the early Town Creek phase. Future excavations should focus on these elements so that the period that may represent the earliest Mississippian occupation of the site can be better understood.

The major Mississippian occupation of Town Creek began with the establishment of a town during the early Town Creek phase (A.D. 1050-1250; cal A.D. 1150-1250). This settlement consisted of a number of circular houses surrounding the north, south, and east sides of a plaza. The plaza itself contained a large circular enclosure possibly with large posts and a small structure near its center. The circular monument and some of the large posts may have served as a world center shrine and an *axis mundi* (Hall 1996:125; Knight 1985:107). The entire settlement was surrounded by a palisade that was probably rebuilt several times during the Town Creek phase. A series of superimposed, rectangular, public buildings representing at least three construction episodes was located on the west side of the plaza. At least two and perhaps all three of these episodes consisted of a larger, rectangular

building and a smaller, square building. The final set of pre-mound public buildings at Town Creek consisted of a small, square, earth-embanked structure to the west, away from the plaza, joined by an entrance trench to a large, rectangular, lightly constructed structure to the east adjacent to the plaza. Two of the three smaller, square, sub-mound buildings at Town Creek were clearly earth-embanked. These two structures are similar to public buildings found across the Southeast during the Etowah (A.D. 1000-1200) and Savannah (A.D. 1200-1350) periods. These earthlodges represent the earliest public architecture at many of these sites and, as also was the case at Town Creek, many of them were subsequently covered by the construction stages of a platform mound (Crouch 1974; Ferguson 1971:192-193; Rudolph 1984:33-34).

The construction of an earth-embanked structure across from the mound on the eastern side of the plaza at the end of the early Town Creek phase established a public axis that was maintained throughout subsequent occupations. This axis bisected the site along a southwest-northeast line. Public architecture (e.g., the sub-mound public buildings, circular enclosure, large postholes, and earth-embanked structure next the river) was placed on and sometimes oriented to this axis while houses were located to the north and south of this line.

A significant change occurred within the sphere of public architecture during the late Town Creek phase (A.D. 1250-1300; cal. A.D. 1250-1300) with the construction of a platform mound approximately 5 ft in height on the western end of the plaza. Although the construction of a platform mound was a major change, there is clear continuity with the pre-mound public buildings in that the mound covered these earlier buildings and was oriented the same way. Although the first mound summit was not reached by excavations, it is likely—based on the pre-mound buildings, those on subsequent mound summits, and those

at other South Appalachian sites (Polhemus 1987; Smith 1994)—that the structures located on the late Town Creek-phase mound summit consisted of one or two small, square, earth-embanked buildings on the west side of the summit and a large, rectangular, more ephemeral building located on the east side. Two mound stages were added during the Leak phase, but they were much smaller than the initial episode of mound construction. Each Leak-phase mound stage contained an identical arrangement of two small, square structures joined by an entrance trench on the west side of the summit. Although the eastern part of the summit was not present because it had been destroyed by looters, it probably contained a large, open, rectangular structure. Each of the structures that was present had been burned (Coe 1995:81-82), perhaps as part of a ritual destruction intended for public spectacle (see Creel and Anyon 2003:77).

The public axis established during the early Town Creek phase was maintained after mound construction. The large, circular enclosure in the plaza was removed at some point during the Town Creek phase, although it is likely that one or more of the large posts in the plaza remained. It is possible that the largest postholes, those with extraction-insertion ramps, were correlated with mound construction episodes as there are five such posts and at least four mound-construction stages (David Hally, personal communication 2004). The extraction-insertion ramps adjacent to several of the large postholes in the plaza are perpendicular to the site's public axis. A large, rectangular enclosure that surrounded a square structure and two burial clusters was built on the public axis on the eastern side of the plaza adjacent to the riverbank. This enclosure appears to have been oriented relative to two burials that were aligned with features of pre-mound public buildings across the plaza. While the activities performed within the rectangular enclosure are unknown, this clearly was a

special location and the enclosure denotes an intent to demarcate and possibly restrict access to this part of the site.

New structure types appeared after mound construction during the late Town Creek phase on the north and south sides of the plaza. One type was a large, rectangular structure that contained a few, well-spaced burials across its interior. The other was a large, circular enclosure that surrounded a densely packed cemetery with a large number of burials. Structures of these two types do not overlap and they appear to alternate around the edge of the plaza, suggesting that adjacent structures of each type may have been paired together to form a functional unit. It appears that at least four such pairs existed at Town Creek, although patterns are less clear in unexcavated portions of the site.

The fact that the rectangular structures and enclosed cemeteries were located in the domestic portion of the site suggests that they were used by the same lineages that had occupied this area during the early Town Creek phase. It is likely that at least some of the enclosed cemeteries used during the late Town Creek-Leak phases actually began as the locations of houses during the early Town Creek phase. If four or more pairs of rectangular structures and enclosed cemeteries existed at Town Creek, this would approximate the number of clan-based lineages known to have existed in some historic native communities in the Southeast (Gearing 1958:1150; Knight 1990; Swanton 1993:79).

Although the structures to the north and south of the plaza may have been used by the same kin-based groups that lived in these locations during the early Town Creek phase, there is no evidence for clearly domestic architecture in any of the excavated portions of Town Creek following mound construction. Instead, it seems that ancestral house sites were preserved by kin groups through the maintenance of an enclosed cemetery and through the

construction of an adjacent rectangular structure that, based on its size, may have served as a meeting place for the kin group. Mortuary data suggest that burial within the enclosed cemeteries was open to all members of the kin group while burial in the rectangular structures was restricted to a subset of the group. The maintenance of house sites for long periods of time has been recognized in other Mississippian communities and the perpetuation of former house sites as enclosed cemeteries at Town Creek may represent “the physical expression of an ideological emphasis on household identity and continuity through time” (Hally and Kelly 1998:61).

At the large Mississippian site of Moundville in Alabama, pairs of mounds have been interpreted as having supported a mortuary temple and a public building that was an elite residence associated with a particular corporate group (Knight 1998:51-54). These mound pairs are seen as the modular units that collectively constitute Moundville’s impressive configuration of platform mounds (Knight 1998:52). It is plausible that a similar situation existed at Town Creek during the late Town Creek-Leak phases (A.D. 1250-1350; cal. A.D. 1250-1350) with the plaza being surrounded by pairs of structures—consisting of a mortuary facility and a public building—that were associated with individual corporate groups.

The reasons for the changes in architecture to the north and south of the plaza are unclear. The absence of domestic architecture during the late Town Creek-Leak phases suggests that residents of the Town Creek community were dispersed at that time beyond the bounds of the original settlement. At present, the degree of population dispersal is unknown. People could have moved well away from Town Creek and been living in settlements in the surrounding area, or they could have been living just beyond the limits of excavations only tens of feet from the plaza. Although answering this question is a research project in itself

and will not be resolved here, determining the degree of population dispersal that occurred following mound construction could be addressed with survey data from the surrounding area—a great deal of which already exists at the RLA—and systematic testing (e.g., shovel or auger) of the terrace beyond the limits of excavations at the Town Creek site. If populations were more scattered during the late Town Creek-Leak phases, then the rectangular structures and enclosed cemeteries located along the plaza may have been the loci of rituals and gatherings that served the purpose of maintaining ties within these more dispersed groups.

