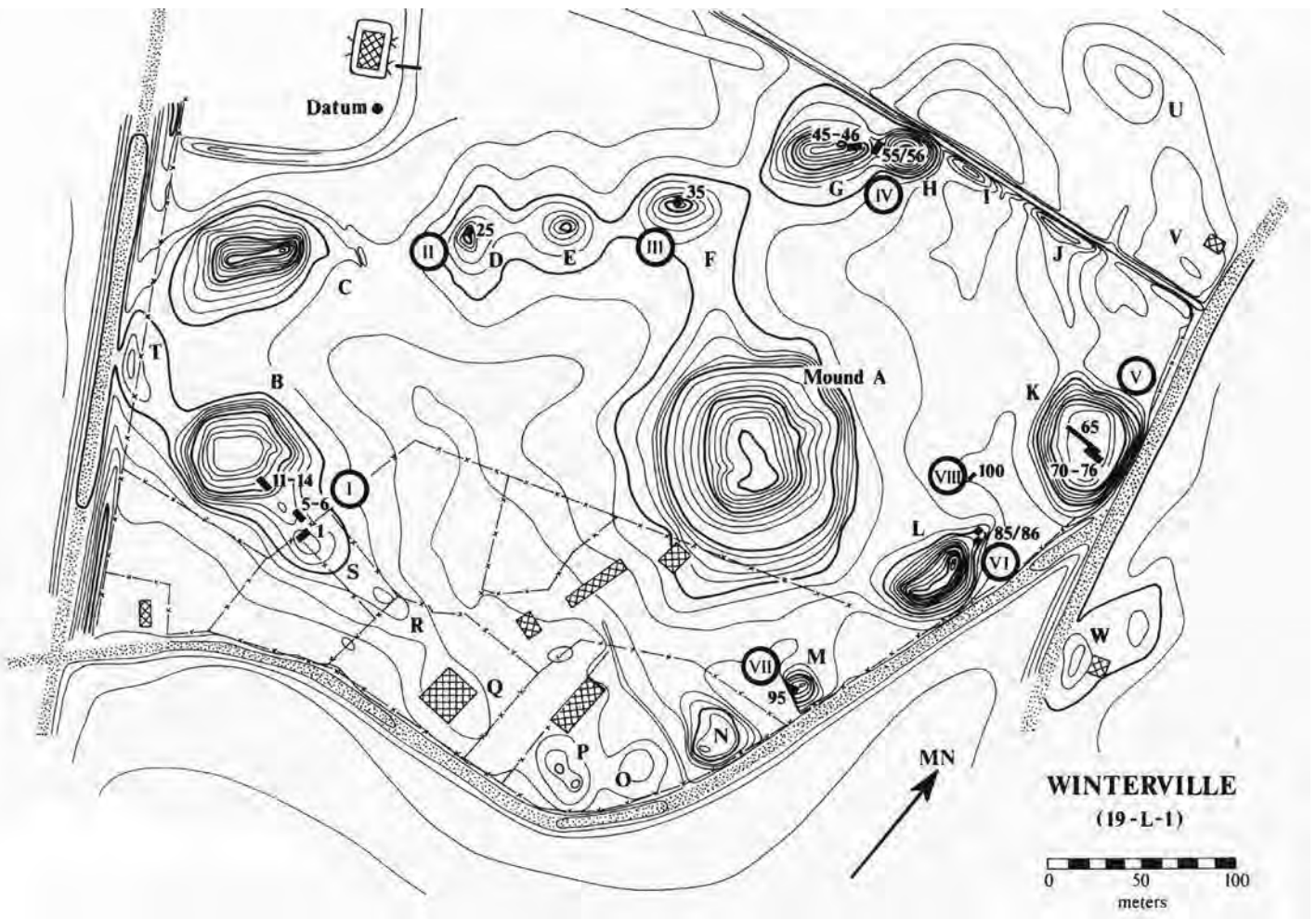


# WINTERVILLE

LATE PREHISTORIC CULTURE CONTACT  
IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

JEFFREY P. BRAIN



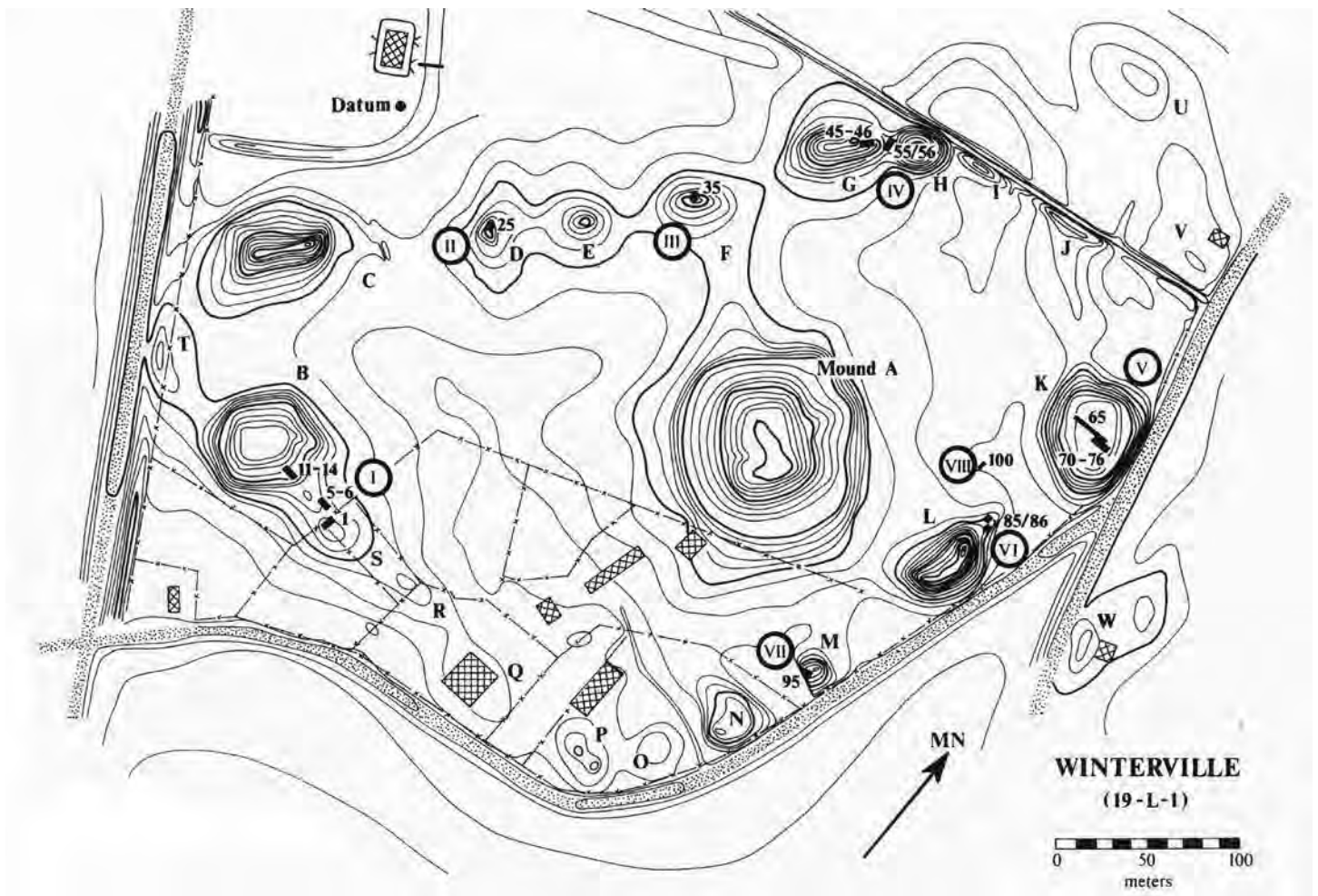
ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT NO. 23  
MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY  
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI



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MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY  
Archaeological Report No. 23

Patricia Kay Galloway  
Series Editor

Elbert R. Hilliard  
Director

This volume  
is dedicated to  
Clarence B. Moore  
who was disappointed in  
Winterville  
but whose works may still be read profitably  
by the southeastern archaeologist  
and to  
Stephen Williams  
who recognized the potential of  
Winterville  
and inspired the author's investigations

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## Preface

One of the most intriguing problems in the late prehistory of the southeastern United States is the development of the Mississippian culture and its impact on other cultural developments. While some of the more dramatic examples of Mississippian contact and acculturation have been explored, there has been no inquiry into a more subtle, and potentially more rewarding, case of Mississippianizing transculturation, which in the light of other evidence would contribute greatly to an understanding of the nature of this climactic phenomenon. Such an opportunity is afforded by the Winterville site in the Yazoo Basin region of the Lower Mississippi Valley.

At the time of its initial occupation, Winterville was situated at the extreme southern margin of direct Mississippian influence from the northern part of the Lower Valley, and at the northern limit of the equally viable Coles Creek culture in the southern part of the valley. The focus of study is upon the contact of these two dynamic cultures at Winterville and the resultant cultural development in the Yazoo and contiguous regions. The objective of this report is therefore to reconstruct the culture history of the Winterville site as a key to recognizing the processes of cultural dynamics in a particular spatial and temporal context and correlating of these processes with the larger phenomenon of the Mississippian culture.

This report will commence, then, with an archaeological description of Winterville, which includes background information, summary of the fieldwork, and classification of the cultural remains. These data are then synthesized in order to define the basic units prerequisite for the interpretation of the patterns (and ultimately processes) of the culture

change—i.e., cultural dynamics—at Winterville and in the Yazoo region. Next the significance of these patterns is considered in the larger context of the Lower Mississippi Valley and, finally, southeastern prehistory. The pattern of culture change manifested at Winterville turns out to be substantially different from that observed at contemporary sites in other regions, whose peoples were formerly presumed to have shared similar interactive experience. This presumption may have been faulty. At Winterville the initial contact between two cultural traditions at what appears to have been a relatively equal stage of development seems to have resulted in a distinctive reaction: a vitally successful transculturation which elaborated into a local climax.

This volume is a greatly revised version of a doctoral dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School, Yale University (Brain 1969). The intervening years have allowed time for some of the themes developed in that thesis to mature and provide the foundation for new hypotheses. There is no doubt that more time would foster yet more, and better, theories. But the basic excavation data from this important site would remain unchanged and, since they form the bulk and most significant contribution of the volume, they should be withheld no longer. The overview presented in Chapter 7 was originally prepared for the School of American Research Advanced Seminar “Reviewing Mississippian Development” convened at Santa Fe by Stephen Williams in 1974. Additional perspective and data have been presented by Brain (1978), and Williams and Brain (1983).





## Acknowledgements

The Winterville project was first suggested by Stephen Williams in the summer of 1966. He had been informed that the Mississippi State Park Commission desired an excavation at its new state park in order to obtain information and material for display in the museum then being erected on the premises. After enlisting my participation, Williams stayed with the project until its completion, offering advice and support as necessary.

The project was made possible through the generosity of the Peabody Museum and the Lower Mississippi Survey of Harvard University, the Department of Geography and Anthropology of Louisiana State University, and the Applied Science Laboratory of the University of Pennsylvania, all of which loaned the basic equipment required for proper fieldwork. Special purchases, laboratory costs, and contingency expenses were covered by a dissertation research grant from the National Science Foundation, and labor costs by a special grant from the Mississippi State Park Commission. Personal expenses for me and my family were provided by a Yale University Fellowship and by the City of Greenville, Mississippi, which hospitably contributed living accommodations as well as laboratory space and the use of a city vehicle. The author wishes to extend to the above institutions his grateful appreciation for this support, and particularly to acknowledge the aid and encouragement of the following individuals: Stephen Williams (Harvard), William G. Haag (Louisiana State University), Elizabeth K. Ralph (University of Pennsylvania), Robert Foster (Mississippi State Park Commission),

and Mayor Patrick Dunne (City of Greenville).

While I was in the field, many individuals and groups contributed time, effort, and moral support to the investigations. Special thanks are proffered to Mr. and Mrs. Robroy Fisher, who prepared the way for the project, and to G.A. "Doody" Mahony, then superintendent of the Winterville Mounds Park, who graciously provided assistance, companionship, and southern hospitality. The amount of work accomplished is due directly to the cheerful and untiring efforts of the crew foreman, Harvey "Preacher" Davis, Sr., who maintained high standards and an uncommon efficiency under often adverse conditions. Also, to William Hony, Nancy Betterton, David Smith, and Louis Turcotte thanks are due for volunteered efforts during the excavations and in the laboratory. Members of the Winterville and Sunflower chapters of the Mississippi Archaeological Association were generous in providing information and aid as the occasions arose. Of these organizations, particular appreciation is extended to Jack Lancaster, Bob and Helen Turcotte, James Mims, and Mrs. Maxwell Brown. Mr. Lancaster also contributed his photographic talents to the artifact illustrations reproduced with this text. Finally, the permission granted by the executors and heirs of the estate of the late Shelby Edwards for excavation on that portion of the site still in private hands is gratefully acknowledged.

In laboratory analysis, Minze Stuiver of the (now defunct) Yale Radiocarbon Laboratory provided the C<sup>14</sup> dating of Winterville. These dates were to have been correlated with an archaeomag-

netic dating which was processed by Robert DuBois of the Earth Sciences Observatory, University of Oklahoma. Unfortunately, for reasons given in the appropriate section, the archaeomagnetic results were inconclusive. Faunal analysis (i.e., bone identification) was initiated by Carl Falk and completed by B. Miles Gilbert at the University of Missouri. All of these analyses were graciously carried out at no cost to the author and such generous support is gratefully acknowledged.

During the writing stage of the original dissertation, Irving Rouse provided invaluable guidance, and many of his suggestions are incorporated herein.

The more recent phase of revision was enhanced by the thoughts of my mentors, Philip Phillips and Stephen Williams.

I am grateful to Elbert Hilliard, Director, and the Board of Trustees of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History for undertaking the publication of the finished work. The final editing and production were placed in the most capable hands of Patricia K. Galloway who accomplished the task with her characteristic and incomparable élan.

I offer my thanks to all of the above, and hope they find some reward in the result.

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# 1 Introduction

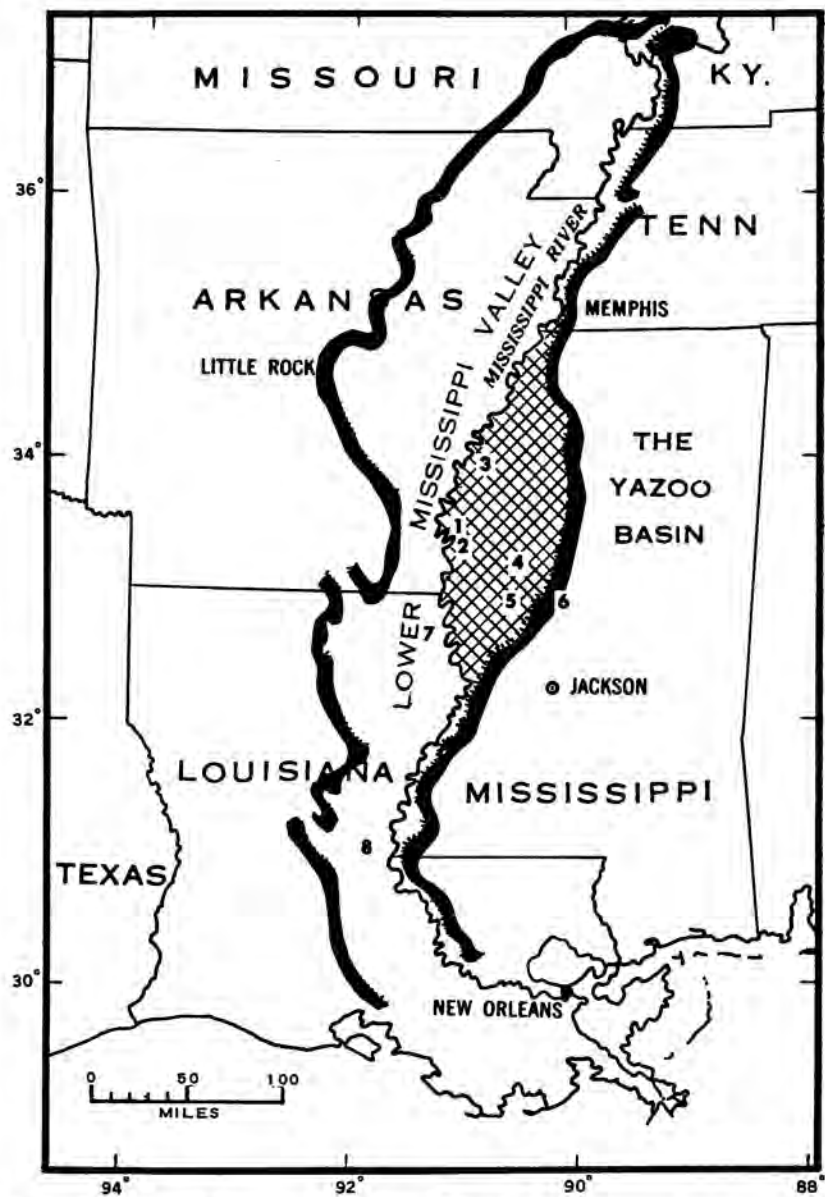
A relatively detailed reconstruction of aboriginal development—culture-historical continuity and change—exists for the Yazoo Basin region of the Lower Mississippi Valley (Figure 1). This knowledge is due to the intensive archaeological fieldwork that has been undertaken during the past 50 years (see Chapter 2 for discussion). Much of this work was carried out under the auspices of the Lower Mississippi Survey (LMS), an informal collaboration of scholars who share a research interest in the archaeology of the Mississippi Valley (Williams and Brain 1970). As a result of this research, broad prehistoric trends may now be traced, and a coarse chronological framework drawn (Figure 2). Woven increasingly into this pattern beginning about A.D. 1000 is an input identified as “Mississippian.” This climactic phenomenon dominated the late prehistory of the southeastern United States. Its influence was so great in various areas that the label “Mississippian” has been assigned to a temporal period, a developmental stage, a cultural phase, a people, a ceramic tradition, and numerous artifactual types; and more recently the label has been applied to sophisticated models of social and settlement-subsistence systems. The result is confusion and misconception, but it is also a reflection of the dynamism of this phenomenon (better to say phenomena, for as we shall see in Chapter 7 it took many forms through time and space) and its impact upon late prehistoric developments in the eastern United States (e.g., Griffin 1967; Smith 1978).

For the purposes of this study, Mississippian is defined as a complex of traits and inferred behavior

which in the context of the Lower Valley are not seen as indigenous to the Yazoo region; more precisely, those traits described in the following pages that include particular artifactual complexes, settlement patterns, and inferred socioeconomic structures that have contemporary counterparts in the core areas farther upriver: traditionally “Middle Mississippian” in both the cultural and geographic senses (Brain 1978; Williams and Brain 1983).

Too often in the past the Mississippian input into widely scattered parts of the eastern United States has been considered a single amorphous phenomenon (e.g., Willey and Phillips 1958:163-170; Willey 1966:293; Jennings 1968:222). And now, although we know better (Griffin 1967), it still remains a difficult task to distinguish various Mississippian events, or even the particular archaeological traits that relate to each event, and thus provide a core of interpretation. The objective of this volume is to attempt such discriminations for one part of the Lower Mississippi Valley. The discriminations are possible because they occur in the context of the distinctive and relatively well detailed cultural tradition of the study area.

Highly evolved patterns of indigenous cultural development may be recognized in the southern part of the Lower Mississippi Valley during the first millennium A.D. Preeminent among these, and the immediate background to the present study, was the Coles Creek culture which began to take form about the middle of the millennium. This culture bore many superficial resemblances to the Mississippian, most notably in the construction and use of



- |               |            |               |                 |
|---------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1 Winterville | 3 Oliver   | 5 Lake George | 7 Poverty Point |
| 2 Ely         | 4 Jaketown | 6 Deasonville | 8 Marksville    |

*Figure 1. Map of the Lower Mississippi Valley and locations of sites mentioned in the text.*

Ford 1936		Ford and Willey 1941		Phillips et al 1951 Ford et al 1955		Greengo 1964		Phillips 1970		Williams and Brain 1983			
Periods	Complexes		Periods	Stages	Periods	Yazoo Phases		Lower Mississippi Periods		Yazoo Phases		Cultures	
	Yazoo	Natchez				Historic	Lake George etc.	Russell	Mississippi	Russell	Wasp Lake		Mississippian
III	Tunica	Natchez, Choctaw, Caddo, etc.	Plaquemine	TM II	Late Mississippi	Lake George	Lake George etc.	Mississippi	Wasp Lake	Wasp Lake	Wasp Lake		
II	Deasonville	Colet Creek	Colet Creek	TM I	Early Mississippi	Plaquemine	Mayersville	Colet Creek	Winterville	Winterville	Winterville	Plaquemine	
I	Marksville		Troyville	BM II	Late Baytown	Colet Creek	Crippen Point	Colet Creek	Crippen Point	Crippen Point	Crippen Point	Colet Creek	
			Marksville		Middle Baytown	Deasonville	Kings Crossing	Baytown	Kings Crossing	Baytown	Aden	Aden	Colet Creek
			Tchefuncte		Early Baytown	Isaquena	Aden	Deasonville	Aden	Baytown	Bayland	Bayland	Baytown
					Tchula	Isaquena	Isaquena	Marksville	Isaquena/Paxton	Isaquena/Paxton	Marksville		
					Poverty Point	Marksville	Anderson Landing	Poverty Point	Anderson Landing	Anderson Landing	Poverty Point		
						Tchula	Tuscola	Tchula	Tuscola	Tuscola	Tchefuncte		
						Poverty Point	Jaketown	Poverty Point	Jaketown	McGary	Poverty Point		
										Jaketown	Poverty Point		

Figure 2. Development of regional chronologies in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

pyramidal substructural mounds, a trait which it seems to have had some priority in developing (Williams and Brain 1983:370, 405). This historical precedence, and the fact that they actually differ considerably in the details of other cultural categories, make it important to distinguish Coles Creek from Mississippian. These areal traditions, therefore, may be (should be) studied as autochthonous interaction partners during the late prehistoric period.

By A.D. 1000, Coles Creek had expanded as far north as the latitude of the Arkansas River. At that time, it appears to have been a strong, well organized, remarkably homogeneous culture in its archaeological manifestation (Ford 1951; Phillips 1970:912-923; Williams and Brain 1983:405-408), which probably represented a well developed sociopolitical structure of closely interacting petty chiefdoms. The general lack of evidence in the archaeological data for influence from outside the area suggests that the people themselves were quite provincial in outlook and were content with making a finely attuned, locally oriented adaptation to the rich alluvial bottomlands of the Lower Mississippi

Valley. Although mound sites were present, they were small, averaging only three modest mounds (Williams 1956:58, Fig. 4; Phillips 1970:554-557, 918-919). The mounds served more than one purpose: although primarily substructural platforms, they were also repositories for the dead, who appear to have been subjected to a range of mortuary practices (Ford 1951:37, 42-44, 106; Williams and Brain 1983:42-53). Apparently there were few living people at such centers. The population at large was dispersed in small villages or hamlets, and is presumed to have been engaged in a corn-based swidden agriculture (Brain 1971, 1976). The mound centers, then, served a shifting population as focal points in which social and religious matters could be served.

This Coles Creek culture was the indigenous context in the Yazoo with which the growing Mississippian phenomenon began to interact. And for most of its history, Winterville was at the very center of this dynamic interplay. Before detailing the place of Winterville in these events, however, it is first necessary to review the archaeological background that made these considerations possible.



## 2 Archaeology in the Yazoo Region: A Brief Review

The development of archaeology as a body of knowledge and as a discipline has "grewed like Topsy" in the Lower Mississippi Valley. But of all the regional subdivisions of the valley, the Yazoo region has received the greatest share of professional attention. Therefore, a review of the significant contributions to Yazoo archaeology will exemplify the state of the discipline in the rest of the Lower Valley, as well as reveal the archaeological picture of this particular region.

The Yazoo Basin is a broad alluvial floodplain of the Mississippi River, located in the west-central portion of the state of Mississippi (Figure 1). More than 300 km long by approximately 100 km across at the widest point, the somewhat triangular outline gave the basin its popular name of "The Delta." The bottomlands of the Yazoo were late in being opened up for settlement by the Euroamericans due to the prodigious task of clearing the dense forests, draining the extensive swamps, and controlling the Mississippi. The task was not truly begun until the return of stability after the Civil War created the need for more land, and it is still going on today. As a consequence, the Yazoo was largely ignored in the early surveys of aboriginal remains. The few exceptions were scattered accounts restricted to the more accessible areas along the Mississippi River that were settled and cleared earlier in the century. Thus, the remarkable work of Squier and Davis (1848) skips over the region entirely, as does the compendium of Holmes (1903). Even Thomas (1894), in his great survey of mound sites in the eastern United States, noted only six in this great basin where many

hundreds have since been recorded. Nevertheless, interest had been stimulated, and it was in the Yazoo that the first relatively scientific excavation in the Lower Valley was undertaken soon after the turn of the century (Peabody 1904). This was closely followed by the expeditions of C.B. Moore (1908, 1911), whose cursory testings of a number of sites, including Winterville, were so disappointing in results that an extended period of inactivity set in while attention was turned elsewhere.

It was not until 1929 that serious professional work resumed. This was a brief dig conducted by Henry B. Collins at a small village site in the hills on the eastern edge of the valley. Although not in the bottomlands, the excavation of this site was of the greatest importance for Yazoo and Lower Valley archaeology. The publication of the site report (Collins 1932) marks the inception of truly modern archaeology and prehistoric interpretation in the Lower Valley. In addition to demonstrating technical competence in carrying out the excavations, Collins observed that attention should not be focused on mound sites alone, but that for complete prehistoric interpretation all kinds of sites must be studied. Thus he chose a village site for investigation. Even more important was his recognition of a prehistoric temporal depth, and his statement that "the most important immediate problem of Southeastern archaeology is to establish a basis for a chronology of prehistoric sites" (*ibid*:17). To accomplish this, he proposed a direct historical approach to locate historic sites from which material could be collected, and a comparative approach in

which those materials could be matched with similar materials from other sites, the degree of similarity indicating whether the new site was historic or prehistoric. Although not explicitly stated, it is implied that carried far enough, this method would result in subdivisions of the prehistoric record. The materials best suited for these purposes, Collins suggests, are the abundant pottery fragments found at most southeastern sites, and his grouping of potsherds into rudimentary "types" is the start of a long and profitable tradition in Lower Valley archaeology.

Working with Collins on this project was the young James A. Ford. It is evident that this association resulted in a communion of spirits which had far-reaching effects. Ford, a native Mississippian, had already spent several years making surface collections from sites in northern Louisiana and southwestern Mississippi, including the Yazoo region. Ford published the results of this and a later survey in 1935 and 1936. These two volumes mark Ford as the founding father of Lower Valley archaeology. He followed through on many of Collins's ideas and contributed much of his own. To him may be attributed our first logical and consistent system of pottery classification, and our first real chronological framework. The basic analytic procedure was a distinctive modal analysis of potsherds, which was the basis for the first comprehensive description of pottery types. These types were grouped according to association into ceramic complexes, which on the basis of limited stratigraphic excavation were placed in chronological order. The result was seven complexes (basically ceramic, but other artifacts and features were sometimes included) organized into two regional chronologies.

As already noted, Ford's survey covered areas in both Louisiana and Mississippi, and in the distribution of his complexes he distinguished two geographical regions. One region centered on Natchez, Mississippi, and the Red River mouth of central Louisiana, while the other included the southern part of the Yazoo Basin. In each region three periods

were defined: two were prehistoric and the third historic. The earliest period in both regions was represented by the Marksville complex, which Ford noted had many similarities with the Hopewell materials of Ohio (Setzler 1933a, 1933b, 1934). The later prehistoric period was represented by the Deasonville complex, a general Woodland manifestation in the Yazoo, and the Coles Creek complex around Natchez (although later found to be of importance in the Yazoo as well). Thus three prehistoric complexes and two prehistoric periods were set up and related (Figure 2). The other four complexes were assigned to the historic period: Tunica in the Yazoo region and Natchez, Choctaw, and Caddo in the Natchez/Red River region. This was the bare frame-work on which to peg Lower Valley prehistory. The direction set by Collins had been followed, and a firm base had been established from which to proceed.

Ford next teamed up with Gordon Willey to publish a WPA excavation in Louisiana (Ford and Willey 1940), followed by a synthesis of prehistory in the eastern United States (Ford and Willey 1941) based on the foregoing work and other excavations. The important results for the Lower Mississippi Valley were the addition of two new prehistoric periods bracketing Marksville (the complexes had by now given their names to the periods): Tchefuncte and Troyville respectively. The periods of the expanded chronology were then grouped into stages on the basis of mound-type characteristics (Figure 2). Tchefuncte, hypothetically equivalent to the northern Adena, was assigned to the Burial Mound I stage. Marksville and its outgrowth, Troyville, were placed in a Burial Mound II stage. The next stage, represented by the Coles Creek period, showed a marked shift in mound type, and the stage was labeled Temple Mound I. Deasonville was not included in this scheme, as its association with mounds was not known. Another final prehistoric period and stage were indicated, but not given substance. This was the Plaquemine period, which, as a later development of Coles Creek, was assigned to

a Temple Mound II stage. Recognized as approximately coeval with the comparatively well-known "Mississippi culture" farther up the valley, Plaquemine was not even described for a decade (Quimby 1951, 1957; Cotter 1951, 1952), and its relationships with its northern contemporary were never really understood (see Chapter 7).

As significant as those new additions to the chronology were, they applied only to the Natchez region and south to the Gulf of Mexico. They were only of peripheral application to the Yazoo region, which had received no significant archaeological attention since Ford's earlier survey. The Yazoo did not benefit from the vast WPA projects that provided so much archaeological stimulus elsewhere in the late 1930s and early 1940s, so it was again the inimitable Ford who took up the challenge. Enlisting Philip Phillips and James B. Griffin, he set up a program to survey the northern half of the Lower Mississippi Valley between the mouths of the Ohio and Yazoo rivers. Because of wartime interruptions and other circumstances, only about half of this area was actually covered, but this included the upper two-thirds of the Yazoo Basin.

The effort was a great success. Aside from presenting a great fund of data from a previously little-known area, the publication of the results of the survey (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951) made a series of significant contributions in methodology, theory, and problem orientation. There are chapters on analytic techniques (including pottery seriation), the correlation of sites to extinct river channels, the reconstruction of site plans and settlement patterns, the identification of sites from historical documents, and the posing of particular problems in culture history (some of which they answered and some of which are still with us). But their primary objective was to establish a relative regional chronology that could be tied in with that already developed for the more southerly region around Natchez. This was achieved once again through ceramic analysis and the formulation of pottery types. Complexes of types were set up on the basis of stratigraphic and distribu-

tional relationships, and these complexes were the basis for the definition of cultural periods (Figure 2). Thus, Phillips, Ford, and Griffin recognized a Tchula period to correspond with Tchefuncte, Early Baytown with Marksville, Middle Baytown with Troyville, Late Baytown with Coles Creek, Early Mississippi with (Late) Coles Creek-(Early) Plaquemine, and Late Mississippi with (Late) Plaquemine-Historic. Deasonville in the previous chronology established for the lower Yazoo would be approximately coeval with Middle-to-Late Baytown; but with the establishment of the new chronology, Deasonville was dropped from the terminology.

As the nomenclature indicates, the six periods referred to above (a seventh preceramic period was also recognized but not named) are actually subdivisions of what the authors considered the three basic periods: Tchula, Baytown, and Mississippi. The principal distinction among these three periods was ceramic, particularly paste differences, although mound types and other traits were considered. The subdivision indicates both relative time depth and the central concern of the authors, for besides establishing a relative chronology, the investigators were particularly interested in the problem of the origin of the "Mississippi culture" and its development from what preceded. In this objective they were not very successful, partly because they were not far enough north. But what is important here, in the broad developmental scheme of archaeological thought, is their concern with such a problem, which transcends the objective of constructing chronologies but is of course dependent upon the reference points such chronologies provide.

Returning now to the Yazoo region, the next important archaeological development was the excavation of the Jaketown site (20-O-1 [22-Hu-505]) in 1951 (Ford, Phillips, and Haag 1955). This site, located in the south-central part of the basin, had been tested by the Phillips, Ford, and Griffin survey, and because it gave evidence of an earlier period to



add to the chronology, as well as occupations during all subsequent periods, it was singled out for particular attention. Although evidence had been accumulating for some time (Webb 1944, 1948), the existence of a preceramic, terminal "Archaic" florescence in the Lower Valley was just being recognized. Until Jaketown, however, this period was represented only by the type site, Poverty Point (22-K-1 [16-Wc-5]), in Louisiana. It therefore seemed desirable to excavate a companion site in order to establish firmly this new period in the chronology; and if it were possible to check the rest of the chronology at the same time, so much the better. A Poverty Point complex was indeed isolated and identified as the earliest occupation at the Jaketown site, making it possible to add such a preceramic period to the beginning of the chronology (Figure 2). Representative complexes from all the basic ceramic periods were also recovered in proper stratigraphic position, thus affirming the general chronological outline. But there were gaps and it was apparent that the site was not continuously occupied throughout the entire chronology. These discontinuities thwarted efforts to relate the periods in terms other than their chronological position. It had been hoped by the authors that significant relationships could be discerned between the complexes in each period in order to provide some insight on cultural development through time. But the breaks in occupation and the dependence on data provided by pottery, which apparently changed too greatly during the intervening periods, precluded success in this venture.

The important contributions from the Jaketown excavations, then, were augmentation of the historical framework (regional chronology) by the addition of a new period, verification of the chronology at a representative site in the region, and further refinement of the content of the complexes defining each period. Thus, in line with the approach, the results were of a culture-historical nature. Even the unsuccessful attempts to relate the periods were historically oriented, for they were using the same criteria to

relate periods as they had to distinguish them, and the historical discontinuities were a major factor in the failure. However, the attempt continued the trend—first observed in the original survey volume (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951)—away from the mere construction of regional chronologies, although they were still the primary objective. But by taking such a chronology and attempting to analyze the relationships within it, the authors revealed a theoretical progression from a concern restricted to temporal constructions to the study of culture history.

Another important contribution and indication of changing concerns was the emphasis upon and the handling of a particular complex, identified as Poverty Point. For the first time in the Yazoo region, an archaeological assemblage was reported upon in detail: a broad range of artifacts and features was described and no one class was emphasized to the exclusion of others. Of course the absence of pottery forced a certain departure from past procedures, but it is significant that the investigators wished to secure as much information about this period as possible. That this represents an important theoretical change, and is not merely an accumulation of data as an end in itself, is manifest in the following terminological slips: in reference to regional sequences, the authors state that "these may be defined as series of cultural phases" (Ford, Phillips, and Haag 1955:61); and concerning the Jaketown excavations, the aim was "to secure as much information as possible about the preceramic phase of occupation" (*ibid*:116). There is no explanation for this exceptional use of the term "phase" in preference to "period," and since there is no distinct definition it must here be considered interchangeable. This is curious, because one of the authors had already coauthored an article (Phillips and Willey 1953; see also Willey and Phillips 1958:22) in which "phase" was carefully defined in culture-historical terms: a combination of the chronologically oriented "period" and the culturally derived "focus" (McKern 1939). Was the use of "phase," then, really an

accident, or was it rather an appropriate characterization of what had been done at Jaketown, and a harbinger of the future?

The answer may be found in the next contribution to Yazoo archaeology. This was a report on a series of small excavations conducted in the southern tip of the basin in 1954 and 1955 (Greengo 1964), in which phase as defined by Willey and Phillips was the basic conceptual unit of analysis. The central problem Greengo set for himself was "to define and interpret a particular archaeological culture unit in the Lower Mississippi Valley" (Greengo 1964:122). Thus again, as at Jaketown, a subdivision of the chronology rather than the overall chronology itself was the primary objective of investigation. However, it was not a question of adding to the chronology, but an investigation of a segment that had already been established: "Once a gross chronological framework has been set up, the next procedural step would seem to be an attempt to fit all of the archaeological information into the scheme, even though it might have to be modified some to encompass a more complete cultural inventory." To distinguish this new culturological approach, Greengo preferred the concept of phase to period because the latter had been "based entirely on shifts in patterns of ceramic types," while phases are "convenient for organizing the total archaeological data." Theoretically, of course, periods could also have been so conceived, but that they had not been was reason enough to turn to a new terminology for new concerns. It is interesting to note, however, that the phases of the new chronology correlated almost exactly with the old periods because "in almost every instance the changes in ceramic patterns appear to reflect changes in other aspects of culture as well" (Greengo 1964:13). Although this statement would be questioned today, it allowed an easy conceptual conversion.

A further important consideration is the particular culture-historical framework chosen as the point of departure in Greengo's scheme. The chronology applied and verified at Jaketown was

essentially that proposed by Phillips, Ford, and Griffin (1951) for the northern part of the Yazoo, but with the addition of a new period. Considering the intermediate position of the site, the Natchez-Red River chronology could probably have been utilized almost as easily, and this was admitted by the authors (Ford, Phillips, and Haag 1955:61). The two chronologies are nearly identical in basic structure—no surprise since Ford had a hand in both—and they differ only in the ceramic content of some periods. Thus it is quite revealing that given the choice again (for the locale of exploration was not far south of Jaketown), Greengo should select the more southerly extra-Yazoo regional chronology from which to adapt his "regional sequence of phases." It will be noted that this sequence (Figure 2) further refined the old chronology and adapted it to the local situation by subdividing one of the periods into two phases with the resurrection of Deasonville (necessitated by what appeared to be the relative co-occurrence of two distinct ceramic—and presumably cultural—complexes in this same region), and renaming two of the transmuted units: Issaquena for Troyville and Lake George for the prehistoric Natchez (in recognition of the Late Mississippian cultural content). The identification and definition of the Issaquena phase as a local but distinctive manifestation of late Marksville culture was the focus of Greengo's study, the details of which need not concern us here. It should be noted, however, that although it remained basically a ceramic analysis, in spite of its stated objectives, this study contributed to our fuller understanding of a segment from the earlier end of the chronology.

An effort to give substance to the more recent end of the sequence was the objective of excavations at the Lake George site (21-N-1 [22-Yz-557]) in 1958-1960. A large mound site south of Jaketown, Lake George was occupied during the last prehistoric phases of the Baytown, Coles Creek, Plaquemine, and Mississippian cultures (Williams and Brain 1983). The contribution to the late prehistoric record was an essential foundation to the concerns

of the present study. The indigenous development and nature of the Coles Creek culture were fully established, thus providing the contextual background for the emerging Mississippian influences that were to appear about the beginning of the second millennium A.D. It is at this time that Winterville was founded at the extreme northern frontier of Coles Creek culture. Winterville was probably the largest of the frontier sites, and its situation adjacent to the Mississippi River ensured that any contacts from upriver would first be made there. Winterville thus became an obvious choice for a study focused on Coles Creek-Mississippian contact and subsequent culture change.

To recapitulate, the first exploratory excavations in the Yazoo region soon after the turn of the century were singular unconnected events, the unspectacular results of which seemed to have discouraged further investigation. Although one of the richest archaeological regions in North America in terms of the sheer number of sites, the sites themselves did not produce the fine pottery and other specialized funerary objects in the quantity or quality that had been expected. Therefore interest in the Yazoo declined, and it was not until the late 1920s and early 1930s that serious work resumed, concurrently with the development of a truly professional methodol-

ogy and approach. A landmark volume by Ford (1936) presented the first chronological sequence for the region (and the Lower Valley) and demonstrated the procedures by which it was achieved. Ford's sequence was restricted in time and space, but subsequent work extended the culture-historical framework to cover the whole of the Yazoo (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951) and expanded and refined the original sequence (Ford, Phillips, and Haag 1955; Greengo 1964). The latter references, the first modern site reports, also revealed a shift from a total concern with the construction of regional chronologies to the description of the component "periods" and their interpretation as archaeological culture units, or "phases." The added interest of tracing relationships within and between these phases is evidence of the development of problem-oriented research. More recently, the emphasis has shifted still further to a wide range of theoretical and methodological matters which have continued the refinement of the spatial and temporal order and the search for causal relationships in perceived trends (Phillips 1970; Brain 1970, 1971, 1978, 1983, 1984, 1988; Penman 1977; Brown 1978, 1979; Weinstein *et al.* 1979; Williams and Brain 1983). It is with this background that we now turn to Winterville.

### 3 Physical and Historical Background

The Winterville site is located in the west-central part of the Yazoo Basin and within the confines of the modern political boundaries of the county of Washington, the state of Mississippi (Figures 1, 3). It is 6.5-km north of the city of Greenville, 1.5 km south of the small village of Winterville, and 5 km east of the present channel of the Mississippi River. Its coordinates on the Mississippi River Commission (USGS) 15' quadrangle map "Refuge" are NE1/4 NE1/4 S19, T19N R8W. In the site designation system of the Lower Mississippi Survey (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951:41), Winterville is numbered 19-L-1, and in the files of the Mississippi Archaeological Survey it is listed as 22-Ws-500.

The site (Figure 4) is cut by old State Highway number 1 on the east side and by new State Highway number 1 in the southwest corner. An unnumbered county road connecting the two major routes forms the southern border. The northwestern edge is defined by a recently dug "bayou," and the northern tip is bisected by a recently cut drainage ditch. The present boundaries are thus artificial and do not reflect the original extent of the site, which certainly claimed more land to the north and east and probably on other sides as well. But aside from this marginal disturbance, the site proper has largely been spared major modern disturbance, although agricultural and other damage to some of the individual earthworks has been extensive.

Winterville is a large site composed of a group of mounds and other features extending over an area of more than 20 ha (Figures 4, 12). Although nineteen mounds or their remnants are now evident, four

others (N-P, R) were recorded before their destruction in recent years. These 23 mounds are of the pyramidal substructural type, commonly called temple (or domiciliary) mounds, and are presently from .5 m to 17 m high. They are arranged in a large oval oriented along a northeast-southwest axis. The oval surrounds a great plaza of some 17.5 ha, near the center of which is situated Mound A, the largest mound and focal point of the site. This arrangement is quite unusual in the Lower Valley and had the effect of creating two ceremonial plazas: one to the northeast of the central mound and one to the southwest. A single plaza bordered by two or more mounds is the norm for such sites, but most sites are smaller than Winterville and have fewer mounds. As a consideration of settlement patterns, then, we really do not know whether the site is exceptional or the normal result of growth in the area. It is significant in this respect that the only other comparable site of the same plan is Lake George (21-N-1 [22-Yz-557]), which is located but a short distance to the south (Williams and Brain 1983).

In addition to its physical appearance, a unique feature of the site is the general absence of surface refuse. Although this may be partially accounted for by the present grass cover, which makes surface collecting extremely difficult, it is a fact that has been noted by all professional visitors to the site even when it was under cultivation. Only on mound slopes or in areas of extensive disturbance where mound earth has been spread by plowing is significant cultural material to be found. The general lack of midden debris encourages the hypothesis



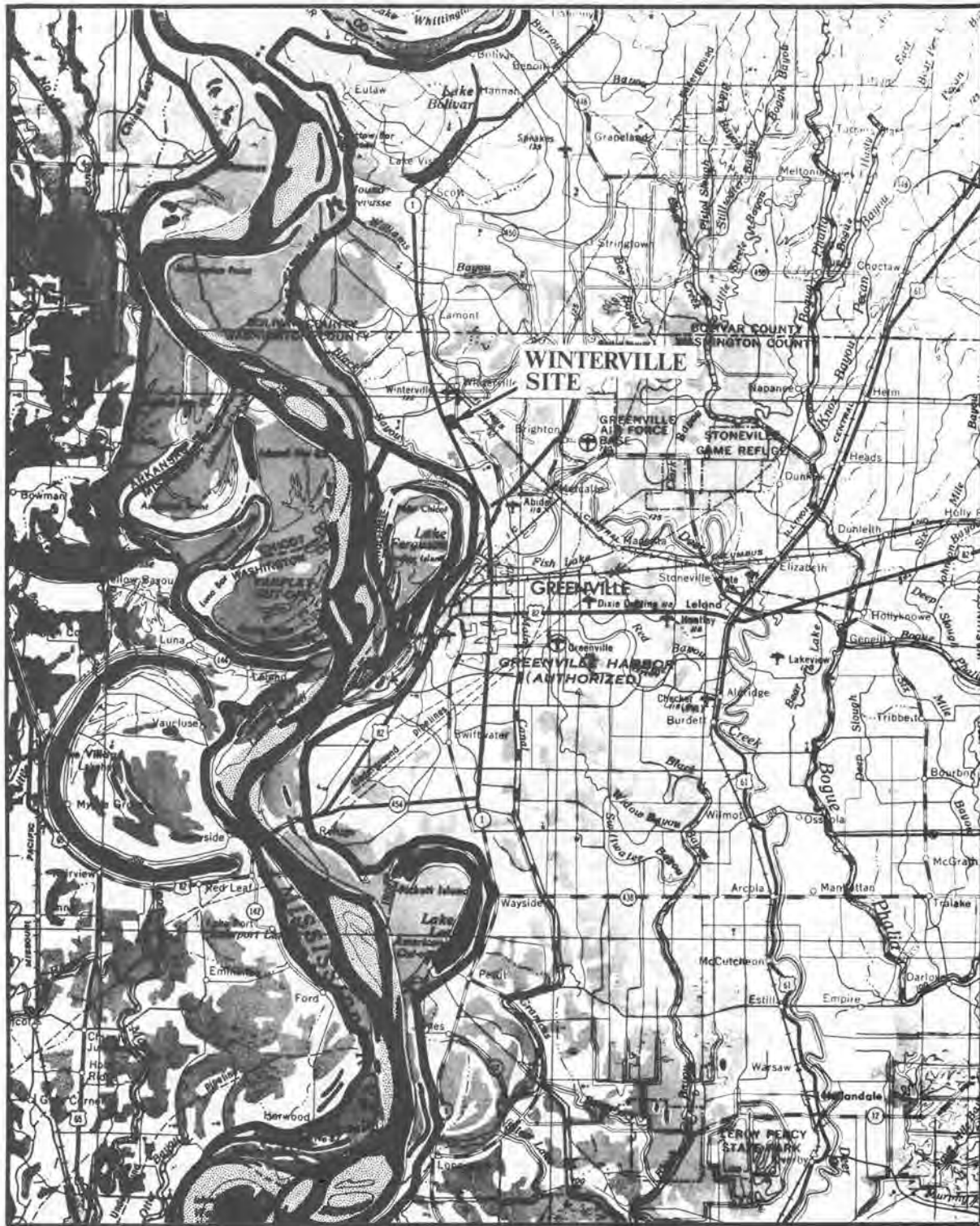


Figure 3. Topographic map of the modern-day environs of Winterville.



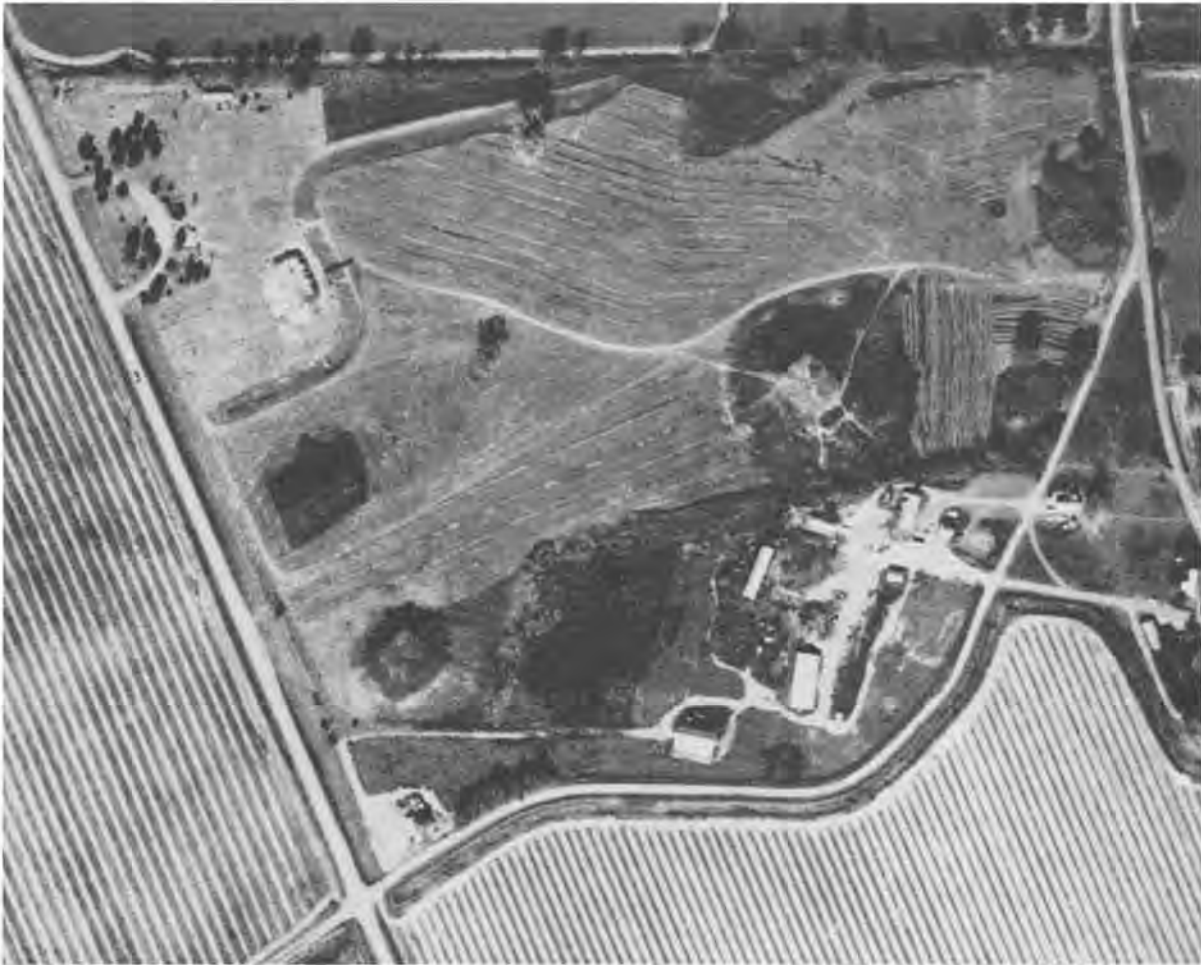


Figure 4. Detail of aerial photo showing Winterville in 1966.

that the site functioned primarily as a ceremonial center and had only a small residential population living on and around the mounds. At least it was not a town as normally defined. It is possible, of course, that there was a dependent village associated with the site, all evidence of which has been completely buried under recent alluvium. This, however, is unlikely, as all of the surrounding fields outside of the aboriginal limits of the site have proved barren of cultural remains; and all of these fields have been subjected to subsoiling, a modern plowing practice that disturbs the earth to a depth of about 1 m—far deeper than recent alluvial deposition.

#### Geologic History and Physiographic Setting

The foundations of the present Mississippi River Valley were established during the Pleistocene, when the sea level was lowered more than 100 m and the continental rivers became rushing torrents which hollowed out a vast canyon. With the rise of the sea level at the close of the Pleistocene, the rivers lost their velocity and the canyon was gradually filled with gravels, sands, silts, and clays. Between 10,000-5,000 years ago the Mississippi River and its tributaries had filled the valley with this alluvial sediment and the present elevation of the valley

floor was reached (Figure 5).

The surface of the alluvial valley, including the Yazoo Basin, has been subjected to continuing modification since its formation. With the lessening of the gradient to the sea, the Mississippi became a meandering river which constantly shifted its course across the alluvial flood plain, cutting new and deserting old channels within each course (or meander belt). The topography to be observed today is the result of at least 5,000 years of these hydraulic processes and consists of sandy levee ridges formed along the streams and rivers, abandoned channels that have been silted in, and the low interfluvial swamps in which flooding waters deposited the fine clay of the Sharkey series locally referred to as "gumbo" or "buckshot" (terms which appropriately describe this intractable material in a wet or dry state). Cutting across this topography are the rivers and streams themselves and a maze of small bayous. The latter drain the land and connect the oxbow lakes, or partially filled abandoned channels, which are the only significant lacustrine features. In this flat land, 1 m difference in elevation may be as significant as 100 m in a region with greater topographic relief. In aboriginal times, the relatively high natural levees were the only habitable and agriculturally suitable locales within the confines of the valley, and it is on them that almost all prehistoric sites were situated.

Winterville is located within the present meander belt of the Mississippi, a course which the river has followed for at least the past 2,000 years (Fisk 1944; Saucier 1974). In the reconstruction of channel stages by Fisk (*ibid.*: pl. 22, sheet 8), Winterville is found to be situated on a natural levee formed by a Stage 2 channel, and at the exact point where the latter cut through a Stage 1 channel (Figure 6). This relationship indicates that the occupation of Winterville could have been no earlier than the Stage 2 channel (Fisk's dating is second-century A.D., but recent evidence suggests it is much older), and in fact probably postdated it considerably. We now know from other archaeological-geological correla-

tion in the basin that during the last 2,000 years major sites were rarely, if ever, established directly on the banks of active channels of the Mississippi (the Indians had experience of the river, unlike the early Euroamericans who often saw their ill-sited towns swallowed up by the awesome force). Rather, these sites were on nearby tributary streams or oxbow lakes that had good access to the active channel, but higher natural elevations.

In view of this general settlement pattern, it is reasonable to assume that the Stage 2 channel had been abandoned before Winterville was founded. The channel was not immediately and completely filled, however—which would have made it a particularly desirable place for settlement—and at a later stage it seems to have been partially occupied by a bayou, the fossil outline of which is clearly visible in aerial photographs (Figure 7). This bayou seems to have formed a link between the still current Williams Bayou to the northeast and a later stage of the Mississippi to the southwest. It is very significant in this respect that both Williams Bayou (which is a tributary of Deer Creek, not the Mississippi) and the closest subsequent approach of a later channel of the Mississippi about 2.5 km to the southwest of the site (and into which the Winterville bayou presumably flowed) are assigned by Fisk to his Stages 10/11. Thus, by Fisk's general dating, at *ca.* A.D. 1000 a local fluvial system consisting of the Mississippi River, Deer Creek, and interconnecting bayous would have been operative (Figure 8), and conditions would have been ideal for the establishment of a major settlement. For by virtue of its water connections—the only convenient form of communication in that country—the Winterville location had direct access to the Mississippi River, the principal artery of interregional contact, on the one hand, and on the other, to the vital regional hinterland, the interior of the Yazoo Basin. When these conditions existed, then, the location had the natural advantage of an intermediate geographic position (see McCain and Capers 1954:70 for a nineteenth-century appreciation of this position).

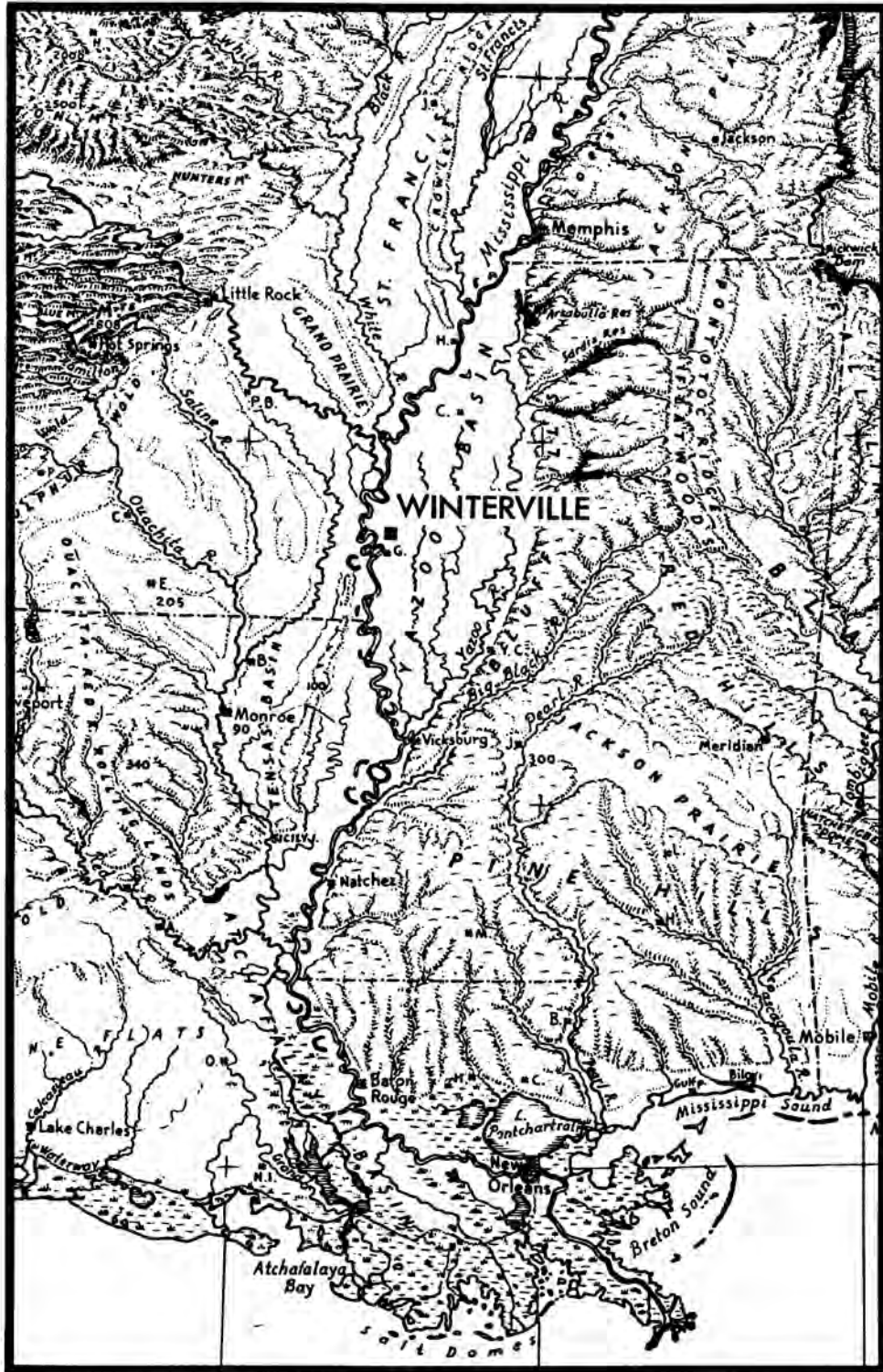


Figure 5. Physiographic map of the Lower Mississippi Valley and contiguous landforms (adapted from Raisz 1957).

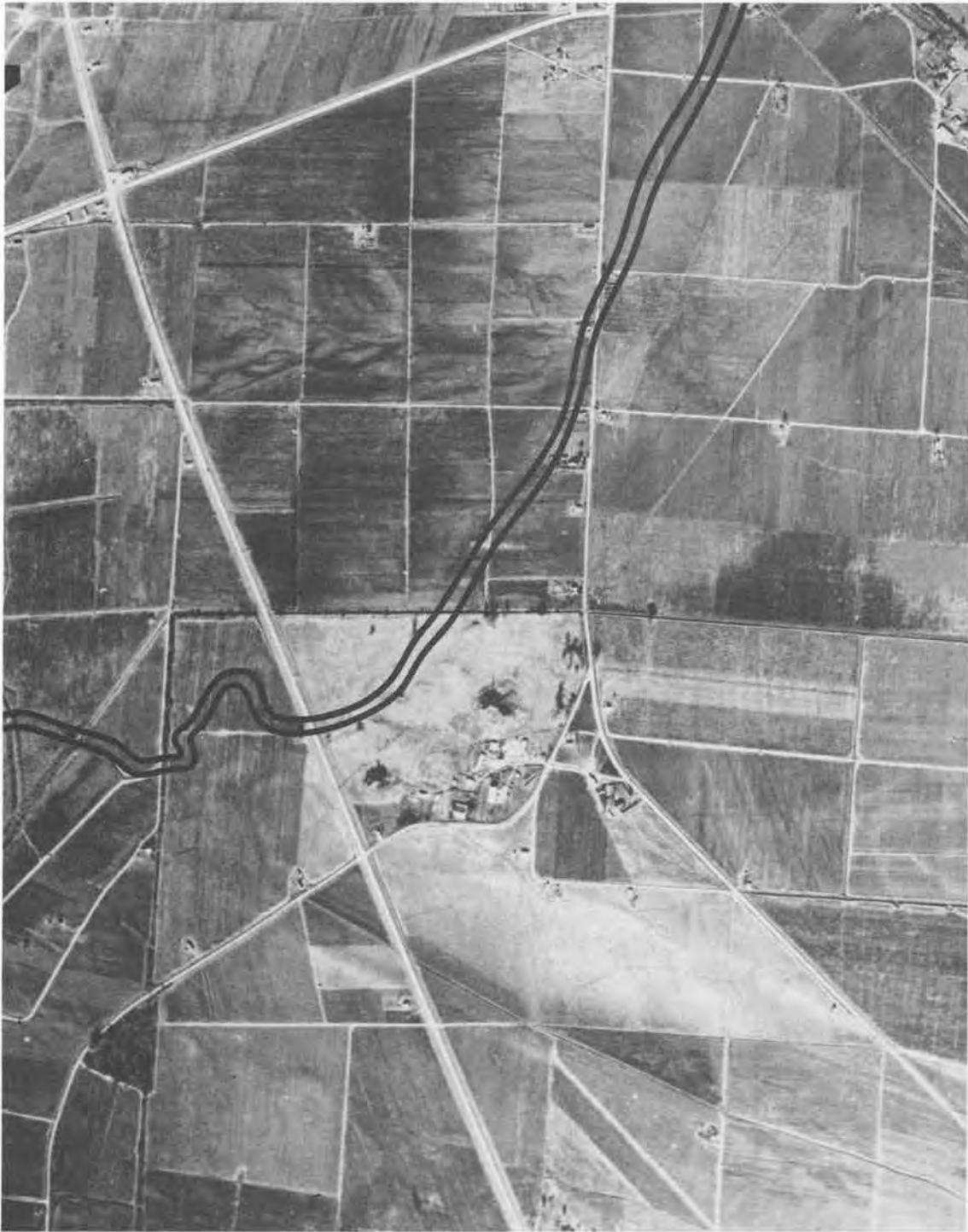




*Figure 6. Reconstructed riverine system in the vicinity of Winterville during its occupation (superimposed on Fisk 1944: pl. 22, sheet 8).*

There were also other natural advantages to be enjoyed at Winterville. The exact location is—and probably was even more so then—the highest elevation in the vicinity. Thus it must have been relatively immune to the annual inundations, and perhaps suffered only from the occasional great floods (Figure 9). Being high land, it would also have been well

drained, a very important consideration in this country, particularly for agriculturists. And the sandy loam (Sarpy series) soil of the levee deposits is itself well known for its extraordinary fertility. The combination of rich, easily worked, and adequately drained land in a region of moderate temperatures, long growing seasons of 240-300



*Figure 7. Aerial photo of Winterville. Course of the fossil stream that connected the Mississippi River and Williams Bayou-Deer Creek when the site was occupied has been outlined.*

frost-free days, and 50-60 inches (or about 150 cm) of annual rainfall provided nearly ideal horticultural conditions for the agriculturists who must have been associated with Winterville.

Moreover, the dependence upon agriculture need not have been total, for as would be expected in a naturally rich and ecologically variable land, there was a wide array of flora and fauna which could be exploited simultaneously. From the swamp biology of the lowland, in which cypress and tupelo gum, alligators and other reptiles predominated, to the oaks, honey locusts, cottonwoods, canebrakes, and associated large mammalian fauna of the levees, to the riverine products of the great and small streams, nearly all conceivable requirements for human sustenance were available. To what degree these resources were exploited is not known, but the potential was considerable. It is probable that different peoples at different times took advantage of different ecological niches, and the effect must have been to upset the original balance. Yet the interaction between man and nature would have resulted in a total environment, the best aspects of which must have been realized by the time Winterville was established.

It is a distressing footnote to this section that the aboriginal relationship between man and nature has been destroyed. The marvelous ecological variety is gone. Modern man, with his emphasis upon a single-crop agricultural economy, has endeavored mightily to change his natural environment rather than adapt to it. By the construction of great artificial levees to contain the Mississippi, the draining and leveling of the land, the clearing of the virgin timber, and the use of modern mechanized farming methods, the original physical appearance and biological population has been completely altered. A new era has begun, the consequences of which await us.

### Recent History

The locale in which Winterville is situated was one of the earliest in the Yazoo region to be opened

up for permanent settlement in the nineteenth century. The first river towns were founded in the 1820s following the Treaty of Doak's Stand (1820), by which the Choctaw Indians ceded their land claims in the southern half of the basin. The nearby levees were cleared soon after and great plantations carved out of the wilderness. One of these plantations was established by a Major Hunt, and it included Winterville. The Major named his plantation Montrose, or Mount Rose, and it is tempting to believe that the choice of nomenclature was in reference to the mounds.

The earliest account of the site is a description recorded by Henry Tillinghast Ireys after a visit to Montrose in 1852 (McCain and Capers 1954:13-14, 67-70). At that time, the "cane and timber" had not yet been cleared, so that Mr. Ireys noticed only "sixteen or seventeen" mounds. Their good state of preservation is indicated by the observation that the ramp was still prominent on the north side of Mound A.

A more complete description of the site was published by Squier in 1860. He too notes that "all the mounds of this group are well-preserved, and display a wonderful regularity of outline" (Squier 1860:171). This statement is substantiated by an accompanying map which shows eleven pyramidal mounds with ramps and connecting causeways and two conical mounds (Figure 10a; see also Short 1880:69). Although this map bears little resemblance to the site as it looks today (and perhaps even then), there is no question from the description and measurements of the individual mounds that this was Winterville. So that while the map may have been the product as much of imagination as fact, there may well be features represented which have since disappeared.

Essentially the same map was reproduced twenty years later by James Hough with even greater descriptive detail (Figure 10b). Parenthetically, it should be recorded that the Hough map was republished without attribution by Stephen Peet (1891: Figure 8), who incorrectly identifies it as repre-

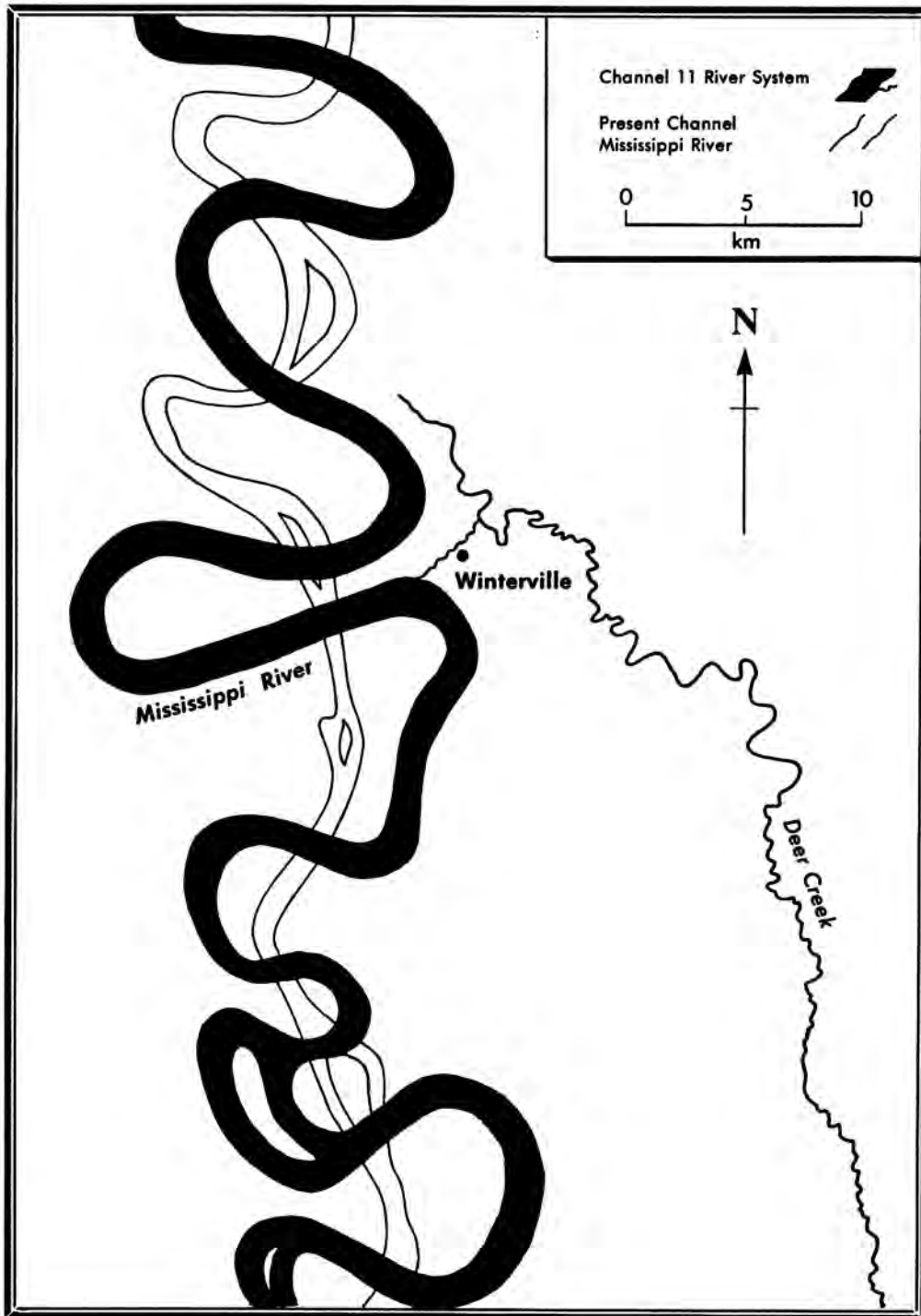


Figure 8. Ancient river system in the vicinity of Winterville.



*Figure 9. Winterville during the 1927 Flood. Mound B is in the foreground. The lay of the flat Delta land is clearly evident in this picture. Although the site is situated on a natural levee only a few feet higher than the surrounding land, it was probably only during the once-a-century high waters of this magnitude that the mounds were actually reached. (Courtesy of UPI/Bettmann Archive).*



senting the "works at Seltzertown, Mississippi," the great mound site near Natchez now known as Emerald (26-L-1 [22-Ad-504]). Peet also gives a set of spurious measurements for nine of the thirteen mounds depicted (e.g., Mound A is described as being "180 x 135 feet at base, 51 x 45 at summit, 48 high" [ibid:23], while Hough [1880:384] more correctly recorded "40 yards by 30 yards on the top,

140 yards by 130 yards at the base, 55 feet high"). As a caveat against the use of secondary sources, it should be noted that Peet's error has been perpetuated in a modern publication (Corliss 1978:203).

