

Looking Beyond the Obvious:
Identifying Patterns in Coles Creek Mortuary Data

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Introduction

It is commonly held that beginning about A.D. 1000, the lifeways of prehistoric Native American groups throughout the southeastern U.S. changed dramatically. Known in most areas as Mississippian, this suite of changes encompasses the rise of a number of regional traditions. Though Mississippian societies are far from uniform, they are generally characterized by the construction of platform mounds and the reliance on intensive maize agriculture (Brown 1985:93; Steponaitis 1986:388). Furthermore, Mississippian societies are frequently identified with the emergence of chiefdoms. Chiefdoms are traditionally defined as having permanent political leadership positions determined genealogically as well as institutionalized of social differences (Service 1975; Spencer 1982; Wright 1977). Status was determined not by the individual achievement, but by position within a web of complex political, social and religious networks (King 2003:4). For over a century, archaeologists have been working to understand these chiefdoms, and while they have been heavily researched, many aspects of Mississippian chiefdoms remain unexplained. One of these aspects is the evolution and early forms of such organized political systems.

In archaeological research, two characteristics of prehistoric societies are commonly used to support arguments for the presence of chiefly political and social differentiation. One of these characteristics is the large-scale construction of earthworks (particularly large platform mound and plaza complexes); the other is the employment of elaborate mortuary ceremonialism and sumptuous burial goods. Around A.D. 700, perhaps the earliest indications of chiefdoms can be recognized in the indigenous Coles Creek tradition in southwestern Mississippi and east-central Louisiana. During the Coles Creek period, people built large-scale earthworks on par with later, decidedly hierarchical Mississippian polities. However, some previous investigators of mortuary

remains from Coles Creek sites have concluded that there is no evidence for social ranking primarily because most Coles Creek burials contain no artifacts (Ford 1951; Giardino 1977; Neuman 1984).

Due to the distinct presence of one traditional marker for hierarchical social organization and the reported lack of another, the issue of Coles Creek social differentiation remains a paradox for Southeastern archaeologists. One possible explanation for this paradox lies in the absence of systematic study of Coles Creek burials, and another in the reliance on flawed assumptions and limiting theoretical stances for the interpreting excavated mortuary contexts.

In this paper, I present a reanalysis of three previously excavated Coles Creek cemeteries in an attempt to resolve this paradox. My goals are to: (1) review the previous interpretations of Coles Creek burial practices, (2) present a detailed study of three Coles Creek cemeteries to investigate whether there is evidence for institutionalized social differentiation, and (3) offer suggestions as to how the results of my analyses can be combined with past and future research to more fully understand Coles Creek social organization. I begin by presenting a brief history of archaeological investigations in southwestern Mississippi and east-central Louisiana, introducing the chronology of the archaeology of the Lower Mississippi Valley (Figure 1), and examining previous interpretations of the Coles Creek burial record. Next, I introduce the topic of mortuary archaeology and examine the efficacy of using burials and associated archaeological features to understand social structure and change in prehistoric societies. I then consider three Coles Creek cemeteries in the Lower Mississippi Valley and assess the evidence, or lack thereof, for social differentiation in the populations represented within them. My final section offers concluding thoughts on the social and political organization of Coles Creek society in light of my reanalyses and puts forward suggestions for future research.

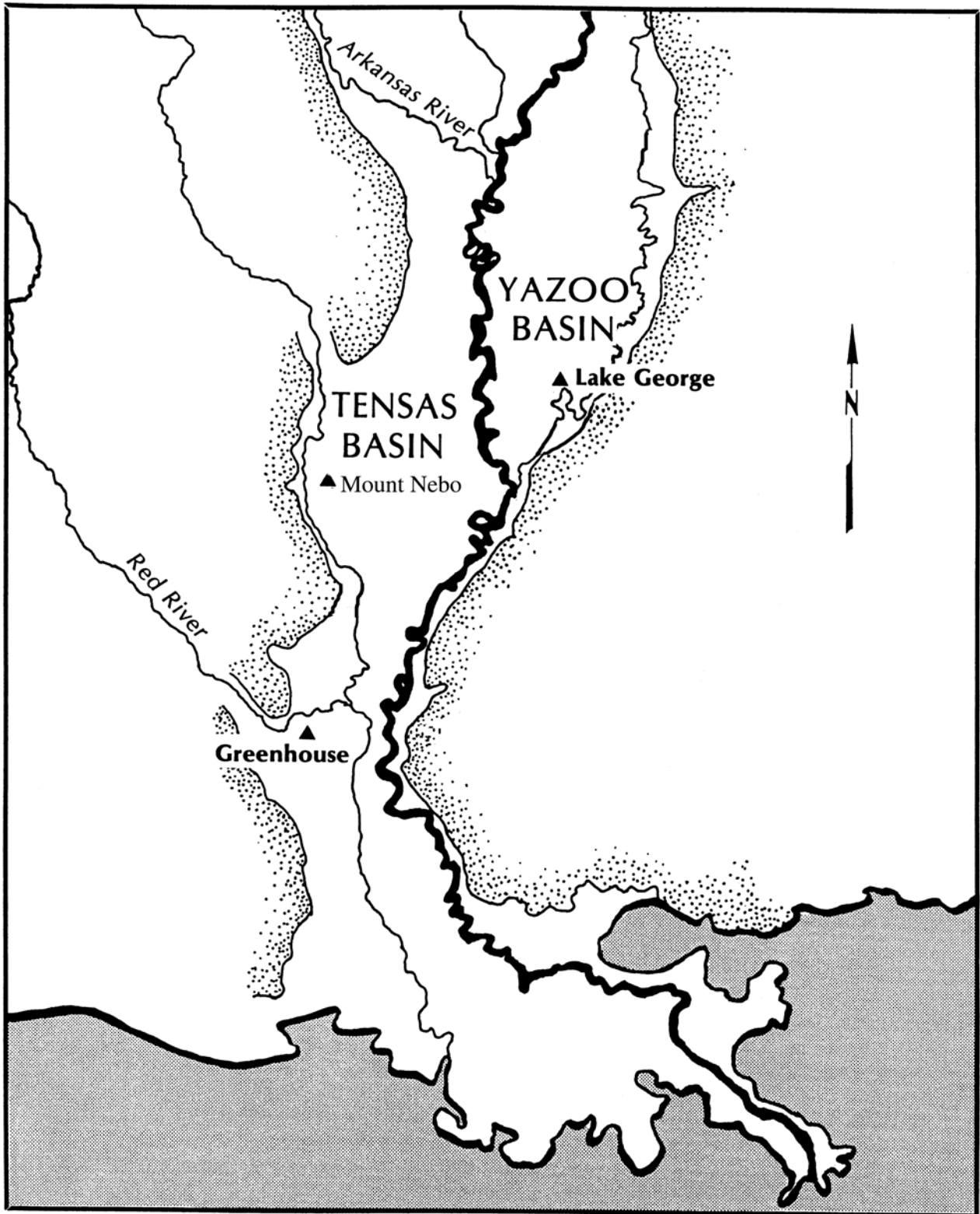


Figure 1: Map of the Lower Mississippi Valley showing associated river basins and the location of the three sites used in this analysis (adapted from Brain 1991: Figure 5.2).

History of Archaeological Work in the Lower Mississippi Valley

When Europeans first entered the Eastern Woodlands, they encountered a variety of Native American groups. Though the groups described in the earliest French and Spanish accounts are remarkably diverse, many accounts depict highly organized, stratified societies (Mason 1964; Mosenfelder 1975:44; Tooker 1963; White et al. 1971). The records include descriptions of powerful leaders presiding over large, dispersed populations from their residences atop massive platform mounds (e.g., Clayton, et al. 1993).

One of the best-described groups in the early historic records is the Natchez (Haas 1939; Hart 1943; MacLeod 1924; Swanton 1907; 1911). The Natchez were among the last Native American groups to live in the area that is now southwestern Mississippi and east-central Louisiana and at the time, had the most centralized political system north of Mexico. The first documented contact with the Natchez occurred in March 1682 when the La Salle expedition descended the Mississippi River (Swanton 1911). The earliest ethnographic literature on the Natchez focuses on their complex social structure and religion (Clayton et al. 1993; Swanton 1911). Mound building and mortuary practices are the most obvious expressions of this social and religious organization in both the archaeological and ethnographic records. According to these early sources, a few high-ranking officials lived permanently at the mound centers while most people lived on widely dispersed family farms. The majority of the population gathered at the mound centers only periodically for social and religious activities (Tooker 1963). The mounds built by the Natchez—flat-topped, platform mounds—served as foundations for sacred buildings and elite residences (Quimby 1942:259).

The French explorers recorded the religious ceremonialism and mortuary rituals of the Natchez in detail, and these records have allowed ethnographic analogy to be used with caution

by many archaeologists working in the region (Sears 1954:341; 1962:111). In the mid-nineteenth century, a number of individuals conducted extensive surveys of the southeastern United States collecting artifacts and identifying sites (see discussions in Brain 1989:5, Mosenfelder 1975:14, Steponaitis 1986:364, and Trigger 1989:104-108,186-195). However, it was not until the years of the Great Depression that the new investigative techniques being developed within archaeology were used on sites in the Southeast (Brain 1989:5-6; Trigger 1989:196-205). During this time, federally funded relief agencies, such as the Works Progress Administration, conducted numerous, large-scale archaeological projects (Steponaitis 1986:364; see also Ford 1951:12). These depression-era projects continue to be some of the most comprehensive excavations of archaeological sites in the United States and thus provide invaluable data on site layout, social organization, and spatial and temporal trends in architecture, material culture and burial practices (Brain 1989:5; Steponaitis 1986:364).

In the 1950s and 60s, archaeologists began asking different questions and developing new techniques to answer them. While these new techniques allowed for greater precision and detail in excavation, they also led to a drastic reduction in both the number of sites excavated and the extent of the excavations (Trigger 1989:294). During this period, the focus of Southeastern archeologists shifted from understanding large-scale chronologies and defining regional traditions to refining these observations with data from stratigraphic excavations and regional settlement surveys (Steponaitis 1986:364; Trigger 1989:294-303).

Beginning in the 1970s, a sharp increase in contract archaeology allowed more large-scale archaeological projects to be completed in the Southeast (Steponaitis 1986:364). In addition to a return to more extensive excavations, archaeology since the 1970s has emphasized some new areas of research. For example, meticulous excavation, the development of flotation,

and new techniques of analysis allowed for the careful study of subsistence practices through both floral and faunal remains. Moreover, recent method and theory is characterized by an overt interest in reducing the ethnocentric and androcentric biases in archaeological fieldwork by locating and studying all categories of settlements and all types of data (Trigger 1989:328,379-386). In other words, archaeologists are now spending more time studying the smaller, domestically oriented sites (alongside the continuing study of the more conspicuous sites) with the goal of gaining a more complete understanding of daily life, settlement patterns, and social organization (Steponaitis 1986:364-5). The data from these modern projects have allowed archaeologists to begin filling in the gaps in their understanding of the prehistoric Southeast.

Throughout these changes in method and theory, archaeologists have remained fascinated by the development of complex societies. “One element of social patterning which has been of perennial concern in archaeological studies is the nature, or absence, of hierarchical rank grading” (Tainter 1975:2). In the Southeast, this interest has been manifested through a preoccupation with understanding the social, economic, and political organization of late prehistoric groups (Kidder 1992:145). These studies draw heavily on both the ethnohistoric records of the Native American groups encountered by French and Spanish explorers and on data collected during archaeological investigations. Southeastern archaeologists have made much progress toward understanding the prehistoric antecedents of the Natchez and other Native American groups; however, much remains elusive. The remainder of this paper is an effort to fill in some of the gaps, and provide explanations for some perceived contradictions in the late prehistoric archaeological record of the Lower Mississippi Valley.

Lower Mississippi Valley Chronology

Before beginning to examine trends in the late prehistory of the Lower Mississippi Valley, it is important to lay out the cultural chronology of the area. The designations of Paleoindian, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian that comprise (from earliest to most recent) the basic prehistoric archaeological chronology of the Eastern Woodlands are often used in general archaeological literature. However, more precise chronologies have been created to describe the specific cultural sequences in many geographic areas. The archaeological chronology of the Lower Mississippi Valley is regionally variable and still widely debated among scholars (Figure 2). The chronology presented here is meant only to provide the reader with a general understanding and thus omits much of the disagreement on dates and names and the majority of the regional variability. In the context of this discussion, the term *culture* is used to refer to a temporally and/or geographically distinct set of material assemblages and should not be assumed to imply ethnic or political affiliation.

Beginning in the Woodland period (700 B.C. – A.D. 1000), we can discern some of the changes that will be central to this analysis. In the Eastern United States, Woodland cultures are generally characterized by increased sedentism, increased reliance on crops, the widespread use of ceramic technology, the construction of conical mounds and the associated development of elaborate mortuary rituals (Ford and Willey 1941:335; Kidder 2002:69; Schilling 2004:13; Steponaitis 1986:378). These trends are clearly visible in the Early Woodland/Tchula (700 B.C. – A.D. 1) and Middle Woodland/Marksville (A.D. 1 – 600) cultures of the Lower Mississippi Valley (Kidder 2002:72). The earliest burial mounds in the Southeast are located on Tchula sites. These mounds served as mortuary facilities and contain flexed and bundle burials in communal interments. They were used regionally and without regard to status. While some

Dates		General Eastern Woodlands Archaeological Periods			Southwest Mississippi and East-Central Louisiana Cultures	
A.D. 1000 – 1700	1200 – 1700		Mississippian		Plaquemine	
700 B.C. – A.D. 1000	600 – 1000	700 – 1000	Woodland	Late	Emergent Mississippian	Coles Creek
	A.D. 1 – 600			Middle		Troyville
	700 B.C. – A.D. 1			Early		Marksville
						Tchula
8000 – 700 B.C.	4000 – 700	2000 – 700	Archaic	Late		Poverty Point
	6000 – 4000			Middle		Mesoindian
	8000 – 6000			Early		
16000 – 8000 B.C.		Paleoindian			Paleoindian	

Figure 2: Cultural chronology in the Eastern U.S. and Lower Mississippi Valley. Compiled from Fritz 1995:9, Kidder 1998:127, Kidder 2002, Neuman 1990, Schilling 2002, and Steponaitis 1986.

bodies underwent varying degrees of postmortem treatment (most likely due to the differential amount of time between death and the communal burial), burial goods and other markers of status differentiation are lacking (Ford 1951:101; Ford and Willey 1941:335; Kidder 2002:72).

The Marksville period in the Lower Mississippi Valley marks a dramatic elaboration in mortuary ceremonialism (Ford 1951:101; Ford and Willey 1941:338). At this time, a new settlement pattern of village/mound complexes and nonmound village sites also emerges (Schilling 2004:17-19). Throughout southwestern Mississippi and east-central Louisiana, Marksville mounds were constructed in several stages over many years. However, it appears that burial ceremonies took place only every few months or even every couple of years and those who died between these ceremonies were either kept at the mound site (at this point only a small, flat platform) or temporarily stored in other areas. At the time of the burial ritual, pits were dug

into the mound surface, and sometimes lined with logs or reed matting. The human remains were then placed in the graves, sometimes accompanied by pottery, pipes, stone points, shells, jewelry and other valuable or exotic objects (Kidder 2002:74); the pits were then filled with soil. Later, additional burials were made by placing more remains on the mound surface and covering them with a layer of earth. These subsequent burials increased the overall size of the mound and shaped it into a dome (e.g., the Marksville and Crooks sites [Kidder 2002:75-77]). Despite this obviously complex mortuary ritual, all Marksville burials are highly communal. This fact has caused some authors to interpret them as showing no evidence of institutionalized social differentiation (e.g., Schilling 2004:20).

Immediately following the Marksville period, the archaeological record of the Troyville culture (A.D. 600 – 700) shows significant population growth and a concomitant increase in site density. At this time, a relatively complex settlement pattern of multimound complexes, single mound sites, large non-mound villages, and small temporary camps develops. Burial data from Troyville sites are sparse and the data that do exist show an inconsistent burial program (Kidder 1992:152). At Troyville sites, the dead are often, but not always, interred in small platform mounds, and sometimes exhibit a common orientation (Kidder 2002:82). Sites with burial mounds are geographically separated and distributed in a way that seems to imply they served regional populations (Kidder 2002:85). While many are not, some burials are accompanied by modest, usually utilitarian grave goods. Furthermore, these grave goods are almost never associated with individuals; instead, they accompany a group of individuals within a given mortuary context (Kidder 1992:152). Therefore, while it is assumed that the larger, more complex sites may have dominated the smaller sites in the region showing an increase in cultural complexity, Troyville mounds show little evidence of individual status differentiation. Instead,

the mounds were probably used as regional, communal burial places (Kidder 2002:79; Schilling 2004:21-23).

Near the end of the Troyville period, it appears that there are major changes in the structure of the societies inhabiting the Lower Mississippi Valley; individual burials begin to appear and mounds change both shape and function from conical burial mounds to flat-topped platform mounds assumed to support civic and ceremonial structures (Williams and Brain 1983:370). These changes, among others, mark the beginning of the Coles Creek period (A.D. 700 – 1000). Coles Creek sites have been found throughout the Lower Mississippi Valley between the Gulf Coast and the Yazoo Basin (Kidder 1992:147; Steponaitis 1986:385) (Figure 1). Numerous sites including multimound, civic-ceremonial centers, residential sites and small fishing/hunting camps have been located (Barker 1999:270-292; Kidder 1992:147). Coles Creek civic-ceremonial centers can be identified by a number of characteristics, including: (1) moderately-sized, flat-topped, pyramidal mounds in small groups, (2) open plazas, (3) distinctive pottery characterized by linear and curvilinear motifs usually restricted to the upper portion of the vessel, and (4) only minute amounts of habitation debris (Ford 1951:101; Ford and Willey 1941:344; Kidder 2002:85; Neuman 1984:186; Steponaitis 1986:385; Williams and Brain 1983:370).

