# THE LATE PREHISTORY OF THE NATCHEZ REGION: EXCAVATIONS AT THE EMERALD AND FOSTER SITES, ADAMS COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

A Thesis Presented

by

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# Chapter I:

Introduction

#### THE BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This is basically a study of cultural dynamics in the late prehistory of the Natchez region. While our immediate concerns here are specific to a single region, it is hoped that our work will help to clarify the picture of cultural development in the Lower Mississippi Valley as a whole. In order to study cultural change, it is first necessary to define a meaningful framework in which change can be seen to occur. The first such schema applicable to our region was devised by Ford and his colleagues, yet because of our theoretical and methodological biases, we have been motivated to discard this chronology in favor of a new one, the tentative outlines of which were developed by Phillips (1970) and Brown (1973). Our work has refined some of the units which the latter proposed. In order to understand the reasons why we have chosen to utilize this new framework, it is necessary to examine in greater detail the history and the theoretical basis of the earlier chronology.

As we have said before, Ford (1936) was the first to set up a chronology in the southern part of the Lower Mississippi Valley, and the Natchez region formed an integral part of this area of study. Based on changes in the presence of certain pottery types, he defined three temporal periods. In our area, each of these periods was marked by a diagnostic set of ceramic features. From earliest to latest these were the "Marksville complex" the "Coles Creek complex", and the "Natchez complex". This basic formulation could not have appeared at a better time, for the W.P.A. projects of the late 1930's were about to start producing unprecedented amounts of raw archaeological data. Ford's chronology provided the necessary framework in which this new data could be intergrated. Not unexpectedly, this data served to refine Ford's established chronological concepts, and in some cases led to the formulation of new ones (Ford and Willey, 1941).

As a result, the post-Coles Creek chronology in our area took on a new shape. What had previously been thought of merely as groupings of distinctive pottery types were transformed into "cultures", or units that were defined in terms of a particular association of traits, both ceramic and non-ceramic. Thus, the original "Natchez complex" became the "Natchezan culture" (Quimby 1942). In addition, an entirely new culture was recognized, preceding the Natchezan and following Coles Creek. Sketchy allusions to the existence of the so-called "Plaquemine culture" had first been made in the early 1940's (Ford and Willey 1941: Fig.2; Quimby 1942; Ford and Quimby 1945:1), but it was not formally described until considerably later (Quimby 1951:128-131).

From the very start, the close relationships between the Coles Creek,
Plaquemine, and Natchezan cultures were stressed:

In terms of the Midwestern Taxonomic System the Plaquemine complex... would probably be an aspect of a phase that would include Natchezan and Coles Creek. (ibid:129).

Plaquemine was considered a direct outgrowth of Coles Creek, and was seen to be the basis from which the later Natchezan culture developed. Significantly, these units were regarded as completely arbitrary segments of an overall cultural continuum. The boundaries between them were artificially set, and their precise placement was entirely the result of historical accident (Ford 1951:13; Quimby 1951:129). In Ford's and Quimby's view, many Coles Creek pottery types persisted into the Plaquemine period (ibid:131). Similarly, Plaquemine also contained a number of other ceramic traits that were to persist into the Natchezan. Because of this great overlap, the presence of a particular trait was often not nearly as important as the frequency with which it was present.

Ideally, the limits of the Plaquemine culture as well as the beginning and end of the Plaquemine Period could best be defined in terms of a graph of relative frequencies of pottery types and other cultural traits from the Coles Creek, Plaquemine, and

<sup>1.</sup> In Ford and Quimby's taxonomy, the terms "period" and "culture" were interchangeable: "... the Plaquemine culture is a unique combination of traits found only in the Plaquemine Period. One may speak with equal meaning either of Plaquemine culture of Plaquemine Period" (Quimby 1951:129).

Natchezan periods. (ibid:128).

Clearly, this approach to defining archaeological units was based upon Ford's theoretical notions concerning the gradual nature of cultural change, wherein the history of a particular trait could be expressed in terms of a smooth "battleship curve". To put it in his own words,

If postery types are successful measuring units for a continuous stream of changing cultural ideas, it follows that when the relative popularity of these types is graphed through time, a more or less long, single-peak curve will usually result. Put in another way, a type will first appear in very small percentages, will gradually increase to its maximum popularity, and then, as it is replaced by its succeeding type, will gradually decrease and disappear (Phillips, Ford and Griffin 1951:220).

Therefore, as a corollary to his assumptions,

If a complex of cultural materials representing a space-time continuum of culture history is classified in a consistent manner, the popularity curves of the various constituent types will form a pattern. Each portion of this pattern will be peculiar to a particular time and area. (ibid:221).

Theoretically, any given geographical area would exhibit a <u>unique</u> pattern of changing relative frequencies through time. Any archaeological assemblage obtained from this area could then be chronologically pigeon-holed by finding the point at which the relative frequencies of its traits best fit the overall pattern. Therefore, in order to properly define the Plaquemine and Natchezan periods in Fordian terms, it was incumbent upon him and his colleagues to discover this grand pattern as it applied to our region, and then to arbitrarily delineate the segments to which these periods pertained.

In fact, this procedure was never actually accomplished. Stating that his data were insufficient to undertake the task, Quimby out of necessity deferred giving a "complete presentation" of the Plaquemine period, leaving us instead with a "tentative and gross definition" (1951:128). The fact that his "complete presentation" was never achieved, however, is perhaps significant in itself. It recent years, Ford's theoretical position regarding the validity of frequency seriation, which was fundamental to the formulation of

his and Quimby's cultural unit concepts, has been severely questioned, and for the most part has been shown to be untenable (Phillips 1970:3; McNutt 1973).

In this light, let us examine Cotter's (1951b) attempt to apply Ford's chronological concepts in an integration of the material he excavated at the Anna and Emerald sites in the Natchez region. After seriating the percentages of his various pottery types, he concluded that the chronological position of these sites was somewhere "in the Plaquemine-Natchez horizon" (ibid:29). In effect, he had been forced to concatenate two supposedly distinct units into a single "horizon". Apart from the blatant contradiction in terms, Cotter had, perhaps unwittingly, pointed out a major weakness in the concepts he was trying to use. Clearly, his sites had both Plaquemine and Natchezan components, but he found himself unable to draw a line between the two.

Conceptual units which lack effective boundaries are sometimes difficult to comprehend, and even more difficult to put to meaningful use. We have therefore come to the conclusion that Ford's chronology, which has been traditionally applied in our area, is a vehicle woefully inadequate to accomplish the type of descriptive synthesis we will strive for in this report. As a result, we have found it necessary to make use of an entirely different framework, and to this end we have adopted the basic theoretical precepts and cultural taxonomy set forth by Willey and Phillips (1958:1-57).

Ours is not the first attempt to organize the late prehistory of the Natchez region in terms of Willey and Phillips' basic archaeological units. The initial tentative step was taken by Phillips himself when he roughly translated Ford's Plaquemine and Natchezan Periods into two post-Coles Creek "phases". Subsequent work (Brown 1973) served to further subdivide these late phases, leaving us with a three-fold sequence: Anna phase, Emerald phase, and Natchez phase (Fig.1).

This report takes up the investigation where the latter left off.

Stratigraphic analysis of material excavated from the Emerald (26-L-1) and

1820	CULTURE OR CULTURAL TRADITION	NATCHEZ REGION	UPPER TENSAS BASIN	. LOWER YAZOO BASIN	
1020		Natchez	Taensa	Russell*	
	Plaquemine (Mississippian*)	Emerald II	Transyl- vania* Fitzhugh Routh		
	(MISSISSIPPIANW)	Emerald I		Lake George*	
1200		Anna		Winterville	
	Coles Creek	Gordon		·Crippen Pt.	
		Balmoral		Kings Crossing	
		Ballina	Ballina	Aden	
600		Sundown	Sundown	Bayland	
300	Baytown	Hamilton Ridge	Marsden Indian Bayou	Deasonville	
500	Marksville	Issaquena	Issaquena	Issaquena	
AD		Grand Gulf	Point Lake	Anderson Landing	
500	Tchefuncte	Panther Lake	Panther Lake	Tuscola	
	Poverty Point	Frasier	Poverty Point	Jaketown	
2000		Meso-India			

Figure 1: Neo-Indian chronology of the Natchez and adjoining regions.

Foster (26-K-3) sites has greatly refined our chronological control over these last three phases. This, in turn, has provided us with a greater understanding of the late prehistory of the Natchez region, and at the same time has shed more light on the nature of the Plaquemine culture, as it has been redefined in our new taxonomy.

#### THE NATCHEZ REGION

The Natchez region as we define it in this report, lies on the eastern side of the Mississippi River, roughly bounded on the south by the Homochitto River, and on the north by Bayou Pierre (Fig. 2). Any geographical limits which are set in the consideration of cultural phenomena must inevitably be arbitrary to some degree, and ours are no exception. There are, however, some environmental discontinuities between our region and neighboring ones that warrant mention. Not the least of these is an extensive backswamp area to the southwest (in Quadrants 27-J and 28-J) which effectively separates our region from the Lower Red River Basin (Phillips 1970:865). Equally significant is the fact that the Natchez region is physiographically quite distinct from the alluvial valley regions to the north and west. Dominant within it are the loess bluffs, an expanse of hills that rises abruptly at the eastern edge of the floodplain and continues some 15 or 20 miles inland. see that our region sits astride a major ecological interface between the liver valley and interior upland environments that was to play an important role throughout the Neo-Indian era.

Geologically, the Natchez bluffs are constituted of loess, a tan-colored calcareous silt that forms a continuous deposit draped over the underlying topography. The accumulations in this mantle are thickest at the edge of the floodplain, as much as 90 to 100 feet in some places, and gradually thin out toward the east (Saucier 1971:19). As one might expect in such a situation, there is no clearly defined eastern boundary for this formation. The area of

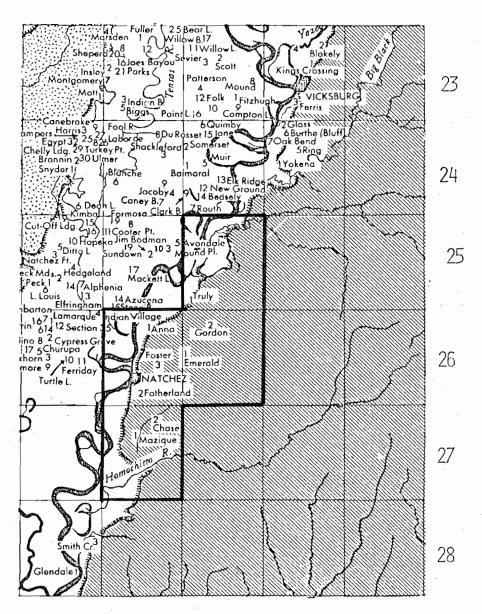


Figure 2: Outlined in red are the quadrants which pertain to the Natchez region.

Brown Loam mapped in Figure 3 has a loess accumulation that is everywhere no less than four feet thick.

It is generally agreed that the loess bluffs were formed during Pleistocene times<sup>2</sup>, but the manner of their origin has been the subject of much debate. Some consider them to have been formed by a process involving colluvial transport (Russell 1944; Fisk 1951), while others believe them to be of colian origin (most recently, Saucier 1971:19). Happily, the ultimate resolution of this question has no bearing whatsoever on the archaeological problems at hand.

Undisturbued loess has a great deal of strength due to its calcareous nature. The lime within the soil cements individual particles together and gives loess its characteristically steep angle of repose. Leaching, however, serves to weaken this cohesiveness and makes loess highly susceptible to erosion and severe gullying. The latter process has caused the topography in areas of thick accumulation to become extremely rugged, commonly having 75 to 100 feet of local relief.

Soils derived from loess parent material have a high native fertility and are easy to work. If the problem of erosion is kept under control, such soils are capable of producing high crop yields with a minimum effort on the part of the cultivator (Vanderford 1962:11-16).

#### METHODOLOGY

## Site Cataloguing System

Here we have adopted the site cataloguing system used by the Lower Mississippi Survey, explained in Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, p.41.

<sup>2.</sup> The existence of a well developed soil horizon within the present loess deposit indicates that it was formed in two major stages (Saucier 1971:20). The earlier, or "pre-Vicksburg" blanket was laid down from 50,000 to 40,000 years B.P. (ibid:46), while the bulk of the later, "Vicksburg" loess appeared between 20,000 and 18,000 years B.P. (ibid:51-52).

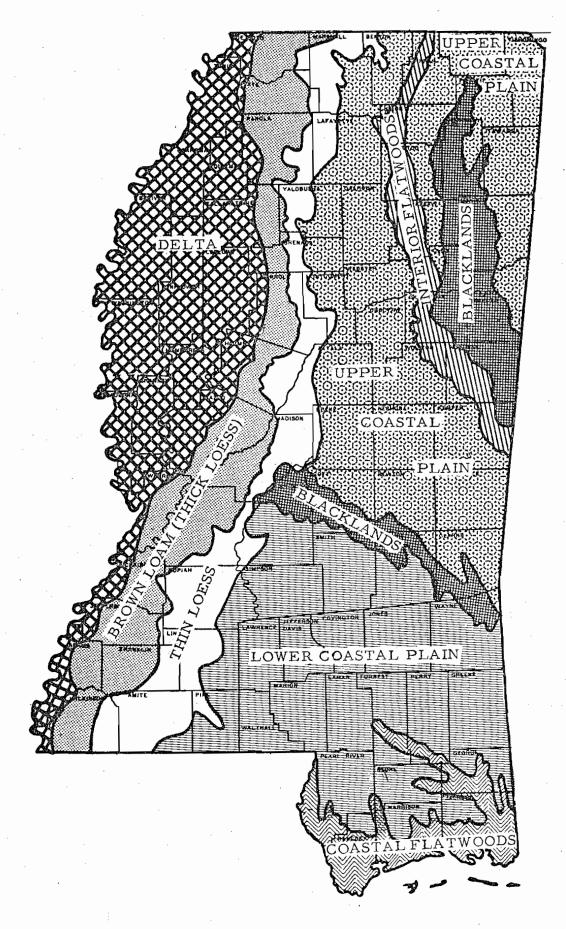


Figure 3: Major land resource areas of Mississippi (after Vanderford 1962: Figure 2)

## Methods of Excavation

For the most part, our program of excavations was carried out with the aim of efficiency in mind. We sought to recover a maximum amount of stratigraphic information with a minimum amount of dirt moved. A great deal of care was always taken to assure that our pits were positioned in optimum locations. Worthwhile cultural deposits were often located by means of a surface survey supplemented by occasional posthole sampling. Intensive magnetometer surveys were also conducted at both sites in an attempt to locate burials and other significant features. Priority was always given to those locations which seemed to be the least disturbed by modern activities. This latter consideration was particularly important at Emerald, which was recently subjected to a restoration that involved the filling in of large areas with dirt brought in from outside the site.

Two basic types of excavation units were used at our sites. These were called pits and trenches. Pits usually measured 2 x 4 meters and were primarily useful in obtaining a good stratigraphic sample from a particular location. Each pit was identified by a three digit number<sup>3</sup>. Individual levels within each pit were designated by a sequence of letters: The topmost level being called "A", the second level, "B", and so on down. In most cases, a single level would be taken out in two halves—first in one end of the p't, and then in the other. This method allowed us to keep better control of our stratigraphic units by enabling us to better anticipate natural breaks in the stratification, which could then be isolated.

Trenches were longer and narrower than pits, and were used to obtain stratigraphic information over a larger horizontal area. Although only one meter wide, they generally were quite long, ranging from 6 to 15 meters in length. Having been identified with a three digit number, a trench was

<sup>3.</sup> These numbers were often not sequential because they formed only one part of a larger system used to identify the provinence of all our collections, including those which were surface collected and excavated at other sites.

horizontally divided into several sub-units, each 2 or 3 meters long. These sub-units were referred to as "cuts." Each cut was designated by a letter and excavated individually. Levels within each cut were numbered, starting with the topmost level and proceeding down in sequence. Thus, for example, the second level in the third cut of Trench 534 was labelled "534C2".

In opening a trench, alternate cuts would be excavated first, usually in arbitrary levels. After these had been taken down as far as they would go, the intervening cuts would be excavated, but this time by natural levels. The fact that the stratification in these intervening cuts was initially visible from two sides facilitated the identification of natural strata and their excavation as single units. A further advantage to this system was that it allowed us to double-check the validity of our stratigraphic correlations: The stratigraphic integrity of the natural levels in one set of cuts could be compared against the arbitrary stratigraphy obtained in the alternate set.

From the preceeding discussion, it is clear that our basic stratigraphic units (i.e., levels) took several different forms. In some cases, they were completely arbitrary units, being excavated in predetermined increments no matter what the natural stratification. In other situations, they were "natural" units, corresponding perfectly with the natural strata within the pit.

A third type of unit, called "semi-natural", was also frequently used. This was a level which did not necessarily represent a complete natural stratum, but whose floor did correspond to a natural break in the stratification. A semi-natural level occurred when excavation had been proceeding in arbitrary units and a clearly identifiable natural stratum was encountered. Instead of continuing to dig arbitrarily, the level was terminated by exposing the surface of the natural stratum below. Hence, we would avoid the mixture

of material coming from two distinct stratz, and thus would preserve the stratigraphic integrity of the units directly above and directly below this surface. A semi-natural level would effectively allow us to make the transition from arbitrary units to natural units in the process of excavating a pit.

Whenever a feature was encountered, its horizontal position within the pit would be accurately plotted. Burials were isolated on pedestals and were very carefully exposed. When identified early enough, wall trueches and pits were cleaned out as separate units.

The dirt that was shovelled from an excavation unit was generally screened through 1/2 inch hardware cloth. In cases where sifting was either impossible (as in levels consisting of hardpan or clay) or deemed not worthwhile (as in levels of sterile moundfill), the backdirt was visually searched with the aid of a trowel.

After a pit or trench was completed, its four profiles were drawn as accurately as possible for use in later stratigraphic interpretation.

## Methods of Analysis and Presentation

The methodology we have employed in the analysis of our data is fairly straightforward. Particular aspects of it which require some elaboration are presented below.

Classification. The first step in our procedure of analysis involved the separation of the total artifactual assemblage into three major categories: pottery, other ceramic artifacts, and stone. Within each of these categories, the material was further subdivided into the smallest culture-historically meaningful units that could be achieved. Details of classification varied from one category to the next. Our pottery was fitted into a type-variety framework based on the one formulated by Phillips (1970:23-178). The other two categories relied on a simpler system wherein we recognized a number of descriptive classes which could, if necessary, be subdivided into formal types. An exception to this latter system was made in the case of projectile points, which were classified in terms of the type-variety nomenclature of Brain (Williams and Brain, n.d.).

Analysis Units. Once we had achieved a satisfactory classification of our total artifactual assemblage, we proceeded to relate specific portions of that assemblage to the stratigraphic contexts in which they were originally found. Larger, more meaningful units were thus formulated--generically referred to as analysis units (AU)--which were defined in terms of both their content and their context.

Analysis units were meant to be convenient units in which our stratigraphic data could be efficiently handled and economically presented. Iney
were formed by combining the material coming from a number of discrete
stratigraphic levels<sup>4</sup>. These levels were generally selected in such a way
that they would conform as closely as possible to a discrete culture-bearing

<sup>4.</sup> The ceramic data in terms of individual stratigraphic levels is presented in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

deposit. In some cases, the combined levels corresponded exactly with the stratum they were intended to represent. In other cases, particularly where arbitrary levels were used, the analysis unit inavoidably included more than one deposit, yet the resultant amount of mixture was generally small and never presented us with much of a problem.

Occupations. As we said before, analysis units were designed to provide us with an expedient means by which to handle our stratigraphic data. By their very nature, analysis units were limited in their scope: Each would pertain only to a particular stratum or group of contiguous strata. Never did they extend beyond the boundaries of a single location within a site. Hence, they were not adequate units by which the history of an entire site could be expressed. For this purpose, broader, more generalized units were formulated, called "occupations".

Basically, occupations were constructed of one or several analysis units which exhibited a similar cultural content. Yet unlike the analysis units of which they were formed, they were not merely intended to be large agglomerations of stratigraphic data. Rather, they were formulations of a different order, i.e., historical units. Occupations were defined in terms of an artifactual complex, not an artifactual assemblage. The distinction here is not a minor one. An assemblage refers to the complete set of artifacts found together within a particular archaeological context. The complex, on the other hand, consists of only those artifacts which were in use at the time to which the context pertains. Hence, we introduce another major consideration: The context in which the artifactual complex was used must be clearly identifiable. It is pointless to define an occupation at a site unless it can be related to a specific context of primary deposition or an occupational surface.

The occupations at a given site must not be confused with components of regional phases. These two units coexist within a site, but are formulated with respect to very different frames of reference. The temporal limits of

occupations are set by particular historical events (e.g., stages of mound construction) which are unique to the site being considered. Components, on the other hand, are delimited in terms of patterned cultural events which are region-wide in their scope. Thus, it is possible for a single component to encompass a number of occupations, and vice versa, though often the two may coincide.

In order to recognize patterning on a regional level, the histories of particular sites must be observed and compared. Therefore, we feel that the description of a site's history in terms of occupations is a logical step in the progression from the presentation of the basic stratigraphic data to the formulation of a regional culture-historical sequence. Only after the sequence of phases had been defined can we go back to our data and organize it in terms of components.

# Chapter II:

The Emerald Site (26-L-1)

## DESCRIPTION AND LOCATION

The Emerald site (26-L-1) is located in Adams County, Mississippi, nine miles northeast of Natchez and one mile north of Stanton Station. Its coordinates are  $E^1_{2}$  irr. S41, T8N, R1W.

The main feature of the site is a single large earthwork (Fig. 4). There are no sizeable midden accumulations in the vicinity marking the presence of an associated village. Survey and excavations in the surrounding country-side have made it clear that the bulk of the population must have lived in solitary dwellings or small hamlets scattered along the numerous ridgetops in the area.

The earthwork presently consist of a single quadrilateral platform mound surmounted by two smaller secondary mounds. The primary (platform) mound measures 235 meters (east-west) by 133 meters (north-south) at its base and covers an area of 7.7 acres. It is approximately 9.2 meters high. The top of this platform measures 195 meters by 105 meters, and has an approximate area of 5 acres.

The two secondary mounds are positioned at opposite ends of the platform along an east-west axis. The west mound is by far the larger of the two, being a flat-topped structure rising almost 9 meters above the platform. Its present appearance suggests that it was originally pyramidal in shape. The total height of the west mound and platform together is approximately 18 meters.

The eastern secondary mound is considerably smaller, having a height of only 3 meters, and is much more disfigured. All that remains is a crescent-shaped ridge situated along the eastern end of the platform that slopes down gradually toward the west. This structure was probably once a pyramidal mound that was low enough to be cultivated during the 19th century, and eventually was plowed down to its present shape (Cotter 1951b:18).

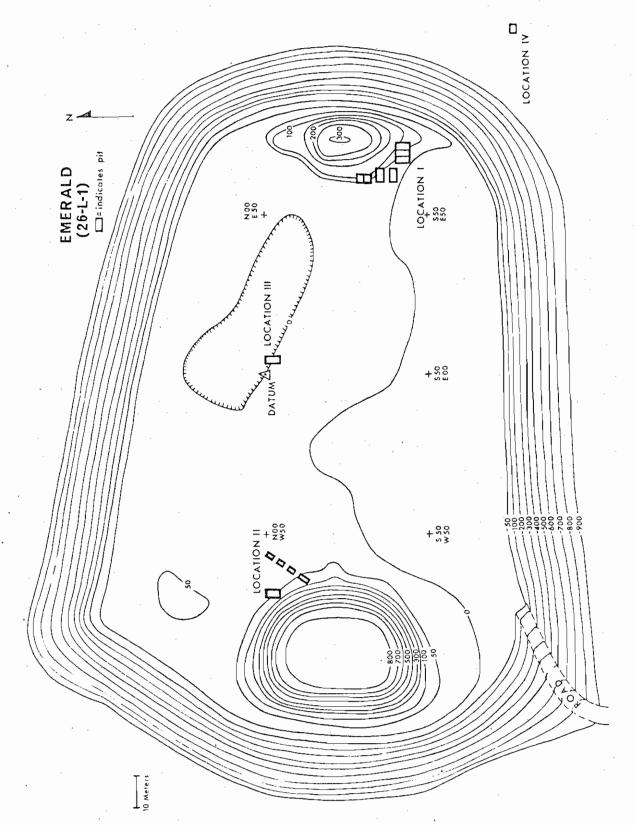
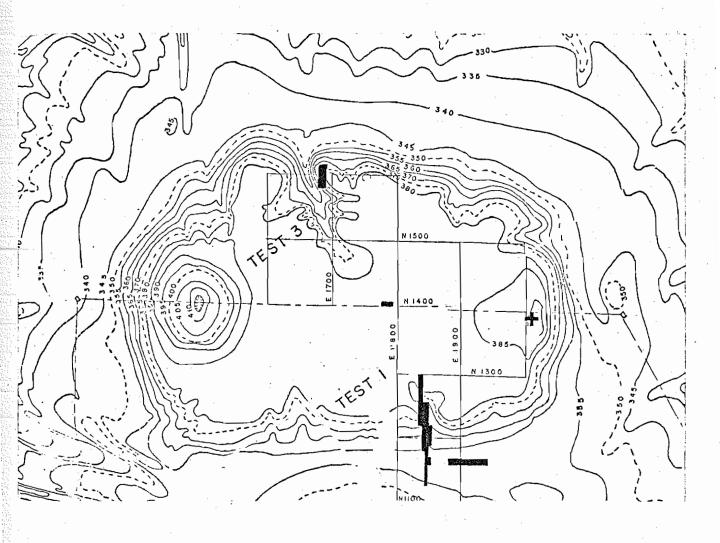


Figure 4: Excavations at Emerald, 1972.

From various 19th century descriptions, it is clear that Emerald mound has suffered heavy erosional and agricultural damage over the years. Its present well-preserved appearance is directly due to the fact that the National Park Service did an extensive restoration in 1955. Large erosional gullies were filled in and the sides of 'he primary mound were cosmetically straightened. A large pothunter's pit in the top of the west mound was filled in, and wooden steps were installed leading from the platform to the west mound's newly reconstructed summit. Finally, the entire mound was covered with a blanket of tough Bermuda grass to prevent further erosion and stabilize its sides. To appreciate the results of this project, one need only to compare the topographical map of the site made in 1948 (Fig.5) with the one made in 1972 (Fig.4).

Emerald was originally constructed in an area that had a very rich and hospitable natural environment. The surrounding loess soils are extremely fertile and easy to work (Vanderford 1962:11-12). In fact, the 18th century French accounts repeatedly state that the Natchez region's land was the most fertile in all of Louisiana. In addition to the agricultural produce, the natives could also draw upon the abundant game in the nearby forests and fish in the local streams. Nor did they have to depend entirely on these streams for their water supply. Nineteenth century writers (Hall 1801:224; Ingraham 1935:224) attest to the fact that there was a permanent spring only fifty paces to the north of the mound. If exploited properly, the environment could not only sustain the resident population, but also produce enough surplus to feed a labor force engaged in major non-subsistence activities (viz., moundbuilding).

By virtue of the fact that Emerald sits atop the highest ridge in the area, it has a commanding position and towers above the surrounding country-side. Such a location considerably adds to the visual impressiveness of the site. It must also be remembered that Emerald's platform is only partly



TOPOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF EMERALD MOUND ADAMS COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

. <u>o</u>	100		200	300
Sept Million Co.	(scale	in	feet	

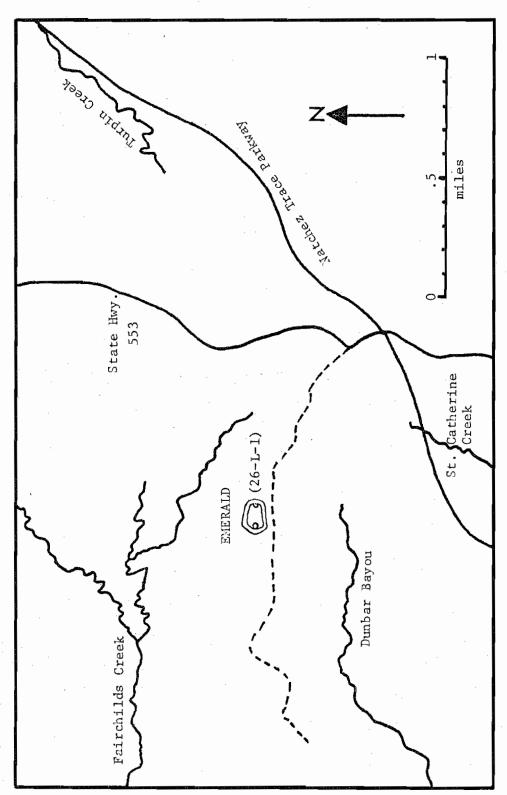
Figure 5: Emerald mound in 1948 (after Cotter 1951b: Fig. 10)

artificial, and so it was built in a spot where the natural topography could be used to the greatest advantage.

A further advantage in Emerald's position, was that it lay at the highest elevation in a region where the headwaters of three major inland streams come together (Fig.6). Fairchild's Creek is less than 400 meters to the north, St. Catherines Creek is 1100 meters to the south, and a tributary of Coles Creek (Turpin Creek) is 2200 meters to the east. All three streams were certainly used as major routes of transport and communication in prehistoric times. Sites contemporary with Emerald are to be found along all three.

Not only was Emerald at the hub of a network of waterways, but it seems to have been a major crossroads for overland routes as well. Writing in 1835, Ingraham (1835:225) notes that the "remains of excavated roads, passing through the adjacent forest and converging to this mound as their common centre, still exist." Due to the fact that loess is highly susc ptible to erosion, unpaved roads gradually begin to wash out and sink below the level of the surrounding earth, thus giving them the appearance of being "excavated", and making them readily visible even long after they have fallen into disuse. Forshey (1841:377) and Brown (1926:45) also recorded the presence of these roads at Emerald, some of which can still be seen nowadays.

It is clear that many modern roads are laid out along routes that have some natural advantages and therefore have been repeatedly travelled by men since prehistoric times. It is no coincidence, then, that Emerald is only .3 mile from the present day intersection of State Highway 553 and the Natchez Trace Parkway. For part of its length, the former road almost certainly follows the general route of a prehistoric trace observed by Brown (1926:45) that once connected Emerald with another major mound site--Feltus (26-K-42)--eight miles to the north. Similarly, the Natchez Trace Parkway is laid out along what was, in early historic times, the region's most important over-



Major routes of communication in the vicinity of the Emerald site. 9 Figure

land trade route (Crenay, 1733). A route of such importance at the time of earliest French contact certainly must have been well used in prehistoric times. The Gordon site (26-L-2), closely related to Emerald both temporally and culturally, is situated along the Trace less than 10 miles away. Originally, the Trace seems to have passed right by the Foster site (26-K-3) as well (see p. 90).

Thus we see that the inhabitants of Emerald had easy access to a wide network of inland waterways and roads that kept them in direct contact with all parts of the region from Coles Creek in the north, to the St. Catherine's Creek in the south. At a time when the political focus shifted away from the Mississippi River and into the interior of the bluff region, Emerald's position at the center of this inland communications network gained considerable importance. Considering this, along with the richness of the surrounding natural environment, it is no wonder that Emerald rose to the status of a major ceremonial center.

### EARLY DESCRIPTIONS AND PREVIOUS WORK

The Emerald site is located in an area that was first opened up for Anglo-American settlement in the late eighteenth century. Because of its impressive size and its accessible location, the mound has been well known since these early times. Throughout the nineteenth century, numerous travellers and investigators went out of their way to visit the great "Selsertown mound", as it was then called. Fortunately, some of these individuals made detailed observations and recorded them in print. We can now use this valuable information to reconstruct how the earth work originally

<sup>1.</sup> Although Cotter (1952:120-125) would have us believe that the Gordon site is somewhat earlier than Emerald, a reexamination of his data in the light of our present chronology has clearly shown that all of the mound construction at this site dates to the Emerald phase.

<sup>2.</sup> According to Jennings (1952: footnote 51), the site was first called Emerald by B.L.C. Wailes in the late 1850's, after the name of the plantation in which it was located.

looked, before the ravages of erosion had fully taken their toll.

The early nineteenth century descriptions make it clear that there were once eight<sup>3</sup> secondary mounds resting atop the primary platform (Hall 1801: 51; Brackenridge 1814:278). Besides the large mounds at the western and eastern ends of the platform, there were "three of a smaller size (steading) at regular intervals along the north side, and three others along the south side, nearly opposite to those on the north." These were "from four to six or eight feet high, but they, together with those on the ends, appear/ed/ to be considerably washed down" (Hall 1801:52). In the following years, these prominences were to be eroded down even more, so that by 1835, only six secondary mounds were still visible (Ingraham 1835:222-226; Monette 1838 as quoted in Cotter 1951a:33). Two more of these mounds were washed away in the next fifty years, leaving only four to be observed in 1887 (Fig.7) (Thomas 1894:265-266). By 1917, all traces of the lateral mounds were gone (Fig.8) leaving only the two that are still standing today (Brown 1926:37).

As a result of this rapid erosion, the overall height of Emerald mound has decreased considerably over the last 200 years. Although Hall's "instruments for mensuration were not very accurate" (1801:51), he estimated the height of the platform to be 45 feet. Most of the other early writers confirm this figure (Brackenridge 1814:280; Monette 1838, as quoted in Cotter 1951a:34; Forshey 1841:376). Since that time, the platform has lost about ten feet of its height relative to the ground.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3.</sup> In one part of their famous work, Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, Squier and Davis (1948:118) state that Emerald was surmounted by ten secondary mounds. These authors had never visited the site themselves, and and so they based their description on a first-hand account given in Bracken-ridge (1814:118). Unfortunately, this account is very vague and equivocal in giving the total number of structures present on the platform, and it seems that Squier and Davis made the wrong interpretation.

<sup>4.</sup> It is important to realize that only part of this decline has been due to erosion from the top. Much of it is an illusion caused by the accumulation of moundwash around the base of the platform (see Cotter 1951b:Fig.11). Thus, we are estimating the absolute decrease in the height of the platform to be about 5-7 feet, with a detritus accumulation at the base accounting for the other 3-5 feet.

The same process has led to a decrease in the steepness of the platform's flanks. In 1838, they were quite precipitous, "not more than thirty-five or forty degrees from the perpendicular" (Monette 1838, as quoted in Cotter 1951a:34). One hundred ten years later, the sides of the platform had slumped to an angle between 60 and 70 degrees from the perpendicular (Cotter 1951b:19).

Most of the early nineteenth century estimates indicate that the western secondary mound had a height of approximately 38 feet above the platform (Brackenridge 1814:280; Monette 1838, as quoted in Cotter 1951a:34; Forshey 1841:377), although others place it eight or ten feet lower (Hall 1801:52; Ingraham 1835:222-226). Whichever figure we accept, it is clear that the west mound has been reduced by at least five or possibly as much as 15 or more feet, taking the erosion of the platform into account. Similarly, the east mound has lost about seven feet of its height, considering that it once rose about 12 feet above the platform (Hall 1801:52; Ingraham 1835:222-226; Monette 1838, as quoted in Cotter 1951a:37; Forshey 1841:377).

Early descriptions indicate that Emerald mound was once completely encircled by a wide ditch (Hall 1801:51; Brackenridge 1814:278, 281). One writer claims that in some places it was almost twenty feet deep. Such a figure is probably exaggerated, because by 1838 all traces of this "fosse" had been obliterated by moundwash and erosion (Monette 1838, quoted in Cotter 1951a:35). As Cotter (1951b:19) suggests, this ditch was probably a borrow area for the constructional fill of some part of the mound.

The first recorded "excavation" at Emerald was carried out by the Monette party in 1838, although it is unreasonable to assume that there was no digging before this. The results of their investigations were partially described as

<sup>5.</sup> The height of the secondary mound is measured with respect to the top of the platform, which itself has lost some 5-7 feet in absolute height over the years (see footnote 3).

#### follows:

The sides of the larger foundation mound are to a considerable extent, if not wholly, encased about one foot beneath the surface of the soil, with a sort of rubble resembling slack-baked bricks... The soil above this rubble was filled with fragments of pottery, pieces of human and animal bones, charcoal and the debris from the top of the mound and of these smaller towers which would seem to have been entirely washed away. Beneath the rubble, on digging into the sides of the mound, no remains of pottery or bones were to be found." (Monette 1838, as quoted in Cotter 1951a:35).

Clearly, the "rubble resembling slack-baked bricks" was daub associated with the lateral secondary mounds, which apparently were domiciliary structures. In describing some of the pottery that was found "upon the surface of the sides, or from one to two feet below the surface", Monette states that

It is generally in broken pieces... The outsides of most of the vessels were ornamented with lines, sometimes drawn parallel to the brim, five or six circles, in the space of an inch in width, extending around the bowl; or by figures of triangular lines and checker work, elaborately covering most of the outside of the vessels... Pieces were found that were made of sea shells, ground into fine laminae, and held together with some affinative ingredient not yet analyzed. (Monette 1838, as quoted in Cotter 1951a:36).

The types of decoration he refers to are strongly reminiscent of Fatherland Incised and Mazique Incised, <u>var. Manchac</u>. His description of shell-tempering clearly indicates the presence of Mississippi Plain. In general, such sherds are consistent with the complex we have found to be characteristic of the terminal occupation of the site.

A few years after Monette, Dr. M.W. Dickeson "explored" Emerald mound.
"On digging into it", Bartlett (1847:8) reports, "vast quantities of human skeletons were found... Numerous specimens of pottery, including finely finished vases filled with pigments, ashed, ornaments, and beads, were also found."

