

**MAKING HEADS OR TAILS: AN ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF LATE
MISSISSIPPIAN RIM-EFFIGY BOWLS IN THE CENTRAL MISSISSIPPI RIVER
VALLEY**

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ABSTRACT

Madelaine C. Azar: Making Heads or Tails: An Iconographic Analysis of Late Mississippian Rim-Effigy Bowls in the Central Mississippi River Valley
(Under the direction of Dr. Vincas P. Steponaitis)

Symbolically charged ceramic rim-effigy bowls, characterized by figural head and tail adornments, are hallmarks of the Late Mississippian period in the central Mississippi River valley (CMV). Hundreds of whole rim-effigy bowls, most often depicting serpents, birds, or humans, have been collected at sites from southeastern Missouri to northwestern Mississippi. However, a comprehensive iconographic analysis of the CMV rim-effigy bowl corpus – specifically focused on visual style and theme – has never been conducted. A systematic review of the corpus’s imagery suggests that CMV rim-effigy bowls acted as materializations of the Mississippian cosmos, reinforcing the principle of cosmic balance. Further, given discrete concentrations of bowl styles and themes across the region, localized religious collectives – perhaps sodalities – may have produced their own rim-effigy bowls for use during charter rites or ceremonies. More broadly, by reviewing an understudied ceramic corpus, this study furthers understandings of Mississippian art and iconography in the CMV and beyond.

For my parents, who told me I could do anything.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Between AD 800 and 1600, Mississippian societies across the Eastern Woodlands espoused a cosmology rooted in a duality between the heavens and the underworld. This belief system informed the creation of ritual art objects adorned with symbolic motifs and images of culture heroes and supernatural beings. Embossed copper plates, carved stone figurines, engraved whelk shells, and ceramic effigy vessels – all imbued with cosmic meaning – are only some of the intricately crafted items produced during the Mississippian period. These sacred objects served to reinforce both spiritual and earthly ideologies that became integral to the maintenance of Mississippian lifeways (Brown 1976; Knight 1989; Pauketat and Emerson 1991).

The iconography of Mississippian ritual paraphernalia is becoming an increasingly popular research topic among archaeologists. A number of recently published edited volumes offer detailed analyses of the symbolism, social function, and ideological significance of these objects (Lankford et al. 2011; King 2007a; Reilly and Garber 2007a; Townsend and Sharp 2004). Workshop settings – such as those organized by the Mississippian Iconography Conference – have encouraged collaborative research, resulting in a deluge of new scholarship on the materiality of Mississippian ritual and cosmology. In addition, the incorporation of Native worldviews and oral traditions into these investigations has strengthened relationships between archaeologists and indigenous communities while also stimulating new and novel insights into well-known Mississippian art corpora (see Townsend and Sharp 2004).

In many ways, this recent flourish of research on Mississippian iconography represents a culmination of scholarly interest stretching back more than one hundred years. Around the turn of the twentieth century, antiquarians William H. Holmes, Clarence B. Moore, and Gates P. Thruston, among many others, illustrated and described hundreds of Mississippian art objects during their exploratory surveys of eastern North America (see Brose and White 1999; Knight 1996a; Meltzer and Dunnell 1992; Mitchem 1999a, 1999b; Morse and Morse 1983; Moore 1910; Potter and Evers 1880; Thruston 1897). In 1945, Antonio Waring and Preston Holder published a seminal article synthesizing these findings, ultimately proposing that Mississippian art be subsumed under one unifying concept termed the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC) (see also Williams 1968:73). They hypothesized that this “complex of specific motifs and ceremonial objects” (1945:1) grew out of a short-lived – but rapidly spreading – religious movement, which they called the Southern Cult. These conclusions were largely based on ritual paraphernalia recovered from three of the largest ceremonial mound centers in the Mississippian world: Spiro in far eastern Oklahoma, Etowah in northwestern Georgia, and Moundville in west-central Alabama. Collectively, these sites – which were highlighted for their artistically remarkable and uncharacteristically large ritual corpora – are known as the “Big Three.”

Discussions of the SECC continued throughout the twentieth century, centering largely on the origin and chronology of the complex and its materials. Efforts were specifically aimed at parsing the implications of the term “cult” and determining the impact – if any – of Mesoamerican cultures on the development of the SECC (see Griffin 1944; Krieger 1945; Waring 1945; see also Williams 1968). Attention later shifted to the function of SECC materials within sociopolitical and religious contexts (see Brown 1976; Knight 1986). Since then, the application of analytical approaches borrowed from art history have transformed Mississippian

art objects into readable records of the past, providing access to the potential cosmological meanings of certain symbols and images (see Knight 2013a). These tools have been enthusiastically applied to the material originally recovered around the turn of the century and later reviewed by Waring and Holder. And while the spotlight largely remains fixed on Moundville, Etowah, and Spiro, material from the Plains, Midwest, Appalachians, and Florida has recently trickled into discussions of the SECC (see King 2007a; Galloway 1989; Lankford et al. 2011; Reilly and Garber 2007a).

However, in response to increasing documentation of regional variation among Mississippian art objects, the SECC concept itself has faced growing skepticism regarding its status as a productive analytical tool (Brown 1976, 1989; Krieger 1945; Knight 2006; Knight et al. 2001; Muller 1989). In particular, it is now clear that Mississippian societies produced diverse forms of ritual paraphernalia, developing distinct stylistic, thematic, and material preferences. In other words, Mississippian art does not conform to the generalizing parameters of the SECC, as conceptualized by Waring and Holder. For instance, ceramics engraved with Beneath World symbols referencing death and the afterlife constitute a major portion of Moundville's ritual art (Steponaitis and Knight 2004). In contrast, a large body of copper art depicting supernatural birdmen and falconoid imagery associated with the Above World has been recovered from Etowah's Mound C (King 2007b; 2011). And at Spiro, excavations of the Craig Mound produced an impressive corpus of shell artifacts engraved with intricate designs and depictions of legendary beings (Brown 2011; Knight 2006; Phillips and Brown 1978). Variation across the Big Three corpora suggests that – despite their broad classification as “Mississippian” – these societies may have maintained distinct art traditions that oftentimes emphasized specific

cosmological principles. In many ways, this situation is akin to the adoption of patron saints in cities and towns across the Christian world.

This regional variation in ritual paraphernalia is often linked to the local sociopolitical contexts within which these objects functioned (see Brown 2001:30-32). For example, death-themed imagery among engraved ceramics at Moundville may reflect the function of the site as a necropolis after AD 1350 (Knight and Steponaitis 2011). At Etowah, the Mound C copper plates have been interpreted as prestige items deployed by rising elites to justify their power when the site was reoccupied after AD 1250 (King 2011). Further, myriad non-local ritual objects recovered from Spiro, including nearly a third of the engraved shell corpus, indicate that – although the site was situated on the western margins of the Mississippian world – it maintained far-reaching relationships with other communities (Brown 2001:32; Brown and Kelly 2000). Overall, given the diversity of Mississippian art and iconography, it has become clear that the SECC was not a monolithic phenomenon.

In the wake of these findings, art from other regions – and earlier periods – is beginning to be discussed alongside the canonical Big Three corpora. Specifically, antecedents of SECC imagery have been recognized in tenth- and eleventh-century rock art from Wisconsin and Missouri (Diaz-Granados 2004, 2011; Salzer and Rajnovich 2000). In addition, art objects produced at Cahokia – executed in the Classic Braden style – have been identified as forbearers of later SECC materials from the Big Three (Brown and Kelly 2000). This broadening of the scholarly gaze has kindled debates about what symbols, motifs, and artifacts should even be included within the conceptual boundaries of the SECC, with definitions ranging from widely comprehensive to spatially and temporally restricted (see Knight et al. 2001; King 2007c:12-14; also see Muller 1989). Vernon J. Knight (2006) has taken this issue to its logical end by boldly

advocating for the abandonment of the SECC altogether, emphasizing that some studies have advanced knowledge of Mississippian art, iconography, and cosmology without even deploying the concept (see also Brown 1985; 1989).

Although the retirement of the SECC would serve to curb misguided generalizations of Mississippian ritual paraphernalia, others continue to argue for the concept's preservation. Specifically, King (2007d) has suggested that a focus on visual style, or the formal qualities of design, could help revive the SECC's utility. Recent reviews of style indicate that crafting workshops existed throughout the Mississippian world, producing art objects that can now be situated in time and space in order to trace the origins and movements of SECC materials (Brown and Kelly 2000; Kelly et al. 2007; Knight et al. 2017; Moore et al. 2014; Sharp et al. 2011; Steponaitis et al. 2019). Alternatively, in line with Knight's (2006) claim that the SECC impedes understandings of Mississippian art and iconography, others have suggested new acronyms that acknowledge regional variation and address the specific domains within which art objects functioned. These include the Southern Interchange Network (SIN) (Muller 2007), the Mississippian Art and Ceremonial Complex (MACC) (Reilly 2004), and the Mississippian Ideological Interaction Sphere (MIIS) (Reilly and Garber 2007b). However, likely due to both tradition and convenience, SECC continues to be the most widely used term in the literature.

But while discussions regarding the fate of the SECC persist in earnest, some Mississippian art corpora have seemingly been forgotten. That is, much material has not been subjected to detailed iconographic research, despite continued efforts to transcend the geographic and temporal restrictions of the SECC concept. Existing corpora from many regions, while potentially informative, currently lack substantial scholarly attention – at least compared to the interest dedicated to the Big Three and now Cahokia. As a result, the range of variation in the

symbolism and materiality of cosmic veneration during the Mississippian period is still not fully understood. Additional examinations of understudied corpora are needed to further advance knowledge of regional variation among Mississippian ritual sacra.

In this regard, one potentially enlightening but overlooked region of the Mississippian world is the central Mississippi River valley (CMV), which extends along the Mississippi River from the mouth of the Ohio River in southern Illinois to the mouth of the Arkansas River in eastern Arkansas. Here, a wide range of finely crafted ceramics dating to the Late Mississippian period (AD 1350-1600) have been recovered by archaeologists, collectors, and pot hunters alike. Hundreds of whole vessels from the CMV – including painted, engraved, and effigy vessels – exist in museum and university collections across the country. Notably, Waring and Holder briefly commented on the appearance of Southern Cult materials in Arkansas and even posited a Middle Mississippi Valley origin for the spread of their complex (1945:30). Since then, CMV ceramics have occasionally been recognized as vehicles for SECC motifs and symbolism (Dye 1998; Rands 1956; Morse and Morse 1989). More recently, research has focused on the distribution and symbolism of the region's distinctive ceramic effigy vessels (Cobb and Drake 2008; Dye 2018, 2019; Fisher-Carroll and Mainfort 2012; Lankford and Dye 2014).

However, apart from these important contributions, the CMV's expansive assemblage of Late Mississippian ceramics not been adequately evaluated. Further examinations of the CMV's distinctive ceramics would serve to enrich understandings of regional variation in Mississippian art and iconography. Specifically, the CMV differs significantly from the Big Three in terms of sociopolitical organization and settlement pattern. In the Late Mississippian period, the region was characterized by numerous small mound and village sites that were likely incorporated into several adjacent but independent polities or provinces (Morse and Morse 1983:238-302). The

CMV does not contain a dominant regional mound center that produced high quantities of impressive ritual paraphernalia. Rather, the CMV's finely crafted ceramics are distributed across the region, perhaps making it more difficult to address aspects of elite ideology and sociopolitical hierarchy – topics that have been integral to studies of the Big Three corpora. In fact, the Late Mississippian CMV may have been a highly competitive and politically fragmented landscape, a phenomenon that has previously been attributed to increased levels of factional conflict and interpolity warfare (Rees 2001). Spanish accounts of Hernando de Soto's entrada into the region in the mid-sixteenth century indeed suggest a tangled web of rivalries and alliances (Varner and Varner 1951:434-435; see also House 1991:68-69).

In short, Late Mississippian CMV communities existed within a sociopolitical milieu that contrasted greatly with the large mound centers favored by past and present studies of the SECC. The ways in which this competitive climate may be reflected in the production, function, and distribution of ritual paraphernalia within the region has not been sufficiently explored. In the following study, I attempt to address the CMV's underrepresentation in recent scholarship through a systematic iconographic analysis of a major regional art corpus – ceramic rim-effigy bowls. These vessels, which are characterized by the presence of vertical rim adornments depicting a range of living beings, are considered hallmarks of the Late Mississippian period and have been recovered from sites across southeastern Missouri, northeastern Arkansas, western Tennessee, and northwestern Mississippi. Notably, the corpus has yet to be comprehensively evaluated for its imagery. Ultimately, the goal of this study is thus to present an iconographic model of rim-effigy bowls that clarifies their cosmological meaning and ritual function among Late Mississippian communities in the CMV. More broadly, I intend to provide foundational insights into the iconography of an art corpus that has hitherto been largely overlooked by

studies of Mississippian iconography, contributing to growing understandings of meaningful heterogeneity in art traditions across the Mississippian world.

CHAPTER 2 ARCHAEOLOGY, CERAMICS, AND THE CMV

The central Mississippi River valley (CMV) is composed of the low-lying alluvial plain stretching from the mouth of the Ohio River in Cairo, Illinois to the mouth of the Arkansas River about 45 km north of Greenville, Mississippi (Figure 1). The majority of the CMV lies on the west side of the Mississippi River, encompassing both the St. Francis and White river drainages. Crowley's Ridge, a remnant upland that dissects the Mississippi alluvial plain, divides the region in two, creating the Eastern and Western lowlands. In total, the CMV contains about 40,000 km² of fertile soils and productive riverine habitats. From the Paleoindian period until the onset of European contact in the sixteenth century, the valley hosted a continuous indigenous population, making the CMV one of the richest archaeological regions in the country (Morse and Morse 1983:1-10).

I. Mississippian Archaeology in the CMV

The term "Mississippian" refers to a number of politically independent societies that populated the Eastern Woodlands of North America from AD 800 to 1600. Thus, "Mississippian" can be used as both a cultural and temporal designation. Mississippian-period cultural manifestations are generally identified based on a specific collection of traits, including maize agriculture, fortified towns or villages with earthen platform mounds, hierarchical social organization, and ritual traditions focused on fertility, ancestors, or war (see Blitz 2010:3). These



Figure 1. The central Mississippi River valley.

traits, as identified by their archaeological analogs, are considered to differentiate Mississippian societies from earlier groups that occupied the Eastern Woodlands. However, while Mississippian societies were culturally linked by these traits, significant developmental and organizational differences likely existed among communities. That is, individual expressions of Mississippian culture varied across space and time (see Blitz 2010; Pauketat 2001, 2007).

In the CMV, the emergence and florescence of Mississippian culture has long been linked to parallel developments occurring upstream in the American Bottom. Evidence of trade in raw materials as well as similarities in ceramic traditions, microlith industries, and architecture have been cited as indicators of contact between nascent Mississippian communities in the American Bottom and CMV (McNutt 1996:230-240; Morse and Morse 1983:201-202, 238; Phillips 1970:929). In addition, ceramic types produced in the CMV have been identified at upland American Bottom settlements linked to the rise of Cahokia (Alt 2006). Indeed, the initial expansion of Mississippian culture in the CMV was approximately contemporaneous with the Emergent Mississippian period in the American Bottom. Radiocarbon dates indicate that the Mississippian period in the CMV began around AD 800, succeeding prior Woodland Baytown traditions or – in the southern portion of the region – replacing Coles Creek manifestations (McNutt 1996:222-229). By AD 1000, the “shift” to Mississippian appears to have been complete, possibly indicating the presence of complex chiefdoms in the region (see D. Morse 1989:110-111; P. Morse 1981:14; Morse and Morse 1996).

Morse and Morse (2009: 203-215) posit that these Early Mississippian manifestations (AD 800-1000) – including the Big Lake, Hayti, and Hoecake cultural traditions – likely developed when independent tribal groups began sharing resources, leading to the growth of mutual dependencies. The fertile alluvial soils and ecological diversity of the region would have

allowed these groups to establish permanent settlements supported by agriculture. Among other outcomes, these conditions are thought to have led to food surpluses and population growth. Resulting demographic and social changes are thought to have prompted the emergence of sociopolitical hierarchy in the region. Importantly, these early groups portrayed many classic Mississippian traits, including shell-tempered pottery, mound and plaza architecture, and maize agriculture (see also D. Morse 1989:110-111).

By AD 1050, CMV communities appear to have had coalesced into several independent Mississippian polities. Villages and dispersed farmsteads became increasingly associated with specific civic-ceremonial centers in a clear site hierarchy. Based on this settlement pattern, the Middle Mississippian period in the CMV (AD 1050-1350) is generally associated with increasing sociopolitical complexity. Notably, however, there is little evidence of warfare among communities. Rather, people appear to have more often engaged in the exchange of raw materials, including salt and lithics. The majority of the region's population was likely concentrated in the Cairo Lowland of southeastern Missouri, as evidenced by the frequency of large mound centers and concentration of exotic goods (e.g. copper plates and shell gorgets). Innovative ceramic techniques emerged during this period as potters began experimenting with new forms, such as beakers, plates, and bottles. Decorative wares, including painted, incised, and effigy vessels, appeared for the first time (Morse and Morse 2009:237-266).

At the onset of the Late Mississippian period around AD 1350, a demographic collapse may have occurred in the Cairo Lowland. Large expanses of southeastern Missouri seem to have been intentionally depopulated – sites were burned and abandoned. Although this area lacked permanent settlement during this time, the continued presence of Nodena points suggests that it continued to be used for ephemeral hunting activities. The majority of the population appears to

have shifted south, concentrating into mound and village sites along the meander belt regions of the Mississippi and St. Francis rivers. It has been suggested that the alluvial soils here were better suited supporting large, nucleated settlements founded upon intensive agriculture (Morse and Morse 1983:280-301). Survey work indicates that this area was very densely populated, lacking unsettled buffer zones around central sites (see House 1991:65-70; P. Morse 1981:45-59). Palisades were constructed around nearly every village as the need for protection against warfare and raiding increased. This level of nucleation and resulting conflict represents a major departure from earlier, more dispersed settlement patterns in the region (Morse and Morse 1983:266-284; D. Morse 1989:105; P. Morse 1981).

As levels of competition and violence increased in the Late Mississippian CMV, artistic expression also flourished. During this time, the region witnessed an impressive honing of ceramic craftsmanship (Cobb and Drake 2008; Morse 1989:107; Morse and Morse 1983:284; O'Brien and Dunnell 1998:1). Elaborately painted and engraved ceramics as well as finely crafted effigy vessels were produced in such quantity that the CMV has, since the early twentieth century, been a hotbed for pot hunting and collecting (Cobb and Drake 2008; O'Brien and Dunnell 1998:1-10). As large-scale, plow agriculture became the lifeblood of the valley, Euro-American farmers began churning up whole vessels in great quantities – most often from burials. This, combined with the ascension of salvage anthropology, encouraged collectors and pothunters to literally mine the region for artifacts that could be sold on the lucrative market for American Indian cultural objects (O'Brien and Dunnell 1998:2-3).

