A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF MOUNDVILLE HEMPHILL REPRESENTATIONAL ENGRAVED CERAMIC ART STYLE

by
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Abstract

The objective of this thesis is to define the art style on Moundville representational engraved ceramics, specifically Moundville Engraved, var. Hemphill. An art style is characterized by subjects included in its range, particular shapes used to form basic elements that make up the subject matter, and the way those elements are handled to form the composition within the design field (Layton 1991).

The ability to recognize an art style allows the archaeologist to place artifactual material into categories of local and nonlocal manufacture, giving a truer picture of the technology, ideology, and trading system of a region. Stylistic derivation cannot be identified until a style has been defined. There is no published study that defines the art style of Hemphill ceramics, one of the largest collections of prehistoric art in the Southeast. It will be possible to define the rules of the art style of Moundville representational engraved ceramics, advancing the knowledge of Southeast archaeology.

The Moundville sample will be compared to establish canons of a Moundville art style, in contrast to the representational engraved ceramics from contemporaneous surrounding regions. The first task will
be to identify subject matter, or theme, as in a raptor bird or winged serpent, for example. Elements of design, as in the beak, wings, and tail, will be recorded to determine the manner in which each is portrayed on the Moundville Engraved ceramic examples. It will be noted how the subject matter was placed within the design field. All elements of style will be compared with the ceramic art styles from the Tennessee Valley to the north, the Georgia region to the east, the Walls Engraved type ceramics to the west, and the Pensacola region to the south. Through this process I will discover not only the more obvious differences between art styles of the chosen regions, but hopefully some of the subtler aspects, defining canons of a Moundville art style.
Chapter 1
Introduction to Moundville and Style in Southeastern Archaeology

Over the past one hundred and fifty years, several varieties of investigators have pulled data from the Moundville site in western Alabama, approximately 12 miles south of Tuscaloosa. In the nineteenth century it was the natural historians who came to the site. Their investigations were typical of their time, before archaeology was established as a professional discipline in the Americas, and before scientific and standardized methods were in use. The early twentieth century saw the coming of historical particularists and cultural archaeologists, who later gave way to the ecological, social and symbolic archaeologists of the latter half of the century (Peebles 1987:21).

Thomas Maxwell, a planter and merchant, and Nathaniel T. Lupton, a chemist, chemistry professor, and university president, were the first two men to work at the Moundville site and formally report their findings. Both had direct connections to the intelligence and academic bases of Europe and the United States. Maxwell began his education in the British grammar school system before emigrating to the United States. He published a monograph on Tuscaloosa, Alabama, including a history of the Native Americans of the region, and a
description of Moundville, in 1876 (Peebles 1987:22). He began his research at Moundville in 1840, collecting artifacts from the cotton farmers cultivating the plaza area of the site, and digging a trench into one mound. Based on the evidence he uncovered among the flat topped mounds, which was limited to a few copper and stone items, and some well-made ceramics, he concluded that the site had been an outpost of the Aztecs (Peebles 1987:21). This was not considered a wild speculative conclusion at the time, but typical for the period (Silverberg 1968:82-84). In 1869 Lupton mapped and conducted excavations at the site under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution. He reported his results to the Secretary of the Smithsonian by letter, and his work became the baseline for future investigations at Moundville (Peebles 1987:21).

In 1905 and 1906, Clarence Bloomfield Moore, a graduate of Harvard, excavated at Moundville and published his work in two lavishly illustrated volumes (1905, 1907). He excavated approximately one percent of the site. Moore was a champion of the Native Americans, and his objective was to demonstrate that they were not cultural mirrors of Aztec imperialism but had developed cultures of their own (Peebles 1987:22). He did not completely rule out contact with Mexico, but felt that it was possible that artistic similarities between the Southeast and Mexico, as in the accentuated lower jaws of skull depictions, were evidence of "parallelism of thought" (Moore 1996:224-225). Through his associate, H. Newell Wardel, Moore compared the
material from Moundville to the classical art world, declaring Moundville the Rome of the New World (Wardel 1906). However, his attempts to uplift the common concept of Native Americans fell upon ears filled with ideas based on Social Darwinism, and his efforts were unfulfilled (Peebles 1987:22).

The next group to report findings at Moundville was three Alabama scholars. They were two geologists, Eugene Allen Smith and Walter B. Jones, and an electrical engineer, David DeJarnette. These men were responsible for bringing the site into the public domain (Peebles 1987:22). DeJarnette directed the Federal relief work of the CCC at the site in the 1930s that resulted in the excavation of approximately fourteen percent of the most densely occupied area of the site. This brought the area of excavation to about four percent of the total site. He was responsible for introducing the European-derived field methods of Fay-Cooper Cole to the work on the site. Later DeJarnette curated the collections from 1951-1975. Moundville was becoming fitted into the expanding taxa of phase, aspect, culture-pattern and focus based on the variability of artifact form, subsistence base, and monumental architectural form (Peebles 1987:22).

Research done at Moundville by Peebles (1987), Scarry (1981), Bozeman (1981), Welch (1991), Stepontatis (1983), van der Leeuw (1981), Powell (1985), and by Peebles, Schoeninger, Stepontatis and Scarry (1981), over the last two decades, has been based in the cultural ecology of Julian Steward, but without negating the nonmaterial
aspects of culture as epiphenomenal. Steponaitis's work (1983) on the chronology of Moundville ceramics and the determination of categories of motifs is an excellent example of this approach. Peebles states that although the above mentioned group brought the archaeological concepts of the 1960s and 1970s to Moundville with them, they did not lose their grasp on the methods developed in the 1930s. Peebles, et al. based their work on the material gathered during fieldwork since 1840 (1987:22).

Knight and Steponaitis have continued to analyze data from Moundville and, over the last decade, have arrived at new conclusions about the pattern of occupation and use of the Moundville site (Knight and Steponaitis 1998). An excellent example of knowledge to be uncovered is the greater understanding of the changing occupation of the Moundville site. Peebles et al. postulated a model that Moundville gradually increased in population during the Mississippi period (A.D. 1050-1650), culminating with a peak in the latter years of the Moundville III phase (A.D. 1450-1650) (Peebles 1987). The populace was then believed to have vacated the site for Moundville area villages, with no European contact at Moundville.

The ceramic chronology of the site was adjusted by Steponaitis in the early 1980's from the earlier ideas of the "Moundville culture" (Jones and DeJarnette 1936) and the "Moundville phase" (McKenzie 1966) to the phases West Jefferson (A.D. 900-1050), and Moundville I-IV (A.D. 1050-1650) (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:7). Knight and Steponaitis
have determined that the West Jefferson phase correlates with the intensification of local production stage, in which it appears that overcrowding and resulting subsistence stress may have been the catalysts for endemic warfare which in turn prompted the people to move into a few larger villages (1998:11). Dependent on wild foods early in this phase the people began to depend more upon maize production around AD 950-1000, while still relying on a stable acorn and hickory nut diet (Scarry 1993). Although West Jefferson series grog pottery is found scattered on the Moundville site it is not certain that the site was occupied then (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:11).

Early Moundville I, about AD 1050-1200, sees the occupation of the Moundville site with the gradual appearance of the key characteristics of the Mississippi culture: shell tempered pottery, construction of platform mounds and quadrilateral wall trench architecture (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:12). Mound X was constructed during this time, as initially the only mound on the site. Increased agricultural intensification with more dependence on maize, and the cultivation of squash, chenopod, sunflowers, and maygrass, and the addition of beans occurs at this time (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:12). While farmsteads were scattered around the locality of Moundville, Knight and Steponaitis suggest that the Moundville site terrace had an unusually dense population that was still unstructured, with residences strung along the banks of the Black Warrior River (1998:13-15).
During late Moundville I and early Moundville II, AD 1200-1300, the palisade was constructed then reconstructed approximately six times (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:15). Sherd data shows that the mound complex at Moundville was planned and construction of all the major mounds on site was executed between AD 1200-1250 (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:15). Moundville at this point has become a well established palisaded town of good size, drawing many residents from the countryside (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:15). The Moundville polity, with the elite population centered at the site and several outlying second level administrative centers was consolidated during AD 1220-1300 (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:17).

Late Moundville II and early Moundville III, AD 1300-1450, shows evidence in burial and gravelpot goods for a paramountcy entrenched (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:17). Paramount chiefs apparently were buried in mounds C and D located in the northern section of the site. A case for ranked status manifested by location of residence can be built upon artifactual evidence as more prestige goods are found in closer proximity to the northern margin of the site (1998:17). Elites and nonelites participated in production and exchange of goods with an increasing supply of exotic materials some of which were funneled into an established “prestige goods economy” for a growing trade with other polities (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:17). Control under a centralized power at this time is obvious in the amount of energy and cooperation necessary for the construction of the plaza and mound complex. As we
see the next stage of development at Moundville it may become apparent that not all the population was contented with the ranked status order enforced under the entrenched paramountcy.

Knight and Steponaitis suggest that it is possible that the elite chose to heighten the sanctity of Moundville by removing to settlements lower ranked families and leave the plaza to the living elite and the returning dead (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:18). A lessening for the need of a secure location due to a decrease in warfare activity has also been suggested, as well as soil depletion making farmsteads a practical solution (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:18).

In late Moundville III and Moundville IV, AD 1450-1650, probably by AD 1400, there begins a collapse of the central power as the population moves out to outlying settlements, abandoning most of the residence mounds. The archaeological evidence of this change can be seen in the scarcity of middens and the abundance of burials (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:18). The palisade also ceased to be reconstructed and disappeared at this time (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:18). The Moundville site had become mostly vacated. This exodus apparently advanced from the southern perimeter of the site northward over the following century leaving Moundville sparsely populated by the elite and their retainers (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:20). At this point the midden and burial evidence suggest that the site had come into use primarily as a “necropolis” with the primary mounds abandoned by the mid-1500’s (1998:20). Knight and Steponaitis assert that only the
Mounds E, B, and P show evidence of continuing occupation and construction through the mid-sixteenth century (1998:21). No archaeological evidence of European origin has been collected at Moundville by earlier excavations or by the ongoing field school conducted by Knight (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:23; Knight personal communication, 1997).

Most of the Moundville iconographic evidence from representational engraved ceramics used in this study appear to have been produced during the paramountcy entrenched (fourth) stage (A.D. 1300-1450) as the town was being vacated (Knight and Steponaitis 1996:12-15). As the rulers began to create a symbolic distance between themselves and the populacc, it appears that the people made that distance real by moving to outlying farmsteads along the edges of the Black Warrior River's alluvial valley (Knight and Steponaitis 1996:12).

Analysis of previously collected material from the Moundville site is a large and ongoing project. I hope that the material presented in this study relating to style will aid in the process of broadening future understanding of the lifeways of the Moundville people.

Style

 Everywhere we look human-made articles possess style. I find no reason to believe that this was any different five hundred or a thousand years ago, or twenty thousand years ago. The definition of an art style involves the determination of allowable subject matter, method and
technique of the depiction of subject matter, as it relates to the genre in question. Placement of figures, as in the area of the vessel engraved in the case of the Moundville representational engraved ceramics, compared to those of other regions is important as this is often rigidly followed within an art style. If color is involved in the art form then a particular palette can be noted. Particulars of depiction, such as orientation of figures, attitude of figures, and the interaction or lack of interaction between figures within themes or motifs, can be identified within an art style. Details of figures, such as the feathers of a wing, or the use of crosshatching inside the bounds of figures, or as background filler outside figures, are important to note when comparing art from one region to another in determining an art style of a region.

The analysis of style is part of archaeological research, whether it is openly declared or tacitly carried out. Style can be identified at the individual, group or societal level (Conkey and Hastorf 1990:1). Style exists, inseparable from the temporal and spatial context in which it is found. This characteristic of style is what makes stylistic analysis important in archaeological research. Whether we view style as the mental construct of the maker, or as patterns perceived by archaeologists as useful for contextual analysis, we still benefit by establishing "a link to the past... and new insights into it" (Conkey and Hastorf 1990:2).