A certain Dr. Benbrook, following Dickeson's work "sank a shaft forty-two feet" in order to ascertain whether or not the mound was artificial, "and found it artificial or made ground to that depth" (ibid:8). In view of

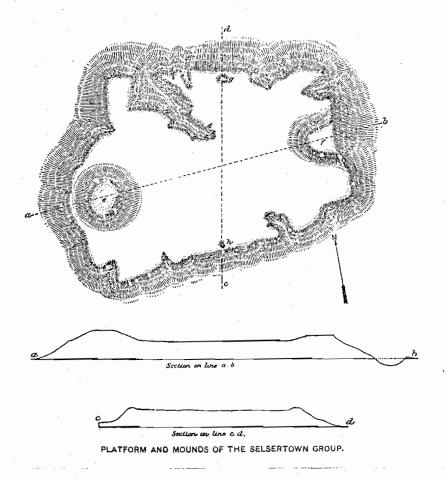
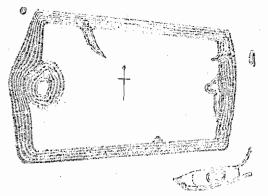


Figure 7: Emerald mound in 1887 (after Thomas 1894: plate XIV)



Selsertown plateau, Adams Co., scale 1 inch to 300 feet.

Figure 8: Emerald mound in 1917 (after Brown 1926: Fig. 7)

Cotter's more recent work (1951b: Fig.11)<sup>6</sup> and with some appreciation of the problems involved in excavating a forty-two foot pit, we must regard this report as being considerably exaggerated.

In writing a description of Emerald near the end of the nineteenth century, Thomas (1894:266) off-handedly noted that the western secondary mound had recently been explored to a depth of 15 or 16 feet on behalf of Dr. Joseph Jones of New Orleans, but that the results were "not known with certainty." This excavation was probably the cause of the depression in the summit of the west mound that is clearly evident in Cotter's map (Fig. 5).

The next investigation of which we have some record was carried out by Mr. Vincent Perrault of Natchez in the early part of the twentieth century (Brown 1926:38). Digging at the southern base of the eastern secondary mound, he discovered a number of burials from which he recovered five magnificent limestone pipes (ibid:256-264) among other things. It is almost certain that the disturbed burials we encountered at Location I (Burials 1,2,3) are those to which these pipes originally belonged.

Warren King Moorehead (1932:161-162) also visited the Emerald site. In 1924, he sank several large pits into the platform mound. He discovered a burial in one of them accompanied by a beautiful jar of the type Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald (ibid: Fig.101b). According to his description the stratification of the mound was as follows:

Four feet yellowish loam, 2 ft. 4 ins. mixture of black soil and yellow loam. 6 ft. 10 ins. a heavy layer of black loam. At the depth of 7 ft. 2 ins. yellow loam again which continue (sic) to the nine foot level. At 12 ft. a dark layer. Our test pit did not extend down to the base. (ibid:162).

<sup>6.</sup> Cotter's auger tests indicated that Emerald's platform is only partly artificial, being a greatly modified natural formation. It is highly unlikely, therefore, that one could dig to a depth of forty-two feet and not hit subsoil, unless the pit were located atop the western secondary mound.

This sequence of strata coincides remarkably well with the stratification we found in Pit 508 (Fig.10), except for the absence of Midden 2 at the top. Apparently Moorehead's pit was located somewhere to the south or west of Pit 508, in a place to which Midden 2 did not extend. If we assume that his "heavy layer of black loam" is equivalent to our Midden 1, then it is clear that he encountered an earlier midden below this, separated by about 5 feet of loading. In stating that his pit "did not extend down to the base", he probably meant that it did not reach a depth equivalent to the level of the base of the mound. In light of Cotter's (1951b) work, we now know that the basal occupation of the site is to be found considerably higher up. Hence, Moorehead's lowest midden may well be part of this basal occupation.

The first modern, well-controlled excavation at the Emerald site was carried out by Cotter (1951b:18-24) in 1948. Three areas of the site were investigated (Fig.5). Test 1 was a stratigraphic cut in the south flank of the platform. Test 2 was located to the south-west of the mound, where Cotter expected to find an associated village site. Test 3 was sunk into the north flank of the platform. In addition to these, a minor fourth excavation was carried out on the summit of the eastern secondary mound. Overall, Cotter's work produced a considerable body of good data, much of which will be used in various parts of this report to supplement our own.

## EXCAVATIONS IN 1972

Excavations were conducted at Emerald during a five week period from June to July of 1972. The work was carried out under the auspices of the Lower Mississippi Survey, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, and was supervised by Dr. Jeffrey P. Brain. The purpose of these excavations was twofold. On one hand, it was hoped that general data pertaining to the construction and occupation of the site would be obtained. This information

would eventually form the cornerstone of a meaningful culture-historical sequence for the late prehistory of the Natchez region. Secondly, we hoped to discover some traces of a historic occupation on or near the mound. Such evidence would lend weight to the hypothesis that Emerald had been part of the 18th century Natchez village of Jenzanaque (see Brown 1972).

To begin the work, a datum was arbitrarily established in a conveniently shaded spot near the center of the platform. No attempt was ever made to tie this datum in with the USCGS marker in order to establish its absolute height above sea level. Judging from Cotter's map (Fig.5), however, we assumed it to be very near the 380 foot contour. With respect to this reference point, the mound was mapped (Fig.4) and a magnetometer survey was carried out over the surface of the platform and around the base on all sides. The results of this survey determined the exact placement of some of our pits.

In all, eleven pits and one trench were dug at five different locations at the site. These excavation units were distributed as follows

Location I (eastern secondary mound) - 7 pits
Location II (western secondary mound) - 1 pit, 1 trench
Location III (center of platform) - 1 pit
Location IV (southeast of the platform) - 1 pit
Location V (north of the platform) - 1 pit

<sup>7.</sup> We must admit that Emerald mound was not surveyed in its entirety as it is depicted in Figure 4. Detailed measurements were obtained only for the surface of the platform and the eastern secondary mound. The contours of the western secondary mound are reconstructed largely from its known basal dimensions and its total height. The contours around the sides of the primary mound are based on elevations taken along a single line that was extended from a point on the southeastern corner of the platform (S50 E65) on a bearing of 133°.

<sup>8.</sup> The survey was carried out with a differential proton magnetometer. Basically, this is an instrument that can detect localized anomalies in the earth's magnetic field. Our experience has shown that a competent operator is often able to distinguish anomalies caused by recent debris (such as nails, bottlecaps, etc.) from those which pertain to significant archaeological features. For a general discussion of the value of the magnetometer as a locational device, see Aitken (1962:42-59).

The work at each of these locations will be described in greater detail in the sections that follow. Within each section, individual pits will not necessarily be discussed in chronological or numerical sequence, but rather will be presented in that order which provides the reader with the quickest grasp of the stratigraphic situation.

Unless otherwise noted, all vertical elevations and horizontal coordinates are measured with respect to the datum. The former are given in centimeters, and the latter in meters. All directions and bearings were reckoned with respect to magnetic north.

### LOCATION I: Eastern Secondary Mound

A total of seven pits were put in at the base of the eastern secondary mound, four on the west and three on the south (Fig.9). More dirt was moved here than at any other location, and with good reason. The east mound had been one of the areas least disturbed during the 1955 reconstruction, and it was possible that some undisburbed remnants of the site's terminal occupation (which presumably was historic) might still be retrievable.

Furthermore, we were aware of the fact that previous workers had exhumed a number of burials from this part of the site. In 1838, Monette made reference to the fact that human skeletons had washed out at the western slope of the east mound (as quoted in Cotter 1951a:39). Additional burials were excavated from the southern base of this mound by Vincent Perrault some 50-60 years ago (Brown 1926:38). Judging from the magnificence of the grave goods he recovered (ibid:256-263), these interments must have contained individuals of considerable importance.

Hence, it was expected that Location I would provide us with a variety of data pertaining to the late occupations of the site. Not only did we seek to recover as much stratigraphic information as possible, but the chances were good that we might come upon burials, as well. The latter consideration

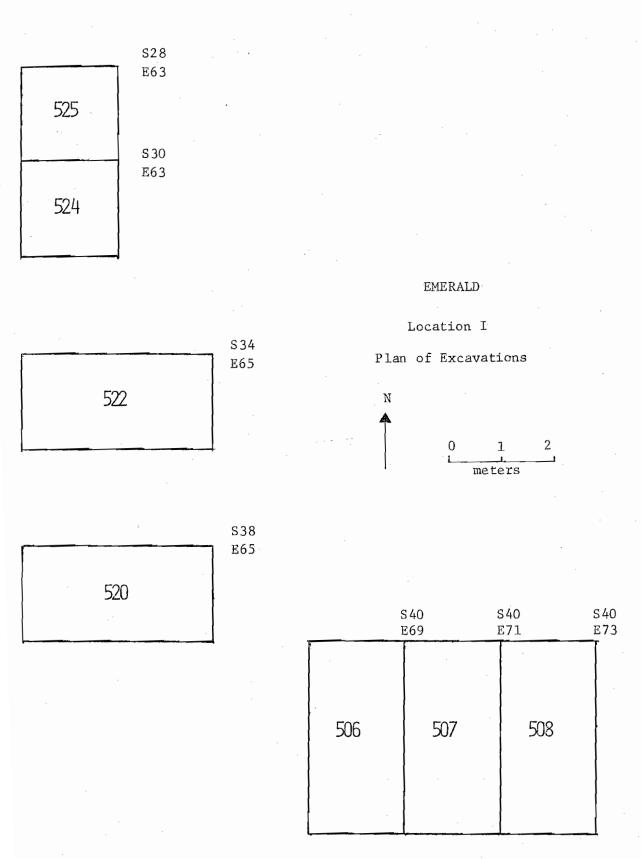


Figure 9

was especially important, for we were aware that burial data, when securely placed in a proper stratigraphic context, could add a significant dimension to the culture-historical interpretations which we ultimately hoped to achieve.

# Pit 508

Location and Description. This was a 2 x 4 meter pit placed at the southern base of the eastern secondary mound. Its northeast corner was located at S40 E73 and its northwest corner at S40 E71. This pit was positioned over a magnetic anomaly detected by the proton magnetometer. It was hoped that this anomaly pertained to a burial, perhaps one untouched by Perrault. As it turned out, we did indeed find a burial, but it had been totally disturbed and was not accompanied by any artifacts. Having been disappointed in this respect, we carried down the southern half of the pit as deeply as practicable, in order to obtain as much stratigraphic information as we could.

Summary of Excavated Levels. Level A was a 50cm arbitrary level taken down with respect to S42 E73 (e1. +93cm). This was the only level to cover the full area of the pit; subsequent excavation was confined exclusively to the southern half. Levels B through N were arbitrary units, all 25cm thick, except for L (15cm) and M (10cm). O was a semi-natural unit, taken down from the floor of N to the surface of the black loess (Midden 1). P was a natural level, corresponding to Midden 1. In all levels below G, the north-western corner of the pit was left unexcavated to provide a foothold for the unhappy individual who would daily be forced to descend into the pit.

Stratification. (Fig.10) Once the superficial plowzone was removed, we immediately came across two very distinctive layers. The western half of the pit seemed to be somewhat disturbed and consisted of a mixture of purple clay and dark loess. In contrast, the eastern half of the pit was composed

# PIT 508

# PROFILES

Mottled Brown Loess

Mottled Brown Loess

Purple Loess/Clay

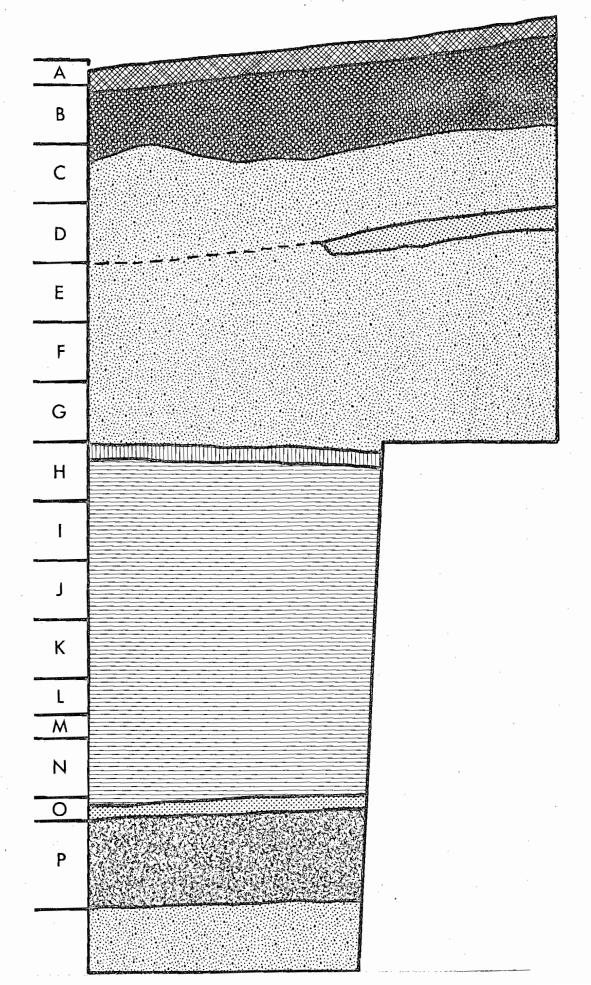
Gray Striated Loess

Water-Laid Loess

Mixed Light and Dark Loess Lenses

Black Loess

	A
MIDDEN 2	В
LOADING 3	С
LOADING 2C	D
	E
LOADING 2B	F
	G
	Н
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The state of the s	L
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MIDDEN 1	P
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NOT PROFILED	Α
	В
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of mottled light brown loess. As we dug deeper, the situation sorted itself out as follows: The purple clay stratum (Midden 2) was a former mound surface that sloped down to the southeast; above it was a deposit of mottled brown fill (Loading 3). The disturbance in the former seemed to be the result of modern pothunting activity that had led to the destruction of Burial 3. Almost all of the cultural material in these upper levels was associated with the purple soil of Midden 2. Loading 3 was for the most part sterile.

Below Midden 2 we encountered approximately 2.5 meters of constructional fill (Loading 2) containing almost no cultural material. Two very distinctive lenses cut through this deposit, subdividing it into three zones. The first of these lenses was a discontinuous sheet of gray striated silt. Sloping to the southeast, it was encountered at various depths, ranging between 10 and 60cm below datum. Its striated appearance and angle of inclination strongly suggested a pluvial origin. It certainly did not appear to be a midden accumulation indicative of an occupational surface. At a depth of 110-120cm below datum, the second water laid lense was reached. Above it, the loading had consisted of mottled brown loess (Loading 2B,C); below it, the mound fill changed in character, being composed of mixed loess lenses, ranging in color from light brown to black (Loading 2A).

At a depth of 260-270cm below datum, another lense of gray striated less appeared. It had been deposited atop a 30-40cm thick accumulation of black loess (Midden 1). The latter stratum was clearly an occupational level, being very rich in cultural material. Its surface had been covered with a layer of some sort of vegetable material (leaves?), and hence was very easy to isolate with a trowel. After this midden was removed, a posthole was dug into the floor of the pit, revealing the presence of more mound fill below. In spite of the fact that we had not yet reached subsoil, the pit was terminated, for it was deemed too dangerous to continue.

Interpretation. The stratification in this pit showed clear evidence of three distinct stages of mound construction. The first stage consisted of Loading 1 capped by the occupational refuse of Midden 1. On top of this was built the second mantle (Loading 2), which was divided into three zones by intervening lenses of water-laid loes. It is quite certain that ali three zones belong to the same period of construction; the intervening lenses were probably deposited during short-term cultailments of constructional activity, as loess is easily washed in an unstable situation. Atop this second stage of construction, Midden 2 had accumulated. It consisted of purple clay and dark loess, and contained Burial 3. A final constructional stage above Midden 2 testifies to the presence of a still later occupation, no undisturbed evidences of which were found.

### Pit 507

Location and Description. This 2 x 4 meter pit was strung out over an area which, according to magnetometer readings, was likely to contain burials. The northeast corner was located at S40 E71 (el. +91) the northwest corner at S40 E69.

Summary of Excavated Levels. Level A was arbitrarily taken down to an elevation 25cm below that of the S40 E71 stake. Because the pit's surface was heavily sloping, only the northeast corner was included within this initial cut. The next 25cm level (B) included considerably more of pit, but still left the low southwest corner (el. +27) untouched. It took a third arbitrary 25cm unit (Level C) to finally bring the floor of the pit entirely below the level of the surrounding balks. The three sebsequent levels were taken down only in the southern 1.3 meters of the pit. Level D was a semi-natural unit approximately 25cm thick that was terminated at what appeared to be a midden. The surface on this midden was cleared off as Level E and the midden itself, about 10cm thick, was taken out as Level F.

Stratification. One can get a fairly accurate idea of the stratification in this pit by looking at the western profile of the adjacent Pit 508 (Fig.10). Immediately beneath the plowzone was found the stratum of purple clay and loess corresponding to Midden 2. Almost all of the cultural material recovered in Levels A, B, and C originated in this deposit. Here as well were found the articulated legbones of two interred individuals, designated Burials 1 and 2. Next, the purple midden gave way to the mottled brown loess, of which Level D was entirely constituted. At a depth of approximately 130cm below the surface (or 40cm below datum), a dark layer 10cm thick was encountered. At first, it was thought to be an undisturbed occupational surface, but further examination revealed that it was merely a lense of accupational debris that had been redeposited within the constructional fill.

Interpretation. The stratification in this pit corresponds exactly with

the upper part of the sequence in Pit 508.

### Pit 506

Location and Description. This 2 x 4 meter pit was opened up in order to recover the upper halves of Burials 1 and 2 as they appeared in Pi+ 507. The northeast corner was located at S40 E69, the northwest corner at S40 E67.

Summary of Excavated Levels. The plowzone and the purple clay/loess immediately below were taken out as a single natural level.

Stratification. Beneath the plowzone, the purple clay and dark loess showed considerable mottling.

Interpretation. Here the familiar purple midden had been previously disturbed in the process of removing the now missing upper portions of Burials 1 and 2. Almost certainly, this disturbance was the result of Perrault's work.

# Pit 520

Location and Description. The placement of this 2 x 4 meter pit was determined by a positive magnetometer reading. The northeast corner was located at S38 E65 (el. +28), and the northwest corner at S38 E61.

Summary of Excavated Levels. Level A was taken down arbitrarily to an elevation 37cm below that of the northeast corner. The next five units were arbitrary as well, proceeding as follows: B (25cm), C (25cm), D (20cm), E (30cm), and F (25cm). Levels G and H were confined to the eastern half of the pit. The former was an arbitrary 25cm unit, the latter a semi-natural unit being terminated at the surface of the black loess (Midden 1). having reached this midden in the eastern half of the pit, the western half was taken down to the midden as a single semi-natural unit (Level I). The surface of this midden was cleaned off as Level J. Fianlly, the midden itself was taken out as a natural unit, Level K.

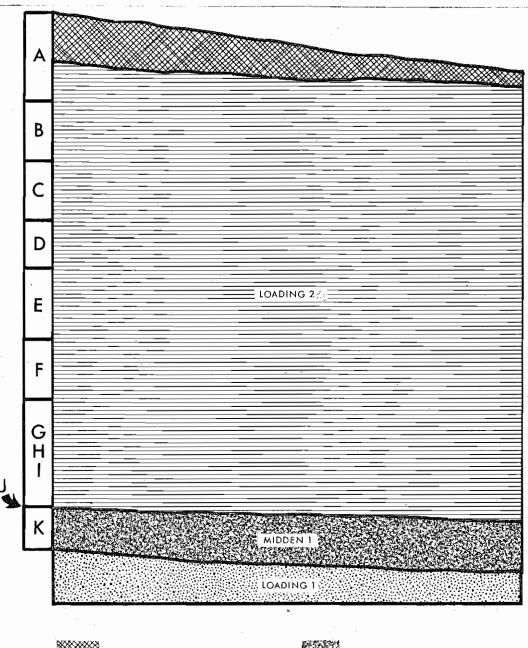
Stratification. (Fig.11) Topmost in the pit was the usual zone of disturbed earth, containing a considerable number of sherds and a few broken fragments of human bone. Below this, we encountered 1.5 to 2 meters of constructional fill (Loading 2), almost totally devoid of cultural material. It mainly consisted of mixed lenses of less, ranging in color from light brown to black; and it contained some traces of purple clay near the top.

At a depth of 130-190cm below datum, we came across the same black midden layer we found in the lowest level of Pit 508 (Midden 1). Here too, the midden's surface had been covered with a layer of vegetable matter, possibly leaves. Having entirely removed this midden, we sank a posthole that revealed the presence of a mottled brown loess below.

Only one feature was found within this pit, located near the middle of the north wall. It consisted of a single vertical posthole, about 7cm in diameter, that originated in Midden 1 and extended straight upwards for a length of 1.75 meters, finally ending in the plowzone. This hole was definately not caused by a tree root or a burrowing animal. Apparently, a post had been planted in the midden and the constructional fill was piled up around it. This feature, more than anything else, proves that all of the loading in this pit above Midden 1 belongs to a single stage of constructional activity.

Interpretation. Two stages of mound construction were evident within this pit. The first consisted of mottled brown fill (Loading 1) capped by a black loess midden (Midden 1), which contained a considerable amount of cultural material. The second stage was represented by Loading 2. All traces of an occupational surface equivalent to Midden 2, and the loading above it, had been eroded away. No burials were found in this pit. Apparently, the positive magnetometer reading had been caused by iron fragments contained within the plowzone.

EAST



Plowzone

Black Loess

Mixed Lenses-Light & Dark Loess

Mottled Brown Loess

### Pit 522

Location and Description. Like many of the others, this 2 x 4 meter pit was set up on the basis of a magnetometer reading that indicated the possibility of finding burials below. The northeast corner was located at S34 E65 (e1. +79) the northwest corner at S34 E61 (e1. +10).

Summary of Excavated Levels. Level A was an attempt to remove the plowzone as a single unit. Unfortunately, it turned out that some of the plowzone had still been left in the eastern end of the pit, and was included in Level B, which was an arbitrary unit taken down to an elevation 63cm below the northeast corner. The subsequent Levels C and D were arbitrary units as well, each 25cm thick. From this point on, excavation continued only in the western half of the pit. Levels E, F, and G were arbitrary 25cm units, except that in the last of these, a sloping black layer was come upon in the northwest corner, and was kept isolated. Level H removed all of the remaining mound fill, and left the surface of the midden entirely exposed. Next, the idden was taken out as a natural level (I). The latter unit also included the few sherds that were found in the pits of Burials 6 and 7.

Stratification. The stratification in this pit was essentially the same as that in Pit 520. The sequence from top to bottom was as follows: plowzone, mixed lenses of light and dark loess, black midden covered with vegetable matter, and finally, mottled brown loess. Here as in every other pit, the midden was found to be sloping to the southeast, at a depth ranging from 80 to 150cm below datum. Two burials (6 and 7) were found in association with this deposit, but these will be discussed in a later section.

Interpretation. Basically, the interpretation of these strata is exactly the same as that offered for the identical ones in Pit 520. We have an early mound surface corresponding to Midden I which underlies a stage of constructional fill corresponding to Loading 2. The occupational surface that once capped Loading 2 and a subsequent stage of mound fill have both been entirely eroded

away.

# Pit 524/525

Location and Description. Here we have chosen to discuss two adjacent 2 x 2 meter pits as a single excavation unit. Pit 524 was opened in hopes of recovering a burial (again, on the basis of magnetometer readings). Happily, instead of finding one burial, we found two. One of these, however, intruded into the northern balk, and we found it necessary to open up the adjacent Pit 525 in order to recover it properly. The northeast corner of Pit 524 was located at S30 E63, and the northeast corner of 524 was at S28 E63.

Summary of Excavated Levels. Pit 524 was opened first, with the plowzone being peeled off as a natural level (A). The following level (B) was arbitrary, being taken down approximately 15 or 20cm to an elevation of 10cm below datum. From there, the next three levels (C,D,E) were excavated in arbitrary 25cm increments. Level F was a semi-natural, being terminated at the surface of the now familiar black midden. This midden was then removed as a natural unit, Level G.

Pit 525 was opened to facilitate the removal of Burial 5. After taking out the plowzone as Level A, all of the underlying fill was shovelled out until we reached the surface of the midden. Because we had elsewhere found this fill to be practically sterile, screening it for cultural material was not deemed worthwhile. Next, the balk between the two pits was removed, and work was begun on isolating the burial. The midden was excavated as a natural level, and its cultural contents were sifted out as Level B.

Stratification. Here we found the same sequence of strata as in Fits 520 and 522. The plowzone gave way to a deposit of mottled loess fill containing lenses of various shades of brown, purple, and black. Beneath this was the black midden, its surface covered with vegetable material. Associated with the midden were two multiple interments, Burials 4 and 5, whose pits

had intruded into the sterile brown fill below. The midden surface exhibited its characteristic slope to the east, being quite steep near the western wall of the pit. Interestingly enough, this sudden steepening was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the thickness of the midden, being 40cm thick at the west wall, and only 20cm thick at the east.

Interpretation. Basically, the same interpretation is offered here as in the cases of Pits 520 and 522. We have two stages of construction: the first consists of the black midden (Midden 1) and its underlying fill, and the second is represented by the uppermost deposit of mottled loading. The evidence from Pit 508 clearly shows that a third stage of constructional fill once existed, but no traces of this last deposit were found here.

Of particular interest is the configuration of Midden 1. We noted a rather abrupt steepening of the surface and a corresponding thickening of the midden deposit near the west wall. It is very possible that here we have picked up the outer edge of an early secondary mound.

# Burials

A total of seven burials were recovered from Emerald at Location I.

These occured in two distinct groups. One group consisted of Burials 1-3,
found in Pits 507 and 508. All three were associated with Midden 2 and all had
been disturbed to some extent by recent activity. Although it is impossible
to be absolutely sure, it is probable that this disturbance was caused by the
work of Vincent Perrault, who is known to excavated five limestone effigy
pipes from the southern base of the east mound (Brown 1926:38, 256-264).

The second group included Burials 4-7, recovered in Pits 522 and 524-525.

All were multiple interments of very young individuals, placed in shallow pits associated with Midden 1. None contained any grave goods.

Burial 1. (Fig. 12) This adult burial was found in Pit 507 and was associated with Midden 2. Originally, it had been an extended supine inhumation

with the head pointed toward the west. All that remained now was a complete set of articulated legbones; the portion of the skeleton above the pelvis was missing. Nor were any grave goods found. Clearly, this burial had been disturbed, and as we have said before, it is most likely that this disturbance was the work of Vincent Perrult.

Burial 2. (Fig. 12) This interment was directly adjacent to Burial 1, and was found to be in much the same condition. Not only was the upper half of the skeleton missing, but the left femur, as well. This adult had originally been buried in an extended, supine position with his head oriented toward the west. The extensive disturbance and the lack of grave goods is almost certainly attributable to the pothunting activities of Perrault.

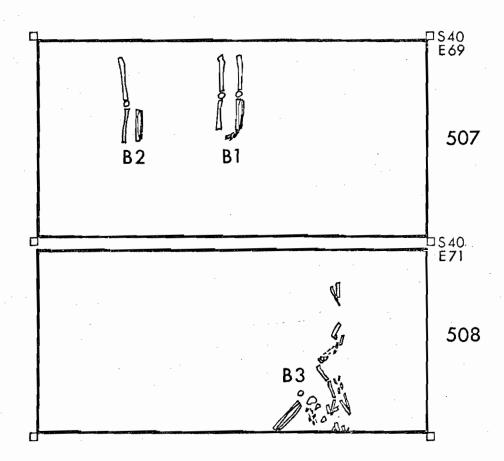
Burial 3. (Fig. 12) This consisted of a completely disarticulated and randomly scattered group of human bones found in Pit 508 and associated with Midden 2. One, or possibly two adults are represented; it is very difficult to be sure because of the fragmentary condition of the bones. Again, we are inclined to blame this mess on Perrault.

Burial 4. IFig.13) This was a multiple interment let down from Midden 1 in Pit 524. It contained three very young infants side by side, having been extended on their backs with their heads pointing west. No grave goods were found.

Burial 5. (Fig. 13) Another multiple interment of foetuses/infants was found in Midden 1, straddling Pits 524 and 525. Four individuals were contained therein, three with heads pointing west, and one pointing north. The bones were so badly decomposed that they disintegrated upon being touched. No grave goods were associated.

Burial 6. (Fig.13) This burial contained one juvenile (3-5 years old?) and one foetus or very small infant. Both were extended on their backs.

The head of the juvenile was pointed west. The foetus was placed across the legs of the former, head pointed south. This feature was found in Pit 522,



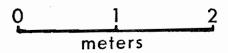
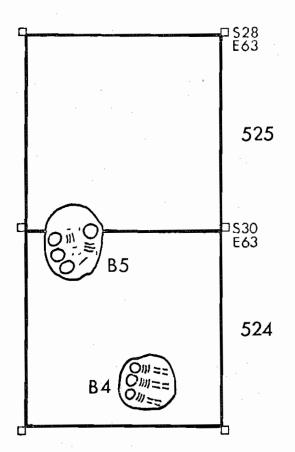
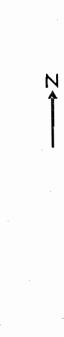
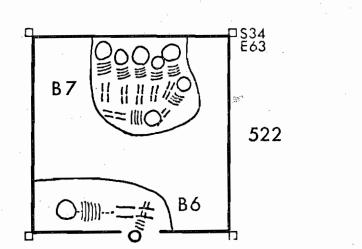


Figure 12: Burials associated with Midden 2 at Location I, Emerald.







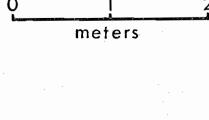


Figure 13: Burials associated with Midden 1 at Location I, Emerald.

associated with Midden 1. One sherd of Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine was recovered from the burial, no doubt having originally been included by accident.

Burial 7. (Fig.13) This multiple burial was found in Pit 522, associated with Midder 1. It contained seven infants, all supine and extended. Five heads were pointed north, one northeast, and one east. No artifacts were associated.

# Summary Interpretation of Location I

In this section we will review the sequence of occupations and the stages of mound construction as they occurred at Location I. To this end, we will utilize not only our own data, but also the useful information supplied by earlier investigators such as Cotter (1951b) and Moorehead (1932).

The lowest stratum reached in our 1972 excavations was Midden 1. Because this layer rested on a deposit of mound fill, it was clear that we had not yet encountered the basal occupation at the site. Moorehead, however, in his 1924 excavations went considerably deeper than we did (see p. 27 ). After reaching Midden 1, he continued to dig through an additional 1.5 meters (5 feet) of mound fill until he came upon another "dark layer". Presumably, this was a midden that had been deposited earlier than Midden 1. Although it is impossible to be absolutely sure from the evidence Moorehead presents, the chances are good that this early midden indeed represents our missing basal occupation. At the risk of getting too far ahead of our argument, we can support this contention by using stratigraphic evidence. A reexamination of Cotter's data from Test 1 in the light of our present chronology indicates that the basal midden at Emerald had a Gordon phase to Anna phase occupation (cf. 1951b:22). Moreover, we know from our own excavations that Anna phase marks the first occupation of Midden 1. Hence, we have a chronological correlation between the basal midden and Midden 1 that strongly suggests,

but does not prove, direct temporal continuity. Restating this somewhat, it is likely that Midden 1 sits atop the first stage of mound construction at Emerald. Consequently, it is reasonable to suggest that Moorehead's earlier midden rests on sterile subsoil, representing a part of the initial village deposit that Cotter encountered in Test 1.

Above this basal midden, three stages of mound construction were evident. The first of these, as we have said before, was surmounted by Midden 1. The latter was clearly an occupational deposit, averaging 20cm in thickness. Its surface exhibited a distinct slope rising to the northwest (Fig.14). Near the western wall of Pits 522 and 524/525, this slope abruptly steepened, and the thickness of the midden deposit correspondingly increased. It is possible that this feature represents the eastern edge of a small secondary mound. Along the base of this mound (?) were placed four multiple inhumations (Burials 4-7), all in shallow pits. These contained a total of fifteen infants and a juvenile interred in an extended position, most often with heads pointing north or west. No grave goods were found in association.

Above Midden 1 a second blanket of mound fill was laid down. The overall configuration of the mound was then made quite different from what it had been before. Not only was it higher, but its sides stood at a much steeper angle. A low secondary mound was situated at the eastern end of the platform, surmounted by a house with post and wall trench construction (cf. Cotter 1951b:19-20).

This second stage had been provided with a clay cap to prevent erosion, and it was in this matrix that Midden 2 was deposited, representing the third occupation at this location. Also associated with this occupation were a series of burials placed near the southern base of the secondary mound. The three we found (Burials 1-3) had all been disturbed. These burials were probably from which Vincent Perrault had excavated five limestone effigy pipes, a bowl of Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland, and a

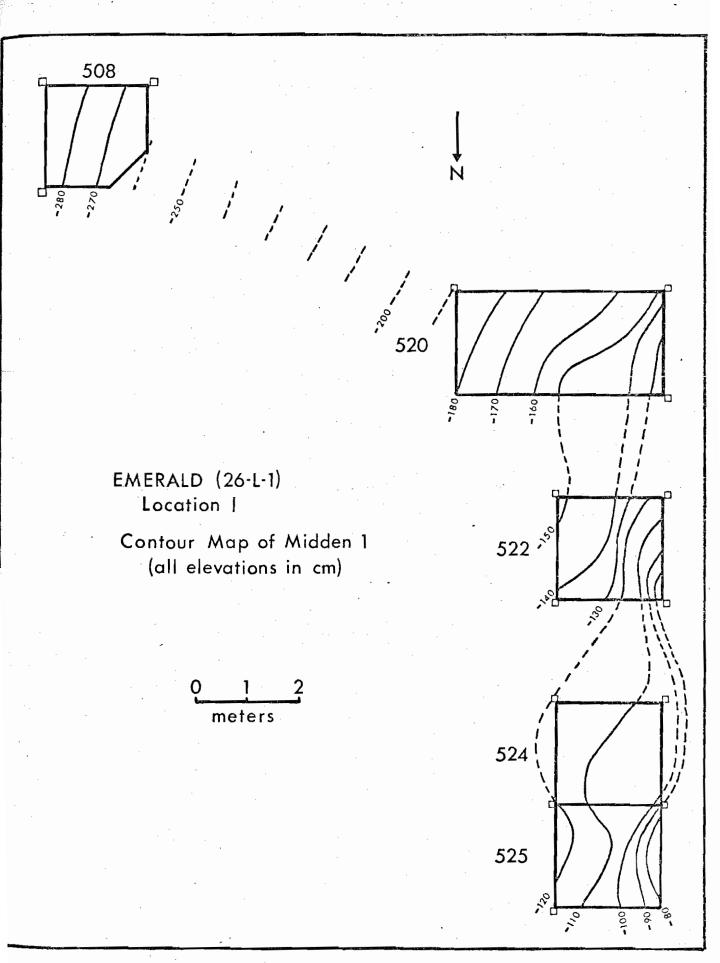


Figure 14

jar of Mazique Incised, var. Manchac. Moorehead also exhumed a burial in this vicinity, with which he found a vessel of Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald 10 (1932: Fig. 101b).

The third and final stage of mound fill, which was deposited over Midden 2, has now for the most part been eroded away. Some of it can still be seen, however, in the profiles of Pit 508. Apparently, this construction not only increased the mound's height, but significantly expanded its lateral dimensions, as well. It is probable that the eastern secondary mound attained its maximum size at this time. Unfortunately, no traces at all were found of the occupation that took place atop this stage. Being the terminal occupation, it has probably been completely washed away and/or destroyed by recent activities.

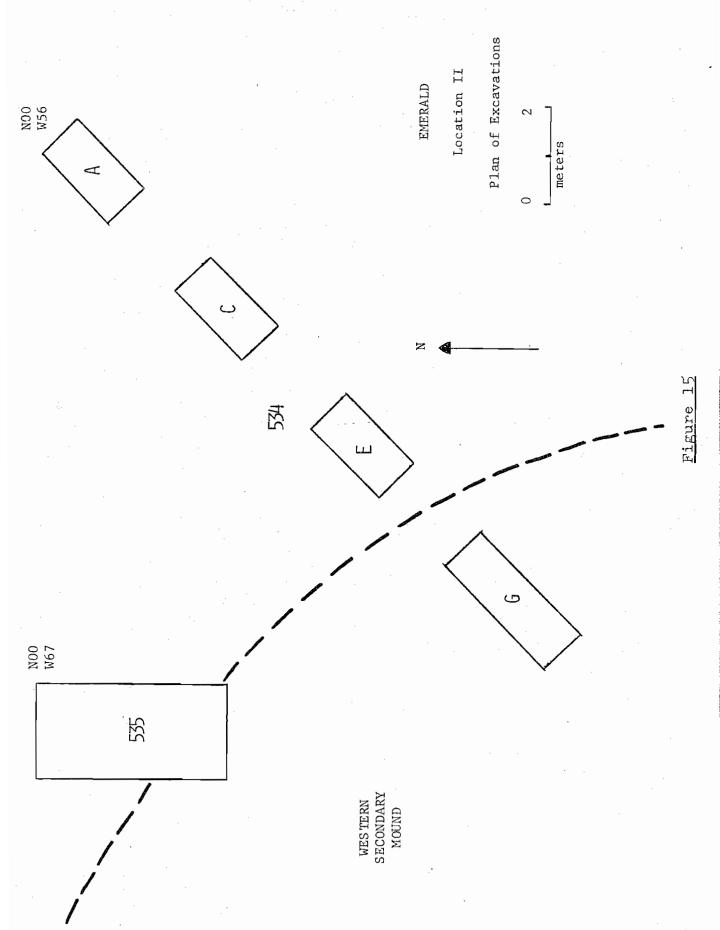
### LOCATION II: WESTERN SECONDARY MOUND

One 1 x 15 meter trench and a 2 x 4 meter pit were established at the base on the northwestern side of the western secondary mound (Fig.15).

Their placement was determined by the knowledge that both the south slope and the summit had been extensively modified at the time of the 1955 reconstruction. Thus, the northwestern slope was the only spot at which we could hope to isolate some evidences of a terminal historic occupation. Our hopes were further increased by a spate of magnetometer readings indicating the presence of metal artifacts.

<sup>9.</sup> The pipes are described and illustrated by Brown (1926:256-264). The two vessels are nowhere mentioned in the literature, but rather are in the possession of a Mrs. Blackmon of Natchez. In gratitude for having been shown the location of Emerald mound, the original excavator gave them to this woman's father some 50-60 years ago. Although she cannot remember the excavator's name, it was probably none other than Vincent Perrault.