Although the Squier and Hough maps must have had the same source and agree in most particulars, there are a few significant differences, proving that

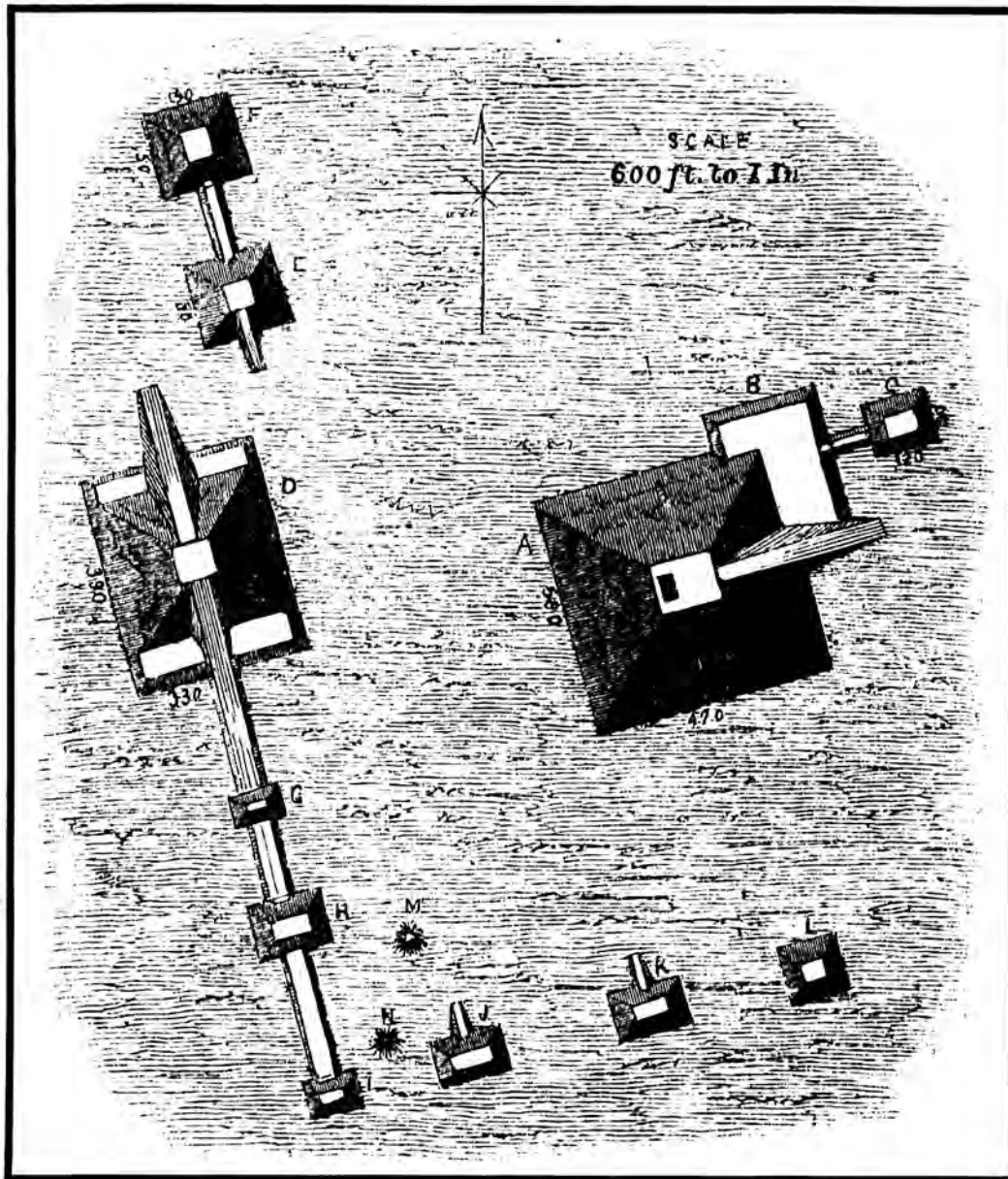


Figure 10a. Squier's map of Winterville (1860:171).

they were subjected to the whims of the authors and/or engravers. In any case, many of the features—real or fanciful—depicted on these maps were lost during the forty-year period following the Civil War when the plantation, renamed Mound Place, was intensively cultivated.

The first known “excavations” were performed at the site during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Of those recorded, the first was in 1869, when a riverboat captain named George T. Blackburn dug into as many as 40 burials (Anonymous 1985). In 1882, an unfortunately successful pothunter was described as follows: “A few years ago some parties made an excavation in the top of a temple mound on Captain [sic] Hunt’s plantation, near Greenville, Miss. They found portions of two human

skeletons, several broken clay vessels, and one carved stone pipe. This mound is sixty feet high, and has one approach and one apron” (Lewis 1936). It was also during this period that a small brick-walled dairy cellar was put into the south side of Mound A, giving rise to the local myth of a central chamber in the mound. Formal archaeology did not return to the site until the first scientific excavations were performed by C.B. Moore after the turn of the century.

Clarence B. Moore was one of the greatest of the prodigal, peregrinating archaeological explorers, that castigated breed of men to whom, nevertheless, modern archaeology is often much indebted. Moore came to Winterville (which he named the Blum Mounds in honor of the current owner) in late November 1907, after his well-rewarded work at

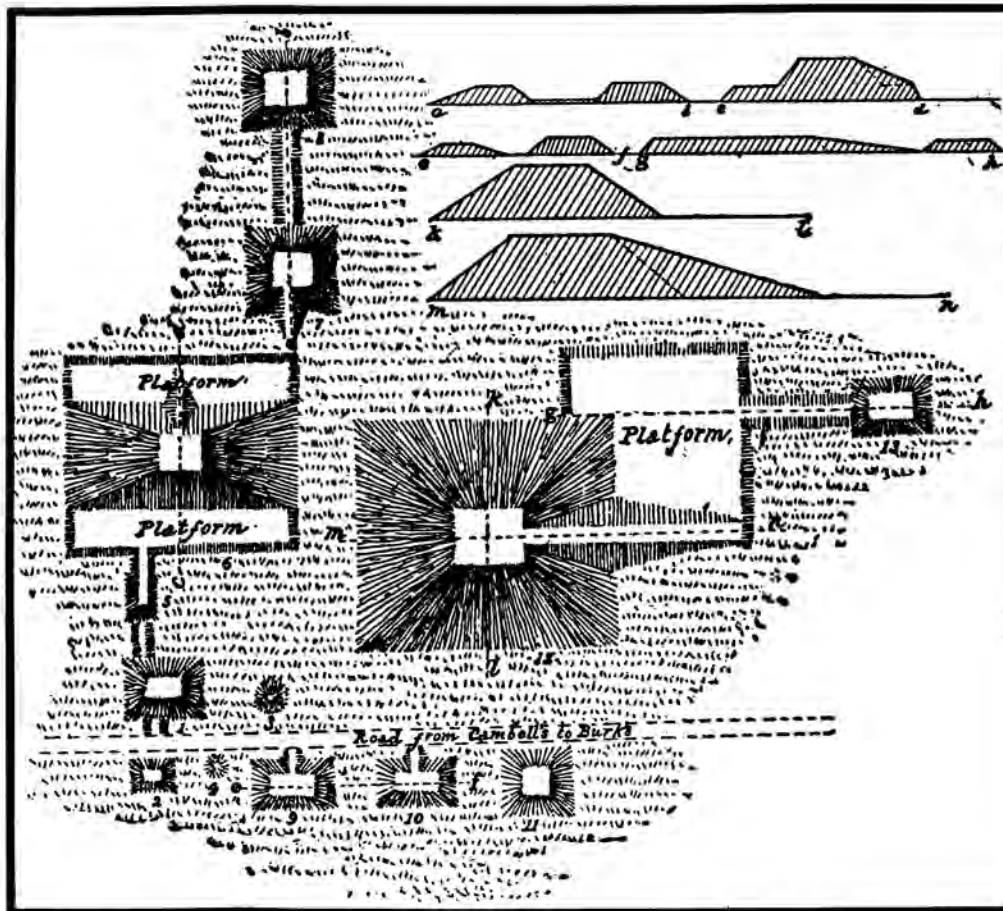


Figure 10b. Hough's map of Winterville (1880:383).

Moundville, Alabama. Since the two sites bore certain obvious physical similarities, Moore reasonably expected to duplicate his accomplishment at Winterville. He certainly tried. He was accompanied by five of his highly trained laborers, who in a mere six days dug more than 150 "trial holes," measuring approximately 3 by 6 feet and 4 feet deep (or about 1 by 2 by 1.25 m). Most of these were put into the summits of fifteen of the mounds, but 45 were also placed in the flat between and around the mounds.

A possibly apocryphal tale derived from this incredible activity has been preserved in the local folklore. In 1967, an elderly black man recalled that as a child he had watched Moore's excavations. Apparently, each time a laborer found an interesting piece of pottery, a bone, or an arrowpoint, Moore would give him a 10-cent cigar. Thus, one of the vivid memories of the informant's childhood was seeing big puffs of cigar smoke floating up out of the excavations, reinforcing the otherworldly prospects of those strange exertions.

But the results of this amazing effort were very disappointing: a few badly preserved skeletons and some isolated pots; even "sherds were rarely met with" (Moore 1908:599). No noteworthy finds were reported from most of the locations tested. And, most revealing of all, there is not a single illustration of an artifact in the report of the excavations by this man who was wont to illustrate lavishly all his publications. However, since Moore was looking especially for richly furnished burials, it is certain that he overlooked much other valuable information; he was after specimens, not information.

The disappointing results that Moore experienced had one very beneficial effect: the site was generally ignored for a long while thereafter. At a local level, the belief that there was "nothing in the mounds" (still current sixty years after Moore's visit), seems to have led to a marked dropping off of depredations by pothunters and treasure seekers, the activities of whom Moore had noticed in many of the mounds. Thus although cultivation continued, the site had changed so little by the time of the next

professional visit nearly twenty years later that the published account was almost entirely a quote of Moore's description (Brown 1926:83-88).

During exceptionally high water in the Spring of 1927, the Mississippi River broke its levee going into the Choctaw Bend about 8 km north of Winterville (the great Mound Crevasse). The ensuing flood was catastrophic to an extensive area, and there was considerable property damage, as well as the loss of a year's crop. Even more serious, a mantle of coarse sand was laid down in the course of the flooding waters, which even forty years later ruined the fertility of a wide swath of land. The flood had two effects on Winterville. First, it affirmed the belief of the present inhabitants that the mounds had originally been built as flood refuges, and indeed they served this purpose in 1927 for both man and beast (Figure 9). Second, although there does not seem to have been much alluvial deposition at the site itself, the agricultural cycle was interrupted, and as in the areas where the sand was laid down, the land was turned into pasturage. There was little, if any, cultivation on the principal part of the site after that time. This, however, was a mixed blessing, for while the smaller mounds were spared further plow destruction, the larger ones, which had theretofore survived quite well as they were unsuitable for agriculture, were now endangered by the removal of their natural protective cover through grazing. This practice continued for over thirty years, and even the great central mound was reduced to a gullied, amorphous blob, hardly recognizable as the symmetrical construction depicted in the earlier maps (cf. Figures 10a, 10b, and 11).

Such was the condition of the site, aggravated by the rerouting of State Highway number 1 across the southwestern corner in 1939-1940, when the first modern surveys were conducted in 1940 by the National Park Service (Jennings 1940) and the Lower Mississippi Survey (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951:325-327). Phillips returned in 1946 and again in the spring of 1949 with a small group which included Albert C. Spaulding, who drew the first



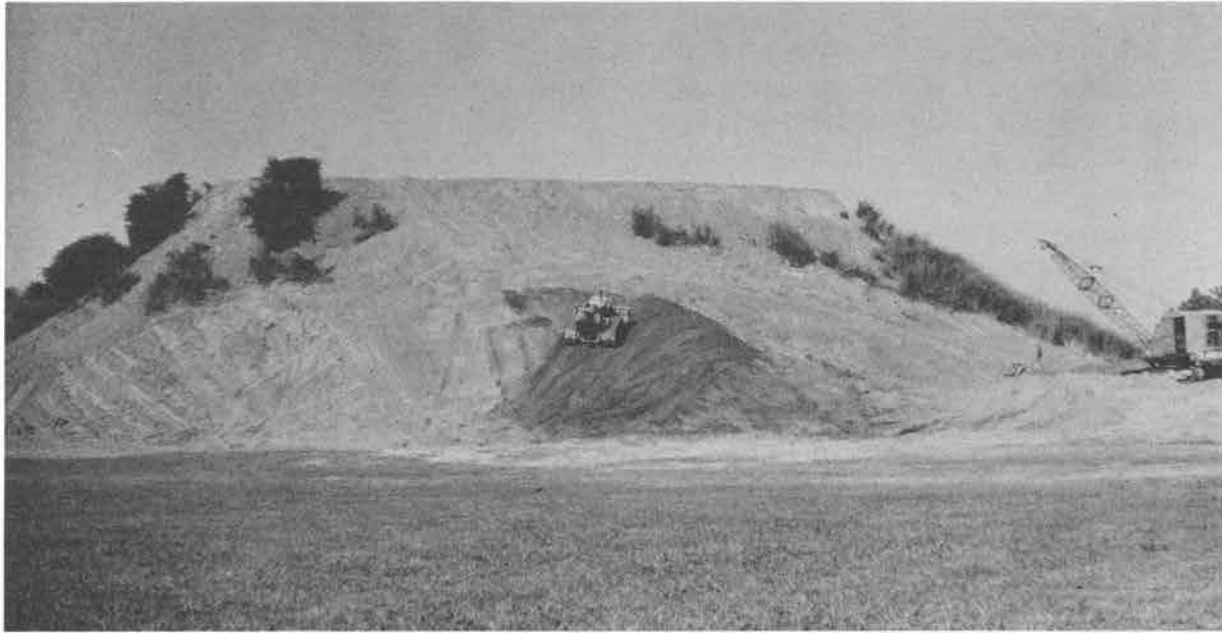
a



b

*Figure 11. The decline and resurrection of Mound A at Winterville. a, as recently as 1951, the regularity of outline and long ramp were still very apparent, although the cow paths that were to start a terrible erosion had already scarred the surface (LMS neg. 51/357); b, within fourteen years, the mound had been reduced to an amorphous, gullied blob (LMS neg. 65/5).*





c



d

*Figure 11. The decline and resurrection of Mound A at Winterville. c, restoration in 1968 (LMS neg. 68/317); d, stabilized mound in 1974 (LMS neg. 74/C108).*

accurate site contour map (Figure 12). During this visit, four small test excavations failed to find sufficient midden deposits to encourage further large-scale investigation, although small surface collections of pottery and other artifacts indicated that somewhere on the site stratigraphic investigations should be possible (Phillips 1970:476-483).

More recently, a few scattered digs were carried out in 1964 by the local chapter of the Mississippi Archaeological Association under the supervision of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (Marshall 1967). These excavations were placed at the base of Mound A and on the northwestern edge of the site, and according to the participants were unrewarded by noteworthy results.

In 1939, largely through the efforts of the Greenville Garden Club, organizations and individuals of the City of Greenville contributed the money necessary to buy 42 acres (16.8 ha), or about 80% of the site. All of the mounds were acquired, except for M-R, U-W, and part of S, which remained in private

hands (M-R being utilized as a plantation headquarters). This property was deeded to the City of Greenville with the stipulation that it would always be maintained as a park. The Greenville Garden Club was given the job of beautification and proper development.

In 1960, the park was taken over by the Mississippi State Park Commission. The park area was augmented in 1965 by the acquisition of two acres (.8 ha) which had included Mound R and most of Mound S. Both earthworks, however, had been destroyed in 1964, as also were Mounds N-P in the headquarters area of the neighboring plantation. Under the State's administration, recreational and educational facilities have been constructed, including a museum on the western edge of the site (Figure 12). Most important of all, however, is a continuing program of mound stabilization and restoration (Figure 11d), which hopefully will conserve what is still one of the best preserved of the large aboriginal mound sites in the southeastern United States.

## 4 Excavations

By the Summer of 1967, the "Winterville Mounds Historic Site" had been fully commissioned as a state park, and the niceties of government operation were being observed. The mounds had been cleared of most trees and the grounds were being mowed regularly by the resident Park Ranger. Thus, very little removal of vegetation was required in preparation for the excavations: usually it was only necessary to strip the grass cover in the immediate vicinity.

The overall purpose of the excavations was to discover what had happened at Winterville and when, and if possible to come to some conclusions regarding the patterns of the events. Because of the sheer size of the site and the small scale of the investigations, a comprehensive reconstruction of all events obviously was not possible, but it was expected that a systematic exploration of selected locations would provide the data for a general historical and cultural reconstruction. It was therefore decided that the best tactical approach would be to test as many of the mounds and other areas of cultural activity as possible. Since this plan called for a series of widely spaced excavations in order to test locations selected according to the kind of information sought, a more versatile system of control was required than the usual "grid" layout of the entire site.

The first step was to establish a datum—the primary reference point from which all vertical and horizontal measurements were to be taken—and that was done near the present museum building on the western edge of the site (Figure 12). While this

may seem to be an odd location for the datum point, it was necessitated by major ongoing construction projects relating to the restoration of the mounds and the grading of the walkways within the site proper. The location chosen had already been converted into parkland and no further modifications were contemplated. The datum was set 25 m southeast of the museum and was permanently marked with a two-inch iron pipe, two feet in length, which was fitted with a galvanized cap that was stamped "JPB DATUM" (see Brain 1969: App. II for precise locational information). While all other points of reference to be described in the following pages were fixed to this datum, it must be noted that the datum itself was an arbitrarily selected point that was not tied into any other established system: the closest USGS bench mark ("Lyles") was some 2.5 line-of-site km distant. Thus the exact elevation of the datum above mean sea level was not known either. However, the site is located between the 130 and 135 foot (39-40.5 m) contour lines on the Mississippi River Commission "Refuge" 1939, 15' quadrangle map, and considering its prominence above the surrounding terrain, 40 m was taken as the mean elevation of the ground surface, exclusive of the mounds. Therefore, 40 m was the elevation arbitrarily assigned to the datum. As additional insurance against the possible loss of this primary reference point, two secondary datums were also set. Capped iron pipes were again used, and the caps were stamped with the coordinates of each point in reference to the primary datum: "N75 E375" and "S190 E100." The elevation of the former point in reference to the datum

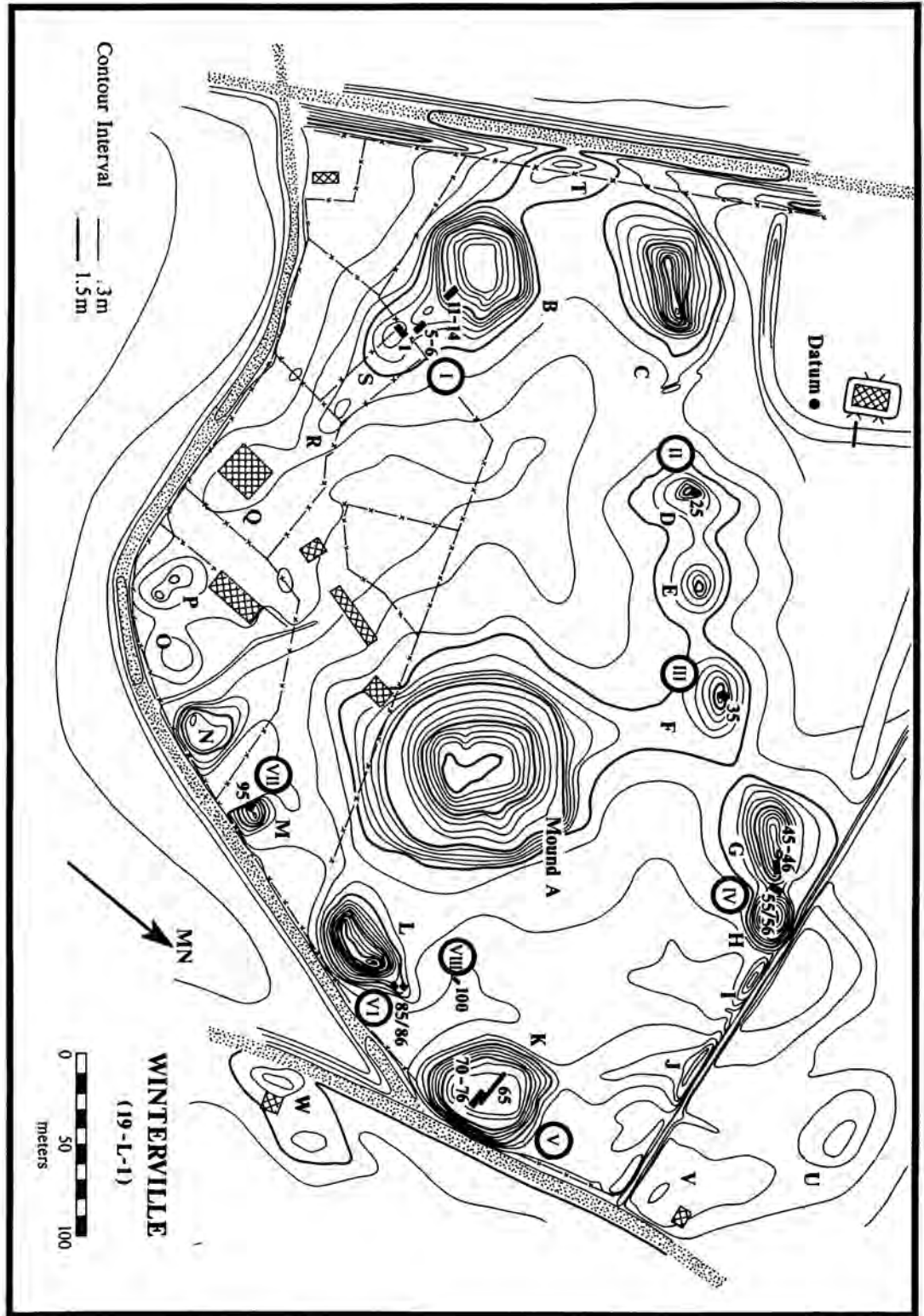


Figure 12. Topographic map of the Winterville site and locations of the excavations (adapted from the original prepared by Albert C. Spaulding in 1949 and published by Phillips in 1970 as Fig. 209).



was +.11 m, and of the latter +1.67 m.

From the datum, a base line was run due east (magnetic) toward the great central Mound A; an extension of this line farther to the east to transect the site completely required a dogleg to the north around that mound. Secondary lines were run to the northern and southern ends of the site from points on the base line. The accuracy of the lines was controlled with the aid of an engineer's transit (Figure 13). Distances and elevations along these lines were measured according to the metric scale and were marked by stakes set in the vicinity of possible excavation locations. Thus whenever a new location was opened up, it was a simple matter of running a line in from the nearest reference stake to lay out the excavation and tie it into the system. In the following pages, all horizontal and vertical (elevation) measurements that are in reference to the datum are given



Figure 13. Laying the base line. Mound A in the background. (Photo by Noel Workman)

in meters (m), while depths below ground surface at the individual excavations are given in centimeters (cm).

As already noted, the objective of the excavation plan was to conduct as comprehensive a test of Winterville as was possible in a limited investigation. Because the scarcity of occupational evidence on the flat surrounding the mounds indicated that the site functioned primarily as a ceremonial center, the mounds themselves, the most striking features and presumed focal points of activity, were accorded the most attention. Therefore, of 28 distinct units of excavation, 23 were placed in nine of the mounds, and five in other earthworks, between the mounds, or in the plaza.

The excavations were grouped in eight locations, numbered I-VIII (Figure 12), where answers to particular problems were sought. The amount of field work at each location varied from a single excavation unit to a series of such units, sometimes contiguous and sometimes not. The usual procedure was to start with a single unit and then to add more if necessary to follow out a particular feature or clarify the stratification. In some locations, however, more than a single excavation unit was initially planned. In such cases, they were placed far enough apart to recover the maximum amount of information from the location, but close enough together so that a high degree of correlation in the results might be expected.

The standard excavation unit measured 2 by 2 m, although 1 by 2 m and 2 by 4 m units, profiles, and a trench were also cut. Each unit was located with reference to the coordinates of the nearest survey stake (usually coinciding with the northeast corner of a unit) and identified by a number between 1 and 100. Contiguous units were assigned sequential numbers, but the group of units in each location was distinguished from other local groups by at least several digits, the practice being to assign one or more decades to each location.

The excavation units varied in depth according to the thickness of the cultural deposit, although in

extended excavations they were only as deep as was immediately useful. With a single exception, at least one unit in each location was carried all the way down to sterile subsoil. The initial excavation in a location was dug in arbitrary levels—usually of 10 or 25 cm—but these levels were often subdivided in an effort to follow observed stratification and segregate the cultural contents. Where additional contiguous units were placed in the same location, every attempt was made to dig natural levels according to the stratification revealed in the initial excavation, unless such layers were especially thick or it was desirable to follow precedent for analytic purposes. Each level was identified by a letter of the alphabet starting with A and following sequentially from the top down; sublevels recognizing breaks in the stratification were distinguished by subscripts.

Although the excavations were conducted over a period of one year (July 1967 to June 1968), the actual time expended in the field approximated six months. A hired crew averaging three men provided most of the muscle for the field work, but was sometimes supplemented with volunteer labor. All excavation was accomplished by hand with shovels or smaller implements and was closely supervised. All excavated dirt was screened through half-inch hardware cloth, unless otherwise stated.

### Location I: Mounds B and S

This location was the first to be opened up for excavation and it eventually received more attention than any other. It was chosen for three reasons. First, it was found to be the only part of the site to have a significant amount of cultural material on the surface, indicating the presence of midden deposits. Second, human teeth and bone fragments were discovered on the eastern corner of Mound B during a preliminary site survey, and there were also local reports of burials having been turned up in the vicinity of Mound S. Finally, the earliest plans of the site (Figure 10) indicate the presence of causeways interconnecting many of the mounds, the most ex-

tensive of which appeared to start at B and to connect S, R, Q, and perhaps P. Therefore, the third reason was to check the accuracy of what were often overly imaginative depictions and, if these causeways had some basis in fact, to gather constructional information.

A couple of years before it was acquired by the park, a 1 ha section on the southern end of the site, which included Mounds R and S, was leveled. Mound R was completely destroyed, but Mound S had been bisected by the old property line so that part of it was spared. The ready-made profile was tempting and an easy way to start, so operations commenced at this spot at the end of July 1967.

#### PROFILE AND EXCAVATION UNIT 1

##### Description and coordinates

The first objective was to cut a clean vertical profile near the center of the remnant of Mound S and clear away the dirt that had sloughed down since the original cutting. This profile was 6 m long and 1 m in depth from the highest remaining point on the mound surface (elevation +1.91 m). The precise location of the profile is difficult to fix because it followed the old property line, which, in turn, was not oriented to a cardinal point but ran on a line 10 degrees east of north, west of south. The closest reference stake (S190, E123; elevation +1.91 m) was 1.55 m northwest of the northern terminus of the profile, and what was to become the northwest corner of Excavation Unit 1.

##### Stratification (Figure 14)

The profile revealed the following stratification: humus, midden layer, occupational level, and constructional fill. The first 20 cm, including the top of the midden layer, had been disturbed some time in the past, evidently through cultivation. The midden layer was a relatively homogeneous sandy loam, gray-brown in color, and quite rich in cultural content. It was not possible to determine at this point whether this layer was the result of primary or secondary deposition (i.e., whether it represented *in*

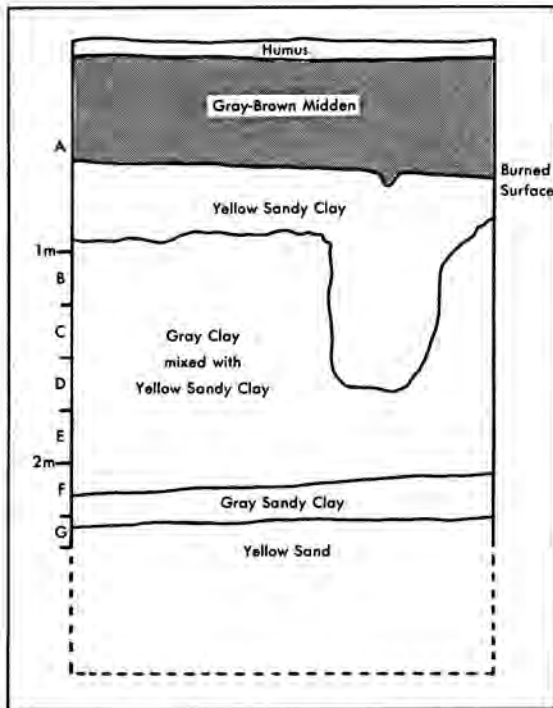


Figure 14. Location 1, Excavation Unit 1, west profile.

*situ* occupation or constructional fill), although later evidence indicated the former. The midden continued to a depth of approximately 60 cm and directly overlay an occupational level marked by a burned floor (elevation +1.25-1.4 m). This floor was of hard baked clay with a high sand content and had no features of its own, although it was broken in several places by postholes, wall trenches, and other intrusions from above. The material of which the floor was composed, a relatively unmodified sandy clay with little cultural content, continued to a depth of approximately 90 cm, at which point it was replaced by a variegated fill consisting of yellow sandy clay mixed with chunks of pure gray clay. As it appeared that we were coming into extensive mound construction, the profile as a whole was stopped at this point, and a 2 by 2 m excavation unit (1) was set up at the northern end to continue the test.

Excavation Unit 1 confirmed that the variegated sandy clay was constructional fill, which was found to be more than 1 m thick. Finally, at a depth of more

than 200 cm (elevation *ca.* -2 m), this fill gave way to a layer of gray sandy clay mottled with charcoal and containing a few potsherds and other materials. At about 230 cm this layer shaded into what appeared to be sterile yellow alluvial sand. To be certain that subsoil had been reached, a posthole was sunk down another 75 cm and brought up only more of the same sand, although with increasing clay content.

### Interpretation

The stratification of Profile and Excavation Unit 1 clearly demarcated three distinct stages of human activity. On top of the natural levee deposits of the Channel 2 Mississippi, there was evidence of a preliminary occupation. The fact that there was not very much cultural content, however, suggests that the occupation was small, brief, or both. With little or no break, this was followed by the construction of most of Mound S (the remnant left to us indicates only proportions, not the ultimate size that the mound may have attained). This mound was capped with a layer of sandy clay and, considering the lack of cultural content within it or on its fired surface, the structure on the summit of the mound must have burned very shortly after its construction or been kept ritually clean. In any case, directly on top of this occupational surface was a thick layer of midden which was determined to be primary deposition and probably represented a lengthy period of late occupation.

### EXCAVATION UNIT 5/6

#### Description and coordinates

In order to test for a causeway, a double 2 by 4 m excavation unit was put in between Mounds B and S. Spread by the plow but still prominent, a ridge-like feature connecting these two mounds was clearly visible. The question, however, was whether its origin was aboriginal and, if so, what its function might have been. The coordinates of the northeastern corner of Excavation Unit 5 were S188, E115, and those of Excavation Unit 6 were S188,

E117; the elevation of both was +1.85 m. These two units were taken down concurrently for the first six levels. Then Unit 5 was stopped, while Unit 6 was carried down another six levels. The levels were originally planned to be an arbitrary 25 cm in thickness, but in fact ranged between 15 and 30 cm, according to circumstances.

#### Stratification (Figure 15)

The stratification was markedly similar to that found in Profile and Excavation Unit 1, with two exceptions: first, the overlying midden layer was found to be composed of two distinct deposits differing in color and charcoal content. Second, it would seem that Unit 1 was not carried all the way to sterile subsoil and that the yellow sandy clay soil was incorrectly identified. It was found again at the bottom of Unit 6, and again it appeared to be "sterile" (i.e., devoid of cultural materials), but this

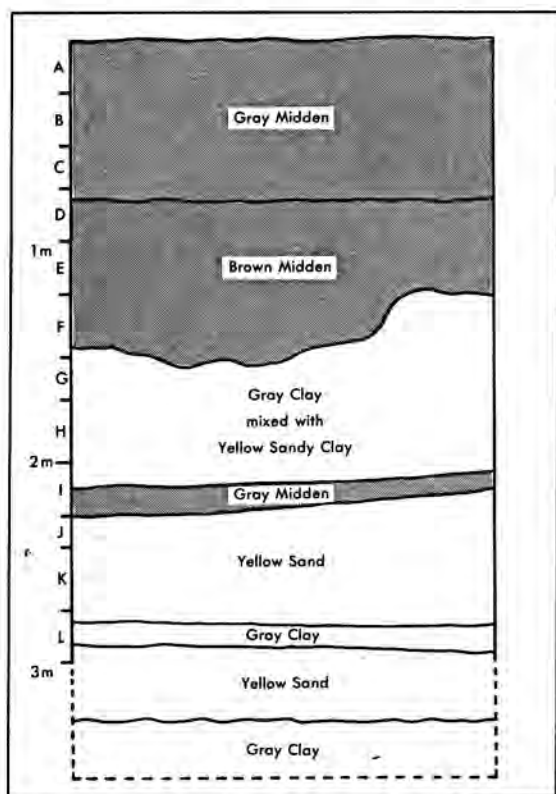


Figure 15. Location I, Excavation Unit 6, south profile.

time it was mottled with charcoal. Although the charcoal could have been non-human in origin, it was necessary to continue in order to be certain. The effort proved worthwhile, for at an elevation of -0.9 m another occupational level was reached. Cultural activity was indicated mainly by a high charcoal content in a relatively pure gray clay matrix, but there were also a few potsherds. Sterile subsoil finally was reached at an elevation of -1.05 m, and this time was definitely verified by a posthole test that was carried down 80 more centimeters.

#### Interpretation

There were clearly two early occupational levels, separated by 50 cm of yellow sandy fill. Immediately superimposed was a considerable amount of mound construction, which in turn was capped by a long occupation manifested by a thick layer of what seemed to be primary midden. This midden, however, was unusually homogeneous and lacking in the usual signs of human disturbance. An explanation for the homogeneity may be that the nearby mounds were the actual occupation sites and that it was from them that the refuse found on this site between them was discarded. This situation would also explain the difference in the thickness of the midden layer on the mound, as opposed to between the mounds. For while the stratification in Excavation Units 1 and 5/6 was very similar, and clearly related, there was a significant difference in the proportion of constructional fill to overlying midden. In both cases, the ratios were almost 2:1, but whereas this favored mound construction in Unit 1, in Unit 5/6 there was considerably more midden. There is no question, however, that some sort of earthwork was purposefully constructed here, and that it was constructed at the same time that Mound S was built. Its purpose is not known, although some indication of its function may be provided by the only significant feature in the entire excavation: a shallow wall trench containing post molds which apparently originated at the break between the two midden layers, and as it was oriented east-west may



have been a wall or some other structure that connected Mounds S and B.

#### EXCAVATION UNITS 11-14

##### Description and coordinates

It has already been mentioned that in the preliminary site surveys fragments of human teeth and bones had been found on Mound B. Further search and clearing of the ground cover pinpointed several spots near the base of the eastern corner and along the southeastern side from which these remains seemed to be eroding. A 2 by 4 m excavation unit (11/12) was then set up so that it included the most promising spot, and yet was also on the same east-west line as Excavation Unit 5/6 in order to facilitate the correlation of stratification. The coordinates for the northeastern corner of Unit 11 were S188, E92 and for Unit 12 S188, E90. As the excavation was set perpendicularly into the eastern corner of Mound B, there was considerable slope to the ground surface (Figures 16, 17): the highest point was the northwestern corner of Unit 12 (S188, E88; elevation +3.31 m—all measurements of depth were taken from this point) and the lowest the southeastern corner of Unit 11 (S190, E92; elevation +1.91 m), the difference between them being 140 cm. Because of the slope, and since burial recovery was the principal concern, the initial level of this excavation was an irregular one, being approximately 140 cm deep at the western end of Unit 12, but only at ground level at the eastern side of Unit 11. This procedure provided a horizontal working surface from which to continue excavation at regular 25 cm levels, and comparative freedom in isolating and removing any burial features.

##### Stratification (Figure 16)

In the top level of Excavation Unit 11/12 we eventually found four burials and four isolated fragments of human bone (elevation of burials: between +2.71 and 2.2 m). These had been included in the constructional fill of the mound, which was a very hard, yellow sandy clay containing occasional in-

clusions of pure gray clay. Essentially the same material was found in Mound S beneath the midden, although the surface of it had been heavily burned. That surface can probably be correlated with an unweathered surface, also burned in places, upon which the burials had been laid before the overlying fill had been added. In any case, the same fill continued through the next two 25 cm levels, and then at the bottom of it a second layer of burials was encountered (elevation: between +1.56 and +1.3 m). Because the first of these burials to be uncovered continued south and west beyond the limits of Unit 12, it was necessary to open up two new units: 13, a 1 by 2 m excavation to the west of 12, and 14, a 1 by 4 m excavation south of both 12 and 13 (Figure 17). In Unit 13 there was only undifferentiated yellow sandy clay until the second layer of burials was reached. In Unit 14, however, more burials belonging to the first layer were discovered before the second layer was uncovered. In both 13 and 14 the same stratification was revealed as in 11/12, and the two layers of burials were definitely confirmed as being distinct events, separated by approximately

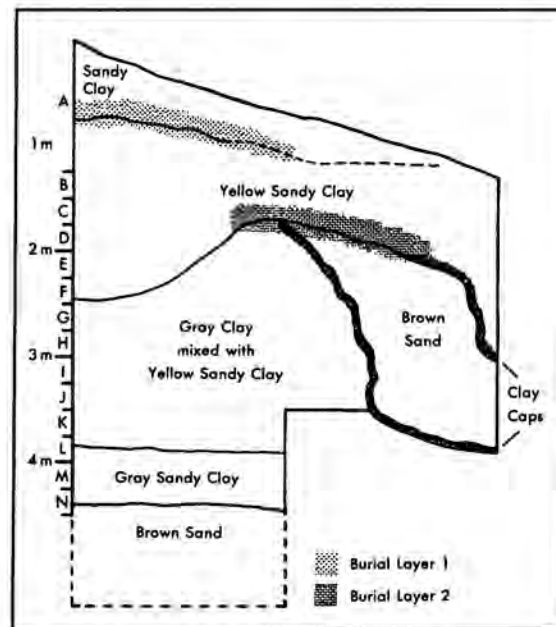


Figure 16. Location I, Excavation Units 11/12, north profile.



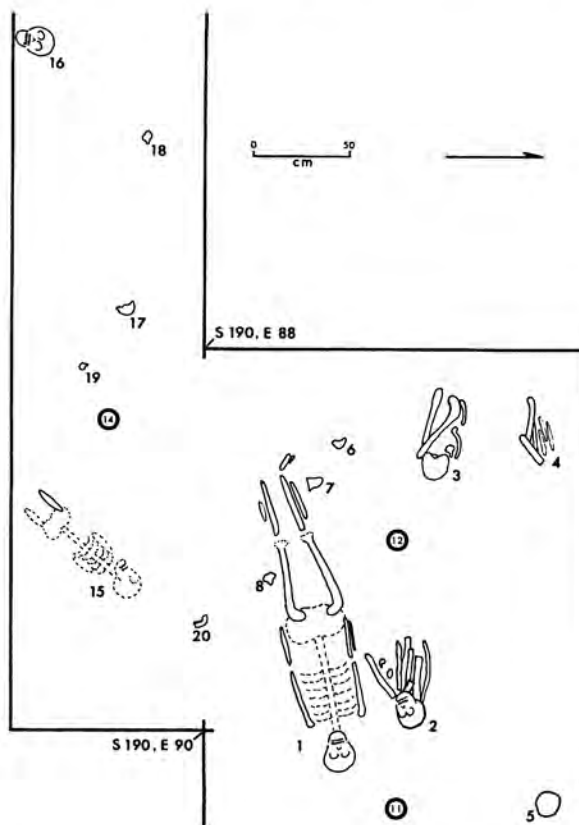
*Figure 17. Location I, opening Excavation Unit 14. This expansion of Units 11/12 at Mound B was necessary in order to isolate burials of Layer 2. (Photo by Noel Workman).*

50 cm of mound fill.

Altogether, sixteen burials were recovered from the two layers. There were six individuals in Layer 1, and their arrangement is shown in Figure 18. In addition, there were eight other scattered fragments of human bone disassociated from the burials. All of the remains in this layer were in an advanced state of deterioration. The ten burials from Layer 2 (Figure 19) were in a better state of preservation, but even then it was not always possible to age or sex them. All of the burials were placed in constructional layers, although most were associated with old surfaces of the mound; that is, they lay on these surfaces

or in shallow graves within them. Half of the individuals were accompanied by grave offerings, but only one of these was from Layer 1 (#16). Extended (supine), bundle, and isolated skull were the three favored forms of burial. Of these, the first two were found in both layers, while the third was confined to Layer 2. The basic data concerning these 24 lots of human remains are described in more detail in Chapter 5.

Excavation of both Units 13 and 14 was stopped once the burials were taken out, and efforts were then concentrated upon digging Unit 11/12 down to subsoil. Ten more 25 cm levels were taken out to a depth of 450 cm (elevation -1.19 m). This dirt was not sifted because of the high clay admixture and the



*Figure 18. Location I, Excavation Units 11, 12, 14, plan of Burial Layer 1, Burials 1-4, 15-16; bone fragments 5-8, 17-20. Elevation between +2.2-.71 m on sloping mound surface.*

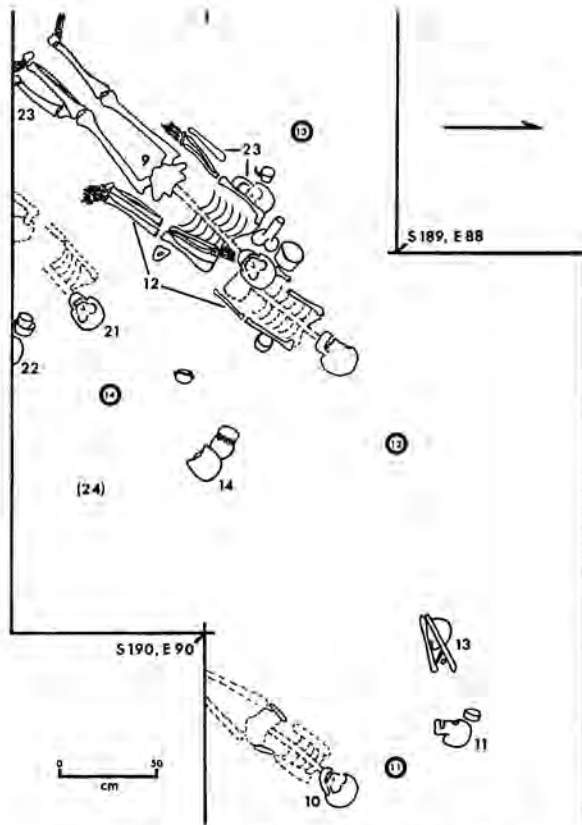


Figure 19. Location I, Excavation Units 11-14, plan of Burial Layer 2. Burials 9-14, 21-23. Elevation between +1.3-1.56 m.

low artifactual content, which together did not seem to justify the extra effort.

Beneath the yellow sandy clay was up to 2.2 m of mixed fill which consisted predominantly of the same sandy clay and pure clay strata already observed as the principal layer of constructional fill in Units 1 and 5/6. However, this fill was supplemented by a purer sandy clay in the western part of Unit 12; and in the northeastern part of Unit 11 the mixed fill was replaced by a thick layer of medium-grained brown sand, which clearly showed individual basket loads, topped off with a clay cap (Figure 20). Beneath these fills, and at a depth of 390 cm (elevation -.59 m), was found the same gray sandy clay layer that had been found in the other excavations, except that this time the evidence for human occupa-

tion was tentative at best, being limited to charcoal flecking and a few pieces of shell. This layer continued for 50 cm but turned darker half-way down, indicating higher charcoal content. It was abruptly replaced by sterile, alluvial-laid sand by 450 cm (elevation -1.15 m). A test posthole indicated that this was definitely sterile subsoil, the grain size of which slowly diminished with depth until at an elevation of -2.05 m it had changed to nearly pure gray clay.

#### Interpretation

The same two artifact-bearing, pre-mound layers discerned immediately above subsoil in Excavation Unit 6 were present here, despite the absence of pottery, but were not separated by fill. More than ever, these layers appeared to be natural (alluvial) depositions and had only a suggestion of human activity. It would seem that we were on the edge of any pre-mound occupation. And then, before the surface of the upper layer had a chance to weather, Mound B was built. Although there is no good evidence of weathered surfaces or old humus lines, the construction was probably not continuous, although most if not all of the mound was certainly put up within a relatively brief time. Initially, the effort consisted of a thick loading of various mixtures of sand and clay. The improbable stratification of this loading clearly indicates that it was a one-time construction: some of the surfaces between different loadings were too near the vertical to have held firm, in spite of the clay caps that were added (Figure 20). Furthermore, a close examination of the clay layer between the principal fill and the sand layer clearly reveals it to have been unweathered, even to the slightest degree, for it still displayed the sharp angular surfaces such clay has when freshly broken up. This clay layer was the equivalent of a structural member and not a surface finish. The initial construction, then, amounted to about two-thirds of the bulk of the mound (if the proportions revealed in Unit 12 are a fair representation of the whole) and consisted entirely of fill beneath the

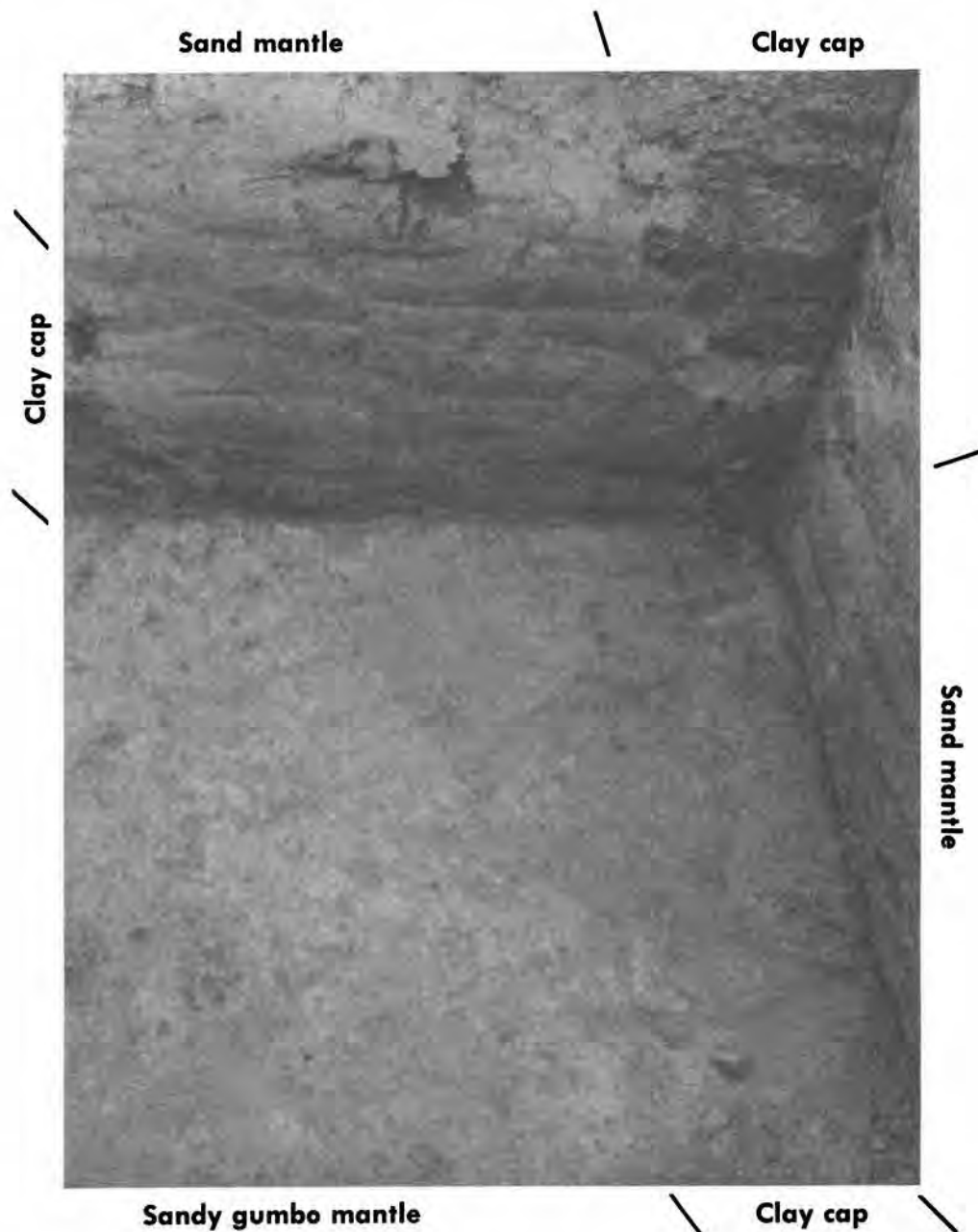


Figure 20. Construction stages in Mound B. Alternating mantles of culturally sterile soil reveal some sophistication in structural technology. Four mantles are observable in this photo (from bottom left to top right): sandy clay, clay, sand, and clay. Each of these was a discrete event, but they were added in rapid succession (as evidenced by the lack of weathered surfaces), constituting a single great instance of mound construction. Indeed, the sand mantle, which would have been easier to dig and thus provided more bulk with less effort, would have required the immediate application of a protective clay cap. In fact, they were both probably built up at the same time, the two clay mantles forming a framework for the sand mantle: note the absolutely horizontal stratification of the individual basketloads of sand. The clay mantles, then, were intentional structural elements, as well as protective devices.



second, or earlier, layer of burials.

The crucial question is when the earlier burials were put into position, and what their relation was to the stratification. Important to this consideration is the fact that the clay cap over the first stage of construction also showed no signs of weathering, much less humus formation, indicating that it was not exposed for any appreciable length of time. The same situation was observed in the corresponding surfaces of both Units 1 and 5/6. The Layer 2 burials were laid directly on this surface, or in shallow pits within it, and as would be expected it was quite apparent from their condition that they were covered immediately. It seems, then, that there was no significant time lapse between the completion of Construction Stage 1 and the adding of the overlying yellow sandy clay mantle (Stage 2). Therefore the Layer 2 burials and their funerary accompaniments were part of a spectacular but brief series of construction episodes, and as such they will provide excellent information for the dating and cultural association of this burst of activity (see Chapters 5, 6).

After the sandy clay mantle had been added, there appears to have been a brief pause in mound construction. There was no clay cap to signal the completion of this stage, but there was a distinct surface, often marked by burning, evidence of which could be found along the entire southeastern margin of the mound. After this event, the upper layer (Layer 1) of burials was put on the burned surface and covered with a final mantle of sandy clay, which was almost identical in composition to that beneath. The surface of this layer has been destroyed.

The absence of the overlying midden found in Units 1 and 5/6 may be attributed to one of two causes: either it was removed by natural washing action, which cut down into the first layer of burials, or even more likely it was not present. The latter possibility is perfectly compatible with the supposition that this mound, the second largest in the group, had special significance and was therefore kept ceremonially clean—all refuse was thrown clear,

augmenting the accumulation found in Units 5/6.

#### SUMMARY OF LOCATION I

After a very brief occupation directly on the natural levee of the Stage 2 Mississippi channel, a tremendous amount of mound building activity took place. At least 90 percent of Mounds B and S, as well as part of an interconnecting earthwork, were completed before individual surfaces had a chance to weather or become littered and disturbed through human occupation. This construction consisted primarily of loading consisting of alternate layers of mixed sandy clay and relatively pure clay; the former had the virtue of being easier to dig, while the latter was the most erosion-resistant material available. On top of this, a mantle of sandy clay was added to both mounds. The mounds then seem to have been occupied, and this occupation probably contributed to the lower layer of midden discovered in Unit 5/6. However long the occupation was, its termination was signaled by a general conflagration that singed both mounds. Mound B had a final mantle of sandy clay added after this, bringing it to its final form, while Mound S, which may have been a domiciliary mound, grew a little more through accretion of refuse. The users of both mounds also contributed to the upper layer of midden in Unit 5/6.

#### Location II: Mound D

Mound D was one of the smaller mounds of the domiciliary type. In 1967 it was in a badly deteriorated condition as a result of both cultivation and depredation (Figure 21). While most of the latter may have been effected by pothunters, C.B. Moore also excavated ten of his trial-holes here. The only note-worthy result of his endeavor was "a much-decayed skeleton of an infant . . . about 2 feet below the surface" (Moore 1908:599).

The selection of the mound for further work was determined, first, by the need for a link between Location I and work planned at other locations on the northern side of the site. Secondly, it seemed a



*Figure 21. Mounds B (left), C (right center), and D (far right) from the summit of Mound A. Photograph taken in 1951 before the state acquired the site and built the museum to the northwest of Mounds C and D. Our excavations at the base of Mound B were on the side directly facing the camera; at Mound D they were placed on the highest point beneath the tree and to the left (LMS neg. 511359).*

likely prospect for some ceramic stratigraphy since it was expected to be a mound largely formed through midden accumulation. The third determinant was the surprise discovery of a spot near the highest remaining point that miraculously appeared to have escaped Moore or any other digger (Figure 22).



Figure 22. Location II, Excavation Unit 25. A well-honed hoe is a highly effective archaeological tool when wielded by an experienced agricultural worker. (Photo by Noel Workman).

#### EXCAVATION UNIT 25

##### Description and coordinates

A standard 2 by 2 m excavation unit was established with the following coordinates for the northeastern corner: S14, E84. This was close by the highest elevation on the mound (S15, E85; elevation +2.69 m), from which all local measurements were taken. After an initial level of 20 cm to remove the disturbed topsoil, this unit was excavated in 10 cm levels.

##### Stratification (Figure 23)

Immediately beneath about 15 cm of plow-disturbed midden was a layer of ash, charcoal, and baked clay. This refuse directly overlay a fired living floor (at 20 to ca. 40 cm), associated with which were numerous postholes mostly aligned in parallel

or perpendicular rows. In subsequent levels it was clearly revealed that the posts had been set in wall trenches running NE-SW and NW-SE, and that these joined in forming part of a rectangular structure oriented at a 45-degree angle to the cardinal points (Figure 24). This structure was probably domiciliary, considering the small size of the posts used for wall supports (average diameter of the postholes was 10 cm). No attempt was made to follow out the posthole patterns to recover a more complete plan of the structure, as it could not be expected that enough had survived the recent depredations to justify the extra work.

The wall trenches continued to a depth of about 100 cm, and their midden content was quite distinct from the constructional fill into which they intruded. The fill was first recognized as a layer about 50 cm thick that consisted of the same basically unmodified sandy clay mixture that has already been recognized as the principal constructional material at the site (and is in plentiful supply in the immediate vicinity). This time, it was a light brown color and it had a heavy admixture of chunks of gray clay.

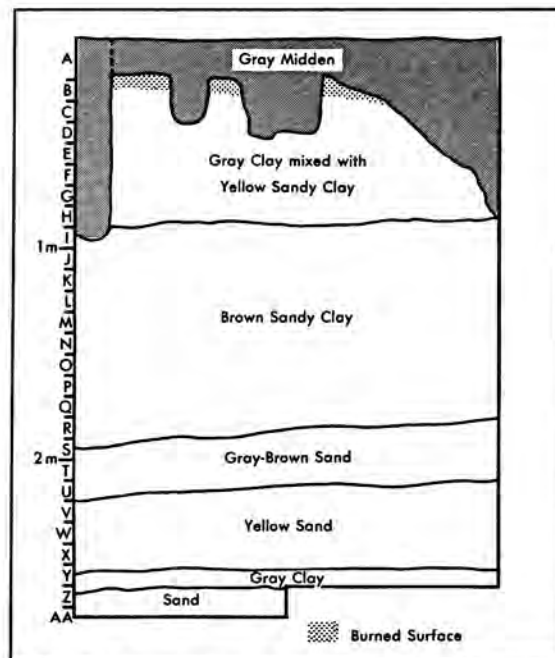


Figure 23. Location II, Excavation Unit 25, south profile.

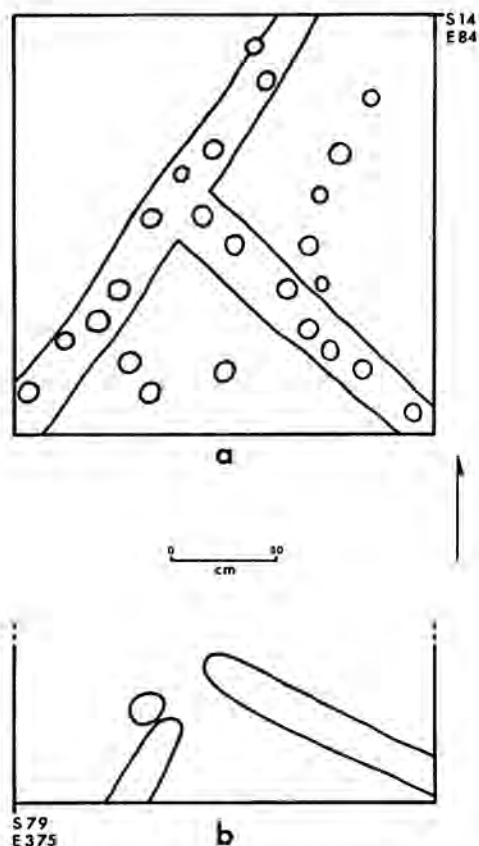


Figure 24. Locations II and VII, partial plans of house structures. Wall trenches and post molds were always found to be arranged in rectangular patterns at Winterville. a, summit of Mound D; b, beneath Mound M.

Then, between a depth of 90 and 100 cm from the mound surface (elevation *ca.* +1.65 m), a new layer of sandy clay fill was reached. This fill was similar to that above, but darker because of more charcoal mottling, and had fewer inclusions of pure clay. It was a full meter thick and represented a single deposition event. Beneath the fill, at a depth of approximately 200 cm (elevation *ca.* +.65 m), was a layer of gray-brown sandy soil averaging 25 cm thick. Without even charcoal flecking, it had the appearance not of midden, but rather of alluvium, and it contained many thin lenses of pure white sand that were certainly water-laid. Despite appearances,

this layer had twice the cultural content, by level, of the overlying fill and obviously represented the preconstructional surface which had been briefly occupied in the vicinity of Location I. No actual living floor could be ascertained, but four postholes were definitely associated with the surface of this layer. By a depth of 220 cm, the soil turned much sandier and lighter in color, and although there was some charcoal mottling, the artifactual content dropped off markedly. It may be presumed that this layer was definitely alluvial in origin, and that all cultural material had been intruded down into it. At approximately 250-260 cm, a thin layer of water-laid gray clay with a slight sand content was reached, and then at 260-270 cm (elevation *ca.* 0 m) sterile rust-colored sand appeared. Cultural materials were found to a depth of 280 cm, but came from a pit that originated in the pre-mound occupational level. A test posthole put down another 50 cm to a depth of 330 cm verified that we had reached subsoil.

#### Interpretation

The bottommost strata were alluvial depositions, the most recent surface of which gave evidence of human occupation. This occupation also disturbed underlying layers and intruded cultural materials into them. On the basis of this evidence, Mound D was constructed of sandy clay fill in two distinct, but immediately sequent, stages. Capping the fill was an occupational level featuring a structure, probably domiciliary, on the mound summit. The structure was oriented to face across the plaza toward the central mound (or toward the bayou in the opposite direction). This occupation was terminated when the structure burned. Additional occupations are a moot point depending upon how the evidence is interpreted. There certainly seemed to be postholes, and perhaps other features, that were intruded through the burned floor from above. As they originated in the top level, however, these could as easily have been modern as aboriginal. The top level itself could either represent later fill or occupational refuse, or it may have been composed only of plow-disturbed



debris from the underlying burned occupational level. Because of the general disturbance, it was not possible to reach a conclusion from the stratification alone, although in the analysis of ceramic stratigraphy it will be demonstrated that another later occupation was indeed indicated. Thus again this was essentially the same stratification that was revealed in Location I: natural levee deposits, brief pre-mound occupation, mound construction, first post-constructional occupation (terminated by fire), and additional occupations with little or no evidence of mound construction.

### Location III: Mound F

Mound F was almost identical to Mound D, although it was slightly higher and appeared to be in better condition (despite the fact that Moore also put ten of his trial-holes into it with no noteworthy results). Therefore it was hoped that information would be gained that would clarify the question raised at Mound D concerning the possible existence and the extent of a late occupation. A second motive for selecting Mound F was to check the amount of intentional mound construction: small domiciliary mounds of this sort had usually been thought of as being primarily accretional (i.e., built up by the accumulation of refuse through living in one spot), but this was most definitely not the case in Mounds S or D, which were principally composed of sterile fill that appeared to have been loaded all at one time.

#### EXCAVATION UNIT 35

##### Description and coordinates

A standard 2 by 2 m unit was placed on the summit of Mound F and as near to the original center as could be estimated. The coordinates of the north-eastern corner of this excavation were N75, E163, and the elevation was +3 m. It was taken down to subsoil in twelve 25-cm levels, although one of these was subdivided, making thirteen levels in all.

##### Stratification (Figure 25)

From the first level it was apparent that we were not going to get any information on late occupations, since we immediately struck into nearly sterile mound fill. This fill was composed of the usual sandy clay, this time with a heavy admixture of chunks of gray clay, both randomly scattered and in thin layers. This constructional layer was nearly 2 m thick and had no features or other relief, except that the clay chunks were concentrated in the upper portion and thinned out toward the bottom.

At a depth of 190-195 cm, however, there was an abrupt transition to a light-gray sandy clay that was mottled with charcoal and had a high number of potsherds in it. This sandy clay, in turn, was directly above an occupational level which lay between 200 and 215 cm deep (elevation +.85 to +1 m). While this level did not seem to be an actual

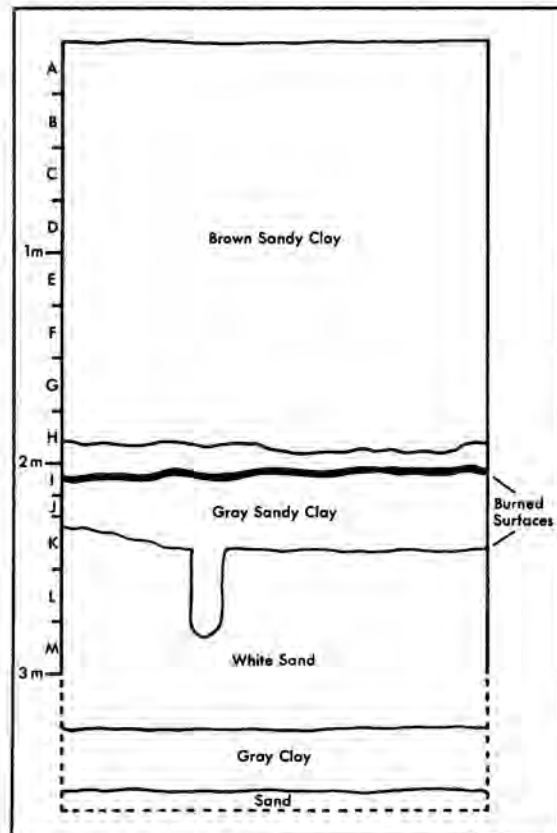


Figure 25. Location III, Excavation Unit 35, west profile.



living floor, it consisted of rich midden that had obviously been subjected to a very intense fire before being covered over. Postholes and other associated features indicated that there was activity, but not what it was: although four of the postholes were aligned in a wall trench, it could not be determined what kind of structure they belonged to. Beneath this occupational level was found the same gray sandy clay that overlay it, this time in a layer averaging 25 cm thick. Then, between 225 and 245 cm (elevation +.55 to +.75 m), was found a thin stratum of burned dirt and charcoal which was surprisingly rich in potsherds and other materials. The surface of this level was very uneven, and in appearance suggested a series of briefly attended fire pits. Pottery was particularly abundant in areas of high charcoal concentration. This was the earliest occupational level. Underneath was a fine alluvial sand, which at first was grayish and had a little cultural material intruded into it, but by 290 cm (elevation +.1 m) it had turned into sterile white sand. A posthole test put down to verify that we were in subsoil revealed that this sand continued for another 35 cm until it was replaced by a layer of pure gray clay (elevation -.25 m), which was in turn replaced by coarse white sand (elevation -.55 m).

#### **Interpretation**

The first evidence of human activity was an occupational level on the old levee surface. Apparently briefly occupied, this level was covered by a layer of what seems to have been fill, the top of which had a second occupational level. The interesting feature of this occupational level was that it, unlike all other pre-mound levels, bore the marks of a general conflagration which thus far had been associated only with the first post-mound occupation. (This fact is of great importance, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.) Above the burned level was a thin layer of fill, and then the major construction—a one-time loading—that resulted in Mound F. The top of this fill, as well as any post-constructional occupation(s), had been removed through cultiva-

tion. Thus, while we achieved our second objective by determining that the mound was largely constructional, it would seem that we failed at the primary objective of learning more about the later occupation(s). Actually, we did far better than we realized; and this mound, which in general stratification compares so closely to Mounds S, B, and D, will be found to have a very different cultural stratigraphy (see Chapter 6).

#### **Location IV: Mounds G and H**

Mounds G and H are medium-size mounds: respectively, the seventh and fifth highest in the group. It therefore seemed rather curious that they should have been situated so close to each other (Figures 12, 26). While it was hoped that an excavation between the two mounds would discover the reason, it was not expected. What was expected, however, was a chance to work on both mounds with one excavation and to determine when each mound was built and their relationship to each other. Expectations are not always realized; and excavations often grow, in this case from one excavation unit to four units and a profile.

#### **EXCAVATION UNITS 55 AND 56**

##### **Description and coordinates**

Bridging the brief gap between Mounds G and H was a narrow ridge that was reminiscent of that between Mounds B and S, although on a smaller scale. On the highest part of this ridge, exactly midway between Mounds G and H, a standard 2 by 2 m excavation unit was established. Coordinates of the northeastern corner were N166, E221; elevation +1.85 m. This unit was designated number 55. Subsequently, a second unit (56) was set up immediately to the south (N164, E221). All levels were an arbitrary 25 cm.

##### **Stratification (Figure 27)**

Under the topsoil was what proved to be for Winterville an extremely rich midden. The matrix of



Figure 26. Mounds G and H from the summit of Mound A. Photograph taken in 1951 (LMS neg. 51/358).

this midden was a relatively homogeneous brown sandy loam, and it continued to a depth of 80 cm. At that point, there was an abrupt transition to a layer of baked clay fragments (daub) which was 5-10 cm thick and lay directly upon a fired floor. This floor (elevation *ca.* +1 m) was composed of very hard baked clay and, except for two postholes, was featureless. It was decided to uncover more of the floor, since it was such a well-defined feature, and in the process more of the rich midden could be mined. For these reasons, Unit 56 was dug. As in Unit 55, 56 was topped with the rich brown midden that continued to a depth of approximately 75-80 cm. The burned floor, however, was just barely present. There was no daub layer, and the floor, while clearly evident in the northern profile, simply thinned out and eventually disappeared in the southern part of the excavation. Clearly the floor, or whatever it was, was not a major feature. In a change of tactics it was decided to forget the floor and carry the excavation down to subsoil.

Beneath the floor level was another 75 cm of midden deposit which was even richer than that above the floor. This midden was a lighter brown in

color because it was sandier and had occasional chunks of gray clay mixed in. Then, at 170-175 cm, a layer of charcoal-flecked yellow sand appeared. This sand was essentially sterile of cultural materials, but there were numerous intrusions into it from the overlying midden. By a depth of 200 cm (elevation -.15 m), this layer had definitely shaded into subsoil. Further testing revealed that the yellow sand continued down another 65 cm, at which point it was abruptly replaced by pure gray clay.

#### Interpretation

Basically, the stratification was very simple. At the bottom was alluvial deposition, the top 20 cm of which was stained and disturbed by human activity. This activity may have resulted from a brief occupation on the old ground surface, as well as later disturbance from overlying strata. Above the subsoil were over 1.5 m of rich midden deposits which were featureless except for a partially burned occupational level approximately in the middle.

These results were most interesting, but they were not very informative about Mounds G and H and their relationship. We had found a considerable accumulation of midden which was determined to

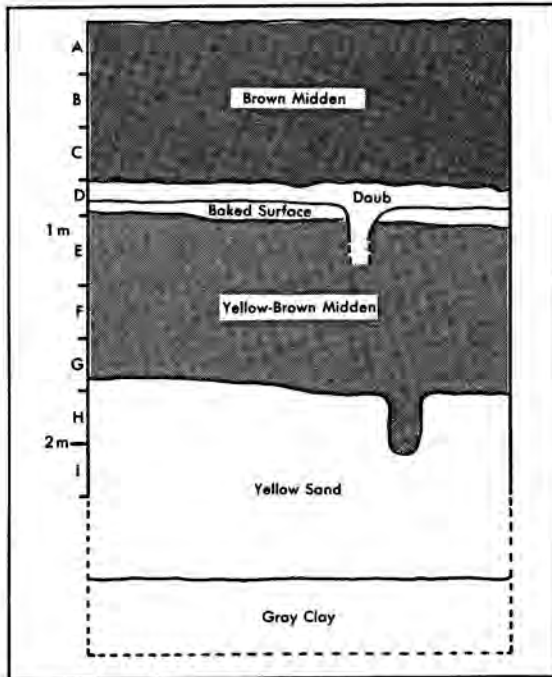


Figure 27. Location IV, Excavation Unit 56, north profile.

have been primary deposition and which, analogous to Location I, must have been refuse thrown down from the mound summits. Beyond this supposition, however, we could not directly relate the strata to the mounds. The most obvious feature to use for such correlation was the burned floor. There was no indication of whether there was an actual structure at this very spot or whether the ground was fired when structures on one or both of the mounds burned and daub from the crumbling walls cascaded down (the quantity of daub was considerable: the total aggregate from the single layer in Unit 55 weighed more than 142 kg). Even more fundamental, it was not even clear whether the floor pre- or postdated the mounds. It was therefore resolved that one of the adjoining mounds had to be tested.

#### EXCAVATION UNIT 45/46

##### Description and coordinates

Mound G was chosen for correlative testing since Mound H was known to have recent graves in

it (so recent, in fact, that many local residents still knew about them although there were no markers or any other indication; see also Moore 1908:598). Furthermore, although Mound G was not as high as H, it was bigger and had more surface area so that there was a better chance of avoiding the five trial-holes Moore had allotted to each. Finally, Mound G was one of three oval (originally rectangular?) mounds at the site, and it was hoped that an explanation for the relative popularity of this shape could be found.