The character of Town Creek following mound construction may have shifted from the presence of houses around the whole site and large-scale mound construction to much smaller mound stages and the absence of any clearly domestic structures. If population decreased at Town Creek following the appearance of the mound, then the decreased level of mound construction that occurred may have been correlated with the declining size of the resident population. The vast majority of the mound was built during the early Town Creek to late Town Creek phase transition (ca. A.D. 1250) when multiple houses were occupied while much smaller constructions stages were added during the Leak phase when the resident population may have been much lower. The relationship between the large, rectangular structures and enclosed cemeteries around the plaza may have been that the former were places where corporate groups met for integrative events while the latter were kin-based cemeteries. If this was the case at Town Creek, then the shift in focus from domestic to ritual activities would parallel the developmental sequence for Moundville, which initially had a large resident population and later became a necropolis to which the dead from surrounding communities were brought for burial (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:18-19; Steponaitis 1998).

Furthermore, Town Creek has been interpreted as a vacant ceremonial center devoted primarily to mortuary ritual (Coe 1995:264-268; Oliver 1992:60). This is an interpretation that many, myself included, have seen as inconsistent with the evidence (Ward and Davis 1999:133). While this interpretation does not fit with the early Town Creek-phase data, the view of Town Creek as a ceremonial center may not be far from the mark for at least one part of its Mississippian occupation—the late Town Creek-Leak phases.

There are clear connections between the mound and the rectangular enclosure. Both are oriented the same and both are located along the site's public axis. Additionally, the most unusual artifacts in the postmound-construction community were associated with burials in these two contexts. It is possible that the mound and rectangular enclosure had an analogous relationship to that between the large, rectangular structures and the enclosed cemeteries, with the mound serving as a public building and the rectangular enclosure being some sort of mortuary facility. A relationship between mound-summit buildings and mortuary structures has been documented both ethnohistorically (O'Neill 1977:240) and archaeologically (Blitz 1993:96; Knight 1998:52; Schnell et al 1981:Figures 2.3 and 2.6) at other Mississippian sites.

Little can be said about the late Leak-phase (ca. A.D. 1350-ca. 1450; cal. A.D. 1350-1450) occupation at Town Creek. At least three square structures with their corners oriented to the cardinal directions were located around the plaza. These three structures appear to be aligned with each other on at least two sides of the plaza. It is possible that small-scale mound construction continued during the late Leak phase, but the upper portions of the mound were too disturbed to define any summit architecture from this occupation. It is likely that the Mississippian occupation at Town Creek ended some time before A.D. 1450.

Town Creek appears to have had a robust Mississippian occupation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but likely was abandoned some time during the fifteenth century. This fits with a broader pattern of population reorganization and movement in the Southeast at about A.D. 1450 in which many sites—including those along most of the Savannah River Valley—were abandoned (Anderson 1994:326). Such regional-scale abandonment may correlate with prolonged periods of drought that would have undermined the maize-based political and subsistence economies of local Mississippian societies (Anderson 1994:327; Anderson et al. 1995). It is possible that Town Creek, which is located less than 200 miles from these areas, was affected by the same conditions. Whatever the reasons for site abandonment may have been, the Mississippian occupation of Town Creek appears to have ended at some time during the fifteenth century.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR MISSISSIPPIAN RESEARCH

An important assumption underlying many interpretations of Mississippian societies is that the presence of a mound signifies major differences in population dynamics as well as social and political organization (Anderson 1994:80; Hally 1999; Holley 1999:33-35; Lewis and Stout 1998:231-232; Lindauer and Blitz 1997; Milner and Schroeder 1999:96; Muller 1997:275-276; Steponaitis 1978, 1986:389-392). The architectural and mortuary patterns from Town Creek indicate that changes were associated with mound construction. The mound appears at or about the same time that corporate-group public buildings replaced houses around the plaza. Mortuary data indicate that there were changes in the nature of leadership between the premound-construction and postmound-construction communities at Town Creek. The differences in the composition of the burial populations between

pre-mound and post-mound public buildings, with an emphasis on older and mature adults in the former and young adults in the latter, coupled with the presence of new artifact types suggests that the people buried in public spaces following mound construction occupied new social and political roles. An early Town Creek-phase political organization that was more diffuse and representative and that could still be seen as equal to or less important than family and household ties was replaced after mound construction by a form of social and political organization in which some individuals—primarily young adults—were clearly distinct and their ties to a community-wide status, which seems to have been closely related to ritual activities, were more important than their ties to family and household.

While there are clear differences between the pre-mound and post-mound communities at Town Creek, they do not necessarily fit with the expectation that mounds signify hierarchical social and economic relationships. Making a distinction between “elites” and “nonelites” has become an important part of how we investigate Mississippian societies (see Maxham 2000:337-338; Muller 1997:47-50; Steponaitis 1986:389-390). There are a number of cases in the ethnohistoric literature (Butler 1934; Clayton et al 1993; Kenton 1927; McWilliams 1988; O’Neill 1977) and archaeological record (Brown 1971:101; Fowler et al. 1999:187-188; Knight and Steponaitis 1998:18; Peebles and Kus 1977:439) of native Southeastern societies in which there seem to be clear, hierarchical social distinctions between different groups of people. At Town Creek, such stark distinctions are absent from the archaeological record. The differences that do exist are more subtle and relative, although they were surely important to the residents of the Town Creek community. Some people were “elite” in a relative sense in that they were afforded burial in public places, were associated with unique artifacts, and played important roles in community rituals. There is

no evidence, though, that these same people lived substantially different lives than anyone else in the community (see Muller 1997:47-48). This is consistent with numerous ethnohistoric observations of egalitarian village societies in which community leaders were recognized as such and were treated with a certain amount of deference in particular contexts (e.g., council meetings), but that they were treated normally outside of these contexts and were largely indistinguishable from other community members in dress and possessions (Moore 1988:32, 33, 44, 64; Waselkov and Braund 1995:117, 118, 147; Williams 1930:459-460).

There also is no indication that the construction of the mound at Town Creek was accompanied by the centralization of political power. A consistently cited expression of political power in Mississippian societies is the ability of leaders to place their residence on the summit of a platform mound (Brown 1997:475; Milanich et al 1997:118; Steponaitis 1986:386) with the clear statement being that this person was now associated with a symbol of group identity (Knight 1989b:287) and the locus of political authority (Hally 1996, 1999; Knight 1998:60). Ethnohistoric accounts of the Natchez indicate that the chief was identified with the mound on which he lived and that both were treated with the same respect, fear, and deference (Kenton 1927:341 and 431). If the mound summit at Town Creek was the location of the community leader's residence, then the construction of the platform mound over earlier public buildings could be interpreted as a statement about increasing political authority—as proposed in the earthlodge-to-platform mound model (Anderson 1994:119-120, 1999:220; DePratter 1983:207-208; Rudolph 1984:40). There is little evidence for the increased centralization of political authority at Town Creek, however, if the leader's

residence was not located on the mound, but was instead amongst other domestic structures, as was the case during the early Town Creek phase before the mound was built.