The lack of habitation debris at the large mound sites and the presence of numerous small, domestic sites scattered over the landscape suggest that most people lived in dispersed settlements with no mounds while the civic-ceremonial centers remained largely vacant and served as regional gathering places (Barker 1999:270-292; Brain 1989:4; 1991:93; Kidder 1992:150). Coles Creek subsistence patterns have also been the focus of recent archaeological investigations. Undoubtedly, Coles Creek people continued hunting and gathering wild

resources and cultivating indigenous plants. However, despite the widespread presumption that cultures exhibiting large-scale earth movement must have an agricultural subsistence base, Kidder and Fritz (1993) cite a lack of evidence for large-scale consumption of cultigens. It appears, therefore, that Coles Creek subsistence practices are much more similar to those of the antecedent Woodland periods than to those of the later Mississippian period.

The Mississippian period (A.D. 1000 – 1700) immediately predates European contact and can be characterized by a number of traits: (1) distinctive shell-tempered pottery, (2) flat-topped pyramidal mounds, and (3) reliance on large-scale maize agriculture (Kidder and Fritz 1993:281-282; Steponaitis 1986:388). Mississippian social differentiation was often directly expressed through large-scale mortuary ritual. Disposal of the dead in Mississippian societies involved the spatial separation of elite and commoner cemeteries. Elite individuals were subject to elaborate mortuary rituals in or near ceremonial buildings on mounds and were buried with prestige goods such as copper headdresses, ceremonial weapons, and marine shell beads. In contrast, commoners were buried adjacent to domestic spaces and accompanied by few grave goods (Bohannon 1963; Brown 1985:102; Cotter 1951:65; Steponaitis 1986:389). Furthermore, these dramatic differences in the treatment of commoner and elite residents were not only made apparent in death, but also in life. Osteological studies of the human remains from Mississippian sites show chronic differences in diet and health between classes of people (e.g., Bridges 1989; Danforth 1999; Welch and Scarry 1995). Likewise, material assemblages from the houses of elite residents show noticeable differences from those of commoners (Welch and Scarry 1995). Thus, institutionalized recognition of individual status seems to have been a regular part of Mississippian life.

The archaeological record of the Plaquemine culture in the Lower Mississippi Valley evidences only some of the patterns commonly used to define the Mississippian period. Plaquemine sites were built at a number of different scales. All sites appear to have been inhabited year-round and were arranged on the landscape in identifiable settlement patterns showing an overt site hierarchy (Brain 1978:340). Brain (1978:340) describes this settlement pattern as involving two primary centers (i.e., “multimound sites with at least one dominant mound more than 15 m in height”) far away from each other on the landscape with numerous secondary centers (i.e., “multimound sites with one mound about 10 m in height”) connecting them. Tertiary centers (i.e., “mound sites with one or more mounds ca. 5 m in height”) were spaced relatively evenly throughout the entire area. These aspects of the archaeological record suggest that “while Mississippian peoples may have enlarged on or perfected some of the major subsistence, social, political and economic adaptations developed in the Woodland, few characteristics that define Mississippian in the Lower Mississippi Valley were truly novel” (Kidder 2002:66). In other words, Plaquemine sites are remarkably similar to Coles Creek sites, but built on a much grander scale (Brain 1978:343; Kidder 2004:526).

Unlike the case of Coles Creek social organization, there is little argument about whether Plaquemine societies exhibited marked individual status differentiation. However, this consensus is not based on unequivocal evidence from the prehistoric mortuary record, as is the case with the Mississippian period in general. Very few Plaquemine burials have been located and excavated, and those that have been examined seem to imply a relatively inconsistent mortuary pattern. For example, the Plaquemine burials at the Gordon and Sanson sites seem to indicate high status due to the presence of primary, individual pit burials with extensive grave goods, while the large secondary interments at Sanson and the Lake Saint Agnes site appear

remarkably similar to earlier communal burial patterns (Neuman 1984:264-266). Other sites represent distinctly different mortuary patterns (e.g., the Mayes Mound and MacArthur sites [Neuman 1984:266]). Therefore, in some senses, the archaeological record of the Plaquemine period in the Lower Mississippi Valley fits our traditional definition of Mississippian, and in some senses, it does not. Our interpretation of Plaquemine societies as highly hierarchical is based extremely heavily on the ethnohistoric accounts of the Natchez Indians.

In this summary of the cultural chronology of the Lower Mississippi Valley, numerous trends can be identified. The shift from egalitarian to ranked societies is one example of such a trend that remains largely unexplained. While we understand Plaquemine societies to be highly hierarchical, the timing and pace of the development of this relationship continue to elude archaeological understanding. Both its temporal position, and the presence of some, but not all, traditional markers of hierarchical society make the Coles Creek period a logical place from which to begin an examination of the development of social differentiation in the Lower Mississippi Valley. The presence or absence of institutionalized status during the Coles Creek period will be the focus of the remainder of this paper.

Previous Interpretations of Coles Creek Burial Practices

Throughout the history of archaeology in the Lower Mississippi Valley, many Coles Creek mound centers, and some habitation sites have been identified; however, few have been satisfactorily excavated (Steponaitis 1986:386). Nevertheless, further analysis of data from previous archaeological investigations may reveal significant insights. The largest mounds at Coles Creek civic-ceremonial centers were continuously used for up to several hundred years; they were usually built in stages, and often during each stage, a wooden-post building was

constructed on top of the mound (Neuman 1984:167; Steponaitis 1986:386). In many cases, these buildings have been interpreted as charnel houses due to the large numbers of burials associated with them and in nearby cemeteries, though at times, they have also been interpreted as elite residences (Kidder 2004:527).

These characteristics have led some archaeologists to believe that Coles Creek sites provide evidence of a significantly more differentiated and institutionalized social organization than that of earlier Woodland cultures (e.g. Barker 1999; Kidder and Fritz 1993; Nassaney 1992; Roe 2007; Sears 1954; Steponaitis 1986). They argue that the consistent reuse of these platform mounds shows the existence of more formal positions of leadership or political offices by allowing the power associated with them to exceed the life of the individual elite (Roe 2007:25; Schilling 2004:25; Steponaitis 1986:386). Furthermore, they argue that this important change is also evidenced by changes in the internal plaza/mound structure of Coles Creek centers (Kidder 2004; Roe 2007:24-25). For example, sites such as Osceola, Raffman, Greenhouse, and Lake George show a trend from open, public plazas to plazas characterized by purposeful and severe restriction of access (Ford 1951:102; Roe 2007:25; Schilling 2004:26).

Thus, differences in mound construction and use and changes in the internal arrangement of multimound centers are often used to suggest the rise of sociopolitical complexity and/or chiefdoms during the Coles Creek period (Barker 1999; Roe 2007:23-26; Schilling 2004:24). However, many archaeologists question the degree to which these conclusions can be substantiated by the excavated data. Numerous arguments have also been made for the interpretation of the Coles Creek culture as lacking an institutionalized political hierarchy. For example, Kidder (2002:89) states, “though some sites have more mounds than others, there is scant evidence for a political hierarchy among site types” (see also Kidder 1992:153, Schilling

2004:26; for an opposite opinion see Barker 1999:270-292). Moreover, the material assemblages from small, nonmound sites, and large, multimound sites (and the entire spectrum in between) are extraordinarily similar. Even with these criticisms, however, the Coles Creek period undoubtedly has significant potential to help archaeologists understand the origins of complex society in the late prehistoric Lower Mississippi Valley.

While the arguments from settlement pattern changes and earthwork construction seem to lean towards the existence of a more institutionalized social hierarchy during the Coles Creek period, the mortuary record does not appear to support this conclusion. I will first summarize the few arguments that have been made *for* Coles Creek burials showing distinct status differentiation; then, I will focus on the original investigators' commentary on the lack of typical indications of social differentiation in the mortuary record.

When compared with the burials from earlier sites, potentially significant shifts in the patterns of mortuary ritual can be identified at Coles Creek sites. As discussed above, perhaps the most impressive shift is in mound construction itself and the subsequent use of those mounds as burial places. Before the Coles Creek period, conical mounds were constructed to cover burials; after approximately A.D. 700, we begin to see this pattern shift as platform mounds were constructed to serve as foundations for structures in which burials were later placed. Moreover, it has been suggested that many of the Coles Creek platform mounds were constructed over older mortuary facilities (e.g., at Lake George [Williams and Brain 1983:54-55]). This action has been interpreted as an attempt to co-opt the power of the past by directly connecting the people using or living on the mound with the ancestors who were buried there (Kidder 2002:87; Neuman 1984:174). Furthermore, some have argued that the treatment of the dead also changes during the Coles Creek period. While Coles Creek mortuary treatments vary considerably, several

authors have noted patterns. For example, Kidder (2002:86) suggests that several “interments with individual adults (usually males) with associated multiple individuals (often children or women) may indicate that Coles Creek society was becoming increasingly ranked.” Similarly, we see at least occasional emphasis on individual burial as well as many more interments that are in primary contexts (e.g., at the Mounds Plantation Site [Neuman 1984:208-209] and Mount Nebo [Kidder 1992:153; 1998:135]).

That said, there is a striking lack of acknowledgement of these trends in the primary Coles Creek site reports. Most statements supporting a substantial shift between the inconsistent and group-oriented burial pattern of the Troyville period and that of the Coles Creek period come from synthetic articles about the Lower Mississippi Valley cultural chronology and articles specifically devoted to Coles Creek settlements as hierarchical precursors to Mississippian chiefdoms (e.g., Kidder 2002; Neuman 1984; Steponaitis 1986). However, the original excavation reports from Coles Creek sites on which large numbers of burials were excavated, are dominated by a different set of interpretations.

For example, in his report on the Greenhouse site, Ford (1951:37,41,42-44) describes the burials in Mounds A, F and C, respectively, as “placed in the strata of normally deposited refuse with no indication of pits, grave goods, or other special care,” “placed without any particular care,” and “dumped on the surface more or less carelessly, raked into shallow surface depressions ... [and] disposed of with little care or order.” Furthermore, in his conclusion, Ford (1951:106-107) summarizes the burial practices by saying:

In each locality the skeletons appear to have been disposed of carelessly: there is no clear evidence that they were intentionally buried, there are no grave goods, and semi-disarticulation suggests that the bodies had been exposed for some time before interment ... The 93 [burials] found in Mound C were apparently all placed at the same time and were in a state of disorder such as might have resulted from a rude and careless emptying

of a house of the dead or a large scaffold which held that number of desiccated bodies ... It can hardly be certain that the Greenhouse finds represent any intentional and planned disposal of the dead.

This sentiment is echoed by Neuman (1984:179) when he states, “It is difficult to think of a reason for this disorderly array of skeletons.”

Likewise, Williams and Brain (1983:45) describe the burials at the Lake George site by stating, “there is no marked difference in the burial pattern – if, indeed, one can think in terms of a ‘pattern,’ for the overwhelming characteristic of both layers of burials is the obvious lack of order. The dead seem to have been treated inconsistently and often with minimal care.”

Giardino (1977:77) observes that the inhabitants of the Mount Nebo site “did not prepare elaborate graves nor was the custom of burial goods part of the socio-cultural repertoire.” And finally, Cotter (n.d.:15; see also Cotter 1952:115-118) describes the distribution of human remains at the Gordon site as “instances of scattered human bone fragments and even deposition of an entire skeleton ... without pit associations or any evidence of formal ‘burial’.” Similar descriptions of inferred informal burials also exist for the Bayou Chene Blanc midden (Neuman 1984:187), the Pierre Clement site (Neuman 1984:197), the Morton Shell Mound (Neuman 1984:198-199), and the Diversion Canal site (Neuman 1984:194).

As evidenced by the quotes and summaries above, there is a noticeable, and somewhat inexplicable, discrepancy between the primary accounts of the burials at any given Coles Creek site and the broad summaries of Coles Creek burial practices that are made in the more general literature. I cannot explain this discrepancy except as either: (1) a situation in which patterns only become clear when looked at on a regional level or with a different set of assumptions, or (2) a case of reading patterns that do not exist into the data due to the expectation that they may be there. The inconsistency in interpretation of Coles Creek mortuary remains leaves questions

of general patterns and their meaning(s) unsatisfactorily answered. In light of this, one potential avenue to better understanding Coles Creek social organization is to conduct a more comprehensive and meticulous examination of the mortuary record from previously excavated sites. The next section of this paper will be dedicated to doing exactly that with three previously excavated Coles Creek sites: Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo. For this project, I make use of the mortuary record and thus, before beginning my analysis, a brief discussion of the utility of mortuary archaeology as a method for understanding social structure in prehistoric communities is appropriate.

The Utility of Mortuary Archaeology

The discipline of archaeology is built on the recognition that the material residues of human behavior have the potential to yield important information about prehistoric society and culture. “Of the various classes of material preserved in an archaeological context, perhaps no single category of data has greater utility for the archaeologist attempting to draw social inferences than the physical remains of mortuary procedures” (Tainter 1975:1; see also Alekshin 1983; Beck 1995:167; Brown 1995:22; Milner 1984; Sears 1962:122; Trinkaus 1995:53). This belief in the utility of mortuary studies for investigating prehistoric social structure derives from two commonly held assumptions. First, at least some fraction of the mortuary rituals of prehistoric communities is preserved in the archaeological record (Sears 1958:274; Tainter 1975:1). Second, ethnographic records, like those of the Natchez, demonstrate that burials and the often-elaborate rituals associated with them may contain information about the social organization of the community in which they are taking place (Alekshin 1983:137-138, 140-143; Giardino 1982:100; Tainter 1975:1). In the past, these assumptions have led to the conclusion

that trait lists and general laws can be developed for the interpretation of burial goods, burial position and other indicators of differential status (Sears 1958:274; Tainter 1975:2). Recently, these assumptions have been called into question and a debate has ensued about the degree to which we can make claims about social organization based on the mortuary record. Because all sides of this debate have informed my analysis, it is important to begin my investigation with a brief summary of the discussions that have taken place.

Mortuary rituals tend to be associated with conditions that lead to good preservation. For example, materials are commonly buried deeply and thus often avoid the destructive forces of erosion and modern agricultural practices. Moreover, bone and other materials commonly placed in graves, as well as the mortuary architecture associated with the grave, all leave archaeological signatures. Additionally, due to the practice of marking some graves with relatively visible markers, archaeologists have been able to locate and excavate burial sites allowing for comparatively large assemblages. Nevertheless, the recognition of recent debates about the degree of accuracy with which the archaeological record preserves burial ritual is vital. In making use of the mortuary record, we must acknowledge that this preservation is undoubtedly incomplete. We are in fact only seeing part of the complete mortuary program of a given culture when looking at an archaeological site; we are seeing the part that took place at that particular time and in that particular place and left an archaeological signature (Cannon 1989; Hutchinson 2006; Hutchinson and Aragon 2002). In short, we are likely only seeing one part of a much more complicated and elaborate process.

The second assumption—that burials and the rituals associated with them tell a great deal about social organization—is the focus of a great deal of discussion. In the early twentieth century, Kroeber's (1927) classic cross-cultural study of funerary practices began a

reconsideration of anthropologists' use of burial data to make social inferences. Kroeber's critique was based on his observation that patterns in the treatment of the dead in native Californian societies seemed dissociated from other traditional beliefs and practices. In the early and mid-twentieth century, Kroeber's work was widely cited and undoubtedly left a generation of archaeologists inclined to approach social interpretations of mortuary practices with caution (Rakita and Buikstra 2005). While taken seriously at the time and still discussed in much of the literature, modern archaeologists have largely dismissed this and the related critiques (for exceptions, see Cannon 1989 and Ucko 1969). Throughout much of the modern period of archaeological theory, the usefulness of burial data for answering social questions has been largely unquestioned.

For example, Sears (1954:339) makes the following list of aspects of elite mortuary ritual that leave behind archaeological signatures: "special ornaments, dwelling places on mounds, movement in litters, and mortuary ceremonialism which included retainer sacrifice, sacrifice of wives, and interment of these in graves whose locations were patterned with respect to the grave of the key individual whose death started the cycle." While it is true that many of these traits do undoubtedly evidence elite burial, trait lists as a method of analysis have come under heavy fire in recent decades (e.g. Trigger 1989:276). Trait list analysis often leads to invalid conclusions because of its use in creating checklists from which to judge the presence or absence of "necessary" characteristics. In doing so, trait lists lead to the tendency both to overemphasize the importance of certain characteristics and to ignore aspects of the data which are not included in the given list but may also reveal important information. "Just such obvious absence of single object correspondence of symbol, practice or ideology is what motivated a number of

archaeologists [those of the processual movement] to search for categorical regularities rather than ones that depended upon the presence of specific things” (Brown 1995:6).