Based on recent discussions with several cultural anthropologists and archaeologists I would like to introduce this topic with a few compatible definitions of style. Other terms such as themes and motifs
will be explained within the context they are used as the thesis progresses.

Franz Boas said most succinctly that "Style is fixity of form" (1955:163). Art the world over shows that "style has the power of limiting the inventiveness of the productive artist . . . The uniformity of art forms in a given tribe can be understood only by these limitations" (1955:156). The artist is not simply copying work done before. Instead we may think of the artist as carrying out the work that is already in his mind, which "is a direct realization of the mental image" (1955:156).

In the introductory chapter of *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, Margaret Conkey and Christine Hastorf quote Sauerlander, an art historian, whose definition of style is an accepted form that is "worked out at a distinct moment in social and intellectual history" (1990:1). Conkey and Hastorf suggest that most of us would agree on a fundamental level with Whitney Davis's assertion that style is a sort of "formal statement of the particular ways in which different artifacts are similar to each other" (1990:2). Davis said this in the context of an investigation of Australian rock art, but I have no quarrel with its basic premise applied to archaeological cultural material remains in the Southeast.

These three definitions, or parameters, of style are compatible with each other, and were chosen because they are also broadly compatible with my concepts of style in the focus of this study of Moundville representational ceramics. The representational art on engraved ceramics
at Moundville is more similar internally within and among themes and motifs allowable at Moundville than it is with those same themes and motifs from the comparable regions.

The importance of the Southeastern Mississippian cultures can be gauged by their influence on adjacent regions, as they ultimately affected most of the Native American cultures in the region east of the Rocky Mountains (Howard 1968:3). Until the definition of an art style is formulated through the process of detailed stylistic analysis, it is difficult to determine the full extent of the interaction between contemporaneous cultures as exhibited on representational engraved ceramics.

Stylistic analysis should be considered prerequisite to iconographic analysis. Styles achieve a restricted range of motifs and themes within a compositional field, the accepted placement and format of design, based on allowable subject matter chosen from infinitely diverse forms, providing an essential, visual device to the artists' view of the world (Layton 1991:150). Recognition of natural prototypes, such as flora and fauna of the area, used by artists within the culture, using stylistic criteria, leads to the determination of allowable subject matter, as in motifs and themes, which is critical to the study of iconography.

No work concerning the iconography of the Southeast Mississippian period would be complete without a look at the concept of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. Philip Phillips introduced this idea into the literature in 1940, as the Eagle Warrior Complex of the
Southeast (1940), and later reevaluated his original position (Brain and Phillips 1996:395). Waring and Holder proposed that the archaeological investigations of Moundville and Etowah, with the large amount of artifacts recovered, made it obvious that a specific complex of ceremonial objects and motifs, related to a common religious base, existed in the Southeastern United States (1945). The concept of a unified ideology as exhibited by generally similar iconography in the Southeastern region was conceived of as the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (Waring and Holder 1945). Based on this concept Waring and Holder then attempted to show the existence of this complex through the archaeological material recovered from the three most important cult sites of Moundville, Alabama, Etowah, Georgia, and Spiro, Oklahoma, along with supporting contributions from other sites throughout the region (1977:9).

The idea of a unifying ceremonial complex in the Mississippi period is no longer viable. Because there is no single complex of artifacts, regarding types, styles, or iconographies, present throughout the region that relates to all contexts, it is difficult to postulate the existence of a single ideology (Brain and Phillips 1996:395). The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex has widely become a regional term used to envelop social, economic, and political, as well as religious aspects, of Mississippi period cultures A.D. 1000-1700. Some would alter that to a briefer interval, perhaps A.D. 1250-1550, suggesting that the time range for most of the Moundville engraved representational ceramic
iconographic material is closer to A. D. 1350-1450. (Knight 1995:9, Brain and Phillips 1996:398; Knight and Steponaltis 1998). Although this question has not been resolved, the consensus is that the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex "reflects exchange and interaction networks created by Big Men and Chiefs (at least some of whom were also priestly personnel) in indigenously developing, socially stratified, Mississippian societies . . ." (Watson 1990a:44).

**Importance of Style in Southeastern Archaeology**

Stylistic analysis in the Southeast can be considered important from a variety of approaches. The presence and absence of regional styles recovered at archaeological sites can give material evidence of the interaction between regions or their partners in trade on many levels. The comparison of iconographic styles between different regions of the Southeast can yield answers to questions concerning the interaction of the cultures involved, allowing archaeologists to realize more fully the exchange of technological information and ritual activity. It may be possible to determine the influence of one region upon another and to track the diffusion of ideas from earlier times to later times through the use of stylistic analysis. By determining the allowable subject matter of any given region we may be able to identify natural prototypes, such as birds, snakes, or mammals, in the iconography and to make what amount to more educated guesses concerning their symbolic importance.
Concepts of motifs and themes, or listings of such categories, as they relate to Southeastern Ceremonial Complex iconography, have appeared in the literature over the past fifty years (Howard 1968; Knight 1995; Phillips and Brown 1978; Waring and Holder 1977; Wimberly 1954). Not all symbols are equally important in all regions. Stylistic analysis aids in the discovery of the origin of many nonlocal artifacts as regional styles are identified and their area or site of production is determined. As we go from the general to the more specific aspects of stylistic analysis it becomes possible to narrow down the plausible avenues of influence in adjacent regions.

The winged serpents of the Southeast may seem to be a commonly shared symbol related directly from one region to the next. The stylistic analysis of several regions adjacent to Moundville, however, reveal that winged serpents are not depicted stylistically in the same manner, nor are they ubiquitous throughout the Southeast. Another example of regionality is the presence of birdman imagery at Etowah, which is absent at Moundville. Conversely, winged serpent imagery is absent at Etowah and predominately present at Moundville. Although there is bird imagery at both sites, Etowah artists did not depict bird/serpent compound images, and artists at Moundville did not depict bird/human compound images, nor humans clothed in bird costumes.

Archaeological remains can be considered a text of a culture (Watson 1990b:615). The symbol sets of that culture are more explicitly a text of the daily lives, and changing mental modes of the people (Leone
Comparative analysis between sites has allowed archaeologists, and cultural anthropologists, a starting point to connect what may be core beliefs from the pre-Columbian period to the present, through iconographic and ethnographic analogy (Howard 1968:12-30). The existence of such rich assemblages of iconographic material from Etowah, Moundville and Spiro, has been considered a “self-justifying avenue” for research of the iconographies at the three core sites (Brown 1989:184-185).

Comparisons of iconographic images between and among different sites have yielded much information in the past. The work at Spiro, Oklahoma not only provided data for interpretations for the stylistic analysis within the site itself, but also provided stylistic comparisons with iconography at other sites (Phillips and Brown 1978). Based on shell artifacts, two schools of art were postulated at Spiro, known as Braden and Craig (Phillips and Brown 1978). The two schools exhibit differences in style and iconography. Both schools were divided into three sections, Braden A, B, and C, and Craig A, B, and C. The structure of composition, disposition of elements, the use of line, and the occurrence of “signature” features, were utilized to identify these two schools, allowing categories of themes and motifs to fall into whichever group they may (Brown 1989:189-190). Braden A of the Braden school is highly realistic, concerned with portraying the human figure in correct anatomic proportions, with details such as functional hands a prominent characteristic. Braden A artists display the use of an even line
in engraving the shell. The Craig school engraving is bolder in execution, with figures often distorted for effect, and is performed with a line that varies in width and depth.

Phillips and Brown (1978) base their definition of motif on three important criteria. A *motif* is an iconographic device that possesses transferability within the symbol system, is not context dependent, and probably has conventional meaning. *Themes* are recurrent, comprehensive organizations of form that are recognizable by the presence of their essential elements. A theme may be composed of motifs, or of elements, or the combination of both (Phillips and Brown 1978:105).

An interesting point of discovery in the Spiro study (Phillips and Brown 1978) is that three major style regions emerged from the analysis of artifacts at Spiro and the comparative analysis of artifacts from other sites (Brown 1989:203-204). Between the heartland of the Mississippi Valley and the Appalachians, Moundville is in the most diverse stylistic region (Brown 1989:204). Stylistically and thematically, there appears to be a connection between the representational engraved shell art of Spiro in the Braden school, and some examples of Moundville representational engraved ceramics (Brown 1989:196-198). Difficulties with this comparison exist because the stylistic analysis crosses genre lines, comparing representational engraved shell at Spiro with representational engraved ceramics at Moundville. I propose that a more useful study at the initial level on which we are concentrating at this point would
restrict the comparison to representational engraved ceramics from contemporaneous sites.

Recently, there have been advances in the field of iconography within archaeological studies of prehistoric cultures. For example, Knight has suggested that the compound animal figures of the Southeast may have been conceived of by the elite priest-chiefs to convey the power of the animals without revealing the mystery of the symbolism to the people in general as a political control device over the population (1989:207). Stylistic analysis of representational engraved ceramic vessels may give us broad clues to the interaction of the priestly-elites between different regions of the Southeast. It is, for instance, interesting to note the disparity in the representational engraved ceramic images between Moundville proper and the outlying sites. Hundreds of potsherds have been recovered at the Moundville site with the images of winged serpents and crested birds, yet these themes are not represented at the other sites in the Moundville area of influence except by a few potsherds at sites such as Lububb Creek (Hardin 1983:135) and Snows Bend.

Detailed stylistic analysis may allow us a richer and more subtle understanding of the relationship between such areas. A preliminary study carried out by Margaret Ann Hardin at Lububb Creek proposes a comparative stylistic analysis of representational engraved and incised ceramics at Lububb Creek to determine their relation to equivalent Moundville engraved and incised ceramics (Hardin 1983:136). Hardin worked with material at Lububb and at Moundville for comparison,
focusing on the developmental history of two technological pottery traditions that are predominate at Moundville and present at Lubbab. She concentrated on the decorative and stylistic traits in these traditions. The two primary technological traditions a) coiling with hammer-and-anvil finishing tradition and b) the “rest” or mold-assisted coiling tradition become more coherent and standardized as time progresses (Hardin 1983:132). Hardin suggests that simple coiling is used throughout the Moundville sequence as an alternative and possibly experimental method (1983:132).

Standardization of the mold-assisted complex-tradition is not apparent until late Moundville II or early in Moundville III (Hardin 1983:133). Hardin suggests that the history of this tradition is a continuous adaptation aimed at producing the desired form of vessel. Ceramic vessels of this tradition are usually burnished and black-surfaced. Among the ceramics in the mold-assisted complex-tradition are included Moundville Engraved, var. Hemphill, Moundville Engraved, var. Wiggins, and Moundville Engraved, var. Taylorville (Hardin 1983:133).

Most of the representational engraved ceramics at Moundville are Moundville Engraved, var. Hemphill vessels. All the representational engraved vessels involved in Hardin’s study, as well as in my own, are Moundville Engraved, var. Hemphill ceramics. The varieties are defined based on the differences and similarities of the engraved design structure. Hardin suggests that one look for closely identical attributes at three levels in the engraved designs: “(1) motif; (2) structural options
in rendering motif; (3) technique in execution of motif" (1983:134).

It is certainly possible to determine designs executed by the same artist, but comparisons must be careful to include the examination of equivalent parts of the design on the same vessel form at the same location. Looking at engravings on different vessel forms can lead to uncertainty based on the artist's accommodation to a different vessel form or the possibility that the artist is not the same but only appears similar in technique because of accommodation to the vessel form (Hardin 1983:134). Based on criteria provided by similarity of vessel form, surface texture, and building techniques Hardin postulated the stylistic identification of ceramic sets, produced by same artists (1983:134).