While collectors and pothunters scoured the landscape for valuable artifacts, professional archaeologists took a dramatically different approach to their explorations of the region. Rather than concentrating their efforts on whole pottery vessels, mid twentieth-century archaeologists

like Philip Phillips, James A. Ford, and James B. Griffin focused their research on broken pottery, or potsherds, recovered from surveys and controlled excavations (see Phillips et al. 1951). Together they classified ceramics in the Mississippi River valley into types defined by paste, decoration, and form. Phillips (1970) later elaborated upon this system, adding further classificatory divisions in the form of ceramic varieties. Phillip's so-called type-variety system includes more than 40 types and 88 varieties (see also O'Brien and Fox 1994:26).

Pottery sherd analysis – grounded in this type system – structured fundamental archaeological understandings of the Late Mississippian CMV (see Brown 2005; O'Brien 1994). In particular, much of the research in the region has been focused on identifying, characterizing, and evaluating materially distinct geographic foci referred to as *phases* (O'Brien and Fox 1994:48-49). Archaeological phases were initially defined by Willey and Phillips as:

...an archaeological unit possessing traits sufficiently characteristic to distinguish it from all other units similarly conceived, whether of the same or other cultures or civilizations, spatially limited to the order of magnitude of a locality or region and chronologically limited to a brief period of time [1958:22].

In the Late Mississippian CMV, phases are defined based on the distributions of specific ceramic types – mainly Neely's Ferry Plain, Bell Plain, Barton Incised, Parkin Punctated, and Old Town Red (McNutt 2008; Phillips 1970; Phillips et al. 1951). Sites with similar ceramic assemblages are grouped into specific phases. In theory, the ceramic types used to define an archaeological phase should be exclusive to that particular phase. Diagnostic ceramic types should not be shared among phases. In the densely populated CMV, however, there can be significant ceramic variation within phase assemblages depending on site histories. This results in considerable overlap in ceramic types among phases. In turn, Late Mississippian CMV phases have been defined largely based on the frequency with which ceramic types occur in relation to each other (O'Brien and Fox 1994:50; see also P. Morse 1981:26).

The four best defined Late Mississippian phases in the region include Nodena, Parkin, Kent, and Walls (Figure 2). Willey and Phillips (1958:22) intended for these phases to simply constitute “practical and intelligible unit[s] of archaeological study,” much like ceramic types. However, the phase concept in the Late Mississippian CMV has arguably been pushed beyond this interpretive framework. Attempts to understand Late Mississippian sociopolitical organization based on site function and settlement hierarchy has been largely unsuccessful (House 1991:69; D. Morse 1989) (but see P. Morse 1981 for descriptions of the Parkin site). That is, unlike in other areas of the Mississippian world, no single Late Mississippian site in the CMV – based on size or architecture – has been identified as a dominant sociopolitical center with extensive regional influence. In turn, the Nodena, Parkin, Kent, and Walls phases are often treated, in and of themselves, as independent polities or chiefdoms (see Dye and Cox 1990; D. Morse 1989:105; P. Morse 1981:88). Much debate surrounds the legitimacy of using phases in this way, as they are first and foremost culture-historical constructs that may not accurately reflect “real” political and social entities (O’Brien and Dunnell 1998:26).

Since the 1950s, Late Mississippian CMV phase names and boundaries have been adjusted and readjusted as more research is conducted (see Mainfort 2003, 2005; McNutt 2008; Dye and Cox 1990). Based on preliminary ceramic studies, Griffin (1952:233) originally defined the area from Mississippi County, Arkansas to Desoto County, Mississippi as home to the Walls-Pecan Point complex. After further reviews of region’s ceramics, the complex was further subdivided into the Nodena phase in the north and the Walls phase in the south (see Phillips et al. 1951). The Nodena phase extends southward from the extreme southeastern portions of Missouri to the area just northwest of Memphis. Dan Morse (1989) has noted further that Nodena phase sites occur in three distinct geographic clusters (from north to south), but are united by similar

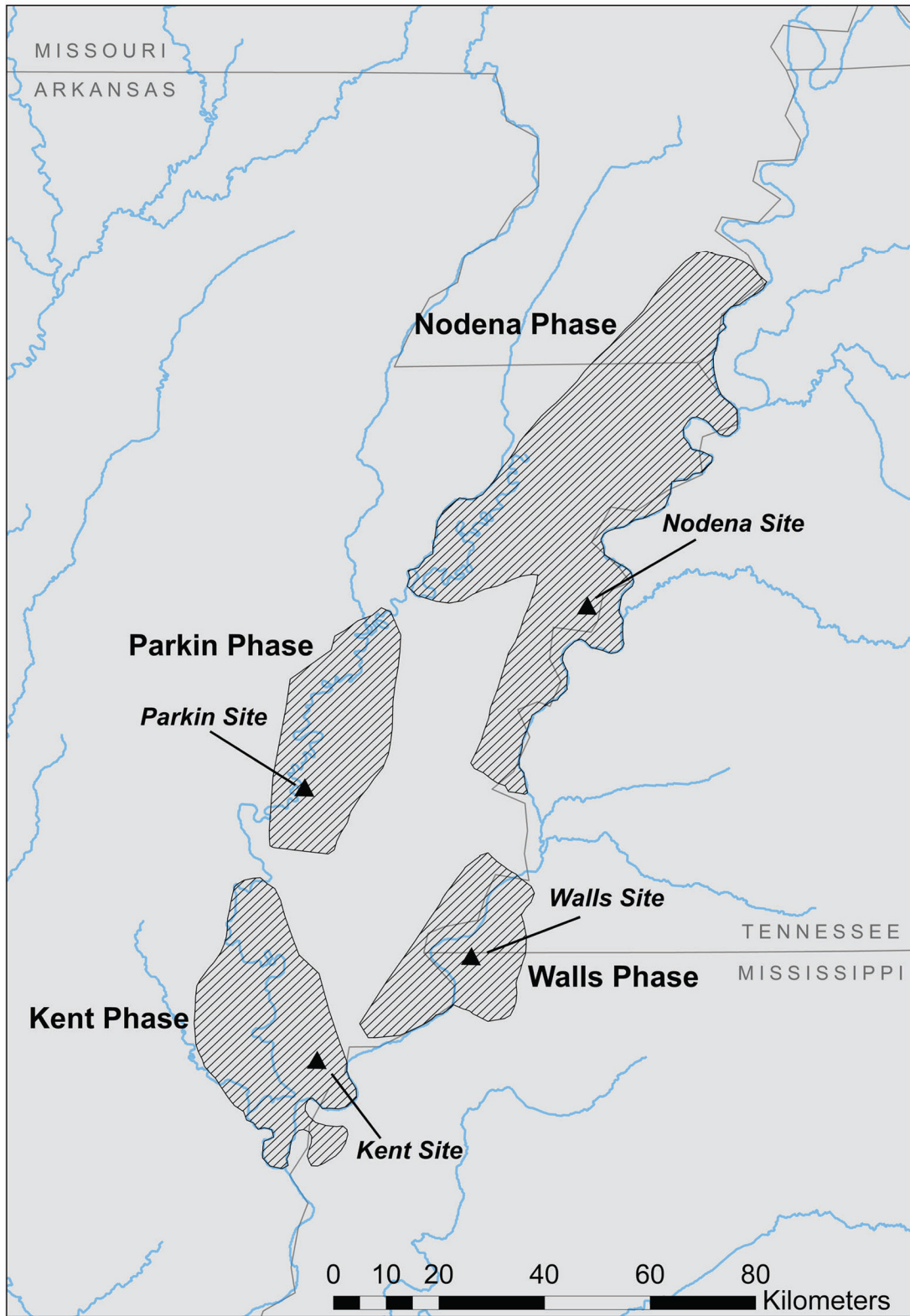


Figure 2. Late Mississippian archaeological phases in the Eastern Lowlands of the CMV (adapted from Morse and Morse 1989: Fig. 12.1).

ceramic frequencies. Phillips's (1970) definition of the Walls phase includes Late Mississippian sites within the Memphis subarea on both the west and east sides of the Mississippi River. More recently, Smith (1990) has provided a more restricted definition of the Walls phase, only including sites on the eastern side of the Mississippi river.

West of the Nodena and Walls phases, Phillips (1970) originally divided the area along the St. Francis River into the Parkin and Kent phases. The Parkin phase, located in the northern portion of this area, has been explored intensively since the late nineteenth century and was part of a state-funded archaeological project in the 1970s (P. Morse 1981; P. Morse 1990:120). Its definition in the literature has remained relatively constant over time due to the frequent presence of ceramics with distinctive coarse shell temper. Smith (1990:155) places sites within the lower St. Francis River drainage in the Kent phase, suggesting that the southernmost sites of Phillips's Parkin phase should actually be included in the Kent phase. Further, Smith posits the existence of an additional phase, termed the Horseshoe Lake phase, in the area between the Kent and Walls phases on the west side of the Mississippi River. However, Phyllis Morse includes Smith's Horseshoe Lake sites in the Walls phase, referring to them as "Walls West" or Belle Meade phase sites (P. Morse 1990:131; see also House 1991:45-49; Morse and Morse 1983:296).

Ultimately, the variability and lack of agreement in the definitions of Late Mississippian archaeological phases should raise questions about the utility of such culture-historical units in investigations of sociopolitical organization (see Mainfort 2003, 2005; McNutt 2008). Even so, accounts of Hernando de Soto's expedition into the American South are often deployed as evidence that CMV archaeological phases do in fact reflect the spatial extent of independent sociopolitical entities (see McNutt 2008). After de Soto's men crossed the Mississippi River in 1541, reports clearly state that the entrada passed through several provinces in the region – each

headed by a paramount chief living in a central town (see D. Morse 1989:111). Specifically, the provinces of Pacaha, Casqui, Aquixo/Quizquiz, and Quiguate, have been identified as aligning with Nodena, Parkin, Walls East/Walls West, and Kent phases, respectively (House 1993; D. Morse 1990; P. Morse 1990; Smith 1990). Pacaha, or the Nodena phase, was apparently the dominant political force in the region, often in conflict with Casqui, or the Parkin phase:

For many centuries back this Cacique Casquin and his parents, grandparents, and more remote ancestors had waged war upon the lords of Capaha [Pacaha], a province bordering their own. And since these lords were more powerful in both vassals and lands, they had pushed and were still pushing Casquin into a corner [Varner and Varner 1951:434-435].

In contrast, Walls phase sites on both sides of the Mississippi River, believed to be the provinces of Quizquiz and Aquixo, were reportedly vassals to Pacaha (Griffin 1990; D. Morse 1990; P. Morse 1990). Ultimately, although Spanish reports of the de Soto entrada are certainly tainted by cultural and interpretive biases, there is arguably enough substantive evidence in these accounts to suggest the presence of several Late Mississippian CMV polities characterized by centralized leadership and hierarchical social organization (House 1991:68).

II. Rim-Effigy Bowls in the CMV

Rim-effigy bowls are found throughout the CMV. However, they occur most frequently in the region's Eastern Lowlands, which extend southward from the "boothel" of Missouri to Helena, Arkansas and westward from Memphis, Tennessee to Crowley's Ridge. Beyond the CMV, Mississippian rim-effigy bowls have also been recovered in central Arkansas, the lower Mississippi River valley, Alabama, Florida, and the Tennessee Cumberland Plateau (see Phillips 2002; Brose and White 1999:100-120; Howell 2011; Steponaitis 1983). Although refined chronologies are lacking for the region, most rim-effigy bowls were most likely produced and used during the Late Mississippian period. However, early examples have been recovered from

sites that date to the later part of the Middle Mississippian period (Morse and Morse 1983:239, 254, 271-301). Later examples are known from protohistoric Quapaw contexts near the mouth of the Arkansas River (Hathcock 1983).

Formally, these bowls are characterized by two rim adornos – affectionately referred to as “rim riders” – that together create the image of a living being, usually a serpent, bird, or human. Most often, an effigy head is affixed opposite a tail adorno, although some vessels exhibit a second effigy head in place of a tail adorno. Effigy heads generally face outward, however inward facing effigy heads are also common (D. Morse 1989:108). Occasionally, effigy heads are hollow, containing a single ceramic rattle. X-rays indicate that this feature is intentional, not a consequence of wear or deterioration (Howell 2011). Tail adornos can be either tabular, coiled, or curved. Tabular forms may feature a “tail rider,” or miniature effigy figure that sits atop the tail adorno. Tail riders most often represent animals such as birds, turtles, or panthers. Vessel bodies are often reminiscent of prevalent bowl or jar forms found throughout the CMV (see House 2005:52; Phillips et al. 1951:Fig. 102).

Rim-effigy bowls have previously been interpreted as representations of supernatural cosmic beings (Bomar 2011; Dye 2017b; Lankford and Dye 2014). This interpretation, in addition to their frequent presence in burials (see House 2005; D. Morse 1989:14), suggests that these vessels were not simply utilitarian items but likely were associated with ritual activity at some level. An account by Father Paul du Ru, a Jesuit missionary who travelled throughout indigenous Louisiana in the early eighteenth century, further supports this conclusion. Upon a visit to a local Taensa temple, du Ru noted:

One sees only elders lamenting and shouting, cantors praying, and people bearing offerings... Among other things there are six large wooden bowls with handles, of which one represents the tail of a swan and the other the neck, which are filled with flour and carried solemnly to the temple [Butler 1934:42].

Although the Taensa bowls in du Ru's account are wooden, it is reasonable to infer that precontact Mississippians in the nearby CMV would have utilized their ceramic rim-effigy bowls in comparable ceremonial contexts. Indeed, Morse and Morse (2009:239) suggest that rim effigies may have been copies of wooden effigies.

Rim-effigy bowls recovered in the CMV are well documented in archaeological reports and other publications. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, C.B. Moore, W.B. Potter and Edward Evers, and William Henry Holmes published illustrations of rim-effigy bowls recovered during their exploratory surveys of the region (Moore 1910; Morse and Morse 1983; Potter and Evers 1880). For his dissertation, Philip Phillips (1939) photographed many more of these and other excavated vessels. Further, in their seminal survey of the Lower Mississippi River Valley, Phillips, Ford, and Griffin (1951) discuss rim-effigy bowls, describing the form as "one of the most constant features of the Middle Mississippi vessel complex" (1951:161). More recent site reports and compendiums of private collections provide further record of these vessels (Bogg and Bogg 2016; Hathcock 1983, 1988; Morse 1981; Morse 1989; O'Brien 1994; Perino 1967).

CMV rim-effigy bowls have also been included in a handful of iconographic studies. Specifically, Lankford and Dye (2014) have analyzed rim-effigy bowls from the Memphis area featuring human effigies with conical heads or caps. Dye (2017b, 2018) has offered further examinations of CMV rim-effigy bowls, including those with distinctive serpent and warrior effigies. However, due to their focus on specific themes or elements of ritual, these analyses do not constitute comprehensive reviews of the region's full corpus. Broader interpretations of rim-effigy bowl iconography and ritual function simply do not exist, despite extensive documentation. As demonstrated by critiques and reevaluations of the SECC in recent years (see

Knight 2006; Knight et al. 2001; Reilly and Garber 2007b), careful study of regionally specific art objects constructed from preferred media can shed light upon the ways in which the cosmos was diversely conceived and expressed throughout the Mississippian world. An iconographic analysis of CMV rim-effigy bowls thus stands to provide further insight into the range of variability in material manifestations of Mississippian cosmology and ritual.

CHAPTER 3

AN ORDERED APPROACH TO ICONOGRAPHY

Unlike other archaeological studies, this study is not oriented toward resolving its research problem with hypothesis testing. Rather, the purpose of this analysis is to reach a fuller understanding of CMV rim-effigy bowl iconography and ritual significance – beyond simple description or conjecture. For the sake of clarity, *iconography* should be thought of as the relationship between visual imagery and its meaningful referents (Knight 2013a:2). Thus, my objective is to connect elements of rim-effigy bowl imagery to aspects of Mississippian cosmology and, in turn, ritual activity among CMV communities. To accomplish this, I intend to produce an *iconographic model* that approximates emic understandings these vessels. That is, I want to know what these vessels meant to the people that used them. This type of model building has been conducted for other Mississippian ritual art corpora, but not for material recovered from the CMV (see Phillips 2012; Steponaitis et al. 2019).

I. Formulating an Iconographic Model

To achieve insight into the meaning of CMV rim-effigy bowls, I sought out a systematic approach to characterizing and interpreting the iconography of ancient art objects. Vernon J. Knight (2013a) provides an ideal roadmap for this process, specifically in regard to precontact New World art corpora (Figure 3) (see also Knight 2013b). Specifically, Knight outlines a logical, stepwise methodology that includes (1) assembling a comprehensive sample of the art

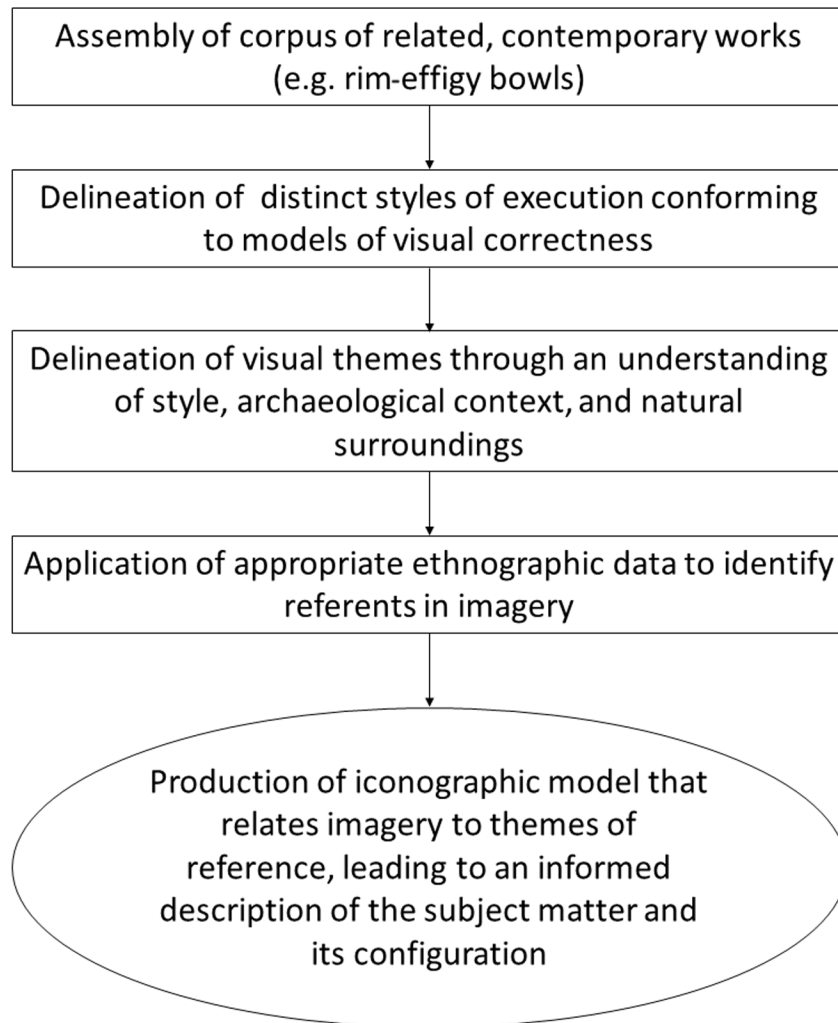


Figure 3. A stepwise approach to studying the iconography of precontact art corpora, as outlined by Knight (2013a).

corpus in question,¹ (2) identifying visual styles of execution, (3) defining subject matter themes within imagery, and (4) connecting this imagery to referents through ethnographic analogy derived from related descendant populations. These lines of inquiry together culminate in an *iconographic model*, which Knight defines as a description of a corpus's representational imagery according to native perceptions of meaning (2013:165). Each element of Knight's iconographic method is described in turn below.

