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Program subject: The Mississippian Cultures and the Southern Death Cult

ARKANSAS
Stephen Williams: The Moundville Horizon in Northeast Arkansas.
Robert L. Rands: Cult Motifs on Walls-Pecan Point Pottery.
Louisiana
Philip Phillips: Cultural Sequence in the Lower Yazoo River Region.
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TENNESSEE
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Robert Wauchope and A. J. Garing, Jr.: Summary and Status.

Following are papers and abstracts received for publication.
THE EYE-IN-HAND AND RELATED NOTIFS: A COMPARATIVE NOTE

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Among the more prominent of the Cult motifs at Monteville is the representation of an open eye on the palm of an extended human hand. In 1907, C. R. Moore called attention to the presence of this motif in Mexico (Moore, 1907, p. 346). Since his time, the motif has occasionally been cited as one sharing Mesoamerican affinities (e.g., Phillips, 1940, pp. 156, 598). Human hands lacking this distinctive marking have also been acquired to sacred hands in Mexican art—with particular attention to the Monteville-like portrayal at Tizapán in Tlaxcala (Griffin, 1949, p. 97; cf. Bouguereau, 1927, Turman, 1932, Pet. 30). In the last mentioned connection, a description relating to the Aztec sounds very suggestive of the Death Cult. It is from Sahagun and deals with the war god, Tlalocochtitl. ‘And the eye...was designed with shells, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet’ (Sahagun and Diego, 1950-58, bk. 2, p. 69).

In their paper on the Southern Cult, Harris and Holder illustrate several variations of the hand and eye motif, stating that in this motif “The eye may be replaced by a cross in a circle” (Harris and Holder, 1945, p. 6). They also illustrate an ovate to rectangular element as a variant which replaces the eye (Fig. 1). It not my purpose here to do more than call attention to a few render examples of related or possibly related motifs from outside the Eastern Indian States. This is noting in the way of an exhaustive distribution study, and I am not willing to close the door on the possibility of parallelism or convergence in at least some of these cases. The danger of losing historic reconstructions on reason, isolated specimen is recognized.

One design cited by Moore almost fifty years ago as an example of the “open eye on the opened hand” in Mexico is shown in Figure 2. It is from the Lienzo de Tlaxcala—a again we find Tlaxcala as a place where the hand is emphasized in a Southeastern fashion—and dates from shortly after the Spanish Conquest. A shield is shown, adorned with a grotesque face. Two detached hands are placed over the area of the eyes in such a way that the eye is showing through the palm of each hand. The hands are extended upward, not downward as is usually the case in the Southeast. Moore also cited, as a Mexican correspondent to his Monteville material, a carved hand shown on another shield (Moore, 1907, p. 346; cf. Sahagun, 1902-23, vol. 2, p. 79, Pl. 121, after Sahagun).

We return to the Mexican version of the hand and eye motif in Figure 3. It is a somewhat smaller, reminiscent in some features of the thin stone heads in Mexico, and is from the Museo de Guanajuato.
The eye is shown through the back of the hand, which again is extended upward over the region of the eye.

A pattern existed in Mexico for the hand to be superimposed over some facial feature, with this anatomical feature showing through the hand. In the Mixteca codices, numerous examples occur of the hand over the mouth, the outline of the lips appearing against the hand. In some instances the lips and teeth are completely surrounded by the hand, being identical in this respect to the eye as illustrated in Figures 2, 3. In other codex portrayals, the identification of the lips forms part of the hand’s profile (Fig. 4). The latter treatment seems to occur in Cult art (Fig. 5). Phillips calls attention to “the hand on jaw” as one similarity with Mexico (Phillips, 1940, p. 356).

As indicated, the encircled cross substitutes for the eye at the palm of the hand in certain Cult representations (Fig. 1, q; cf. Hamilton, Griffin and Willoughby, 1924, pl. 28, g). A partially comparable form occurs in Classic Maya art, at the site of Piedras Negras (Fig. 6). This is from Stela 14, which bears a probable date of 9.8.10.0.0—500 A.D. in the Goodman-Martínez-Thompson correlation. The hand is held upward, as in Mexican examples, but is not extended. This somewhat makes the case for an historical relationship. Moreover, rather than having a cross set in a circle at the palm of the hand, crossed bands appear between parallel lines. A segment of an astronomical band, held in the hand, is suggested. But if the cross-in-circle in Cult art relates to “cosmic symbols,” as has often been assumed, the underlying concept may not be so greatly different from that of the Maya example, after all.

Figure 7 illustrates a compound wooden mask of the Kamkuti Indians, from the Northwest Coast. To the left, attached to an arm, a four-fingered hand extends upward. At the palm of the hand is an ovoid element, very comparable in appearance to that found in identical position in the art of the Southern Cult. To the right appears an element which may be an eye in the palm (or back) of the hand. If so, its placement at the rear of the mask eye is striking indeed, in view of the Mexican examples of this trait, in which the eye shows through the superimposed hand. It is passing that, in a different illustration of what must be the same mask, the “pupil” in the eye is missing (Boas, 1897, Fig. 2, g). In any event, it is clear that this would not be an isolated example of the combined hand and eye in Northwest Coast art, for Boas illustrates various art objects on which the so-called “eye design” appears at the palm or back of the hand (Boas, 1897, p. 252, Figs. 200: 16, 201: 45, 42, 253, 274-278, 280, g). But the symbolism of the mask shown in Figure 7 is more intense, one might suppose, of its various component designs—it strikes a different note from the “Death” Cult. Boas states that the mask represents an ancestor “in a pleasant state of mind,” dispensing gifts at the potlatch (Boas, 1897, pp. 357, 158). Nevertheless, if one wishes to build up the case for a connection, it may be noted that the forked-eyelike elements at the region of the mask’s mouth occur singly, but in the same position, in Cult art at Etooh (Moorthod, 1932, pls. 14, 15, 25).
While it would be desirable to offer some conclusions which
would sum up the various correspondences relating to the hand and
eye in the art of such widely separated peoples, this is obviously
an impossibility at the present time. It may be important that
the correspondences which have been noted exist only as sporadic
notifs rather than as integrated styles. It is however, difficult
to evaluate the precise significance of this observation. The
most which can be attempted is a glance at the possible implica-
tions of the correspondences. These implications vary according
to the different assumptions which can be made.

(1) If the existence of diffusion from Mesopotamia is assumed
as an explanation of the correspondences, the data may bear in the
ancestry of certain elements which go into the Southern Cult—
particularly those regarding the hand and perhaps various death
notifs. At this stage, of course, the possibility cannot be
completely ruled out that the notions were carried in the opposite
direction, from the Southeast to Mesopotamia.

(2) If it is assumed that direct diffusion occurred between
the Southeast and the Northwest Coast, this could be of greater
significance for an understanding of the proclivity of the Northwest
Coast (and perhaps intervening areas) than it is for purely
Southeastern studies.

(3) If connections between the hand-eye motif both in Mesopotamia
and the Northwest Coast are assumed to exist with the Southeast,
this need not mean that direct diffusion is involved. So could,
instead, be dealing with religious concepts which are widespread
on an early horizon in America and which, perhaps, may have crystal-
ised out under certain conditions of artistic climax. In this
connection, the importance of the hand in Hesperian art should
be borne in mind.

(4) If it should eventually be established that no historical
connections, direct or indirect, are involved, the correspondences
which have been examined would not be lacking in significance. They
would still derive importance as a striking reminder of the extent
to which parallel or converging developments may sometimes go.

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ILUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Variants of the head and eye motif, Southern Cult. After Woring and Holder, 1945, Fig. 1: VII, 6-8.

Fig. 2. Licano de Tinocoal, p. 40. After Seler, 1902-23, Vol. 2, p. 569, Fig. 99.

Fig. 3. Stone head, Museo de Oaxaca. After Seler, 1902-23, Vol. 2, p. 362, Fig. 110, 9.

Fig. 4. Head of the Mexican god Macuiltyochltli. After Seler, 1902-23; Vol. 2, p. 438; Fig. 37.

Fig. 5. Head of a short-copper eagle, Duquoin County, Missouri. After Morehead, 1932, Fig. 8, 2.

Fig. 6. Element in headdress, Stela 14, Piedras Negras, Guatemala. Photograph in Seler, 1903, pl. 25: 2.