Although it is generally accepted that mounds were the loci of elite residences (Holley 1999:28; Lewis et al 1998:17; Payne 1994:155; Steponaitis 1986:390), mound functions were variable (see Blitz 1999:583; Knight 2004:318-319; Lindauer and Blitz 1997:175-176) and there is no compelling reason to think that all mounds by default supported residences. One reason to think that the buildings on the mound summit at Town Creek were not domestic is that the burial populations associated with them are demographically restricted, unlike the much more representative populations associated with the circular structures and enclosed cemeteries around the plaza that were likely associated with households and kin-based groups. Another indication that the summit buildings were not domestic is that their configuration was likely very similar to those of the public buildings that immediately preceded mound construction, all of which were clearly distinct in several ways from contemporaneous domestic structures. The last set of premound public buildings at Town Creek consisted of a large, relatively open area for the gathering of large groups and an adjacent, more restricted structure accessible only to a subset of the community. The vessel data from the mound summit are not consistent with the idea that a residence was located there or that the summit—as the locus of community political authority—was less accessible. Instead, the vessel data suggest that the mound summit was the site of feasting with the target audience being large groups of people. Collectively, the components of the submound and mound-summit public buildings at Town Creek do not resemble houses but instead are reminiscent of historically documented sets of public buildings in the Southeast that consisted of a large pavilion used for public meetings that

involved feasting and an enclosed building to which access was limited (Waselkov and Braund 1995:104-105, Figures 21 and 22).

The inference that mound construction can be equated with political centralization is based on the idea that a residence was placed on a mound that had covered an earlier form of public architecture in which political decisions were made through consensus. If the rectilinear public buildings located on the west side of the plaza at Town Creek began as nonresidential, public buildings and continued as such at least through the Leak phase, then the premise of the earthlodge-to-platform mound model upon which political centralization is inferred is not applicable at Town Creek. While I would not argue that the earthlodge-to-platform mound transition at other sites occurred in exactly the same way, the patterns at Town Creek raise the question at how many other Mississippian mound sites is the model not applicable?

Town Creek is a relatively small mound site located on the periphery of the Mississippian world. As such, one could argue that the findings presented here on social differences and community development are of limited utility for more "typical" Mississippian sites. I argue, however, that the subtle manifestations of social and political differences at Town Creek are important to current Mississippian studies, perhaps more so than the models of hierarchical social relationships that currently dominate our research. When the entire Mississippian world is considered, there are few clear cases of hierarchical social differences that were also imbued with differences in wealth and power and there is little evidence to support the idea that such relationships were typical (see Muller 1997:396-399). This is not to say that social differences did not exist, because they clearly did. Indeed, the mortuary patterns at Town Creek are consistent with the idea that some people occupied

distinctive social and political statuses. However, I believe that there is a tendency to exaggerate the power and privileges that may have been associated with the upper end of these social and political differences. The patterns at Town Creek may, in fact, be more typical of the overwhelming majority of Mississippian mound sites that are exactly like Town Creek, relatively small with a single platform mound (Blitz and Livingood 2004:Figure 7; Payne 1994:80). Unless one assumes that all of these single-mound sites were embedded within the settlement system of a complex chiefdom, an interpretation that has been called into question (see Blitz 1999), then the patterns at Town Creek are likely more reflective of those that existed within a “typical” Mississippian society than are the truly exceptional manifestations of social differences documented archaeologically at Cahokia and Moundville and ethnohistorically among the Natchez.

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I have taken a coarse-grained approach to the study of Town Creek in an attempt to sketch out a history of the native communities that existed there between roughly A.D. 800 and 1700. I see the chronology and community history that I have proposed as models—simplified arrangements of the patterns represented in large amounts of data. I also see the chronology and community history as starting points—models that will be tested, revised, and ultimately reformulated as new data emerge or different perspectives are brought to bear on the data at hand. Significant research potential remains in the existing collections from Town Creek. While I have attempted to take as broad of an approach as possible, there are entire artifact classes—such as stone tools and pipes—that were not incorporated into my research. Also, existing data from Pee Dee sites in the vicinity of Town Creek can be used to

test and revise the interpretations that I have offered. The potential to test my interpretations through new data collected at Town Creek is virtually limitless because many of the features that were documented there have been preserved for future research. Whoever does fieldwork at Town Creek next will have the luxury of knowing where a number of unexcavated structures are located.

Town Creek is important, both to the history of archaeology and to the study of native groups in the Southeast. Joffre Coe's initial work at Town Creek and his vision for long-term research at the site set a course that profoundly affected the direction of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina, the development of a number of archaeologists that went on to careers in the Southeast and beyond, and North Carolina archaeology as a whole. His legacy as well as that of all the people who ever worked at Town Creek—from the field directors to the now anonymous WPA laborers—endures to this day as Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site. This legacy also endures in the important research collection, generated by decades of fieldwork, which will be a significant resource for the investigation of Native Americans in North Carolina and the Southeast for generations to come.

Context	Age <sup>a</sup>	Age Class	Sex	Burial Type	NAT	Artifacts
Late Woodland						
Structure 18 (Mg3)						
Bu. 128	> 18 y	young adult	male?	flexed	1	cache of flakes
Bu. 134	10 ± 3 y	adolescent	youth	ind.		
Bu. 135	> 30 y	mature adult	male	flexed	2	2 stone pipes; 1 carved stone face
Bu. 136	13 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Bu. 152	> 18 y	young adult	male?	flexed		
Bu. 153	30 ± 5 y	mature adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 154	40 ± 10 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Small Circular						
Structure 2 (Mg2)						
Bu. 33	> 18 y	young adult	male	flexed	1	1 chipped stone projectile point
Bu. 34	40 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed	1	1 small columella bead
Bu. 35	no bones taken	ind.	youth	urn	3	marine shell beads; 1 ceramic urn and cover
Bu. 52	13 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Bu. 53	> 21 y	young adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 53a	1 m	child	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 54	> 30 y	mature adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 55	26 ± 7 y	mature adult	female?	extended		
Bu. 56	6 ± 2	adolescent	youth	ind.		
Bu. 57	19 ± 3 y	young adult	female?	flexed		
Bu. 58	> 15 y	young adult	ind.	ind.		
Structure 5a (Mg2)						
Bu. 2b	> 18 y	young adult	male?	ind.		
Bu. 8	> 30 y	mature adult	female?	flexed		
Bu. 9	na	na	na	no drawing		
Bu. 37	> 15 y	young adult	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 38	> 18 y	young adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 39	6 ± 3 m	child	youth	flexed		
Bu. 47	> 30 y	mature adult	ind.	flexed	1	7 copper fragments
Bu. 51	na	na	na	ind.		
Structure 6 (Mg3)						
Bu. 129a	13 ± 3 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Bu. 129b	> 21 y	young adult	male	no notes		
Bu. 130	27 ± 6 y	mature adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 130a	2y ± 8 m	child	youth	flexed		
Bu. 130b	18 ± 6 m	child	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 131	> 21 y	young adult	female?	flexed		
Bu. 131a	2y ± 8 m	child	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 132	> 21 y	young adult	female	flexed	1	1 chipped stone projectile point
Bu. 137	42 ± 5 y	older adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 138	12 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	flexed	2	32 small columella beads; 1 pottery pipe