Therefore, a double excavation unit (2 by 4 m) was established on the highest point at the north-eastern end of Mound G (Figure 28). A double unit was required because of the expected depth of excavation, but the remaining summit plateau was so restricted that it was not possible to align an excavation of this size conveniently with the cardinal directions. Therefore it was necessary to skew the entire excavation 45 degrees: a one-eighth turn counter-clockwise, pivoting on the northeastern reference stake of Unit 46 (N159, E209; elevation +4.07 m). Excavation Unit 45, then, had no fixed reference point, although it could be interpolated, and was located only by its juxtaposition to the southwest of Unit 46. This confusing situation was compounded by the fact that Unit 45 was subsequently shifted 1 m to the northeast, so that it was half in 45 and half in 46 as originally established. Thus, first as a double unit, then as a single 2 by 2 m unit, this excavation was taken down through the mound to subsoil in eighteen 25 cm levels.

##### Stratification (Figure 29)

Mound G had the most complex stratification yet encountered. The top of the mound was covered with rich brown sandy-loam midden very similar to that encountered in the top three levels of Units 55 and 56. The midden was disturbed, but the nature of the disturbance (and whether it was aboriginal or modern) was not immediately apparent. At a depth of 25-35 cm there was a section of hard, heavily burned floor in Unit 45 that had been broken in

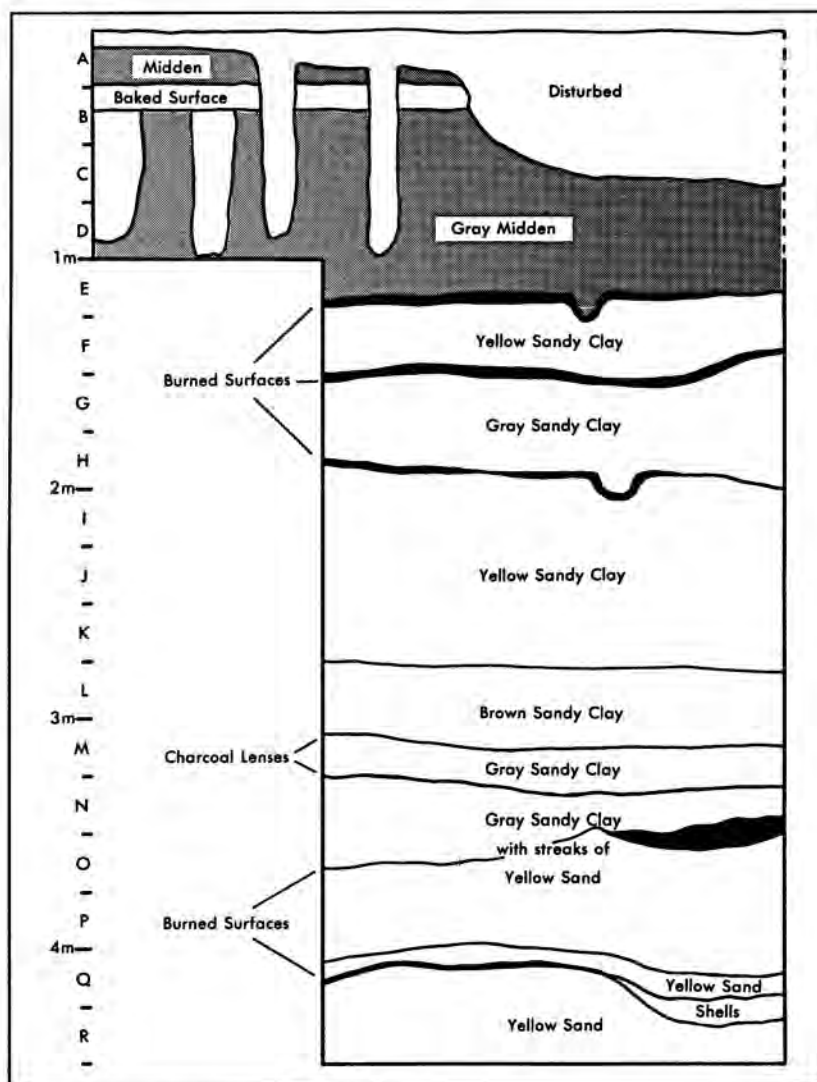


a



b

*Figure 28. Excavations at Mound G. General views, looking north. a, Mound G with Mound H in right background; b, Excavation Unit 45/46 at the summit of Mound G.*



*Figure 29. Location IV, Excavation Unit 45, northwest profile.*

places by later intrusions. The floor was not present at all in Unit 46, which was beginning to reveal extensive disturbance from the modern surface of the mound. Beneath the floor in Unit 45 was another layer of midden which was about 80 cm thick and composed of gray sandy clay very similar to that under the burned floor in Unit 56. This midden, however, was obviously secondary deposition, loaded on as constructional fill.

At this point in the excavation the extent and nature of the modern disturbance was fully realized.

The profiles of Unit 45 revealed a number of post-holes intruding down from the surface to as deep as 100 cm, and Unit 46 was found to be almost completely disturbed by one or more large pits. One of the latter, in the northeastern part of Unit 46, was observed to have a suspiciously regular outline, and discreet probing brought up nails and fragments of wood. When more such evidence was found in the southern corner of Unit 45, it became quite apparent that we were in the middle of a nineteenth-century plantation graveyard. However, it was also apparent



that the center of the excavation was undisturbed by such hindrances. Therefore, a meter was lopped off each end of the excavation and the resulting 2 by 2 m unit, designated 45 only, was carried down to subsoil.

The sandy midden continued down to a depth of 115 cm. Between 115 and 195 cm, a considerable amount of activity was revealed: within these 80 cm were three distinct occupational levels separated by sterile fills of sand and clay mixture. The three levels—at depths of 115-120 cm, *ca.* 150 cm, and 185-195 cm—all showed some evidence of burning and had a few potsherds directly associated. Some kind of structure had stood on the two highest levels, and each had burned before the overlying fill was added. Both structures were indicated by a row of small postholes running in a line southwest-northeast, the same orientation as the mound itself. The uppermost structure also had a shallow trench parallel to the row of postholes. It was not possible to determine what kind of structures these were, but the parallel construction and orientation would seem to relate them. Although the surface was also burned, no features could be identified in the lowest level.

Beneath all this, starting at 190 cm in depth and continuing to approximately 400 cm, was major mound construction within which the following distinctions were observed: from 200 to 300 cm there was only constructional fill consisting of the usual sandy clay with occasional chunks of pure gray clay thrown in. This fill was lighter at the top and darker toward the bottom. At about 300 cm, and down to 400 cm, there was less clay admixture and more sand, but the color became grayish because of charcoal mottling. Also present within this last 100 cm were elusive lenses of charcoal which had no particular associated cultural materials or features and apparently represented only temporary fires in the course of construction. However, there was also a more significant layer of charcoal that sloped diagonally across the excavation from about 325 to 365 cm and was up to 10 cm thick. A row of medium-size postholes set within a wall trench

oriented northwest-southeast was associated. Again, some sort of structure was indicated, but we did not have enough information to determine what kind. Nevertheless, it was probably not a house because of the slope of the ground. Whatever it was, it was unlikely to have stood for long because exactly the same kind of fill was found beneath it as over it.

At approximately 400 cm (elevation *ca.* 0 m), the gray sandy clay fill shaded into a layer of water-laid yellow sand; and directly below it was a thin layer of charcoal, which became a layer of charcoal-mottled clay embedded with mussel shells in the northeastern corner of the excavation (Figure 30). This was the earliest evidence of human activity, and by 435 cm (elevation -.3 m) sterile yellow sand was encountered. A posthole test verified that we were into subsoil and determined that the sand continued to a depth of 480 cm, at which point it was replaced by solid gray clay.



*Figure 30. Mound G excavations, bottom of shaft, Excavation Unit 45. The layer of mussel shells in the northern corner (upper left) may be seen, and next to it, in situ, a large Addis ware bottle. Above this early occupation were many stages of mound construction.*

#### **Interpretation**

A very brief occupation on the old natural levee surface was covered with a layer of sand laid down by alluvial action, which indicates a hiatus of un-

known duration. Upon this base Mound G was built. In spite of four definite occupational levels and two charcoal lenses, it appears that nearly 4 m of constructional fill was loaded on within a relatively brief span of time. The brevity of the occupations was implied by three facts: first, the lack of potsherds and other refuse associated with the burned layers; second, the fact that the lowest layer was covered with the same kind of fill that lay beneath it; and third, that the top two, and possibly three, layers appeared to have identical structures associated, indicating a close continuity. (Cultural stratigraphy, not our concern here, also supports the thesis of a rapid sequence of constructional episodes, since pieces of the same vessel of a type in current fashion at the time of construction were found near the bottom and top of the mound.) The conclusion, then, was that these burned surfaces were temporally insignificant pauses in what was essentially one major construction project. Only after an elevation of +3.75 m had been attained was there evidence of an important occupational level. Although it was not possible to determine the nature of this occupation, it was intense enough to leave a considerable accumulation of cultural remains, and the burning of what must have been a major structure generated such terrific heat that the ground surface was fired to a depth of 10 cm. After the rubble had been cleared, there was at least one later occupation, most evidence of which has since been destroyed.

Although it was not revealed in the excavations, the contours of Mound G suggest that the oval shape was due to the construction of a second mound adjacent to, and overlapping, an earlier mound. Our excavations were in this addition, the function of which is unknown, although it served to narrow the gap between Mounds G and H.

#### PROFILE AND TEST HOLES, MOUND H

Mound H was not extensively tested during the 1967-1968 excavations because, as already noted above, it was known to contain recent graves. How-

ever, two 1 m deep exploratory postholes were dug into the top of the mound. These brought up only homogeneous light brown sandy clay that appeared to be sterile and even lacked charcoal flecking. The last occupational layer at the summit was obviously gone, exposing the underlying constructional fill.

The extent of this fill was indicated when a second opportunity for investigating the mound was presented. In the summer of 1967, a bulldozer nicked the northwestern edge of the mound while clearing the right-of-way for a fence, and in so doing cut a profile about 1 m high near the base. The elevation of this profile was between approximately +2.5 m and +3.5 m, which was below the bottom of the posthole tests that had been put into the summit. Again, only constructional fill was revealed: basket-loaded sand, surmounted by the same light brown sandy clay found at the top but now also containing scattered chunks of pure gray clay. As was the case at the summit, there was no charcoal mottling, although a pocket of burned dirt unassociated with a distinct stratum was observed in the upper mantle. Otherwise both mantles seemed to be completely sterile, and not even a potsherd was found. It would therefore seem from this limited evidence that Mound H also was largely constructional—that is, composed principally of sterile fills without even evidence of major occupational hiatuses—which suggests that it, too, may have been built within a relatively brief period.

#### SUMMARY OF LOCATION IV

The earliest evidence of human activity at Location IV is an occupational level represented by a thin midden accumulation on the old natural ground surface. Following this, Mounds G and H were built within a relatively brief interval of time, as no major hiatuses in construction were observed. The mounds may even have been raised contemporaneously, but it is likely that the extension of Mound G was added later. The last preserved occupational level on the summit of this extension may be correlated with the burned floor in Excavation Units 55 and 56, and the

layer of daub in Unit 55 could represent the clearing of the collapsed walls from the structure on the top of the mound, thus accounting for the absence there of such rubble. The midden below the burned level in Unit 56 was refuse discarded by the occupants on the mound up to the time of the conflagration. The midden above the burned level in Units 55 and 56 was refuse from the last occupation on the mound(s), evidence of which was mostly destroyed at the summit of Mound G and seems to have been entirely removed from Mound H. Nevertheless, some information about the latest occupation at the site had finally been gathered; and judging by the depth of the midden this was as intense as the preceding occupation, although it did not manifest any constructional activity.

#### Location V: Mound K

In order to gain additional information about the latest occupations at the site and their relationship to

each other, it was decided that the summit of one of the mounds should be tested extensively. Considering the nature of the site, it was also hoped that such an exploration would uncover the remains of a temple or other ceremonial structure and provide the architectural details that had not survived at the locations already investigated. For these purposes one of the larger mounds had to be selected, one that was still in relatively good condition and touched only lightly by man and weather. The choice was narrowed to the five largest mounds: A, B, H, K, and L. Mound H was ruled out because of its known use as a modern cemetery. Mound A was unsuitable because it had been the target of the most depredations over the years by pothunter and professional alike. Furthermore, Mound A at that time was in the process of being restored, and this restoration included the loading of several feet of protective earth on the summit plateau: overburden which would have unproductively claimed extra labor. Mound L, like Mound G, was badly eroded and it was doubtful



Figure 31. Mound K from the summit of Mound A. Photograph taken in 1951 (LMS neg. 51/360).

that much of the original surface was left. Thus, it either had to be Mound B or Mound K. The Mound B location had already been tested by us. Moreover, Moore had also worked over the summit plateau of Mound B by placing nine of his trial-holes there. The summit of Mound K, on the other hand, had twice the surface area but had received only half as much attention from Moore, who had dug only five trial-holes; it was therefore probably better preserved (Figure 31). Finally, of all the mounds, K had the most evidence of daub from burned walls lying on the surface, which suggested that it was well suited for the objective of architectural research.

#### EXCAVATION UNITS 70-76 AND 65

##### **Description and coordinates**

Careful probing beneath the surface of the summit plateau indicated the presence of a burned floor at a depth of approximately 75-100 cm. It could be felt over a considerable area and seemed to be covered by a layer of daub. A double excavation unit (75/76) was placed in what appeared to be an undisturbed spot, and directly over where the burned floor was determined to be especially firm. The coordinates of the northeastern corners of these units were N122, E417 and N122, E419 respectively. As the excavations were expanded, five additional units (70-74) were added (Figure 32): two along the N122 line at E413 and E415, and three along the N124 line at E413, E415, and E417. Excavation Unit 65 was a 1 by 16 m trench that was laid out between N123 and N124 from E411 west to E395. The average elevation of these excavations was +5.75 m.

##### **Stratification (Figure 36)**

Excavation Units 75/76 were taken down concurrently in 25 cm levels. The first several levels were composed of very rich grayish brown midden. There were indications of burned areas and possible occupational levels at many points, but due to great disturbance (despite our anticipation) it was not possible to isolate these phenomena as individual living floors; in fact, it was not even certain whether

these features were aboriginal, or whether they were redepositions as the result of recent disturbances. While later occupational levels were to be expected, it is significant to note that the best evidence for them came from that part of Unit 76 that was subsequently proven to be the most disturbed. While the interpretation of these features was uncertain, there was no question but that the midden itself was basically a primary deposition: that is, it was accretional refuse and not constructional fill.

Beneath the midden, at a depth of approximately 75 cm, a layer of pure daub was encountered in all but the southern and eastern portions of Unit 76, where major disturbance was clearly evident. This daub was covered by a thin (1-2 cm) layer of wood ash, proving that it represented the collapsed wall of a structure which had stood and burned in that exact location. As the top of the layer of daub actually varied in depth from 67 to 95 cm, it was decided that arbitrary excavation levels should be replaced by natural levels. Thus all overlying midden was removed until the daub was exposed everywhere in Unit 75 and in the undisturbed portion of Unit 76. More than 185 kg of daub was then taken up, and directly beneath it was a hard-baked floor lying at a depth of 84-98 cm (elevation *ca.* +4.75 m to 4.9 m). Although obviously a living floor and integral part of the structure that had burned, there was disappointingly little artifactual material associated with it. There was one pottery vessel that had been crushed by the falling wall (Figures 32, 33) and part of a large bowl, but otherwise there was very little to be found. Features associated with the floor consisted of four hollow postholes (two bracketing the crushed pot) and a large pit that had been dug and then refilled prior to the fire. Four other postholes were later intrusions from above. Also intrusive, in the disturbed part of Unit 76, were two wall trenches that were perpendicular to each other and formed a corner (Figure 32). These intrusions proved that there was at least one later structure associated with the overlying midden and confirmed the existence of the putative occupational level(s) tentatively



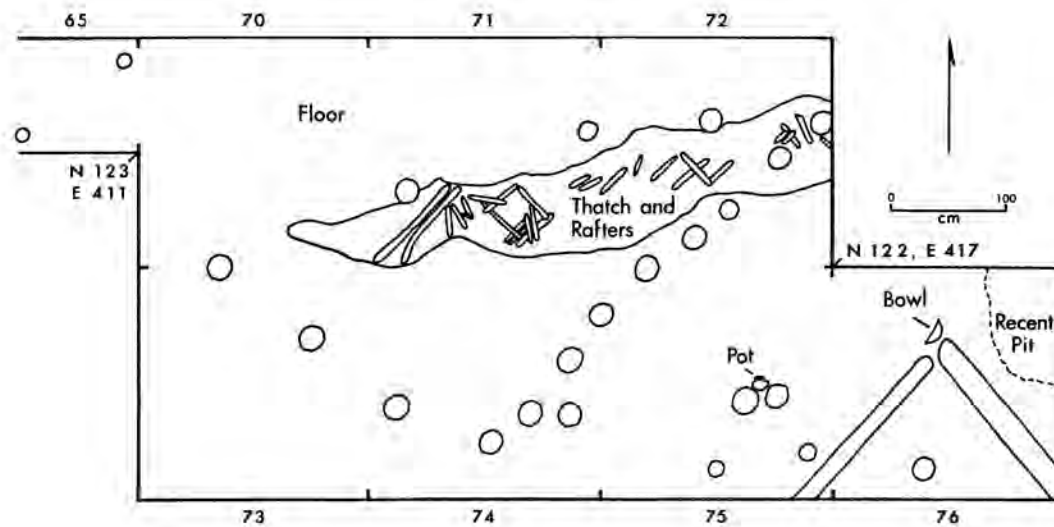


Figure 32. Location V, plan of Mound K excavations. Details of burned level at ca. 90 cm.

identified in the stratification. Clearly, the observed disturbance was partly due to aboriginal activity, although a pit determined to be of recent origin was also isolated in the northeastern corner of Unit 76.

At this point, the excavations were expanded in order to follow out the burned floor and to gain as much architectural detail as possible about the associated building; it was also hoped that the function of the structure could be determined.

First, five new excavation units (70-74) were opened up immediately to the west and north of Unit 75. These were excavated by natural levels: from the surface to the top of the daub layer, and then the daub layer to the floor. It had been hoped that a later occupational level could be found in this excavation of the midden layer that would provide for a stratigraphic subdivision, but as none could be discerned the entire layer was taken out as one level. Thus, exactly the same stratification prevailed as was observed in Units 75/76. In order to expedite the work, the dirt from these levels was not sifted, but all potsherds and artifacts noticed were saved.

Beneath the layer of daub, the burned floor was found to continue into Units 70-74, although it had been disturbed in the southwestern corner of Unit

73. Again, there was very little artifactual material associated directly with the floor itself. The only new features were an extensive layer of carbonized roof thatch and rafters in Units 71 and 72, a few scattered postholes, and a row of eleven large postholes (average diameter 20 cm) that ran on a line northeast-southwest through Units 72 and 74 (Figures 32, 34). These postholes were not hollow but contained loose fill similar to the overlying midden, and the fact that they pierced the daub and thatch layers indicated that they were not to be associated with the present floor but were intrusions from a later structure. This conclusion was substantiated by their orientation, which paralleled the principal intrusive wall trench in Unit 76.

Having so far failed even to determine the dimensions of the structure with the burned floor, we decided to complete the bisection of the summit plateau by running a 1 m wide trench (Unit 65) all the way to the western edge. It was hoped that at least the foundations of one of the walls would be found. The entire trench was excavated in one operation, again without sifting the dirt, down to the burned floor at a depth of approximately 120 cm. The greater depth of the floor was found to be due





*Figure 33. Pottery vessels in situ on the floor of burned structure at the summit of Mound K. Looking west into Excavation Units 75/76. Crushed vessel between the postholes is an example of Leland Incised, var. Leland (see appendix A).*

to a sudden dropping off in the eastern end of the trench. The difference in absolute level beyond this drop-off, and the small amount of overlying daub, were taken as evidence that most of the trench penetrated beyond the floor of the structure to reveal the old outside ground surface. Also, postholes at the drop-off point would seem to confirm that a wall running roughly north-south had been placed there. Whether this was the principal western wall of the structure, or not, could not be determined with certainty because the situation beyond that point was complicated by a number of disturbances that destroyed large parts of the burned surface and any associated features. These disturbances mostly included postholes and wall trenches that were oriented northeast-southwest and originated in the overlying midden where two or three later occupa-

tional levels were now clearly observed in the profiles. One roughly rectangular pit, however, originated from the surface of the mound and was probably one of the five trial-holes dug by C.B. Moore (Figure 35).

Thus, while the remains of a large burned structure had been revealed, neither its dimensions nor its form were definitely established, and its function remained a mystery. In terms of effort expended and results achieved, however, the point had been reached where this secondary line of inquiry had to be subordinated to the primary objective of gaining general information about the latest occupations and their relationships. It was necessary to determine the exact position of this structure in the post-constructional mound stratification. Therefore attention was shifted back to Unit 75, where excavations were continued through the floor in order to check the underlying strata.

Immediately beneath the floor was a layer of very heterogeneous fill consisting of midden, burned dirt, charcoal, and daub, under which was a layer of charcoal and ash that covered another burned floor at a depth of 112-116 cm (elevation ca. +4.6 m). The two floors thus were quite distinct and did not have any connection, except that there were intrusions down into this earlier floor from the one above (Figure 36). The only new features in the lower floor were several postholes. Again, there was very little associated artifactual material.

But the extent of occupation at this high elevation still had not been realized: for under the second floor was found a thin layer of burned dirt and daub which overlay a third and yet earlier burned floor at a depth of 121-125 cm. This floor was also clearly independent of those above it, although it was disturbed by intrusions from as high as the first burned floor. It exhibited no new features and had few potsherds or other materials. This floor was the earliest post-constructional occupation.

Below the burned floors was gray sandy clay fill, which was featureless except for intrusions from the overlying occupational levels that continued to a



a

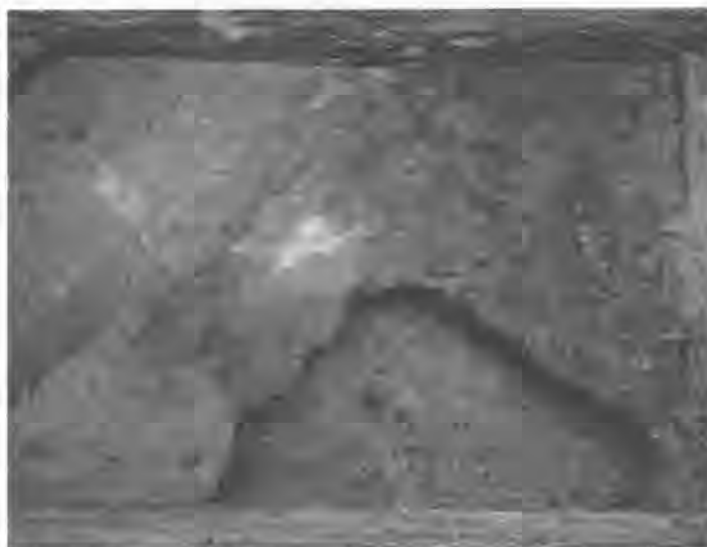


b



c

Figure 34. Burned structure, Mound K summit. a, hard baked floor, still covered on left side with layer of daub and part of charred thatch roofing (looking east); b, daub and thatch removed, revealing charred rafters; c, detail of rafters, showing overlapping of elements (looking west).



*Figure 35. Location V, Excavation Unit 65, detail. Note the corner of the rectangular feature in the bottom of the picture bisected by our trench: a modern disturbance, it probably is one of C.B. Moore's "trial-holes," although it is somewhat smaller than the dimensions he claims to have adhered to in most instances.*

depth of a little over 175 cm. At a depth of about 190 cm was a thin lens of charcoal. The significance of the charcoal was not determined, but just beneath it at approximately 200 cm there was a change to a different mixed sandy clay fill that had many intrusions originating at, or just below, the level of the charcoal. Among these intrusions was a wall trench with twelve post molds (average diameter 10 cm) which was oriented northeast-southwest. This was the earliest occupational level encountered in the excavation, and it may be correlated with the levels in the upper fill of Mound G below the heavily burned floor. Beneath it the fill continued to a depth of approximately 300 cm, at which point it changed to a mantle of light brown sand. The latter contained evidence of burning at a depth of 340-350 cm (elevation *ca.* +2.25 m, which was also the approximate height from the base of the mound), but there was no indication of whether this represented an occupational level. The last meter was not excavated but was explored with a posthole test. It was not safe to dig deeper in sand with only a 2 by 2 m excavation unit.

#### **Interpretation**

Although the excavations were not carried to the bottom of Mound K, the general impression was of a situation comparable to Mound G. That is, the great bulk of the mound was constructional, consisting of two or more mantles that may have included temporary occupations during brief breaks in the construction. The principal occupations, however, were restricted to the very upper levels. The exact number of late post-constructional occupational levels was not determined, but there was certainly an intensive occupation associated with the three burned floors. The extensive excavation devoted to the uppermost of these failed to discover the dimensions or size of the associated building, but did gather valuable structural details about the floor, walls, and roof (see Chapter 5). It was not clear whether the building itself served a ceremonial or secular function, but the lack of associated artifactual materials suggests that it may have been ceremonially cleansed before it was ritually fired. Certainly there was no evidence of an accidental fire or violence. In any case, immediately after the fire—

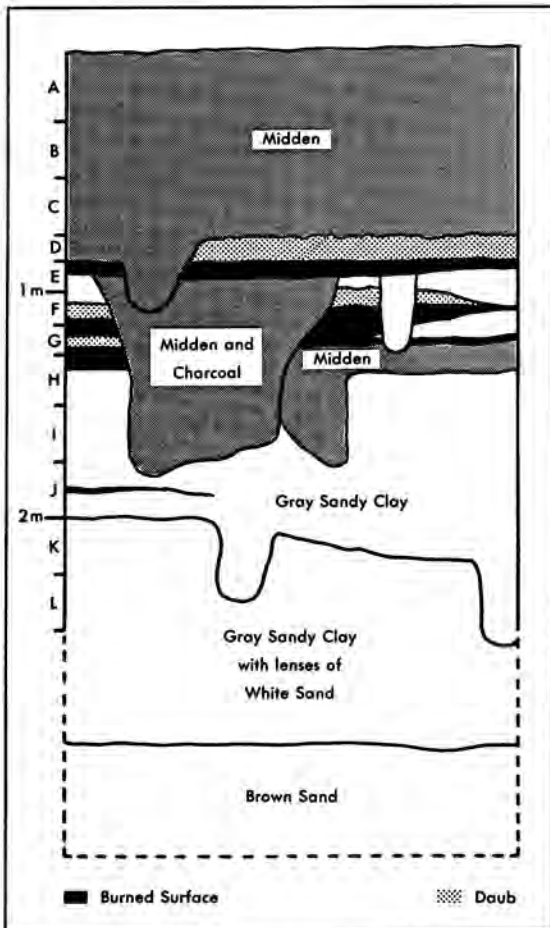


Figure 36. Location V, Excavation Unit 75, south profile.

as attested by the unweathered surface of the daub and the presence of the ash layer—the ruins were covered over and the mound reoccupied. This terminal occupation left a rich primary midden that was much disturbed but contained at least two or three distinct occupational levels. Thus the mound grew slightly through midden accumulations, but there seems to have been no further purposeful construction.

#### Location VI: Mound L

Being one of the higher mounds, Mound L had been considered previously for excavation, but had

been passed over because of its poor state of preservation. Moreover, at the time of consideration the interest was in an excavation at the summit, and Moore confesses that the plateau “was fairly well covered by the seven trial-holes allotted to it” (Moore 1908:598). There was another feature of Mound L that warranted investigation, however: on the northern end was a suspicious “toe” that reached out toward Mound K (Figure 12). The question was whether this extension was aboriginal or recent, and if the former, whether it was part of the mound or a remnant of a causeway between Mounds K and L. It was also hoped that an excavation in this location would produce more information about the last occupation, as the other two locations around the northern plaza had done.

#### EXCAVATION UNITS 85 AND 86

##### Description and coordinates

A 2 by 2 m excavation unit with the designation of 85 was first established on the extension at the base of Mound L, but when in the very first level a bovine victim of the 1927 flood was found (according to informants, this mound was one of two stock refuges during that catastrophe), an extensive disturbance was recognized and operations were shifted 2 m east and 2 m south, where a new excavation unit was opened up. This unit (86) had coordinates at the northeastern corner of N48, E398 and a mean elevation of +1.1 m. It was excavated to subsoil in nine 25-cm levels, many of which, however, were subdivided along strata lines.

##### Stratification (Figure 37)

The top level consisted of rich gray-brown midden which had been so disturbed through cultivation that it was thoroughly mixed, and it was impossible to ascertain whether it was primary deposition or wash from the mound. Just below the plow zone—where the plow had not already destroyed it—was a heavily burned occupational level (elevation +.85 m). This layer consisted of burned dirt, charcoal, and ashes, and it contained a large number of



potsherds and other artifacts, but no significant features. This burned level capped a layer of gray-brown midden that was not homogeneous like that above, but was quite variegated and included areas of relatively pure gray clay and light brown sand. And then, at a depth of 50-75 cm, this midden was replaced by sterile light brown sandy fill. This fill had many intrusions into it from the overlying midden, but no features originated within it. Beneath the fill, between 80-120 cm deep, was a sloping occupational level that was indicated by a second layer of charcoal and ash and a rich concentration of potsherds. This level capped another layer of sandy fill into which intruded two east-west wall trenches, containing post molds, that originated in the gray-brown midden associated with the first occupational level.

At 125-135 cm (elevation *ca.* -2 m), the yellow sand fill was replaced by gray sandy clay midden, the surface of which was burned. This was the top

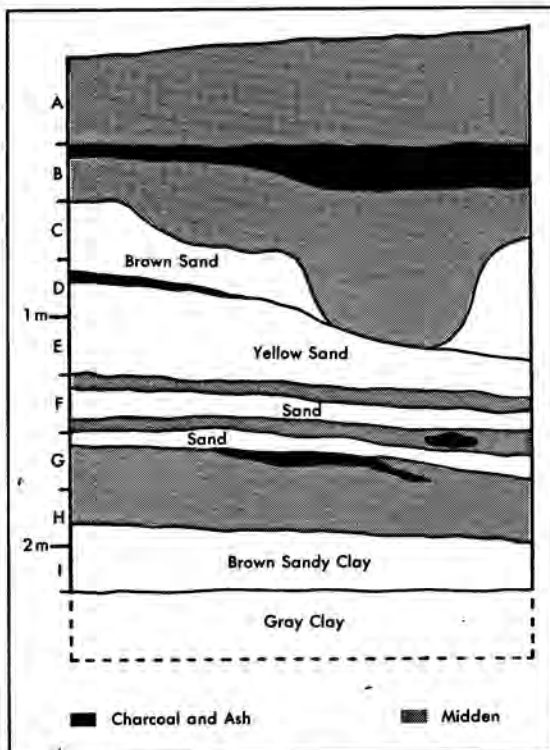


Figure 37. Location VI, Excavation Unit 86, south profile.

of what then appeared to be a rather intensive occupation consisting of alternating layers of midden and sterile light gray sand fill: each of three distinct layers of midden had a burned surface or considerable charcoal and ash content and was separated from the others by a layer of fill. The bottommost layer of midden was approximately 30 cm thick (or about the same as the four overlying layers of midden and fill combined), was slightly different in having higher clay content, and extended to a depth of 200 cm. Underlying it in the western part of the pit was a localized area of burned dirt and charcoal (elevation -1 m). This was the earliest evidence of occupation in this location, as it lay directly on the old sandy clay natural levee surface. A posthole test verified that subsoil had been reached and that it changed from sandy clay to pure gray clay at a depth of 220 cm.

#### Interpretation

Unlike other locations, it appeared that the earliest occupation here was quite intensive and may have lasted over an extended period of time. The question, of course, was whether greater time depth was represented here or whether mound construction was comparatively late at this location and these earlier levels actually correlated with mound construction elsewhere. (As will be discussed in Chapter 6, stratigraphy will prove that only the lowest midden is pre-mound, while the four overlying midden and fill strata are tailings from Mound L.) Above these levels there is clear evidence of construction, even though the excavation was not located on the mound proper. In fact, there were two distinct layers of loading, and each was surmounted by a distinct occupational level. While the earlier of these may have been relatively brief in duration since there was not much midden associated with it, the upper occupation seems to have been the major event it was at other locations in the post-constructional situation. It too bore evidence of termination by an intense fire. After this the story is not clear due to disturbance, but it is probable that the top layer of



midden represented a later occupation and was deposited either by human action (refuse thrown from the mound) or natural erosion.

Thus it was not possible to add any significant information concerning the latest occupation at the site. Nor was the function of the extension determined, but it can be stated that it was purposefully built, that it was aboriginal, and that it was added during the last two major constructional stages of Mound L.

### Location VII: Mound M

There were indications in the Mound L excavation that the pre-mound occupation may have been quite intensive. While evidence of this occupation had been found at all other locations where the excavations had gone deep enough, the impression was that it had been relatively brief; or—as at Location I—if there were more to it, then we were just on the fringe of it. There were undeniable artifactual remains (see Chapter 5 and appendixes), but these seemed to be included in a clay stratum in which there were no clearly distinguishable occupational levels or other isolable features (the only structure that could have been associated, at the bottom of Mound F, will be shown to have had a later cultural relationship). It seemed logical, then, to check out the possibility of a principal locus for a pre-mound occupation in that part of the site between Locations I and VI (Figure 12). This objective also had the virtue of rounding out the testing of the site.

The locus in question comprised that portion of the site still in private ownership and being used as a plantation headquarters. As already noted, the destruction that had been wrought upon the mounds in this area was great. Of the six original mounds, four (N, O, P, and R) had been totally destroyed within the previous few years, one provided the foundation for an implement shed, and only one had survived and was accessible, although about a third of it had been cut away and the remainder was under cultivation. This latter was Mound M, and its ex-

cavation was undertaken as much for salvage as for the other reasons given above.

#### PROFILE AND EXCAVATION UNIT 95

##### Description and coordinates

As soon as permission had been received to excavate, the face of the mound on the side that had been destroyed was cleared and a profile about 3 m long and 2 m high was cut (approximate coordinates: S79, E374.5 to S79.5, E377.5). The stratification revealed the following familiar succession from the surface down to the base: midden, burned occupational level, two layers of constructional fill, and another burned occupational level. It was hoped that this simple guide could be used for digging Mound M by natural levels, and therefore a 2 by 2 m excavation unit (95) was established nearby (coordinates of the northeastern corner: S77, E377) on the highest remaining point of the mound (elevation +1.75 m). It soon became apparent, however, that the stratification was far more complex than had been indicated in the profile. In order to maintain adequate control, natural levels had to be abandoned in favor of arbitrary 25 cm levels, but these were then subdivided along observed strata lines.

##### Stratification (Figure 38)

As had often been the case at other locations, the top layer of the mound was found to be composed of a very rich gray-brown midden. Because of the disturbance caused by the plow, it was not immediately apparent whether this midden was primary or secondary deposition, but the many intrusions found in subsequent levels clearly indicated that it was the result of *in situ* activity. Beneath it, at a depth of 25-42 cm (elevation *ca.* +1.5 m), was a burned floor which was covered with daub, indicating the remains of a house or other structure. This floor had no features of its own, but it had been cut through in many places by intrusions from above. These intrusions included four parallel wall trenches containing fourteen postholes, oriented northeast-southwest. The burned floor capped—and was of the

same material, being altered only physically by firing—a layer of sterile gray sandy clay fill which included scattered chunks of pure gray clay. The intrusions into this fill from the overlying midden continued to a depth of 90-95 cm.

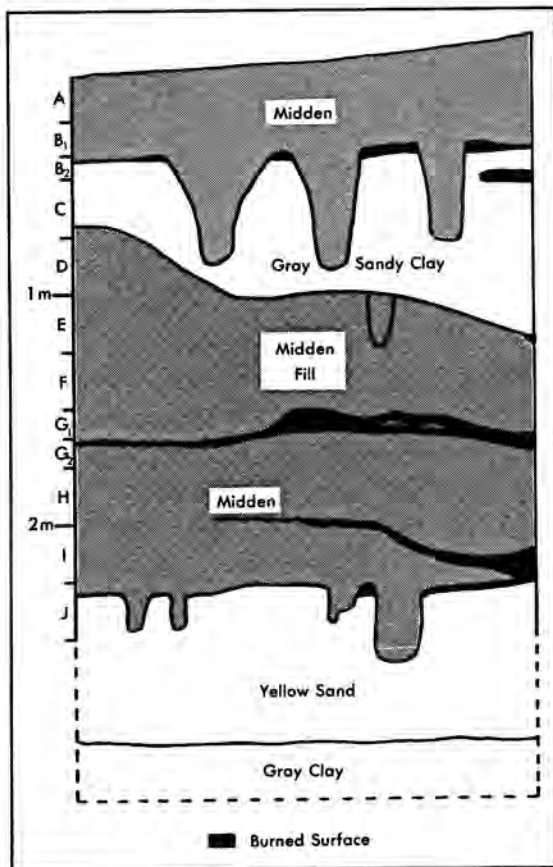


Figure 38. Location VII, Excavation Unit 95, south profile.

In the southeastern corner of the excavation, a new layer of gray-brown midden replaced the sterile fill at a depth of approximately 75 cm, and by 135 cm it was found throughout the entire unit. This midden was constructional fill (i.e., secondary deposition) and it continued all the way down to subsoil, remaining basically unchanged throughout except for differential charcoal mottling and increasing sand content toward the bottom. Within this matrix were three occupational levels. The upper-

most, on the sloping surface between 75-135 cm, was indicated by a wall trench with a double row of postholes on a northeast-southwest line. The second level was a heavily burned layer which lay on an undulating surface between 145-170 cm; it probably represented the remains of a structure, as there were burned logs and thatch lying on the surface. Also associated with this level were bone artifacts including an antler flaker and a large number of chert cobbles, which suggests that this structure may have been a workshop. The third, and earliest, occupational level consisted of a thick layer of charcoal and ash between approximately 200-225 cm (elevation -.25 to -.5 m). Although this layer was not found throughout the entire unit, it was very rich in artifacts and had a number of associated features. The latter included two wall trenches at right angles but not meeting, forming the open corner of a structure oriented two points east of north (Figure 24b). This occupation lay directly upon the sterile subsoil of yellow sand alluvial deposits that occurred everywhere in the excavation by a depth of 230 cm (elevation -.55 m). The wall trenches, however, intruded to a depth of 260 cm. Posthole tests revealed that the sand continued down to 295 cm (elevation -1.2 m), where it was replaced by pure gray clay.

#### Interpretation

At last there was good evidence for the earliest occupation at the site. Here were actual living floors: not one, but two levels with associated structures. Furthermore, the layer of what seems to have been primary midden deposition between these two levels is indicative of continuity, suggesting that there was some temporal depth to the occupation. Originally, then, this mound would appear to have been a small domiciliary mound of the accretional type. Subsequently, it seems that more midden was scraped up from the vicinity of the mound and loaded on; the new surface may have been occupied briefly. The final form of the mound, however, was achieved by adding a thick mantle of sterile constructional fill. An occupation followed, and as at other locations

was terminated by a general conflagration. A final layer of midden above this testifies to a still later occupation, the associated features of which have been destroyed.

### Location VIII: North Plaza

In the final days of fieldwork the north and south plazas were extensively tested to a depth of 1 m or more with a posthole digger. The objectives were to determine the level of the old natural levee surface, the level of the plaza when the site was occupied, and the amount of alluvial deposition since then. The results were quite unsatisfactory: in all but one of the twenty-odd scattered holes, the soil consisted of an undifferentiated brown sandy clay that was sterile and obviously alluvial deposition. As all the tests went below the depth where subsoil was reached in the nearest excavation, it was assumed that the information sought had been destroyed by cultivation or else that the plazas had been kept so clean that there was no clear demarcation between the pre- and post-occupational alluvial deposits. In any case, with only one exception not a sherd was brought up, or even a significant amount of charcoal, which seemed to support the concept of a "ceremonially cleansed" plaza. Therefore it was something of a surprise when several sherds were found in a hole sunk into that part of the north plaza bordered by mounds A, K, and L. The location of the test hole was far enough away from the mounds so that it was unlikely that eroded wash from them had been encountered. There had to be another explanation: possibly this was more evidence of a pre-mound occupation. We decided to investigate.

#### EXCAVATION UNIT 100

##### Description and coordinates

Because of the limitations imposed by time and money, only a 1 by 2 m excavation unit was established. This unit, designated 100, extended 1 m west and 2 m south from reference stake N74, E375. The

elevation at the stake was +.11 m.

##### Stratification (Figure 39)

The plow zone was 25 cm deep and nearly devoid of cultural materials, but beneath it was a layer of rich dark brown midden some 25-30 cm thick. That this midden was primary deposition was indicated by the fact that while it lay no deeper than 60 cm, potsherds were found intruded down to 80 cm in what was otherwise sterile sandy subsoil. The latter was verified with a posthole test to a depth of 175 cm.

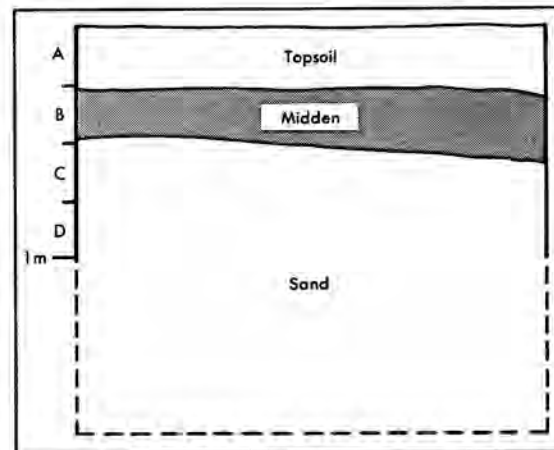


Figure 39. Location VIII, Excavation Unit 100, west profile.

##### Interpretation

Clearly an occupation of some sort was present in this location. The question whether it predated the creation of the ceremonial plaza or was part of it will be considered under the discussion of cultural stratigraphy in Chapter 6.

##### Summary of the Excavations

A composite of the stratification observed in the eight excavation locations described above reveals the following general succession of events:

1. Alluvial deposition, consisting of sand from the natural levee of the Channel 2 Mississippi River and clay from the silting in of the Channel 1 cut-off.

2. Small occupation on the old natural levee surface, centering on the southeastern portion of the site.

3. Mound (and other earthwork) construction with locally available alluvial soils, sometimes mixed with midden refuse. Infrequent thin occupational levels may occasionally have been incorporated.

4. One or more late occupations on the mound summits, manifested by prepared floors and as-

sociated buildings and midden deposits on and around the base of the mounds. Burials were interred at this time.

This outline clearly does not do justice to the actual complexity of the situation. The correlation of the individual strata between locations, and the determination of continuity or discontinuity in the succession of events within each location, will be considered in Chapter 6. First, however, the features and artifactual data from the excavations must be described and arranged for interpretive purposes.



## 5 Features and Artifacts

In this chapter the major features and the artifacts found during the course of the excavations are described. The artifactual assemblage consisted primarily of pottery, although a few tools and ornaments were also recovered. All of these artifact types are defined and given proveniences in appendices A-C. Also presented here are the floral and faunal remains, the identification and distribution of the latter being detailed in appendix D. In these pages the data are recast into a form more suitable for the interpretations of subsequent chapters.

First, however, the major features—the most important contexts in which these artifacts were found—are described. Three categories of major features were encountered in the excavations at Winterville: earthworks, architecture, and burials.

### Earthworks

The existence of different kinds of aboriginal earthworks in North America has been recognized at least since the classification of Squier and Davis (1848). At Winterville there are both mounds and causeways. A basic subdivision of mounds into burial and temple types was well established by the time Ford and Willey (1941) synthesized the prehistory of the eastern United States in terms of mound-type “stages.” More recent work has identified a number of variations in mound function and form (Belmont 1967:31-32; Williams and Brain 1983: Table 11.2). Of these, the only type that was anticipated at Winterville was the substructural mound, for which at least two functions have been

described: domiciliary and ceremonial-pyramidal. The former is characterized by its usually smaller size and haphazard construction, owing much of its bulk to *in situ* accumulation rather than to intentional loading. The latter is generally larger in size and is the result mostly of purposeful construction, although occupational levels may be a significant inclusion. The more regular outline usually associated with this kind of mound is probably an accident of recent history—through sheer size they have been spared the depredations of modern farming practices, while the smaller mounds have been plowed down or destroyed.

With general criteria like these, it is possible to make almost any kind of identification desired in order to fit the circumstances at hand. But it is significant that even the smallest mound excavated at Winterville revealed evidence of purposeful, planned construction for 90 percent or more of its bulk, so that whatever functions the various mounds might have fulfilled, they are similar structurally and may be considered as a single class: that is, as artificial constructions, pyramidal and flat-topped in form, composed of loaded dirt and/or occupational refuse, and serving primarily as substructural daises.

The only other earthworks observed at Winterville were the causeways that apparently interconnected several of the mounds. Aside from differences in form and presumed function, the one causeway tested differed significantly from the mounds in structure: it had a much higher percentage of midden content which was of primary deposition, indicative either of occupation on it or on the



neighboring mounds. Basically, however, these causeways may be interpreted as purposeful constructions that served as linear connections between mounds.

### Architecture

The architectural remains at Winterville exhibit only one type of building, examples of which differ only in size, probably according to function. This structure is of the same general type commonly found throughout the Lower Valley during the late prehistoric period and identified with the spread of Mississippian influence. The smaller buildings at Winterville were probably domiciliary (Figure 24), while the larger were presumably ceremonial (Figure 32), although there is no solid evidence other than size and placement to support these conjectures of function. At two locations (IV and V), detailed structural information concerning individual buildings was recovered. The following description is based upon these two buildings, supplemented with data from other locations.

#### RECTANGULAR WALL-TRENCH STRUCTURES (Figures 24, 32, 34, 40)

**Form:** Rectangular. Entranceways were in corner or side.

**Dimensions:** Unknown. No reconstructable floor plan was uncovered.

#### Structural Detail:

**Foundation.** Linear wall trenches were dug for all four sides. Average width for smaller structures was 10-15 cm, and for larger 20-25 cm. Depth was approximately 1 m in both cases.

**Support.** Side wall posts averaged 10 cm in diameter for the smaller buildings and 20 cm in diameter for the larger. These posts were set vertically into the wall trenches and placed approximately 15 to 40 cm apart respectively. The trenches were then refilled with dirt to the original ground level, securing the posts in an upright position. Central roof supports in

the interior of the building were of approximately the same diameter as the wall posts, but they were set into individual postholes rather than trenches. The lengths of these wall and roof posts are not known, so it is not possible to reconstruct the height of the structures.

**Wall Construction.** The wall posts were first interwoven horizontally with split cane 1-2 cm in diameter (Figure 40a, b). Occasionally, the cane itself was also interwoven with vertical strips in the interstices between the main posts. This framework was then plastered on both the interior and exterior surfaces with a layer of daub composed of sandy clay mixed with grass or spanish moss which acted as a bonding agent. (When fired by the burning of the structure, this daub was turned brick hard and orange in color; some 500 kg of such brickbats were recovered from the excavations.) The average thickness of the daub layer was 5 cm, but there is evidence to suggest that the exterior layer was usually thicker than the interior one, in some cases on the order of 2:1. The exterior surfaces were then scored with a sharp instrument or brushed with sticks and grasses (Figure 40c) preparatory to applying a finish coat of mud plaster. The final plastering consisted of pure clay, averaged 2-3 mm thick, and was fairly well smoothed although not brought to a flat plane (Figure 40). Interior surfaces were roughly smoothed and unfinished. The complete wall averaged 20-30 cm in thickness on all structures.

**Roof Construction.** Roofs were constructed of a framework of poles that was then covered with a thick layer of grass thatch. The complexity of this construction is evidenced by a section of carbonized roofing from the burned building partly excavated on the summit of Mound K (Figures 32, 34). The roof of this building consisted of no fewer than five cross-laid layers of rafters, averaging 4 cm in diameter, which supported four more layers of thatch, each of which was approximately 5 cm thick and also alternately crosswise. It is probable that these elements were tied together, although no

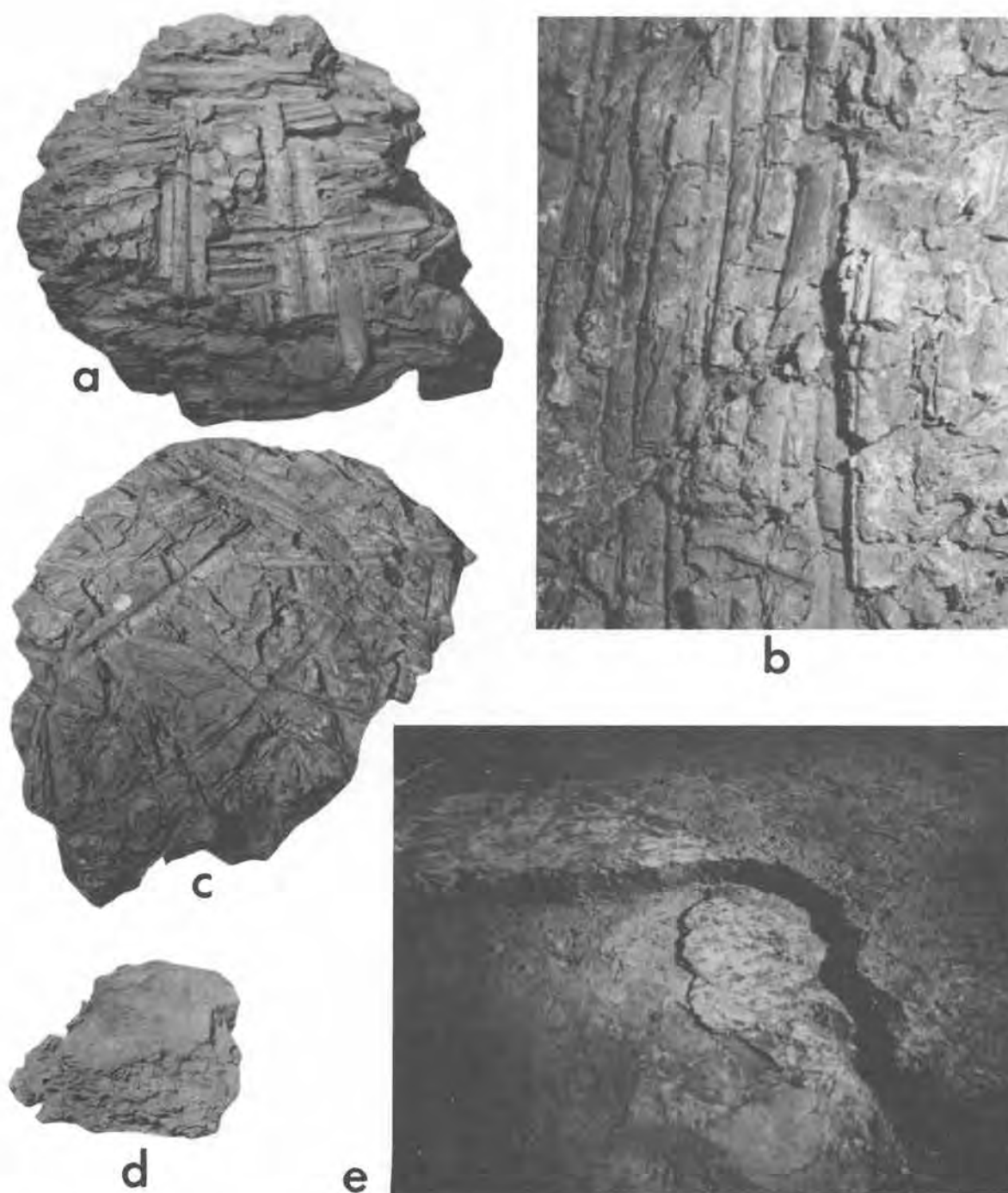


Figure 40. Architectural Details. -a, cane impressions on interior surface of daub fragment; b, cane impressions (detail); c, fragment of daub showing roughening of exterior wall surface; d, fragment of daub with portion of exterior surface finish coat still adhering; e, section of burned floor showing evidence of three successive plasterings in the same structure (a-e reduced to 50%, e to approximately 25%).

evidence was recovered. Such a roof must have been quite solid and waterproof, and at the same time it would have allowed sufficient egress for smoke from small interior fires.

*Floors.* Floors were composed of hard-packed sandy clay, which usually had a much higher sand content than the clay used for the walls. That these floors were periodically renewed during the use of a structure is indicated in the case of the burned structure on the summit of Mound K: at least three distinct superimposed floors, each averaging 2-3 cm thick, could be discerned (Figure 40e).

*Remarks:* This general kind of rectangular, wall-trench, wattle-and-daub structure is associated with the spread of Mississippian influence throughout the

Southeast. It would be most useful for classificatory purposes to discover if the structural details described above are similarly widespread, or whether they are local variations. In any event, the Winterville structures appear to be remarkably consistent in adherence to architectural rules, and only their overall size gives a clue to functional differentiation. Of course, this conclusion must be considered tentative in the light of the limited nature of the excavations.

### Burials

Sixteen burials were recovered from the upper levels of Mound B. Most were in a very poor state of preservation and it was difficult to age or sex

No.	Layer		Description				Age		Sex		Manner of Interment			Grave Goods
	1	2	Ext	Bund	Skull	Fragment	Adult	Child	M	F	Pit	Surf	Fill	
1	X		X				X						X	
2	X			X			X						X	
3	X			X			X						X	
4	X			X			X						X	
5	X					X	X						X	
6	X					X							X	
7	X					X							X	
8	X					X							X	
9		X	X				X			X		X		X
10		X	X						X			X		
11		X			X				X			X		X
12		X	X				X			X		X		X
13		X		X			X					X		
14		X			X		X					X		X
15	X		X				X					X		
16	X		X				X					X		X
17	X					X	X						X	
18	X					X	X						X	
19	X					X	X					X		
20	X					X	X						X	
21		X	X				X			X		X		
22		X	X				X					X		X
23		X	X				X			X		X		X
(24)		X	X				X						X	X

*Table 1. Mound B burial data.*

*Table 1 Remarks.*

#1-4 were badly decomposed and impossible to sex. All seem to have been included in mound fill during construction as there was no evidence of prepared surface or grave pit. #1 was complete and articulated, #2-4 seemed to be missing a few smaller bones, but that may have been a factor of preservation. Funerary offerings may have accompanied #1, but since the skull was at the present ground surface they have been lost.

#5-8 were isolated fragments of human bone scattered through the mound fill.

#9 was a well preserved adult male laid into a shallow sand-filled pit and lying directly on #23 and #12. #9 and #23 were definitely interred at the same time, but #12 may have been earlier and associated by accident. Two pottery vessels (Figures 55m, 56a), a stone palette and grinder, and two bone implements accompanied #9.

#10 was the badly decomposed skeleton of a child which had been laid in a shallow sand-filled pit without accompaniments.

#11 was the badly decomposed detached skull of a child (deciduous teeth still in place) laid on old mound surface and accompanied by a small simple bowl of Larto Red, *var. Chicot* (Figure 62).

#12 was the fairly well preserved articulated skeleton of an adolescent female that was laid into a sand-filled pit and accompanied by a pottery vessel (Figure 51d). Possibly interred at the same time as #9 and #23, but probably earlier.

#13 was a badly decomposed bundle burial laid on the old mound surface. It was associated with #11.

#14 was a well preserved detached adult skull lying face down on the old mound surface and accompanied by a single pottery vessel of Mazique Incised, *var. Manchac* (Appendix A).

#15 was completely decomposed except for the teeth and a fragment of the right humerus. Laid on the burned mound surface.

#16 consisted only of a badly crushed and decomposed skull; there may have been a complete post-cranial skeleton associated, but this could not be determined. The skull lay on an old burned surface, and one pottery vessel (Figure 53c) was associated.

#17-20 were fragments of adult human skulls scattered through mound fill or lying on the old burned surface.

#21 was the badly decomposed skeleton—although the skull was in reasonably good condition—of an adult female laid on an old mound surface and apparently disturbed by the interment of #22.

#22 was the well preserved skeleton of an adult laid in a shallow sand-filled pit and accompanied by two pottery vessels: a beaker of Baytown Plain, *var. Addis* (Figure 51c) and a bowl of Leland Incised, *var. Bethlehem* (Appendix A). Interment apparently disturbed #21. This burial was not excavated.

#23 was the well preserved articulated skeleton of an adult male that had been interred in a shallow sand-filled pit at the same time as #9, which lay directly on top. Also associated with #12, which lay beside, but these were probably distinct deposition events. The skull was crushed by the weight of the soil overlying #9's right arm. Tibias and fibulas are markedly bowed. Accompanied by two pottery vessels (Figures 51h, 54b).

#24 was the badly disturbed skeleton of an adult that lay beneath #21. A broken pot associated with it was a uniquely decorated vessel of *Greenville* ware. This burial was not excavated.



them. In addition, eight other pockets containing fragments of human bone were found, and even less information was derived from them. The basic data concerning the 24 distinct lots of human remains are presented in Table 1.

The burials were deposited in two separate layers (Figures 18, 19), the upper of which (Layer 1) had six individuals and the bottom (Layer 2) ten. All were placed in mound fill, although most were associated with old surfaces of the mound; that is, they lay on these surfaces or in shallow pits within them. Half of the burials were accompanied by grave offerings, but only one of these was from the upper layer (the fact that the latter burials were so close to the present surface of the mound and thus were subject to erosion may provide a partial explanation for the general lack of artifacts). Three types of burials are recognized: extended, bundle, and isolated skull. The first two were found in both layers, while the third, which was the least common, was confined to Layer 2.

**EXTENDED BURIALS (Figures 41, 43-50)**

**Number Of Individuals:** 10.

**Age Group And Sex:** Nine adults (post-adolescent) and one child. Two of the adults could be identified as male and two as female.



*Figure 41. Burials #1 and #2 (foreground), Mound B. Burial #1 was an articulated adult extended in supine position; #2 was a disarticulated adult bundle burial.*



*Figure 42. Burial #2, Mound B.*

**Position:** The articulated skeleton was extended and laid in a supine position. Arms were at the side or crossed over the torso. The skull faced up, or slightly to one side.

**Orientation:** All were oriented with the head to the northeastern quadrant.

**Method Of Interment:** Five were inhumed in very shallow pits, three were laid upon an old mound surface and then covered over, and one was included within mound fill presumably during constructional activity. One was too badly disturbed to determine whether it was originally in a prepared pit. All were single burials, except for two—and perhaps a third—which were interred at the same time in the same pit.

**Funerary Accompaniments:** At least six of the ten extended burials were accompanied by one or two pottery vessels that had been placed by the head or, in one case, by the arm. One of these also had other stone and bone artifacts lying beside the elbow and head.

**Remarks:** Extended, supine burials, oriented to the northeast and usually accompanied by grave offerings, were the most prevalent form of interment at Winterville. There does not seem to have been any differentiation according to age or sex. That some burials were simply laid on the ground surface while others were interred in shallow pits probably only





Figure 43. Burial #15. An extreme example of advanced deterioration in Burial Layer 1.

reflects whether interment was effected during mound construction or during a brief interval between constructions. This type of burial is characteristic of the Mississippian cultural tradition, and it is probable that its practice at Winterville is indicative of northern influence.

**BUNDLE BURIALS (Figures 41, 42)**

**Number Of Individuals:** 4.

**Age Group And Sex:** All adults; sexing was not possible due to the deteriorated condition of the remains.

**Position:** The disarticulated (and in all cases incomplete) skeleton was tied into a bundle or placed in a



Figure 44. Burials #9, #12, #23 (left center), #14 (far right), #21 (lower right).

pile. There was no observed order to the placement of the bones.

**Orientation:** The long bones generally seemed to have been placed along an east-west axis.

**Method Of Interment:** Three of the bundles were included in mound fill, and one was apparently laid on an old mound surface and then covered over. All were single burials.



Figure 45. Burials #9, #12, #23 (right), #21 (left center), #14 (left foreground), #22 (left background).

**Funerary Accompaniments:** None.

**Remarks:** This type of burial is very distinctive in arrangement and in the absence of accompanying grave goods. Perhaps of even greater significance is the two-stage burial process: disarticulation before inhumation. Disarticulation may have been accomplished immediately after death and preparatory to inhumation or to preliminary repose in a charnel house; but also it might represent the gathering of bones after a period of exposure or temporary inhumation of the articulated skeleton as known to have been practiced ethnohistorically by many southern tribes (either practice would more logically account for the missing parts of the skeletons). In any case, this form of burial had a long tradition in the southern part of the Lower Mississippi Valley (Quimby 1957; Neitzel 1965).

ISOLATED SKULL BURIALS (Figures 44, 45)

**Number Of Individuals:** 2.

**Age Group And Sex:** One adult and one young child, sex unknown.

**Position:** Single, detached skulls were either laid face down (adult) or on the side (child).

**Orientation:** In both cases, the top of the skull was turned to the north.

**Method Of Interment:** The skulls were placed on an old ground surface and then covered with mound fill. These were single depositions, although the child's skull may have been associated with a nearby bundle burial.



*Figure 46. Detail of Burials #9 and #23.*

**Funerary Accompaniments:** A single pottery vessel accompanied each skull.

**Remarks:** Although it is possible that these are really minimal bundle burials, they are considered a distinct type because the skull alone is present and because of the accompanying grave goods which are not found with the more complete bundle burials. Also, isolated skull burials are known from other contexts in the Lower Valley (e.g., Neitzel 1965:41).

MISCELLANEOUS HUMAN REMAINS

Eight fragments of human bone were found scattered throughout the excavations in the vicinity of, but not directly associated with, the sixteen definite

burials. Five of these were pieces of adult skull, and the other three were not identifiable according to skeletal part. Although all of these bones were associated with Layer 1 of burials, some may have come from disturbed burials in Layer 2.



*Figure 47. Detail of Burials #9 and #12.*

Six additional fragments of human bone were found elsewhere on the site in non-mortuary contexts (Table 2). The most noteworthy observation about these finds is the preponderance of skull fragments, which suggests that such skeletal parts may have had some currency in the living customs of Winterville. It is equally likely, of course, that ancient burial grounds were disturbed in the course of mound construction, but such random sampling could be expected to produce a more varied representation of skeletal parts. It should also be noted that in the case of the human bones from the summit of Mound G (45/46A), recent historic burials were

Provenience	Element
Loc. II, 25S	Skull frag (parietal)
Loc. III, 35D	Skull frag (parietal)
Loc. IV, 45/46A	Skull frags Longbone frags
Loc. VII, 95B <sub>1</sub>	Skull frag
Loc. VII, 95D	Skull frag (rt. parietal) Metatarsal frag

*Table 2. Identification and provenience of stray human bone fragments from non-mortuary contexts at Winterville.*



Figure 48. Burials #23 and #12 after the removal of Burial #9.

encountered, and although care was taken to leave them undisturbed it is possible that loose fragments somehow intruded into aboriginal contexts are reflected here. The necessary analysis has not been carried out to determine the race of these particular remains.

### Pottery

The combined sample of pottery from the 1967-1968 excavations and several modest surface collections donated by local avocational archaeologists total 28,856 potsherds and 14 whole (or reconstructable) vessels. As the largest single category of artifactual data, pottery forms the basis of the analysis and interpretations attempted in later chapters.

The classification of the decorated pottery from Winterville follows that set forth by Phillips (1970)



Figure 49. Detail of Burial #23.

and amended by Williams and Brain (1983: Chapter 5). That is, for purposes of presentation and description the type-variety system of classification is employed (Appendix A). For purposes of integration and interpretation, however, the varieties are reclassified into pottery sets which are presented in this section after a comprehensive discussion of plainwares.

Most of the potsherds in the Winterville collection are undecorated. There are, however, some basic distinctions in wares that provide important discriminations. These wares are classified as varieties of great "supertypes" in the type-variety system of the references. The supertypes are really ceramic traditions with distinctive cultural affiliations. Addis Plain incorporates the latest wares of the indigenous Lower Valley ceramic tradition. Mississippi Plain, as the nomenclature indicates, represents the ceramic arts of the Mississippian cultural tradition.



Figure 50. Detail of Burial #23. The bowing of the tibiae possibly caused by childhood rickets, adult trauma, or osteomyelitis infection.

### ADDIS PLAIN

Phillips (1970:47-57) included all post-Tchefuncte "clay" tempered pottery from the Lower Valley in the type Baytown Plain. More recent research, however, has found it useful to distinguish another type, Addis Plain, that displays the influence of new ideas during the late prehistoric and historic periods (Neitzel 1983; Brown 1985; Brain, Brown,

and Steponaitis n.d.). This type was formerly classified by Phillips as Baytown Plain, *var. Addis*. In addition to the established *var. Addis*, two other varieties of Addis Plain were found at Winterville: *Greenville* and *Holly Bluff* (formerly assigned to Bell Plain by Williams and Brain 1983:105-108).

All "clay tempered" sherds that did not sort easily into these varieties of Addis Plain were summarily consigned to the earlier type Baytown Plain, *var. unspecified*. All came from disturbed contexts, mostly mound fill, and so were considered of little interpretive value. It may be noted, however, that of the 1199 potsherds so sent to limbo, 67 had first been identified as *var. Reed* and 3 as *Valley Park*, proportions that accord well with the numbers of decorated sherds exhibiting those wares.

#### **Addis Plain, *var. Addis* (Figure 51)**

*Sample:* 5975 sherds, 5 vessels.

*Method of Manufacture:* Coiled, but potsherds generally show a ragged edge fracture rather than annular.

*Tempering:* Extremely variable, ranging from nearly indistinguishable clay particles to granules of grit (occasionally as much as 2 mm or more in diameter), and a wide assortment of organic materials (exclusive of shell) such as small twigs, pieces of leaves, and even fragments of ground bone. Apparently not accidental, this organic content is a diagnostic mode of *Addis*.

*Texture:* Equally diagnostic is that, unlike temper, the texture is relatively homogeneous, generally fine to medium in particle size, and quite compact.

*Hardness:* Surface hardness ranges from 2.5 to 4.5 on the Moh scale, and the mean is approximately 3.5.

*Color:* Warm medium browns are the predominant surface color, but light gray-browns to dark black-browns, and even black, are present on fire-clouded vessels. Whatever the surface color, the core is characteristically charcoal gray, although it may shade

into lighter tones.

*Thickness:* Vessel walls range from 4 to 10 mm in thickness, with the average being in the vicinity of 6.5 mm.

*Surface Finish:* Surfaces are usually smoothed, but this operation may have been carelessly accomplished, leaving a striated and bumpy effect; or it may have been more carefully done, resulting in a smooth lustrous finish; or it may even have been finely smoothed and brought to a high polish, which often has a characteristic crackled appearance.

*Form:* Bowls and jars and intermediate shapes are overwhelmingly favored; bowls seem to predominate overall, and may be subdivided into simple and complex/carinated forms.

*Simple Bowls.* With 345 rim sherds, a partial bowl, and various mortuary vessels, this is the largest formal category. These bowls have a simple curved outline, and may range from shallow plate-like dishes to globular pots with incurved sides and restricted mouths. The vast majority, however, fall in between, with gently to steeply sloping sides, and judging by the lack of distinguishable bases in the collection were round bottomed. Rims generally are unmodified, although a few from later contexts were thickened or notched on the lip (Figure 51b-d). Appendages are very rare, but rim nodes occur occasionally. One human head rim effigy (Figure 51k) may have come from this kind of bowl.

*Complex and Carinated Bowls.* One hundred thirty-eight sherds are identified as coming from widemouth bowls with sharply defined shoulders. If the upper part of the vessel has a vertical profile (Figure 51a) it is termed "complex," and if it is recurved (Figure 51f) it is "carinated." The bottom in both forms curves into a rounded base. Rims are unmodified and there are no appendages.

*Beakers.* One mortuary vessel (Figure 51j), 52 flat bases, and a number of vertical rim sherds too tall to be from complex bowls testify to the presence of the beaker as a relatively minor form. Rims are unmodified and there are no appendages.



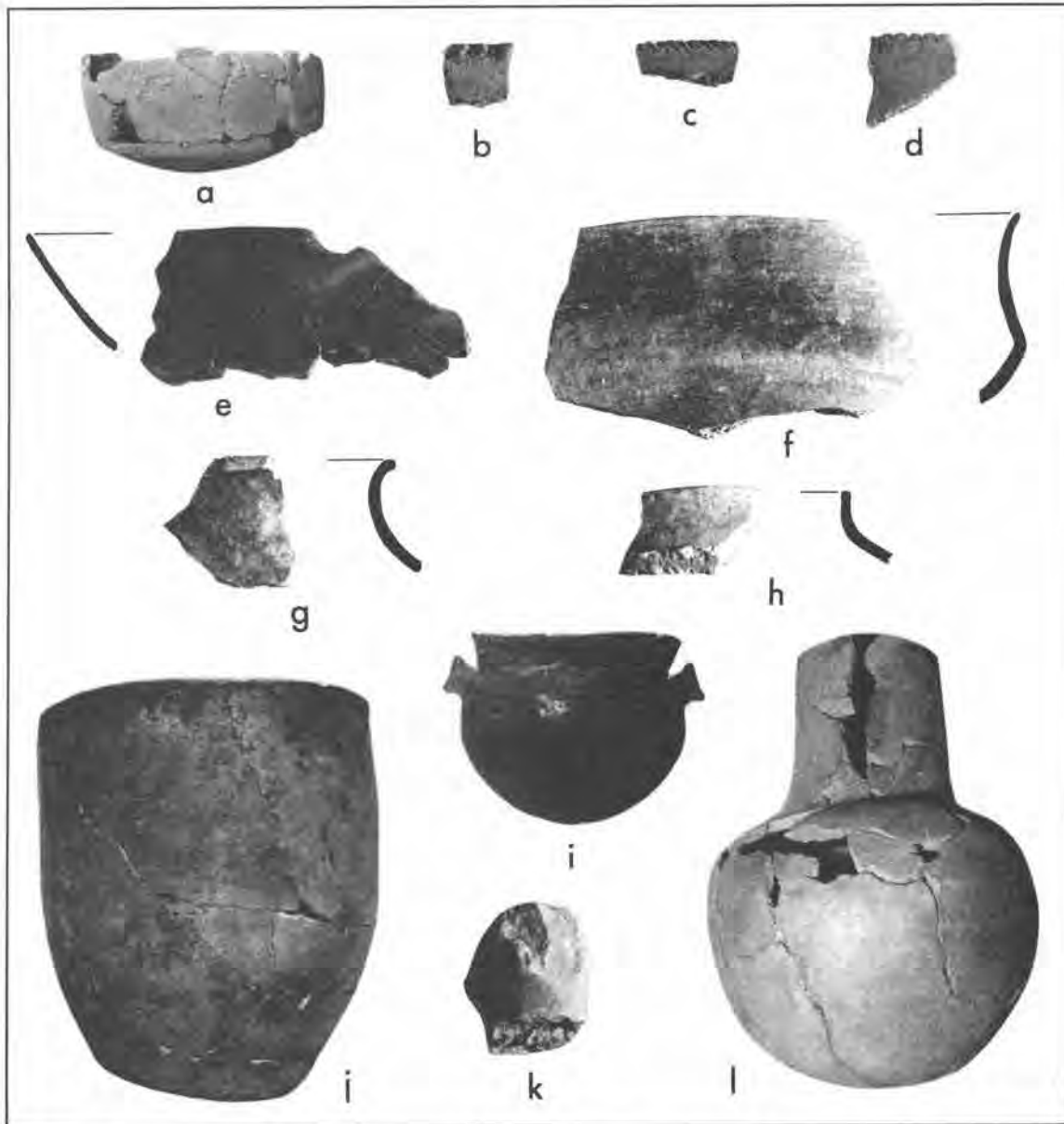


Figure 51. Vessel forms of Addis plainware. a-f, bowls; j, beaker; g-i, jars; l, bottle; k is a human effigy rim adorno, probably from a bowl (a-j, reduced to 35%, l, to 25%, k, to 70%).

