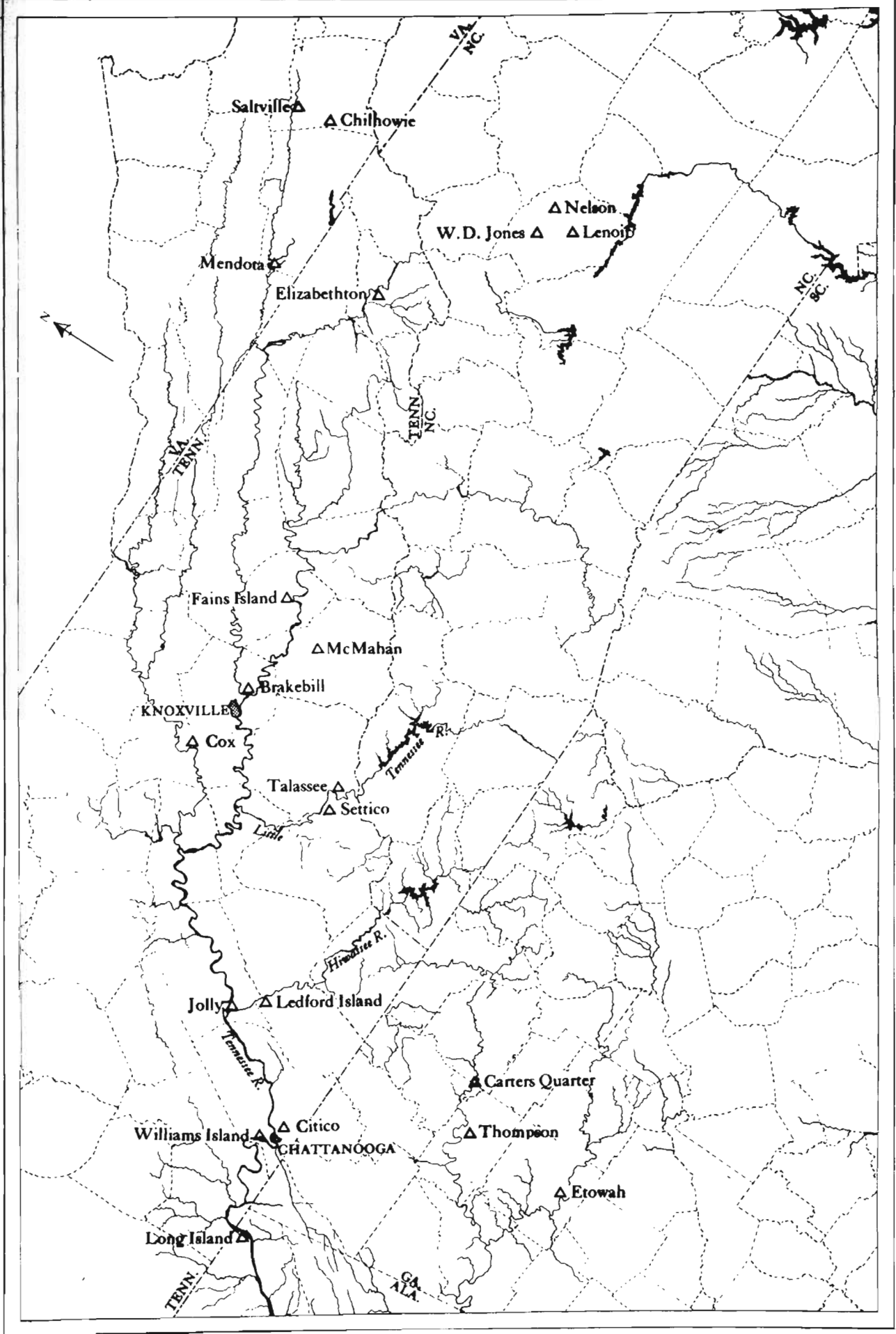


## VI. The Citico Style

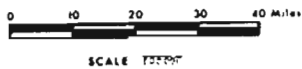
6.1           The Citico style is found over the same areas as the Lick Creek style, but there is no apparent centering of the style in one locality. In addition, while Lick Creek style gorgets occur only rarely outside of the main area of distribution in the Tennessee Valley, Citico style gorgets have been found as far as Ontario, Mississippi, Missouri, and possibly Indiana. Within the Tennessee Valley and the surrounding areas, there are a number of major sites which provide a better series for analysis than was the case for Lick Creek where finds were often isolated. Major sites include Etowah in Bartow County, Georgia, Citico in Hamilton County, Tennessee, for which the style is named, Williams Island in Hamilton County, Tennessee, McMahan in Sevier County, Tennessee, and Chilhowie in Smyth County, Virginia (see Map 2). Unfortunately, here, as in the case of Lick Creek, good grave lot and association data are often lacking.