Context	Age	Age Class	Sex	Burial Type	NAT	Artifacts
Bu. 139	few bones taken	ind.	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 140	> 18 y	young adult	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 141	17 ± 2 y	young adult	female?	extended		
Bu. 142	45 ± 7 y	older adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 142a	4.5 + 1	child	youth	no notes		
Bu. 143	> 30 y	mature adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 144	2 y ± 8 m	child	youth	flexed		
Bu. 145	> 21 y	young adult	female?	ind.		
Structure 12 (Mg3)						
Bu. 6	> 30 y	mature adult	ind.	flexed	1	2 rocks
Bu. 12	25 ± 5 y	mature adult	female?	flexed	1	1 quartzite pebble
Bu. 13	5 y ± 16 m	child	youth	ind.		
Bu. 15	9 ± 3 m	child	youth	um		
Bu. 16	no bones taken	child	youth	um	2	1 ceramic urn; 1 pebble
Bu. 17	> 30 y	mature adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 18	16 ± 3 y	young adult	female?	flexed		
Bu. 19	> 30 y	mature adult	male	flexed	1	12 small columella beads
Bu. 21	7 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Bu. 22	> 21 y	young adult	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 24	no bones taken	child	youth	um	2	1 small unmodified columella bead, 6 large unmodified columella beads; 1 ceramic urn
Bu. 25	1.5 y ± 6 m	child	youth	um	2	9 small columella beads; 1 ceramic urn
Bu. 30	> 21 y	young adult	female?	flexed	2	shell beads; copper fragments
Bu. 31	7.5 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Fea. 17	na	na	youth	um		
Fea. 18	na	na	youth	um		
Structure 14 (Mg3)						
Bu. 43	29 ± 5 y	mature adult	female	flexed	3	23 medium columella beads; 1 Pine Island shell gorget; 1 shell disc
Bu. 45	18 ± 2 y	young adult	female?	flexed	1	pottery beads
Bu. 46	45 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 47	15 ± 3 y	young adult	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 48	45 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 49	40 ± 5 y	older adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 50	35 ± 6 y	older adult	male	extended	3	20 large polished columella beads; 1 copper axe; 1 rock
Structure 21b (Mg3)						
Bu. 77	11 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	flexed	1	3 rocks
Bu. 78	11 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Bu. 79	16 ± 3 y	young adult	ind.	flexed		
Structure 49 (Mg3)						
Bu. 66	> 21 y	young adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 67	> 30 y	mature adult	male?	flexed		
Bu. 68	> 30 y	mature adult	female?	extended	2	1 chipped stone projectile point; 1 rock
Bu. 68a	missing	child	youth	um	4	9 small columella beads; 1 Pine Island shell gorget; 1 ceramic urn; 1 quartz piece

Context	Age	Age Class	Sex	Burial Type	NAT	Artifacts
Bu. 69	36 ± 6 y	older adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 70	> 40 y	older adult	female?	flexed	2	1 rock; 1 celt blank
Bu. 71	> 40 y	older adult	female?	flexed		
Bu. 72	41 ± 10 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 75	> 12 y	adolescent	youth	flexed	2	1 hammerstone; 1 rock
Enclosed Circular						
Structure 1 (Mg2)						
Bu. 1a	> 30 y	mature adult	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 1b	25 ± 5 y	mature adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 2a	2 m	child	youth	um	3	22 small columella beads; 1 ceramic um and cover
Bu. 5	> 18 y	young adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 12	12 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Bu. 12a	9 ± 1 y	adolescent	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 12b	9 m to 1 y	child	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 13	> 21 y	young adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 14a	> 21 y	young adult	female	ind.		
Bu. 14b	16 ± 2 y	young adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 14c	3 ± 2 m	child	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 15	> 30 y	mature adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 16	> 40 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 17	> 21 y	young adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 18	na	na	na	flexed		
Bu. 19	na	na	na	flexed		
Bu. 20	na	adult	male	extended		
Bu. 21	45 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 22	> 18 y	young adult	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 23	> 40 y	older adult	ind.	flexed	1	2 chipped stone projectile points
Bu. 24	> 30 y	mature adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 25	> 40 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 26	49 ± 11 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 27	35 ± 8 y	older adult	male	flexed	1	1 antler projectile point
Bu. 28	> 30 y	mature adult	female?	disarticulated		
Bu. 29	> 30 y	mature adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 29a	30 ± 10 y	mature adult	ind.	no drawing		
Bu. 30	> 21 y	young adult	female	bundle	1	copper fragments
Bu. 31	6 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Bu. 32	> 18 y	young adult	ind.	extended		
Structure 7 (Mg3)						
Bu. 86	37 ± 6 y	older adult	female	ind.	1	1 awl
Bu. 87	37 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed	1	1 rock
Bu. 87a	adult	adult	ind.	no notes		
Bu. 88	2 y ± 8 m	child	youth	flexed	1	154 small columella beads