Hardin suggests that the ceramics at Lubbub should be analyzed both for technological and stylistic comparison with Moundville. She asserts that the technological questions to be answered are the frequencies of the hammer-and-anvil tradition, the simple coiling tradition, and the ubiquitous pinch pots (Hardin 1983:136). The stylistic analysis, Hardin suggests, should include a sort of grammar for the decoration, even if only for a "hierarchy of nominal variables and their co-occurrence rules" (1983:136). These should be compared to a similar statement for Moundville, with particular focus on "differences of execution" (Hardin 1983:136). Hardin also suggests that possible productive comparisons would include notice of the flexibility of grammars and range of variability, the overlap of subject content, and
"similarity of co-occurrence rules" (1983:136). The development of a grammar for Moundville Engraved, var. Hemphill ceramics is a project to be tackled in the future, after the initial canons of style have been established, which is my goal for the scope of this research.

The answers to these questions will point to significant implications of the relationship between the two sites of Lububb and Moundville, and craft specialization at the Moundville site (Hardin 1983:136). The absence of categories in style and technique is equally important to an analysis of this sort as is the relative occurrence of those categories. This proposal by Hardin, for further stylistic analysis at Moundville and Lububb, is a good example of how some analysts emphasize the importance of stylistic analysis in Southeastern archaeology.

Stylistic analysis of representational engraved ceramics in the Southeast may allow archaeologists an avenue to answer questions based in comparison and contrast of artifactual style. Initial invention, and secondary influence for vessel form, may be able to be traced through the stylistic analysis of pottery traditions compared between and among sites in the Southeast. Craft specialization, local and nonlocal manufacture, and routes of trade and diffusion may be discovered through the analysis and comparison of ceramics recovered at regional sites. Questions about Southeastern lifeways as evidenced in ritual activities, and spheres of influence may be answered by the recovery and comparative analysis of ceramics from regions within the area. Warren
DeBoer reminds us that style itself is multidimensional, and performs many ways on many levels (DeBoer 1990:83). What is apparent to the elite levels of a population may not be revealed to the general populace. Depending on the "knowledge of the audience," style may deliver many messages, on one or more levels (DeBoer 1990:83). One of the problems that archaeologists face is they were never intended to be the audience, and have no background cultural knowledge of what the message was. There is a chance though, if we gather enough messages together in a relative context that we can benefit by establishing "a link to the past... and new insights into it" (Conkey and Hastorf 1990:2).
Chapter 2
Methods

Engraved ceramics from other regions within the Southeast share some themes and motifs with Moundville, such as the winged serpents also present on Walls Engraved ceramics from the central Mississippi Valley and Pensacola ceramics from the Northwest Florida Gulf Coast. Raptor images are found on North Alabama/Tennessee Valley ceramics, Walls Engraved ceramics, and Pensacola ceramics, as well as on Moundville Engraved, *var. Hemphill* ceramics from Moundville that are the focus of this study. In order to define Moundville representational engraved ceramic art style, it is necessary to compare the Moundville art with other contemporaneous representational engraved ceramic styles from surrounding regions.

This study was performed primarily at the Moundville Archaeological Park Museum, at the Office of Archaeological Services Erskine Ramsey curation facility, and at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa. It was also necessary to travel to Memphis, Tennessee for investigation of artifacts at Memphis State University, and Chucalissa Archaeological Site and Museum. At Chucalissa I was allowed to examine and draw the images on the Chucalissa Rattlesnake pot. From there I drove on to the Hampson State Museum located outside Wilson, Arkansas, in Crittenden County. There I was able to view and draw the images engraved on the vessel recovered from the Hampson site that that has been titled the “Weeping Serpent.” A trip to The University of West
Florida at Pensacola proved to be less rewarding, as little material can be
directly compared with Moundville representational engraved ceramics
because the majority of contemporaneous ceramics produced in the
Northwest Gulf Coast are incised, not engraved. Most of the useful
sample for Pensacola came either through Moore (1901) or the
The one pot from Hickory Ridge Cemetery that I was most interested in
examining and drawing was out on loan to the local museum and could
not be located. It was necessary to depend on earlier drawings and
photographic material for that pot as well as many others from sites in
this study.

As a basic comparison of genres found among the three major
Southern cult sites of Moundville, Etowah, and Spiro, it can be noted
that while the majority of iconographic material at Moundville occurs on
Moundville Engraved and Moundville Incised ceramics, including some
painted vessels, this is not the case at the other two sites. Iconographic
material at Etowah, associated with the SECC, is found almost
exclusively on engraved shell gorgets and repousse' copper sheets,
although examples do exist in other genres, including stone palettes,
shell bowls of cut marine whelks, carved wooden effigy rattles, effigy
pipes, and figurines. The number of ceramic vessels decorated with SECC
motifs are very few, and apparently not part of the ceramic complex at
Etowah (Larson 1989:139). Spiro iconographic images most frequently
occur on shell material, as in shell gorgets and marine shell ceremonial
cups (Phillips and Brown 1978). For these reasons, sites within other regions were chosen for comparison with Moundville ceramics for this research.

Comparisons were made with Walls Engraved type ceramics to the west (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951), which have been previously compared to Moundville ceramics (Phillips and Brown 1978). Representational engraved Pensacola ceramics, considered important as previously this material was called Moundville Engraved for the similarity in subject matter (Willey 1949:466), were used for the comparison of contemporaneous material to the south. Engraved Tennessee Valley ceramics (Webb and DeJarnette 1942), to the north, and engraved Savannah River area Georgia ceramics (Thomas 1985; Cook and Pearson 1989), to the east, were also compared to the Moundville collection. From these contrasts it was possible to define stylistic rules governing Moundville art on representational engraved ceramics.

Canons of style, the accepted rules of technique and depiction followed by artists working within an art style, can be established in Moundville art through the examination of certain aspects of that style. As we work from the general to the more specific aspects of style we will determine what is allowable within the Moundville representational engraved ceramics style. A determination of allowable design structure, such as the placement of the representation on the vessel, will give a basis for comparison with other styles from regions within the area. The degree of naturalism in depictions of representations may show change
through time. Naturalism is a relative aspect of an art tradition that exhibits a variety of forms represented by culturally accepted depictions corresponding closely with the form in nature (Layton 1991:159). The comparison of allowable subject matter, and the comparison of the details of design elements, such as wings, feathers, and tails, or crosshatching, and filler to ground ratios, with other contemporaneous representational engraved ceramics will further permit a determination of the differences between the styles.

Moundville culture shows evidence of interaction with other eastern Native American cultures, both locally within the Moundville area of influence, and more widely afield throughout the Southeast. The importance of Southeastern Mississippian cultures can be gauged by their influence on adjacent regions, since they ultimately affected most of the Native American cultures in the area east of the Rocky Mountains (Howard 1966:3). Until Moundville art is defined, by detailed stylistic study, I do not believe it is possible to determine the extent of this interaction between Moundville and other contemporaneous cultures as exhibited on representational engraved ceramics.

The Moundville sample has been derived from the Moundville Representational Engraved Ceramic Hemphill Image file maintained at the University of Alabama Anthropology Department. Representative examples of each category of the themes Winged Serpent (Schatte 1997) and Crested Bird (Lacefield 1995) have been chosen, and all available examples of the themes Celestial Raptor, Trophy, Center Symbol and
Bands, and Bi-lobed Arrow are represented in this study.

The four comparison regions were chosen for their proximity to the Moundville area of influence and for their contemporaneity with the Moundville Mississippian stage during which the \textit{var. Hemphill} representational engraved ceramics were produced (A.D. 1300-1450). A map of the Southeastern area (Figure 1) with Moundville and the four comparison regions is included for reference: Walls in the Central Mississippi Valley, the Tennessee Valley/North Alabama region, Pensacola/Northwest Gulf Coast, and the Savannah River/Hollywood site in Georgia.

Walls Engraved representational ceramics used in this study have been tentatively dated by Hathcock (1988:34) to a time between A.D. 1400-1600, making it contemporaneous with the latter years of the Moundville Engraved, \textit{var. Hemphill} ceramics. Phillips (1970) has indicated that the Walls Engraved, \textit{var. Walls} ceramics first appeared after the Cairo Lowland phase in southeastern Missouri (Dye 1998:85). Although there is not a firm date set for the appearance of Walls vessels, it is thought that they were occurring by A.D. 1350, and becoming apparent throughout the area, yet still sparsely distributed by A.D. 1400 (Morse and Morse 1983).

Walls Engraved, \textit{var. Walls} vessels are distributed in the area of southeast Missouri to the mouth of the Arkansas River (Dye 1998: 93). As asserted earlier by Phillips (1970), and Phillips, Ford and Griffin (1951) Walls Engraved, \textit{var. Walls} vessels have the densest distribution
Figure 1. Map of Southeast regions including Moundville, and four comparison regions, with Spiro and Etowah as reference points. After Phillips and Brown (1978).
in the area to the west and south of Memphis (Dye 1998:93). Phillips and Brown (1978) point out that no clear determination has been made for who contributed what between the Walls and the Moundville sites. The evidence for influence between the two regions, so far, is equivocal. Examples of engraved ceramics from both the Moundville site and the Walls region exhibit characteristics of Braden B of the Braden school at Spiro (Phillips and Brown 1978:198-199).

The connection between the Moundville ceramics and the Braden school at Spiro extends to another comparison region of this study, the farthest outlier in the area, the Hollywood Mound, a site in Georgia on the Savannah River (Phillips and Brown 1978:199). The serpent vessel at the Hollywood site (Figure 2), a singular find of its kind, may be a trade item (Phillips and Brown 1978:199). It is information of this kind that I hope to make more easily accessible to further research in style and iconography of the Southeast.

Figure 2. G1. Intertwining Snakes from Hollywood Mound, Georgia. Holmes 1905 Plate CXIX.
The Tennessee Valley/North Alabama region ceramic sample is derived from the Pickwick Basin, in Lauderdale (Perry site), and Limestone counties (Webb and DeJarnette 1942; Fundaburk and Foreman 1957). This region is approximately one hundred twenty to one hundred fifty miles north of Moundville. Ceramic material collected at the Perry site (1Lu25), in association with skeletal remains, is considered to be evidence of the intrusion of Moundville Complex occupants in the Late Mississippian period (Webb and DeJarnette 1942:89-92).

The small sample obtained for the South Appalachian group comes from the Hollywood Mound site on the Savannah River, located approximately ten miles below Augusta, Georgia (Thomas 1985:317), and from a site excavated by Moore in McIntosh County, Georgia (Holmes 1903:139).

Pensacola region ceramics were chosen partly for their contemporaneity and proximity with Moundville. The region is located approximately 200 miles to the south of Moundville on the Alabama/Florida coast. The Pensacola Northwest Coast sample is problematical because most of the ceramics from that region are incised, not engraved. John C. Phillips (1989) conducted an investigation of the Hickory Ridge cemetery site about ten miles south east of Pensacola. Two Bottle Creek phase Pensacola Incised, var. Holmes vessels from that site were of particular interest to me for this thesis. Bottle Creek phase (AD1200-1450) ceramics exhibit a more naturalistic portrayal of anthropomorphic images, influenced by central and southern Alabama
(Phillips 1989:14). The Holmes pots are actually engraved images for most of the covered design field and share common themes apparently influenced by Moundville ceramics found on the site (Phillips 1989:14-15).

Methods of comparison first include the determination of themes present and absent in the areas between Moundville Hemphill ceramics and the regions named above.Progressing to more particular points of comparison I next examine the depiction of the specific elements of images within those themes. The presence and absence of allowable themes and their depictions among the Moundville Hemphill ceramic images as compared to ceramic images from the comparison regions will help to establish the canons of Hemphill representational engraved ceramic style.
Chapter 3
Themes: Compared and Contrasted

The themes and motifs considered in this study are found on Moundville Engraved, var. Hemphill vessels, engraved with representational, freestanding images (Steponaitis 1983:58). These Moundville images are compared and contrasted with similar representational images from the four comparison regions. Not all themes encountered in this study are present in all regions. Some themes that are present in the comparison regions have not been found at Moundville. It can also be said that some themes present at Moundville are not found in all the comparison regions chosen for this study. A contrast of the presence and absence of themes in the chosen contemporaneous regions aids in the development of a category of canon I would refer to as allowable subject matter.