The practice of using the mortuary record to try to understand the social organization of communities has come to characterize the processual movement in archaeology and is perhaps epitomized in the Binford- Saxe approach to mortuary analysis. In his dissertation, Saxe (1970) developed a model of the connections between mortuary practices and a given society’s social organization. He suggested that the use of this model would allow for “monitor[ing] social complexity” and inferring organizational “type” (Saxe 1970:2). Published soon after Saxe’s dissertation was completed, an article by Binford (1971) came to a similar conclusion. Binford added an expectation that one’s status in life would be “accurately and unambiguously reflected in mortuary treatments and grave accoutrements” (Rakita and Buikstra 2005:4). This approach relied heavily on the idea that a given society is made up of any number of individuals, each with explicit roles and statuses that are reflected in their treatment at death. In turn, looking at the aggregate of these individuals was assumed to tell us something about the larger organization of that society (Hutchinson 2006:63; Parker Pearson 1999:28-30, 72-75). Due to the reliance on the direct correlation of treatment upon death with position in life, this theoretical stance has been called the *representationist approach* (Hutchinson 2006:63). Many authors have used this approach since its popularization in the 1970s. For example, Tainter (1975:2) directly cites Saxe and Binford in proposing:

Directionally, higher social rank of a deceased individual will correspond to greater amounts of corporate involvement and activity disruption, and hence should result in the expenditure of greater amounts of energy in the interment ritual. Energy expenditure should in turn be reflected in such features as burial size and elaborateness of the interment facility, method of handling and disposal of the corpse, and the nature of grave associations.

While the hard-core trait-list approach was abandoned in favor of more flexible means of identification, the identification of elite status in the mortuary record continued to rely heavily on lists of common characteristics. For example, Tainter (1975:2) argued that high status can be observed in the mortuary record by looking for community involvement in the act of interring the dead, a large degree of disruption of daily activities, and considerable energy expenditure in mortuary ritual (see also Parker Pearson 1999:31, 74-75). This evidence should be visible in the archaeological record in the form of “size and elaborateness of the interment facility, method of handling and disposal of the corpse, and the nature of grave associations” (Tainter 1975:2). More recently, Milner (1984) differentiated between elite and nonelite burials based on a trait list including mounds, charnel structures, and the presence of grave goods or other burial furniture.

Perhaps because of, the heavy use of the Saxe-Binford approach to mortuary analysis throughout the 1970s, the post-processual movement of the 1980s brought a suite of criticism against the idea that general laws can be created for understanding social organization through the mortuary record (e.g., Cannon 1989; Hodder 1982; Parker Pearson 1982; 1999; Shanks and Tilley 1982). As in all arenas of archaeological theory, the post-processualist movement is not unified. Rather, it is made up of a large number of sometimes-disparate theories that are united only in that they are coming after and reacting to processualism. Specifically, the critics of the Saxe-Binford approach have been dubbed the *nonrepresentationists* (Hutchinson 2006:63). The nonrepresentationists are alike in “their assertion that mortuary rituals are frequently utilized by the living to negotiate, display, mask, or transform actual power or social relations” and in the belief that “the processual [representationist] perspective glosses over significant variation that exists in the perception and practice of mortuary rites within a given society” (Rakita and

Buikstra 2005:7; see also Parker Pearson 1999:32-34). In other words, mortuary ritual “must be seen as relating to, rather than ‘reflecting’ social position” (Parker Pearson 1982:101).

For example, Hodder (1982) argues for a contextual approach to identifying and interpreting ranking in prehistory. In doing so, he endeavors to move away from the assumptions: (1) that the development of political hierarchy and social differentiation is an adaptive response that would be visible in similar ways across all cultural contexts, and (2) that mortuary contexts directly reflect social and political hierarchy (Hodder 1982:150). Instead, he maintains that it is necessary to consider how social and political rank is represented for an individual within a culture in which beliefs about social differences among members of the society are being manipulated and changed (Hodder 1982:152). This consideration in turn forces archaeologists to recognize that artifacts and practices such as burial goods and mortuary ceremonialism carry different meanings in different contexts.

Furthermore, Hodder (1982:152) emphasizes that social groups manifest their beliefs and attitudes in at least two differing ways. Borrowing terms from social anthropologists, he refers to these as *naturalizing* and *masking ideologies*. In a naturalizing ideology, a given cultural practice is presented as if it were the natural order of things. It, therefore, would be emphasized in all aspects of a given culture: its architecture, mortuary ritual, subsistence patterns, etc. In a society relying on a naturalizing ideology, archaeologists would find mortuary ceremonialism “which faithfully represents and mirrors aspects of a living society” (Hodder 1982:152). On the other hand, in a masking ideology, the concern would be for “distorting, obscuring, hiding, or inverting particular forms of social relationships” (Hodder 1982:152; for a similar theory see Parker Pearson 1982:112). This idea that expression of rank in the mortuary record may even be inverted so that high status may actually be represented by the most simple mortuary practices

has been taken on and elaborated by other nonrepresentationists and the growing body of ethnographic and archaeological evidence showing such practices cannot be ignored (e.g., Bartel 1982; Cannon 1989; Hutchinson and Aragon 2002; Parker Pearson 1982; 1999:34-44; Trinkaus 1995:57-60). The nonrepresentationist critiques, like those of Hodder (1982), have had a profound influence on the field of mortuary archaeology and have called into question the common assumption that mortuary remains provide an unmediated glimpse into the social organization of a community.

While some authors continue to work under a heavily representationist paradigm (e.g., Beck 1995; Trinkaus 1995) and others under staunchly nonrepresentationist ideas (e.g., Cannon 1989; Parker Pearson 1999), the debate has seeped into the introductions of nearly every recently-published volume on mortuary archaeology (e.g., Brown 1995; Hutchinson 2006; Parker Pearson 1999; Rakita and Buikstra 2005). The debate has brought attention to the assumptions that underpin our analyses and has undoubtedly caused many authors, including me, to truly think about, question, and evaluate both their data and their interpretations of them. In the analysis presented in the next section of this paper, I try to take a middle-ground approach to the use of mortuary analysis for social inference. I embrace the possibility that the burial data from the three sites I analyze may be mediated by a number of factors (e.g., the presence of either a masking or naturalizing ideology). However, I also endeavor not to lose sight of the “long-acknowledged effect that the scale of social complexity has on the range and complexity of ritual” (Brown 1995; see Durkheim 1915). In short, I believe that our recognition of the limitations of the mortuary record should not repudiate the information that it might provide but rather should enhance it.

Burial Analysis Methods

The relatively small number of Coles Creek sites that have been excavated limits the body of information available on mortuary practices. Moreover, though small numbers of burials have been reported from numerous Coles Creek sites throughout the Lower Mississippi Valley, few have provided large enough assemblages to allow for the identification of statistically significant patterns in the data. The Greenhouse, Lake George and Mount Nebo sites were chosen for this analysis principally based on the availability of data from a significant number of excavated burials.

My initial analysis of the mortuary records from the Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo sites involved compiling all available data on the skeletal remains and associated archaeological features and artifacts from each site in a manner that would easily allow for comparison and pattern identification. The data from Greenhouse and Lake George were taken primarily from the published site reports (Ford 1951; Williams and Brain 1983) and the later NAGPRA analyses (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 2000; Rebecca Saunders, personal communication). The data from the Mount Nebo site were taken primarily from Marco Giardino's Tulane University Masters thesis (1977).

My analysis required a basic tabulation of the mortuary assemblages from each site including burial type, age and sex distributions, and any additional information. Though the original methods for recording the burial type and age and sex data for each of the sites were quite different, I made every effort to standardize the data without losing any accuracy. For the purposes of this paper, the following burial type descriptions will be used: bundle, extended-prone, extended-supine, extended (unspecified prone or supine), flexed, semiflexed, skull, fragment and unknown. My choice of these categories was based largely on the categories used

by the original authors and hence, not all categories will be used for each site. This fact, however, should in no way affect the capacity to identify patterns in the data.

It was important, however, to define a standard method for assigning age categories to the remains excavated at each site. Despite many claims to the contrary, osteologists do not *identify* either age or sex, but rather *estimate* them. Because each author used a significantly different age estimation system, I translated the data into a single system developed to make pattern identification more straightforward. The age estimation system employed here is summarized in Table 1. This system lacks some of the specificity used in the original site reports but was constructed to retain the maximum amount of information available from the three sites. After a brief discussion of my method, I will provide a summary of the analysis from each of the three sites. After looking individually at the sites' burial records, the final section of this paper will attempt to draw conclusions based on the compilation of the data from these three sites and point to areas in which further research will be helpful.

In my analysis, I sought to discern whether there was evidence for any form of social differentiation in the three assemblages. My goal was to see past the very apparent lack of grave goods and absence of elaborate individual burials that are often used to define status differentiation in the mortuary record. Instead, I focused on the often ignored, less ostentatious

Table 1: The age estimation system employed in this paper. Note: For some sites in which distinctions were not originally drawn between the subcategories of adults, the category "Adult" will be used to imply any individual over 18 years of age.

Age Category	Age Estimate
Infant	0-5 years
Subadult	6-17 years
Young Adult (Adult 1)	18-30 years
Middle Adult (Adult 2)	31-50 years
Old Adult (Adult 3)	over 51 years

aspects of the burial record. Giardino (1982:100-101) argues that social conditions “can be approximated, in part, through a record and to, instead, focus on the often ignored, less ostentatious aspects of the burial record. Giardino (1982:100-101) argues that social conditions “can be approximated, in part, through a study of burial types (i.e., single, multiple, or dual) and burial styles (i.e. extended, flexed, bundle, cremations, etc.) ... Burial styles or methods for disposal of the dead are the result of patterned cultural activity and therefore can be viewed as human artifacts.” Following these ideas, I sought to identify patterns in burial type with regard to age and sex. This more extensive and less common consideration of the “human artifacts” in the burial record is particularly appropriate for the study of Coles Creek social organization precisely because the burials are routinely lacking in grave goods and other associated artifacts.

For each site, tabulations (totals and percentages) were made for each burial type as compared to age and sex. These totals are presented in a series of tables to show similarities and differences among and between the age and sex distributions represented by the skeletal populations at Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo. Conclusions about patterning with regard to sex are drawn from the numbers and percentages presented in these tables. However, due to the larger number of age categories, I completed correspondence analysis on each of these data sets to aid in interpretation.

Correspondence analysis is particularly well suited to archaeological questions involving data sets consisting of counts or presence/absence data, as is the case here (Shennan 1997:308). In relatively simple terms, correspondence analysis is a statistical method for visualizing the associations between the levels of a two-way contingency table. Correspondence analysis identifies the degree to which the levels of one independent variable (here, age category) correlate with the levels of one dependent variable (here, burial type). By plotting these

associations in two-dimensional space, correspondence analysis produces a graphical representation of the relationships among the different levels of the independent and dependent variables such that the points identified with the levels appear in positions that are consistent with their associations in the table. In other words, points that appear close together in the graphical representation of the correspondence analysis tend to be positively associated, while those that are farther apart are either not associated or negatively associated (Shennan 1997:308-306).

Greenhouse

The Greenhouse site is situated in Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana near the modern city of Marksville (Ford 1951). The site is located in the bottomland on a small natural levee along an old channel of the Mississippi River. First described and excavated by Gerard Fowke in 1926 and then more completely and systematically excavated by Neitzel and Doran (under the direction of James Ford) as part of a Works Progress Administration project in 1938, Greenhouse has played and continues to play an extremely important role in the understanding of late prehistory in the Lower Mississippi Valley (Belmont 1967:27). The Greenhouse site consists of seven mounds (referred to as Mounds A-G) arranged around a central plaza (Figure 3). The three most prominent mounds (A, E, and G) are roughly rectangular, platform mounds that form a triangle with the longest axis along the shore of a lake. The four smaller mounds lie between the large mounds and could possibly have been rectangular platform mounds as well, but no longer retain that shape. Also associated with Greenhouse is an area of approximately one acre, heavily covered with midden containing large amounts of ceramic and other habitation debris (Belmont 1967:30).

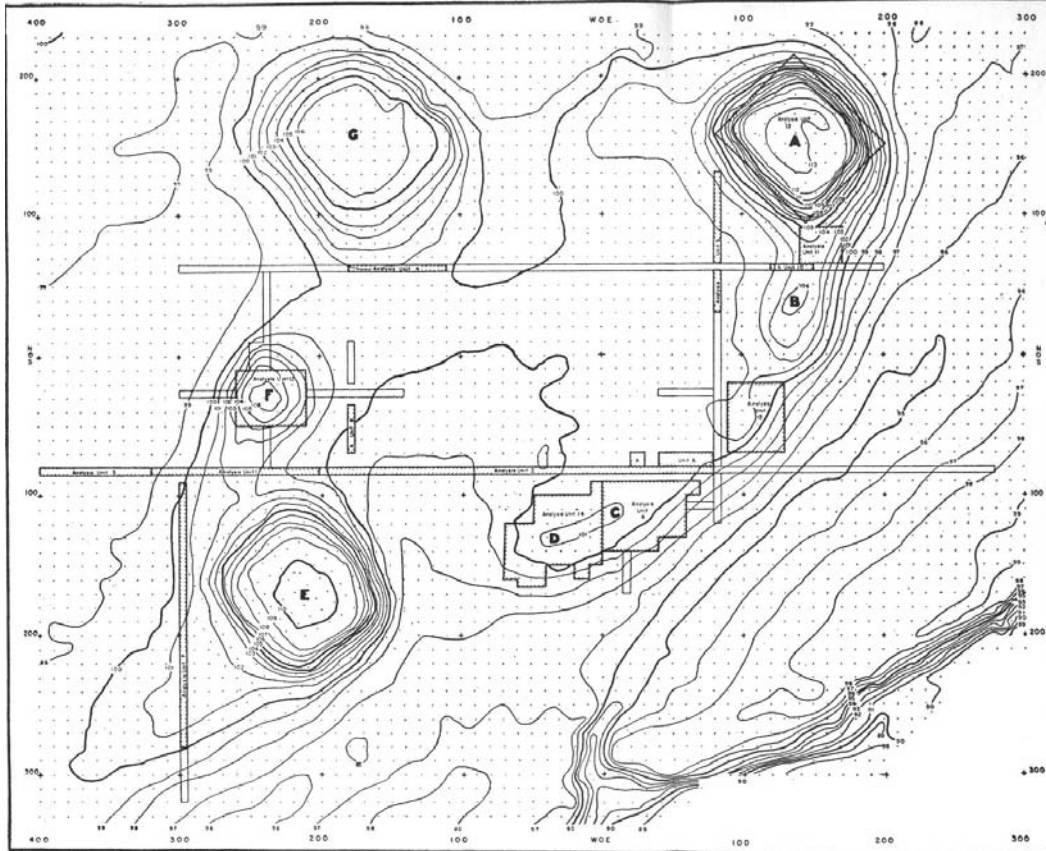


Figure 3: Map of the Greenhouse Site showing the topography, locations of the different mounds and areas excavated (from Ford 1951: Figure 3).

The initial excavations at Greenhouse by Neitzel and Doran in 1938 consisted of a series of exploratory trenches running across the site from east to west. The purpose of these trenches was to collect material from all stages of occupation without disturbing the mounds themselves (Ford 1951:23, 30-32). The goal was to ascertain the depth, extent, and nature of deposits in general and to obtain enough data to inform the rest of the excavation. Features found during the excavation of these trenches, including pits and house floors, led to the excavation of other off-mound areas throughout the site (Ford 1951:28-30, 47). Neitzel and Doran then continued their investigation of Greenhouse by conducting more complete excavations of Mounds A, F, and C. These mounds were chosen because initial testing indicated they “would probably give a fair

sampling of mound construction and of the buildings that we [the excavators] expected to see on the several building levels” (Ford 1951:32).

Excavation of Mound A revealed that the earthwork was constructed in approximately seven stages, most of which supported a structure of some type (Ford 1951:32-36). Underlying the mound itself was a thick (2-3 ft) midden (Ford 1951:34). Analysis of the ceramics collected during this excavation revealed that construction of Mound A occurred over the last three-quarters of the occupation of Greenhouse during the early and middle Coles Creek periods (Belmont 1967). Additionally, nine burials were recovered from Mound A. Excavation of Mound F showed many similarities to Mound A. The mound was constructed atop a 2-3 ft deep midden and excavations revealed at least four separate building episodes, each with an associated structure. Mound F was constructed very late in the occupation sequence of Greenhouse from the late Coles Creek through the early Plaquemine period and nearly all of the previous occupation periods were represented in the midden underlying it (Belmont 1967). Two burials were discovered in Mound F. Finally, Mound C was also excavated (along with parts of the almost indistinguishable Mound D). This very low mound differed remarkably from Mounds A and F. Though there was one layer of loaded soil on top, Mound C was made up almost entirely of black midden that had undoubtedly gradually accumulated on the original ground surface. Two surfaces were identified within the midden and showed evidence of posts, hearths and other living features, but no specific structures could be identified (Ford 1951:42). In addition to the large amount of habitation debris, the upper levels of Mound C contained 93 burials. These burials are the primary focus of the following section. Ceramic analysis proved Mound C was constructed throughout the early, middle, and late Coles Creek periods (Belmont 1967). It is worth noting that Mound D, while superficially resembling Mound C, produced no burials

during excavation. It was constructed completely out of midden most likely accumulating due to the small round structure and associated pits evident atop the mound (Ford 1951:45).