Context	Age	Age Class	Sex	Burial Type	NAT	Artifacts
Bu. 89	42 ± 7 y	older adult	male	flexed	1	2 rocks
Bu. 90	> 18 y	young adult	male	extended		
Bu. 91	6 ± 3 m	child	youth	flexed		
Bu. 92	50 ± 10 y	older adult	male	flexed	1	copper fragments
Bu. 93	< 6 m	child	youth	extended		
Bu. 94	2.5 y ± 10 m	child	youth	flexed	1	69 small columella beads, 4 medium columella beads
Bu. 95	26 ± 5 y	mature adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 96	47 ± 5 y	older adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 97	neonate	child	youth	urn	3	31 small columella beads; 1 ceramic urn and cover
Bu. 98	3 ± 2 m	child	youth	urn	2	1 ceramic urn; 1 rock
Bu. 99	45 ± 7 y	older adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 100	12 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	flexed	1	44 small columella beads, 7 medium columella beads
Bu. 101	40 ± 5 y	older adult	female	flexed	2	27 small columella beads; 1 marginella bead
Bu. 102	6 ± 3 m	child	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 102a	4.5 ± 1 y	child	youth	urn	2	1 ceramic urn and cover
Bu. 103	no bones taken	child	youth	urn	1	1 ceramic urn
Bu. 104	1 y ± 4 m	child	youth	ind.		
Bu. 105	20 ± 3 y	young adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 106	27 ± 6 y	mature adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 107	20 ± 3 y	young adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 108	8 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	flexed	1	2 ceramic vessels
Bu. 109	4 ± 1 y	child	youth	ind.	3	10 small columella beads; 63 marginella beads; pottery beads
Bu. 109a	2 ± 2 m	child	youth	ind.		
Bu. 110	40 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 111	1.5 y ± 6 m	child	youth	flexed	2	829 small columella beads, 16 medium columella beads; 2 conch shoulder gorgets
Bu. 112	11 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	flexed	2	1 small columella bead; 1 bone bead
Bu. 112a	3 ± 2 m	child	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 113	3 ± 2 m	child	youth	urn	3	3 small columella beads; 1 ceramic urn and cover
Bu. 114	37 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 115	40 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 116	22 ± 4 y	young adult	male?	ind.		
Bu. 117	30 ± 5 y	mature adult	female	extended		
Bu. 118a	2.5 y ± 10 m	child	youth	ind.	1	2 conch shoulder gorgets
Bu. 118b	2 y ± 8 m	child	youth	ind.		
Bu. 118c	6 ± 3 m	child	youth	ind.		
Bu. 118d	neonate	child	youth	ind.		
Bu. 119	35 ± 5 y	older adult	female	flexed	1	40 small columella beads
Bu. 120	2 y ± 8 m	child	youth	flexed	3	8 medium columella beads, 10 large columella beads; 2 marginella beads; 1 celt
Bu. 121	9 ± 3 m	child	youth	urn	3	132 small polished columella beads; 1 ceramic urn and cover
Bu. 122	2 y ± 8 m	child	youth	ind.	1	84 small columella beads
Bu. 123	40 ± 5 y	older adult	female	flexed	2	2 marginella beads; 1 rock
Bu. 124	6 ± 3 m	child	youth	urn	3	1 bone bead; 1 ceramic urn and cover

Context	Age	Age Class	Sex	Burial Type	NAT	Artifacts
Bu. 124a	3.5 ± 1 y	child	youth	ind.	5	2 small columella beads, 1 medium polished columella bead, 2 disc columella beads; 1655 marginella beads; 92 pottery beads
Bu. 125	35 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed	2	
Bu. 125a	1y ± 6 m	child	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 125b	ind.	ind.	ind.	not recognized in field		
Large Rectangular						
Structure 27 (Mg3)						
Bu. 61	23 ± 3 y	young adult	female	flexed		2 1 deer jaw; 1 pottery disc
Bu. 62a	8 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	multiple; disarticulated	2	
Bu. 62b	9 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	multiple; disarticulated		
Bu. 62c	> 21 y	young adult	ind.	multiple; disarticulated		
Bu. 62d	adult	adult	ind.	multiple; disarticulated		
Bu. 63	> 15 y	young adult	female?	no drawing		
Bu. 80	2 y ± 8 m	child	youth	flexed		
Bu. 81	8 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Bu. 82	6 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Structure 30b (Mg3)						
Bu. 11	35 ± 5 y	older adult	female?	flexed	1	1 quartzite pebble
Bu. 26	> 21 y	young adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 27	> 15 y	young adult	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 28	27 ± 3 y	mature adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 83	42 ± 5 y	older adult	female	flexed		
Small Rectangular						
Structure 5b (Mg2)						
Bu. 40	6 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	ind.		
Fea. 35	ind.	ind.	ind.	ind.		
Medium Rectangular						
Structure 28 (Mg3)						
Bu. 76	10 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		2 29 small columella beads; 1 bone awl
Bu. 84	25 ± 4 y	mature adult	ind.	flexed	2	
Bu. 85	< 2 y	child	youth	flexed		
Premound Public (Mg2)						
Structure 23a						
Bu. 10	6 ± 3 m	child	youth	no drawing		1 1 small columella bead, 13 medium columella beads
Bu. 42	1 m	child	youth	flexed		
Bu. 43	3 ± 2 m	child	youth	flexed	1	
Structure 23c						
Bu. 11	1 y ± 3 m	child	youth	flexed		
Structure 24						
Bu. 3	47 ± 5 y	older adult	female?	flexed		2 76 small columella beads; 6 bone scratchers
Bu. 4	45 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 6	40 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed	2	

Context	Age	Age Class	Sex	Burial Type	NAT	Artifacts
Structure 4a						
Bu. 7	> 30 y	mature adult	female	bundle		
Bu. 36	32 ± 5 y	mature adult	female?	extended		
Bu. 41	27 ± 6 y	mature adult	female	flexed	1	marine shell fragment
Bu. 44	4 ± 1 y	child	youth	extended	2	92 small columella beads; 2 stone beads
Bu. 50	no bones taken	ind.	na	ind.	1	1 ceramic vessel
Structure 4b						
Bu. 45	> 21 y	young adult	female	flexed		
Bu. 46	2 y ± 8 m	child	youth	flexed	1	6 shell pendants
Mound Summit (Mg2)						
Structure 45a						
Bu. 59	> 21 y	young adult	male	flexed	6	13 small columella beads, 10 extra large unmodified beads; 2 chipped stone projectile points; 3 mica ornaments, 2 rattles, 1 lump of red ochre
Bu. 61	> 18 y	young adult	ind.	flexed	1	2 quartz pieces
Structure 45b						
Bu. 60	adult	adult	unknown	flexed	2	mica fragments; 1 rattle
Structure 46a						
Bu. 48	> 21 y	young adult	female	bundle	1	1 shell hair or ear pin
Structure 46b						
Bu. 49	> 21 y	young adult	ind.	bundle		
Enclosure 1 (Mg3)						
Structure 51						
Bu. 9	> 21 y	young adult	ind.	flexed	2	1 large columella bead; 1 large cobble
Bu. 20	adult	adult	male	flexed	6	1 small columella bead; 1 raccoon skull; 1 spittoon-style pottery pipe; 4 chipped stone projectile points; mica fragments; 1 rattle
Bu. 23	21 ± 5 y	young adult	ind.	flexed	2	16 medium unmodified columella beads; mica fragments
Bu. 29	> 18 y	young adult	ind.	ind.		
Bu. 32	few bones taken	ind.	unknown	ind.		
Burial Cluster 11						
Bu. 1	1 y ± 6 m	child	youth	no notes		
Bu. 1a	20 ± 3 y	young adult	female	flexed	2	shell fragments; 1 ceramic um
Bu. 1b	dog	na	na	um		
Bu. 2a	adult	adult	ind.	ind.		
Bu. 3	no bones taken	child	youth	ind.		
Bu. 4	< 18 y	young adult	ind.	ind.		
Bu. 5	18 ± 3 y	young adult	female	flexed	3	4 conch shoulder gorgets; 3 chipped stone projectile points; 1 rattle
Bu. 7	1.25 y ± 5 m	child	youth	flexed	1	shell beads
Bu. 8	40 ± 5 y	older adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 10	25 ± 5 y	mature adult	female	flexed		
Burial Cluster 13						
Bu. 33	> 21 y	young adult	female?	flexed	1	2 stone ear discs
Bu. 36	1.5 y ± 6 m	child	youth	ind.	4	2 ceramic discs; 1 stone disc (ear spool?); 2 copper-covered wooden ear spools; 1 rattle