Themes Present at Moundville

The Winged serpent theme at Moundville (Figure 3) is the most frequently found compound zoomorphic figure seen in the corpus of material. Winged serpents are found in the central Mississippi Valley, Walls Engraved pottery, in the North Alabama/Tennessee Valley pottery, and in the Pensacola ceramics. The theme is handled in a manner recognizable in these three areas and Moundville, but with distinct
stylistic differences that will be addressed below. No examples of this theme have been recovered from the Savannah Georgia/Hollywood mound area.

![Figure 3. M1. Winged Serpent from Moundville. Moore 1907 Figure 58.](image)

The *Crested bird* theme at Moundville is seen either in the round, as a standing full figure, or more frequently with the birds knotted together in pairs around a central circular element (Figure 4). This theme also makes an appearance in the Walls Engraved ceramics. No examples have been identified in the Pensacola group, in the Georgia sample, or in North Alabama/Tennessee Valley ceramics.

![Figure 4. Crested Birds from Moundville. Knotted around circular element on right. Moore 1905 Figure 8. Standing figure on left. Moore 1907 Figure 38.](image)
The *Celestial Raptor*, or *Raptor* theme (Figure 5) is not a widely distributed theme at Moundville. This theme appears on the Walls Engraved, Pensacola, and North Alabama/Tennessee Valley ceramics. It is interesting that no examples of this theme have been recovered from the Savannah Georgia/Hollywood Mound site as Celestial Raptor and Birdman themes are predominant at the Etowah site.

The two most commonly associated motifs within the SECC are the *sun circle*, which can also be listed as a theme, and the *cross*. Included in the cross motif are the *Greek cross*, the *swastika*, and *windmill* motif. The cross is usually enclosed in a sun circle but can occur separately (Waring and Holder 1977:10). Steponaitis states that the Greek cross is not a common motif at Moundville, occurring only twice on Moundville Engraved, *var. Hemphill* pottery. Steponaitis does suggest that the windmill motif may be a variant on the cross motif (1983:61).
The swastika is also a common motif at Moundville. A variety of elements besides the cross may be contained within the sun circle, including concentric circles. Other inclusions may be the ogee, or open eye (Waring and Holder 1977:10). Considering these variants on the sun circle theme I have identified the sun circle theme in the Pensacola sample. The sun circle does exist as a motif within other themes in the Walls Engraved sample.

The hand and/or forearm bone, the skull, the scalp, or scalplock, and the hand and eye motifs combine variously to form the Trophy theme (Fig. 6) (Knight 1995). One problematic set of motifs that may be considered trophy theme images is the serrated heads of human and raptor images (Knight 1995:5). Another possible inclusion in this theme is dismembered bird tails (Knight 1997, personal communication). Trophy theme images appear on the Walls Engraved ceramics, and on pottery from Pensacola, and the North Alabama/Tennessee Valley regions.

Figure 6. Trophy theme with forearm bone, skull, and scalplock motifs from Moundville. Moore 1905 Figure 147.
Figure 7. Center Symbols and Bands from Moundville. Moore 1905 Figure 54. 1907 Figure 5, and Knight 1996 Figure 4.

The *Center Symbol and Bands theme* (Figure 7) was introduced as a theme by Knight (1995) to bring together several geometrically based designs he considered to share a common cosmological referent. All feature circular medallions that incorporate various center symbols, such as swastikas, windmills, cross-and-circle, radial T-bar, concentric circles, and the dimple. Employed in this theme are various motifs, such as connecting bands, radial fingers motif, and nonconnecting bands. Center Symbol and Bands theme is only found in the Walls Engraved sample out of the four comparison area ceramics.

The *Bi-lobed Arrow* theme is present only at Moundville (Figure 8) in representational engraved ceramics, appearing at other sites in the Southeast in other genre. No evidence of this theme is seen in any of the comparison regions.
Themes Absent at Moundville

Themes present in the comparison regions, and absent at Moundville show the difference in the importance of themes to each area. Allowable subject matter is recorded in the presence and absence of themes between and among contemporaneous adjacent regions chosen for comparison.

Figure 9. W15. Walls Catmonster pot from Berry Site. O’Brien 1995 Figure 1.2.
The *Catmonster* theme appears on Walls Engraved ceramics. The base of the vessel from the Berry site (Figure 9) is formed of a molded coiled rattlesnake. The vessel from the Campbell site has a plain molded base.

The *Intertwining snake* theme (Figure 2) appears on pottery from the Walls, Pensacola, and Savannah Georgia/Hollywood Mound regions. There is no example of this theme in the North Alabama/Tennessee Valley ceramics.

The *Forked eye* theme appears on one example of Walls Engraved ceramics (Figure 10), from the Murphy site. Although we see the forked eye throughout the Southeast as a motif within other themes, such as the Celestial Raptor, and on engraved heads within the Trophy theme on the Walls Engraved ceramics, there is not another example of the forked eye as theme.

![Figure 10. Walls Forked Eye vessel from Murphy site burial. O'Brien 1995 Figure 5.18.](image)

The *Feather lock* theme (Figure 11) is another unique appearance of a theme. The Walls Engraved vessel carrying this image is also from the Murphy site. I question whether this image may not be included as a motif in the Trophy theme, as is the scalplock.
Figure 11. W17. Walls Featherlock from Murphy site burial O'Brien 1995 Figure 5.23.

**Design Structure**

Design structure (Figure 12) involves the placement of images within the compositional field, the area of the vessel used by the artist to display the engraved images. A design structure form may appear in one or more registers, such as the neck area, the body area, or the base of the vessel. The simplest design structure form used by Moundville representational engraved ceramic artists is the *simple series band*. This form displays one or more essentially identical images within a single register around the vessel. The *doublet series band* displays two different images each engraved one or more times within a single register around the vessel. *Multiple series band* indicates the appearance of three or more images engraved one or more times around the vessel within a single register. *Alternating series band* indicates that the images were alternately engraved in a right side up and an upside down orientation within a single register around the vessel. The *alternating series band* may be *simple, doublet, or multiple* in expression.
Court card symmetry was described by Boas in *Primitive Art* (1955:36) as "an inversion of two symmetrical halves so that what is above to the right is below to the left." One may think of the face, or court cards, in a deck of playing cards to understand the orientation meant by this term (Figure 14). *Court card symmetry without embellishment* indicates the images of this form appear alone, either singularly or repeated within the register. *Court card symmetry with embellishment* indicates that the main images are accompanied by a secondary, usually smaller, motif.

*Random repeating design* occurs on vessels engraved with images that are not in an orderly orientation or orderly repeating pattern.

*In the round* design structure (Figure 13) describes the treatment of the engraved vessel as a three-dimensional object rather than a two dimensional canvas for recording engraved designs. For example, within the winged serpent theme, the image engraved with the head on the opposite side of the vessel from the tail, the wings opposite each other, and the vessel itself represents the body of the image.
Technique: What is Engraved Ceramic?

Decorative lines cut into a ceramic vessel differ in appearance depending on the condition of the clay when the lines were cut. Incised lines have burrs along the cut trough with a heel of clay pushed up at the end suggesting a more plastic, or wetter condition of the vessel, found in various stages of pre-firing (Steponaitis 1983:28). The wetter the vessel was when the lines were cut the more evident the trough burrs and the heel of clay at the end of the line. If the clay was leather hard the trough is smoother and the heel of clay at the end of the line is less noticeable.

Engraving is defined as cutting into a hard surface with a tool, or with acid. Engraved ceramic technique is generally assumed to be carried out with a sharpened tool on ceramic that has already undergone the firing process. The lines are finer, and upon close examination chips can be seen along the thin troughs. Chipping indicates the much drier condition of the vessel when the decorative lines were cut. Prefired engraving, when the vessel was very hard and dry shortly before firing, is the technique used by ceramic artists at Moundville (Steponaitis 1983:29). Chipping is evident on Moundville Engraved, var. Hemphill ceramics, in areas along the thin troughs. There are also sections of lines
that show a “smooth and compact” texture, indicative of the slightly plastic condition of the clay instead of the hardness of postfired ceramics (Steponaitis 1983:29).

It would be apparent on a smudged or black-filmed vessel that the engraving was performed after firing if the lighter interior was exposed by the cut (Steponaitis 1983:29; Shepard 1956:198). Moundville Engraved, var. Hemphill ceramics display dark engraved lines that were smudged, or black-filmed during the firing process. Steponaitis states that the Moundville Engraved, var. Hemphill vessels were engraved late during prefiring as opposed to during the postfiring stage (1983:29) used by artists in other areas.

Engraved Ceramic Technique: Moundville Compared to Chosen Regions

As seen in the evidence given above, Moundville Engraved, var. Hemphill artists used a late stage prefiring engraving technique. Most of the ceramics from the Pensacola culture area are incised types (Milanich 1994:378). After careful examination of the engraved details of Pensacola Incised, var. Holmes ceramics from the Hickory Ridge Cemetery site used in this study, I believe that the engravings were cut late in the dry prefiring stage. These examples display incised zonation with crosshatched details (Phillips 1989:43).

Walls Engraved, var. Walls vessels used in this study are engraved postfired (Dye 1998:81). Engraving on Walls Engraved ceramics most
typically appears on “fine-paste, shell-tempered bottle exteriors and bowl interiors” (Dye 1998:81). Dye suggests that Walls Engraved type vessels are often distinguished by fine-line engraving applied to a burnished or polished, postfired surface (1998:81).

Northern Alabama/Tennessee Valley representational engraved ceramics appear to be engraved in the postfiring stage. The burrs and troughs of clay are not evident that are seen in the earlier stages of engraving while the clay is still semi-dry. The engraving is less smooth in technique suggesting that the artist had a harder surface on which to accomplish his task.

Based on the two examples from the Savannah/Hollywood Mound Georgia region available for comparison with Moundville representational engraved ceramics I cannot give a clear opinion on the question of when during the production process the engraving was performed on the vessels from that region.

At what point the engraving is performed on the vessels in each ceramic region seems to me to be initially a matter of choice of the artists in each region that then become the accepted practice.

In considering the technique used at Moundville in relation to the technique of the artists from the comparison regions some general observations can be made concerning thematic distinctions. Among the comparison regions artists depicted thematic images in various accepted forms, which differ from the techniques utilized by Moundville artists.
Winged Serpent Theme

Intertwining Snakes and Winged Serpents are two different, yet possibly related, themes that include the snake form. Intertwining Snakes appear in the Walls and Georgia regions. The appearance of Intertwining Snakes on the Chucalissa snake bottle, W12 (Fig. 15), is unaccompanied by another motif. The two snakes intertwine as they wrap around the jar covering it from the lip, to the body and across the base. On the Hollywood Mound, Georgia vessel, G1 (Fig. 2), two of the intertwining snakes appear to have human heads, while two of the snakes have snake heads. Moundville Winged Serpents are never accompanied by any human forms. The human form is exceedingly rare at Moundville, in any genre, and appears only as body parts in the Trophy theme on representational engraved ceramics, not in connection

Figure 15. W12. Walls Chucalissa rattlesnake bottle with Intertwining Snakes. Phillips and Brown 1978 Figure 261.
with other themes. With one exception all snakes at Moundville are
depicted as Winged Serpents (Lacefield 1995:51).

Figure 16. Walls Winged Serpent, Holmes 1903 Figure 50.

The Winged Serpent theme is present in several subgroups at
Moundville (Schatte 1997), showing more variety within this theme than
I have observed in the comparison regions. The Winged Serpent theme
appears most frequently in a simple series band. Moundville winged
serpent bodies are most often depicted in a horseshoe shape, shown in
profile (Figure 3). Even when represented in the round (Figure 18),
Moundville winged serpents are shown with the head and wings in
profile, the tail upturned, and the vessel itself suggesting the horseshoe
shape of the body. In the round design structure is unique to Moundville
in the Winged Serpent theme, and is not found in the comparison
regions. As pointed out by Phillips and Brown (1978), dorsal and ventral
body distinction is seldom given to Moundville winged serpents. Fur
Head Group images (Figure 18) are the exception, whereas snakes (Fig,
15) and winged serpents from the Walls (Figure 16) and Georgia regions (Figure 2) have dorsal and ventral body distinctions.