Burial Analysis

The records from Neitzel and Doran's excavations in 1938 contain descriptions of over 100 burials. The burials were primarily found in Mound C (Figure 4), with a few also coming from Mounds A and F. Based on Ford's (1951) publication and the NAGPRA inventory (Rebecca Saunders, personal communication), it appears that 98 burials were uncovered at the Greenhouse site (nine from Mound A, 86 from Mound C and three from Mound F). A complete tabulation of these 98 burials is presented in Appendix A.

Of these 98 burials, 23% were classified as male, 30% as female, and 44% were unclassifiable as to sex. These data show no significant difference from what would be predicted given an approximately 50:50 sex distribution in the original population. After standardizing the age estimation system of the Greenhouse population, 4% were infants, 17% subadults, 64% adults (with 9% classified as young adults, 15% as middle adults and 3% as old adults) and 14% were unclassifiable as to age. These data are clearly biased, with a lower than expected number of infants and subadults (Blakely 1971; Weiss 1973:14-30). There are numerous possible explanations for this bias including differential preservation, taphonomy, and deliberate biasing on the part of the prehistoric population (Hutchinson 2006:159). The size and makeup of the bones of very young individuals make them less likely to appear in the archaeological record because: (1) they are more likely to decompose in circumstances where adult remains will preserve (Hutchinson 2006:57) and (2) they are more likely to be lost during the common practice of moving remains into secondary contexts. It is also quite common for young

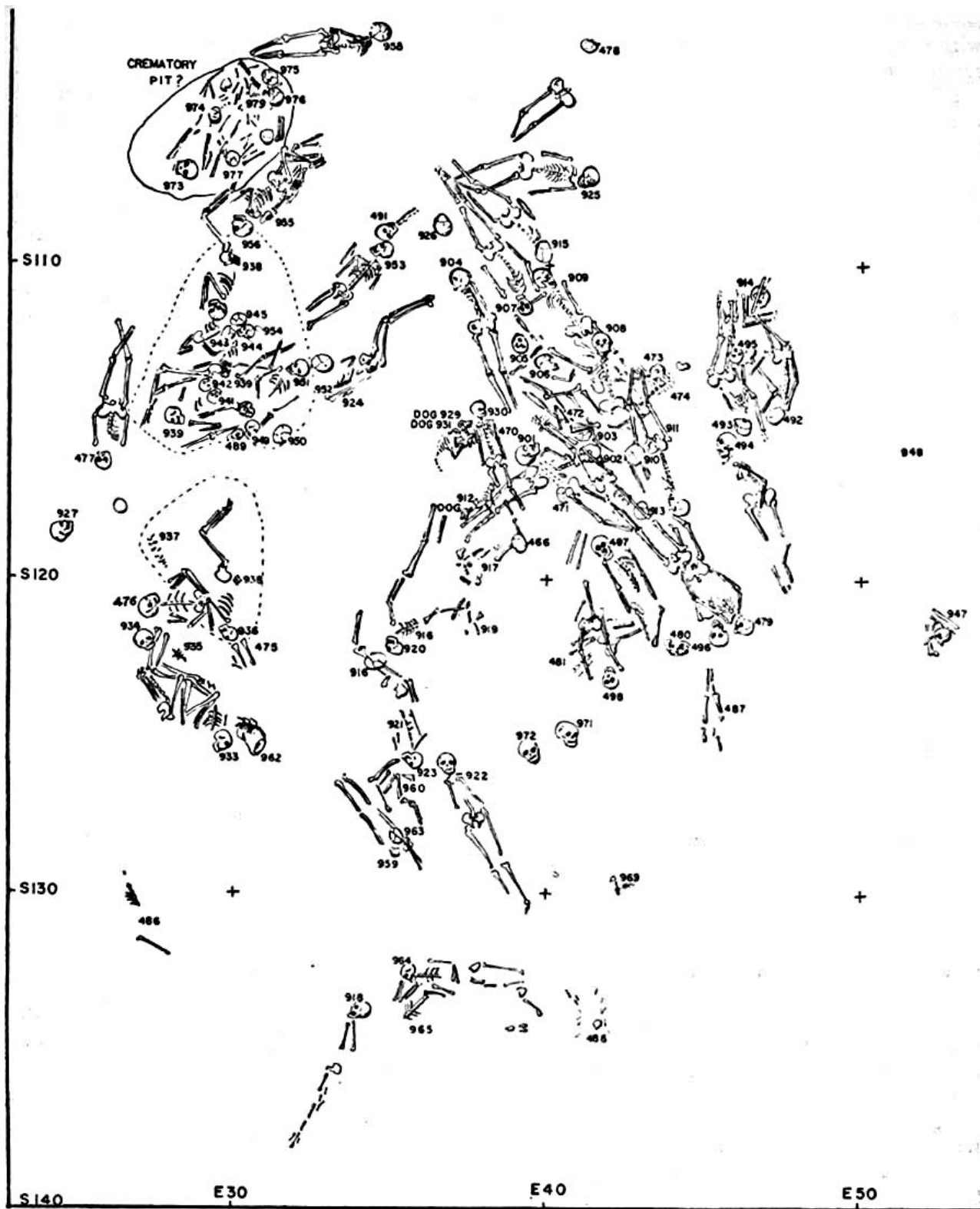


Figure 4: Burials in Mound C at the Greenhouse Site (from Ford 1951: Figure 11). Most of the burials are identified by the Burial Numbers used in Appendix A.

individuals (particularly, infants) to be purposefully treated differently in mortuary programs – or even completely left out of them (Weiss 1973:12). Therefore, while the lack of infants and subadults is significant, it is not unexpected in such a prehistoric population.

Though in some cases it is difficult to tell, it appears that most of the burials at Greenhouse were secondary interments of large numbers of people deposited at once such as would result from the emptying of a charnel structure (Ford 1951:37, 42-44). The spatial patterning of the burials is such that there are a number of distinct clusters that may represent different burial episodes throughout the construction of the mound. With few exceptions, there is no evidence of pits or other markers of individual graves within the mounds (Ford 1951:42-44).

The statistical data from the burial type provides the most interesting information (Table 2). Of the 98 burials at Greenhouse, 20% were bundle burials, 40% extended (in this case, no differentiation was made between extended-prone and extended-supine), 8% flexed, 6% semiflexed, 16% skull and 9% were unidentifiable as to burial type. When examining burial type with regard to sex, the majority of both male and female burials were extended; however, the male burials were more evenly distributed amongst the different burial types, while the female burials were much more heavily associated with the extended position (76%).

Table 3 summarizes the frequencies of age category versus burial type. Correspondence analysis was used to simplify the information and help identify any associations (Figure 5). By looking at the visual representations of the data, a number of clear associations emerge: at Greenhouse, infants were buried in the flexed position, subadults are associated with skull burials, young adults were buried in the semiflexed or bundled positions, and adults (middle, old and unclassifiable) are associated with the extended position.

Table 2: Numbers (and percentages) of burial positions at Greenhouse with respect to sex.

GREENHOUSE	Bundle	Extended	Flexed	Semiflexed	Skull	Unknown	Total
Male	3 (13%)	9 (39%)	3 (13%)	3 (13%)	4 (17%)	1 (4%)	23 (23%)
Female	4 (14%)	22 (76%)	0 (0%)	2 (7%)	0 (0%)	2 (7%)	29 (30%)
Unknown	11 (26%)	8 (19%)	5 (12%)	1 (2%)	12 (28%)	6 (14%)	43 (44%)
Total	20 (20%)	39 (40%)	8 (8%)	6 (6%)	16 (16%)	9 (9%)	98 (100%)

Table 3: Numbers (and percentages) of burial positions at Greenhouse with respect to age.

GREENHOUSE	Bundle	Extended	Flexed	Semiflexed	Skull	Unknown	Total
Infant	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (75%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	4 (4%)
Subadult	2 (12%)	3 (18%)	2 (12%)	1 (6%)	6 (35%)	3 (18%)	17 (17%)
Adult (total)	13 (21%)	31 (49%)	2 (3%)	5 (8%)	7 (11%)	5 (8%)	63 (64%)
Young	4 (44%)	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9 (9%)
Middle	1 (7%)	11 (73%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)	15 (15%)
Old	0 (0%)	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (3%)
Unknown	5 (36%)	5 (36%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	2 (14%)	1 (7%)	14 (14%)

Lake George

Situated in the Yazoo Basin of west-central Mississippi near the modern town of Holly Bluff, the Lake George site is located on the shore adjacent to where the Sunflower River enters George Lake (Williams and Brain 1983:1). Like Greenhouse, Lake George sits on a large natural levee along an old channel of the Mississippi River. This site has remained an ideal location for settlement throughout both prehistory and history and hence, has been reused in modern times as a roadbed and plantation headquarters. In addition to this modern reuse of the site, looting and vandalism have caused considerable damage to Lake George since its prehistoric occupation.

Despite the fact that the mounds at Lake George had already deteriorated significantly due to cultivation and erosion by the early twentieth century, C.B. Moore recorded more than thirty mounds within the 4-6 ft tall earthen wall enclosing the 55- acre site (Moore 1908:590).

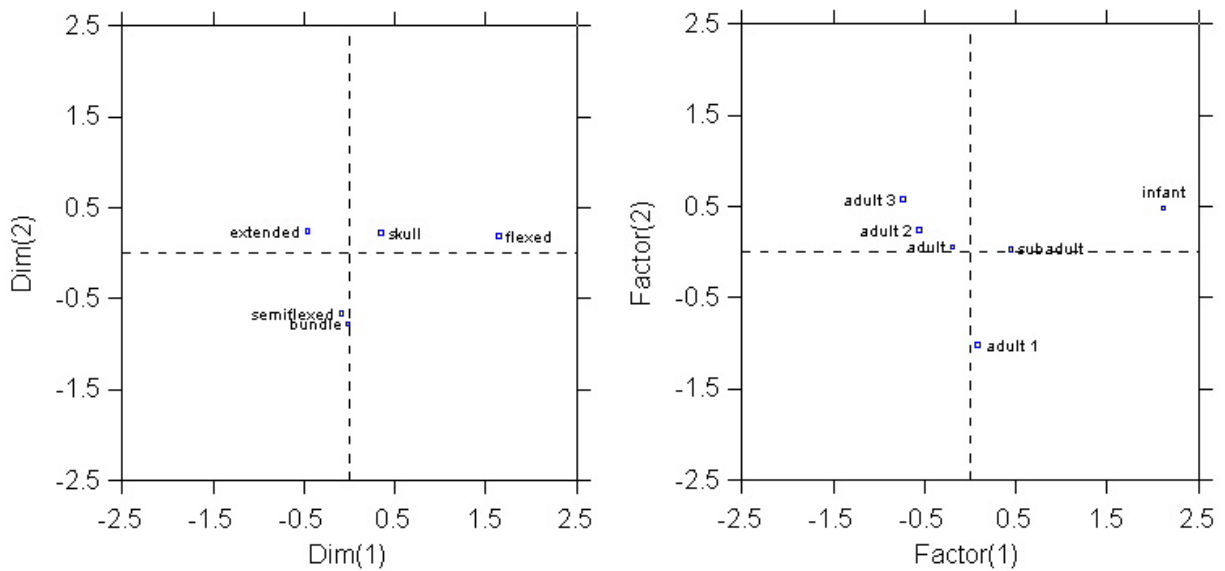
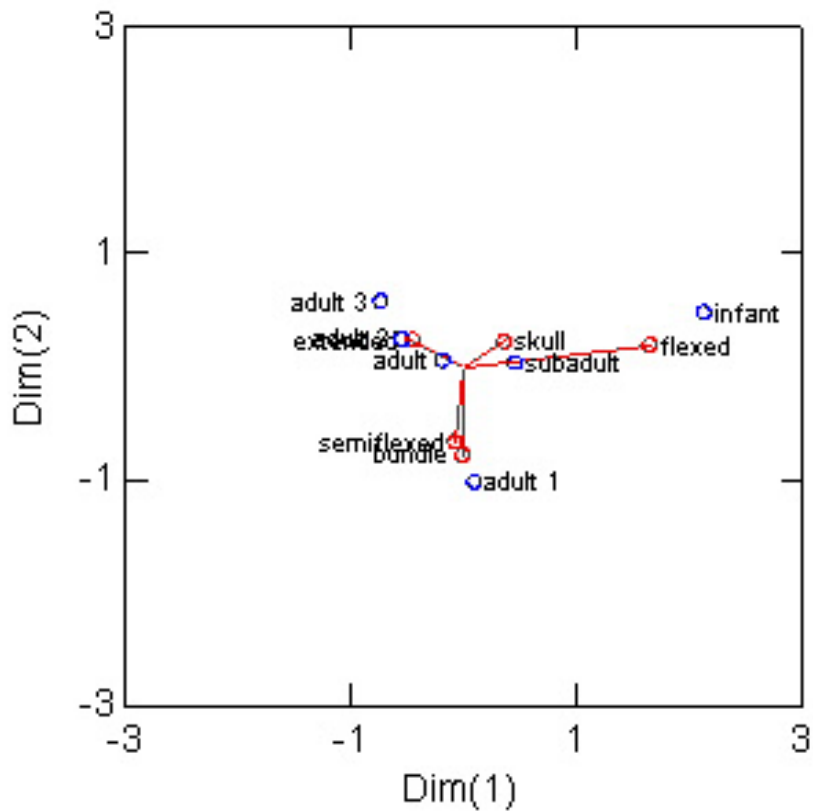


Figure 5: Results of the correspondence analysis from the Greenhouse site: (top) scatter plot showing the dependent and independent variables on the same axes; (bottom) biplot showing the dependent and independent variables on separate graphs for greater clarity.

Now, only 25 mounds and parts of the earthen wall and ditch surrounding the south, east and west sides of the site can be discerned (Figure 6). The remaining mounds range in size from barely noticeable rises to the 55-foot tall Mound A (Williams and Brain 1983:1). Nearly all of the mounds show evidence of repeated structural occupations and the larger mounds appear to have originally had ramps leading up them. Small mounds (Mounds N-T) flank the shore of George Lake on the north edge of the site and a line of small mounds also runs along the southern embankment (Mounds J-L and W-Y). While most Coles Creek sites are made up of a number of mounds surrounding a plaza, Lake George is unique in that the remaining mounds “are arranged in two circles that form a double plaza, one to the east and one to the west of

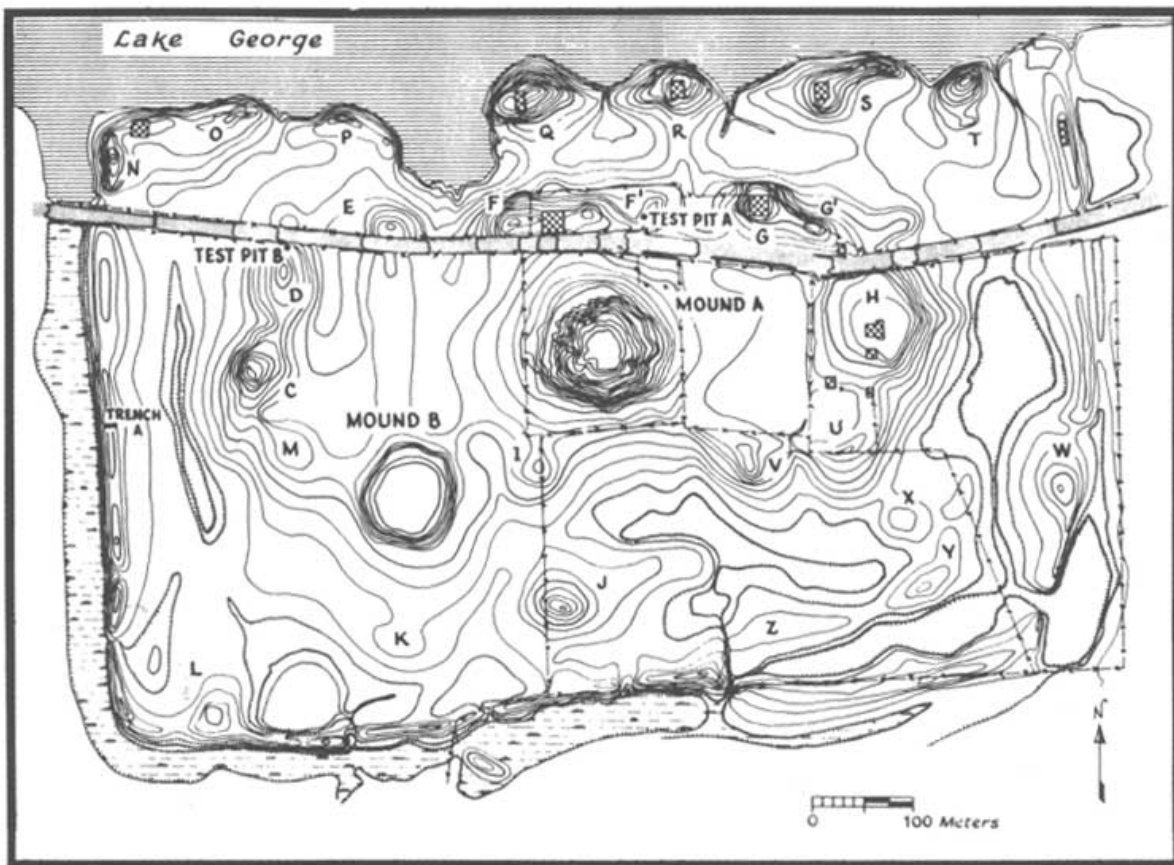


Figure 6: Map of the Lake George Site showing topography, locations of the different mounds and areas excavated (from Williams and Brain 1983: Figure 1.2).