Defining a Corpus

Prior to initiating any iconographic study, Knight suggests that the largest possible sample of material be assembled. This material should be organized according to chronology, artifact type, and the medium used, when possible. Photographs of items can suffice, but the study of physical objects is always preferred. When photographs are used, multiple images of each object, taken from various angles, should be consulted. The assembled sample of material should approximate the entire available corpus of the works or imagery under review. Because iconographic analyses often rely on internal comparisons, sample size is essential to the production of a robust model. However, the limitations of using archaeological materials, which are subject to breakage, wear, and recovery biases, are of course insurmountable (Knight 2013a:34-35).

¹ The term "art" is an inherently difficult concept to define. Art, in the Western sense, certainly did not exist within the precontact Mississippian psyche. Knight (2013:3) acknowledges the issues associated with this terminology and does not include the word "art" in his definition of iconography. However, I use the term here in the same sense as Alfred Gell (1998), who defines an art object as any object that may act to mediate, define, or reconstruct social relations. He strips the term of all aesthetic or appreciative connotations that are so commonly deployed in Western conceptions of art.

Stylistic Analysis

After a comprehensive sample of the specified art corpus has been assembled, Knight advises that a stylistic analysis be performed. A *visual style* may be understood as a cultural model “governing the form of all things artificial” in the eyes of both art producers and observers. Therefore, a stylistic analysis focuses on defining the formal properties of a related set of images rather than evaluating their subject matter. A visual style can manifest in several ways, inclusive of decorative effects, design field layouts, degrees of elaboration, scale, and general aesthetic quality (Knight 2013a:23-51). Within a related set of images, these co-occurring aspects of style jointly constitute a stylistic canon. These canons are generally confined to geographic and temporal boundaries, as style tends to vary across time and space according to the conventions or preferences of producers and observers (Knight 2013a:162-163). Thus, specific visual styles within a corpus, rather than a general style in the abstract sense, should be identified during this phase of the iconographic method.

Thematic Analysis

Following a stylistic analysis, an assessment of *visual themes* – or the representational content of the imagery – within a corpus should be conducted. It is important that a stylistic analysis be completed prior to the evaluation of themes in any iconographic study that intends to expound upon the meaning or ritual significance of a given art corpus. This order of operations allows style and theme to be reviewed as separate elements, where style reflects rules of execution and theme consists of the subject matter of the imagery. That is, stylistic analysis is an essential preliminary step in the iconographic method because, as Knight suggests, it limits conjecture and provides a degree of control over the process. Specifically, the identification of

different visual styles within an art corpus can reveal important trends in production choices, expose the range of variation in thematic content, and indicate the local or non-local nature of certain objects. All of these factors are integral to formulating viable interpretations of an art corpus (see Knight 2013b).

Visual themes should be defined based on internal comparisons of imagery within the sample of material. Unlike studies of Western iconography as expounded by Erwin Panofsky (1939), reviews of prehistoric imagery cannot be evaluated based on associated, contemporaneous written texts. Further, because these images existed in a chronologically and culturally distant past, their referents are not self-evident (Knight 2013a:58). Thus, to classify visual themes within an art corpus, a *configurational analysis* should be conducted.

Configurational analysis was originally developed by art historian George Kubler (1962, 1967, 1970), who argued that visual themes can be deduced without the presence of accompanying texts by tracking recurring figurative elements throughout a corpus of imagery. Specifically, visual themes, which characterize the entire composition of an image, can be broken down into constituent salient features such as motifs or attributes. It is the configurational relationships among these features indicate the overall theme of the composition (Knight 2013a:88-110). A configurational analysis is thus an assessment of how salient features are deployed among images in a corpus. Knight suggests that elements of natural history and archaeological context may also be utilized during a configurational analysis to identify plausible visual themes (Knight 2013a:164-165). It is this process that allows for the identification visual themes without the assistance of associated written texts. Importantly, however, visual themes should only be treated as classes of images with similar subject matter. That is, a configurational

analysis does not address the larger concepts, principles, myths, or narratives that certain visual themes may reference.

Ethnographic Analogy

Because it does not link images with written texts, a configurational analysis alone cannot produce a robust iconographic model. Although Kubler (1962) originally argued against the use of analogy in interpreting imagery (see also Greider 1975), Knight suggests that a visual theme's native referents may be sought in ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts of related cultures or societies. Such sources include observations of ritual activities, religious beliefs, oral histories, and cultural practices. This step in the iconographic method allows for the identification of *themes of reference* as opposed to visual themes (Knight 2013a:165). Thus, in an iconographic analysis, the search for ethnographic cognates logically follows a thematic configurational analysis, which itself must be independent of a stylistic analysis. According to Knight, a logical progression through this order of operations should result in a reliable iconographic model that can be used to relate the visual aspects of an artistic corpus to inferred referents derived from ethnographic analogies (2013a:166). However, this type of iconographic model – produced by modern analysts – can of course only ever approximate the *native* iconographic models that past people used to interpret imagery and derive meaning from art objects.

II. Conceptual Framework

By focusing on style, theme, and referent, Knight's approach to studying prehistoric iconography attempts to analyze and interpret imagery from the perspective of its intended viewers. In this way, the methodology deliberately eschews the tendency to study art objects

from the vantage of production rather than consumption. Specifically, Knight posits that many archaeological studies of art objects rely on the use of “task models,” which characterize the culturally accepted ways in which certain repetitive undertakings – like craft production – are accomplished (see Shore 1996:65). Task models highlight the actions, routines, and tools involved in material production. However, task models generally concentrate on the choices of the artisan or craftsperson, ignoring that observers must also understand the rules that govern the form – or style – of the made objects they consume (Knight 2013a:25). In other words, producers create objects that are accessible to their target audience.

In that it does not prioritize producers, Knight’s iconographic method is more inclusive – focusing on larger *communities of beholders*. As noted above, among imagery produced and viewed by groups of people are cultural standards that dictate the formal properties of specific images (Knight 2013a:25). Given a medium, an artist, craftsperson, or workshop will execute an image with appropriate style, or “fixity of form” (*sensu* Boas 1951:163). This allows the producer to accurately communicate the nature of the subject matter and its larger meaning to their intended audience (Knight 2013a:25). Thus, a community of beholders consists of both producers *and* observers, who together “share a working knowledge of the correctness of visual imagery” (Knight 2013a:24). By viewing art objects as expressions of communities of beholders, more competence is ascribed to observers than traditional procedural models that highlight the technical choices made by artisans in the *chaine ouverte* of craft production (Shore 1996:65-66). Within this framework, observers – in addition to producers – are able to identify culturally correct representations of specific visual themes, whether or not they recognize their specific referents (see Knight 2013:26-27 for further discussion on social complexity and the accessibility of certain referents).

In the following analysis of CMV rim-effigy bowls, I follow Knight's iconographic method. Firstly, I define the visual styles and themes that exist within the Late Mississippian CMV rim-effigy bowl corpus. In order to identify potential communities of beholders, I then examine the distribution of bowl styles throughout the CMV. I also assess the distribution of visual themes across and within these communities in order to better characterize the use of imagery in the region. Using ethnohistorical sources, I then attempt to identify themes of reference, connecting rim-effigy bowl imagery to specific elements of Mississippian cosmology. Finally, through the synthesis of these analyses, I offer an iconographic model of Late Mississippian CMV rim-effigy bowls that elucidates their potential native meaning and ritual function.

CHAPTER 4 STYLE AND THEME

To begin my evaluation of CMV rim-effigy bowls, I assembled a comprehensive sample of whole vessels from published photographs and illustrations. The majority of these photographs derive from three sources: archaeologist Philip Phillips's dissertation (1939; see also Phillips 2002) and collector Roy Hathcock's publications on Mississippi River valley ceramics (1988) and Quapaw pottery (1983). Several other publications and site reports were also consulted (Bogg and Bogg 2016; Brown 2005; House 2005; D. Morse 1989; O'Brien 1994; Perino 1967; Phillips et al. 1951). Most of these vessels were recovered from mortuary contexts, although those that were not professionally collected lack provenience (House 2005; D. Morse 1989:108). Consequently, evaluations of depositional context were unattainable. I strived to assemble the largest sample of rim-effigy bowls possible. When I was able, I reviewed multiple photographs and illustrations of each vessel (see Chapter 3). The rim-effigy bowls included in the sample derive from the four best-defined Late Mississippian archaeological phases in the Eastern Lowlands of the CMV: Nodena, Parkin, Kent, and Walls (see Chapter 2) (Mainfort 2003, 2005; Morse and Morse 1983: 271-302).² This study area was chosen for the large number of rim-effigy bowls recovered and the continued, widespread use of these archaeological phases

² The definition of the Walls Phase used by Morse and Morse (2009) was adopted in this analysis (see Chapter 2). Specifically, the Horseshoe Lake phase defined by Smith (1990) was considered to be a western manifestation of the Walls Phase, the majority of which occurs on the western side of the Mississippi River.

throughout the literature on the CMV. In total, I reviewed 245 rim-effigy bowls from 38 different sites and eight different counties within these phases (see Figure 4 and Table 1).³

I. Stylistic Analysis

Following Knight's protocol, I first performed a stylistic analysis (see Chapter 3). While identifying styles, I considered several different criteria. Decorative effects served as the primary indication of style. Specifically, the way in which effigies were formed from wet clay became an important stylistic determinant. Rim-effigy heads in the CMV are either flat, two-dimensional renderings or life-like, three-dimensional portrayals of the chosen subject matter. The use of applique versus incising to depict features like eyes, ears, teeth, noses, beaks, and plumage was also considered. Further, decorative features of the vessel body served as another distinguishing factor in the initial stylistic analysis. In particular, the presence or absence of red slip, incised designs, and beaded rims emerged as salient features in several CMV rim-effigy bowl styles.

Beyond decoration, scale and shape were particularly useful when delineating styles. Both effigy size and vessel size, as well as the ratio between the two, proved useful for distinguishing between different bowl styles. Further, I often used bowl shape (i.e. flat-bottomed versus globular and shallow versus deep) to discriminate between styles. The degree of elaboration also varied consistently across styles. In particular, the level of detail in the depiction of certain features (e.g. eyes, ears, teeth, noses, beaks, and plumage) among effigies served as a reliable stylistic differentiator. Some effigies do not depict secondary features at all, while others

³ Not all bowls in the sample had site-specific proveniences. Some bowls could only be identified to the county level. If a bowl could only be identified to the county level, only those deriving from counties that could be confidently assigned to a single phase were included in the analysis.

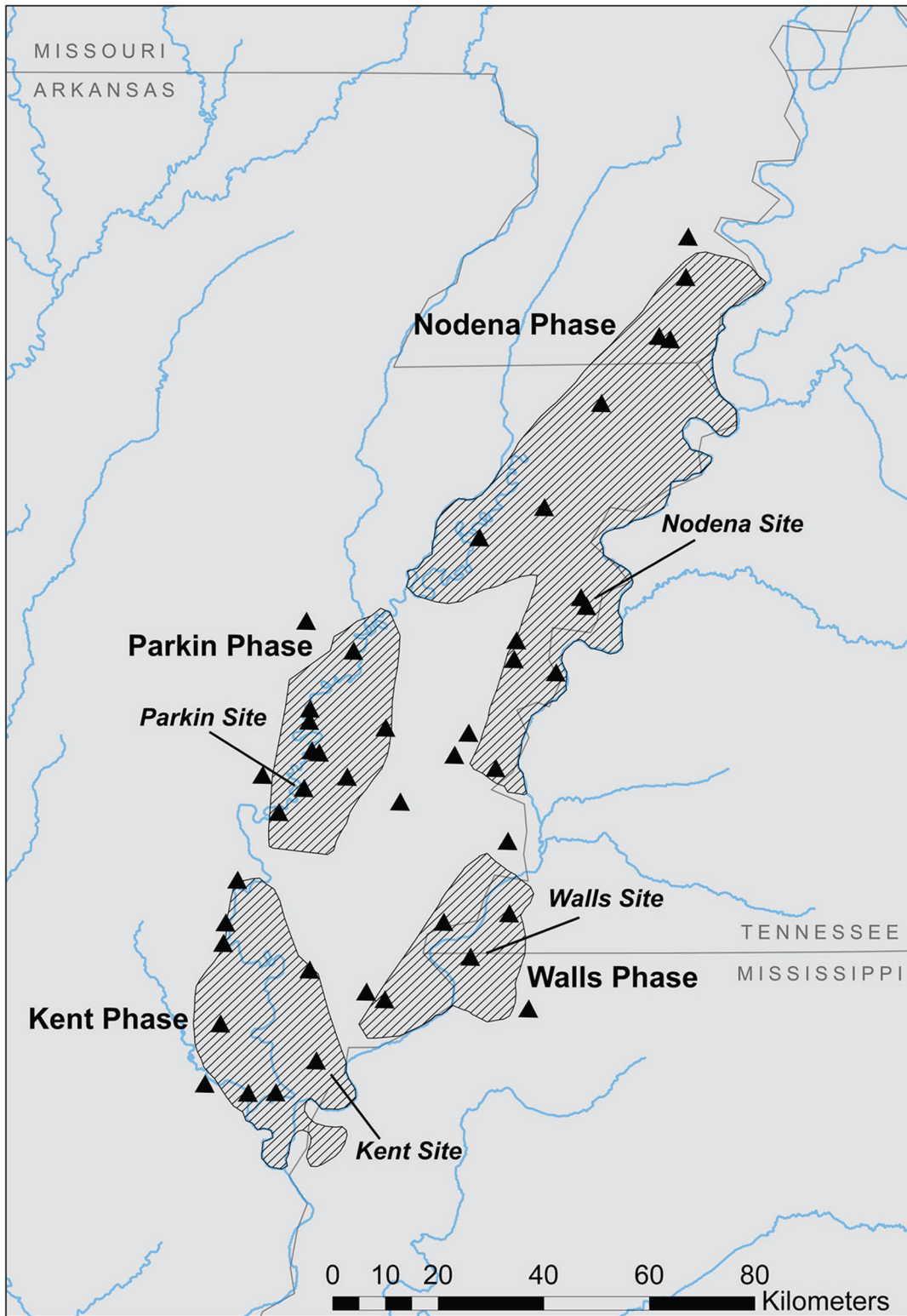


Figure 4. Study area (adapted from Morse and Morse 1989: Fig. 12.1). Triangles represent sites and localities from which the rim-effigy bowls used in this analysis were recovered.

Table 1. CMV Localities Included in Analysis

Name	Lower Mississippi Survey Site Number	Phase
Banks Village	11-P-08	Nodena
Barton Ranch	11-O-10	Parkin
Beck	13-O-07	Walls
Bell Place	10-P-02	Nodena
Belle Meade	13-O-05	Walls
Berry	11-O-16	Parkin
Big Eddy	12-N-04	Parkin
Blytheville/Gosnell/Chickasawba	09-Q-02	Nodena
Bradley	11-P-02	Nodena
Brooks	Near Cooter, MO	Nodena
Campbell	08-Q-07	Nodena
Chucalissa	12-P-02	Walls
Clay Hill	13-N-07	Kent
Cross Co., AR	NA	Parkin
Desoto Co., MS	NA	Walls
Fortune Mound	11-N-15	Parkin
Gant	10-P-06	Nodena
Golightly Place	11-P-03	Nodena
Grant	13-N-11	Kent
Greer	13-N-17	Kent
Halcomb Mounds/Neely's Ferry	11-N-04	Parkin
Knappenberger	11-P-11	Nodena
Kersey	08-Q-03	Nodena

Table 1. CMV Localities Included in Analysis (continued)

Name	Lower Mississippi Survey Site Number	Phase
Lee Co., Arkansas	NA	Kent
Lipsky	13-N-04	Kent
Manly	12-N-02	Kent
Medlin	08-R-02	Nodena
Middle Nodena/Nodena	10-Q-04	Nodena
Miller Mound	10-O-01	Nodena
Mississippi Co., Arkansas	NA	Nodena
Mound City	12-P-03	Walls
Pecan Point	11-P-06	Nodena
Pemiscot Co., Arkansas	NA	Nodena
Poinsett Co., Arkansas	NA	Parkin
RC Nickols	13-N-15	Kent
Rhodes	12-O-06	Walls
Rose Mound	12-N-03	Parkin
Scott	9-P-05	Nodena
Shawnee Village	11-P-01	Nodena
St. Francis Co., Arkansas	NA	Kent
Stanley Mound/Parkin	11-N-01	Parkin
Twist/Turkey Island	11-N-14	Parkin
Upper Nodena	10-Q-01	Nodena
Vernon Paul/Jones Place	11-N-09	Parkin
Walls	13-P-01	Walls

are highly realistic. Finally, aesthetic quality, despite its cultural relativity, varied significantly among CMV rim effigy vessels. When compared to each other internally, the quality of effigy modelling, including aspects of symmetry and realism, appears to be correlated consistently with other stylistic criteria. It is possible that some styles were produced by skilled craftspeople while others were produced by part-time potters.

Based on the above criteria, I identified ten distinct styles within the sample (figures 5-14). Each style contains at least five vessels (see Table 2 for a count of a count of vessel styles by phase). It should be noted that although many of these styles could have been combined or further divided into a greater number of styles, all vessels belonging to a certain style are more similar to each other than to any other group. All ten styles and their defining characteristics are outlined below.

Style 1

Style 1 bowls are defined by reverse-facing effigy heads. Effigies are generally three-dimensional and quite detailed, including features such as eyes, mouths, hair, beaks, snouts, and noses. These features are depicted using both applique and incising. Effigy heads tend to be angled upward, as if the figure's line of sight is slightly above horizontal. Most effigy heads do not have prominent necks. That is, many of the heads are simply appended directly to the rim of the bowl. Tail effigies generally consist of large clay tabs affixed directly to the rim. Style 1 bowls are generally deep with relatively large effigy heads and tails. Beaded rims are common.



a



b



c

Figure 5. Style 1 rim-effigy bowls. (a) Human (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 3498). (b) Bird of prey (from D. Morse 1983: Fig. 20a). (c) Serpent (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 2136).

Style 2

Style 2 bowls are characterized by forward-facing effigy heads that exhibit very detailed incising and modelling. Features depicted include horns, eyes, snouts, and mouths in addition to other minor features such as whiskers and teeth. Despite these details, Style 2 effigy heads tend to be flatter than Style 1 bowls. That is, head adorns appear to have been cut from slabs of clay rather than modeled in three dimensions. In further contrast to Style 1, effigy necks are long and “S” shaped, emerging directly from the bowl below the rim. Tail effigies are substantial, generally consisting of clay coils or prominent wedges affixed directly to the rim. Compared to effigy head and tail size, bowl size is relatively small among Style 2 vessels. Beaded rims and incised designs, such as scrolls, swirl crosses, and guilloches, are common. This was the most frequently occurring style in the sample, including 61 vessels or nearly 25% of the sample.