Figure 17. Moundville Winged Serpent in the round. Moore 1905 Figure 161.

Figure 18. Moundville Fur Head Winged Serpent (Schatte 1997). Moore 1907 Figure 54.
Walls winged serpents (Figure 16) exhibit a curved body that does not complete a horseshoe shape. The tails do not curve upward but flatten out with the tip pointing backward instead of up. Moundville snake-tailed Winged Serpents have horseshoe shaped bodies with tails that point upward completing the arc. The Bird-Tailed Serpents Group (Schatte 1997:93) displays tails that point backward (Figure 19). There are no images comparable to this group in any of the four comparison regions.

![Moundville Bird Tailed Winged Serpent](image)

*Figure 19. Moundville Bird Tailed Winged Serpent. Moore 1907 Figure 64.*

Other Winged Serpent groups from Moundville (Schatte 1997:93), such as the Pseudo Raptor group and the Transitional Pseudo Raptor group (Figure 20), the Recurvate Antler group (Fig. 17), and the Fur Head group (Figure 18) are also absent in the comparison regions. While Moundville artists tended to be conservative in their choice of themes, they showed greater diversity within the Winged Serpent theme than is found among the work of artists in the comparison regions.
Figure 20. Moundville Transitional Pseudo Raptor (top) and Pseudo Raptor (bottom).
Schatte 1997 Figure 8 and Figure 6.
Secondary motifs sometimes accompany Walls Winged Serpent images. The design engraved on Walls W3 (Fig. 18) is an example of this. The winged serpent accompanied by a flower motif on this vessel shows us a double series band design form, in an upper and lower zone of the register which we never see in the Moundville Winged Serpent theme designs.

Another difference between the technique of Walls and Moundville artists is that Moundville artists never used crosshatching to fill the circular patterns on the wings of winged serpents as did the Walls artists (Fig. 16), but employed concentric circles for this purpose. Crosshatching was utilized by Moundville artists as filler in various other areas of the wings and bodies of winged serpents, such as the wing bar, wing tips, head, tail and midsection of the body as well as a full body treatment, excluding the concentric circles on the wings (Figures 17, 19, and 20).

A pottery fragment, P5, recovered from the Gulf Coast of Alabama contains only the partial wing portion of a winged serpent (Figure 21). It is still possible to make some important notations on the contrasts in technique between Moundville and Pensacola artists. Patterns on the wings in the P5 image are more ovoid in shape than seen on Hemphill winged serpents and are filled with diagonal lines. The wing tips are finished with the addition of four rounded chevron-like rattles, unlike any wing treatment in the Moundville Winged Serpent theme collection. Unfortunately we do not have a more complete winged serpent to examine from the Pensacola region.
Figure 21. P5. Pensacola Winged Serpent. Holmes 1903 Plate LVIIId.

One offering from the North Alabama/Tennessee Valley region, NATV2, displays a design that covers most of the vessel. The winged serpent image is engraved around the body of the vessel, with an abstract design accompanying it around the neck of the vessel (Figure 22).

This occurrence of two designs does not appear within the Moundville Winged Serpent theme vessels. The winged serpent on the NATV2 vessel has a splayed pointed crest on its head and neck. The detail shading of the image in the beak, forked eye design, crest, wing feather behind the wingbar, and rattle on the tail, was done with a zoned punctated technique, unlike anything used at Moundville within the theme.
Crested Bird Theme

Walls is the only comparison region that has the Crested Bird theme. Moundville crested birds are always drawn in a symmetrical form. The most frequently used design structure in this theme is courtcard symmetry within a simple series band (Figure 23). The crested bird image W7 (Dye: private collection, personal correspondence), from Walls is drawn in a nonsymmetrical manner. The image has a horizontal body orientation, head to tail, drawn right to left. Another characteristic of the Moundville Crested Bird theme is matching the number of heads with wing pairs. In the Walls W7 image there are more wing pairs than matching heads. This engraving, W7, also displays another characteristic never seen at Moundville, which is the incorporation of Wiggins scrolls into the image. As these characteristics are unique to the W7 image, I do
not feel justified in making this vessel a pivotal point in comparison between Moundville and Walls. The image is one of a kind, and may be related to other Walls themes and motifs in ways I cannot tackle in this study.

Phillips and Brown (1978) compared the two Crested Bird images, W5 and M18 (Figure 24). They state that these two images are an example of a relationship that is difficult to prove in comparing representational ceramic images between Walls and Moundville (1978:199). The relationship between the two ceramic regions' pottery designs break down upon close inspection. The faceless crested bird image on Walls vessel (W5) never occurs within the Crested Bird theme at Moundville. The Moundville example is engraved in true courtcard symmetry. The Walls example also has two heads in inverted symmetry, but they are facing the same direction. Other differences are noted between the Walls and Moundville Crested Birds. Moundville Crested Birds in courtcard symmetry display the tails overlying the wings. Walls crested birds in inverted symmetry display wings overlying tails (Figure 23 and Figure 24). The Walls W7 image displays a double barred oval as the center body symbol, whereas the Moundville crested bird has a yin-yang motif (Phillips and Brown 1978:199). None of the Moundville crested birds have the double barred symbol in the body. Similarly, neither of the Walls images has the yin-yang symbol in the body. Tail treatments also differ in the Walls and Moundville crested birds. Image M18 exhibits whirlwind swastikas on the tails with crosshatching used to fill the
detail areas of the designs, while W5 has concentric circles filled by a cross and the tail detailing is solid. Frequently Moundville crested birds have filled beaks, either circular “bead-like” forms or straight lines that give a “tooth-like” impression (Figure 23 and Figure 24). Of the three crested bird images from Walls we have one faceless (W5), one detailed with the unusual horizontal orientation holding “bead-like” objects in its beak (W7) quite similar to the M18 image, and one hanging head down from its neck at the shoulder of a jar, with nothing in its beak (W6). From this visual evidence I would suggest that possibly the Crested Bird theme is less organized in the Walls region than in Moundville.

Figure 23. Moundville Winged Serpent. Lacefield from Moundville Image File 1994:121.2.
Raptor Theme

The Raptor Theme is present at Moundville and three of the comparison regions, Walls, Pensacola, and North Alabama/Tennessee Valley. Moundville raptor images are never accompanied by human or birdman images as we see in the Pensacola Raptor theme (Figure 50).
Moundville raptors typically are engraved in the round with the base of the vessel either serving to imply the presence of the bird’s body or as a surface upon which the torso is engraved (Figure 26). Moundville raptors can be incorporated with the Trophy theme, accompanied by the Hand and Eye motif as in the M12 image (Figure 27). M12 is engraved in the doublet series band in the upper register for Hand and Eye and lower register for raptor images within the body register.
Concentric circles are present on the hump of all raptor's beaks in the Moundville images, but not in any of the images from the three comparison groups. Only one image, P1 from the Pensacola region, has a singular circle on the beak, filled by cross-hatching. One of the Moundville raptors, M12 has two concentric circles on the hump of the beak, with the inner circle filled with cross-hatching (Figure 27). Raptor images from Moundville are not part of a more complex design as is seen in the raptor images from Pensacola (Figure 25).
Trophy Theme

Moundville Trophy theme motifs are usually restricted to patterns of skull, hand, and forearm bones, or hand and forearm bones, or skull, forearm bones with hand attached, or hand and eye, and scalplock, or either the scalplock or hand and eye alone (Figure 6). Outside this restriction is the inclusion of serrated tails and serrated raptor heads. Trophy theme motifs in Walls are more diverse. Elaborately designed human heads are included with other motifs, including hand and forearm bones, maces and broken maces (Figure 28). Accompanying Trophy theme images on Walls ceramics we also see stairstep or terrace images on the necks of bottles.

The Moundville scalplock is represented by triangular images with a circular scalp ring without appendages or with appendages (Figure 29) that consist of short bangs and short curved sidelocks. Scalplock Images on Moundville representational engraved ceramics appear alone in
Figure 29. Moundville Scalplock in simple alternating series band. Lacefield Moundville Image File 1994.

Figure 30. Moundville Scalplock and Hand and Eye in doublet series band. Lacefield Moundville Image File 1994.

single alternating series band around the body of the vessel (Figure 29), or accompanied by hand and eye motif in a double series band within the body register (Figure 30) around the vessel.

Trophy theme at Moundville also includes a skull, hand and eye.
and scalplock combination. Walls ceramics display the scalplock (Figure 31) with outlined triangular frontal bangs appendages pointing away from the circular section, and outlined long side hair appendages drawn perpendicular to the main scalp extending in a right angle upward then curving inward toward the circular section. The scalplock image engraved on NATV4 (Figure 32) from the Tennessee Valley has the same basic triangular shape with circular section seen in Moundville and Walls images, but the bangs are absent and the side appendages are loose hairs drawn at a 45-degree angle to the pointed lock of hair. The circular section of the Moundville images have five, six, or seven scalloped points attached to the interior of the ring. Walls scalplocks have four points attached to the inside of the ring. The example from North Alabama/Tennessee Valley has a simple cross substituted inside the circular section.

Figure 31. W10. Walls Scalplock from Rhodes Plantation, Arkansas. Phillips, Ford and Griffin 1951 Figure 111.

Apparently the three areas have a basic shape in common. The
circular section and the triangular pointed lock are shared characteristics. Details of the scalplock have been shown to differ among the three regions of Moundville, Walls, and North Alabama/Tennessee Valley.

Figure 32. NATV4. Scalplock. Fundaburk and Foreman 1957 Plate 113.

The Hand and Eye motif at Moundville is seen in a single register around the body of a vessel in a variety of design structures with or without other trophy theme motifs. Most frequently we see the hand and eye image in a single alternating series with the hand in a vertical orientation (Figure 33). One unusual example, M20 , (Figure 34) displays the hands in horizontal orientation. As noted above, hand and eye motif occurs in combination with scalplock images. Another combination that appears on Moundville vessels (Figure 35) is the hand and eye with skull images. Moundville hand and eye images are typically drawn nauralistically, with straight across, realistic finger joints of one to three lines per joint. The exception to this appears to be the work of an engraver who exhibits other art style elements that do not conform with Moundville art style. This will fall under special cases in Chapter IV.
Figure 33. M19. Moundville Hand and Eye in simple alternating series band. Moundville Image File.

Figure 34. M20. Moundville Hand and Eye in simple series band with horizontal orientation. Moundville Image File.
Hand and eye images in the Walls region are sometimes abstracted. The fingers are not always engraved realistically. Walls W9 exhibits a hand and eye image with fingers that are single incomplete curved lines (Figure 35) bracketed with simple forearm bones.

Figure 35. W9. Abstracted Hand and Eye from Chickasawba Site, Mississippi County, Arkansas. Hathcock 1988 Figure 141.

Figure 36. W21. Trophy theme in multiple series band on neck and scroll on body. Brown 1926 Figures 279 and 280.
Walls W21 displays trophy images in upper and lower registers on
the neck, and skull images covering both upper and lower registers
alternating with the hands and longbones (Figure 36). Simple series band
in the body register is filled with multiple line scrolls. Moundville Trophy
theme motifs never occur in combination with scrolls, nor in the neck
register of a vessel. The crosshatching in patches on the W21 skull and
forearm bone, and the crosshatched digits on the hand and eye images
from Walls appear to be unique among the comparison regions and are
never seen at Moundville. The only crosshatching seen on hand and eye
images at Moundville occur as finger joints on Figure 34, oriented
horizontally around the body of the vessel.

Center Symbols and Bands Theme

Moundville and Walls engraved ceramics display Center Symbols
and Bands Theme. I found no evidence of this theme in the other
comparison regions. The basic design is similar in both Moundville and
Walls images, but the details are different. Moundville Center Symbols
and Bands display eight radial bars in the center symbol while Walls
Center Symbols and Bands (Figure 38) have four radial bars in the center
symbol. The center symbol in Moundville Center Symbols and Bands can
also be represented by the appearance of a dimpled impression within
three concentric circles. A three-finger motif can replace the four
diagonal cross bars attached to the center symbol (Figure 37) in
Moundville ceramics. Moundville Center Symbols and Bands can also be
represented by a three-finger radial motif as the diagonal bands with an eight section swastika as the center symbol (Figure 37). Motifs accompanying the center symbol and bands images also differ between

Figure 37. Moundville Center Symbol and Bands. Moore 1905 Figure 54 and 1907 Figure 5.