Jars. One hundred twenty-six sherds from globular vessels with restricted mouths, short flaring rims, and sharply defined or rounded shoulders prove that jars were an alternate form in this ware. Although exact dimensions are unknown, these vessels were generally medium to large in size. A small

mortuary vessel (Figure 51i) exhibits a distinctive early Mississippian variant of the form which was introduced at the time when *Addis* was giving way to other wares; rather than typical, the vessel represents the hybridization of modes from different ceramic traditions. Rims of all jars are unmodified



and usually carelessly finished. Loop and eared handles are associated with this form, but are uncommon.

**Bottles.** There are 6 sherds which appear to be from small globular bottles with tall narrow necks. There is also an unusually large partial vessel (Figure 511), recovered from the bottom of Mound G, which in form and proportions is very similar to examples from Cahokia (e.g., Vogel 1975: Figs. 58, 64). This is obviously a very minor form at Winterville and probably was also introduced only as the popularity of *Addis* was on the wane. In keeping with that tradition, however, rims are unmodified and there are no known associated appendages.

**Remarks:** A considerable range in ware characteristics is evident in the foregoing description. The range becomes wider still when material south of the Yazoo (where *Addis* continued up into the historic period) is included. Eventually, this all too inclusive grouping will have to be subdivided. But since Winterville is at the edge of the type's distribution, and offers only a single regional perspective, this is not the time to do it (just such a step, however, is taken in Brain, Brown, and Steponaitis n.d.).

**Associated Decorative Techniques and Overall Decorative Intent:** Favored techniques are incising and punctating (*Addis* subset 1), but also include brushing and pinching (*Addis* subset 2). Designs are overwhelmingly rectilinear and are generally confined to the uppermost part of the vessel in subset 1, but may cover the entire surface in subset 2.

**References:** Phillips 1970:48-49; Williams and Brain 1983:92; Brain, Brown, and Steponaitis n.d. (in this publication *Addis* is promoted to type status, which not only includes a more narrowly defined *var. Addis*, but also a number of new varieties, as well as *vars. Greenville, Holly Bluff, and St. Catherine* that were shifted from Bell Plain).

#### **Addis Plain, var. Greenville (Figure 52)**

**Sample:** 1808 sherds, 1 vessel.

**Method of Manufacture:** Coiled and well bonded so that fractures usually cut across coil lines.

**Tempering:** As was the case with Addis Plain, *var. Addis*, a wide array of tempering agents was utilized, including angular bits of clay, grit, grog, and shell particles. The one consistent feature of *Greenville* is that shell was always included, although in greatly varying amounts and particle size. But while shell is always present, it is not the only tempering agent and is usually not even the predominant one, being combined with unrefined clay, grit and/or grog, as well as other organic materials (see discussion of *Addis*).

**Texture:** Texture is extremely variable, ranging from fine to coarse depending upon the tempering agents, but it is always compact.

**Hardness:** The range is too great to be a very useful test: 2.5-4.5, average *ca.* 3-3.5 on the Moh scale.

**Color:** Brown, with a tendency toward the lighter tones.

**Thickness:** 4-10 mm, with an average of 6.5 mm.

**Surface Finish:** Surfaces may be carelessly finished, carefully smoothed, or finely polished. As in *Addis* ware, certain surface treatments are associated more with one vessel form than another (see below).

**Form:** Bowls predominate overwhelmingly, which further emphasizes the close affinity with *Addis* ware. Jars and bottles are also present as minor forms.

**Simple Bowls.** Seventy-three rims and 23 basal sherds are from bowls with a simple curved profile (Figure 52a, d). These bowls are small to large in size, may be shallow or deep, and have rounded or small flat bases. On all, the distinguishing characteristics are that the mouths are the widest part of the vessel, the texture is comparatively coarse, and the surfaces tend to be carelessly finished. Rims are unmodified and the lips are crudely rounded or squared off. The only appendages definitely associated are nodes (Figure 52o) and small lugs that were molded onto the rim (Figure 52m-n). A fine

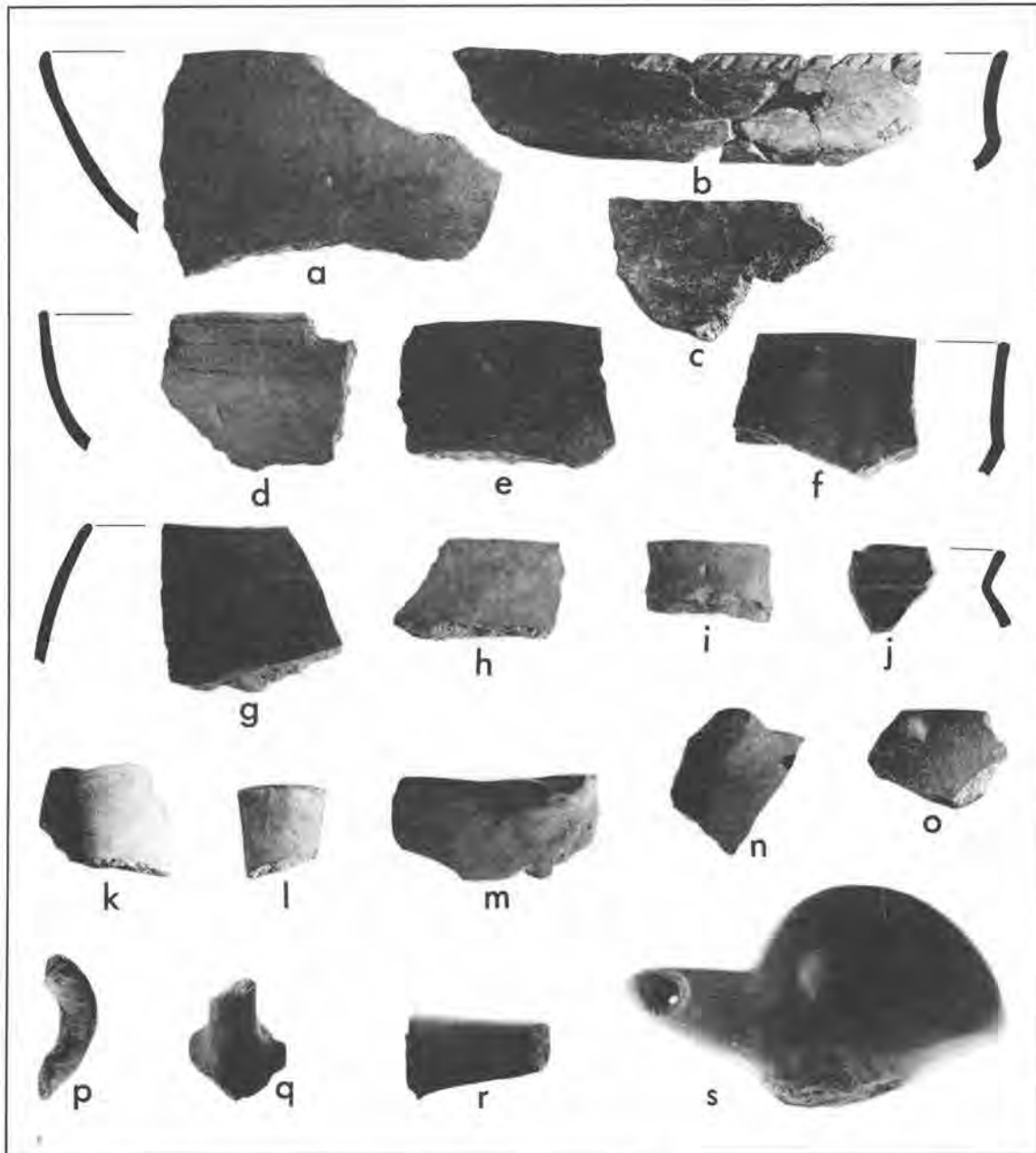


Figure 52. Vessel forms and appendages of Greenville plainware. a-g, bowls; h-j, jars; k-l, bottles (all reduced to 35%, except s which is 70%).

duck's head rim effigy (Figure 52s) and a similarly fine extruded handle (Figure 52r) may have come from vessels of this form despite the unusually high quality of production. Another 44 rim sherds seem to be from an important variation of the simple bowl

form. These are medium size globular vessels with restricted mouths (Figure 52g). The most distinctive feature, of course, is that the mouth is not the widest part of the vessel, and it may be so restricted that the form approaches that of a neckless jar. Although

some sherds have a rough surface finish, most are smoothed and often polished. These vessels are completely plain, the rims are unmodified, and there are no appendages.

**Carinated Bowls.** With two partial bowls and 114 sherds that clearly indicate vessel shape, this is the largest single formal category for this variety. Carinated bowls are fairly deep, wide-mouthed vessels with sharply profiled shoulders and rounded bottoms (Figure 52b-c, e-f). They are generally smaller in size than simple bowls. Almost all are finely textured and have a polished surface finish, although there are exceptions. The association of complex shape and finer ceramic qualities is distinctive, however. Rims are carefully rounded, tapered, or squared, and lips are undecorated except for a few examples from the lowest levels of the excavations, which are notched (e.g., Figure 52b). No appendages are associated with this form.

**Jars.** Fifty-eight distinctive sherds are from small to large globular vessels with short standing rims and restricted mouths (Figure 52h-j). Necks and shoulders may be sharply defined or gently sloped. Rims are vertical or slightly incurving; lips are rounded or squared, and in two cases notched, but otherwise are unmodified and undecorated. Texture and surface finish range from coarse to fine. Strap and loop handles (Figure 52p-q) are associated with this form.

**Bottles.** Five sherds seem to be from small bottles, the exact shapes of which are not known (Figure 52k-l). Textures are medium, and surfaces are smoothed but not polished. There are no appendages.

**Remarks:** *Greenville* is a new variety of plainware which occupies an intermediate position between *vars. Addis* and *Holly Bluff*. The relationships to both *Addis* and *Holly Bluff* are apparent in various modes of paste, vessel form, and associated decorative techniques. In these respects, *Greenville* is marginal to both, but is neither one nor the other. Rather, it may be considered a technological bridge between

*Addis* and *Holly Bluff*: essentially, it is *Addis* with the added feature of shell tempering. But its significance is much greater than that mere description, for closer analysis reveals that there are also coincident changes in the popularity of vessel forms and a tendency toward finer textures and polished surfaces. Thus, while *Greenville* is derived from *Addis*, it is also approaching *Holly Bluff* (the relative stratigraphic positions of these wares at Winterville fully support this procession—see Chapter 6).

**Associated Decorative Techniques and Overall Decorative Intent:** Incising and engraving are the principal techniques, but they may be combined with punctuation or excision. Slipping with a red-pigmented clay slip also occurs, as does intra-line painting with red or yellow ochre. Designs are often complex, and may be found on the interior or exterior surface of the vessel. In most cases, there is an attempt at rather careful, even elaborate, decoration.

**Reference:** Williams and Brain 1983:105.

#### **Addis Plain, var. Holly Bluff (Figure 53)**

**Sample:** 512 sherds, 1 vessel.

**Method of Manufacture:** Coiled, and not always well bonded. Sherds often show fractures along coil lines.

**Tempering:** Finely ground shell predominates, but other pulverized materials (both organic and inorganic) may also be present. Minute particles of shell are usually observable, unless they have disintegrated through natural leaching.

**Texture:** The texture is generally very fine, compact, and homogeneous, although those sherds subjected to leaching may have a vesicular appearance. In some sherds, where the shell particles are larger than average, there is a tendency toward lamination as in other shell tempered wares.

**Hardness:** Hardness varies considerably according to the amount of leaching that has occurred. Unleached specimens range between 2-3 on the Moh scale, the norm being in the vicinity of 2.5.

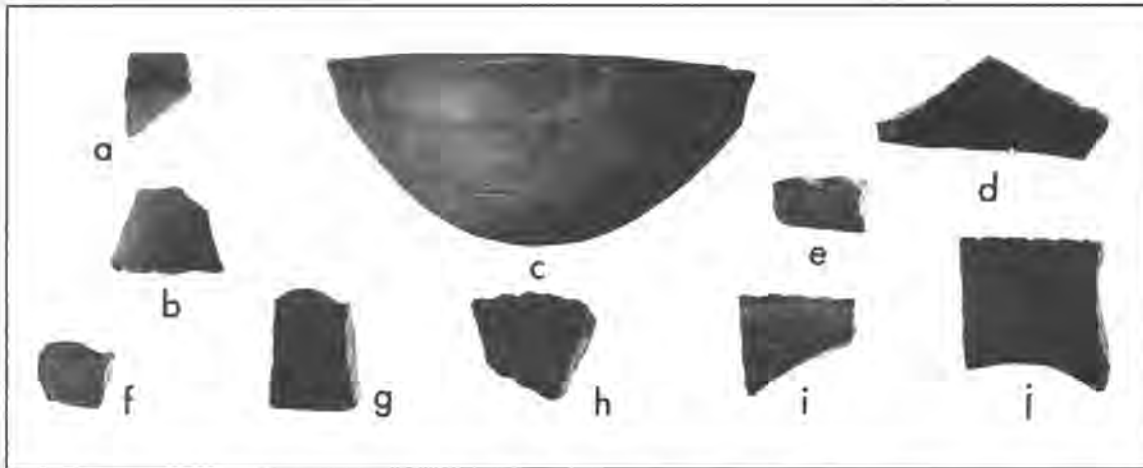


Figure 53. Vessel forms and rim modes of Holly Bluff plainware. a, simple bowl; b, bottle neck; c-d, complex bowls; e-j, decorated rim modes from carinated bowls (all reduced to 35%).

**Color:** Medium browns predominate, but light to very dark browns also occur.

**Thickness:** While the range, 4-10 mm, is the same as that for Addis and Greenville plainwares, the average is a comparatively thick 7.5 mm.

**Surface Finish:** The surface is always well smoothed and often has a highly polished finish. The fact that polishing does not predominate may be due to physical rather than cultural factors, i.e., weathering might well be held responsible for destroying the finish of many leached sherds.

**Form:** With few exceptions, vessel shapes are restricted to bowls. The exceptions are six sherds from what appear to have been short-necked bottles (Figure 53b) that presumably were similar in form to the decorated vessel of Leland Incised, *var. Leland* (Appendix A) that was found on the floor of the burned structure at the summit of Mound K. The bowls may be separated into two basic categories: simple and complex.

**Simple Bowls.** These are small to medium size vessels with a wide mouth, simple curved profile, and rounded or flattened bottom. Of 39 rim sherds, 23 are rounded but unmodified, while the other 16 are thickened on the interior of the lip (Figure 53a),

the exterior, or both interior and exterior. These rims are rolled or applied. Rolled rims are round in profile, while applied rims are oval or rectangular. No appendages are known to be associated with this form.

**Complex Bowls.** Seventy-eight sherds, two partial vessels, and the bowl associated with Burial 16 (Figure 53c) are indicative of a comparatively sophisticated bowl form. This form is related to the carinated bowls found in *Addis* and *Greenville* wares, but it is quite distinct in silhouette and proportions. Generally, it is shallower, and the rims are more flaring, so that while the shoulders are still strongly marked they are less sharply profiled. The interior angle of the shoulder is usually defined by an incised line (Figure 53d). Bottoms may be rounded or, unlike carinated bowls, flat. But the most distinctive feature of all is the rim and lip treatment: although a few rims are unmodified and have simple rounded lips, four out of five are decorated in the manner Phillips (1970:60) refers to as the "Haynes Bluff" rim, or they are closely related versions thereof. This decoration consists of various combinations of incising and/or notching (or occasionally scalloping) of the lip, the majority of specimens exhibiting both treatments (Figure 53e-



j). Execution of this distinctive rim mode is generally quite fine. No appendages are associated with this form.

*Remarks:* As already discussed, this ware is closely related to *Greenville* and actually appears to have been derived from it. However, it is quite distinct from *Greenville* in that the texture is more homogeneous, and in that the tempering is finer and consists predominantly (although still not entirely) of ground shell. Bowls are the preferred vessel shape and, as in *Addis* and *Greenville*, simple and complex forms are present. That other forms are found in the latter wares, but are absent or rare in *Holly Bluff*, might be explained in part by the co-occurrence of Mississippi Plain, which apparently subsumed the functions that these forms fulfilled.

It should be noted that *Holly Bluff* is very similar to the pottery of the historic Natchez to the south, as well as to the late prehistoric *Bell* ware farther north. All represent the best aspects of the culmination of ceramic technological development in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

*Associated Decorative Techniques and Overall Decorative Intent:* The principal technique is incising, but it was usually carefully done with a blunt instrument after the surface had dried out somewhat (a technique usually referred to as "trailing"). Occasional punctating or engraving may also be present. Designs are overwhelmingly curvilinear, and are placed on the exterior body surfaces of simple bowls and bottles or the interior rim surfaces of carinated bowls.

*References:* Phillips 1970:60; Williams and Brain 1983:108.

#### MISSISSIPPI PLAIN

Mississippi Plain represents a basic system of ceramic manufacture that competed with and eventually overwhelmed the indigenous ceramic tradition in the lower Yazoo. As the nomenclature declares, Mississippi Plain was derived from the Mississippian tradition, and was introduced in the

fully developed forms of both varieties described below during the early occupation of Winterville. While the art of making the incredibly thin *Coker* ware was soon lost or discarded, *Yazoo* became the dominant and then exclusive utilitarian ware at Winterville by the terminal occupation. Many distinctions within *Yazoo*, as discussed under the concept of subsets, are recognized throughout this long history (and perhaps will be the genesis of new varieties). The ultimate success of Mississippi Plain over the indigenous utilitarian wares must at least in part have been due to the technological advantages discussed by Million (1975a, b).

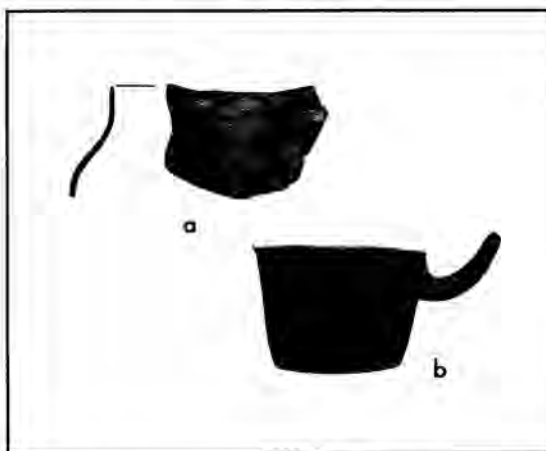


Figure 54. Vessel forms of *Coker* plainware. a, jar; b, beaker ("Tippets Bean Pot") (reduced to 35%).

#### Mississippi Plain, var. *Coker* (Figure 54)

*Sample:* 1307 sherds, 1 vessel.

*Method of Manufacture:* Coiled and well made; potsherds characteristically have clean fractures with straight edges, showing good bonding of the coils and overall technical accomplishment.

*Tempering:* Small to medium particles of crushed live mussel shell are the only tempering agent.

*Texture:* Due to the flakes of shell used for tempering, the paste has a laminated appearance, but otherwise is very fine and compact.

*Hardness:* Ranging from 2 to 2.5 on the Moh scale,



most sherds are close to 2.5.

*Color:* Gray, both surface and core. Surfaces may range from light gray to very dark, almost black, and occasionally brownish gray. Interior surfaces may sometimes be of an orange hue as a result of oxidation.

*Thickness:* A very diagnostic mode, vessel walls are very thin and range from 1 to 4 mm, with an average of 3 mm.

*Surface Finish:* The surfaces are generally well smoothed. On a few specimens a thin, dark gray clay slip appears to have been added to the exterior surface (a mode reminiscent of the related type Powell Plain—see Appendix A).

*Form:* Very little information is available concerning vessel shapes. Most of the pieces are undistinctive body sherds. The predominance of body sherds, plus the profiles of twelve rims, suggests that large, globular, restricted mouth jars were the characteristic form (Figure 54a). However, that was not the only form. The one whole vessel found with Burial 23 (Figure 54b) can only be a local reproduction of the Cahokia-famed "Tippets Bean Pot," complete with tapering handle and extruded lip on the opposite rim (Titterington 1938: Fig. 40b, 43; Vogel 1975: Fig. 69).

*Remarks:* There is the possibility, strengthened by the lack of rim sherds, that what has been recognized as a separate ware is really only an extreme variation of *var. Yazoo*. But while this may indeed be the case for many of those specimens so classified from the latest occupational levels (when diminution of vessel size and corresponding fineness of ware often occurred, e.g., see Barton Incised, *var. Midnight*), there is no question of its being an important and easily sortable entity in the lower levels of the excavations. The associated decorative techniques are also highly distinctive, as is the form of the single whole vessel. Altogether, the characteristics of this ware almost certainly indicate that it was a local and conscious imitation of the important Cahokia type,

Powell Plain (see Appendix A for further discussion). In fact, potsherds of the Powell set were found in the same early contexts as those of the Coker set.

A final observation: while the very thinness of *Coker* would not seem to render it suitable for utilitarian purposes, particularly considering the apparently large size of most of the vessels, it must be noted that a charcoal crust, such as accumulates from a cooking fire, is still preserved on many of the sherds. It can only be surmised that, technically, *Coker* was a very superior ware.

*Associated Decorative Techniques and Overall Decorative Intent:* When decorated, the only techniques employed were cord marking with a cord-wrapped paddle, or slipping with a red-pigmented clay slip. Both were applied over all the exterior surface of the vessel. Occasionally, both techniques were applied to the same vessel, in which case the slip might be on the interior.

*References:* Phillips 1970:132; Williams and Brain 1983:108.

#### **Mississippi Plain, var. Yazoo (Figures 55, 56)**

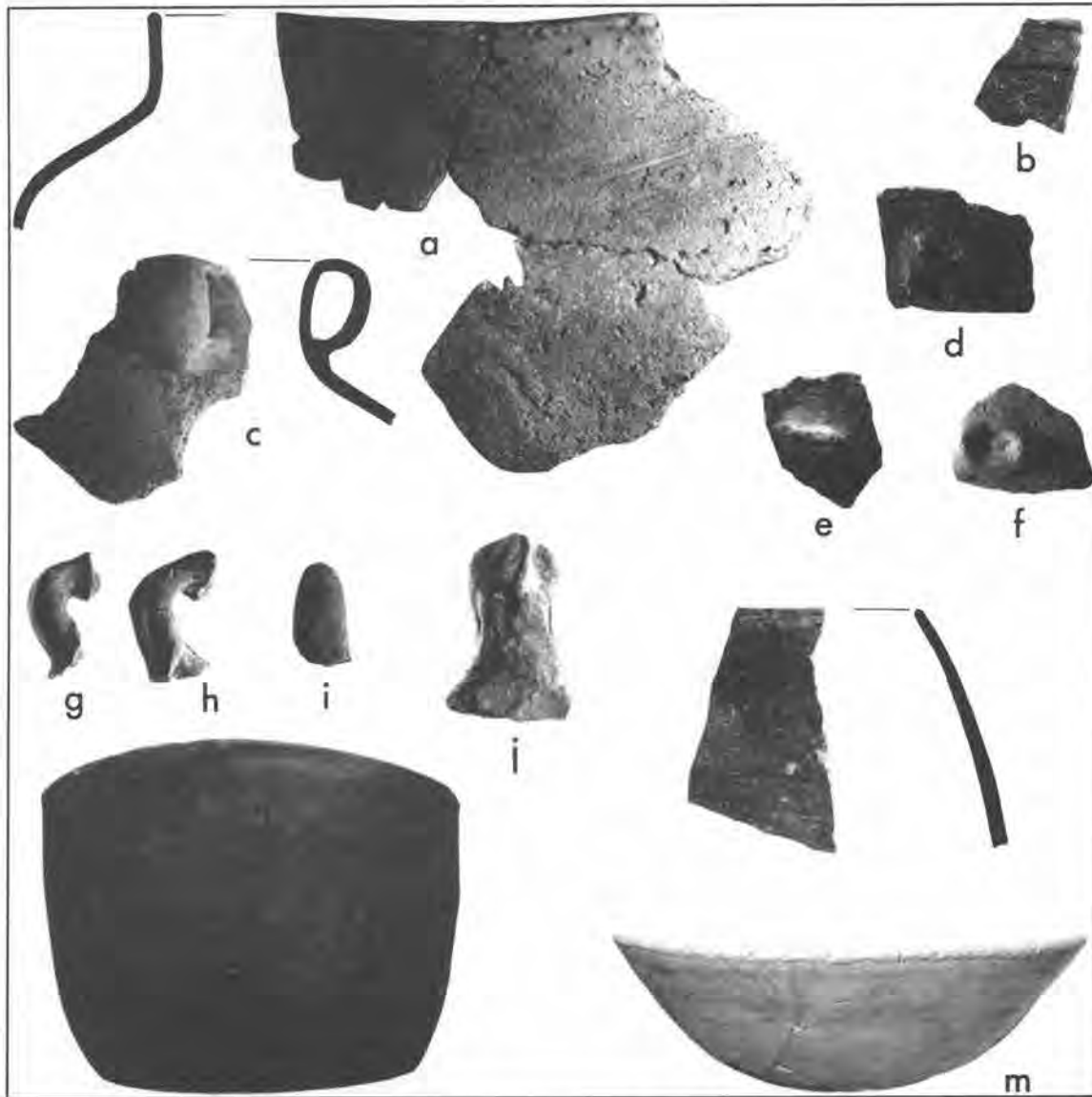
*Sample:* 18,055 sherds, 7 vessels.

*Method of Manufacture:* Coiled, as may be observed in the fracture breaks along coil lines and the interior surfaces of vessels and sherds, where a washboard appearance is sometimes observable.

*Tempering:* Crushed live mussel shell is the only tempering agent, and it is usually present in liberal amounts. The particles may be quite large, attaining several millimeters in diameter.

*Texture:* Because of the tempering, the texture characteristically has a laminated appearance, and although this is generally quite even, in the thicker examples it may be rather contorted. In specimens where the shell tempering has been leached out the texture is extremely vesicular.

*Hardness:* Hardness is variable, depending upon the amount of shell tempering and the degree of weathering (leaching). The average of a repre-



*Figure 55. Vessel forms and appendages of Yazoo plainware. a-c, jars; d-i, jar handles; j, bowl effigy rim adorno; k-m, bowls (all reduced to 25%).*

representative sample of unweathered sherds is 2 on the Moh scale.

**Color:** Buff to dark gray; generally some shade of brownish gray.

**Thickness:** The range is from 4 to 17 mm, but the average is 8.5 mm.

**Surface Finish:** Surfaces are unfinished or careless-

ly smoothed. Occasionally the surface exhibits some care in finish and in a few cases appears to be polished.

**Form:** Jars are overwhelmingly favored, but not to the exclusion of other forms.

**Jars.** This form is represented by 989 rim or distinctive body sherds and one partial vessel (Figure 55a-c). Usually large in size, these are globular

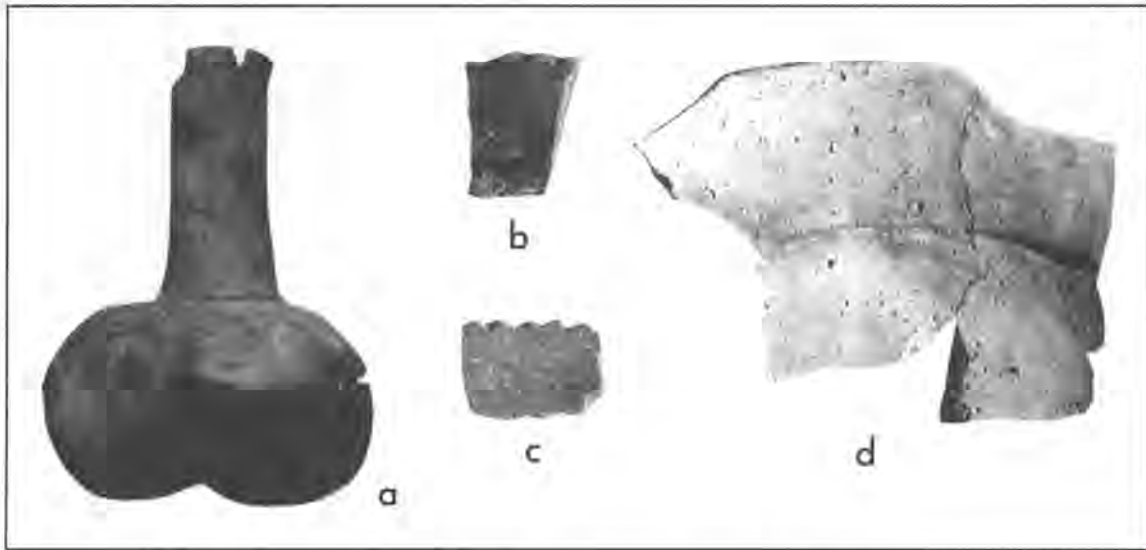


Figure 56. Vessel forms of Yazoo plainware. a, bottle; b-d, plates.

vessels with round bottoms and restricted mouths. The rims stand 1 to 7 cm high, and average 4 to 5 cm. They are vertical or slightly incurving and only occasionally flare out (the latter mode is more common in the upper levels of the excavation, but is not restricted to them). The angle between the rim and shoulder may be sharply defined or obscured by a gentle slope. A mere 7 rims have an exterior applied strip beneath the lip (Figure 55b). Otherwise, the rims are unmodified, except that the lips were characteristically flattened by the fingers or other instrument, which sometimes left a crudely incised median line. Handles are the only appendage, and while they are not common, they exhibit a considerable variety (e.g., Figure 55c-i): simple nodes, prongs with 2-4 points, eared handles, plain loop handles, and centrally indented loop handles are recognized from the lower levels, while strap handles and lugs predominate in the upper levels. The principal method of attaching these appendages is by riveting, although simple molding is evident in a few cases.

**Bowls.** With 232 identifiable rim sherds, as well as the vessel accompanying Burial 9, this is the second most popular vessel form in Mississippi Plain, *var. Yazoo*. Vessel size ranges from small to

large and shapes vary tremendously. Simple bowls with rounded bottoms are the rule (e.g., Figure 55m), but these may be very shallow, steep-sided, or even vertical-sided (in which case flat bottoms may occur—see the whole vessel illustrated in Figure 55l). In all of the above, the mouth is the widest part of the vessel, but 47 other rim sherds are from simple bowls with incurving sides and restricted mouths (Figure 55k). Six more sherds show a complex silhouette and indicate that the carinated bowl form may have been carried over briefly into this type from Addis Plain, *var. Addis*. While almost all of the rims are plain and unmodified, a few are incised or thickened, and 20 have notched or scalloped lips (Figure 55m). None of these bowls appear to have had handles, but one rim effigy (crudely stylized owl or human head?—see Figure 55j) probably came from a vessel of this form.

**Bottles.** Twenty-three sherds and one whole vessel with burial 9 (Figure 56a) prove the existence of bottles as a minor form category. These bottles are distinguished by globular bodies (usually spherical, although the mortuary vessel is tri-lobed) and tall narrow necks. Rims may be vertical or flaring; lips are rounded, but otherwise unmodified. No appendages are known to be associated with this form.

Plates. Forty-eight rims and 7 body sherds are from flat, shallow vessels with raised rims that are very similar in appearance to the traditional European dinner plate. While this form is not unique to Yazoo ware at Winterville (e.g., see Anna Incised in Appendix A), it is very restricted in distribution, usually only occurring in the early levels. This is the only form where rims are generally decorated, either by notching, indenting, or scalloping (Figure 56b-d). Even the few plain rims are exceptionally well finished. There are no appendages.

*Remarks:* Mississippi Plain, var. Yazoo was found throughout the Winterville excavations, and in terms of quantity is the largest single class of pottery from the site. Within this sample, the most significant change observed through time was in vessel forms. Jars and simple bowls were popular throughout the occupation of Winterville, although there was a change in size toward smaller jars (sometimes referred to as "subglobular") as time passed. Bottles, plates, and carinated bowls, however, were restricted to the great mound construction levels and related occupations.

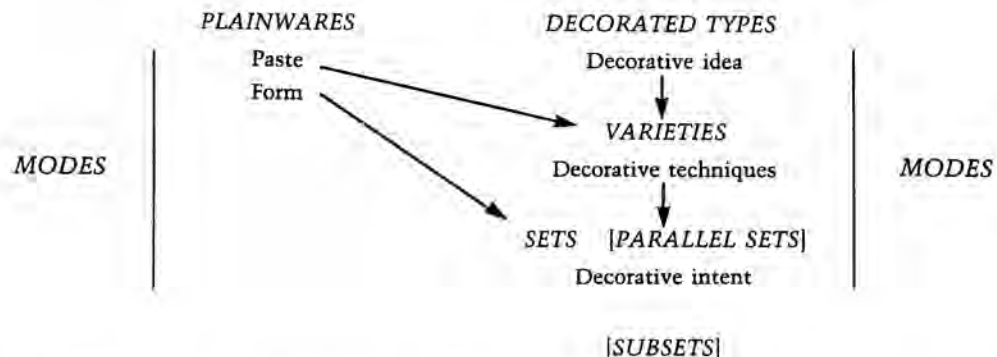
*Associated Decorative Techniques and Overall Decorative Intent:* Incising and/or punctating are the most important techniques, although (red) slipping, cord marking, brushing, and pinching also occur in

subsets 1 and 2. The decorative intent of subset 1 concentrated on an overall effect, while subsets 2-5 are marked by strong linear patterning restricted to portions of the vessel. Rectilinear and curvilinear motifs were about equally favored, but were generally confined to the rim area in subsets 2-3 and the body in subsets 4-5.

*References:* Phillips 1970:134-135; Williams and Brain 1983:111-116.

### Sets

As already defined by Williams and Brain (1983:89-90, 313-314), sets are groups of pottery varieties regardless of type that share certain modes of ware and decorative intent (Figure 57). Sets are postulated to represent the prevailing ceramic knowledge and expression of a cultural phase, but while they are presumed to have some cognitive significance for a particular sociocultural context, they are not necessarily the total ceramic content of an archaeological component. The technical and stylistic modes that define the set(s) become the ceramic markers for the phase; the interplay of modes and sets on the regional and interregional scale form the basis of integration and interpretation. The sets are described below in the approximate order of their chronological appearance. Most of



*Figure 57. Criteria of pottery set formation. Sets are defined by ware and decorative intent. Parallel sets have the same decorative intent, but different wares; subsets have the same ware, but different decorative intents (After Williams and Brain 1983: Fig. 5.1)*



these were indigenous to Winterville, and obviously relate to the plainwares described above (and from which they derive their nomenclature). Two, however, were not the product of Winterville or its environs: Powell and Bell. They are represented (or recognized) only by decorated varieties, and although they are present in only very small numbers they remain very important groups. They were imports from other regions, presumably valued for some aspect of their novelty. In any case, they are important markers of interregional contact. Both were derived from the Mississippian tradition, but aside from this common ground are of very different significance. The Powell set came from the vicinity of Cahokia (Griffin 1949), and its appearance at Winterville marks the beginning of direct Mississippian influence in the lower Yazoo region at about A.D. 1200. The Bell set, on the other hand, was a product of the later expansion of the Mississippian frontier (expressed most dramatically by the Walls and associated phases in the northern Yazoo and eastern Arkansas regions), and its appearance at Winterville marks the terminal occupation in the fifteenth century.

Together, the seven sets described below include all but a handful of the decorated varieties described in Appendix A. Those few not assigned to a set would have been the only members of such a group (e.g., Lake Borgne Incised, *var. Tenhut*, Withers Fabric Impressed, *var. Withers*, Churupa Punctated, *var. Thornton*, and Chickachae Combed, *var. Chickachae*), and/or they were out of original context and thus had no interpretive value—the *raison d'être* for the concept, after all. Examples of the latter are a rather complete representation of the early Baytown Reed set found scattered throughout secondary deposition (mound construction) contexts, and the shadowy presence of a Valley Park set. Formal recognition of these sets here (see Williams and Brain 1983:314, 316, 317 for a fuller treatment) would serve no purpose.

#### ADDIS SET

This set has the ware characteristics of Addis Plain, *var. Addis*. Paste is medium textured, but heterogeneous in composition; vessel forms are principally bowls and beakers, and occasionally a simple version of the basic jar. Two subsets have been recognized using the criteria of differing decorative intents (Figure 58). The first represents a direct continuation of preexisting formulations, while the second recognizes a rather different approach.

#### Addis 1

In this subset decoration is incised, with some punctuation, and displays the last vestiges of the rocker-stamped tradition. Decorative intent concentrated upon linear motifs (whether incised, punctated, and/or stamped), which were overwhelmingly rectilinear and confined to the rim or upper part of the vessel. Most of the varieties listed below belong to types deeply rooted in the Lower Valley ceramic tradition, and long associated with the Coles Creek culture (see Williams and Brain 1983: chs. 5, 9). As the terminal expression of this ancient development, it is little wonder that a remarkable homogeneity in ware and decorative intent is achieved within this set.

Varieties of this subset are:

- Avoyelles Punctated, *var. Dupree*
- Avoyelles Punctated, *var. Tatum*
- Beldeau Incised, *var. Bell Bayou*
- Chevalier Stamped, *var. Lulu*
- Chevalier Stamped, *var. Perry*
- Coleman Incised, *var. Coleman*
- Coles Creek Incised, *var. Hardy*
- Evansville Punctated, *var. Sharkey*
- Harrison Bayou Incised, *var. Harrison Bayou*
- Mazique Incised, *var. Manchac*

#### Addis 2

Subset 2 differs from subset 1 primarily in the subtle shift in decorative intent. Rather than the



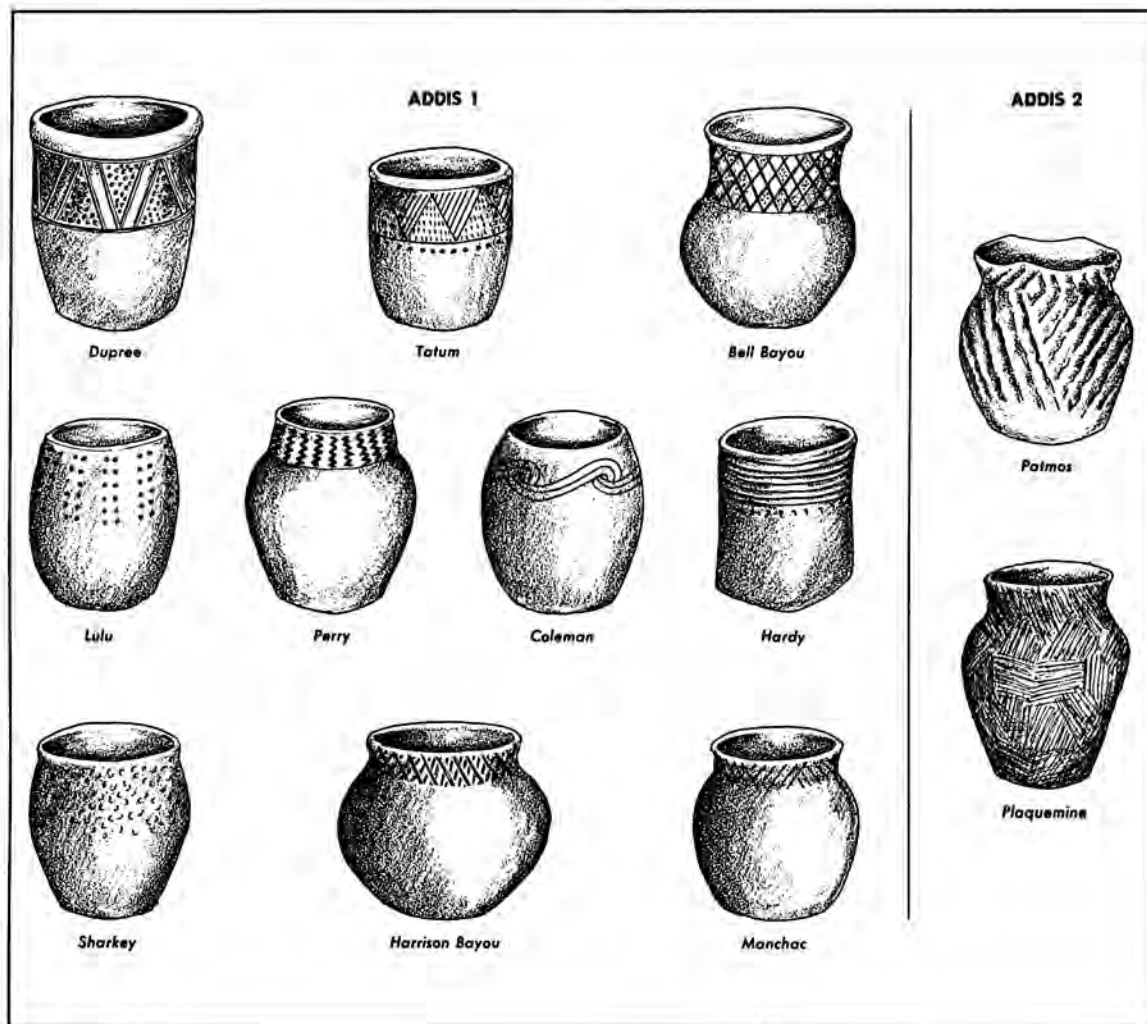


Figure 58. Addis set. Decorated varieties and range of vessel forms. *Patmos* and *Plaquemine* form subset 2, all others subset 1 (note that while a variety of vessel forms is present in subset 1, jars are the only known vessel form in subset 2).

emphasis on linear motifs placed only on the upper portion of the vessel, the intent here is the overall texturing of the surface by means of the distinctive techniques of pinching or brushing. Although a certain linearity may be observed in the execution, it is obviously a secondary feature of technique subordinate to the primary intention of decoration. Both techniques appear rather abruptly at this time, and although both have much earlier antecedents in the Lower Valley (Williams and Brain 1983), a distinct extra-regional origin may be defended in each case.

In this regard, the partial parallelism of the roughly contemporary Yazoo 2 subset is of considerable interest.

Varieties of this subset are:

Hollyknowe Pinched, var. *Patmos*

Plaquemine Brushed, var. *Plaquemine*

#### POWELL SET

The Powell set is one of the smallest in the Winterville collections, but it is also one of the most

important as an indicator of significant events at the site. Although it is a medium textured, shell tempered ware that is well within the range of Mississippi Plain, Powell possesses several unique modes which distinguish it from the local Yazoo and Coker sets (although it will be recalled that *var. Coker* is believed to have been a rough imitation of *var. Powell*). The most distinctive modes are the slipped and polished surface finish, and unique vessel forms, such as the angular-shouldered jar with rolled rim and the cup (also called a beaker or "bean pot") with projecting handle. The more standard jar form and simple restricted bowl might also be present, but have not been identified in the collections. The obvious decorative intent was the overall surface finishing, which was usually slipped and polished and often highlighted by curvilinear incised or trailed motifs (Figure 59). All together, the effect is very different from the contemporary Lower Valley ceramic tradition as described by the Addis 1 subset. Thus the sudden appearance of the Powell set in the latter contexts is especially dramatic, appropriately emphasizing the sig-

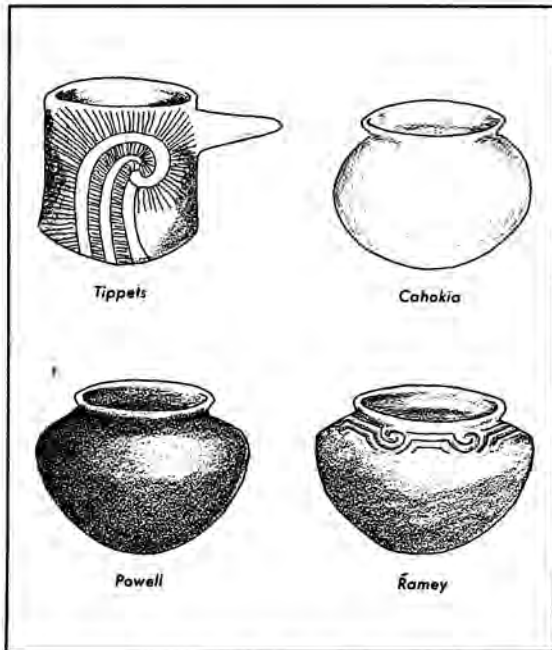


Figure 59. Powell set.

nificance of this set as an indicator of long-distance contact with the Cahokia region.

Varieties of this set are:

- Old Town Red, *var. Cahokia*
- Powell Plain, *var. Powell*
- Ramey Incised, *var. Ramey*
- Tippets Incised, *var. Tippets*

COKER SET

The Coker set is distinguished from the parallel Yazoo 1 subset by the rather finer texture of the paste and the exceptional thinness of the vessel walls—the distinguishing modes of *Coker* plainware. Large jars with gently rounded silhouettes are the only vessel form known to have been decorated at Winterville (Figure 60). Decoration consists of cord marking and/or red slipping, which was applied over the entire surface. Although a small group, it gains in importance from its association and partial parallelism with the Powell set.

Varieties of this set are:

- Cahokia Cord Marked, *var. Montrose*
- Old Town Red, *var. Sharbrough*

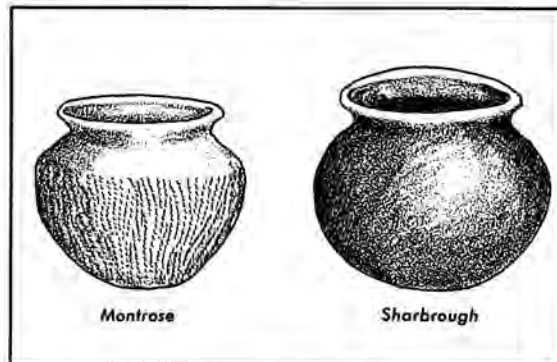


Figure 60. Coker set.

YAZOO SET

This set is characterized by the coarse textured, shell tempered ware of Mississippi Plain, *var. Yazoo*. Many different vessel forms are represented, some of which are restricted to only one or two subsets.

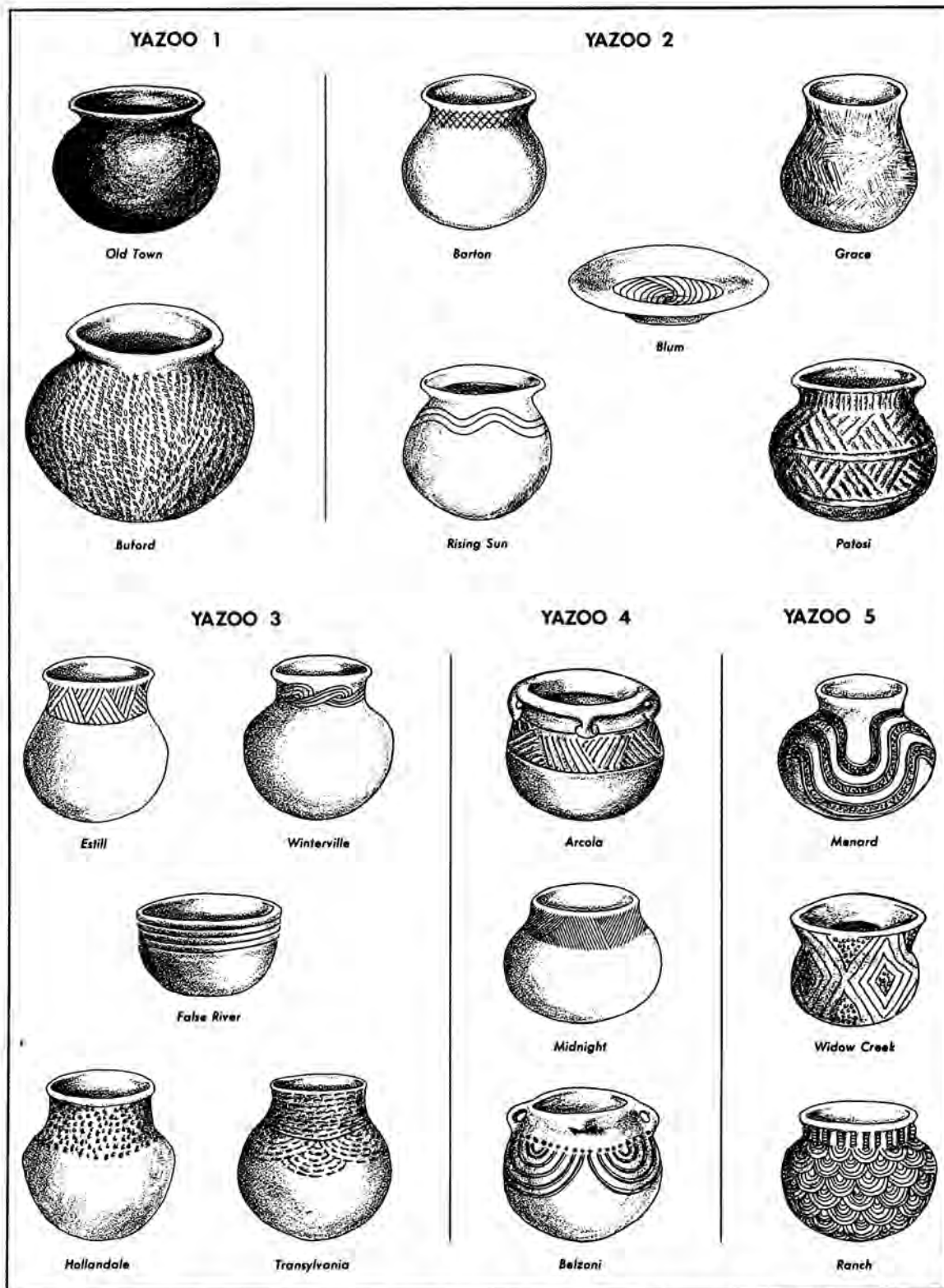


Figure 61. Yazoo set. Decorated varieties and range of vessel forms of subsets 1-5.

Five subsets have been distinguished on the criteria of vessel form and decorative intent (Figure 61).

#### Yazoo 1

The Yazoo 1 subset is characterized by the early form of jar with a short rim; it occasionally has loop handles. Bowls may also be present, but they have not been specifically recognized in the Winterville collection. As is the case with the parallel Coker set, the decorative intent is that of overall surface finishing by means of red slipping or cord marking, and a few examples are found where both were combined on the same vessel. These modes of decorative intent and vessel form are important traits of the contemporary cultures in the Missouri-Illinois regions, and their appearance in early Mississippian contact levels at Winterville in association with the Powell and Coker sets is surely no coincidence. While we may be uncertain as to the precise origin of this material, we are confident about its cultural affiliation and temporal positioning. (It may be noted that if there was closer contemporaneity, Yazoo 1 would be partially parallel to the Reed 1 subset [see Williams and Brain 1983:314-316 for description]; the parallelism, however, is probably to prototypic Woodland ceramics far to the north and beyond our consideration here.)

Varieties of this subset are:

- Cahokia Cord Marked, *var. Buford*
- Old Town Red, *var. Old Town*

#### Yazoo 2

This subset is something of a catchall in that an initial hybridization of ceramic traditions resulted in considerable variation. Thus jars, bottles, simple bowls, and plates (the latter two forms often having notched rims) are all present, while incising, brushing, and pinching are the favored decorative techniques. The designs are curvilinear as well as rectilinear, and are placed on the interior as well as the exterior of the vessel. Within this variety, however, some integrity is expressed by the parallelisms to

portions of the partially contemporary Addis and Greenville sets. Whether always in conscious imitation or not, many of the same decorative intents were applied to a different ware.

Varieties of this subset are:

- Barton Incised, *var. Barton*
- Grace Brushed, *var. Grace*
- Pouncey Pinched, *var. Patosi*
- Winterville Incised, *var. Blum*
- Winterville Incised, *var. Rising Sun*

#### Yazoo 3

The third Yazoo subset exemplifies the basic (i.e., most universally ramified) Mississippian expression of decorative intent and ware. Decoration is incised and/or punctated, and is intended to be confined to the rim or upper portion of the vessel. The standard jar and simple bowl are the overwhelmingly favored forms.

Varieties of this subset are:

- Barton Incised, *var. Estill*
- Mound Place Incised, *var. False River*
- Parkin Punctated, *var. Hollandale*
- Parkin Punctated, *var. Transylvania*
- Winterville Incised, *var. Winterville*

#### Yazoo 4

This subset bears a very close correspondence to Yazoo 3, differing primarily in a subtle shift of decorative intent away from concentration on the rim to include the major portion of the body as well. Incising is by far the most popular decorative technique, although punctuation often continues as a minor mode added to predominantly incised designs. Bowls become more common, and include complex as well as simple forms. Jars tend to be smaller in size than in Yazoo 3, are usually the subglobular version with short, excurvate rims, and may have strap handles or lugs. In the many individual characteristics, this subset most closely approximates a "classic" regional expression.

Varieties of this subset are:

Barton Incised, *var. Arcola*

Barton Incised, *var. Midnight*

Winterville Incised, *var. Belzoni*

**Yazoo 5**

This last subset has the same jar form as Yazoo 4. Decorative intent also emphasizes the covering of the entire body surface, but there is far greater use of punctation and curvilinear incising. The principal reason for setting this subset off from the obviously closely related Yazoo 4 subset is temporal: the com-

ponent varieties are stratigraphically later at Winterville (and also Lake George), and even continue into the historic period at other sites. Thus, the differences noted would seem to reflect a real cultural development.

Varieties of this subset are:

Owens Punctated, *var. Menard*

Owens Punctated, *var. Poor Joe* (present at Lake George, but not distinguished in the Winterville sample)

Owens Punctated, *var. Widow Creek*

Winterville Incised, *var. Ranch*

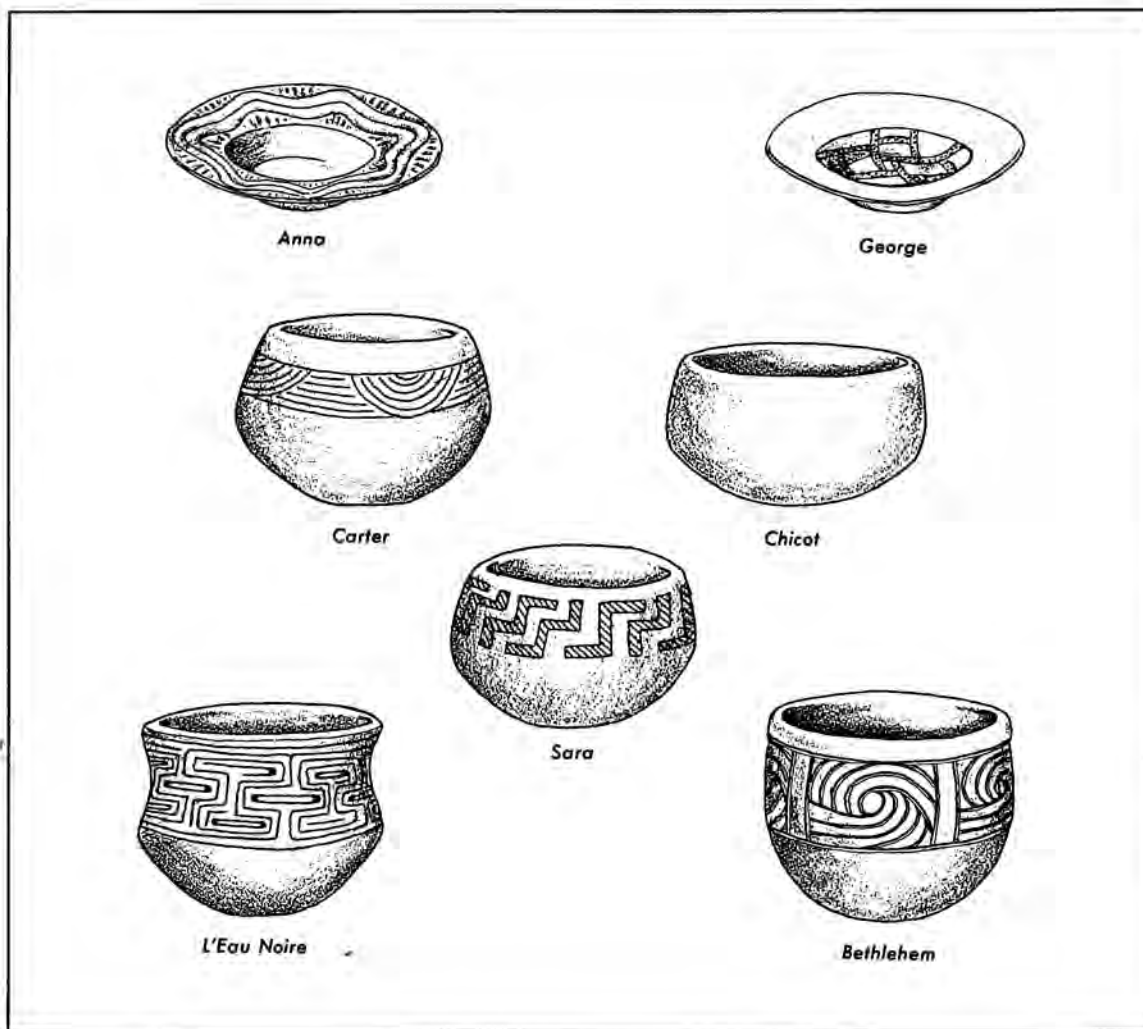


Figure 62. Greenville set.



## GREENVILLE SET

Greenville is a particularly exciting set. A number of special, even exotic (for the context), modes from diverse origins are found combined in this unique ceramic grouping (Figure 62). The fact, as well as component modes, of hybridization is especially informative in the particular context at hand. The paste is equivalent to the *Addis* variety of Addis Plain with the added mode of some shell as the primary but not exclusive tempering agent. Surfaces are well finished compared to most *Addis* vessels. Favored forms are the more unusual ones: complex and carinated bowls, plates, and occasional bottles. Decoration tends toward comparatively complex curvilinear or rectilinear motifs which were engraved, incised, or trailed on the exterior or interior of the vessel; red-slipping and punctation are minor modes. Certain vessel forms, some design elements, the techniques of engraving, trailing, and painting, and the idea of shell tempering were all foreign modes that were intruded into, and hybridized with, the indigenous Lower Valley ceramic tradition.

Varieties of this set are:

- Anna Incised, *var. Anna*
- Avoyelles Punctated, *var. George*
- Carter Engraved, *var. Carter*
- Carter Engraved, *var. Sara*
- Chicot Red, *var. Chicot*
- L'Eau Noire Incised, *var. L'Eau Noire*
- Leland Incised, *var. Bethlehem*

## HOLLY BLUFF SET

Holly Bluff is a set characterized by a fine textured, mixed-shell tempered paste. A range of bowl shapes and occasional bottles are the favored forms, and these are decorated on the exterior body surface with curvilinear designs (Figure 63). Trailing or incising are the common decorative techniques, but occasionally engraving or fine punctation are added modes. The distinction between subsets 1 and 2 is

rather narrow, and depends primarily upon a general change in decorative intent to more open designs and generally cruder execution in subset 2.

## Holly Bluff 1

In this subset simple bowls and short-necked bottles are the preferred vessel forms. These are carefully decorated on the exterior surface with closely spaced trailed incisions, sometimes supplemented with engraving, arranged in meander or scroll motifs. The decorative intent suggests a field largely covered with lively curvilinear designs.

Varieties of this subset are:

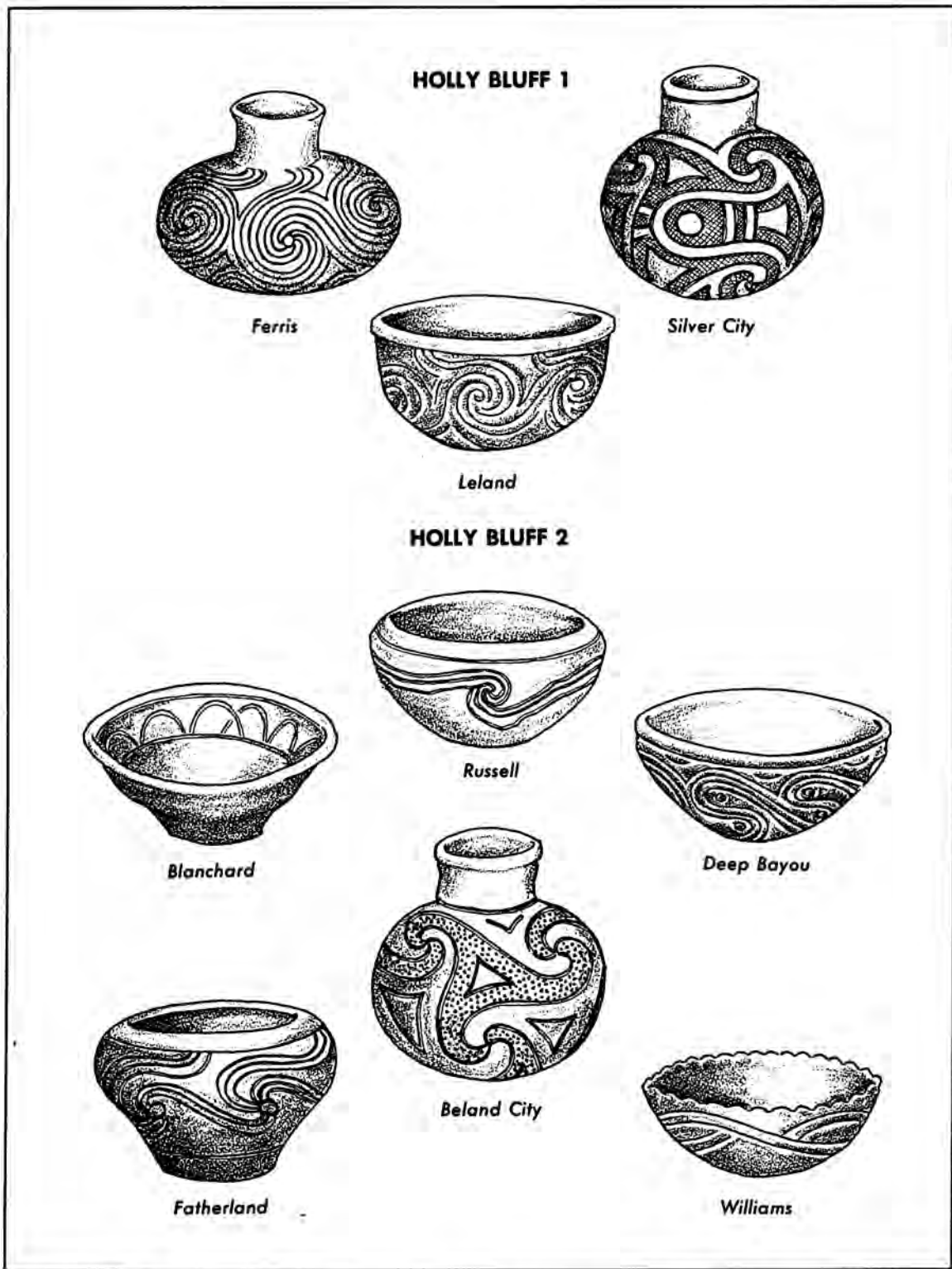
- Leland Incised, *var. Ferris*
- Leland Incised, *var. Leland*
- Maddox Engraved, *var. Silver City*

## Holly Bluff 2

Complex bowls become more common in this subset, and larger sizes of all forms appear. The paste is generally a little coarser, mostly because it tends to have a higher shell content, and the technique of decoration is usually somewhat cruder. In all of these respects there is a definite rapprochement with the late Yazoo subsets 4 and 5. (Thus, in ceramic terms, a final amalgamation of the basic Mississippian and Lower Valley traditions was being effected.) The most significant difference between Holly Bluff 1 and 2, however, is that motifs become simpler and the elements more widely spaced over the surface, so that the designs are far more open. The decorative intent, then, seems to have been reduced to the comparatively minimal suggestion of traditional modes.

Varieties of this subset are:

- Fatherland Incised, *var. Fatherland*
- Leland Incised, *var. Blanchard*
- Leland Incised, *var. Deep Bayou*
- Leland Incised, *var. Russell*
- Leland Incised, *var. Williams*
- Owens Punctated, *var. Beland City*



*Figure 63. Holly Bluff set. Decorated varieties and range of vessel forms of subsets 1 and 2.*

## BELL SET

As already noted in the introduction, this set calls attention to a group of imported ceramics, only decorated versions of which were recognized in the collection (Figure 64). Presumably these were desired because of their unusual decoration or exotic quality and were brought in for special purposes. The ware has a compact paste that is finely shell tempered. Vessel walls are usually thinner than in local plain ware varieties, and the coloration is often lighter, tending toward buff or light gray. The favored vessel forms are the long- or short-necked bottle, but bowls are also represented. The decorated varieties found at Winterville are listed below; also included would be the unclassified engraved with Southern Cult motifs. Other members of the set, not found at Winterville but to be expected at other sites with more extensive later occupations, are the related varieties of Avenue Ploychrome, *var. Avenue*,

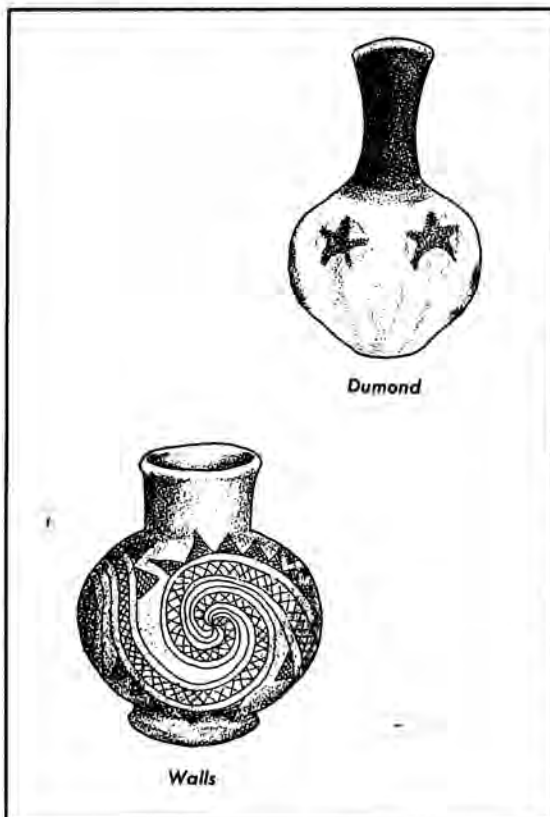


Figure 64. Bell set.

Carson Red on Buff, *var. Carson*, Hollywood White, *var. Hollywood*, Nodena Red and White, *var. Nodena*, and Old Town Red, *var. Beaverdam*. All together, with Walls Engraved, produce an exotic assemblage in the lower Yazoo of late prehistory, and thus are an easily recognizable and particularly useful set.

The varieties of this set are:

Nodena Red and White, *var. Dumond*  
Walls Engraved, *var. Walls*

## Artifacts of Other Categories

As described in appendix C, somewhat more than 200 identifiable artifacts other than pottery were recovered during the course of the Winterville investigations. The total, which includes all categories of stone, bone, and other materials, might be considered surprisingly low for a site of this magnitude. As the count amounts to less than one percent of the pottery inventory, it is as though all the Wintervillians did was make and break pots. And indeed there may be some truth to that impression. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, the lack of tools (the implements of production) but abundance of pottery (the implements of consumption) would seem to tell much about the character of the site.

Sixteen artifact types are presented in Appendix C: 3 ceramic, 10 stone, and 3 bone. Of these, only seven are considered sufficiently distinctive or limited in distribution at Winterville to serve as cultural diagnostics. These are the round and cylindrical earplugs made of pottery; the chipped stone projectile points, Alba Stemmed, *var. Scalhorn*, and Mississippi Triangular, *var. Madison*; the chipped and ground stone pebble celt; and the conical points of bone (Figure 65). This variety of functions, forms, and materials reflects the diversity of the cultural traditions from which the artifacts were derived.

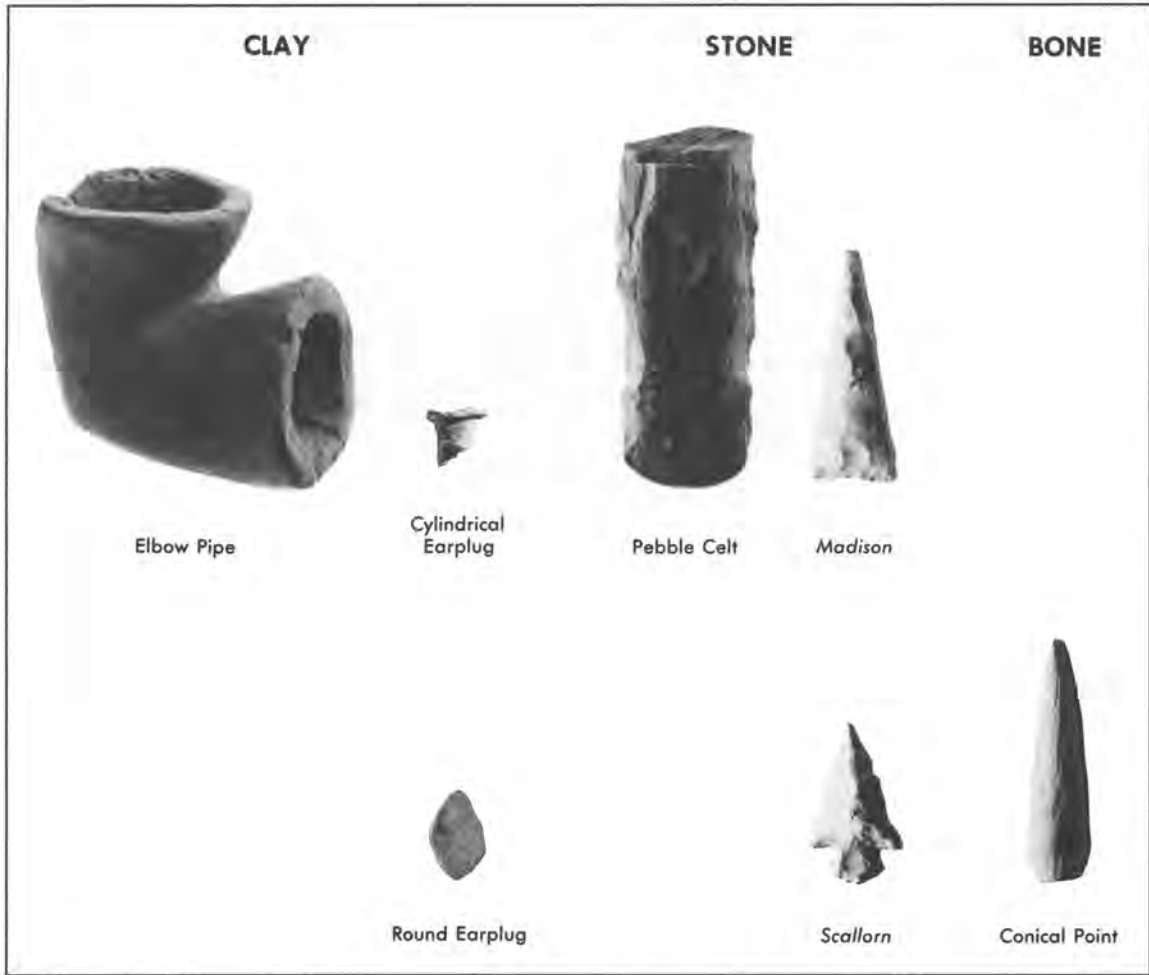


Figure 65. Diagnostic non-pottery artifacts from Winterville, reduced to 70%.