Mound A” (Williams and Brain 1983:4). It is probable that a wooden palisade surmounted the embankment and that the ditch was filled with water from George Lake to make a moat (Williams and Brain 1983:4-5).

The excavations at Lake George took place between 1949 and 1960 and included major work on and around Mound F, Mound P, Mound C, Mound A and two off-mound locations (Williams and Brain 1983: 23-68). Minor excavations also took place on Mounds D and E in the western plaza, Mounds G, H and V in the eastern plaza and Mounds R, T and L along the lakefront (Williams and Brain 1983:69-86). A test unit in Mound C in 1958 revealed 22 burials and hence the truncated, pyramidal mound became the focus of the 1959 and 1960 excavations (Williams and Brain 1983:39). The area on which Mound C was constructed was intensely occupied and a thick midden underlay the mound itself. This midden was then covered with a two-stage platform mound. After this major construction stage, the mound changed functions and became a foundation for a number of structures built in two separate phases (Williams and Brain 1983:55-56). During the one and a half seasons of work on Mound C, approximately 200 skeletons were recovered.

The cultural chronology of the Lake George site spans nearly the entire cultural sequence of the Lower Mississippi Valley. That said, there is sparse evidence for habitation at Lake George during the Poverty Point, Tchula, and Marksville periods. The primary midden deposits and the beginning of mound construction occurred during the Baytown period. The construction of and deposition of burials in Mound C occurred during the early and middle Coles Creek periods along with continued midden accumulation on most other parts of the site. Finally, in the Plaquemine period, the largest episode of mound building at Lake George (including the

construction of Mound A) and the erection of the wall and ditch complex took place (Williams and Brain 1983:329-346).

Burial Analysis

The initial 1958, 1959 and 1960 excavations at Lake George uncovered nearly 200 human burials. During the excavations, field notes, photographs, and sketches were made of nearly every context (Figure 7). Though these field notes were not directly available to me, they were the basis of an analysis completed by Dennis Egnatz (Williams and Brain 1983:421-441). More recent analysis undertaken for the NAGPRA inventory (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 2000) shows there were 187 burials in Mound C (Appendix B).

Of these 187 burials, 11% were classified as male, 5% as female, and 83% were unidentifiable as to sex. There are not enough data here to make any statement as to the normalcy of this sex distribution. The Lake George burial population consists of 42% infants, 8% subadults, 42% adults (with approximately 1% classified as old, middle and young adults) and less than 1% unidentifiable as to age. Unlike Greenhouse, the population at Lake George does not differ greatly from what one would expect to find in a prehistoric society (Blakely 1971, Weis 1973:14-30). The high incidence of infants does however, indicate a difference between the burial populations at Lake George and those at Greenhouse and Mount Nebo. This difference could be a difference in the burial practices of the prehistoric population, but also could merely indicate differences in excavation technique and burial identification on the part of the archaeologists (Hutchinson 2006:159). In some ways, the burial methods of the population at Lake George are similar to those of the Greenhouse population; burials appear to be occurring as mass interments such as would result from the periodic emptying of a charnel

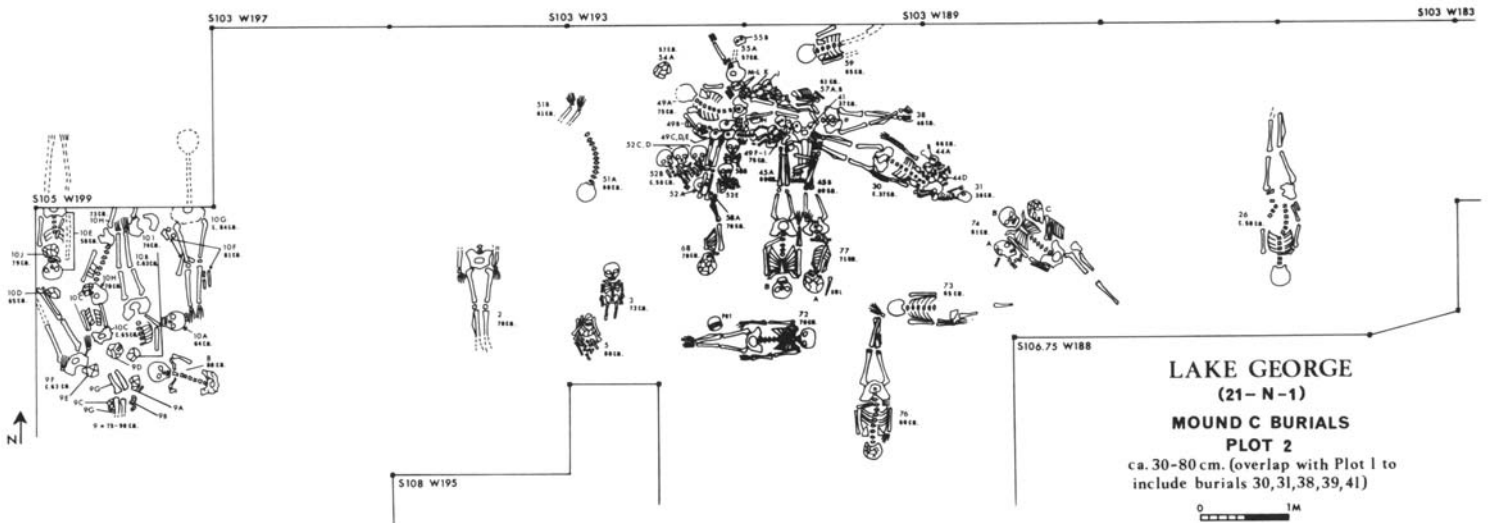
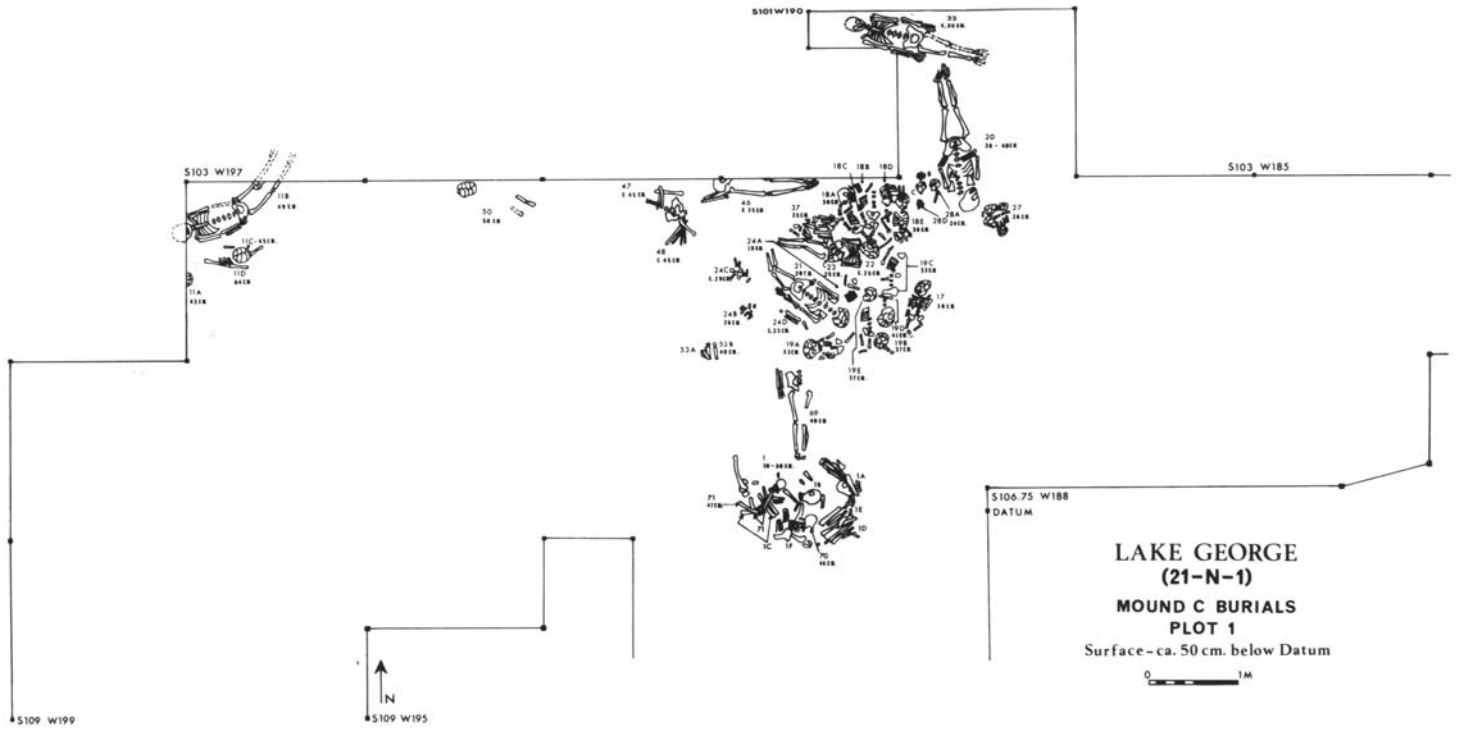


Figure 7.1: Burials in Mound C at the Lake George Site (from Williams and Brain 1983: Figures 3.14 and 3.15). Divided by plots based on depth of deposits and identified by the Burial Numbers used in Appendix B.

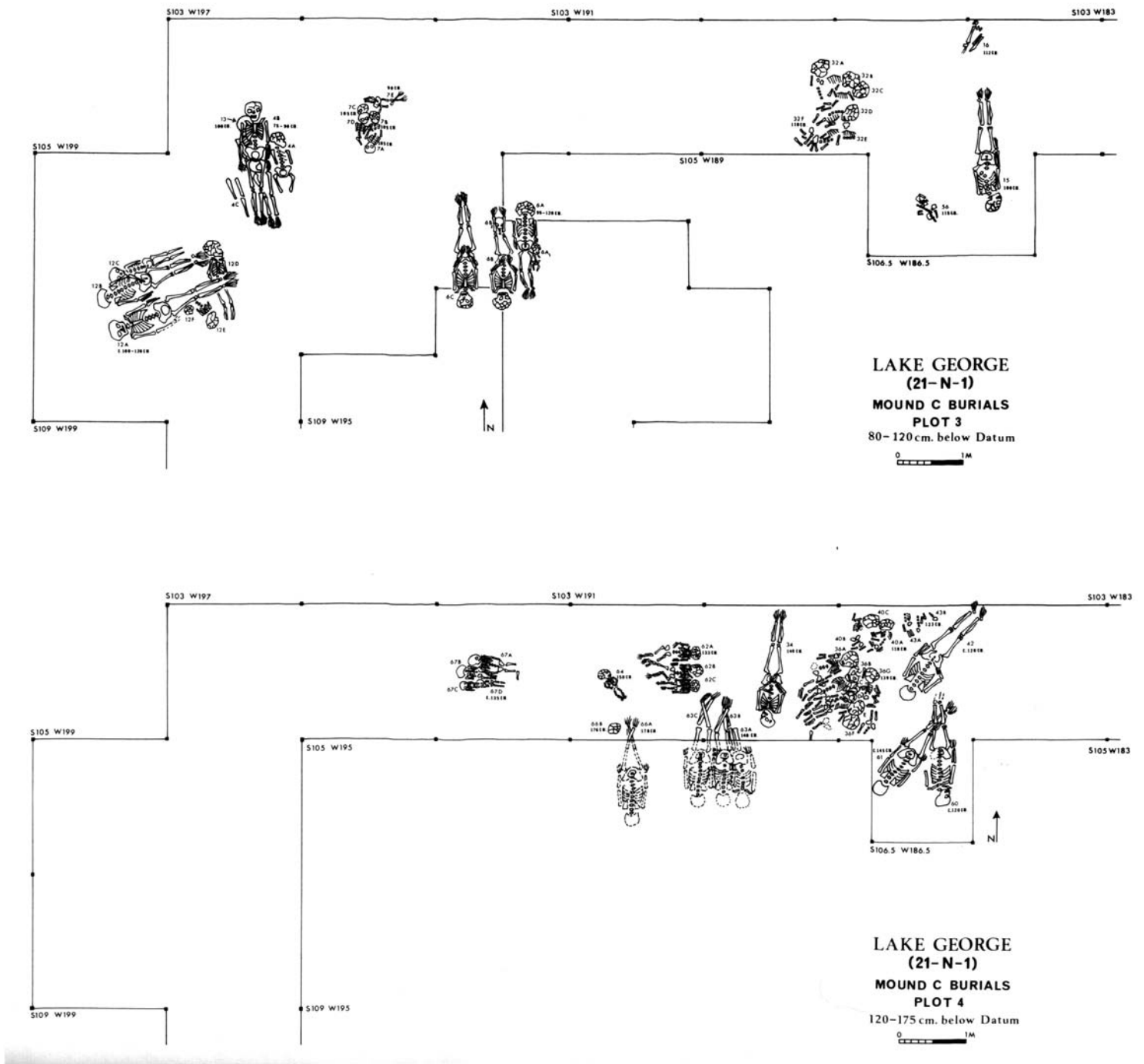


Figure 7.2: Burials in Mound C at the Lake George Site (from Williams and Brain 1983: Figures 3.16 and 3.17). Divided by plots based on depth of deposits and identified by the Burial Numbers used in Appendix B.

house. Again, distinct spatial clustering is visible, though this time clusters are identified more by depth of deposit and various irregular and ill-defined pits (Williams and Brain 1983:42).

Of the 187 burials at Lake George, 9% were bundle burials, 14% extended-prone, 50% extended-supine, 5% flexed, 11% skull and 10% of the remains were fragmentary. In this case, the differentiation was made between extended-prone and extended-supine because removing it had significant impact on the conclusions and would have resulted in a loss of accuracy. When examining burial type with regards to sex, the majority of both male and female burials were extended; however, the male burials are more heavily associated with the extended-supine position, while the female burials are much more heavily associated with the extended-prone

Table 4: Numbers (and percentages) of burial positions at Lake George with respect to sex.

LAKE GEORGE	Bundle	Extended-prone	Extended-supine	Flexed	Fragment	Skull	Total
Male	3 (14%)	4 (19%)	9 (43%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	3 (14%)	21 (11%)
Female	0 (0%)	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	10 (5%)
Unknown	13 (8%)	16 (10%)	82 (53%)	9 (6%)	18 (12%)	18 (12%)	156 (83%)
Total	16 (9%)	27 (14%)	94 (50%)	10 (5%)	19 (10%)	21 (11%)	187 (100%)

Table 5: Numbers (and percentages) of burial positions at Lake George with respect to age.

LAKE GEORGE	Bundle	Extended-prone	Extended-supine	Flexed	Fragment	Skull	Total
Infant	3 (4%)	3 (4%)	49 (62%)	7 (9%)	11 (14%)	6 (8%)	79 (42%)
Subadult	1 (7%)	3 (20%)	4 (27%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)	5 (33%)	15 (8%)
Adult (total)	10 (13%)	21 (27%)	36 (46%)	2 (3%)	3 (4%)	7 (9%)	79 (42%)
Young	0 (0%)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)
Middle	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (>1%)
Old	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (50%)	2 (1%)
Unknown	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (>1%)

position (Table 4). That said, the large number of individuals of unknown sex (83%) make drawing any statistically relevant conclusions from these data impossible.

Table 5 summarizes the tabulations made comparing age with burial types. Due to the number of potential associations within these data, correspondence analysis was again used to simplify the information and identify patterns. The visual representation of the data from Lake George shows significant patterning (Figure 8): infants are associated with the extended-supine and flexed position (as well as representing a significant portion of the fragmentary remains), subadults are primarily skull burials, and adults are associated with the extended-prone and bundle types.

Mount Nebo

The Mount Nebo site sits on a natural levee in the Tensas River Basin of Madison Parish, Louisiana near the modern town of Tallulah and consists of only one mound, approximately 12 ft tall (Giardino 1982:101; Neuman 1968:9). During salvage excavations in 1968 and 1969, it was determined that this mound was constructed in seven stages (Giardino 1977:1). While the beginning of mound construction can be dated to the Troyville period (Stage G), the majority of the mound was constructed during the Coles Creek period in six stages (Stages F-A). Stages F and A are of particular importance to this paper because they contained a large number of human burials. Stage F consisted of an early Coles Creek platform mound and Stage A was the latest mound construction episode at Mount Nebo, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1140 and associated with late Coles Creek ceramics (Giardino 1977:2; 1982:102-103).