Fig. 7. Compound Kwakiutl mask, British Columbia. After Hodge, 1907-10, Pt. 1, p. 814.
CULT MOTIFS ON WALLS–PECAN POINT POTTERY

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Certain published designs from Walls–Pecan Point Phase pottery are strikingly in the tradition of the Southern Cult. Particular reference is made to two Walls Engraved bottles, illustrated by Phillips, Ford and Griffin (1951, Fig. 111, g) and by Calvin Brown (1926, Fig. 278). The first of these, showing a winged serpent almost identical to those of Roundville, is at the University of Arkansas. The second, depicting skulls, long bones, and hands with oval markings at the palm, is at the University of Mississippi. The way in which these two vessels fit into the Cult art is striking, but even casual examination shows that this holds true for the pottery as a whole to a markedly smaller degree. At most it appears to be "attenuated," or perhaps "undeveloped," Cult.

The remarks which follow are based upon an examination of over 1100 complete or virtually complete vessels. As far as I can tell, these are all from sites belonging to or closely connected with the Walls–Pecan Point "Phase" or "Focus," a cultural manifestation lying in small portions of eastern Arkansas, northwestern Mississippi, and southwestern Tennessee. The majority of the vessels were dug by amateur collectors, and so it is possible, to the greater amount of digging in the more southerly sites, the material is especially representative of the Walls-like components. By and large, however, the assembly of pottery seems generally characteristic of the phase.

The description by Varing and Holder of a decade ago (1945) is used as a guide to the Cult motifs. Because of the somewhat divergent nature of the Walls–Pecan Point designs, however, the classification of eight motifs used by these writers is expanded slightly. Attention is thereby focused more effectively on those general correspondences which do exist.

The virtual absence of Cult designs on objects other than pottery should be stressed. In addition, the great importance of the bottle as a ceramic object on which Cult motifs occur (Varing and Holder, 1945, p. 34) holds true to only a limited degree for the bulk of the Walls–Pecan Point material. Rather the motifs occur, often as minor elements, on offy bowls, particularly those of serpents and human figures.

As one of the God-Animal beings associated with the Cult, "The Rattlesnake, naturalistic, horned, plumed, winged, anthropomorphized" is named by Varing and Holder (1945, p. 5). The horned snakes of the Walls-Pecan Point potter typically lack rattles, as well as numerous other features found at such Cult centers as...
Moonville or Spiro. A slight tenency is shown, however, for the so-called horned serpent to be associated with the few "pure" Cult designs which do occur. For this reason it deserves special mention.

Another feature of some interest which is held to be associated with the Cult is the "occipital hair knot" (Coring and Holker, 1945, p. 15). Of the more than 1100 vessels examined from Walls-Pecan Point sites, 18 are human effigy bowls. Predominantly they are Bell Plain. Of these 18, 13 show the characteristic rolls of hair, either realistically or else suggested in a more conventionalized fashion. The percentage occurrence of this Cult feature is, then, a high one (72 per cent of the human effigy bowls).

Turning to the eight "motifs" recognized by Coring and Holker (1945, p. 3), we find the following situation (occurrences refer only to the complete vessels which I have examined):

1) The Cross. Very rare except as a minor detail in the form of a swooping spiral or triskele, usually enclosed in a circle. As such, the cross occurs in two principal locations: (a) toward the shoulder of Rhodes Incised jars and, rarely, bottles (the body decoration is of an allied form); (b) on the back or top of serpent heads, on rim effigy bowls. The spinal cross was noted on nine Rhodes Incised vessels and six serpent effigies. One-third of the 18 Bell Plain and Walls Engraved serpent effigies showed this feature (33 per cent). However, it was not seen on any of the seven Hooley's Ferry Plain serpents.

2) Sun Circles. Absent.

3) The El-lobed Arrow. One possible example. It is very generalized in nature, however.

4) The Forked Eye. Nine examples. Five of these are associated with serpents. But as a total of 26 vessels occurs showing beings of the sort usually referred to as serpents, the consistency of the association is not a high one (26 per cent). The forked eye also occurs on non-serpentine subjects.

5) The Cross Eye, or "oge" symbol. Ten or eleven(4,11),(992,986) examples, mostly on the shoulders of Bell Plain bottles. Less frequently, the rim of shallow bowls, as seen from above, take on this characteristic shape. The motif is frequent on Moonville pottery, being one of the several links between that site and the Walls-Pecan Point Phase (Griffin, 1952, p. 236). Attention might be called, therefore, to a somewhat similar design, suggesting a variation on the "oge" symbol, which occurs both at Moonville (Moore, 1929, Fig. 7) and in south-western Tennessee. In each case, interlocked or superimposed serpents form an outline quite comparable to that of the "oge" motif. The Tennessee example is of interest in that it is placed on the shoulder of a bottle in a way characteristic of the regular motif.

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(6) **The Hand and Eye.** Strictly speaking, no examples of this motif are found in the vessels under consideration. Apparently related Cult ornaments occur in which the eye is replaced by a hand in a circle or by an ovate element (Faring and Holder, 1945, Fig. 1: VI, 1-2), even if these are included as variants of the hand-eye motif, however, the occurrence on Walls-Pecon Point pottery is not much more impressive. A single specimen, a Walls Engraved bottle, shows an oval area at the palm of the hand.

(7) **The Barred Oval.** Absent, although suggested by the marking in the palm of the hand in the last-mentioned example.

(8) **Death Masks.** Again it is necessary to subdivise the motif. The two variants of particular interest here are the skull and the long bone. The former is of limited occurrence, just two examples (Walls Engraved) being known. Bones occur with slightly greater frequency, once on a Walls Engraved bottle, in connection with skulls, and three times on Bell Plain bottles.

This completes the motifs specifically mentioned by Faring and Holder, A for additional observations need to be made, however. While the hand and eye motif is very rare, plain hands, without markings at the palm, occur somewhat more frequently (10 vessels). For the most part, these examples are modelled on Bell Plain bottles. In three of these cases (30 per cent), the hands occur in association with bones.

It has been pointed out that the forked eye is quite rare on the Walls-Pecon Point pottery. A much more usual facial treatment consists of grooves, here not contacting the eyes—on nuts associated, let us say, with the mouth or nose as with the eye. In some cases, to be sure, the appearance of the grooves approaches a typical example of the so-called "sleeping eye." The grooves in question occur on 19 of the 28 vessels showing serpents (68 per cent).

Finally, mention should be made of the "horned" nature of the serpents shown on Walls-Pecon Point pottery. Dear authors are absent from the collections examined. Difficulty sometimes exists in determining whether a supposed set of horns is prominent and clearly hornlike or reduced and perhaps earlike. I would, however, state the situation somewhat as follows: of the 19 "snakes" which show protruberances on the head, only four—all examples of Bell Plain—have truly "prominent" horns (21 per cent). This is to say that horns appear to be emphasized on only Li per cent of the 28 vessels showing "serpents." A general lack of emphasis on the "horned" concept is suggested which is in sharp contrast to the situation at, say, Mountville or Spiro.

Any conclusions to be drawn from the preceding observations would have greater reliability if the sample were larger. General trends, however, should be indicated. None of the Cult ornaments occurs with great frequency. Those which are present tend to be simplified in form or to lack a prominent position. The small spiral crosses at the back of the serpent heads might be remembered in the latter connection. Hands occur with some frequency but almost always as plain, unembellished motifs. The occasional association of hands and long bones does suggest the concept of the Death Cult, however. The horned serpent appears but gen-
orally lacks the specific features and elaboration likely to be found at the large Cult centers. And so on.

The problem of particular interest in all this was alluded to in the opening remarks, when the Walls-Pecan Point material was described as, at best, either an "attenuated" or "undeveloped" Cult. Does the small amount of art comparable to that from the Cult centers reflect a "watering down" of the Cult as it spread out from those centers? Or did the Walls-Pecan Point potters share widespread religious concepts out of which the Cult crystallized in certain sites and areas? Perhaps both factors were involved, but the degree to which each was present remains a significant problem. It cannot be answered on the basis of present data. However, similar analyses of other phases in the Southeast, which show both resemblances to the divergences from the great Cult centers, should be useful. These, together with more intensified investigations of Cult materials in the large centers--studies on the order of that by Waring and Holter but done quantitatively--should help shed light on the nature and origin of the Southern Cult.