Context	Age	Age Class	Sex	Burial Type	NAT	Artifacts
Bu. 37	28 ± 4 y	mature adult	female	extended	3	98 small columella beads; 4 bracket-style shell ear pins; 1 copper-covered wooden ear spool
Bu. 38	> 18 y	young adult	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 39	> 30 y	mature adult	female?	flexed		
Bu. 40	14 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Bu. 41	few bones taken	ind.	unknown	flexed	1	deer ulna
Unassigned						
Burial Cluster 14 (Mg3)						
Bu. 42	19 ± 3 y	young adult	female	flexed	2	2 olivella shells; 1 ceramic vessel fragment
Bu. 44	36 ± 5 y	older adult	female	flexed-shaft and chamber	1	6 small columella beads
Bu. 51	3.5 ± 1 y	child	youth	flexed-shaft and chamber	2	1 disc columella bead; 24 glass beads
Bu. 52	1 y ± 3 m	child	youth	flexed-shaft and chamber	3	31 disc columella beads; 1 copper gorget; 24 glass beads
Bu. 53	42 ± 7 y	older adult	female	flexed-shaft and chamber		
Bu. 54	5 ± 2 y	child	youth	flexed		
Burial Cluster 20 (Mg3)						
Bu. 55	no bones taken	ind.	unknown	flexed-shaft and chamber	1	1 glass bead
Bu. 56	missing	ind.	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 57	> 18 y	young adult	male	flexed	6	1 pottery pipe; 1 stone bead; 1 stone scraper; 1 copper bead; 1 brass or copper pendant; 1 quartz piece
Bu. 58	missing	adolescent	youth	flexed	1	1 copper bead
Bu. 59	> 18 y	young adult	male?	flexed		
Bu. 60	> 18 y	young adult	ind.	flexed	1	mica fragments
Bu. 64	> 18 y	young adult	ind.	flexed		
Fea. 34	no bones taken	na	na	no drawing		
Burial Cluster 21 (Mg3)						
Bu. 65	> 21 y	young adult	ind.	bundle	1	7 small columella beads
Bu. 65a	1y ± 4 m	child	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 65b	6 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	not recognized in field		
Bu. 73	12 ± 2.5 y	adolescent	youth	ind.		
Bu. 74	adult	adult	unknown	ind.		
Burial Cluster 40 (Mg3)						
Bu. 126	13 ± 3 y	adolescent	youth	flexed		
Bu. 127	4 ± 1 y	child	youth	ind.		
Bu. 133	> 18 y	young adult	ind.	flexed		
Bu. 146	45 ± 6 y	older adult	male	extended		
Bu. 146a	3 ± 1 y	child	ind.	no notes		
Bu. 147	47 ± 7 y	older adult	female	flexed	1	1 ceramic vessel
Bu. 148a	4 ± 1 y	child	youth	ind.		
Bu. 148b	> 30 y	mature adult	ind.	not recognized in field		
Bu. 149	> 21 y	young adult	male	flexed		
Bu. 150	ind.	ind.	ind.	ind.		
Bu. 151	6 ± 2 y	adolescent	youth	ind.	1	1 rock

<sup>a</sup> Age and sex data are from Davis et al. 1996 and Driscoll 2001.

Accession and Specimen No.	Provenience		Vessel Attributes					Use Alterations					
	Provenience	Associated Architecture or Strata	Analytic Provenience	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	% of Rim	Vessel Type	Exterior		Interior			
							Thermal Alteration	Sooting	Heavy Pitting	Light Pitting	Heavy Scratching	Light Scratching	
Leak (Rh1)													
11p10	surface			burnished plain	38	50	rest. bowl	no	no	no	yes	no	no
11p2	surface			burnished plain	31	50	med. open bowl	no	no	no	yes	no	no
11p3	surface			curv. comp. st.	41	20	med. rest. jar	yes	no	yes	no	no	no
11p3	surface			curv. comp. st.	42	10	med. rest. jar	ind	no	no	yes	no	no
11p7	surface			curv. comp. st.	41	30	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	no	no	yes
11p8	surface			check st.	47	40	med. rest. jar						
11p9	surface			curv. comp. st.	42		med. rest. jar						
2008p1	surface			plain	19	15	med. open bowl						
2008p1	surface			burnished plain	24	10	med. open bowl						
2008p1	surface			burnished plain	24	25	med. open bowl						
2008p1	surface			burnished plain	31	10	med. open bowl						
2008p1	surface			burnished plain	35	40	med. open bowl						
2008p1	surface			burnished plain	30	10	rest. bowl						
2008p1	surface			burnished plain	33	10	rest. bowl						
2008p1	surface			curv. comp. st.	40	15	med. rest. jar						
2101p121	surface			burnished plain	13	20	sm. car. bowl	yes	no	no	no	no	yes
2101p121	surface			burnished plain	35	70	med. open bowl						
2101p121	surface			simple stamped	34		med. open jar						
2101p121	surface			brushed	33	15	med. rest. jar						
2101p121	surface			curv. comp. st.	19	25	med. rest. jar	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
2101p121	surface			stamped	16	15	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	no	no	no
none	surface			curv. comp. st.	36.5	100	med. open bowl	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
none	surface			burnished plain	8	100	car. jar	yes	no	no	no	no	no
none	surface			curv. comp. st.	23	100	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
none	surface			burnished plain	21	50	med. rest. jar						
Town Creek (Mg2)													
1094p1	surface			curv. comp. st.	29	20	med. rest. jar	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
313p3378				curv. comp. st.	15	1	med. rest. jar	no	no	no	no	no	no
314p61	Sq. -20R70	Struct. 2	Sm. Circ.	burnished plain	19	15	rest. bowl						
314p85	Sq. 40-50R10	Mound summit		cob impressed	16	12	med. rest. jar						
34p104	Sq. 10R10	Level X	Level X	curv. comp. st.	32	10	med. rest. jar						
34p11	Prelim. Trench I	Mound	Level X	curv. comp. st.	34	na	med. rest. jar						
34p11	Prelim. Trench I	Mound	Level X	curv. comp. st.	36	na	med. rest. jar						
34p11	Prelim. Trench I	Mound	Level X	rect. comp. st.	20	10	uid jar						
34p117	Sq. 10R20	Level A		curv. comp. st.	15	15	med. rest. jar						
34p118	Fea. 21	Struct. 24	Premound public	curv. comp. st.	46	10	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes

