THE PARADIGM OF THE PERPHERY IN NATIVE NORTH AMERICA

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THE PARADIGM OF THE PERPHERY IN NATIVE NORTH AMERICA

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my grandfather, who first turned
me to the path of spirituality and balance with the natural
world around us. His spirit still lives in those he loved.

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skills while I undertook this thesis. Their constant support and encouragement helped provide the motivation to continue and complete this project. I cannot thank them enough for being there for me, even when I may not have been there for them.

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Mvto, mvto, mvto, mvto!

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ABSTRACT

The "Paradigm of the Periphery" is an analytical model that allows for interpretation of how symbolism and sacred traditions spread from their original inception points. When these traditions and ideologies disappear in urbanized core centers, such as Cahokia, Moundville, Etowah, and Lake Jackson of the Greater Southeast, they can continue in the periphery of the society and outlive the core center itself. This thesis will explore the philosophical concept of subconscious cultural paradigms that establish limits to the interpretation of perceptions through the socialization process. The use of these paradigms of thought allows the data from the use of the "Paradigm of the Periphery" model to be contextualized within a specific cultural schema.

INTRODUCTION

Paradigms of Thought and Paradigms as Analytical Models

This thesis will explore the explanatory power of the application of the "Paradigm of the Periphery" to the interactions amongst the cultural groups of the Greater Southeast in the relationships between core centers and peripheral areas of culture. The "Paradigm of the Periphery" is a model of cultural survival. It states that often when ideas, symbolism, religious ideology, or political forms disappear at the point of their inception, they continue to survive in the peripheral areas of the society (Reilly, personal communication, February 2010). The Greater Southeast is the area of prehistoric North America that stretched from the Atlantic coast of Florida to eastern Oklahoma and from the coast of the Gulf of Mexico to Illinois. The interactions amongst cultural groups of this extended cultural area are exhibited through shared sacred traditions and symbolism. The perseverance of these sacred traditions and symbolism illustrates how the

"Paradigm of the Periphery" can function as a model of cultural survival.

Analyzing data under the "Paradigm of the Periphery" in the Greater Southeast, however, needs the identification of a subconscious cultural paradigm that provides the means of constructing a valid interpretation of the cultural data available in the archaeological record. This underlying subconscious cultural paradigm is a model of thought that identifies how ideological constructs such as world-view and the methods of categorization of information shape the interpretation of perceptions. World-views, which make use of these subconscious cultural paradigms, function in a subconscious manner by establishing limitations to the possible interpretations of the perceptions of sense data received from the environment and society. As such, these paradigms provide a window into the minds of people bound by a particular cultural pattern. Establishing a cultural context for the analysis of data provides a relevant grounding for the use of the "Paradigm of the Periphery" as an analytical model.

This thesis will use the subconscious cultural paradigms of modern peoples identified through historical accounts, mythology, and iconography. This will provide the foundations necessary to upstream from both modern and

historic people to the prehistoric people of the Greater
Southeast. The upstreaming method is the process of using
cultural information from more recent cultures to interpret
data from older cultures. Upstreaming in this way
establishes a cogent interpretation of the archaeological
data situated within a cultural context of usage and
meaning. As Søren Kierkegaard said, "life has to be lived
forward, but can only be understood backward."

     This essay will then identify how the "Paradigm
of the Periphery" as a basic model functions in a
geographical context in single site core centers, by using
the examples of Cahokia in Illinois and Moundville in
Alabama. These two sites were the largest core centers in
the prehistoric Greater Southeast. In geographic core
centers, there are environmental, political, and social
factors that accompany the processes of urbanization and
increased population. These processes provide the
prerequisites for the inception of religious symbolism and
rituals to create balance and harmony in the socially
diverse core center (Emerson, 1997: 19-21). Cahokia and
Moundville represent these inception points because they
are the earliest evidence of the emergence of the symbolism
and rituals that are characteristic of the Mississippian
Period of the Greater Southeast.

The thesis will then broaden its scope of analysis by using more regionalized areas of the southeast, using the Lamar area as an example. In these regional areas, the "Paradigm of the Periphery" explains a purely ideological transmission of cultural information within the interactions of peoples on interregional bases. The ability of this paradigm to function as an analytical model for interpreting the rich archaeological data found in the Greater Southeast will be illustrated throughout.

I have divided this thesis into three parts. Part I will examine the concept of "How can we know about what it is we see?" by establishing a philosophical and theoretical foundation upon which an analysis of data can be formulated. Part I includes Chapters 1 and 2. The first section of Chapter 1 focuses on the formulation and explication of subconscious cultural paradigms that limit the interpretations of perceptions. The establishment of these limits of perception provides a way to delineate the data within a cultural context, thus situating the interpretations in a coherent model of how groups of people conceive of the world. The second section of Chapter 1 provides an explanation of the cosmological make-up of the world for the native peoples of the Greater Southeast,

including a brief description of how the concept of time functions in these cultures.

Chapter 2 sets forth important theoretical concepts used in this essay. It begins by explicating the concepts of tradition and sacred knowledge, major concepts used in the application of the "Paradigm of the Periphery" as an analytical model. The concept and history of use of the center/periphery contradistinction follows, which provides a background to and support for the validity of the "Paradigm of the Periphery." The last section of Chapter 2 provides an explication of the processes involved in the creation, centralization, and expansion of urbanized core centers and the interregional trade and interaction networks of which they become part. These concepts are necessary to understand the social factors that contribute to the movement of peoples and, by proxy, the sacred knowledge and traditions of their society.

Part II will present the data on single site and regional cultural evaluations of population movement. It examines the fundamental question "What is it that we see?" Part II includes two major subsections. The first subsection, Chapters 3 and 4, examines the inception points of interregional symbolism and sacred traditions (Cahokia and Moundville). This section focuses on single site core

centers and the use of the "Paradigm of the Periphery" in a geographical context. The second division, Chapter 5, examines a larger interregional area, demonstrating how the "Paradigm of the Periphery" can also function in an ideological context, in addition to the geographical context posited in the first section.

Part III examines the fundamental question "What can we learn about what we see?" and includes Chapters 6 and 7. The first section of Chapter 6 examines how archaeological evidence contextualized within a cultural framework can provide a glimpse into the political and social workings of a society. It will also elucidate the distinct method of categorization in use by the peoples of the Greater Southeast. The second section of Chapter 6 analyzes particular themes within the interregional symbolism of these peoples, contextualizing it within the cultural framework within which it arises. Chapter 7 contains the conclusions. It reviews the concepts postulated in the thesis, drafts a model of the "Paradigm of the Periphery" in the Greater Southeast, and posits future areas of research where this analytical model could be useful.

Part I – How Can We Know About What We See?

CHAPTER 1 - PHILOSOPHY

On Cosmogony and the Phenomenology of Cosmology: The Formulation and Explication of Perception under Subconscious Cultural Paradigms

The processes of socialization and enculturation are necessary to the human condition (Berger and Luckman, 1967: 19-20, Berger, 1969: 3). They bring the essential environmental stimuli to provide the possibility of the development of language and the means for social interaction. However, because not all societies are identical, the socialization and enculturation of a person into a specific culture is determined by unique cultural traits. These traits are bound to the specific culture within which they are established.

Culture-bound traits function subconsciously in the establishment of distinct parameters to the interpretation of perceptions. These parameters are apparent in the fixation of dialects or accents exhibited in language, such as the inflections of a particular dialect or accent brought about by regionality. Regionality is the tendency of people to group together with those like themselves rather than intermingling and interspersing randomly

(Berger, 1969: 4-6, 106-108). The old saying "birds of a feather flock together" exemplifies this concept. Thus, people form together into a region that exhibits similar characteristic traits, which are generally subjectively unconscious, but are objectively observable, such as dialects. Without a certain amount of voice and linguistic training, a person's dialect, as learned through primary socialization in the earliest years of development, is subconsciously set as the person's norm or standard. This standard dialect then distinguishes other dialects as different from the person's own, rather than that person's dialect as different from another's dialect.

This fact demonstrates one of the parameters that is subconscious in both its function and its transmission concerning the formulation of language patterns. However, there exist other, more complicated and less easily explicated parameters within the subconscious of a socialized and enculturated individual, such as an overall world-view that encompasses cosmogony, cosmography, and cosmology. These parameters establish limits for the possible interpretations of perceptions within an individual consciousness.

Berger describes the processes of primary and secondary socialization to define how a society exists as

both a subjective and objective reality (Berger and Luckman, 1966: 129-147 and Berger 1967: 3-12). He states that because society exists as a collective subconscious agreement amongst the members of the society, it has a coercive effect on its constituency; in so much as it is impossible to return to a pre-socialized state after the socialization processes (ibid.). Primary socialization provides interaction knowledge to the enculturated person (i.e., a means for a person to function within a social atmosphere by providing the internalization of the existence of a generalized other). Secondary socialization provides institutional knowledge such as divisions of labor and gender roles of a society. Secondary socialization places the functional interacting being into an extant system of social interaction. The one-two punch of these two processes establishes culturally bound parameters in the form of subconscious paradigms within an individual and then places that individual into a system that is coherent with that paradigm.

The socialization of cosmology and cosmogony creates a subconscious paradigm that contextualizes the outside world within a framework that can include both natural and supernatural elements. The paradigm is an overarching concept that encompasses conceptions such as science and

religion, and provide a substantial contribution to the the establishment of world-views. These paradigms function subconsciously by managing the interpretations of sensate perceptions in a way that is below consciousness. Art, when placed within one of these cultural paradigms, then becomes an exemplification of the functioning of a subconscious cultural paradigm, and provides insight into the inner-workings of the society as a whole (Berger, 1972: 8-9 and Freeland, 2001: 58-59).

A cosmogony is the explanation for the creation and origins of existence as interpreted by a specific culture, which includes creation myths and the beliefs about the constituency of the universe. Thus, cosmogony is a creation belief about existence and the universe that incorporates the idea of existence as continuity. A particular creation belief, whether scientific or supernatural, establishes and maintains a concept of existence and provides a context or background to the idea of being. On the other hand, cosmology is an explanation for the world after creation, as established with the cosmogony. Cosmology includes the order and structure of the universe (i.e., cosmography), and the place of humans within this social construct.

Schrag posited a concept that overlaps with this subconscious cultural paradigm (Schrag, 1968: 120-124). His

world-ontology was an attempt at a theoretical re-evaluation of ontology of finite reality that places being into a spatio-temporal gestalt unified by intentionality within a horizon form (Schrag, 1968: 120-124). This horizon form is the set of experiences that constitute an experienced-background and corresponds to the posited concept of subconscious cultural paradigms that limit the possible interpretations of perceptions. Schrag places the experiencer within a backdrop of experienced-background, maintaining that all meaning arises out of experience. Experience then functions within a system of phenomenal experience, field of experience (spatiality), and temporality of experience. He uses the concept of "intentionality" as the Husserlian *directedness of consciousness towards an object*, along with his horizon-form to define the field in which the experience can have meaning to the experiencer.

I argue that Schrag's unified spatio-temporal gestaltist field, in which experience can be given meaning through the directedness of consciousness, has other constituent components beyond intentionality, time, and space that result directly from experiences within a social atmosphere. The subconscious cultural paradigms filter the perpetual cognizant moment of existence we define as

"being" in its most pure sense, as if through a lens established in early childhood by the socialization into a family group that participated in some type of social interaction with a larger society that has a shared subjectivity.

The interpretation of perceptions is synonymous to what Husserl referred to as the conception of an external object as something phenomenal, recognized in the consciousness of an individual (Husserl, 1962: 109-111, 246-250). Husserl argued that this underwent his process of phenomenological reduction and he could therefore be sure of it as the conception of an object of the directedness of consciousness (Husserl, 1962: 99-100, 155-158). However, the very interpretations of perceptions that Husserl believed indubitable are, in actuality, modeled within a paradigm that is both culture-bound and subconscious in both its expression and in its transmission, though it can be reflected upon, making it a part of consciousness.

THOUGHT EXPERIMENT: Suppose a person [A] who has lived in a desert all of his life and never been exposed to anyone who been outside this desert meets a man [B] who has traded with another man [C] who came from outside the desert and

spoke an entirely different language. Suppose now that the
object of his trade was the lance-like head of a harpoon,
used for hunting whales. What does the original man [A]
see when he looks upon the object of which he has no
comprehension of its origin, use, or even a word with which
to call it, and even less of an idea of an ocean wherein
these massive marine mammals called whales live?

This illustrates a problem with the reductionistic
Husserlian approach, which demonstrates that when
confronted with that which is foreign, you can become
conscious of the limitations of the subconscious paradigm
under which you have been enculturated. This places
Husserl's phenomenological reduction as unfinished and
thus, the identification of his philosophy as "assumption-
less" was wrong. He had not reduced the phenomena to a pure
state, as he claimed, that he could be "absolutely sure of"
as there is the possibility of error in misinterpretation
of the interpretation of perceptions of objects of the
directedness of consciousness that fall outside of the
subconscious paradigms of the society with which he was
enculturated. That is, Husserl's *epoché* fails to account
for the enculturation of children into a society. This
enculturation through language, the use of tools to

accomplish tasks (as well as the comprehension of the tools and their names), or the other subconscious transmissions of enculturated data is expressed in the contextualizing of sense qualia within a specific paradigm of thought that exists in the socio-cultural environment.

The subconscious cultural paradigms function as "ready-at-hand" aspects of consciousness by shaping the possibilities of the interpretation of the immediate awareness of consciousness within a defined set of boundaries (Heidegger, 2008: 78-90). To become aware of the paradigm and bring it from ready-at-hand to "present-to-hand", it still functions ready-at-hand, below the awareness of consciousness, by providing limits to the interpretation of itself within the directedness or "aboutness" of consciousness. It may seem illogical that we could be both aware and unaware of these subconscious cultural paradigms at the same time, but this is precisely the case as we cannot think about anything without those thoughts being filtered through these paradigms. It seems that it cannot be simply "being in the world", which provides a context to existence, but also "being in *a* world". The world that Heidegger describes needs a specific context of a society that is both distinct (as unique from other societies) and certain (in the context of

that which exists), in order to allow those capacities that
are ready at hand to exist at all. Furthermore, those
ready-at-hand skills are culture bound to *that* specific
world and are not transmittable except through the
processes of migration of thought within distinct
subconscious cultural paradigms or in the cases of
acculturation and enculturation of secondary cultures.

A world-view is necessarily dependent upon the
interpretation of perception because it serves as a
reference point for and background to the ways in which
perceptions may have meaning applied to them. When a
researcher is familiar with the world-views of a culture,
the interpretations of cultural data can be limited to
those existing within the cultural framework established
via those world-views. This limiting process provides for
better analyses of data, enabling a better understanding of
the emic qualities of the culture that exist within such
areas as politics, religion, art, and gender roles.
Finally, for people who have lost much of their culture due
to encroachment, relocation, and methods of acculturation,
the learning of the cosmology and cosmogony of their people
allows for a foundation for the construction of a cultural
identity.

Cosmology and Circular Time: The Situatedness of the World in the Greater Southeast

The people of the Eastern Woodlands and Greater Southeast conceived of the world as a multilayered entity. While different cultural groups had different layers or numbering, the standard cosmology separates the world into three parts (see Figures 1.1 and 1.3, see also Lankford, 2007a: 8-38). These three divisions are the above world, the beneath world, and here-in-the-center, which is the middle-world where humans reside and is usually regarded as a turtle residing in the cosmic ocean (fig. 1.1).