The same conch shell medium and the same theme are shared by the Citico style and by the Lick Creek style. The only real difference in the medium is that Citico gorgets are larger. Five to six inches in diameter is not unusual, and gorgets may be up to seven inches in diameter. While the theme is identical, that of the rattlesnake, there are important structural and formal differences.

It will shortly become evident that there are many continuities between the Lick Creek and Citico styles. Many of the differences between parts of the two styles are in the formal units and features employed. There are also sufficient structural changes,



Map 2. Citico



however, which set these styles apart, although these are neither so striking nor so clear a break as is the change in formal repertoire.

6.2                   The technical structure of the Citico style gorgets is very close to that of the Lick Creek style. Having made my point, however, about the relative complexity of attempting to deal even partially with variation under the discussion of technical structure, it will not be necessary to discuss the technical ordering here in such detail.

The first step in the manufacture was the outlining of the major design field by two lines parallel to the border of the gorget blank. Generally, there is no further treatment of this border, but in roughly one-fourth of the sample, cut-outs may occur. The width of the border is slightly less on the average than on Lick Creek style gorgets.

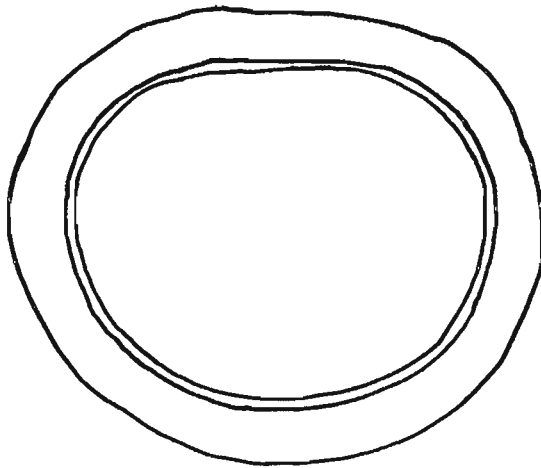


Figure 16.

The same problem of the priority of the head or the inner body border exists here as in the Lick Creek style. The evidence suggests that, in fact, the head was usually placed first (see, for example, Ky-Tr-X2, Tenn-Hm-X10, Va-Ws-X2). It is entirely possible, however, that the body may have been placed first in some cases as I had suggested in a preliminary discussion of this style (Muller 1966). Nonetheless, I have since come to the conclusion that, as interrelated as these two areas are, treating the head area as first contributes to simplicity of statement.

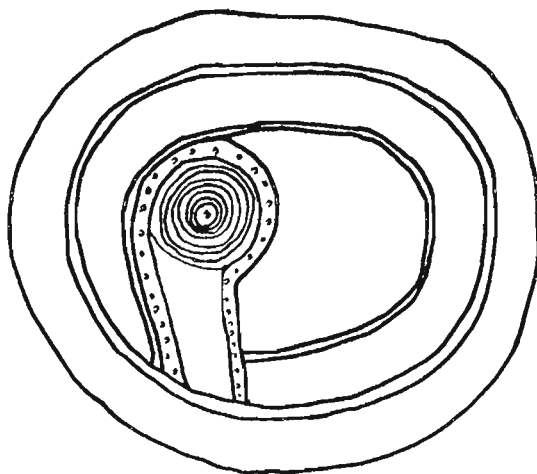


Figure 17.

The head area is composed of three basic features. The eye, made up of concentric circles, was probably the first part of the head to be placed on the gorget. After this, a border of two parallel lines encloses the eye and extends downward to the exterior border. The area bordered by the eye circles and the head border, the "neck",

may then be decorated with filler patterns (see figure 18, below).

The next step is the placement of a single line border beginning at the outer border next to the head, becoming parallel to the outer border, and continuing around the gorget to terminate at the head border. Following this, a second line paralleling the first line is usually added. If there is room, this line may be entirely separate; but in many cases the left side of the head is used as part of this line. In such cases, this inner line may thus actually begin at the top of the head. It is the nature of the apparent relationship which suggests that different alternatives of placement order exist for the head and border (see figure 17).

After the placement of the inner body border, the first step is the placement of a "divider" unit at the top of the body (see figure 18). The form of this unit is structurally like the similar unit in the Lick Creek style although in most cases the visual appearance is quite different. If the borders of this unit are large enough, two or three drilled pits may be used in each border.