<sup>10.</sup> This burial has been associated with Location I on the basis of Moorehead's (1952:162) description of the stratification at the spot where he dug. As we have discussed before, the sequence of layers in his pit corresponds almost perfectly with that in Pit 508, suggesting that the two were closeby (see p. 27).



### Trench 534

Location and Description. This excavation unit was 1 meter wide and 15 meters long. It was set up to obtain a cross-section of the stratification at the base of the west mound, and so it was positioned at an optimum angle for this purpose, perpendicular to the mound's contours. The northern corner was established at NOO W56 (el. +24) and from here the length of the trench was extended to the southwest (bearing 225°). Horizontally, it was subdivided into seven cuts. Cuts A through F were each 2 meters long; Cut G, on the southwestern end of the trench, was 3 meters long. Cut E was located over a field anomaly detected by the magnetometer.

Summary of Excavated Levels. All of our excavated levels within this trench were arbitrary units. Moreover, only Cuts A, C, E, and G were opened up; Cuts B, D, and F were left unexcavated.

In Cut A, the first level was taken down about 25cm to the datum elevation of 0cm. Level 2 went down another 25cm after which this cut was closed up.

Cut C also contained two levels. The first was taken down approximately 25cm below the surface to an elevation of +10. The second was an arbitrary 50cm unit, terminated at a depth of -40.

Cut E went down deeper than any other. Level 1 was excavated approximately 25cm to an elevation of +25. From here, the next four levels proceeded in 25cm increments. The cut was terminated at an elevation of -75.

The first level in Cut G was taken down to an elevation of +57, and ranged in thickness from 25cm at its northeastern end to 95cm at its southwestern end. Next, Level 2 was excavated as a 25cm unit. The third level was confined to the southwestern half of the cut, going down another 25cm to an elevation of +7. Here, excavation was terminated.

Stratification. (Fig.16) Because this trench was excavated in discontinuous units, we are now faced with the task of correlating the strata as they appear

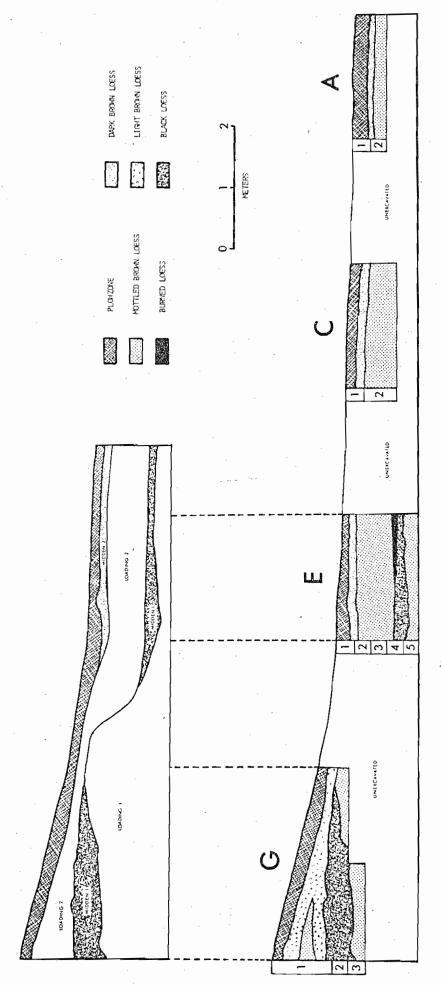
in each of the four segments. Cut E having gone deeper than any of the others exhibits the most complete picture of the stratification. We will therefore begin by discussing the strata as they appear in E, and subsequently relate them to the corresponding layers in Cuts A, C, and G.

Directly below the superficial plowzone in Cut E, was a lense of dark brown loess, 10-15cm thick. The nature of this lense is not absolutely clear, for there is no detailed description of it in the field notes. However, the regularity and continuity this layer exhibits in Cuts E through A strongly suggests that it represents a former mound surface. Whether this brown loess was directly deposited as an occupational surface, or was mainly composed of wash from the west mound, we cannot be sure.

Next in line was a 50-60cm layer of very mottled loess fill, with individual basket loads ranging in color from light brown to dark brown to black. It contained a moderate scatter of cultural material, and was observable in Cuts E through A.

Beneath this leading we encountered an occupational surface consisting of an accumulation of black loess, apparently with some clay content as well. Part of the surface in Cut E (el.-35) had been burned, possibly a hearth. Cuts A and C did not go deep enough to intercept this deposit. We did come across it in Cut G, however, except that it was considerably thicker and occurred at an elevation 1 meter higher than the surface in Cut E. Without a doubt, this difference represents the profile of an earlier secondary mound. Significantly, we found a line of 3 postholes running along a north-south axis within the midden in Cut G, indicating the presence of a surmounting structure. A very odd characteristic of this black midden was that is contained almost no cultural material.

In the bottom levels of Cuts E and G, we reached a second deposit of mottled brown loess. Having dug no further, we have no real idea how deeply this layer extended.



Northwest profile, Trench 534. The upper diagram is a reconstruction showing the relationship between the strata as they appear in Cuts E and G. Figure 16:

Interpretation. The stratification in Trench 534 represents at least two stages of mound construction and occupation. The earlier of the two was built up of mottled brown loess fill and was capped by an accumulation of black loess. A low (1 meter) secondary mound was present at this time, surmounted by a structure of wooden post construction. The midden accumulation contained almost no occupational refuse (i.e., sherds, bone, etc.), indicating that the secondary mound had a ceremonial, rather than a residential function.

Above this black midden, a second layer of mound fill was deposited.

In Cuts A through E, this fill consisted primarily of mottled brown and black loess. In Cut G the loading was mostly composed of light brown virgin loess, obviously taken from subsoil. The occupation associated with this second stage is evidenced by a lense of dark brown loess appearing in Cuts A through E. Whether this is a layer of in situ occupational deposition or merely wash from the secondary mound, we cannot be certain. Clearly, however, in its regularity and continuity, it represents a former mound surface.

The magnetometer reading above Cut E that we originally sought to investigate was probably caused by the presence of a burned surface associated with the black midden below.

# Pit 535

Location and Description. This was a 2 x 4 meter pit positioned with its northeast corner at NOO W67 and its northwest corner at NOO W69. It was located at the base of the western secondary mound over a spot that had produced a positive reading on the magnetometer. The surface of this pit sloped upwards from the northeast to the southwest.

Summary of Excavated Levels. Level A was an arbitrary unit that was cut to the elevation of the northeast corner, 48cm below that of the southwest corner. Levels E and C were arbitrary as well, being taken down 25cm and 15cm respectively. From here, excavation was continued in the southern half

of the pit only, with two additional 25cm levels (D,E) being dug before the pit was terminated.

Stratification. The clear-cut sequence of strata portrayed in the profile diagram (Fig.17) is a mercifully simple abstraction taken from what was actually a very confusing situation. Uppermost in the pit was a 20cm plowzone quite easily recognizable. Below this, however, we encountered a zone in which meaningful stratigraphic distinctions were extremely hard to make. Lenses and layers of variegated loess, ranging in color from light brown to black were inextricably mixed, and included large amounts of bone, charcoal, and daub and many sherds. Several times in the process of excavation, we thought we had come upon an occupational surface only to find that it was discontinuous, and would abruptly disappear. Only after the pit had been completed could we look at the profile in its entirety and see that this layer was actually a single deposit of constructional fill. In Figure 17, this stratum has been innocently depicted as "mottled brown loess".

This deposit of fill had been subject to a great deal of modern disturbance, especially in Levels A-C. In the northern half of this layer, an irregular pit had been intruded to a depth of about 40cm below the surface. It contained a considerable amount of charcoal and ash, along with a large iron spike that had certainly been the cause of the magnetometer reading. In addition to this feature, another area of disturbance was observed in the southwestern quarter of this excavation unit. Here a scattered mass of broken and disarticulated human bone was found at a depth of approximately 15cm from the surface. This was apparently a burial that had been fragmented by some recent disturbance. In the same area we recovered a partial vessel of a ware equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Addis, that may or may not have been originally associated with this burial. It was a carinated bowl with a curling lip exhibiting a single incision along the top.

Below the deposit of mound fill we have just been discussing, in the

Plowzone

Mottled Brown Loess 

Black Loess 遊園端

2 M

Figure 17

lowest level of the pit, we encountered the same black midden layer that had turned up near the bottom of Cuts 534 E and G. Again, it was 10-15cm thick and appeared to be totally devoid of sherds and occupational refuse. Below this midden was another deposit of mottled brown constructional fill. The full thickness of the latter was never ascertained, for the pit was terminated and no additional postholes were dug into the floor.

Interpretation. The stratification in this pit reveals two stages of mound construction. The surface of the earlier stage is marked by the black midden layer near the bottom of the pit. It is clearly part of the same midden that appeared in Cuts 534 E and G. Hence, it belongs to a time period when there was a low secondary mound standing nearby (as evidenced in Cut 534 G).

Above this midden, a second deposit of mound fill was laid down. The surface of this second stage has now been obliterated, but the plowzone contained a severely disturbed burial which in all probability w s associated with that occupation.

### SUMMARY INTERPRETATION OF LOCATION II

Overall, our excavations at Location II have provided us with a regrettably incomplete record of the constructional activity in the western portion of the Emerald site. Two stages of construction were positively identified, but we can only guess at how many might have come before, and whether there were any after.

The earlier of our two stages is marked by the presence of a one meter high secondary mound surmounted by a structure of wooden post construction.

A complete lack of occupational refuse on this mound and its surrounding area seems to indicate that the structure was used for ceremonial, rather than residential purposes. In view of the fact that at least three distinct phases of mound construction have been recognized at other portions of the site

(Location I; Cotter 1951b:22), it is unreasonable to assume that this stage represents the earliest one at Location II. 11

Above this occupation, another layer of constructional loading was deposited. Some undisturbed remnants of its surface were recovered in Cuts 534 A-L along with a mangled burial in the plowzone of Pit 535 which was originally let down from this surface.

Unfortunately, the question of whether this surface represents the terminal occupation of the site remains unanswered. Considering the great amount of erosion that Emerald mound is known to have undergone, the possibility remains strong that an additional stage of loading may have once existed above this one. By the same token, we cannot be sure if the western secondary mound attained its final dimensions in this, or a subsequent stage of construction.

### LOCATION III: CENTER OF THE PLATFORM

A single pit was established in the center of the platform between the two secondary mounds in order to determine whether this part of the site was artificially constructed or was natural.

### Pit 533

Location and Description. This was a 2 x 4 meter pit set up with its northeast corner at NOO E5 and its northwest corner at NOO E4.

Summary of Excavated Levels. Only one level was cut, an arbitrary 25cm unit.

Stratification. Beneath a superficial plowzone 15-20cm thick, sterile loess subsoil was encountered.

<sup>11.</sup> This notion is in tentative agreement with the stratigraphic data, discussion of which must be properly deferred to a later section.

Interpretation. This test confirmed Cotter's (1951b) finding that Emerald's platform mound is only partly artificial, actually being a modified natural hilltop.

### LOCATION IV: SOUTHEAST OF THE PLATFORM

During the magnetometer survey near the base of the platform, a very strong reading was picked up in this location. So strong, in fact, that our local instrument operator was convinced that it was being caused by a buried French cannon! Anxious as we were to find proof of a historic occupation, this offer was too good to resist. We did not realistically expect to find a cannon, but indications of a large metal object at considerable depth strongly suggested the possibility of a historic aboriginal burial.

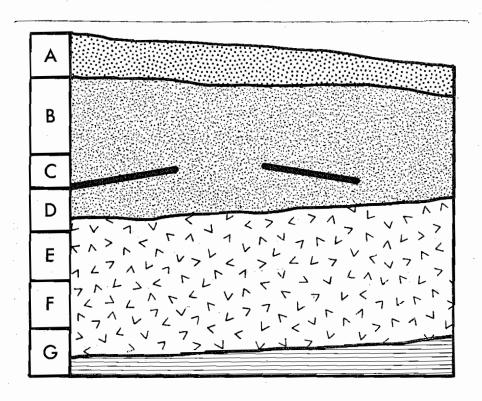
# Pit 531

Location and Description. This was a 2 x 3 meter pit oriented with its length along an east-west axis. It was positioned directly over the strongest part of the magnetometer reading. The northwest corner was very close to the S76 E105 coordinate. Its precise position was determined as follows:

A line was shot on a bearing of 1330 from the S50 E65 stake on the southeast corner of the platform; this line was terminated at a point 44 meters distant, located near S80 E97 (e1. -921); the northwest corner of Pit 531 was staked in a position 4 meters north and 8 meters east of the latter point.

Summary of Excavated Levels. The uppermost layer of water-laid losss was removed as a natural level, A. From here, an arbitrary level (B) was cut approximately 30-35cm to an elevation of -980. Level C progressed another 15cm before it was stopped at the level of some cast iron plates. Once these plates were removed, the final four 25cm levels were excavated in the

EAST



Water-laid
Loess

Loess with high
Charcoal content

Loess subsoil

Iron

2 M

Figure 18

eastern two-thirds of the pit, being terminated at depth of 175cm below the surface.

Stratification. (Fig. 18) Topmost was a 20-25cm stratum of tan colored loess wash. Below this was a 50-60cm thick layer of gray and black earth filled with charred wood and charcoal. It was near the bottom of this deposit at a depth of 75cm that two large rectangular sheets of iron were encountered, laid approximately flat and positioned parallel to one another. Clearly, these had been the cause of the magnetometer reading.

Not too far below the iron was a second layer of loess wash resting on sterile loess subsoil. This wash, 70-75cm thick, was somewhat mottled, ranging in color from light brown to dark brown, and contained aboriginal material throughout.

Interpretation. The stratification in this pit would have been quite easy to interpret, were it not for the layer containing the iron plates and charcoal. We were completely at a loss to explain this deposit, until a local farmer recognized the parallel sheets of iron as being a "potato furnace": an underground heater used in early spring to keep seedlings warm. Thus, the heavy concentration of charcoal was also explained.

Below this "potato furnace" was an undisturbed deposit of water-laid loess that had clearly been washed down from the platform mound. The other layer of wash, found at the very top of the pit, was a recent accumulation postdating the furnace.

#### LOCATION V: NORTH OF THE PLATFORM

A small excavation was located in the woods outside of National Park

Service property, about 100 meters north of the platform. It was primarily
an attempt to isolate a late component pertaining to the terminal occupation
of the site, for by this time it had become apparent that most of the late

contexts in the mound itself had been either destroyed or extensively disturbed. Surface collections in the immediate vicinity of this location had yielded diagnostics of the late Emerald phase, along with many large pieces of daub. Hence, when a posthole revealed the presence of a thick black layer not too far below the surface, we set up our excavation with hopes of coming upon a historic midden.

#### Pit 581

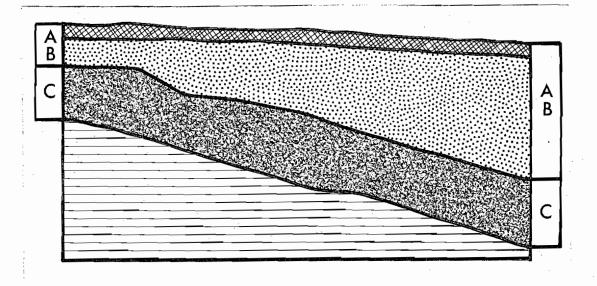
Location and Description. This pit was 4 meters long along a north-south axis, and 2 meters wide. Because it was located in a heavily wooded area with a very uneven topography, we were not able to use a transit in order to determine its precise position with respect to the datum on the platform. Suffice it to say that Pit 581 was approximately 100 meters north of Emerald mound, located at the base of a fairly steep ridge 5-6 meters high.

Summary of Excavated Levels. The contents of this pit were taken out in two natural levels. The first unit, designated as Level AB included the superficial humus and a layer of brown water-deposited loess below. Its double identifier results from the fact that its northern half was originally excavated in two levels, which were later combined.

The second level (C) co-responded to a stratum of distinctive black loess.

Stratification. (Fig. 19) Below a 5-10cm humus layer, we encountered a stratum of mottled brown loess that had clearly been washed down from the ridge to the west. This water-laid deposit ranged in thickness from 10cm at the northwest corner to 65cm at the northeast corner. Many sherds and a great deal of daub were found within it mostly concentrated just arove or directly atop the underlying black layer. The later was a deposit of black loess 25-30cm thick and sloping markedly to the northeast. It was found to be entirely devoid of cultural material, and was resting atop sterile loess subsoil.

### NORTH



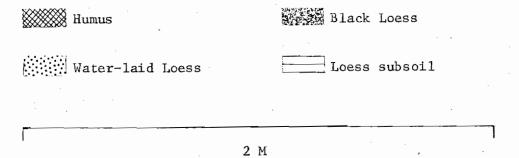


Figure 19

Interpretation. The prehistoric situation can be reconstructed as follows: There had been a residential occupation on top of the ridge to the west and a thick, black humus accumulation developed at its base where our pit was located. The absence of cultural material within the black deposit indicates that it was a natural accumulation, yet its homogeneity (the absence of root molds) and its thickness strongly suggest that it may have developed in a cultivated, rather than a forested area. At some point in time, the house (or houses) on top of the ridge burned down, and the occupational detritus (including sherds and much daub) began to wash down over the humus. A posthole we sank in the present ridgetop revealed only subsoil, meaning that the original occupational midden has been entirely eroded away.

#### FORMULATION OF ANALYSIS UNITS

We have organized the stratigraphic data from our excavations at the Emerald site into seven Analysis Units (AU), each of which is presented below.

#### Analysis Unit 1

The following excavated levels were combined to form Analysis Unit 1: 508P, 520J-K, 522I, 524G, and 525B. Its contents are presented in Table 1.

Analysis Unit 1 corresponds to Midden 1 at Location I. Fortunately, the stratum we are dealing with was excavated as a natural level in eaery pit where it was reached. Thus, we can be sure that, in terms of its content, Analysis Unit 1 is free of extraneous material. Midden 1 was primarily an occupational deposit, and the relative cultural uniformity of its contents reflects this. It must be remembered, however, that Midden 1 accumulated in a matrix of constructional fill containing redeposited cultural material, some of which pertained to considerably earlier time periods.

## TABLE 1

# Contents of Analysis Unit 1

# Relative percentages are given parenthetically

# Decorated Pottery

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			
Fatherland Incised, var.	Stanton	3	(4.2)
	unspecified	2	(2.8)
Chicot Red, var. Grand Vi	llage	1	(1.4)
Leland Incised, var. Fost	er	1	(1.4)
Winterville Incised, var.		· <b>I</b>	(1.4)
Mazique Incised, var. Man		:8	(11.1)
	gs Point	5	(6.9)
Plaquemine Brushed, var.	Plaquemine	29	(40.3)
	unspecified	1	(1.4)
Anna Incised, var. Anna		3	(4.2)
Carter Engraved, var. Car	rter	3	(4.2)
Harrison Bayou Inc., var.		1	(1.4)
Avoyelles Punctated, var.		1	(1.4)
Chevalier Stamped, var. P		2 🔐	(2.8)
Coles Creek Incised, var.		2	(2.8)
	Mott	6	(8.3)
Marksville Incised, var.	mspecified	1 ;	(1.4)
Unclassified	·	2	(2.8)
TOTAL		72	(100)
		* * **	
	Plain Pottery		
			4
Addis Plain, var. Addis		293	(73.8)
var. Green vi		4	(1.0)
var. St. Cat		4	(1.0)
Mississippi Plain, var. u		. 4	(1.0)
Baytown Plain, var. unspe	cified	 92	(23.2)
TOTAL		397	(100)
	Stone		
Chopper		1	
Ochre (yellow)		1	
JOILE GOLLON	·	-	

#### Analysis Unit 2

Analysis Unit 2 is made up of levels 507D-F, 508E-0, 520C-I, 522C-H, and 524B-F. Its contents are listed in Table 2.

This unit pertains to Loading 2 at Location I. Because of the constructional nature of this deposit, its contents consist entirely of relocated cultural material.

#### Analysis Unit 3

The following stratigraphic units from Location I constitute Analysis Unit 3: 506A, 507A-C, 508A-D. These levels cut across a number of natural strata, including the uppermost part of Loading 2, and all of Midden 2, Loading 3, and the plowzone. While it would seem that this analysis unit presents us with a very poor stratigraphic resoltuion, it is nevertheless still quite useful. The field notes make it very clear that almost all of the cultural material within these levels was associated with the distinctive purple clay of Midden 2. This observation is certainly consistent with our finding that Loading 2 was nearly sterile, as is evidenced by the meager cultural content of Analysis Unit 2. Furthermore, a comparison shows that many of the cultural elements present in Analysis Unit 3 are completely absent in AU 1 and AU 2. Therefore, while we cannot deny that Analysis Unit 3 is to some extent stratigraphically mixed, we can safely attribute its distinctive cultural content to the occupation of Midden 2.

Table 3 lists the excavated assemblage that pertains to Analysis Unit 3. Not included within this compilation, however, are a number of artifacts which we cursulves did not recover, but are quite significant nevertheless. We are referring, of course, to the five limestone effigy pipes which were excavated by Perrault in the early 1900's (Brown 1926:256-264). It is our belief that these pipes were originally associated with the extensively disturbed burials (1-3) we found in Midden 2, and so it is proper that we

TABLE 2

Contents of Analysis Unit 2

Relative percentages are given parenthetically

# Decorated Pottery

Fatherland Incised, var. Stanton Leland Incised, var. Foster Winterville Incised, var. Belzoni Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine L'Eau Noire Incised, var. L'Eau Noire Coles Creek Incised, var. Mott var. unspecified Unclassified TOTAL	1 1 42 1 1 1 1 49	(2.0) (2.0) (2.0) (85.7) (2.0) (2.0) (2.0) (2.0) (100)
		*
Plain Pottery	<i>:</i>	
Addis Plain, var. Addis var. Greenville Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified Baytown Plain, var. unspecified TOTAL	195 2 1 16 214	(91.1) ( .9) ( .5) (7.5) (100)

### Stone

Ochre (red)

### TABLE 3

# Contents of Analysis Unit 3

Relative percentages are given parenthetically

## Decorated Pottery

Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland var. Stanton var. Pine Ridge var. unspecified  Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald Owens Punctated, var. Poor Joe Barton Incised, var. unspecified  Mazique Incised, var. Manchac Coleman Incised, var. Bass var. unspecified  Leland Incised, var. Foster Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine Anna Incised, var. Anna L'Eau Noire Incised, var. L'Eau Noire Avoyelles Punctated, var. Tatum var. unspecified  Coles Creek Incised, var. Mott Evansville Punctated, var. unspecified Larto Red, var. Larto Unclassified  TOTAL	13 31 1 10 4 1 2 18 1 4 10 24 3 1 1 1 1 4 1 1 6 136	(3.6) (21.8) (7.4) (2.9) (3.7) (1.5) (13.2) (3.6) (1.5) (13.2) (3.6) (1.7) (2.9) (3.7) (3.
Addis Plain, var. Addis  var. Greenville  var. Junkin  var. Ratcliffe  var. St. Catherine  Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified  Baytown Plain, var. unspecified  Total  Total	471 3 2 18 44 21 68 1 628	(75.0) ( .5) ( .4) ( 2.9) ( 7.0) ( 3.3) (10.8) ( .2) (100)
Unspecialized Scraper Hammerstones Ochre (red) Utilized Flakes and Fragments	1 2 1 5	i sange

should mention them here.

#### Analysis Unit 4

Analysis Unit 4 is composed of all the levels excavated within Trench 534 and Pit 535. It includes, in effect, all of the artifacts we recovered at Location II (Table 4).

Analysis Unit 4 encompasses a number of natural strata, including a negligible part of Loading 1, Midden 1, Loading 2, Midden 2, and the plowzone. We know, however, that the former two were devoid of cultural material. Therefore, by a process of elimination, our entire assemblage must have come from Loading 2, Midden 2, and the plowzone. The stratigraphic levels which pertained to Loading 2 generally exhibited the same ceramic assemblage as those which included parts of Midden 2 and the plowzone, except for Fatherland Incised, var. Bayou Goula, and Avenue Polychrome, var Avenue. It is probable that these two varieties pertain to the occupation of Midden 2, but the ambiguous nature of the stratigraphic context in which they were found prevents us from being sure. Otherwise, all of the material in Analysis Unit 4 is perfectly consistent with the stage represented by Loading 2.

#### Analysis Unit 5'

This analysis unit consists solely of Level 581AB, which corresponded to a natural stratum of water-laid loess that had been washed down from a formerly occupied ridgetop at Location V. The contents of this unit are listed in Table 5.

#### Analysis Unit 6

Analysis Unit 6 is composed of Levels 531D-F at Location IV. These correspond to an undisturbed deposit that clearly represents wash from the platform mound. The cultural contents of this unit are presented in Table 6.

# Contents of Analysis Unit 4

## Relative percentages are given parenthetically

### Decorated Pottery

·		
Avenue Polychrome, var. Avenue	3	(1.6)
Fatherland incised, var. Fatherland	11	(5.9)
var. Bayou Goula	1	( .5)
var. Stanton	23	(12.4)
var. unspecified	11	(5.9)
Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald	11	(5.9)
var. unspecified	2	(1.1)
Owens Punctated, var. Poor Joe	1.	( .5)
	1	-
Chicot Red, var. Fairchild	2	( .5)
var. Grand Village		(1.1)
Mazique Incised, var. Manchac	45	(23.9)
Coleman Incised, var. Coleman	1	( .5)
<u>var. Bass</u>	3	(1.6)
var. unspecified	1	( .5)
Leland Incised, var. Blanchard	1	( .5)
var. Ferris	1	(.5)
var. Foster	13	(6.9)
var. unspecified	3	(1.6)
Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine	38	(20.2)
var. unspecified	partia.	(5.5)
Anna Incised, var. Anna	lvessel	( .5)
	_	
Carter Engraved, var. Carter	1	( .5)
Harrison Bayou Inc., var. Harrison Bayou	1	( .5)
Avoyelles Punctated, var. Tatum	3	(1.6)
var. unspecified	1	( .5)
Coles Creek Incised, var. Hardy	2	(1.1)
Unclassified	6	(3.2)
TOTAL	188	$(\overline{100})$
Plain Pottery		
		44
Addis Plain, var. Addis	624	(84.7)
var. Greenville	9	(1.2)
var. Junkin	1	( .1)
var. Ratcliffe	20	(2.7)
var. St. Catherine	12	(1.6)
Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified	21	(2.8)
Baytown Plain, var. unspecified	51	(6.9)
TOTAL	738	(100)
10116	, , ,	(100)
Other Ceramic Artifacts		
Grooved Earplug	1	
Round Earplug	1.	
Disc	I	

# TABLE 4 cont'd

# Stone

Projectile Point -	
Bayogoula Fishtailed, var. Bayogoula	1
Knife	1
Chopper	1
Utilized Flakes and Fragments	10
Polished Stone Fragment	1
Quartzite Palette	1

## TABLE 5

### Contents of Analysis Unit 5

Relative percentages are given parenthetically

## Decorated Pottery

Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland	1	(4.0)
var. Stanton	2	(8.0)
var. unspecified	5	(20.0)
Barton Incised, var. unspecified	1	(4.0)
Mazique Incised, var. Manchac	- 6	(24.0)
Leland Incised, var. Foster	1	( 4.0)
Anna Incised, var. Anna	1	(4.0)
Carter Engraved, var. Carter	1	(4.0)
L'Eau Noire Incised, var. L'Eau Noire	· <b>1</b>	(4.0)
Avoyelles Punctated, var. unspecified	1	( 4.0)
Marksville Incised, var. unspecified	1	(4.0)
Unclassified	_4_	(16.0)
TOTAL	25	(100)
•		#

## Plain Pottery

Addis Plain, var. Addis		106	,	(75.7)
var. Greenville		3	:	(2.1)
var. Ratcliffe	•	8		(5.7)
var. St. Catherine		5	- 1	(3.6)
Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified		8		(5.7)
Baytown Plain, var. unspecified		10		(7.1)
TOTAL		140		$(\overline{100})$

### Stone

Utilized Flakes and Fragments

1

TABLE 6

# Contents of Analysis Unit 6

# Relative percentages are in parenthesis

# Decorated Pottery

Be corated Tottory		
Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland var. Stanton var. unspecified  Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald Barton Incised, var. unspecified Chicot Red, var. Fairchild Mazique Incised, var. Manchac var. Kings Point Leland Incised, var. Blanchard var. Foster var. unspecified Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine	8 4 3 2 2 1 14 2 1 3 1	(17.0) (8.5) (6.4) (4.3) (4.3) (2.1) (29.7) (4.3) (2.1) (6.4) (2.1) (4.3)
Coles Creek Incised, var. Hardy	1	(2.1)
Unclassified	· · <u>· 3</u>	(6.4)
TOTAL	47	(100)
Plain Pottery  Addis Plain, var. Addis	104	(74.3)
var. Greenville	4	(2.9)
var. Ratcliffe	4	(2.9)
var. St. Catherine	8	(5.7)
Mississippi Plain, var.unspecified	5	( 3.6)
Baytown Plain, var. unspecified TOTAL	$\frac{15}{140}$	$\frac{(10.7)}{(100)}$
Stone		

#### Stone

Unclassified Projectile Point	1
Unspecialized Scraper	1
Utilized Flakes and Fragments	4

TABLE 7 78

## Contents of Analysis Unit 7

## Relative percentages are given parenthetically

### Decorated Pottery

Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald Barton Incised, var. unspecified Mazique Incised, var. Manchac var. Kings Point Leland Incised, var. Ferris var. Foster Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine Anna Incised, var. Anna Carter Engraved, var. Carter Harrison Bayou Incised, var. Harrison Bayou Avoyelles Punctated, var. unspecified Coles Creek Incised, var. Coles Creek var. Blakely var. Hardy var. Hardy var. Mott Chevalier Stamped, var. Lulu var. Perry French Fork Incised, var. McNutt var. unspecified Marksville Incised, var. unspecified Var. Troyville var. Troyville var. unspecified Var. unspecified Var. Troyville var. unspecified Var. unspecified Var. unspecified Var. Troyville Var. unspecified	1 4 1 1 5 2 1 5 2 1 5 2 1 1 5 2 1 1 1 1 1 1	( 1.2) ( 5.0) ( 1.2) ( 6.3) ( 2.5) ( 1.2) ( 2.5) ( 18.8) ( 1.2) ( 6.3) ( 2.5) ( 2.5) ( 1.2) ( 3.8) *(16.3) ( 1.2) ( 1.2)
Plain Pottery		
Addis Plain, var. Addis  var. Greenville  var. Ratcliffe  var. St. Catherine  Baytown Plain, var. unspecified  TOTAL	310 1 13 6 164 494	(62.8) (0.2) (2.6) (1.2) (33.2) (100)
Stone		
0.000		
Utilized Fragments and Flakes Sandstone Malette	8 1	

#### Analysis Unit 7

The following Levels constitute Analysis Unit 7: 520A-B, 522A-B, 524A, and 525A. These correspond to a superficial stratum of disturbed earth at the western base of the eastern secondary mound (Location I), labelled on our profiles as the "plowzone". An examination of its contents (Table 7), however, indicates that this designation may be inappropriate. The fact that some of the material within Analysis Unit 7 is culturally dissimilar from that which was obtained in other parts of the mound leads us to suspect that is was brought in from elsewhere. We believe that this layer was deposited during the 1955 reconstruction, when earth was taken from a borrow pit southwest of the mound and was used to fill in certain eroded portions of the platform.

#### OCCUPATIONS AT EMERALD

Our purpose here is to horizontally correlate and vertically order the Analysis Units into a framework which reflects the occupational history of the site. To supplement our own data, we will make extensive use of the stratigraphic information acquired by Cotter during his 1948 excavations (1951b). In all, four different occupations are recognized at Emerald, separated by three distinct stages of mound construction.

### First Occupation

None of our excavations on the mound reached the earliest occupational deposit at the base of the constructional fill. Hence, we are fortunate to have Cotter's description of this layer as he encountered it in Test 1.

Beginning with the initial village deposit, the first definite occupation of the site was marked by the dark detritus-filled soil above undisturbed earth. Unfortunately, no refuse pits were encountered here although three well-defined post trenches were located, all running east-west. In the village level alone, 96 sherds were recovered, of which 84.59% were plain - 15% more than plan sherds in drift. Decoration in the village area seems to have been characterized by brushing, which represented 50% of the total decorated sherds in the village, the balance being a few sherds of unidentified incising and unidentified punctate. (1951b:22)

This village was located upon a gently sloping natural ridgetop (ibid: Fig.11). The wall trenches Cotter encountered were almost certainly indicative of dwellings, yet due to the fact that his test was rather limited, he came up with relatively little cultural material. We are able to recognize that the dominat decorated variety was Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine. In addition, he illustrates an "Unidentified Punctate" vessel from this stage that seems to be a deviant example of Avoyelles Punctated, var. Dupree (ibid: Fig.18,6).

This occupation of Emerald was terminated by the start of the first large-scale constructional activity. A layer of fill was deposited around the edges of the ridgetop that in effect served to flatten the latter's summit. The accumulation was about 2 meters thick at the periphery of the mound, gradually becoming thinner as it merged with the highest point of the ridgetop near the center. It appears that some of this fill was trimmed away from the gradually sloping base of the ridge, thereby greatly steepening the flanks of this early platform. Archaeologically, the first stage of mound construction was represented by Loading 1 at Location I and Stages A and B at Cotter's Test 1 (ibid: Fig.11).

#### Second Occupation

The second occupation at Emerald took place atop the first stage of mound construction. In our excavations, this occupational surface was represented by Midden 1 at Location I. Cotter encountered it as the surface of Stage B in Test 1 (ibid:22).

The platform at this initial stage was still considerably below the size it was ultimately to attain, and its precise shape is difficult to discern. While the profile in Test 1 (ibid: Fig.11) shows it southern side to have stood at an angle of approximately 45°, the contours of Midden 1 (Fig.14) indicate a much more gradual slope to the east. At least one secondary mound was evident

standing on the northern side of the platform (ibid:23), and possibly another one at the eastern end. Wall trenches found in the surface of stage B attest to the presence of house structures at the southern periphery of the platform (ibid:22). Also associated with this occupation were a series of burials (4-7) found at Location I. These were four multiple interments containing a total of fifteen infants and one juvenile, who had been buried in shallow pits placed at the eastern end of the platform.

Artifactually, the second occupation is represented by Analysis Units 1 and 2. The numerically dominant positions of Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine and Addis Plain, var. Addis clearly point out a continuity with the first occupation. Also included in the complex were Anna Incised, var. Anna, Carter Engraved, var. Carter, L'Eau Noire Incised, var. L'Eau Noire and Mazique Incised, var. Manchac. In contrast to this set of varieties, characterized by rectilinear patterns of brushing and incising, two new types appeared -- Leland Incised and Fatherland Incised. The former was represented by var. Foster, the latter by var. Stanton. These two varieties exhibited a decorative idea quite distinct from which had been found in the earlier occupation. Both made use of curvilinear motifs executed in running scrolls, meanders, and spirals. Another important innovation was signalled by the appearance of shell-tempered wares in Addis Plain, var. Greenville, var. St. Catherine, and Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified. A number of decorated varieties also exhibited shell tempering, most notably Winterville Incised, var. Belzoni, Chicot Red, var. Grand Village, and occasionally Foster and Stanton as well.

Overall, we view the second occupation as a time of transition. Emerald was in the process of changing its stature from that of a minor ridgetop village to that of a major ceremonial center. At the same time, the ceramic complex was undergoing a shift, gradually putting more emphasis on curvilinear types of decoration that were to become dominant in the succeeding occupations.

The occupation of this surface was concluded with a period of constructional activity that resulted in the deposition of a second mantle of fill This loading was encountered as Loading 2 at Location I, Loading 1 at Location 2, and Stage C at Cotter's Test 1 (ibid).

#### Third Occupation

Archaeologically, the third occupation at Emerald is better documented than any of the others. Evidences of it were found at Location I, II, IV, and V, and in all three of Cotter's tests. To some extent, the large quantity of data we have can be attributed to our selective sampling of the site. In another light, however, the ubiquitous nature of the third occupation is strongly indicative of the fact that Emerald achieved its greatest importance at this time.

The surface of the mound itself was represented by Midden 2 at Location I, and Midden 1 at Location II. Clearly, the platform had attained a configuration quite unlike that of the previous mantle. Not only was it higher, but its sides were steeper, as well. At the western end of the platform stood a small secondary mound, one meter high. A similar mound was placed at the eastern end. Both were surmounted by structures of wooden post construction.

It is interesting to note that the midden associated with the eastern mound contained considerable amounts of occupational refuse, while the one on the western mound contained none. This fact attests to a basic difference in the functions that the structures atop these mounds served, the former perhaps being residential, the latter ceremonial. We can reasonably assume that there were additional secondary mounds present along the northern and southern sides of the platform at this time, but unfortunately we have no real proof. Also associated with this occupation were three disturbed adult burials (1-3) at the southern base of the eastern secondary mound.

Remains of the third occupation were not confined solely to the platform

mound, but were found in other areas, as well. The presence of associated dwelling sites to the north (Location V) and to the southwest (Test 2, Cotter 1951b:23) was indicative of a moderate degree of nucleation in the vicinity of the mound. Such a centripetal pattern was consistent with the increasing political/ceremonial importance of the site at this time.

The artifactual assemblage pertaining to this occupation is contained within Analysis Units 3, 4, 5, and 6. Evidently, the stylistic transition that had been apparent in the preceeding complex was by this time complete. The dominant decorated type was Fatherland Incised, with var. Stanton becoming more popular than in the previous occupation, and var. Fatherland making its first appearance. Other significant varieties making their debut were Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald, Owens Punctated, var. Poor Joe, Barton Incised, var. unspecified, and the late "Mississippian jar" variant of Mazique Incised, var. Manchac. Although Addis Plain, var. Addis remained by far the most numerous plainware, shell tempered varieties continued to gain ground as the relative frequencies of the type Mississippi Plain and the Greenville and St. Catherine varieties of Addis Plain all increased markedly. At this time, two additional varieties of Addis Plain appeared, namely var. Ratcliffe and var. Junkin. The latter was a ware technically and aesthetically the best that had ever been produced in the region, an achievement consistent with the cultural flourescence that was taking place at this time. Although Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine and Leland Incised, var. Foster still occurred with some strength in the assemblage, it is fairly certain that they no longer formed a part of the contemporary complex, but owed their appearance to relocation from earlier deposits. The same is true of the types Anna Incised, Carter Engraved, and L'Eau Noire Incised, as well as other, still earlier types.