The day sky is conceived of as being housed in the above world or sky vault, which rotates to the beneath world with the transition to night (Swanton, 2000: 477-478 and Reilly, 2004: 127). Likewise, with the setting of the sun, the day succumbs to the darkness of night and the beneath world rotates up, becoming the night sky visible to humans. Further delineations of the separations and distinctions of space occur due to the overlapping natures of "this" world and the "spirit" world, which exists like a mirror image to the reality we perceive in "this" world (Swanton, 2000: 514-515). These two spheres of reality coincide in all areas of the natural order. This convergence between distinct aspects of reality provided

those people with the proper medicines, rituals, or
knowledge to access the spirit worlds by interfacing the
natural and supernatural (Eliade, 1964: 298-300). For
example, access to the above world could be achieved
through the sacred fire, while access to the below world
could be achieved by traveling up the ball-pole, atop which
is a representation of a fish (see fig. 1.1)
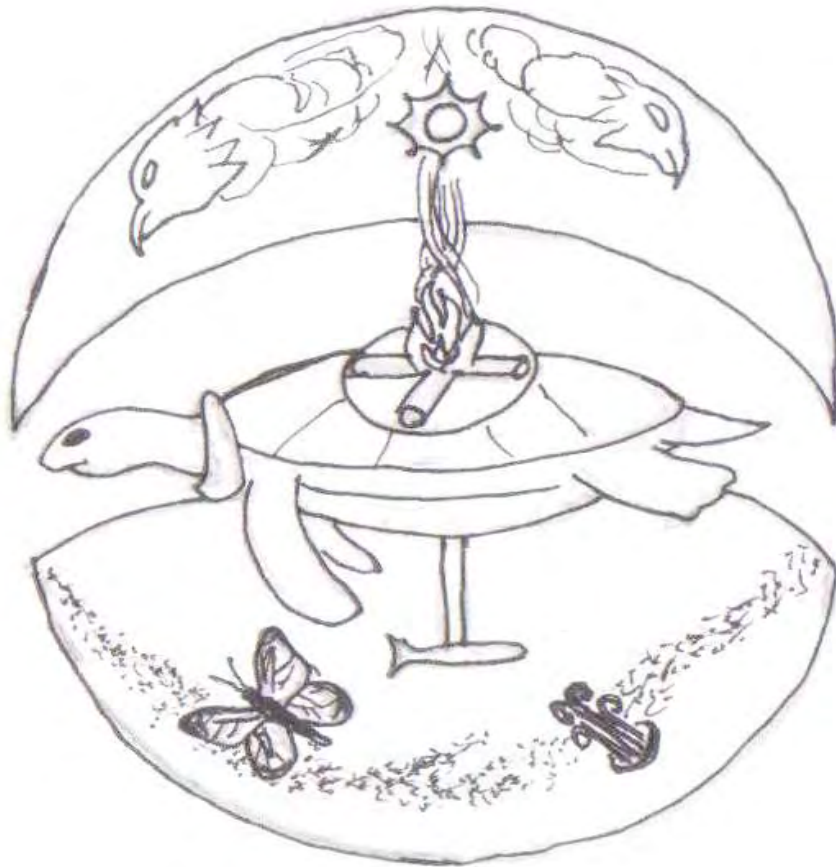
*Fig. 1.1 – Hypothetical cosmological
model (drawn by author)*

Southeastern tribal groups such as the Cherokee and Mvskoke conceived of the sky vault or above world as a stony plate secured to the middle world at the four corners with cords (Swanton, 2000: 477-481 and Reilly, 2004: 127). These cords are depicted in iconography by the looped square (fig. 1.2, see also Lankford, 2004: 207-217). The "above place" of the ancestors, accessible by traveling through the Milky Way after death, rested above this stony sky vault (Reilly, 2004: 125-137). The cords holding the above world to the middle world, usually represented as serpents referred to as "Grandfather," correspond to either the cardinal or semi-cardinal directions (see Lankford, 2007a: 8-38). Interestingly, the Mvskoke, Cherokee, and other southeastern tribes recognized an association with the semi-cardinal directions as masculine and the cardinal directions as feminine.

This division between the masculine and feminine reflects the social order of southeastern people, who were almost universally matrilineal. Understandably, in a matrilineal society in property was possessed and passed down through females, the most powerful directionality would be feminine. As will be explained, the most powerful directionality lies in the cardinal directions. In this dualistic separation of power is a deep-rooted sexual

metaphor played out in ritual, cosmology, and in the social interactions of the people. The basis of this metaphor is that men impregnate women, while women give birth in order to create new life.

Fig. 1.2 – Cox Mound Style Shell Gorget with "looped square" from the Castalian Springs site in Tennessee, AD 1000-1400 (from Townsend and Sharp, 2004: 208)

In matrilineal societies such as the Cherokee and Creeks in the Greater Southeast, the women own the ritual objects used in ritual ceremony. However, it is up to the men to use and manipulate them in the ritual ceremony, just as the man manipulates the womb to impregnate the woman, exhibiting this sexual metaphor in ritual. The feminine associations of the earth and moon and the masculine associations of the primordial waters and the sun exhibit this metaphor cosmologically (Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri, 2001: 18-19).

The matrilineal nature of the society itself evidences the sexual and dualistic distinction in the social context (Chaudhuri, 2001: 43-51, see also Perdue, 1998 and Mihesuah, 2003). Symbolically, the sexual duality and reciprocality further explains the cosmogram. The masculine ordinal directions are the location of the ties holding the sky vault, middle world, and below world together, just as men are the members of society that tie this world to the spirit world, above world, and beneath world through the use of ritual.

Culturally, color associations represent each cardinal direction and the aspect it represents (fig. 1.3, see also Mooney, 1982:342-343 and Swanton, 2000: 477-478). Black represents death and lies to the west. West is where the

sun descends, bringing upon night, and is the place where souls enter the Milky Way on their journey to the afterlife by jumping through the opening created by the movement of the sky vault (see Mooney 1982: 255-256). Red, usually a powerful warfare color, represents the east as the place where the sun ends night, as if through battle. However, as blood is a major part of the rituals of the southeast, providing sustenance for and a connection to the gods, red has ceremonial and ritualistic connections, exemplified by the fact that east is the direction from which new souls emerge on their journey to be reborn.
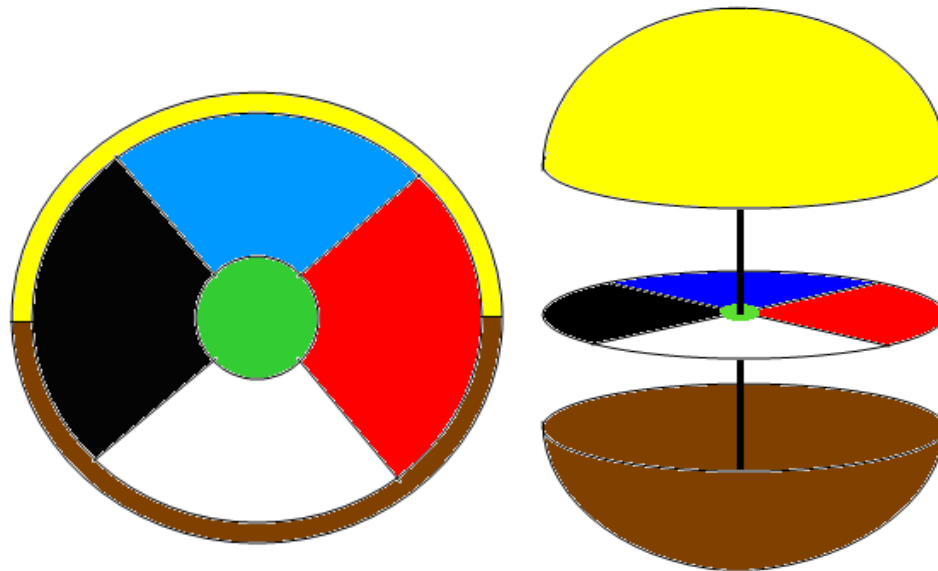
Fig. 1.3 – *Traditional Cherokee "medicine wheel" and a three dimensional rendition of along a vertical axis (drawing by author)*

To the south, the color association is white, a color
representing peace, warmth, and comfort. The
contradistinction placed to the north is associated with
the color blue to elicit the meaning of coldness, sorrow,
and pain. Evident by this layout of the cardinal directions
and the associated color symbolism is a distinct system of
opposing associations, which form a system of inherent
duality. This dualistic system modeled itself after the
most basic and necessary differences in sex that provide
the basis for the continuation of life for the human
species (Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri, 2001: 23-27, 44-46).

The Cherokee cosmogram, or "medicine wheel" (fig.
1.3), adds yet another dualistic representation to the
level of complication in the cosmological representation.
This cosmogram places brown at the bottom, with an
association to the earth and the underworld, and yellow
atop, representing the sky, sun, and above world. The green
in the center represents the living world or here-in-the-
center, also called the middle-world. Thus, the Cherokee
cosmogram provides a visual example that easily accompanies
cosmological stories. Taking the traditional representation
of the cosmogram and rendering it three-dimensional by
using a multiple-horizons technique to create a vanishing

point provides perspective and depth to the cosmogram (Reilly, 2004 and Reilly, 2007: 41-42).

Time, in the world-system of the peoples of the Greater Southeast, is a system of cyclical or circular time. In this system, the distant future is also the distant past. The reincarnation, which functions more as a recycling of souls with a family or clan group likely plays an intrinsic part in this view, which plays out in social traditions as well (Reilly personal communication, October 2008). The people of these social traditions consider seven generations into the future when making decisions, a much different system than the two or three generations that the western tradition emphasizes (Lyons, 1984: 91-93). This may also have its constituent counterpart in the more individualistic nature of the western "family" as opposed to the more communal nature of the native "family."

CHAPTER 2 – THEORY AND METHOD

Tradition and Sacred Knowledge

The archaeological evidence of the Greater Southeast provides a glimpse of the sacred traditions at work in an interregional religious system, identified as the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, or SECC (Waring and Holder, 1945). Of the SECC, Adam King writes: "the SECC has the potential to help us explore exchange, ranking systems, style, workshops and craft production, the meaning and function of art, religion, and the intersection of all of these with social structure, politics, and power in all Mississippian societies" (King, 2007c: 258). This supports the idea that archaeology must provide an informative view of the archaeological culture rather than simply a view of the archaeology alone (Willey and Philips, 1953).

Edward Shils argues that symbols and traditions exist in a realm of their own, separate from physical artifacts or the processes of creation of those artifacts (Shils, 1981: 89-91). However, while a gap exists between physical artifacts and ideological symbolism, objects associated

with rituals and traditions always bear a connection to the
ideological constructs of the society, closely linking
material evidence to ritual and social practices
(Kristiansen, 1987: 78-79). Using a comprehension of the
symbolism of the Greater Southeast to establish a working
subconscious cultural paradigm with which to interpret both
symbolism and physical artifacts allows a bridging of the
gap between physical evidence and ideological symbolism,
and more clearly illuminates further interpretations of
existing data.

The passage of sacred tradition through generations is
generally linear, incorporating a desire to learn both new
information and information already known by others (Shils,
1975: 186-189 and 1981: 91-94). It is difficult to define
the scope and depth of "tradition" that will satisfactorily
cover all cases of the term (Shils 1975: 189, 1981: 12-15,
and Pieper, 2008: 20-22). However, in the context of the
"Paradigm of the Periphery" in the Greater Southeast,
"tradition" is generally a set of ritual and ceremonial
activities, myths, symbolism and iconography, and
architectural constructions such as mounds and mortuary
centers (Reilly, 2004 and Emerson, 1997: 36-41). These
traditions developed within the ideological construct of an
existing religious system, and under the posited model of

the "Paradigm of the Periphery," passed from the core centers of their inception to suburban and rural peripheral sites in outlying areas (Kristiansen, 1987: 74-85). The inception of these traditions satisfied certain needs within the core, and after migrating to the periphery, they could outlive those original reasons for their creation or coalescence within that core.

It is important to note that the culture of Native Americans is drastically different from that of Western Europeans (the ethnicity of most scholars of the Greater Southeast). Tönnies makes the contradistinction between Gesellschaft cultures like the European tradition with emphasis on the individual and small, nucleated families and Gemeinschaft cultures like the Native Americans with emphasis on the larger community (Tönnies, 1940).

The distinction between family-oriented and community-oriented societies falls under the differences of the subconscious cultural paradigms of the cultures. In a similar manner, the sacred traditions, myths, and rituals accommodate both recognized personal and social imperatives and the social and psychological pressures of the society (Kroeber, 1996). This accommodation occurs because of sociality and environmental pressures, the same pressures

affecting the formulation of their subconscious cultural paradigms.

Centers and Peripheries

The concept of centers and peripheries used as an analytical model is not new. Jackson Braider, a folklorist, when interviewed on National Public Radio ("Letters: Deconstructing Nursery Rhymes", December 11, 2005), gave a description of the "Paradigm of the Periphery," which is known as the "paradox of the periphery" to folklorists. Using the nursery rhyme "Rub-a-Dub-Dub" as an example, he explained: "The similarity… between the American variant of "Rub-a-Dub-Dub" and… the oldest version of the rhyme is something we folklorists call the paradox of the periphery. Like ripples on a lake, the disseminated piece of folklore at the edge is the truest reproduction of what was originally uttered at the center, the point of origin."

Braider describes how the nursery rhyme began in England with a specific cultural meaning and accompanied the migration of people to America. As told amongst the Americans, the original meaning was retained, while in England the meaning had changed. This change mimicked the changes that occurred in the cultural and societal interactions of England in the intervening centuries. Thus,

the story that moved farther away from the place of its inception was actually the original, while the version that stayed in England changed to fulfill a different cultural purpose.

Later in the interview, Braider makes use of an example from linguistics to explicate this model of cultural survival. He discusses how people moving from England into the Appalachians brought their language along with them. Through the same process that maintained the older version of "Rub-a-Dub-Dub," the English spoken in the 17th and 18th century in England has been maintained in the isolated valleys of the Appalachians.

Social theorists have used the "Paradigm of the Periphery" in the field of economics to evaluate the exploitative aspects of a core center, focusing on the movement of raw materials from periphery to core and the extension of core areas to maintain control of the producing peripheries (Wallerstein, 1979, and Rowlands 1987: 2-5). Wallerstein proposed the center/periphery model in his World System Theory using the concept of a semi-periphery to account for suburban areas and the periphery as the core-exploited rural areas, with the cores as the urbanized centers of a society (Wallerstein, 1979). Taking this economic model to the Mississippian Greater Southeast,

the rural periphery areas are the perfect locale for the preservation of sacred knowledge and traditions after the fall of the core center. This is because of the successfulness of rural lifestyles in mostly performing labor involved in subsistence and food collection. These activities allow for a means of self-sustenance without the dependence upon a more complex division of labor.

In *The Constitution of Society*, Edward Shils argues the following regarding core centers:

> "The central zone is not, as such, a spatially located phenomenon… The center, or central zone, is a phenomenon of the realm of values and beliefs. It is the center of the order of symbols, of values and beliefs, which govern the society… The central zone partakes of the nature of the sacred (Shils, 1972: 93)."

This interpretation of the center, within the center/periphery model at work in the "Paradigm of the Periphery," overlaps with the concept of urbanized core centers. Geertz points out how these centers, functioning as "concentrated loci of serious acts," provide the conditions for charismatic leaders to arise in both the physical or political realm and the religious or ritual realm of society (Geertz, 1977). Peebles and Kus posit how

these charismatic leaders, in chiefdoms, redistribute exotics within the polity by allowing specialized access to ritual objects to lesser elites (Peebles and Kus, 1977). They also control the trade of these objects between foreign elites to strengthen ties within interregional trade networks called Prestige Good Networks (LeDoux, 2009: 9-10 and King, 2003).

Emerson's analysis of the manifestations of political and ideological power demonstrates how the archaeological evidence from sites in the Greater Southeast provides a means of identifying core centers (Emerson, 1997: 36-41). The overlapping nature of the political and ideological manifestations reaffirms the aspect of the larger, greater-southeastern subconscious cultural paradigm in which the physical and metaphysical are indistinguishable from each other. Such overlapping manifestations of power provide a means of establishing a given site (such as Cahokia, Moundville, etc.), as a cult center. Cult centers are the centralized conglomeration of distinct cult institutions, which are defined by Wallace in *Religion: An Anthropological View* as "a set of rituals all having the same general goal, all explicitly rationalized by a set of similar or related beliefs, and all supported by the same social group" (Wallace, 1966:75).

Cult centers are nodes of ritual intensification within an existing system of interlocking core centers (Reilly, personal communication). A cult system is exhibited through the art, symbolism, architecture, site layout, distribution of local goods in surrounding areas, and presence of exotics that are imported to and distributed from the core center. The overlapping nature of the symbolism, burial styles, and ceramics of cult centers has been the means of identifying a "cult" in the Greater Southeast, the SECC, which constitutes the religious system of the larger area (see Williams, ed. 1977, Krieger 1945, Waring and Holder 1945, Ford and Willey 1941). The similarities and differences in the styles indicative of this religious system also reflect the political and sociological pressures of population movement. For example, the differences between the SECC symbolism and Crystal River symbolism are used as evidence of a non-Mississippian presence or influence in Florida (Willey, 1948).

Urbanization, Core Hegemony, and the Model for the "Paradigm of the Periphery"

Urbanization is the formation of cities within a society, developing an area into a cultural core of that society. This includes the influx of population, which

initially occurs in a more random and dispersed arrangement and functions opportunistically in the environmental landscape. The populations then move towards a homogenized and interacting population, working together to exploit the environmental landscape. This cooperation provides sustenance and surplus to the increasing population of a society. When this cooperation grows to interaction on a regional level, it satisfies the definition of an interaction sphere posited by Joseph Caldwell (in his contribution to the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1961 and 1962; see Hall, 1997: 155-156 and Binford, 1965).