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Waring, A. J., Jr., and Preston Holter
MOUND B, PLAZA STRATIGRAPHY AT ETOUH

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The summer field school group of the University of Georgia, season 1954, expanded a series of three test pits on the west edge of Mound B that had been dug by W. H. Sears in 1953, completely exposing one structure that had been partially indicated in Sears' work (this was a house of the Wilbanks period), and partially uncovering a large "stump" or mound-shaped depression filled with Stewah period pottery, which Sears had designated as a "trash pile". In addition, a profile cut was extended east from the test section, into the lower west slope of Mound B, thus affording a check on the relationships of the stratified deposits in the plaza area with preserved structural units in the mound.

Excavations were so preoccupied with the details of the upper levels in the plaza area that the cuts were not put down to sterile or unoccupied soils. Completion of the limited survey area in the summer of 1955 will require the final excavations on the Stewah mound-shaped structure, with additional tie-ins with the main stratigraphy, and extension of the occupations which yielded the Wilbanks house and the Stewah deposits into the plaza to see if other potential features or structures occur on the so-called "schorer area" of the plaza.

The stratigraphy thus far indicated for the plaza area shows a top banjo, buried sod, and redistributed soil zone (largely derived from the slopes of Mound B as a result of years of cultivation); a hard-packed loam floor, studded with pebbles belonging to a protohistoric Lamar occupation; a sterile salmon-colored or pinkish loam, 5-10-12 inches thick, beneath the Lamar occupation, and overlaid by a thin accumulation of the Wilbanks period, thickest on the floor section and immediate outside-mall area of the Wilbanks house; a three- to twelve-inch material of fine sand, beneath the Wilanks occupation level, completely sterile of material, except for occasional accidental inclusions of sherd and worked flint; beneath the small stratified sand layer a middlen concentration in a mound-shaped depression, about two-fifths of a circular structure with a depressed central portion (depth of 2½ feet), filled with abundant refuse and garbage, numerous potsherds, and occasional stone artifacts, belonging to the earlier part of the Stewah period (at present interpreted as Stewah II, possibly transitional to Stewah III in top of saucer-fill). A cross-section through the plaza excavations is provided with these preliminary notes.

The Wilanks house is a rectangular structure, nearly square, with nearly rounded corners, and with superimposed post supports in the corner sections; simple post inserts without wall trenches, diameters varying but averaging about 6 inches; no prepared floor section (unfilled or hardened clay or loam), and no definite hearth areas. i sketch of the Wilanks house as indicated from the postmold pattern, broken on the north side by Sears' 1953 5 foot test pit, and on the

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west by the disturbance of an intrusive Lunur burial pit, is given
in these notes. A shelf of hardened loam extends away from the
line of wall posts in the excavations, with a drop to floor or
original occupational level within the house of 10-12 inches,
indicating that the Wilbanks structure had a depressed interior floor
section, nearly a foot below the outside occupation level. The greatest
accumulation or concentration of Wilbanks looted bone came from nearly
afoot of cultural deposits from the floor of the house, and the area
immediately outside the walls of the house. One of the best sealed-in
Wilbanks collections of study material is represented in the catalogued
material from the floor of the Wilbanks house, and the Wilbanks
occupation immediately outside the walls of the structure. Reference
to the vertical profiles will show that the Wilbanks house debris is
insulated from the top superficial deposits, and the Lunur occupation,
by a thick lens of reddish or salmon-colored loam, apparently derived
as sheet wash extension from the top of Mound B. The erosional spread
of this red loam over the former Wilbanks occupation, and the house
unit we uncovered, took place in pre-Lunur times. Subsequent wash
from the mound in recent or modern cultivation has added increments
of mound soil, a total fill of 25-35 inches now covering the Lunur
level. The Wilbanks occupation zone is protected or insulated from
the underlying Eteoh period deposits by a deposit of waterlain sand,
only three to four inches at the point where the Wilbanks structure
was exposed in place over the Eteoh house-like feature. Elsewhere,
as one proceeds north in the survey out from the locus of the Wilbanks
structure, this waterlain sand deepens to over one foot. The waterlain
sand was observed to derive directly from lensed sand layers in the
Mound B slope, part of internal mound fill, which had washed out over
the Eteoh house unit, possibly an incident to the actual construction
of one of the upper mound periods of building.

The extension of sheet wash, erosional elements, from the structure
of Mound B, to overlay and to intercalate the deposits belonging
to the Wilbanks interval, and to the Eteoh occupation is a significant
feature relating the history of mound construction to the occupational
zones in the edge of the "phase area." The immediate implication would
be that the Wilbanks group had a hand in the final constructional history
of Mound B. This important conclusion will be checked further in
additional profile trenches connecting the west slope of Mound B with
extended excavations through the mound, in the 1955 field school excavations.

Lunur intrusive pits, one a burial pit containing four burials,
not completely excavated as yet, extending west in the profile beyond the
exposed west wall of the Wilbanks house, occur at several points in the
present excavations. At least two other Lunur pits are intrusive
through the fill over the Wilbanks level in the area to the north of
Wilbanks house unit. A Lunur pit shows in the profile stilltunneling
of the trench connecting the place excavations with Mound B. A basal
burial was found in the stratified sand, beneath the Lunur and super-
ficial deposits, but without identifying cultural material (Wilbanks
burial?). Other pits were just coming out in the floor of the excavation
into the mound, underlain by the stratified sand, possibly Eteoh period
pits. The interesting possibility exists that these may be Eteoh
cult burials of the sort found by Larson across the plaza along the
lower east slope of Mound C. These pits were exposed in the last week
of the summer season and were not cleaned out, as there were increasing
indications of complicated features, including several postmounds.
suggesting a stockade or wall continuity running parallel to the west feather edge of Mound B. It was considered advisable to leave this site through the next season of excavation, since several months would be available to deal with it.

It is evident that this is an interim report of current excavations, not yet completed, where some structures cannot be adequately gauged as to their total construction and archeological implications. The saucer-shaped structure, 28 feet deep, filled with Stearn period pottery and rich kitchen middens refuse, is a matter of conjecture at the present stage of operations. Two postmounds, 6-8 inches in diameter, extend from the lower slopes of the saucer up through a portion of the accumulated fill, definitely indicative of some sort of vertical support. A few smaller post mounds could be on the saucer rim, coming out from beneath hidden fill in the saucer, may be structural wall indications at that point. At present it hardly seems worthwhile to speculate on the nature or purpose of this peculiar structure. It might be interesting to remark that at 9 CK 5, Allswoon Basin, where Sears excavated a mound in the closing days before the reservoir filled, there were two seemingly semi-autonomous "mound(s) exposed in the areas of occasional ditches of the site. One of these structures, about half of it remaining in the side of the arched ditch, was hurriedly excavated. Rich hidden fill occurred in the bottom of the saucer to a depth of perhaps a foot and a half, the upper fill was subsequent archeal from the surrounding area, alluvial, containing some included sherds of Laronoid affinities.

Two postmounds were found on the lower saucer slopes of this recent structure. An overall diameter of the 9 CK 5 structure was calculated to be about 20 feet. The pottery in the basal fill to the saucer belonged to the Stearn period. How it compares with the pottery to the saucer fill uncovered in the 1956 season at Stearn remains to be seen. It is perhaps significant that a saucer-like structure of some size, very similar to the one now being excavated at Stearn, had been previously noted at another Stearn site. The saucer on the east plain edge at Stearn, now being excavated, might have an overall diameter of 30 to 35 feet.

A brief statement on the materials, particularly the ceramics, from the above described levels is now made, but with the caution that the large collections from the 1) overlying top fill, recent wash from mound slope and accumulations of a proto-historic Laron, 2) the Willbanks house and adjacent area, 3) the Stearn "saucer" have only been catalogued in the new research laboratory of the Old Courthouse, and definitive studies and statistics on depth and occurrence are not yet available. The Laron materials from the top occupation are not the Laronoid elements found by Sears in his completely excavated historic structure, uncovered on the east side of Mound B. This Stearn or Allswoon Laron variant lacks the Broad-Line Incised (very rare) so characteristic of middle Georgia Laron sites. The rims are not so characteristically folded, coiled, or decorated with pincnabs, notches, and other familiar schemes in Laron sites contexts. Some of the ware is smoothed, seldom burnished, but much of it is still rough or roughened, a relatively thick, coarse grit tempered pottery. The complicated stump, such over-stamped, permit few distinctions to be made as to discrete design elements. In fact, except for minor features of the paste, and some indication of more jar shapes, the Laron complicated stamped ware in the upper fill in the plain profiled
sections is hard to distinguish from the Wilbanks Complimented Stamped ware taken from the Wilbanks house floor.