The vitality that characterized the third occupation at Emerald was no less reflected in the presence of artifacts pertaining to the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. The most magnificent of these were two limestone effigy

pipes found by Perrault, each representing a winged serpent (Brown 1926:258). Although we did not excavate these pipes ourselves, we have identified the disturbed contexts (Burials 1-3) from which they probably came, and therefore feel reasonably secure in assigning them to this time level. Additional evidence of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex is seen in the eight sherds that Cotter recovered which exhibit the characteristic "forked eye" motif (1951b: Fig.16,5-6).

This occupation came to a close with the onset of constructional activity. The third and final stage of loading was deposited over the mound. Archaeologically, this was encountered as Loading 3 at Location I, Loading 2 at Location II, and Stage D in Cotter's Test 1 (ibid:22). In terms of its bulk, this mantle was certainly larger than any of the earlier two. The lateral dimensions of the platform were greatly expanded by the addition of fill along its flanks, and the height was increased by almost a meter. Moreover, both the eastern and the western secondary mounds grew in size tremendously. Without a doubt, this massive earthmoving project marked the zenith of Emerald's importance as a political and religious center.

### Fourth Occupation

The evidence we have pertaining to the fourth occupation of this site is exceedingly scanty due to the fact that the uppermost parts of the mound have suffered heavily from erosion and disturbance caused by nineteenth century plowing. Only a small portion of the occupational surface was found intact, represented by Midden 2 at Location II. We presume, however, that at the time of the fourth occupation the mound had attained its ultimate proportions. Thus, we can base our inferences regarding its final configuration on nineteenth century descriptions, which have been summarized in an earlier section of this chapter.

Atop the platform stood eight secondary mounds. The largest of these

was a pyramidal structure at the western end, close to 12 meters high.

Another mound, approximately 7-8 meters high, stood at the eastern end.

In addition, there were six smaller lateral structures, three along the north side and three along the south. All these mounds were presumably surmounted by wooden nost houses. A large ditch encircled the platform at its base, which had probably been a borrow area for the fill used in the final stage of construction.

Nowhere in our excavations did we stratigraphically isolate a context which pertained to this occupation. We know, however, that the ceramic varieties found in historic contexts at other sites in the region are for the most part the same as those we found associated with the third occupation. Therefore, by interpolation we can be reasonably certain that the ceramic complex of the fourth occupation showed a great deal of continuity from the third. Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland, var. Stanton, and Mazique Incised, var. Manchac (late variant) were still present in strength. Mardox Engraved, var. Emerald, and Barton Incised, var. unspecified also occurred. To these were added two new varieties: Fatherland Incised, var. Bayou Goula and Avenue Polychrome, var. Avenue, both of which were found in the uppermost levels of Analysis Unit 4. In terms of plainwares, the Addis, Ratcliffe, and St. Catherine varieties of Addis Plain continued, while Junkin and Greenville seemed to drop out. Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified was also to be found at this time.

The question of when the fourth and final occupation of Emerald came to an end is not an easy one to answer. The fact that we found no artifactual evidence of European contact would seem to indicate that the site was abandoned before the late 17th century historic dateline. There are, however, some grounds for the belief that it was indeed occupied in historic times. Brown (1977:3-5) has convincingly drawn together a number of different lines of evidence and concluded that one of the sites which LaSalle visited during his

voyage of 1682 was actually Emerald. A contemporary account of this visit reads as follows:

M. de La Salle went with seven men to their village 3 leagues distant from the river on rising ground. He remained there three days, the chief giving him to understand that he had sent to ask other chiefs to speak to him... They all returned without speaking to these chiefs who had not yet arrived... this nation is called the Natché (Swanton 1911:187)

By correlating various distances given in this and other accounts, Brown argued that LaSalle had stopped at the mouth of Fairchild's Creek. The distance of 3 leagues (9 miles) which LaSalle is said to have gone inland from this point corresponds exactly with the location of Emerald along the creek. Furthermore, the remark that the site was situated on 'rising ground' coincides perfectly with Emerald's position atop the highest ridge in the area, above the 350 foot contour.

Using later sources, Brown (1973:16-17) went on to content that Emerald was the center of the early 18th century Natchez village of Jenzanque.

Again, the locational data provided in Dumont's account of the inird Natchez War agreed reasonably well with the location of the site. Particularly striking, however, was the physical description of Jenzanaque which occurred in the account of the actual battle.

... it was learned that half a league from there were, at the village of Jenzanaque, 50 savages who were awaiting us firmly resolved to conquer or die. At this news, the army doubled step, and the chief of the Tonikas placed himself at the head, marching straight toward the enemy. Some time later they perceived a strongly built cabin on a height; they did not at all doubt that this was the place where the savages were to be found. Immediately the drums beat, the fifes played, the army formed in battalion squares and advanced toward the cabin. The chief of the Tonikas, who was at the head, arrived first on the height; ... The chief of the Tonikas encircling the height perceived below a minor chief of the enemy called the Little Sun... (Swanton 1911:213-214).

The "neight" with a cabin" upon it which is several times referred to in this vivid account certainly does not appear to be a natural feature. Instead, the image is of a large artificial mound, and nothing in the area fits this description better than Emerald.

In addition to this historical evidence, we have an intriguing piece of information supplied by Hall, who visited Emerald near the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The largest tree on the mound was a red oak. It had been cut down last summer, and I carefully counted the growths, which were 73 in number. This carried the data back exactly to the massacre of the French.

I likewise counted the growths of various other trees in sundry places in the territory, where the land appeared to have been cultivated, and found, without exception, the age of the oldest between 60 and 70 years. (1801:53).

Although the date of the massacre (1729) was a bit less than 73 years before the time Hall was writing, the correlation is close enough to make one suspect that is indeed significant.

Considering the various pieces of evidence we have enumerated above, it appears likely that Emerald mound was occupied into historic times. This being the case, the site was probably abandoned by 1730, the year in which the Natchez were driven out by the French. Yet we are still left to account for the complete absence of European trade goods dating to that period. Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that the upper portions of the final mantle (which would have contained such artifactual evidence) have been almost totally washed away. We feel fairly confident that with more work, historic occupation will eventually turn up at Emerald.

# Chapter III:

The Foster Site (26-K-3)

#### LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION

The Fcster site (26-K-3) is located in Adams County, Mississippi, five miles northeast of Natchez. Its coordinates are S½ irr. S10, T7N, R2W.

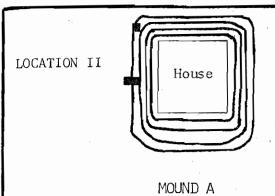
The site basically consists of two mounds constructed on a stream terrace on the northern bank of St. Catherine Creek (Fig.20). The larger of the two is Mound A, approximately 3 meters high. Upon it sits a plantation house that was built in the 1790's. At present, the base of the mound measures some 30 x 30 meters, but it is clear that these are not its original dimensions.

Excavation in Pits 620 and 621 showed that the western slope of Mound A consists entirely of early 19th century fill. Additional posthole sampling confirmed the presence of this recent fill in other portions of the mound, as well. Hence, it appears that the horizontal dimensions of this structure were greatly enlarged in the early 1800's. Interestingly enough, the veranda that completely encircles the house dates architecturally to the same period (Jeffrey P. Brain, personal communication). Thus, it is probably that the mound was enlarged in order to accommodate the construction of the veranda.

Two hundred twenty meters to the south of Mound A lies its smaller counterpart. Nowadays, Mound B can hardly be recognized as an artificial earthwork. It appears to be nothing more than a low, amorphous rise in the field, at most 1.5 meters high. Sitting right at the edge of the terrace, its southern portion has been cut away by St. Catherine Creek, leaving an abrupt talus slope. Were it not for the great abundance of sherds in this eroded portion, Mound B may very well have gone undiscovered.

Foster's present condition is in no way commensurate with its prehistoric status as a major ceremonial center. We can assume that the two mounds were originally pyramidal, and had an open plaza in between. The site was situated in a prime location, astride many of the principal inland routes.

St. Catherine Creek provided it with easy access to other contemporary sites

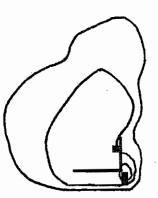




DATUM

LOCATION III

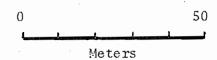
### MOUND B



LOCATION IV

LOCATION I

# FOSTER (26-K-3)



Contour Interval: Mound A - 100 cm

Mound B - 50 cm.

Figure 20

along that stream, and to the Mississippi River as well. Furthermore, the early Natchez Trace passed right through Foster. (Fig. 21; cf. Darby 1817) As we have already shown (see p. 20), the Trace was an important overland route in late prehistoric times, directly linking our site with the Emerald (26-K-1) and Gordon (26-L-2) mounds to the northeast.

#### EARLY DESCRIPTIONS AND PREVIOUS WORK

In the nineteenth century, only one description of the Foster site is known to have appeared in the literature. This was made by Ingraham with the following splendid passage:

There is a mound about 5 miles from Natchez, upon the plantation of a gentleman, whose taste or ambition has influenced him to erect his dwelling upon the summit. A strange dwelling place for the living, over the sepulchres of the dead! (1835:219)

No other report of Foster was to appear in print until some ninety years later, when Brown described Mound A as "a considerable mound with a residence upon it" (1926:34). No mention at all was made of Mound B.

Moorehead, on the basis of his 1924 survey of the Natchez region, listed the Foster site on his map as "Mount Pleasant", but did not include a description of it in the text (1932: Fig.100).

The next account we have was given by Ford, stating that in 1930

<sup>1.</sup> Evidence for this fact is not to be found in modern maps. The present day Trace comes nowhere near Foster, converging with U.S. Highway 61 four miles to the east. Historical sources, however, show that this was not originally the case. The Darby map, published in 1817, depicts the early Trace running from "Seltzertown" (Emerald) to "Forster's" (Foster), and from there on to Natchez (Fig. ). The alternate southern route, which ran through Washington did not exist until 1797, when the latter town was founded on an obscure comer of John Foster's plantation (cf. Sydnor 1938:24). The precedence of the Foster route is further indicated by the fact that all of the old plantation headquarters (i.e., Dumbar, Bisland, Forster's and Livingston's) were established along it, and not its southern counterpart. Washington having become the state capital, the southern route rapidly gained importance at the expense of the Foster route, which was ultimately abandoned. At the present time all physical evidences of the latter road have been obliterated by the construction of Adams County Airport, which is situated directly between Emerald and Foster.

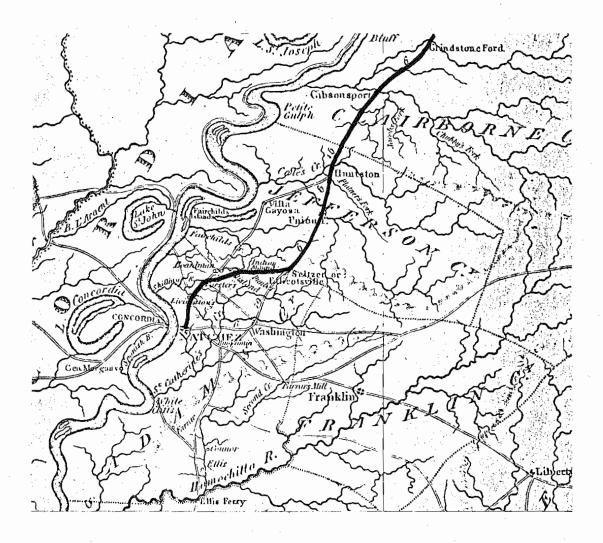


Figure 21: The Natchez region in the early nineteenth century. Marked in red is the original Natchez Trace. (after Darby 1817)

"Chambers secured a collection from about the large pyramidal mound at Foster" (1936:65). Clearly, the reference is to Mound A, Mound B having once again gone unnoticed. The contents of Chambers' collection, as well as we can reconstruct from Ford's information (ibid: Fig.1), included Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland, Mazique Incised, var. Fatherland, and possibly Barton Incised. Also present were the "Haynes Bluff" rim mode, and some shell tempered sherds. Such an assemblage is perfectly consistent with the strong Emerald phase component we found at the site.

The total amount of documentation that Foster had received over the years is indeed minute. Perhaps the major reason for this lack of notice is the site's unimpressive size, being not nearly as massive as Emerald.

#### EXCAVATIONS IN 1971 AND 1972

Excavations at the Foster site were carried out in July of 1971 and July and August of 1972 under the auspices of the Lower Mississippi Survey, Peabody Museum, Harvard University. All work was carried out under the supervision of Dr. Jeffrey P. Brain.

During the field season of 1971, a routine surface survey at the site revealed the presence of a second small mound (Mound B) that had not been previously discovered. Having found some fairly late sherds on the earthwork's eroded southern flank, it was decided that this mound should be tested. For this purpose, Pit 70 was established and carried down to sterile subsoil.

The results of this initial work proved to be very interesting. In the midden beneath the mound we had come across a ceramic complex that seemed to be "provo-Natchezan." Within it were included a number of superbly executed vessels of Maddox Engraved and Fatherland Incised on a very fine ware (Addis Plain, var. Junkin) the likes of which we had never before encountered. At that time, there seemed to be enough evidence for the formulation of a new "Foster phase" in our region.

With this in mind, we returned to the site in 1972 to conduct more extensive excavation. A datum was arbitrarily established in the plaza between the two mounds, and our pits were set up at four different locations within the site (Fig. 20). The distribution was as follows:

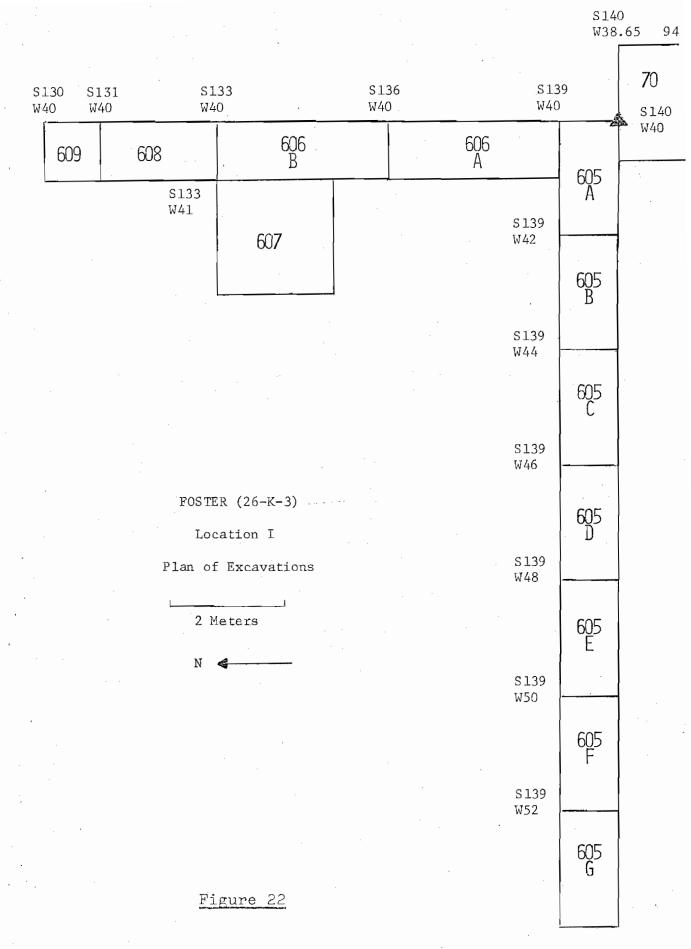
Location I (Mound B) - 2 trenches, 5 pits Location II (Mound A) - 2 pits Location III (east of the plaza) - 1 pit Location IV (northeast of Mound B) - 1 pit

Our major purpose was to gather more stratigraphic data pertaining to this new ceramic complex. In a secondary way we sought to obtain as much information as possible regarding the history of the site's occupation, aware of the fact that documentary studies had located the center of the historic White Apple village somewhere in the vicinity (Brown 1972).

The work at each of the locations will be described in greater detail in the sections that follow. Unless otherwise noted, all horizontal coordinates will be measured in meters with respect to the datum. All bearings will be determined with respect to magnetic north.

#### LOCATION I: Mound B

As we have said before, our primary purpose at this location was to obtain a large, well-controlled stratigraphic sample of the material in the mound and the midden beneath it. To this end, a 2 x 4 meter pit had been set up and excavated in 1971. In 1972, five additional units were established: a 1 x 4 meter trench, a 1 x 6 meter trench, a 2 x 2 meter pit, a 2 x 1 meter pit, and a 1 x 1 meter pit (Fig.22). Because all these pits and trenches exhibited the same stratification, and all except one were directly contiguous, we will discuss them below as a single excavation unit.



#### Excavation Unit 70/605/606/607/608/609

Location and Description. The first excavation in this unit took place in 1971, when a 2 x 4 meter pit (70) was established. Its length was oriented along a north-south axis, and its southern end coincided with the southern edge of the mound. In the 1972 season, the five remaining pits and trenches were opened. To begin with, a local datum was established at S140 W40, a point 65cm east of the northwest corner of Pit 70. With this point as its southeast corner, a 1 x 14 meter trench (605) was extended to the west and subdivided into seven 1 x 2 meter cuts (A-G). At the same time a contiguous 1 x 6 meter trench (606) was established with its southeast corner at S139 This trench was divided into two 1 x 3 meter cuts, the southern one being labelled A, and the northern one B. Subsequently, three more pits were opened in an effort to partially follow out the architectural features that appeared at the base of Trench 606. The first was a 2 x 2 meter pit (607) with its northeast corner at S133 W41. Next came a 2 x 1 meter pit (608) with its southeast corner at S133 W40 and its northeast corner at S131 W40. Finally, a 1 x 1 meter pit (609) was set up with its northeast corner at S130 W40. The overall configuration of pits and trenches that resulted is diagrammed in Figure 22.

Summary of Excavated Levels. Because this excavation unit encompasses a number of discrete pits and cuts which were all excavated differently, we are forced to consider each of these individually. All elevations given in the following paragraphs will be measured in centimeters with respect to \$140 W40, the local datum.

Pit 70 was opened first, Level A being taken down approximately 25cm from the highest point on the surface to an elevation of -6. Soon after the next level was started, it was realized that a light brown mottled area that had appeared in the northeast corner of Level A was actually part of a regular surface, sloping from an elevation of -6 at the northern and of the pit, to an

elevation of -85 in the southern end. Level B was a semi-natural unit taken down to this surface. All the material on the surface itself was cleaned off as Level C. Level D was a natural level that was carried down only in the southern half of the pit, where it was terminated at the surface of a relatively flat stratum of black loss, located at an elevation of -85. The next level (E) was an arbitrary 5cm unit, followed by Level F, which was arbitrarily taken down 25cm through the black, then the gray loss to an elevation of -115. The final level (G) was confined to the southern 1/4 of the pit and was excavated through the remaining 5cm of gray loss until it was stopped at the surface of the clay subsoil.

Trench 605 was excavated in seven 1 x 2 meter cuts, lettered A through G. Cuts A, C, E, and G were first taken down, followed by Cuts B, D, and F. The sequence of levels within each cut is summarized below.

Cut A was taken out in six units arranged as follows: 1) arbitrary level: surface to el. -25; 2) arbitrary level: el. -25 to el. -40; 3) semi-natural level: el. -40 to surface of black loess; 4) natural level: surface of black loess; 5) natural level: black loess; 6) arbitrary level: base of black loess to el. -125.

Cut B was excavated in four natural levels: 1) plowzone; 2) mottled brown loess; 3) surface of black loess; 4) black loess.

Cut C contained four levels as well: 1) arbitrary level: surface to el. -30; 2) semi-natural level: el. -30 to surface of black loess; 3) natural level: surface of black loess; 4) natural level: black loess.

Cut D was excavated in four natural units: 1) plowzone; 2) mottled brown loess; 3) surface of black loess; 4) black loess.

Cut E was taken down in five levels: 1) arbitrary level: surface to e1. -25; 2) arbitrary level: e1. -25 to e1. -70; 3) semi-natural level: e1. -70 to surface of black loess; 4) natural level: surface of black loess; 5) natural level: black loess (including the contents of the burial pit and

the intrusive wall trench). The material cleaned out from the wall trench below the level of the clay subsoil was kept separate as Level 605E5A.

Cut F was excavated entirely in natural units. The first level corresponded to the plowzone, and the second to the mottled brown loess. The surface of the stritum of black loess was cleaned off as Level 3. Excavations in the contiguous Cut E had revealed the presence of a pit that extended from an elevation approximately 10cm below the surface of the black layer, to the level of the clay subsoil. The soil in this feature was distinctively blacker in color than that of the overlying black loess. Thus, the overlying 10cm of black loess were removed as Level 4, isolating the surface of the pit at an elevation of -95. This surface was cleaned off as Level 5, and the remaining contents of the pit were removed as Level 6.

Cut G was excavated in seven units as follows: 1) arbitrary level:
surface (e1. +25) to e1. 0; 2) arbitrary level: e1. 0 to e1. -25; 3) arbitrary level: e1. -25 to e1. -40; 4) arbitrary level: e1-40 to e1. -65;
5) semi-natural level: e1. -65 to surface of black loess; 6) natural level:
surface of black loess; 7) natural level: black loess.

Trench 606 was divided into two 1 x 3 meter cuts. Cut A was excavated first, in the following sequence of levels: 1) arbitrary level: surface to e1. -50; 2) arbitrary level: e1. -50 to e1. -65; 3) semi-natural level: e1. -65 to surface of black loess; 4) natural level: surface of black loess; 5) natural level: black loess. Cut B was taken out in four natural levels: 1) plowzone; 2) mottled brown loess; 3) surface of black loess; 4) black loess.

Pit 637 was excavated in four natural levels: A) plowzone; B) mottled brown loss; C) surface of black loss; D) black loss.

Finally, Pit 609 was taken out in three natural levels: A) plowzone; P) mottled brown loess; C) black loess (including its surface).

Stratification. (Fig.23) After removing a superficial 10-20cm plowzone,

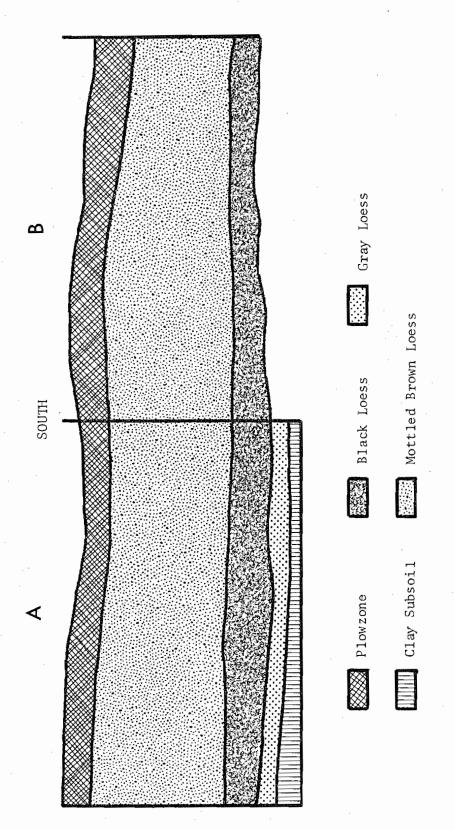


Figure 23: Southern profile, Trench 605, Cuts A-B

we came upon a stratum of mottled brown loess containing very little cultural material. The latter deposit seemed to consist of two distinct zones which were distinguishable on the basis of a subtle difference in color, the upper one being slightly darker than the lower. The upper zone was observable only in Pit 70, where the surface between the two zones sloped upward to the north and disappeared into the plowzone. Thus, it appears that the mottled brown loess we found in all the other parts of the excavation unit actually belonged to the lower zone, the upper zone having for the most part been washed away.

Below the deposit of mottled brown loess, at an elevation ranging between -80 and -90, we encountered a midden of ashy black loess. It contained a great amount of sherds, bone, and other occupational refuse. Also associated with it were three hearths, three pits, and a number of postholes and wall trenches, all of which will be discussed in a later section. The black layer was generally 15-20cm thick, and graded into an underlying stratum of gray, midden stained loess. Finally a terrace deposit of orange clay subsoil was reached at an elevation of -110 to -120cm.

Interpretation. Evidenced in the stratification of Mound B is an initial occupation on subsoil followed by a stage of mound construction. Although there appear to be two distinct mantles of mound fill, it is probable that both belong to the same phase of construction. The surface between the two shows no signs of occupation or weathering, and is probably representative of only a relatively short hiatus in building activity. All traces of the occupation that presumably took place on top of Mound B have been eroded away.

#### Burial

What appears to be a burial was found in Trench 605, Cuts E and F (Fig.24).

177 fragments of human bone, probably from a single adult, were found scattered throughout the fill of: Thallow pit that originated at a level 10cm below

the surface of the midden, and had been dug to the level of the clay subsoil. In all, the feature was only 20cm deep, but over 2 meters wide. The soil within it was primarily black loess, although there was a lense of brown loess at the bottom.

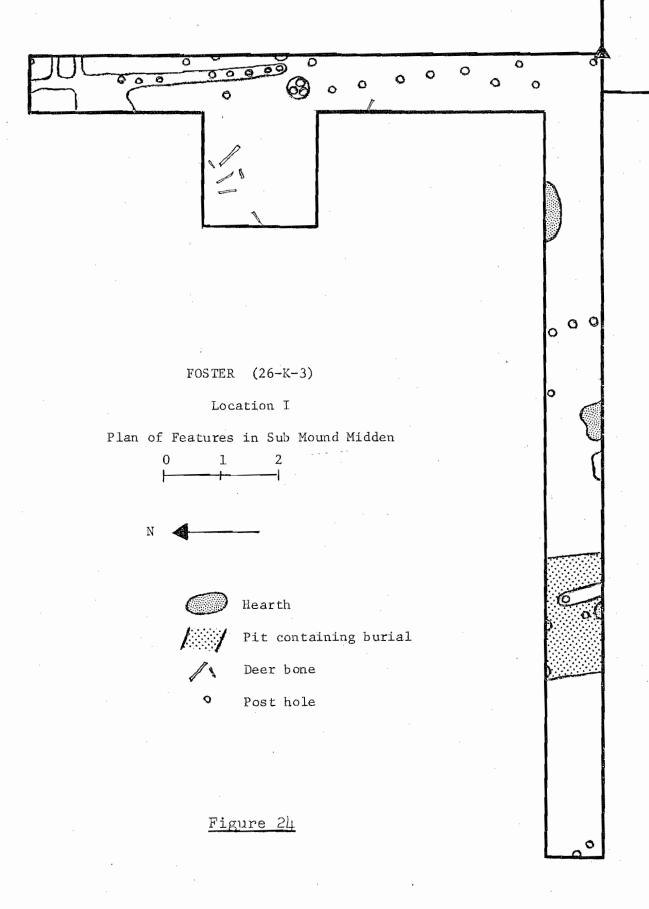
Among the bones found were approximately 70 small skull fragments, all of which had been calcined by burning. Also present was an articulated elbow joint, the bones of which had not been burned. The ulna was found broken in half with the two pieces fitted together <u>in situ</u>. Several portions of a femur and numerous unidentified longbone fragments were recovered as well, many of the latter calcined.

No grave goods were found associated with this feature. There was however, some artifactual material present (in Level 605F6) that had probably been included by accident as part of the fill. Several decorated varieties occurred, among them Mazique Incised, var. Manchac, Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine, and Anna Incised, var. Anna. A projectile point of the type Collins Stemmed, var. Claiborne, was also found within the pit.

The fact that 10cm of midden had accumulated over the surface of this pit indicated that it had been put in some time beofre the terminal occupation at this locus. How many years such an accumulation represents, however, is an impossible question to answer.

#### Architectural and Other Features

The sub-mound midden at Location I exhibited numerous postholes and two wall trenches indicative of at least two or three discrete houses (Fig.24). The western wall of one structure was represented by a wall trench running approximately north-south in Cut 605B and Pits 608 and 609. Oriented in the same direction were two more walls, as evidenced by two rows of postholes, one in Trench 606 and the other in Cut 605C. The parallel placement of the latter two and the presence of a hearth directly between them suggested that they



may have belonged to a single house. Other walls were picked up in Trench 605, Cuts E and G. The former contained a portion of a wall trench intrusive into the burial pit. Cut G exhibited two closely spaced postholes that probably formed a part of a longer row.

Three hearths were found on the midden in Trench 605, marked by ash and hard-baked orange soil. These were located in Cuts B, D, and E. The hearth in Cut D was positioned directly east of a pit of undetermined use which contained a great deal of charcoal and ash.

The undisturbed nature of the architectural features and hearths on the surface of the midden strongly suggests that they were in use very close to the final occupation before the mound was built. In some cases, this can be artifactually confirmed. The hearth in Cut 605B contained within it a sherd of Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland. The lower portion of the wall trench in Cut 605E included not only Fatherland, but also Chicot Red, var. Grand Village, and Mazique Incised, var. Manchac (Level 605E5A). Except for those in Pit 70, almost all our sherds on a ware equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Junkin, were found in Cut 605A, Trench 606, and Pits 607-609: the area in which most of the architectural features are concentrated.

#### LOCATION II: Mound A

A 2  $\times$  4 and a 2  $\times$  2 meter pit were set up on the western slope of Mound A. It was hoped that data regarding the construction and occupation of this mound would be gathered.

### Pit 620

Location and Description. This 2 meter pit was laid out on the slope of Mound A, near the middle of the western side. Its northeast corner was located at N95 W38, and its southeast corner at N93 W38.

Summary of Excavated Levels. Because this pit produced no useable stratigraphic data, it seems unnecessary to go into a detailed description of the excavated levels here. Suffice it to say that after the first two levels had taken the pit down to an elevation 120cm below the southeast corner, the western half of the pit was carried down in eight more levels to a depth of 330cm below the southeast corner.

Stratification. The stratification in this pit was extremely irregular. Mottling was evident everywhere; lenses of variously colored loess and clay were inextricably jumbled together. A homogenous stratum of brown loess, probably subsoil, was reached at a depth of approximately 330cm below the southeast corner. Early nineteenth century Euro-American ceramics, glass, bricks, coal, and asbestos shingles were found throughout the pit down to the level of subsoil.

<u>Interpretation</u>. The entire contents of this pit consisted of early nineteenth century fill. Apparently, the lateral dimensions of Mound A were enlarged at that time to make room for the construction of the veranda that now encircles the house on top.

#### Pit 621

Location and Description. This 2 x 2 meter pit was established near the northern end of the western slope of Mound A. Its northeast corner was located at N110 E38.

Summary of Excavated Levels. This pit was taken down in two levels to a depth of 80cm below the northeast corner.

Stratification. Here we found the same situation as in Pit 620. Extremely mottled loess and clay were encountered, containing early nineteenth century ceramics, pricks, and glass.

Interpretation. The interpretation we derived from Pit 620 applies here, as well. Clearly, the present western flank of Mound A is constructed of early nineteenth century fill.

#### LOCATION III: East of the Plaza

At this location there was a low rise in the field which we suspected to be a third aboriginal mound. A single pit was established here in order to determine whether or not this feature had been artificially constructed.

### Pit 603

Location and Description. This 2 x 2 meter pit was positioned on the slope of the suspected mound, with its northeast corner at S13 E117.

Summary of Excavated Levels. A single arbitrary level was taken down 25cm from the northeast corner.

Stratification. Beneath a superficial humus layer, loess subsoil was encountered.

<u>Interpretation</u>. The rise we had investigated was apparently a natural formation.

#### LOCATION IV: Northeast of Mound B

The spot we chose here seemed to be a likely one in which to find some undisturbed evidences of an aboriginal plaza surface. A single pit was set up in order to test out this possibility.

#### Pit 604

Location and Description. This was a 2 x 4 meter pit located with its northeast corner at S105 E4 and its northwest corner at S105 E00.

Summary of Excavated Levels. Level A was excavated as an arbitrary 25cm unit. The second level (B) was confined to the western half of the Fit and taken down another 25cm.

Stratification. Sterile subsoil was reached below a zone of disturbed earth which contained some cultural material.

Interpretation. No undisturbed traces of a plaza were found.

#### FORMULATION OF ANALYSIS UNITS

Of all the excavations at Foster, only those on Mound B produced any useable stratigraphic information. As a result, we have found it necessary to formulate only two Analysis Units, both pertaining to Location I.

### Analysis Unit 1

The following excavated levels were combined to form Analysis Unit 1: 70E-G, 605A4-6, 605B3-4, 605C3-4, 605D3-4, 605E4-5, 605F3-6, 605G6-7, 605MS<sup>2</sup>, 605A4-5, 606B3-4, 607C-D, 608C-D, 609C. Its contents are presented in Table 8.

Analysis Unit 1 corresponds to the black midden layer found at the base of Mound B (i.e., Location I). In every case, the midden was taken out only after it had been isolated from the overlying deposit of mound fill. Hence, Analysis Unit 1 does not contain any extraneous material which might have originated in the stratum above.

The great cultural heterogeneity seen in the contents of this unit seems to indicate that the midden we are dealing with was deposited over a long period of time, by a number of different settlements. Despite this mixture, however, it is possible to stratigraphically segregate some of the material which pertains to the last of these settlements. In most cases, the cultural material which was found directly associated with the midden's surface was taken out separately as a discrete level. Here, we have combined all such levels to form Analysis Unit 1A. The latter is a subset of Analysis Unit 1, and is composed of the following levels: 605A4, 605B3, 605C3, 605D3, 605E4, 605F3, 605G6, 605MS, 606A4, 606B3, 607C, and 608C. In excavating Pit 70 and Pit 609, the material on the midden's surface was not kept separate. Hence, the contents of Analysis Unit 1A (Table 9) come only from Trenches 605-606 and Pits 607-608.

<sup>2.</sup> This designation applies to material which was found on the surface of the sub-mound midden in Trench 605, but was not assigned to any specific cut.

## Contents of Analysis Unit 1

## Relative percentages are given parenthetically

## Decorated Pottery

Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland		45 (	5.7)
var. Pine Ridge		•	7.0)
var. Stanton		24 (	3.0)
var. unspecified			8.9)
Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald	·		5.1)
Nodena Red and White, var. unspecified			0.1)
Barton Incised, var. unspecified		1 (	(0.1)
Chicot Red, var. Fairchild		3 (	0.4)
var. Grand Village		5 (	0.6)
Old Town Red, var. Red Rock		2 (	0.3)
Mazique Incised, var. Manchac		202 (2	5.6)
Coleman Incised, var. Bass			1.1)
Leland Incised, var. Foster			7.2)
var. unspecified		8 (	1.0)
Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine		139 *(1	7.6)
Grace Brushed, var. Grace		. 2 (	0.3)
Anna Incised, var. Anna*		34 (	4.3)
Carter Engraved, var. Carter	•	5 (	0.6)
var. Mud Lake		1 (	0.1)
var. Shell Bluff		1 (	0.1)
var. unspecified			0.1)
Hollyknowe Punched, var. Patmos			0.3)
Avoyelles Punctated, var. Dupree		2 (	0.3)
var. unspecified			0.1)
Coles Creek Incised, var. Hardy		3 (	0.4)
var. Wade			0.1)
Chevalier Stamped, var. Cornelia		4 (	0.5)
var. Perry		1 (	0.1)
French Ford Incised, var. Laborde			0.1)
var. unspecified		5 (	0.6)
Larto Red, var. Larto		17 (	2.2)
var. Silver Creek			0.1)
Mulberry Creek C. M., var. Centers Creek		9 (	1.1)
Woodville Zoned Red, var. Woodville		- 6 (	0.8)
Alligator Incised, var. unspecified		1 (	0.1)
Marksville Stamped, var. Mabin	į	1 (	0.1)
var. Manny		1 (	0.1)
var. Newsome		-	0.1)
var. unspecified			0.3)
Marksville Incised, var. unspecified		• .	0.3)
Unclassified			2.9)
TOTAL		789 (1	00 )

<sup>\*</sup> One of the sherds in this category has now been reclassified as Anna Incised, var. Australia.