### Floral and Faunal Remains

Although the inhabitants of Winterville must have been true agriculturists who derived the bulk of their sustenance from domesticated foodstuffs, there is but little evidence and it was found only in the later occupational levels. Domesticates included maize and beans, which were both present in small amounts in midden deposits on the summits of Mounds K and M. Nuts of the chinaberry and acorn from Mound S were the only other edible floral remains recognized.

Some 22.5 kg of animal bones were also recovered from the excavations. While this is a

meager haul in comparison to the usually large number of bones found at sites of this period, a wide variety of animals is represented. Occurrences of each species are tabulated in Appendix D according to provenience. These data are summarized in tables 3 and 4.

Nineteen species—12 mammal, 4 bird, 3 turtle—are represented in the Winterville collection of faunal remains. Mammals are by far the most important group, comprising 90 percent of the sample (Table 3). As usual, deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) are the most important single mammalian species. However, the percentage of deer is an unusually low 53 percent of mammals, and only 48

	Specific Name	Common Name	Occurrences	%
Mammals	<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	White-tailed Deer	265	
	<i>Sylvilages aquaticus</i>	Swamp Rabbit	142	
	<i>Sciurus</i> sp.	Squirrel (Fox or Gray)	56	
	<i>Procyon lotor</i>	Raccoon	11	
	<i>Sylvilages floridanus</i>	Cottontail	7	
	<i>Didelphis virginianus</i>	Opossum	7	
	<i>Canis latrans</i>	Coyote	5	
	<i>Felis concolor</i>	Mountain Lion	2	
	<i>Lynx rufus</i>	Bobcat	1	
	<i>Ursus americanus</i>	Black Bear	1	
	<i>Castor canadensis</i>	Beaver	<u>1</u>	
			498	90
Birds	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	Turkey	26	
	<i>Anas acuta</i>	Pintail Duck	11	
	<i>Chen hyporborea</i>	Snow Goose	2	
	<i>Bubo virginianus</i>	Great Horned Owl	<u>1</u>	
		40	7	
Turtles	<i>Terrapene</i> sp.	Box Turtle	7	
	<i>Chelydra Serpentina</i>	Snapping Turtle	7	
	<i>Pseudemys scripta</i>	Red-eared Turtle ("Cooter" or "Slider")	1	
		<u>15</u>	3	
TOTALS			<u>553</u>	<u>100</u>

Table 3. Faunal species identified at Winterville, and number of occurrences (an occurrence being a single bone or a group of fragments from the same elements that are assumed to be from the same bone for sampling purposes).

Specific Name	Common Name	%
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	White-tailed Deer	53
<i>Sylvilages aguaticus</i>	Swamp Rabbit	29
<i>Sciurus</i> sp.	Squirrel	11
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	Raccoon	2
<i>Sylvilages floridanus</i>	Cottontail	1
<i>Didelphis virginianus</i>	Opossum	1
<i>Canis latrans</i>	Coyote	1
<i>Felis concolor</i>	Mountain Lion	.4
<i>Lynx rufus</i>	Bobcat	.2
<i>Ursus americanus</i>	Black Bear	.2
<i>Castor canadensis</i>	Beaver	.2

Table 4. Percentage of species in total sample of mammalian elements from Winterville.



percent of the total fauna (cf. Cleland [1965], Parmalee [1975], and Smith [1975] for other examples of late prehistoric exploitation of deer in the Mississippi Valley). On the other hand, small mammals are represented by an unusually high percentage (Table 4). Most notable among these is the swamp rabbit, which seems to have been far more important than squirrel, the mammalian species usually second only to deer (e.g., Parmalee 1975:154, Table 24). These were the mammals consistently exploited; the others were probably taken incidentally as favorable occasions arose (although the taking of a large mountain lion or black bear would qualify as a special occasion). As elsewhere, birds, especially the wild turkey and pintail duck, were more important than all these other minor mammal species combined.

Overall, the total faunal collection includes species within their normal range (Gilbert 1973),

and is consistent with a bottomland environment in the prehistoric Lower Mississippi Valley. In fact, the unexpectedly high representation of swamp rabbits, especially versus cottontails (Smith 1975:92), and the relatively low percentage of deer, are probably directly attributable to such a biotic community. Thus Winterville exploited a bottomland biota, which is hardly surprising since that is all it could have exploited for a radius of at least 50 km.

Fish bones and mussel shells were also recovered in the excavations, but were not identified by species. A few observations, however, may be recorded. Surprisingly, fish bones were not as common as could be expected. The most common species recognized in the field was the alligator gar. Mussel shells were also relatively rare except for the primary midden beneath Mound G, which testifies to their exploitation at least during the early occupation of the site.

## 6 Phases of Occupation

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the cultural chronology of Winterville. That is, the archaeological data presented in the foregoing pages are organized into components of cultural phases. The primary data, of course, are the artifacts (mostly pottery) and their contextual proveniences within the site. Thus the stratification described in Chapter 4 provides the physical framework for interpreting the stratigraphy of the features and artifacts presented in Chapter 5 and appendices A-C. Three components of occupation are distinguished, and these are correlated with three late prehistoric regional phases.

The following presentation is simplified by the near identity of Winterville to the latest phases of occupation at the nearby Lake George site (Williams and Brain 1983: Chapter 10). The identity is overtly manifested in the similar site plans, stages of construction and occupation, and the artifactual complexes that define those stages. It is possible, therefore, to apply with little modification the cultural chronology established for Lake George, beginning with the Crippen Point phase (Figure 66). But first, we may review briefly the artifactual evidence for earlier occupations in the vicinity of Winterville.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Culture or Cultural tradition</i>
Neo - Indian	VI	1600	Russell	Mississippian
	V		Wasp Lake Lake George	
	IV	1200	Winterville	Plaquemine
		800	Crippen Point Kings Crossing Aden	Coles Creek
	III		400	Bayland Deasonville
	II	A.D. 1	Issaquena/Paxton Anderson Landing	Marksville
			Tuscola	Tchefuncte
	I	1000	McGary	Poverty Point
		2000	Jaketown	

Figure 66. Regional chronology for the Neo-Indian era in the lower Yazoo region. (Adapted from Williams and Brain 1983: Fig. 12.1).

## Early Occupations in the Vicinity of Winterville

The earliest certain archaeological evidence of man's presence in the Winterville locale is documented with the two potsherds of Lake Borgne Incised, *var. Tenhut* found in the last mantle of construction in Mound D (Appendix A). This pottery must have been made about the time the locality first became habitable. The locus of this initial occupation was not determined in the course of the investigations at Winterville and survey of the surrounding countryside, but it is unlikely that the dirt used for mound construction was brought from any great distance. Somewhere within or near the site there must have been a Tuscola phase occupation.

So, too, there is artifactual evidence of an Issaquena component: a handful of potsherds classified as Churupa Punctated, *var. Thornton*. Curiously, this variety, which is certainly not one of the most common, represents the sum total of decorated Issaquena pottery from the site. *Thornton* is believed to date rather late in the Marksville period and may have continued into the Baytown period (Phillips 1970:68-69). Thus it is conceivable, although most unlikely, that this material is associated with the Baytown pottery to be discussed next. The provenience of the *Thornton* sherds was restricted to the western half of the site: constructional levels in mounds D and G, and upper occupational levels in and around Mound B. Obviously, all had been redeposited.

A component of an unknown phase of the Baytown culture is amply indicated by a scattering of pottery belonging to the Reed set (see Williams and Brain 1983:314) that was found throughout most of the excavations. The inability to distinguish subsets, as at Lake George, is due primarily to the near absence of diagnostic Reed 2 pottery, and rendered unimportant anyway by the fact that all of this material was obviously redeposited, being found in constructional or upper occupational layers belonging to later cultural activity. Thus it is impos-

sible to assign these sherds to an occupation with a discrete archaeological context that may be considered a component of a regional phase. For these same reasons, it is also not possible to define the general locus of any such occupation. It must have been near the later configuration of the site, and, from the weight of evidence, probably somewhere around the western side. But again, as with earlier occupations, exact provenience was not established.

There then seems to have been a definite break in the occupation of the Winterville locale. Diagnostic artifactual data attributable to early phases of the Coles Creek culture are limited to three potsherds (one each of Coles Creek Incised, *vars. Coles Creek* and *Ely*, and Mazique Incised, *var. Mazique*). These came from constructional or upper occupational layers on the southeastern side of the site (Locations I and VII), and probably represent driftage from the early Coles Creek Ely site (19-L-3 [22-Ws-505]), which is Winterville's closest prehistoric neighbor at just over 1 km to the southeast.

Thus it is that while there are artifactual data establishing the presence of earlier components in the vicinity of Winterville, it was not until late in the Coles Creek period that occupational activities resulting in *in situ* archaeological evidence began and the final configuration of the site commenced to take form. The earlier contexts had been either destroyed by later activities, missed in our limited excavations, or located outside the limits of the site as it came to be defined by mound construction. The latter seems the most plausible explanation, but the others may not be excluded.

## The Construction and Occupation of Winterville

The first permanent, *in situ* context revealed in the archaeological excavations at Winterville can be identified as a manifestation of the Crippen Point phase of Coles Creek culture. It was followed by a component of the Winterville phase of Plaquemine culture, and then a final component of the Lake

George phase of Mississippian culture. This seemingly complex series of cultural manifestations has been explicated rather thoroughly for Lake George (Williams and Brain 1983:335-342), and so only a review is necessary here after the internal physical structure and content of Winterville have been detailed.

The stratification of Winterville displays a series of occupational and constructional episodes. At this point it is necessary to clarify what may seem to be a rather strange distinction between occupational and constructional contexts. Surely earthwork construction is an occupational activity—one of many. But it is such an immense physical presence at a great mound site that it overwhelms all other activities.

Moreover, this purposeful rearrangement of the physical environment seriously affects the archaeology. Although clean fills were sometimes brought in, most soils used in mound construction had been

contaminated at least to some degree by cultural materials, and furthermore these soils were often mixed in the loading process. The contamination and mixture obviously creates problems in interpreting the cultural stratigraphy. In recognition of these problems, therefore, and in tribute to the major physical activity at the site, the distinction is drawn between occupational and constructional contexts—strata or other features—within the archaeological levels. Occupational contexts include all primary depositions: middens, living floors, burned structures, burials, and the like. Constructional contexts are all those instances of secondary deposition, i.e., earthwork formation. For stratigraphic interpretation, the cultural content of occupational deposits may be considered more reliable than that of constructional contexts: in most instances, the artifactual indicators are sufficient evidence for firm assignment to phases of occupation. Phase assignments of episodes of mound construction,

PHASES	SETS		
Lake George         	Bell		
	Yazoo 5	Holly Bluff 2	
Winterville         	Yazoo 4	Holly Bluff 1	
	Yazoo 3		
Crippen Point       	Addis 2 ←-----→ Yazoo 2 ←---→ Greenville		
	Powell ←----- Coker ←----- Yazoo 1		
Addis 1			

Figure 67. Distribution of pottery sets in lower Yazoo chronology. Placement indicates approximate appearance of each category, and is not an expression of longevity (e.g., Yazoo 3 did not cease with the appearance of Yazoo 4, but rather the two overlapped in occurrence). Numerals indicate subsets of different decorative intents on the same ware. Horizontal connecting lines (arrows) relate those sets/subsets of different wares that are parallel in decorative techniques and intents; a solid line indicates complete parallelism, a dashed line partial parallelism between the two categories.

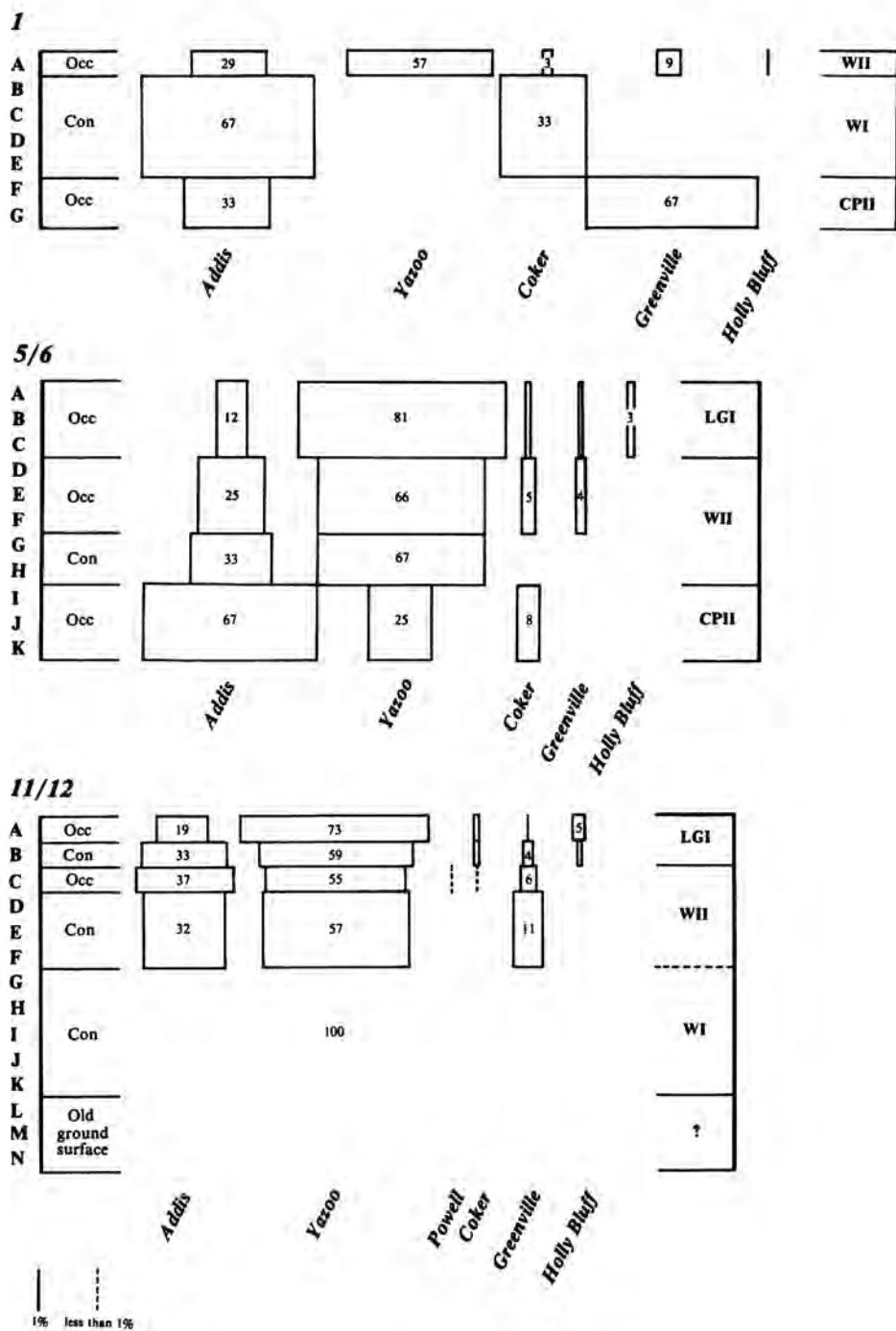


Figure 68. Stratigraphic histograms, Location I. In this series of histograms (Figures 68-75), the assignment of strata to cultural phases and subphases is determined by distributions of pottery sets; since tallies include plainware, division into subsets is not practicable, but see Appendix A for occurrences of diagnostic decorated varieties.



which often have variable cultural content, may then be interpolated.

As the most numerous class of data, pottery is the key to the assignment of the archaeological contexts to cultural phases and subphases. The pottery sets defined in Chapter 5 are the principal phase identifiers. Since the sets are identical to those found at Lake George, it does not seem unwarranted that the phase assignments determined for that site (Williams and Brain 1983: Chapter 9) are applicable here. In fact, when the contextual proveniences for the sets at Winterville are compared with Lake

George, the identity between the two sites is seen to be quite fundamental during their periods of contemporaneity. In recognition of this concordance, the sets may be placed in a regional chronology that includes the relevant components at both sites (Figure 67). The actual stratification and ceramic stratigraphy of the excavations at each location at Winterville are illustrated in Figures 68-75. The excavation units are correlated according to subphases in Figure 76, and the occurrences of occupational versus constructional activities are summarized in Table 5.

Other artifactual evidence that contributes to the

25

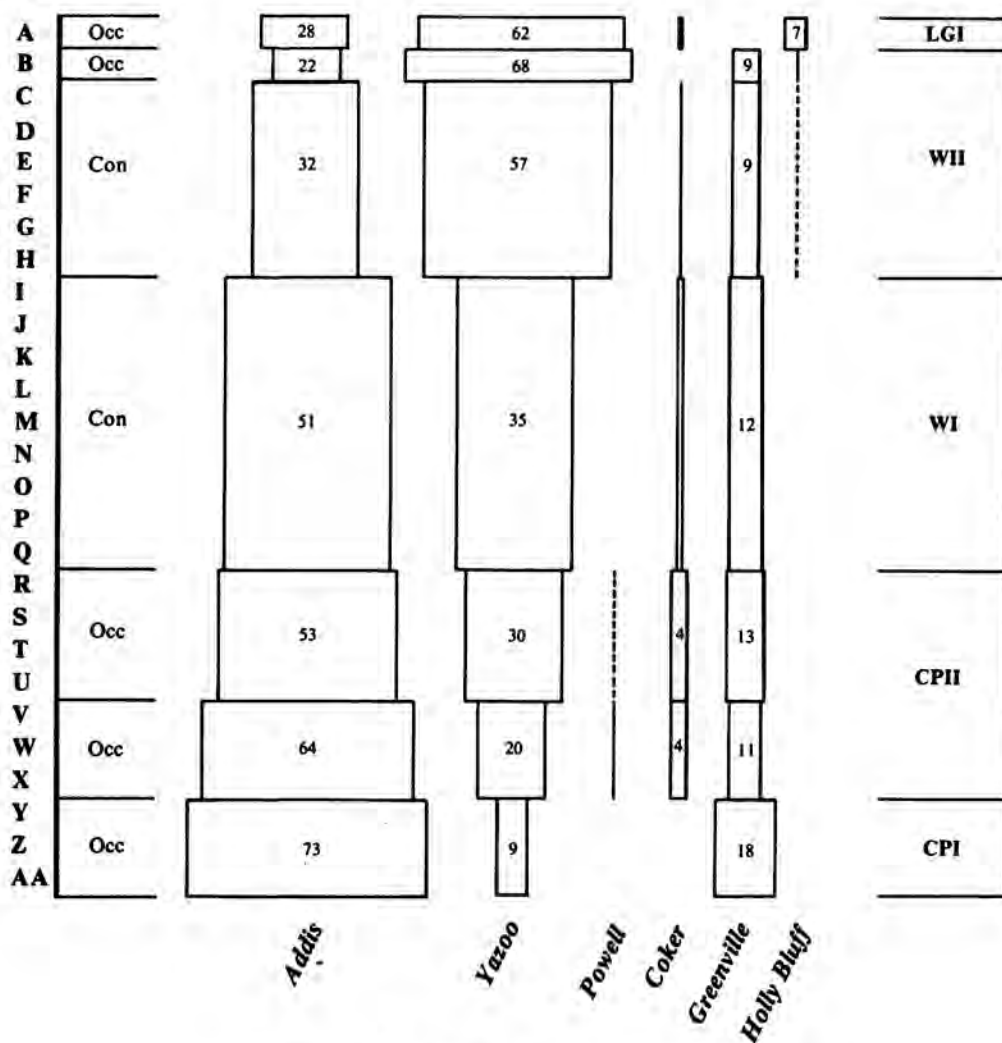


Figure 69. Stratigraphic histogram, Location II.

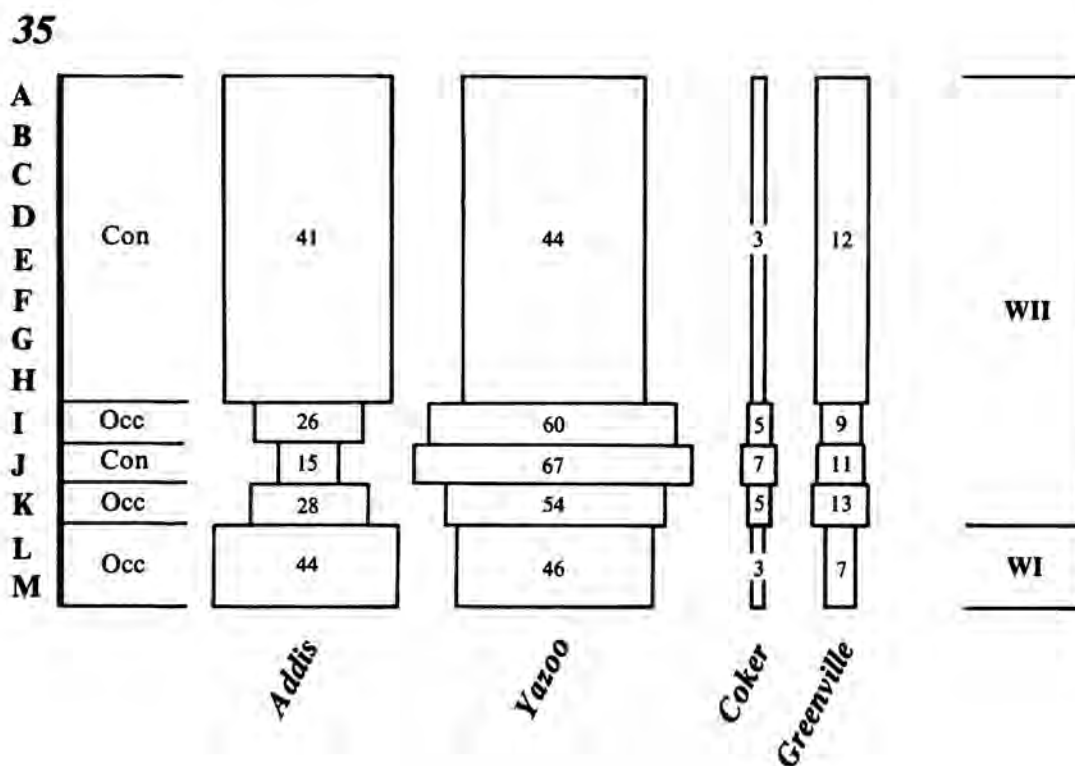


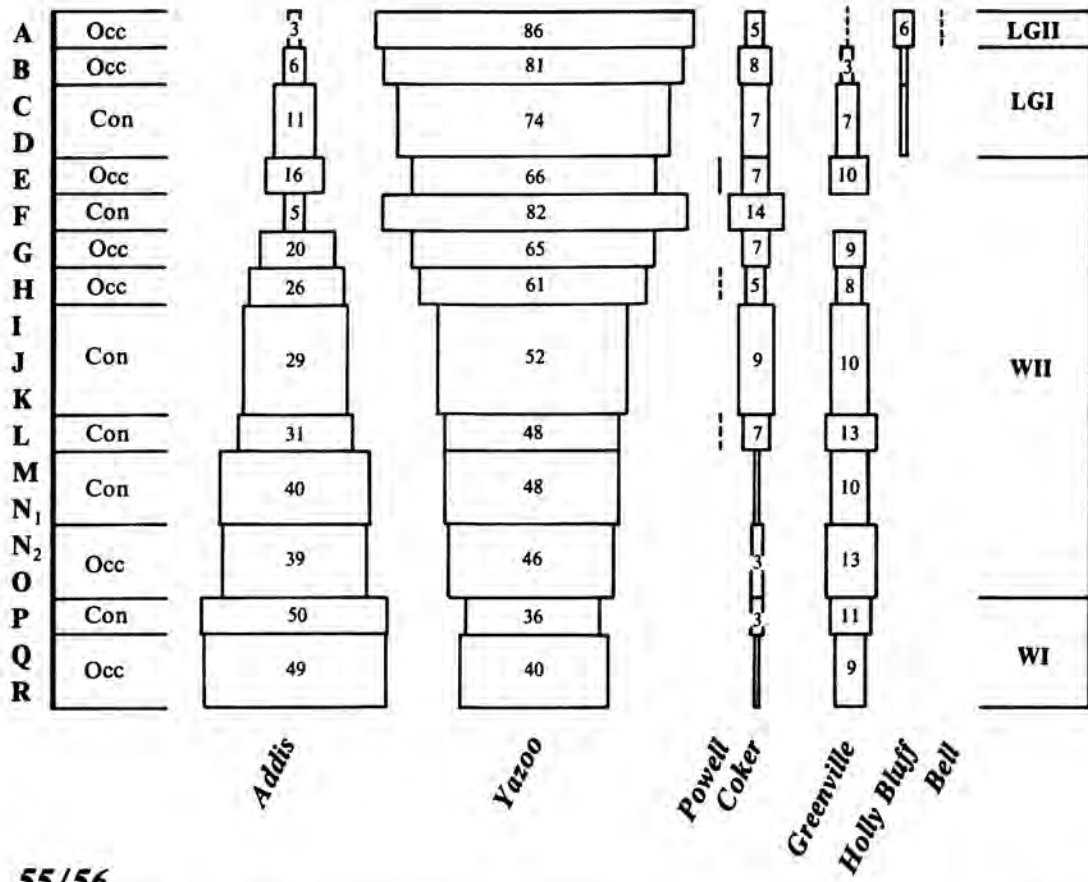
Figure 70. Stratigraphic histogram, Location III.

recognition and definition of phases of occupation at Winterville includes the seven ornament and tool types that are sufficiently distinctive or limited in distribution to serve as cultural diagnostics (Chapter 5). The proveniences and known cultural affiliation of four of the types—the pottery elbow pipe and cylindrical earplug and the chipped stone pebble celt and Madison point—clearly belonged to the Lake George phase, while the other three were Winterville phase types. No distinctive type in these categories was isolated in a Crippen Point phase context, although the round earplug and *Scallorn* point assigned to Winterville are thought elsewhere to date at least this early (Williams and Brain 1983:218, 222, 324-326). It is possible that there was a continuity of indigenous types at Winterville, symbolic of the cultural hybridization that was occurring during the Winterville phase. The conical point, on the other hand, is a firm diagnostic of the Pla-

quemine culture (*ibid*:278-279).

Finally, patterns distinguishable within the temporal, spatial, and elemental distributions of the faunal species at Winterville (Appendix D) exhibit trends that confirm basic continuities, but also support subtle differences between the phases of occupation. For example, it will be noted in Table 6 that the general categories remain relatively stable through time, considering sample sizes and sampling error. Mammals do increase from 85% during the Crippen Point phase to 90% in the Lake George phase, and birds and reptiles decrease somewhat accordingly. But there is nothing dramatic, nor probably significant, in these proportional changes. Within mammals, however, there seems to be a very significant trend through time: deer utilization shows a striking drop from a high of 65% during the Crippen Point phase to an astonishing low of 38% during Lake George. Concurrently, the percentage

45/46



55/56

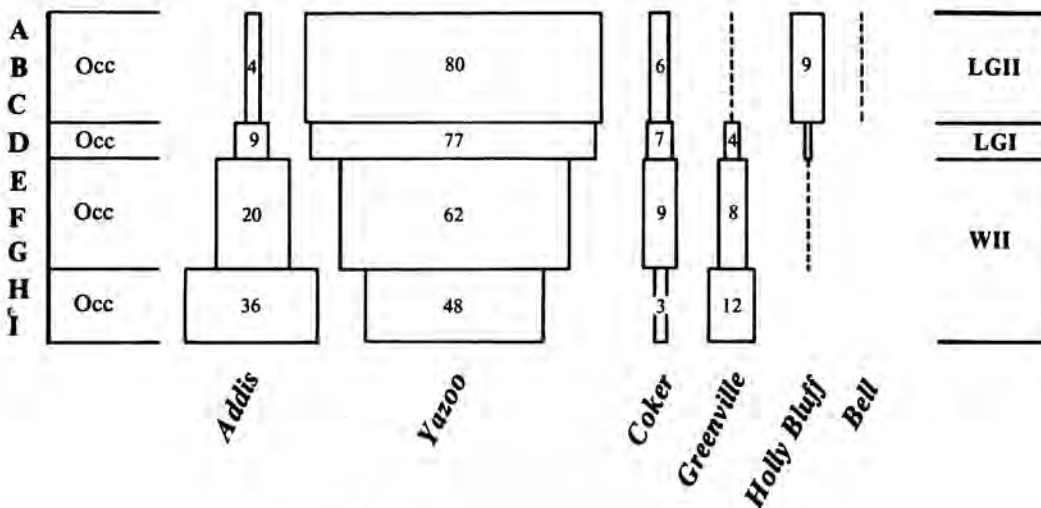


Figure 71. Stratigraphic histograms, Location IV.

**75/76**

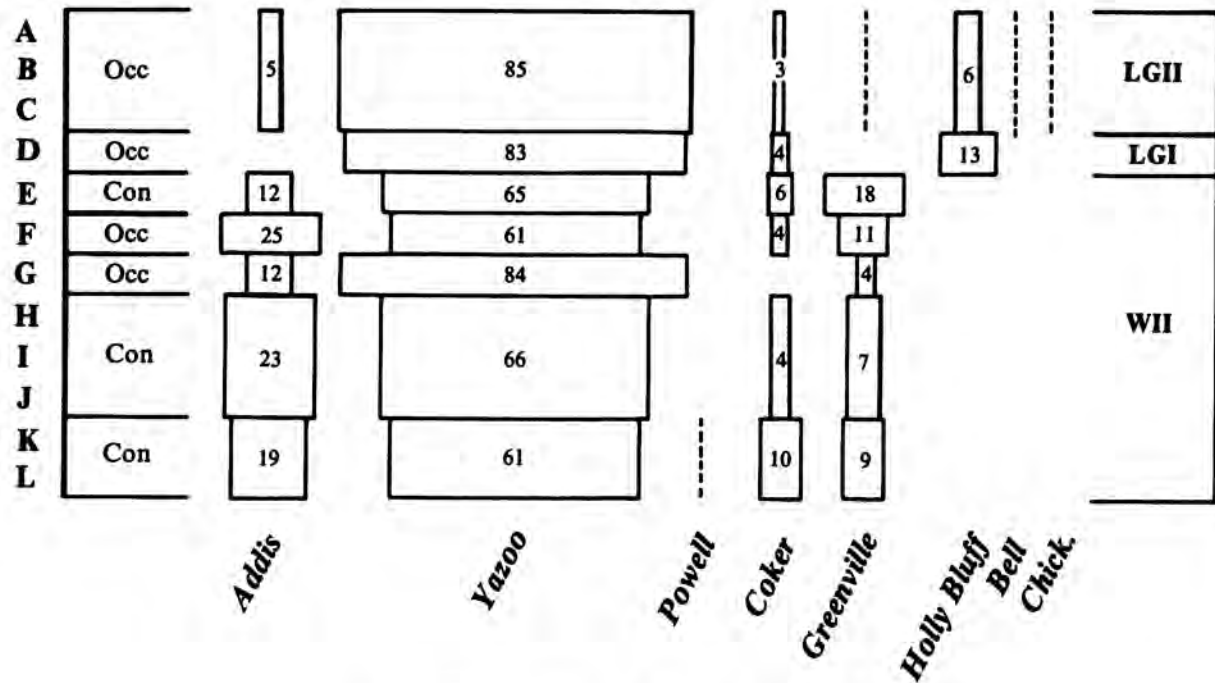
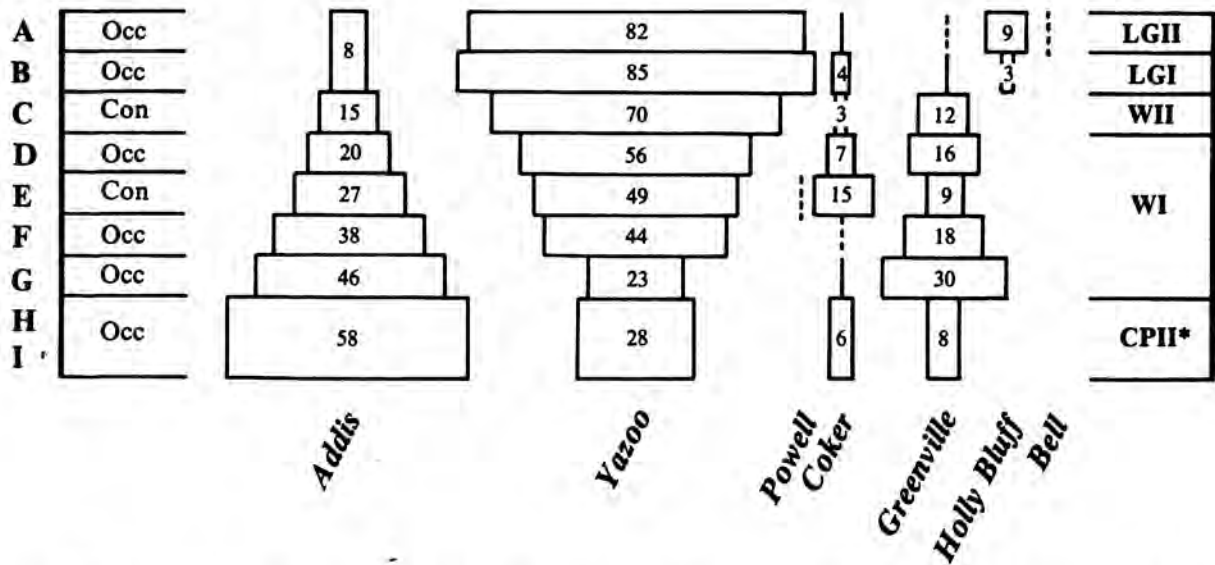


Figure 72. Stratigraphic histogram, Location V.

**85/86**



\* AC<sup>14</sup> sample from level 86I was found beneath this midden, directly on the old natural levee surface, and thus predates this occupation (see fig. 77, table 10).

Figure 73. Stratigraphic histogram, Location VI.

95

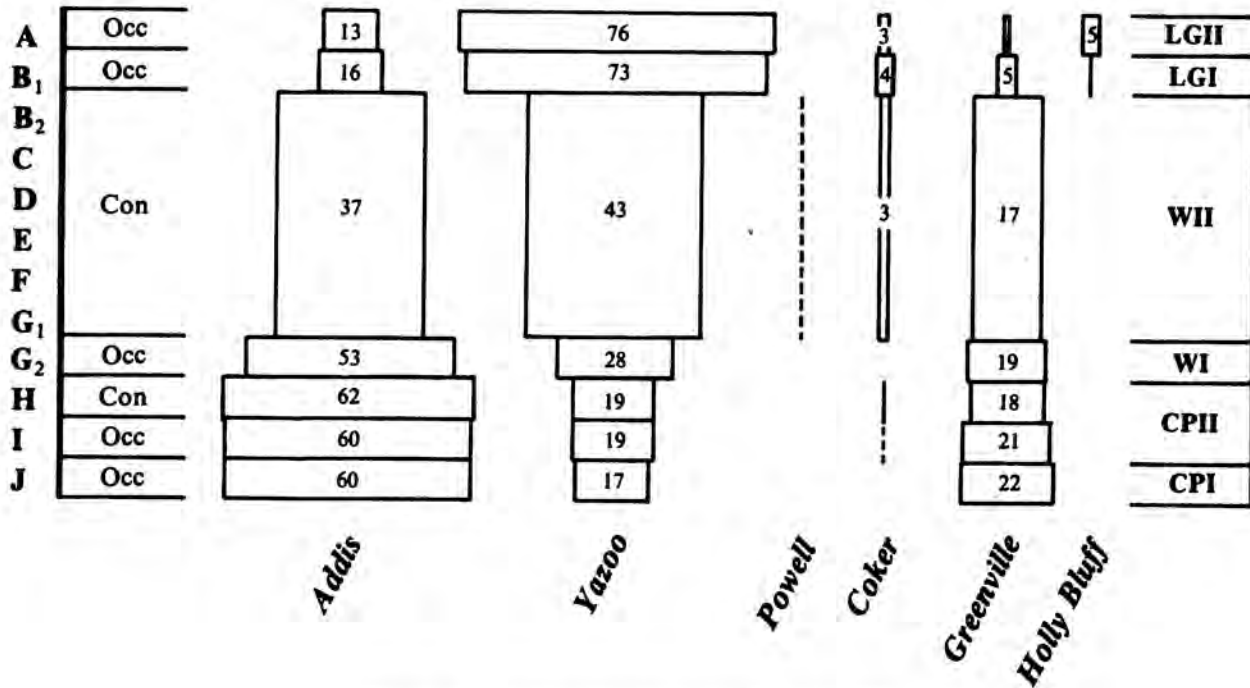


Figure 74. Stratigraphic histogram, Location VII.

100

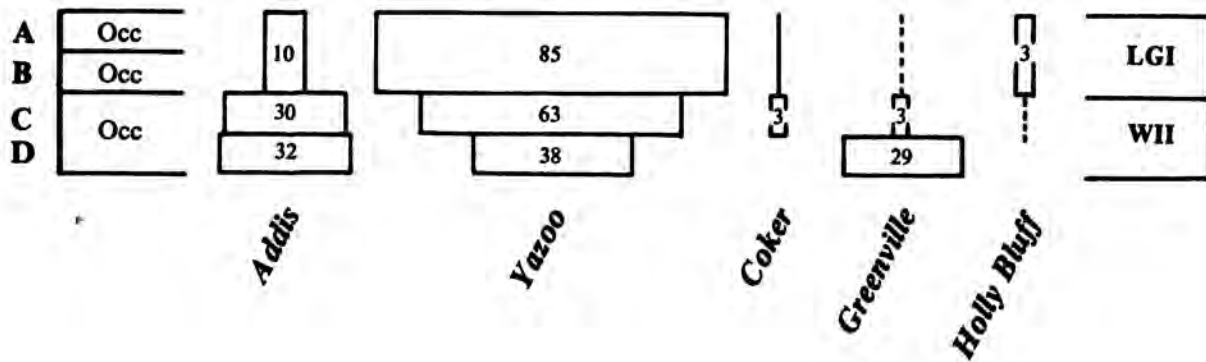


Figure 75. Stratigraphic histogram, Location VIII.



Subphases	Occupational	Constructional
Lake George II	5	
Lake George I	9	2
Winterville II	15	14
Winterville I	7	4
Crippen Point II	6	1?
Crippen Point I	2	

Table 5. Discrete instances of occupational versus constructional activity according to subphases (see Figures 68-75).

of swamp rabbit nearly quadrupled. Thus in the Lake George phase swamp rabbit is equal to deer in the number of occurrences—although not, of course, in yield. There may be an indication of overutilization of the deer population in these figures, or unknown cultural factors (gustatory preference?) could be responsible. Certainly there are some cultural factors at work in selection. For example, a comparison of tables 7-9 is quite informative. They show that while complete skeletal remains are present for rabbit and squirrel, the deer bones indicate a great preponderance (nearly 3:1) of limb elements, especially the meaty upper leg. It would seem that the favored species and choice cuts were being forwarded to the ceremonial center (see Cleland 1965:97-98; Belmont 1983).

The spatial distribution of faunal species is also worth noting, although the significance is unclear. Deer is the most common single species, of course,

and has a wide occurrence throughout the site. There is an especially good showing at Location IV, but that is because Location IV had the best concentration of primary midden encountered in the excavations (it also had the widest variety of species, some being represented only there, such as beaver, mountain lion, bobcat, and bear). So, too, swamp rabbit is prominent at Location IV, with 92 occurrences. It would appear from scattier distributions that squirrel and raccoon were more important in the earlier occupations than the later, when cottontail and opossum gained in popularity. Birds and turtles were also more common earlier, although turkey maintained a constant percentage throughout. For whatever unknown reason, bird bones were restricted to the northern half of the site; turtle bones, on the other hand, were generally found only on the western side, which would have been contiguous to the ancient bayou.

Overall, the nature and general lack of food remains and the tools with which to cultivate, hunt, or process them indicate that the resident population of Winterville was a small and select one during the later phases of occupation.

### Crippen Point Phase

The earliest evidences of *in situ* human activity at the Winterville locus were found on the western and southern margins of the site at Locations II and VII (Figures 69, 74). These consisted of primary middens lying directly upon the surface of the old

Phase	Sample*	Mammals				Birds		Reptiles
		Deer	Rabbit	Squirrel	Others	Turkey	Others	Turtle
Lake George	141	38	38	9	5	5	3	2
Winterville	339	44	25	12	8	5	3	3
Crippen Point	20	65	10	10	0	5	5	5

\* Only those elements which can be securely identified with a phase are used in this table.

Table 6. Distributions of faunal remains according to phases of occupation at Winterville. Percentages of mammal, bird and reptile elements indicated by phase.

Body Part	Number of Occurrences	%
Head (skull, mandible, tooth, antler)	6	2
Body		
rib	15	6
scapula/pelvis	24	9
vertebra	26	10
Limbs		
upper leg	124	47
lower leg	25	9
"longbone frags"	45	17
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b><u>265</u></b>	<b><u>100</u></b>

Table 7. Percentage of body parts represented in total sample of deer elements.

natural levee presumably formed by a Channel 2 meander of the Mississippi River. Insofar as can be determined, habitation is the only activity represented (Table 9).

The artifactual content of the middens is limited to pottery in our sample. The assemblage of potsherds forms a tight complex which is overwhelmingly assignable to the late Coles Creek Addis set. This set is diagnostic of the Crippen Point phase of Coles Creek culture in the lower Yazoo region. Also present in significant percentages, however, is a new mode of ceramic technology—shell tempering—as represented by Mississippi Plain, *var. Yazoo*, and Bell Plain, *var. Greenville*. These types and varieties do not appear in the archaeological record until late

Crippen Point-early Winterville phases at Lake George. It is logical to expect, however, that inasmuch as this technological mode had been slowly diffusing downriver since at least the turn of the millennium, it should be found earlier at the more northerly Winterville. For this reason, these contexts are tentatively assigned to the end of the Crippen Point I subphase (Figure 76).

In any event, the late Crippen Point phase (sub-phase II) is well represented at a number of locations at the site, especially again in the south and west (Figures 68, 69, 73-76). Clearly the site was growing, but the principal activity remained occupational in nature. The only possible exception is a thin mantle at the bottom of Mound M which appears to

Body Part	Number of Occurrences	%
Head (skull, mandible, tooth)	30	21
Body (scapula/pelvis)	32	23
Limbs		
upper leg	60	42
lower leg	20	14
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b><u>142</u></b>	<b><u>100</u></b>

Table 8. Percentage of body parts represented in total sample of swamp rabbit elements.

Body Part	Number of Occurrences	%
Head (skull, mandible, tooth)	20	36
Body (scapula/pelvis)	5	9
Limbs		
upper leg	26	46
lower leg	5	9
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 9. Percentage of body parts represented in total sample of squirrel elements.*

have been constructional. This modest instance of earthwork construction is a far remove from the mound center that graced Lake George at this time. But it must be remembered that the latter site had been a-building for quite a while, and that even there this was not a phase characterized by major constructions. As the farthest major extension of Coles Creek culture to the north, the early inhabitants of Winterville were just getting established. As at Lake George, their time for intensive constructional activity was yet to come. (Because of the subsequent parallelisms between the two sites, it is tempting to think that the Winterville pioneers had emigrated directly from Lake George, which was experiencing population growth at the time.)

Artificially, the only items found in the excavations are still pottery, especially the diagnostic Addis

1 subset. Also making a dramatic appearance, however, are the Powell and Coker sets and Yazoo 1 subset. At this time, the influence from upriver thus becomes more specific, an origin within the Cahokia hegemony being identifiable. This occurrence is a harbinger of the great developments that follow at both Winterville and Lake George.

### Winterville Phase

This climactic phase is appropriately named after the site that remains its most impressive landmark (since Lake George owes some of its bulk to earlier constructions). Evidence of the Winterville phase was found at all excavation locations around the site, and the vertical dimensions are the grandest of all, for this is when the mounds and other

	1	5/6	11/12	25	35	45/46	55/56	75/76	85/86	95	100
<b>LG II</b>						A	A-C	A-C	A	A	
<b>LG I</b>		A-C	A	A		B-D	D	D	B	B <sub>1</sub>	A-B
<b>W II</b>	A	D-H	B-F	B-H	A-K	E-O	E-I	E-L	C	B <sub>2</sub> -G <sub>1</sub>	C-D
<b>W I</b>	B-E*		G-K*	I-Q	L-M	P-R			D-G	G <sub>2</sub>	
<b>CP II</b>	F-G*	I-K	L-N*	R-X					H-I	H-I	
<b>CP I</b>			-	Y-AA						J	

\* Assignment hypothetical due to lack of diagnostic artifacts

*Figure 76. Assignment of excavation units to cultural phases and subphases (see Figures 68-75).*

earthworks were largely constructed (Figures 68-75, Table 5). Although the construction projects seem to have been conceived as a whole, and most were probably put up within a relatively brief period, a comparison of the stratification and cultural stratigraphy between locations reveals some complexity attesting to unsynchronized hiatuses, many of which were the result of various occupational events. A significant amount of time is rarely indicated by these local breaks in construction, but through correlation it is possible to divide the intense activity into two parts, distinguished as the Winterville I and II subphases (Figure 76).

Winterville I is characterized by the first major mound construction and associated occupations. It is defined artifactually by a richly varied assortment of pottery, as well as other items. The pottery is particularly important. The Addis set continues, but now is diagnostically represented by subset 2, which is partly parallel in decorative modes to the Yazoo 2 subset (Figure 67). The third major group of pottery diagnostics forms the Greenville set. Other artifact types present are two projectile points—Alba Stemmed, *var. Scallorn*, and conical bone—and round earplugs.

Winterville II exhibits the greatest amount of mound construction as well as the most varied occupational activities. The occupations were of some duration, as attested by the rich middens at Location IV, and were probably oriented toward ceremonial activities, including mortuary at Location I. The artifactual inventory seems to have remained essentially unchanged from earlier in the phase, except for the appearance of the Yazoo 3 subset.

Thus the Winterville phase exhibits a mixture of northern and southern elements in its artifactual inventory, with northern modes and types ultimately predominating. Activities were focused on mound construction and utilization for habitational, ceremonial, and funerary purposes. A resident population larger than that manifested for the Crippen Point phase is indicated by the richer and thicker midden deposits and by the manpower required for

the great construction projects. Evidence of burning at most of the mound-top locations is interpreted as evidence that the phase was terminated by a general conflagration.

### Lake George Phase

The last major phase of prehistoric occupation at Winterville was concentrated on the northern and eastern side of the site. Although a few thin mantles were added to some of the mounds, the principal activities were residential and ceremonial. Again, two subphases may be recognized (Figure 76, Table 5).

Lake George I shows a clear continuity from Winterville II, as at most locations rebuilding followed the general fire that apparently consumed the site. In addition to habitational and ceremonial structures on some of the mounds, the upper layer of burials may have been interred in Mound B. Final mantles were added to Mounds B and G. Otherwise, however, there is only evidence of primary midden deposits, even on the mound summits. The artifactual content of these middens also reveals continuity from the Winterville II phase, but is distinguished by the appearance of the Yazoo 4 and Holly Bluff 1 subsets (Figure 67). Also present are four other artifact types: the elbow pipe and cylindrical earplug of pottery, and the chipped stone pebble celt and Mississippi Triangular, *var. Madison* projectile point.

Lake George II is distinguished from subphase I by the occurrence of the Yazoo 5 and Holly Bluff 2 subsets. This complex is generally restricted to Locations IV-VI. Clearly the northeast plaza was the focus of attention at this time. The only recognized activity was mound-top occupation. Although no longer extensive, the occupation does seem to have been intensive, as attested by the thickness and richness of the middens. The decline continued, however, and by the end of the phase the site was abandoned. The actual event itself is not recorded, of course, but it is marked by the appearance at the



very end of two imported traits in the pottery assemblage: trade ware of the Bell set, and motifs on indigenous pottery related to the so-called Southern Cult.

### The Dating of the Phases

The dating of the three sequential phases of occupation at Winterville was established by the C<sup>14</sup> method.<sup>1</sup> Six samples of wood charcoal were submitted to the radiocarbon laboratory at Yale University, which at that time (1968-1969) used the gas method and Libby half-life for C<sup>14</sup> of 5568 years.

The results of these assays, and the various corrections applied to them, are presented in Table 10. Column one lists the laboratory number of the sample, column two the provenience at Winterville, column three the C<sup>14</sup> age (Libby half-life) with stated error of  $\pm 1$  sigma, and column four the mean uncorrected calendar date. Columns five and six list the C14 and calendar ages corrected after Stuiver and Suess (1966). Columns seven and eight convert the original determinations into datings based upon the 5730-year half-life, which are then corrected in column nine using the tree-ring correlations (TRC) of Ralph, Michael, and Han (1973). In the interest of whatever confidence might be generated, it will

be noted that there is a close correspondence in the results of all these methods. Only because they are the most corrected, and therefore hopefully the most reliable, the TRC dates will be the ones used here.

The correlation of the TRC-corrected dates with the cultural stratigraphy presented in the foregoing pages is most impressive. It is even more impressive when comparable data from the closely related Lake George site (21-N-1 [22-Yz-557]) are also introduced. In Figure 77, the C<sup>14</sup> dates are graphed along a chronological scale, and correlated with site proveniences and cultural contexts at both Winterville and Lake George. The close agreement in the dating of the same late prehistoric phases at these two sites restores some faith in the reliability of the radiocarbon method during the late prehistoric period.

The earliest Winterville sample came from the bottom of the occupational level beneath Mound L. It dated an early Crippen Point phase context to the mid-eleventh century. This date is neatly bracketed by two Lake George dates (which, however, it must be noted are not the most secure at that site). The early Winterville phase is well dated at Winterville to the beginning of the thirteenth century by a pair of determinations: one from a higher level in Mound L, and one from the bottom of Mound G. The late

<sup>1</sup> An archeomagnetic sample from the burned structure at the summit of Mound K was also taken by Robert DuBois, Director of the Earth Sciences Observatory, University of Oklahoma. But problems in the development of the master curve for the midcontinent area have prevented a precise dating. A radiocarbon determination (Y-2497) dated this same structure to the early fifteenth century. In his letter of June 19, 1970, DuBois would only allow that "concerning the Winterville sample, at this time all I can say is that from archeomagnetic data, an approximately 1400 A.D. date is possible." The intervening years have apparently brought no further refinements.

Sample Number	Provenience	C14 Age	Calendar	C14 Age	Calendar	C14 Age	Calendar	TRC
		(Uncorrected)		(Stuiver & Suess 1966)		(5730-year half-life)		
Y-2493	86I	920 $\pm$ 70	AD 1030	(750)/850*	AD(1200)/1100	950 $\pm$ 70	AD100	AD 1040 $\pm$ 80
Y-2494	45P	740 $\pm$ 100	1210	740	1210	760 $\pm$ 100	1190	1230 $\pm$ 110
Y-2495	45E	630 $\pm$ 100	1320	640	1310	650 $\pm$ 100	1300	1310 $\pm$ 110
Y-2496	86D	750 $\pm$ 80	1200	750	1200	775 $\pm$ 80	1175	1220 $\pm$ 90
Y-2497	70-72B	490 $\pm$ 100	1460	530	1420	505 $\pm$ 100	1445	1410 $\pm$ 110
Y-2498	75/76B	590 $\pm$ 100	1360	590	1360	610 $\pm$ 100	1340	1350 $\pm$ 110

\* Two datings are possible in this method, but it is clear from the other results that the earlier date must apply in this case.

Table 10. Radiocarbon dating of Winterville.



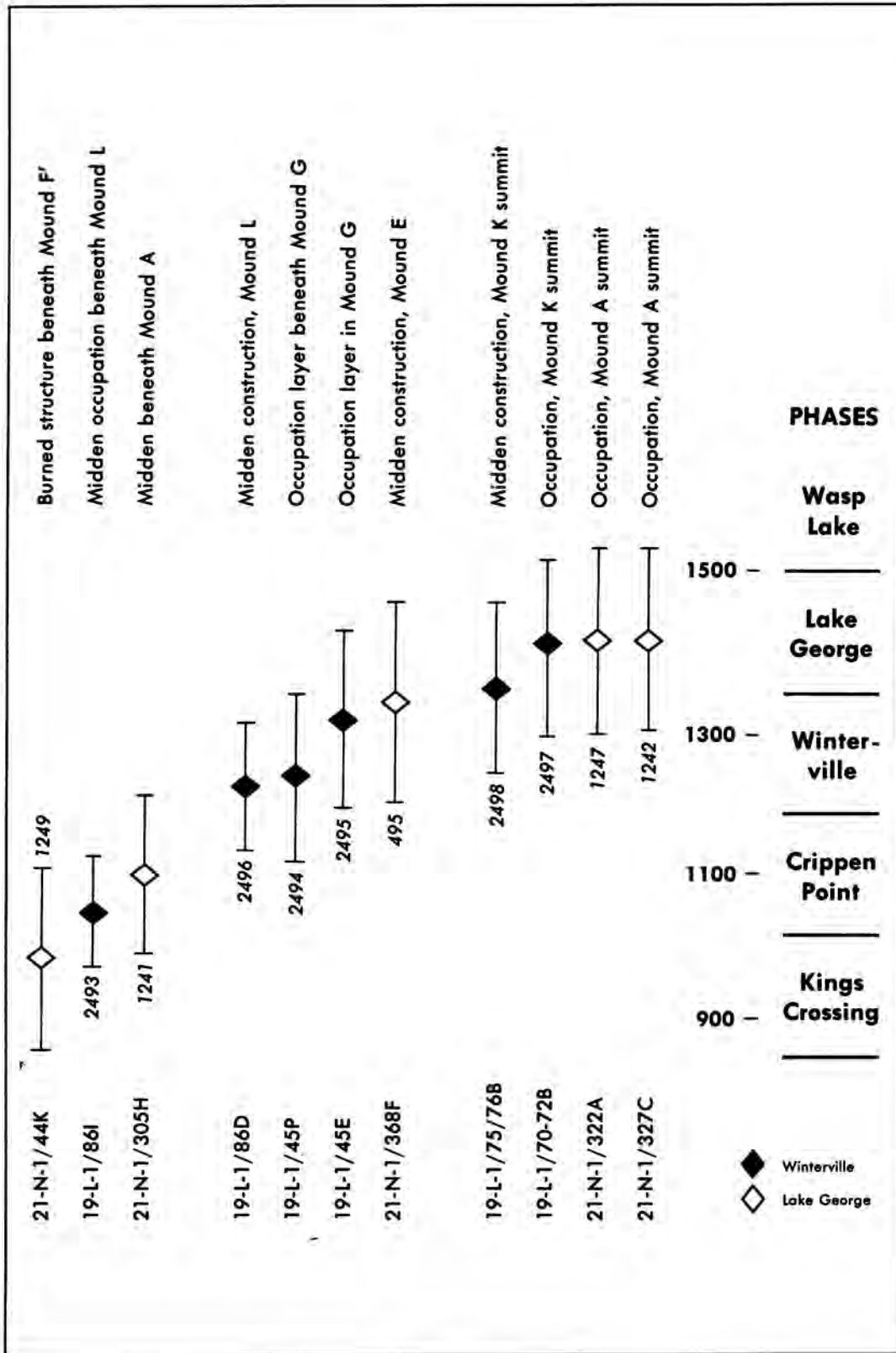


Figure 77. Radiocarbon determinations from Winterville and Lake George. It will be noted that there are close correlations in the dating of the late prehistoric cultural phases at the two sites (Adapted from Williams and Brain 1983: Fig. 10.16).

Winterville phase is dated to the early fourteenth century by a sample from near the top of Mound G (but before the G<sub>1</sub> extension was added). This latter date is supported by one from a similar context at Lake George. The Lake George phase began about 1350, although the date of that age from Winterville (Y-2498) came from a late Lake George context; the uppermost mantle on Mound K which had been thoroughly mixed aboriginally and contained earlier materials. A truer median date of early fifteenth century for the Lake George phase was determined from the burned structure beneath that mantle. This date is upheld by two others from a comparable context at the summit of Mound A at Lake George.

Winterville thus seems to have been occupied for approximately half a millennium (*ca.* A.D. 1000-1500). The final abandonment of the site is not recorded, but this probably occurred by the close of the fifteenth century.

### Summary

Although there is artifactual evidence of earlier occupations in the vicinity of Winterville, the actual locus of the site seems first to have been permanently settled soon after the beginning of the second millennium A.D. (Figure 78). The earliest component was a late manifestation of the Crippen Point phase of Coles Creek culture. This culture was indigenous to the southern part of the Lower Valley, where it had a long sequence of development. By approximately A.D. 1000, it had spread as far north as the central Yazoo Basin (northern part of the lower Yazoo region), at which time Winterville was selected as an outpost for settlement.

The initial modest settlement of Winterville appears to have occurred during a time when the central portion of the Yazoo Basin was uninhabited—or, if inhabited, very sparsely and by small bands possessed of a comparatively simple culture who were quickly acculturated by the developments at Winterville. Whatever the situation, there was no effective barrier to the intrusion of Coles Creek

peoples into the locale. That the settlement must be attributed to an actual migration is indicated by the fidelity of the cultural traits (especially pottery of the Addis set) to those of the Crippen Point phase. That the settlers belonged to the Crippen Point phase is not just a matter of geographic determinism, for it is probable that they migrated from Lake George, the type site for the phase. Only some 80 km to the south, the latter site evidences a population growth at this time (Williams and Brain 1983:336) and might have had the people to spare for expansion—or, rather, a surplus that required a new home. The close connection between these two sites is further indicated by the subsequent parallel histories of both sites and the essentially identical, and otherwise unique, site plans that were developed in the Winterville and Lake George phases.

During the Crippen Point phase, however, Winterville was probably little more than a village. It might have had one or more modest mounds, but it would not have differed in this respect from any other Coles Creek center of the period (Williams 1956). Artifactually it was also typical. It had the usual complex of pottery types, although new influences from the north were present as well. No stone or bone tools were found in context, but it may be presumed that a mixed hunting-gathering-horticultural subsistence was practiced. The faunal remains, at least, indicate that a wide variety of species was exploited, as might be expected in such a rich environment. In short, the Crippen Point phase occupation of Winterville was in no way outstanding. It was, however, significant in one very important respect, and that was its geographic position at the northern frontier of Coles Creek culture. Already it was receiving certain generalized northern influences from the Mississippian culture, and then at about A.D. 1200 it was subjected to a major event of contact from the north.

The new influence originated at or near Cahokia, according to the artifactual diagnostics. The contact was direct and powerful in its effects. Winterville (similarly to its sister site, Lake George) grew from

PHASE	EVENTS	CULTURAL CONTENT	INTERPRETATION
1450-1500?	Abandonment		
Lake George	Occupation on mound summits	Fewer artifact types, the majority of which were developed from preceding prototypes found at Winterville, but also present are a few trade pieces from the north	Limited interaction with emphasis on consolidation and acculturation to Mississippian patterns; extra-Winterville shift in focus of activities and settlement
1350-1400	Conflagration		
Winterville	Mound construction and occupation on mound summits	Tremendous diversity that exhibits local continuities as well as new Mississippian influences resulting in a hybrid cultural manifestation	Local florescence—interaction with wide area, but in situ development that drew inspiration from many sources while attention was focused on construction of Winterville
1200	Cahokia contact		
Crippen Point	Small village occupation	Basically Coles Creek, but coexistent are general and then specific Mississippian traits	Coles Creek immigration and settlement, tentative contact with Mississippian neighbors to north through diffusion followed by direct contact from Cahokia region ca. 1200
1000			

Figure 78. Cultural dynamics at Winterville from ca. A.D. 1000 to 1500.

a small village to a great mound center. In the sheer size and bulk of earthwork construction it was second only to Cahokia and a handful of other sites in the Southeast. At last it stood apart. The most outstanding feature, the focal point of the site, was the great central mound that was flanked by two ceremonial plazas surrounded by lesser mounds. While the summits of these mounds were used for habitational and ceremonial purposes, there is no evidence of major occupation elsewhere on the site. Unlike Cahokia, but very much like the earlier Coles Creek mound centers, this was a vacant ceremonial center inhabited only by a small number of people (presumably a socioreligious elite and their retainers), while most of the population was dispersed in the surrounding countryside.

The hybrid site plan and settlement patterning is also reflected in the artifactual inventory. Pottery and tools, types and modes, of southern and northern traditions are found mixed in a remarkably varied complex. It is assumed that other aspects of life were equally compounded of disparate elements from indigenous and foreign sources. This fusion of the Coles Creek and Mississippian cultures has been identified as the Plaquemine culture (Brain 1978; Williams and Brain 1983:337-338). The manifestation at Winterville, a component of the Winterville phase, was the apogee of site occupation.

Sometime in the late fourteenth century Winterville burned. That is, all of the mound summits investigated were found to have what appeared to be relatively contemporary episodes of fire destruction. No causes were ascertained and no interpretations are offered here, although it should be noted that there is no evidence of outside interference and that the structure on Mound K (the only one excavated to any degree) did not have the appearance of an unexpected firing. Furthermore, there was definite continuity, as rebuilding occurred at many locations and the artifact inventory followed trends already established during the Winterville phase.

The conflagration demarcates the Winterville and Lake George phases. Whatever the reason and

the intended result, this event seems to have marked a profound change in the occupation of Winterville, which never again completely arose from its ashes. After the fire the site continued to function, but it obviously never regained its former vitality: it continued to be occupied, but only in part and presumably with a smaller population; it continued to serve as a ceremonial center, but no more mounds were built or even significantly enlarged; it continued to manifest many of the same cultural traits characteristic of the Winterville phase, but fewer of them were present. The only artifact traits that were carried on were those of Mississippian origin (the Yazoo set of pottery) or that had been Mississippianized (e.g., the Holly Bluff set). Furthermore, the only new traits introduced were pottery and other artifacts that were diffused from other Mississippian phases upriver: the Bell set of pottery, *Madison* point, pebble celt, and cylindrical earplug (the vessel of Chickachae Combed was an unusual import from the hills to the east and is probably a later intrusion). Thus although no major movements of peoples are indicated, Winterville was finally Mississippianized in its artifactual inventory during the Lake George phase: a case of eventual acculturation by the expanding Mississippian culture.

But even then Winterville was not a typical Mississippian site, for it retained its sacred precinct character (i.e., low population density and ceremonial purpose). The general lack of subsistence tools reinforces the impression, as does the evidence that choice cuts of meat were brought in. The latter were primarily from deer, but a decline in percentages suggests that this resource may have been overused. What effect that may have had on Winterville is unknown, but certainly there is also clear evidence of a population decline, as the residents first abandoned the southwestern plaza and then finally the entire site.

Whether Winterville was losing influence over the surrounding area or not, it was no longer the sole focus of attention, which now seems to have shifted to the banks of Deer Creek where a number of

secondary mound centers were constructed—for example, Leland (19-M-1 [22-Ws-501]), Arcola (20-M-1 [22-Ws-516]), and McGee (20-M-2 [22-Sh-501]). This is probably where much of the Winterville population also went, for although there is good evidence of a general population increase throughout the entire region at this period (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951:449), it was also the time of decline and depopulation for Winterville. Centralization was replaced by a more fragmented situation, at least as evidenced in settlement patterning. Of unknown significance, these developments coincide with the appearance of a few elements of the Southern Cult (Appendix A: Unclassified Incised Pottery; see also McCain and Capers 1954:147), that putative religious phenomenon often referred to as a revitalization movement (Waring and Holder 1945; Waring 1968; Howard 1968; cf., Phillips and Brown 1978, Brain 1978; Williams and Brain 1983; Galloway 1989). But the Cult was never prominent at Winterville; nor in the Yazoo Basin for that matter.

The end of Winterville is not recorded. Any evidence in the ground has been destroyed by more recent events. It is probable that after continual

decline the site was simply abandoned, and that this abandonment occurred well before the historic period. In 1541, Hernando De Soto and his conquistadores traversed the Yazoo Basin and probably crossed the Mississippi River within 80 km of Winterville (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951:365-375; Brain, Toth, and Rodriguez-Buckingham 1974). Had this greatest of all sites in the vicinity of his crossing still been a going concern it is unlikely that it would have been bypassed without even a reference in one of the narratives, much less a visit. For, as has been noted about far less imposing sites: "The army was held up almost a month preparing for the crossing. It is hardly conceivable that settlements of the importance and magnitude indicated by these remains . . . would have gone unvisited and unrecorded" (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951:373).

This, then, was the sequence of events that frames one of the great mound constructions in the Southeast. An interpretation of the dynamics of the cultural developments at Winterville and the place of the site in the prehistory of the Lower Mississippi Valley are the subject of the next chapter.





## 7 Late Prehistoric Cultural Dynamics in the Lower Mississippi Valley, A.D. 1000-1500

In the introduction to this volume, it was stated that the original thesis was designed as a case study of culture contact and change. Winterville was selected as the case study because it appeared to have been located at a cultural interface at one very important point in the prehistoric record. This prediction was successfully borne out, as has been described. That is, the fact of significant culture change as the result of contact between two distinct but similarly developed cultures has been demonstrated.

The purpose of this chapter is to broaden the perspective by presenting a preliminary outline of the episodes of late prehistory in the Lower Mississippi Valley. It is hypothesized that these episodes embody the dynamics of local aboriginal development influenced by large-scale regional interactions. Specifically, this study attempts to identify and describe facets of the Mississippian expansion into the indigenous sociocultural contexts of the lower Yazoo region of the valley.

Therefore, although this chapter is necessarily limited in geographic scope, hopefully the tentative interpretations to be presented may be applied to the larger questions of late prehistoric development in the Southeast (see Chapter 8). By detailing what appears to be the influence of one Mississippi Valley cultural tradition—the Mississippian—upon another—the Coles Creek-Plaquemine—a case study is developed. Through a coincidence of comparable case studies, it may ultimately be possible to arrive at a consensus for the structure of certain aspects, if not the true content, of Mississippian interaction on

a continental scale. Cognate or unique contemporary situations in the various geographic areas will together provide a corpus of information that may lead to broader understandings, which then, in turn, may make more detailed interpretations of local events possible. It is with this perspective that the following view of Mississippian from the southern periphery is offered.

An important geographic fact that must not be overlooked in this study of cultural interaction is that the orientation of the principal physiographic features in the Yazoo region is north-south. The most important features are the Mississippi River and its tributaries, which were also the most convenient avenues of communication and travel in what was aboriginally a swampy and often impassable lowland. As a consequence, most movements of peoples or influences in this part of the valley throughout most of later prehistory were north-south, and only occasionally are lateral east-west movements discernable. Thus, Mississippian-Coles Creek contact was inevitable; it was only a question of the forms it would take.

The following presentation is organized according to what appear to be quite distinct episodes of interaction between the study area and other regions farther north in the valley. The headings given to each episode are descriptive mnemonic devices only, for it would be presumptuous to suggest that, while they may relate to a general occurrence in the valley, they describe the sole important dynamics operative at the time. The only purpose of this form of presentation is to emphasize the great diversity of

interactions, and specifically of Mississippian influence, that is beginning to become apparent in the archaeological record of the lower Yazoo region.

### Mississippian I: Undirected Technological Diffusion

The earliest identifiably Mississippian input into the study area was occurring by the beginning of the second millennium A.D. (Figure 79). At both Winterville and Lake George, the best known archaeologically of the sites on the northern frontier of the Coles Creek culture, certain distinctive traits quite foreign to this Lower Valley culture began to appear during the Crippen Point phase (Figure 80). These new traits included specific modes of pottery manufacture, such as the introduction of shell particles as a tempering agent; new vessel forms, the most important of which were the "standard" Mississippian jar and the bottle; and appendages like loop handles and rim adornos. The highly touted

wall-trench type of house construction, long considered a Mississippian trait, may also have been introduced, although this has yet to be satisfactorily proven archaeologically (rectangular wall-trench structures were found in appropriate contexts exhibiting some of the other new traits at both Lake George and Winterville, but we do not have comparable data from "pure" late Coles Creek contexts, so we cannot be certain that this kind of construction was a Mississippian innovation).

Several observations can be made from the appearance of these traits. First, the innovations are unlikely to have been indigenous, considering that prototypes already existed in contemporary phases to the north in west Tennessee and northeast Arkansas/southeast Missouri, and that the manifestation at this time level in the Yazoo is only on the northern frontier. Second, these innovations appear to operate only at the practical level. That is, they were good ideas—"better mousetraps"—that had practical advantage. As such, they spread beyond their original cultural boundaries solely as usable technology, without further cultural commitments. For example, the addition of lime-based tempering materials (such as crushed live mussel shell) can now be demonstrated to have a marked flocculation effect in the manufacture of pottery, rendering it a stronger, more durable product (Million 1975a, b). Increase in vessel size and greater variety in functional forms were thus made possible, a technological advantage that could be expected to operate independently of stylistic conventions.