Some study of Wilbanks sherds, by rubbings from the less over-stamped samples, indicates that the designs were largely curvilinear, with frequent occurrence of figure 8's, concentric circles, and concentric figure 9's (all elements in Swanns Complimented Stamped ware, some definite examples of which are found on the Etowah site). Wilbanks Plain is still harder to distinguish from Lanier Plain out of specific context, except that Wilbanks ware is seldom ever smoothed (except occasionally on interior surface), whereas some of the Lanier is definitely smoothed, even burnished.

The Wilbanks pottery is nearly all very thick and coarse in cross-section, compared with grit, sometimes large grit particles, poorly fired to a reddish or salmon colour. A frequent occurrence of dish-shaped pottery vessels occur in Wilbanks, like heavy utilitarian "hotel ware" in modern times.

The Etowah period pottery in the "sauce depression" shows a predominance of Etowah Plain and Etowah Complimented Stamped. Some of the plain ware belongs to large cooking vessels, in thick but smoothed, with shell temper and wide heavy strap handles. There is a small occurrence of painted pottery, some Himassee Red on Buff. And two or three sherds from blank faced water bottles were found. The total series from the Etowah trash pit is in striking contrast to the wares of the Wilbanks material above it. The contrast is so sharp, both as to ware and decorative traits, that one is aware of a hiatus or definite gap in the continuity of ceramic succession in the telescoped levels at this point of the phase at Etowah. From my description of the materials as they came out of the dig and were catalogued, J.R. Caldwell considers that the precise period of Etowah chronology would be Etowah II, with some aberrant types occurring in upper sauce fill, which might argue that the "sauce-like" pit structure was still in use about the broken transition to Etowah III.

The anomalous, and unexpected, feature of this picture of the sauce's excavations is the finding of so much ordinary domestic accumulation, and building activity, on the edge of the Plaza. The Wilbanks house, and the Etowah "cook shack", introduce a purging note of unusually mixing of the "sacred and the profane". Or do the "Cult" burial and street super-ordination, found across the Plaza, some 40 yards away from Round 3, belong to an interval that falls between the Wilbanks and the earlier phase of Etowah chronology found in the "sauce"?
Abstract

A REVIEW OF MOUNDVILLE POTTERY

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At the large mound and village site at Moundville, Alabama, cult motifs as defined by Waring and Holbrook are represented principally by engraved motifs occurring on the pottery vessels of the type Moundville Filmed Engraved, a shell-tempered ware having a black surface through which engraved lines penetrate into the underlying gray paste. Occasionally such motifs are expressed in the pottery type Moundville Incised which is also shell-tempered, and on shell-tempered water bottles decorated by negative painting. Vessels bearing engraved cult motifs are of water bottle form with the exception that a few bowls are represented. The few incised cult motifs occur on cups and bowls.

The occurrence of cult motifs on the pottery vessels from Moundville is shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Water Bottles</th>
<th>bowls and Cups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek Cross</td>
<td>Engraved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smalitka</td>
<td>Painted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Circle</td>
<td>Engraved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed-Loed Arrow</td>
<td>Incised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opon - Ew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forked</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buried Oenl</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand and Eye</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skull</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forearm Bone</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forearm Bone and Arm Appendixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winged Rattlesnake</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filleted Woodpecker</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird Tails</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


- 17 -
Noted presented in the following table occur on moundville pottery vessels either singly or in combination as shown in the following listing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek Cross (appearing alone)</td>
<td>Filleted Woodpecker (appearing alone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunflake (appearing alone)</td>
<td>Filleted Woodpecker-Greek Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Circle (appearing alone)</td>
<td>Filleted Woodpecker-Barred Owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi-lobed Arrow (appearing alone)</td>
<td>Skull-Hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Eye (appearing alone)</td>
<td>Skull-Hand-and-Eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand-and-eye (appearing alone)</td>
<td>Skull-Forearm Bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skull (appearing alone)</td>
<td>Skull-Greek Cross-Sun Circle-Hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birds Tail (appearing alone)</td>
<td>appended to Forearm Bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wings (appearing alone)</td>
<td>Hand-Sun Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winged Batkaneke (appearing alone)</td>
<td>Bi-lobed Arrow-Sun Circle-Greek Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winged Batkaneke-Graced (honed and/or polished)</td>
<td>Bird Tail-Sun Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winged Batkaneke-Graced-Porched Eye</td>
<td>Bird Tail-Sun Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle (appearing alone)</td>
<td>Hand-Hand appended to Forearm Bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle-Porched Eye</td>
<td>Greek Cross-Sunflakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle-Porched Eye-Hand-and-Eye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the late 1930's when the Civilian Conservation Corps was developing the physical aspects of mound State Monument (Moundville), archaeological excavations were carried out in the Roadway Area, a strip fifty feet wide running through the mound area for a distance of one mile or so. From these excavations, 163,500 pottery sherds were recovered. They were taken mostly from the plowed zone and from burial and midden pits, with a few from shallow midden areas. The sherds were classified during 1941 as follows:

(See Table B on the Next Page)

The presence of a fairly large Middle Woodland village site bordering the western limits of Moundville probably accounts for the bulk of the sand-tempered, clay-grit-tempered and limestone-tempered sherds in the roadway excavations. Studies so far have revealed no close typological links between the shell-tempered sherds from the roadway excavations and sherds containing other tempering materials from the mound excavations.

The classification of the shell-tempered sherds from the roadway excavations indicates, as we may expect, that black filleted engraved ware was a special ware made for ceremonial purposes and finding its final disposition as burial offerings. This is clearly implied by the fact that from the roadway excavations only 397, or less than one-half of one percent, of the shell-tempered sherds were of the type Moundville Filleted Engraved, whereas at least twenty or thirty percent of the vessels found as burial offerings at Moundville are of that type.

\[2-3\] While not listed by Davis and Holmes as individual cult motifs, wings and bird tails of identical style appear elsewhere as portions of typical cult motifs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>No. of Shards</th>
<th>Percent By Type</th>
<th>Percent By Temper</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within Group</td>
<td>Temper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiber-Tempered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Dornbush Stamped</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sand-Tempered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>73.70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complicated Stamped</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15.80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cord Marked</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incised</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limestone-Tempered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>91.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabric Marked</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay-rist Tempered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>1,078</td>
<td>95.14</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perforated</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incised</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cord Marked</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabric Marked</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloth Stamped</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell-Tempered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>98.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>79,442</td>
<td>81.41</td>
<td></td>
<td>97,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moundville Incised</td>
<td>4,116</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moundville Painted</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moundville Painted Incised</td>
<td>1,752</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Painted</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painted-Red on Buff</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Pan Fabric Marked</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Painted</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effigy</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applique</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nested</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halsey Island Incised</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halsey Island Painted</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halsey Island Cord Marked</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>2,027</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The foregoing classification indicates also that the marker pottery types for comparing Moundville surface and hidden pottery collections with those from other Middle Mississippian sites are Moundville Incised (a gray or buff shell-tempered ware decorated on the shoulder area with incised arches bordered by punctations or grooves) and Moundville Black Filmed, as well as Moundville Filmed Engraved and Moundville Filmed Incised.

McKee Island pottery types (resembling Oculpea Fields pottery types and often found at historic sites) are represented in the foregoing classification in small amounts and suggest limited historic occupancy of Moundville. So far, no vessels of McKee Island type have been found accompanying burials at Moundville and neither has historic trade material been found at the site.