# Plain Pottery

Addis Plain, var. Addis  var. Greenville  var. Junkin  var. Ratcliffe  var. St. Catherine  Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified  Baytown Plain, var. unspecified  Tchefuncte Plain, var. unspecified  TOTAL	2924 45 47 17 69 23 421 1 3547	(82.4) (1.3) (1.3) (0.5) (1.9) (0.6) (11.9) (03) (100)
--	--	--

# Stone

Collins Stemmed, var. Claiborne	1
	1
Mound "C" Scrapers	•
Unspecialized Scraper	2
Scraper Knives	Ţ
Utilized Flakes and Fragments	4
Quartzite Palette	50
Sandstone Palettes	1
Ochre (yellow)	2
ours (Action)	3

TABLE 9

## Ceramic Contents of Analysis Unit 1A

## Pelative percentages are given parenthetically

## Decorated Pottery

•		
Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland var. Pine Ridge	28 38	(±3.0) (17.7)
var. Stanton	3	(1.4)
var. unspecified	42	(19.5)
Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald	22	(10.2)
Mazique Incised, var. Manchac	43	(20.0)
Leland Incised, var. Foster	4 1	(1.9)
Var. unspecified Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine	21	( 0.5) ( 9.7)
Anna Incised, var. Anna	3	(1.4)
Carter Engraved, var. Shell Bluff		(0.5)
Unclassified	1 9	(4.1)
TOTAL	215	(100)
-	210	(100 )
		44
Plain Pottery		
Addis Plain, var. Addis	32 7	(75.3)
var. Greenville	6	(1.4)
var. Junkin	16	(3.7)
var. Ratcliffe	5	(1.1)
var. St. Catherine	16	(3.7)
Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified	9	(2.1)
Baytown Plain, var. unspecified	55	(12.7)
TOTAL	434	(100)

## TABLE 10

## Contents of Analysis Unit 2

## Relative percentages are given parenthetically

## Decorated Pottery

Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland var. Stanton var. imspecified  Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald Chicot Red, var. Fairchild var. Grand Village  Mazique Incised, var. Manchac var. unspecified  Leland Incised, var. Foster var. unspecified  Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine Anna Incised, var. Anna Carter Engraved, var. Carter Avoyelles Punctated, var. Dupree var. unspecified  Beldeau Incised, var. Bell Bayou French Fork Incised, var.unspecified Mulberry Creek C. M., var. Centers Creek Woodville Zoned Red, var. Woodville Marksville Stamped, var. Troyville Unclassified  TOTAL	8 5 4 1 4 1 46 1 13 3 20 3 1 1 1 1 7 128	(6.2) (3.9) (3.1) (0.8) (3.1) (0.8) (35.9) (0.8) (10.2) (2.3) (15.6) (2.3) (0.8) (0.8) (0.8) (0.8) (0.8) (1.6) (3.1) (0.8) (5.5) (100)
		(=== )
Plain Pottery		
Addis Plain, var. Addis  var. Greenville  var. Junkin  var. Ratcliffe  var. St. Catherine  Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified  Baytown Plain, var. unspecified  Tchefuncte Plain, var. unspecified  TOTAL	495 7 8 13 17 10 50 2 602	(82.2) (1.2) (1.3) (2.2) (2.8) (1.7) (8.3) (0.3) (100)
Other Ceramic Artifacts		
Figurine Pragment Concave-Faced Earplug	1	
	-	
Stone	•	
Unclassified Porjectile Points Scraper Knife Hammerstone Utilized Flakes and Fragments	2 1 1 18	

Ochre (yellow)

### Analysis Unit 2

Analysis Unit 2 corresponds to the deposit of contructional fill overlying the black midden at Location I (Mound B). It was composed of the following levels: 70A-D, 605Al-3, 605Bl-2, 605Cl-2, 605Dl-2, 605El-3, 605Fl-2, 605Gl-5, 606Al-3, 606Bl-2, 607A-B, 608A-B, and 609A-B. Overall, the cultural material within this unit (Table 10) is very similar to that in Analysis Unit 1, although considerably less varied. One of the sherds of Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland, in this analysis unit belongs to the same vessel as a sherd from Analysis Unit 1. Thus, it is clear that at least some of the fill to which this analysis unit pertains was taken from a borrow area in the immediate vicinity of the mound.

### OCCUPATIONS AT FOSTER, MOUND B

In spite of the many locations we tested at Foster, only one undisturbed occupational context was found and stratigraphically isolated, located beneath the constructional fill of Mound B. This single midden certainly does not provide us with an adequate basis on which to reconstruct the history of the entire site, and so we have focused our attention only on Mound B.

#### Sub-mound Occupation

The surface on which this occupation took place is marked by the black loess midden underlying the fill of Mound B. Before we go on to discuss its characteristic features, one methodological (or perhaps terminological) point must be emphasized. We are using the word "occupation" here in a very restricted sense, having connotations of both content and context. When we speak of the occupation that took place upon the sub-mound midden, we are referring only to the most recent settlement. It is evident from the heterogeneity of the artifactual material that a number of different settlements occurred at this location over a long period of time, yet only the most recent

of these can be archaeologically pinned down in its original context. The contexts of all previous settlements had been disturbed and effectively destroyed by the one which took place last. Hence, only the last can be considered an "occupation" as we use the term in this report, identified by both its content and its undisturbed context.

The sub-mound occupation took place on a terrace on the north bank of St. Catherine Creek. It was evidenced by a number of rectangular dwellings, built with wooden posts either set individually or in wall trenches (Fig.24). Although portions of at least two or three house patterns were recovered in our excavations, we cannot be sure whether or not they werein use simultaneously.

Other features found associated with this occupation were three hearths and a burial. The latter represented a very unusual mode of interment: It contained the burned and fragmented bones of an adult which had been scattered throughout the fill of a shallow pit. This burial clearly pertained to the early part of the occupation, for a 10cm deposit of midden had accumulated over the original surface of the pit.

Artifactually, this occupation is best represented by Analysis Unit 1 (Table 8) which corresponds to the primary depositional context of the black midden itself. Because of earlier settlements which had taken place in the vicinity, the midden contained a considerable amount of cultural material which was extraneous to the occupation we are dealing with. Yet, despite the mixture evident in the entire assemblage, we are nevertheless able to partially sort out the pertinent complex by looking only at that portion of the material which was found directly associated with the midden's surface. This sub-semblage has been stratigraphically isolated as Analysis unit 1A (Table 9).

Thus, the dominant decorated type in the complex was Fatherland Incised, with strong showings of var. Fatherland, var. Pine Ridge, and var. Stanton.

Also present were Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald, and Leland Incised, var.

Foster. Mazique Incised, var. Manchac was mostly to be found in its middle variant, characterized by the broad exterior rim strap, but occurred in the late "Mississippian jar" variant as well. Also exhibiting the rim strap in many cases were Plaquemine Brushed, ar. Plaquemine, and Coleman Incised, var. Bass. Although not found directly on the midden's surface, sherds of Barton Incised, var. unspecified, Nodena Red and White, var. unspecified, and the Fairchild and Grand Village varieties of Chicot Red certainly were part of the complex. Among the plainwares, Addis Plain, var. Addis, was by far the most popular, occurring with the varieties Greenville, Junkin, Ratcliffe, and St. Catherine. Also present was Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified.

The varieties that were found associated with the midden's surface have given us a good representation of the major elements of the relevant ceramic complex. We must not, however, let this two-dimensional picture obscure the fact that significant ceramic change was occurring during this occupation. This can best be pointed out by comparing the relative percentages of the varieties as they occur in Analysis Unit 1 with their percentages in Analysis If a variety is seen to occur with greater frequency within the midden as a whole (AU 1) than on the midden's surface (AU 1A), then it can reasonably be inferred that sherds of this variety were for the most part to be found below the surface of the midden. In a temporal sense, such a distribution would strongly imply that this variety was most popular at a time preceding the terminal part of the midden's occupation. We realize that the results of such comparisons cannot always be taken at face value, because relative frequencies can sometimes be misleading. Yet if we consider only those instances where the difference in percentages is considerable (i.e., by close to a factor of 2 or more), a consistent pattern emerges which we consider to be significant.

Thus, both Plaquemine and Foster seem to date primarily to the earlier

part of the occupation. The former occurred with a frequency of 17.6% throughout the entire midden, but only 9.7% on the surface. Similarly, occurrences of <u>Foster</u> declined from 7.2% overall, to a mere 1.9% on the surface. An opposite trend was seen in the type Fatherland Incised, which increased from 24.6% in the midden, to 51.6% on the surface.

In the realm of plainwares, <u>var. Addis</u> remained predominant throughout the occupation. Although their total frequencies were rather small, <u>Ratcliffe</u>, <u>St. Catherine</u>, and Mississippi Plain, <u>var. unspecified</u>, all seemed to cluster towards the top. Especially significant, however, was the great concentration of <u>var. Junkin</u> that was found on the surface. A straight comparison of the percentages of this plain variety does not at all reflect the fact that the great majority of sherds found on the surface belonging to the decorated types Fatherland Incised and Maddox Engraved had a paste equivalent to <u>Junkin</u>. Thus, there is no doubt that <u>Junkin</u> pertains exclusively to the terminal part of the midden's occupation.

The great frequency with which <u>Junkin</u> occurs in this context is interesting, for the variety is generally quite rare at other sites, there being only a small handful from Emerald and Fatherland (26-K-2). <u>Junkin</u> was certainly the finest ware, both technically and aesthetically, ever to have been produced in the Natchez region. Its extreme scarcity strongly suggests that it was never made in great quantities, being within the abilities of only a relatively small number of craft specialists. By the same token, it seems reasonable to suggest that access to this uncommonly fine ware was limited to individuals of some importance: It is clear that such fine pottery was not in regular use among the general repulation. Therefore, we can infer that the sub-mound occupation at Foster, at least in its terminal period, was not that of an insignificant village or hamlet. It was the dwelling place of important personages who used the finest ware available—undoubtedly a political or religious center. Hence, it is probable that Mound A was already

in existence as the focal point of the site near the end of this occupation.

The sub-mound occupation at Foster came to a close with the construction of Mound B. The fact that this second mound was built was probably indicative of the growing importance of the site at that time. Analysis Unit 2, which represents the loading in the mound, has a cultural content very much like that of Analysis Unit 1. In at least one case, a sherd found in the loading belonged to the same vessel as a sherd found in the midden. Hence, it appears that the fill used in the construction was taken from somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the earthwork, probably from the edge of the creek's terrace.

The upper portion of Mound B has by now been completely eroded away, taking with it all traces of the settlement which took place on top. Thus, we have no stratigraphic or contextual basis on which to define a succeeding occupation at this site, although we know that it did indeed exist.

## Chapter IV:

The Archaeological Collection

#### POTTERY

The ceramic classification in this section basically follows the type-variety framework formulated by Phillips and Williams (Phillips 1970), and subsequently enlarged and modified by Brain (Williams and Brain, n.d.). The structure of presentation we have adopted here is geared toward economy. Types and varieties which have been previously established are described as they occur in our collections with reference made to the formal definitions either in Phillips (1970) or Williams and Brain (n.d.). In some cases, we have also used varieties formulated by Hally (1972). Where we have set up new types and varieties, our presentation is laid out in greater depth, giving the background of the concept and its formal definition.

#### ADDIS PLAIN

The extensive sample of Addis Plain that we obtained in our excavations has led us to greatly revise its typological position as presented by Phillips (1970:48-49). We have recognized a set of diagnostic criteria for Addis Plain that not only allows us to sort it with confidence, but also necessitates out setting it up as an individual type, distinct from Baytown Plain.

Addis Plain as we define it is characterized by the heterogenous composition of its paste, containing not only clay and grit, but a considerable amount of organic substance as well. This organic component can consist of plant materials, shell, and even bone, though not necessarily all three in every case. It is not the presence of one particular element in the paste that defines Addis Plain; rather, it is the presence of a variety of elements, both inorganic and organic, that is diagnostic. The allowance for the occasional presence of shell inclusions makes Addis Plain inconsistent with the concept of Baytown Plain as defined by Phillips, and justifies its reinstatement as a separate type.

At this point, a brief review of the history of Addis Plain as a typological concept is called for. Addis was originally defined as a clay-tempered type on the basis of material from historic and proto-historic "Natchezan" sites (Quimby 1942:265-266). It was also recognized to be a major element of the preceding "Plaquemine Culture" (Quimby 1951:107-109). Subsequently, the concept of Addis Plain was further expanded, so that by the time that Phillips (1970:48-49) got around to describing it as a variety of Baytown Plain, it was understood to cover "all 'clay-tempered' plainware of the Mississippi period from the Medora and Plaquemine phases in the Delta and Lower Red River regions to the Mayersville phase /in the Lower Yazoo Basin and possibly beyond." Brain, following Phillips, also describes Addis as a

variety of Baytown Plain (Williams and Brain, n.d.). Yet while specifically excluding the mode of shell tempering from his definition of the variety, each author alludes to a close relationship that Addis bears to certain shell-tempered varieties of Bell Plain. In discussing Bell Plain, var. Holly Bluff, Phillips states that there are cases

in which you can neither see shell nor cells left by its leaching; the general character of the paste then becomes very similar to that of the Addis variety of Baytown Plain. Obviously, we are close here to the borderline between 'clay' and shell tempering. Father south we shall be setting up a variety of Bell Plain (St. Catherine) in which shell occurs only incidentally as inclusions that may have been accidental. (Phillips 1970:60)

In describing Bell Plain, var. Greenville, Brain notes that

Greenville is essentially Addis ware in all respects of paste, surface finish, vessel form and rim modes, and really differs only in the apparently purposeful inclusion of shell as an added, but not exclusive, tempering agent. The addition of a little shell is in perfect accord with the rather casual inclusion of the variety of materials noted for Addis and so it may reasonably be questioned why we uphold distinct typological status for the variety and the type (Williams and Brain, n.d.).

It is significant to note that both Phillips and Brain define Addis on the basis of its occurrence in the Lower Yazoo Basin. The cultures in this region came under very strong Mississippian influence very soon after the appearance of Addis as part of the local ceramic complex. As a result, Addis began to be overshadowed by shell-tempered Mississippian plainwares before it had had an opportunity to fully manifest its individuality. Shell-tempered varieties, while bearing a close resemblance to Addis, were attributable to direct Mississippian influence and hence could be conveniently accommodated under the rubric of an already established Mississippian type, such as Bell Plain. In such a situation, it was perfectly natural for Phillips and Brain to view Addis as a terminal development in the local "clay-tempered" tradition and to include it in the type Baytown Plain.

In the Natchez region, we have found it appropriate to lay stress on the

close relationship existing between Addis and these grit/shell tempered varieties, rather than to consider them as being of different worlds. To be sure, the attribute of shell tempering is a Mississippian trait, yet it appears in our region only within the confines of a strongly-developed <u>local</u> ceramic tracition. The heterogeneous, organic nature of the paste in all these varieties is a common factor that overrides specific differences in temper, and so we have grouped them all under the banner of a single type--Addis Plain.

### Addis Plain, var. Addis [Plates 1,2]

Sample: Emerald - 2169 sherds; Foster - 3436 sherds

Description: This is the established variety that contains no observable shell inclusions, and was previously included in Baytown Plain. Because Phillips failed to come up with any reliable sorting criteria for this variety, we have relied on the definition supplied by Brain (Williams and Brain, n.d.). In our region, the common vessel forms are the simple bowl, the carinated bowl, the plate, the bottle, the straight sided beaker, and a jar-like beaker with an outflowing rim and slightly defined shoulders. Punctated, notehed, or scalloped rims occur, with or without an incision along the interior of the lip. "Tunica" rims (Hally 1972:Fig.59) are not uncommon. Rim straps also occur, either on the interior of shallow bowl, or the exterior of a jar-like beaker.

Chronological Position: Gordon, Anna, Emerald, and Natchez phases.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.; Quimby 1951:107-109; Phillips 1970:

48-49.

### Addis Plain, var. Greenville

Sample: Emerald - 28 sherds; Foster - 52 sherds

Description: This is exactly equivalent to what Brain sets up as Bell Plain, var. Greenville (Williams and Brain, n.d.) except that we have transplanted it into our new type Addis Plain. The reasons for this switch have already been discussed. In the Lower Yazoo Basin Brain recognizes Greenville as being diagnostic of the Winterville phase. He goes on, however, to state the possibility that "similar material will be recognized elsewhere, and at different periods, reflecting different cases of Lower Valley-Mississippian ceramic transition. These cases will probably require the recognition of distinct varieties" (Williams and Brain, n.d.). Although in our area ware comparable to Greenville continues to be produced throughout the Emerald phase and into historic times, it has its roots in a time period equivalent to the Winterville phase, and we see no need to recognize it as a new variety (nor do we have a concrete basis on which to do it).

Chronological Position: Anna and Emerald phases.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

Addis Plain, var. Junkin [Plate 3]

Sample: Emerald - 3 sherds; Foster - 55 sherds.

Description: new variety

Background. This variety encompasses a class of sherds that certainly represents the highest development of ceramic technology in the Lower Mississippi Valley, if not in all of North America. Essentially, it is a highly refined form of Addis Plain, var. St. Catherine. If our sample had consisted of only a handful of sherds, we would surely have classified them as St. Catherine, and not bothered to set up a new variety. However, we were lucky enough to hit upon a large sample in a well-defined stratigraphic context (i.e., the terminal occupation of the sub-mound midden at Foster, Location I).

Junkin's stratigraphic position at Foster and its rarity at other nearby

sites suggests that it was produced for a relatively short time. A variety with smaller temporal and spatial dimensions can hardly be imagined, and therein lies the great usefulness of the concept as a horizon marker (at least in our region). The existence of <u>Junkin</u> as a definable typological unit is a credit to the flexibility of the type-variety system.

Sorting Criteria. A delicate ware, generally no more than 4mm thick

Paste is similar to that of St. Catherine, although the particles are always extremely fine and very well compacted. Shell may be present in varying quantities, or not at all. The surface finish is literally flawless, being highly polished, and rarely exhibits any imperfections due to the leaching out of shell inclusions. Surface color ranges from black to tan, with most sherds being dark brown. Both carinated and simple bowl forms occur, along with a jar, jar-like beaker, and a barrel-shaped bottle with a short, flaring neck.

Distribution. Thus far known only from three sites, all located along St. Catherine's Creek in the Natchezan heartland. The largest sample is from Foster (26-K-3), with a few sherds from Emerald (26-L-1) and Fatherland (26-K-2). Comparable wares may occur in other regions, but if so they have probably been submerged in counts of Bell Plain. Regardless of this, the concept of Junkin is being purposefully limited to the Natchez region, where it has great usefulness as a chronological indicator.

Documentation. None

Chronological Position: Tightly confined to the beginning of the Emerald II sub-phase.

References: None

Addis Plain, var. Ratcliffe [Plate 4]

Sample: Emerald - 73 sherds; Foster - 30 sherds

Description: New variety

Background. In sorting through collections from proto-historic and historic contexts, we found that a substantial portion of the ware we classified as Addis had an unusually chunky paste and a distinctive reddish color. At first, we treated this combination of attributes as a mode, calling such sherds Addis (Red). However, once we resurrected the concept of Addis Plain, Addis (Red) became a perfect candidate for admission as a full-fledged variety. The original recognition of this category was based on sherds from Ratcliffe (26-K-46) and Village Sauvage (26-K-22).

Sorting Criteria. Generally, a rather coarse ware. The paste is chunky with large white (and sometimes black) inclusions clearly evident. Shell or bone inclusions may also be present. Surface color usually ranges from a medium shade of reddish-brown to an orange-red, or even a purplish-red. The surface is most often uneven, hardly being smoothed. The ware generally occurs in jars and simple bowls.

<u>Distribution</u>. Known from various late sites throughout the Natchez region, and from the historic Tunica sites at Trudeau (29-J-1) and Angola Farm (29-J-3). It can be expected to show up in historic contexts anywhere in the southern portion of the Lower Mississippi Valley.

Documentation. None

Chronological Position: Emerald II and Natchez phases

References: None

## Addis Plain, var. St. Catherine

Sample: Emerald - 80 sherds; Foster - 88 sherds

Description: This is the well-established variety listed by Phillips under the rubric of Bell Plain. He described it as "having a compact granular paste with fine inclusions, shell, very fine grit, or charred organic material" (Phillips 1970:61). The heterogeneity of the paste and its organic inclusions

fit this ware perfectly within our concept of Addis Plain. St. Catherine is distinguishable from Addis by the finer texture of its paste and the frequent inclusions of finely ground shell.

Chronological Position: Emerald and Natchez phases.

References: Phillips 1970:61

#### ALLIGATOR INCISED

One sherd from Foster was classified as Alligator Incised, <u>var. unspecified</u>
(Phillips 1970:38-40). It exhibits multiple parallel wet paste incisions on a ware similar to Baytown Plain, var. Reed.

#### ANNA INCISED

We are following Brain (Williams and Brain, n.d.) in considering Anna Incised a type distinct from Phillips' L'Eau Noire Incised (1970:100-101).

### Anna Incised, var. Anna

Sample: Emerald - 13 sherds; Foster - 35 sherds

Description: As described by Brain, except that we have chosen to keep <u>var</u>.

Australia a separate category. Generally, the ware corresponds to Addis Plain,

var. Addis. Two sherds, one from each site, contain some shell.

Chronological Position: Anna phase

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

## Anna Incised, var. Australia

Sample: Foster - 1 sherd

<u>Description</u>: As described by Phillips, except that we have followed Brain's suggestion and have placed this variety in his new type, Anna Incised. Unlike Brain, however, we have decided to keep this variety as a discrete unit, primarily on the basis of a suspicion that <u>Australia</u> has a somewhat different

spatial distribution than Anna, being centered somewhere to the south of the latter. Our one sherd is of a ware comparable to Addis and has a notched rim. Chronological Position: Anna phase

References: Phillips 1970:102 (described as a variety of L'Eau Noire Incised).

#### AVOYELLES PUNCTATED

This type was first set up and discussed at length by Phillips (1970: 41-43). Later, Brain expanded the type by adding two more varieties (Williams and Brain, n.d.), bringing the total up to five. In spite of the availability of all these categories, however, 6 sherds from Emerald and 2 from Foster have necessarily been classified as Avoyelles Punctated, var. unspecified. Perhaps with more work and more extensive samples, several new varieties will emerge in our area.

## Avoyelles Punctated, var. Dupree

Sample: Foster - 3 sherds

Description: As described by Phillips. The ware in our sample is comparable to Addis Plain, var. Addis.

<u>Chronological Position</u>: Gordon phase

References: Phillips 1970:42; Williams and Brain, n.d.

## Avoyelles Punctated, var. Tatum

Sample: Emerald - 4 sherds

<u>Description</u>: This is one of the new varieties described by Brain. All four shords have an <u>Addis</u> paste, with three of them coming from a single vessel.

Chronological Position: Gordon phase

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

#### AVENUE POLYCHROME

A very rare type in our area, its presence is probably indicative of some sort of contact with the Lower Arkansas and White River Basins.

### Avenue Polychrome, vac. Avenue

Sample: Emerald - 3 sherds

<u>Description</u>: This variety has been described by Phillips. Our three sherds were all found in the topmost level of Pit 535, and probably came from the same vessel.

Chronological Position: Emerald II sub-phase

References: Phillips 1970:41

## BARTON INCISED [Plate 5]

None of the sherds from our collection were distinctive enough to be classified into any of the established varieties of this type (see Phillips 1970:43-47 and Williams and Brain, n.d.). In most cases, the decoration consists of closely spaced, narrow incisions forming line-filled triangles, a pattern suggestive of the varieties Arcola or Estil. Two sherds from Emerald, however, have a much broader form of incision. This technique is strongly reminiscent of a late variety which recent work has associated with the historic Tunica (Brain, personal communication). All in all, seven sherds of Barton Incised were recovered at our sites: six from Emerald and one from Foster. Chronologically, this type first appears in our area at the terminal end of the Emerald I sub-phase, and continues on into historic times. In all probability it owes its presence to some form of contact with the bussissippian cultures to the north. There is no evidence that Barton Incised ever became an integral part of the indigenous ceramic tradition.

#### BAYTOWN PLAIN

Between 15 and 20% of the plain sherds in our collections were classified as Baytown Plain, var. unspecified (for a presentation of the type, see Phillips 1970:47-57). This is not to say that we were unable to distinguish any of the established varieties within our sample. On the contrary, a number of distinct varieties were clearly evident, but we could see no value in sorting them out and describing them separately. The recognition of Addis Plain as a type distinct from Baytown Plain has effectively relegated the latter to a time period earlier than the one with which we are primarily concerned. These earlier components at our sites are more efficiently recognized by the presence of decorated varieties; undecorated varieties are generally much less distinctive in chronological terms. Thus, for the purposes of this report, we consider it sufficient to note the presence of these undecorated varieties, and feel that is is unnecessary to deal with them quantitatively.

The varieties <u>Valley Park</u> and <u>Vicksburg</u> appeared in significant numbers at the Emerald site, and are assignable to a Coles Creek occupation nearby. A relatively heavy showing of <u>var. Reed</u> at the Foster site is consistent with the strong <u>Hamilton Ridge</u> component there. In addition, six sherds from Foster exhibited the cross-hatched "Hopewell rim" (Ford and Willey 1940: 85-86). This mode is characteristic of Baytown Plain, <u>var. Marksville</u>, a diagnostic of the Grand Gulf phase.

### BELDEAU INCISED

A rare type in our area, it has been described by Phillips (1970:57-58).

### Beldeau Incised, var. Bell Bayou

Sample: Foster - 1 sherd

Description: This is a category first set up by Brain. Our one sherd has an

Addis paste. Overall, its design is much more carefully executed than is usual for this variety.

Chronological Position: Gordon phase

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

#### CARTER ENGRAVED

This is another type that Brain (Williams and Brain, n.d.) has set up to include the material formerly subsumed under the concept of L'Eau Noire Incised.

## Carter Engraved, var. Carter

Sample: Emerald - 8 sherds; Foster - 6 sherds

<u>Description</u>: Our sample conforms to the description supplied by Brain. All these sherds have a paste comparable to Addis Plain, <u>var. Addis</u>, while one from Foster contains a little shell.

Chronological Position: Anna phase

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

## Carter Engraved, var. Mud Lake

Sample: Foster - 1 sherd

<u>Description</u>: Conforms to Brain's description, although the incision was made in a wetter paste than is usual for the type. The sherd comes from a carinated bowl of ware comparable to Baytown Plain, var. Vicksburg.

Chronological Position: By analogy with its position in the Southern Yazoo sequence: Balmoral or Gordon phase.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

## Carter Engraved, var. Shell Bluff

Sample: Foster - 1 sherd

Description: Here we are following Brain's description, which is much more definitive than the one supplied by Phillips (1970:103-104). Our one sherd

has a ware equivalent to Addis.

Chronological Position: Probably Gordon phase, again by analogy with the Southern Yazoo.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

#### CHEVALIER STAMPED

In speaking of this type, Brain was confident that "a further breakdown will be accomplished when the spatial dimension is more fully considered" (ibid). Contrary to this expectation, we have found that the sample from our region can be accommodated by the Southern Yazoo varieties with relative ease.

Chevalier Stamped, var. Cornelia [Plate 6]

Sample: Foster - 4 sherds

Description: These sherds generally fit Brain's description, although we suspect that with more work they may turn out to be representative of a distinct variety. In our sample, the bands of rocker stamping are wide (approx. 14mm) and very closely spaced. In one case, the corners of the stamping in adjacent bands overlap. The ware is close to the Reed variety of Baytown Plain and occurs in the form of a simple beaker.

Chronological Position: Hamilton Ridge and/or Sundown phase.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

## Chevalier Stamped, var. Lulu

Sample: Emerald - 1 sherd

<u>Description</u>: This sherd fits the description given by Brain. Its paste is somewhat odd, but close enough to Addis. At the time the Lake George report was being written, this variety was known only from two sites - Lake George (21-N-1) and Medora (31-L-6)--which are 200 miles apart by air, and at least twice that by water. Mindful of this discontinuous distribution, Brain noted

that "for <u>Lulu</u> to be valid in geographical terms, this gap must be filled, or some explanation offered for the hiatus." The sherd from Emerald was found squarely in the middle of this geographical gap, and provides us with our first tenuous "missing link."

Chronological Position: Gordon phase

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

### Chevalier Stamped, var. Perry

Sample: Emerald - 3 sherds; Foster - 1 sherd

Description: All of our sherds conform closely to the definition supplied by Brain. The bands of stamping are relatively narrow, ranging from 5 to 7mm wide. The only identifiable vessel shape is the one that Brain describes as a "large flared rim jar". Generally, the ware is similar to Addis Plain, var. Addis.

Chronological Position: Gordon phase

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

#### CHICOT RED

This type has been set up to include all red-slipped pottery of a ware equivalent to Addis Plain. The name was first used by Brain (1969:166-168) in recognizing the presence of red-slipped Addis in the Southern Yazoo Basin. Later, he integrated this concept into the type-variety system as a variety of Larto Red (Williams and Brain, n.d.). In strictly typological terms, this assignment was a logical one; yet at the time he set it up, Brain was aware that is was not entirely satisfactory.

Because of the temporal lapse between /Chicot/ and the earlier varieties /of Larto Red/, and because there is every reason to believe that the decorative idea was derived from an entirely different source (it appears in the local ceramic complex after the Mississippian introduction of Old Town Red), it could be argued that a separate type is called for. It is a moot point; but we opted for the economical route (Williams and Brain, n.d.).

At the time of his writing, Addis was still considered a variety of Baytown

Plain. Hence, a red-slipped Addis could legitimately be considered a variant of Larto Red. Now that we have set up Addis Plain as a distinct type, a correspondingly distinct type of redware is called for. Following the rule of priority in recognition, we have re-elevated the concept of Chicot Red to the status it previously enjoyed.

Chicot Red, var. Fairchild [Plate 7]

Sample: Emerald - 2 sherds; Foster - 7 sherds

Description: New variety

Background. When we first encountered a red-slipped ware equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Addis, out tendency was to include it in the established var. Chicot (Williams and Brain, n.d.). Since then, we have reconsidered the matter and chosen to set up a distinct local variety. In the Southern Yazoo, Chicot is chronologically restricted to the early Winterville phase, and seems to have some genetic affinity with the "Tippets Bean Pot" in the thinness of its ware and its often tapered rims. These features give it a particular historical significance that does not necessarily apply to the comparable redware in our region. Furthermore, indications are strong that there may be a temporal incongruence between Chicot and Fairchild, with the latter at least partially post-dating the former.

Sorting Criteria. A red slip applied to a ware equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Addis. Generally, the sherds are rather thick and often have a rough, uneven surface finish. The only vessel form evident in our sample is the simple unrestricted bowl, with the slip applied either to both surfaces or the interior only. This latter variant may ultimately prove to be significant enough to warrant distinct varietal status.

<u>Distribution</u>. Scattered minor occurrences in the Natchez region. The largest sample to date comes from Foster.

Documentation. None

Chronological Position: Possibly Anna phase, but its stratigraphic position at Foster more strongly suggests an Emerald I or early Emerald II date.

References: None

Chicot Red, var. Grand Village

Sample: Emerald - 3 sherds; Foster - 6 sherds

Description: When originally described by Phillips, this variety was included in the type Old Town Red. Here, it has been moved to Chicot Red for the sake of typological consistency: The ware on which <u>Grand Village</u> occurs (<u>St. Catherine</u>) is now recognized as a variety of Addis Plain. Within our sample, three sherds are slipped only on the exterior, four only on the interior, and the remaining two are red on both surfaces. Recognizable vessel forms are the bottle and the unrestricted bowl.

Chronological Position: Terminal Emerald I lasting all the way into the historic Natchez phase.

References: Phillips 1970:146

#### COLEMAN INCISED

When Phillips (1970:69) first recognized this type as the "clay-tempered" counterpart of Winterville Incised, he did not have enough data at hand to break it down into meaningful sub-units. All he could do was to set up a single variety that acted, in effect, as a catchall. Brain (Williams and Brain, n.d.) subsequently tightened up the concept to some extent by limiting it to the technique of wet-paste incision: All fithe "trailed" examples were moved to Leland Incised, var. Bethlehem. Yet in spite of this refinement, he was still left with a "rather heterogeneous grouping" to be classified as var. Coleman.

The first hint that Coleman Incised could, indeed, be further broken down came from Hally's work in the Upper Tensas Basin (1972). Downplaying the significance of temper as a classificatory criterion, he included Coleman in the type Winterville Incised. This variety was defined as occuring on a ware comparable to Addis, being decorated "exclusively by incision wit! a narrow pointed tool in a wet paste" (ibid:282). Here, the narrowness of the curvilinear incision appeared to be the prime sorting criterion. A wider, trough shaped incision was characteristic of a later (Fitzhugh phase) variety of Winterville Incised-Belzoni. In speaking of the Upper Tensas material, Hally notes that

The great majority of Belzoni sherds at Transylvania are shell-tempered but there are numerous examples with Addis or Addis/shell paste. At the Fitzhugh site, Belzoni is predominantly clay-tempered, while at Canebrake, both types of tempering occur, but with shell in the majority. It is apparent that tempering varies with both time and latitude. (ibid:404)

In our typology, we feel that the temper line is one that should not ordinarily be crossed. Hence, the clay tempered variant of <u>Belzoni</u> deserves to be set up as a distinct variety of Coleman Incised, being later than the established <u>var. Coleman</u>. On the basis of the material from our sites, this is exactly what we have done.

## Coleman Incised, var. Coleman [Plate 20g]

Sample: Emerald - 1 sherd

Description: We have already noted that the definitions based on material from the Yazoo Basin are much too vague. Here we have chosen to follow the description supplied by Hally, which is much more specific:

Decoration is exclusively by incision with a narrow pointed tool in wet paste. Lines average about 1mm in width and are at least that deep. Wet, burred lines are quite characteristic. Occasionally, the burr is smoothed over. Festoons consistently arranged in an imbrication pattern is the sole design that has been identified.

The ware is equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Addis.

Chronological Position: Anna phase

References: Hally 1972:280-284 (described as a variety of Winterville Incised).

Coleman Incised, var. Bass [Plate 8]

Sample: Emerald - 4 sherds; Foster - 8 sherds

Description: New variety

<u>Background</u>. This is the clay-tempered variant of Winterville Incised, <u>var. Belzoni</u> that Hally (1972:404) recognized in the Upper Tensas Basin. As discussed above, we feel that this variant should more properly be considered within the type Coleman Incised. Here we have set it up as a variety distinct from <u>Coleman</u>, because there seems to be a strong temporal difference between the two.

Sorting Criteria. Broad, curvilinear incisions, carelessly made in a wet paste. These incisions are usually from 2-3mm wide and generally have rough, burred edges. The design consists of multiple parallel lines in short areas, or "festoons", arranged in an overall imbricated pattern. The only vessel form identified thus far is the large beaker-like jar with a slightly flaring rim and a faintly constricted neck. The ware is comparable to Addis Plain, var. Addis, although one particularly fine example from Foster has a paste that comes close to var. Junkin. Characteristically, rim sherds of this variety exhibit an exterior rim strap, a mode clearly associated with the Emerald I sub-phase.

<u>Distribution</u>. Thus far, this variety is known from various sites in the Natchez region and in the Upper Tensas Basin.

Documentation. Cotter 1951b: Fig.17 (2); Cotter 1952: Fig.56 (4,9);
Neitzel 1965: plate 11 (r); Hally 1972:404 (discussed as a clay-tempered variant of Belzeni).

Chronological Position: Emerald I sub-phase

References: None

#### COLES CREEK INCISED

This ubiquitous type is represented in most of its range at the Emerald site, indicating the presence of a continuous Coles Creek occupation nearby. Foster, on the other hand, has produced only the very earliest and the very latest varieties of this type, with the notable absence of sherds belonging to the Ballina and Balmoral phases. (These phases are the "classic" expression of Coles Creek culture in our area.) All in all, our sample is easily accomodated within the varieties established by Phillips (1970:69-76).

## Coles Creek Incised, var. Coles Creek

Sample: Emerald - 2 sherds

Description: Excactly as described by Phillips

Chronological Position: Ballina phase

References: Phillips 1970:70; Williams and Brain, n.d.

### Coles Creek Incised, var. Blakely

Sample: Emerald - 1 sherd

<u>Description</u>: Exactly as described by Phillips, the ware of this sherd being equivalent to Baytown Plain, var. Vicksburg.

Chronological Position: Balmoral phase

References: Phillips 1970:70-71; Williams and Brain, n.d.

## Coles Creek Incised, var. Hardy

Sample: Emerald - 9 sherds; Foster - 3 sherds

Description: Our sample fits the description of Phillips. These sherds generally have a paste similar to Addis; one sherd from Foster contains some shell inclusions. Another interesting mode is exhibited by a sherd from Emerald, which has its horizontal lines broken up by a number of blank vertical panels. Such panels are common on certain Anna phase varieties, most notably Carter

Engraved, var. Carter and Leland Incised, var. Bethlehem.

Chronological Position: Gordon phase

References: Phillips 1970:73-74; Williams and Brain, n.d.

Coles Creek Incised, var. Mott

Sample: Emerald - 22 sherds

Description: Our sample conforms to the description given by Phillips.

Chronological Position: Balmoral phase

References: Phillips 1970:75-76; Williams and Brain, n.d.

Coles Creek Incised, var. Wade

Sample: Foster - 1 sherd

Description: This one sherd conforms to Phillips' description. It has two overhanging lines near the lip, and a slightly thickened rim that Brain notes as being occasionally present in the Lake George sample.

Chronological Position: Sundown phase

References: Phillips 1970:76; Williams and Brain, n.d.

#### EVANSVILLE PUNCTATED

One sherd from Emerald was classified as Evansville Punctated, var.

unspecified (see Phillips1970:78-81). It has fairly large, round punctations

3mm in diameter) on a ware similar to Baytown Plain, var. Valley Park.

### FATHERLAND INCISED

In sorting through the collections from our region, we soon came to realize that Leland Incised (as it had been defined by Phillips 1970:104-107) is strongly bi-modal in its decorative technique. On one hand, there was a class of sherds that were "trailed", that is, decorated with a line that was "U" shaped in cross-section, at least 2mm wide, and generally shallow. Such material formed the basis for the original recognition of Leland Incised

(Phillips et al 1951:137-140). In contrast to this, a second class of sherds was characterized by a much more narrow, and generally cruder incision. We have tentatively chosen to set this latter category up as a separate type--Fatherland Incised. Into this newly-formed type, we have moved some established varieties that were previously grouped under Leland Incised. These are Fatherland, Bayou Goula, and Natchez, although the last is no longer a separate variety (see remarks under var. Fatherland). We have also defined two new varieties.

The difference between Fatherland Incised and Leland Incised is not merely an arbitrary boundary set up within the normal range of variation of a <u>single</u> attribute, i.e., the width of the incision. Rather, there is a definite tendency for a distinct <u>group</u> of attributes to cluster in each type. Leland Incised has a mode of incision characterized by a line that is at least 2mm wide, shallow, "U" shaped, and generally smooth. In Fatherland Incised, the line is narrow, usually square in cross-section, and most often ragged. Sometimes the line is so narrow that it can best be described as a scratch. In practice, there does exist (as much as we hate to admit it) a middle ground between these two modes of incision, but such intermediate cases are rare within the total sample.

Nevertheless, one may still question the necessity for Fatherland Incised as a new typological unit. Admittedly, it is very closely related to Leland Incised. Both embody the same general "decorative idea", yet, as we have seen, the execution of this idea is significantly different in each case. The relationship between Fatherland Incised and Leland Incised is such that they could both be considered sub-types of a single "super-type". It would be undesirable, however, to introduce this third operational level into our system of typology. Thus, we are left with a pair of options, each of which is viable, yet neither of which is fully satisfactory. Either we can keep Leland Incised

as a single, overextended concept; or we can split it into two types that are distinguishable, yet closely related. For the purposes of this study, we have chosen the latter route.