Accession and Specimen No.	Provenience			Vessel Attributes				Use Alterations						
	Provenience	Associated Architecture or Strata	Analytic Provenience	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	% of Rim	Vessel Type	Exterior		Interior				
								Thermal Alteration	Sooting	Heavy Pitting	Light Pitting	Heavy Scratching	Light Scratching	
34p16	Prelim. Trench III	Mound		burnished plain	22	10	rest. bowl							
34p21	Sq. 0R10	Struct. 1	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	31	na	med. rest. jar							
34p23	Sq. BL0	Struct. 1	Enc. Circ.	burnished plain	16	15	med. open bowl							
34p23	Sq. BL0	Struct. 1	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	23	100	med. rest. jar	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	yes
34p24	BL0	Struct. 1	Enc. Circ.	plain	20	100	med. rest. jar	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
34p316	Sq. 40R40	Struct. 4 or 23	Premound public	curv. comp. st.	22	17	med. rest. jar							
34p377	Sq. 60R50	Level A		curv. comp. st.	31	10	med. rest. jar							
34p379	Sq. 60R50	Level A		burnished plain	35	na	rest. bowl							
34p424	Sq. 80R10-30	Level A		curv. comp. st.	22	15	med. rest. jar							
34p448	Sq. 50R50	Struct. 4a or 23c	Premound public	burnished plain	26		med. car. bowl	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
34p451	Sq. 50R50	Struct. 4a or 4b	Premound public	plain	25	10	med. open bowl							
34p452	Sq. 50R50	Struct. 4a or 4b	Premound public	unidentified	21	10	med. rest. jar							
34p457	Sq. 50R30	Level A		plain	8	25	sm. open bowl							
34p465	Fea. 17	Struct. 24	Premound public	stamped	11		sm. rest. jar	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
34p469	Sq. 50R30	Moundfill		curv. comp. st.	21	20	med. rest. jar							
34p472	Sq. 50R40	Moundfill		curv. comp. st.	28		med. open jar							
34p56	Sq. 0R20	Level A		rect. comp. st.	32	15	med. rest. jar							
34p68	Sq. 0R30	Struct. 1 or 24	Premound public	rect. comp. st.	18	15	med. open jar							
34p83	Sq. BL10	Level X	Level X	burnished plain	20	15	rest. bowl							
34p83	0 Trench			burnished plain	21	12	rest. bowl							
34p83	0 Trench			burnished plain	23	12	uid jar							
34p88	Sq. 10R20	Struct. 24	Premound public	textile impressed	11	20	sm. rest. jar	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
34p93	Sq. BL10	Level X	Level X	curv. comp. st.	20	15	med. open bowl							
34p93	Sq. BL10	Level X	Level X	burnished plain	25	10	rest. bowl							
34p93	Sq. BL10	Level X	Level X	burnished plain	31	15	rest. bowl							
34p93	Sq. BL10	Level X	Level X	stamped	34	na	med. open jar							
61p143	Bu. XVII	Struct. 1	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	14	15	med. rest. jar							
61p85	Sq. 50R30	Struct. 4b	Premound public	curv. comp. st.	16	20	med. rest. jar							
70p1	Backfill			plain	18	15	med. open bowl							
70p1152	Bu. 35	Struct. 2	Sm. Circ.	textile impressed	32.5	100	med. open bowl	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes
70p1152	Bu. 35	Struct. 2	Sm. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	39	100	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no
70p1166	Fea. 27	Struct. 4a or 4b	Premound public	curv. comp. st.	10.5	100	sm. rest. jar	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes
70p12	Sq. 0R50	Level A		rect. comp. st.	36	10	med. rest. jar							
70p160	Sq. 50R40	Struct. 4b	Premound public	burnished plain	11	100	sm. rest. jar	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
70p174	Sq. 50R40	Level A		curv. comp. st.	18	15	med. rest. jar							
70p185	Sq. 50R40	Level A		curv. comp. st.	37	15	med. rest. jar							
70p320	Sq. 60R30	Level A		curv. comp. st.	44	10	med. rest. jar							
70p344	Backfill			comp. st.	22	10	uid jar							

Accession and Specimen No.	Provenience			Vessel Attributes				Use Alterations						
	Provenience	Associated Architecture or Strata	Analytic Provenience	Surface Treatment	Diameter % of		Vessel Type	Exterior		Interior				
					(cm)	Rim		Thermal Alteration	Sooting	Heavy Pitting	Light Pitting	Heavy Scratching	Light Scratching	
70p470	Sq. 70R70			textile impressed	22	10	med. open bowl							
70p640	Sq. 10	Level X	Level X	curv. comp. st.	32	10	med. open bowl							
Town Creek (Mg3)														
1040p1067	Bu. 89	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	burnished plain	26	10	rest. bowl							
1040p1305	Bu. 95 & 96	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	rect. comp. st.	28	15	med. rest. jar							
1040p1310	Bu. 97	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	plain	37	na	med. open bowl							
1040p1314	Bu. 98b	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	31	15	med. open bowl	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no
1040p1322	Bu. 102	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	33	25	med. rest. jar	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes
1040p1322	Bu. 102	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	plain	31	100	med. open bowl	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
1040p1323	Bus. 102-107	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	rect. comp. st.	45	35	med. rest. jar	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
1040p1351	Bu. 113	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	cob impressed	8	100	sm. open jar	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
1040p1351	Bu. 113	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	36	70	med. rest. jar	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	no
1040p1351	Bu. 113	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	36	100	med. open bowl	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	no
1040p1369	Bu. 120	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	check st.	24	10	med. rest. jar							
1040p1370	Bu. 121	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	31	15	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
1040p1429	Sq. 80L120	Struct. 8	Sm. Circ.	wide curv. comp. st.	21	15	med. rest. jar							
1040p1560	Sq. 60L100	Struct. 9b		curv. comp. st.	30	10	med. rest. jar							
1040p2836	Sq. -140L70	Struct. 16	Med. Rect.	curv. comp. st.	26	20	med. rest. jar							
1040p3266	Bu. 108	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	rect. comp. st.	11.5	100	sm. open bowl	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
1040p973	Sq. 70L160	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	rect. comp. st.	17	20	med. rest. jar							
2022p465	Sq. -190L10			curv. comp. st.	23	10	med. rest. jar							
2022p766	Bu. 124	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	30	100	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
2022p769	Burial House	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	11.5	25	sm. rest. jar	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
2121p843	Bu. 146	Burial Cluster 40		curv. comp. st.	22	10	med. rest. jar							
2121p853	Bu. 147		net impressed	14	25	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
313p1427	Sq. -100L70			burnished plain	26	30	rest. bowl	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
313p1427	Sq. -100L70			textile impressed	26	20	med. rest. jar							
313p2245	Sq. -10L90			burnished plain	36	40	large car. bowl	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
313p2373	Sq. -30L100			stamped	41	15	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
313p265	Sq. -160R10			curv. comp. st.	28	15	med. rest. jar							
313p27	Sq. -100R95	Riverbank		textile impressed	20	12	med. rest. jar							
313p3083	Sq. 160-170L40	Struct. 15b	Enc. Circ.	plain	42	na	large open bowl							
313p4113	Sq. 90L190	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	plain	11	15	sm. open bowl							
313p4118	Sq. 90L190	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	burnished plain	33	10	med. open bowl							
313p4582	Sq. -10L60			burnished plain	16	5	med. open bowl	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
313p4582	Sq. -10L60			burnished plain	18	15	med. open bowl							
313p4821	Sq. -20L80			burnished plain	29	10	rest. bowl							
313p5152	Sq. -30L70			plain	20	10	med. open bowl							