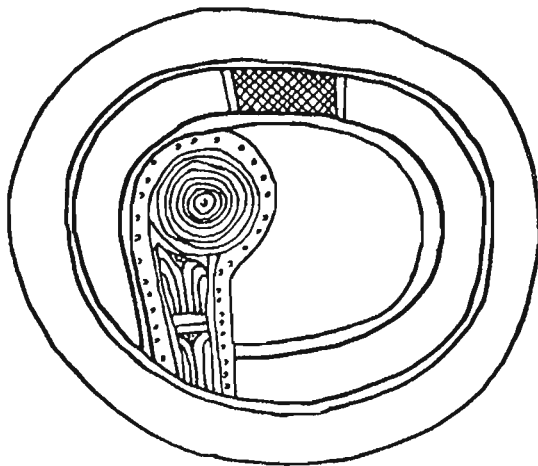


Figure 18.

The next step is the decoration of the rest of the body area. On either side of the divider is placed a circle unit consisting of three concentric circles with a drilled pit in the center. Toward the tail, in most cases, an oval unit consisting of two parallel border lines and interior cross-hatching is placed. The side closest to the narrow end of the tail is often modified in various ways, however. In those Citico gorgets having close structural resemblances to the third group of Lick Creek gorgets (those with a double-line bordered head), a cross-hatched area filler like that of the Lick Creek style was used instead. After this unit, whatever its nature, come the closely spaced chevrons of which there may be as many as twenty-one. Often, a short median line may be used in the narrow tip of the tail to connect the tip to the apex of the last chevron (see figure 19).

On the other side of the divider, there is the concentric circle unit mentioned above. To the right of this is then placed an oval, double-line border and cross-hatched unit similar to that of the tail except that the shape is not usually modified to conform with surrounding structures. Another "circle unit" is then placed following this "body unit". Then another body unit follows, and then still another circle unit which usually completes the body decoration. Often, however, improper allowance for spacing was made, and the last circle unit may be followed by a small half-circle spacer unit (see figure 19) or it may be cut in half by the head. In certain cases, too, there may be as many as three body units to the right of the chevron and four circle units.

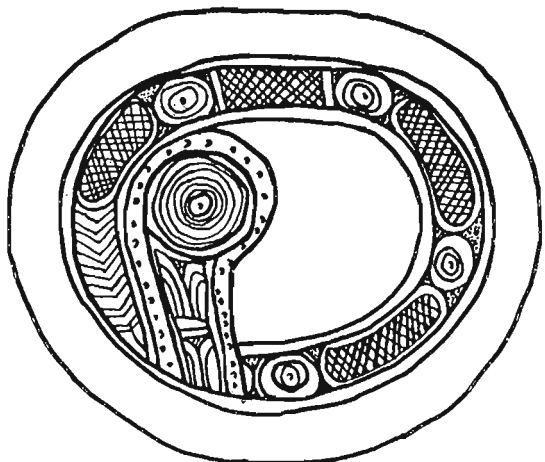


Figure 19.

The next treatment is the placement of the mouth.

Generally, the mouth is placed in the upper right quarter of the interior design field set off by the inner border. Just as in the Lick Creek style, however, tremendous variety of treatment is found in this treatment in form and placement. Probably the inner border line of the mouth was done first followed by the teeth and the other border lines (see figure 20).

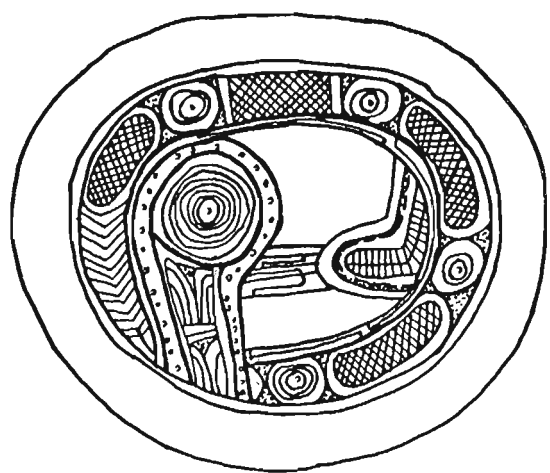


Figure 20.

If the mouth and head are not close to one another, a connecting formal unit may be placed next. One such unit is shown in figure 20. It should be emphasized that this "connector" has no relationship with the element within the Lick Creek style which was called a "connector".