Through the process of urbanization, a significant rise in the specialization of production occurs. Although art predates urbanized cores in any culture, a society's ability to provide surplus inherently connects to the ability to dedicate one's life to something such as shell carving or copper working, which is certainly not a job for the lay artist. In a multi-regional area such as the Mississippian Greater Southeast, the developing urban cores served as hubs to the interregional trade networks (Kelly, 1991). These centers form close ties to each other, since the accumulation and redistribution of exotics validates

the power of the local elites (Peebles and Kus, 1977). These ties, in turn, form a pattern of core hegemony in which the core center puts pressures on its surrounding areas, thereby intensifying production, and serving simultaneously as the society's ritual core (Emerson, 1997, Gramsci, 1971, and Shils, 1972).

As the lesser elites gain access to the prestige or ritual goods, they in turn strengthen the hegemonic influence of the core area (see Emerson, 1997). However, as the processes of urbanization continue, the population of the core center begins to decline, especially when the elites of an area come into tension with the increasing power of lesser elites. The lesser elites then leave and form minor centers or rural nodes, causing the decline in population of the core center.

These minor centers or rural nodes have been the focus of studies in both the Mississippian Southeast and in Mesoamerica. In these areas, they form intermediaries between household clusters and major ceremonial centers (see Iannone, 2004: 273-286 and Driver and Garber, 2004: 287-304, Emerson 1997, Bullard 1960, and Willey 1956). The rise of these lesser peripheral centers entails the dispersion of sacred traditions and rituals from the areas of their establishment in core centers, to the smaller and

more self-sufficient peripheral areas. This pattern of movement forms the basic model for the "Paradigm of the Periphery" in the Greater Southeast.

It is important to note that the symbolism spread via lesser elites with specialized access to sacred knowledge and traditions that initially formed to satisfy the needs of the highly stratified core centers. In these core centers, the elites controlled the core center itself; moderating ritual, ceremony, and trade, and allowing the lesser elites specialized access to exotic and ritual goods. Thus, the symbolism used in the less stratified, more rural periphery will not necessarily hold an identical meaning to the original after its migration. This disjunction in meaning results from the ability of rural areas to be more self-sufficient with a smaller population, due to relatively less specialization within the society. This causes the focus of ritual and the use of ritual symbolism therein, to change in meaning with the altered political and economical structure of the society because these realms are a major focus of ritual in general.

Working under a distinct subconscious cultural paradigm, however, allows for analysis of the peripheral symbolism, and its likely counterpart in ceremonial ritual. Having this analysis available allows for an account of the

superficial change in meaning that occurs during the
migration of symbolism and sacred knowledge discussed
above. As argued, the change in politics and economics of a
society does not necessarily alter the subconscious
cultural paradigm under which politics, economics,
symbolism, and sacred knowledge are constructed.
Additionally, by using a society's subconscious cultural
paradigm to evaluate the archaeological and iconographic
evidence under the "Paradigm of the Periphery," researchers
can further their understanding of environmental,
political, cultural, and sociological pressures placed upon
these social groups.

PART II – What is it that we see?

CHAPTER 3 – CAHOKIA

Geographical and Cultural Aspects of Cahokia

The site of Cahokia (fig. 3.1) was the largest polity in the Mississippian cultural area. It was located in the American bottom, which is the area surrounding the Mississippi River in southwestern Illinois and eastern Missouri (fig. 3.2). The location of the site on a major river system, and the confluence of the river's flood plain with the region's uplands provided a diverse environmental ecosystem for the residents of the area to exploit.

The slow-permeability of the area's soils increased the tendency for flooding in the American Bottom. However, the presence of several environmental sub-zones indicates that there was growth of both wet and dry plants in the area (Emerson and Jackson, 1984: 1-5). Thus, the Mississippi Valley around Cahokia created the diverse vegetations that are exploitable in the "garden style agriculture" of the area, an intensified horticultural subsistence system (Scarry and Scarry, 2005).
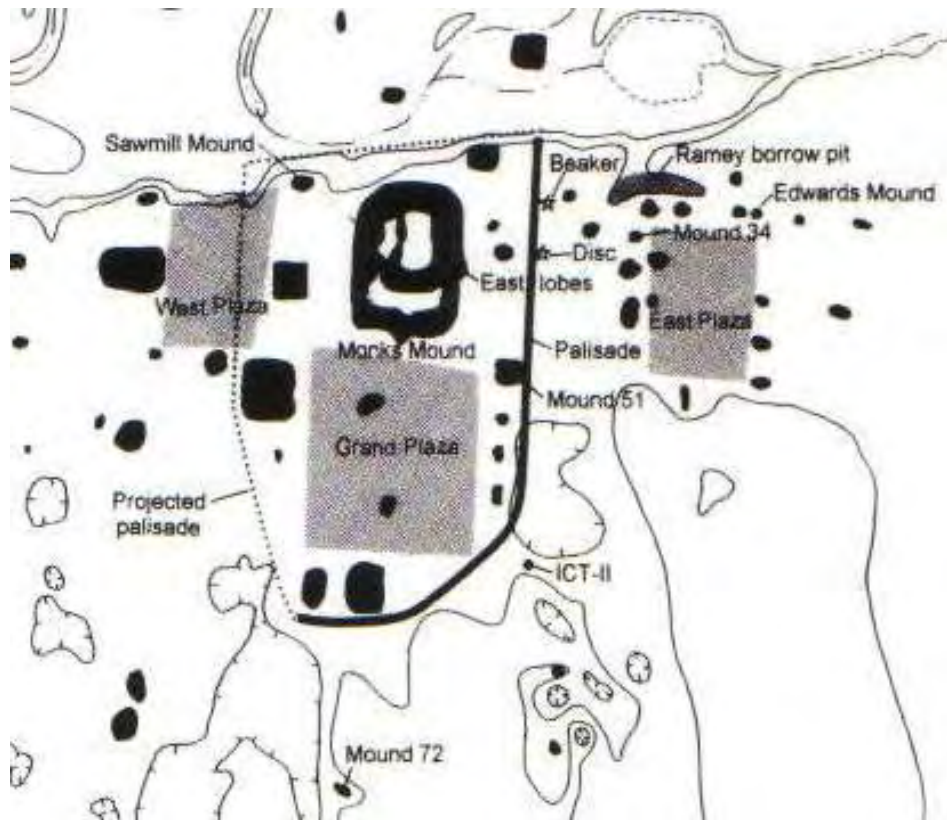
Fig 3.1 – Site Map of Cahokia (Brown, 2004:

112)

The 1977 agreement with the Illinois Department of
Transportation to mitigate the archaeological resources
within the construction parameters of Federal Aid
Interstate 270 (FAI-270) provided the means for extensive
archaeological excavations of the Cahokian area (Emerson
and Jackson, 1984: 1-14). The findings of these
excavations and other research in the area, illuminates the
role Cahokia played in the interregional trade network of

the Greater Southeast (Emerson and Jackson, 1984 and Kelly,

1991).
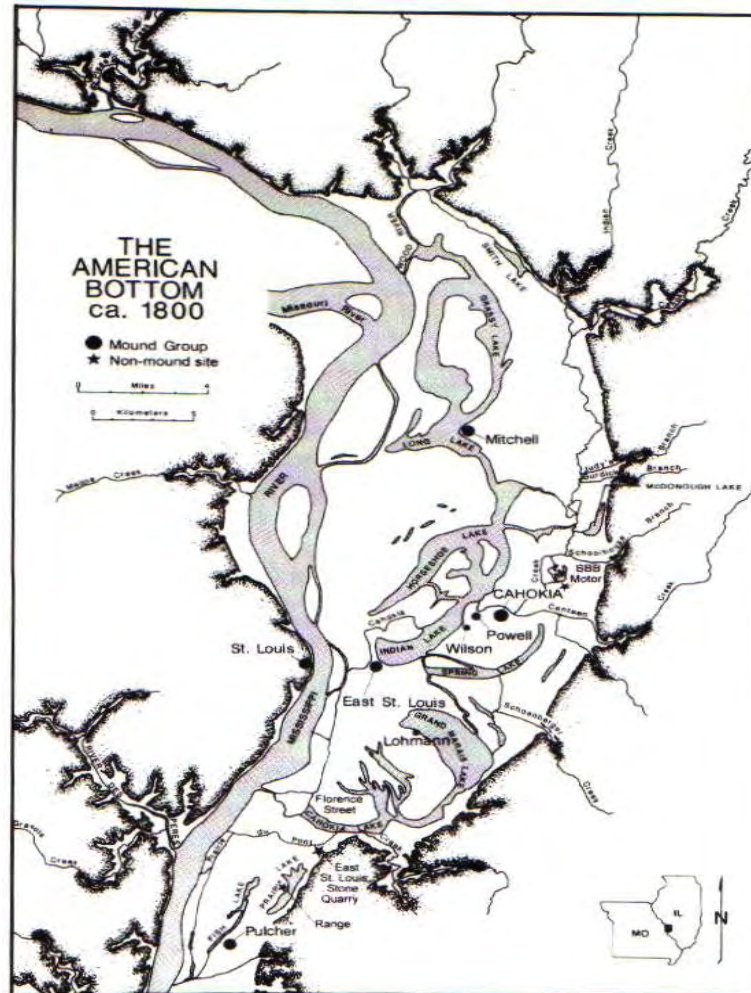
Fig. 3.2 - Map of the American Bottom
area of the Mississippi Valley (from
Brown, 2004: 112)

The extensive distribution of copper from Michigan in

the Greater Southeast and the existing connections of

Cahokia to that area support the view of Cahokia as an

interregional gateway for trade (Hall, 1991 and Kelly,

1991). The caches of engraved and unfinished *Busycon* shells at the site, which are also found in the archaeological record of other major centers such as Spiro, also provides supporting evidence of Cahokia's role as a hub for interregional trade (Brown, 1996). Scholars have postulated the Cahokian cultural connections to the Osage and Omaha tribes by connecting ideological and cultural evidence such myths and symbolism, to physical archaeological evidence, such as ceramic types and styles (Kehoe, 2007). Intensive interaction with the Oneota to the north, the Creeks to the south, and the Caddoan areas in the Spiro area has also been posited citing similar data (Brown, 1996 and Hall, 1991).

Temporal Aspects of Cahokia

The Emergent Mississippian (AD 800-1050) and Mississippian Periods (AD 1050-1350), each subdivided into distinct phases, divide the chronology of the Cahokian area (Kelly et al., 2007: 57-87, Hall, 1991: 3-34 and Emerson 1997: 46-54). During the Fairmount or Edelhart Phase (AD 900/925-1050) of the late Emergent Mississippian Period, the Cahokian area had strong southeastern ties and developed as a regional hub for the redistribution of exotic goods to other areas in the central and southeastern

United States (Hall, 1991: 3-34 and Trubitt, 2000). The initial construction of the centrally located Monk's Mound began at the site in this period also (fig. 3.1; Hall, 1991: 3-34). The emergence of Cahokia as a ritual center marked the end of this phase around AD 1050, and the beginning of the Mississippian Period (Kelly, et al. 2007, a la Pauketat, 1993).

Four phases constitute the Mississippian Period, the Lohman Phase (AD 1050-1100), Stirling Phase (AD 1100-1200), Moorehead Phase (AD 1200-1275), and Sand Prairie Phase (AD 1275-1350) (Hall, 1991: 3-34). During the Mississippian Period, Cahokian interaction with the Caddoan area to the south, and the Oneota in the northern Mississippian area increases (Hall, 1991: 3-34 and Kelly et all, 2007).

Oneota culture began around AD 1100 in the upper Mississippian area and further developed with interaction with Cahokia, which is traceable through the spread of Ramey Incised and Powell Plain ceramic pottery, among others, in the Cahokia area and the Upper Mississippi (Hall, 1991: 3-34, Kelly, 1991: 61-80 and Green and Rodell, 1994). Hall also shows how the Ramey Incised symbolism exhibits ties to the greater southeastern ideological system (Hall, 1991: 3-34). Ramey Incised pottery is simply Powell Plain with incised designs that are associated with

the ritual and symbolic paraphernalia of Mississippian

society (Emerson, 1989: 63-65). This ritual association

connects the Cahokian ideology to a specific subconscious

cultural paradigm that allows analysis of the data to be

limited to a specific set of interpretations (Hall, 1991:

3-34). Thus, Cahokia became an interregional gateway center

for the larger trade networks of the Greater Southeast as

well as a burgeoning cult center within the Mississippian

religious system (Kelly, 1991: 61-80).

The Lohman Phase (AD 1050-1100) at Cahokia marks the

beginning of the Mississippian Period at the site of

Cahokia and is synonymous to the Lindhorst Phase in the

surrounding American Bottom (Kelly, et al., 2007). As I

have shown, the transition to the Mississippian Period in

the Moundville Chiefdom, during this phase at Cahokia,

dispersed Woodland villages transitioned to Mississippian

farmsteads, which indicates a transition to a maize-based

"garden agriculture" (Emerson, 1997, Pauketat, 2003, and

Scarry and Scarry, 2005). This transition provides evidence

of the growing population of the Cahokia and American

Bottom area and the intensification of local production,

which provide the prerequisites for the rise of a major

ritual and political center. Cahokia had undergone the

beginnings of becoming a ritual center with the

construction of Monk's Mound in the preceding Phase (Kelly, 1991 and Hall, 1991: 3-34). However, with a shift to maize agriculture, the population of the area could grow and provide the means for specialization and the production of a surplus for the constituency of the polity.

The influx of interregional Mississippian symbolism saw Cahokia develop into a major cult center in the interacting religious system of the Greater Southeast. This development is evidenced by the construction of more earthen pyramids, a central plaza, and the development of the site under a planned layout, probably as a diagrammatic ceremonial center, similar to Moundville (Pauketat, 2003 and Knight, 1998: 44-62). The high population of Cahokia during the Lohman Phase, resulting from a large influx of population to the core center, indicates that this phase was the time of the urbanization of Cahokia (Pauketat, 2003).

The subsequent Stirling Phase (AD 1100-1200) described by Hall as the climax of Cahokia, demonstrates evidence of regional conglomeration of the Greater Cahokian polity (Hall, 1991). This conglomeration is indicated by the rise of both high and low status individuals in the core center, as well as the regional development of related ritual sites with mound constructions and areas of ritual and ceremonial

importance (Trubitt, 2000, Emerson, 1997: 81-149, and Pauketat, 2003). The rise of these outlying ritual sites indicates the same movement of populations from the core to suburban sites in the Cahokian interaction sphere as seen at Moundville. This movement indicates the grouping of specialized craft production at specific outlying locales (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998b). This would have given individuals with similar occupations, and perhaps statuses, a greater control over their individual groups by removing themselves from the core area. This is in line with archaeological evidence from outlying areas to the north of Cahokia, in which Cahokian residents during the Stirling Phase migrated away from the urban core, a pattern that continued to the Sand Prairie Phase and beyond (Conner, 1985: 215-219).

The Cahokian core area was highly stratified and probably multi-ethnic because of the strong ties to the southeast, the Caddoan areas to the south, and the Oneota of the Upper Mississippi to the north (Trubitt, 2000 and Hall, 1991: 3-34). This multi-ethnicity would have provided challenges to the ruling elite's control of the site, which reduced endemic warfare and strife. The rise of suburban and rural nodes is a result of these challenges, providing groups with the ability to focus more on their own needs

and desires, rather than being part of the core itself
(Harris, 1943: 1-13).

These peripheral groups already existed in the same
religious system and functioned under the same subconscious
cultural paradigm as the Cahokian core. They would have
taken the ritual symbolism and sacred traditions in use at
Cahokia to their new rural ceremonial nodes. This movement
to peripheral areas follows under the proposed "Paradigm of
the Periphery" pattern of migration of sacred tradition and
symbolism from core areas to suburban and rural
peripheries. Emerson discusses some examples of these
suburban and rural ceremonial nodes as "rural cults", which
exhibit characteristics such as mortuary onstruction
practices, ceremonial architectural construction (such as
mounds and temples), sweathouses, and/or ritual fire pits
used in ceremonial rituals such as the Green Corn Busk
(Emerson, 1997: 225-248). The Green Corn Busk is a yearly
ceremony of renewal celebrated around the time of the
summer solstice (Swanton, 2000).

The Moorehead Phase (AD 1200-1275) seems to be a time
of transition between the preceding Stirling Phase and
subsequent Sand Prairie phase, evidenced by the
similarities in the ceramic seriation of the site (Hall,
1991). Ramey incised and Powell Plain ceramics were

entrenched in the Cahokian area until this phase, in which
they disappear, replaced with cord-marked shell tempered
ceramics (Emerson, 1997: 52-53). Continued urbanization of
the site during this phase and the evidence of decreases in
population, suggests that this is a time of elite takeover
of the site along with the continuation of Cahokia as a
major interregional core center in the Greater Southeast
(Emerson, 1997: 52 a la Fowler, 1972: 89 and Pauketat,
2003).