Style 3

Style 3 is defined by extremely shallow bowls and forward-facing effigy heads. Style 3 effigies are small relative to the size of the bowl. Head effigies tend to be appended directly to the rim of the bowls, exhibiting short or nearly non-existent necks. Many head adorns appear tabular in nature, with modelled applique features added to create detail. Consequently, effigy heads generally have flat backs but highly three-dimensional fronts. Incising is also used to create features such as eyes and mouths. Tail effigies are generally small, consisting of small tabular outcroppings or clay strips appended to the rim opposite the head adorno. Many Style 3 bowls are either entirely red-slipped or exhibit a band of red slipping directly below the rim. All Style 3 bowls exhibit plain rims.



a



b

Figure 6. Style 2 rim-effigy bowls. (a) Serpent (from O'Brien 1994: Fig. 12.1). (b) Crested bird (from D. Morse 1989: Fig. 20d).



a



b



c

Figure 7. Style 3 rim-effigy bowls. (a) Bird of prey (from Hathcock 1983: Fig. 83). (b) Serpent (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 2059). (c) Human (from Hathcock 1983: Fig. 100).

Style 4

Style 4 is similar to Style 3. Bowls are shallow, flat bottomed, and exhibit red slipping – either in full or in a strip directly below the rim. However, Style 4 effigy heads are flat, or almost tabular, in nature. Further, effigy heads are appended directly to the rim either at an oblique angle or in reverse. Style 4 bowls never feature forward-facing effigy heads. Effigy tails are usually very small compared to the size of the bowl and the effigy head – sometimes they are nonexistent. Effigy features can be depicted using applique or incising. Effigy heads are usually very detailed and include features such as eyes, noses, mouths, teeth, and even eyebrows.

Style 5

Style 5 is defined by very deep, globular bowls. The vessel body is very similar in morphology to utilitarian Neely's Ferry Plain bowls found most frequently in the Parkin phase (see House 2005:52; Phillips et al. 1951: Figs. 100a, 100b). Effigy heads are forward-facing and relatively flat, lacking dimension. However, they are not as flat as Style 4 effigies. In relation to bowl size, effigy heads are very small and tend to be void of features or details. Only the features necessary for discerning effigy subject matter are included, such as beaks, ears, and snouts. Necks are short or absent, with the effigy head being appended directly to the rim. Tail effigies are simple, often only consisting of a small tabular projection opposite the head adorno. Compared to the other styles outlined here, Style 5 bowls are simple and appear to lack the same quality of execution. Oftentimes, the nature of the effigy figure is indiscernible. Rim notching or beading is absent.



a



b

Figure 8. Style 4 rim-effigy bowls. (a) Human (from Hathcock 1988: Fig. 93). (b) Indeterminate theme (from Hathcock 1983: Fig. 233).



a



b

Figure 9. Style 5 rim-efigy bowls. (a) Crested bird (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 10). (b) Serpent (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 1336).

Style 6

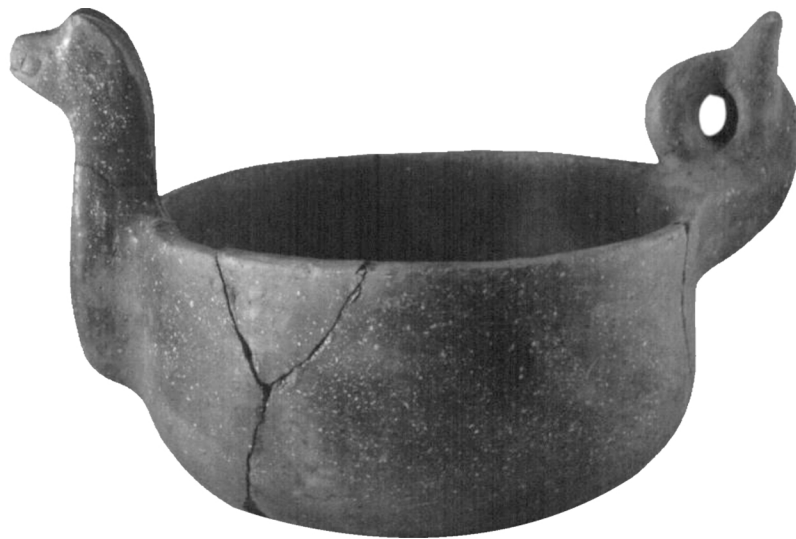
Style 6 is defined by forward-facing effigy heads and includes either flat-bottomed or globular bowls similar in size and shape to Style 5. However, compared to Style 5, Style 6 effigies are relatively large and detailed. Effigy heads exhibit basic features such as eyes, noses, snouts, and crests. Effigy features are generally depicted using clay applique with limited examples of incising. Eyes are often quite bulging, due to the utilization of clay applique. Necks are relatively long and emerge directly from the bowl below the rim, similar to Style 2. Tail effigies consist of either clay coils or prominent, rectangular tabs that occasionally include incised designs, such as circles or lines. Bowls are undecorated and rim notching or beading is nearly absent. In many ways, Style 6 is very similar to Style 5 in terms of bowl size and shape, but can be distinguished by its relatively large effigy heads in relation to bowl size. It is possible that Style 5 bowls represent poorly executed versions of what could otherwise be classified as Style 6 bowls.

Style 7

Style 7 bowls are defined by the presence of large, highly detailed, forward-facing effigy heads. These effigies are finely crafted, exhibiting realistic depictions of hair, ears, noses, mouths, lips, eyes, and even head coverings. Many different decorative techniques are used, including modeling, applique, and incising. This style consists exclusively of human effigies, as no animal effigies were executed with as much detail. Human ears are usually depicted as molded spirals, while lips, noses, and chins tend to protrude outward in a distinctive manner. Effigy necks are short and emerge from the bowl directly beneath the rim. Tails are generally rectangular tabs. Vessel bodies often exhibit incised horizontal parallel lines below the rim.



a

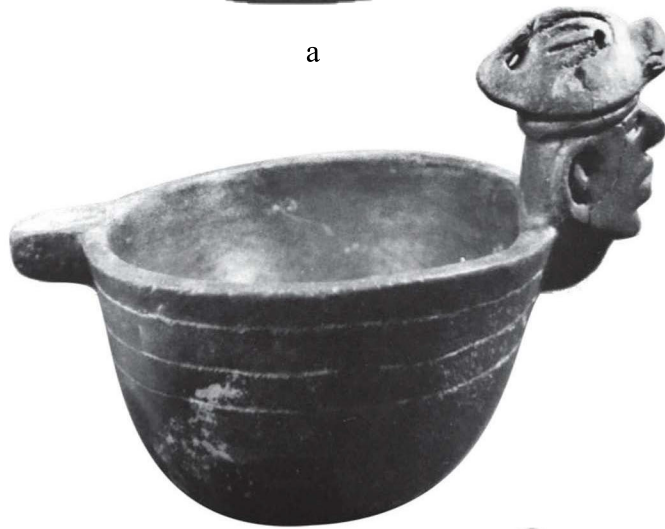


b

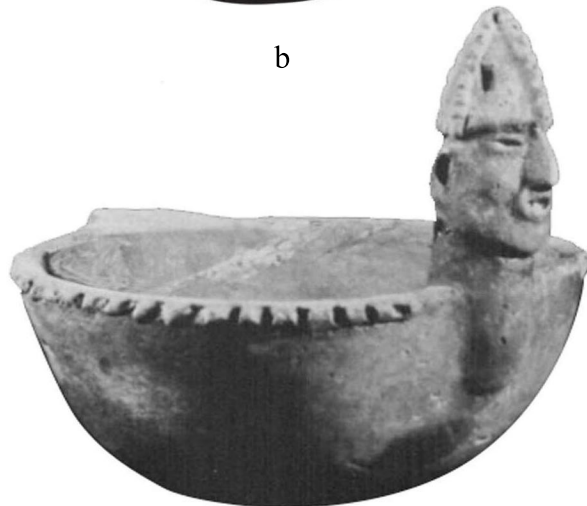
Figure 10. Style 6 rim-effigy bowls. (a) Crested bird (Phillips 2002: Vessel 1589). (b) Serpent (Phillips 2002: Vessel 1370). Images from House 2005: Pls. 3, 21.



a



b



c

Figure 11. Style 7 rim-effigy bowls. (a) Human (from Hathcock 1988: Fig. 466). (b) Human (from Hathcock 1983: Fig. 11). (c) Human (from Hathcock 1988: Fig. 447).

Style 8

Style 8 is defined by effigy heads constructed from clay coils, which are appended to tabular outcroppings at the rim of the bowl. This style seems to have been used exclusively for producing bird-themed bowls. Effigy heads do not depict significant detail beyond the structural use of coils. Incising and applique are generally absent. Tail effigies are often fan-shaped, but can also be tabular. Tabular tails are always accompanied by tail riders, which appear to have been modeled separately and then appended to the rim of the bowl. Vessel bodies are generally large, deep, and undecorated. Style 8 bowls, due to lack of decoration, do not appear to be as finely crafted as styles 2 or 7.

Style 9

Style 9 bowls exhibit large, reverse-facing effigy heads. Effigy heads are extremely flat, lacking dimension. Features like beaks and crests are two-dimensional, visible only in profile. Other features, namely eyes, are only occasionally depicted through trailing or modeling. When present, eyes are characteristically round and large. Necks are moderate in length, emerging from the vessel body directly beneath the rim. Tail effigies consist of triangular tabs appended to the rim opposite the head adorno. Bowls are generally deep with flattened bottoms. The quality of execution varies significantly among vessels, despite their use of similar stylistic elements.

Style 10

Style 10 is characterized by large, forward-facing effigy heads and deep, flat bottomed bowls with out-slanting walls. Effigy heads exhibit basic features such as eyes, noses, and mouths that are generally depicted using clay applique. Occasionally, incising or impressing is



a



b

Figure 12. Style 8 rim-effigy bowls. (a) crested bird (from Hathcock 1988: Fig. 334).
(b) Crested bird (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 3434).



a



b

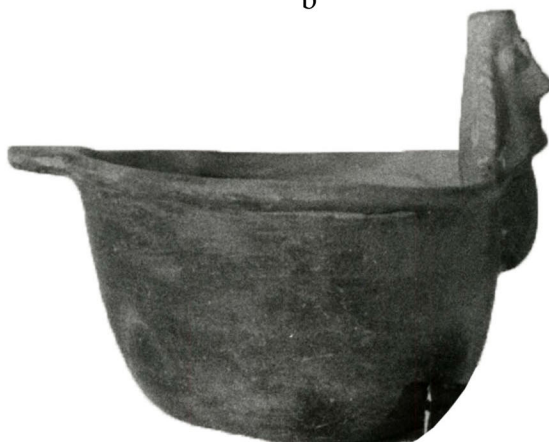
Figure 13. Style 9 rim-effigy bowls. (a) Crested bird (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 1587).(b) Bird of prey (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 1836).



a



b



c

Figure 14. Style 10 rim-effigy bowls. (a) Human (from Lankford and Dye 2014: Fig. 1a). (b) Human (from Lankford and Dye 2014: Fig. 3c). (c) Human (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 3149).

Table 2. Counts of Rim-Effigy Bowl Styles by Phase

Style	Nodena	Parkin	Kent	Walls	Total
Style 1	19	1	1	2	23
Style 2	48	7	4	2	61
Style 3	3	1	15	2	21
Style 4	1	1	4	-	6
Style 5	2	17	-	-	19
Style 6	5	15	-	-	20
Style 7	1	-	1	6	8
Style 8	-	7	1	-	8
Style 9	4	7	-	-	11
Style 10	4	-	1	2	7

used in place of applique. Necks are long and emerge directly from the bowl below the rim, similar to Style 2 and Style 6. Tail adornos generally consist of flat, rectangular tabs. Bowls are undecorated and rim notching or beading is nearly absent. However, rims tend to exhibit rolled lips. Like Style 7, all of the effigies in Style 10 are humans. All of the effigy heads in this style exhibit bulbous applique eyes, simple modeled noses, and gaping or wide mouths. Ears are generally absent. Head adornos are tall and pointed – as if the cranium has been vertically stretched. This may indicate that Style 10 effigies were meant to depict a specific supernatural or superhuman figure.

II. Thematic Analysis

Following the identification of distinct styles of execution, I defined four major visual themes within the sample. These include crested birds, serpents, humans, and birds of prey. I considered theme to be independent of style (see Chapter 3). In other words, effigies of the same theme could be executed in different styles. I approached each effigy bowl as a single unit of imagery. A configurational analysis – or internal comparison of features (e.g. heads, tails, eyes, ears, teeth, noses, beaks, and plumage) among bowls within the sample – led to the identification of several broad visual themes (figures 15-18). The features used to define these visual themes are referred to as *classifying attributes*, or generalized attributes that define the visual theme. For example, classifying attributes among human effigies include eyes, noses, mouths, and hair. Below I provide an overview of rim-effigy themes based on classifying attributes.⁴ Where possible, I also discuss the potential natural or cultural prototypes – termed subthemes –

⁴ Themes are polythetic, meaning that not all attributes needed to be present to classify a vessel under a specific umbrella theme or subtheme.

represented within broader thematic groups. These subthemes were identified based on *identifying attributes*, or distinctive characteristics that allow for the recognition of a specific subject within a broader theme. For example, human effigies may have identifying attributes such as hair buns and mace-shaped tails – in addition to their classifying attributes – that distinguish them as warriors. The different subthemes contained within a theme share the same set of classifying attributes but differ in terms of identifying attributes (see Hemeren 1969:10; Knight 2013a:98-102).

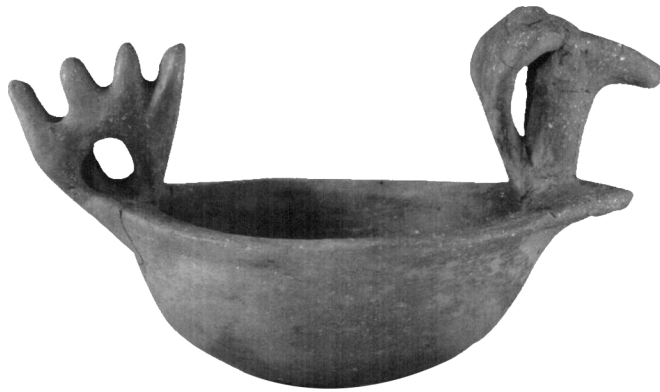
In total, nearly 90% of the rim-effigy bowls in this sample depict either crested birds, serpent monsters, or humans (Table 3). Only about 10% of the sample could be identified as belonging to the bird of prey theme. Rim-effigy bowls that did not conform to a specific theme were categorized having indeterminate subject matter. These vessels, when they conformed to a particular style, were only used in the stylistic analysis. Vessels that I could not confidently assign to a particular style but could classify according to subject matter were used in the thematic analysis. Many stylistically ambiguous, or idiosyncratic (see Steponaitis et al. 2019:15), vessels were often poorly executed, making it difficult to determine effigy theme as well. These vessels, which could not be classified according to style or theme, were omitted from the sample. The four major themes and their subthemes are described below.

Crested Birds

The crested-bird effigy theme includes all effigies that display an identifiable beak and a raised crest of modeled plumage atop the head adorno. Several subthemes were identified through a comparison of crested-bird effigies to avian species that would have been present in



a



b



c

Figure 15. Crested-bird rim effigies. (a) Woodpecker, Style 6 (Phillips 2002: Vessel 1439; image from House 2005: Pl. 10). (b) Fantail crested bird, Style 8 (Phillips 2002: Vessel 1334; image from House 2005: Pl. 9). (c) Wood duck, Style 9 (Phillips 2002: Vessel 1595; image from House 2005: Pl. 5).

the Late Mississippian CMV.⁵ Firstly, a large portion of crested-bird effigies appear to represent male wood ducks (*Aix sponsa*), or drakes. These effigies are defined by the presence of long, rounded beaks and smooth, downturned crests emerging from the area above the beak and terminating at the base of the neck. Late Mississippian CMV communities would have frequently witnessed waterfowl migrations up and down the Mississippi Flyway (Morse and Morse 1983; O'Brien and Dunnell 1994), making wood ducks a viable natural cognate for rim effigies in this sample. In addition, the crested-bird theme also includes what appear to be woodpecker effigies. These effigies are defined by the presence of head adornos with straight, pointed beaks and prominent crests that terminate directly above the neck. Given the shape of the beak and crest, these effigies may represent pileated woodpeckers (*Dryocopus pileatus*). These and other species of crested birds (e.g. blue jays, cardinals, and other crested songbirds) would have present throughout the deciduous forests of the CMV during the Late Mississippian period.

Several bowls in the sample exhibit crested-bird effigies that lack a clear naturalistic cognate. These bowls are defined by the presence of elongated head adornos and fanned tails with distinctive spokes (see Style 8 description above). Due to this tail shape, these bowls have previously been interpreted as representations of turkeys (see Brain and Phillips 1996:12-16; House 2005; Phillips 2002). However, among these bowls, the head adornos always exhibit distinctive crests constructed from clay coils that emerge from the top of the head and terminate at its base near the rim. Occasionally, rather than a fanned tail, these head adornos are accompanied by a tabular tail featuring a tail rider.

⁵ It must be noted here that the term “species” is used simply for expediency. The referent depicted by these crested birds is almost certainly not intended to be naturalistic, but rather cosmological or supernatural (see Knight 2013:51).

Serpent Monsters

Serpent-monster effigy bowls share several classifying attributes. Their serpentine nature is imparted by the presence of head effigies featuring elongated or S-shaped necks as well as curved or spiraled tail adornos. This theme's "monstrous" mien is conveyed through the depiction of sharp teeth, horns, antlers, and forked or elliptical eye surrounds. Due to this combination of traits, true naturalistic cognates cannot be identified. However, many mythological examples of this supernatural being have been noted in studies Native cosmology and folklore, which will be discussed further below (see Dye 2018; Lankford 2007; Reilly 2007). Several serpent-monster subthemes – with distinct identifying characteristics – emerged during the thematic analysis. In particular, many serpent-monster effigy heads exhibit cat-like traits, such as short snouts, small pointed ears, and long spiraled tails. Alternatively, other bowls resemble dogs, featuring head adornos with longer snouts and inward curving tail adornos. In contrast, some serpent-monster effigy bowls are more snake-like rather than mammalian in appearance, composed of spiraled tails and S-shaped effigy heads without horns or antlers.

Humans

Human effigy bowls are defined by several anthropomorphic classifying attributes, including eyes, ears, noses, mouths, and hair. Several human subthemes were identified based largely on head coverings and hairstyles. Specifically, conehead effigies are defined by the presence of an elongated, pointed effigy head and a tabular tail (see Lankford and Dye 2014 for a review of this subtheme). Some conehead effigy heads are unnaturally conical, resembling popular images of space aliens. That is, there is no indication that this head shape is imparted by a cap or head covering. Other conehead effigies do not appear to have unnatural head shapes, but



a



b



c

Figure 16. Serpent-monster rim effigies. (a) Dog-like serpent monster, Style 1 (from Hathcock 1988: Fig. 372). (b) Cat-like serpent monster, Style 2 (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 3486). (c) Snake-like serpent monster, Style 6 (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 1593).



a



b



c



d

Figure 17. Human rim effigies. (a) Conehead, Style 10 (from Lankford and Dye: Fig. 4a). (b) Indeterminate human, Style 1 (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 3498). (c) Warrior, Style 7 (from Hathcock 1988: Fig. 464). (d) Twins, unidentified style (from Hathcock 1988: Fig. 471).

are clearly wearing conical hats. These differences were considered to be stylistic. Further, twin-themed effigy bowls were identified based on the appearance of two nearly identical human heads situated on the rim opposite one another. That is, rather than a head and tail adorno, these bowls feature two human heads. Finally, warrior-themed bowls exhibit effigy heads with spikey hair, scalp locks, or animal-pelt caps, which are often accompanied by tail adornos depicting war clubs or maces (see Brown and Dye 2011; Dye 2017b).