Moundville and Walls. Moundville Center Symbols and bands can be accompanied by a three-finger or four-finger motif hanging down the body from the neck. The Walls region Center Symbols and Bands example, W14, (Figure 38) shows that the image can be accompanied by a symbol composed of two concentric circles filled between with a series of smaller circles, and a small center circle overlayed by a four radial bar cross.
Five themes present at Moundville are shared by one or more of the four comparison regions. Technique and detail of each theme seen at Moundville display characteristics that set the art style of Moundville Hemphill representational engraved ceramics apart from the art styles of the four comparison regions. In Chapter 4 I will utilize the contrasts between Moundville representational engraved ceramics and the Walls, Pensacola, Georgia, and North Alabama/Tennessee Valley representational engraved ceramics to determine the cannons of a Moundville Hemphill art style.
Chapter 4
Case for an Independent Moundville Hemphill Art Style

I am building a case for an independent Moundville art style on representational engraved ceramics based on the specific presence and absence of design structure, placement, register, stylistic details, relation of images on a vessel, and vessel form. I am tentatively calling this the Hemphill art style, for the pottery variety on which the images were engraved.

Conservative Art and Themes at Moundville

The comparisons between Moundville ceramics and that of the adjacent comparison regions have shown that Moundville is more conservative in its themes, or in the expression of these themes, than the other regions considered in this study. The exception to this conservatism in theme expression is the Winged Serpent images of which are more varied. Restrictions in the use of, and adherence to, design structure, register, specific stylistic details, and the relation of images on a vessel to one another are important to note as the question is addressed of an independent style.

Design Structure

Design structure is restricted on Moundville Hemphill ceramics to the several forms shown in Chapter 3. The series band design structure is
the most frequently seen form. Series band is expressed as a simple series band, doublet series band, multiple series band, or alternating series band that can be simple, doublet, or multiple in expression. The images displayed in the band series are placed in the body register. Two similar, or nearly identical images, on opposite sides of the vessel is the most frequent occurrence in the simple series band. Doublet series band shows two different images that may be motifs within a common theme such as the scalplock and hand and eye motifs of the Trophy theme. Multiple series band exhibits three or more related images or motifs within a theme around the body of the vessel. Alternating series band structure in simple, doublet, or multiple structures follows the same patterns I have just described except that the images alternate between right side up and upside down. Placement within one register, the body, is the accepted form based on the examination of the Hemphill vessels at Moundville. Images do not migrate from one register to another. Nor are separate images found in the different registers of neck, body, and base. Moundville engravers worked to place their representations on the main body of the vessel.

Court card design structure with embellishment or without embellishment is not frequently used and I have observed its use at Moundville with only one theme and a related motif. This flipped image design structure also appears in the body register without running over into the neck or base of the vessel. Random repeating design structure is extremely rare. I have seen it used only once at Moundville and not at all
at any of the comparison regions. The placement of the images is random as the label suggests, yet still confined to the body register of the vessel.

In the round design structure is unusual in that it uses the vessel form to imply a third dimension to the image. Due to the placement of the visible elements of the representational image it seems to emerge from the shape of the vessel that supplies the illusion of the body.

In a few cases there is another design structure I will label as an all-over design structure. The engraved image occurs on one side of the body register across the base and continues up onto the body register again. This design structure is seen in three themes at Moundville.

**Themes Within Design Structures**

Moundville ceramic engravers followed conservative rules for each theme in relation to design structure. *Hemphill* engravers portrayed Trophy theme images only within the series band design structure. Moundville engravers used simple, doublet, or multiple series band, or alternating series band in simple, doublet or multiple design. Center Symbols and Bands theme images appear in simple or doublet series band structure. The Bi-lobed Arrow theme occurs in the doublet series band, in the random repeating design, and in the all-over design structure. It is the only theme to employ the random repeating design structure. The Winged Serpent occurs in two design structures, the simple series band design structure and in the round. Raptor theme images occur in simple and doublet series band design structures, and as
a standing or full figure in the all-over design structure. The Crested Bird theme occurs in simple series band in courtcard symmetry, or as a standing or full figure in an in the round design structure.

**Evidence of Moundville Hemphill Art Style**

The one register that is always used in Moundville Hemphill ceramics is the body register. Every theme appears in the body register. There are no themes that occur in the neck register of bottles. Looking at the base view of M11, the Raptor theme image (Figure 26 left) appears to emanate from the bottom of the body register in a swastika cross pattern within a simple series band structure. The base of the vessel is implied as a central body of the four raptor heads but there is no engraving on the base register. This same use of implied space also occurs with in the round structure in the Winged Serpent theme.

Placement of images within each theme follows a set pattern. Winged serpents appear opposite each other, two per vessel in the series band structure. When the winged serpent image is portrayed in the round the head and tail appear on opposite sides of the vessel, with the wings located between the head and tail, opposite each other. Crested Bird images appear most frequently in courtcard symmetry in simple series band on two opposite sides of the vessel. A unique bowl, M15, has a singular standing crested bird image (Figure 39) covering the vessel from base register up across the body register. Raptors appear either in simple series band structure with four raptor heads placed as if at cardinal
points on a compass, in doublet series band structure with Trophy theme Hand and Eye motif, or as a standing figure in an in the round design structure. Center symbols and bands appear in a continuous band around the body of a vessel with the center symbols placed at four compass like points. If three-finger or four-finger motifs accompany the center symbols and bands they extend down the body from the shoulder of the bottle in the spaces along the band section of the image in the upper body register. The random repeating design used by Moundville engravers for the bi-lobed arrow image scattered the symbols in various

![Figure 39. M15 Moundville Crested Bird on cylindrical bowl as standing figure in an in the round design structure from Moore 1907 Figure 38.](image)

positions across the base and around the body of two bowls. On the other bi-lobed arrow vessel in the Moundville sample the images are carefully placed in a doublet series band around the body of the bottle. Paired wings and paired tails motifs are placed two per vessel on opposite sides.
Except for the bowls, the in the round design structure images, and the four-headed raptor images, Moundville engravers seldom used more than about 65 percent of the available space, the image to ground proportion, in the chosen body register. The images portrayed in the round averaged approximately 65 to 75 percent of the image to ground space. The Hemphill artists did not fill the ground area with extraneous symbols. There is no evidence of filler for the sake of decor or needless embellishment. It is almost as though the vessels are labeled (Reilly 1997:personal communication) possibly for either content or ritual meaning. Hemphill engravers made no attempt to develop background zonation to accompany or connect the images.

In cases of multiple images on Hemphill pots there is no indication that the images represent any interaction between or among them. Whether the images are repetition of the same theme, as in the Winged Serpent, Crested Bird or Raptor themes, or whether there are multiple motifs forming a theme as in the Trophy theme the images do not touch each other, overlap, nor do they confront each other.

**Stylistic Details at Moundville**

Moundville artists utilized crosshatching in five themes: the Winged Serpent theme, the Raptor theme, the Crested Bird theme, Center Symbols and Bands theme, and the Hand and Eye motif of the Trophy theme. Paired Tails motif also exhibits crosshatching, seen on the wingbars. In the Winged Serpent theme crosshatching appears as filler
on the wings and bodies of winged serpents, specifically on the wing bar, wing tips, head, tail, and midsection of the body. Moundville artists even used crosshatching as filler for a full body treatment, yet always excluding the concentric circles on the wings (Figures 17, 19, and 20). Engravers of Moundville Raptor theme used crosshatching sparsely, as it fills the inner circle of two concentric circles on the hump of the beaks, pointed crests, and forked eye surrounds of the images of M12 (Figure 27). Another example of crosshatching in the Raptor theme can be seen on M11 (Figure 26). Four raptor heads form the swastika cross on M11, with crosshatching on the lower beaks and neck bands of all four raptors, and the tongues of two raptors. The most extensive use of crosshatching in the Crested Bird theme is apparent on M16 (Figure 40). The engraving of this courtyard design crested bird image displays crosshatching on the necks, beaks, tongues, crests, eyes, circles on tips of tail feathers, and horizontal stripes and banded arcs across the tails.
Center Symbols and Bands theme (Figure 37) exhibits crosshatching frequently in the bands connecting the center symbols, in the radial cross bars extending outward from the center symbols, and occasionally in the swastika designs in the center symbols. Crosshatching is seen in the Hand and Eye motif of the Moundville Trophy theme as filler for finger joints only on M22 (Figure 34). This is an unusual image for Moundville as it is oriented horizontally around the body register of the vessel. Serrated Tails motif on vessel M24 (Figure 41) of the Trophy theme also displays crosshatching on arcing wing bands, tips of tail feathers, and in the swastika designs placed in the center of the tails.
Moundville *Hemphill* ceramic engravers rarely used the dorsal/ventral distinction in the depiction of snake bodies in the Winged Serpent theme. It is typical to see the winged serpent images without the dorsal/ventral distinction used by the comparison regions. The exception to this, image M3, (Figure 18) is in Schatte's Fur Head Group (1997:93).

None of the themes in Moundville Engraved *var. Hemphill* representational engraved ceramics utilize what I call the storyboard, a scene constructed of figures in apparent interaction. Figures on Moundville *Hemphill* ceramics do not participate in any kind of scene with each other. The artist is not telling a story; there is no graphic interaction or graphic connection between figures on these pots.
**Vessel Forms**

The most frequently used vessel form is the subglobular bottle for Moundville Engraved *var. Hemphill* ceramics (Figure 42). All representational themes appear on subglobular bottles, using the body register. The full range of simple, doublet, and multiple series band, and simple, doublet, and multiple alternating series band, and in the round design structures all occur on subglobular bottles.

![Vessel forms](image)

Figure 42. Vessel forms used by *var. Hemphill* potters: subglobular bottle, cylindrical bowl, simple bowl, restricted bowl, cylindrical bottle, and narrow neck bottle. After Steponaitis 1983:67.

The Crested Bird theme, Raptor theme, and Bi-Lobed Arrow theme also appear on cylindrical bowls utilizing the base and body registers in *Hemphill* engraved pots. The Bi-Lobed Arrow theme occurs in the random
repeating design structure on M25 (Figure 43) on the cylindrical bowl vessel form. The Bi-Lobed Arrow theme covers the body register, and a circle with a cross inside an interior scalloped design, as is seen on the Moundville scalloplock motif, is engraved on the base.

Figure 43. M25. Moundville Bi-Lobed Arrow on cylindrical bowl. Moore 1907
Figure 39 and Figure 40.

The standing figure of the Crested Bird theme covers approximately 70 percent of the vessel M15 (Figure 40) in a continuous image across the base and body registers of the bowl. The thorax of the bird is centered on the base of the bowl. A Raptor theme image (Figure 26, left) also exhibits this unusual standing posture and placement on a cylindrical bowl with the in the round design structure that I estimate covers
approximately 70 percent of the vessel in the base and body registers. Simple alternating series band scalplock motif of the Trophy theme (Figure 29) also is displayed on the cylindrical bowl form at Moundville, but does not extend beyond the body register to cover the base of the bowl. Doublet series band of skull, and hand and eye motifs of the Trophy theme (Figure 44) appear in the body register of a cylindrical bowl M21 at Moundville.

Figure 44. M21. Moundville Skull and Hand and Eye motifs of the Trophy theme on cylindrical bowl. Fundaburk and Foreman 1957 Plate 113.