The Sand Prairie Phase (AD 1275-1350) was a time of
little activity at Cahokia. This Phase provides the first
evidence of ritual mortuary practices associated with the
core occurring in peripheral outlying sites (Emerson, 1997:
53-54). This change in mortuary practices demonstrates the
migration of symbolism, ideology, and sacred traditions
that developed in the urbanized core to peripheral rural or
suburban sites and locales. This movement constitutes the
initial pattern of the "Paradigm of the Periphery."

CHAPTER 4 – MOUNDVILLE

Geographical Aspects of Moundville

The Mississippian site of Moundville (fig. 4.1) was situated upon the south bank of Black Warrior River in western-central Alabama, in what is now Tuscaloosa and Hale counties (fig. 4.2). This is a distinct area of the southeast, because it is the regional confluence of the coastal plains, piedmont, and the southern end of the Appalachian uplift (Hudson, 1976: 14-22). In size, only the chiefdom of Cahokia surpassed Moundville's core (Steponaitis and Knight, 2004).

At the site, representational art on ceramics, copper, stone, and shell display the symbolism of the religious system used throughout the Greater Southeast (Steponaitis and Knight, 2004). Most of this art, such as Moundville Engraved and Carthage Incised pottery, was initially associated within an elite context, though it expanded throughout the Moundville polity (Steponaitis, 2009: 99-100, Steponaitis and Knight, 2004, and Knight, 2007). This supports the movement of ritual symbolism and sacred

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traditions from the core center to the peripheral areas
that circumscribe it.
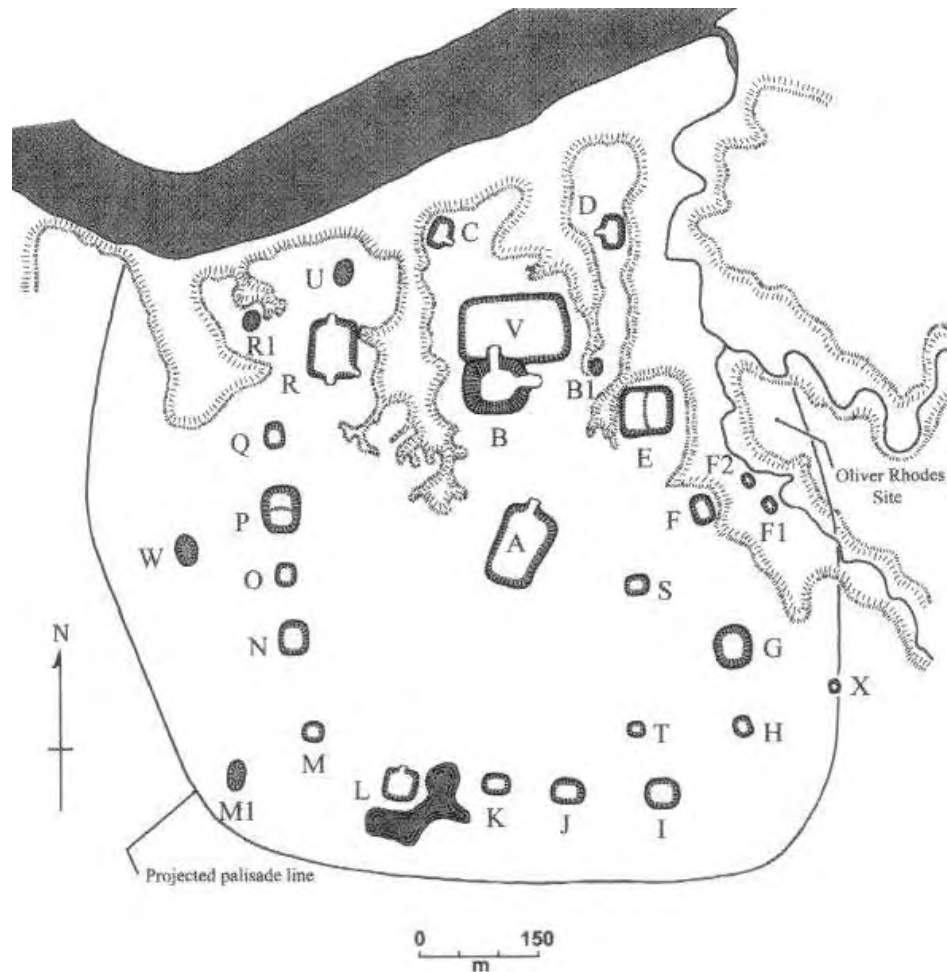
Fig. 4.1 – Map of the Moundville site (from

Knight and Steponaitis, 1998a: 3)

Temporal Aspects of Moundville

Chronologies (see fig. 4.2) distinguish four distinct

Mississippian ceramic phases (Moundville I, II, III, and

IV) from Moundville's organization to collapse, or approximately AD 1050-1650 (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998b: 1-25). These periods follow the West Jefferson Phase (ca. AD 900-1050) during which an intensification of local production begins laying the foundations necessary for the core center to arise. The West Jefferson phase is the late Woodland Period predecessor to what would become a major Mississippian core center (ibid.).

Knight and Steponaitis (1998b: 1-25) also posit five developmental stages for the Moundville Chiefdom (fig. 4.3). These developmental stages begin in the West Jefferson Phase with an intensification of local production and proceeds to initial centralization (ca. AD 1050-1200), regional consolidation (ca. AD 1200-1300), the entrenched paramountcy (ca. AD 1300-1450), and finally the collapse and reorganization of the site(ca. AD 1450-1650). These developmental stages differentiate the occupational phases established by the ceramic chronology into early and late within the first three phases of the Moundville site (Moundville I, II, and III).
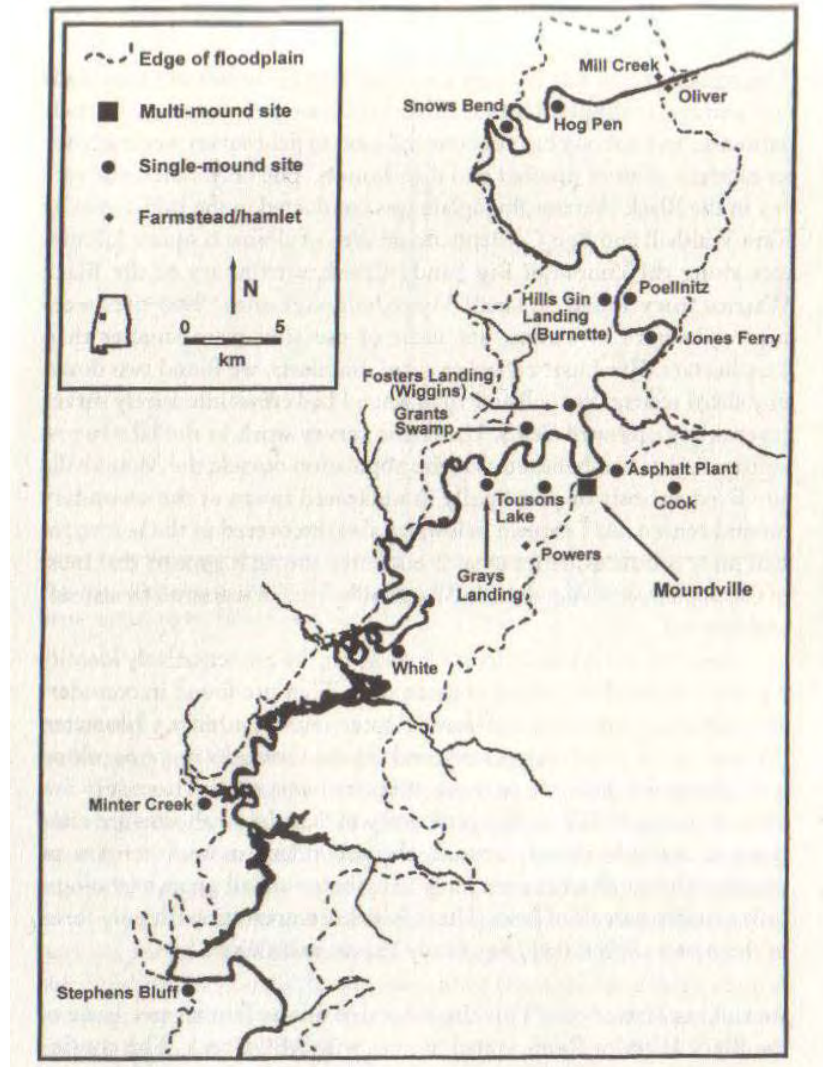
Fig. 4.2 – Map of the Moundville Chiefdom

on the Black Warrior River (from Welch,

1998: 137)

In the West Jefferson Phase (ca. AD 900-1050), problems

caused by the increasing populations in the river-valleys

were common in the Moundville area, such as warfare due to

competition for resources between communities (see

Carneiro, 1970). The West Jefferson Phase is also notable

in the development of the later core center because of the craft production of shell items. These items were probably used for trade as well as in ritual or for status and prestige within the communities (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998b: 1-25). These circumstances allow for the perfect conditions for an urban center to emerge. There was already an intensification of resources to provide food and trade opportunities to the larger population, and a readily available source of wealth from those trade opportunities by the exploitation of the local shell production.

As previously mentioned, the location of the core center is strategically situated at the confluence of between three and five environmental ecotones, providing an easily exploitable site for the centralization of the surrounding areas (Peebles, 1971: 68-91). As the core center emerges, a reduction in the endemic warfare occurs as the core subsumes the surrounding rural areas. This expansion demonstrates an intensification of agricultural production of corn (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998b: 1-25). The high percentage of corn kernels in ratio to other food sources in the periphery areas and core center provides evidence of the intensification of maize-based "garden agriculture" (Scarry and Scarry, 2005: 259-274).

	Ceramic Phase (Subphase)	Developmental Stage
AD 1600	Moundville IV	Collapse and Reorganization
AD 1500	(late) Moundville III (early)	
AD 1400	(late) Moundville II (early)	The Paramountcy Entrenched
AD 1300		Regional Consolidation
AD 1200	(late) Moundville I (early)	Initial Centralization
AD 1100		
AD 1000	(late) West Jefferson (early)	Intensification of Local Production
AD 900		

Fig. 4.3 – Ceramic phases and developmental stages for the Moundville Chiefdom (from Knight and Steponaitis, 1998a: 8)

The transition from individual groups competing for horticultural space and hunting grounds to a shared exploitation of the environment begins the early Moundville I Phase coinciding with the "initial centralization"

developmental stage (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998b: 1-25).
This period of transition was quite rapid. At approximately
AD 1000, the presence of corn in the archaeological record
of this area was insignificant, yet by AD 1100, the
agricultural production of corn served as the major food
source for the Moundville population (Steponaitis and
Knight, 2004: 197-181).

The construction of mounds at the site supports the
hypothesis of its use as a central node of authority for
the accumulation and distribution of elite goods.
Undoubtedly, these goods were used to validate the power of
local aspiring elites (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998b: 1-
25). In addition to exotics, interregional symbolism on
local media, specifically stone, denotes the increasing
influence of local elites in an expanding interaction
sphere. One on the most notable examples of this local
stonework is the "Rattlesnake Disc" (fig. 4.4), a stone
disc that was likely used as a smudge stone and functioned
within the context of ceremonial activity and in sacred
bundles (Reilly, personal communication, February 2009).

In *Moundville's Economy*, stone palettes such as the
"Rattlesnake Disc" are described as "paint palettes" in the
examination of the presence of exotics at Moundville and
the distribution of local craft productions throughout the

southeast (Welch, 1991). The petaloid motif or notches around the outside of the disc and the hand and eye symbol in the center likely functioned as celestial locatives (Reilly, 2007, and Lankford, 2007b). Due to the ritual significance of these objects, and their distribution within the Greater Southeast, these stone palettes likely served the additional role of being a local contribution to the interregional ideological and religious network typically identified as the SECC (Waring and Holder, 1945).

During the period of approximately AD 1200-1250, coinciding with the late Moundville I Phase, Moundville became a localized paramountcy (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998b: 1-25). This paramountcy was in place during the development of the multi-mound, urbanized core center that provided a hub for the larger, regional interaction network (ibid.). In addition, the center developed the necessary social controls for a society to function successfully (Berger, 1963: 66-69).

The layout of the site coincides with the stratification of house groups in a Chickasaw camp square (fig. 4.5), which Knight proposes as part of his evidence of the Moundville site being constructed as a diagrammatic ceremonial center (Knight, 1998: 44-62). The Chickasaw camp square was arranged around a central fire based upon the

social hierarchy (ibid.). This arrangement around a central plaza area is also seen in Creek square grounds as well as in the arrangement of domestic structures and town houses (Sawyer, 2009: 170-171).

Fig. 4.4 – "Rattlesnake Disc", Moundville

(from Moore, 1996: 34)

Proposed as a sociogram, this site layout would also serve as a delineation of sacred space, with the central

mound (Mound A, see fig. 4.1) the likely focus of ritual (Knight, 1998: 44-62). This fact allows for the establishment of a type of socio-cosmological map that provides illumination of the subconscious cultural paradigms under which the people of this area constructed their world-view. The blending of an urban core center, local power and prestige, and a ritual/metaphysical layout of the site demonstrates a common theme in Native America: the physical and metaphysical, political and ritual, are indistinguishable within the subconscious cultural paradigm of these peoples.

The early Moundville II Phase incorporates the height of the "regional consolidation" developmental stage that began in the late Moundville I Phase (see fig. 4.6). The evidence of the end of this phase, which marked the transition to the late Moundville II Phase, is indirect evidence from burials in the mounds, like the inclusion of ritual or prestige grave goods in varying amounts presumably indicative of social status (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998b: 1-25). Based on available evidence, a sharp decrease in middens occurred during this time, which may indicate little or no permanent residence in the core itself (ibid.).

Intcukwalipa	Imosaktcàn

1. Inkúni
2. Inyalkacà
3. Intcicawáya
Intciskilíkkobàfa
Intcúkakolòfa
Intcúkwalipa

1. Insaktalánfa
2. Imosaktcàn
3. Inkobukcè
4. Hataqananì
5. Intcukapáta
Incaktcakáfa
Impitcánhatcáha

CHICKASAW CAMP SQUARE
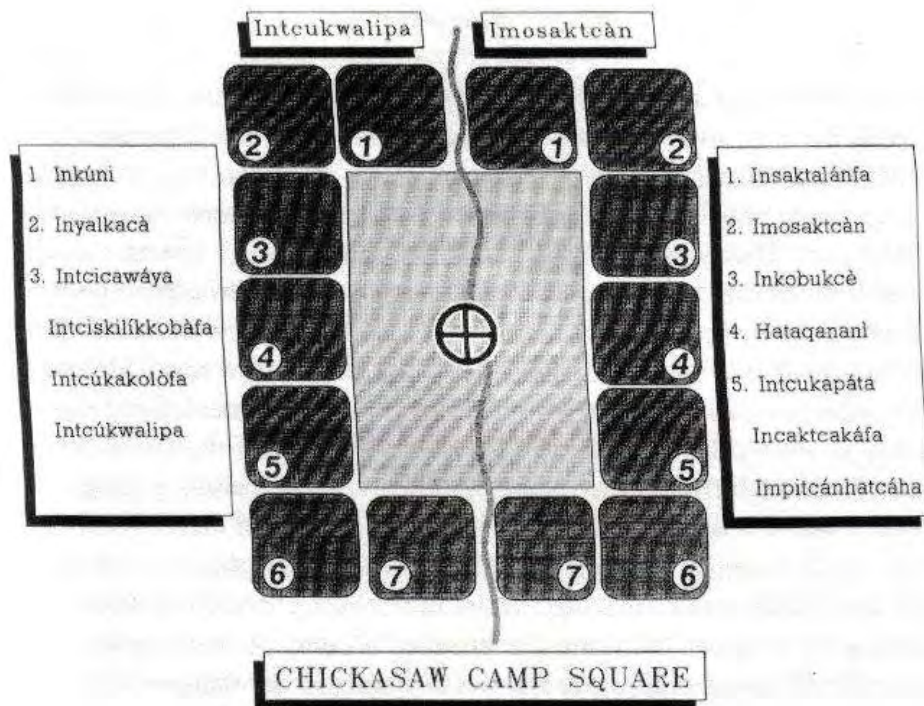
Fig. 4.5 – Diagram of a Chickasaw camp square; the ranking of house groups is shown in the margin, the cross-in-circle motif represents a council fire (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998a: 55).

With the paramountcy established, the elites would have taken over the entire core center itself, while the residential population of non-elites moved out to suburban single-mound peripheral sites around the core center, in the Black Warrior River floodplain (see fig. 4.2). This population movement is similar to the urbanization and sub-urban development that occurred in North America in the

late 19th and early 20th century. At that time, suburban areas provided a better residential location than the core centers. In the suburban areas, the lesser variation of the social hierarchy allowed the residents more likelihood of having a firmer control over their community (Harris, 1943: 1-13).