A third observation about the new traits is that they were being incorporated at various levels of consistency and competence into the indigenous culture, with no observable change in major behavior patterns. Although it is not possible to infer the actual mechanisms of diffusion of these innovations, it is certain that large-scale intrusions of people were not involved. Rather, it seems to have been a simple and expectable case of frontier "zone of admixture between neighboring areas of distinct pottery traditions" (Ehrich 1965:7). Of particular

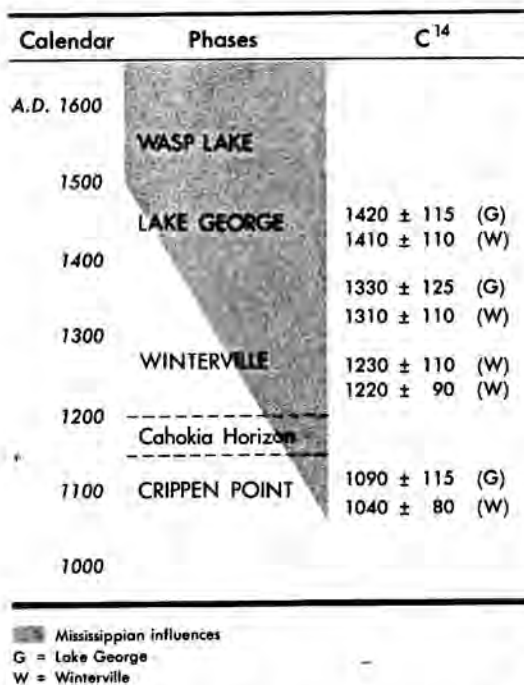


Figure 79. Late prehistoric phases in the lower Yazoo region.

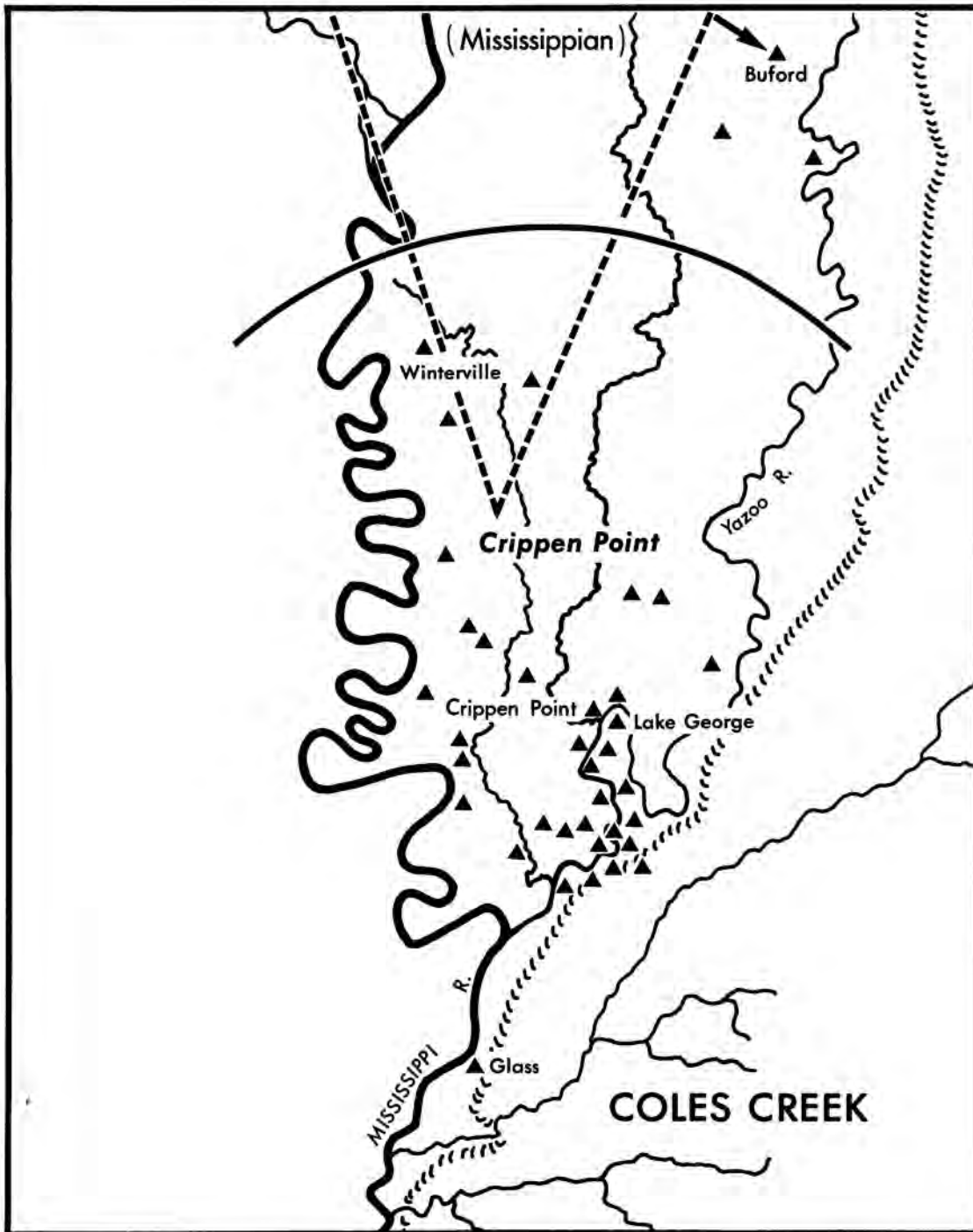


Figure 80. Settlement pattern in the lower Yazoo region at the beginning of the second millennium A.D. In this series of figures, primary sites are labeled in upper and lower case, phase names are italicized, postulated cultural affiliations are in parentheses, definite cultural affiliations are in upper case. A solid line indicates a specific event, while a dashed line indicates other undefined events or secondary influence. These indications merely represent dominant themes in what must have been very complex events.

note is the fact that these traits do not occur solely with each other, which might suggest trade vessels, but were often individually absorbed into the local Coles Creek pottery tradition. Thus, shell tempering or a jar form might be found with what otherwise would be a typical Coles Creek decoration or ware.

The interpretation, therefore, is that we are presented here with a case of undirected secondary diffusion, a faint reflection of the developments to the north but not a close association. The traits were adopted on their own merits. It should be pointed out that this process continued as the value of these innovations was recognized throughout an increasingly large part of the southern half of the Lower Valley. By the historic period, many traits had independently diffused as far south as Natchez and beyond. The problem is to distinguish this continuous process from the later Mississippian traits that were introduced by other means at other times.

### Mississippian II: Limited Demographic Encroachment

The earliest identifiable event that may be ascribed to the intrusion of Mississippian peoples into the Yazoo region probably occurred some time soon after A.D. 1000. As presently revealed, the evidence is restricted to a locale on the upper reaches of the Yazoo River (Williams and Brain 1983: Fig. 12.14). The archaeology is poorly known in this part of the Yazoo Basin, but it is quite possible that this locale was unoccupied at the time, or at least had only a sparse population (Phillips 1970: Fig. 446). Certainly the late Coles Creek culture had not penetrated that far (see Figure 80), and whatever indigenous peoples may have lived there were not party to the advanced developments of that culture. This fact may well explain the nature of the apparent event so dimly perceived, and provide important additional perspective on early Mississippian interaction with the Lower Valley.

The archaeological evidence is limited in kind, as well as extent. At the Buford site (17-O-1 [22-TI-

501]) and two other locations nearby in the eastern part of the basin opposite the mouth of the Arkansas, pottery types that can be related generally to southeast Missouri have been found. Varney Red Filmed, Kimmeswick Fabric Impressed, and unclassified cord-marked salt pans, funnels, and so-called Kersey clay objects are diagnostic markers of the early Cairo Lowland phase (Williams 1954; Marshall 1965) that are far out of context in the Yazoo. To date, the only excavation has been a couple of test pits at the Buford site dug by Richard Marshall in 1968 (Marshall 1988). This excavation verified the material in context and, most significantly, seemed to indicate a single, quite separate component. Although there had been an earlier occupation at the site, the new material overlay it in a distinct zone.

This limited evidence would seem to indicate a phenomenon very different from that considered in the foregoing section. The diagnostic artifacts are definitely of Mississippian origin, and moreover can be identified as coming (in fact or concept) from a particular provenience. But rather than selected introductions into an indigenous context, the evidence suggests a more holistic intrusion. Specifically, it may have been a viable example of that over-used, often misused, concept of "site-unit intrusion" (Wauchope 1956:9-11). If so, then it represents a different kind of Mississippian influence than the secondary diffusion of traits and ideas discussed in the last section. Despite its apparently minor scale, it is no less significant in the broad perspective of Mississippian dynamics.

There are two important points to consider. The first is that this event must have represented the immigration of a sociopolitical group, an organized intrusion from the Mississippian core area. The second point is that the new introduction does not exhibit a direct correlation with the Mississippi River. The orientation is distinctly toward the interior, and the secondary drainage systems. As such, there is a close analogy, and probably connection, with the very similar content and behavior of the Big



Lake phase of northeast Arkansas (Morse 1968, 1969, 1975, 1982), although Buford and Big Lake may not have been exactly contemporary: Morse (*ibid.*) dates Big Lake to ca. A.D. 800-1050, while Buford is believed to date around A.D. 1000 (Marshall 1988). Morse and Morse (1983:232), however, note that the southernmost Big Lake phase sites date no earlier than A.D. 1000-1050. Buford could simply have been the last and most distant extension of the Big Lake phenomenon, which originated in the Cairo Lowlands. If in place early enough, Buford also could have been the more immediate source for the secondary diffusion described in the last section. Whatever the actual sequence of events, it is apparent that Mississippian encroachment was occurring on a broad front that was not restricted to the banks of the Mississippi River. The Buford and Big Lake evidence would seem to suggest that significant demographic events were taking place on the southern periphery of the Mississippian sphere. For unknown reasons, splinter groups were separating off and reestablishing themselves at points of least native resistance in ecotones to which they were preadapted. Thus this was not "interaction" so much as colonization (Willey 1953). Nor, despite the use of the term, was it "intrusion" so much as encroachment, for it was limited to the frontier regions and did not penetrate the Coles Creek heartland.

This episode of limited demographic encroachment, then, is another side of the Mississippian phenomenon in the Lower Mississippi Valley. It would be most illuminating to correlate these presumed movements with other contemporary events in southeast Missouri/northeast Arkansas, as well as to compare them with such other putative site-unit intrusions as Macon Plateau (Willey 1953), which would seem to have been approximately coeval in time and similar in content, but that is beyond the scope of this study. Whatever the initial similarities, however, an important difference remains: whereas such phases as Big Lake and Macon Plateau appear to be examples of successful

Mississippian acculturation of native populations, the Buford intrusion seems to have died out with no identifiable progeny—acculturated or not. Successful Mississippian influence upon the indigenous context awaited further developments of a more highly specific and persistent nature.

### Mississippian III: Specific Interactive Intrusion (Cahokia)

At approximately A.D. 1200, a more specific, if not ultimately persistent, association with northern developments may be demonstrated in the lower Yazoo region. The magnitude and nature of this association can best be described as strong, organized contact from the Cahokia climax of the Stirling and/or Moorehead phases which intruded deeply into the Coles Creek world. Although large numbers of people do not appear to have been involved, the contact was to have considerable influence since, unlike Buford, it occurred within the indigenous sociocultural contexts.

The artifactual evidence for this contact is solid, but not plentiful. There are well-dated, late Crippen Point phase contexts at both Winterville and Lake George that manifest distinctive foreign artifacts—not just modal changes, such as had already occurred as a result of secondary diffusion, but whole artifacts that may be related to a specific nonlocal provenience. Pottery types such as Powell Plain, Ramey Incised, Tippets Incised (including the distinctive "bean pot" form), Cahokia Cord Marked, and various red-slipped wares are present. Also appearing at Lake George is a special variety of the Mississippi Triangular point, named the *Titterington*, which is made from Illinois chert (Williams and Brain 1983:236). All of these diagnostic artifacts indicate a very particular origin: namely, Cahokia, or a closely related satellite. This, then, was no casual spread of traits, such as might occur between contiguous areas, but a direct contact that seems to have jumped over the intermediate regions from which like material has not yet been reported.

This bypassing was possible because of the route that the Mississippi River afforded between the two areas.

In addition to the Cahokia diagnostics, other innovations are apparent. One of these is found in the local pottery manufacture, as close although somewhat inept imitations of the above-named types were fabricated (e.g., Mississippi Plain, *var. Coker* and related decorated types that together comprise the Coker set). This development indicates a conscious attempt by the local Coles Creek peoples of the Crippen Point phase to copy the new introductions, and represents a radical departure from their own traditions. Behavioral changes in other cultural categories also attest to the fundamental importance of the contact. As will be detailed in the following section, basic changes from Coles Creek mortuary custom, settlement pattern, and site plan, as well as inferred social structure and religious practice, that are apparent in the next phase—Winterville—must have begun at this time. But it is difficult to distinguish specific features of this brief horizon because subsequent earth-moving activity was so overwhelming.

All together, the innovations document the change from the Crippen Point phase to the Winterville phase, a sequence which takes on an increasingly, if not exclusively, Mississippian cast. The changes were dramatic, but at the same time many indigenous elements were retained, so that there was subtle adaptation at many cultural levels. Overall, there is a suggestion of close collaboration, certainly a peaceful accommodation, between the local peoples of the Yazoo and the intruders. This theory will be elaborated in the next section.

Two obvious questions require consideration at this point: First, why was there contact from Cahokia, and, second, why was this contact so seemingly successful? The latter question may seem gratuitous in the light of most inferred examples of Mississippian expansion in the east, where the traditional model has been one of a superior culture moving in upon one less organized, and thus over-

coming it (Willey 1953, 1966:293-294; Griffin 1967:15, Fig. 5; Jennings 1968:216, 222). This model has been substantiated by putative cases of site-unit intrusion (e.g., Macon Plateau, Aztalan, Steed-Kisker), reinforced by evidence of fortifications and even possible warfare (Larson 1972). However, such overwhelming intrusion apparently was not the situation in this case, at least at this particular time. There are no demonstrable fortifications at the prime sites in the Yazoo (the palisade and moat at Lake George date to a later period), yet there is considerable Cahokia presence. The artifactual material from Cahokia is found in small quantities at already occupied sites (Figure 81). Thus the contact was occurring within local contexts, and without a major introduction of new peoples. This was not a case of site-unit intrusion, which implies a large-scale demographic input isolated from or destroying a native population. Rather, the widely dispersed, multicomponent horizon in Crippen Point contexts indicates a coordinated event that seems to have been peacefully accepted, perhaps even welcomed. The significance of this pattern is important to the consideration of the Cahokia climax, as well as the later prehistory of this part of the Lower Valley.

The Cahokia climax was obviously a complex event. The "Ramey State"—as it has been rather too extravagantly called to emphasize the unusual level of economic and sociopolitical development (Gibson 1974)—was highly organized, and the motivations for the interaction described here were probably dictated by a number of factors: demographic, economic, perhaps even religious. Each of these has been considered in the literature (Fowler 1973, 1974, 1978; Fowler and Hall 1975, 1978; Hall 1974), and it is not necessary to review the theories here, except insofar as the Lower Valley evidence would seem to indicate particular motivations. Unfortunately, no definitive evidence presently exists that satisfies our quest for those particular motivations that inspired the contact. The artifacts noted are indeed Cahokia diagnostics, mostly of the

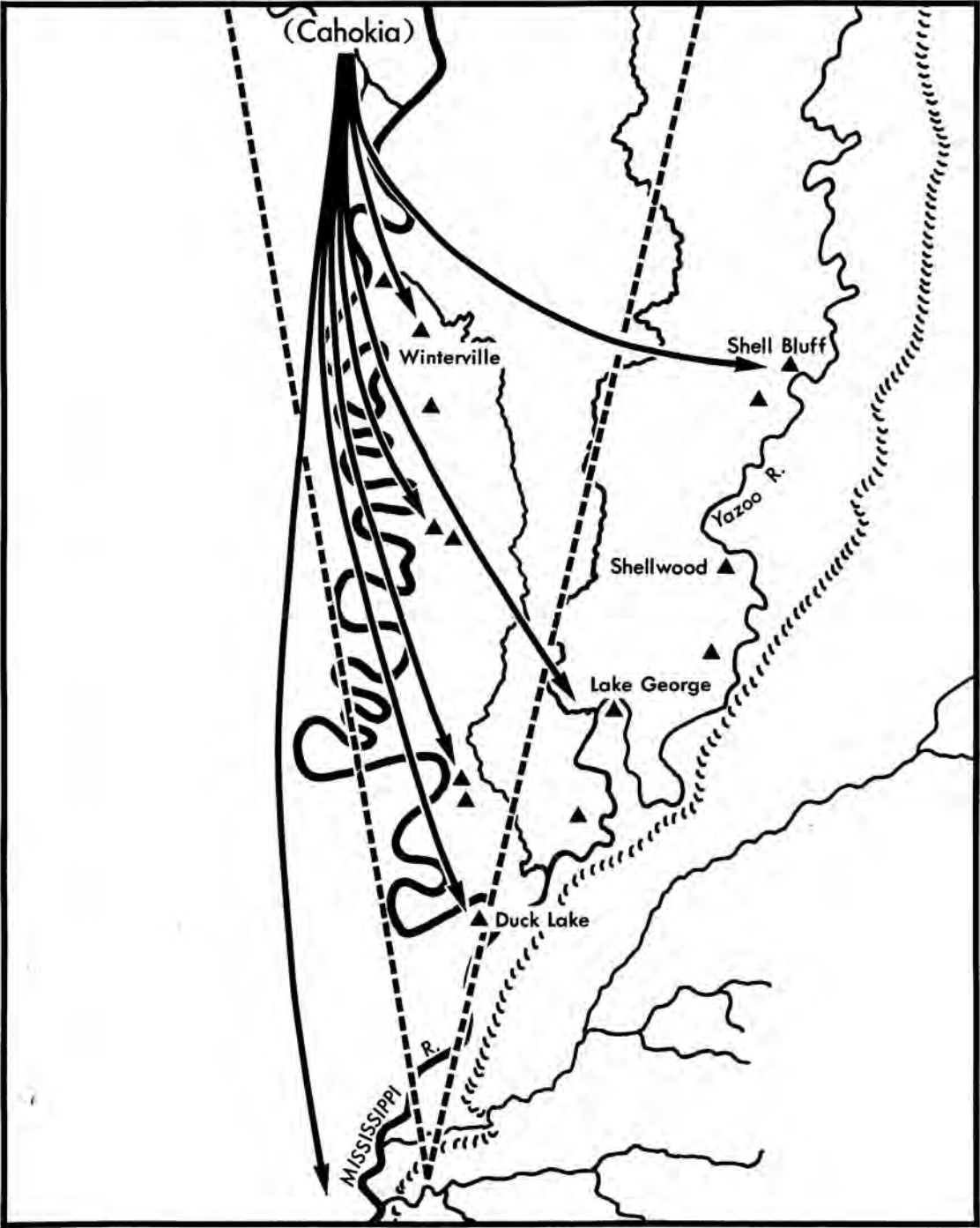


Figure 81. Sites in the lower Yazoo region manifesting evidence of direct Cahokia contact ca. A.D. 1200.

Moorehead phase (*ca.* A.D. 1150-1250), but they are not subsystemic specific. As markers they describe direct contact, but they do not define the nature of the event. A close analysis of the distribution of these markers in the lower Yazoo, however, does provide some interesting inferences about the Cahokia horizon in this region.

It will be noted in Figure 81 that the known proveniences of Cahokia diagnostics in the Yazoo have a very distinctive distribution: they are restricted to the major riverine systems of the Mississippi itself and the Yazoo. All of the sites were probably in direct association with the active channels of these rivers. Moreover, the sites that have produced the strongest evidence were located at the prime junctures of these systems. Thus along the Mississippi the sites are situated at what were then major confluences—e.g., Winterville and related sites opposite the mouth of the Arkansas River, and Duck Lake (23-M-6 [22-Is-522]) near the mouth of the Yazoo River—and also at the major distributary points—as demonstrated at the Winterville, Griffin (20-L-3 [22-Ws-550]), and Manny (22-M-6 [22-Is-506]) locales—which provided direct communication with the interior of the region through secondary systems. Along the Yazoo, sites such as Shell Bluff (19-O-2 [22-Lf-505]) and Shellwood (21-O-9 [22-Yz-600]) were also located at important confluences within that system almost as far upriver as the modern city of Greenwood. The most notable Yazoo River site was Lake George, which was situated at the most central point geographically within the entire regional riverine system, being at what was then the Sunflower-Yazoo confluence (it was also only a short distance from Deer Creek, the other most important interior stream). Other than these prime junctures, the rest of the region displays an absence of Cahokia diagnostics.

The pattern described here is very specific and suggests a highly organized contact that was carefully selective in its establishment. The evidence for the contact is found at the most important junctures of the riverine system, locations that could have

effectively controlled the local routes of waterborne communication (which surely in those wet bottomlands was the principal form of communication). One inference, therefore, is that the Cahokia contact was specifically directed toward the control of the region. Furthermore, since there is no indication in any of the archaeologically known contexts of a significant demographic introduction, but rather an implied influence exerted upon resident populations, it might be inferred that this contact was carried out by small groups, presumably directly from Cahokia (somehow it is inconceivable that the initiative could have originated in the less aggressive Coles Creek world). A similar interpretation has been offered for the Red Wing area of Minnesota (Gibbon 1974), although the actual events inferred take somewhat different form.

The feasibility of such long-distance contact and movement of peoples is supported by the approximately contemporary settling of Aztalan by peoples from Cahokia (Barrett 1933; Hall 1962:115-116). Although Aztalan seems to have been a site-unit intrusion, and thus a rather different dynamic event, it provides additional evidence for the far-flung exploits of Cahokia, as well as some interesting parallels. A considerable amount of forethought and sophisticated leadership is revealed in both cases by the facts that the Mississippi River was the route of contact/migration while intermediate land areas were apparently bypassed; that both Winterville and Aztalan are a considerable distance from Cahokia (respectively 640 km and 520 km by air, twice that by water); and that both were located in what were at the time non-Mississippian culture areas. A possible difference between their receptions in these two areas, as well as in the nature of the contact, however, is indicated by the fact that the Aztalan settlers felt it necessary to fortify their village, while Winterville did not require such constructions. The difference may perhaps be attributed to the disruptive influence of a large-scale immigration on the one hand, versus the acceptance of a small group by a native majority on the other.



The question of motivation remains. The hypothesized emphasis upon regional control suggests that there were specific reasons for the Cahokia contact. As has been discussed, the reasons do not seem to have been demographic. Nor do they seem to have been political, for there was no apparent attempt to integrate the region into a larger Cahokia body politic. Thus, the other major motivations often ascribed to Mississippian expansion at this time must be considered: the economic and religious. Possibly these indeed were the motivating forces, although the evidence at hand is largely inferential.

What economic potential the Yazoo Basin could have offered Cahokia is unknown. It is difficult to think of a single resource unique to the Yazoo that might have been vital to Cahokia. It was a region naturally rich in flora and fauna, but these resources were important only at the local subsistence level. There was no mineral wealth or other exotic resource; there was not even salt. In the absence of archaeological verification, such possible intangibles as alligator hides or feathers would seem to be less than compelling motivation for an event of the magnitude indicated.

If resource extraction was not the motivation, it might be considered whether this was instead a case of economic colonization, that is, trade at a more sophisticated and integrated level. There was, after all, a large population in the Yazoo region which could have been a productive market. But again the archaeological evidence does not support this, at least not on any grand organized scale. To date, no specific exotic foreign trade items have been discovered in the appropriate Yazoo contexts. The Cahokia pottery diagnostics listed above would seem to be insufficient cause for establishing great trade networks (unless, of course, they served as containers for some unknown perishable product).

Thus even if the motivations were at least in part economic, there must have been yet other considerations. One possibility might be that the real objective of Cahokia in this endeavor was to safeguard its

overall trade network. The Yazoo itself may not have been the primary focus of attention, but perhaps the development and expansion of a particularly viable indigenous culture in the region was sufficient cause to prompt Cahokia to protect its trade connection with the Gulf Coast, a known source of desired materials at that time (e.g., Porter 1973). The theory becomes suspect, however, when the pattern of Cahokia contact in the Yazoo is scrutinized. The establishment along the Mississippi is perfectly consistent, but why also along the Yazoo River? Two speculations may be offered: that there was an attempt at minor trade interaction by the Cahokians since they were in the neighborhood, or that there was an effort to exert a more positive control of the large population. For the latter effort to have been successful in the apparent absence of a strong economic exchange or significant demographic introduction, it is necessary to find a second major motivation for the contact.

In the earlier consideration of the problem (Brain 1969), based solely on the evidence from Winterville, great importance was ascribed to a putative religious proselytism on the part of Cahokia. There is no good evidence for such activity in the actual archaeological contexts of the relatively short-lived Cahokia horizon in the Yazoo, but the developments that followed immediately thereafter support just such an interpretation, as discussed in the next section. On the basis of this interpolation, it may be suggested that the Cahokia interaction with the Lower Mississippi Valley was economically motivated, but carried out under religious auspices—much in the manner of the European discovery of the New World several centuries later. Whether this was a natural combination at Cahokia, or a carefully designed plan for the control of the highly developed cultures of the Lower Valley, is not known (but see Gibbon [1974] for a similar interpretation in a different area).

Of course, these hypotheses are predicated on the assumption that Cahokia was at its height at this time, and that the observed phenomena are thus the



local expression of the inter-areal impact of the mature development cast in economic and religious terms. Whatever the fault of that model, there is the even greater risk that the schedule, as well as the nature, of Cahokia dynamics have been misunderstood. Robert Hall (personal communication) has suggested that Cahokia may already have been in decline by A.D. 1200, and that what is being observed is a case of the "rats deserting the sinking ship." Such a simple dispersal is sufficient motivation for the events described, but is inconsistent with the known facts in the Yazoo. It does not satisfactorily explain the apparent limitation of the contact, nor the predilection for establishment at specific control points. On the other hand, if the introduction of refugee groups could be archaeologically demonstrated (as site-unit intrusions similar to Buford), then the dramatic florescence of the Winterville phase would be more explicable. There is a certain quantum leap from the Crippen Point to Winterville phases that is difficult to explain solely in terms of internal changes in the resident population.

#### Mississippian IV: Broad Interactive Transculturation

The direct Cahokia contact examined in the last section seems to have been a brief affair. Although apparently of no great duration, it was widely and strongly manifest in the lower Yazoo region, and thus it provides a secure reference point for other events to be measured against. The Cahokia contact is especially important when the immediate developments that next transpired in the Yazoo are examined.

The most striking development in the southern part of the Lower Mississippi Valley during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was a spectacular florescence. In the lower Yazoo, especially, this was a time that witnessed a zenith of prehistoric aboriginal achievement. Yet while this climax seems to have been stimulated by outside influences, it was

largely an indigenous affair. That is, while the Mississippian world generally, and Cahokia specifically, were responsible for some inspiration, the cultural development observed in the Winterville phase was not transplanted Mississippian of whatever genre. Rather, as archaeologically manifested, it was a distinctive blend of northern and southern elements, quite literally a hybridization that resulted in unusual achievements. The overall development is referred to as the Plaquemine culture (Williams and Brain 1983:338, 373-378, 414). As used here, then, Plaquemine is conceived of as Mississippianized Coles Creek—that is, neither one nor the other, but the offspring of both (it should be noted that this is quite different from the concept offered by Quimby [1942, 1951]; Cotter [1951]; Ford [1951]; and Phillips [1970:12-13, 19, 560]; but it was presaged by Willey and Phillips [1958:164, 167]). The result of this hybridization was a vigorous product, as exemplified by the Winterville phase and its type site.

Nowhere is the hybridization better expressed than in the artifacts, especially the pottery. In the Winterville phase, there is a large inventory of pottery types of both northern and southern origin, and many instances of unusual combinations of modes from both traditions. But while this evidence documents the cultural mixture, it is of little interpretive value by itself. Other archaeological data must be considered.

The most observable archaeological remains are the earthwork constructions. Mounds and mound sites were a common feature of the preceding Coles Creek culture; pyramidal mounds arranged around a plaza were characteristic of the Crippen Point phase, the immediate background to the events discussed here. But there is a striking quantitative and qualitative change that now occurs in the Yazoo and contiguous regions of the Lower Valley. There are more mound sites than ever before, and they are considerably larger, with many mounds sometimes arranged around multiple plazas. Furthermore, the mounds themselves are far larger (Mound A at Winterville is 17 m high and covers more than

1.5 ha—four times the size of a large Coles Creek mound). Altogether, there was a concerted emphasis on mound construction that must have been the product of a massive public works campaign. According to the cultural stratigraphy and radiocarbon determinations (Figures 77-79), the major constructions at Winterville and Lake George seem to have occurred within a relatively brief period of no more than 50-100 years (and probably in far less time). Such evident organization of the local societies is itself an important change from the comparatively modest organizations inferred for the Coles Creek culture. There is a major change in direction and scope of public endeavor.

That the ultimate inspiration for this change came from the north, and specifically from Cahokia, is indicated (if not proved) by the direct contact already demonstrated in the last section. It is also supported by the distinctive site plans, which emphasize one mound above all others as a focal point and place it on the west side of the plaza, or in the center of a multi-plaza arrangement. In the latter case, e.g., Winterville and Lake George, the east plaza was always preeminent since the central mound faced it. These traits are precisely opposite from the late Coles Creek pattern (Williams and Brain 1983:406-413), but are apparently analogous to contemporary Cahokia (Reed 1973:35).

Since the mounds are assumed to have served a primarily ceremonial function, it is reasonable to suggest a strong religious inspiration for these developments. That the innovation was an introduction from upriver is supported by the change in mortuary patterns to Mississippian-style inhumations. Because of the dramatic evidence, the initial interpretations for Winterville ascribed major significance to this introduction, and the hypothesis was formed that the motivation for the Cahokia contact was some sort of prosyletism, as already alluded to above. The vast construction projects, then, become expressions of religious fervor. Whatever the actual reasons for the constructions, the organization required for the execution of these

projects, which were replicated over a vast area and in very different contexts, is indicative of some form of power concentration in the society that could exert pervasive central control (perhaps symbolized by the great focal mounds and differential mortuary practices). But the motivations of such a controlling group may have been far more complex than is evident in the theocratic trappings. This suspicion gains substance when the economic theme already developed in the last section is applied to overall settlement patterning.

The site distributions of the Winterville phase provide some intriguing clues (Figure 82). Comparatively large populations are manifest in the Yazoo region at this time (Brain 1978; Williams and Brain 1983:376-378). Also manifest is a change in demography as the settlement pattern appears to have become more nucleated around the primary centers under construction, but while the centers increased in population they did not become true towns in a residential sense. Furthermore, these centers exhibit a very particular topographic relationship with the land and its features. All of the major sites, with the single exception of Lake George, are located along the Mississippi River, and, once again, they are situated at what were then the major confluences and/or distributaries of the river, and so at the major points of control of the entire riverine system. Quite clearly, the criteria for the location of the principal sites noted for the Cahokia horizon remained in force. There was a strong orientation to the Mississippi and an apparent attempt to control movement along it.

Of course, too, these sites may have been more than control points at critical junctures; they must also have functioned as regional centers that brokered the flow of goods and services, as well as various ceremonial activities. Such a role is consistent with the hierarchical patterning in center locations. First of all, it explains the secondary sites found at other intermediate points along the river, and also it explains Lake George as a primary center for a secondary, but unusually extensive, system (it

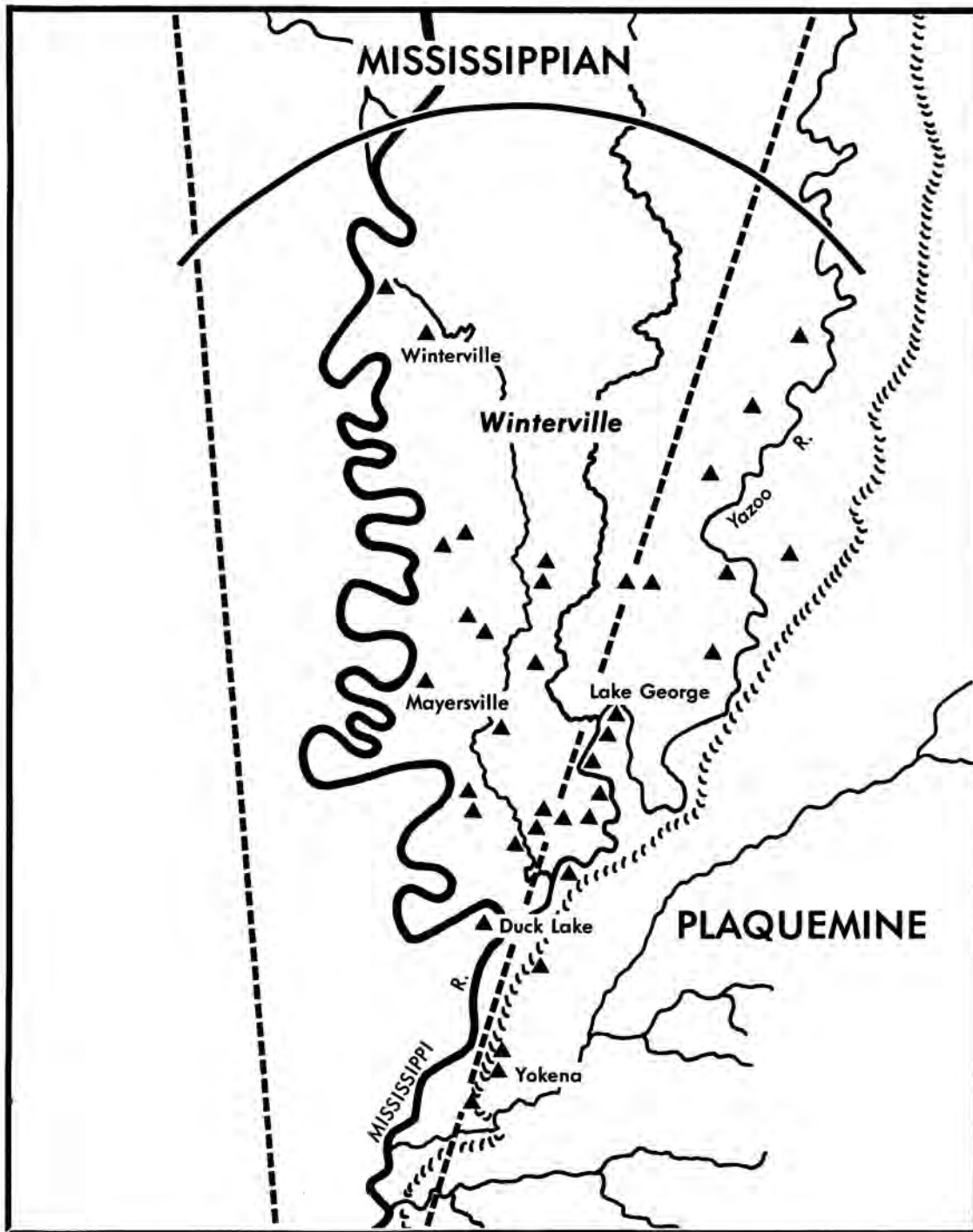


Figure 82. Settlement pattern during the Winterville phase (ca. A.D. 1300) in the lower Yazoo region. Under continued Mississippian influence, the Coles Creek culture was transformed into a strong florescence, the Plaquemine culture. Although a definite line can be drawn along the northern frontier, symbolizing the unique character of the Plaquemine culture, it would seem that there was no cultural or natural barrier, as influences appeared along the main riverine system where most of the Plaquemine centers were also congregated.

should be noted that the Yazoo is the first major river on the left bank of the Mississippi south of the Ohio). Furthermore, such functions suggest a more local development, rather than one entirely imposed from an external source, which is consistent with the concept of a strong and unified Plaquemine culture as revealed by the relatively homogeneous manifestations in the Yazoo and contiguous regions.

At the same time, however, interregional contact on a larger scale continued, as attested by the continuing introduction of new Mississippian traits, especially evident in the increasing use of shell-tempered pottery types—such as Mississippi Plain, Barton Incised, Winterville Incised, Parkin Punctated—and stone tools of northern origin. Moreover, at Winterville many of these artifacts were found with burials, a general mode of Mississippian interment quite distinct from Coles Creek mortuary practice. On the other hand, distinctive artifacts from the southern part of the Lower Valley, such as the *Alba*, *Scallorn*, and *Bayogoula* points, and Plaquemine types of pottery have been found at Cahokia and related sites in the north (Titterington 1938: Fig. 13; Fowler 1973: Fig. 20; O'Brien 1972:41; and a L'Eau Noire Engraved vessel in the collections of the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, is catalogued as being from the Sandy Woods site in southeast Missouri). The relationship with Cahokia, however, seems to have changed significantly, as the Plaquemine culture is better understood as an interaction partner, rather than a client. Whether this changing relationship is to be interpreted as a weakening of Cahokia as a prime mover and direct correspondent, or as a strengthening of a more broadly based interaction sphere, requires more perspective than is available in this study. The question should be the object of wider inquiry and synthesis.

### Mississippian V: Narrow Interactive Acculturation

During the later stages of the prehistoric record, some major changes occurred in the patterns observed above. Foremost among these was a fragmentation of the old homogeneous Plaquemine culture sphere. While there was direct continuity in the Plaquemine to the south, the Yazoo region became increasingly "Mississippianized": the delicate balance of the Plaquemine culture was slowly overwhelmed as the Yazoo was acculturated in the Lake George and Wasp Lake phases (Figures 83, 84; see also Phillips 1970:560-567, and Williams and Brain 1983:378-382). The reasons for this development are important to the consideration of this stage of Mississippian interaction. The situation may be profitably examined from the perspective of the internal changes in the study area.

While the population in the lower Yazoo region remained stable, and perhaps even grew, there was a dramatic change in the settlement pattern orientation. Increasingly, from this time on, a definite shift away from the Mississippi River toward the interior is evident. The great centers on the river, including Winterville, were abandoned during the fifteenth century and were replaced by others safely ensconced on interior drainages (Brain 1978; Brown and Brain 1984). Thus by A.D. 1500 the principal locales of settlement in the Yazoo were Deer Creek and the Yazoo River. The suggestion that safety was becoming a problem probably provides only part of the explanation for the shift. Certainly the limited demographic movements already noted in previous sections were a major phenomenon by the end of this period, and the frightening apparition of De Soto was to come and go, further exacerbating the situation. But the process was already well started at a far earlier period, and these could only have been aggravating factors.



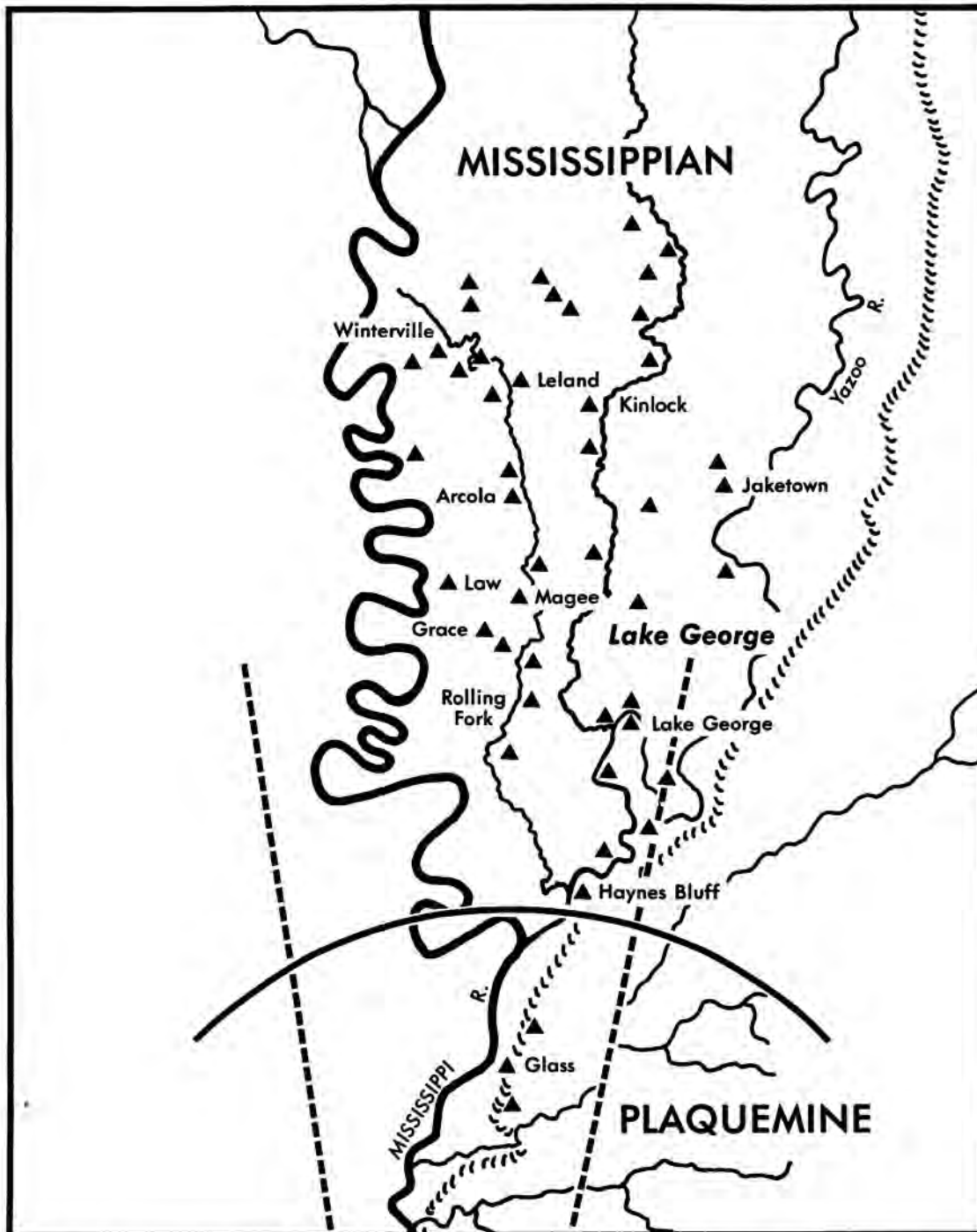


Figure 83. Settlement pattern during the Lake George phase (ca. A.D. 1400) in the lower Yazoo region. The northern frontier of the Plaquemine culture has withdrawn farther south as the lower Yazoo became increasingly Mississippianized. Many more small sites that probably were occupied at this time are not indicated because of an absence of diagnostics. It is apparent, however, that at this time a population climax was reached.



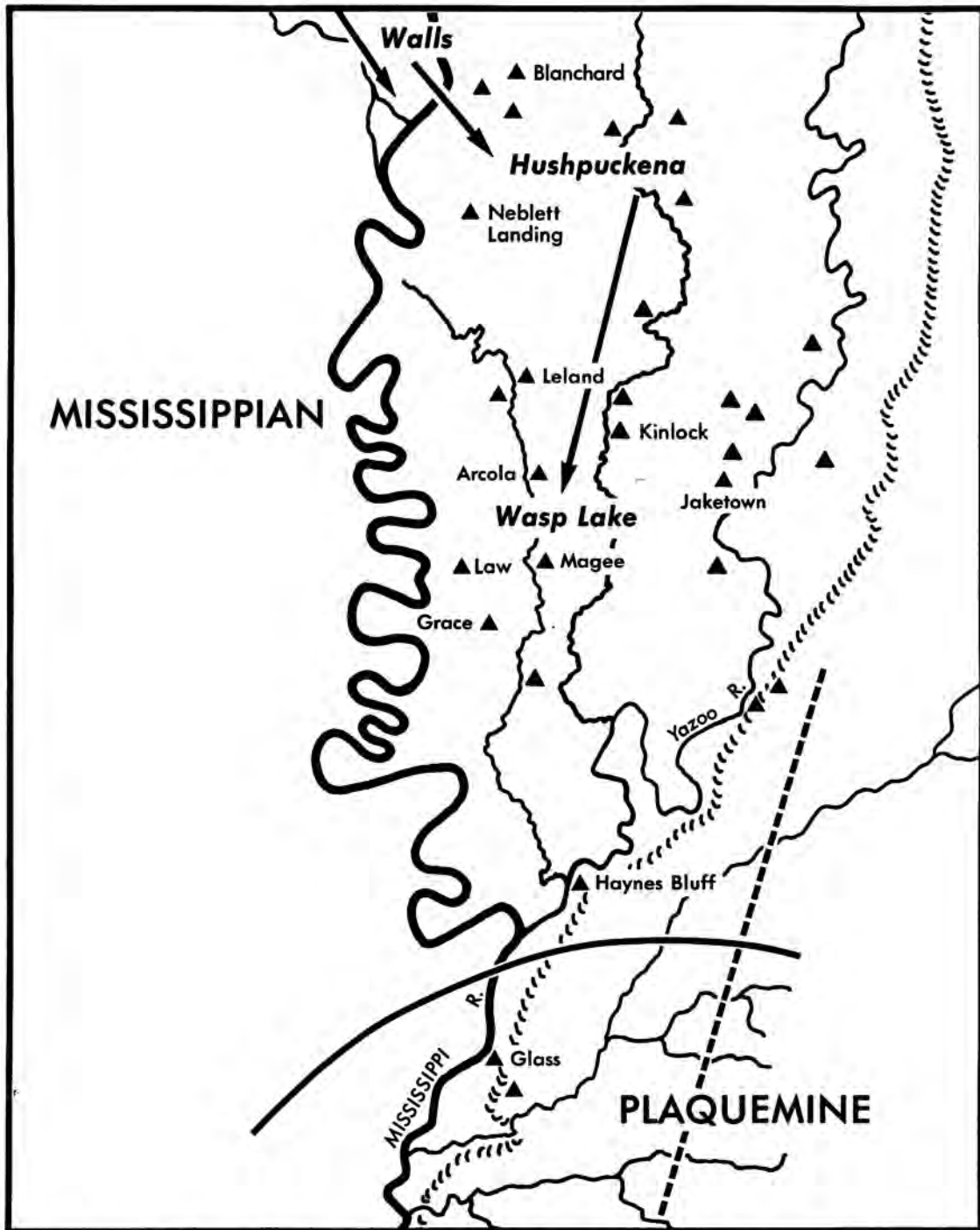


Figure 84. Settlement pattern during the Wasp Lake phase (ca. A.D. 1500) in the lower Yazoo region. The earlier trends were continued, and some can even be tied to specific events mentioned in the earliest chronicles of the sixteenth century.

It is probable that the primary reason for the shift lies in the fact that the Mississippi River became less and less of a controlled interregional avenue of contact, and thus orientations became increasingly localized. This development certainly does not mean that regional interactions ceased, but that their scale and control was of a lower order, and ever more contingent upon local instigation. A regionalization occurred (see Gibbon [1974] and Overstreet [1978] for a description of a similar development in the Red Wing area).

Nevertheless, in the lower Yazoo this regionalization did not represent a complete rejection of outside influences, since it was at this time that the region became increasingly acculturated to the Mississippian pattern. This continuing change is especially evident in the artifactual inventories which became almost entirely Mississippian in content; there were also concurrent behavioral changes of distinctive character, such as an ever more nucleated settlement pattern and more fashionable site plans (Williams and Brain 1983:414-415).

The prerequisite for this acculturative process may have been the breakdown of the earlier lifeways, but the explanation is probably to be found in various undirected, small-scale interactions, apparently not yet including large-scale demographic movements (Figure 84). The fact that the strongest identifiable extra-regional influence now came from the closest neighboring phases immediately upriver in northwest Mississippi and northeast Arkansas (Phillips 1970:930-942) testifies to the narrowness of the interaction. These were local events, but they were regionally pervasive, and the entire Yazoo fell into the Mississippian culture sphere.

During the sixteenth century, a new and final phase of major change got underway. It was characterized by demographic displacements that now included large-scale migrations by entire tribal units. This period of disruption gained momentum after the De Soto entrada of 1541-1543 and continued throughout the protohistoric and early historic periods. By the time of the first French explorations

at the end of the seventeenth century, the population of the lower Yazoo was reduced to a few remnant tribes along the bluffs far from the Mississippi River.

## Summary

A summary of the data presented above and some tentative conclusions may be ordered in the framework of three intertwined themes. The central theme—as the chapter is entitled—is an interpretation of late prehistoric cultural dynamics in the Lower Mississippi Valley. From this series of events a second theme is developed: the Mississippianization of the lower Yazoo region. The final theme is the place of Winterville in these dynamic events and the contribution it makes to their understanding.

In summary, then, the study area was important as the meeting ground of two major late prehistoric cultural traditions. A long sequence of indigenous development in the southern part of the Lower Mississippi Valley attained a relatively high degree of sophisticated expression in the Coles Creek culture toward the end of the first millennium A.D. At about the same time, a number of distinctive elements identified as Mississippian were coalescing farther north in the valley. By A.D. 1000, some of these elements appeared in Coles Creek contexts. They apparently represent random introductions primarily at the technological level. No coordinated or systemic pattern is evident in the archaeological data. Undirected secondary diffusion is thus suggested. The extent of such radiation and its nature in other peripheral areas at this time period demand further study. A problem will be in distinguishing the rather general traits found at this level from the special characteristics of the specific events that follow.

The first identifiable Mississippian-sponsored activity that seems to have involved the movement of significant numbers of people occurred on the northern fringes of the Coles Creek culture probably early in the eleventh century. The evidence of Mississippian settlements in the vicinity of Buford are

of special interest in that they seem to indicate a migration, in archaeological terms a site-unit intrusion (Marshall 1988). The tentative interpretation would be that this event represented a demographic problem that was resolved by limited encroachment into unoccupied regions. A comparable situation probably existed somewhat earlier in the Big Lake phase in northeast Arkansas, and indeed the two may have been different faces of the same phenomenon. Farther afield, on other peripheries, Macon Plateau may have been another example, as well as the push up the Missouri in the other direction (Shippee 1972). If these hold up as relatively contemporary and comparable events, then evidence of severe demographic pressures in the core area of Mississippian development should be looked for. First to be resolved is whether the movements represent the cause or the symptom of the problem. Whatever the case, momentum was building.

One of the most dramatic events of the Mississippian phenomenon coincided with its maturation at Cahokia in the vicinity of the Missouri-Mississippi confluence. In the Yazoo region there is firm evidence of direct contact from this center. For reasons discussed above, it is believed that motivations for the intrusion were primarily economic, although there may also have been a strong religious element. It is proposed that the contact was effected and the initial events sponsored, even directed, by a small core group. That such a group may have originated at Cahokia is supported by artifactual diagnostics and also by what appears to be a comparable situation on another periphery. In the Red Wing-Diamond Bluff regions of Minnesota and Wisconsin in the Upper Mississippi, Gibbon (1974) describes what seems to be directed contact by small groups of Cahokians—i.e., what has been described in these pages as specific interactive intrusion into indigenous contexts. Although the subsequent contextual developments were very different, the original events of contact appear to have been very similar. Thus the hypothesis gains strength in replication, and should be tested in other contem-

porary situations.

It also clear that this was not the whole face of the Cahokia interactions. The famous example of Aztalan (Barrett 1933) would seem to suggest a very different event, perhaps another classic example of a site-unit intrusion (Griffin 1967:15). The Cherry Valley phase in northeast Arkansas (Perino 1967) may be an example as well, although it appears to have been rather less coordinated and may instead have been a case of undefined diffusion into an established context (Morse and Morse 1983:238, 241-246). A caveat, then: even though it is one of the most specifically recognized of the Mississippian events, the Cahokia interaction seems to have had many manifestations. It would appear that this was a sophisticated and complex event, which was tailored to individual situations. The particular form (not necessarily the motivation) of the intrusion into the Yazoo region may have been dictated by the highly developed culture that was found there. An arrogant imposition such as a site-unit intrusion may have been too difficult an undertaking in the face of organized resistance, while a more subtle approach such as that suggested may have been deemed more effective. The fact that the contact does not seem to have been of long duration might indicate an error of judgement on this point, but more likely was due to interior causes at Cahokia itself. Certainly the interaction was successful in the Yazoo, as subsequent events at Winterville prove.

The Winterville phase and related developments in the Natchez and Tensas regions (Brain, Brown, and Steponaitis n.d.; Hally 1972) represented a grand local florescence. Supported by a strong indigenous base, a period of unusual activity spurred by far-reaching interactions is evident. The result was a particularly vibrant areal climax (the Plaquemine culture), but one that was not isolated as cultural elements were widely shared. The nature of the association is not clear, but the Plaquemine culture may have been affiliated as a partner in a larger network. Despite this broader perspective, it retained a strong individuality consistent with the

rather introverted character of its indigenous heritage. The Mississippian input was an important influence, but not necessarily determinative, perhaps because it came to lack central control.

Continuing the trend, the Mississippian presence in the southern part of the Lower Valley became even more uncoordinated in the ensuing period. At the same time, however, it was also stronger, even overwhelming. Apparently the demographic pressures remained a problem, and although the interactions were ever more local in extent they were powerful in influence. The Yazoo region was completely Mississippianized, at least in its gross archaeological manifestation. The changes were basic and slow; a steady process of acculturation is indicated. As the character of Mississippian influence upon this part of the Lower Valley changed, so too did the local patterns change. The demographic pressures must have been unsettling and together with other factors apparently brought about the rejection of broad relationships. There was a turn away from the river in late prehistory, and a concentration upon the secondary interior drainage systems. Further fragmentation followed, and possibly this was instrumental in setting up the final period of major demographic displacements. By this time there were many diverse sociopolitical units which shared only a general cultural, and probably religious, identity. These units were acting and interacting independently according to individual situations (Brain 1978, 1979:255-282; Williams and Brain 1983:381-384).

It is at the very end of this period, and during the terminal occupation at Winterville, that the strongest evidence appears of the so-called "Southern Cult" ("Southeastern Ceremonial Complex" is a nomenclature to be eschewed if a specific pan-southeastern event is to be distinguished, as it should be, from the diversity of ceremonial-religious practices within

which that event can now be demonstrated to have operated). The cult is presumed to have been one of the most important of the interaction phenomena in the late prehistoric Southeast, but it is represented only minimally in the Lower Valley. The reasons for its general absence must have been cultural, considering the geographic position of the valley in relation to the major cult centers. Perhaps the local religious tenets and institutions were adequate for the practitioners, and strong enough to resist new introductions. There is some evidence of the cult, however, and where it can be placed stratigraphically in the southern part of the Lower Valley it seems to have occurred after A.D. 1400 (Williams and Brain 1983:416-419; Brain, Brown, and Steponaitis n.d.). This climax was reaching its height at about the same time that Winterville was being abandoned, and thus it falls virtually beyond the scope of this study.

To recapitulate, it would seem that the development of the Mississippian culture was a multifaceted phenomenon that pulsed at irregular intervals, in different fashions, as far as the southern periphery was concerned. Because of its position, Winterville was a major participant in these events of Mississippian influence. The overall, cumulative effect upon the indigenous Coles Creek-Plaquemine tradition of the lower Yazoo region was enormous. The relevance of these observations for the larger context should be explored in detail. It is now required that each of these apparent events be subjected to a rigorous program of investigation. Quite different explicit models must be constructed and tested, and applied to situations in the valley, as well as compared to contemporary developments elsewhere (e.g., Phillips 1970:3; Clay 1976). Only then will some of the late prehistoric cultural dynamics come into focus, and the real significance of Winterville be resurrected.



## 8 Conclusion

We are obliged to concern ourselves with what happened in specific times and places. Later, by putting together many such findings, attempts may be made to deduce regularities, in the sense of common responses of diverse societies to similar situations (Phillips 1970:3).

Winterville's place in the archaeology of the Southeast is secure simply because of its physical bulk. It is one of the largest of the prehistoric mound centers. The reasons for this preeminence have barely been explored in the foregoing pages, but what is clear is that it was the product of the meeting of two viable aboriginal cultures. And in that meeting a series of dynamic events occurred. The sequence was probably unique in its particulars, but nevertheless is important for detailing another facet of the general Mississippian phenomenon. If nothing else, it forces a certain caution in constructing simplistic models for this obviously complex period. Thus Winterville assumes its rightful place as an important key to the understanding of late prehistoric developments in the southeastern United States.

The prehistoric sequence of events at Winterville seems to differ sharply from that at many other approximately contemporary sites reacting to, or participating in, Mississippian-inspired contact (e.g., Willey 1953). The cliché of overwhelming Mississippian intrusion, domination, and then submergence is not repeated here (if indeed this ever was a major pattern—see Smith 1984). The Mississippian and Coles Creek cultures seem to have met peacefully at Winterville. There is no evidence of

violence or fortifications, nor of the intrusion and replacement of one culture by the other. Rather, a true conjunction seems to have been achieved between these cultures at the point of contact. The significance of this fact is that this was not a case of immediate Mississippian replacement and acculturation, but first of a dynamic transculturation which resulted in a local florescence. This was certainly due in part to the fact that although movements of people are indicated, they did not involve large groups of Cahokia-Mississippians. Perhaps the obvious viability of the Coles Creek culture discouraged large-scale immigration from the north. In any case, the Coles Creek base proved receptive to the Mississippian advance, and the rapport that developed between them was responsible for the florescence of the Winterville phase, in which Coles Creek traits remained as prominent as the new Mississippian (see Schroeder 1966 for a possibly analogous example of culture contact in the Southwest).

Then, again, unlike the traditionally hypothesized pattern, this hybridization was followed at Winterville by the ever-growing popularity of Mississippian traits through time until a local form of that culture—the Lake George phase—eventually prevailed. This development is even more dramatically illustrated outside of Winterville, which went into decline at this point. The Mississippianization of the entire Yazoo region is clearly indicated not only by the introduction of new traits from the neighboring Mississippian phases to the north, but



also by an apparent increase in the indigenous population: there are literally hundreds of sites in the central part of the Yazoo alone, including many secondary mound centers most of which now are found to have attached residential areas in true Mississippian fashion. The available evidence fully supports the accounts of this area in the De Soto narratives (e.g., Bourne 1904, I:111-114), which recorded unusually large populations, agricultural surpluses, and sociocultural complexity compatible with those ascribed to other Mississippian phases.

To what may this successful Mississippianization be attributed when in other areas with far less viable and developed local traditions the Mississippian introduction was submerged after a brief dominance, even though it may have been brought by a large-scale movement of peoples? Certainly the most important factor was continuing contact and pressure from the north. Although major migrations of Mississippian peoples were not involved, the north-south avenues of communication and interaction were certainly well traveled, as the trade pottery at Winterville demonstrates. The Mississippi River was literally the mainstream of eastern North America, and by virtue of its location Winterville would have been directly affected by all major developments thereon during its occupation.

Also having an important bearing on the Mississippianization of Winterville and the Yazoo region were the local physical and cultural environments. Ecologically, the situation in the Yazoo would have been more similar to that of the American Bottom and contiguous regions than most other parts of the eastern United States were. Thus, the practice of floodplain agriculture could have been continued with much the same methods and success, which in turn would have facilitated cultural diffusion and adaptation.

But perhaps the most significant factor of all was the successful Coles Creek culture itself. After centuries of relative isolation, the Coles Creek peoples may have reacted to the Cahokia-Mississippian contact with an enthusiasm that was revolutionary as the

rigid mold of past behavior was cast aside. We will never know exactly what happened at Winterville to transform a minor outpost of Coles Creek culture into a major center of Mississippian interaction. We can, however, recognize the degree of transformation as well as the quality. Coles Creek, as successful as it may have been, was a closed and introverted development. Resistant to change, it was nevertheless opened up to a larger world by the dynamic Cahokia intrusion. The influence must have been similar in impact to the "opening" of Japan in the last century, and the result here was also akin, for the hybrid Plaquemine culture was a veritable explosion beyond the previously set limits.

As summarized in Table 11, the most fundamental Mississippian innovations that transformed Coles Creek into Plaquemine are in the categories of subsistence and broad economic interaction. Archaeologically, the most visible changes attesting to these innovations are revealed in settlement patterning, site plans, and artifact inventories. But probably the most important changes of all may be inferred in social structure and religious practice.

The Cahokia contact coincided with the subsistence and economic revolutions and thus may be considered the catalyst for, if not the source of, those innovations. The social and religious changes may be attributed to mechanisms of introduction and/or internal adaptations to the innovations. The settlement and artifactual data reveal the extent of culture change; and the blend of elements from very different traditions gives Plaquemine its unique character.

Winterville's significance to southeastern prehistory, therefore, was its pivotal role in the initial Mississippian-Coles Creek contact and the culture change that followed. While this conclusion is emphatically ideographic—for the purpose of the study has been to emphasize the complexity of late prehistoric events—it will also contribute to the establishment of broader patterns of relevance. The value of this case study for the interpretation of late prehistoric cultural dynamics will be maximized when

	COLES CREEK	MISSISSIPPIAN	PLAQUEMINE
Subsistence	corn-based swidden agriculture	corn-bean-squash intensive agriculture	corn-bean-squash intensive agriculture
Settlement Pattern	dispersed around small subregional ceremonial centers approximately equal in size	nucleated around large mound centers one of which is larger than the others, strategically placed, and clearly dominant	dispersed around large strategically located mound centers that have few permanent residents
Site Plan	"vacant" centers composed of a few small mounds around a plaza	one focal mound emphasized over all the rest, sometimes multiple plazas	medium-to-large sites with one mound emphasized, other earthworks may be present
Religion/Ceremonial	only certain ceremonial/religious activity at centers is mortuary	large "temple" structures on mounds indicate a variety of activities in addition to mortuary	a variety of religious-ceremonial-mortuary practices presumed
Mortuary Practice	chapel house processing of all segments of population, remains disposed equally in common mound with no grave goods	individual interment with grave goods of selected portion of population in various locations according to ranking or other social segmentation	apparently variable practices, including Mississippian-style interments at some sites (e.g., Winterville)
Society	little apparent ranking, although probably socio-religious leaders	definite social hierarchy evident in mortuary practices and symbolized by the great focal mounds at the great focal sites	definite ranking (as preserved in historic Natchez social system)
Economics	internal exchange, little evidence of long-distance trade	broad interregional trade networks and other interaction	broad interregional exchange
Artifacts	Limited number of artifact classes, primarily pottery: highly formalized decorative intent with simple repetitive designs, limited range of shapes and sizes, no major distinction between fine and utilitarian wares	wide range of artifacts in many materials (including exotic goods/trade pieces), pottery shows considerable diversity in decoration, shapes, sizes, and there is a strong distinction between fine and utilitarian wares	highly variable pottery inventory resulting from hybridization of Coles Creek and Mississippian traditions, but rarity of other artifact classes

*Table 11. A structural comparison of Coles Creek and Mississippian at the time of Cahokia contact, and the hybrid Plaquemine development.*

developments at other contemporary sites in the eastern United States are exposed in similar detail. The comparison of the unique or recurrent data will provide a secure foundation for the maturation of

more useful generalizations concerning Mississippian development as well as the processes of culture contact and change.



## Appendix A

### Pottery Classification

This classification of pottery follows Phillips (1970). The presentation is cast in the format of Williams and Brain (1983). Because the Winterville collection is well covered by these two sources, reference is made only to them; they may be consulted for additional bibliographies.

#### **Alligator Incised, var. Oxbow**

*Sample:* 7 sherds.

*Description:* Careless incising with a variety of pointed instruments on the exterior of bowls and beakers of Baytown Plain, var. *Reed*. The incisions may be parallel or overlapping, and were made in clay that was medium to hard in plasticity. Although basically rectilinear, there is



no organized design and it is apparent that the sole decorative intent was overall surface patterning.

*Diagnostic modes:* Crude incisions, arranged haphazardly on the exterior surface of coarse textured, clay-grit tempered pottery.

*Set:* Reed.<sup>1</sup>

*References:* Phillips 1970:39-40; Williams and Brain 1983:118.

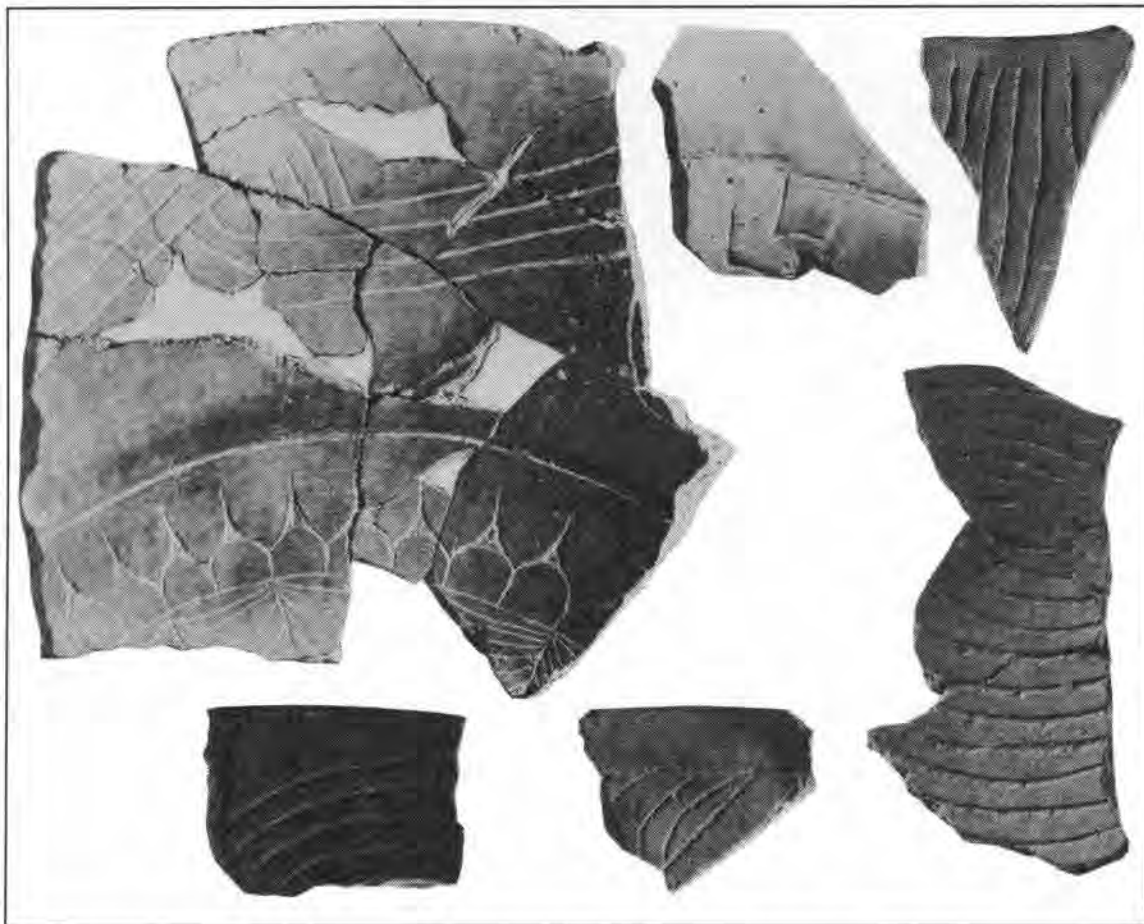
#### **Anna Incised, var. Anna**

*Sample:* 72 sherds.

*Description:* This type has had a tortured genesis. The most recent statement in the Lake George report is followed here.

Curvilinear and/or rectilinear design incised on the interior surfaces of shallow bowls or plates. While medium incised lines predominate, the execution varies from fine, almost "engraved," lines to broad incising sometimes referred to as "trailing." In almost all cases, the incising was accomplished after the paste had hardened. Therefore the quality of execution fluctuates, and the incisions are often quite crude in appearance as it was hard to maintain even control in the hardened surface. Curvilinear motifs are usually whorls in the

<sup>1</sup> Reed 1 subset at Lake George.



center and running scrolls on the rims. Rectilinear designs are characterized by so-called “stepped” motifs or multiple parallel lines and are found only in the center, never on the rims.

One sherd is also red slipped, a mode which relates this variety to the contemporary Larto Red, *var. Chicot*. There is also an obvious relationship with Winterville Incised, *var. Blum* in respect to vessel forms, placement of decoration, and certain motifs. Furthermore, there may also be a distant relationship to Leland Incised, *var. Blanchard* in the shared modes of the interior placement of decoration and the technique of trailing. And the latter trait, as well as the scroll and whorl motifs, certainly relates *Anna* to the *Bethlehem* variety of Leland Incised.

<sup>6</sup> The ware falls even more solidly into *Greenville* than was the case at Lake George, with nearly three-quarters of the sherds definitely containing some shell tempering.

*Diagnostic modes:* Incised lines arranged in curvilinear or rectilinear patterns on the interior surface of medium textured, mixed-clay (shell) tempered pottery.

*Set:* Greenville

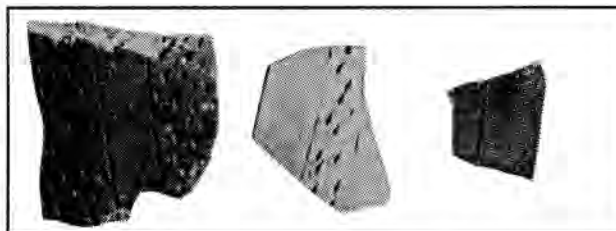
*References:* Phillips 1970:102; Williams and Brain 1983:120.



**Avoyelles Punctated, var. Dupree**

*Sample:* 11 sherds.

*Description:* Careless incising and punctating with a sharp pointed tool in clay of medium plasticity. Designs are on the exterior of beakers or bowls of the *Addis* variety of Addis Plain, and



are composed of rectilinear, oblique bands of close-spaced punctations zoned by incised lines. Such decorated zones contrast with undecorated bands or triangular areas, and are commonly restricted to the upper half of the vessel. In no case does the decoration extend all the way to the base.

*Diagnostic modes:* Incisions and punctations combined into rectilinear zoned patterns on the exterior rim surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 1.

*References:* Phillips 1970:42; Williams and Brain 1983:121.

**Avoyelles Punctated, var. George**

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* As described in the reference. This variety is closely related to *Anna Incised, var. Anna*, differing only in featuring the additional decorative technique of punctation.



*Diagnostic modes:* Incisions and punctations arranged in simple zoned patterns on the interior surface of medium textured, mixed-clay (shell) tempered pottery.

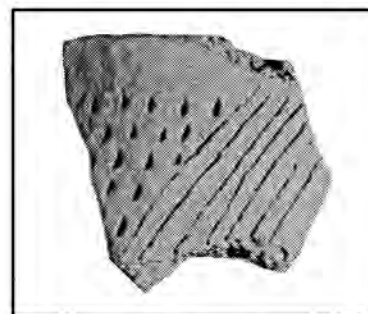
*Set:* Greenville.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:121.

**Avoyelles Punctated, var. Tatum**

*Sample:* 2 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the reference. This variety is intermediate to *var. Dupree* and *Mazique Incised, var. Manchac* in that it features contrasting zones of oblique incisions and punctations around the rims of *Addis* ware vessels.



*Diagnostic modes:* Carelessly executed incisions and punctations arranged in alternating zones of rectilinear designs on the exterior rim surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 1.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:124.