Birds of Prey

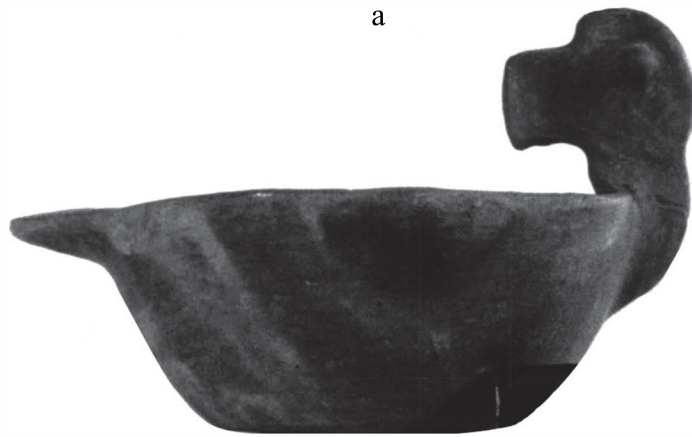
Bowls depicting birds of prey share several classifying attributes. Effigy heads exhibit beaks but – in contrast to the crested-bird theme – rarely have crests of plumage. When crests are present, they are serrated – resembling the bald head of a turkey vulture. Further, beaks tend to be short, pointed, or downturned. Based on identifying attributes, two subthemes can be identified within this theme. Firstly, raptor-themed bowls exhibit effigy heads with flattened or downturned beaks and simple tabular tail adornos. These bowls resemble falcons, hawks, or eagles. Some raptor bowls feature talons in place of a tabular tail. The head adorno on these vessels is always turned inward, creating the image of an overturned or “belly-up” raptor. Further, I identified several owl-themed bowls. These vessels exhibit rounded effigy heads with short, pointed beaks and large circular eyes accompanied by tabular or triangular tail adornos.

Vessels as Bodies

Beyond classifying rim-effigy bowl themes within the sample, I also evaluated the placement of effigies within the larger bowl shape and form. In terms of decoration, vessel bodies almost never include design features – such as modelling, incising, or engraving – that



a



b



c

Figure 18. Bird of prey rim effigies. (a) Raptor, Style 9 (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 1372. (b) Raptor, Style 9 (from Phillips 2002: Vessel 2602. (c) Owl, indeterminate style (from Hathcock 1988: Fig. 306).

Table 3. Counts of Rim-Effigy Bowl Themes and Subthemes by Phase

Theme	Nodena	Parkin	Kent	Walls	Total
Crested Bird					
Wood duck	8	11	2	-	21
Woodpecker	1	9	-	-	10
Fantailed	-	6	-	-	6
Indeterminate	5	5	2	1	13
Serpent Monster					
Cat	50	11	6	5	72
Dog	9	2	5	-	16
Snake	5	11	-	-	16
Indeterminate	5	9	-	-	14
Human					
Conehead	9	-	5	5	19
Warrior	1	-	7	3	11
Twins	4	1	-	-	5
Indeterminate	5	2	5	4	17
Bird of Prey					
Raptor	12	4	3	1	19
Owl	2	1	1	-	4

depict additional classifying or identifying attributes. That is, beyond the presence of head and tail effigies, bowls tend to lack depictions of feet, hands, wings, legs, or other extremities. Rather, when the vessel body is decorated, incised symbolic motifs – including scrolls, swirl crosses, parallel lines, and guilloches – are most common. However, despite the lack of classifying and identifying characteristics on vessel bodies, head and tail effigies often appear to emerge from or grow out of the bowl at opposite ends. That is, the configuration of head and tail effigies suggests that the bowl itself is meant to act as the body of the bird, serpent, or human.

III. Identifying Communities of Beholders Based on Visual Style and Theme

In order to identify and characterize communities of beholders within the study area (see Chapter 3), I evaluated the distribution of rim-effigy bowl styles and themes across the Nodena, Parkin, Kent, and Walls phases. To do this, I utilized correspondence analysis coupled with kernel density analysis. Specifically, I assigned the sites and counties represented in my sample to one of four phases based on documentation in the literature, when possible (see Dye and Cox 1990; Mainfort 2003, 2005; Morse and Morse 1983:271-301). Counts of vessels belonging to each style and theme defined above were tallied for these localities.

Based on these tabulated data, I conducted correspondence analyses to evaluate broad associations between style, theme, and phase. Briefly, correspondence analysis is a statistical technique that evaluates the association between the values of different categorical variables. Based on data entered into a contingency table, associations are depicted in a two-dimensional biplot, which provides a graphical representation of the relationships among the variable values. Values – visualized as points – appearing near one another are generally positively associated

while those at a greater distance are either negatively associated or not associated at all (Shennan 1997:308–360).

I also entered these data into a geographic information system (GIS) that was then used to conduct kernel density analyses. In short, a kernel density analysis calculates the density of point features (locations, events, occurrences, etc.) within a specified geographic radius and creates a smoothly tapered surface that visually represents the estimated distribution of those features. Values attributed to each feature can be used to weight certain features more heavily than others based on the number of observations recorded for each feature. For this study, I digitized sites and counties as point features.⁶ For each of these point features, I recorded the number of rim-effigy bowls belonging to each style and theme. I treated these bowl counts as observations that were then used to weight each locality in the kernel density analyses. Based on locality-specific bowl counts, density maps were created for each style and theme.

By revealing “hot spots,” or high concentrations, of specific bowl styles and themes across the region, these kernel density maps are optimal for visualizing spatial associations revealed by correspondence analysis. Thus, correspondence analysis used in accordance with kernel density analysis ensures both robust statistical *and* visual results. While correspondence analysis reveals broad statistical associations among variables, the results are not presented in a visually intuitive manner – especially when one of the variables is spatial in nature. In contrast, kernel density analysis plots concentrations of observations on a map of the area or region in question. When used together, these two methods can reveal both small- and large-scale patterns in the data at hand.

⁶ County centroids were used to represent spatial location with the GIS.

Style Distributions

Notably, both the correspondence and kernel density analyses indicate that CMV rim-effigy bowl styles are generally associated with a particular archaeological phase (see figures 19-20). However, this is not a one-to-one relationship. Each phase is associated with multiple styles, which are all in turn associated with each other. Importantly, within the correspondence biplot, these phase-style clusters are generally distinct from one another – with minor overlap between the Nodena and Walls phase. That is, phases are associated with several styles to the exclusion of other styles. This pattern is further borne out by the kernel density analysis. Specifically, the density maps indicate that no single style is distributed evenly throughout the study area. Rather, styles tend to be concentrated within the boundaries of a single phase, although styles appear in low densities beyond their primary hotspot. When styles do occur outside their primary hotspot, it almost always within a neighboring phase. As indicated in the correspondence analysis, a phase may contain high densities of multiple styles. Specifically, styles 1, 2, and 10 are concentrated in the Nodena phase; styles 5, 6, 8, and 9 are concentrated in the Parkin phase; and styles 3 and 4 are concentrated in the Kent phase. In contrast, the Walls phase is only associated with Style 7.

Beyond simply attributing styles to specific phases, the correspondence and kernel density analyses do not provide insight into the relationships among these coexisting, phase-specific bowl styles. Two factors must be considered when addressing this phenomenon: chronology and community. As Knight (2013a) suggests, stylistic canons can change over time or vary across groups of people. Thus, the many to one relationship between bowl styles and phases could indicate the presence of multiple communities of beholders within phases. In other words, several independent potters or workshops – working in specific styles and catering to

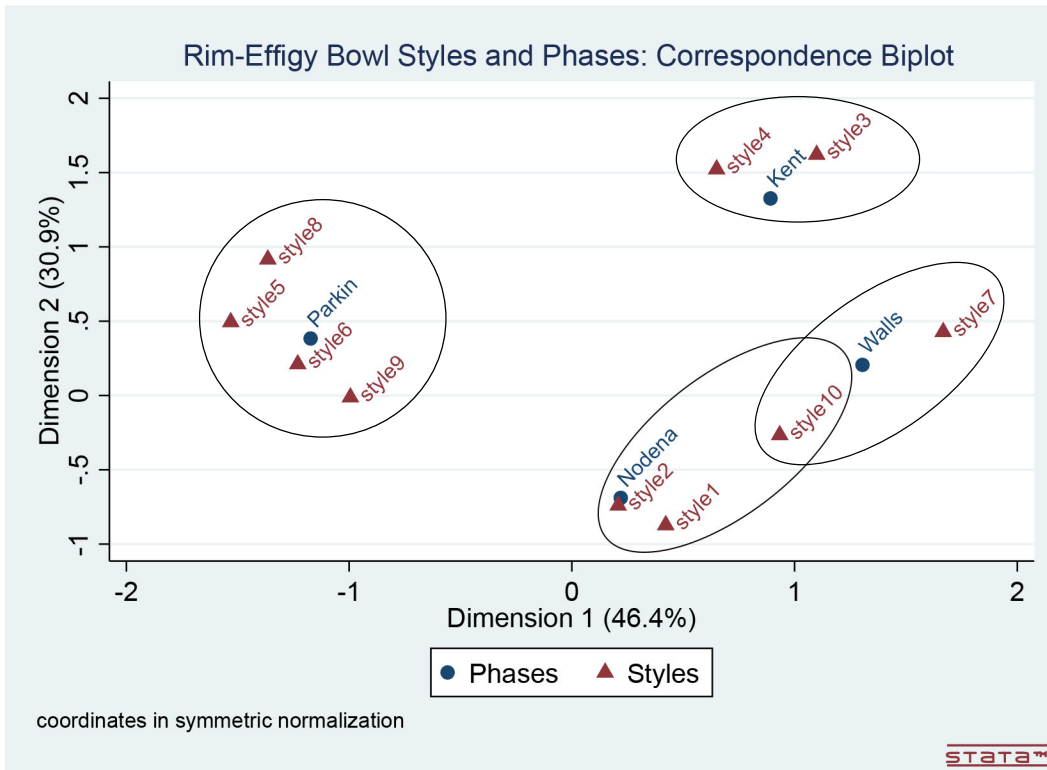


Figure 19. Correspondence analysis biplot showing the association between rim-effigy bowl styles and phases. Circles show strong associations.

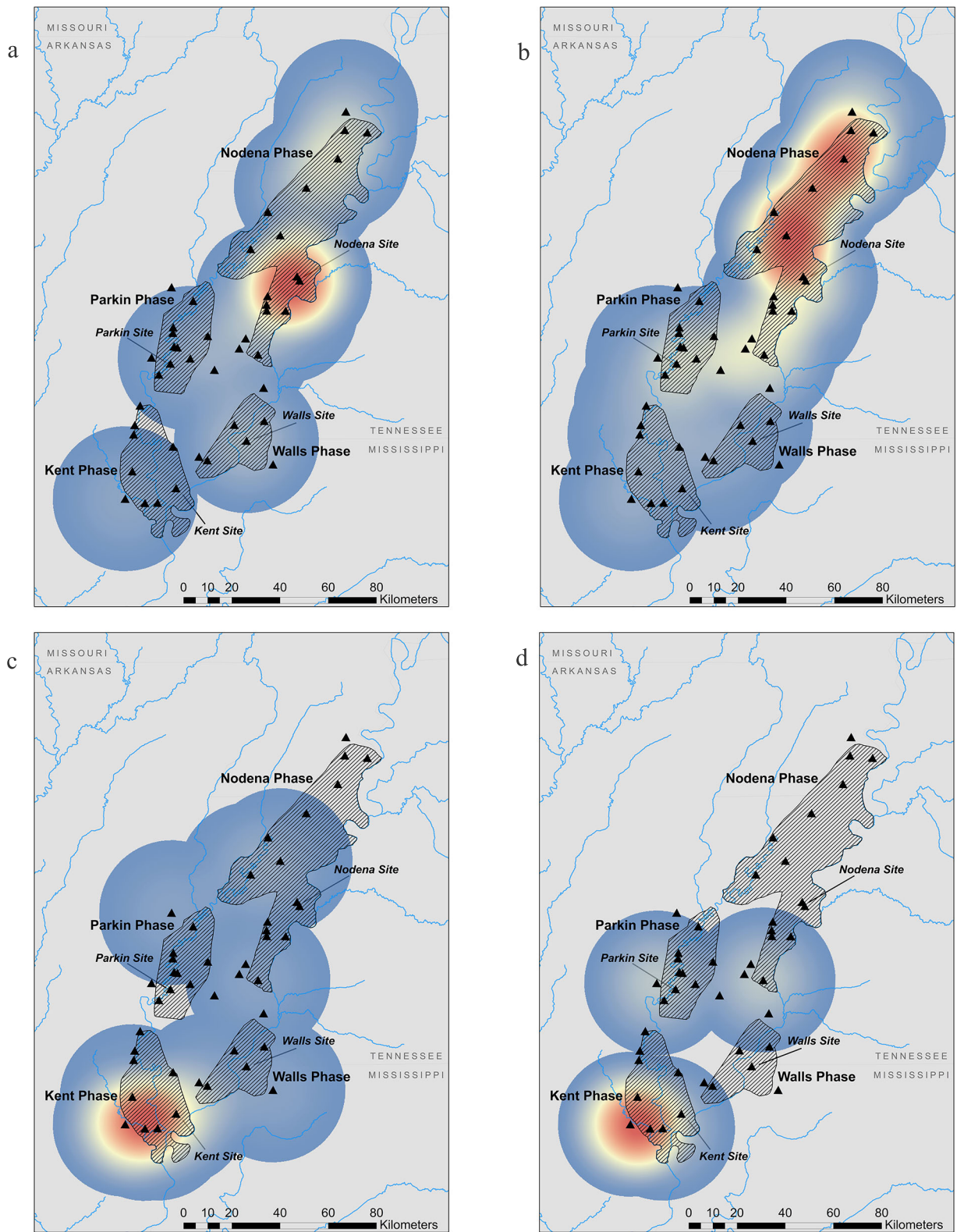


Figure 20. Density maps of rim-effigy bowl styles. (a) Style 1, (b) Style 2, (c) Style 3, (d) Style 4. Red indicates high vessel concentration while blue indicates low vessel concentration.

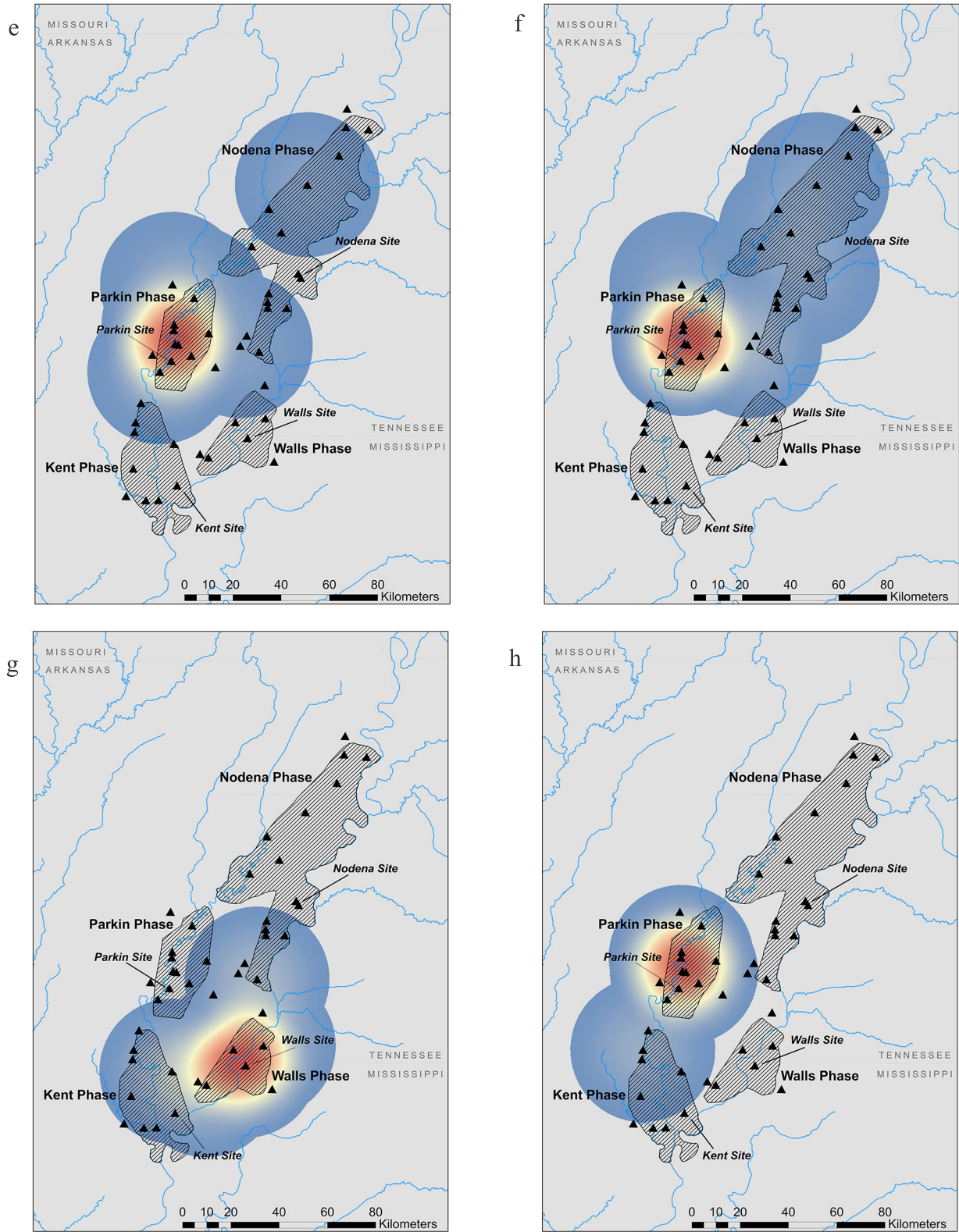


Figure 20 (continued). Density maps of rim-effigy bowl styles. (e) Style 5, (f) Style 6, (g) Style 7, (h) Style 8. Red indicates high vessel concentration while blue indicates low vessel concentration.