Examining the available sample from the Walls region, it appears to me that the most common vessel form for Walls representational engraved ceramics is also the subglobular bottle. The Winged Serpent, Crested Bird, Trophy, Center Symbols and Bands, and Catmonster themes, as well as the Featherlock motif, and Forked Eye motif appear on subglobular bottles. The Trophy theme (Figure 28) also occurs on a shouldered jar (Hathcock 1988:35). Intertwining Snakes images are displayed on cylindrical bottles and cylindrical bowls (Figure 2). The Winged Serpent theme also occurs on cylindrical bottles. The Long Nosed
God theme (Figure 45) appears on a flattened subglobular bottle.

Figure 45. W23. Long Nosed God. Phillips, Ford and Griffin 1951 Figure I 11 e.

Subglobular bottles with Walls representational engraved images support single series band, doublet series band, multiple series band, and alternating single series band design structures in the body register. The neck register of subglobular bottles displays single series band design structure and multiple series band design structure.

North Alabama/Tennessee Valley representational engraved ceramics appear on subglobular bottles and cylindrical bowls. The Winged Serpent theme (Figure 23) and Raptor theme (Figure 46), are displayed on subglobular bottles. Winged Serpent theme is shown as a single image wrapped around the body register of the pot NATV2. I consider this a single image band design structure. The winged serpent on NATV1 was reconstructed from three sherds so we can only be positive of the existence of one image on the pot in the body register. I am tempted to assume that this pot follows what I have seen elsewhere and
to call this a single series band but I am going to resist that and suggest that it may also be a single image band design structure. The Raptor pot, NATV3 is engraved in an in the round design structure. The Trophy theme, represented by the scalplock motif (Figure 33), occurs on a cylindrical bowl, NATV4, with one handle extended from the lip of the bowl. The scalplocks are in an alternating single series band in the body register.

![Figure 46. NATV3. Raptor image in an in the round design structure on subglobular pot from Lauderdale County. Fundaburk and Foreman 1957 Plate 113.](image)

Of the five specimens from the Pensacola region, P1, the Raptor theme, appears on a shouldered jar, P3, the Raptor theme occurs on a cylindrical bottle, P4, Raptor theme, consisting of a few sherds, seems to have been engraved on a cylindrical bowl. I cannot positively detect what vessel form P2, Raptor theme, and P5, Winged Serpent theme, may have originally been, as they also are represented only by sherds. These indeterminate sherds do not appear to have been part of a subglobular bottle and so we have a sample that does not share in that most
frequently used vessel form we see at Moundville, and also in Walls.

Pensacola representational engraved ceramics are more complex in their design structure than Moundville. The design structure designation I am suggesting for P3 on a cylindrical bottle (Figure 25) is storyboard, based on the apparent interaction between images on this vessel. Raptor theme images on the P1 shouldered jar can be considered two separate images in a band covering about 90 percent of the upper and lower zone of the body register. P1, P3, and P4 (Figure 47), do appear to be images from the body register of their vessel forms. Once again, I do not feel right about imposing an ill-considered decision upon P2 and P5 concerning register and vessel form without closer examination of the sherds, a privilege I did not have.

Figure 47. P4 Raptor theme from Northwest Gulf Coast Group, Alabama, assumed vessel form and Raptor image. Holmes 1903 Plate LVII a and c.
The Georgia sample is represented by two Intertwining Serpent theme images. Intertwining serpents on G1 appear in the body register of a restricted bowl. Both the G1 and G2 images (Figure 48) are complex design structures that I am calling multiple image layered design structure, as several layers of intertwining snakes are contained in the body register of each pot. In the Georgia region neither vessel form nor theme are common with Moundville Hemphill pots.

Figure 48. Georgia G1 and G2 Intertwining Snakes. Holmes 1903 Plate CXVIII.

**Characteristics Present Only at Moundville**

In the determination of an art style the presence and absence of characteristics are the scale I rely upon for the recognition of the rules or canons that an artist follows that makes a body of work live within a particular style. Moundville representational ceramic engravers had a set of accepted rules to follow that included allowable subject matter,
accepted vessel forms for each theme, placement of images acceptable for each theme, how to depict imagery within each theme, or what natural models to use. Some of these rules differed from the rules followed by ceramic artists in the contemporaneous regions adjacent to Moundville. It is about these differences that I have been informing you and now want to address specifically.

Before moving into characteristics of themes I will state general characteristics for Moundville Engraved *var. Hemphill* ceramics. *Hemphill* images are always depicted separately, without touching or overlying each other, and without interaction between the figures. The images are always portrayed without any indication of activity. *Hemphill* ceramics have an all-over design structure only on cylindrical bowls. The only theme engraved in this design structure is the Bi-lobed Arrow. The Crested Bird and Raptor themes in an in the round design structure are represented by standing, or full figure, images. All *Hemphill* themes are present on subglobular bottles. Rarely Moundville representational engraved ceramics display a random repeating design. Moundville representational engraved ceramics also display the use of dimples within the design pattern.

Each theme has certain characteristics that are applicable to that theme alone. The Winged Serpent theme is the most diversely portrayed of the themes, with the Trophy theme following closely. While winged serpents are present in three of the comparison regions, Walls, Pensacola, and North Alabama/Tennessee Valley, the number of images
at Moundville and the variety within the theme far exceeds that of the other regions. With one exception all snakes at Moundville are depicted as Winged Serpents. Moundville Winged Serpents are seldom given a dorsal and ventral body distinction. The exception to that is the Fur Headed Body Group (Schatte 1997), a substyle which does not exist in any of the comparison region ceramics. Bird Tailed Winged Serpents, Pseudo Raptors, and Transitional Pseudo Raptors, as described by Schatte (1997), only occur at Moundville. All Moundville Winged Serpent theme images with snake bodies are depicted in a horseshoe shape. All Winged Serpents have concentric circles on wing feathers.

Moundville Crested Bird theme has recently been expanded by Hyla Lacefield (1995) from the four images determined thematic by Steponaitis (1983) to the fourteen images now considered Crested Birds. Moundville Crested Birds are drawn symmetrically, either in the courtcard design structure or as full body figures. Crested bird images always have the same number of wing pairs as heads. Crested Birds on Hemphill pots are always depicted with a face. Hemphill Crested Birds in courtcard symmetry display the tails overlying the wings.

Moundville Raptors are never shown in any relation to Birdmen or to any human figure. Raptor images can be accompanied by the Hand and Eye symbol. Moundville Raptors can be displayed as a swastika design emanating from an implied central body on the bottom of the vessel. All Raptor images on Hemphill pots have concentric circles on the humps of their beaks.
Moundville Trophy theme motifs are restricted to set patterns of skull, hand, forearm bones, or hand and forearm bones, or skull, forearm bones with hand attached, hand and eye, scalplock, serrated tails and serrated raptor heads. The Moundville scalplock is represented within a triangular image with a circular scalp ring that can be accompanied by short bangs and short curved side hair appendages. The scalplock is most frequently seen without bang and sidelock appendages. *Hemphill* Hand and Eye images are always drawn completely, not abstracted. Moundville Hand and Eye images have perpendicular, realistic finger joints. The exception to this appears to be the work of a potter who exhibits other art style elements that do not conform with Moundville art style. This will fall under special cases later in this chapter.

Moundville Center Symbols and Bands display eight radial bars in the center symbol. Center Symbols and Bands can be accompanied by a three-finger or four-finger motif hanging down the body from the neck. Moundville Center Symbols and Bands can be represented by the appearance of a three-finger motif in the place of the four diagonal cross bars attached to the center symbol. Center Symbols and Bands can be represented by the appearance of a dimpled impression in the place of the center symbol, within three concentric circles. Moundville Center Symbols and Bands can be represented with a three-finger radial motif as the diagonal bands and an eight section swastika as the center symbol.

I do not have any engraved ceramic Bi-lobed Arrow theme examples from other areas. Examples can be seen in other genre, such as
embossed copper plates at Etowah. Moundville Bi-lobed Arrows can be
drawn in a random repeating design. This theme is the only one executed
in this design structure. Moundville Bi-lobed Arrows can be accompanied
by dimpled impressions used as the central circle in the image and in an
accompanying image (Figure 8). The Greek cross motif can accompany
Moundville Bi-lobed Arrows (Figure 43).

Moundville Hemphill pots exhibit two motifs, the Paired Wing, and
Paired Tail, that are not present in any of the comparison regions.

**Characteristics Absent at Moundville That Are Present in the
Comparison Regions**

Just as the presence of characteristics at Moundville help to
define the expanse of the art style, the absence of characteristics that are
found in the comparison regions defines the conservative nature of the
Hemphill art style. General rules that allow for a broader range of
depiction by the artist and communication of symbols by the viewer may
exist in the comparison regions. As I have the most evidence of this from
Walls representational engraved ceramics it is easier for me to suggest
this for the Walls region. Representational images are depicted in an
interaction with each other in the Walls, Georgia, and Pensacola regions.
In Walls and Pensacola, representational images may be part of a
storyboard/multi-image scene. The storyboard design structure on Walls
ceramics, with overlying images, displays a three-dimensional
perspective. Representational images appear to be engaged in activity in
Walls, Pensacola, and Georgia. Images overlie or touch each other on Walls, Pensacola and Georgia ceramics. Representational images extend continuously on bottles across registers from the lip to cover the base of the vessel on Walls ceramics. Representational engraved ceramics display human-like deities such as the Long-nosed God evident in Walls, the Birdman in Pensacola, and the human-headed snakes in Georgia. Representational engraved ceramics display the use of crosshatching for the purpose of zonation or background in Pensacola. Obviously not all the comparison regions share characteristics with each other that are absent from Moundville, as they each have their own sets of rules.

Figure 49. W2. Winged Serpent theme in storyboard design structure from Hampson Site, Wilson Arkansas. Drawing by Judith L. Gillies 1997 at Hampson State Park Museum.
The Winged Serpent theme is also present in Walls and Pensacola. Walls and Georgia region ceramics have snakes not depicted as Winged Serpents. Walls and Georgia ceramics show snakes interacting with each other. The Walls area has storyboard style multi-image design structure within the Winged Serpent theme (Figure 49). Intertwining Snakes and Winged Serpents from Walls and Georgia do appear to be actively engaged. Intertwining Snakes and Winged Serpents have dorsal and ventral body distinctions in the Walls and Georgia areas.

The Crested Bird theme is shared only by Moundville and Walls. The Walls W7 example, a unique image, has a nonsymmetrical horizontal body orientation/ head to tail/ right to left. Also Wiggins scroll elements are present with the crested bird image in Walls W7. Wing pairs outnumber obvious heads in the Walls W7 example. All these characteristics are unique to this one image. The Crested Birds theme is a minor theme in Walls. I have only three specimens in this sample. Each is different from the other. I would say that the most obvious similarities among them are the smooth crest and the non-raptor, or pointed beak. Walls Crested Birds can be represented by faceless heads, as in W5. This Walls Crested Birds image is not quite true courtcard design structure because the faceless heads have crests both facing to the viewer's left instead of in an opposite direction from each other. In this pseudo-courtcard design, the image displays wings overlying tails.

The Raptor theme is evident on Walls, Pensacola, and North Alabama/Tennessee Valley region ceramics. There are three
characteristics present outside Moundville in the Raptor theme. In the Pensacola region the Birdman image is present together with a raptor image (Figure 50) on vessel P1. The entire beak can be crosshatched on Walls Raptor pots. In the North Alabama/Tennessee Valley region, Raptors in the round can display full frontal chests with chevrons and a profile image of the head.

Figure 50. P1 Raptor/Birdman pot from mound near Jolly. Moore 1901 Figure 54 and 56.

Trophy theme motifs in other areas, such as Walls Engraved, are more diverse than at Moundville. Human heads elaborately designed are included with other motifs, including maces or broken maces, hand and forearm bones. The Trophy theme can also be accompanied by other motifs, such as the terrace or stairstep motif, and scrolls. The Scalplock motif is seen on Walls and North Alabama/Tennessee Valley ceramics. Walls ceramics display the scalplock with outlined frontal bangs.
appendages and outlined long side hair appendages that can be drawn perpendicular to the main scalp and extend in a right angle upward. North Alabama/Tennessee Valley scalplock motifs can display short bangs and loose hair sidelocks without outlines. Hand and Eye images in other areas are sometimes abstracted: the fingers are not always engraved realistically, but only as single incomplete curved lines. Sometimes Hand and Eye images are engraved with diagonally drawn finger joints. This occurs at Moundville as executed by one artist only and will be discussed in the next section.