**Baron Incised, var. Barton**

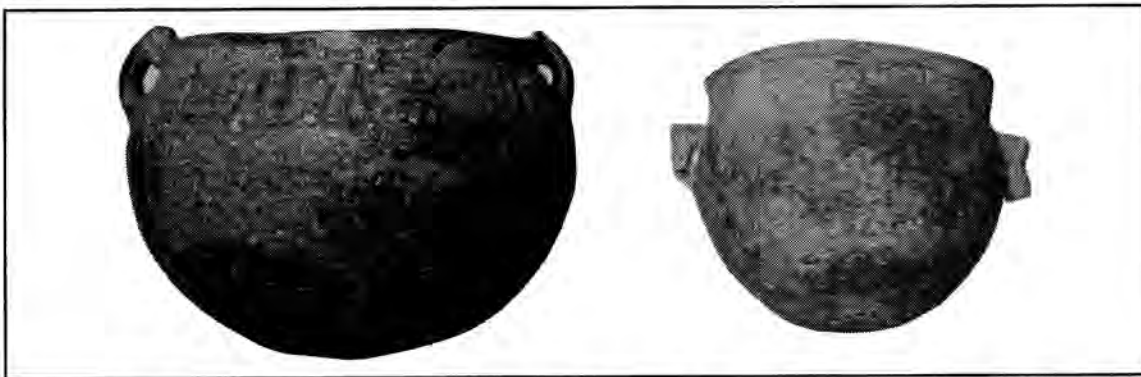
*Sample:* 29 sherds.

*Description:* This sample falls completely within the description given for Lake George in the reference. The exceptional sharpness of the lines (cut with a sharp instrument while the clay was still very fresh and wet) and coarser paste exhibiting particles often larger than 5 mm in diameter distinguish this variety from *var. Estill*, and relate it to Winterville Incised, *var. Rising Sun*. As at Lake George, one sherd is also red slipped on the interior, which suggests some relationship to the type Old Town Red.

*Diagnostic modes:* Careless incising, arranged in rectilinear hatched or crosshatched patterns, on the exterior rim surface of coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 2.

*References:* Phillips 1970:44-45; Williams and Brain 1983:127.



Two vessels of Barton Incised, var. unspecified from Winterville. a, found by an amateur in the vicinity of Mound B, is similar in formal characteristics to examples from Cahokia (cf. Titterington 1938: Fig. 40h, 43) and the early component at Cherry Valley (e.g., Perino 1967: Fig. 19). b, found during the excavations in Burial Layer 2, but not associated with any particular burial; in form and size, however, it is nearly identical to the vessel of Addis ware accompanying Burial #23 (which also had a Coker beaker). On the basis of these formal and contextual grounds, both vessels probably date to the very early Winterville phase.

**Barton Incised, var. Arcola**

*Sample:* 46 sherds.

*Description:* Basically as described in the references, although there is not as much variability present in this collection. Generally carefully executed, fine-line incising is characteristic on a surface of medium to hard plasticity. Designs are composed of line-filled triangles arranged in a band on the exterior shoulder (never the rim) of small, globular jars which are usually better made examples of the Yazoo variety of Mississippi Plain. No appendages are present in this sample.

While design obviously relates *Arcola* to *vars. Estill* and *Midnight* of the type, the placement of the decoration and ware



characteristics are most similar to Winterville Incised, *var. Belzoni*.

*Diagnostic modes:* Usually well executed wet-paste incisions, arranged in a rectilinear pattern (the only known motif is a band of line-filled triangles) on the exterior body surface of medium to coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

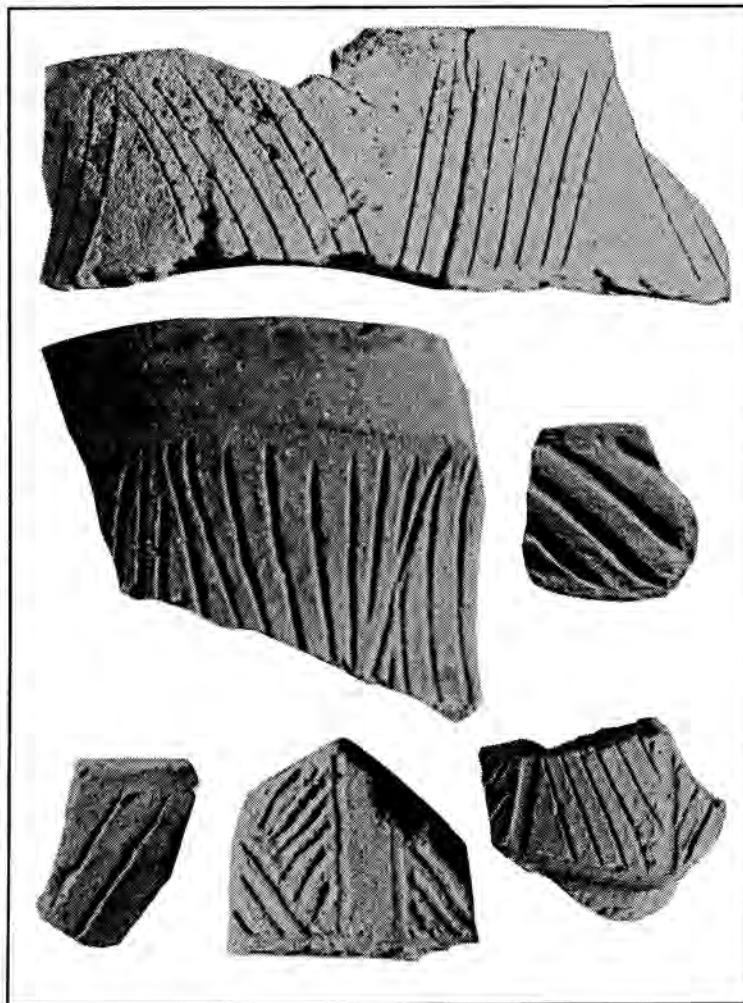
*Set:* Yazoo 4.

*References:* Phillips 1970:45; Williams and Brain 1983:127.

**Barton Incised, *var. Estill***

*Sample:* 350 sherds.

*Description:* This is the largest single category of decorated potsherds in the Winterville collection, and as such it displays a rather wide range of variation. As described in the references, the defining decorative characteristics are straight line incising with an assortment of sharp to medium pointed instruments when the surface was in a very fresh and plastic state. The characteristic design in this sample exhibits parallel lines, which are usually diagonal and arranged in a band of alternating triangles. The decoration is generally restricted to the rim area of medium to large jars of Mississippi Plain, *var. Yazoo*. But on examples where the rim is not sharply defined from the body of the vessel, the decoration may slip down onto the upper shoulder area, sometimes causing problems in distinguishing *Estill* from the closely related *var. Arcola* (the relative coarseness of paste and decorative technique being the final arbiters in such cases).



*Estill* is also closely related to Winterville Incised, *var. Winterville*, the only essential difference being the rectilinearity vs. curvilinearity of designs.

*Diagnostic modes:* Usually rather careless wet-paste incising, arranged in rectilinear patterns on the exterior rim surface and sometimes extending down into the upper shoulder area, of medium to coarse textured shell tempered pottery.

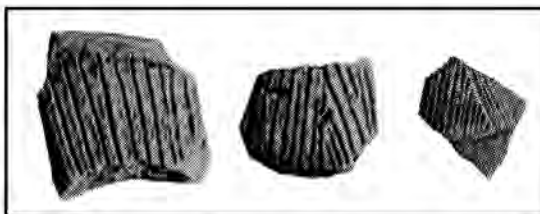
*Set:* Yazoo 3.

*References:* Phillips 1970:45-46; Williams and Brain 1983:127.

**Barton Incised, var. *Midnight***

*Sample:* 40 sherds.

*Description:* Although this category was first recognized at Winterville (Brain 1969:188), it was not then given separate status. However, a strong sample from Lake George forced the establishment of a new variety.



*Midnight* is distinctive in being an especially delicate rendering of Barton Incised. Everything is at a smaller and finer scale: the vessels are diminutive, and the decoration is accordingly scaled down. Both the vessels and the decoration are generally made with greater care than is usual for the type.

*Diagnostic modes:* Careful, close-spaced incising, arranged in simple rectilinear patterns on the exterior rim and upper body surface of medium textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 4.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:132.

**Beldeau Incised, var. *Bell Bayou***

*Sample:* 5 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the reference, although triangular punctations predominate in this small sample. An unusual feature on one of the sherds is a smaller diamond which has been cut into the center of one of the larger ones. This additional decorative mode is unique in the published literature.



*Diagnostic modes:* Rather careless incising and punctating, arranged in rectilinear crosshatched pattern on the exterior rim (or upper body) surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 1.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:134.

**Cahokia Cord Marked, var. *Buford***

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* This one example may actually be net impressed, rather than just cord marked, but the surface is badly smudged and so it can only be said with certainty that it is marked with cord impressions. A red slip on the interior—an additional decorative mode sometimes present in this variety, and which demonstrates a close relationship with the type Old Town Red—is not evident on this sherd.

*Diagnostic modes:* Cord marking on the exterior surface (and occasional red slipping on the interior) of coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

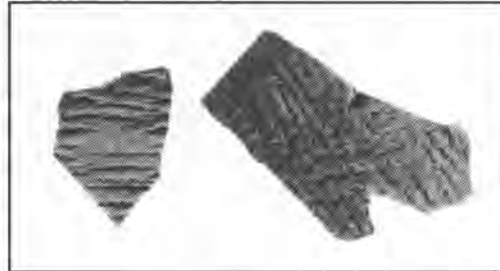
*Set:* Yazoo 1.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:135.

**Cahokia Cord Marked, var. Montrose**

*Sample:* 14 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the reference, although the priority belongs to this sample (Brain 1969:207-9). Large jars of *Coker* ware were marked with a cord wrapped paddle over the entire exterior surface (although the lips were probably left plain). Cord marks average 1-2 mm in width and 1 mm in depth. One sherd is also red slipped on the interior surface, which relates this variety to Old Town Red, var. *Sharbrough*.



*Diagnostic modes:* Cord marking on the exterior (and occasional red slipping, usually on the interior) of thin, medium textured, shell tempered pottery.

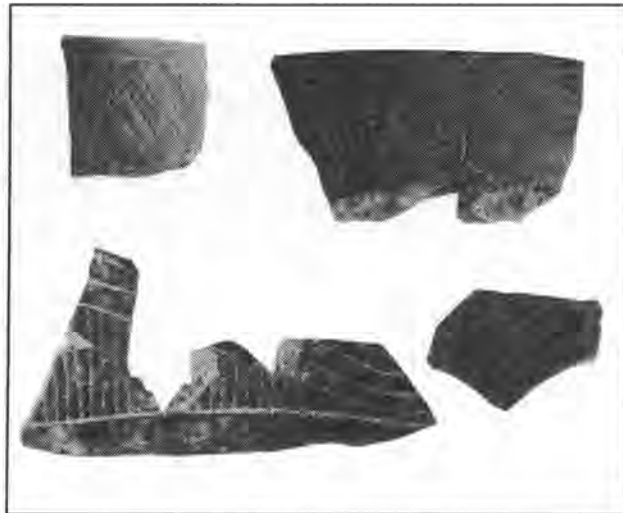
*Set:* Coker

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:135-136.

**Carter Engraved, var. Carter**

*Sample:* 33 sherds.

*Description:* As described for the Lake George sample, *Carter* is limited to curvilinear engraving on the exteriors of what predominantly seem to be complex bowl forms. Unlike Lake George, at least two-thirds of these sherds (reversing the Lake George proportions) have shell added to the paste. Three of these sherds also have red ochre rubbed into the lines, a higher representation of this additional decorative mode than found at Lake George.



*Diagnostic modes:* Fine-line engraving (very occasionally filled with ochre pigments), arranged in basically curvilinear patterns on the exterior upper body surface of medium textured, mixed-clay (shell) tempered pottery.

*Set:* Greenville.

*References:* Phillips 1970:103; Williams and Brain 1983:136.

**Carter Engraved, var. Sara**

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* As described in the reference, except that this example is also red slipped in the otherwise plain



areas between the engraved zones of hatching. This additional mode relates *Sara* to Larto Red, var. *Chicot*, and the total effect is reminiscent of Tippetts Incised.

*Diagnostic modes:* Generally fine engraving (and occasional red slipping), arranged in rectilinear patterns on the exterior upper body surface of medium textured, mixed-clay (shell) tempered pottery.

*Set:* Greenville.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983: 138-139.

#### **Chevalier Stamped, var. *Lulu***

*Sample:* 2 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references. At first glance, the decorative technique looks like simple punctation with the punctates aligned in vertical rows. Actually, however, the technique is an evolved form of rocker stamping in which only the tips of the arc are emphasized. Extreme examples of var. *Perry* from Lake George demonstrate an intermediate stage in this evolution.

*Diagnostic modes:* Rocker stamping, appearing like punctation, applied vertically in wide-spaced parallel rows around the exterior rim surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 1.

*References:* Phillips 1970:197; Williams and Brain 1983:141-142.

#### **Chevalier Stamped, var. *Perry***

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* As described in the reference. This is a late expression of an important Coles Creek type. The small sample is at least partly due to the fact that Winterville is at the northernmost limits for the indigenous distribution of Chevalier Stamped.



*Diagnostic modes:* Rather sloppy rocker stamping applied in wide-spaced, vertical, parallel rows around the exterior rim surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 1.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:142-143.

#### **Chickachae Combed, var. *Chickachae***

*Sample:* 2 sherds (probably from the same vessel).

*Description:* As described by Phillips. This is definitely an intrusive pottery type at Winterville. It exhibits marked differences in decorative technique, as well as ware. The most distinctive features of the latter are a high sand and organic content, possibly including a little shell; there are also inclusions of small red (ochre-like) pieces of stone. The peculiarly laminated appearance of the paste and the lack of coil fractures indicate that molding was the method of manufacture rather than coiling. While the interior surfaces are a light buff in color, exteriors are a fire clouded



medium to dark gray. Surfaces are smoothed but not polished. There is no information on vessel size or shape other than that the curvature of these sherds indicates small, globular forms. The sherds are a uniform 4.5 mm in thickness.

*Diagnostic modes:* Light, closely spaced, multiple incising—commonly referred to as “combing”—arranged in sweeping curvilinear designs on the exterior surface of compact, sand-organic tempered pottery.

*Set:* None.

*Reference:* Phillips 1970:66.

**Chicot Red, var. Chicot**

*Sample:* 34 sherds, and 1 vessel.

*Description:* This material was the original sample which, in turn, prompted the formal classification and description presented in the reference (under the type Larto Red).



The reintroduction of red slipping on a late horizon is an important decorative mode that at the time related to a non-Lower Valley pottery tradition. The distinctions of chronology and origin are sufficient to warrant the establishment of a new type.

*Diagnostic modes:* Red slipping on the exterior and/or interior surface of medium textured, mixed-clay (shell) tempered pottery.

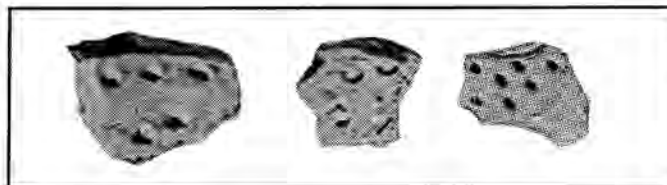
*Set:* Greenville.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:169.

**Churupa Punctated, var. Thornton**

*Sample:* 6 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references, except that these examples appear to be exceptionally crude. Nevertheless, they fall within the range of the variety.



*Diagnostic modes:* Careless punctations zoned by incisions arranged in curvilinear patterns on the exterior surface of medium to coarse textured, clay-grit tempered pottery.

*Set:* None.<sup>2</sup>

*References:* Phillips 1970:68-69; Williams and Brain 1983:144.

**Coleman Incised, var. Coleman**

*Sample:* 2 sherds.

*Description:* As described in Williams and Brain, except that one of these examples also has random punctations between the lines. The addition of the punctate mode would logically seem to require the

<sup>2</sup> At Lake George, Thornton was included in the Satartia set. However, as the only representative of that set at Winterville, nothing is gained by the further classification of this variety. Not only would it be uneconomical, but in fact is quite unnecessary for interpretive purposes.

assignment of this sherd to Avoyelles Punctated, if our system was rigidly followed. But the almost incidental nature of the punctations renders them a minor decorative treatment overridden by the principal decorative technique and, in this case, the curvilinearity of the design (see Winterville Incised, *var. Belzoni* for a similar case; also note the "Classic Mode" treatment of punctuation sometimes found in Coles Creek Incised, especially in the contemporary *var. Hardy*).

*Diagnostic modes:* Careless "wet-paste" incising, arranged in simple curvilinear patterns on the exterior rim surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 1.

*References:* Phillips 1970:69; Williams and Brain 1983:145.

**Coles Creek Incised, *var. Coles Creek***

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* Completely within the norm described in the references.

*Diagnostic modes:* Multiple, broad, close-spaced, overhanging lines incised horizontally around the rim of medium textured, clay-"tufa" tempered pottery.

*Set:* Valley Park.

*References:* Phillips 1970:70; Williams and Brain 1983:146.



**Coles Creek Incised, *var. Ely***

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* As described by Phillips. This sherd probably came originally from Winterville's closest archaeological neighbor, the type site Ely (19-L-3).

*Diagnostic modes:* Multiple parallel incisions in the broad flat lip and on the exterior rim (where they are widely spaced and overhanging) of medium textured, clay-"tufa" tempered pottery.

*Set:* Valley Park (?).

*Reference:* Phillips 1970:2.



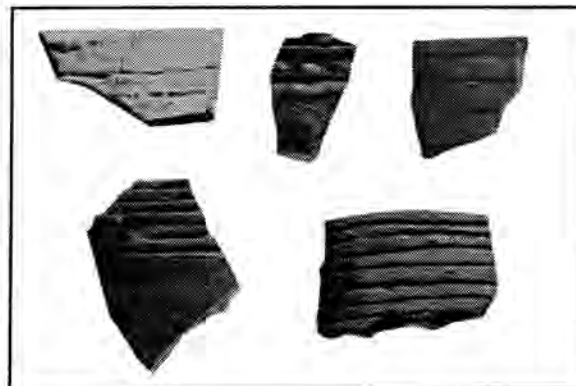
**Coles Creek Incised, *var. Hardy***

*Sample:* 39 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references. This is the latest variety of Coles Creek Incised. In fact, a sprinkling of shell in the paste can be observed in seven sherds, an unusually high proportion for the early introduction of this tempering mode.

*Diagnostic modes:* Multiple horizontal lines rather crudely incised around the exterior rim surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 1.



*References:* Phillips 1970:73-4; Williams and Brain 1983:151.

**Coles Creek Incised, var. *Hunt***

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* As described in the references. *Hunt* appears to be one of the earliest (as well as crudest) varieties of Coles Creek Incised.

*Diagnostic modes:* Two, or occasionally three, crude incisions drawn horizontally just below the lip on the exterior rim surface of coarse textured, clay-grit tempered pottery.

*Set:* Reed.<sup>3</sup>

*References:* Phillips 1970:74-5; Williams and Brain 1983:151.



**Evansville Punctated, var. *Evansville***

*Sample:* 2 sherds.

*Description:* The references treat a variety that really behaves more like a type since it contains far too much variation in ware and decorative treatment. Our inability to further define, or break down, this “variety” led to an impassioned plea in the Lake George report for further refinement of the classification. To say that this can now be accomplished with a sample of only two sherds may seem presumptuous, if not actually offensive, but is really no greater a liberty than taken elsewhere in these pages. What inspires confidence here is a relatively tight typological similarity and distributive context. It is proposed that the following description thus be recognized as the established var. *Evansville*.



The Winterville sherds are characterized by a decorative technique that features crude “fingernail” punctations made by opposing thumb and finger in very plastic clay (thus approaching the idea of Hollyknowe Pinched, except that the clay is not actually “pinched”). No real design seems to have been intended, for the close spaced punctations are not aligned but rather scattered haphazardly. Apparently, the only intention was to completely “decorate” the entire exterior surface of the vessel. The ware is typical of the coarse *Reed* variety of Baytown Plain.

*Diagnostic modes:* Fingernail punctations scattered at random over the entire exterior surface of coarse textured, clay-grit pottery.

*Set:* Reed.<sup>4</sup>

*References:* Phillips 1970:78-9; Williams and Brain 1983:157.

**Evansville Punctated, var. *Sharkey***

*Sample:* 12 sherds.

*Description:* As described for the Lake George sample, in which only punctation was included, while pinching was shifted to Hollyknowe Pinched, var. *Patmos*. The punctations, themselves, were made with a variety of implements: fingernail, fingertip, canes, and pointed sticks. There is no apparent attempt at design

<sup>3</sup> Reed 2 subset at Lake George.

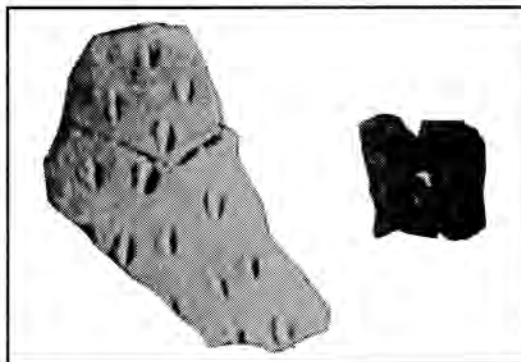
<sup>4</sup> This would be the Reed 1 subset in the Lake George terminology.

through grouping or linearity. Two approach the earlier *var. Rhinehart* in technique and style, but at least one of these contains a sprinkling of shell in the paste, thus indicating a later origin than expected for *Rhinehart*.

*Diagnostic modes:* Careless punctating on the exterior upper body surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 1.

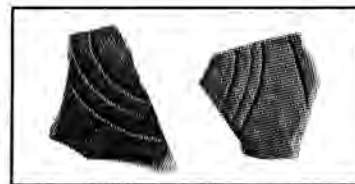
*References:* Phillips 1970:81; Williams and Brain 1983:158-160.



#### **Fatherland Incised, *var. Fatherland***

*Sample:* 9 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references except for the shift in typological assignment (Brain, Brown, and Steponaitis n.d.). *Fatherland* differs from the varieties of Leland Incised in the exceptional thinness of the finely incised lines, which average only 1 mm in width. The narrowness of the lines is compensated for by the fact that they are drawn in parallel, closely set groups of three.



The possibility that the technique of incision may occasionally have employed a multitoothed tool, or comb, suggests a relationship with Chickachae Combed, a type of overlapping contemporaneity.

*Diagnostic modes:* Three parallel incised lines arranged in curvilinear patterns on the exterior surface of fine to medium textured, mixed-shell tempered pottery.

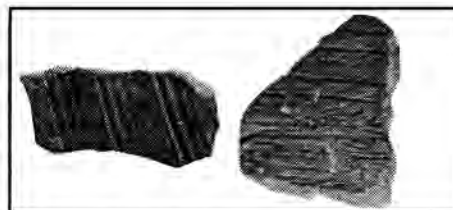
*Set:* Holly Bluff 2.

*References:* Phillips 1970:106; Williams and Brain 1983:175, 177.

#### **Grace Brushed, *var. Grace***

*Sample:* 26 sherds.

*Description:* The brushing in this sample was apparently executed with a bundle of fibers or grasses, and is generally very careless and superficial. Few approach Plaquemine Brushed in quality. Thus, while an overall decorative effect is intended, it ranges from the haphazard brushing characteristic of the earlier Salomon Brushed, to the carefully executed oblique arrangements sometimes found on Plaquemine Brushed, *var. Plaquemine*.



*Diagnostic modes:* Brushing, apparently often arranged in simple rectilinear patterns, on the exterior surface of coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 2.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:165.



**Harrison Bayou Incised, var. Harrison Bayou**

*Sample:* 24 sherds.

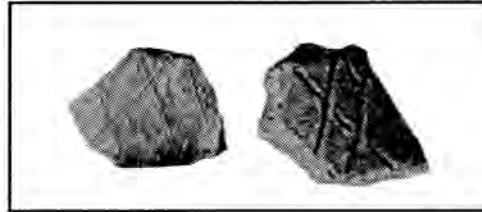
*Description:* As described in the references, *Harrison Bayou* is characterized by wet-paste incised cross-hatching on the exterior rims of *Addis* ware jars. Only the design mode distinguishes *Harrison Bayou* from *Mazique Incised, var.*

*Manchac*, and if it were not for the arguments put forth by Phillips these two groups would long since have been put in the same type (*Mazique*), if not the same variety.

*Diagnostic modes:* Carelessly incised lines arranged in a rectilinear crosshatched pattern on the exterior rim surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 1.

*References:* Phillips 1970:87-8; Williams and Brain 1983:165.

**Hollyknowe Pinched, var. Hollyknowe**

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* As described in the references, except that this example exhibits an unusual curvilinear design. The ware is the *Reed* variety of Baytown Plain.

*Diagnostic modes:* Ridge pinching, arranged in overall linear patterns on the exterior surface of coarse textured, clay-grit tempered pottery.

*Set:* Reed.<sup>5</sup>

*References:* Phillips 1970:89-90; Williams and Brain 1983:165, 167.

**Hollyknowe Pinched, var. Patmos**

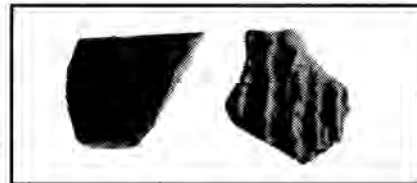
*Sample:* 28 sherds.

*Description:* As described for Lake George, this variety includes all pinched decoration on *Addis* ware. The pinches are always aligned, and often form prominent ridges—thus the original name “Hollyknowe Ridge Pinched.” It is especially this design emphasis on linearity (usually oriented on a vertical axis) that clearly distinguishes *Patmos* from the otherwise closely related *var. Sharkey* of Evansville Punctated. The relationship to the equally linear *Mazique Incised, var. Manchac* is demonstrated by an unusual vessel which exhibits both forms of decoration.

*Diagnostic modes:* Pinching, usually ridged, arranged in overall rectilinear patterns on the exterior rim (or upper body) surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 2.

*References:* Phillips 1970:90; Williams and Brain 1983:167.



<sup>5</sup> This would be the Reed 1 subset in the Lake George terminology.

**Lake Borgne Incised, var. *Tenhut***

*Sample:* 2 sherds (from the same vessel).

*Description:* "Jab-and-drag" incision with a square ended instrument on the exterior body surface of pottery equivalent to Tchefuncte Plain, var. *Sky Lake*.

*Diagnostic modes:* Linear punctation on the exterior body surface of soft, friable pottery.

*Set:* None.

*Reference:* Phillips 1970:98.



**Larto Red, var. *Larto***

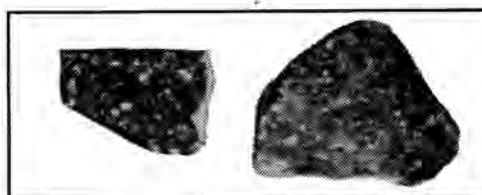
*Sample:* 63 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references. All of these sherds fall within the coarse ware of Baytown Plain, var. *Reed*.

*Diagnostic modes:* Overall red slipping applied to the interior and/or exterior surface of coarse textured, clay-grit tempered pottery.

*Set:* Reed.<sup>6</sup>

*References:* Phillips 1970:99; Williams and Brain 1983:169.



**L'Eau Noire Incised, var. *L'Eau Noire***

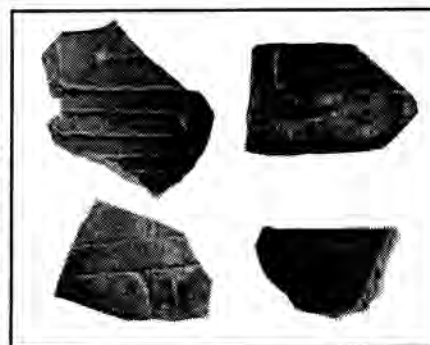
*Sample:* 21 sherds, and 1 vessel.

*Description:* As described by Phillips, and amended by Williams and Brain. *L'Eau Noire* is restricted to "dry paste" incision as the defining technique. It is usually accompanied by the additional technique of excision, although such may not be observable on sherds too small to show complete designs. Distinctive designs of relative complexity feature stepped, or rectangle-within-a-rectangle, motifs. When present, excised areas add an element of contrast and contribute to the "exotic" appearance of the overall design. One sherd in this sample is also red slipped, which relates to the contemporary *Chicot* variety of Larto Red. As at Lake George, at least two-thirds of the sherds exhibit a sprinkling of shell in the paste.

*Diagnostic modes:* Dry paste incision, usually also accompanied by excision of small areas, arranged in distinctive rectilinear patterns on the exterior rim or upper body surface of medium textured, mixed-clay (shell) tempered pottery.

*Set:* Greenville.

*References:* Phillips 1970:101; Williams and Brain 1983:171.



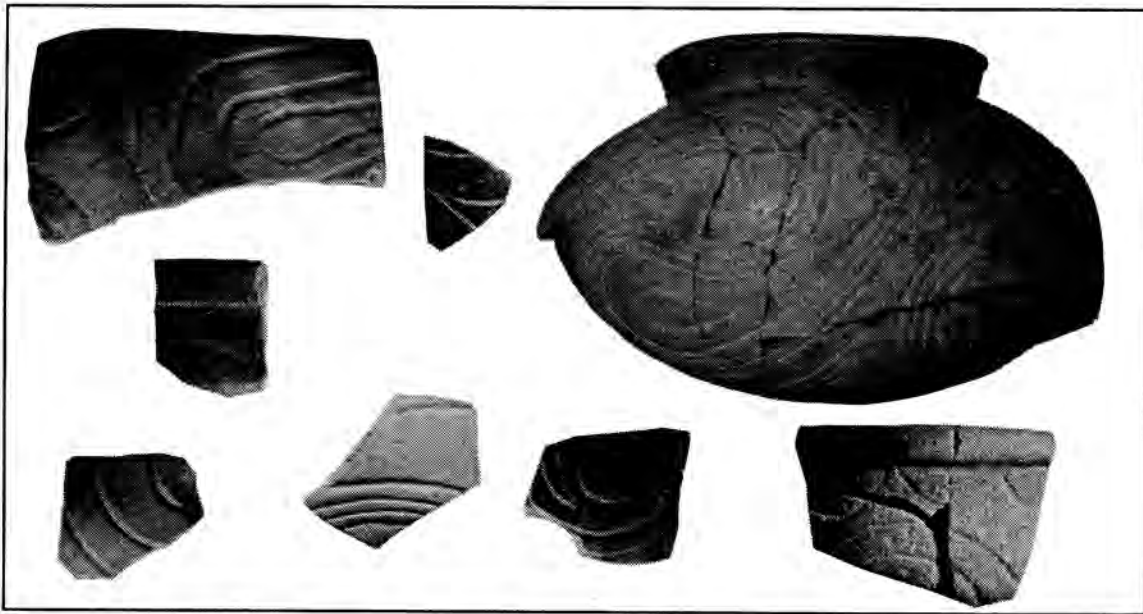
<sup>6</sup> Reed 1 subset at Lake George.

**Leland Incised, var. *Leland***

*Sample:* 152 sherds, and 1 vessel.

*Description:* As described in the references. This is the “classic” variety of Leland Incised. Characteristic are quality craftsmanship in ware and decoration. The latter features open curvilinear designs drawn on “leather hard” surfaces in the technique often called “trailing.” Lines are uniformly 1-2 mm wide and *ca.* 1 mm deep; they were usually polished over so that all rough edges were removed.

The whole vessel came from the burned floor on the summit of Mound K, Excavation Unit 75. Crushed by the collapsed wall, the sherds were refired and warped.



*Diagnostic modes:* Trailed incisions, usually well executed and polished over, arranged in curvilinear patterns on the exterior surface of fine textured, mixed-shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Holly Bluff 1.

*References:* Phillips 1970:104; Williams and Brain 1983:171-174.

**Leland Incised, var. *Bethlehem***

*Sample:* 32 sherds, and 1 vessel.

*Description:* This is another variety first recognized at Winterville, but given formal status in the type-variety system in the Lake George report. There can be no question about its typological placement. *Bethlehem* presently appears to be the earliest example of “trailed” incising, and thus is apparently the first variety of the type Leland Incised. It differs from the established *var. Leland* primarily in ware and in the quality of the incisions, which are usually more crudely executed and not polished over. There are also important differences in design motifs (not always observable on small sherds): the whorl, meander, and running scroll being favored in *Bethlehem* and shared with the closely related *Anna Incised, var. Anna* and *Carter Engraved*,

*var. Carter*. At least one sherd is very reminiscent of the Cahokia-area type Ramey Incised, which may suggest the inspiration for this variety (and ultimately the type). This same sherd also bears a motif similar to one favored on the roughly contemporary Winterville Incised, *var. Rising Sun*.



*Diagnostic modes*: Trailed incisions arranged in curvilinear patterns on the exterior surface of medium textured, mixed-clay (shell) tempered pottery.

*Set*: Greenville.

*Reference*: Williams and Brain 1983:174-175.

**Leland Incised, *var. Blanchard***

*Sample*: 4 sherds, and 1 partial vessel.

*Description*: As described in the references. This variety differs from the established *var. Leland* in the interior placement of the decoration, the simpler design motifs (usually a series of festoons around the rim depending from a line drawn near the lip), and restriction to the complex bowl vessel form.



*Diagnostic modes*: Single, trailed incisions arranged in simple curvilinear patterns on the interior rim surface of fine to medium textured, mixed-shell tempered pottery.

*Set*: Holly Bluff 2.

*References*: Phillips 1970:105; Williams and Brain 1983:175.

**Leland Incised, var. Deep Bayou**

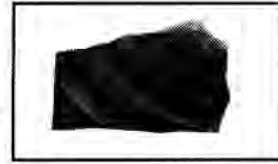
*Sample:* 31 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references. This variety differs from *Leland* primarily in the much greater breadth of line: more than 2 mm, often over 5 mm. Perhaps because of limitations imposed by such wide lines, the designs tend to be simpler and more open. Vessels average slightly larger, and paste is somewhat coarser (flakes of shell 1-2 mm in diameter occasionally appear).

*Diagnostic modes:* Trailed incisions of exceptional breadth, arranged in simple curvilinear patterns on the exterior surface of medium textured, mixed-shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Holly Bluff 2.

*References:* Phillips 1970:106; Williams and Brain 1983:175.

**Leland Incised, var. Ferris**

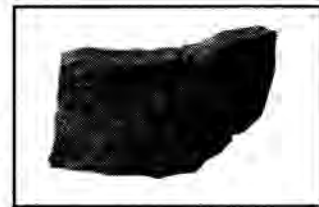
*Sample:* 3 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references. This variety is distinguished from *Leland* by the greater number of lines employed in the design, which are closely drawn and fill most of the surface.

*Diagnostic modes:* Multiple, parallel trailed incisions arranged in close curvilinear patterns on the exterior surface of fine textured, mixed-shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Holly Bluff 1.

*References:* Phillips 1970:106-7; Williams and Brain 1983:177.

**Leland Incised, var. Russell**

*Sample:* 3 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the reference. *Russell* represents a late deterioration in technique that sets it quite apart from *var. Leland*.

*Diagnostic modes:* Carelessly executed trailed incisions arranged in simple curvilinear patterns on the exterior surface of medium textured, mixed-shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Holly Bluff 2.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:177-179.

**Leland Incised, var. Williams**

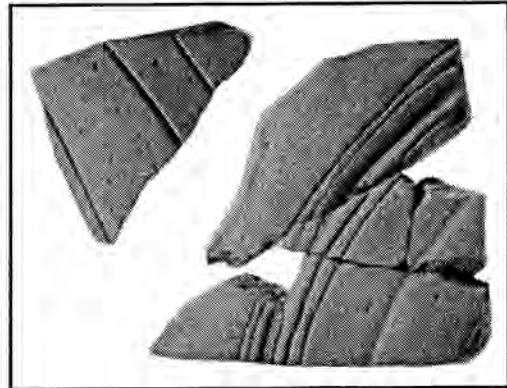
*Sample:* 17 sherds.

*Description:* This is another group first isolated at Winterville, and put into the type-variety system in the Lake George report where there was a stronger sample.

As *Russell* represents a deterioration in decorative technique, *Williams* is distinguished by a coarsening of ware that in many characteristics is intermediate between *Holly Bluff* and *Yazoo*. Although the texture is



compact, the paste is liberally tempered with shell particles which very occasionally reach 1 mm and more in diameter. The incising is technically trailing, but done on a surface slightly less than "leather hard" so that the execution tends to be of lower quality than in *Leland*. The curvilinear designs feature large scale, sweeping motifs composed of one to five parallel lines. Favored motifs are probably the meander or running scroll. The lines, or groups of lines, are always widely spaced, so that there is far more "open" surface than decoration.



*Diagnostic modes:* Medium wide trailed incisions arranged in simple curvilinear patterns on the exterior surface of medium textured, mixed-shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Holly Bluff 2.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:179.

**Maddox Engraved, var. *Silver City***

*Sample:* 7 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references. This variety is basically *Leland* with the additional technique of engraving to contrasting zones.



*Diagnostic modes:* Trailed incising and engraving—the incisions produce curvilinear patterns, zones of which are filled with engraved cross-hatching—on the exterior surface of fine textured, mixed-shell tempered pottery.

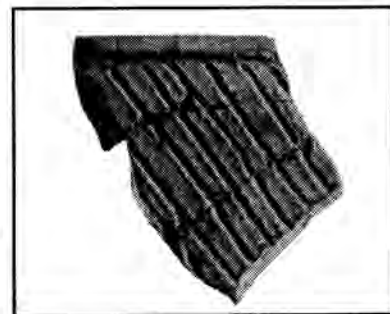
*Set:* Holly Bluff 1.

*References:* Phillips 1970:109; Williams and Brain 1983:179-180.

**Mazique Incised, var. *Mazique***

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* As described in the references, this variety is characterized by parallel lines incised at an oblique angle, which tend to "overhang." This sherd is unusual in that it appears to have a thin red slip applied to the inner surface. The addition of that decorative mode suggests that this is a particularly early example of *Mazique*.



*Diagnostic modes:* Incised lines with a tendency to "overhang" arranged in rectilinear (parallel oblique) patterns on the exterior rim surface of medium textured, clay-"tufa" tempered pottery.

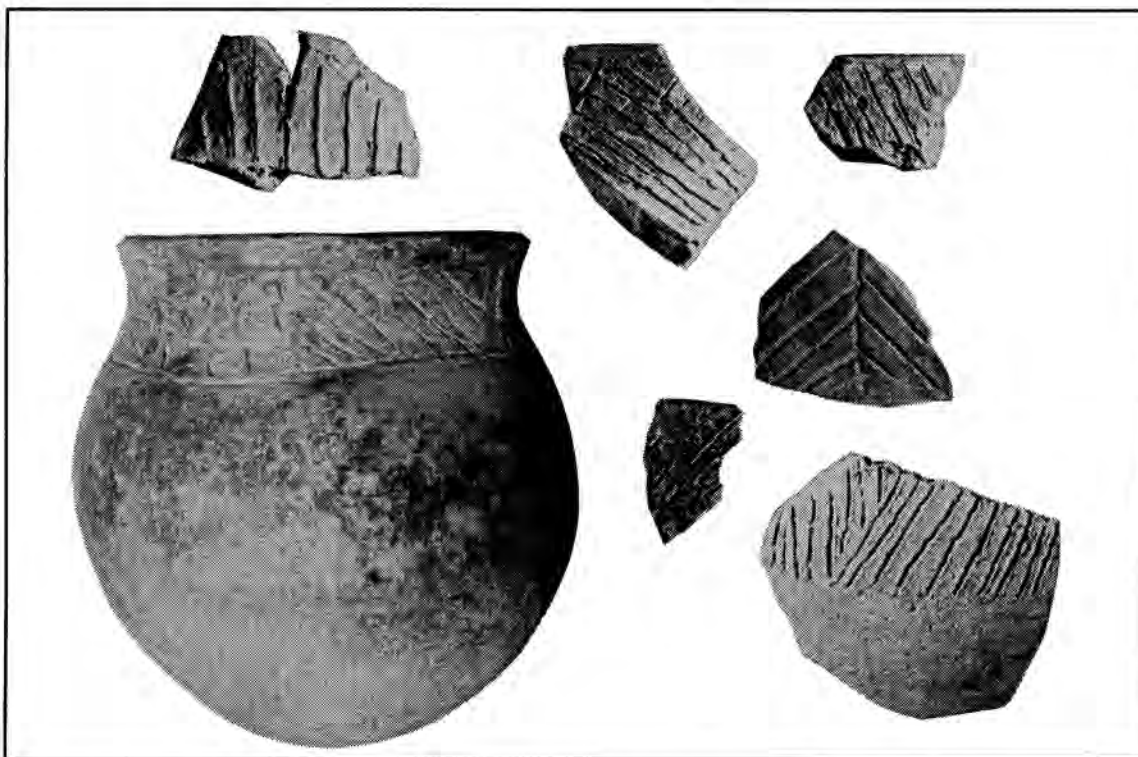
*Set:* Valley Park.

*References:* Phillips 1970:129; Williams and Brain 1983:184.

**Mazique Incised, var. *Manchac***

*Sample:* 81 sherds, and 1 vessel.

*Description:* As described in the references, except that the "Classic Mode" is entirely absent in this sample. There are, however, several sherds and the whole vessel which exhibit ridge pinching as an added mode. While this pinching is considered only a minor decorative treatment here (relating *Manchac* to Hollyknowe Pinched, var. *Patmos*), further documentation would require separate typological status. Seven sherds have a sprinkling of shell in the paste.



*Diagnostic modes:* Carelessly incised lines arranged in rectilinear (parallel oblique or vertical) patterns on the exterior rim surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

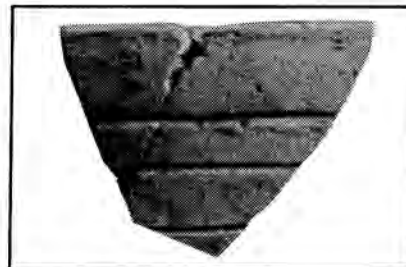
*Set:* Addis 1.

*References:* Phillips 1970:129-130; Williams and Brain 1983:186.

**Mound Place Incised, var. *False River***

*Sample:* 4 sherds.

*Description:* As described for Lake George, this variety is characterized by deeply cut horizontal lines placed just beneath the lip, and spaced 1-2 cm apart. Curvilinear elements within, or depending from, the horizontal may be present.



*Diagnostic modes:* Deep incisions, arranged in parallel horizontal (and sometimes curvilinear) lines, on the exterior rim surface of coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

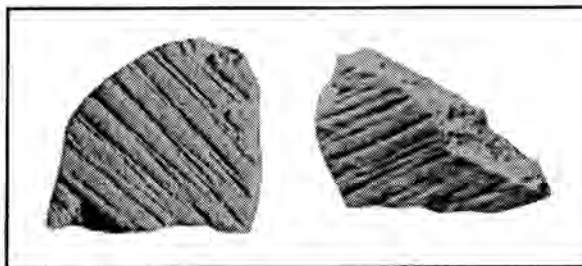
*Set:* Yazoo 3.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:186, 188.

**Mulberry Creek Cord Marked, var. Edwards**

*Sample:* 30 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references, the sole decorative intent of this variety is the overall roughening of the surface through marking with a cord wrapped paddle. There is considerable variety in the size of the cords and quality of the paddling in this sample. The ware falls entirely within the coarse *Reed* variety of Baytown Plain.



*Diagnostic modes:* Overall cord marking carelessly applied with a cord wrapped paddle to the exterior surface of coarse clay-grit tempered pottery.

*Set:* Reed.

*References:* Phillips 1970:137; Williams and Brain 1983:188-189.

**Nodena Red and White, var. Dumond**

*Sample:* 14 sherds.

*Description:* As described by Phillips, this variety is characterized by red and white paint applied in various designs to bottles and bowls of fine shell tempered ware equivalent to Bell Plain, var. *Bell*. One sherd seems to be from a bowl, and is decorated on the interior as well as exterior; the remainder are from bottles, and are painted on the exterior only. All sherds are too small to construct individual design motifs, but it can be noted that the necks of bottles apparently are painted red only, while the bodies are decorated with both red and white.



*Diagnostic modes:* Red and white painting on fine textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Bell.

*Reference:* Phillips 1970:143.

**Old Town Red, var. Old Town**

*Sample:* 25 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references, this variety includes all red slipping on coarse, shell tempered ware equivalent to Mississippi Plain, var. *Yazoo*. *Old Town* is closely related to Larto Red, var. *Chicot*, and the other red slipped varieties listed below.



*Diagnostic modes:* Overall red slipping on coarse, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 1.

*References:* Phillips 1970:145; Williams and Brain 1983:191.

**Old Town Red, var. Cahokia**

*Sample:* 5 sherds.

*Description:* As described for Lake George, an opaque red slip was applied to the exterior of pottery equivalent to Powell Plain. The surface was then probably burnished to a high sheen in most cases, but these sherds from Winterville were all badly weathered and had lost their gloss.

*Diagnostic modes:* Heavy red slip applied to the (exterior) surface of thin, fine to medium textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Powell.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:192.

**Old Town Red, var. Sharbrough**

*Sample:* 2 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references, *Sharbrough* represents red slipping on the thin, shell tempered ware equivalent to Mississippi Plain, var. *Coker*. As such, it would appear to be a locally produced imitation of *Cahokia*. Nor is it altogether successful: the slip is very thin and has about it the "fugitive" quality described by Phillips. In this respect, *Sharbrough* is similar to many of the examples in var. *Old Town*.



*Diagnostic modes:* Thin red slip applied to the (exterior) surface of thin, medium textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Coker.

*References:* Phillips 1970:147; Williams and Brain 1983:192-193.

**Owens Punctated, var. Beland City**

*Sample:* 9 sherds.

*Description:* First described at Winterville as "Beland City Incised" (Brain 1969:173-176), this category was made a variety of Owens in the Lake George report.



'Beland City may best be described as *Leland* with punctations, or, perhaps better yet, as a punctated counterpart to Maddox Engraved, var. *Silver City* in which punctating has replaced engraving as the secondary decorative technique. Technically, this is the finest variety of the type in quality of ware and design execution.

*Diagnostic modes:* Relatively well executed punctation and trailed incision, arranged in zones featuring curvilinear patterns on the exterior surface of fine textured, mixed-shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Holly Bluff 2.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:193.

**Owens Punctated, var. *Menard***

*Sample:* 20 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references, this variety features wet paste incising and punctating which form curvilinear patterns in which punctated zones alternate with plain ones. Decoration is confined to the body, below the rim, of coarse *Yazoo* ware. The only vessel form definitely identified is the large jar. In all respects, *Menard* is a coarser version of *Beland City*.

*Diagnostic modes:* Rather careless punctating and incising, arranged in zoned curvilinear patterns on the exterior body surface of coarse, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 5.

*References:* Phillips 1970:149-150; Williams and Brain 1983:193-194.

**Owens Punctated, var. *Tyronza***

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* This is Phillips' *Tyronza Punctated, var. Tyronza*. In the interests of nomenclatural simplicity, *Tyronza*, the type, has been eliminated, and *Tyronza*, the variety, has been shifted here. The rationale should be obvious: a single type now includes all shell tempered punctating-incising. Furthermore, the varietal position of *Tyronza* within Owens is logical: unlike *Menard*, it is rectilinear design placed on the rim of the vessel, and it is a distinctive motif not found in *Widow Creek*.

*Diagnostic modes:* Punctuation and incision, arranged in a rectilinear design consisting of a zoned triangle motif, on the exterior rim of coarse, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 3(?).<sup>7</sup>

*Reference:* Phillips 1970:167.

**Owens Punctated, var. *Widow Creek***

*Sample:* 5 sherds.

*Description:* As described by Williams and Brain. Unlike the other varieties of Owens presented here, in which punctated zones are contrasted with plain ones, *Widow Creek* is distinguished by alternating zones of punctations and incisions.

*Diagnostic modes:* Incisions and punctations set in contrasting zones, arranged in curvilinear or rectilinear patterns, on the exterior surface of coarse, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 5.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:195-196.

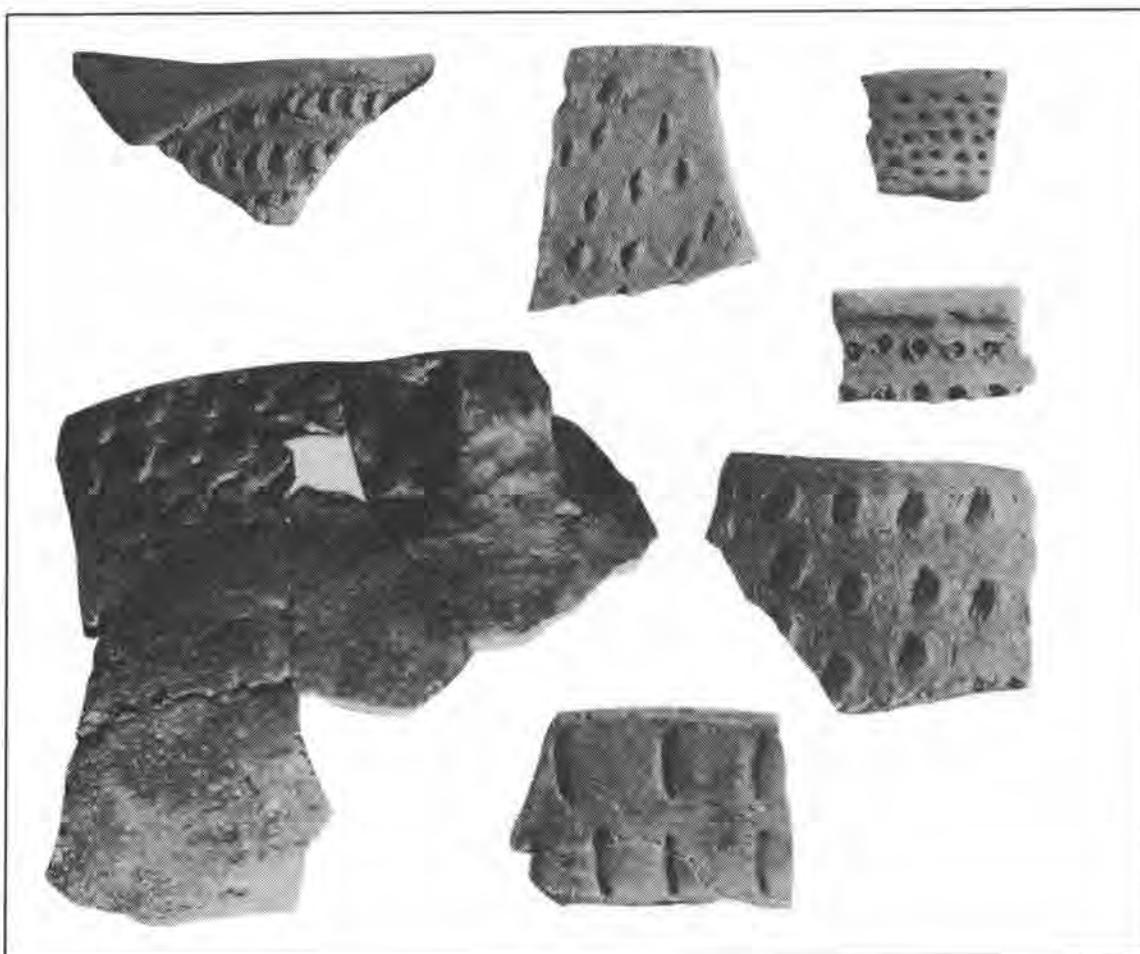
**Parkin Punctated, var. *Hollandale***

*Sample:* 182 sherds, and 1 partial vessel.

<sup>7</sup> We do not yet have enough information on this variety to pin it down satisfactorily. The provenience of the single example from Winterville is early Winterville phase, and the restriction of the design to the rim of the vessel is consistent with the decorative intent of the Yazoo 3 subset. If this assignment holds, *Tyronza* would be the earliest known variety of the type.



*Description:* As described in the references, this variety includes all forms of punctation (fingernail, fingertip, stick, cane, or whatever)—but punctation alone—scattered randomly across the exterior surface of coarse, shell tempered pottery equivalent to *Yazoo*. Jars are the predominant vessel form, and on these the decoration is generally confined to the rim and shoulder (upper body) surfaces. Handles are more common in *Hollandale* than any other variety of pottery at Winterville.



*Diagnostic modes:* Careless punctation randomly scattered on the exterior upper body surface of coarse, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 3.

*References:* Phillips 1970:152; Williams and Brain 1983:196.

**Parkin Punctated, var. *Transylvania***

*Sample:* 24 sherds.

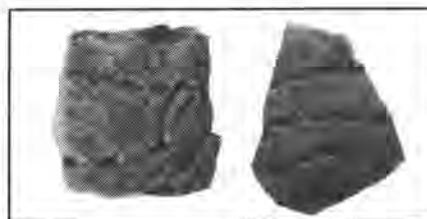
*Description:* As described in the references, the distinguishing feature of this variety is the purposefully linear arrangement of the punctations. Thus there is a basic difference in decorative intent from overall

patterning to linear motifs. Complete motifs are not known, but a common element is the festoon. The punctations themselves were most often made with the fingernail, but other implements were occasionally substituted.

*Diagnostic modes:* Punctations arranged in linear, usually curvilinear, patterns on the exterior upper body (rim and shoulder) surface of coarse, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 3.

*References:* Phillips 1970:152; Williams and Brain 1983:196.



#### **Plaquemine Brushed, var. *Plaquemine***

*Sample:* 21 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references, *Plaquemine* includes all brushing on ware equivalent to Addis Plain, var. *Addis*. The brushing was probably accomplished with a hand held bundle of fibers of varied composition (i.e., differing thicknesses). The marks are generally quite light, but may be deeply incised thus approaching Mazique Incised, var. *Manchac* in appearance. Overall, the quality of the execution is generally quite careful considering the technique; one need only compare Grace Brushed. There is even an attempt beyond the complete brushing of the surface to achieve some patterning: areas of oblique brushing at contrasting angles being a common motif. Curiously, unlike other late Coles Creek varieties of pottery, shell was not occasionally mixed into the paste as an additional tempering agent, perhaps because there was a fully shell tempered parallel in Grace Brushed, var. *Grace*.

*Diagnostic modes:* Overall brushing, usually with an attempt at rectilinear patterning, on the exterior surface of medium textured, mixed-clay tempered pottery.

*Set:* Addis 2.

*References:* Phillips 1970:153; Williams and Brain 1983:196, 200.

#### **Pouncy Pinched, var. *Patosi***

*Sample:* 18 sherds.

*Description:* As described by Williams and Brain, this lower Yazoo variety of the type is really an act of faith rather than a hard typological reality. That is, there are real difficulties in distinguishing this material from the established variety (see Phillips 1970:155). Nevertheless, it is convenient to have a regional shell tempered counterpart to Hollyknowe Pinched, var. *Patmos*.



*Patosi* is characterized by relatively careless pinching between the thumb and one finger while the clay was still very plastic. These pinches are usually very prominent and arranged closely together to form ridges. Sometimes the pinches are so shallow that the ridge effect is lost, but the attempt at linearity remains. The ridges, or rows, are aligned vertically to form a simple rectilinear design.

*Diagnostic modes:* Pinches aligned in rows, usually formed into ridges, and arranged in simple linear patterns on the exterior upper body (rim and shoulder) surface of coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 2.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:200.

**Powell Plain, var. Powell**

*Sample:* 4 sherds.

*Description:* The small sample is not commensurate with the excitement these sherds provoked upon their discovery at Winterville. They were the first certain Cahokia-related artifacts to be recognized from the Yazoo Basin. This pottery must have been imported from the Cahokia region (this is not necessarily to say Cahokia itself). The influence of *Powell* at Winterville is found in the development of the local ware, Mississippi Plain, var. *Coker*. But while the peoples of Winterville may have succeeded in replicating the essential characteristics of this thin, but durable, shell tempered ware, they seem to have had difficulty in mastering the technique of slipping. Thus the opaque and burnished surfaces of *Powell*, *Ramey*, and *Cahokia* are missing on *Coker* and related decorated types.



*Diagnostic modes:* Overall slipping, usually dark gray in color and polished after firing, on the exterior of thin, fine to medium textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Powell.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:200-202.

**Ramey Incised, var. Ramey**

*Sample:* 2 sherds.

*Description:* This is another foreign type that has been adopted wholesale into our classification. If this were an isolated occurrence such action would be hard to justify, but its provenience at Lake George and Shell Bluff (19-O-2 [22-Lf-505]), along with the other Cahokia types, demands integration into our system.

*Ramey* may be described as “incised *Powell*.” That is, curvilinear or rectilinear motifs are incised on the shoulders of *Powell* jars. These two examples from Winterville are too small for the nature of the motifs to be determined, but the characteristic method of incising is clear. The technique is that referred to elsewhere as “trailing,” and it may be that this introduction was the inspiration for the local development of the type *Leland Incised*. In fact, as already noted thereunder, at least one example of the earliest variety of that type, var. *Bethlehem*, is remarkably *Ramey*-like.

*Diagnostic modes:* Trailed incisions, arranged in curvilinear or rectilinear designs, (often with an added overslip which may be polished) on thin, fine to medium textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Powell.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:202-203.

**Salomon Brushed, var. Salomon**

*Sample:* 6 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references. The technique was very crude brushing with a bundle of fibers or sticks. Apparently, the only decorative intent was to texture the surface, for the brush strokes were very haphazardly applied and little or no extra effort was expended in trying to achieve a linear design at the same time (compare the much later Plaquemine Brushed, var. *Plaquemine*).



*Diagnostic modes:* Careless brushing as an overall decorative treatment on the exterior surface of coarse textured, clay-grit tempered pottery.

*Set:* Reed.<sup>8</sup>

*References:* Phillips 1970:158-9; Williams and Brain 1983:203-204.

**Tippets Incised, var. Tippets**

*Sample:* 4 sherds.

*Description:* This is another imported type which has been integrated into our system. The justification for doing so is the same as for the other Cahokia-related types: the fact that they can be positively identified, and have such great historical importance.

As at Lake George, only the incised version of the Cahokian "Tippets Bean Pot" is here being recognized. All of these sherds are also red slipped. Characteristic is fine line incising after the red slip had been applied and dried (and perhaps even after firing). The execution of the incising is not very neat and the edges of the lines are rough and scarred where flakes have chipped off. Small areas of excision are also present on two of the sherds.

*Diagnostic modes:* Red slipping and fine line incising (and occasional excising) on the exterior surface of thin, fine to medium textured, shell tempered pottery.

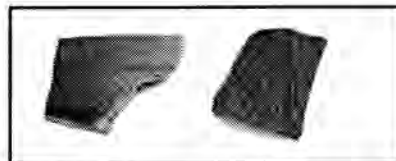
*Set:* Powell.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:204-205.

**Walls Engraved, var. Walls**

*Sample:* 3 sherds.

*Description:* As described by Phillips, *Walls* is characterized by fine engraving on ware equivalent to the *Bell* variety of Bell Plain. The engraving was probably accomplished after the vessels had been fired. The designs are curvilinear, but these sherds are too small to reconstruct motifs. The predominant elements are zoned bands of crosshatching. Although Phillips reports that this kind of decorative treatment is found almost exclusively on bottles, the only vessel form represented in this sample is the simple bowl.



*Diagnostic modes:* Fine engraving, arranged in a variety of (often sophisticated) design motifs, on the exterior surface of fine textured, shell tempered pottery.

<sup>8</sup> Reed 1 at Lake George.

*Set:* Bell.

*Reference:* Phillips 1970:170.

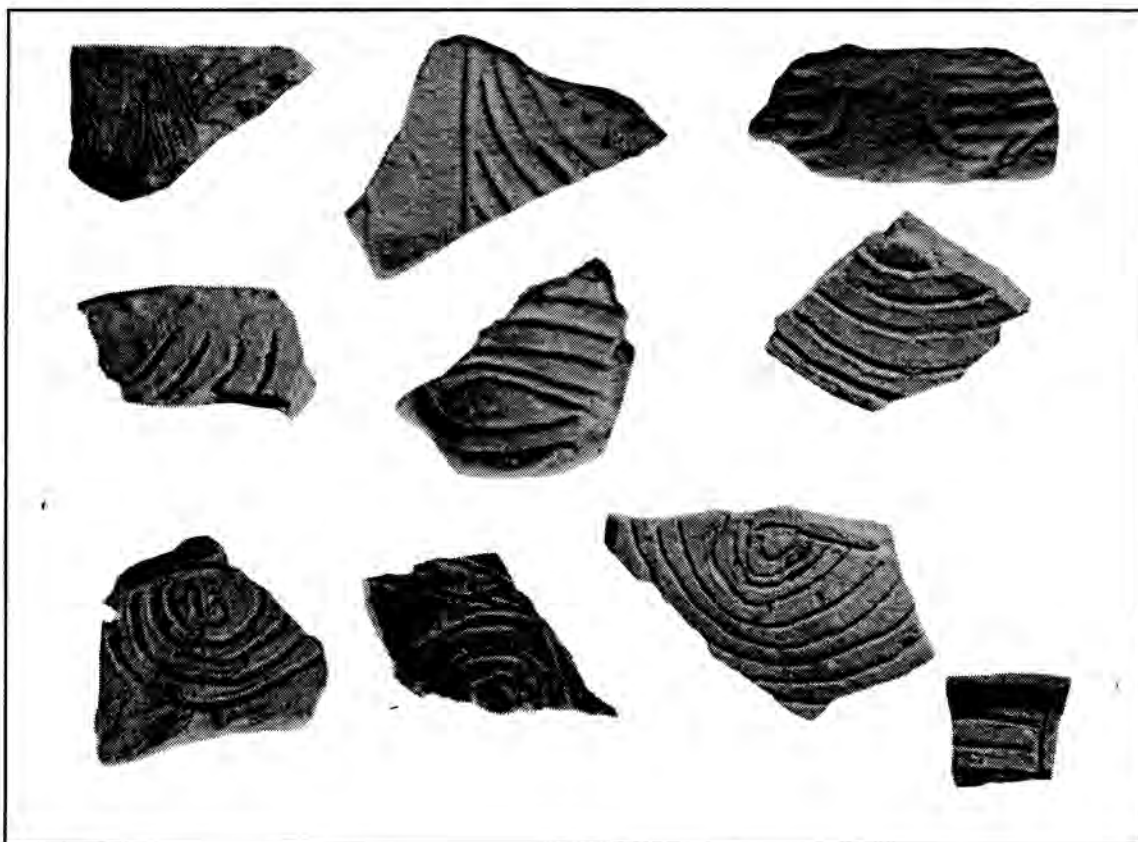
**Winterville Incised, var. *Winterville***

*Sample:* 190 sherds.

*Description:* This variety has already been well described in the references, so that any repetition here would seem redundant if it were not for the fact that Winterville is, after all, the type site!

*Winterville* is characterized by "wet paste" incising, curvilinear designs, and ware equivalent to Mississippi Plain, var. *Yazoo*. The incisions may be crudely or finely executed with a sharp or blunt implement in surfaces of varying plasticity. Thus, there is a considerable technical range manifested in this variety. However, the average incision is a medium line which is neither particularly careless or neat in execution. While the overall designs are basically curvilinear, they may include horizontal elements. A favored motif is for the rim to be banded with parallel, horizontal lines from which concentric festoons depend onto the shoulder of the vessel. Festoons also occur alone around the rim. The interlocked scroll and the whorl (which may be zoned in panels) are also popular motifs. The decoration is generally confined to the rim area of large jars, but may extend down onto the shoulder. In any case, the decoration is restricted to the upper part of the vessel and is primarily a rim treatment.

*Winterville* is closely related to the other varieties of the type, and to Leland Incised, var. *Williams* (which was originally classified here). Barton Incised, var. *Estill* is the rectilinear counterpart.





*Diagnostic modes:* "Wet paste" incising, arranged in simple curvilinear patterns on the exterior rim (or upper body) surface of coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 3.

*References:* Phillips 1970:173; Williams and Brain 1983:205, 206, 208.

**Winterville Incised, var. *Belzoni***

*Sample:* 52 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references, *Belzoni* is characterized by wide line incising which is confined to the bodies, rather than rim areas, of Yazoo jars. The incisions tend to be quite broad (ca. 3-4 mm) and average 1 mm in depth. Execution in the wet paste was generally rather careless. The interlocked scroll and the whorl are the favored motifs. Punctations occasionally border the outer line of the design. The incorporation of this additional decorative mode approaches the idea of Owens Punctated, but it seems to be an independent feature which cuts across



types (cf. Barton Incised, var. *Arcola*).<sup>9</sup> One unusual rim sherd from an otherwise *Belzoni* vessel, features a single arcing line bordered by a row of punctations on the *inner* surface of the rim. This is the only known exception to the rule of plain undecorated rims for the variety.

*Diagnostic modes:* Careless, wide line incising, arranged in simple curvilinear patterns on the exterior body surface of medium to coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 4.

*References:* Phillips 1970:173-4; Williams and Brain 1983:208.

**Winterville Incised, var. *Blum***

*Sample:* 22 sherds.

*Description:* As described in the references, the distinguishing characteristic of this variety is the interior placement of the decoration on the bottoms of plates or shallow bowls. The incisions were made while the clay was still in a very plastic state. In most cases, the lines are fine to medium (1-2 mm) in width, but on a few sherds they are broader—almost trailed—and on one sherd the lines are so broad and shallow that the technique approaches brushing. In all cases, the execution is generally rather careless, although all rough edges typical of "wet paste" incision have been removed. The designs are basically curvilinear, but may

<sup>9</sup> The classic expression of this feature becomes known as the "Tunica Mode" in the historic contact period (Brain 1979).

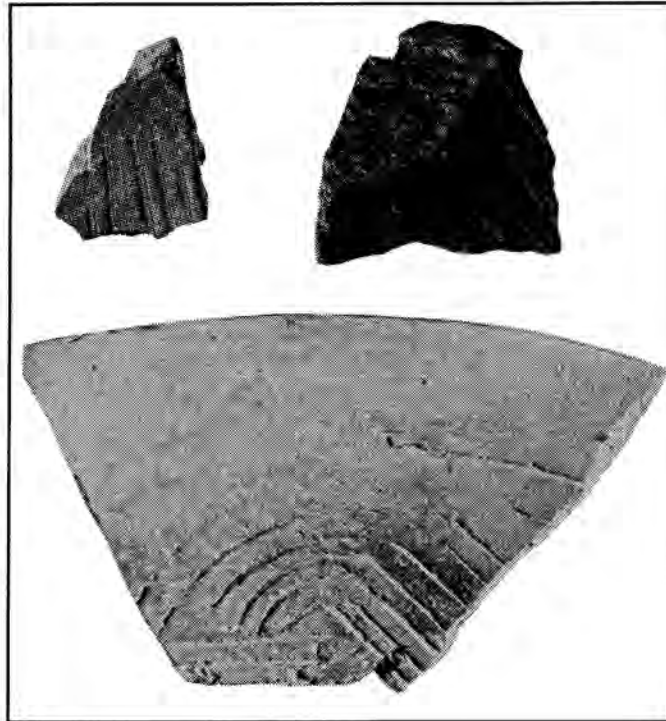
include rectilinear elements. The only observed motif is the interlocked scroll composed of up to seven parallel lines.

*Blum* is obviously closely related to Anna Incised, var. *Anna*, but differs in ware as well as the cruder execution of the decoration. In these respects there is a definite parallel with Grace Brushed, var. *Grace* and Hollyknowe Pinched, var. *Patmos*, and their counterparts Plaquemine Brushed, var. *Plaquemine* and Pouncey Pinched, var. *Patosi*.

*Diagnostic modes*: Rather crude incisions arranged in simple patterns, basically curvilinear, on the interior surface of coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set*: Yazoo 2.

*References*: Phillips 1970:174; Williams and Brain 1983:208.



#### Winterville Incised, var. *Ranch*

*Sample*: 1 sherd.

*Description*: This tentative variety was proposed in the Lake George report. It basically distinguishes a design mode: imbrications of short incised arcs. In all other respects, it falls within the established Winterville variety. The reason for distinguishing this mode at the variety level was that at Lake George it seemed to have historical significance, helping to define the terminal occupation. Alas for Winterville, the size of the sample and surface provenience do not give it the same importance here.

*Diagnostic modes*: Careless incising, arranged in imbricated patterns on the exterior (rim and upper body?) surface of medium to coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set*: Yazoo 5.

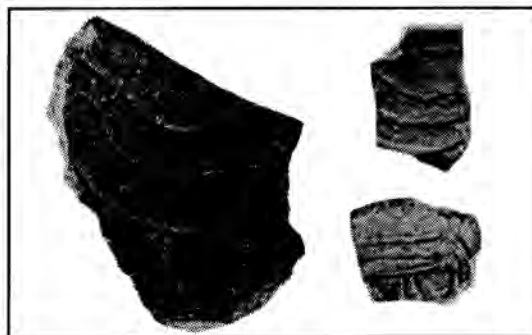
*Reference*: Williams and Brain 1983:208-209.

#### Winterville Incised, var. *Rising Sun*

*Sample*: 23 sherds.

*Description*: Offered as a tentative new variety in the Lake George report, this relatively strong showing at Winterville in appropriate stratigraphic contexts renders secure the status of *Rising Sun*.

This variety is distinguished by the very thin, sharply incised lines which were rather carelessly cut



into the clay while it was still very fresh. Multiple parallel lines are arranged in simple meanders or running scrolls, which suggests a certain affinity to Ramey Incised (note the comment under Leland Incised, *var. Bethlehem*).

*Diagnostic modes:* Sharply cut incisions, arranged in simple curvilinear patterns, on the exterior rim or upper body surface of coarse textured, shell tempered pottery.

*Set:* Yazoo 2.

*Reference:* Williams and Brain 1983:209-210.

#### Withers Fabric Marked, *var. Withers*

*Sample:* 1 sherd.

*Description:* As described in the references. This one sherd seems to have been boldly marked with a textile wrapped paddle. The ware appears to be an especially soft and laminated variety of Baytown Plain.

*Diagnostic modes:* Overall fabric marking on the exterior surface of soft, medium textured, clay-grit tempered pottery.

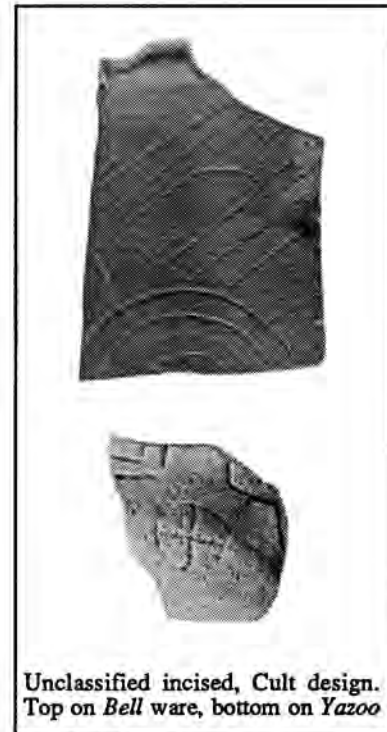
*Set:* None.