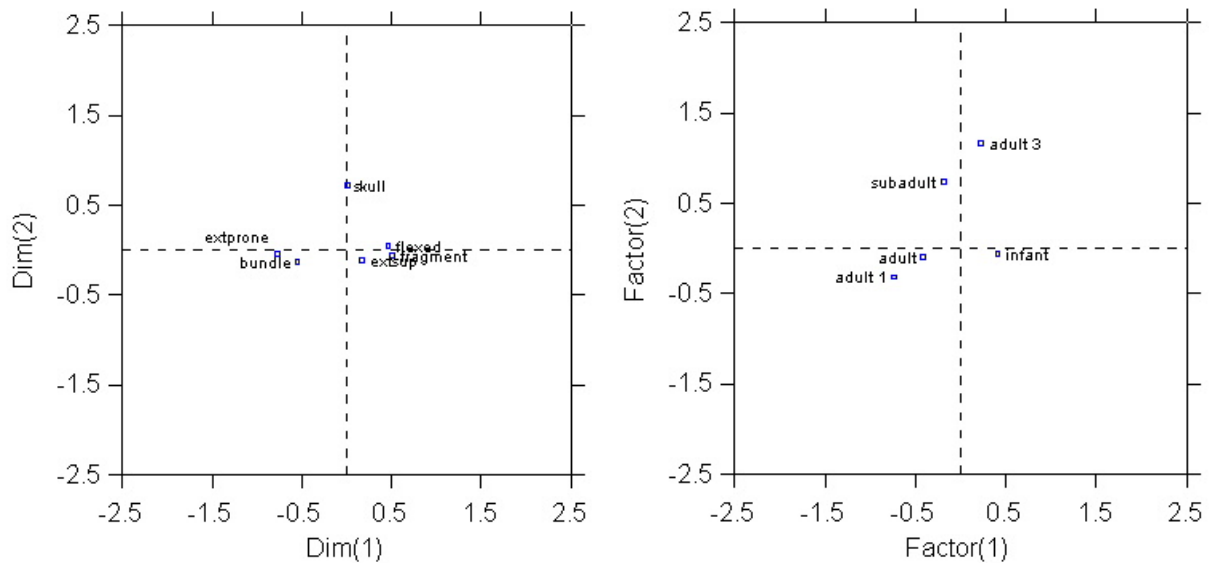
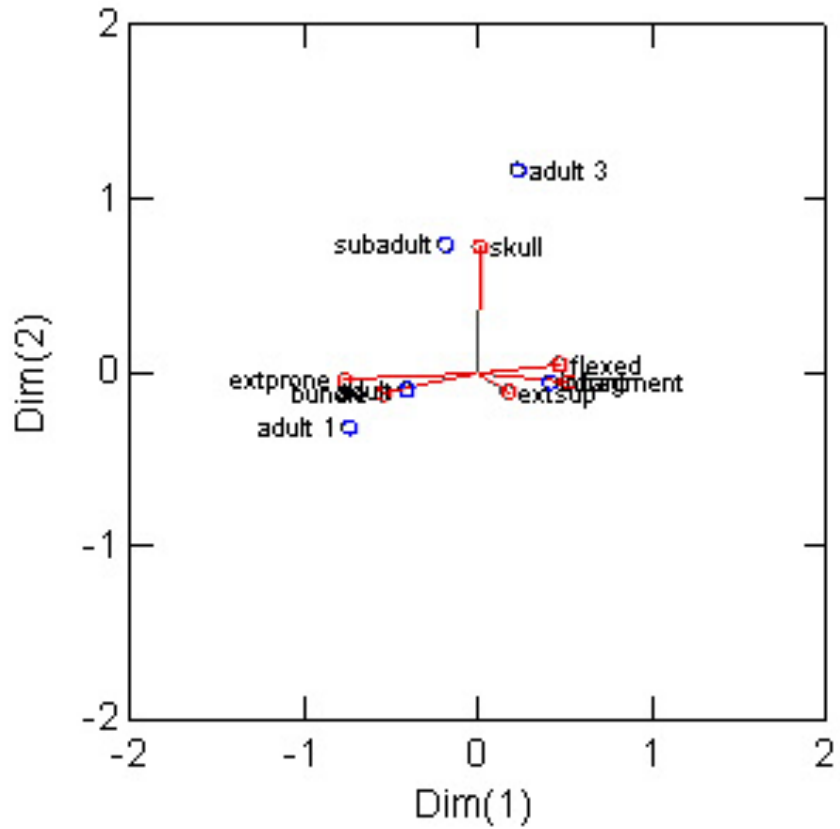


Figure 8: Results of the correspondence analysis from the Lake George site: (top) scatter plot showing the dependent and independent variables on the same axes; (bottom) biplot showing the dependent and independent variables on separate graphs for greater clarity.

Burial Analysis

Combined, Stages F and A at Mount Nebo yielded the roughly 100 human burials that were originally reported in the field records (Giardino 1977:3). After reducing the data set to include only burials for which some information relevant to this analysis was known, a total of 93 burials make up the data set from Mount Nebo (Appendix C). Of these 93 burials, 26% were classifiable as male, 26% as female and 48% were unclassifiable as to sex. Like Greenhouse, this shows no difference from what would be expected in a normal population. Applying my age estimation system to the Mount Nebo population, 6% were infants, 17% subadults, 54% adults (with 16% classifiable as young adults, 19% as middle adults, and 4% as old adults) and 22% were unclassifiable as to age. Once more, like at Greenhouse, this population shows a distinctly low incidence of young individuals that may be due to preservation, taphonomy or deliberate practices of the prehistoric population (Blakely 1971; Weiss 1973:12,14-30). The method by which the population at Mount Nebo was interred differs from

Again, the statistical data from the burial type provide the most interesting information. Of the 93 burials at Mount Nebo, 23% were bundle burials, 42% extended (17% were identified as extended-prone and 25% as extended-supine, though in this case no significant information was lost by combining the two categories), 3% flexed, 2% semiflexed, 11% skull, and 18% were unidentifiable as to burial type. When examining burial type with regard to sex (Table 6), the majority of both male and female burials were extended; however, many were also interred as bundle burials.

Table 7 summarizes the tabulations made comparing age category with burial type and Figure 9 shows the results of the correspondence analysis. The visual representation of the data from Mount Nebo also shows significant patterning, though in this case the associations are

Table 6: Numbers (and percentages) of burial positions at Mount Nebo with respect to sex.

MOUNT NEBO	Bundle	Extended-prone	Extended-supine	Flexed	Semiflexed	Skull	Unknown	Total
Male	5 (21%)	5 (21%)	6 (25%)	3 (13%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	3 (13%)	24 (26%)
Female	9 (38%)	6 (25%)	5 (21%)	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	2 (8%)	24 (26%)
Unknown	7 (16%)	5 (11%)	13 (29%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (17%)	12 (27%)	45 (48%)
Total	21 (23%)	16 (17%)	23 (25%)	3 (3%)	2 (2%)	10 (11%)	17 (18%)	93 (100%)

Table 7: Numbers (and percentages) of burial positions at Mount Nebo with respect to age.

MOUNT NEBO	Bundle	Extended-prone	Extended-supine	Flexed	Semiflexed	Skull	Unknown	Total
Infant	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (33%)	2 (33%)	6 (6%)
Subadult	5 (31%)	1 (6%)	3 (19%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (31%)	2 (13%)	16 (17%)
Adult (total)	13 (26%)	10 (20%)	14 (28%)	3 (6%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	7 (14%)	50 (54%)
Young	5 (33%)	2 (13%)	6 (40%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)	15 (16%)
Middle	5 (26%)	4 (21%)	5 (26%)	2 (11%)	1 (5%)	2 (11%)	0 (0%)	19 (20%)
Old	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (4%)
Unknown	1 (5%)	4 (20%)	7 (35%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	7 (35%)	20 (22%)

are not quite as strong as they were at Greenhouse and Lake George; infants and subadults seem to be strongly associated with skull burials while adults are associated with the extended and flexed types. Additionally, it is important to point out that the 93 burials at Mound Nebo are the only burials discussed in this paper that show evidence of temporal patterning. During the early Coles Creek period (Stage F), bodies were more often interred in the extended prone position with the skull oriented towards the south; during the late Coles Creek period (Stage A), bodies were most often interred in the extended-supine position with the skull oriented towards the north. Giardino (1982:116-118) shows that these differences are statistically significant. This suggests that these differences were not random, but rather represented a conscious choice on the part of the Coles Creek people. Additionally, Giardino notes the presence of small fires at the

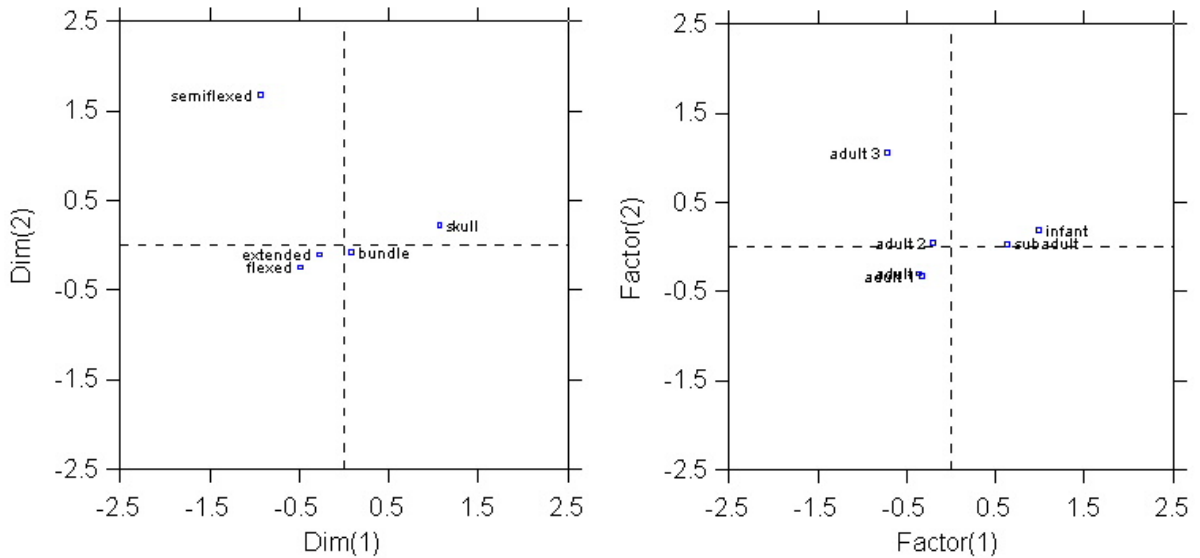
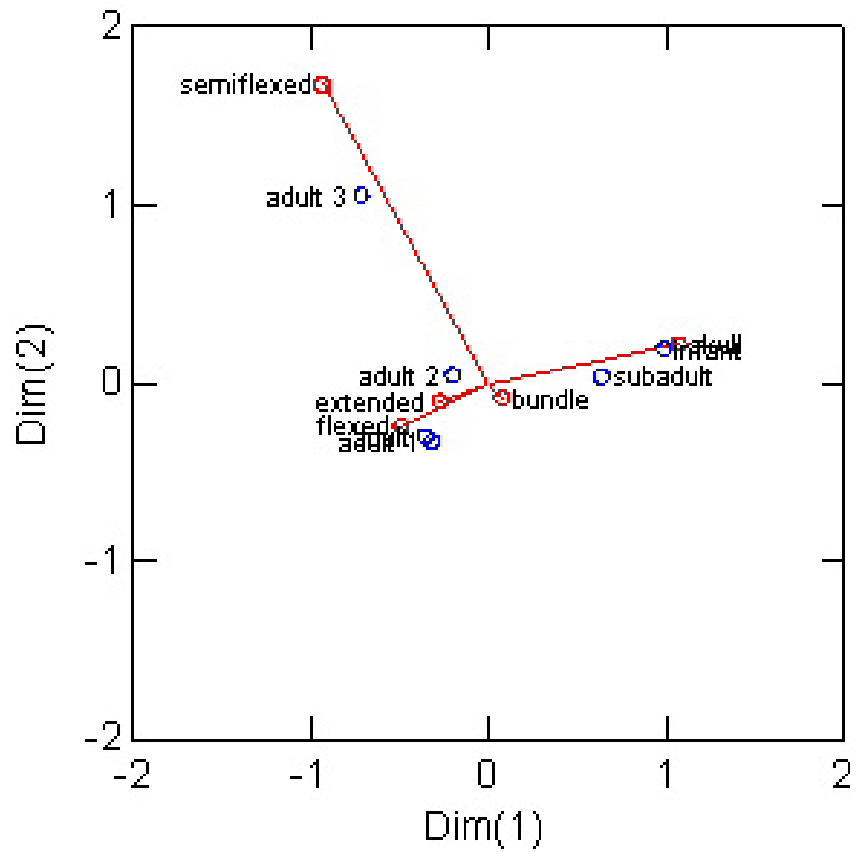


Figure 9: Results of the correspondence analysis from the Mount Nebo site: (top) scatter plot showing the dependent and independent variables on the same axes; (bottom) biplot showing the dependent and independent variables on separate graphs for greater clarity.

gravesites in late Coles Creek and the distinct lack of evidence for such a practice in early Coles Creek. Thus, the mortuary program at Mount Nebo seems to differ from those being practiced at Greenhouse and Lake George. The burials appear to have been placed with a greater degree of care including alignment to specific cardinal directions, placement in small, oval pits, and individual association with occasional artifacts, pigments and small, non-crematory fires (Giardino 1982:116-118)

Comparisons

The above analyses of the burials at Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo have revealed interesting age-related patterning. However, comparative analysis has the potential to expose additional patterning and allow for broader conclusions about the general mortuary patterns of the Coles Creek period in the Lower Mississippi Valley to be drawn. Thus, it is appropriate to compare the mortuary records from these three sites; the results of both the tabulations and the correspondence analysis will be used in this assessment.

Each population discussed here represents a relatively typical demographic profile with regard to sex. Furthermore, there does not appear to be any significant difference between the burial programs undergone by men and women. The demographic profiles with regard to age however, are not as consistent. The three graphs presented in Figure 10 represent the age distributions for Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo, respectively. Both Greenhouse and Mount Nebo show markedly low numbers of infants and subadults while the large number of infants present in the burial population at Lake George is closer to the expected demographic profile of a prehistoric population (Blakely 1971; Weiss 1973:14-30). While it is impossible to say, given the available data, whether this inconsistency is the product of taphonomy, differential

preservation, discrepancies in excavation technique or conscious choice on the part of Coles Creek peoples (Hutchinson 2006:159), the inclusion of infants does suggest a potential difference in the burial practices of the populations at Lake George as compared to those at Greenhouse and Mount Nebo.

The three graphs presented in Figure 11 represent the burial type counts for Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo respectively. The distribution of burial types used differs between these three sites. In all cases, extended burials were the most common (40% of the total

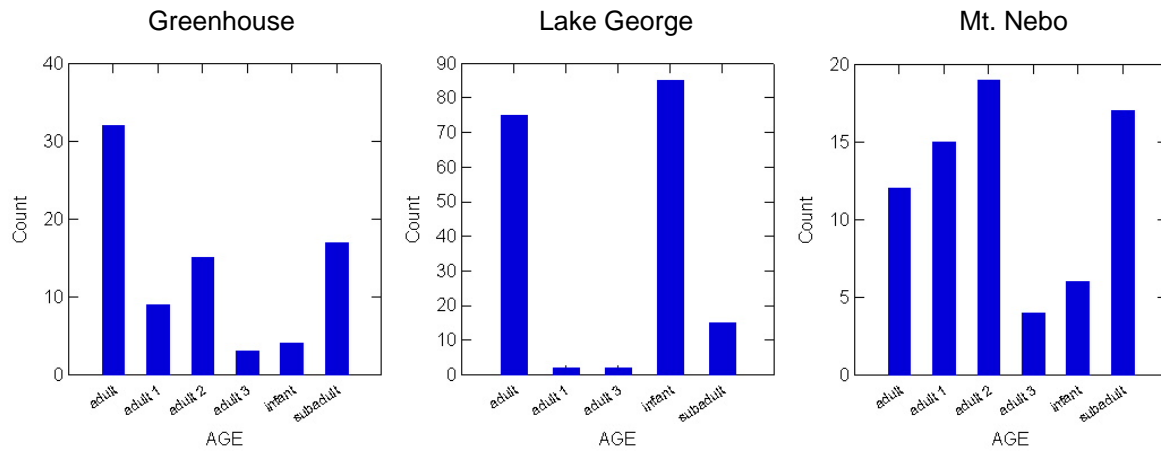


Figure 10: Bar graphs showing the age category distributions at each of the three sites.

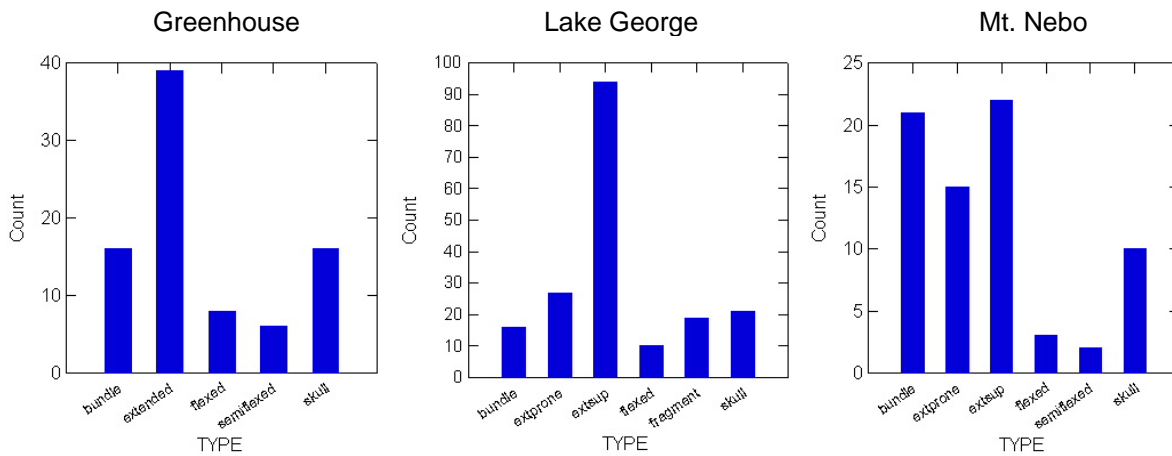


Figure 11: Bar graphs showing the burial type distributions at each of the three sites.

population at Greenhouse, 64% at Lake George, and 42% at Mount Nebo). However, bundle burials were also common at Greenhouse (20%) and Mount Nebo (23%), while they only make up 9% of the total burials at Lake George. Finally, skull burials also make up a significant percentage of the interments at each of three sites while the numbers of flexed, semiflexed, and fragmentary remains are miniscule. Thus, the proportions of burial types used at Greenhouse and Mount Nebo are quite similar while Lake George differs significantly.