The fall of the paramountcy and the beginning of the abandonment of the mounds around AD 1400-1450 marks the beginning of the fall of the Moundville Chiefdom (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998b: 1-25). During the late Moundville III phase, when the core was mostly unoccupied, outlying sites in the Moundville Chiefdom such as the White site had their highest levels of occupation (Welch, 1991: 48-52). These developing peripheral mound sites probably served as nodes to the Moundville administrative network (Beck, 2003). There is a presence of Moundville III ceramics, palettes, and other identifiable items with ideological and economic ties to the core center in these peripheral sites, as well as the construction of ritual areas (Welch, 1991: 48-52). The ritual nature of archaeological and iconographic evidence equates to the movement of lesser elites, who had specialized access to ritual knowledge and objects in the center, to these smaller mound sites, taking the symbolism and ideology with them. Such ideological

movement is an identifiable characteristic of the "Paradigm of the Periphery."
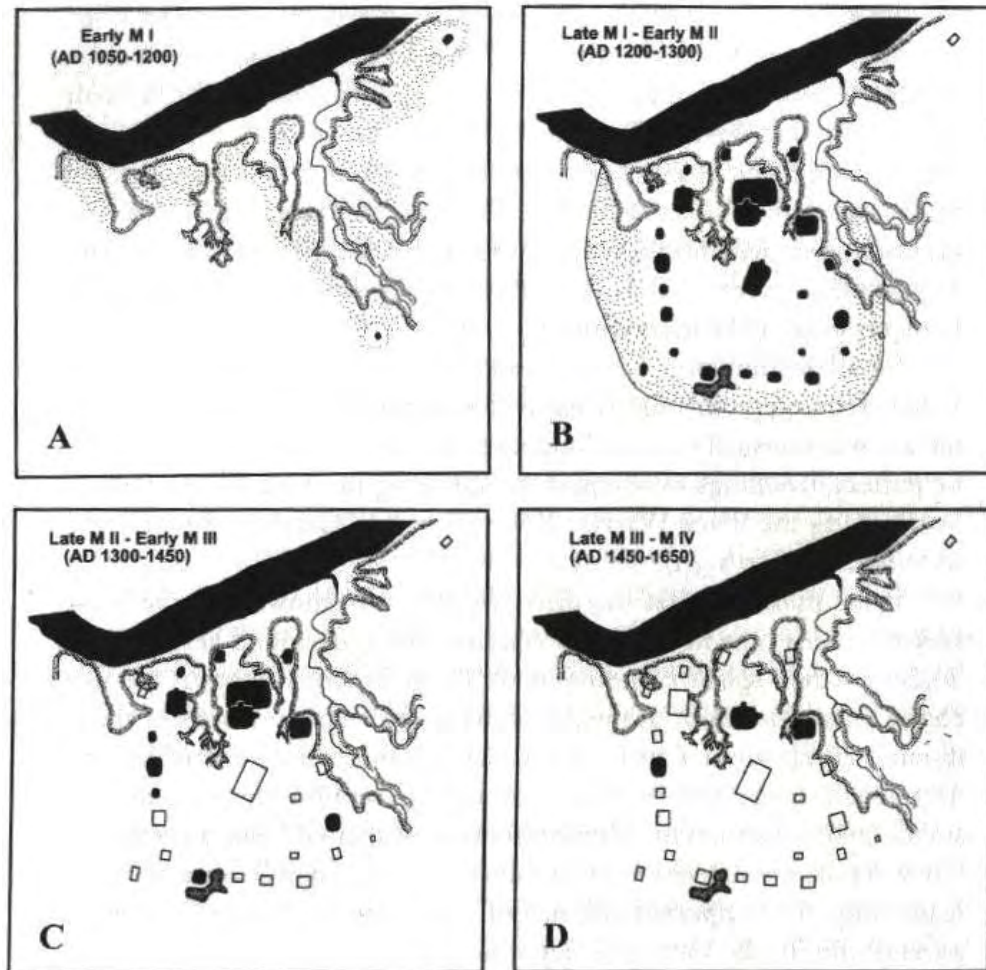
Fig. 4.6 – Settlement changes at Moundville from Early Moundville I through Moundville IV. Occupied mounds are black. (from Knight and Steponaitis, 1998a: 14)

In the late Moundville III phase, Moundville arose as a regional ritual necropolis with only a small residential

population of caretaker elites (Pauketat and Emerson, 1997 and Steponaitis, 1998). Scholars interpret this variation in the residency of the core center within a "cycling" behavior of continuous rises and falls in populations due to inherent political instability (Cobb, 2003 and Anderson, 1994). However, political instability is not fully able to account for the rise of integrated peripheral mound sites still connected to a central ritual mortuary site. It seems more likely that the cyclical patterns seen in the occupation of core centers is not due to political instability, but rather, is an ideal example of the patterns of core hegemony functioning under the "Paradigm of the Periphery". This hypothesis suggests that the failing core center did not entail the end of the symbolism and ritual/sacred knowledge associated with the Moundville cult node. We see the pattern of knowledge and sacred traditions moving from the core center to the peripheral areas, where their transmission is able to outlast the failing core itself.

CHAPTER 5 – THE LAMAR AREA

Geographical Aspects of the Area

The Lamar area (fig. 5.1), as defined in *Lamar Archaeology*, was constituted by a variety of interacting chiefdoms that rose and fell within the Mississippian Period (Williams and Shapiro, 1990: 5 and Anderson, 1990: 187-213). The Lamar area was also the location of two major Mississippian core centers, Etowah and Lake Jackson.

In the case of Moundville and Cahokia, competition for space along the confluence of exploitable environmental zones forced populations together along the major river in the regional area. In the Lamar area however, competition for space was not restricted to a singular river valley, and could expand out along the extensive riverine system by settling in the river basins (Anderson, 1994: 260-263). Thus, the intensification of production and the rise of charismatic leaders that helped other Mississippian core centers to emerge early were unnecessary in this area (Knight and Steponaitis, 1998b: 1-25 and Anderson, 1994: 260-263). It remained unnecessary until the populations of

the Area were much higher than that of other centralizing
Mississippian centers.
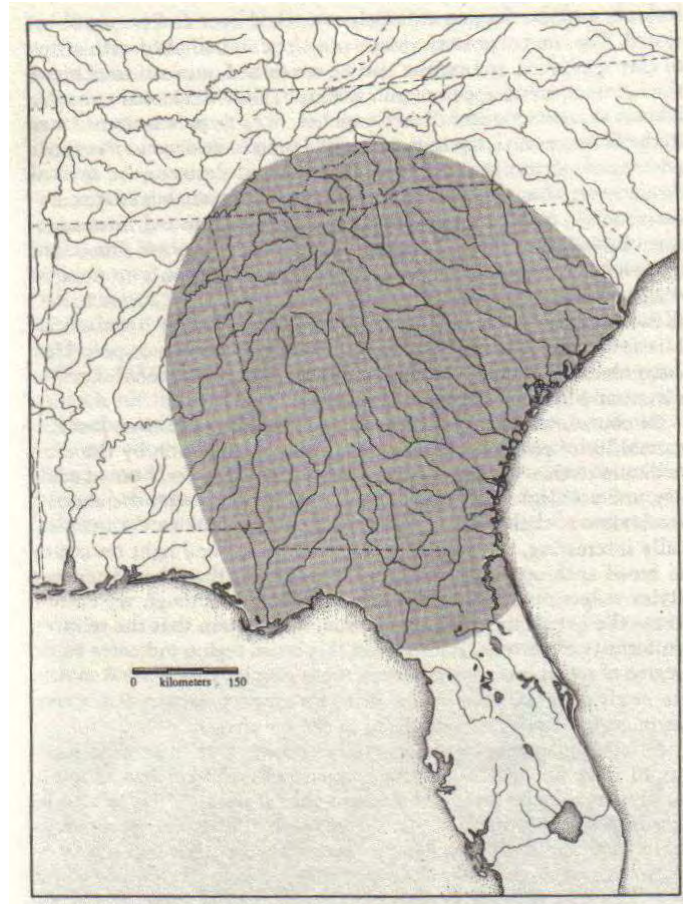
*Fig. 5.1 – The Lamar Area
(from Williams and Shapiro,
1990: 5)*

William Bartram, in his *Travels*, described the Georgia
coastal swamps created by the convergence of the numerous
rivers, which provides an important factor in determining
the challenges of this geographical area (Slaughter, 1996:
49-52). The soil of the swamps is that of dark black humus,

which is extremely rich in nutrients so long as it remains saturated with water. When this soil dries out, however, it becomes so dense that it kills the plants that are growing there. Thus, if a major climatic event caused an extended drought in the area, the results would have been catastrophic for any large, integrated population.

In areas such as this, the shade provided by tree growth is essential in maintaining the swampy atmosphere, keeping the soil moist by preventing evaporation. Consequently, if denudation occurred in the area by the clearing of trees for fuel, architectural constructions, or more agricultural land for rising populations, the land would fail to render sufficient sustenance for those increased populations. However, with the population groups spaced out across these swampy river basins, the environment is able to sustain smaller populations much more profitably. These smaller groups then begin to form alliances or engage in warfare as populations increase to provide the necessary surplus to feed increasing populations within the confines of the population-limiting environment of the Lamar Area. This creates the social interactions and initial centralization needed to form minor centers. These minor centers served as hubs for

intra-regional trade that emulate the functionality of the larger Mississippian centers.

In political systems that make strong use of hegemonic techniques, relying heavily on the peripheral areas for production of sustenance, these smaller areas effectively provide surplus to minor centers through tribute. These minor centers then form associations and alliances, providing the foundation for the centralization that occurs with the emergence of a major center. Thus, over time, major centers such as Etowah and Lake Jackson, among others, emerge by subsuming the minor centers that had formed under the population-limiting effects of the natural environment. These minor centers exhibited a higher level of complexity and integration in relation to the larger core centers that formed in other areas, such as Moundville and Cahokia. This may provide evidence to the relatively longer habitation of the Etowah area and the strong perseverance of the sacred traditions and symbolism of the tribes of this area (King, 2004: 151-165).

Several sites along the Tennessee River in southeastern Tennessee, such as the site of Hiwassee Island, are important to the conceptualization of regional interactions in the Lamar area specifically and Greater Southeast in general. This is due to the frequency of

engraved shell, mostly in the form of Hightower and Lick

Creek style shell gorgets (Sullivan, 2007: 88-106 and

Marceaux and Dye, 2007). These provide evidence of the

extent of distribution of prestige trade items and ritual

symbolism. The dating of these gorgets and their corrected

sequencing places the distribution to approximately AD

1200, rather late in the Mississippian sequence when

compared to Moundville or Cahokia (Brain and Philips, 1996

and Hally, 2007: 185-231). On the regional scale, this

temporal period overlapped with the Savannah Phases,

distinguished as Early Savannah (AD 1200-1250) and Late

Savannah (AD 1250-1375). The Lamar Phases followed these

Phases (LeDoux, 2009). The Early Lamar ranged from AD 1375-

1475 and the Late Lamar ranged from AD 1475-1550 (King,

2003 and 2004).

The late emergence of Mississippian connections in the

lower Tennessee Valley coincides with the rise of numerous

Mississippian centers in other parts of the Lamar Area. For

example, the Savannah River is located in eastern Georgia

and western South Carolina, and forms the eastern boundary

of the Lamar area. The first centers in the Savannah River

Valley emerged around AD 1100-1150, and by AD 1250, seven

to nine centers arranged in four clusters were in use along

the river (Anderson, 1994: 235-239). These evolved over the

next century into two major multi-mound centers.

Accompanying the rise of these multi-mound centers is

evidence of elite impoverishment at the smaller centers in

the area, seen in the reduction in the quantities of

prestige grave goods over time (Anderson, 1994: 311-313).

However, while this area arises as a major Mississippian

region rather late in the scheme of the "SECC," there is

evidence of a very long history of occupation. For

example, Stallings Island in eastern Georgia is the site of

some of the earliest pottery in the Greater Southeast,

sometime before 3500 B.P. (Sassaman et al., 2006 and

Fairbanks, 1942).

The presence of intricately designed copper repoussé

plates in the Lamar area is another major diagnostic tool

in unveiling the spread of regional symbolism and ideology

of the Greater Southeast. The Rogan Plates from Etowah

(fig. 5.2), discovered by John Rogan, depict a winged

anthropomorphic figure and are among the most well known

examples of these plates (Scarry, 2007: 134-150). Other

scholars have discovered plates throughout the Lamar area

with the highest concentrations in the core centers of

Etowah and Lake Jackson (Scarry, 2007: 134-150 and Larson,

1971). With strong connections to the Classic Braden style

indicative of the Cahokian area, Brown has postulated that

most of the plates were likely made in Cahokia, and then dispersed throughout the Greater Southeast (Brown, 2007a: 56-106).

Fig. 5.2 – The Rogan Plates from Etowah, excavated by John Rogan. Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Washington D.C. Catalogue Numbers 110 (Left) and 111 (Right). (from Townsend and Sharp, eds., 2004: 150, 157)

The Etowah and Lake Jackson Interaction Sphere

Etowah, in northwest Georgia, was a chiefdom capital with multiple mounds and evidence of elite burials

(Moorehead, 1927). The site, situated upon the Etowah River in Bartow County, Georgia, consisted of six mounds on slightly over fifty-four acres enclosed within a palisade (fig 5.3 and King, 2004: 151-165). According to scholars, Etowah first reached chiefdom level organization around AD 1000 (King, 2003 and 2007b: 129-132). After a short period of abandonment around AD 1200-1250, the site was repopulated, and reemerged as a major Mississippian center (King, 2004: 153). The reoccupation of Etowah begins the Wilbanks Phases at the Etowah site (fig 5.4, Ledoux, 2009 and King, 2003). The Early Wilbanks ranged from AD 1250-1325 and the Late Wilbanks ranged from AD 1325-1375 (King 2003). The Wilbanks Phases coincided with the Late Savannah Phase in the regional temporal scale and was followed by the Lamar Phases (King, 2003 and 2004).

The major Mississippian center of Etowah persisted for several hundred years, maintaining an important place within the Mississippian landscape. This position resulted from connections to the larger, interregional trade and exchange networks the made use of the exotic goods, symbolism, and sacred traditions characteristic of the Mississippian religious system. Evidence of warfare at the site provides evidence that while this site maintained an important place in the landscape, the cultural group

occupying it changed several times (King, 2004: 151-165).
This shows how the site functioned as a core center both
geographically and ideologically. The site had a shared
importance among the diverse cultural groups of the area
that were under tenuous social pressures created by the
competition for space and the migration of peoples
throughout the environment.
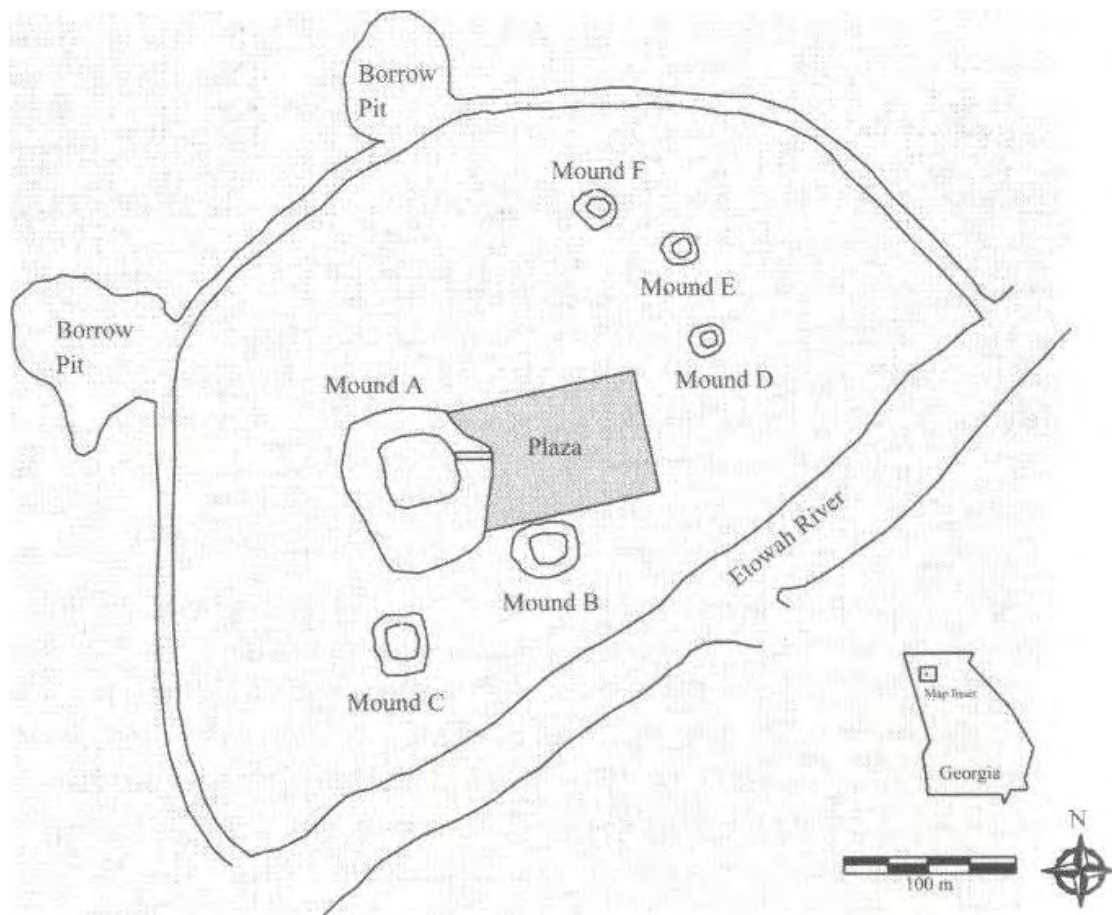
Fig. 5.3 – Plan Map of the Etowah site (King, 2007: 108)

Scholars have posited the multi-mound site of Lake Jackson, in northwest Florida, as Etowah's sister-site due to the distribution of and overlapping symbolism depicted upon ideo-technic objects such as copper repoussé plates and shell gorgets (Scarry, 2007:134-150). The site was situated on the southern edge of Lake Jackson, north-northwest of Tallahassee in Leon County, Florida. The settlement patterning of the Lake Jackson area however, was different from other emerging major centers.