*References:* Phillips 1970:174-5; Williams and Brain 1983:210.

#### Unclassified Incised Pottery

Two sherds, unfortunately from surface proveniences (one each from Mounds A and G), are decorated with distinctive designs which do not fit within the foregoing classification. The sherd from Mound A is from a small jar or perhaps a bottle of *Yazoo* ware. It is incised with a simple cross-within-a-circle (so-called "sun circle") motif which is framed by rectilinear incised lines. The Mound G sherd is from a wide mouth bowl with scalloped lip. The ware is fine textured Bell Plain, *var. Bell*, and the vessel has almost certainly been imported to Winterville. The design—rather carefully incised when the clay had hardened, but probably before firing—consists of what appear to be parts of a rattlesnake motif and another sun circle. These two sherds are very different, but they share in common a single iconographic motif which, with the rattlesnake element, was probably inspired by that late prehistoric phenomenon known popularly as the "Southern Cult."

Seventy-one additional sherds with incised decoration could not be classified. Although some are simply unique the reason in most cases was that they were so small that there was not enough information on design, or else the technique of execution was so irregular that they did not conform to the established types/varieties. However, in all cases the ware could be determined, and the assignment to sets (if not subsets) renders them usable for further interpretations. The breakdown by set is: 2 Reed, 26 Addis, 13 Greenville, 3 Holly Bluff, 5 Coker and 22 Yazoo.



## Appendix B: Sherd Tabulations by Excavation Unit

### Excavation Unit 1

Pottery Types	Level						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Baytown Plain, <i>var. unspecified</i>	53			1		2	
Larto Red, <i>var. Larto</i>	3						
Mulberry Creek Cord Marked, <i>var. Edwards</i>	4						
Addis Plain, <i>var. Addis</i>	91	1		1		1	
Coles Creek Incised, <i>var. Hardy</i>	3						
Evansville Punctated, <i>var. Sharkey</i>	1						
Unclassified (Addis)	2						
Mississippi Plain, <i>var. Coker</i>	10		1				
Old Town Red, <i>var. Sharbrough</i>	1						
Mississippi Plain, <i>var. Yazoo</i>	181						
Old Town Red, <i>var. Old Town</i>	1						
Barton Incised, <i>var. Barton</i>	1						
Grace Brushed, <i>var. Grace</i>	1						
Winterville Incised, <i>var. Blum</i>	1						
Parkin Punctated, <i>var. Hollandale</i>	1						
Winterville Incised, <i>var. Winterville</i>	2						
Unclassified (Yazoo)	1						
Addis Plain, <i>var. Greenville</i>	28				2		
Anna Incised, <i>var. Anna</i>	2						
Addis Plain, <i>var. Holly Bluff</i>	4						







## Excavation Unit 13/14

Pottery Types	Level		
	A	B	C
Baytown Plain, <i>var. unspecified</i>	63	11	15
Churupa Punctated, <i>var. Thornton</i>			1
Alligator Incised, <i>var. Oxbow</i>			1
Larto Red, <i>var. Larto</i>	4		2
Mulberry Creek Cord Marked, <i>var. Edwards</i>	3	1	
Unclassified (Baytown)			1
Addis Plain, <i>var. Addis</i>	54	11	15
Coles Creek Incised, <i>var. Hardy</i>	2		
Mazique Incised, <i>var. Manchac</i>	1		
Unclassified (Addis)	3		
Mississippi Plain, <i>var. Coker</i>	7	7	
Mississippi Plain, <i>var. Yazoo</i>	214	32	53
Barton Incised, <i>var. Estill</i>	2		
Winterville Incised, <i>var. Winterville</i>	2		
Owens Punctated, <i>var. Menard</i>	1		
Unclassified (Yazoo)	1		
Addis Plain, <i>var. Greenville</i>	19	1	1
Anna Incised, <i>var. Anna</i>	1		
Carter Engraved, <i>var. Carter</i>	1		
Addis Plain, <i>var. Holly Bluff</i>	1	1	
Leland Incised, <i>var. Leland</i>	2		





Excavation Unit 45/46

Pottery Types	Level																		
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N1	N2	O	P	Q	R
Baytown Plain, var. unspecified	3			4	2	3	3	3	1	1	2					4	1		
Churupa Punctated, var. Thornton									1										
Mulberry Creek Cord Marked, var. Edwards													1						1
Addis Plain, var. Addis	39	50	53	59	13	1	39	70	40	32	23	64	116	54	7	112	204	151	4
Coles Creek Incised, var. Hardy			1	2					1										
Evansville Punctated, var. Sharky				1															
Harrison Bayou Incised, var. Harrison Bayou										1									
Mazique Incised, var. Manchac		1									1		2	2	1		3	1	
Hollyknowe Pinched, var. Patmos								1											
Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine									1										
Unclassified (Addis)														1					
Old Town Red, var. Cahokia												1							
Tippets Incised, var. Tippets					1														
Mississippi Plain, var. Coker	63	60	50	23	6	3	14	13	20	8	4	13	6	3		7	10	7	
Cahokia Cord Marked, var. Montrose												1							
Old Town Red, var. Sharbrough	1												1						
Mississippi Plain, var. Yazoo	1051	601	531	250	53	18	128	166	73	53	47	96	134	71	18	121	148	117	10
Barton Incised, var. Barton		2					1	2	2	1		1		2					
Grace Brushed, var. Grace	1								1				1						
Pouncey Pinched, var. Patosi			1		1														1
Winterville Incised, var. Rising Sun			1																
Barton Incised, var. Estill	48	16	1	3				2			1	1	2	1	1	2	2		
Parkin Punctated, var. Hollandale	12	9	5	3															
Parkin Punctated, var. Transylvania	4	3	2																
Winterville Incised, var. Winterville	13	7	3																
Barton Incised, var. Arcola	1																		
Barton Incised, var. Midnight	2	2																	
Winterville Incised, var. Belzoni	9	3	1																
Tyroneza Punctated, var. Tyroneza																			
Unclassified (Yazoo)	1		1																1
Addis Plain, var. Greenville	4	16	22	44	4		15	21	11	17	4	26	29	11	6	34	47	26	3
Anna Incised, var. Anna	3	7	2	1	4		1	1											
Carter Engraved, var. Carter								1	1	1			3						
Chicot Red, var. Chicot			1				1												
L'Eau Noire Incised, var. L'Eau Noire		1	1*																
Leland Incised, var. Beihlehem	2											1							
Unclassified (Greenville)	1																		
Addis Plain, var. Holly Bluff	58	14	17	2															
Leland Incised, var. Leland	9	1																	
Leland Incised, var. Deep Bayou	3																		
Owens Punctated, var. Beland City	1																		
Unclassified (Holly Bluff)	7		1	1															
Nodena Red and White, var. Dumond	1																		

\*From same vessel



## Excavation Unit 55/56

Pottery Types	Level								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Baytown Plain, <i>var. unspecified</i>	1		2	4		4			
Addis Plain, <i>var. Addis</i>	37	27	98	95	67	140	161	57	1
Avoyelles Punctated, <i>var. Dupree</i>							1		
Coleman Incised, <i>var. Coleman</i>			1						
Coles Creek Incised, <i>var. Hardy</i>			1						
Evansville Punctated, <i>var. Sharkey</i>								1	
Harrison Bayou Incised, <i>var. Harrison Bayou</i>			1					1	
Mazique Incised, <i>var. Manchac</i>	1		1		1			1	
Hollyknowe Pinched, <i>var. Patmos</i>				2		1		1	
Plaquemine Brushed, <i>var. Plaquemine</i>	1		1	1					
Unclassified (Addis)				1	1	1	1	1	
Mississippi Plain, <i>var. Coker</i>	42	69	108	74	31	69	71	6	
Cahokia Cord Marked, <i>var. Montrose</i>				1					
Mississippi Plain, <i>var. Yazoo</i>	527	841	1374	768	265	424	444	82	
Cahokia Cord Marked, <i>var. Buford</i>							1		
Old Town Red, <i>var. Old Town</i>				1				1	
Barton Incised, <i>var. Barton</i>				1	1	1	2		
Grace Brushed, <i>var. Grace</i>	3	1		1	1	1			
Pouncey Pinched, <i>var. Patosi</i>	1					1			
Winterville Incised, <i>var. Blum</i>			1						
Winterville Incised, <i>var. Rising Sun</i>			1	1		1			
Barton Incised, <i>var. Estill</i>	24	52	52	8	2	1	4	1	
Mound Place Incised, <i>var. False River</i>	2	1							
Parkin Punctated, <i>var. Hollandale</i>	4	3	34	22	3	1	1		
Parkin Punctated, <i>var. Transylvania</i>		2	2	2					
Winterville Incised, <i>var. Winterville</i>	21	38	22	10	1	1	1		
Barton Incised, <i>var. Arcola</i>	5	17	8						
Barton Incised, <i>var. Midnight</i>	9	2	4						
Winterville Incised, <i>var. Belzoni</i>	25	47	15	8					
Owens Punctated, <i>var. Menard</i>	1	5	3						
Owens Punctated, <i>var. Widow Creek</i>	1								
Unclassified (Yazoo)	3	5	1			2	2		
Addis Plain, <i>var. Greenville</i>	3	4	15	34	27	49	60	20	
Anna Incised, <i>var. Anna</i>	2		2	5			2		
Carter Engraved, <i>var. Carter</i>					1		4		
Chicot Red, <i>var. Chicot</i>				1	1	1	2	1	
L'Eau Noire Incised, <i>var. L'Eau Noire</i>				1					
Leland Incised, <i>var. Bethlehem</i>		2	1	4					
Unclassified (Greenville)		1	1			1			
Addis Plain, <i>var. Holly Bluff</i>	58	60	56	20	5				
Leland Incised, <i>var. Leland</i>	16	41	28						
Leland Incised <i>var. Ferris</i>		2	1						
Fatherland Incised, <i>var. Fatherland</i>	2	6							
Leland Incised, <i>var. Blanchard</i>	3	3	1	1					
Leland Incised, <i>var. Deep Bayou</i>	1	11	7	1					
Leland Incised, <i>var. Russell</i>	1								
Leland Incised, <i>var. Williams</i>	7	5							
Owens Punctated, <i>var. Beland City</i>	5	4	2						
Unclassified (Holly Bluff)	9	8	9	3					
Nodena Red and White, <i>var. Dumond</i>	2	1	6						
Walls Engraved, <i>var. Walls</i>			2						

Pottery Types	Level							
	Excavation Unit 65		Excavation Unit 70-72		Excavation Unit 73		Excavation Unit 74	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Baytown Plain, <i>var. unspecified</i>	4							
Larto Red, <i>var. Larto</i>				1*				
Addis Plain, <i>var. Addis</i>	12		8	1	1	1	1	
Mississippi Plain, <i>var. Coker</i>			1		1			1
Mississippi Plain, <i>var. Yazoo</i>	108	3	58	31	8		9	4
Old Town Red, <i>var. Old Town</i>							1	
Grace Brushed, <i>var. Grace</i>	1							
Barton Incised, <i>var. Estill</i>	4		3	1*			2	
Parkin Punctated, <i>var. Hollandale</i>	1							
Winterville Incised, <i>var. Winterville</i>	3			1*				
Barton Incised, <i>var. Arcola</i>	1							
Winterville Incised, <i>var. Belzoni</i>			1					
Unclassified (Yazoo)	1		1		1			
Anna Incised, <i>var. Anna</i>			1	1				
Carter Engraved, <i>var. Carter</i>	1							
L'Eau Noire Incised, <i>var. L'Eau Noire</i>	1							
Addis Plain, <i>var. Holly Bluff</i>	12	2	7	4	1			
Leland Incised, <i>var. Leland</i>	2							
Leland Incised, <i>var. Russell</i>					1			
Leland Incised, <i>var. Williams</i>			1					
Unclassified (Holly Bluff)	1		1	1	1			

\*Contained within the daub from the burned structure, along with eight of the Yazoo and one of the Holly Bluff.

## Excavation Unit 75/76

Pottery Types	Level											
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Baytown Plain, var. <i>unspecified</i>	1		1			1		1		6	25	4
Salomon Brushed, var. <i>Solomon</i>								1				
Addis Plain, var. <i>Addis</i>	26	18	21		1	6	2	31	39	37	50	39
Avoyelles Punctated, var. <i>Dupree</i>	1											
Chevalier Stamped, var. <i>Lulu</i>									1			
Coles Creek Incised, var. <i>Hardy</i>	2						1	1				
Mazique Incised, var. <i>Manchac</i>	1				1					1		1
Plaquemine Brushed, var. <i>Plaquemine</i>	1					1						
Unclassified (Addis)			1								1	
Ramey Incised, var. <i>Ramey</i>											1	
Mississippi Plain, var. <i>Coker</i>	12	11	22	1	1	1		5	4	9	38	9
Mississippi Plain, var. <i>Yazoo</i>	426	354	300	18	11	16	20	104	105	96	146	137
Barton Incised, var. <i>Barton</i>	1							1				
Pouncey Pinched, var. <i>Patosi</i>											1	1
Winterville Incised, var. <i>Blum</i>								1		1	1	
Barton Incised, var. <i>Estill</i>	24	19	3	1			1	1	1			
Parkin Punctated, var. <i>Hollandale</i>	1	3	3			1						
Winterville Incised, var. <i>Winterville</i>	3	8	1									2
Barton Incised, var. <i>Arcola</i>	7	3										
Barton Incised, var. <i>Midnight</i>	13	8										
Winterville Incised, var. <i>Belzoni</i>	4		2									
Owens Punctated, var. <i>Menard</i>	1	1	1									
Owens Punctated, var. <i>Widow Creek</i>		1										
Unclassified (Yazoo)	3	1	2	1				1	1		2	
Addis Plain, var. <i>Greenville</i>	1				2	2	1	9	10	9	15	21
Anna Incised, var. <i>Anna</i>	2	1			1			1		1	3	1
Carter Engraved, var. <i>Carter</i>						1						
Chicot Red, var. <i>Chicot</i>											2	1
L'eau Noire Incised, var. <i>L'eau Noire</i>									1			
Leland Incised, var. <i>Bethlehem</i>		2	3							1		
Unclassified (Greenville)	1											2
Addis Plain, var. <i>Holly Bluff</i>	32	13	18	1								
Leland Incised, var. <i>Leland</i>	16	2	1	1*								
Leland Incised, var. <i>Deep Bayou</i>	1	1	1	1								
Leland Incised, var. <i>Williams</i>	1											
Owens Punctated, var. <i>Beland City</i>		1										
Unclassified (Holly Bluff)		1										
Nodena Red and White, var. <i>Dumond</i>		1	1									
Chickachae Combed, var. <i>Chickachae</i>	1		1									

\*Whole vessel



## Excavation Unit 95

Pottery Types	Level											
	A	B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>	C	D	E	F	G <sub>1</sub>	G <sub>2</sub>	H	I	J
Baytown Plain, var. <i>unspecified</i>			2	1		4	3	1			2	
Larto Red, var. <i>Larto</i>		1						1				
Salomon Brushed, var. <i>Salomon</i>				1								
Coles Creek Incised, var. <i>Ely</i>						1						
Addis Plain, var. <i>Addis</i>	70	54	16	59	77	95	124	165	68	244	217	35
Avoyelles Punctated, var. <i>Dupree</i>					1			1			1	
Beldeau Incised, var. <i>Bell Bayou</i>				1			1					
Chevalier Stamped, var. <i>Perry</i>											1	
Coles Creek Incised, var. <i>Hardy</i>										1		
Evansville Punctated, var. <i>Sharkey</i>	1							1				
Harrison Bayou Incised, var. <i>Harrison</i>	1				1		2	1	1	2	4	
Mazique Incised, var. <i>Manchac</i>	1		1	1	1	1	3	4		3	4	
Hollyknowe Pinched, var. <i>Patmos</i>	1	1				1					1	
Plaquemine Brushed, var. <i>Plaquemine</i>		1										
Unclassified (Addis)						1					1	
Tippets Incised, var. <i>Tippetts</i>					1	1						
Mississippi Plain, var. <i>Coker</i>	19	13	5	13	5	6	7	3		4	1	
Cahokia Cord Marked, var. <i>Montrose</i>		1				1		1			1	
Unclassified (Coker)								1				
Mississippi Plain, var. <i>Yazoo</i>	399	240	60	190	119	61	135	80	34	74	72	10
Old Town Red, var. <i>Old Town</i>					1							
Grace Brushed, var. <i>Grace</i>					1	1						
Pouncey Pinched, var. <i>Patosi</i>					1							
Winterville Incised, var. <i>Belzoni</i>									2			
Barton Incised, var. <i>Estill</i>	7	3										
Parkin Punctated, var. <i>Hollandale</i>	3	5	1	4								
Winterville Incised, var. <i>Winterville</i>	2	3					1					
Winterville Incised, var. <i>Belzoni</i>	3											
Owens Punctated, var. <i>Menard</i>	1											
Owens Punctated, var. <i>Widow Creek</i>	1											
Unclassified (Yazoo)	3	1	1	1					1	1		
Addis Plain, var. <i>Greenville</i>	10	14	5	36	27	47	75	61	25	73	79	12
Anna Incised, var. <i>Anna</i>	2	1	2				1					
Carter Engraved, var. <i>Carter</i>		1		2			1					
Chicot Red, var. <i>Chicot</i>				1	1	1	2	2				
L'Eau Noire Incised, var. <i>L'Eau Noire</i>	1	1			1							
Leland Incised, var. <i>Bethlehem</i>			1									
Unclassified (Greenville)				1						1*	1*	1*
Addis Plain, var. <i>Holly Bluff</i>	22	4										
Owens Punctated, var. <i>Beland City</i>	2											
Unclassified (Holly Bluff)	1											

\*Partial bowl



## Excavation Unit 100

Pottery Types	Level			
	A	B	C	D
Baytown Plain, <i>var. unspecified</i>	1	2	2	
Addis, <i>var. Addis</i>	1	32	55	11
Evansville Punctated, <i>var. Sharkey</i>		1		
Mazique Incised, <i>var. Manchac</i>			1	
Unclassified (Addis)		1	1	
Mississippi Plain, <i>var. Coker</i>		5	5	
Mississippi Plain, <i>var. Yazoo</i>	2	292	116	13
Pouncey Pinched, <i>var. Patosi</i>		1	2	
Barton Incised, <i>var. Estill</i>		4		
Parkin Punctated, <i>var. Hollandale</i>		6		
Winterville Incised, <i>var. Winterville</i>		1		
Unclassified (Yazoo)		6	1	
Addis Plain, <i>var. Greenville</i>			3	10
Anna Incised, <i>var. Anna</i>		1	2	
Chicot Red, <i>var. Chicot</i>		1		
L'Eau Noire Incised, <i>var. L'Eau Noire</i>			1	
Addis Plain, <i>var. Holly Bluff</i>	1	7		
Leland Incised, <i>var. Deep Bayou</i>	1			
Unclassified (Holly Bluff)		2	1	



## Appendix C: Classification of Artifacts of Other Categories

### Other Ceramic Artifacts

This category is composed of ceramic artifacts that are not included under the discussion of pottery. Two types of ear ornaments, one type of pipe, and a group of miscellaneous objects comprise this category.

#### EARPLUGS

Two types of earplugs were found at Winterville. One is common to the Coles Creek culture, while the other would seem to be a Mississippian variant.

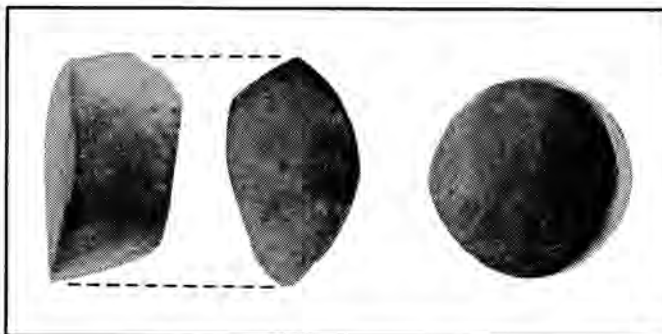
#### Round Earplug

*Sample:* 3.

*Material:* Similar in composition, texture, and color to Addis ware.

*Method of manufacture:* Modeled. Surfaces are smoothed, but not polished.

*Dimensions:* The range is 26 mm to ca. 35 mm in diameter, and 10 to 15 mm thick.



*Form:* Drum shaped. The faces are flat, convex, or concave; the sides are flat or slightly concave.

*Function:* Ornamental. These are designed to be worn in a perforated ear lobe.

*Remarks:* This type of earplug is characteristic of the southern part of the Lower Valley during the middle-late prehistoric period (Ford 1951: Fig. 42a-b; Moore 1911: Fig. 4; Williams and Brain 1983:218).

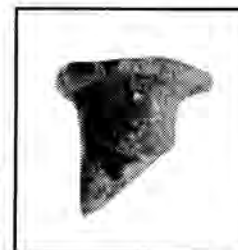
#### Cylindrical Earplug

*Sample:* 1.

*Material:* Similar in composition, texture, and color to Yazoo ware.

*Method of manufacture:* Carelessly modeled. Surface is smoothed, but not polished.

*Dimensions:* The diameter of the head is 19 mm and of the shaft 12 mm. The original length is unknown.



*Form:* The form is that of a thick pin with an expanded, but flat, head.

*Function:* Ornamental. This is believed to be an ear ornament designed to be pushed through a perforation in the ear lobe.

*Remarks:* This specimen is similar in appearance to a small earspool and would be so classified if it were not for the disproportionate length of the shaft (even though broken, it is too long). Therefore, it seems the better alternative to classify it with the pin-shaped clay and shell ornaments found in late Mississippian sites in the valley (e.g., Moore 1911: Fig. 28). The kind of ware from which it was made and its stratigraphic position at Winterville support such an association.

#### PIPES

Only one pipe was found in the Winterville excavations. It is of a very distinctive type.

#### Elbow Pipe

*Sample:* 1.

*Material:* Paste and surface finish are equivalent to Yazoo ware.

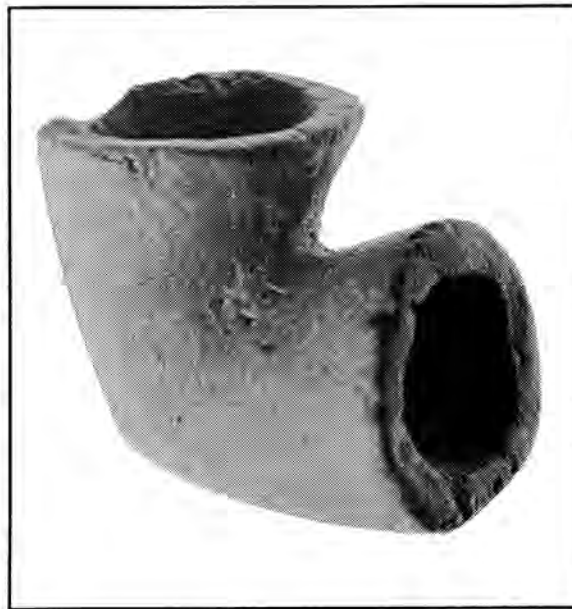
*Method of manufacture:* Probably modeled, but may be coiled. Surface is smoothed, but not polished.

*Dimensions:* Approximately 50 mm long and 50 mm high.

*Form:* This is an equal-arm elbow pipe with biconical bowls.

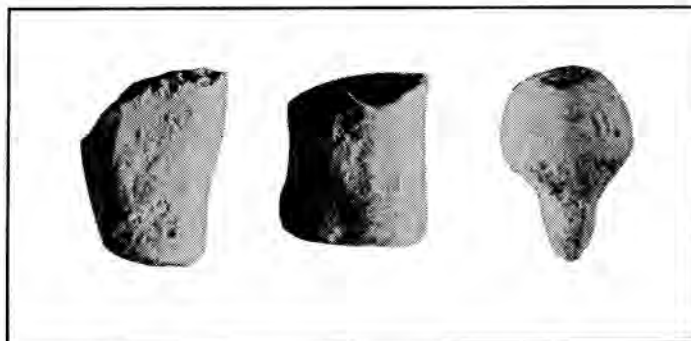
*Function:* Specialized container for smoking tobacco or other mixture. Either bowl could have been used to hold the weed, but one is slightly wider and had more carbon content, while the other was flattened on what would then have been the bottom side. In the latter end would have been inserted a separable stem, presumably of wood or cane.

*Remarks:* This type of pipe seems to be a diagnostic Mississippian artifact and has a wide distribution in the late prehistoric period. Similar examples were found at Lake George (Williams and Brain 1983:213-214).



#### MISCELLANEOUS CERAMIC OBJECTS

A dozen miscellaneous objects, most of which are unidentifiable, are too undistinctive to convey any significant information. The most interesting of all are what appear to be two legs broken off from crudely finished figurines. A third item is a small, round, shell tempered ball with an extruded point on



one side. The nine other objects are crudely finished and made of untempered clay; they display a variety of shapes and sizes, and while some appear to have been purposefully formed others are amorphous lumps, perhaps accidentally fired.

Potsherds were also occasionally transformed into new artifacts, apparently serving a variety of functions. Four have been shaped into circular discs of the kind usually called "counters." A fifth disc was drilled through the center and may have functioned as a spindle whorl or weight. One sherd has a groove worn into each side and apparently was used as a whetstone, while three other sherds have edges which were worn smooth through unknown operations. All of these sherds are of the Mississippi Plain ware, and so relate to the later occupations of the site.

### Stone Artifacts

This category of artifacts may be divided into three subcategories according to the degree of manufacture exhibited by the members (i.e., the extent to which the natural material was modified by human agency): unmanufactured tools, crudely manufactured tools, and carefully manufactured tools of greater sophistication. The first group consists of natural stones that were utilized with no apparent modification, and includes three types of tools: palette, grinder, and hammerstone. Group two is composed of tools which exhibit only the lowest order of manufacture; that is, stones that have been modified only enough to accomplish the job at hand. In this group are included four types of tools: chopper, unspecialized scraper, oval scraper, and plane scraper. The third group contains those tools displaying more involved techniques of manufacture, finer and more careful workmanship, and generally a more extensive modification of the basic material; aside from some unclassified specimens, this group includes one type of celt and two types of projectile points.

The chert used is the usual fine variety which ranges from tan to pink in color. Most of it probably came from interglacial alluvial deposits within the valley proper. The light gray to creamy pink quartzite, on the other hand, is of widely varying quality (depending upon the amount of impurities), and although some such quartzite is found in the alluvial deposits, some of it may have been brought down from the hills.

#### PALETTES

Two types of palettes are known from the Yazoo (Williams and Brain 1983:263-266). Only one of these was found in the excavations at Winterville.

#### **Irregular Palette**

*Sample:* 4 fragments and two whole specimens.

*Material:* Very poor grade of quartzite.

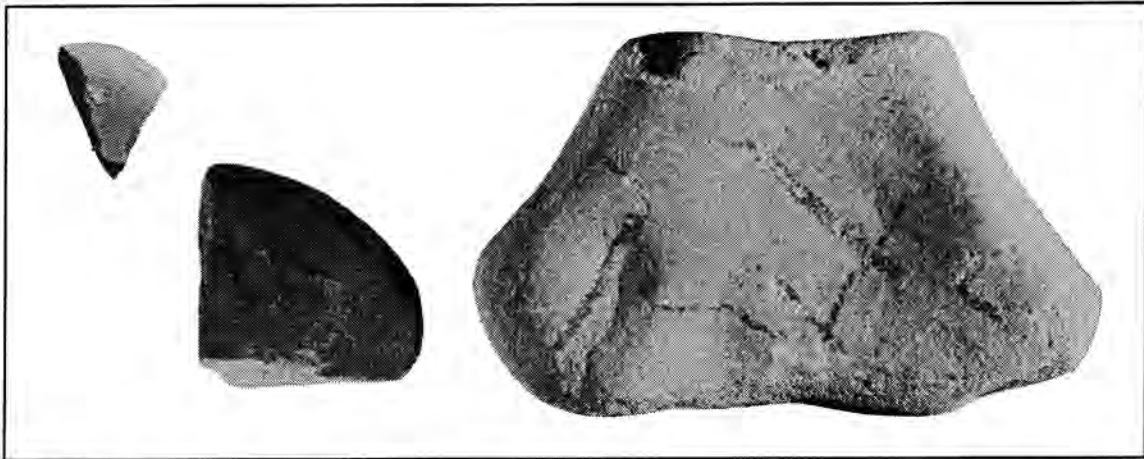
*Method of manufacture:* None.

*Dimensions:* Variable. The dimensions of the largest complete specimen are 115 mm long, 80 mm wide, and ca. 20 mm thick.

*Form:* Relatively flat, but irregular in outline.

*Function:* Grinding platform.





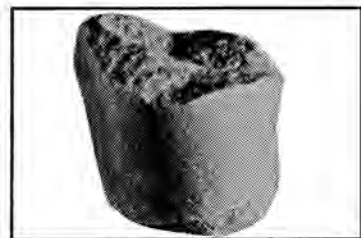
*Remarks:* Stones were selected that had been shaped naturally to the approximate form desired. The only human modification is subsequent usage: one or both sides are ground down so that the center of the palette is significantly thinner than the edges. The wear pattern is even and without gross linear striations; the surface is often so finely ground that it is semi-polished. This indicates that the grinding operation was of a finer nature than whetting. As the name suggests, the probable function was for use in grinding ochre to make pigments for paint: one of the specimens, associated with Burial #9, had a small pumice grinder lying on it and was covered on one side with a thin layer of yellow ochre. Fragments of these palettes are often found at Baytown and Coles Creek sites in the Yazoo region.

#### GRINDERS

At least two grinding stones were identified in the artifact assemblage from Winterville. One is of pumice, the other quartzite. Both are rounded, but irregular in form. The piece of pumice is worn on several sides, and as it was associated with the stone palette found with Burial #9, its specific use was for grinding ochre into paint pigment. The other specimen is larger (length 70 mm) and has two distinct surfaces of heavy wear. The particular function which it may have performed is unknown, but the appearance is similar to that of a mano.

#### HAMMERSTONES

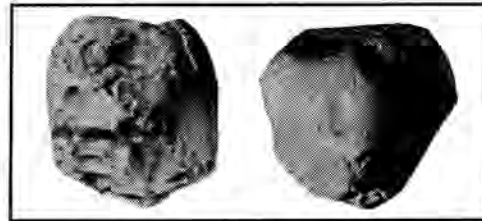
Four hammerstones, three of quartzite and one of chert, are of variable form and size. Heavy enough to be functional, these cobble-size stones are of a convenient shape to be held in the hand. All were utilized as found; that is, they are heavily battered on the end or side, but otherwise unmodified.



#### CHOPPERS

Thirty-four choppers were mostly made of chert, but several were quartzite. These are variable in size, but in the range of cobbles; they are irregular in form, but always have at least one clearly defined cutting edge. In each case, one or more large flakes have been crudely detached, uniaxially or bifacially, to create a sharp cutting edge along one side or end. Occasionally, fortuitous breaks seem to have produced a usable edge, which then obviated such purposeful manufacture. The edges are usually heavily battered, presumably

as the result of striking or chopping rather than cutting or scraping. This class intergrades with unspecialized scrapers, the principal differences being in size of the instrument and the degree and kind of wear exhibited. There are no other distinguishing formal characteristics.



#### SCRAPERS

Three types of scrapers were identified in the Winterville collections.

#### Unspecialized Scraper

*Sample:* 40.

*Material:* Chert.

*Method of manufacture:* Percussion. Several large flakes have been crudely detached to create a sharp, bifacial edge. This edge is quite irregular, but there is no evidence of secondary working or retouching. Suitable large flakes that did not require much modification were also sometimes used.

*Dimensions:* Variable.

*Form:* Irregular. But there is always a sharp cutting edge along the side or across the end of a pebble, cobble, or flake.

*Function:* Cutting or scraping. The pattern of wear consists of multiple small flakes irregularly splintered off from both sides of the edge, which suggests usage for cutting or scraping purposes.

*Remarks:* These tools are sometimes difficult to distinguish from choppers, and it is probable that their functions sometimes overlapped. The tools described here, however, are usually smaller and show a different pattern of wear.

#### Oval Scraper

*Sample:* 27.

*Material:* Chert.

*Method of manufacture:* Fine percussion and some pressure flaking. Flakes or pebbles have been crudely chipped, usually over the entire surface. Some irregular examples were obviously fragments of the proper size that were discovered and used without further modification.



*Dimensions:* 30 mm average diameter. These specimens are fairly uniform in size.

*Form:* Oval or round with a continuous bifacial edge around the widest dimension.

*Function:* Cutting or scraping. The pattern of wear is similar to that found on Unspecialized Scrapers, although it is probable that a specialized function was the reason for the particular form.

*Remarks:* These implements are closely related to Unspecialized Scrapers in general function, but are quite distinct in form and degree of preliminary modification. Since most were purposefully manufactured to conform with a particular shape and dimension, it is presumed that they had a specialized function. Although

more care seems to have gone into the manufacture of these scrapers, the fact that the edge is generally straighter than on Unspecialized Scrapers is the result of the smaller size of the detached flakes and is not due to any secondary retouching.

**Plane Scraper**

*Sample:* 38.

*Material:* Chert.

*Method of manufacture:* Percussion. One or more large flakes were detached uniaxially from a natural pebble to produce a narrow and steeply angled working edge. No further retouching or preparation of the edge is evidenced.



*Dimensions:* Variable. Within the range of pebbles and small cobbles.

*Form:* Irregular. Except where the surface has been modified, the form is that of the natural pebble. The working edge averages no more than 10 mm wide.

*Function:* Scraping. The narrow and steeply angled working edge would be quite unsuitable for ordinary cutting or scraping, but it would be appropriate for fine planing or chiseling. Usage produces a characteristic wear pattern in the edge: a semilunate depression resulting from the multiple detachment of microscopic flakes. It is suggested that these tools may have been used for working bone, or possibly wood, where a wide cutting edge was not required; and the semilunate depression would follow as a natural result of working a curved surface.

*Remarks:* As with Unspecialized Scrapers, there seems to have been no strict requirement for size or shape, and sometimes suitable flakes were also used without further modification in manufacture. The only certain requirement and distinguishing characteristic was for a narrow, steeply sloped edge, which was presumably created for a very particular purpose. See Williams and Brain (1983:242-243) for further discussion of these curious artifacts.

**CELTS**

Of the many kinds of celts known for the Yazoo region (Williams and Brain 1983:252, 257-260), only one type was found in the Winterville excavations.

**Pebble Celt**

*Sample:* 6.

*Material:* Chert (5), petrified wood (1).

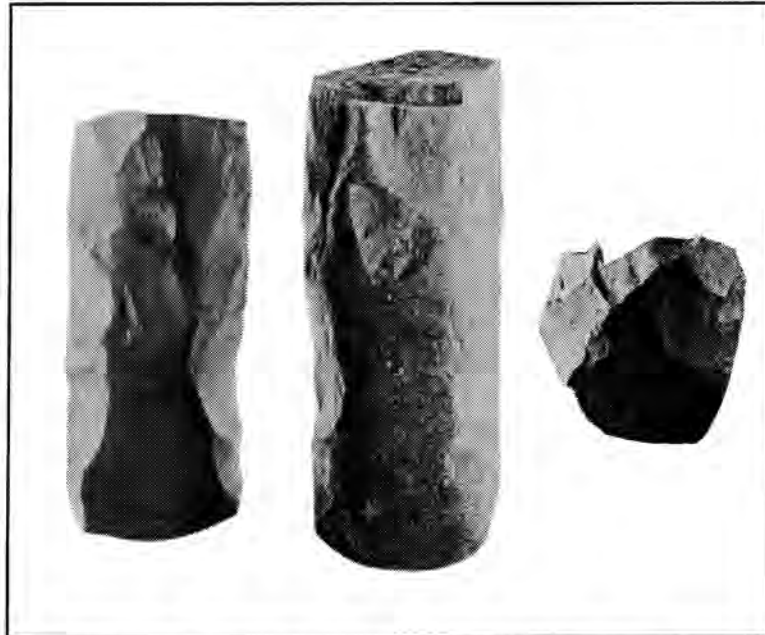
*Method of manufacture:* Percussion, pressure flaking, and grinding. The basic technique is rather crude, bifacial chipping to achieve the basic form through the removal of small to medium flakes. That pebbles of the approximate size and shape of the desired finished product were carefully selected is indicated by the fact that these artifacts were never worked over the entire surface, and part of the original cortex usually remains on one or both faces (except in the case of petrified wood). The side edges are always blunted for hafting, while the bit end is carefully finished, bifacially ground, and polished to a sharp even edge. On the specimens at hand, this edge is worn or chipped through use. The poll end is left unfinished, or is rounded off and blunted.

*Dimensions:* None of these implements would have had an overall length of more than 100 mm, and the average is closer to 70-80 mm. The average width is 20 mm.

*Form:* These celts have long and narrow silhouettes with straight, or slightly convex, sides (which made the occasional selection of slivers of petrified wood an obvious choice). The working end is slightly rounded. Cross sections are oval.

*Function:* Scraping or chopping. Considering the shape of these implements and the carefully finished, but narrow, working edge, it is probable that they functioned as some sort of chisel, presumably for large wood-working projects. However, the possibility of some sort of chopping function—for example, as the bit of a tomahawk—should not be excluded.

*Remarks:* These are diagnostic Mississippi period artifacts in the Yazoo region that, at Winterville, are found only in the very uppermost levels. A similar provenience is recorded for Lake George (Williams and Brain 1983:252). Of particular note is the use of petrified wood, which is almost exclusive to this type of artifact in the Yazoo, presumably because fragments were already in the approximate shape desired; these fragments could have come from alluvial deposits or from the hill country to the east.



#### PROJECTILE POINTS

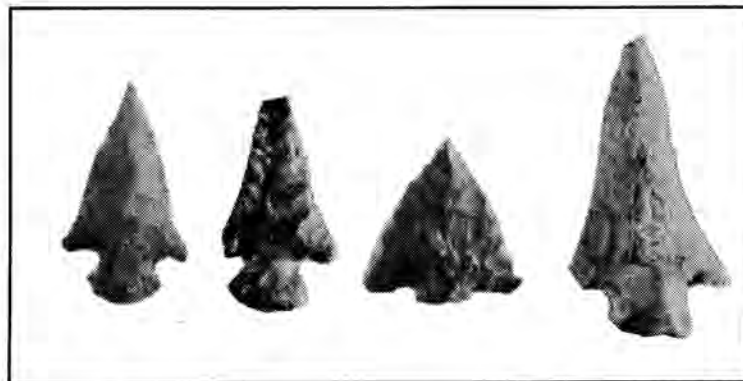
Surprisingly, only two types of stone projectile points were found at Winterville (but see also bone Conical Points below). Appropriately, one is typically Coles Creek, the other Mississippian. The classification used below follows the type-variety system as applied to projectile points by Williams and Brain (1983:221-238).

#### **Alba Stemmed, var. Scallorn**

*Sample:* 5.

*Material:* Chert.

*Method of manufacture:* Pressure flaking. Transverse flaking, meeting in a rough median ridge on both faces, is characteristic. Fine finish retouching of the edges is common.





*Dimensions:* Lengths range from 26 mm to 39 mm.

*Form:* These are triangular, corner-notched points with sides that are usually incurvate and bases that are excurve. Barbs are prominent.

*Function:* Piercing. These are arrow points that were hafted to a shaft.

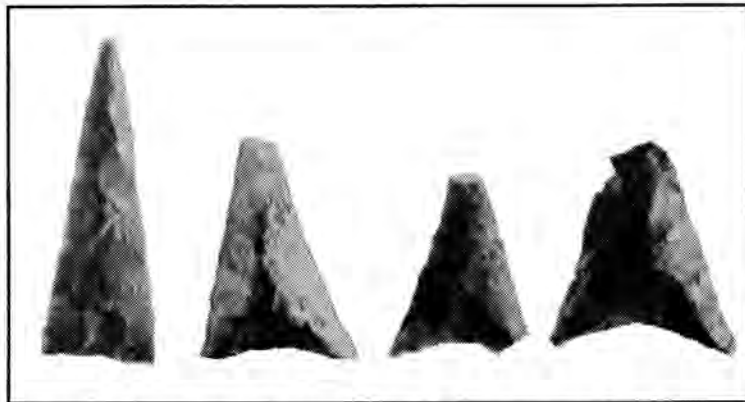
*Remarks:* These points are of the type variously labelled Scallorn, Alba, or "fir tree" in the literature (Ford 1951; Webb 1959). They were a common point in the southern part of the Lower Valley during the latter part of the prehistoric period.

**Mississippi Triangular, var. Madison**

*Sample:* 4.

*Material:* Chert.

*Method of manufacture:* Pressure flaking. Flaking is often transverse, but may be rather irregular. When transverse, some semblance of a median ridge is sometimes apparent on one or both faces. Retouch finishing was employed where necessary to straighten the edges and occasionally to blunt the basal edge.



*Dimensions:* Reconstructed or actual lengths range from 30 to 41 mm.

*Form:* These are thin, triangular points with straight sides, and straight or incurvate bases.

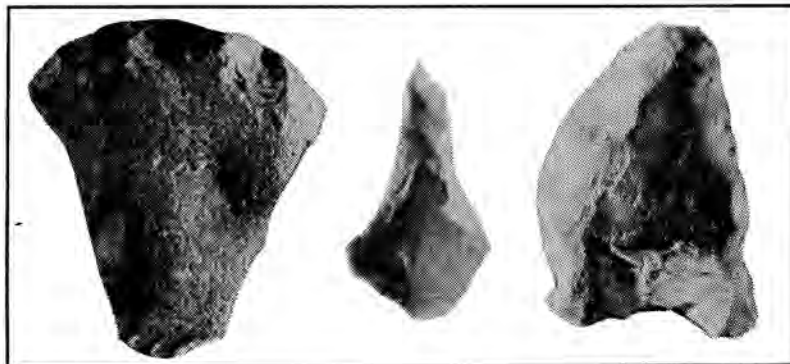
*Function:* Piercing. These are arrow points that are meant to be hafted to a shaft.

*Remarks:* Points of this type are typical markers for the spread of Mississippian culture throughout the Southeast.

**MISCELLANEOUS STONE ARTIFACTS**

A number of solitary artifacts, unidentifiable fragments, and problematical objects could not be classified because of a lack of information. A wide variety of forms, materials, methods of manufacture, and presumed functions are represented.

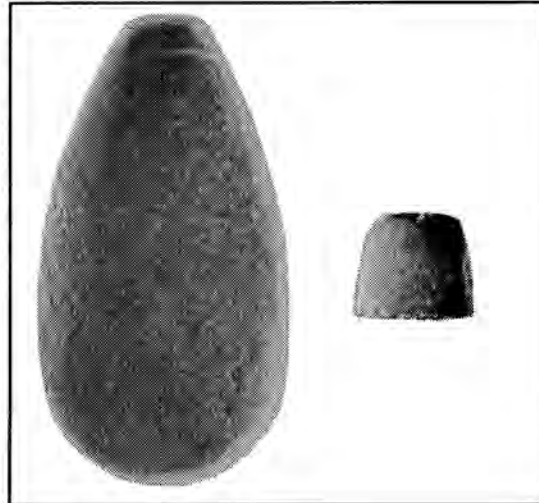
**Chipped chert:** Included here, and illustrated in order, right, are an asymmetrical point which was probably intended to be hafted and used as a knife blade, an expanded base drill point (see also Ford 1951: Fig. 46a; Williams and Brain 1983:251), and a stemmed end scraper. There are also nine un-





classifiable fragments of points and other implements and one so-called "perforator." The perforator is an excellent example of those described as characteristic of the Poverty Point culture microlith industry (Ford, Phillips, and Haag 1955:140-141). It was found in mound fill and is the only evidence of a Poverty Point occupation in the immediate vicinity of Winterville.

**Ground stone:** Purposeful grinding in the shaping and finishing of an artifact was a minor lithic manufacturing technique at Winterville. As noted thereunder, it was employed as a secondary process in the finishing of chipped pebble celts, but as a primary or predominant technique of artifact manufacture it is represented by only a few examples. The technique and the choice of materials probably indicate a more ceremonial or ornamental function for these artifacts. Included here, and illustrated below, are the end of a finely ground, but not polished, greenstone celt or bar gorget; and an oval plummet with a smooth-to-rough finish, grooved at one end (cf. Brain and Williams 1983:262-263). Three small pieces of galena that have been irregularly, but purposefully, ground are presumed to be an end product rather than actual artifacts.

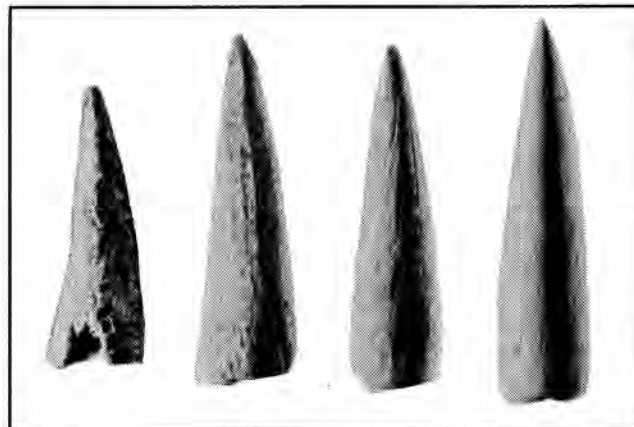


### Bone Artifacts

Bone artifacts may be divided into four classes: projectile points, flakers, awls, and miscellaneous. All of these artifacts were made from mammalian long bones, usually deer, or deer antler. Where shaped by human agency, the basic manufacturing technique was carving and/or grinding.

#### CONICAL POINTS

There are four conical points, two each of bone and antler. The bone points were carved and polished, the antler points carved only. The form is conical, with straight or slightly curved sides. Bases are hollowed out. Lengths range from 35 mm to 50 mm. These points are a good early Mississippi period marker in the Lower Valley (see Williams and Brain 1983:278-279 for further discussion).



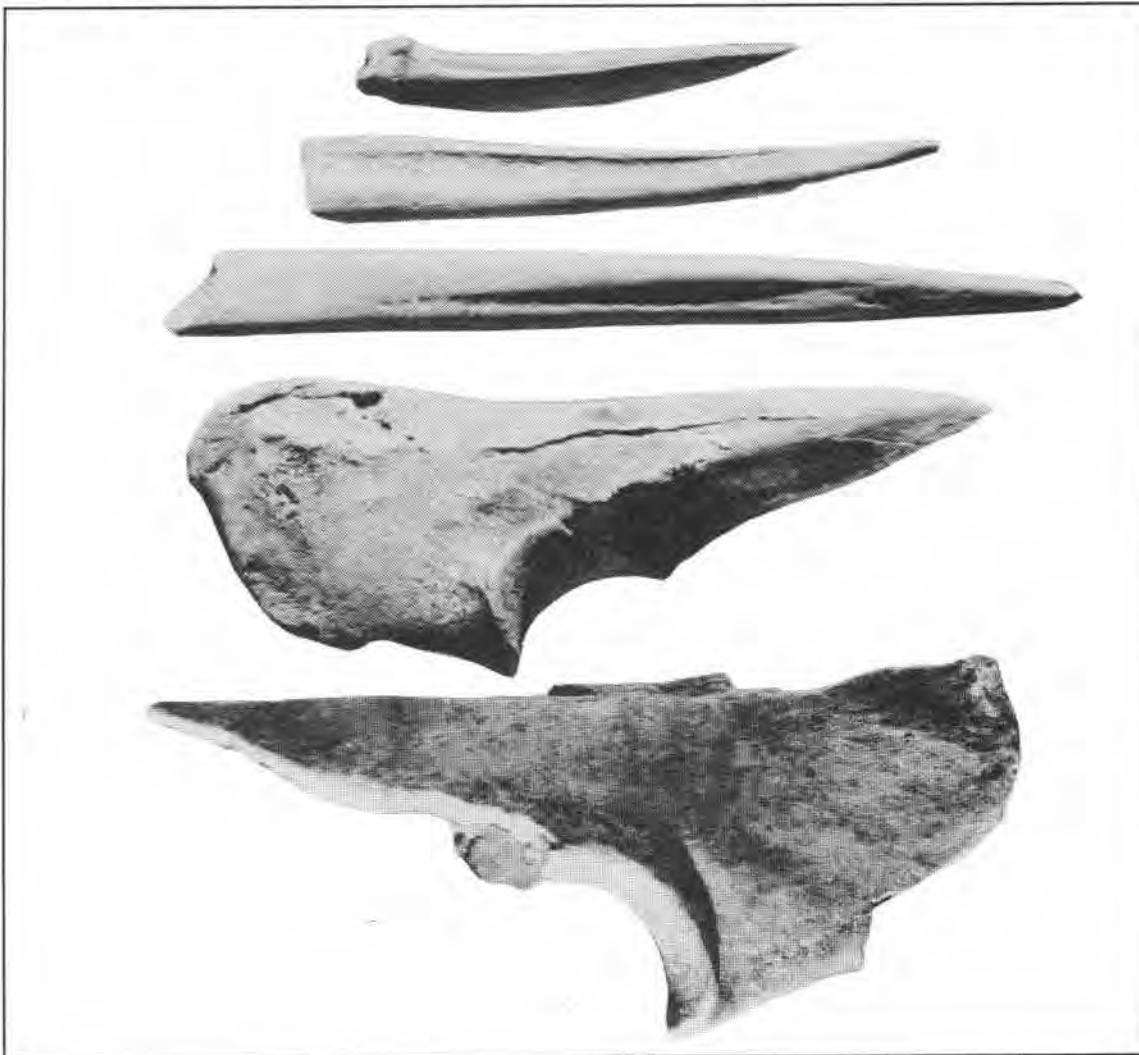
**FLAKERS**

Two antler flakers are 63 mm and 69 mm in length. They are formally unmodified, but have the characteristically scarred tips indicating usage as flakers in the manufacture of stone artifacts. Both specimens came from occupational levels, and one was associated with a workshop floor.



**AWLS**

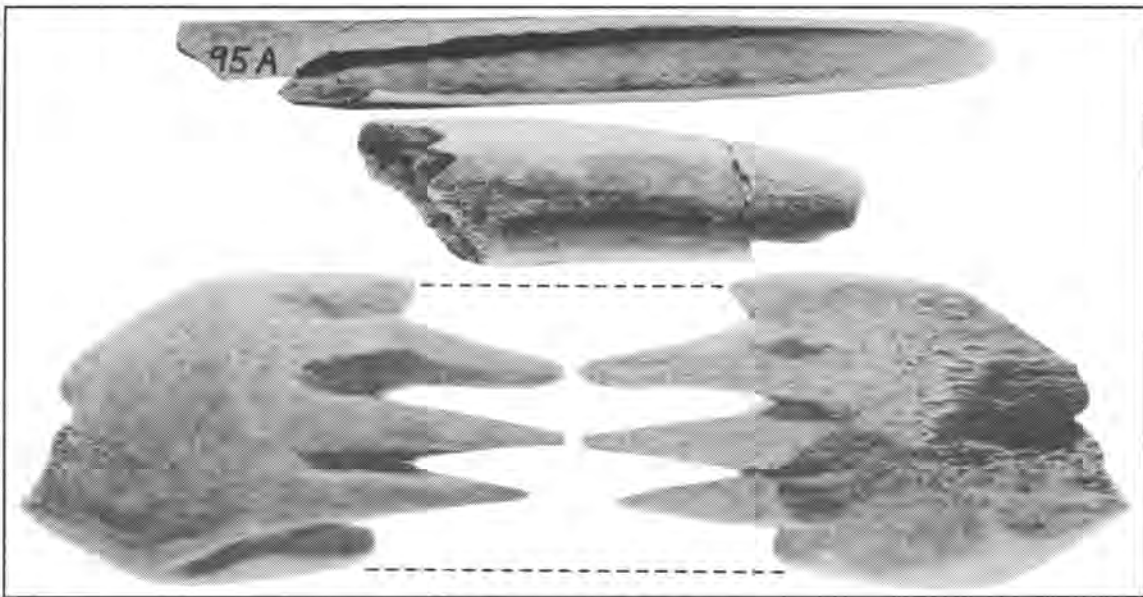
Thirteen bone awls are of variable form and dimension. Overall dimensions are probably not significant as they are primarily a factor of the kind of bone chosen rather than of human modification. One end of a



deer ulna or a splinter from a deer long bone, or a small mammal long bone, was carved and ground to a point. The point is the only part that has actually been formed, the rest of the bone being in a natural state or left as broken. These points range from sharp to blunt, and nearly half are broken from use. Undoubtedly, a number of unrelated functions were fulfilled by this rather heterogeneous grouping. Given more information than is available from Winterville, this group should be broken down into potentially more meaningful types (e.g., Williams and Brain 1983:274-276).

#### MISCELLANEOUS BONE ARTIFACTS

Six other artifacts made from bone are worthy of mention. The most interesting of these is a finely detailed representation of a human hand which had been carved in the round and unfortunately broken from a larger whole (see Smith 1962: Fig. 62 for a similar example from southern Illinois). There was also a deer scapula, with the end of the blade cut off, and a badly deteriorated unidentified tool associated with Burial #9. The other three artifacts were a piece of carved antler that had been broken and burned, a hollow tool with a rounded and worn end that could have been used as a marrow remover or reamer, and an unidentified broken tool.





## Appendix D: Identification of Faunal Remains and Their Distribution at Winterville

The faunal remains from Winterville were identified by B. Miles Gilbert at the University of Missouri (Columbia) Osteology Laboratory. Gilbert's findings are presented here in tabular form. Each table lists the identified elements of a single species

arranged according to archaeological provenience. Parenthetical comments provide further information as to the nature, portion, and/or number (if more than one in a given provenience) of an element.

<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> : identification and provenience of elements.			Provenience	Element	Side
Provenience	Element	Side			
Md. A surface	Humerus	L	F	Tarsal fragments	
	Scapula	L	G	Femur (distal)	L
Md. A surface	Femur (head)			Tibia (distal)	L
Loc. I, 1C	Sternum fragments		I	Scapula	L
5/6A	M <sup>2</sup>	R		Femur (proximal)	L
	Vertebrae fragments		J	Longbone fragments	
B	Scapula fragments			Vertebrae fragments	
	Longbone fragments			Rib fragments	
	Astragalus	R		Tibia (distal)	L
C	Vertebrae fragments		L	Vertebrae fragments	
	Longbone fragments			Rib fragments	
	Astragalus	R	Q	Longbone fragments	
D	Femur (distal)	R	R	Vertebrae fragments	
	Radius (proximal)	R		Rib fragments	
	Radius (proximal)	L	S	Patella	R
	Tibia (proximal)	R	U	Longbone fragments	
	Longbone fragments		Loc. II, 35B	Ulna	L
E	Humerus (distal) (2)	L		Femur (shaft)	
	Scapula	L	C	Tibia (proximal)	L
	Tibia (proximal)	R		Longbone fragments	
	Longbone fragments		F	Vertebrae fragments	
	Vertebrae fragments			Ulna (proximal)	L
F	Sternum fragments		G	Scapula (blade)	
G	Scapula fragments		H	Longbone fragments	
I	Sternum fragments		I	Astragalus	R
11/12C	Humerus (distal)	L		Calcaneum	L
E	Longbone fragments			Radius (proximal)	R
13A	Humerus fragments			Longbone fragments	
	Metapodal fragments		K	Longbone fragments	
14A	Longbone fragments			Vertebrae fragments	
	Vertebrae fragments		L	Radius (proximal)	R
Loc. II, 25A	Ulna (proximal)	L		Vertebra (thoracic)	
B	Tibia (distal)	L		Longbone fragments	
	Longbone fragments		M	Femur (head)	L
	Vertebrae fragments		Loc. IV, 45/46A	Femur (distal)	R
	Rib fragments			Tibia (distal)	R
D	Femur (distal)	L		Patella	L
				Acetabulum	R



Provenience	Element	Side	Provenience	Element	Side
B	Tibia (distal)	R		Longbone fragments	
	Patella (2)	L	E	Femur (distal)	L
	Scapula	R		Radius (proximal)	L
C	Femur (proximal)	R		Tibia (proximal)	L
	Ulna	R		Longbone fragments	
D	Tibia (distal) (2)	L		Vertebrae fragments	
	Antler (beam)	L		Rib fragments	
E	Pelvis fragment (acetabulum)	R	F	Skull fragment (antler base)	
F	Sternum fragment			Femur (distal)	R
G	Astragalus	R		Humerus (proximal) (2)	L
	Vertebra fragment			Humerus (distal)	L
H	Femur (distal)	L		Humerus (distal)	R
I	Femur (distal)	R		Tibia (distal)	L
	Humerus (distal)	R		Radius (proximal)	L
	Tibia (distal)	R		Radius (proximal) (2)	R
	Tibia (distal)	L		Ulna (proximal) (2)	R
J	Femur (distal)	L		Ulna (proximal) (2)	L
	Radius (proximal)	L		Pelvis	L
	Carpal fragments			Scapula	L
K	Humerus (distal) (2)	L		Scapula	R
	Longbone fragments		G	Femur (proximal)	R
	Rib fragments			Femur (proximal)	L
L	Femur (trochanter)	R		Humerus (distal)	R
M	Longbone fragments			Humerus (distal)	L
	Vertebrae fragments			Tibia (distal)	L
N1	Femur (proximal)	R		Pelvis	R
	Radius (proximal)	R		Pelvis	L
	Longbone fragments		H	Femur (proximal)	R
O	Tibia (distal)	R		Humerus (distal)	R
	Rib	L	Loc. V, 65A	Longbone fragments	
P	Tibia (proximal)			Scapula fragments	
	Patella	L	74A	Longbone fragments	
	Longbone fragments		70-72A	Radius (proximal)	R
	Vertebrae fragments			Longbone fragments	
	Rib fragments			Vertebrae fragments	
Q	Femur (proximal)	R	75/76A	Mandible	R
	Tibia (distal)	L		Astragalus fragment	
	Astragalus (2)	R	C	Longbone fragments	
55/56A	M <sup>3</sup>	R	D	Radius (distal)	R
	Femur (distal)	L		Longbone fragments	
	Humerus	L	F	Radius (proximal)	L
	Radius	L	H	Ulna	L
	Longbone fragments		I	Longbone fragments	
	Metatarsal	R		Vertebrae fragments	
	Astragalus (2)	L	J	Carpal (lunate)	
	Astragalus	R		Longbone fragment	
B	Humerus (distal)	L		Vertebrae fragments	
	Ulna (proximal)	R		Rib fragments	
	Pelvis	L	K	Humerus (distal)	R
	Longbone fragments			Radius (proximal)	R
	Carpal fragments			Phalange (first)	L
	Vertebrae fragments		L	Radius (proximal)	R
C	Femur (proximal)	R		Ulna (proximal)	L
	Humerus (distal) (2)	R		Patella	L
	Radius (proximal)	R		Metacarpal (distal)	
	Ulna (proximal)	R	Loc. VI, 85/86A	Mandible fragment (w/ M <sup>2</sup> )	R
	Patella	L		Astragalus fragment	
	Acetabulum	L		Phalange (second)	
	Longbone fragments		B	Patella	L
D	Femur (distal)	R	C	Radius (distal)	R
	Femur (distal)	L		Patella	R
	Radius (distal)	R		Patella	L
	Radius (proximal)	R	D	Femur (trochanter)	L
	Astragalus	R		Tibia (proximal)	L
	Calcaneum	R		Ulna (proximal)	R

Provenience	Element	Side	Provenience	Element	Side
	Phalange (first)	R	L	Vertebra (atlas)	
E	Tibia (proximal)	R	Loc. III, 35H	Scapula	R
	Vertebra (lumbar)		K	Femur	L
	Longbone fragments		Loc. IV, 45/46A	Mandible	R
	Vertebrae fragments			Mandible	L
F	Ulna (proximal)	L		Femur	R
	Patella	R		Femur	L
	Longbone fragments			Femur (proximal)	R
G	Femur	R		Femur (proximal)	L
	Humerus (distal)	L		Tibia (proximal)	R
	Scapula (2)	L		Pelvis (2)	R
H	Femur (distal)	R	B	Mandible	L
	Femur (distal)	L		Femur (proximal) (2)	R
	Radius (proximal)	R		Femur (proximal)	L
	Astragalus	R		Humerus	R
	Scapula	L		Tibia	R
	Longbone fragments			Pelvis (2)	R
	Vertebrae fragments		C	Mandible	R
I	Scapula fragments	R		Femur (distal)	R
	Phalange (second)	R		Humerus	R
	Vertebrae fragments (lumbar)			Tibia (2)	R
Loc. VII, 95/96A	Longbone fragments			Pelvis (3)	R
B <sub>1</sub>	Humerus (distal)	R	D	Femur (proximal)	R
B <sub>2</sub>	Humerus	R		Femur (distal)	R
	Scapula fragment	R		Pelvis	R
C	Femur (distal)	R	E	Mandible	R
	Patella	R		Pelvis (ilium)	R
	Pelvis (Acetabulum)	R	F	Femur (distal) (3)	R
	Longbone fragments			Tibia (proximal)	L
	Rib fragments		G	Pelvis	L
D	Femur (trochanter)	R	H	Femur (proximal)	R
	Ulna (proximal)	L		Femur (proximal)	L
	Longbone fragments		I	Ulna	R
E	Tibia (distal)	L	J	Mandible	R
	Patella	L	L	Mandible	L
	Pelvis	L		Femur (proximal) (2)	R
F	Longbone fragments			Pelvis	R
	Vertebrae fragments			Pelvis	L
	Rib fragments		M	Femur (distal)	R
G <sub>1</sub>	Vertebrae fragments (lumbar)			Pelvis	L
G <sub>2</sub>	Tibia (proximal)	R	O	Mandible	L
	Longbone fragments			Tibia	R
I	Femur (head)	L	P	Mandible	L
Loc. VIII, 100B	Longbone fragments			Femur (proximal)	R
C	Longbone fragments		55/56B	Mandible	L
D	Longbone fragments			Femur (distal)	R
				Tibia (proximal)	L
				Scapula	L
			C	Mandible	L
				Femur (proximal)	R
				Femur (proximal)	L
				Femur (distal)	R
			D	Mandible (3)	R
				Mandible (2)	L
				Femur (proximal) (3)	R
				Femur (proximal)	L
				Humerus (distal)	L
				Pelvis (2)	R
				Pelvis	L
			E	Femur (proximal)	R
				Tibia (proximal)	L
			F	Mandible	L
				Femur (2)	L
				Tibia (proximal)	R
				Pelvis (2)	R
<b><i>Sylvilages aquaticus</i>: identification and provenience of elements.</b>					
Provenience	Element	Side			
Loc. I, 1D	Skull fragment				
5/6D	Femur (proximal)	R			
	Humerus (distal)	L			
E	Maxilla	R			
	Maxilla	L			
	Femur	R			
	Femur	L			
	Humerus	L			
	Tibia (proximal)	R			
	Scapula	L			
F	Mandible	L			
Loc. II, 25A	Femur	L			

Provenience	Element	Side
G	Pelvis (2)	L
	Femur (distal)	R
	Femur (distal)	L
	Humerus (distal)	R
	Tibia (proximal)	R
	Tibia (proximal)	L
	Pelvis (3)	R
H	Femur (proximal)	L
	Humerus (proximal)	L
I	Humerus (proximal)	R
	Femur	R
Loc. V, 75/76I	Pelvis	L
J	Mandible	L
	Tibia (distal)	L
K	Mandible	L
	Tibia	L
Loc. VI, 85/86B	Mandible	L
C	Ulna (proximal)	L
	Femur	R
	Femur	L
	Femur (distal)	R
	Tibia	L
D	Scapula	L
	Pelvis	L
	Mandible (2)	L
	Femur (distal) (2)	R
	Femur (distal) (2)	L
Loc. VII, 95A	Femur (proximal)	L
	Mandible	R
	Femur (proximal)	R
	Mandible	L
	Femur	L
B <sub>2</sub>	Ulna	L
	Femur (distal)	L
	Tibia (proximal)	R
D	Femur (head)	L
	Humerus	R
	Tibia	R
E	Pelvis	L
	Pelvis	L
	Mandible	L
G <sub>1</sub>	Scapula	L
I	Femur	R
	Humerus	R

**Sciurus: identification and provenience of elements.**

Provenience	Element	Side
Loc. I, 1B	Mandible	R
	M <sup>3</sup>	L
	Tibia	R
Loc. II, 25B	Humerus (proximal)	L
	Femur (proximal)	L
Loc. III, 35B	Tibia	L
	Humerus	L
	Mandible	R
Loc. IV, 45/46A	Humerus	L
	Mandible	L
	Femur	L
B	Femur (proximal)	L
	Mandible (2)	R

Provenience	Element	Side
	Femur	R
	Femur	L
	Tibia	R
D	Femur	L
	Humerus	L
J	Pelvis	L
	Femur	R
Q	Humerus	R
	Humerus	R
55/56C	Mandible	R
D	Mandible	R
	Mandible	L
F	Humerus	R
	Femur	L
G	Humerus	L
	Humerus	L
Loc. V, 75/75K	Pelvis	L
Loc. VI, 85/86C	Femur (proximal) (2)	L
	Humerus	L
D	Mandible (2)	R
	Mandible (2)	L
E	Femur	R
	Femur	L
	Humerus	R
	Tibia	L
	Mandible (3)	L
F	Femur (proximal)	R
	Scapula (2)	L
Loc. VII, 95B <sub>1</sub>	Mandible	L
	Humerus	R
C	Mandible	L
	Femur (proximal)	R
D	Femur	R
	Tibia (proximal)	L
E	Mandible (2)	L
	Pelvis	L

**Procyon lotor: identification and provenience of elements.**

Provenience	Element	Side
Loc. I, 5/6D	Humerus (distal)	R
Loc. III, 35L	Mandible	L
Loc. IV, 45/46J	Tibia (distal)	L
	Tibia (distal)	L
L	Maxilla	L
	Femur (proximal)	L
55/56D	Maxilla (w/ M <sup>1-3</sup> )	R
	Ulna (proximal)	L
F	Ulna	R
Loc. V, 75/76I	Ulna	R
Loc. VI, 85/86C	Ulna (proximal)	R
Loc. VII, 95D	Humerus	R

**Small mammals of minor importance: identification and provenience of elements.**

Provenience	Element	Side
<b>Sylvilagus floridanus</b>		
Loc. I, 5/6F	Humerus	L
	Femur (proximal)	L
Loc. IV, 45/46A	Femur (distal)	R

Provenience	Element	Side
55/56B	Femur (distal)	L
Loc. VI, 85/86C	Femur (distal)	R
Loc. VII, 95C	Mandible	L
	Humerus (distal)	L

*Didelphis virginianus*

Provenience	Element	Side
Loc. I, 5/6D	Mandible	R
	Mandible	L
Loc. IV, 45/46B	Humerus (distal)	L
G	Ilium (subadult)	L
55/56D	Skull fragment	
Loc. VII, 95B <sub>1</sub>	Humerus	L
F	Ulna	L

*Castor canadensis*

Provenience	Element	Side
Loc. IV, 55/56F	Basiocciput	

## Miscellaneous mammals: Identification and provenience of elements.

Provenience	Element	Side
<i>Canis latrans</i>		
Loc. IV, 55/56G	M <sup>1</sup>	L
Loc. V, 75/76J	PM <sup>2</sup>	L
	PM <sup>4</sup>	L
Loc. VII, 95F	M <sup>1</sup>	R
G <sub>2</sub>	Ilium	R
<i>Felis concolor</i>		
Loc. IV, 55/56E	Calcaneous*	L
F	Metatarsal	
<i>Lynx rufus</i>		
Loc. IV, 45/46A	Ulna (proximal)	L
<i>Ursus americanus</i>		
Loc. IV, 55/56D	M <sup>3</sup>	R

*Meleagris gallopavo*: Identification and provenience of elements.

Provenience	Element	Side
Loc. II, 25B	Humerus (distal)	R
F	Tibiotarsus (distal)	
Loc. IV, 45/46A	Metatarsus (distal)	R
C	Femur	R
I	Tarsometatarsus (distal)	L
Q	Carpometacarpus	R
55/56D	Femur	R
	Humerus (distal)	L
	Tibiotarsus (distal)	R
	Tarsometatarsus (distal)	L

\* ca. 15 lb. individual.

Provenience	Element	Side
	Coracoid	L
F	Humerus	R
	Coracoid	R
H	Metatarsus (distal) (2)	R
Loc. IV, 75/76L	Coracoid	L
Loc. VI, 85/86C	Carpometacarpus	L
G	Femur (proximal)	R
	Humerus	R
	Tibiotarsus fragments	
Loc. VII, 95B <sub>1</sub>	Femur	R
C	Coracoid	L
D	Coracoid	L
F	Tibiotarsus (distal)	R
G <sub>1</sub>	Coracoid fragment	
I	Coracoid	R

## Miscellaneous birds: Identification and provenience of elements.

Provenience	Element	Side
<i>Anas acuta</i>		
Loc. II, 35A	Humerus	R
Loc. IV, 45/46B	Humerus (proximal)	R
	Humerus (proximal)	L
C	Coracoid	L
55/56F	Humerus	L
	Coracoid	L
Loc. VII, 95D	Humerus (proximal)	R
	Coracoid	R
	Coracoid	L
F	Humerus	L
	Coracoid	L
<i>Chen hyporborea</i>		
Loc. II, 25U	Coracoid	R
Loc. V, 75/76K	Humerus (proximal)	R
<i>Bubo virginianus</i>		
Loc. IV, 55/56D	Tarsometatarsus	R

## Turtles: Identification and provenience of elements.

Provenience	Element	Side
<i>Terrapene sp.</i>		
Loc. II, 25F	Plastron fragments	
P	Plastron fragments	
Loc. III, 35A	Plastron fragments	
Loc. IV, 45/46B	Plastron fragments	
Provenience	Element	Side
I	Carapace fragments	
N <sub>2</sub>	Plastron fragments	
55/56B	Plastron fragments	

Provenience	Element	Side
<i>Chelydra serpentina</i>		
Loc. I, 5/6D	Femur (proximal)	
F	Humerus fragment	
Loc. IV, 45/46G	Humerus fragment	
	Scapula	
<i>Chelydra serpentina</i>		
55/56C	Plastron fragments	
G	Humerus fragment	
Loc. VII, 95I	Vertebrae	
<i>Pseudemys scripta</i>		
Loc. IV, 55/56F	Carapace	



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