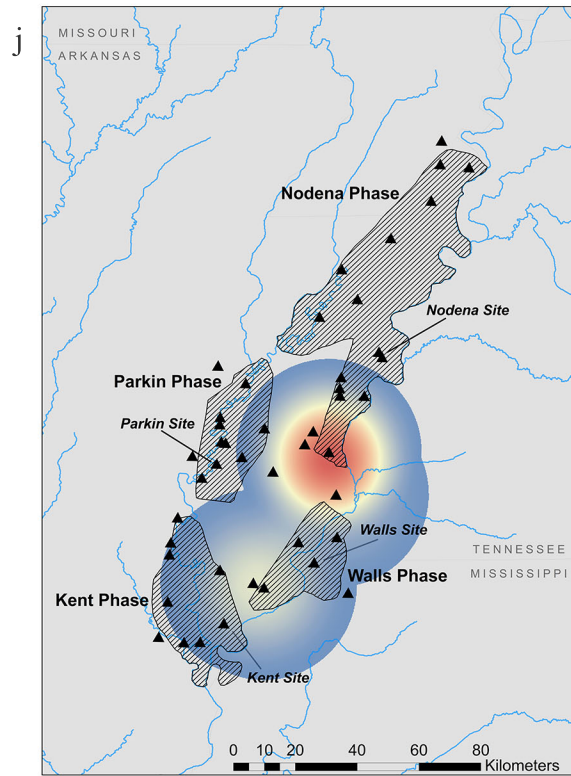
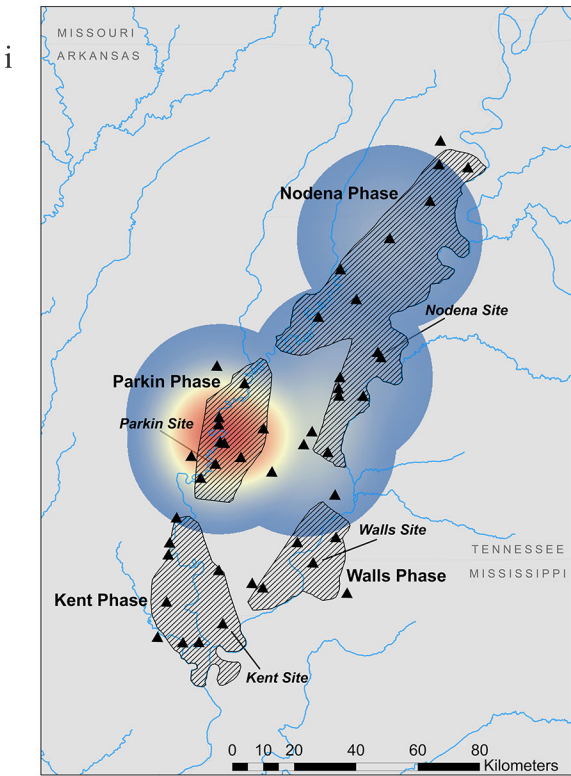


Figure 20 (continued). Density maps of rim-effigy bowl styles. (i) Style 9, (j) Style 10. Red indicates high vessel concentration while blue indicates low vessel concentration.

distinct audiences – may have produced the rim-effigy bowls associated with each phase. These potters or workshops could have been active concurrently or at different times, responding to stylistic conventions established by their communities.

Because chronologies within the Late Mississippian CMV are largely unrefined, it is difficult to determine when rim-effigy bowl styles emerged and declined within the region. A formal seriation of the rim-effigy bowl corpus is beyond the scope of the current analysis. However, an understanding of temporality regarding bowl style is partly achievable based on previous analyses of rim effigies from other Mississippian assemblages. Specifically, Steponaitis (1983) performed a seriation of ceramic vessels at Moundville and found that flat, two-dimensional bird effigy heads – what he calls “cookie cutter” – were most common in the Moundville I (AD 1050-1250) and early Moundville II phases (AD 1250-1300). Three-dimensional effigies, which Steponaitis refers to as “gracile,” occur first in the late Moundville II phase (AD 1300-1400) and persist into the Moundville III phase (AD 1400-1550). Within the CMV rim effigy corpus, there are two styles of “cookie cutter” effigy bowls, styles 4 and 9, that occur predominantly in the Kent and Parkin phases, respectively. Given the seriation completed at Moundville, these vessels may date earlier than vessels with more gracile effigies.

Chronological uncertainties aside, the strong associations between style and phase seem to indicate limited movement of vessels across phase boundaries. Further, within the Nodena phase where style hotspots do not overlap, the results of the kernel density analysis suggest the limited movement of vessels within the phase itself. The most parsimonious interpretation of these findings is that bowls belonging to a specific style were largely produced, distributed, and utilized within a specific community of beholders. That is, rim-effigy bowls were apparently part of local potting traditions and not incorporated into region-wide networks of reciprocal

exchange. Potters adhered to specific sets of stylistic guidelines that conformed to the formal rules of visual correctness set by their own community of beholders, including the individuals that acquired or used these vessels.

The existence of these local, or at least spatially restricted, potting traditions is further supported by variation in the quality of execution among rim-effigy bowl styles. Not all rim-effigy bowls – which have generally been interpreted as ritual serving wares (see Lankford and Dye 2014:43) – are finely crafted. More specifically, some styles, namely styles 2 and 7, are detailed, intricate, and well made, indicating significant labor investment and high skill level. Other styles, specifically styles 5 and 8, lack aesthetic quality. This suggests that, in addition to adhering to different stylistic canons, communities may have maintained different modes of production. That is, the high-quality bowls belonging the styles 2 and 7 may have been the products of full-time, attached workshops while lower-quality bowls were part of a system organized around part-time independent craftspeople (see Costin and Hagstrum 1995). This variation is notable given the continuous, dense occupation of the CMV during the Late Mississippian period. Different communities existed adjacent to one another – at times within the same archaeological phases – but appear to have maintained their own stylistic canons and modes of production. The implications of these findings will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Use of Rim-Effigy Bowl Themes

Similar to bowl styles, a second correspondence analysis indicates strong associations between rim-effigy bowl themes (i.e. human, serpent, crested bird, and bird of prey) and archaeological phases (Figure 21). For example, the crested-bird theme is strongly associated with the Parkin phase while birds of prey and serpents are strongly associated with the Nodena

phase. Human-themed bowls are associated with both the Kent and Walls phases. These theme-phase clusters are clearly distinct from one another within the correspondence biplot. However, the kernel density analysis of bowl themes reveals additional associations (Figure 22).

Specifically, unlike bowl styles, bowl themes tend to have significant concentrations, or hotspots, in multiple phases. Birds of prey are concentrated in the Nodena phase but also occur in moderate frequencies in the Parkin and Kent phases. Human-themed bowls are highly concentrated in a band that includes the southern area of the Nodena phase and the Walls and Kent phases. Serpent effigies are concentrated in the Parkin phase as well as the Nodena phase. And finally, while crested birds are highly concentrated in the Parkin phase, they do appear in moderate numbers in the southern portion of the Nodena phase (see Table 3).

These thematic concentrations, as demonstrated in the kernel density analysis, follow a broad pattern. That is, serpents, crested birds, and birds of prey appear to occur most frequently in the northern and central portions of the study area while human effigies are much more abundant in the southern portion. Thus, compared to the distribution of styles discussed above, effigy-bowl themes tend to have broader distributions throughout the study area than vessel styles. It should also be noted that every phase produced at least one bowl from all four themes. These patterns suggest that, while the CMV may have hosted a number of distinct communities of beholders, communities shared a broad understanding of what constituted appropriate rim-effigy bowl subject matter.

However, on a finer scale, several interesting trends emerge when assessing the phase-specific frequencies of particular *subthemes* (see Chapter 4). In particular, while broad themes are widely distributed throughout the study area, subthemes have more restricted concentrations. For example, while the Parkin phase is strongly associated with the crested-bird theme, two

distinct crested-bird subtheme clusters occur within the phase. Specifically, woodpecker bowls, which occur exclusively in the Parkin phase, are concentrated at the Neely's Ferry site. Out of 10 woodpecker bowls in the sample, eight of them were recovered from this site. Similarly, fantailed crested-bird effigies were also only found in the Parkin phase, with the majority originating from the Twist and Vernon Paul sites.

Among human-themed bowls, conehead and warrior bowls occur most frequently in the Kent and Walls phases, supporting the associations revealed in the theme-phase correspondence analysis (Figure 21). However, conehead bowls are also common the southern portion of the Nodena phase. This is not indicated in the correspondence analysis, likely due to the overwhelming frequency of serpent bowls in the Nodena phase (Figure 22). Notably, all of the Nodena coneheads are from the Bradley site, located at the southern tip of the phase near the Kent and Walls phases. In contrast, central and northern portions of the Nodena phase contain markedly different thematic concentrations. Specifically, cat-like serpent monsters are very common north of the Bradley site within the midsection of the Nodena phase. In the far northern reaches of the Nodena phase, especially in southeastern Missouri, raptor effigies are overwhelmingly abundant. Interestingly, this finding aligns with previous assertions that Nodena phase sites occur in three geographic clusters (see D. Morse 1989).

Relationships Between Visual Style and Theme

The phase- and site-level patterns presented above suggest that, while bowls belonging to the four broad umbrella themes (i.e. crested birds, serpent monsters, humans, and birds of prey) are distributed widely across the CMV, *subthemes* appear to be concentrated in very specific parts of the study area. These subtheme concentrations may indicate the existence of different

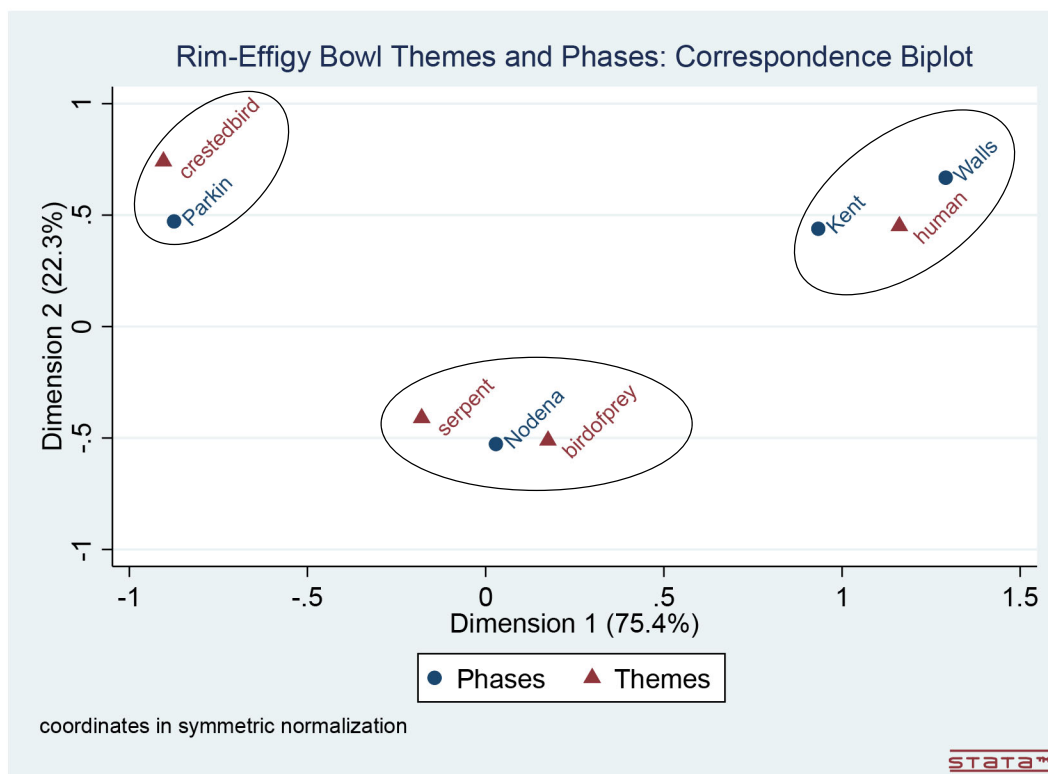


Figure 21. Correspondence analysis biplot showing the association between rim-effigy bowl themes and phases. Circles show strong associations.

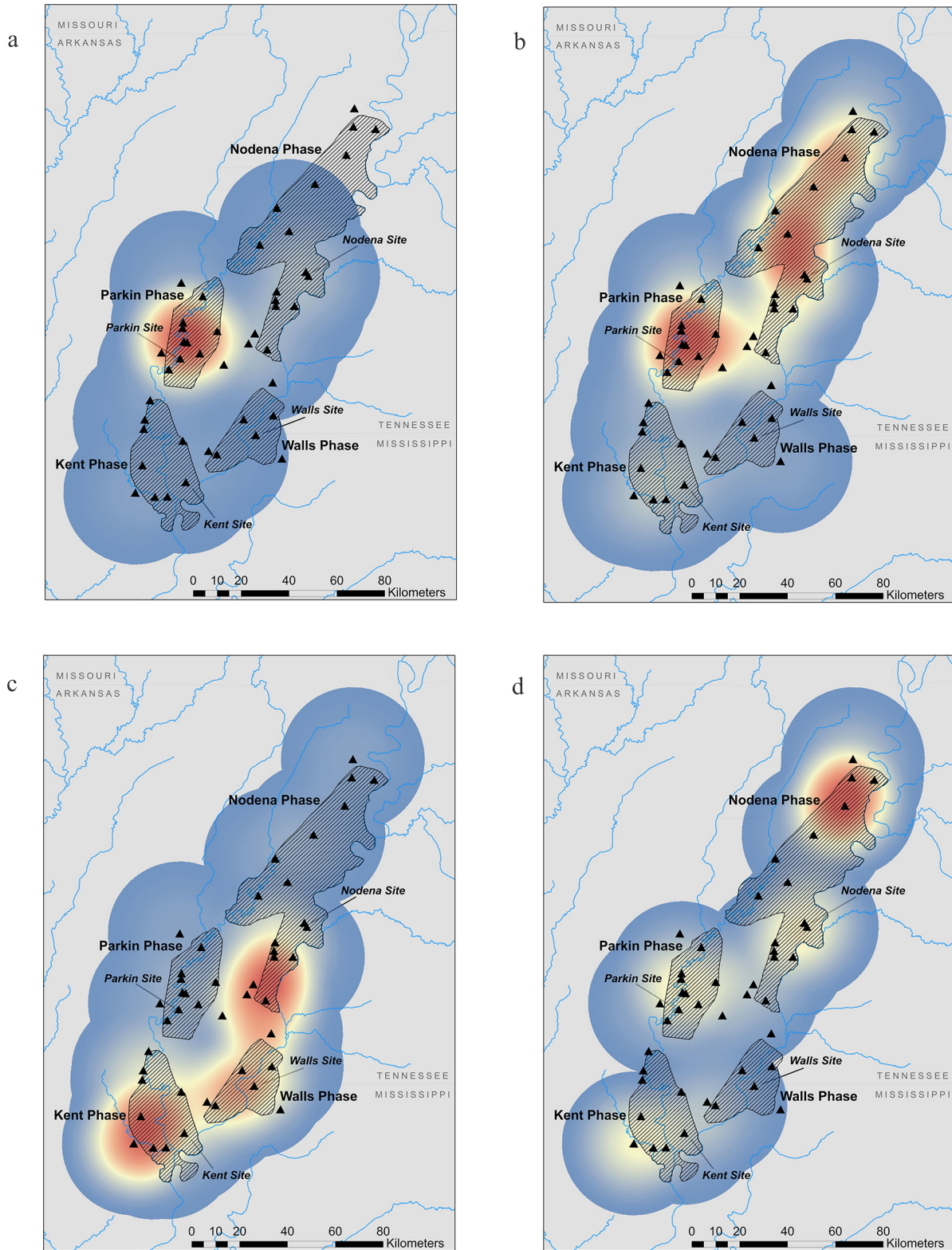


Figure 22. Density maps of rim-effigy bowl themes. (a) Crested birds, (b) serpents, (c) humans, (d) birds of prey. Red indicates high vessel concentration while blue indicates low vessel concentration.

local imaginings or conceptualizations of the larger subject matter classes. However, it is unclear if these thematic preferences are associated with the communities of beholders identified in the stylistic analysis. That is, did communities of beholders adhere to both stylistic *and* thematic conventions when producing rim-effigy bowls? To determine whether communities of beholders with specific stylistic prescriptions also maintained thematic preferences, I conducted a correspondence analysis assessing the association between effigy bowl style and theme (Figure 23). Interestingly, despite the relatively broad distribution of effigy themes across the region, theme and style do tend to correspond with one another. That is, vessels of a certain style tend to depict a single theme.

When considered alongside tabulated bowl counts, associations between style and theme appear particularly significant in several cases. Within Style 2, 57 of 61 bowls exhibit cat-like serpent-monster effigies, the majority of which occur in the central and northern portions of the Nodena phase. Similarly, Style 8 exclusively contains the fantailed type crested-bird effigies recovered from the Twist and Vernon Paul sites in the Parkin phase. Interestingly, Style 9 consists largely of wood duck effigies that were recovered from several Parkin phase sites, but *never* from Twist or Vernon Paul. Further, Style 10, in contrast, consists entirely of bowls exhibiting conehead humans. Five of the nine bowls included in this style were recovered from the Bradley site in the Nodena phase, as outlined above. It is also important to note that even the styles that show weaker thematic associations are not particularly diverse – none of them contain examples of all four themes. Overall, these data indicate that the communities reflected in bowl style may have also preferred very specific effigy bowl subject matter.

It should be noted that, while the associations between style and theme – and more specifically between style and subtheme – are intriguing, there is an inherent difficulty in

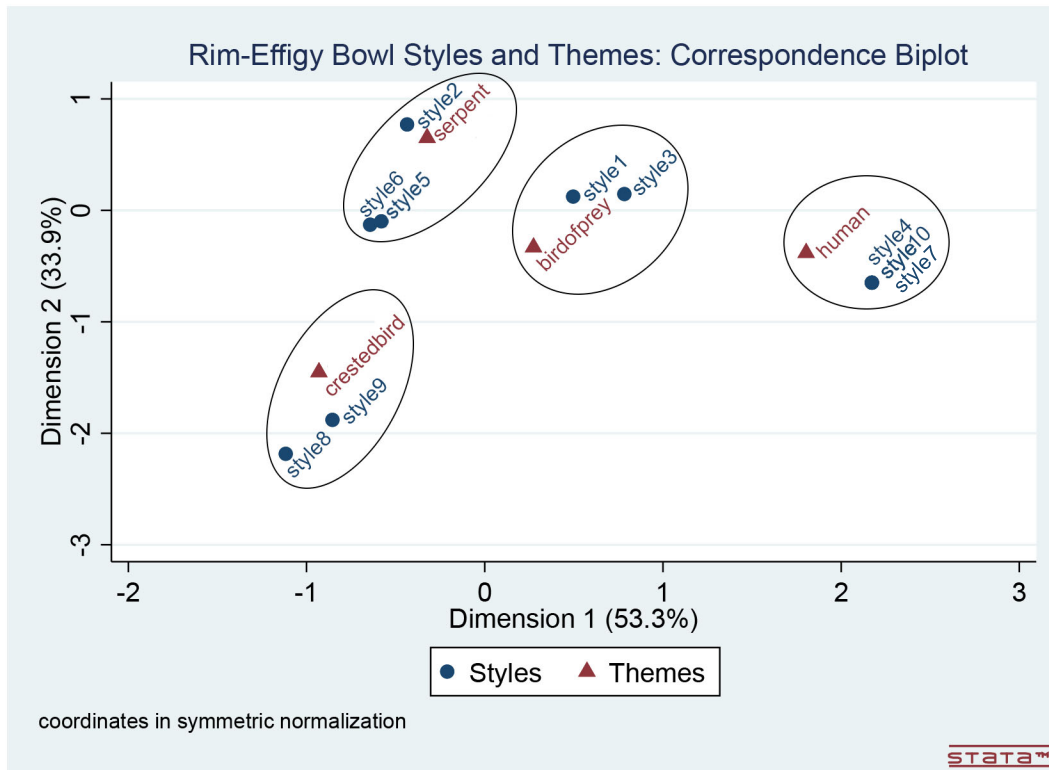


Figure 23. Correspondence analysis biplot showing the association between style and theme among rim-effigy bowls. Circles show strong associations.

identifying a common style among images belonging to different themes. That is, differences in theme may mask similarities in style. In the case of rim-effigy bowls, this is especially salient due to the lack of crossover between the classifying attributes of different themes. For example, human effigies do not share any features with serpent monsters, aside from the general presence of two eyes, a nose, and a mouth. The additional presence of ears, horns, teeth, and hair, as well as the distinct shapes and sizes of these attributes, are what allow the observer to distinguish between themes. Thus, a human-effigy bowl and serpent-effigy bowl produced by the same potter or workshop, and therefore presumably in the same style, may not be attributed to the same stylistic group during analysis.