The decision we have made in this case was by no means arbitrary. It was prompted by the fact that, in our region, there is an important chicalological difference between Fatherland Incised and Leland Incised. If the two were lumped under a single heading, this difference would be somewhat obscured. In Phillips classification, a sherd described as Leland, var. unspecified, could conceivably fit anywhere within the long temporal span from Anna phase to historic times. As it is defined in this classification, Leland Incised does not appreciably continue beyond the Emerald I sub-phase, being almost entirely replaced by Fatherland Incised in the Emerald II and Natchez phases.

Thus, for the purposes of this report, it has been convenient to set off Fatherland Incised as a separate type. Ultimately, its overall value as a discrete typological unit will have to be tested over a much wider area. If it turns out tp be less than worthwhile, then the varieties that we discuss here can easily be shifted back into Leland Incised.

To briefly review the history of the term Fatherland Incised, it was first used by Ford and Willey (1940:56) to describe what is now the established variety of that name. Subsequent documentation was provided by Jennings (1941:78), Quimby (1942:263-264; 1957:123), and Neitzel (1965:19-20). Because of the priority that this variety has had in recognition, it has given its name to the type.

Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland [Plate 9]

Sample: Emerald - 35 sherds; Foster - 53 sherds

<u>Description</u>: This is the established variety described by Phillips with one major modification: It is now defined to include the two-line variant previously set apart as <u>var. Natchez</u>. Stratigraphically, we saw no difference

in the distribution of this variant with respect of the three-line variant, and so we could see no justification for making a typological distinction between the two. In fact, we have at least one case where both three- and two-line elements occur on the same vessel. If anything, the four-line variant should be set off as a separate variety, for it seems to be confined solely to the Natchez phase.

In contrast to Phillips' description, <u>Fatherland</u> can occur on a number of wares comparable to all the varieties of Addis Plain.

Chronological Position: Emerald II and Natchez phases.

References: Phillips 1970:106-107

Fatherland Incised, var. Bayou Goula [Plate 12d]

Sample: Emerald - 1 sherd

Description: As described by Phillips

Chronological Position: Late Emerald II and Natchez phase

References: Phillips 1970:104-105

Fatherland Incised, var. Pine Ridge [Plate 10]

Sample: Emerald - 1 sherd; Foster - 55 sherds

Description: New variety

Background. This variety is based on a large number of sherds excavated at Foster, all but three of which were finely executed on a ware equivalent to Junkin, representing two or three partial vessels.

Sorting Criteria. Multiple parallel incised lines in a spiral whorl pattern. The overall decorative idea is similar to that of Leland Incised, var. Ferris, but the lines are much finer. Often, the outer edge of the decorated zone is outlined by a single trailed incision. The ware is comparable to the Junkin or St. Catherine varieties of Addis Plain.

Distribution. Thus far, known only from our two sites and the Anna site (26-K-1). Elsewhere, it may be submerged in counts of Leland Incised, var.

Ferris.

Documentation. Cotter 1951b: Fig. 19 (13,17).

Chronological Position: It seems to fit right in the period of transition between Emerald I and Emerald II.

References: None

Fatherland Incised, var. Stanton [Plate 11]

Sample: Emerald - 73 sherds; Foster - 30 sherds

Description: New variety

<u>Background</u>. This variety is closely related to <u>Fatherland</u>, yet lacks the characteristic multilinear treatment.

Sorting Criteria. Narrow incision forming curvilinear designs, usually running scroll and meander patterns. The design is carried out in single lines and is generally open-spaced, often having triangular fillers. The ware is comparable to any variety of Addis Plain.

<u>Distribution</u>. Thus far, it is known from various sites in the Natchez region.

<u>Documentation</u>. Cotter 1951b: Fig.16 (2,3,7), Fig.18 (1); Cotter 1952: Fig.57 (2,3); Neitzel 1965: Fig.20 (1,m).

Chronological Position: Emerald phase, primarily Emerald II and Natchez phase.

References: None

### FRENCH FORK INCISED

In speaking of this type as it occurs at the Lake George Site (21-N-1), Brain (Williams and Brain, n.d.) notes that a significant portion of the material resists being classified into any of the six varieties set up by Phillips (1270:83-87). Unfortunately, the same is true of our material as well: Eight of the ten sherds recovered at our sites necessarily fall into the category var. unspecified. Perhaps with further research, we will be able to formulate new varieties that will somewhat alleviate this problem, yet it is unlikely that the final solution will be so simple. Much of our classificatory difficulty results from factors that are intrinsic to the nature of the type itself. French Fork Incised generally embodies a freewheeling and non-repetitive decorative intent that is very difficult to categorize in varietal terms.

The sherds we have classified as French Fork Incised, <u>var. unspecified</u>, in some respects form a rather heterogeneous grouping. Backgrou d treatments vary: Four sherds exhibit hatchure and one exhibits stippling. Individual incisions often terminate in triangular punctations. Our two rim sherds come from restricted bowls and have a single horizontal incision just below the lip. This mode seems to be characteristic of the late Hamilton Ridge and Sundown phases.

## French Fork Incised, var. Laborde

Sample: Foster - 1 sherd

Description: This sherd fits the description given by Phillips. Each of the parallel incisions forming the background treatment terminates in a triangular punctation.

Chronological Position: This sherd was found in the sub-mound midden at Foster, which entirely lacks a Ballina or Balmoral phase component (as evidenced by the complete absence of Coles Creek Incised, var. Coles Creek and Mott).

By a process of elimination we are thus forced to assign this sherd to the Sundown or Hamilton Ridge phase components, which are present in some strength. Interestingly enough, Phillips (1970:349) found a sherd of <u>Laborde</u> in a collection from the Crump site (21-0-5) which consisted of an almost pure late Deasonville assemblage.

References: Phillips 1970:85

French Fork Incised, var. McNutt

Sample: Emerald - 1 sherd

<u>Description</u>: As described by Phillips, except that this sherd also exhibits the two line rim mode characteristic of the <u>Greenhouse</u> variety of Coles Creek Incised (see Phillips 1970:72-73).

Chronological Position: Balmoral phase

References: Phillips 1970:86

## GRACE BRUSHED

We have found it appropriate to follow Brain in placing the shell tempered variant of <u>Plaquemine</u> in a separate type. There is no denying the <u>Grace</u> and <u>Plaquemine</u> are closely related. Indeed, they are for the most part contemporary and occur at the same sites. Nevertheless, their separation is warranted by the fact that the two belong to different worlds, ceramically speaking. One falls into the Mississippian (or Mississippian-influenced) ceramic sphere, while the other is distinctively Plaquemine. A more extensive discussion of this move can be found in the appropriate section of Brain's typology (Fillians and Brain, n.d.).

Grace Brushed, var. Grace

Sample: Foster - 2 sherds

bescription: As described by Phillips.

Chronological Position: Anna phase and probably Emerald I.

References: Phillips 1970:53 (listed under Plaquemine Brushed).

### HARRISON BAYOU INCISED

Sherds of this widespread type are absent at Foster, but they do make an appearance at Emerald.

Harrison Bayou Incised, var. Harrison Bayou

Sample: Emerald - 7 sherds

<u>Description</u>: Our sample coincides with Phillips' description. None of our sherds contained shell, as was sometimes the case at Lake George (Williams and Brain, n.d.).

Chronological Position: Gordon phase

References: Phillips 1970:87-88

## HOLLYKNOWE PINCHED

In the interests of keeping our typological units up to date with the latest work, we have here adopted Brain's (Williams and Brain, n.d.) concept of this type, which is a slightly modified version of Phillips' Hollyknowe Ridge Pinched (1970:88-90).

Hollyknowe Pinched, var. Patmos

Sample: Foster - 2 sherds

<u>Description</u>: As described by Brain, both sherds show prominent ridges and have a paste equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Addis.

Chronological Position: Anna phase

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

### LARTO, RED

This type has been subject to a great deal of temporal expansion in recent

years, but here we have cut it back down to size. When first defined as a "clay-tempered" redware (Phillips 1970:98-99)), it was effectively confined to the Baytown and early Coles Creek periods. Subsequently, Brain (Williams and Brain, n.d.) added the late variety Chicot to this type, and by doing so he stretched the concept almost to it breaking point. At this writing, we have moved Chicot to a new type (see the discussion under Chicot Red) and have limited Larto Red to include red slipped varieties of ware equivalent to Baytown Plain, as it is now defined (minus var. Addis).

## Larto Red, var. Larto

Sample: Emerald - 1 sherd; Foster - 17 sherds

Description: As described by Phillips. At least two different vessel modes are discernable within our sample. One is a shallow bowl with a rounded and slightly thickened lip, outlined on the interior by an incision. The second is a restricted bowl form with a single overhanging incision drawn very close to the exterior of the lip. It is noteworthy that this latter vessel mode was also observed on two other sherds from Foster of the type French Fork Incised, var. unspecified.

Chronological Position: Hamilton Ridge and Sundown phases

References: Phillips 1970:99

# Larto Red, var. Silver Creek

Sample: Foster - 1 sherd

Description: This unique sherd does not exactly fit the definition given by Phillips, but we have decided that it is close enough to the norm to be included within this variety. It comes from a large shallow bowl, and has the characteristic overhanging incision placed well below its flattened lip. The unusual feature is the presence of a second overhanging line, this one very close to the lip. Disregarding the rods of color, this sherd exhibits a decorative treatment intermediate between Coles Creek Incised var. Phillips

(Williams and Brain, n.d.) and <u>var. Stoner</u>. The presence of <u>overhanging</u>
lines, however, is more consistent with the latter concept. Thus, with all
due respect, we feel that this sherd can be called <u>Silver Creek</u> without doing
excessive violence to the original definition.

Chronological Position: Sundown phase

References: Phillips 1970:100

### L'EAU NOIRE INCISED

Having been redefined by Brain (Williams and Brain, n.d.) this type has been left with only one variety that occurs in our area. Other varieties that were previously grouped in this type (Phillips 1970:100-104) have now been divided up between the two new types Anna Incised and Carter Engraved.

## L'Eau Noire Incised, var. L'Eau Noire

Sample: Emerald - 3 sherds

<u>Description</u>: As described by Brain. All our sherds exhibit the mode of excision. All have a paste comparable to Addis Plain, <u>var. Addis</u>; two contain some shell inclusions. Noteworthy here is the complete vessel recovered from Emerald and illustrated by Brown (1926: Fig. 342).

Chronological Position: Anna phase

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

#### LELAND INCISED

This is no longer the overextended type defined by Phillips (1970:104-107) but only a remnant of it. By splitting off Fatherland Incised as a separate type (see the remarks thereunder), we have restricted the concept of Leland Incised to include only "trailed" incision, that is, lines that are "rather broad and relatively shallow" (ibid:104) and generally "U" shaped in cross section. At our sites, only three varieties of this type have been recognized,

including one that is new.

## Leland Incised, var. Blanchard

Sample: Emerald - 2 sherds

Description: As described by Phillips. Both of our sherds seem to have come

from shallow, plate-like bowls.

Chronological Position: Emerald phase

References: Phillips 1970:105

## Leland Incised, var. Ferris

Sample: Emerald - 2 sherds

<u>Description</u>: As described by Phillips, but limited to include only "trailed" incision. The multiple parallel lines are closely-spaced and fill most of the vessel surface in a spiral whorl motif. Often the decorated area is outlined by a single, even broader incision. When the same overall design is carried out in a fine line technique, it is classified as Fatherland Incised, <u>var. Pine Ridge</u>.

Chronological Position: A good marker for the Emerald I sub-phase.

References: Phillips 1970:106-107

Leland Incised, var. Foster [Plate 13]

Sample: Emerald - 35 sherds; Foster - 70 sherds

Description: New variety

Background. This is the local variety of Leland Incised contemporary with var. Leland farther north. As can be expected, the two are very closely related, often being indistinguishable. They do differ, however, in at least one significant mode that reinforces their separate status. Foster entirely lacks the rounded exterior rim straps or the bulbous lips that are so characteristic of Leland. Instead, one finds that rims are either plain, or somewhat thickened on the interior. The lip can be either rounded or

squared. Invariably, a single incision circles the exterior of the rim, well below the lip. There is never a corresponding incision on the interior.

Moreover, var. Foster's surface finish is on the average not as nicely polished as var. Leland's.

early variety of Leland Incised comparable to <u>Bethlehem</u>. Neither of our sites provided the stratigraphic information necessary for making such a distinction. We must take note, however, of a partial vessel excavated from Mound 5 at the Anna site (26-K-1) (Cotter 1951b: Fig.21, 5) which is almost identical to an example of <u>Bethlehem</u> from <u>Winterville</u> (19-L-1) (Brain 1969: pl.6, m). In view of this, and the existence in our collections of a few sherds which are formally similar to <u>Bethlehem</u>, we strongly suspect that a corresponding early variety will ultimately be recognized.

Sorting Criteria. Curvilinear designs similar to those found on var.

Leland (Phillips 1970:104) carried out in trailed incisions, usually polished over, most commonly occurs on bowls of ware comparable to Addis Plain, var. Addis, var. Greenville, or var. St. Catherine.

<u>Distribution</u>. This variety is known from various sites in the Natchez region.

<u>Documentation</u>. Cotter 1951b: Fig.16 (4), Fig.18 (2), Fig.21 (4); Neitzel 1965: pl.10, EE; Brown 1973:9.

Chronological Position: Primarily Emerald I, although its range probably extends a bit earlier.

References: None

#### MADDOX ENGRAVED

Here we find one of these rare instances where a variety has been dropped instead of added. At the time he wrote his 1970 report, Phillips (1970:108) set up two varieties of Maddox Engraved in our area, being differentiated by

the ware on which they occured. This division was based on his idea that there was a significant temporal and cultural dichotomy between the varieties Addis and St. Catherine of Addis Plain. The former was considered "Plaquemine" and the latter "Natchezan." Since then, it has become clear in our work that this distinction is a false one. During the Emerald Mase, Addis and St. Catherine were almost totally interchangable. The two varieties were used contemporaneously and with the same types of decoration. In this light, the distinction between Maddox Engraved, var. Baptiste (on Addis) and var. Emerald (on St. Catherine) has become untenable. As expected, there is no stratigraphic separation between the two. We have therefore combined them both in an expanded var. Emerald.

# Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald [Plate 14]

Sample: Emerald - 18 sherds; Foster - 30 sherds

Description: As discussed above, we have expanded this concept to include what was formerly classified as <u>Baptiste</u>. The sherds in our sample generally come from bowls and bottles or a ware equivalent to Addis Plain, <u>var. Addis</u>, <u>var. St. Catherine</u>, or <u>var. Junkin</u>. <u>Emerald</u> is often difficult to sort from its northern counterpart, <u>Silver City</u> (Phillips 1970:109). Further research is certain to reveal a difference between the two in rim modes and vessel forms analogous to the difference between the <u>Foster</u> and <u>Leland</u> varieties of Leland Incised.

Chronological Position: Emerald phase, primarily Emerald II, continuing on into the Natchez phase.

References: Phillips 1970:108-109

## MARKSVILLE INCISED

Sherds of this type occurred at both of our sites, there being five.

from Emerald and two from Foster. None were distinctive enough to be classified

in any of the established varieties (Phillips 1970:110-119).

### MARKSVILLE STAMPED

Besides the sherds listed under the varieties below, noteworthy is the presence at Foster of six "Hopewell Rims" (Phillips 1970:121) that have been necessarily classified as Baytown Plain, var. Marksville. These may have originally been associated with vessels of Marksville Stamped, var. Marksville or Mabin, or possibly Marksville Incised, var. Marksville, all of which are markers for the Grand Gulf phase.

## Marksville Stamped, var. Mabin

Sample: Foster - 2 sherds

<u>Description</u>: As described by Phillips. One of the sherds exhibits a Hopewell Rim outlined at the bottom with a row of hemiconical punctates. Just below these punctates and parallel or them are two closely-spaced "U" shaped incisions. The precise nature of the dentate stamping on this sherd cannot be determined, raising the possibility that it may in fact be Marksville Stamped, var. Marksville. (ibid: 120-121).

Chronological Position: Point Lake phase

References: Phillips 1970:122-123

## Marksville Stamped, var. Newsome

Sample: Foster - 1 sherd

Description: As described by Phillips

Chronological Position: Issaquena phase

References: Phillips 1970:125

## Marksville Stamped, var. Troyville

Sample: Emerald - 1 sherd

Description: As described by Phillips.

Chronological Position: Issaquena phase

References: Phillips 1970:125-127

## MAZIQUE INCISED

Numerically, this is the most prevalent type in our collection. Two
of the varieties discussed hereunder were set up by Phillips, while the
third was originally recognized by Hally.

## Mazique Incised, var. Kings Point

Sample: Emerald - 8 sherds

Description: Exactly as described by Phillips, except that the band of decoration is in most cases composed of oblique parallel lines, instead of line-filled triangles. All of the rim sherds have a squared lip. On two sherds, the lower border of the decorated band may have been defined by multiple parallel horizontal incisions, much like those characteristic of Coles Creek Incised, var. Mott. The ware in all cases is similar to Baytown Plain, var. Vicksburg.

Chronological Position: Balmoral phase

References: Phillips 1970:129

Mazique Incised, var. Manchac [Plates 15,16,17 a-c, f-g]

Sample: Emerald - 99 sherds; Foster - 248 sherds

Description: Manchac as it stands now is an amazingly overextended concept, sorely in need of division. It has commonly been used to include a wide range of material, dating from late Coles Creek to the historic time period. All this material is consistent with the concept as it was defined, yet this should be taken as an indication of the fact that the concept could use some refinement. The need for such refinements becomes all the more acute when we realize that the temporal distribution of Manchac, as it has traditionally

been defined, is discontinuous: <u>Manchac</u> appears to be completely absent during the Anna phase.

Let us proceed then by first attempting to clear up some of the confusion. On the basis of the sample from our sites, and comparative samples from elsewhere, we have been able to recognize three distinct variants of Manchae, all of which have temporal significance. For the most part, these variants are distinguishable on the basis of rim mode and vessel form, and to a lesser extent by decorative technique and ware. A discussion of each of these variants—labelled early, middle, and late—is presented below.

The early variant occurs in terminal Coles Creek contexts (Gordon phase here, Crippen Point phase farther north) and is developed directly from the earlier var. Kings Point. The design usually consists of a band of parallel oblique lines or line-filled triangles placed on the rim of beakers or beaker-like jars. Individual lines tend to be very closely spaced. The upper limit of the decorated band is formed by either a single horizontal line drawn close to the lip, or by the lip itself. Incision is carried out carelessly in a wet paste, usually (but not always) with a narrow pointed tool. Rims are characteristically straight, or slightly outflaring, and the lip is usually square with rounded edges. The ware is equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Addis, although sometimes it may contain a little shell.

This early variant comprises most of the sherds classified as Manchac at Lake George (Williams and Brain, n.d.). Hally (1972:310) on the other hand has recognized this variant in the Upper Tensas and set it up as a distinct variety (Preston) of Mazique Incised. In view of its temporal separation from the middle and late variants of Manchac, this typological separation is a logical necessity (see Phillips 1979:27) and should be upheld. Unfortunately, Preston is practically impossible to sort from Manchac, unless one happens to come across a rim sherd. A few such rim sherds have been found at Emerald

and Foster, attesting to the presence of <u>Preston</u> at both sites, but it would be meaningless for us to try to deal with this variety quantitatively, because we have no idea of what percentage of the body sherds we have classified as <u>Manchac</u> actually belong to the early variant. Thus, we are forced to compromise: <u>Preston</u> is described as a variety in this report, and its presence at out sites is formally attested to; yet in quantitative terms, <u>Preston</u> has been subsumed within our counts of <u>Manchac</u>. Suffice it to say that judging from the relative proportions of rim sherds, <u>Preston</u> forms a minority in our collections such that our numerical impression of <u>Manchac</u> in its middle and late variants has not been too severely distorted.

As we have noted before, <u>Preston</u> (i.e., the early variant of <u>Manchac</u>) seems to be confined to the Gordon phase. Anna phase, which follows Gordon seems to represent a complete hiatus in the presence of Mazique Incised. Thus, when <u>Manchac</u> (middle variant) reappears at the start of the Emerald I subphase, it is not at all clear where its developmental roots lie. Whether it comes about through some latent stylistic link with the past, or whether it is derived from Barton Incised farther north is a moot point; here, we prefer the latter explanation. In any event, this variant dies out sometime during the Emerald II sub-phase.

The middle variant of Manchac is characterized by a broad and sloppy wet paste incision. In some cases, the lines are so broad and shallow and close-spaced that at first glance the sherd appears to have been brushed. Closer examination, however, always reveals that the lines were made individually. Diagnostic of middle variant is a broad exterior rim strap. Sometimes, the strap tend to be narrower and more rounded, and has the appearance of being "rolled." (This latter treatment occurred on the smaller, more carefully made vessels we encountered at Foster.) The vessel form is invariably the beaker-like jar, with a faintly defined neck and a slightly outflaring rim.

Decoration is limited to the upper half of these vessels, and usually extends all the way up to the base of the rim strap. The design most often consists of line-filled triangles. Alternately, one may find horizontal bands of parallel oblique incisions forming a herringbone pattern (see Neitzel 1965: pl. 10E). A third pattern consists of diagonal bands filled with parallel vertical incisions (see Cotter 1952: Fig.56-57). All these vessels have an Addis paste, although a few particularly fine examples from Foster have a ware that comes close to Junkin.

The third variant of Manchac first makes its appearance sometime during the Emerald I phase and lasts into the historic Natchez phase. It is distinguishable from the others primarily by its vessel form--a globular jar with a well defined neck and an outflaring rim. This shape is indisputably Mississippian in origin. The decoration is poorly executed in a wet paste and is always confined to the shoulder area. The design almost always consists of line-filled triangles (see Neitzel 1965: Fig.21C; also Hally 1972: Fig.65), although a single vessel with a line-filled diagonal bands was found at the Gordon site (26-L-2) (Cotter 1952: Fig.60, 3). Individual incisions are usually widely spaced. The ware is comparable to Addis Plain, var. Addis or var. Ratcliffe, and may sometimes contain shell inclusions. One partial vessel from Foster had a Junkin-like paste.

Chronological Position: Emerald phase and Natchez phase, as discussed above.

(The Gordon phase variant is now considered to be <u>var. Preston</u>, even though all of it has been sorted as <u>Manchac</u>).

References: Phillips 1970:129-130

Mazique Incised, var. Preston [Plates 17 d-e]

Sample: Emerald - 3 rim sherds; Foster - 3 rim sherds. Because all but rim sherds are unsortable from Manchac, the total sample of Preston is unknown, having been included in counts of Manchac.

Description: As described by Hally,

Preston is characterized by incised lines that are quite narrow and deep usually burred and typically very close-spaced. Decorative design is most frequently the line-filled triangle, sometimes with punctate filled areas included<sup>1</sup>, although line-filled squares and vertical bands of diagonal lines also occur. (1972:310)

The ware is comparable to Addis Plain, var. Addis.

Chronological Position: Gordon phase

References: Hally 1972:310

### MISSISSIPPI PLAIN

Sixty-four sherds from Emerald and thirty from Foster belong to the type Mississippi Plain (Phillips 1970:130-135). Unfortunately, none of these bear any distinctive features (such as rims, etc.) which would allow us to assign them to any of the established varieties or to set up a new one.

### MULBERRY CREEK CORD MARKED

The local manifestation of this widespread type is sufficiently different from any of the established varieties to warrant the status of a distinct typological unit.

Mulberry Creek Cord Marked, var. Centers Creek [Plate 18]

Sample: Foster - 12 sherds

Description: New variety

<u>Background</u>. These cord marked sherds exhibit a surface treatment that is fine enough to be consistent with <u>var</u>. Smith <u>Creek</u>, yet the paste on which they occur is significantly different and seems to be earlier. Moreover, the Coles Creek rim mode characteristic of Smith Creek is never to be found on this variant.

<sup>1.</sup> The variant with the added mode of punctation would here be classified as Avoyellos Functated, var. Tatum.

Sorting Criteria. Fine cord marking on a ware that is similar to Baytown Plain, var. Reed, but somewhat finer textured and often thinner. Rims are generally characterized by a row of triangular punctations just below the lip, the latter being most often squared in cross-section.

Distribution. Known from a number of sites in the Natchez region.

Documentation. Brown 1973: Table 1.

Chronological Position: Hamilton Ridge phase, possibly continuing into Sundown.

References: None

### NODENA RED AND WHITE

One sherd of this type was found at Foster, but it was too small to be assigned with certainty to one of the established varieties. It comes from a shallow plate or bowl and exhibits red and white painting on both the interior and exterior surfaces. Almost certainly, this vessel was imported from an area considerably upriver, closer to the center of distribution of this type (Phillips 1970:141-144).

### OLD TOWN RED

This type remains basically the same as it was when defined by Phillips (1970:144-147), encompassing all shell tempered redware. <u>Var. Grand Village</u> has been transferred to the new type Chicot Red, yet this does not constitute a typological inconsistency. It must be remembered that <u>St. Catherine</u>, the ware on which Grand Village occurs, is no longer considered a variety of Bell Plain, but rather is now in Addic Plain. Hence, by definition, Grand Village need not contain any shell at all.

Old Town Red, var. Red Rock

Sample: Foster - 2 sherds from one vessel

<u>Description</u>: As described by Brain, these sherds are tempered with grog derived from other shell tempered vessels. The vessel to which they belong was originally a shallow plate or bowl, with the red slip applied only to the interior.

Chronological Position: According to Brain, "the context at Lake George is terminal Crippen Point phase, and the appearance of this Mississippian material represents the transition from Coles Creek to Plaquemine culture." If one can translate this directly into our chronology which is not necessarily a safe thing to do in this particular case, these sherds probably date to the Anna phase.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

## OWENS PUNCTATED

This type has a minor representation in the Natchez Region, probably owing its appearance to trade contacts with the Mississippian area farther north.

Owens Punctated, var. Poor Joe [Plate 20 c]

Sample: Emerald - 2 sherds

<u>Description</u>: As described by Brain. On one sherd, the punctations are round. On the other, they are thin and wedge-shaped, probably having been made with the corner of a flat stick.

Chronological Position: Emerald II sub-phase

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

## PLAQUEMINE BRUSHED

In setting up this type, Phillips lamented his inability to break it down into local varieties, in spite of its wide distribution. In his own words, "it is hardly conceivable that the established Plaquemine variety of

the type can extend from somewhere below Baton Rouge to Greenville,
Mississippi, without significant change" (1970:153). Yet despite Phillips'
incredulity, this widespread homogeneity is undoubtedly a very real phenomenon.
Direct comparisons have shown that collections of Plaquemine Brushed from
Medora phase, Anna phase, and Winterville phase sites are practically
identical and rim modes, vessel forms, paste, and execution. It seems that the
minor variations which to occur (primarily in rim modes) act along a temporal,
rather than a spatial dimension. This matter is discussed in greater detail
below. Here, it must be briefly noted that the type now is even more restricted
than when Phillips defined it: The shell-tempered variants that were
previously included as var. Grace have now been set up in a different type-Grace Brushed.

Also worthy of note here is the occurrence at Emerald of a partial vessel that has been very tenuously classified as Plaquemine Brushed, var. unspecified. This straight-sided beaker is quite bizarre, both in its decorative technique and in its paste. The design starts an inch or more below the lip, and consists of a widely-spaced cross-hatching that covers most of the exterior of the vessel. This cross-hatching is carried out in brushed lines, each consisting of two or three closely-spaced shallow incisions. The parallel lines are generally 3 cm. apart and the overall execution is very sloppy. Were it undecorated, the paste of this vessel would be classified as Addis Plain, var. unspecified.

Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine [Plate 19]

Sample: Emerald - 151 sherds; Foster - 159 sherds

Description: As described by Phillips, but a few significant points must be added. Horizontal rows of punctations can occur not only at the bottom of the principal zone of decoration, but also at the rim or even within the zone itself. In some cases, the decoration is further modified by the addition

of individual oblique incisions widely spaced over the brushed portion of the surface. Only one type of vessel form is evident in our sample. This is a beaker-like jar with a faintly constricted neck and a slightly flaring rim. Typically, these jars are quite large, and made of a ware comparable to Addis Plain, var. Addis. In a few cases, a little shell has been added to the paste.

Plaquemine, as it occurs in our area, exhibits two distinct rim treatments, each of which has temporal significance. The first is a slightly flaring rim with a lip that is either rounded or somewhat squared. The brushing on the exterior usually extends all the way up to the lip. This is by far the most common variant in our collection, and is clearly associated with the Anna phase. The second treatment is considerably rarer in our collections, and seems to have a later date. It is characterized by a clearly defined undecorated zone directly below the lip. Most often, this zone consists of a rather broad exterior rim strap, although sometimes the rim may be just slightly thickened. Often associated with this late variant is brushing that is carried out in a herringbone pattern, with the horizontal bands being separated by rows of punctation or by incisions. The restricted distribution of this late variant strongly suggests that it is a marker for the Emerald I sub-phase. It occurs in the same contexts as the contemporary variant of Mazique Incised, var. Manchac, which is also characterized by the same set of distinctive rim modes (see remarks thereunder).

Chronological Position: Primarily Anna phase, but also Emerald I as discussed above

References: Phillips 1970:153

### TAMMANY PUNCTATED

This is the only decorated Tchefuncte type that was found at Foster.

## Tammany Punctated, var. Tammany

Sample: Foster - 1 sherd

Description: As described by Phillips, the decoration consists of finger and thumbnail punctations.

Chronological Position: Panther Lake phase

References: Phillips 1970:161

## TCHEFUNCTE INCISED

This type, as Phillips noted, is sorely in need of subdivision, but the one sherd in our sample certainly does not provide us with a start in this direction.

## Tchefuncte Incised, var. Tchefuncte

Sample: Emerald - 1 sherd

Description: As described by Phillips, ours is a thick rim sherd coming from a restricted bowl. The design consists of a widely spaced parallel oblique incisions going up to the lip, very much like one of the illustrated sherds from the type collection (Ford and Quimby 1945: plate 3, h).

Chronological Position: Panther Lake phase

References: Phillips 1970:162

#### TCHEFUNCTE PLAIN

One sherd of Tchefuncte Plain was found in the plowzone at Emerald. Five more were recovered at Foster, scattered throughout the fill of Mounds A and B. None of these sherds bear any features indicative of vessel form.

#### WINTERVILLE INCISED

Although this shell tempered type is certainly foreign to our area, a local counterpart exists in Coleman Incised, <u>var. Bass</u>, which is equivalent to <u>Belzoni</u> in decorative technique, but has an <u>Addis</u> paste.

Winterville Incised, var. Belzoni [Plate 20 a-b]

Sample: Emerald - 2 sherds

<u>Description</u>: As described by Phillips. One of these sherds comes from a jar, much like the vessel excavated at Transylvania (22-L-3) (Hally 1972: plate 7).

Chronological Position: Emerald phase

References: Phillips 1970:173-174

## WOODVILLE ZONED RED

The sherds we excavated at Foster represent the only sample of this type known from the Natchez region.

## Woodville Zoned Red, var. Woodville

Sample: Foster - 7 sherds

<u>Description</u>: As described by Phillips, all these sherds come from shallow bowls with the decoration confined to the interior. The incisions that border the red slipped areas are fairly narrow and terminate in punctations. The ware in this sample is generally comparable to that found on our Larto Red, <u>var. Larto</u>, although it tends to be somewhat finer in texture.

Chronological Position: Hamilton Ridge phase

References: Phillips 1970:176

### UNCLASSIFIED DECORATED POTTERY

For the most part, this class consists of sherds which bear some evidence of incision or punctation, but are too small or too eroded to be classified with certainty. Such undistinctive sherds deserve no further consideration. Described below, however, are those sherds which are decorated in such an anomalous fashion that they cannot be fitted into any of our established types.

Unclassified Brushed and Incised [Plate 20 d-f]

Each of these sherds exhibits two adjacent zones of decoration: one consists of brushing, and the other consists of multiple parallel wet-paste incisions forming line filled triangles. The former technique is characteristic of Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine; the latter of Mazique Incised, var. Manchac. Thus, these sherds are unclassifiable because they bear the diagnostic diagnostic modes of two distinct types. Three such sherds were recovered-one from Emerald and two from Foster. All had a paste equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Addis.

In contrast to their uncertain typological status, the chronological position of these sherds is obvious. They certainly date to the Emerald I sub-phase, the only time period during which both <u>Plaquemine</u> and <u>Manchac</u> were in use simultaneously. This dating is borne out by their stratigraphic distribution. All were found in contexts of primary deposition that essentially pre-date Emerald II (Midden 1 at the Emerald site, Location I, and the sub-mound midden at Foster).

## OTHER CERAMIC ARTIFACTS

Artifacts falling into this category are relatively rare in the Natchez Region. The small number of figurine and ornament fragments that we recovered at our sites is truly negligible when compared with the great abundance of potsherds.

### FIGURINE

A single figurine fragment was found in the topmost level of Pit 70 at Foster. Assuming that its original form was anthropomorphic, this fragment represents a part of the torso.

## Concave-faced Earplug

Sample: Foster - 1 fragment

Description: As the name implies, both faces of this earplug are concave. The thickness of our specimen is 19mm at the outer rim, and 10mm near the center. Around each edge of the periphery, there is a slightly raised ridge that is 5mm wide. The band between these ridges is outlined by two incisions, one on each side. The reconstructed diameter of this earplug fragment is between 40 and 45mm. It is made of pottery very much like the Addis variety of Addis Plain.

Chronological Position: Considering the ware of which it is made, and its provenience in the loading of Mound B at Foster, it probably belongs to the Anna or Emerald I sub-phase.

References: None

## Grooved Earplug

Sample: Emerald - 1 fragment

Description: As well as we can reconstruct from the small fragment recovered, this artifact had flat faces and a red-painted periphery that was deeply concave (hence, "grooved"). Its original diameter was about 40mm and its

original thickness is unknown, although it was at least 9mm.

Chronological Position: Uncertain, but probably Anna or Emerald phase

References: None

## Round Earplug

Sample: Emerald - 1 fragment

<u>Description</u>: Characteristic of this type is a roughly cylindrical shape: The faces are flat and the periphery is either straight or very slightly concave. Our one fragment is 14mm thick and has a reconstructed diameter of about 40 to 45mm.

Chronological Position: Uncertain, but probably associated with the late Coles Creek or early Plaquemine culture

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

## DISC

One fragment of a ceramic disc was recovered from Emerald, found in exactly the same context that produced the two clay ear ornaments (Pit 535, Level B). Its original diameter seems to have been about 55mm, with a maximum thickness of 7mm. In cross-section, our specimen is plano-convex and has rounded edges. The surface of this disc bears traces of red paint.

#### STONE

Stone rarely occurs naturally in the loess bluffs of the Natchez region. Therefore, almost all of the stone we excavated at our sites must have been transported there by human agency. Cognizant of this fact, we have nevertheless found it appropriate to be selective in choosing what categories we describe in the section that follows.

By far, the largest part of our collection of stone was made up of undistinctive natural pebbles and fragments of common chert which have no diagnostic or interpretive value in a culture-historical study. For the sake of economy we will deal with these no further. Another category consisted of chert flakes and cores that showed no signs of wear and were presumably the by-products of stone tool manufacture. These will also be ignored in the following presentation.

In this section, we will concentrate only on these specimens which bear one or more of the following properties: 1) stone that shows evidence of deliberate manufacture, that is, its shape has been modified to conform with specific formal requirements; 2) stone that exhibits wear patterns indicative of its utilization as a tool, whether or not it has been manufactured; 3) stone that appears to be unmodified from its natural state, but whose presence at the site may have some diagnostic value.

In presenting these data, we have set up a number of major classes, and have subdivided some of these classes into types. Most of these classes bear names that have both descriptive and functional connotations, yet one must be cautioned against taking the functional aspect too seriously. We can only speak of function here in very broad terms: Our lithic assemblage has not been subjected to an exhaustive wear pattern analysis that would enable us to make fine-grained distinctions. Thus, formal criteria have taken the primary role in our classification, with supplementary functional descriptions being used whenever possible.

### PROJECTILE POINTS

Stone projectile points are not very common at late prehistoric sites in our area. In view of the local scarcity of stone, this should not be too surprising. The 18th century Natchez had adapted themselves to this scarcity by using hardened cane, bone, or garfish scales to tip their arrows (Swanton 1911:58). The negative evidence from our sites strongly suggests that such a pattern was well established in prehistoric times, as well.

In this report, we have classified our projectile points within the type variety framework recently set up by Brain (Williams and Brain, n.d.). In each case, this is the sole reference given; a more complete account of the pertinent literature may be found therein.

## Bayogoula Fishtailed, var. Bayogoula

Sample: Emerald - 1 whole

Description: Our one specimen is 28mm long, somewhat shorter than usual for this variety. It appears to have been resharpened; interestingly enough, half of the sample from Lake George (21-N-1) exhibits this same trait. Brain, has proposed that this pattern of re-use is "suggestive of some sort of lithic economy". Such "lithic economy" seems to be a characteristic of the Plaquemine culture.

Chronological Position: Although Quimby was inclined to assign this variety to the historic period, a study of its overall distribution at Lower Valley sites points to a somewhat earlier dating. Of particular importance is the fact that <u>Bayogoula</u> has been found in indisputably prehistoric contexts at three different sites. There are Gordor (26-L-2) (Cotter 1952: Fig.5°, 1-2) Emerald (26-L-1), and Lake George (21-N-1) (Williams and Brain, n.d.). Also significant is the point's complete absence at the historic Fatherland site (26-K-2) (Neitzel 1965). In this light, a reinterpretation of the data from the Bayou Goula site (32-L-1) (Quimby 1957) indicates that this variety is

associated with phase 3 of Mound 1, and a context coeval with the Anna phase.<sup>2</sup> References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

## Collins Side Notched, var. Collins

Sample: Foster - 1 whole

<u>Description</u>: This specimen is 15mm wide at the shoulders and 37mm long. It is made from the common red chert.