In summary, it may be said that the cult is well represented at Moundville, especially by the motifs displayed on pottery vessels occurring as burial offerings. In fact, if the definition of cult motifs were broadened to include concomitant traits such as "stepped" vessels, "plumed" scrolls and monograms, engraved cross-hatched backgrounds, "dimples and scrolls", and other abstract motifs, the black filmed vessel assemblages from Moundville would be dominated by vessels representing cult expressions.
Elements of the Southern Cult in the Belcher Focus

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Shreveport, Louisiana

Specific elements of the ceremonial complex which has been termed "The Southern Cult" appear in Belcher III at the Belcher site and in the Foster and Friday mound site components of the Belcher Focus. This constitutes only significant persistence of the cult material in the later or Cullen Aspect of the entire Caddoan Area.

The Belcher Focus comprises protohistoric Caddoan sites along that portion of Red River between Shreveport, La., and Texarkana, Ark.-Tex., and contributory streams thereto. Stratigraphy in several sites establishes Haley and Foster Point as antecedents to Belcher Focus and cultural comparisons indicate that Belcher was followed by Glenborn Focus of the European contact period. Component sites are Belcher III and IV at the type site in Caddo Parish, La.; Foster (1), Friday (1), Lester (2) and Joe Russell (2) sites in Lafayette County, Ark.; McClure (1) and one component each of Battle (3) and Crenshaw (2, 3) mound sites in Miller County, Ark.; Round near the Jones Place (1) Humphreys County, Ark., and one component each of the F.S. Cash (4) site, Camp County, Texas; J.W. Riley (4) site in Upshur County, Texas, and A.N. Taylor (4) site, Harrison County, Texas.

These Southern Cult elements in the three sites accompany an equally large number of ceremonial traits to form an apparently highly organized burial complex. It seems desirable to segregate the Cult elements, because of their significance outside of this area, then to relate them to other ceremonial traits in the Focus in order to complete the local picture. Following the classificatory listing of Waring and Holder (5), elements of the Cult complex found in Belcher Focus are:

I. Motifs.

(1) The Cross appears within central Sun Circles or discs on bottles of the polished black Belcher Engraved pottery type, as an equal-armed cross or cruciform (the triskele is substituted rarely), surrounded by concentric circles (Fig. I, B.C.). The Cross also is represented in each form on curved shell gorgets at Foster (Fig. I, B.C.)


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(2) Sun circles with rays depicted by hatched triangles are present, as noted above, on bottles and occasionally bowls of the pottery type Bolcher Engraved (Fig. 1,D,1) which is characteristic of the entire Focus. The circular discs of the pottery type Rodgers Engraved and concentric circle motifs common to several Bolcher pottery types may have similar cosmic significance. The Sun Circle with rays appears on a copper covered stone or spool at Foster (Fig. 1,D).

(4) The Forked Eye occurs on the serpent head carved on a shell bowl from Burial 2, Bolcher, described above. The bilobed arrow, band-and-eye, open eye, barred oval and death motifs are missing from Bolcher Focus.

II. God-Animal Representations.

(1) & (2) The combined Eagle-winged Rattlesnake engraving on the shell bowl (Fig. 1, E) described below and a second shell whose figure is uncertain (Fig. 1,G) are the sole representatives of this group. However, one may speculate the widespread curvilinear motifs found in Caddoan potteries, especially weavers, foiled weavers, scrolls, interlocking scrolls, "5" and "key" figures and "fishhook" elements, may represent conventionalized serpents.

III. Ceremonial Objects.

(15) Circular Shell Gorgets were found with burials at Foster (6) and Bolcher (Fig. 1,H,J), two from the former, one from the latter, all engraved and perforated. One from Foster (Fig. 1,B) featured a central cross outlined by excisions and surrounded by a circular stippled band and a circle of perforations; the other (Fig. 1,G) featured a central excised cavity with a surrounding engraved circle and peripheral cog-like projections. The Bolcher specimen had a central perforation, two concentric circles of perforations and intervening stippled bands (Fig. 1,K).

(4) Shell Columella Pendants appeared at Bolcher, Foster (6) and Friday (6) sites. One from Foster is of the specific type described by Waring and Holder (5) — a pendant made from the columella of a limpet shell with a hole drilled in the columella tip (Fig. 1,G). Others from Foster and Friday were paired knobbled columella pendants, with the knobbled ends grooved or perforated for suspension from the ears (Fig. 1,L). A number of columella zoophorics (lizard representations?) were found at Bolcher and Foster, usually as part of a necklace (Fig. 1,N,L).

(8) Two pairs of copper covered stone Ear Spools were in position with burials at Foster, all made with dished flanges on the reverse and one pair having an 8-pointed sun symbol on the obverse face (Fig. 1,D). Shell and perforated bear tooth ear ornaments (Fig. 1,N,P) were with two individuals at Burial 5, Bolcher, and 2 shell ear ornaments were with a burial containing Bolcher Focus pottery at the Jones Place mound, Arkansas. Evidence of copper were lacking at all Bolcher Focus sites except Foster.

(6) All References to the Foster, Friday, McClure and Jones Place sites are from Moen, C.S., 1912.
(16) Conch Shell Bowls were in burial pits at Belcher, Foster and Friday. There were 8 shell bowls (or cups) in 4 of the 24 Belcher Focus burials at the Belcher site, 13 in the eleven burial pits at Foster and 2 with the six burials at Friday. One of the bowls from Foster had an indistinct engraving of grouped curved lines on the outer surface; three from Belcher were engraved. One from Burial 5 (Fig. 1,F) had four transverse lines on the handle near the perforation and a narrow band bisected by a line of punctations and bearing triangular pendants, across the larger surface near the knob. This is very similar to a shell bowl illustrated by Krieger (7, Plate 21,0) from the Sanders site (Sanders Focus of Gibson Aspect). The second engraved shell at Belcher, from Burial 2, is the most striking of the Cult material from this Focus (Fig. 1,8). The outer surface of the bowl is completely and skillfully covered by a combination of eagle and winged rattlesnake motifs. The eagle head and tail are at the small or handle end; the serpent head, rattles and snake talons are on the terminal whorl end; the bodies and two wings, turned in opposite directions to relate to the respective heads, are over the outer bowl. The serpent head bears the forked eye symbol, tooth representations and vestiges of plume or antler symbols. The eagle head is created. Unfortunately the midbody area is badly eroded and suggestions of body twining cannot be demonstrated clearly. Although Hamilton (8) illustrates a similar combination of snake and eagle design on a Spiro shell (Plate 13,8), the style and wing decorations of the Belcher shell are somewhat different from the Spiro figures and Krieger (9) states that the wing technique is very similar stylistically to that of some East Tennessee and North Georgia gorgets.

The third engraved shell from Belcher offers difficulties because it is badly eroded and broken at both handle and handle ends. The engraved figure shows the neck with cross-hatched bands, a portion of the body, and the head with distinct eye (Fig. 1,0). Lines above the head suggest a crest and possible top-knot or triangular antler symbol; the bill or mouth area is broken and eroded; possibilities include the plumed woodpecker, eagle, serpent or — remotely possible — the deer. The crest markings take a bird figure more likely.

(17) Conventional flints (Fig. 1, 1) were confined to long blades, pointed at each end, of which 11 were found with burials at Foster and one on the floor of House 7, Belcher. They varied from 7 to 13 inches in length. (16) Bottles which meet Krieger and Holder's (10) criteria are limited to 12c, simple bottles, highly polished and engraved, with variations of the Cross and Sun Circle (Fig. 1,5,7,0). They are found in all typical Belcher Focus components. There is one tripod bottle from Belcher site, but no true triform bottles as illustrated by Krieger and Holder.


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IV. Costume. Since no representations of the human figure are known from Belcher Focus, items of this class are limited to objects found with burials. There are (3) Ear Spools, mentioned above; (9) Necklaces; (10) Necklace with columnella pendant (Fig. 1,10) found at Belcher and Foster sites. This combination occurred with Burials 5, 10, 15 and 25 at Belcher, Burial 1 at Foster; (18) the Hilted Celt, represented on the handle of a carved bone pin (Fig. 1,8) from the mound near the Jones Place, Arizona (11).