Additional interesting patterns emerge when the results of the correspondence analysis are used to compare and contrast common associations (Table 8). One pattern that immediately stands out is that subadults are associated with skull burials at all three sites. A second consistent pattern is that adults were most often buried in the extended position. Greenhouse and Lake George also share strong associations of infants with the flexed position and young adults with bundle burials. Mount Nebo, however, does not follow either of those patterns. The other associations mentioned in the individual burial analyses from each site do not appear to crosscut the assemblages.

Table 8: Summary of the burial type associations with regard to age for Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo. Key associations that crosscut two or more sites have been bolded.

	Infant	Subadult	Adult	Young Adult	Middle Adult	Old Adult
Greenhouse	flexed	skull	extended	bundle/ semiflexed	extended	extended
Lake George	flexed/ extended (supine)	skull	extended (prone)/ bundle	bundle/ extended (prone)	---	Skull
Mount Nebo	skull	skull	extended/ flexed	extended/ flexed	extended	Semiflexed

Discussion and Interpretations

The mortuary analyses of the Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo assemblages suggest that there was not a single consistent mortuary program during the Coles Creek period. Nonetheless, very interesting patterns do exist within the data. The results of my analysis show the description of the mortuary programs at Coles Creek sites as unpatterned, unintentional, careless, unplanned, and disorderly (Ford 1951; Williams and Brain 1983) to be inaccurate. If the burials were truly made carelessly and without regard to age, one would expect the correspondence analysis to show no significant associations between a given age category and a specific burial type; however, this is not the case for any of the three sites. On the contrary, age related patterning at Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo is abundant.

Another significant pattern also becomes obvious when comparing the visual representations of the correspondence analyses. Infants, young adults, and old adults are always the furthest from the center of the graph. This seems to indicate that while these three age categories were not treated consistently from site to site, they were consistently being treated *differently* from each other and from everyone else.

In short, I conclude that the burial data from Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo represent a mortuary program that: (1) differs from site to site, (2) is characterized by mass burials such as would result from charnel house cleanings, and (3) consistently expresses age as the strongest variable in determining burial position. This characterization of Coles Creek mortuary practices differs considerably from those made by previous authors and thus has the potential to enhance our understanding of Coles Creek social organization.

I argue that distinct evidence of institutionalized status differentiation in the Coles Creek burial record is lacking. First, the inconsistencies between the mortuary programs at

Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo imply that individual status was not determined by one's position within a complex political, social, and religious network that crosscut sites. Furthermore, the distinct lack of individual interments and emphasis on communal burial seems to minimize the importance of the individual in the mortuary program as a whole. That said, the differences that *do* exist between individuals of different ages confirm that these mass interments were being made with some degree of care and consideration for those involved. Nonetheless, patterning that appears solely based on age can be used as an argument against inherited status. If status within a society was acquired based on inherited social position rather than on individual achievement, one would expect similarities in burial type to crosscut age groups.

This brings us back to the paradox of why the Coles Creek cultures appear, in some senses (i.e., monumental earthwork construction) to be similar to later, decidedly hierarchical Mississippian cultures, and in other senses to lack evidence for such a relationship in the mortuary patterning. However, conclusions about whether or not the institutionalization of social differences actually *existed* in the Coles Creek culture should not be drawn solely on the lack of expected status patterning. In this section of my paper, I would like to draw attention to a few potential explanations for this enduring paradox and offer suggestions for future research that may help to resolve it.

There are two potential conclusions that can be drawn from the lack of patterning consistent with hierarchical social organization in Coles Creek burial data: (1) that institutionalized social differentiation did not exist, and (2) that institutionalized social differentiation *did* exist, but is not shown through the burial program during this time. Drawing the first conclusion leads us directly to the paradox described above. Drawing the second

conclusion allows us to sidestep the paradox and explain the lack of consistent patterning in the mortuary record in a different way. I feel that in past analyses, thorough exploration of the second option has been lacking.

Therefore, I think it is imperative to examine and evaluate the hypothesis that Coles Creek mortuary practices may not deny the existence of a hierarchical political and social structure but may instead represent the masking in death (either intentionally or unintentionally), of differences that existed in life. (In contrast, the later, more elaborate Mississippian mortuary practices may represent the presence of an ideology that naturalizes rather than masks such differences). Evaluating this potential hypothesis will require looking at multiple lines of evidence – architectural, subsistence, settlement, etc. In other words, to fully explore the second option, we must look more closely at what *other* evidence exists for social differentiation in the archaeological record of the Coles Creek period.

Other characteristics used in the past to identify institutionalization of status include large earthwork construction and separation of elite and commoner areas within and between sites. As has been stated many times before, the earthwork construction during the Coles Creek period is impressive and would, by itself, seem to lead to an identification of Coles Creek social organization with that of later, Mississippian cultures. However, here I feel compelled to point out the massive earthmoving ventures of non-hierarchical populations (e.g., Wisconsin and Iowa's Effigy Mound culture [Birmingham and Eisenberg 2000:127-128; Stevenson, et al. 1997; 166-170], Ohio's Hopewell culture [Brown 2006:198; Spielmann 2002], and Louisiana's Poverty Point culture [Brown 2006:198, Gibson 2000]). Given the high frequency of mound construction in the Lower Mississippi Valley beginning in the Middle Archaic period, it is

imprudent to use this line of evidence alone to make an argument for institutionalized social differentiation in the Coles Creek period.

Looking at settlement patterns, architectural remains, and subsistence patterns however, provides a way to look at the separation of subgroups on the landscape. Kidder (2004) and Roe (2007) have argued that the trend from open, public plazas to plazas characterized by the purposeful and severe restriction of access at Coles Creek sites such as Osceola, Raffman, Greenhouse and Lake George could be evidence of this kind of spatial differentiation between elites and commoners. Further investigation of this hypothesis is certainly warranted. Claims of this sort of segregation on the landscape would be made much stronger by excavations focusing on non-mound habitation sites. For the closing off of plaza areas at Coles Creek mound sites to say anything significant about social differentiation, we must be able to show that the people utilizing the plaza space are in fact a different subgroup than those living at the smaller, outlying sites. Comparisons of domestic assemblages from a variety of Coles Creek habitation sites should expose either telling material and architectural differences or a revealing lack thereof. Moreover, the excavation of different types of sites may allow us to identify yet unexcavated burials that may represent a different subgroup of the population (see discussion in Black 1979:98-101). Enactment of the call in archaeological theory for a shift in focus from excavation of elaborate ceremonial sites to excavation of domestic/habitation sites would greatly benefit studies of social differentiation in the Coles Creek period.

Furthermore, while some archaeologists have interpreted the mound-top structures at Coles Creek sites as buildings for communal use, others have interpreted such structures as elite residences (Kidder 2004:527). Thus far, very few of these mound-top structures have been satisfactorily excavated and hence, we have very limited data on which to base our

interpretations of their function(s). Whether these structures were used by a single or small number of elite members of society as houses or by the general public as communal meeting places should become much more apparent with more complete examination of the assemblages either from the structures' floors or from associated flank middens.

Finally, intensive studies into differences in diet and health within and among Coles Creek populations could provide significant insight into the question of status differentiation. Though studies have shown that mortuary ritual and other forms of symbolic communication may be manipulated in any number of ways to intentionally or unintentionally disguise social distinctions, it is reasonable to expect that differences in diet and health trends (especially malnutrition) would not be as simple, or desirable, to manipulate (Cannon 1989:456). Studies of such discrepancies in diet and health data from previously excavated mortuary remains are one method by which such information may be garnered. However, I contend that such information will be much more important if a significant number of non-mound burials are included. The discovery, excavation, and analysis of such burials, if they exist, would also greatly enhance future analyses of the relationship between age and sex distributions and burials type like the one presented here.

The arguments presented in this final section are certainly not meant to contend that archaeological analyses of mortuary data are unimportant or problematic to the point of futility. On the contrary, I argue that this paper has shown the importance of closely examining mortuary data when trying to understand prehistoric social structure, both as a method by which to identify the nature of that structure and as a method by which to recognize further avenues of research. The nonrepresentationist arguments made since the 1980s should inform and temper the conclusions of more representationist studies, but they should not wholly replace them.

Borrowing from Charles (2005:15), I suggest that in the future, we replace the “assumptive and prescriptive ‘is’” in the statements made by both sides of this debate with a “may” instead – Mortuary data *may* give us insight into the social organization of a community. That said, “mortuary data need not do the whole job of documenting social structure, since patterning suggestive of social differentiation pervades much of the archaeological record. Inference from several kinds of data is essential” (Trinkaus 1995:55). In other words, as archaeologists, we must be willing too see burial practices as only one part of a much larger social process.

Despite the fact that this was not its original intention, this paper has ended (like many archaeological analyses do) in a call for further research in order to appropriately answer the larger questions being addressed. The analysis undertaken here, however should leave the reader with two very important conclusions. First, I demonstrate that despite claims to the contrary, there is distinct patterning in the Coles Creek mortuary record. Abundant age-related patterns attest that the people at Greenhouse, Lake George, and Mount Nebo were not interring their dead randomly and without care; instead, they were following distinct patterns in selecting the burial type associated with each individual. Second, I conclude that while this patterning may not indicate institutionalized status differentiation, we must look elsewhere for evidence of such social demarcation before drawing further conclusions as to the degree of status achieved by individuals in the Coles Creek period.

APPENDIX A:

Complete burial tabulations from the Greenhouse site.

BURIAL #	LOC.	#	SEX	AGE	BODY POSITION	ORIENT.	ASSNS/NOTES
Burial 466	C	1	F	middle adult	extended		
Burial 470	C	1	F	middle adult	extended	NW	
Burial 473	C	1	M	Young adult	flexed	NE	bone, ceramic
Burial 474	C	1	M	young adult	extended		
Burial 475	C	1	?	adult	unknown		
Burial 476	C	1	M	unknown	flexed		
Burial 477	C	1	M	unknown	extended		
Burial 478	C	1	F	adult	extended	NE	ceramic
Burial 479	C	1	M	adult	extended	S	ceramic
Burial 480	C	1	?	adult	unknown		
Burial 481	C	1	F	adult	extended		
Burial 486	C	1	M	adult	extended		
Burial 487	C	1	F	adult	unknown	S	
Burial 488	C	1	?	young adult	bundle	N	
Burial 489	C	1	?	unknown	skull		
Burial 491	C	1	?	adult	extended	SE	
Burial 492	C	1	F	adult	extended	S	
Burial 493	C	1	F	adult	extended	S	
Burial 494	C	1	?	unknown	extended		
Burial 495	C	1	?	subadult	extended	E	
Burial 496	C	1	F	adult	extended	S	
Burial 497	C	1	F	middle adult	semiflexed	N	
Burial 498	C	1	M	middle adult	unknown	S	
Burial 625	F	3	M	adult	bundle		dog
Burial 641	A	1	?	subadult	flexed	ENE	
Burial 642	A	1	?	infant	skull		
Burial 643	A	1	?	infant	flexed		
Burial 650	A	1	?	infant	flexed		
Burial 657	A	1	F	adult	extended	S	
Burial 670	A	1	?	infant	flexed	NWW	
Burial 901	C	1	F	middle adult	extended	SW	
Burial 902	C	1	F	adult	extended		
Burial 902	C	1	M	young adult	extended	NE	
Burial 903	C	1	?	subadult	unknown		
Burial 904	C	1	F	middle adult	extended	NW	
Burial 905	C	1	F	unknown	unknown		
Burial 906	C	1	F	old adult	extended		
Burial 907	C	1	F	middle adult	extended	NE	
Burial 908	C	1	M	middle adult	extended	W	
Burial 910	C	1	?	subadult	skull		
Burial 911	C	1	F	adult	extended	ENE	
Burial 913	C	1	F	old adult	extended	NE	
Burial 914	C	1	F	middle adult	extended	S	
Burial 915	C	1	F	old adult	extended	NE	
Burial 917	C	1	?	subadult	bundle		
Burial 918	C	1	F	adult	extended	NW	

BURIAL #	LOC.	#	SEX	AGE	BODY POSITION	ORIENT.	ASSNS/NOTES
Burial 920	C	1	?	unknown	extended		
Burial 921	C	1	M	middle adult	extended		
Burial 922	C	1	M	middle adult	extended	SW	ceramic
Burial 924	C	1	?	unknown	bundle		
Burial 925	C	1	F	unknown	extended		
Burial 926	C	1	?	subadult	flexed		
Burial 927	C	1	M	middle adult	skull		
Burial 934	C	1	M	adult	flexed	NW	
Burial 935	C	1	?	subadult	semiflexed		
Burial 937A	C	1	?	subadult	unknown		
Burial 937B	C	1	?	adult	unknown		
Burial 938	C	1	M	adult	semiflexed		
Burial 939	C	1	M	middle adult	extended	S	
Burial 941-A	C	1	?	adult	skull		
Burial 941-B	C	1	?	adult	skull		
Burial 942-A	C	1	?	adult	skull		
Burial 942-B	C	1	?	adult	skull		
Burial 943-A	C	1	M	adult	skull		
Burial 943-B	C	1	?	subadult	skull		
Burial 944	C	1	F	adult	semiflexed		
Burial 945	C	1	?	subadult	extended	NE	
Burial 947	C	1	?	unknown	bundle		
Burial 948	C	1	?	subadult	bundle		
Burial 948	C	1	?	young adult	bundle		
Burial 949	C	1	?	subadult	skull		
Burial 950	C	1	?	subadult	skull		
Burial 951	C	1	F	unknown	extended		
Burial 952	C	1	F	unknown	bundle		
Burial 953	C	1	F	young adult	bundle	N	
Burial 954	C	1	?	subadult	skull		
Burial 956	C	1	M	young adult	semiflexed	SW	
Burial 958	C	1	F	middle adult	extended	E	
Burial 959	C	1	?	adult	extended		
Burial 960	C	1	M	young adult	bundle		
Burial 963	C	1	?	subadult	skull		
Burial 964	C	1	F	adult	extended	S	
Burial 965	C	1	?	adult	extended	SE	
Burial 969	C	1	?	unknown	bundle		
Burial 971	C	1	M	unknown	skull		
Burial 972	C	1	M	adult	skull		
Burial 973	C	1	F	adult	bundle		
Burial 974	C	1	F	adult	bundle		crematory pit
Burial 975	C	1	?	unknown	bundle		crematory pit
Burial 976	C	1	M	middle adult	bundle		crematory pit
Burial 977	C	3	?	adult	bundle	E	crematory pit
Burial 995	A	1	M	young adult	semiflexed	S	
Burial 996	A	1	?	subadult	extended	NW	dog
Burial 997	A	1	?	subadult	unknown		

APPENDIX B

Complete burial tabulations from the Lake George site.