Chronological Position: In the Southern Yazoo Basin this point is strongly associated with the Deasonville time period coeval with our Hamilton Ridge phase. Additional assurance lies in the fact that this point was recovered from the sub-mound midden at Location I at Foster, which has a strong Hamilton Ridge phase component.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

## Unclassified Projectile Points

Two fragments from Emerald, and one from Foster, fall into this category.

All come from large projectile points, and are made of the common tan chert.

One of the fragments from Emerald is sizeable enough to show its distinctive features, yet it defies classification into any established type.

This projectile point appears to have been originally 55 to 60mm long, and is 23mm wide at the shoulders. Its stem (11mm long) is basically square, although slightly contracting at the base. Overall, this projectile point has the large size, the moderate level of workmanship, and the assymetrical shoulders characteristic of the type Kent Stemmed; yet its assignment to this type is ruled out by the presence of a contracting stem. Not being rounded at the base, the stem's form is also inconsistent with the concept of Gary Stemmed. A third possibility is presented by Edwards Stemmed, but this

<sup>2.</sup> In view of the fact that the Anna phase represents the onset of the Mississippian influence in our area, it is significant to note that a <u>Bayogoula</u> point has been reported from Cahokia, the most important site in the Mississippi heartland (Titterington 1932: Fig. 13)

projectile point is much too well made to be so classified (Williams and Brain,
n.d.).

#### **SCRAPERS**

We have divided this class of artifacts into two types. One of these has a distinctive set of formal characteristics and a restricted temporal distribution. The second category is a catchall for those scrapers which are formally indistinctive, and as such it has no diagnostic value.

## Mound "C" Scrapers

Sample: Foster - 2 fragments

<u>Description</u>: All the examples in our collection are made from common cherts, ranging in color from red to pink to tan. Formally, our sample coincides perfectly with that from Lake George (21-N-1), on which the definition of this type is based. The length is generally about 55mm. The maximum width ranges from 35 to 40mm, and the maximum thickness is between 10 and 16mm. Chronological Position: All are associated with the Hamilton Ridge phase component at Foster, Location I.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

### Unspecialized Scrapers

Sample: Emerald - 1 whole; Foster - whole

Description: This is basically a catchall category that includes all those specimens that show signs of intentional manufacture, yet have no formal distinctiveness. In every case, a crude, bi-facial working edge has been formed by detaching several large flakes by percussion. All our examples are small enough to be held with three or four fingers and are made of local tan chert.

Chronological Position: Lacking formal distinctiveness, this type can hardly be expected to have diagnostic value.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.

#### SCRAPER - KNIVES

As the name implies, this is an intermediate category that refers "to the class of artifacts which resists classification in the established functional categories, yet are distinctive enough so that it would not do justice to relegate them to the unclassified column" (Williams and Brain, n.d.). These tools are moderately well made, percussion flaked bifaces. The wear patterns vary considerably, indicating the multi-purpose nature of their usage. Our sample consists of one specimen from Emerald and six from Foster. Their dimensions vary as follows: 26-37mm in length, 20-25mm in maximum width, and 5-10mm in maximum thickness. All are made from local red or tan chert, and are squarish or elongated in shape.

#### KNIVES

This class of artifacts is represented by two moderately well made percussion flaked bifaces excavated from Emerald. They are characteristically quite thin and are made of an unusual dark gray variety of chert (which is not of exceptionally high quality). They range from 5-7mm in maximum thickness, and from 18-21mm in maximum width. The larger of the two fragments is now 44mm long, the original length having been somewhat greater. Although we have chosen to call these tools knives, it is not at all clear that their primary usage was in cutting. These bifaces exhibit diverse wear patterns, and seem to have been used for any purpose that happened to be at hand. "Knives" are formally distinct from the category we have called "scraper-knives", yet both are similar in their functional diversity.

#### CHOPPERS

Two artifacts from Emerald fall into this category. One is large and was

hand-held, while the other is small enough to have been held with the fingers. In both cases, one or more crude working edges were formed by knocking off a number of large flakes, either bifacially or unificially. A wear pattern showing considerable battering is characteristic of these artifacts; lacking this, they would merely have been classified as unspecialized scrapers. A similar type of wear is also found on hammerstones, but choppers are distinguishable by the fact that the wear occurs only along a deliberately manufactured angular edge.

#### **HAMMERSTONES**

Hammerstones generally show little or no evidence of deliberate manufacture. All show some signs of flaking, but it is difficult to tell whether this is the result of deliberate shaping or merely the by-product of heavy use. The wear pattern is characteristically one of considerable battering, usually occuring on blunt ends and corners. Two such artifacts were recovered from Emerald, and one from Foster. All were made of cobbles of local tan chert, and were big enough to be held comfortably in the palm of the hand.

### UTILIZED FLAKES AND FRAGMENTS

This class is made up of various pieces of chipped stone that show signs of wear from human use, but no signs of deliberate manufacture. For the most part, these are what Brain has called "temporary tools"--miscellaneous flakes and fragments with a sharp edge which were brought to bear in tasks that did not require the manufacture of a specific tool (Williams and Brain. n.d.). Such pieces were probably produced in abundance as the by-products of stone tool manufacture. As the need arose, an appropriate "temporary tool" could easily be found, and just as easily discarded after use. Thirty-one such pieces were recovered from Emerald, and 79 from Foster. Their stratigraphic distribution at these sites is totally uninformative.

#### **PALETTES**

Two types of palette have been recognized within our sample. They are distinguishable by the type of stone used and the level of workmanship involved in their manufacture.

## Quartzite Palettes

Sample: Emerald - 1 fragment; Foster - 1 fragment

Description: Unlike the sandstone palettes, these artifacts show some signs of deliberate manufacture. Their uniformly smooth surface seems to be the result of intentional pecking and/or grinding, rather than a by-product of heavy use. This is particularly true of the edges, which have been carefully rounded in cross-section. When viewed from above, the shape of these palettes is generally amorphous, though not angular. The fragment from Emerald is fairly flat and has a maximum thickness of 10mm. The one from Foster was originally biconvex and had a maximum thickness greater than 24mm. Chronological Position: In the Southern Yazoo Basin, similar palettes occur in Winterville phase and Mississippian contexts (Williams and Brain, n.d.). In view of this, and the fact that such artifacts have turned up at the Fatherland site (26-K-2) as well (Neitzel 1965: plate 12,B,C), we can say that this type is probably associated with either the Anna or the Emerald phase, or both.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.; Neitzel 1965: plate 12,B,C; Hally 1972: plate IV, LL.

### Sandstone Palettes

Sample: Emerald - 1 whole; Foster - 1 whole, 1 fragment

Description: Generally, these are flat pieces of sandstone that show considerable signs of abrasion on one or both sides. The uniformity of this wear across the flat surface is indicative of a grinding operation, probably involving mineral pigments. This is confirmed in at least one case, where

traces of red and yellow ochre still remain on the stone. None of our specimens appears to have been deliberately shaped. As a result, they are amorphous in form and have rough, unmodified edges. The two intact examples we recovered are quite small, fitting easily into the palm of one's hand. Their thickness ranges from 10-20mm.

<u>Chronological Position</u>: In the Southern Yazoo Basin, these artifacts are restricted to those contexts post-dating the earliest Mississippian influence (Williams and Brain, n.d.). In our area this is equivalent to the Anna and Emerald phases.

References: Williams and Brain, n.d.; Neitzel 1965: plate 12E,F,O; Hally 1972: plate IV,JJ,KK.

### POLISHED STONE FRAGMENT

A small fragment of quartzite with a finely ground exterior surface was recovered from Location II at Emerald. Judging from its shape, it may well have come from a bar gorget (Williams and Brain, n.d.), although the fragment is not large enough for us to be certain.

## **OCHRE**

These fragments of ochre are not artifacts, properly speaking, yet their very presence implies some sort of cultural activity that required their being sought out and transported to the site. Ochre was generally pulverized and used as a pigment; in some cases, we have found this mineral in direct association with the sandstone and quartite palettes on which it was ground. It is known that these palettes have a restricted temporal distribution, and the same may be true of ochre, as well. Three fragments of ochre were found at Emerald: one yellow and two red. Mound B at Foster produced four fragments all of the yellow variety. At both sites, ochre was found in contexts consistent with the Anna and the Emerald phases.

## LIMESTONE

A single piece of limestone (approximate dimensions: 45mm x 18mm x 16mm) turned up at Location III at Emerald. Although it bears no traces of having been modified in shape, its presence at this site is interesting in view of the fact that Perrault excavated 5 beartifully carved limestone pipes from the burials at Location I nearby (Brown 1926:256-264). Such pipes are diagnostic of the Emerald II sub-phase, and it is probable that this limestone fragment pertains to the same period.

# <u>Chapter V</u>:

A Sequence of Phases for the Late Prehistory of the Natchez region. Here we present the late prehistory of the Natchez region in terms of three phases: Anna, Emerald, and Natchez. As we said before, these formulations are not entirely new. They were first used by Brown (1973) in a study that examined the change in prehistoric settlement patterns in our region through time. At that writing, the ceramic diagnostics of there phases had been tentatively set up on the basis of single component surface collections, small scale excavations, and Cotter's (1951b) secondhand stratigraphic data. Additional information was derived from the sequences in neighboring regions that were archaeologically much better known. Ceramic markers for phases in the Lower Yazoo and Upper Tensas Basins (Williams and Brain, n.d.; Hally 1972) were often pigeonholed as markers for the corresponding phase in our regions. In this fashion, an initial framework was patched together, more as a working hypothesis than as a stratigraphically proven truth (Brown 1973: Table 1).

As might be expected, the results of the intensive excavations described in the preceding chapters have modified this initial framework to some degree. Each phase has been brought into much clearer focus in terms of its ceramic complex. Moreover, the Emerald phase has been divided into two sub-phases, the earlier of which may ultimately achieve a separate status. Yet more than pointing out the minor inaccuracies in the initial schema, our work has shown that Brown's tentative formulations were indeed for the most part valid ones. The chronological positions of most of the ceramic markers he defined have not been drastically changed. Hence, we have not undermined the basis of his study, but rather have strengthened it with a solid background of stratigraphic evidence.

In the presentations that follow, we will often make use of Brown's settlement pattern data in order to complement our own. While in some cases we have found it necessary to alter his dating of several sites in light of our new findings, the overall demographic trends that he recognized are still

seen to be true. By combining Brown's data on regional patterning with our own detailed knowledge of the local patterning evident at two intensively excavated sites, a fairly complete picture (by archaeological standards) emerges of the phases as internally coherent cultural units.

#### ANNA PHASE

In our excavations at Emerald, the Anna phase component almost eluded us. It undoubtedly existed in its purest form in the basal midden representing the first occupation, a stratum that our pits never reached. We were, however, fortunate enough to find the latter part of the Anna component in the beginning of the second occupation, atop the first stage of mound construction.

Admittedly, our stratigraphic sample in this case was not entirely pure, but by comparison with data from other sites, the pertinent complex sorted itself out with relative ease.

Particularly valuable for our purposes was the stratigraphic data from the Anna site (26-K-1), where the first two occupations at Mound 5 (Stages A and AB) clearly belonged to this phase (cf. Cotter 1951b: 24-28, Fig.12, Fig.14). Also useful was an unstratified sample excavated from a deposit of wash at the base of Mound A at the Windsor site (25-L-15), presented in Table 11. While the latter contained a few diagnostics of the Emerald I sub-phase, the major elements of the Anna phase ceramic complex stand out clearly.

Dominant among the decorated varieties was Plaquemine Brushed, <u>var</u>.

<u>Plaquemine</u>, which usually accounted for 40-50% of the decorated sherds. Yet in spite of its great popularity during the Anna phase, it is not a particularly good diagnostic, for its use continued into the early part of the succeeding Emerald phase. Much better temporal indicators are Anna Incised, <u>var</u>. Anna and <u>var</u>. Australia, Carter Engraved, <u>var</u>. Carter, L'Eau Noire Incised, <u>var</u>.

<u>L'Eau Noire</u>, and Hollyknowe Pinched, <u>var</u>. Patmos, all of which were more closely

## TABLE 11

# Decorated Ceramics from the Windsor Site (25-L-15), Mound A

## Relative percentages are given parenthetically

# Anna Phase Markers

Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine Anna Incised, var. Anna Carter Engraved, var. Carter Hollyknowe Pinched, var. Patmos	25 4 1 4	( 8.1) ( 7.7) ( 1.9) ( 7.7)
Emerald I Sub-phase Markers		1
Leland Incised, var. Ferris var. Foster var. unspecified  Mazique Incised, var. Manchac Coleman Incised, var. Bass	1 2 1 2 1	(1.9) (3.8) (1.9) (3.8) (1.9)
Miscellaneous Early Varieties		
Evansville Punctated, var. Wilkinson Coles Creek Incised, var. Hardy var. Mott  Mazique Incised, var. Kings Point var. unspecified  Marksville Incised, var. unspecified  TOTAL	1 5 1 2 1 52	(1.9) (1.9) (9.6) (1.9) (3.8) (1.9) (100)

confined to this phase. Although we ourselves obtained no good stratigraphic evidence to this effect, we feel reasonably secure in assigning Coleman Incised, var. Coleman to this complex, primarily on the basis of its chronological position in the neighboring Tensas Basin (Hally 1972). Similar reasoning pertains to Grace Brushed, var. Grace, which occurs in contemporary contexts in the Lower Yazoo (Williams and Brain, n.d.).

By far, the most common plainware during this phase was Addis Plain, var. Addis, a ware that was characterized by the extremely heterogeneous composition of its paste. Significant, however, is the fact that shell was occasionally included. This variant, designated var. Greenville, occurred infrequently at this time, but it represented the first appearance of a mode (i.e., shell tempering) that was to gain considerable importance in later contexts. Hand in hand with var. Greenville may have come the heavily shell tempered type Mississippi Plain, yet the question of whether it formed a part of the Anna phase complex has not been resolved. If decorated types such as Grace Brushed were present at this time (itself a moot point) then we must inevitably expect to find some sherds of Mississippi Plain, even if they only came from the undecorated parts of decorated vessels. In view of the fact that Mississippi Plain was by this time quite popular in the Yazoo Basin to the north, it seems likely that some of this ware should have filtered down river to the Natchez region. Therefore, while Mississippi Plain was probably known to the Anna phase peoples, it was never produced or imported in significant amounts.

The ceramic complex of the Anna phase was deeply rooted in the tradition indigenous to the region. Addis Plain had developed directly from the preceding type Baytown Plain, with var. Addis appearing first during terminal Coles Creek times (i.e., Gordon phase). Many of the typical vessel forms in the complex also had their strongly developed local antecedents. Among these were the simple and carinated bowl, the straight sided beaker,

and the beaker-like jar with a faintly constructed neck and a slightly flaring rim. A new feature was the increased production of plates and shallow bowls, often associated with the decoration characteristic of the varieties Anna and Australia.

In terms of decoration, the predominant emphasis on rectilinearity was quite consistent with the local tradition. Even brushing, which might be considered a surface treatment rather than a decorative mode, was usually carried out in rectilinear patterns, or was highlighted by rectilinear incisions. This is not to say that curvilinear motifs were entirely lacking in the complex. On the contrary, they were characteristic of <a href="var. Coleman">var. Coleman</a>, and often occurred in the varieties <a href="Anna">Anna</a> and <a href="Carter">Carter</a> as well. Yet in the case of the latter two, the curvilinear elements that did occur were usually confined within rectilinear zones, generally defined by four undecorated vertical panels.

Basically, the complex we have recognized in the Anna phase corresponds quite closely to that which traditionally has been considered "Plaquemine". Notably absent, however, is Mazique Incised, var. Manchac. Because this notion goes against quite a bit of previous thinking, it requires some explanation. It seems that what has generally been referred to as Manchac actually consists of two temporally separated varieties which are almost unsortable from one another. The earlier of the two, now set apart as Mazique Incised, var. Preston, occurs during the preceeding Gordon phase and is a direct development in the Coles Creek tradition from Mazique Incised, var. Kings Point. The later variety, which we still refer to as Manchac, does not appear until the Emerald I sub-phase. Therefore, the Anna phase represents a complete hiatus in the production of the type Mazique Incised. In view of the fact that Preston and Manchac are so similar, one may find it hard to accept that a significant temporal discontinuity really existed between them. The evidence for it, however, is quite strong. For one thing,

Manchac is totally absent in the Anna phase component at the Anna site itself (Cotter 1951b: Fig.14). Furthermore, its distribution in surface collections from the Natchez region correlates very strongly with the Emerald phase, rather than Anna phase sites, as recognized by other ceramic markers. The same ficts led Brown (1973: Table 1) to rightly assign Manchac to the Emerald phase.

So far as the non-ceramic artifactual complex is concerned, very little can be said. It is clear that lithic workmanship was not of great importance during the Anna phase, as manufactured stone tools were practically nonexistent. One possible exception to this absence was the projectile point Bayogoula Fishtaled, var. Bayogoula, examples of which were nevertheless exceedingly rare. Other possible elements were the quartzite and sandstone palettes, yet their assignment to this phase is tenuous at best.

That stone was used so infrequently should not be too surprising, for natural stone was exceedingly scarce in the Natchez region. It seems that the indians had successfully adapted themselves to this deficiency in their environment by substituting tools of bone and hardened came. While the same distinctive pattern of lithic economy is known to have persisted into historic times in this region (Swanton 1911: 58), it is quite difficult to document archaeologically. We cannot expect came to be preserved, and no bone artifacts were found in our excavations. The latter, however, are not unknown from late prehistoric contexts in the Natchez region (Neitzel 1965: 49). Moreover, it is significant to note that the contemporary and closely related Winterville phase to the north marked the height of bone working activity in the Lover Yazoo Basin (Brain 1969). Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the lack of bone tools in Anna phase contexts is not an accurate reflection of prehistoric behavior, but rather is the result of sampling error and the vicissitudes of preservation.

Turning away from considerations of material culture, the onset of the

Anna phase was accompanied by an unprecedented zeal for the construction of large-scale ceremonial centers. In the Natchez region, five mound sites were built from the ground up and occupied during this phase: Anna (26-K-1), Windsor (25-L-15), Bayou Pierre (25-L-26), Shieldsboro (27-K-15), and Emerald (26-L-1)<sup>1</sup> (cf. Brown 1973:150-154).

The most elaborate of these--Anna--was situated directly on the edge of the bluffs, and may have had as many as eight mounds, the largest of which was at the western end of the site overlooking the Mississippi (Stage 13-14) below<sup>2</sup>. Windsor, the other major site at this time, was also positioned on the bluff edge and exhibited three mounds, again with the largest one on the west. Shieldsboro (3 mounds) was located at the base of the bluffs where the Homochitto River emerged, while Bayou Pierre (4 mounds) was built inland along its namesake tributary not very far from the Mississippi floodplain. Only Emerald was located in the interior portion of the region, presaging its later importance.

The spate of intensive mound building projects during the Anna phase must have gone hand-in-hand with an increased emphasis on political centralization and integration. Centers of authority were larger and more numerous than ever before. It is quite possible that there was a religious aspect to this phenomenon as well, yet in spite of this accelerated change, burial customs remained quite stable in their traditional pattern: Mortuary cere monialism was played down as individuals were buried rather haphazardly and without grave goods.

<sup>1.</sup> Although it is possible that Mound  $\Lambda$  at Foster was built at this time, more probably it belongs to the Emerald phase. As for the Gordon site (26-L-2), it is clear from Cotter's (1952) data that both mounds were constructed in the Emerald II sub-phase.

<sup>2.</sup> To give the reader an idea of the magnitude of this and other Anna phase ceremonial centers in relation to their Coles Creek predecessors in our region, it can be said that the latter never contained more than three mounds, all of relatively modest proportions.

It is clear that most of the major political and ceremonial activity at this time was focused along the Mississippi River, as evidenced by the fact that four of the five large centers were positioned on or near the exterior of the bluffs. The greatest part of the populace, however, lived in individual households and small hamlets scattered throughout the hilly interior (ibid:154). Dwellings were generally rectangular structures, built with wooden posts that were usually set in wall trenches.

Although the direct evidence for this in our region is nil, there is no doubt that subsistence was largely derived from agriculture. Interesting in this light is the fact that the Anna phase was marked by a great proliferation of minor sites, seemingly indicative of a large population increase in the bluffs. It has been suggested that this increase came about as a result of the introduction of a new and better agricultural base, i.e., the Mississippian complex consisting of Northern Flint maize in combination with bean and squash (ibid:155).

#### EMERALD PHASE

As presently defined, the Emerald phase includes a relatively large amount of time. Hence, it is not surprising that we have found it to encompass a noticeable amount of cultural change, both in ceramics and in settlement patterns. We have recognized this change in terms of two sub-phases--Emerald I and Emerald II. It is likely that the former will ultimately be raised to the status of a full-fledged phase, awaiting additional stratigraphic information and an exhaustive re-examination of the settlement pattern data.

In the following section, we have found it convenient to present the ceramic complexes pertaining to each of the sub-phases under separate headings. A third heading has been applied to a discussion of the non-ceramic features which are found in the Emerald phase as a whole.

## The Emerald I Ceramic Complex

It is perhaps because of the transitional nature of the Emerald I subphase that we found it so difficult to stratigraphically isolate. The soughtafter components at both of our excavated sites occurred in contexts of mixed
deposition. Fortunately, the mixture came from a different source in each
case, so that by comparing the two assemblages we were able to factor out
the extraneous elements.

Specifically, the Emerald I sub-phase was represented by the latter part of the second occupation at Emerald, and by the earlier part of the sub-mound occupation at Foster. In the former, it was mixed with the preceeding Anna phase component, while in the latter, it was mixed with the succeeding Emerald II component. In the midst of all this confusion, the Emerald I complex stood out clearly within the zone of overlap between these two occupations.

Our concept of Emerald I was further brought into focus by a second process of comparison: We were able to partially sort out the Emerald I and Emerald II components in the sub-mound occupation at Foster by contrasting the assemblage

found on the midden's surface (presumably the latest deposit) with the assemblage from the midden as a whole (see p. 111 ff.). Happily, the pattern that resulted from our various interpolations was consistent with Cotter's stratigraphy at the Anna site, where the third and fourth occupations of Mound 5 exhibited a pure Emerald I component (cf. 1951b: Fig.14).

In terms of its decorated varieties, the Emerald I ceramic complex contained the following major elements: Mazique Incised, var. Manchac (middle variant), Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine, Leland Incised, var. Ferris and Foster, Coleman Incised, var. Bass, Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald, Fatherland Incised, var. Stanton, and Chicot Red, var. Grand Village. Added to these were almost negligible occurrences of Winterville Incised, var. Belzoni and Barton Incised, var. unspecified. Chicot Red, var. Fairchild may have also belonged to the Emerald I complex, but in the absence of good stratigraphic data and comparative material from neighboring regions, a firm assignment is not possible.

The Emerald I complex was primarily marked by the ascendancy of a new set of decorative ideas, epitomized by the types Leland Incised, Maddox Engraved, and Fatherland Incised. All made use of flowing curvilinear designs, generally characterized by unbroken patterns of scrolls, meanders, or spirals. The earliest manifestations of these ideas came in the varieties Foster, Ferris, and Emerald. Somewhat later during Emerald I, Stanton appeared as well.

While these new types were gaining in popularity, they did not completely replace the ones which had preceded them. Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine, which had been dominant during the Anna phase, continued into Emerald I with a considerably reduced frequency. Similarly, Coleman Incised was still to be found, its variety Bass having developed directly from the earlier var. Coleman.

Probably the most popular decorated variety during this time was <u>Manchac</u>, yet its developmental origins are fairly obscure. It had no clear predecessors in the Anna phase complex, which completely lacked the type Mazique Incised.

Perhaps the appearance of this variety represented the re-invention of a rather simple decorative idea that had occurred at various times in the Lower Valley ceramic tradition (e.g., in Marksville Incised, Alligator Incised, and the earlier varieties of Mazique Incised). Not to be overlooked, however, is the possibility that Manchac was derived from the Mississippian type Barton Incised, which also made its first appearance in our region at this time.

Predominant among the plainwares was Addis Plain, <u>var. Addis</u> with <u>var. Greenville</u> and <u>var. St. Catherine</u> occurring in small percentages. Another minority was formed by Mississippi Plain, <u>var. unspecified</u>, which for the first time began to appear in noticeable quantities.

It is readily apparent that most of the varieties in the Emerald I ceramic complex were either carryovers from the preceeding Anna phase or were carried over into the succeeding Emerald II. Hence, useful diagnostics for this sub-phase are hard to come by. Undoubtedly, the two best are Leland Incised, var. Foster and var. Ferris. Equally diagnostic are certain modes which cross-cut a number of varieties. One is a broad exterior rim strap that occurs on jars of the varieties Manchac, Plaquemine, Bass, and Addis. Another is a decorative treatment found on Manchac and Plaquemine in which consists of a herringbone pattern arranged in horizontal bands around the vessel.

During this sub-phase, both simple and carinated bowl forms occured. The latter would often exhibit an incision along the interior of the sharply flaring lip, with or without punctations or notches. Sometimes, the punctations or notches occurred alone, without the accompanying incision. The beaker-like jar, with a faintly constricted neck and a modestly flaring rim continued from the Anna phase, although the rim often had the added feature of a broad exterior strap. Another characteristic vessel form was a bottle having a globular body and a short flaring neck. Excellent examples of the latter

can be seen in the whole vessels of <u>Ferris</u> and <u>Emerald</u> excavated at Anna (Cotter 1951b: Fig.21,2, Fig.22,1;3-4).

### The Emerald II Ceramic Complex

The Emerald II sub-phase was represented at Emerald by all of the third occupation and the beginning of the fourth. At Foster, we found the component as the terminal part of the sub-mound occupation. In each case, the stratigraphic resolution was good, and so we now have an accurate picture of the Emerald II ceramic complex, based on our own firsthand data.

As we see it, the following decorated types and varieties pertained to this sub-phase: Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland, Stanton, and Pine Ridge, Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald, Mazique Incised, var. Manchac (late variant), and Chicot Red, var. Grand Village. Also to be found were a number of Mississippian types, such as Barton Incised, var. unspecified, Nodena Red and White, var. unspecified, Avenue Polychrome, var. Avenue, and Owens Punctated, var. Poor Joe.

Notably absent were a number of varieties that had been found in the Emerald I complex. Plaquemine and Bass had disappeared completely while Foster had been replaced by Stanton. Ferris also had died out, but its characteristic multilinear motif was carried on for a brief time by Pine Ridge. Fatherland came on the scene at the beginning of Emerald II and gradually gained in popularity at the expense of Stanton. Emerald continued from the previous sub-phase in greater numbers than before. Manchac, on the other hand decreased in popularity and was found only in its late variant, occuring on a globular jar with a well defined neck and a flaring rim.

Although still by far a small minority, Mississippian types were much more common at this time than they had been during Emerald I. Not only did the percentages of Barton Incised increase, but Nodena Red and White, Avenue, and Poor Joe all appeared for the first time. As might be expected, counts

of Mississippi Plain went up accordingly.

Addis Plain, var Addis remained the dominant plainware, but St. Catherine gained considerable ground. The counts of Greenville remained stable. At the beginning of this sub-phase, two new varieties of Addis Plain appeared-Ratcliffe and Junkin. The former increased in popularity as time went on, becoming a major part of the succeeding Natchez phase complex. Junkin, on the other hand, had only a very brief existence, being tightly confined to the beginning of Emerald II.

In general, many of the vessel forms found in the Emerald I complex continued into Emerald II, with simple and carinated bowls predominating. The globular bottle with the short, flaring neck was still to be found, but the beaker-like jar had been replaced by a different form, much closer to the "standard Mississippian jar". The latter had a more globular body, a well-defined neck, and a flaring rim. Another innovation at this time was the appearance of elaborate pedestal jar and bowl forms, usually of a ware equivalent to St. Catherine and often associated with the decorated type Fatherland Incised.

Markers that separate Emerald II from Emerald I are easly enough to find. <u>Fatherland</u>, <u>Pine Ridge</u>, <u>Junkin</u>, <u>Ratlciffe</u>, Nodena Red and White, Avenue, and Poor Joe all serve this purpose quite well.

## Non-Ceramic Features of the Emerald Phase

Lithic tools were just as rare during the Emerald phase as they had been during Anna. The categories which were in use at this time were the quartzite and sandstone palettes. No distinctive chipped stone artifacts were associated with this phase, suggesting that cane and bone tools were substituted whenever possible.

We can infer, however, that specialized stone tools were indeed occasionally used, for Emerald II was marked by the appearance of a class of beautifully

carved limestone effigy pipes. The effigies were generally executed in a naturalistic style, and occurred in both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms (Brown 1926: Figs.218-227; Neitzel 1965: Fig.15).

Another innovation during Emerald phase was the practice of including grave goods with burials. This custon was clearly not part of the indigenous Coles Creek tradition and certainly must have been introduced from the Mississippian area farther north. The first concrete evidence we have of burials with grave goods comes from an Emerald II context (i.e., Burials 1-3 at Emerald), but there are good indications that the practice may have started earlier. The fact that a number of decorated vessels (Foster and Ferris) diagnostic of the Emerald I sub-phase were found perfectly intact at the Anna site strongly suggests that they had been included in burials of that date (cf. Cotter 1951b: Fig.21,4, Fig.22,1,3).

Throughout most of the Emerald phase, the population remained stable, dispersed in small hamlets throughout the bluffs. Most of the minor sites that had been in use during the Anna phase continued to be occupied at this time (Brown 1973:159). House forms also remained the same: Dwellings were still predominantly rectangular structures of wattle and daub construction, founded on wooden posts set in wall trenches.

The Emerald phase was, however, marked by a major alteration in settlement pattern. During the course of this phase, the ceremonial centers along the exterior of the bluffs were abandoned in favor of new centers that were built in the interior. This shift did not occur suddenly. Rather, there was a period of gradual transition during Emerald I, when both interior and exterior centers were in use. At that time, the second mantle of fill was deposited at Emerald, Mound A was constructed at Foster, and the first mounds were built at Fatherland (26-K-2). Anna and Windsor, the two most important exterior sites during the preceeding Anna phase, continued to be actively occupied, some of their mounds being enlarged as well.

In the Emerald II sub-phase, however, both Anna and Windsor were abandoned, while constructional activity in the interior was intensified. Mound B at Foster was built and two more stages were added at Emerald. The Fatherland site also increased in size, but this time having all three of its mounds. Moreover, two additional interior centers were built--Ratcliffe (26-K-46) having one mound and Gordon (26-L-2) having two. 3

Clearly, by the end of the Emerald phase, the focus of political and ceramonial activity had shifted to the interior of the region. Three mound sites were located along St. Catherine Creek (Foster, Fatherland, and one on Coles Creek (Gordon), and Emerald, the largest and most important site of all, was situated at the place where the headwaters of these two streams came together. Nor should we overlook the fact that three of the five sites (i.e., Emerald, Foster, and Gordon) were directly astride the region's most important interior land route, known in historic times as the Natchez Trace.

The reasons for this dramatic shift in the focus of settlement are a matter for speculation. The trend was clearly one of political regionalization, or turning inward. Apparently, the Mississippi River had declined in importance as a link of constant interaction between the Natchez region and other parts of the Lower Valley.

Hand in hand with this turn to the interior, a few artifacts pertaining to the Southeastern Ceramonial Complex (SCC) appeared, dating primarily to

<sup>3.</sup> The three multiple mound sites built during the Emerald phase (i.e., Fatherland, Foster, and Gordon) all had their mounds arranged approximately along a north-south axis, with the dominant mound on the north. This pattern was a significant break from the typical Anna phase site plan, where the main mound was generally on the west.

the beginning of the Emerald II sub-phase. 4 It is clear that the SCC was not primarily a Lower Valley phenomenon (Brain 1971:78-79) showing only marginal and very infrequent manifestations in the Natchez region. Three limestone effigy pipes--two depicting feathered serpents and the other a feline diety (Brown 1926: Figs.218,221-222)--were found at Emerald along with a handful of incised sherds bearing the characteristic "forked eye" motif (Cotter 1951b: Fig.16,5-6). The only other site in the bluffs at which a "Cult"-related object has been recovered in the Magnum site (25-M-1) (Cotter 1952a). Significantly, both Emerald and Magnum were located directly on the Natchez Trace, pointing up the importance of this inland route in contacts with the major Cult centers to the east. Perhaps it is not coincidence that these contacts were established at a time when the political orientation had shifted away from the Mississippi River.

#### NATCHEZ PHASE

As we define it, the Natchez phase corresponds to the historic time period during which the aboriginal culture in our region was profoundly influenced by the European presence in the Lower Mississippi Valley. It started in 1682<sup>5</sup> when LaSalle made his first exploratory journey down the Mississippi River, and culminated in 1730, the year in which the local Natchez Indians were totally destroyed as a tribal entity by the French.

During the several decades of intensive contact between the French and

<sup>4.</sup> This dating would correspond roughly to the early part of the sixteenth century. Although it is considerably later than the zenith of the Cult's popularity at its major centers (i.e., Spiro, Moundville, and Etowah), it coincides fairly well with the appearance of Cult ceramic motifs in the Lower Yazoo Basin, dated by Brain to the terminal part of the fifteenth century (personal communication).

<sup>5.</sup> The DeSoto entrada of 1541 exerted no significant cultural influences on the aboriginal societies that were encountered. It is possible, however, that the Spaniards first introduced the European diseases which decimated the population in protohistoric and historic times.

the Natchez, a considerable body of historical data accumulated, including various accounts and descriptions of the aboriginal culture at that time. While ideally the archaeological phases we define should take into account information on all aspects of the social-cultural entities to which they pertain, it is far beyond the scope of this presentation to synthesize and interpret the myriad pieces of evidence contained in the historical narratives. Here, we will concentrate on the Natchez phase primarily as it is manifested archaeologically, and must refer the reader to other sources for a description of the ethnographic aspects which are no less a part of this phase (Swanton 1911:45-257; Brain 1971a).

In strictly archaeological terms, Natchez phase components are most reliably marked by the presence of European trade goods, yet no such artifacts were recovered either at Emerald or at Foster. Historical sources indicate, however, that both of these sites may have been occupied in the early 18th century (Brown 1972). The evidence concerning Emerald is particularly convincing (see p. 84 ff.), and so we were fortunate in finding a small remnant of the mound surface that pertained to its fourth and terminal occupation. If the conclusions drawn from the historical sources are correct, then the latter part of this fourth occupation must have belonged to the Natchez phase. We have therefore recognized a component of this phase at Emerald, in anticipation of concrete artifactual evidence.

Because we were unable to stratigraphically isolate the last component at Emerald, our definition of the Natchez phase aboriginal ceramic complex must be derived from elsewhere. Toward this end, we have made use of information from a number of different sites. Foremost among these is the Fatherland site (26-K-2), known to be the 18th century Grand Village of the Natchez (Neitzel 1965). Also important were the collections obtained by the Lower Mississippi Survey from a number of minor historic sites in the Natchez region (Village Sauvage, Nall, North, Trinity School, and I.P.; see Brown 1973:161-162).

On this basis we construe the Natchez phase aboriginal ceramic complex as having consisted of the following decorated types and varieties: Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland, Stanton, and Bayou Goula, Mazique Incised, var.

Manchac (late variant), Maddox Engraved, var. Emerald, and Chicot Red, var. Grand Village. A number of Mississippian, Caddoan, and Choctaw types were present as well, including Barton Incised, var. unspecified, Winterville Incised, var. unspecified, Nodena Red and White, var. unspecified, Avenue Polychrome, var. Avenue, Nachitoches Engraved, var. unspecified, and Chickachae Combed, var. unspecified.

At this time, Fatherland was clearly the most popular decorated variety, often occurring with a red slip. It was closely followed in numbers by the late "Mississippian jar" variant of Manchac. Stanton continued from the previous phase but in greatly reduced amounts. Bayou Goula also occurred in relatively small counts being primarily associated with the Delta Natchezan phase farther south (Phillips 1970:949-950; Quimby 1957:126-127). Grand Village reached its peak of popularity at this time.

The fact that <u>Emerald</u> was not found among the Natchez phase burials at Fatherland is quite puzzling (cf. Neitzel 1965: Figs.19-21), for this variety is known to have persisted into the 18th century.<sup>6</sup> It is clear that <u>Emerald</u> had been securely entrenched in the local ceramic tradition by Emerald II times, and so its absence in these burials was probably the result of sampling error, or the preferential use of other varieties in mortuary contexts.

The presence of Barton Incised and Winterville Incised at Natchezan sites was not surprising in view of the close proximity of Mississippian (i.e., Tunican) groups at this time (Brain 1971a:220).

<sup>6.</sup> A number of vessels of <u>Emerald</u> have turned up at the Trudeau site (29-J-1) associated with mid-18th century Tunica burials (Brain 1970: Fig.5; 1973).

Both Nodena Red and White and Avenue Polychrome were associated with the historic Quapaw farther north (Phillips 1970:41,943), and both had minor occurrences in the Natchez region.

Chickachae Combed (ibid:65-66) was a historic Choctaw type, and was found as a small minority in the latest contexts at Fatherland (Neitzel 1965: Fig. 13). The Caddoan type Nachitoches Engraved (Suhm and Kreiger 1954:334 ff.) occurs only at historic sites in our region, and therefore is a good Natchez phase marker<sup>7</sup> (cf. Neitzel 1965: plate 11a).

Among plainwares, Addis Plain, var. Addis remained in the majority, but both var. St. Catherine and var. Ratcliffe were found in high percentages. Also continuing from the preceding phase were Addis Plain, var. Greenville and Mississippi Plain, var. unspecified. The latter was present in greater numbers than ever before, again reflecting the increased interaction with contemporary Mississippian groups.

By Natchez phase times, carinated bowls had disappeared. Common instead were both pedestal and rounded bowl forms, generally with slightly restricted rims. Pedestal jars continued from the Emerald phase, along with flat bottomed bottles that usually exhibited short, flaring necks and well defined shoulders. The globular "Mississippian jar" with the flaring rim was also present, most often associated with the decorated variety Manchac.