Altogether we note in the Belcher Focus sites 15 (possibly 16) items of the 51 listed by Haring and Holder as typical of the Southern Cult. However, there are other traits, ceremonial or burial in connotation, which seem to be associated regularly with these cult elements in Belcher Focus. Some of them are found elsewhere in the Caddoan area and may be thought of as expressions of a regional ceremonial cult, possible or equal or greater significance locally than the Southern Cult. These include: (1) Intentional burning of houses (2) Burial through floors of houses or temples, before or after burning (3) Neck plugging of broken vessel sherds on house floor before burning and burial placement, (4) Congreg alignment of groups of burial pits (5) Numerous simultaneous primary burials (Innaciation?) usually including one person of paramount significance, (6) Sinking of deep pits, 6 to 14 feet, in and beneath mounds (7) Massive placements of pottery vessels in burial pits - up to 33 vessels in pit 15 at the Belcher site (8) Fully extended primary burials, single or multiple (9) Systematic placement of vessels with burials - bottle-near-head, flat bowls over pelvis or legs, cords between legs, rougher culinary vessels at or below feet (10) Absence of special burial area, but choice of beautifully finished vessels, especially engraved and stamped wares for burials of significance (11) Smearing of burial vessels with green or white pigment (12) Green, red or white pigment with burials, in vessels or separately (13) "Trophy" human skull or mandible (Belcher, Halsey, Batlin sites) (14) Food placement with important burials (15) Quartz crystals with burials (16) Pearls (17) Groups of small cut shell objects (Fig. 1,18) circular, oval, rectangular, triangular, ovoid, egg-shaped, with traces of asphalt (inlays?) with 5 burials at Belcher, 3 at Foster (18) Zoonorphic pendants (lizard?) of shell or stone (Fig. 1,16) (Belcher, Friday, Foster, Batlin). (19) Knobbed shell columnella ear pips (Friday, Foster, Jones) (Fig. 1,8) (20) Labrets or ear ornaments of pottery or bone (Fig. 1,9), (21) Pottery spindle disks, shell spools and shell boxes placed with burials (22) Turtle carapace (rattan?) (23) Large mussel shells with perforated designs (24) Large groups (5-100) of perforated small mussel shells (Fig.1,0) (Belcher, McClure) (25) Bear or alligator tooth and bear claws pendants (Fig.1,7)

(11) Moore, C.B., 1912.

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(26) Pottery traits - highly polished black wares; red fending; techniques of engraving and stamping; insertion of white or red pigments into lines of decoration; special shapes, including tripod bottles, conjoined vessels, pedestal bowls, rattle bowls; curvilinear designs (Fig. 1, V) especially featuring scrolls, interlocking scrolls, meanders, concentric circles or arcs, spirals, "fish-hook" figures, "o" figures, "tadpole" or "Yang-and-Yin" figures; spurred or "ticked" lines (sun-ray or feather symbols?); quadrature by lip or shoulder node (Fig. 1, V); 4-time repetition of designs around vessels; negative bands and discs outlined by fine hatching or cross-hatching (Fig. 1, T, G); tent-like projections from design center.

Although some of these pottery design elements and serenial traits appear in other areas of the Fulton period, especially Texarkana, Titus and Hico-Cusichita, which seem through trade objects and shared traits to be contemporaneous with Belcher Focus, none of these exhibits the degree of "masonic symbolism" seen in Belcher ceramics, the rich burial and other ceremonial traits are less pronounced, and "Southern Cult" elements are missing. Belcher Focus seems to be the chief and final heir of the Spiro "Southern Cult" development and of Haley Focus ceremonials.

Paint traces of "Southern Cults" are to be noted, however, in several of the later cultures in the Caddoan area. From the Mid-Cusichita, near Arkadelphia (12), but in uncertain context, a highly polished human head effigy bottle is engraved with Caddoan designs, including ticked lines, and also bears the forked-eye symbol. From the J.N. Nelson site on the Cusichita River near El Dorado, Ark., excavations by Soday (13) discovered burial ware which included Belcher Focus pottery and two Matchco vessels. In the village midden, he found a shell gorget with cog-like notching around the periphery and excised cross in the center. In Southeastern Oklahoma the New-Curtain Focus, described by Bell and Baerreis (14) includes excavated sites at Clesent and McDonald places. The former has a flat-topped temple mound in the center of which was found a large intrusive burial pit containing 20 individuals, some fully flexed, some extended, with variable orientation of heads and superposition of bodies. Abundant burial placements included pottery similar to that found elsewhere in the site, pairs of wood and stone ear spools, small projectile points, ground stone celts, a cone shell gorget bearing an engraved cross and control swastika design, and shell, seed and pearl beads. Other burials at these sites were in smaller rectangular pits, with fewer placements, and at the McDonald site the added trait of green pigment in burial vessel was noted. The archaeological situation, here is unclear, since the pottery seems to be a mixture of typical Texarkana and Belcher vessels, while other traits and the square or


- 25 -
rectangular houses with trench entrances are at variance with findings in the latter field.

Pottery from the Sason Site on Catahoula Lake, central Louisiana, in the L.I.3.0. collection, has been studied by the author. Although much of the pottery, which includes about 40 vessels and nearly 2000 sherds, consists of plain, incised and brushed wares which conform to the late Alto-Mandlee-Bossier tradition, there are two distinctive types. One consists of urns, vessels, bowls and bottles decorated with cross-hatched engraved bands forming meanders, concentric circles and interlocking scrolls. One of these vessels has a motif of interlocking scroll tendrils outlined by projecting triangular "feather" symbols similar to those of Walls and Roundville. A second type features intricate parallel curvilinear incising on bowls, bottles, cups and barrel-shaped pots, producing designs of concentric circles, interlocking scrolls, and meanders. Eye symbols, discs quadrated with crosses and the "Open-eye" symbol also appear. A significant feature, not found elsewhere in Caddoan pottery, is that many vessels from this site were "killed" by breaking a hole in the bottom or leaving the bases perforate in manufacture, suggesting a special funerary ware. Although the general appearance, shapes and paste features and much of the decoration are consistent with Caddoan pottery, other features and trade sherds indicate Mississippi Valley and Northwest Florida Coast influences or contacts.

Specific "Southern Cult" elements disappear and all ceremonialism seems to be diluted to a marked degree in the terminal stages of the Fulton period. Fort Coffee Focus, which Bell and Barbeaux (15) interpret as the final expression of a long period of cultural development in the Spiro region, exhibits traces such as circle and cross symbols on polished pottery bottles, terrapin carapace rattles, tubular shell beads and red pigment. The European contact period, represented by Glendora Focus in Louisiana and Arkansas and Allen Focus in Texas, is similarly sterile.

It seems desirable to investigate the evidences of ceremonialism in the presumed cultural antecedents of the Bolcher Focus, in an attempt to understand its origins of its "Cult" expressions and other ceremonialism. Krieger (16) has carefully outlined relationships between the five foci of the Gibson aspect, now generally accepted as the early Caddoan period, existing out "cult" and other ceremonial features of each. Of the three which we consider earliest, Cahugan is geographically nearest to Bolcher Focus area, about 60 land miles downstream from the Bolcher site, but the burial complex of huge rectangular graves, numerous parallel burials, massing of artifacts along the sides of sites, wide use of copper for making, effigies, plates and other artifacts, effigy stone pipes, spatulate celts of greenstone, copper blades and intentional breaking of offerings, is absent from Bolcher Focus. Alt Focus is geographically distant in its early stages, but apparently spread into northwestern Louisiana

(15) Bell, R. E., and Barbeaux, D. A., 1951.

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and Arkansas in Phase 3, having its chief influence on the ceramics of Bowdler Focus (17) and to a lesser degree on Belcher. However, little is known of burial customs in early Osage and Omaha areas.

"Southern Cult" items were found at the Davis site, a carved stone human head with "forked-axe" symbol (16); burials which we found in Louisiana site areas were void of ceremonial objects. Spiro, the great center of "Southern Cult" ceremonialism in the Caddoan Area, must be looked to as the ultimate source of this material in Belcher Focus, but so far we have no good evidence of the mechanism of its transmission. In view of the continuous tradition of overland travel among the Osage, the spatial separation of the Spiro area from that of Belcher Focus, below the Great Bend of the Red River, offers no difficulty, but the separation in time is more serious and seems to require an intermediate carrier of "Southern Cultism." There is no evidence whatever that Belcher Focus extends back to the Cult period at Spiro and at Fort Coffee times in the Spiro area, which seems to be nearer Belcher times, we have seen that Cult evidences had vanished.