Date	Period	Regional Period Designation	Phase
A.D. 1475–1550	Late Mississippian	Lamar	Brewster
A.D. 1375–1475	Late Mississippian	Lamar	Unoccupied
A.D. 1325–1375	Middle Mississippian	Savannah	Late Wilbanks
A.D. 1250–1325	Middle Mississippian	Savannah	Early Wilbanks
A.D. 1200–1250	Middle Mississippian	Savannah	Unoccupied
A.D. 1100–1200	Early Mississippian	Etowah	Late Etowah
A.D. 1000–1100	Early Mississippian	Etowah	Early Etowah

Fig. 5.4 - Etowah site Phase Sequence (King, 2007: 117)

Settlement at the Lake Jackson site ranges from approximately AD 1000-1500 (LeDoux, 2009). It is separated into Lake Jackson I (AD 1000-1150), Early Lake Jackson II (AD 1150-1250), Late Lake Jackson II (AD 1250-1400), and

Lake Jackson III (AD 1400-1500). The Apalachee Phase occurred after the fifteenth century, and was named after an association with the cultural group and complex Apalachee Chiefdom, which inhabited the area at that time (fig. 5.5, McEwan, 2000b, and Scarry, 1994).

At Lake Jackson, small farmsteads were associated with smaller single-mound centers, while the larger farmsteads centralized around multiple mound centers (LeDoux, 2009: 46-48). This pattern is closer to that of more developed and established Mississippian Chiefdoms (Peebles and Kus 1977: 433-435). This coincides with evidence of the arrival of Fort Walton occupation and the migration of Mississippian peoples to this area of northern Florida (see Payne, 1996 and Scarry, 1984). It seems plausible that the arrival of Mississippian peoples into the area accounts for the emergence of the Mississippian Chiefdom pattern in the area, especially when overlain with the nature of the swampy, population-limiting environment discussed previously. Thus, it is more probable that Mississippian people brought their culture to the area, rather than the peoples of the area adopting a rather late Mississippian cultural pattern.

This movement of Mississippian people into the area also evidences the geographic nature of the "Paradigm of

the Periphery." The emergence of late Mississippian patterns of habitation in the area, without the necessary precursors to this complex development demonstrates that people who had knowledge of the sacred traditions and symbolism that was initially created in the core centers of Moundville and Cahokia had migrated to the periphery, eventually arriving in the northern Florida area near Lake Jackson.

The connections between Etowah and Lake Jackson do not necessarily indicate a shared identity of the two polities. The previously discussed Moundville and Cahokia areas maintained an influence over the surrounding areas either by direct control or by supplying the peripheral areas with lesser elites, sacred traditions and knowledge, and the use and distribution of exotics and ritual objects. This is not characteristic of the Lamar area. In the Lamar area, individual groups seem to have developed throughout the landscape, and while there is evidence of trade and interaction, the archaeological evidence indicate a time of strife and warfare as well (Dye, 2009: 7-17).
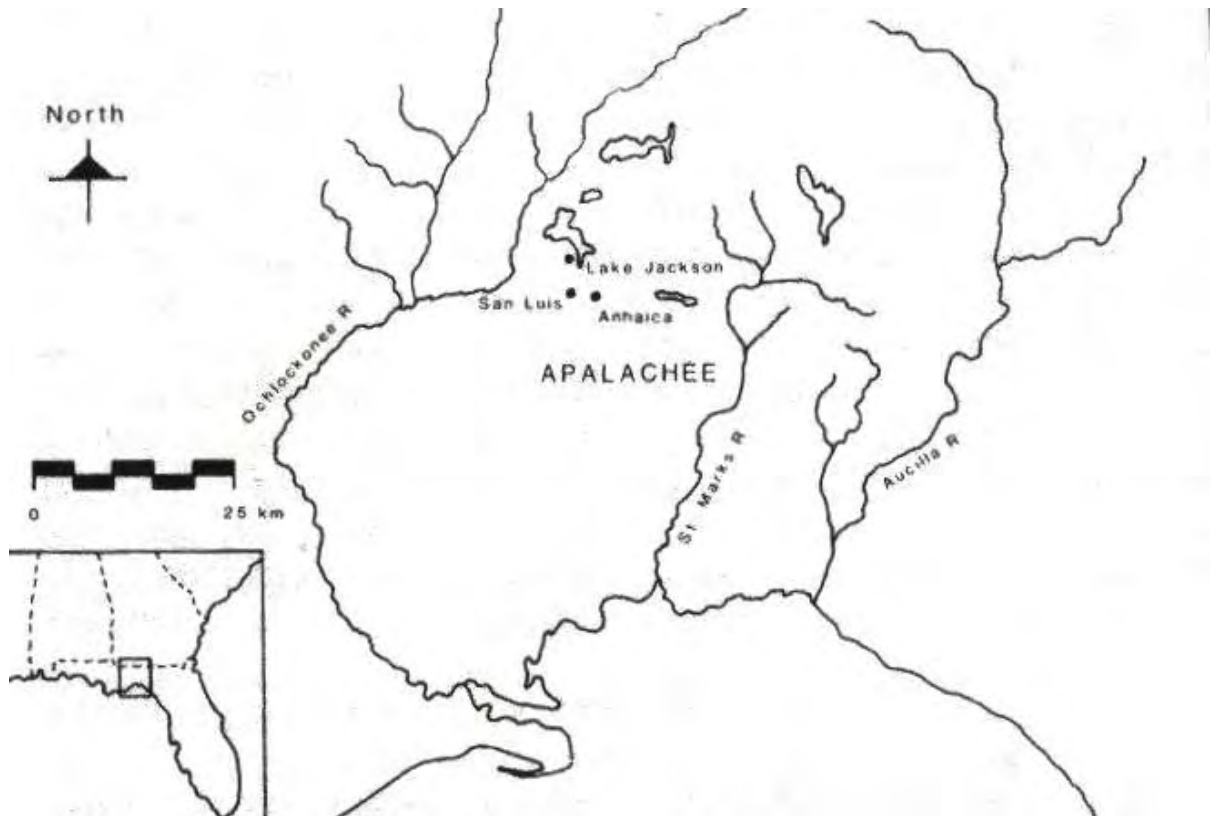
Fig. 5.5 - Ethnic Areas in Northern Florida, showing the location of the Lake Jackson site (Williams and Shapiro, 1990: 179)

The Green Corn Busk, celebrated as the Mvskoke New Year, is a time of renewal in which the wrongdoings of the past year can be forgiven and forgotten (Williams, ed. 1977: 51). The Mvskokvlke (the term for the Mvskoke people, see Martin and Mauldin, 2000) tell that the Green Corn Busk originated so that the peoples of this region could interact peacefully, without constant warfare (Dan Penton, personal communication, June 2009). Dan Penton is the

heles-haya, or maker of medicine, for the White Earth
Square Grounds of the Muscogee Nation of northern Florida.
The prolific nature of warfare iconography in the Lamar
area, like weapons and trophy heads, provides evidence to
the violent interactions that occurred in the region. It is
important to account for this systemic warfare when
analyzing the spread of symbolism and ideology through
trade and peaceful interactions because it provides a more
rounded and clarified context to the interpretations of the
people of the Greater Southeast.

Cultural Sequences in the Area

As would be expected with the environmental factors
that limit the emergence of large-scale societies, the
Lamar area was quite culturally diverse. The largest
numbers of cultural groups in this area were those that
would later constitute the Creek Confederacy in the proto-
historic and historical periods. Swanton discussed the
exhausting number of different polities associated with
these tribal groups in his ethnographic work (Swanton
1946/1979: 81-219). Scholars have postulated the political
organization of a confederacy as a way to maintain a
successful social organization after the disintegration of
large-scale chiefdoms (Galloway, 1994: 393-420). After the

European Invasion, which began with the Spanish *Entrada*, the tribes of this area were fracturing from within. However, because of the dissolution of the chiefdoms, significant outside influences such as diseases likely acted as a catalyst to this process.

The Lamar area is roughly divisible into groups based on similarities in language, archaeological remains, and modern ethnologies. In *Indian Tribes of the Greater Southeast*, the divisions are postulated as follows (McEwan, 2000a). The northernmost group in this area are the Cherokee, whose southernmost towns are situated in southern Tennessee and northern Georgia (Schroedl, 2000: 204-241).

The Upper Creeks, who spoke Mvskoke, resided south of the Cherokee, and bordered the lands of the Lower Creeks, or Mikasuki/Hitchiti speakers, to the south (Waselkov and Smith, 2000: 242-264 and Worth, 2000: 265-298). The latter group existed on much more congenial terms with the Cherokee to the north, while the Upper Creeks historically were at a constant state of conflict with their Iroquoian neighbors to the north. The name "Cherokee" provides some evidence of this division, since it translates roughly to the derogative title "those cave people" (Mooney, 1975: 3-4). However, the Cherokee name for their selves was *Ani'yvwiyv*, which translates to "the true people," a common

self-naming practice of nearly every other cultural group in the southeast. The likely cause of this animosity is the migration of the Cherokee into the area, forcibly pushing the Mvskoke speaking Upper Creeks south as populations increased.

Jim Knight has used the concept of core and periphery in interpreting the formation of the culturally diverse "Creek Confederacy" in the lands of the Upper Creeks (Hudson and Tesser, eds., 1994: 373-392). He discusses how minor Mvskoke speaking centers functioned as cores, while non-Mvskoke speaking towns represented the periphery. The fact that Mvskoke was the *lingua franca,* or trade language, used to communicate in the interregional trade network and the language used in ritual supports this hypothesis (Reilly, personal communication, February 2010). This hypothesis further suggests that these linguistic connections created differences in the importance of towns based upon their constituent residency (i.e., Mvskoke-speakers for the Upper Creeks and Hitchiti-speakers for the Lower Creeks). This differentiation follows with the postulated model of how the minor centers formed in the river basins, expanding out and eventually merging to form major centers through alliance or war.

The Timucua of the southern Georgia and northern Florida area were another Lamar area group, comprised of numerous interacting chiefdoms with a shared culture (Milanich, 2000: 1-25). A number of smaller cultural groups also resided in this expansive region, including the Appalachee of northwest Florida, the Guale and Yuchi of the southeastern Lamar area, and the Coosa of the northwestern Lamar area. This is a fractured summary, however. Other linguistic groups were also in this area, such as the Algonkian speaking Shawnee (Hudson, 1976: 23). The Shawnee moved north as the Upper and Lower Creeks began to relocate due to the continuing influx of Iroquoian tribes such as the Cherokee into the Greater Southeast.

In the northern part of the Lamar area lie several cultural areas of the South Appalachians. These areas include the Appalachian Summit along the Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, and North Carolina borders. Similar to the rest of the Lamar area, this region consisted of numerous cultural groups. The proliferation of Mississippian artifacts throughout the region, however, demonstrates the extensive interactions between this area and other Greater Southeastern regions. Shell-tempered cord-marked ceramics (discussed in Chapter 3) provide the most frequent and easily recognizable Mississippian tie to

this region. Scholars posited the origin of this ceramic complex as having accompanied the expansion of the "Mississippian frontier" (Keel, 1976: 218). Shell gorgets are another of the easily identifiable Mississippian ties (see Brain and Philips, 1996). One important and distinctive feature of this diverse cultural spread lies in the movement of Iroquoian tribes from the Northeast into this region, displacing the cultural groups there as discussed previously.

The migration of Iroquoian tribes, in particular the Cherokee, into the Greater Southeast was a process of both violent and non-violent interaction. The displacement of peoples that occurred in the area, discussed previously, supports the violent interactions, while a cultural blending that occurred supports the non-violent interactions. The ballgame is an example of this blending process (see Hudson, 1976: 408-421). Throughout the Pre-Columbian North American landscape the rules of the ballgame and the style of play is quite similar. However, some key differences allow scholars to assemble an analysis of cultural change exhibited in the ballgame. Players in the southeastern tribes use two sticks, cradling the ball so that the player may throw it either to pass or to strike the ball-pole for points. In the northeastern Iroquoian and

Algonkian tribes, only one stick is used, which has a larger net area than southeastern equivalent. This directly evidences a blending of cultures because the Iroquoian Cherokee adopted cultural traditions of their southern neighbors in the ballgame by using two sticks.

Major centers in this northern region of the Lamar area are nearly all identifiable Cherokee towns, though the evidence of these towns provided by notables such as William Bartram is from the eighteenth century (Slaughter, 1996). There exists little early historical evidence of this area beyond scanty descriptions and stories passed along to early Spanish historians by the natives. This lack of information causes the known fracturing of tribal groups that occurred after the *Entrada* to obscure much of the Spanish historical accounts of these lesser-documented areas. Thus, the archaeology becomes an intrinsic aspect of analysis in these areas.

An example is the ballgame, discussed previously. While the game had several variations in play, it was nevertheless present in a majority of the Greater Southeast. The earliest evidence of the ballgame was at Cahokia, as previously discussed, and by tracing the presence of ballgame related artifacts and symbolism, it

expanded out to peripheral areas as per the model that the "Paradigm of the Periphery" provides.

The patterns of movement of cultural groups throughout the landscape, interacting with and against each other, provide necessary data to the interpretation of this area within the confines of an analytical model like the "Paradigm of the Periphery". The identified patterns make apparent the differences between the Lamar area and other Mississippian areas or core centers. The formation of confederacies within these cultural groups and the temporally longer existence of the core centers in this area in relation to other areas of the Greater Southeast are likely interrelated, and must be a component in the cultural factoring posited under the "Paradigm of the Periphery."

The blending of culture that occurs through societal interaction in the Lamar area, such as the adoption of the Green Corn Ceremony and the changes to the ballgame, provides a firm grounding for the assumption that the individual autonomy of a tribal group was not sufficient to prevent the migration of culturally embedded data such as ritual or symbolism. This also allows for the supposition that the pressures of outsider groups in a regional context as diverse as the Lamar area assisted the continuation of

core centers by providing more stringent barriers to the diffusion of people from core centers into peripheral areas, the pattern seen at other major Mississippian core centers such as Cahokia and Moundville. Thus, in the Lamar area, the model for the "Paradigm of the Periphery" is not geographical in nature; rather, it is ideological and thus spreads culturally. This supposition agrees with the idea postulated by Shils, which defined the center as being culturally, rather than geographically, situated (Shils, 1972: 93). The model for the "Paradigm of the Periphery" in the Lamar area is the adoption of sacred traditions associated with an interregional religious system and trade network. This allows for an interpretation of interregional symbolism beyond the original meaning applied to it by those who partook in its inception at early major Mississippian core centers like Cahokia and Moundville.

PART III – What can we learn about what we see?

CHAPTER 6 - INTERPRETATION

Contextualizing the Relevant Data: Medium

The representation of interregional symbolic ideology carried by goods, both local and exotic, is the main source of interpretable data about the movements of people and ideology throughout the prehistoric southeast. The archaeological context of these objects and the symbolism depicted upon them allow for analysis within a subconscious cultural paradigm to establish a cultural context. The "Paradigm of the Periphery" then provides a model for the interpretation of the movement of these items and ideology within the environment.