Walls ceramics display the Center Symbols and Bands theme. In Walls there are four radial bars in the center symbol. Walls area Center Symbols and Bands can be accompanied by a symbol composed of two concentric circles filled between with a series of smaller circles, and including a small center circle overlain by a four radial bar cross.

Two themes that do not exist at Moundville are the Catmonster theme and the Intertwining Snakes theme. Walls Engraved ceramics do have a Catmonster theme. The subglobular long necked bottle is treated as a three-dimensional head form with the catmonster face engraved around the globe. A Snake motif is included in some Catmonster vessels in Walls Engraved ceramics. The Intertwining Snakes theme is present on Walls and Georgia region ceramics. One motif that does not exist at Moundville, but is present in one image in Walls Engraved ceramics, is the Featherlock motif. The feathers are wrapped on the ends with beadlike circles and hung in a simple series band from the neck of a
bottle. Is this possibly to be considered a Trophy theme? Perhaps the ongoing investigations into the Walls art style will answer this question.

**Special Cases of Usual Absence in Moundville Hemphill Art Style**

There exists a characteristic that is usually absent at Moundville in the Hand and Eye motif of the Trophy theme. Typically, hands and fingers on Hemphill ceramics are realistically drawn. The fingers are not exaggerated in length, nor are they distorted in posture, and if shown in the image the joints are rendered naturalistically across the fingers with one to three lines. In this special case that appears to be the work of one artist's hand on two pots, the finger joints are deliberately drawn diagonally, with no relation to anatomical correctness (Figure 51). This could be evidence of a Moundville potter/engraver working in a non-Moundville style. The pots were found at Moundville during Moore's 1906 return expedition. This does not assure us that they were produced there, or if they were, that they were produced by a Moundville artist.

A second instance of a special case of unusual presence at Moundville is a snake not portrayed as a winged serpent. All snakes but one at Moundville are winged serpents (Figure 52). Although there are elements that may appear to be wing-like attached to the snake body, there are certainly no wing bars. Other points to consider in the argument that this image is not engraved in a Moundville art style, are that the snake not only has clearly defined dorsal and ventral sections but also has a ventral termination such as we see on the Walls
Chucalissa Rattlesnake bottle (Figure 15). Although this ventral termination is present on the Moundville Rattlesnake Disc (Lacefield 1995:52), none of the Winged Serpents at Moundville exhibit this characteristic.

Figure 51. M27. Unique Moundville Hand and Eye pot with diagonal finger joints. Moore 1907 Figure 45.

Figure 52. M4. Moundville Serpent without wings. Lacefield 1995 Figure 4.13.
This chapter has brought into clearer focus the range and limitations of the art style of Moundville Engraved var. Hemphill ceramics. As the Hemphill representational engraved ceramics are considered in contrast to the ceramics of the chosen comparison regions I am now able to identify canons of the Hemphill art style and summarize this preliminary study in the final chapter.
Chapter 5
Conclusion

During this preliminary investigation I have compared and contrasted the *Hemphill* images with representational engraved ceramics from the Walls, Pensacola, Georgia, and North Alabama/Tennessee Valley regions in an attempt to determine canons for the Hemphill Art Style. Based on the presence and absence of characteristics exhibited on Moundville *Hemphill* pots I assert that there does exist an independent art style expressed on the Moundville Engraved *var. Hemphill* representational engraved ceramics.

**Canons**

Canons are rules that determine how the artist is allowed to produce images within an art style. For the purpose of this thesis the general categories of canons are:

1. Allowable subject matter manifested as themes and motifs.
2. Design structure.
3. Perspective, which includes the view of an image, whether in profile, frontal or a combination of these.
4. Compositional field, as in whether the image is engraved in the neck, body, or base registers of the vessel.
5. Symmetry, the relation to assumed axial, horizontal, and vertical lines within the compositional field.
6. Allowable placement within the compositional field for each theme.

7. Relation between images in a design including symmetry, interaction, and placement.

8. Vessel forms used for each theme.

**General Canons for Hemphill Art Style**

1. *Hemphill* ceramics display representational images within five themes: the Winged Serpent, Crested Bird, Raptor, Trophy, Center Symbols and Bands, and Bi-Lobed Arrow themes.

2. One theme and two motifs are present in the *Hemphill* ceramics that are not evident in all the comparison regions: the Bi-Lobed Arrow theme, and the Paired Wing and Paired Tail motifs.

3. *Hemphill* images are always depicted separately, without touching or overlying each other.

4. The images are always portrayed without interaction between the figures.

5. The images are always portrayed without any indication of activity.

6. *Hemphill* ceramics have an all-over design structure only on cylindrical bowls.

7. All *Hemphill* themes are present on subglobular bottles.

8. *Hemphill* images are always present on the body registers of the
vessel, even in the rare instances where the base is used.

9. Moundville *Hemphill* artists always decline to use the neck registers of the vessel.

I do not agree with Lacefield that Moundville artists had “little regard for design field” (1995:78). In the cases that the image may stray onto the neck register, such as part of an antler from a Winged Serpent image, I suggest that those occurrences are similar to “coloring outside the lines” and not intentional use of the neck for engraved images.

10. Moundville *Hemphill* representational engraved ceramics rarely display a random repeating design.

11. Moundville representational engraved ceramics display the use of dimples within the design pattern.

12. *Hemphill* images are free of major extraneous or abstracted depictions.

13. Although the use of crosshatching is spare it is present in all themes except the Bi-Lobed Arrow theme.

14. Crosshatching is never employed for zonation or background.

15. Heads of all images are drawn in profile.

**Canons for Hemphill Art Style Within Themes**

In addition to the above general canons each theme has certain canons that are applicable to that theme alone.
Winged Serpent Theme:

1. Bodies are depicted, or implied, as with the in the round design structure, in profile.
2. Bodies are depicted in a U-shape.
3. Snake-tailed images point upward at the tail tips.
4. Bird-tailed images point backward at the tail tips.
5. Winged Serpents are engraved in simple series band or in the round design structure.
6. Dorsal and ventral body distinctions are seldom used.
7. All Winged Serpents have concentric circles on wings.
8. Concentric circles on the wings are always free of crosshatching.
9. All *Hemphill* snakes are depicted as Winged Serpents, with one exception.

Crested Bird Theme

1. Images are portrayed in courtcard symmetry, or by standing full figures.
2. Images in courtcard symmetry are in simple series design structure.
3. Crested bird images always have the same number of wing pairs as heads.
4. Crested Birds are always depicted with a face.
5. *Hemphill* Crested Birds in courtcard symmetry display the tails overlying the wings.
Celestial Raptor Theme

1. Raptor images are depicted in simple series band design structure or doublet series band design structure, or in the round design structure.
2. In the round Raptors are depicted in full frontal figure.
3. Raptors are never shown in any relation to Birdmen or to any human figure.
4. Images can be accompanied by the Hand and Eye symbol.
5. All Raptor images on Hemphill pots have concentric circles on the humps of their beaks.

Trophy Theme

1. Trophy theme motifs are restricted to patterns of skull, hand, forearm bones, or hand and forearm bones, or skull, forearm bones with hand attached, hand and eye, scalplock, serrated tails, and serrated raptor heads.
2. Hand and Eye images have perpendicular, realistic finger joints.
3. Trophy themes are depicted in simple, doublet or multiple series band, or alternating simple, doublet or multiple series band design structure.

Center Symbols and Band Theme

1. Images display eight radial bars in the center symbol.
2. Images are depicted in simple series band design structure, or in doublet series band design structure with three or four
finger motifs as the accompanying image in the upper register.

Bi-lobed Arrow Theme

1. Images can be drawn in a random repeating design, in multiple series band, or in overall design structure.

Iconographic Implications

Stylistic analysis should be considered a prerequisite to iconography, which is built on the determination of themes within an art style. Themes and motifs can be assigned various meanings, but this will be more limited if the themes and motifs are restricted to specific art forms, as in genres. The beholder's perception of an image's meaning is influenced by the object of its association. Iconographic images, such as a god representation, on public objects or architecture, are associated more with political legitimacy or social contexts, while the same image on a personal object, such as clothing or ornamentation would suggest personal feelings of worship. Therefore, the study of themes and motifs, in relation to the context of genre is necessary to develop more consistent meanings within an iconographic system (Kippenberg 1987:6).

The studies researched in this investigation of the iconography of Moundville had little to say about the association of the images with the objects on which they are found. However, Phillips and Brown brought out a very important point in their comparison of Spiro shell material
with Moundville ceramics. Besides the obvious difficulty of comparing iconographies across genres, is the added difficulty of considering the possible genders of the artists involved. Pottery, in the Southeast, is traditionally considered a female endeavor, while shell engraving is generally considered a male artistic activity. As engraving on ceramics is always accomplished after the potter has formed the vessel, without regard for firing time, it is possible that the pottery was made by women, and later engraved by men. The conventional themes of engraved ceramics, winged serpents, crested birds, raptors, and the various motifs of the Trophy theme, such as skulls, bones, hands, and so on, are not the same subject matter portrayed in modeled ceramics, as in the human and animal effigy vessels (Phillips and Brown 1978:197). We do not see frogs engraved on ceramics, and we do not see skulls modeled on bottles and bowls at Moundville.

Pottery is the iconographic genre most frequently represented at Moundville. But, if one excludes the imported pottery, the collection is extremely homogeneous. There are very few types and vessel forms (Steponaitis 1983:302-326; Brain and Phillips 1996:351). Most of the pottery exhibits variations on well-established themes. The stylistic evidence that groups of pottery vessels were engraved by the same hands, ties much of the site together, helping to establish contemporaneity between locations (Brain and Phillips 1996:351). If cultural material can be read as “text,” perhaps those who examine the text at Moundville will have a better chance to understand the unwritten message due to a more
tightly related contextual vocabulary.

If I may be allowed a few lines of speculation on the general meaning of the iconography at Moundville as expressed in the Hemphill art style, I would like to comment on a blatant absence at Moundville. Themes and motifs are used in limited ways on Moundville representational engraved ceramics. There is no association of live human depictions within any of the Hemphill themes. No human gods arise in the collection of themes and motifs present at Moundville. It may suggest that the power source, the paramount chief, was to be expected to transcend beyond a mere human level to a higher, stronger state through the access of animistic powers. The Trophy theme alone shows any connection to human energy, and then apparently only the energy released upon the death of the “hunted.” Much as animals are hunted for a particular purpose and still revered in death as in life by Native American cultures, their powers absorbed by consumption or use of bodily parts, so the Trophy theme may be the only link to exchange of human energy or power associated with the themes at Moundville. The only crossover from one theme to another is the combination of the Trophy theme Hand and Eye motif seen with the Raptor theme.

The compound zoomorphs at Moundville are kept distinctly within the bounds of their themes. Portrayals of winged serpents, raptors, and crested birds are specific, and do not become fuzzy or questionable. There are questions still to be answered, if that is possible, concerning what creatures constituted the natural prototypes for the zoomorphs at
Moundville, and throughout the Southeast. I hope that as more stylistic analysis is conducted on Southeast iconographic material, we will begin to see more clearly the ideological parameters set by each region and the connections among them.

**Summary**

Through the comparison of Moundville *Hemphill* representational engraved ceramics with the representational engraved ceramics from Walls, Pensacola, Georgia, and North Alabama/Tennessee Valley it has been possible to determine that although there are many similarities among the styles of these regions, it is also apparent that Moundville *Hemphill* ceramics support a distinct style of their own. *Hemphill* engravers were consistent in choice of vessels by theme, in the depiction of characteristics, design structure, symmetry, placement, and the lack of interaction between figures. I feel confident at the conclusion of this thesis that I can state that the evidence bears proof of a Moundville *Hemphill* art style. It is my hope that others will carry this preliminary investigation to greater depths in the pursuit of iconographic studies.
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