The possibility that this issue has confounded my analysis of the association between rim-effigy bowl style and theme must be considered. However, when formulating styles, I intentionally incorporated aspects of effigy orientation and dimension as well as bowl shape, size, and decoration to supplement classifications. As a result, only three out of 10 styles contained only a single theme (styles 7, 8 and 10). Thus, while it is possible that I misclassified bowl styles due to the masking effects of theme, I attempted to mitigate this concern through the consideration of attributes beyond the features of the effigy adorns themselves. Overall, based on these efforts, I submit that the associations between rim-effigy bowl style and theme are significant.

CHAPTER 5

AN ICONOGRAPHIC MODEL

To construct an iconographic model of CMV rim-effigy bowls that approximates their native meaning, I relied on ethnographic analogy, as a contemporaneous written record does not accompany the corpus. I not only examined analogies made in previous studies of Mississippian iconography, but also probed ethnohistoric sources for further data. Several historic American Indian groups have been linked – both culturally and genealogically – to Late Mississippian societies. Records documenting these descendant groups, specifically those recounting oral traditions, cultural practices, and ceremonial activities, have been used to interpret the iconography of major Mississippian ritual art corpora, including engraved marine shell, copper plates, and stone pipes (see Reilly and Garber 2007a; Lankford et al. 2011; Steponaitis et al. 2019). In particular, ethnohistoric accounts of Dhegihan and Caddoan peoples of the Central Plains are cited extensively in discussions of Mississippian cosmology and ritual (Diaz-Granados 2011; Duncan 2011; Dye 2018, 2017a, 2017b). Further, historic documentation of several Southeastern groups, including the Creek, Alabama, Caddo, and Natchez, is similarly referenced in the literature (Knight 1986; Lankford 2007d, 2008). Arguably, without these sources, examinations of Mississippian ritual paraphernalia would be severely limited. Thus, although the broader use of analogical reasoning in archaeological research has faced critique in the past (see discussion in Wylie 1985), it serves as a foundational element in the analysis of Mississippian art and iconography.

The type of comparison made in studies of Mississippian ritual art corpora may be more accurately referred to as *historical homology* (Knight 2013a; Lyman et al. 1997; O'Brien and Lyman 2001). That is, the Native groups discussed in pertinent ethnohistoric documents are thought to be related to or direct descendants of precontact Mississippians. Thus, in this case, linkages between historic beliefs and practices and archaeological materials function as cultural homologies attributable to common ancestry. The relevance of historical homologies to studies of ancient art can vary, and the degree of cultural continuity – or lack thereof – should always be considered. However, several characteristics can be used to assess the strength of any given historical homology. Specifically, the nearer in time the ethnographic or ethnohistoric source is to the archaeological topic being reviewed, the more reliable the homology and interpretations derived from it. Further, historic homologies are considered to be stronger when they are supported by a number of sources, rather than an isolated account or record. And finally, the more similar the relevant traits of the source are to the material being interpreted, the more robust the homology (Knight 2013a:135-138; see also Wylie 1985).

I. Identifying Cosmic Referents

Before rim-effigy bowl referents can be discussed in the context of potential historical homologies, the structure of the Mississippian cosmos should be outlined in further detail. Ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources – as well as iconographic studies – indicate that the Mississippian cosmos was conceived of as a tripartite universe, consisting of a watery Beneath World and celestial Above World separated from each other by an Earth Disk (Figure 24) (Duncan 2011; Emerson 1997; Lankford 2007d). Within this model, both the Above and Beneath World – although multilayered themselves – are understood as existing in structural and spiritual opposition to one another. The Beneath World is envisioned as a dark and watery abyss, home to

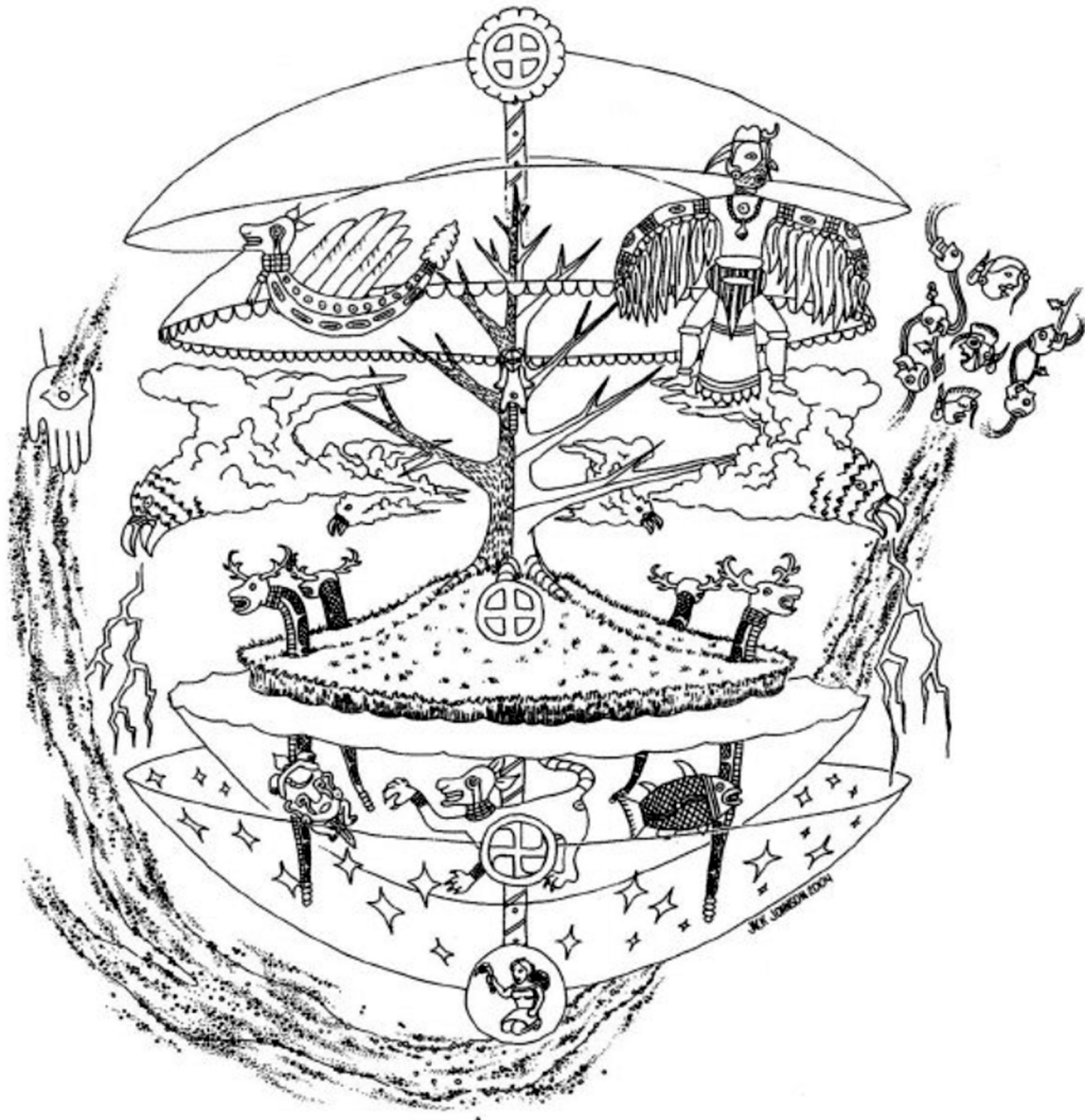


Figure. 24. The Mississippian cosmos (illustration by Jack Johnson in Reilly 2004: Fig 2).

snakes, serpents, and other formidable water spirits. Consequently, it is closely associated with death, chaos, and the afterlife (Emerson 1989; Hudson 1976). In contrast, the Above World, or sky vault, engenders order, light, and purity, serving as a home for weather spirits and great avian deities (Duncan 2011; Hudson 1976; King and Reilly 2011). Floating atop the waters of the Beneath World, the Earth Disk – also referred to as the earthly plane or Middle World – lies between these two opposing realms. Finally, connecting these cosmic layers is a great axis mundi, or centering entity, often conceptualized as a tree, red cedar pole, or sacred fire (Lankford 2007d, 2011). Thus, the Mississippian cosmos is typified by a series of dualistic oppositions between supernatural forces: Above World/Beneath World, light/dark, and chaos/order. Only through the permanent tension of these forces can the universe remain balanced and intact (Emerson 1997; Hudson 1976; Lankford 2008).

Different forms of life exist within each realm of the Mississippian cosmos. In this sense, it is a “peopled” universe. The Earth Disk is populated by humans and non-human animals. In contrast, the Above and Beneath worlds – only accessible to powerful individuals or magical beings – are inhabited by a variety of supernatural characters, including godlike heroes, enchanted fauna, and formidable monsters as well as superhuman giants, cannibals, and tricksters (see Dorsey 1904a, 1904b, 1904c, 1906; Lankford 2007; Reilly 2011; Swanton 1929; Sumner 1951). These are the figures thought to be depicted in many Mississippian art objects, especially among engraved shell and embossed copper (Knight et al. 2001).

Based on ethnohistoric sources, I posit that CMV rim-effigy bowls also serve as depictions of or references to supernatural cosmic beings. Further, and perhaps most importantly, all of the characters referenced in rim-effigy bowl iconography seem to exhibit a similar trait – *cosmic dualism*. Thus, rather than serving as simple artistic renderings of animals or humans,

rim-effigy bowls should be viewed as physical manifestations of the oppositional tension that undergirds the Mississippian cosmos. Below, I reference a number of Native oral traditions and ceremonial practices recorded in historic accounts of Central Plains and Southeastern groups that offer insight into the dualistic nature of these cosmic beings. These accounts establish reliable historical homologues – in terms of temporality, frequency, and similarity – that shed light on the meaning of rim-effigy bowl subject matter.

Crested Birds

As discussed in Chapter 4, crested-bird effigies in the CMV often resemble either wood ducks or woodpeckers. Notably, both of these birds make significant appearances in Native legends recounting the formation of the Earth Disk. Specifically, there are two primary creation stories among Native groups in the Central Plains and Southeast, namely the Flood and Earth-Diver myths.⁷ While many variations of these stories exist – sometimes even blending elements of each – all appear to work upon the same basic premise. Prior to the origin of the Earth, the world is flooded. Only the Above World (sky) and Beneath World (water) exist. In the Earth Diver myth, different animals are enlisted to dive beneath the primal waters and retrieve a clump of mud or sand from the bottom, which is then spread to form the Earth Disk (Dorsey 1904b:11; Kongas 1960; Lankford 1987). In the Central Plains, specifically among the Crow, Skidi Pawnee, and Arikara, it is a duck that successfully completes this task. In other Native versions of the Earth Diver myth, the protagonist is a muskrat, crawfish, or other aquatic animal. Species aside, the essential element of the story is the ability of the animal to penetrate the waters of the

⁷ Different versions of the Earth Diver myth occur across North America and the world, more broadly (see Kongas 1960).

Beneath World (Kongas 1960). This trait is inherently dualistic, as the animal must be able to traverse through cosmic layers. The duck embodies this duality through its ability to both fly and swim, which more figuratively allows it to move between realms.

Woodpeckers exhibit a similar cosmic dualism in several Native origin stories. According to the Creek version of the Flood/Earth-Diver myth, the world in the beginning was inhabited only by “two red-headed woodpeckers, which hung to the clouds, with their tails awash in the waters” (Swanton 1928:488). Similarly, the Alabama version of the Flood story states that, as the waters rose, “the flying things flew up to the sky and took hold of it... The red-headed woodpecker was flat against the sky and said, ‘My tail is half in the water’” (Swanton 1929:121). Ethnohistoric sources often note that, among Native groups, these stories were used to explain woodpeckers’ tail markings (see Swanton 1928, 1929). However, it is also notable that the woodpeckers in these stories are essentially straddling cosmic realms – existing simultaneously in the sky and the water. In this sense, they act as a physical connection between the Above World and Beneath World.

Reinforcing this dualistic understanding of woodpeckers within the Mississippian cosmos is a shell engraving from Spiro Mounds (Figure 25). The engraving depicts several crested birds – potentially woodpeckers – flying among the branches of a stylized tree. A strikingly similar scene is described in an Alabama allegory. According to the story, a man gambles away all of the world’s water, leaving mankind to die of thirst. However, a woodpecker with a red head restores the world’s water when he discovers “a cane as big as a tree... [lights] upon it, and [begins] pecking.” Water then pours forth from the hole and “all the creeks [are] overflowed” (Swanton 1929:124). Lankford (2007a) interprets the tree in the Spiro engraving as an axis mundi that binds cosmic realms together. Thus, the tree in the Alabama water story may also be interpreted

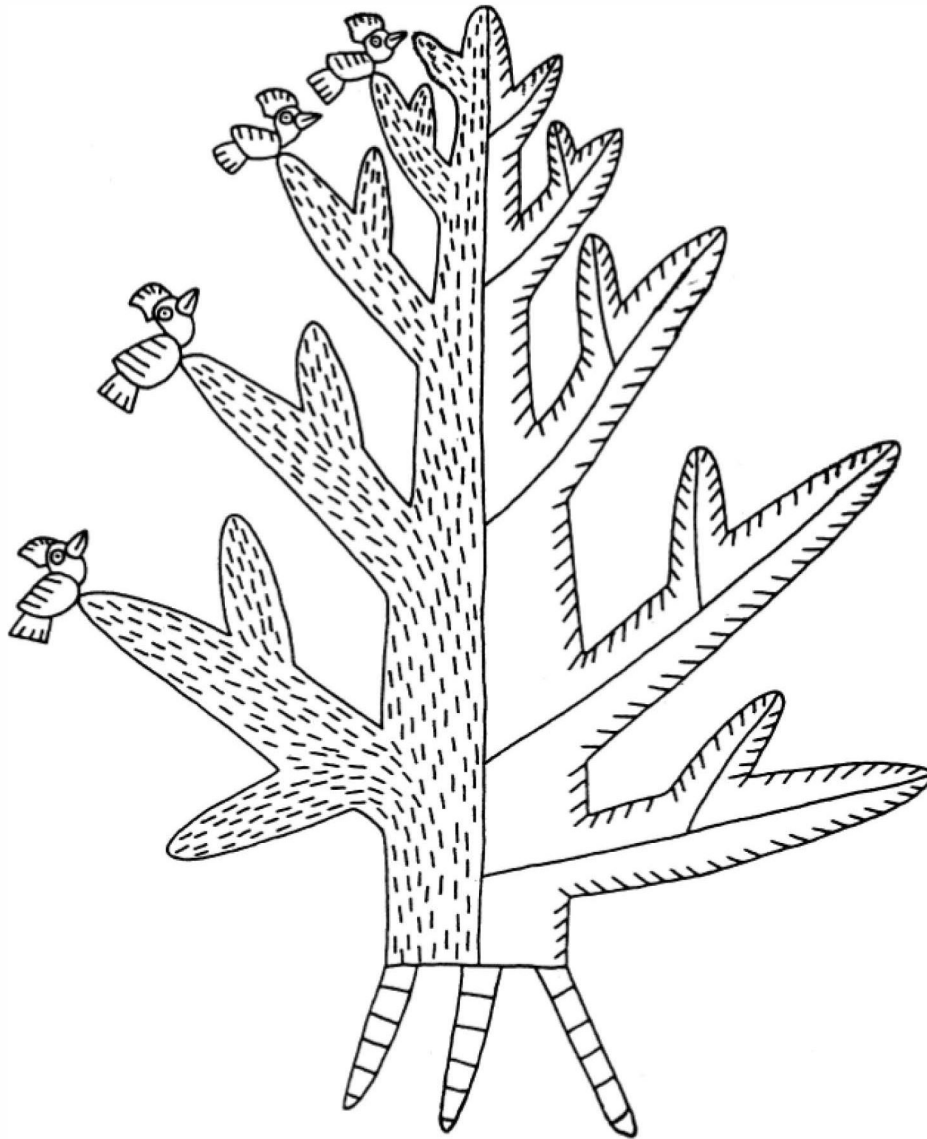


Figure 25. Bisected tree depicted in a Spiro shell engraving. Note what appear to be crested woodpeckers ascending a cosmic axis mundi (from Lankford 2007a:Fig. 2.9).

as a centering entity – specifically one that can access and channel the waters of the Beneath World upward. However, the water can only be accessed by the story’s protagonist – a woodpecker. Thus, when considered together, the Alabama water story and the Spiro shell engraving suggest that woodpeckers may have been perceived as dualistic cosmic beings, able to access the forces of the watery Beneath World from their perch on the axis mundi. Notably, this dualism is echoed in the Alabama and Creek origin stories outlined earlier that depict woodpeckers as physical links between cosmic realms, perhaps serving as animated versions of the axis mundi.

In sum, although crested-bird effigies in the CMV may resemble different natural prototypes, the broader concept of “crested bird” transcends the domain of biological species. Ducks and woodpeckers – and perhaps the many other species of crested birds inhabiting the river valleys of the Eastern Woodlands – serve similar cosmic roles and exhibit analogous dualistic traits across many Native oral traditions. Namely, crested birds are generally associated with the origins of the Earth and the ability to access the watery Beneath world from above. In this way, despite the species they may resemble, the crested birds depicted in rim-effigy bowl iconography – including the fantailed variety – should be broadly viewed as a class of extraordinary animals with a dualistic nature.

Serpent Monsters

Consistently associated with the watery Beneath World, death, and the afterlife, the legendary serpent monster figure appears in many Central Plains and Southeastern oral traditions (Dye 2018). This being can take on many different forms, including a snake-like water monster with horns or antlers as well as an underwater panther with a long, serpentine tail. Regardless of

form, this figure is always formidable, capable of churning up lakes, streams, and rivers and causing harm to humankind. Even so, this netherworld being is also known to offer cosmic power and protection to individuals brave enough to seek passage to the Beneath World (see Lankford 2011b:87-88; Reilly 2011:119)

The image of this serpent being is frequently found in Mississippian art. However, in addition to its horned or antlered underwater form, the Mississippian serpent monster is occasionally depicted with wings – with the most notable corpus of images originating from Moundville. Previous studies of Mississippian iconography have concluded that winged serpents depict the Great Serpent spirit in the night sky (i.e. the constellation Scorpio) (see Lankford 2007b, 2007c). Notably, according to Dhegihan lore, the Beneath World rotates into the heavens with the passage of day into night (Duncan 2011; Reilly and Garber 2011). With this movement, the Great Serpent rises from the watery depths and comes to preside over the “Path of Souls” to the afterlife, which may have been associated with the Milky Way. Along this path, the deceased journey to “Realm of the Dead” (Reilly and Garber 2011:119). This mortuary concept is nearly universal among Native groups of the Central Plains and Southeast (Lankford 2007b:179-180). Thus, the Great Serpent is at once both underwater antagonist and celestial guardian, posing great threat to humanity while also guiding souls from one life to the next. In this sense, the Great Serpent embodies the polar tension that epitomizes the Mississippian cosmos.