Three distinct categories of objects provide examples of the delineation of the "Paradigm of the Periphery" in the Greater Southeast. Shell gorgets and engraved shell comprise the first, copper objects the second, stone objects and implements the third. The distribution of these objects, the symbolism depicted upon them, and their cultural context is analytically useful in understanding this data.

Shell: Engraved Shell & the Delineation of Sacred Space

There is widespread distribution of shell gorgets and engraved shell in the Greater Southeast (Reilly and Garber, eds. 2007, Brain and Philips, 1996). This includes locations in the areas around Cahokia and American Bottom, Spiro, Missouri, Moundville and the Black Warrior River, the Lamar area, the Tennessee Valley, and in the South Appalachians (Emerson 1997, Brown 1996, MacCurdy 1913, Moore 1996 and 2001, Hally 2007, Marceaux and Dye 2007, Sullivan 2007, Moore 2002, Holmes 1883, Dickens 1976, and Keel 1976). Finding such a widespread diffusion of shell gorgets in the Greater Southeast demonstrates a shared cultural production of ideo-technic items and the dispersal of both regional and interregional symbolism (Binford, 1962 and Brown, 2007b). The symbolism on these gorgets exhibit characteristics of shell engravings from as far away as Spiro, Oklahoma (Brown, 1996, see fig. 6.1).

These items exist within a shared subconscious cultural paradigm, as exhibited in their shared symbolism, stylistic qualities, and manner of production that is characteristic of the SECC. In particular, the styles found on these gorgets are identifiable as the Braden and Craig styles found throughout the southeast (Waring and Holder, 1945). The shell engravings compiled in the exhaustive six

volume series by Philips and Brown, Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings at the Craig Mound at Spiro, Oklahoma , best exemplify these styles, though, as mentioned, the myriad cultural groups throughout the Greater Southeast shared the motifs and styles found at Spiro (Philips and Brown, 1975-1982).

Fig. 6.1 – Shell cup fragments from Spiro, OK (on loan from the Museum of Fine Arts Houston to the Houston Museum of Natural Science, HMNS Loan 32.1998.04 (left) and HMNS Loan 32.1998.08 (right), photos by author)

Scholars have long studied shell gorgets within a Mississippian context. These engraved shell discs were chest adornments, but still held significance within ritual. MacCurdy discusses shell gorgets from Missouri, and their similarities to those found by earlier scholars such as C.B. Moore and William H. Holmes (MacCurdy, 1913 and Holmes, 1883).

At Spiro, Braden style engraved cups (see fig. 6.1) were recycled into Craig style gorgets. This indicates that Braden was an exotic style, and that Craig was the more localized style of the Spiro area (Brown, 2007b). The large caches of *Busycon* shells at Cahokia, the same used for the shell engravings, demonstrates the movement of these shells between interacting core areas. This is because the shells are marine, meaning that they had traveled a significant distance to arrive at Cahokia, strengthening the evidence for interregional core hegemony over peripheral areas (Emerson, 1997). The dispersals of these objects in peripheral mound sites relays the pattern of the "Paradigm of the Periphery" by moving from the production areas in the core center to the secondary or peripheral sites.
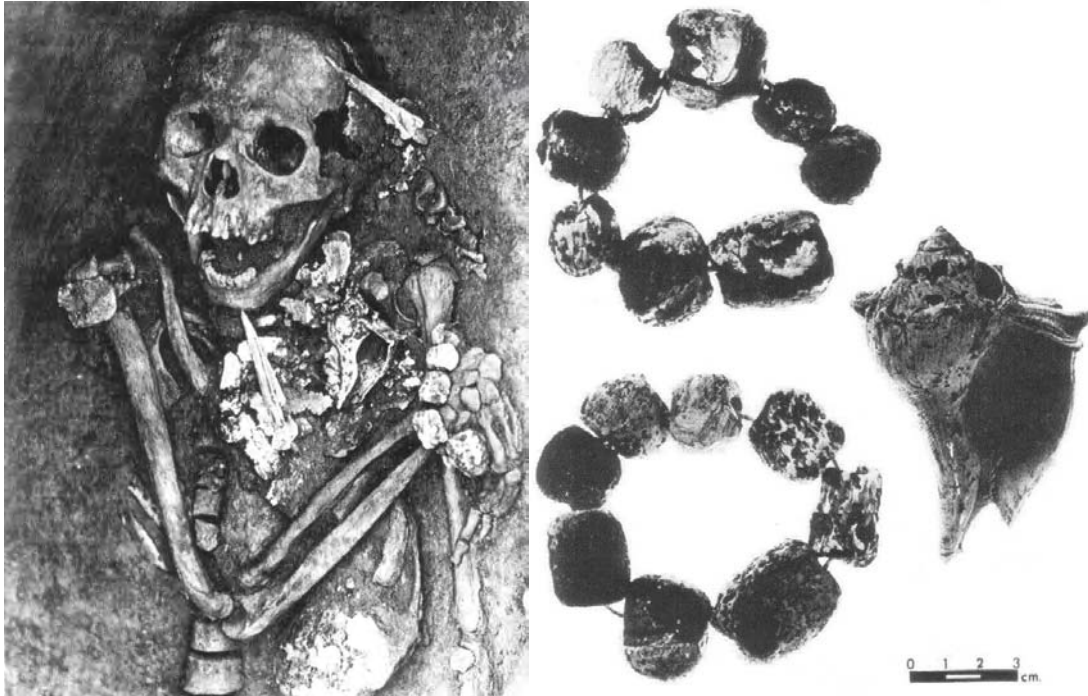
Fig. 6.2 – Burial 7 from the Warren Wilson site in North Carolina, excavations by Bennie Keel. Left: Close-up of the Burial showing the interred shell (Dickens, 1976: 157). Right: Close-up of the columella shell beads and small conch shell shown on the left (Dickens, 1976: 159).

Shell in and of itself was obviously an important item for both spiritual and sociological reasons. The widespread distribution of these engraved and carved shell goods, as well as columella beads, pins, and ear ornamentation (see fig. 6.2), provides evidence of the intrinsically important nature of shell (Keel, 1976: 151-153). In modern Creek ritual, shell delineates sacred space (Dan Penton, personal communication, June 2009). This manner of use explicates

one aspect of shell within the subconscious cultural paradigm of the southeastern peoples, an association with the sacred. This entails that not only were the prestigious shell goods, such as gorgets and engraved cups, fully entrenched in the ritual and ceremonial aspects of the culture, all shell was.

Copper: Repoussé Plates and Categorization by Aspects

Copper as a medium for ritual objects in the Americas is an ancient practice. The Old Copper culture of the prehistoric northeast United States, for example, made socio-technic items of copper, found interred in burials (see Binford, 1962). The source of this copper is the Great Lakes area (ibid.). The presence of copper at major core centers in the Greater Southeast, ergo, entails that it traveled great distances to reach its destination. The provenience of copper in the archaeological record, in mounds and elite burials, indicates that copper was reserved for elite individuals (Kelly, 1991: 61-80).

The difficulty in obtaining quantities of this material and amount of energy needed for working it likely account for the elite status of copper objects. As lesser elites gained access to ritual objects and knowledge, the use of these elite copper objects would have accompanied

their growth in status. As these lesser elites then moved out to peripheral areas, they took along some of these objects and the knowledge of their use and meanings. This movement of lesser elites follows along with the "Paradigm of the Periphery" as a model of cultural survival, with certain symbolism and traditions surviving outside of the core areas of their inception. Thus, by using the "Paradigm of the Periphery" it is determinable that the traditions associated with the use of copper in the core centers survived and likely continued all the way to modern native peoples.

Modern rituals in Creek tribes still use copper, which serves as a barrier between things of this world and things of the other worlds or spirit world (Dan Penton, personal communication, June 2009). The depth of entrenchment within a ritual setting suggests that the metal held a similar context in the past. The archaeological context of repoussé copper plates, such as the Rogan Plates mentioned in Chapter 5, strengthens this idea. Archaeologists have often discovered these copper plates on or about the chest or head of interred individuals or wrapped in basketry or matting (Moore, 1996, 2001, 2002 and Larson, 1971). Having these copper plates interred around the chest or head is similar to the modern use of copper in ritual mentioned

above, and the overarching subconscious cultural paradigm

of the southeast.

Fig. 6.3 – Basketry Fragment with Copper, Spiro, OK, AD

1200-1350, (from the A.T. McDannald Collection, Houston

Museum of Natural Science, No. HMNS 1750, photo by author)

Basket or matting remnants with copper fragments (fig.

6.3) preserved by the copper salts were found at many

different sites throughout the Greater Southeast (Moore,

2001: 342-343). These baskets were likely the containers

for sacred objects used in ritual and overlap with the depictions of such baskets on figurines in the southeast, such as the Keller figurine and the Westbrook Figurine (Emerson and Jackson, 1994: 259-261 and Reilly, 2004: 124-137).

The symbolism depicted on objects made of copper have common characteristics with that depicted on shell. The overlapping nature of the symbolism found on the chosen media creates shared symbolic spheres for the use of shell or copper. Both copper and shell were exotic trade goods and, as discussed, likely used in ritual ceremonies in a similar manner as in the present. Thus, we can safely assume an aspectual overlap between the two that allows for a blending of meaning within the subconscious cultural paradigm at work, specifically, an association with the sacred. This is important because categorization in the Greater Southeastern subconscious cultural paradigm is different from the categorization commonly employed in the western European subconscious cultural paradigm.

In the scientific tradition of thinkers such as Linnaeus, the western European tradition of categorization is that of categorization by characteristics, grouping things by observable or distinguishable traits. In the Greater Southeast, the categorization is through aspect,

thus, grouping things by traits that exhibit similar aspects. An example from the Mvskoke language, the word *lane*, serves to illustrate this difference. The word *lane* translates to green, yellow, and brown (Martin and Mauldin, 2000: 70, Dan Penton, personal communication, November 2009).

This grouping of colors would seem confusing under the Linnaean tradition, which identifies these three colors as separate and distinct. However, considering that the shared aspect is the yearly cycle of plants (green in spring and summer, then turning yellow in the fall, and brown in winter), this method of grouping becomes more understandable. The societies of the prehistoric southeast were highly reliant upon the land, weather, and the seasons for sustenance, shelter, and heat. Thus, the distinctive changes that occur in the environment throughout the year necessarily had an inherent importance in helping these people interact with their environment more successfully.

The inherent importance of an association with the yearly cycle of plants further increases in a culture that makes use of animism as an intrinsic feature of the interpretation of perceptions under the specific subconscious cultural paradigm of that society. This yearly cycle is also representative of the duality of nature, with

summer connoted as female and winter as masculine. The Berry Busk in early spring is the transition time to the feminine time of the year, while the Harvest Busk in autumn is the transition to the male time of year. These connections between male/female duality, the transition of the seasons, and the ritual calendar illustrate the categorization through aspect rather than characteristics.

In the case of copper, or *cvto-lane* in Mvskoke (roughly translating to *metal that is yellow, green, or brown*), the *lane* aspect rests in its ability to change colors, from shiny and reflective to its blue-green oxidized state. This ties copper to the intrinsic aspectual duality of nature in the southeastern subconscious cultural paradigm (i.e., the sun and moon, male and female, summer and winter, night and day). The bluish oxidized state (which occurs when copper is buried, linking it to Mother Earth) represents the female aspects such as the feminine moon, while the polished reflective state represents the masculine aspects such as Grandfather Sun (Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri, 2001: 52-55; Dan Penton, personal communication, November 2009).

This provides evidence of yet another complication in the process of interpreting the underlying meanings of perceptions within an aspectual categorization. Every thing

can exhibit multiple aspects, and the specific context of a thing's aspect can alter its meaning within the perceptual parameters of a subconscious cultural paradigm. This provides a series of possible interpretations to the meaning of symbols, craft goods, and the natural environment.

Another Mvskoke linguistic example, the Mvskoke term *pak-pvke,* defined as ocean foam, cotton, suds, bubbles, and also blossoms, may help further explicate this type of aspectual categorization (Martin and Mauldin, 2000: 96-97). In ritual, *pak-pvke*, in the aspect of ocean foam, holds yet another, symbolic meaning of semen (Dan Penton, personal communication, June 2009). This also harkens back to the intrinsic duality of nature, by applying a masculine aspect to the ocean, while retaining the feminine, life-giving aspect to the earth. The defining of the foam of the *passv* as *pak-pvke* in ritual symbolically represents this duality. *Passv* is the warrior's medicine made from Button Snakeroot (*Eryngium yuccifolium*). In making this medicine, the *heles-haya (maker of medicine,* the ritual ceremonial leader) creates the foam by the use of a blowing tube, which he then adds to the fire mound in metaphorical copulation. This creates a multi-layer set of overlapping meanings in which the *heles-haya* creates the white foam in the

masculine medicine using his metaphorical penis (the blowing tube), and then impregnates the feminine, life-giving aspect of the fire mound. The fire mound has a feminine aspect as a life-giver because the sacred fire, a living entity in the belief system, is born from the fire mound during the Green Corn Ceremony.

Stone: Understanding Power through Aspects

The third example of a medium with a utility value in the "Paradigm of the Periphery" is stone. This includes stone palettes, figurines, socio-technic objects (e.g., monolithic axes), ear spools, and lithic tools. The presence of ideological symbolism on stone palettes and used in the creation of figurines such as those found near Cahokia, as discussed previously, contributes greatly to the breadth of symbolism recognized stylistically throughout the Greater Southeast. The socio-technic objects and ear spools do not necessarily display symbolic representations, yet they are, in and of themselves, physical examples of icons found depicted in the symbolism of the Greater Southeast. The lithic tools are a valuable analytical tool due the style of manufacture which varies between regions, and because the type of stone used in its manufacture. When people constructed the tools with locally

acquired stone, the inherent value of the tool would have invariably been different than if that stone was an exotic.

The type of stone used can also be indicative of different aspects within the categorization of the world in use within the Greater Southeast. This may have connections to the availability of certain stone types, such as prismatic blades manufactured from obsidian. These are a rare type of formation in the volcanic glass infused with colors visible in the shiny black surface. However, it may also have other, cultural connections that could potentially be determined through linguistic studies.

Another way of examining the richness of meaning applied to different objects would be to cross-examine the stone types used in the construction of different objects. For example, steatite (i.e., soapstone) was a choice medium in the construction of numerous objects such as bowls and ear spools, however whether this is due to an aspectual or symbolic reason or simply the easily worked nature of the stone is undetermined. When these soapstone objects were combined with other media, such as in copper lined ear spools, the symbolic meaning is somewhat clarified. While likely indicative of social status in some way, ear spools also served in a similar way to copper within ritual by acting as barrier for sacred knowledge and power, keeping

the bad out and the good in (Dan Penton, personal communication, June, 2009). When these ear spools had copper linings or coverings (such as those found in the burials at the Kolomoki Mounds, see Sears, 1953), the strength of their power increased significantly. This is because it is an addition of similar aspects, not a combination of different aspects. Combining different aspects broadens the gamut of the power of an object, while combining similar aspects increases the objects inherent power.

Stone also demonstrates other aspectual connotations within the societies of the Greater Southeast. Due to the location of stone within or of the earth, the connections to the earth are apparent. However, stones that are extricated from the earth would also have an aspectual connection to the beneath world or spirit world, and the movement of energy between the different realms that constitute the multivalent world. In this manner, the importance of color symbolism distinguishable through the colors or luster of the stones increases (e.g., the black color of obsidian, along with its reflective nature, present many aspectual connections to the beneath world, the mirror-like spirit world, and to the dead).

Contextualizing the Relevant Data: Symbolism

The Natural Environment and the Political Environment

Elites of the Mississippian Period used symbolism that took manifestations of power represented in the natural environment and used it as a method of displaying political power, due to the overlap of these two categories within their subconscious paradigm. Representations, either wholly or in pars-pro-toto representations, of birds, serpents, and spiders are a means of associating an aspect of these creatures with the community and validating the elite power therein. All three of these creatures manifest multiple aspects.

The bird, as a flyer, represents travel between the world around us and the above world. The serpent represents travel between the world around us and the beneath world. However, the nature of the cosmology, cosmography, and cosmogony of these people incorporates the opposite aspect to both up and down depending on context because the above world and beneath world reverse their respective positions depending on the time of day. As previously stated, during the day, the above world is up, while the beneath world is down, however, at night, the above world rotates down as the beneath world becomes the night sky. Therefore, birds can also represent travel to the beneath world (where one

finds the entrance to the "path of souls"), just as serpents can also depict travel to the above world, depending on whether the use of such is performed during the day or the night. This transitory meaning to ritual symbolism exhibits the aspectual categorization discussed previously, and provides a larger range of interpretations to the ritual and political power claimed by the elites who make use of, or made use of, particular symbolism.