The placement of the mouth and connector is usually the last positive definition of a design area. However, two other design areas are created by the placement of the mouth and connector. The area above the mouth is filled with spine-like elements somewhat like those which occurred on some Lick Creek gorgets, although more elaborate. Occasionally, the spine-like elements do not fill the entire area, and an auxiliary design field is created. An example of this may be seen in figure 21. The area beneath the mouth and connector was decorated with filler patterns of the same type as used in the neck (see figure 21).



Figure 21. (Ga-Go-T 2)



6.3                    The surface structure of the Citico gorgets shows clear differences from that of Lick Creek. The four-part division of field and design which appears to be basic to the Lick Creek style is lacking. There is a four-part division of the body, but the character of this division is substantially different.

In the Citico style, the basic features of concentric circle units and the enclosed body units are usually repeated four times in the fashion seen in figure 22.

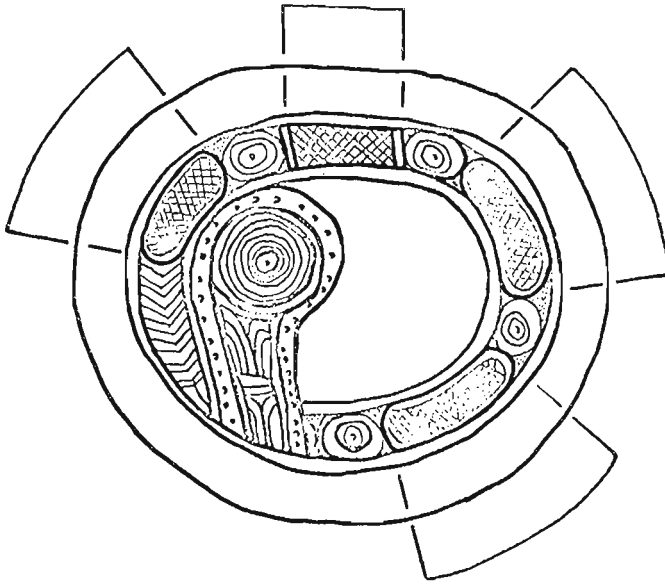


Figure 22.

As can be seen, this structure is not related to any division of the entire gorget but only to an asymmetrical division of the band of the body.

There is no hint at all here of the use of the neck area of the head as a part of a four-part design expressed in this outer band.

Such treatment, it will be recalled, was typical of first group Lick Creek gorgets.

The orientation of the head is substantially different on most Citico specimens from the horizontal or sloping head present in the Lick Creek style. Here, the head is nearly vertical (except in those border-line cases which have Citico formal characteristics and essentially Lick Creek structure), and in some cases the head may actually lean to the left (e.g. Tenn-Hm-C 9).

The entire treatment of Citico gorgets displays a rather different concern with space than is present in the Lick Creek style. Here, an undecorated area is anathema, and extremely complex filler patterns are used below the mouth and in the neck area. The relatively simple spine-like elaborations above the mouth in the Lick Creek style are here treated as long, curved multiple elements which virtually fill the area above the mouth and head. In fact, if the area is not properly filled by these, other features may be introduced for that purpose.

Many of these differences are, in fact, present in rudimentary form in some Lick Creek material, particularly that Lick Creek material with a double-line and drilled-pit head border. Real differences in character and degree exist. Similarly, a number of Citico style gorgets show cutting-out of areas, a technique typical of Lick Creek. Yet, the cutting-out of areas on Lick Creek gorgets is an integral part of design while in the Citico style this feature has a detached and unrelated appearance. The main function of this cutting-out in the Lick Creek style was the integration of design; on Citico gorgets

the effect is usually the opposite in that the only function of the little undecorated space there is on Citico gorgets is relief rather than integration.

The surface structure of the body has already been discussed. The essential surface structure of the head is that of eye, border, and neck. The eye circles are from four to nine in number. These are, like the tail chevrons discussed in the section on technical structure, more closely spaced than on Lick Creek gorgets. The border is exactly like that for the third group of Lick Creek gorgets. The neck is a roughly rectangular area decorated with complex filler patterns. The mouth is made of three border lines, the central of which is generally an excised band. Vertical lines form the teeth together with a central dividing line. Spines above the mouth give a repeated light and dark band effect. Beneath the mouth, complex filler patterns were employed which also divide the area into alternating bands. The effect of light and dark was created by the use of pigment in engraved lines and excised areas.

The major design areas of the Citico style are the outer border, the body, the head, the mouth, and the two areas above and below the mouth. To these may be added the use of an additional unit above the head when the space is not otherwise properly filled. The areas above and below the mouth are negatively defined by other areas and play a subordinate structural role. It must be remembered that the meaning of these areas was not necessarily also subordinate.