Overall, the Natchez phase ceramic complex was for the most part a direct continuation from Emerald II. Effective ceramic diagnostics are therefore few in number. Although these occurred quite rarely in our region, probably the most reliable are <u>Bayou Goula</u>, Chickachae Combed, and Nachitoches Engraved. It is interesting to note that all three were distinctly non-indigenous types. The fact that the Natchez phase is best recognized by the first appearance of a number of foreign ceramic varieties is perhaps reflective of the great demographic dislocations which were taking place in the Lower

<sup>7.</sup> Noteworthy here is the strong appearance of this type in mid-18th century contexts at the Trudeau site (29-J-1) (Brain 1970: Fig.5; 1973).

Valley at that time.

The other diagnostics worth mentioning are two modes which pertain to the variety <u>Fatherland</u>. The presence of a red slip on such vessels seems to be a trait closely associated with the Natchez phase, certainly not earlier than the latter part of Emerald II. Moreover, the four line variant of <u>Fatherland</u> has been found only in historic contexts (cf. Neitzel 1965: plate 10 GG, II; Brain 1970: Fig.5), and may ultimately warrant separation as a distinct variety.

So far as stone is concerned, the pattern of lithic economy persisted into the Natchez phase: Formally distinctive utilitarian stone artifacts were just as scarce in historic times as they had been during the preceeding Anna and Emerald phases. One exception was the appearance of the projectile point type Mississippi Triangular (Nietzel 1965: plate 12, W-DD; for the type description see Williams and Brain, n.d.). As its name implies, this type was probably associated with the Mississippian splinter groups that had moved in with the Natchez<sup>8</sup>, for the ethnohistoric evidence clearly shows that the Natchez themselves used arrowpoints of cane, bone, or garfish scales (Swanton 1911:58).

A number of other Emerald phase patterns also continued into the Natchez phase. The practice of interment with grave goods was still to be found, with burials occurring in three distinct classes: primary burials, secondary burials, and skull burials (Neitzel 1965:40-44). House forms also remained the same, generally being rectangular wattle and daub structures with their posts set in wall trenches (ibid: Fig. 3, Fig. 10).

From the historic accounts, it is clear that the Natchez lived in less than a dozen villages scattered along the banks of St. Catherine Creek (Swanton 1911:45-48). These villages were basically large dispersed settlements,

<sup>8.</sup> In view of the fact that these Mississippian groups were primarily Tunican, it is significant that Mississippi Triangular points have turned up at the Trudeau site (29-J-1) an 18th century Tunica Village (L.M.S. collections, Peabody Museum, Harvard U.; see Brain 1973).

with individual cabins widely separated and scattered over a rather large area. Each village had a center, and at least some of these centers evidently were marked by artificial mounds.

Attempting to correlate our archaeological data with the ethnohistoric picture is not an easy task. The major problem lies in the fact that the Natchez phase ceramic complex has few diagnostics which can distinguish it reliably from Emerald II. Historic sites producing European trade goods are not very common. For the most part, we are left with a number of sites which have produced ceramic assemblages consistent with the Natchez phase, but in the absence of European trade goods might well have been occupied only during late Emerald II. Whether or not we accept such sites as historic mainly depends on how well their locations correspond with those given in the 18th century accounts.

The shortcomings of such an approach cannot be denied. Nevertheless, while some may argue that we are artificially forcing our data into a pattern we would like to see exist, our defense is that the historic evidence is sometimes much too good and too consistent to be ignored. Moreover, there are considerable grounds for the belief that negative evidence, i.e., the absence of trade goods, may not be an adequate criterion for ruling out the presence of a historic occupation. It is known that the Natchez lived along the most of the length of St. Catherine Creek. In spite of an intensive survey<sup>9</sup>, however, trade goods were found only along the lower reaches, at the Fatherland site and others closeby (I.P., North, Trinity School, and Village Sauvage, cf. Brown 1973:161-162). The exhaustive nature of the survey made it unlikely that this uneven distribution was merely the result of sampling error. Therefore, the inbalance may be indicative of the fact that some villages had a greater share of the trade goods than others. Such a notion is consistent with the fact that the Grand and Flour villages (i.e., Fatherland

<sup>9.</sup> Lower Mississippi Survey fieldwork carried out in the summer of 1971.

and its nearby sites, see Brown 1973) were quite friendly towards the French, while the White Apple, Jenzanaque, and Grigra Villages along the upper reaches of St. Catherine were generally considered hostile (Swanton 1911:47).

With this in mind, let us briefly examine the evidence relating to each of the four or five mound sites which may have been Natchez phase components. Only in one case can we make an indisputable identification:

The Fatherland site with its three mounds was clearly the Grand Village of the Natchez. Not only were trade goods found in abundance, but its location is consistent with all historical data (Neitzel 1965).

We have spoken of the Emerald site before (see p. 84 ff). While no trade goods were found, the documentary evidence that it was indeed the center of the village of Jenzanaque in quite convincing.

Ratcliffe presents a somewhat stickier problem. A test pit placed in the much eroded mound revealed that it had been built in a single stage. The superficial stratum of disturbed earth above the sterile fill produced no trade goods, but did contain a considerable number of very late sherds (i.e., red slipped <u>Fatherland</u> and many Mississippian types) that were certainly proto-historic, if not actually historic. Because it was constructed so late in the prehistoric period, it seems reasonable to suggest that it continued to be occupied in historic times, especially in view of the fact that its location coincides roughly with that of the Grigra village (Brown 1972).

Considerably more uncertain is the status of Foster. On the basis of Brown's study (ibid) it is known that the site is situated in the general area of the White Apple village, but the evidence beyond that is quite dubious. Our excavations showed that Mound B had been built in Emerald II times, but the late occupation on top had been completely washed away. Neither our pits nor our surface collections contained any trade goods or aboriginal sherds necessarily diagnostic of a proto-historic or historic occupation. While many sherds of Fatherland were found, none of them were red slipped.

Another possible candidate for the center of White Apple is the Henderson site (26-K-4), consisting of a single small mound a short distance (1400 meters) downstream from Foster (cf. Brown 1973:218). A shallow test pit placed in the side of the mound produced very few sherds, none of which were more diagnostic than Addis Plain, var. Addis. The interior location of this site and its small size certainly suggested that the mound had not been built during the Anna phase, when most of the construction was carried out near the exterior of the bluffs on a much more grandiose scale. By a process of elimination, this left us with the Emerald and Natchez phases as possibilities. In terms of its site plan (i.e., a small solitary mound located on a terrace of St. Catherine Creek), it most clearly resembles Ratcliffe, which is known to have been proto-historic and probably historic. This comparison in itself would not be very convincing were it not for the fact that within 600 meters of Henderson was a historic French house site! Granted, the evidence is entirely circumstantial, but it all fits together so well that the hypothesis warrants serious consideration.

Thus, we see that in addition to Fatherland, probably both Emerald and Ratcliffe, and possibly either Henderson or Foster were occupied during the Natchez phase. All of these sites (with the possible exception of the problematical Henderson) had already been built by the end of the Emerald phase. There is no concrete evidence that any constructional activity took place in historic times.

Overall, the Natchez phase settlement pattern was a direct continuation from that of Emerald II. All of the political/ceremonial centers were located in the interior of the region, with most of the population dispersed throughout the bluffs. There had, however, occurred a major demographic recession in proto-historic times. The Gordon site, which had been built in the Emerald II sub-phase, was no longer in use. With the exception of a small historic settlement near the mouth of Coles Creek, the area of the Natchez region to

the north of St. Catherine Creek had been entirely abandoned (Brown 1973:161). Here, the archaeology is in perfect agreement with the ethnohistoric sources, which unequivocally confirm that a depopulation had indeed taken place (Swanton 1911:39-45).

# Chapter VI:

Conclusion

#### RECAPITULATION

In the foregoing pages, the description, classification, analysis, and interpretation of the archaeological data have served to refine the chronology pertaining to the late prehistory of the Natchez region. The resultant cultural sequence has been presented in terms of three phases—Anna, Emerald, and Natchez. In conclusion, it remains for us to elucidate the relationships among these phases in a dynamic perspective. It is only after we recognize the basic lines of continuity, however, that we can proceed to examine the patterns of overriding change. Thus, we begin by presenting our concept of the Plaquemine culture, which, as defined here, encompasses all three phases.

#### THE PLAQUEMINE CULTURE

Throughout the Anna, Emerald and Natchez phases, a fundamental continuity was evident. While certain specific cultural elements did change through time, a basic set of core features remained constant. Taken together, these features were the hallmarks of a coherent and viable socio-cultural entity which we define here as the Plaquemine culture.

A major feature of the Plaquemine culture was its settlement pattern:

Political and ceremonial activity was focused at large mound sites, while most of the populace lived in households and small hamlets dispersed widely over the countryside. The "large ceremonial centers" (Phillips et al. 1951:325) were generally characterized by a single dominant pyramidal mound with a number of smaller mounds arranged around a plaza. Surmounting these mounds were rectangular wattle and daub structures, presumably ceremonial buildings and/or the residences of important personages. Typically, these structures were constructed of wooden posts set in wall trenches.

The absence of thick refuse accumulations at these ceremonial centers indicates that their resident populations were quite small. Therefore,

the construction of these sites certainly necessitated the marshalling of a considerable labor force from the scattered surrounding communities.

This fact strongly implies the existence of a hierarchical socio-political system which was capable of organizing and executing large-scale earthmoving projects.

Plaquemine subsistence was primarily based on intensive maize agriculture. The presence of this cultigen is usually quite difficult to document archaeologically, and so it is not insignificant that the first concrete evidences of com in the southern part of the Lower Mississippi Valley appear in Plaquemine contexts (Emerald phase, Neitzel 1965:86; Winterville phase, Williams and Brain, n.d.). That this appearance coincides with the first use of corn in our area is highly doubtful. A much more reasonable inference is that Plaquemine peoples had adopted new food preparation techniques which led to the charring of corn remains and hence their preservation (Belmont 1967).

It is clear that subsistence activities were not confined solely to agriculture. Faunal remains are abundant in Plaquemine contexts, indicating that hunting and fishing were important as well (see Neitzel 1965:96-101).

Plaquemine ceramic technology was basically derived from the indigenous "clay tempered" tradition. The ware associated with this culture--Addis Plain-had developed directly from the preceeding type Baytown Plain. Addis Plain was characterized by the extremely heterogeneous composition of its paste, containing clay, grit, and a considerable amount of organic matter. The rather unbiased attitude which Plaquemine potters had toward their choice of tempering material allowed them to easily absorb ideas and influences coming in from elsewhere. For example, the onset of Mississippian influence was marked by the occasional use of shell as an added, but not exclusive tempering agent. Similarly, the 18th century European presence was sometimes

reflected by the inclusion of fine pieces of glass (personal examination of the collection from the Trudeau site; see Brain 1973).

Plaquemine potters made use of a decorative set that was no less eclectic. Both rectilinear and curvilinear designs were present, and sometimes elements of each would be combined. Overall, the decorative diversity evident in Plaquemine ceramics stood in sharp contrast to the overwhelming emphasis on rectilinearity during Coles Creek times.

So far as stone technology is concerned, both grinding and flaking techniques were known. Typically, the level of chipped stone workmanship was exceedingly poor. Various scrapers and other miscellaneous tools were crudely flaked, but distinctive formal criteria were never adhered to in the process.

Characteristic of the Plaquemine culture was a pattern of lithic economy. I Stone tools were used, but only in tasks where no other material could be found as a suitable replacement. Bone and cane were substituted for chipped stone whenever possible, both as cutting implements and projectile points.

This pattern was well-documented among the historic Natchez (cf. Swanton 1911: 58,64). While we cannot expect cane to be archaeologically preserved, bone tools do occur in Plaquemine contexts.

It is highly unlikely that the chipped stone projectile points which sometimes turn up in Plaquemine assemblages were actually manufactured by Plaquemine peoples. Bayogoula Fishtailed, var. Bayogoula (associated with the Anna, Winterville, and Medora phases) was almost certainly a trade item. Not only was it exceedingly rare, but its level of workmanship was much too good to have been consistent with the rest of the local stone complex. Such points are often found to have been repeatedly resharpened, presumably because they could not be replaced by local manufacture. Perhaps their place

<sup>1.</sup> Clearly, this pattern was an adaptation to the alluvial valley and loess bluff environments, where chert was naturally scarce.

of origin was farther north, for examples of <u>Bayogoula</u> have been found at Cahokia (Titterington 1938: Fig. 13).

In summary, we find Plaquemine culture to have been characterized by the following major features: A hierarchical socio-political organization archaeologically manifested in the presence of "large ceremonial centers"; a demographic pattern of dispersed settlement; rectangular wattle and daub houses built with wooden posts set in wall trenches; a subsistence base of maize agriculture supplemented by hunting and fishing; a ceramic complex characterized by the ware Addis Plain, along with a decorative repetoire consisting of both rectilinear and curvilinear elements; ground stone artifacts; a low level of chipped stone workmanship; and a pattern of lithic economy, whereby chipped stone was replaced by bone and cane tools whenever possible. Plaquemine culture is not recognizable by any one of these features alone, but rather by all of them in combination.

#### CULTURAL DYNAMICS IN THE LATE PREHISTORY OF THE NATCHEZ REGION

The late prehistory of the Natchez region has been described in terms of three phases—Anna, Emerald, and Natchez. Throughout these three phases, a fundamental continuity was evident: All were manifestations of the same culture, which we have here defined as Plaquemine. Apart from these basic lines of continuity, however, a considerable amount of change took place. For the most part, this change, as well as the origins of the Plaquemine culture itself, can be seen in terms of a dynamic interplay between local and foreign elements, between the indigenous Coles Creek tradition and influences coming in from the Mississippian cultures to the north.

It was the first wave of Mississippian influence in the southern part
of the Lower Mississippi Valley which brought about the transformation
of Coles Creek into Plaquemine culture. In the Natchez region, this event
was marked by the onset of the Anna phase. Characteristic was the unprecedented

emphasis on large-scale earthmoving projects, clearly a trait of northern inspiration. Five large ceremonial centers were built in our region, yet unlike their Mississippian counterparts, these did not serve as centers of nucleated settlement. The indigenous Coles Creek demographic pattern persisted: The population remained dispersed.

Also relatively unaffected was the local ceramic tradition. As before, the emphasis in decoration remained on rectilinearity. The predominant ware, Addis Plain, had been a late Coles Creek development. Significant, however, was the fact that this indigenous ware began to exhibit occasional inclusions of shell within the paste--a clear indication of Mississippian influence.

The events which marked the beginnings of Plaquemine culture were by no means unique to the Natchez region. At about the same time, similar changes occurred in the Yazoo Basin to the north (Winterville phase) the Tensas Basin to the northwest (Routh phase), and as far south as the Baton Rouge region (Medora phase).

The pattern of change was the same in every case: Mississippian ideas-manifested in large-scale construction, rectangular wall trench houses, and
the mode of shell tempering--came in and merged with the local ceramic and
demographic tradition to form a new cultural entity. Clearly, this pattern
did not result from a wholesale replacement of peoples, for elements of the
indigenous culture always remained strong. Instead, the process was one of
hybridization, of new ideas being accepted within the framework of an already
functioning and viable local tradition.

The new ideas which brought about the emergence of the Plaquemine culture were introduced by means of direct and premeditated contacts from Cahokia, the great Mississippian center in western Illinois. At Winterville, Lake George, and other related sites in the Yazoo Basin, the spate of large scale constructional activity had been directly preceded by the appearance

of Cahokian pottery (Brain 1969; Williams and Brain, n.d.). Apparently, small groups of people had arrived from the Mississippian heartland and interacted with the native Coles Creek inhabitants. The nature of this interaction is not entirely clear, but there are indications that it may have been purely prosyletical. The local populations had obviously been attracted to the ideology the Cahokians offered--whether it may have been religious, political, or economic--for they had readily adopted it.

As the mound building started at these sites, however, all traces of the Cahokians disappeared. Thus, while Plaquemine culture had been initiated by Mississippian contacts, it basically was an indigenous phenomenon. The Cahokians had triggered a cultural revitalization that progressed on its own momentum, even after intensive interaction with the Mississippian heartland had stopped.

As the Plaquemine phenomenon took hold, it produced a remarkable cultural uniformity throughout the southern part of the Lower Mississippi Valley, from the Yazoo Basin to the north, to the Baton Rouge region to the south.

Not only was this uniformity seen in the newly-built large ceremonial centers, but in ceramics as well. Addis Plain was the dominant ware throughout this wide area. Decorated varieties such as Plaquemine, Anna, Carter, and L'Eau Noire occurred no differently at the Winterville site in the Central Yazoo Basin as they did at the Medora site approximately 200 miles to the south by air, and more than twice that by water.

Such widespread cultural homogeneity reflected a strong socio-cultural integration of the entire area, and could only have been maintained by means of constant internal interaction. Hence, the Mississippi River was of tremendous importance as the principal avenue of communication, and all the major Plaquemine centers were focused upon it. It was no coincidence that four of the five Anna phase mound sites were located on, or very close to the Mississippi. A similar pattern was found in the Southern Yazoo, where

ceremonial centers were built at all the strategic points along the Mississippi where it was joined by its major tributaries (Williams and Brain, n.d.).

The influence of this widespread interaction was certainly reflected in the eclectic nature of the Anna phase ceramic complex. The great variety of decorative techniques and vessel forms stood in sharp contrast to the rather limited inventory that had been found in late Coles Creek times. While the origins of many of these new ceramic features were quite obscure, it is nevertheless not coincidence that they appeared when the cultural horizons were extremely broad.

While the Plaquemine culture was at its greatest extent, a second wave of Mississippian influence had started to come in from the north, quite different in nature from that which had been exerted by the Cahokians. By means of a gradual process of diffusion and acculturation, the southern frontier of the Mississippian culture had begun to move downriver. By the end of the Anna phase, the settlements in the Lower Yazoo Basin, which had formerly been Plaquemine, were totally acculturated to the Mississippian way of life. As the borders of Plaquemine culture drew back in the face of this encroachment, the extent of its sphere of interaction declined, and a period of regionalization occurred. In the Natchez region, this period was characterized by the Emerald phase.

The frontier of Mississippian culture had drawn close to the Natchez region, and the rate of interaction between Emerald phase and Mississippian peoples increased accordingly. Not only did Mississippian ceramics begin appearing at Emerald phase sites, but northern influence made itself felt on the local ceramics as well. The mode of shell tempering in Addis Plain continued to gain in popularity. Moreover, a typical Mississippian vessel form was adopted—the globular jar with a constricted neck and a flaring rim.

Decorative ideas were diffused as well. Manchac, a very popular variety during

the Emerald phase, may have been derived from the Mississippian type
Barton Incised. Mississippian ideology also had its impact: Plaquemine
peoples began to bury their dead with grave goods, obviously a custom of
northern inspiration.

While readily absorbing all these new traits, the local Plaquemine culture continued to maintain its vitality and individuality. Indigenous ceramic technology reached its zenith at the beginning of the Emerald II sub-phase with the appearance of the variety <u>Junkin</u>. The latter was a thin, highly polished ware, technically and aesthetically superior to any that had come before. Being a variety of Addis Plain, it had developed entirely within the bounds of the local ceramic tradition. This was also a time when artistic expression flowered. Naturalistic effigies, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, occurred on beautifully carved limestone pipes.

In the Anna phase times, the Mississippi River had been the axis along which the unity of the southern part of the Lower Valley had been maintained. As the Mississippianization of the north caused this unity to collapse, the river decreased in importance. Thus, during the Emerald I sub-phase, the focus of constructional activity in the Natchez region was reoriented toward the interior. While the major centers on the river--Anna and Windsor--continued to be occupied, a number of new mound sites were built well inland along St. Catherine Creek.

For a time, both the interior and the exterior centers were in use. In the Emerald II sub-phase, however, the exterior centers were completely abandoned. Correspondingly, the constructional activity in the interior intensified. At least two new centers were built, and the previously existing ones were enlarged. Thus, the focus of political and religious activity had entirely shifted away from the Mississippi River, and had turned to the interior.

In spite of this turn to the interior, however, Mississippian ceramics were more abundant in the Natchez region than they had ever been before.

This increase was probably indicative of the fact that the southern limit of Mississippian culture had drawn even closer to the Natchez region.

Perhaps the abandonment of the exterior centers represented a retreat of the Plaquemine culture in the face of this encroachment.

Throughout the Emerald phase, the Mississippian culture had been gradually spreading southward at the expense of the Plaquemine culture by means of a slow process of diffusion and acculturation. Quite abruptly, this pattern of interaction was altered by a cataclysmic event which took place in protohistoric times. The Lower Mississippi Valley underwent a dramatic decrease in population, perhaps brought on by the onslaught of European diseases to which the Indians had no natural immunity. One of the regions affected the most was the Yazoo Basin, which was left almost entirely uninhabited. As a result of this massive depopulation, tremendous demographic and social upheavals occurred. Many groups were undoubtedly wiped out, while scattered and weakened remnants of others were forced to consolidate in order to defend themselves against the incursions of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws from the east.

In the face of this catastrophic situation, few groups were able to maintain a semblance of their former size and socio-political complexity.

One of these were the Natchez, heirs to the Plaquemine culture in our region. From the ethnohistoric and archaeological data, it is clear that the Natchez had indeed suffered a considerable depopulation. The key to their survival, however, was that they had managed to offset their demographic losses by the successful assimilation of new peoples into their social system (Brain 1971a). Four of the nine (or eleven) Natchez villages at the time of French contact were made up of refugee Mississippian (i.e., Tunican) groups which had come down from the north.

Thus, the final stage of Plaquemine-Mississippian interaction was characterized by an abrupt juxtaposition of the two cultures within a single

social system. The situation was ripe for the start of a new process of hybridization, a recombination of cultural elements which may well have resulted in the emergence of a new, more viable cultural entity. The pattern of history was such, however, that this event was not to happen. A third culture, technologically and socio-politically more advanced, appeared on the scene and completely swept away both the Plaquemine and Mississippian cultures before it.

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# Appendix I:

Ceramic Counts by Stratigraphic Levels

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OLD TOWN RED. var. Red Rock			-		-	-		-	-	-	-	-+	$\dashv$	-	-	$\rightarrow$		-	-	-	-	-	$\rightarrow$	
OWENS PUNCTATED, var. Poor Joe	-1	-	-	-	-	$\dashv$	-+	+	<del>-{</del>	-1	-	-+	$\dashv$		$\dashv$	$\dashv$	-	-	-1	+	-1	-1	-1	$\dashv$
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GOLEMAN INGISED, var. Sass  COLEMAN INGISED, var. unspecified  COLES GRESK INGISED, var. Unspecified  COLES GRESK INGISED, var. Sakely  COLES GRESK INGISED, var. Sakely  COLES GRESK INGISED, var. Sakely  COLES GRESK INGISED, var. Note  COLES GRESK INGISE	CHICOT RED, var. Fairchild	<u> </u>			$\Box$		_	إبا	4	-	$\vdash$		_	-	_			-	-	-		-	-1	-	_
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EVANSVILLE PURCTATED, var. unspecified // ATHERIAND INCISED, var. Earou Gouls // ATHERIAND INCISED, var. Earou Gouls // ATHERIAND INCISED, var. Pine Ridge // ATHERIAND INCISED, var. Unspecified // / 2		7	-		Н	-	$\vdash$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					-	-	-			-	$\dashv$
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PARTERIZAND INGISED, var. unspecified (	FATHERLAND INCISED, var. Pine Ridge																							_]	
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# Appendix II:

Ceramic Counts by Stratigraphic Levels at Foster

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AVENUE POLYCHROME, var. Avenue											П			_	-		_		_			$\sqcup$		$\Box$
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TCHEFUNCTE PLAIN, var. unspecified	2.		=	F				-		-											H		E	



Plate 1: Jar - Addis Plain, var. Addis

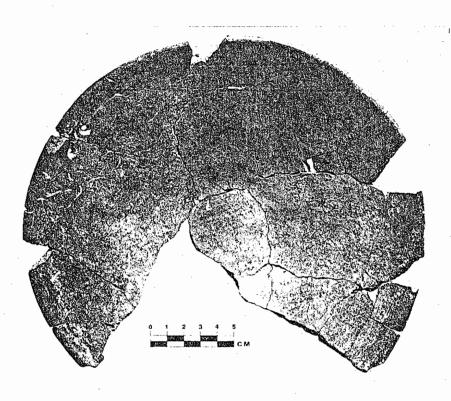


Plate 2: Simple Bowl - Addis Plain, var. Addis

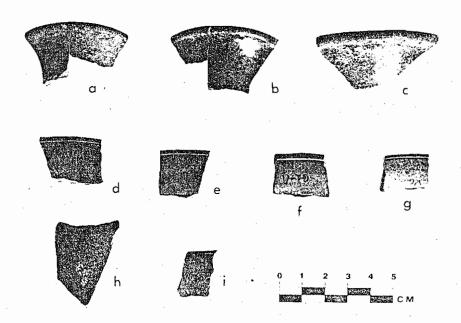


Plate 3: Addis Plain, var. Junkin

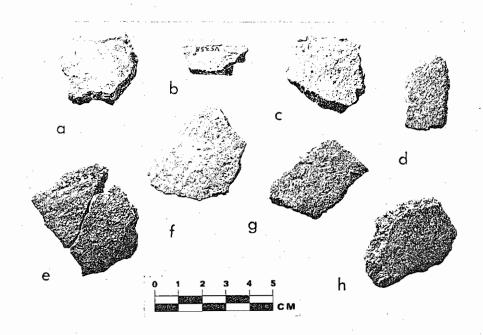


Plate 4: Addis Plain, var. Ratcliffe

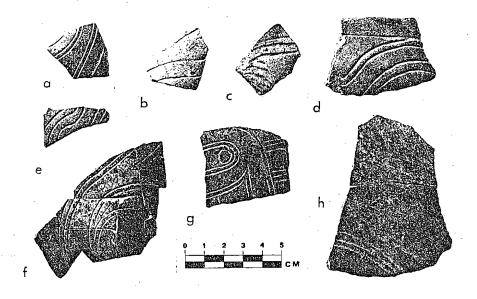


Plate 9: Fatherland Incised, var. Fatherland (a,f,& g are on a ware equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Junkin)

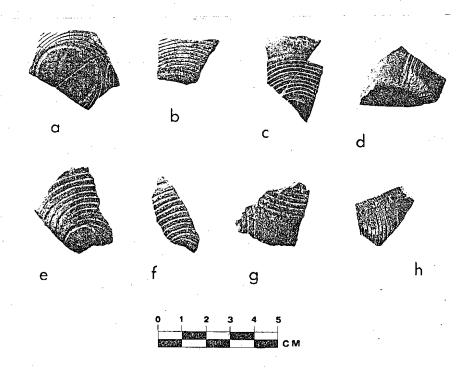


Plate 10: Fatherland Incised, var. Pine Ridge (a-d,h are on a ware equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Junkin)

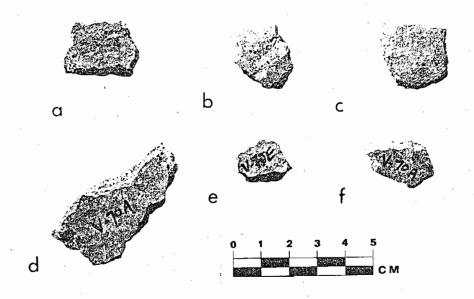


Plate 7: Chicot Red, var. Fairchild

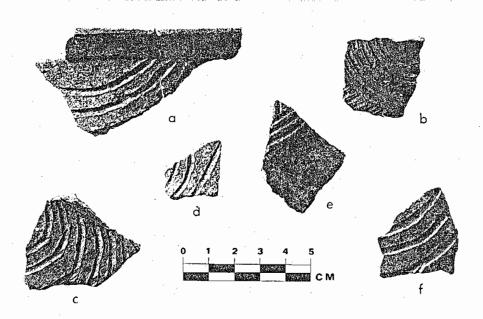


Plate 8: Coleman Incised, var. Bass

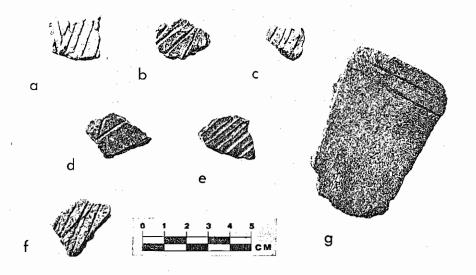


Plate 5: Barton Incised, var. unspecified

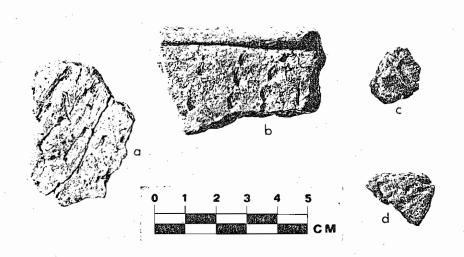


Plate 6: Chevalier Stamped, var. Cornelia

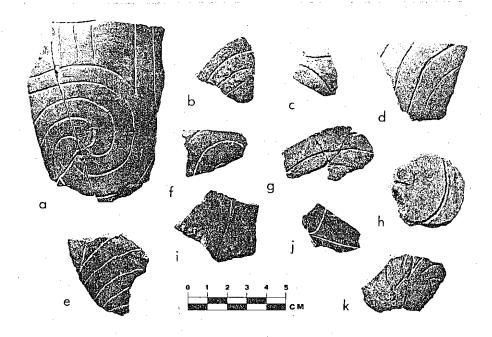


Plate 11: Fatherland Incised, var. Stanton

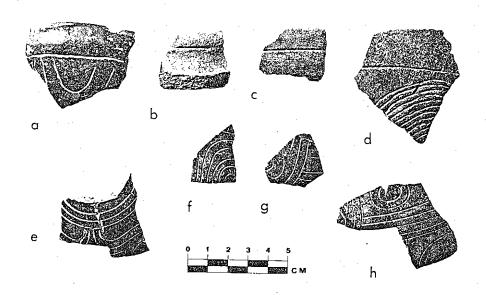


Plate 12: Fatherland Incised, var. unspecified: a-c, e-h (e-h are on a ware equivalent to Addis Plain, var. Junkin); var. Bayou Goula: d

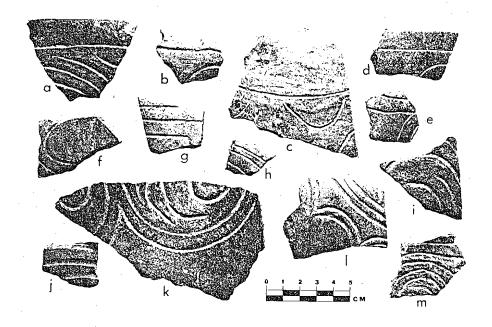


Plate 13: Leland Incised, var. Foster

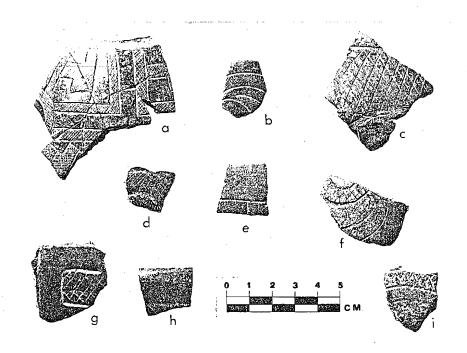


Plate 14: Maddox Engraved, <u>var. Emerald</u> (a-b are on a ware equivalent to Addis Plain, <u>var. Junkin</u>)

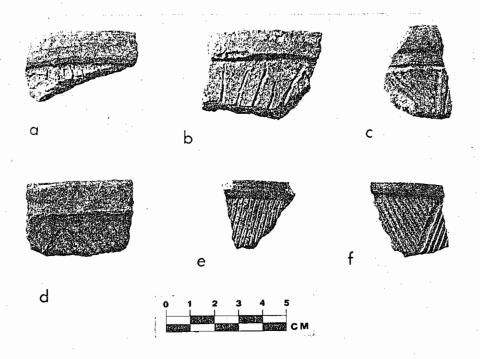


Plate 15: Mazique Incised, var. Manchac--middle variant (e-f are particularly fine examples on a polished ware that approaches Addis Plain, var. Junkin).

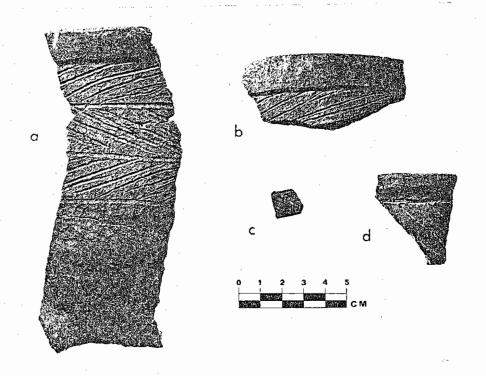


Plate 16: Mazique Incised, <u>var. Manchac</u>--middle variant, herringbone treatment. (c is on a ware equivalent to Addis Plain, <u>var. Junkin</u>).

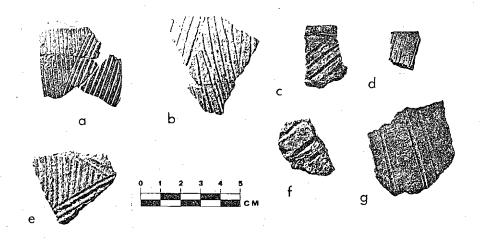


Plate 17: Mazique Incised, <u>var. Manchac</u>: c,f-g; late variant: a-b (a is on a ware equivalent to <u>Junkin</u>) Mazique Incised, <u>var. Preston</u>: d,e

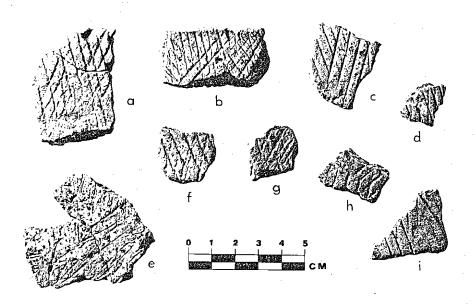


Plate 18: Mulberry Creek Cord Marked, var. Centers
Creek.

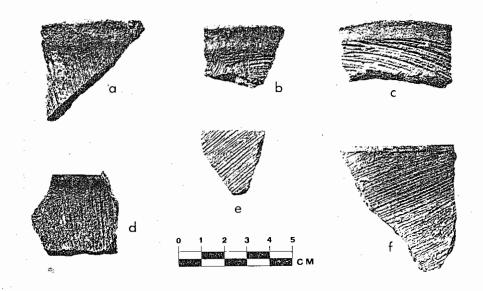


Plate 19: Plaquemine Brushed, var. Plaquemine, late variant: a-c; early variant: d-f.

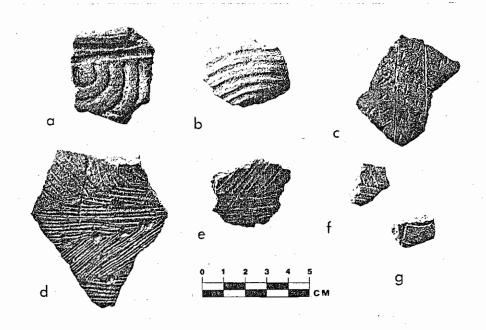


Plate 20: Winterville Incised, var. Belzoni: a-b;
Owens Punctated, var. Poor Joe: c; Coleman
Incised, var. Coleman: g; Unclassified
Brushed and Incised: d-f

#### PROVENIENCES

- Plate 1 -- 535E
- Plate 2 -- 605D4
- Plate 3 -- 70E: e,i 70F: d,f,h 605A5: a,b 606B3: b 605A3: c 609C: g
- Plate 4 -- 506A: a 525B: b 605F1: c 607B: d 535B: e,g 520A: f 70A: g
- Plate 5 -- 520A: a 581B: b 507B: c 531E: d 506A: e 531F: f 70E: g
- Plate 6 -- 605B4: a 605F4: b 605A5: c 70F: d
- Plate 7 -- 70E: a,c,e 70A: d,f 531E: b
- Plate 8 -- 70E: a,b,d,e 70F: a,c 534E2: f
- Plate 9 -- 609A: a 605C2: b 531F: c 534E2: d 70B: e 605A4: f 606A5: g Foster surface: h
- Plate 10 -- 605A4: a-c,h 605A5: d,e 70F: g Foster surface: f
- Plate 11 -- 508B: a 605C4: b,e 535B: c,f 506B: d 507C: g 535C: h 607B: i 606B4: j 70E: k
- Plate 12 -- Emerald surface: a,c Foster surface: b 535A: d 605A4: e-h
- Plate 13 -- 70E: a,d,f,k,m 70A: b,e,i Foster surface: c 524G: g 506A: h 605A1: j 605F4: 1
- Plate 14 -- Foster surface: a 606B4: b 534E2: c 70E: d,h 535B: e,f 608C: g 535C: i
- Plate 15 -- 605D4: a 535B: b 70E: c,d 70A: e 70F: f
- Plate 16 -- 70E: a,c Foster surface: b 605F4: d
- Plate 17 -- 70E: a 607C: b 535D: c 520A: d 522I: e 531F: f 609A: g
- Plate 18 -- 605D4: a,g Foster surface: b 605E2: c,d,i 607D: e 605E5: f,h
- Plate 19 -- 70E: a,b 607C: c 522I: d 70F: e 607D: f
- Plate 20 -- 520K: a 507D: b 508C: c 607C: d 525B: e 607C: f 535C: g

Crane, H.R.,

1956 - University of Michigan Radiocarbon Dates I. Science 124: 664-672.

470±250 B.P. (M-27) -- Emerald site, 26-L-1. Animal bone from Stage E (Cotter 1951), located in deep drift of village detritus at the south base of the primary platform.

350±250 B.P. (M-30) -- Gordon site, 26-L-2. Charred vegetal specimens (charcoal, wood, grass, etc.) from a burned floor level--F.S.451, feature 4 house site (Cotter 1953)--within a rectangular wall-trench house.

B.P. (M-47) -- Anna site, 26-K-1. Charcoal from high in the fill of Mound 5; it represents the late occupancy of the site.

### ERRATA:

P. 85, par. 3 -- "(1973: 3-5)" should read "(1972: 3-5)"

P. 147, var Mabin, Chronological Position -- "Point Lake Phase" should read "Grand Gulf phase"

p. 190, par. 2 -- "Nietzel" should read "Neitzel"