The two Gibson Aspetoc foils which seem to be later, Sanders and Hiley, are shown by trade pottery to be contemporaneous; Hiley trade pottery at Spiro is found in the period of Cult decline and the painted trade bottle at a Hiley Mound burial gives a time check with the Mississippi Valley. Krieger (18) has shown that Sanders was a fringe Caddoan culture facing the open Plains country; although it possessed "Southern Cult" paraphernalia, there is little evidence of Sanders influence on the contemporaneous or later Caddoan cultures further down the Red River in the Texarkana-Belcher area. Any "Cult" transmission from Sanders should have come through Hiley Focus, here is the origin of "Cult" transmission to the Belcher Focus. There are numerous evidences that Hiley Focus was ancestral to Belcher and Texarkana - at the two respective type sites, Belcher and Hatchet Mounds, the first occupation period was a Hiley component. Many of the distinctive features of Belcher and Texarkana ceramics originated in Hiley pottery; many of the burial customs of Belcher Focus are carried over from Hiley (Burial through ruins of burned houses, deep pits, evidence of isolation, masses of pottery with burials, green pigment in burials, treropy human skulls or fragmentary, grouped shell inlays and others mentioned previously); Hiley people had some of the minor evidences of "cultism," such as shell bowls, necklaces of shell and pearls, copper covered ears ornaments, conch columella pendants in position suggesting forelock bands, human effigy stone pipes and representations of sun and cross symbols engraved on pottery. Yet the more specific motifs and the god-animal representations, the engraving of shell bowls and grutes, the copper plates and emblems are all lacking. Krieger's explanation (19), that Hiley Focus was sufficiently late that the cults to north and south (Spiro and Cahokia) had died out, is not adequate, in view of the "Southern Cult" material in Belcher Focus. Two alternate explanations may be offered: (a) specific "cult" material did exist in Hiley but has not been found. This seems unlikely in view of the number of Hiley Focus components where burials and/or


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house floors have been excavated (Haley, Crenshaw, Belcher, Batchel, Washington, Canon), without this evidence. (2) The Haley people, with a strong civil, spiritual and cultural leadership, evidenced by the highly developed temple mound centers, burial ceremonialism and independent initiation or elaboration of numerous cultural traits, offered a cultural block to the acceptance of "Southern Cults".

If this be true, we must search elsewhere for transmitters of this cult to Belcher Focus people. Possibilities are from outposts of Spiro in the Red River area, such as that at Mineral Springs, which possibly retained "Cultism" longer than it lasted in the Spiro heartland; the possibility of acquisition from Sanders Focus peoples, if their culture lasted until Belcher times; possibilities in the McCurtain area. So far we have no good evidence of these and "Cult" material in McCurtain may as readily have had its source from Belcher Focus as the reverse. At the present time it can only be concluded that Belcher Focus ceremonialism is a combination of known Haley ceremonialism and some elements of the "Southern Cult" whose immediate source is unknown. The surrounding contemporary peoples, who are responsible for the cultures which we know as Texarkana, Titus and, possibly, Postier, appear did not receive the "Cult".

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Captions for Illustration

A. Shell gorget, Belcher Site.
B. C. Shell gorget, Foster Site.
D. Copper-covered stone ear spool, Foster.
X, Y, G. Engravings on shell bowls, Belcher.
H. Carved bone pin with hoisted celt representation, Jones Md.
I. Ceremonial stone blade, Foster.
J. Knobbed bone pin, Foster.
K, L. Shell zoomorphic pendants, Belcher.
M. Shell pendant with beads, Belcher.
N. Bone, pottery, and shell ear ornaments or labrets, Belcher.
O. Small shell pendants, Belcher.
P. Bear tooth ear pendants, Belcher.
Q. Shell columnella pendant, Foster.
R. Shell inlays, Belcher.
S. Tripod engraved bottle, Belcher.
V. Bowl with quadrated rim, engraved semi-circles, Belcher.
W. Pottery decorations, Belcher, including scroll band outlined by cross-hatchings and negative discs, 4-quarter symbol, cross, triskely, "yung-and-yin."
Some Engraved Shell Buttons

Stephen Williams
Harvard University

This brief note deals with some shell artifacts which show an interesting distribution from Northeast Arkansas to the southeast into Alabama, on what is presumably a very late archaeological time horizon. The artifacts are squarish shell buttons ranging in size up to an inch across, which have a circular notch cut into each side and also have two central perforations like a European button. The face of the button usually has four lines engraved on it in a diamond shaped design, and there is frequently a small incised dot in each corner. These buttons seem to have been worn more often as beads rather than having been used on clothing in the functional manner which the term implies, but the same "button" has been retained in order to set these apart from other shell beads, pendants, or gorgets.

In Arkansas these shell buttons have been found at the Stanley Mound, St. Francis River (Putnam, 1892:35-36, fig. 1) in the same necklace with some rolled copper beads and part of the Parkin phase. In the Baden phase (formerly Halka-Pocan Point form) a half dozen or more engraved shell buttons are known from the Middle Baden site, a cemetery a half mile southeast of the main Baden site (10-2-1). A burial at this site also produced rolled copper beads. The Baden material is in the Thompson collection, Wilson, Arkansas.

In Mississippi a single shell button is known from the Oliver site (16-M-4) with rolled copper beads also appearing in burials at the site (Peabody, 1904:47-50). Jennings (1942:172, pl. 10 e, see also 1952, fig. 174, f) found one in his Chickasaw burials near Noccalula at M-15. In a nearby burial at the same site tubular copper beads are reported, both the Oliver site and Jennings site had considerable historic trade materials on them.

In Alabama Moore reports engraved shell buttons from two sites. At the Durham's bend site on the Alabama River in Dallas County, (Moore, 1899:311, fig. 23) he found quite a few in one burial. This site also produced a perforated amulet and no trade material. In contrast the Charlotte Thompson place, Montgomery County, (Moore 1899:320-321, fig. 36) had considerable trade material throughout the site and produced a number of shell buttons of the type under consideration. Copper artifacts were also present at this latter site but not in the form of the rolled copper beads but have been mentioned above.

From western Tennessee MacCurdy (1917:8, fig. 15) reports a number of the shell buttons from the site he calls French Island. These seven widely scattered occurrences of this rather distinctive engraved shell button, in late prehistoric or early historic contexts frequently in association with rolled copper (or brass?) beads, suggests - 31 -
that these artifacts might be a good indicator of late aboriginal trade across the Southeast.

It might be added that Griffin (1943:190, 251) has also drawn attention to these buttons and has compared them with ones Smith (1910a:183, Pl. 50, fig. 7) found at the Fox Farm in Kentucky and that Webb (1928:111, pl. 6 & h) found at Site 10 in the Norris Basin. The similarity between the Fox Farm bend and the one from Norris Basin is marked, but because they lack a number of the characteristics of the shell buttons under discussion such as the engraving on the face and also have quite different perforations and corners, I do not feel that these latter artifacts are strictly comparable, although they may be on roughly the same time level.

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Program subject: The Middle Period Cultures in the Southeast

John Clegg: The Appearance of Woodland in Florida.
Charles H. Fairbanks: The Southeastern Stamped Tradition.
William W. Pearce: Middle Period Stamping.
A. J. Waring, Jr.: The Sequence at the Mouth of the Savannah.
T. M. N. Lewis: The Middle Period on the Lower Tennessee.
James A. Torr: The Poverty Point Culture.
James B. Griffin: The Origins of Woodland Culture.

It was agreed that the next meeting would be held at Louisiana State University the first available weekend in November 1956. Topic: The Lower Mississippi Valley—Cultural Continuity or Sink?

Joel L. Shinier, Secretary.

The following abstracts were received for publication.

The Southeastern Stamped Tradition

The origins of stamping are considered and it is suggested that they lie in a technical method of pottery construction. All stamped surfaces from single stamped to complicated stamps are included in the tradition. Additional features associated with the stamped tradition are: small size of jars; conoidal and tetrapodal bases; simple shapes varying around the deep cup; and notched or folded rims. Non-ceramic traits that may accompany it are: percussion chipping of dart points; choppers of notched type; and a basically hunting-collecting economy with the later addition of agriculture. It is pointed out that this was a persistent tradition and survived in the face of considerable acculturation from other cultural traditions.