1.  $R \rightarrow bor + H + L + B + M + F$

2.  $H \rightarrow E + \begin{Bmatrix} b_1 \\ b_2 \end{Bmatrix} + f$

3.  $bor + E \rightarrow bor + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{spiral/in } E+b_2 \text{ only/} \\ (\text{cir})(\text{cir}) \dots \text{cir}+\text{cir}+\text{cir} \end{array} \right\} p$

4.  $b_1 + f + B \rightarrow b_1 + f + D \begin{bmatrix} (E)x+T\# \\ E+u+E+u+E\# \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} E+u+E+u+E\# \\ (E)x+T\# \end{bmatrix}$

5.  $b_2 + f + B \rightarrow b_2 + f + u \begin{bmatrix} E+u+T\# \\ E+u+E+u+E\# \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} E+u+E+u+E\# \\ E+u+T\# \end{bmatrix}$

6.  $D \rightarrow d + d' + d$

7.  $E \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{spiral/in } E+b_2 \text{ only/} \\ \text{cir} + \text{cir} + \text{cir} \end{array} \right\} p.$

8.  $T \rightarrow (c)(c)(c) \dots (c) c+c+c+c+(lt)$

9.  $M \rightarrow m + t$

10.  $d + d' + d + \dots + F \rightarrow d + d' + d + \dots + emb(f) out$

11.  $F \rightarrow (con) A + f(out)$

12.  $A \rightarrow (s)(s)(s)s + s + s(ad)$

R=rattlesnake

bor=border

H=head

i=interior border

B=body

M=mouth

F=filler areas

E=concentric circle

$b_1, b_2$ =head borders

f=filler

cir=circle

D=divider

x=cross-hatching

T=tail

u=body unit

d=straight line

c=chevron

m=mouth border

t=teeth

emb=embellishment

out=cut-out

con=connector

A=area above mouth

s=spine

$l_t$ =tail line

ad=additional area

It should be noted that the above generative statement can be written as two simpler statements (omitting rules which are the same):

Statement 1.

1.  $R \rightarrow \text{bor} + H + i + B + M + \text{emb} (f) \text{ out}$
  2.  $H \rightarrow E + b_1 + f$
  3.  $\text{bor} + E \rightarrow \text{bor} (\text{cir})(\text{cir}) \text{cir} + \text{cir} + \text{cir} + \text{cir} + p$
  4.  $B \rightarrow D \begin{bmatrix} (E)x+T\# \\ E+u+E+u+E\# \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} E+u+E+u+E\# \\ (E)x+T\# \end{bmatrix}$
  6.  $D \rightarrow d + d' + d$
  7.  $E \rightarrow \text{cir} + \text{cir} + \text{cir} + p$
- omit rules 5, 10, 11, 12

Statement 2.

1.  $R \rightarrow \text{bor} + H + i + B + M + \text{con} + A + f (\text{out})$
  2.  $H \rightarrow E + b_2 + f$
  3.  $\text{bor} \cdot E \rightarrow \text{bor} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{spiral} \\ (\text{cir}) \dots \text{cir} + \text{cir} + \text{cir} + \text{cir} \end{array} \right\} p$
  5.  $B \rightarrow u \begin{bmatrix} E+u+T\# \\ E+u+E+u+E\# \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} E+u+E+u+E\# \\ E+u+T\# \end{bmatrix}$
  7.  $E \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{spiral} \\ \text{cir} + \text{cir} + \text{cir} \end{array} \right\} p$
  12.  $A \rightarrow (s)(s)(s) s + s + s$
- omit rules 4, 6, 10, 11

Statement 1 is closely related structurally to the Lick Creek style and may be considered to generate a structurally intermediate phase or substyle of the Citico style.

## Transformations

Most of the transformational rules which apply to the Citico style are better dealt with in the quasi-transformational character of some parts of the form listing. Thus, the alternate treatment of the concentric circle unit of the eye and spacer as a spiral could have been written as a transformation rather than in the rewrite rules above and the form listing below. Similarly, variations of filler units, and so on, have been dealt with in the formal listings as alternate choices. This is in line with the complex nature of many of the symbols used.

T1. optional: the center line of any three parallel line unit except for circles may be broadened into an excised band.