BURIAL #	ID #	SEX	AGE	BODY POSITION	ASSOCIATIONS/NOTES
1A	1	?	unknown	bundle	
1B	2	?	unknown	skull	
1C	3	?	unknown	fragment	
1D	4	?	unknown	bundle	
1E	5	?	unknown	fragment	
1F	6	?	unknown	fragment	
2	7	?	adult	extended-supine	
3	8	?	infant	extended-supine	
4A	9	?	adult	extended-supine	
4B	10	F	adult	extended-supine	burial goods include point and red ocher
4C	11	?	adult	extended-supine	
5	12	M	adult	bundle	
6A	13	F	subadult	extended-prone	
6A1	14	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#13
6B	15	F	adult	extended-supine	
6B1	16	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#15
6C	17	M	adult	extended-supine	
7A	18	?	infant	extended-supine	
7B	19	?	infant	extended-supine	
7C	20	?	infant	extended-supine	
7D	21	?	infant	extended-supine	
7E	22	?	infant	extended-supine	legs crossed
8	23	?	adult	extended-supine	
9A	24	?	adult	bundle	
9B	25	?	adult	bundle	
9C	26	?	infant	bundle	
9D	27	?	adult	bundle	
9E	28	?	adult	bundle	
9F	29	?	adult	extended-prone	
9G	30	?	adult	extended-supine	
10A	31	M	adult	bundle	
10B	32	?	adult	extended-supine	
10C	33	?	adult	extended-supine	
10D	34	?	adult	bundle	
10E	35	M	adult	extended-supine	
10G	36	?	adult	extended-supine	
10H	37	?	adult	extended-supine	on side
10I	38	?	adult	extended-supine	
10J	39	?	adult	extended-supine	
11A	40	?	infant	bundle	
11B	41	?	adult	extended-supine	

BURIAL #	ID #	SEX	AGE	BODY POSITION	ASSOCIATIONS/NOTES
11C	42	?	infant	extended-supine	
11D	43	?	adult	extended-supine	
12A	44	M	adult	extended-supine	
12B	45	F	adult	extended-prone	
12C	46	?	subadult	extended-prone	face up
12D	47	?	subadult	extended-supine	
12E	48	?	infant	extended-supine	
12F	49	?	infant	bundle	
13	50	?	adult	extended-supine	face down
14	51	?	adult	skull	
15	52	F	adult	extended-prone	head cut off
16	53	?	adult	extended-supine	
17	54	?	infant	extended-supine	
18A	55	?	infant	extended-supine	
18B	56	?	infant	extended-supine	
18C	57	?	infant	extended-supine	
18D	58	?	infant	extended-supine	
18E	59	?	infant	extended-supine	
19A	60	?	infant	extended-supine	
19B	61	?	infant	skull	
19C	62	?	infant	extended-supine	
19D	63	?	adult	skull	
19E	64	?	infant	extended-supine	
20	65	F	adult	extended-prone	head cut off
21	66	?	adult	extended-prone	slightly flexed
22	67	?	subadult	extended-supine	slightly flexed
23	68	?	adult	skull	disarticulated, on top of #67
24A	69	?	infant	fragment	
24B	70	?	adult	fragment	
24C	71	?	adult	fragment	
24D	72	?	adult	fragment	
25	73	?	infant	fragment	
26	74	F	adult	extended-prone	arms crossed over back
27	75	?	infant	skull	
27	76	?	infant	skull	
27	77	?	infant	skull	
27	78	?	subadult	skull	
28A	79	?	subadult	skull	
28B	80	?	subadult	skull	
28C	81	?	infant	fragment	
28D	82	?	subadult	skull	
29	83	M	adult	skull	
30	84	M	adult	extended-prone	
31	85	?	subadult	flexed	laid over head of #84
32A	86	?	infant	flexed	in small pit (86-90)
32B	87	?	infant	flexed	in small pit (86-90)

BURIAL #	ID #	SEX	AGE	BODY POSITION	ASSOCIATIONS/NOTES
32C	88	?	infant	flexed	in small pit (86-90)
32D	89	?	infant	flexed	in small pit (86-90)
32E	90	?	infant	flexed	in small pit (86-90)
32F	91	?	infant	fragment	
33	92	M	adult	extended-supine	
34	93	F	young adult	extended-supine	hole in head, decomposed
35	94	M	adult	flexed	
36A	95	?	infant	extended-supine	
36B	96	?	infant	extended-supine	interred with greater order
36C	97	?	infant	extended-supine	interred with greater order
36D	98	?	infant	extended-supine	interred with greater order
36E	99	?	infant	extended-supine	interred with greater order
36F	100	?	infant	extended-supine	interred with greater order
36G	101	?	infant	extended-supine	interred with greater order
37	102	?	adult	bundle	charred
38	103	?	subadult	extended-prone	legs crossed
39	104	M	adult	bundle	
40A	105	?	infant	flexed	
40B	106	?	infant	fragment	
40C	107	?	infant	fragment	
41	108	?	adult	extended-supine	
42	109	M	adult	extended-prone	
43A	110	?	infant	extended-supine	
43B	111	?	infant	extended-supine	
44A	112	?	infant	fragment	no order, interred in heap
44B	113	?	infant	fragment	no order, interred in heap
44C	114	?	infant	fragment	no order, interred in heap
44D	115	M	infant	fragment	no order, interred in heap
45A	116	?	adult	extended-supine	
45B	117	M	adult	extended-supine	legs crossed
46	118	M	adult	extended-prone	
49A	120	?	adult	extended-prone	w/infants, hands crossed under pelvis
49B	121	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#120
49C	122	?	infant	skull	interred w/#120
49D	123	?	infant	flexed	interred w/#120
49E	124	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#120
49F	125	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#120
49G	126	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#120
49H	127	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#120
49I	128	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#120
49J	129	?	infant	skull	interred w/#120
49K	130	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#120
49L	131	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#120
49M	132	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#120
49N	133	?	infant	extended-supine	interred w/#120
50	134	?	adult	extended-supine	

BURIAL #	ID #	SEX	AGE	BODY POSITION	ASSOCIATIONS/NOTES
51A	135	?	adult	flexed	
51B	136	?	adult	extended-supine	
52A	137	?	infant	extended-supine	in pit, laid out
52B	138	?	infant	extended-supine	in pit, laid out
52C	139	?	infant	extended-supine	in pit, laid out
52D	140	?	infant	extended-supine	in pit, laid out
52E	141	?	infant	extended-supine	in pit, laid out
53A	142	?	adult	extended-supine	legs crossed
53B	143	?	adult	extended-supine	
54A	144	?	infant	skull	
55A	145	?	adult	extended-prone	interred w/#145
55B	146	?	infant	extended-supine	
56	147	?	infant	extended-supine	
58A	149	?	adult	extended-supine	
58B	150	?	infant	extended-supine	
59	151	?	adult	extended-prone	
60	152	M	adult	extended-supine	broken arm
62A	154	?	infant	extended-supine	
62B	155	?	infant	extended-supine	
62C	156	?	infant	extended-supine	
63B	157	?	adult	extended-prone	ankles crossed
63C	158	?	adult	extended-prone	ankles crossed
64	159	?	infant	extended-prone	forearms folded across back
65	160	?	subadult	skull	
66A	161	?	adult	extended-prone	
67A	163	?	infant	extended-supine	knees broken to fit in pit
67B	164	?	infant	extended-prone	
67C	165	?	infant	extended-supine	
67D	166	?	infant	extended-supine	
68	167	M	adult	extended-supine	
69	168	?	subadult	extended-supine	
70	169	?	infant	extended-prone	
71	170	?	adult	extended-supine	slightly flexed, bottom half, on R side
72	171	?	subadult	extended-supine	pot close by
73	172	F	middle adult	extended-prone	
74A	173	?	old adult	skull	
74B	174	M	old adult	extended-supine	
74C	175	?	adult	extended-supine	on R side
75A	176	?	infant	extended-supine	
75B	177	?	adult	extended-prone	feet crossed
76	178	F	adult	extended-prone	R arm under body, L arm bent to shoulder
77A	179	?	adult	extended-prone	awl by head, on L side
77B	180	M	adult	extended-supine	green coloring
47	119A	?	adult	extended-prone	
48	119B	M	adult	skull	
57A	148A	?	adult	bundle	Bundled together

BURIAL #	ID #	SEX	AGE	BODY POSITION	ASSOCIATIONS/NOTES
57B	148B	?	subadult	bundle	Bundled together
61	153A	M	young adult	extended-prone	
61	153B	?	subadult	fragment	interred w/#153A
61	153C	?	infant	fragment	interred w/#153A
66B	162A	M	adult	skull	found together
66B	162B	?	infant	skull	found together
63A		?	unknown	extended-supine	part of #94
10F		?	unknown	fragment	

APPENDIX C

Complete burial tabulations from the Mount Nebo site.

BURIAL #	LOCATION	SEX	AGE	BODY POSITION	ORIENTATION	INCLUSIONS
B1.1	Stage A	?	subadult	bundle	E-W axis	originally in receptacle
B1.2	Stage A	M	middle adult	bundle	E-W axis	originally in receptacle
B1.3	Stage A	M	middle adult	extended-supine	N	originally in receptacle
B1.4	Stage A	M	middle adult	bundle	E-W axis	originally in receptacle
B1.5	Stage A	F	young adult	bundle	E-W axis	originally in receptacle
B1.6	Stage A	?	young adult	bundle	E-W axis	originally in receptacle
B10.1	Stage A	?	unknown	extended-supine	NW	
B11.1	Stage A	?	unknown	extended-supine	NW-SE axis	
B12.1	early Stage A	F	young adult	extended-supine	N-S axis	
B13.1	early Stage A	M	young adult	extended-supine	N	red ochre (molars)
B13.2	early Stage A	F	young adult	extended-supine	N	red ochre (molars)
B13.3	early Stage A	?	subadult	skull	NE	
B13.4	early Stage A	M	middle adult	extended-supine		red ochre (chest, molars)
B13.5	early Stage A	F	middle adult	skull		
B13.6	early Stage A	?	infant	skull		
B14.?	early Stage A	?	unknown	extended	NW-SE axis	
B15.1	early Stage A	?	unknown	extended-supine	NW-SE axis	
B15.2	early Stage A	?	unknown	extended-supine	NW-SE axis	
B15.3	early Stage A	?	unknown	extended-supine	NW-SE axis	
B16.1	early Stage A	M	young adult	flexed	E	
B16.2	early Stage A	?	subadult	extended-supine	E	
B16.3	early Stage A	M	old adult	semiflexed		
B17.?	early Stage A	?	unknown	unknown		
B18.?	early Stage A	?	unknown	extended		
B19.1	early Stage A	?	subadult	bundle	N-S axis	5 points and galena
B19.2	early Stage A	?	subadult	extended-supine	E	5 points and galena
B19.3	early Stage A	M	young adult	extended-supine	N	5 points and galena
B19.4	early Stage A	F	young adult	bundle	N-S axis	5 points and galena

BURIAL #	LOCATION	SEX	AGE	BODY POSITION	ORIENTATION	INCLUSIONS
B19.5	early Stage A	F	middle adult	extended-supine	N-S axis	5 points and galena
B19.6	early Stage A	F	subadult	bundle		5 points and galena
B19.7	early Stage A	M	middle adult	extended-supine	NE	5 points and galena
B19.8	early Stage A	F	young adult	bundle		5 points and galena
B2.1	Stage A	M	middle adult	skull		inside vessel
B2.2	Stage A	?	subadult	skull		
B20.?	early Stage A	?	unknown	extended-supine	N	
B21.1	early Stage A	F	young adult		5 E-W axis	
B21.2	early Stage A	?	adult	extended-supine	N	
B21.3	early Stage A	?	subadult	extended-supine	N-S axis	
B22.?	Stage A	?	unknown	unknown		
B23.1	Stage F	F	middle adult	semiflexed		red pigment in molars
B23.2	Stage F	M	subadult	extended-prone	S	
B23.3	Stage F	F	middle adult	bundle	N-S axis	
B24.1	Stage F	F	middle adult	extended-prone	N	pot sherds and worked animal bone
B25.1	Stage F	F	young adult	extended-prone	SE	
B25.2	Stage F	?	subadult	unknown		
B26.1	Stage F	M	middle adult	flexed	S	
B27.1	Stage F	M	unknown	unknown		
B28.?	Stage F	?	unknown	unknown		
B29.1	Stage F	?	unknown	extended-prone	E-W axis	
B3.1	Stage A	M	adult	unknown		
B30.1	Stage F	F	old adult	bundle		pot sherds
B30.2	Stage F	M	middle adult	bundle		
B30.3	Stage F	?	juvenile	bundle		
B30.4	Stage F	M	middle adult	bundle		
B30.5	Stage F	F	young adult	bundle		
B30.6	Stage F	?	infant	bundle		
B30.7	Stage F	F	adult	bundle		
B30.8	Stage F	?	subadult	bundle		
B31.?	Stage F	?	unknown	unknown		
B32.1	Stage F	?	unknown	extended-prone	W	
B32.2	Stage F	?	unknown	unknown		

BURIAL #	LOCATION	SEX	AGE	BODY POSITION	ORIENTATION	INCLUSIONS
B32.3	Stage F	?	unknown	unknown		
B33.1	Stage F	?	unknown	extended-prone	S	
B34.1	Stage F	M	old adult	extended-supine	N-S axis	pebble on innominate
B35.1	Stage F	F	unknown	bundle		
B35.2	Stage F	M	adult	bundle		
B35.3	Stage F	?	subadult	bundle		
B36.1	Stage A	?	adult	unknown		
B36.2	Stage A	F	young adult	unknown		
B36.3	Stage A	M	subadult	unknown		
B36.4	Stage A	?	infant	unknown		
B37.1	Stage F	M	adult	extended-prone	S	
B37.2	Stage F	M	young adult	extended-prone	S	
B37.3	Stage F	F	middle adult	extended-prone	S	
B37.4	Stage F	M	old adult	extended-prone	S	
B37.5	Stage F	?	subadult	skull		
B37.6	Stage F	F	middle adult	extended-prone	S	
B37.7	Stage F	?	infant	extended-prone	S	
B38.1	Stage F	?	young adult	extended-supine	S	decorated sherd, deer calcaneum
B39.1	Stage F	M	middle adult	extended-prone	N	deer jaw @ feet, deer antler @ head
B39.2	Stage F	?	unknown	skull		
B39.3	Stage F	?	infant	skull		
B39.4	Stage F	F	adult	extended-prone	N	quartzite point in right tibia
B39.5	Stage F	?	subadult	skull		
B39.6	Stage F	F	adult	extended-prone		
B39.7	Stage F	?	subadult	skull		
B4.1	Stage A	?	adult	unknown		
B5.1	Stage A	?	adult	unknown		
B6.1	Stage A	F	middle adult	extended-supine	E	
B6.2	Stage A	?	infant	unknown		
B7.1	Stage A	?	adult	extended-supine	NE	
B8.1	Stage A	F	adult	unknown		
B9.1	Stage A	M	middle adult	flexed	W	

Additional information on Mount Nebo burial tabulations.

BURIAL #	AGE ESTIM.	FACING	PIT	FIRE	ARTICULATION/ADDITIONAL COMMENTS
B1.1	5 to 10		charnel house	?	disarticulated
B1.2	25 to 35		charnel house	?	disarticulated
B1.3	35 to 45	up	charnel house	?	articulated
B1.4	35 to 45		charnel house	?	disarticulated
B1.5	17 to 25		charnel house	?	disarticulated
B1.6	17 to 25		charnel house	?	disarticulated
B10.1				?	
B11.1				?	
B12.1	17 to 25	down		fire	feet together, hand on abdomen, rest of body up
B13.1	17 to 25	E	oval pit	fire	2 levels- upper
B13.2	17 to 25	E	oval pit	fire	2 levels- upper
B13.3	6 to 8			fire	2 levels- upper, between legs of 13.2
B13.4	35 to 45			fire	2 levels- lower, chin on chest
B13.5	35 to 45			fire	
B13.6	1 to 3			fire	
B14.?			pit	fire	no bone left
B15.1			pit	fire	
B15.2			pit	fire	
B15.3			pit	fire	
B16.1	17 to 25	S		fire	
B16.2	6 to 10			fire	
B16.3	45+			fire	
B17.?			circular pit	fire	no bone left
B18.?			circular pit	fire	no bone left
B19.1	6 to 12		pit	fire	
B19.2	12 to 15		pit	fire	
B19.3	17 to 25		pit	fire	
B19.4	17 to 25	N	pit	fire	
B19.5	25 to 35	S	pit	fire	chin on chest
B19.6	12 to 15		pit	fire	
B19.7	25 to 35	S	pit	fire	

BURIAL #	AGE ESTIM.	FACING	PIT	FIRE	ARTICULATION/ADDITIONAL COMMENTS
B19.8	17 to 25		pit	fire	
B2.1	25 to 35		large pit	?	disarticulated
B2.2			large pit	?	
B20.?			pit	fire	I swept against wall, hence reusing
B21.1	17 to 25	N	on floor of pit	fire	
B21.2			pit	fire	above 21.1
B21.3	5 to 10	E	pit	fire	above 21.1
B22.?			pit	?	
B23.1	35 to 45	E		?	right side, legs on 23.2
B23.2	7 to 10			no	23.1 legs on it
B23.3	25 to 35			no	proximal ends to N, defleshed
B24.1	35 to 45	W	pit	no	
B25.1	16 to 23			no	
B25.2	5 to 10			no	
B26.1	25 to 35	E	pit	no	
B27.1				no	
B28.?				no	no bones left
B29.1				no	
B3.1				?	
B30.1	45+		pit	no	
B30.2	35 to 45		pit	no	
B30.3			pit	no	
B30.4	25 to 35		pit	no	
B30.5	17 to 25		pit	no	
B30.6	1 to 3		pit	no	defleshed
B30.7			pit	no	
B30.8	5 to 10		pit	no	
B31.?				no	4 individuals, no bones left
B32.1			pit	no	legs at 45 angle, feet to SE
B32.2			pit	no	
B32.3			pit	no	
B33.1				no	
B34.1	45+			no	

BURIAL #	AGE ESTIM.	FACING	PIT	FIRE	ARTICULATION/ADDITIONAL COMMENTS
B35.1				no	
B35.2				no	
B35.3	5 to 10			no	
B36.1				?	not defleshed
B36.2	15 to 18			?	not defleshed
B36.3	5 to 10			?	not defleshed
B36.4	6 months			?	not defleshed
B37.1		E	oval pit	no	
B37.2	17 to 25	E	oval pit	no	disturbed and rearranged
B37.3	35 to 45		oval pit	no	disturbed and rearranged, right arm separated
B37.4	45+	E	oval pit	no	cranium and femora separated
B37.5	7 to 13			no	
B37.6	35 to 45	E		no	anatomically reversed arm, post burial repairing
B37.7	1 to 3			no	
B38.1	15 to 18			no	
B39.1	35 to 45	W	large, oval pit	no	
B39.2			large, oval pit	no	on 39.1
B39.3	2 to 5		large, oval pit	no	on chest of 39.4
B39.4			large, oval pit	no	
B39.5	5 to 7		large, oval pit	no	on knees of 39.4
B39.6			large, oval pit	no	
B39.7	10 to 15		large, oval pit	no	
B4.1			circular pit	?	
B5.1			circular pit	?	
B6.1	25 to 35	N		?	
B6.2				fire	near right hand of 6.1
B7.1				?	
B8.1				?	
B9.1	25 to 35	S		?	

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