The tradition seems to have shared a general stylistic evolution which consisted first of a general elaboration producing the skillful stamping cutting of Swift Creek and Woodstock on a base of simple or check stamped types. Later there was a gradual simplification of the design motifs and finally a return to check stamp by the terminal units of the tradition. The persistence of the stamping technique is, again, suggests that it was associated with a basic manufacturing process.

Charles H. Fairbanks
Florida State University

During the summer of 1955, the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology of Florida State University excavated the Nichols Mound (No. 3). The Mound had been excavated previously by J.B. Moore in 1902, and re-excavations were undertaken in order to determine the exact nature of the site. A trench, ten feet in which, was begun on both ends of the east-west axis of the mound and completed except for a final ten-foot block. Preliminary analysis indicates that the mound is an aberrant Woodland II burial mound rather than a habitation mound as reported by Moore or a Fort Walton temple mound as described by Willey during a 1940 site survey.

Carol A. Irwin
Florida State University
THE MIDDLE PERIOD CULTURES IN
EASTERN TENNESSEE
T. M. N Lewis

I. The Middle Period cultures in Tennessee existed approximately from 1000 B.C. to 1200 A.D., in eastern Tennessee and 1700 B.C. in western Tennessee. In the early part of the period they were coeval with the Archaic cultures in western Tennessee, and the Archaic and possibly the Palaeo-Indian cultures in eastern Tennessee. Toward the end of the period they were coeval with the early and, perhaps to some extent, with the late Mississippi cultures.

In both areas of the state they represent a single cultural tradition which may be divided into two major cultural-temporal phases, for which we have been using the terms Early and Late Woodland.

The cultural tradition as a whole is characterized by the following generalized traits:

1. Sedentary life based upon hunting, collecting, and, possibly, small scale agriculture.

2. Pottery, predominantly utilitarian and grit tempered, almost invariably showing some type of over-all textured surface finish, and usually having an elongated, conoidal shape.

3. Ground stone tools and ornaments.

4. Small triangular projectile points.

The two cultural-temporal phases are distinguished largely on the basis of the burial customs and the community plans. The early phase is characterized by tightly flexed burials in small circular pits; the late phase by the use of burial mounds. The early phase had compactly arranged villages, numerous circular pits, and burials within the habitation area of the village. The late phase had scattered households integrated into communities by their association with a group of burial mounds. (This paper will cover only the Middle Period cultures of eastern Tennessee.)

II. Early Phase

The traits which characterize the early phase in eastern Tennessee are these:

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1. Compactly settled villages.

2. Numerous storage and cooking pits, the typical ones having a bottle-shape top and expanded bases, often containing fire-cracked rocks, and occasionally charred acorns, hickory nuts, animal bones, or a large broken pot.

3. Circular structures built of large posts rather widely spaced.

4. Tightly floored burials in circular pits, rarely with any grave goods.

5. Grooved axes, some full-grooved, others three-quarters-grooved, and very rarely double-grooved; celts with pointed polls and oval cross-section. Both axes and celts are characteristically pocked, with only the bit ground, and an occasional axe with a ground groove.

6. Other rough stone tools include pitted hammerstones, digging tools, choppers, crude mortars, conoidal pestles, nut stones, and notched sickles.

7. Among the ground stone ornaments are slate and stone gorgets, and pendants. Hafted haftstones, conoidal and biconical tubes, and stone vessels also occur.

8. In-chipped stone there are drills, medium and large blades, stemmed scrapers, small and medium stemmed projectile points, side-notched points, small triangular points, and a distinctive point type which we have called the Candy Creek point. This is reminiscent of certain Paleo-Indian points in shape. The base is thinned, or partially fluted, and the basal edges occasionally ground. Whatever other significance these points may have, they at least suggest the persistence into the Middle Culture Period of a Paleo-Indian chipped stone tradition. Some believe that this may imply the absorption into the Woodland population of eastern Tennessee of a small remnant Paleo-Indian group.

9. Bone and antler artifacts and animal bones in general are rare on erect sites and abundant on others. When abundant, they include awls, pins, scrapers, flakers, and tool handles. Some examples bear engraved designs.

10. Pottery is grit tempered, and on the basis of the pottery, it is possible to distinguish two time periods or food within the early phase, namely, Watts Bar and Candy Creek.

Watts Bar pottery is tempered with crushed quartzite or sand, and 70%–95% is fabric marked. A varying amount is cord marked or plain, and very rarely some check-stamped is found.
Candy Creek pottery is limestone-tempered, and Long Branch Fabric Marked forms 26% to 50% of the total. Candy Creek Cord Marked comprises anywhere from 26% to 66%.

The balance is mostly plain; a small, though significant amount is made up of Pickwick Complicated Stamped, Wright Creek Stamped and Bluff Creek Simple Stamped. In addition to the limestone tempered ware, the Candy Creek culture has a minor group of alien sand tempered types, mainly from Georgia—Early, Middle, or Late Shift Creek Complicated Stamped, Baptist Check Stamped, Rosey Oak Simple Stamped, and Dunlap Fabric Marked.

The stamped types in the limestone tempered ware and their Georgia sand-tempered counterparts appear late in the Candy Creek culture.

III. The Late Phase

The late phase, the Hamilton culture, wherein in the burial mound period in eastern Tennessee—no transitional phase has been discovered to date in our area. Some continuity with the early phase can be traced in the artifact complex—ground stone, chipped stone, bone and pottery. Some new variants appear, such as polished celts, stone tobacco pipes and complete stone pipes, in platform, and elbow types; pottery tobacco pipes; bowl forms in pottery vessels; and the distinctive Hamilton triangular projectile points. The pottery differs also by an increase in plain surfaces and the absence of fabric marking. Very little stamped pottery is found, which suggests that contact with Georgia declined, or at least that influence on the pottery ceased.

The major points of difference between the two phases lie in the community plan, subsistence and burial customs.

The typical late phase settlement was a group of households strung out for a quarter of a mile or more along the river bank, but oriented with reference to a group of burial mounds located in the bottom land or on the adjacent upland. The habitation areas reveal small burned patches and refuse accumulations, but no evidence of structure type.

In subsistence the late phase differs from the early in the extensive use of corn, of which there is considerably less evidence in the early phase.

In burial customs, the use of mounds for burials represents a major innovation. They are not large, but may contain more than a hundred burials and show several stages of construction. In nearly every one that has been excavated there has been a primary burial, either in a pit or log tomb, under a small mound without a pit or log tomb, or under a rock floor. The preliminaries also included clearing of a circular area surrounding the primary burial, this area delimiting the space...
subsequently used for the lowest stage of the mound. Stages are separated by layers of oyster shells, compacted earth or rocks.

Burial position is typically loosely flexed, rarely extended or fully flexed. Skull burials occur and, occasionally, headless or otherwise mutilated bodies.

Burial accompaniments are mainly ornaments of shell and projectile points, the latter often being inflected rather than burial gifts. The projectile point type is almost invariably the small Hamilton triangular type with incurved edges and base.

The shell ornament complex includes disk-shaped columnella beads, olivellas, cut or swall shaline cone shell pendants, and a distinctive type of massive bead made of the entire columnella, perforated longitudinally. The Gulf Coast shells were obtained in considerable quantity, indicating either frequent trading contact with Gulf Coast Indians or actual expeditions to the coast to collect the shells.

IV. Both early and late phases of the Woodland culture had a wide distribution in eastern Tennessee. Some sites show evidence of both cultures while others do not. The evidence suggests that the Candy Creek and Hamilton cultures were coexistent during the late Candy Creek and early Hamilton period. The Hatte Bar culture represents the first appearance of the Middle Period cultures in Tennessee, with Candy Creek being the later variant of the early phase.

The distinguishing Hamilton culture traits appear to have been grafted onto an original Woodland tradition, the source of a portion of the new traits being the Hopewell culture. This probably did not take place in eastern Tennessee, since we have not found a transitional culture. We suggest that the Copan culture, along the middle portion of the Tennessee River, represents such a transitional phase, Hamilton being the extension of aceramic peoples into eastern Tennessee.

The Hamilton phase overlaps with the Mississippian period, both early and late, although the Hamilton peoples seem to have gradually withdrawn from the area shortly after the beginning of the late Mississippian period.