The spider is a particularly interesting figure to represent in ritual symbolism. The Cherokee mythology relating to the first fire involves the little water spider retrieving an ember from a burning tree on an island, after the failure of all other attempts (see Mooney, 1982: 240-242). The spider was rewarded and remembered by Cherokee forever after in their baskets, which were representative of the web-basket woven by the spider to carry the ember across the water in the time before. A weaver created the initial skeleton of the basket in such a way that it looked like a spider with eight legs. The use of such symbolism provided a ritual and cosmological association to mundane items such as baskets. This, in turn, provided validation for the profuse connections between the social-political environment and the natural environment.

Warfare, Ritual, and Elite Validation

Warfare symbolism is a common theme in the southeastern symbolic complex, including death motifs, skull and trophy head representations, and weapon depictions. However, even as this symbolism may indicate times of systemic warfare as previously discussed, many of the themes overlap with the symbolism of ritual. The "baton" or "mace" icon for example, is a representation of a weapon, possibly a club or atlatl (Waring and Holder, 1945 and Hall, 1997: 111-115). War clubs were powerful warfare symbols, indicating military prowess or success(Dye, 2009: 159). These images are depicted on various media, including copper repoussé headdress ornamentation at the Lake Jackson site (fig. 6.5). This warfare imagery is also found on engraved shell items such as gorgets (see fig. 6.4) and shell cups (Scarry, 2007: 134-150). However, it also likely held another meaning as a depiction of a sacred rattle.

Rattles used in modern ritual simultaneously serve as functioning cosmograms; a connection that likely dates back to Mississippian beliefs systems (Dan Penton, personal communication, November 2009). There is a rounded center representing the middle world, a handle serving as the beneath world, and an upper section symbolically

representing the sky vault and "above place" of the ancestors. The representations of the "baton" icon also have this layout, suggesting a cosmological interpretation to the symbol.

Fig. 6.4 – Engraved Shell Gorget depicting a figure wielding a "baton" and trophy head, from the Castalian Springs site, Tennessee, AD 1250-1350 (from Townsend and Sharp, eds., 2004: 190)

As a cosmological symbol, ritual rattles hold an intrinsic meaning associated with the masculine, because ritual falls within the male domain of society. Weapons, too, fall within the masculine domain because of their association with warfare. Thus, both weapons and rattles are powerful symbols in the ritual realm of society in the Greater Southeast.
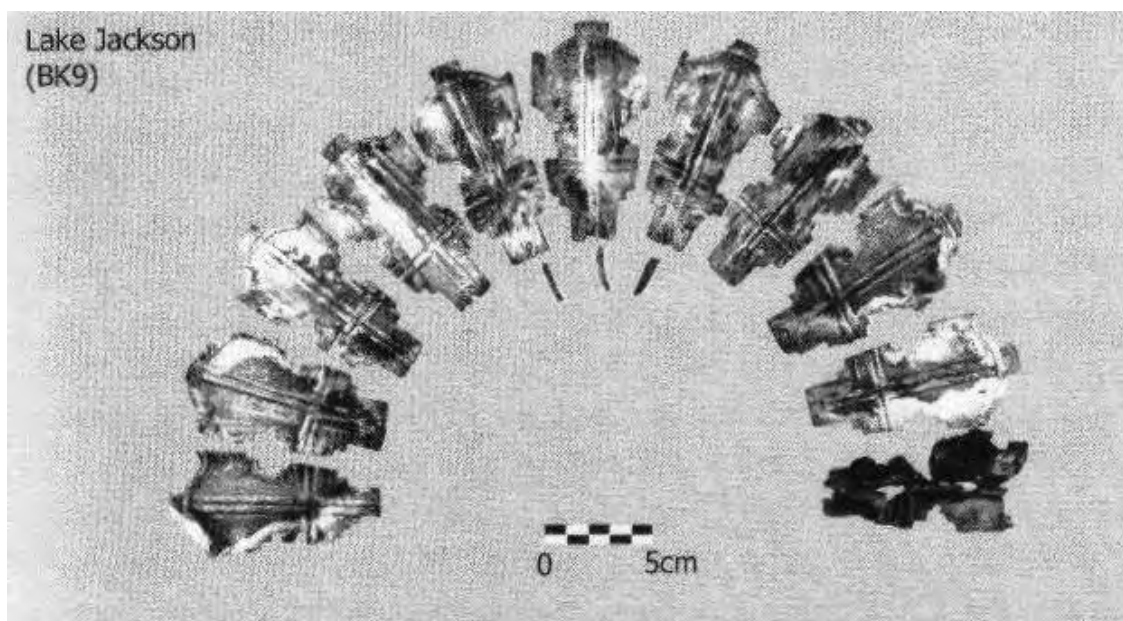
Fig. 6.5 – Copper Repoussé headdress elements from the Lake Jackson site in northern Florida, depicting the "baton" with cross motif (from King, ed., 2007: 143)

In addition to the layout of the "baton" icon, other iconographic elements associated with this particular

symbol provide cosmological associations as well. The cross motif, for example, is commonly depicted on these "batons" (see fig. 6.5). This motif is symbolically indicative of the four directions constituting the "middle world," as well as the sacred fire, which has a similar layout.

The leaders and elites who make use of such symbolism are claiming an aspect of the power of the symbolism as an aspect of themselves. In doing so, they are validating their elite status in the society. In *An Archaeology of the Soul*, Hall describes how the atlatl is associated with cosmograms in Mesoamerican cultures, which, if taken as the meaning of the "baton" icon, provides further evidence for a cosmological interpretation of this symbol (Hall, 1997: 113-115). Thus, the fact that these symbolic representations of both peace and war were widespread throughout the Greater Southeast further supports the inherent connection between the cosmological and ritual symbolism and warfare iconography within the Mississippian societies(Dye, 2009: 175-177.

CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSIONS

Where does this bring us?

The contextualization of the data performed in Chapter 6 provides an example of how a new interpretation of the archaeological data can give deeper and more meaningful insight into those cultures that left those remains. Filtering the data through the subconscious cultural paradigms of the culture limits superfluous interpretations of the people who left those remains. The data then provides an enlightening view of the progress of a society within the larger interregional network bound together by their shared subconscious cultural paradigms, sacred knowledge and traditions, and use of ritual and ceremonial imagery and symbolism.

A richer understanding of the cultures of these networks occurs when we are able to determine the ritual importance of certain items or imagery in a larger cultural context and compare this imagery with data sets that provide information on changes in habitation and climate. Data sets such as ceramic seriation or chronologies, radiometric-

carbon chronological data, settlement patterns, and both site and structural stratification profiles can then provide a means to analyze the state of progress of specific sites in relation to the larger interacting regions. Comparing this state of progress to the inception points of distinctive symbolism into a specific area allows for an interpretation of the regional developments and the patterns of movement of the peoples within the environment because of social or political pressures. The use of the "Paradigm of the Periphery" as an analytical model for the migration of symbolism and sacred traditions provides coherency to these social and political pressures both from internal and external factors.

The Model of the Paradigm of the Periphery

This thesis has postulated the "Paradigm of the Periphery" as an analytical model of cultural survival. The thesis reviewed examples of the distribution and movement of interregional symbolism indicative of a shared religious system throughout the environment. Furthermore, this essay has set the foundations for this model to be used in more focused and in-depth analyses of the available data in the Greater Southeast.

As previously discussed, the "Paradigm of the Periphery" functions in two ways. When the "Paradigm of the Periphery" functions geographically, it traces the movement of symbolism and sacred traditions from the point of their inception at major core centers to peripheral areas where they provide the means for the cultural survival of these symbols and traditions. When functioning ideologically, the paradigm traces symbolism and traditions transmitted culturally from the original bearers to peripheral culture groups who maintain and, in turn, pass the symbols and traditions on to other groups through interaction and trade.

The "Paradigm of the Periphery" functions as ideological model for the movement of symbolism and sacred traditions or rituals throughout the environment (see fig. 7.1). It begins with charismatic individuals gaining influence and power (fig. 7.1 – Phase 1). These elites then gain influence over other areas of the environment, making use of these areas as horticultural or subsistence areas. This increase in subsistence areas provides a surplus, which allows the population of the area to increase. As population increases, the power of the elites increases (fig. 7.1 – Phase 2). This provides the prerequisites for centralization to occur, which marks the

beginning of hegemonic techniques in which areas provide
tribute to the core to take part in the ritual and
political power associated with the elites of the core
center (fig. 7.1 – Phase 3). As populations increased, the
elites separated into ruling elite and a lesser elite,
which assisted in performing and leading the rituals
involved in satiating the increased needs of a socially
complex and diverse core center.
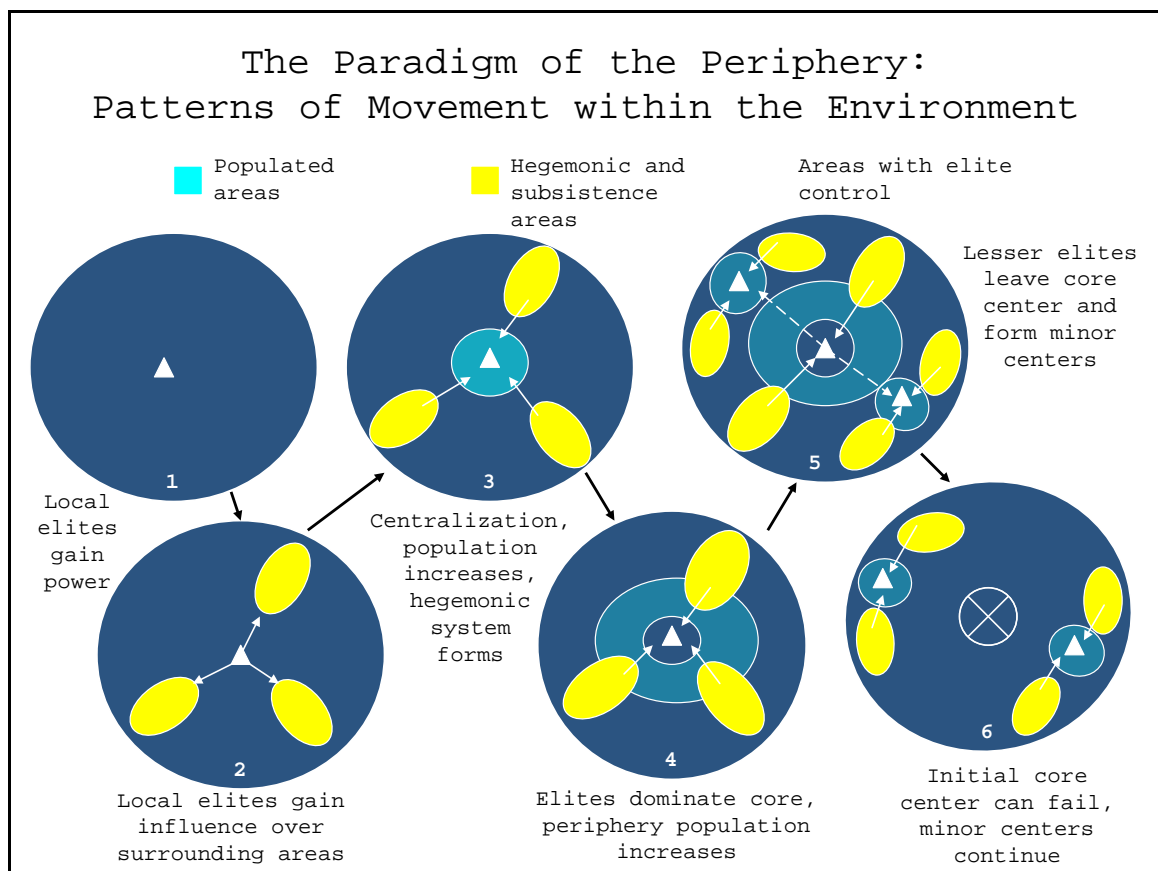
*Fig. 7.1 – Six-phase Ideological Model of the "Paradigm of
the Periphery" as it pertains to the movement of symbolism
and ideology within the environment (diagram by author)*

As the population of the core center increase, the
need for increased ritual space also increases. To satisfy
this need for increased ritual space, mound construction
increases in both the size of mounds and the number of
mounds. The elites maintain their residence in this central
area because they are the epicenter of both ritual and
political power in a system that does not disentangle these
two concepts. The non-elite population that had previously
inhabited this central area is forced to migrate to the
periphery of the culture, while the center itself became an
enlarged ritual and political space (fig. 7.1 - Phase 4).

This initial migration sows the seeds for the lesser
elites to leave the core center and establish minor centers
of their own within the existing hegemonic system (fig. 7.1
- Phase 5). The lesser elites of these newly formed minor
centers pay tribute to the elites of the major core center
in exchange for access to sacred rituals, knowledge, and
items, interregional trade networks, and likely the
bloodlines of the elites through marriage alliances. With
these minor centers functioning successfully, the initial
core center can fail without causing the failure of the
secondary minor centers (fig. 7.1 - Phase 6). Thus, the
symbolism and ideology of the original core can outlast the

core center itself by migrating to the periphery of the society.

Where do we go from here?

The proposed analytical model of the "Paradigm of the Periphery" established using the evidence from the Greater Southeast can provide a means of explicating the larger interaction network of the pre-Columbian societies of North America, such as the connections between the Greater Southeast and the Southwest, the Northeast, and Midwest. This would allow for a more global view of the areas and an extrapolation of the extent of both the social interaction within and between all of these areas, and the interactions of these areas with other areas. This would include the connections between Mesoamerica and the Southwest, known from the spread of teocinte/maize and the presence of turquoise from the Southwest in Mesoamerica.

The "Paradigm of the Periphery" can also serve as an analytical tool in assessing the languages of the southeast, taking into account the changes in dialects and allowing for a better comprehension of the originating language, or mother language, and the effects of outside influence upon the language, such as the creolization of languages. For example, researchers could analyze and

compare differences between Cherokee dialects (the eastern

dialect of North Carolina and the Oklahoma dialect),

comparing this to the changes in material culture

represented in the archaeological record. Further studies

could analyze linguistic differences between cultures,

comparing the changes seen to the archaeological and

iconographic evidence to compare the dialectical change to

the incorporation or adoption of foreign or exotic goods or

symbolism.

Taking the model for the "Paradigm of the Periphery"

established in the Greater Southeast to an analysis of the

interaction spheres of Mesoamerica might provide a better

understanding of the migration of sacred traditions within

that landscape, and illuminate the complexities of

interaction in place in the Pre-Columbian Americas. Better

illumination of the research on the presence of exotics

such as Mayan ceramics at Teotihuacán, and the

interregional obsidian trade from Teotihuacán and other

regions can be achieved by using the "Paradigm of the

Periphery" (see Clayton 2005, Santley 2004, Spence 1996,

Charlton 1978, Moholy-Nagy 1984 and 1999). Furthermore, a

more illuminative analysis of the layout, temporal changes,

and urbanization of Mesoamerican core centers as part of

interregional trade networks of both goods and ideology is

achievable (see Maudsley 1883, Millon 1960, 1964, and 1970, Haviland 1970, Coe 1962, West 1965, Arnold and Ford 1980, Sanders and Webster 1988, Moholy-Nagy 1997, and Hirth, 2000a and 2000b).

Additionally, scholars can use the "Paradigm of the Periphery" to evaluate the changes and developments of a culture after the introduction or influence of secondary cultures such as happened after the European Invasion of the Americas. This will involve using the primary subconscious cultural paradigm of the culture to interpret the influx of symbolism from a secondary culture. This allows for an account of the occurrences of additions, amalgamation, absorption, and fusion of traditions and symbolism that occurs when there is a conflict within the religious system in place at the time (Shils, 1981: 273-280). Such a study would provide a way to approach the changes in the religious practices of the native peoples of the Greater Southeast after the Trail of Tears. The possibility lies therein of recapturing sacred traditions and knowledge thought lost by the tragedies associated with the forced relocations of native peoples.

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VITA

Christopher Bolfing graduated from Columbia High School in West Columbia, Texas in May of 2001 and then left for Marine Corps basic training. He was discharged due to injuries two weeks before the tragedies of September 11, and decided to go to college. He attended Brazosport Community College in Clute, Texas, receiving his Associate of Arts in May of 2005. In August of 2005, Christopher began attending Texas State University with a double major in Philosophy and Anthropology, and double minors in Psychology and Sociology.

Christopher will continue with graduate studies in Anthropology under F. Kent Reilly, III, where he will study archaeology, iconography, and Native American studies. Christopher has field experience in this country and in Belize, where he worked at the Maya site of Cahal Pech. Christopher is an Eagle Scout, and a Vigil Honor Member of the Order of the Arrow. Christopher Bolfing is of mixed Cherokee descent and is excited to work with and continue learning about his fellow Native American peoples.