Accession and Specimen No.	Provenience		Vessel Attributes				Use Alterations							
	Provenience	Associated Architecture or Strata	Analytic Provenience	Surface Treatment	Diameter % of		Vessel Type	Exterior		Interior				
					(cm)	Rim		Thermal Alteration	Sooting	Heavy Pitting	Light Pitting	Heavy Scratching	Light Scratching	
313p5864	surface			rect. comp. st.	27	15	med. rest. jar							
313p747	Sq. -160L90			burnished plain	30	15	rest. bowl							
313p799	Sq. -120L90			curv. comp. st.	30		med. rest. jar							
60p26	Fea. 3	Burial Cluster 11		curv. comp. st.	34	5	med. rest. jar	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
60p30	Bu. 3	Burial Cluster 11		curv. comp. st.	36	40	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
60p31	Bu. 3	Burial Cluster 11		burnished plain	34	25	rest. bowl	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
60p31	Bu. 3	Burial Cluster 11		burnished plain	38	15	rest. bowl							
60p31	Bu. 3	Burial Cluster 11		burnished plain	42	15	large open bowl							
700p114	Sq. 60L20	Struct. 10	Enc. Circ.	burnished plain	29	15	med. open bowl							
700p1971	Sq. 90L70	Struct. 31	Sm. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	21	15	med. rest. jar							
700p1971	Sq. 90L70	Struct. 31	Sm. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	21	10	med. rest. jar							
700p2246	Sq. -95R100	Riverbank		textile impressed	31	10	med. open bowl							
700p2280	Sq. -95R110	Riverbank		plain	25	20	med. rest. jar							
700p2302	Sq. -95R95	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	33	15	med. open bowl							
700p2303	Sq. -95R95	Riverbank		plain	6	100	sm. open jar	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
700p2343	Sq. -90R105	Riverbank		rect. comp. st.	17	25	med. rest. jar							
700p2347	Sq. -90R105	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	35	na	med. rest. jar							
700p2351	Sq. -90R105	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	25	10	med. rest. jar							
700p2351	Sq. -90R105	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	29	20	med. rest. jar							
700p2461	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	26	10	med. rest. jar							
700p2482	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		burnished plain	34	na	rest. bowl							
700p2482	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		burnished plain	35	15	rest. bowl	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no
700p2482	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	17	20	med. rest. jar							
700p2482	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		wide rect. comp. st.	27	15	med. open bowl							
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	51	na	large rest. jar							
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	22	25	med. rest. jar							
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	44	na	med. rest. jar							
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		burnished plain	20	15	med. rest. jar							
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		burnished plain	24	15	med. rest. jar							
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		textile impressed	16	15	med. rest. jar							
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		textile impressed	18	30	med. rest. jar	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		unidentified	42	na	med. rest. jar							
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		wide rect. comp. st.	20	15	med. rest. jar							
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		wide rect. comp. st.	24	10	med. rest. jar							
700p2501	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		burnished plain	19	20	sm. car. bowl	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no
700p2511	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	41	25	med. rest. jar	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	no
700p2523	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		plain	21	10	med. rest. jar							
700p2523	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		plain	26	10	med. rest. jar							

Accession and Specimen No.	Provenience			Vessel Attributes				Use Alterations					
	Provenience	Associated Architecture or Strata	Analytic Provenience	Surface Treatment	Diameter % of		Vessel Type	Exterior		Interior			
					(cm)	Rim		Thermal Alteration	Sooting	Heavy Pitting	Light Pitting	Heavy Scratching	Light Scratching
700p2523	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		unidentified	20	15	med. rest. jar						
700p2526	Sq. -85R100	Riverbank		plain	35	na	med. open bowl						
700p2561	Sq. 50L10	Struct. 30b	Large Rect.	rect. comp. st.	27	15	med. rest. jar						
700p3567	Sq. 40L150	Struct. 28	Med. Rect.	rect. comp. st.	29	20	med. rest. jar						
700p3769	Sq. 30L160	Struct. 28	Med. Rect.	burnished plain	22	10	med. open bowl						
700p3822	Sq. 40L160	Struct. 28	Med. Rect.	curv. comp. st.	47	100	large open jar	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no
700p421	Sq. -100R105	Riverbank		rect. comp. st.	20	10	med. rest. jar						
700p444	Sq. -100R110	Riverbank		plain	29	15	med. open bowl						
700p533	Sq. 20L80			burnished plain	22	20	med. open bowl						
700p538	Sq. 20L80	Struct. 9a	Med. Rect.	rect. comp. st.	32	50	med. rest. jar	no	no	no	yes	no	yes
700p685	Sq. 30L80	Struct. 9a	Med. Rect.	curv. comp. st.	22	10	med. rest. jar						
71p225	Riverbank Test Pit 1	Riverbank		curv. comp. st.	40	15	med. rest. jar	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
71p293	Fea. 13			unidentified	30	15	uid jar						
71p333	Sq. 40L10	Struct. 30b	Large Rect.	curv. comp. st.	26	10	med. rest. jar						
71p37	Sq. -20R10	Struct. 51		curv. comp. st.	24	10	med. rest. jar						
71p52	Bu. 1a	Burial Cluster 11		curv. comp. st.	50	50	large open jar						
71p52	Sq. -10R10	Burial Cluster 11		wide rect. comp. st.	23	15	med. open jar	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
71p52	Sq. -10R10	Burial Cluster 11		burnished plain	18	20	med. open bowl						
71p55	Sq. 0R10	Burial Cluster 11		curv. comp. st.	34	14	med. rest. jar						
71p582	Riverbank Test Pit 1	Riverbank		textile impressed	38		med. rest. jar						
71p815	Bu. 42	Burial Cluster 14		plain	29	20	med. open bowl	no	no	no	no	no	no
none	Bu. 103	Struct. 7	Enc. Circ.	curv. comp. st.	12	20	sm. open bowl	no	no	no	yes	no	no
Teal (An1)													
322p1	surface			curv. comp. st.	17	15	med. rest. jar						
322p1	surface			curv. comp. st.	46		med. rest. jar	no	no	yes	no	yes	no
322p1	surface			rect. comp. st.	29	10	med. rest. jar						
322p1	surface			fine cordmarked	31	10	med. rest. jar						
322p12	surface			burnished plain	29	25	med. open bowl						
930p9	surface			curv. comp. st.	52	100	large open jar	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
951p73	surface			curv. comp. st.	28	10	med. rest. jar						
Unknown (Leak, Teal, or Town Creek)													
none	unknown			burnished plain	44	100	large open bowl	no	no	no	yes	no	no
none	unknown			curv. comp. st.	42	100	large open jar	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no
none	unknown			curv. comp. st.	46	100	med. rest. jar	no	no	no	no	yes	no
none	unknown			rect. comp. st.	43.5	100	med. rest. jar	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
none	unknown			rect. comp. st.	45.5	100	med. rest. jar	yes	no	yes	no	no	no

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