T2. optional:  $c + c + \dots \# \Rightarrow t/a$  (see form listing)

T3. optional:  $D + \dots + E + u + E + u + E \# \Rightarrow$

$D + \dots (ol)il(k) E + u + E + u + E(u)(E)\#$

ol=outer line

il=inner line

k=key

T4. optional:  $u+E+u+E+u+E\# \Rightarrow u+E+u+E+u+E+u+E\#$

T5. optional: if T4 has not been applied:

$u+E+u+cc \dots \# \Rightarrow u+E+u+E+u+ccc \dots \#$

T6. optional: if spacing in the body is too great for the units to fill, all or part of another unit may be added (either  $cir+cir+cir+p$  or  $u$ , whichever is the opposite of the last unit utilized).

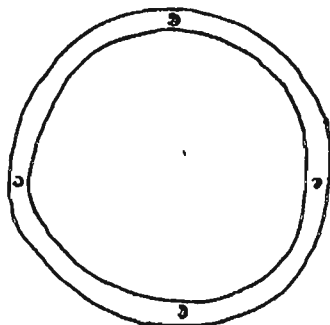
T7. optional: if spacing is insufficient for the design, all or part of concentric circle spacers may be omitted. Thus, for example,

$$E+u+E+u+E \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} E+u+u \\ E+u+E+u \end{array} \right\}$$

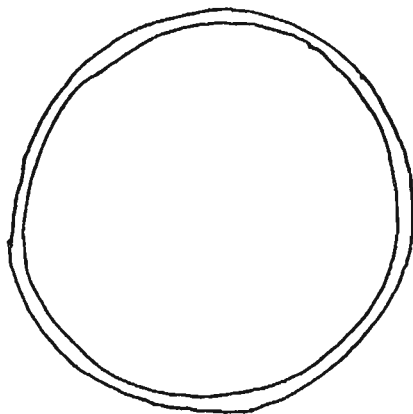
- T8. optional: a key pattern may be embedded between the lines of the inner body border if T3 has not been applied.

Form Listing

1. bor: bor+E+b<sub>1</sub> - a double line border like that of Lick Creek and includes four drilled pits on cross arms.



2. bor: elsewhere - a double line border with no further treatment. The border parallels the outer edge of the gorget blank.



3. spiral+p: bor+spiral+p - a spiral with approximately five to six turns plus a drilled pit at the center.





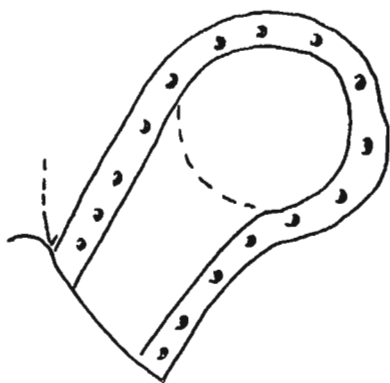
4. **cir:** bor+cir+. . . - an element which, when combined with others of the same element, forms a set of concentric circles. There are at least four circles and in the context bor+cir+. . . +cir+p+b<sub>2</sub> there may be as many as ten.



5. **p:** in all contexts - a drilled pit.

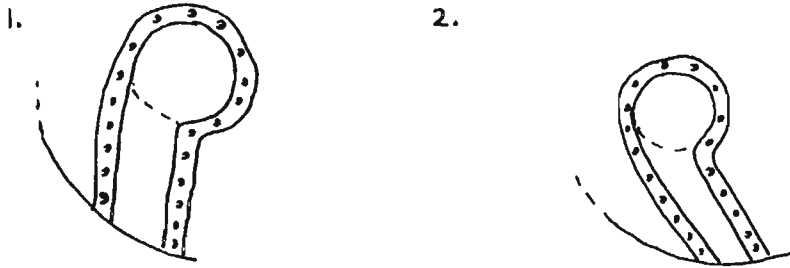


6. **b<sub>1</sub>:** in all contexts - a double-line head border enclosing a series of drilled pits which is at approximately a 45°-50° (essentially the same orientation as on the third group of Lick Creek gorgets).

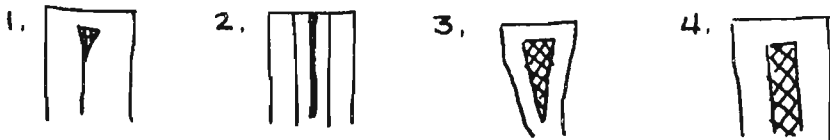


7. **b<sub>2</sub>:** in all contexts - a border which has the same formal structure (next page)

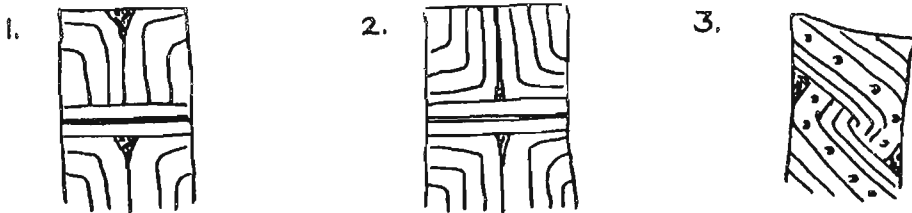
as  $b_1$  but which has a vertical orientation, or it may even "lean" to the left (2).



8.  $f: b_1 + f$  - a neck filler pattern. Essentially the same as in the double-line head border Lick Creek style gorgets.



9.  $f: b_2 + f$  - a neck filler unit which may take a great variety of forms. Besides those listed under form listing 8 above, the fillers may be like the following:

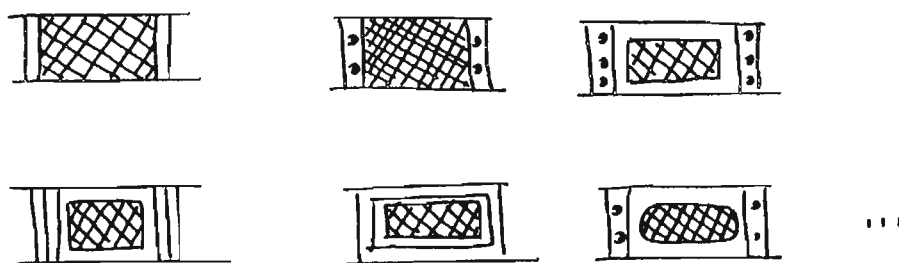


and various combinations of parts of these fillers.

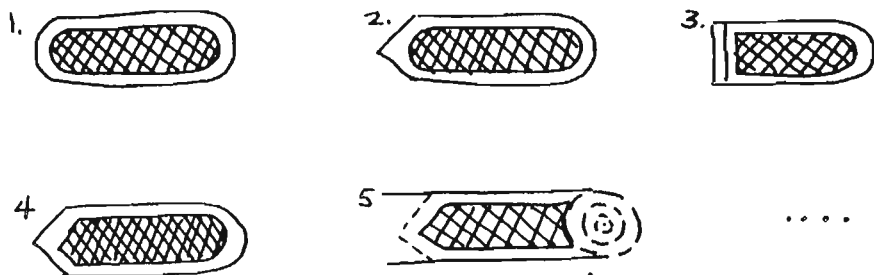
- 10. d:  $d + d' + d$  - the same as the divider unit on Lick Creek gorgets. Each d is a vertical line with d' a broadened excised band.



- 11. u:  $b_2 + u$  - a modified body unit placed at the top of the gorget in the body area. A great variety of forms are possible, ranging from an unmodified body unit like those described below, to different variations. Some of these variations appear to be socially or temporally significant.



- 12. u:  $b_2 + \dots + u + ccc \dots$  - a body unit which may be modified in various ways to provide a transition to the tail chevrons.



- 13. c:  $c + c + c + \dots \#$  - repeated chevrons which form the tail. The number of chevrons varies from five to twenty-one.



14.  $l_t$ :  $c + l_t$  - a line connecting the last chevron to the tip of the tail.



15. spiral:  $u + \text{spiral}$  - a smaller version of  $\text{bor} + \text{spiral}$  in listing 4. Used here as a spacer on the body.



16.  $\text{cir}$ :  $\text{cir} + \text{cir} + \text{cir} + p$  - a circle used together with two others to make up a body spacer unit.



17.  $x$ :  $x + \text{ccc} \dots$  - a cross-hatched filler unit used after a spacer and before the chevrons of the tail. This unit conforms in shape to surrounding boundaries.



18.  $u$ :  $b_1 + \dots + \text{cir} + \text{cir} + \text{cir} + p + u$  - a body unit.



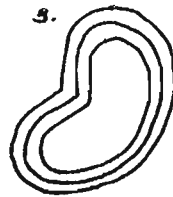
19.  $u$ :  $b_2 + \dots + \text{cir} + \text{cir} + \text{cir} + p + u$  - a body unit. In a terminal position ( $u\#$ ), the unit may be modified (2).



20. m:  $b_1 + \dots + m$  - a three-line border for the mouth. In some cases, however, a part of the border may be omitted (2).



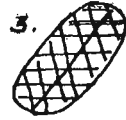
21. m: elsewhere - a three-line border for the mouth. The form may vary considerably, a fact which probably has temporal or social significance. In some cases, additional lines may be added or omitted.



22. t:  $b_1 + \dots + t$  - closely spaced lines approximately perpendicular to the border of the mouth. If the cut-out is omitted, a line parallel to the border bisects these lines (2).



23. t: elsewhere - closely spaced lines approximately perpendicular to the mouth border. These are bisected by a line parallel to the mouth border except where a cut-out is used. In one case cross-hatching is used (3).



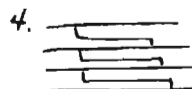
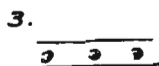
24. emb: in all contexts - three to four spine-like elements used above and below the mouth, as in the Lick Creek style, and an excised area connecting the mouth to the body. The excised connecting element may be omitted as may be the lower spines.



25. f: emb + f - parallel lines parallel to the bottom of the mouth border.



26. con: in all contexts - a pattern of varying form connecting the mouth and head. This generally consists of parallel lines and an excised area as in (1) or (2). Many other variations exist, sometimes in combination.



27. s: in all contexts - a broad excised element repeated from seven to three times. Four is the usual number, however.



28. ad: s + ad - a filler area used where the spines of listing 26 do not properly fill the area above the head or where the head and body are not properly placed.



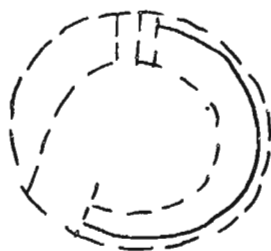
29. f: s (ad) f - a complex symbol representing filler patterns of the same character as those used in the context  $b_1, b_2$  f (listing 8 and 9 above) except that cross-hatching is not permitted here. Otherwise, the same filler pattern is often used on a particular gorget in both contexts; but a great deal of freedom is allowed. Mixtures of different fillers occur (as in 5).



30. ta: in all contexts



31. ol: in all contexts - a line within the outer main border but parallel to it.





32. il: in all contexts - a line parallel to the inner body border.



33. k: in all contexts - a key pattern between il and the inner body border or between the lines of the inner body border. This is usually repeated two or three times.



6.5                    Despite the formal and structural similarities shared by the Lick Creek and Citico styles, it would be difficult to account for both by a single generative statement. The differences are most interesting in that they often result from different structural derivations of units which are used in similar ways. Thus, the divider unit of all but the first group of Citico style gorgets discussed above appears to result from an extension of the structural equivalence of cross-hatching and excision to the excised central band of the Lick Creek divider as below.



But the Citico divider is structurally derived in the style statement from the oval cross-hatched areas while the Lick Creek divider is related to the three chevron body unit. The Lick Creek use of cross-hatching is essentially as a filler between chevron units. In the Citico style, the cross-hatching areas appear to be the important structural units as shown by the fact that the Citico concentric circle body unit may be omitted to allow the proper number of oval cross-hatched areas. In the Citico and Lick Creek styles many other features show this same kind of relationship. The mouth, for example, is similar in some respects, but the small embellishments have become secondary design areas of themselves. Cut-outs can occur on Citico, but, except for the Citico gorgets which resemble Lick Creek structure, these serve to disrupt the unity of Citico design rather than to strengthen it.

The existence of a group of gorgets within the Citico style which shows a close structural, and in some respects formal, resemblance to the Lick Creek gorgets having a double-line and drilled-pit

head border like that used in the Citico style indicates a transition between the two styles. Since no clear social or regional distinctions are apparent here, it seems simplest at this state of analysis to suggest that the Lick Creek and Citico styles are temporal variants within a single stylistic tradition. The existence of three possible temporal phases has already been suggested in the last chapter. The third of these is most similar to Citico treatments and is closely related to the transitional group of the Citico style. It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that this "transitional" group may be the first phase of the Citico style. It is certain that other meaningful groupings within the Citico style exist. Unlike the first group, however, the difference among these groupings is primarily formal rather than structural, and it is even less certain whether these variants are social or temporal. Some of the variations in form which may be of temporal significance are the increasing elaboration of the spine elements above the mouth, the detachment of the mouth from the outer border, and the reinterpretation of the mouth unit as what appears almost to be a split representation. Other formal variations include the elimination of the divider unit and its replacement by an additional body unit although this may be synchronic with other treatments. At least some five groupings are possible by taking various formal differences into account, but these groupings are not so distinct in their configuration as those of the Lick Creek style. For this reason, it is probably well to avoid speculation on further subdivisions of the Citico style until further evidence both from archaeology and stylistic analysis is available. In the meantime, reference to the form listing will serve to indicate the nature of the different possible treatments.