In Mississippian art, the Great Serpent is often depicted with a forked-eye surround in addition to its other characteristic traits (i.e. sharp teeth, horns, and snout). Reilly (2004:130) has proposed that, along with wings, these forked-eye surrounds act as locatives that signal to the observer which of its two forms the serpent has assumed. Specifically, these eye surrounds either include two or three forks. Serpents with bi-forked eye surrounds generally exhibit wings as

well, and are thus presumed to depict the Great Serpent in the night sky. In contrast, tri-forked eye surrounds may be locatives for the Beneath World, alluding to the serpent's monstrous underwater form. Notably, among CMV rim-effigy bowls, no serpent is depicted with incised, modeled, or applique wings. However, many of the finely crafted Style 2 serpent effigies exhibit eye surrounds. Nearly half of these surrounds are bi-forked, perhaps acting as a symbolic substitute for wings (see Reilly 2011:127). The other effigies exhibit tri-forked eye surrounds. If Reilly's interpretation of eye surrounds is accurate, this indicates that CMV communities recognized the dualistic nature of the Great Serpent, viewing it as a dichotomous being that – although dangerous or chaotic – could provide guidance to humans seeking cosmic intervention or passage to the afterlife.

Conehead Humans

Coneheads constitute the majority of classifiable human-themed effigy bowls in the CMV (see Table 3). Lankford and Dye (2014) have previously suggested that CMV conehead effigies depict the wild brother in the legendary Hero Twin duo. The Twins, also widely known as “Lodge-Boy” and “Thrown-Away,” appear in nearly every Native oral tradition throughout the Americas (see Lankford 1987; Sumner 1951). The story of the Twins is often told in sequential episodes recounting their life histories. Among Central Plains and Southeastern groups, legends of the Twins vary in terms of story arc, ancillary characters, and plot details. However, most of these episodes share several major structural parallels.

In particular, the Twins' origin story is broadly similar across groups. The episode generally begins with the unnatural death of a pregnant woman at the hands of a cannibal or monster. The Twins are ripped or cut from her womb. One of brothers, known as Lodge-Boy, is

raised by his father in a grass lodge while the other, known as Thrown-Away, is cast out along with the afterbirth following their mother's murder. Lodge-Boy and his father live peacefully until the day that Thrown-Away suddenly appears, revealing himself to his brother. Thrown-Away then coerces Lodge-Boy into a series of rebellious escapades meant to dupe or agitate their father, who remains unaware of the lost twin's return. However, one day, the boys' father discovers their mischievous antics. He plots to catch Thrown-Away, making several attempts before he is finally successful (see Lankford and Dye 2014; Sumner 1951).

In addition to the same general sequence of events, several main themes seem to be shared among accounts of the Twins' early life. Specifically, having been cast out into the wilderness, Thrown-Away is always portrayed as a wild and untamed figure with mysterious origins. He often spawns from his mother's placenta or emerges from the depths of lake, river, or spring (Dorsey 1904a, 1904b, 1904c; Lankford 1987; Sumner 1951). He is frequently depicted with sharp teeth, long hair, and sly or sneaky behavior (Dorsey 1906:144, Lankford and Dye 2014). In other stories he also has legendary hunting skills and the ability to shape-shift (Dorsey 1906). For these reasons, Thrown-Away must always be captured, or domesticated, by his father, who files down his teeth or cuts his hair in several of the Plains episodes. In contrast, Lodge-Boy is often meek, shy, or incompetent. He bends to both his brother and father's wills. These basic thematic elements allow for the confident identification of analogous Hero Twin episodes across many different Native traditions (see Sumner 1951).

Distinctive cone-shaped heads among human rim effigies in the CMV may specifically reference Thrown-Away as he appears in several of these related origin stories. For instance, among several Central Plains versions of the story, Lodge-Boy and his father catch – or tame – Thrown-Away by tying up his long hair in an inflated animal bladder, preventing him from

returning to the bottom of the lake, pond, or stream from which he emerged. Lankford and Dye (2014) posit that CMV conehead effigies depict Thrown-Away as he appears in this particular scene with his hair tied up in a bladder – hence the strange head shape. Alternatively, conehead effigies may depict Thrown-Away wearing a cap. Specifically, in what may be a version of the Twin’s origin story among the Pawnee and Skidi Pawnee, a mysterious orphan boy (Thrown-Away) living on island befriends the timid grandson (Lodge-Boy) of an old woman from a nearby village. The orphan is able to conjure animals, sometimes by shooting magic arrows into the air (Dorsey 1904b:86; Dorsey 1906:159-164). In addition to exhibiting extraordinary powers, the orphan also wears a cap adorned with singing woodpeckers. In Creek myth, a homologous story exists wherein the boy’s cap features crested blue jays (Swanton 1929:13-16). These magical caps may be another referent of conehead effigies.

In every version of the Twins’ story, once the brothers are reunited, they embark on a series of cosmic adventures that are described in a series of legendary episodes. The two work together to conquer supernatural monsters, giants, and cannibals – often killing their mother’s murderer as well. They steal antlers from the underwater serpent and plunder eggs from the nests of the great Thunderbirds (Lankford 1987; Sumner 1951). Their success in these adventures often becomes essential to the welfare or restoration of mankind (Sumner 1951:79). As a result, in several traditions, the Twins ascend to the Above World as Thunderers (i.e. Lightning Boy and Thunder Boy), or weather deities (Dye 2014; 2017a; Duncan and Diaz-Granados 2000; Sumner 1951:65).

It is significant that, given his depiction in Native oral stories, Thrown-Away – or the wild twin – appears to be a cosmically dualistic figure. Specifically, early in his life history, Thrown-Away is strongly associated with the forces of the Beneath World. As described above,

he is a product of his own mother's death, often emerges from a body of water, and must be tamed by his brother and father due to his wild, animalistic behavior. These characteristics are obvious embodiments of the chaos and disorder of the Beneath World. However, through his domestication, he becomes a culture hero. Along with his brother, he battles formidable foes in order to maintain cosmic balance. Notably, his final apotheosis brings him into the Above World, contrasting directly with his origins. Thus, Thrown-Away's life history, in addition to his literal existence as a twin, typifies the oppositional tension upon which the Mississippian cosmos is founded. It follows then that conehead bowls in the CMV, if they do indeed serve as depictions of Thrown-Away, were intended to reference the same universal principle as serpent and crested-bird bowls.

Other Themes and Subthemes

More than three-quarters of all rim effigies in the CMV are either coneheads, serpents, or crested birds (see Table 3). However, despite the existence of what appears to be a clear suite of dualistic cosmic characters, several other effigy forms appear repeatedly within the region and are worth discussing further. Firstly, raptor-themed effigy bowls occur in small numbers mainly in the Nodena phase and constitute about 8% of the sample. Raptor bowls can exhibit outward facing effigy heads with tabular tail adornos or inward facing heads accompanied by a pair of talons in place of a tail. The latter configuration depicts the bird as "belly up" or otherwise incapacitated. Further, beyond coneheads, warriors and twins make up the remaining identifiable human rim effigies. Warrior effigies are characterized by spiked hair treatments, scalp locks, animal-pelt caps, or war-club tail adornos (see Dye 2017b). These bowls make up around 5% of the sample and occur most often in the Walls and Kent phases. Twin bowls, consisting of two

human effigy heads situated opposite one another, make up around 2% of the entire sample but occur almost exclusively in the Nodena phase.

Notably, like conehead effigies, raptor, warrior, and twin effigies may also be references to Hero Twin lore. Twin effigy bowls, characterized by two head adornos, may be interpreted quite literally as references to the iconic duo. As for raptor effigies, as noted above, several Native oral traditions recount the Twins' battle with supernatural Thunderbirds, powerful raptors associated with the powers of the Above World. Following their engagements with these and other cosmic foes, many traditions claim that the Twins ascend to the Above World as raptorial birds themselves. It is in this version of their identity that the brothers are frequently referred to as weather deities or Thunderers (see Sumner 1951:59-79). Ethnohistoric accounts of Native groups in the Central Plains and Southeast indicate that war clubs, feathers, and falcon pelts were viewed as symbols of the Hero Twins and/or the Thunderers. The Tunica, Omaha, and Creek often included these items in the ritual bundles of sodalities dedicated to the veneration of the Thunderers. These bundles were often thought to bring success in warfare and healing (see Dye 2017a, 2017b; Duncan and Diaz-Granados 2000). Thus, rather than specifically referencing Thrown-Away – as conehead effigies may – warrior, twin, and raptor effigies could be allusions to other episodes of Twin lore. For instance, “belly up” raptor bowls may symbolize the Twins' defeat of the Thunderbirds while warrior effigies may serve as references to the Twins' epic battles and success in combat.

In many ways, Hero Twin lore itself – and thus any image that makes reference to it – is thematically reducible to the principle of cosmic dualism. In particular, although the Twins are viewed as culture heroes, they never act out of pure altruism or goodness (Sumner 1951:64). Rather, the boys – likely driven by the Thrown-Away's mischievousness – are often disobedient

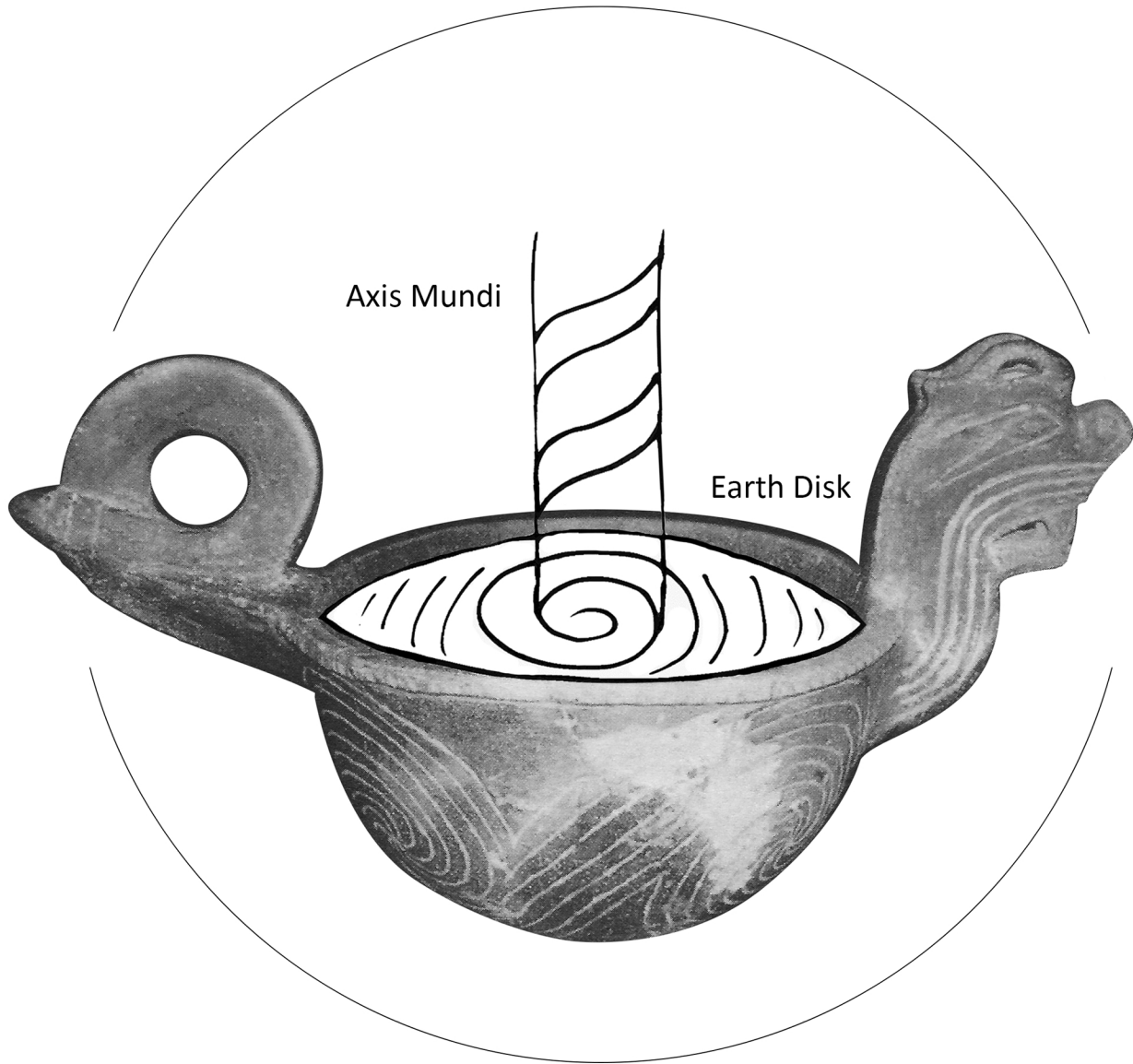
to authority figures, especially their father. Their inability to heed warnings or avoid danger often serves as the impetus for their battles with supernatural adversaries. However, the Twins invariably defeat their foes and protect mankind, restoring order to the universe. In this way, the Twins – as a single entity – are dualistic in that they do not serve as a representation of untainted goodness, but rather embody the foundational theme of cosmic balance (see Duncan and Diaz-Granados 2000).

II. Rim-Effigy Bowls as Cosmograms

The identification of cosmic referents among CMV rim-effigy bowls provides the foundation for an iconographic model of the vessel form itself. As described above, rim effigies in the CMV appear to reference several dualistic cosmic beings. In particular, this duality reflects the constant juxtaposition of Above World and Beneath World forces. While the Above World is associated with order and light, the Beneath World engenders chaos and darkness. This “permanent tension of opposites” typifies Native belief systems throughout the Central Plains and Southeast (Lankford 2008:85). Ultimately, the preservation of the universe is not dependent on the total elimination of hostile cosmic forces, but the realization of a balance between good and bad (see Hudson 1976:123; Knight 1981; Lankford 2008).

Beyond the significance of the effigies themselves, the broader rim-effigy bowl form also alludes to this oppositional tension. Specifically, within the space of a rim-effigy bowl, the placement of rim effigies and the use of decorative motifs and design elements create a holistic, three-dimensional rendering of the tripartite Mississippian cosmos. In this sense, CMV rim-effigy bowls may be interpreted as cosmograms (Figure 26). That is, all three layers of the Mississippian cosmos are discernable within the morphology of a rim-effigy bowl. When the

Above World



Beneath World

Figure 26. A rim-effigy bowl as a cosmogram. A conceptual axis mundi is created by swirling the contents of the vessel. Note the presence of interlocking scrolls on the vessel body and beading on rim. Photo from Bogg and Bogg 2016 (pp. 135, bottom).

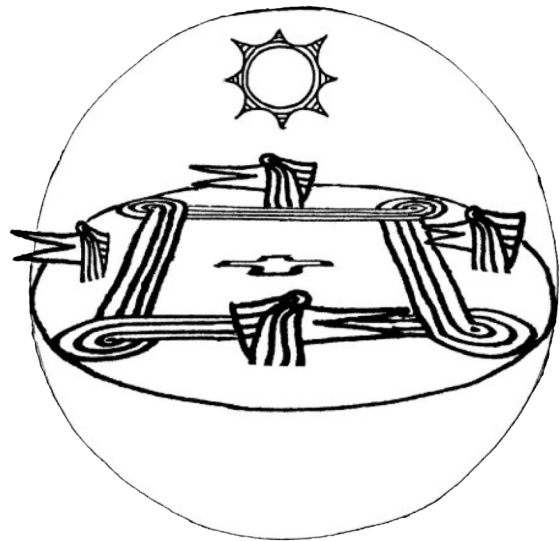
vessel and its attributes are viewed holistically, they generate a visual representation of the vital tension between opposing cosmic forces. Importantly, this cosmogram is “peopled” by a dualistic being, further reinforcing this symbolism.

The layers of the cosmos are present both in the bowl itself as well as the larger space it occupies. Broadly, this space consists of a sphere bisected by a horizontal plane. In particular, the plane flush with the rim of the bowl can be interpreted as the Earth Disk. This is highlighted by the occasional appearance of incised guilloche designs directly below the rim of some bowls. This design is equivalent to the looped square motif identified among many other Mississippian ritual art corpora (see Figure 27) and has been interpreted as a symbol of the four corners of the Earth (Lankford 2007a:24). The equivalence of this horizontal plane with the Earth Disk is also apparent in the use of “tail riders” – modeled birds, panthers, or turtles that are perched upon the tail adorno. Tail riders appear to sit atop the horizontal plane of the rim, creating the image of an animal dwelling upon the Earth Disk.

The body of the effigy figure, or the bowl itself, may double as a receptacle for the waters of the Beneath World, as indicated by the occasional presence of scroll and swirl cross designs encircling the vessel. These motifs have previously been recognized as representations of portals to the Beneath World (Lankford 2011b, 2007c:24). This interpretation of the bowl, or body, as a cosmic container is supported by documentation of historic Native cosmology. Specifically, as Lankford (2007c) posits, the Earth Diver and Flood stories among Central Plains and Southeastern groups suggest that the waters of the Beneath World are enclosed in a solid container, the bottom of which holds the soil or mud that is used to create the Earth. Further, the Muskogean historically believed that a stone bowl rotates through the horizon from the Above



a



b

Figure 27. (a) Human rim-effigy bowl depicting a guilloche design below the rim (from Phillips 1939: vessel 3439). (b) Cox-style gorget depicting a looped square motif, oriented to fit within a model of the Mississippian cosmos (from Lankford 2007a:Fig. 2.1, Fig. 2.6).

World to the Beneath World as day turns to night (Reilly 2011:119). Given these ethnohistoric accounts, it follows that ceramic vessels may be viewed as miniature cosmic receptacles.

Sitting atop the Earth Disk is a conceptual reflection of the bowl itself, forming the vault of the Above World or night sky of the Beneath World. The notion that an intangible celestial realm lies above the bowl is indicated by the occasional presence of beaded rims. This beading is very similar to the petaloid borders that surround incised designs on shell cups from Spiro. Reilly (2007) has suggested that petaloid motifs serve as celestial locatives. Thus, the placement of beaded rims at the junction between the spaces above and below the Earth Disk could symbolize a transition between cosmic realms. Most importantly, however, the head – and sometimes tail – of a cosmic character extend into the space above the bowl's orifice, while its body lies below. This creates a sense of simultaneous existence both above and below the Earth Disk – a possible reference to the character's cosmic dualism and Above World/Beneath World tension.

This type of structural configuration appears in other Mississippian art forms. Specifically, Hixon style gorgets provide an apt model for interpreting the iconography of rim-effigy bowls. These shell gorgets, which have been recovered from sites in south-central Tennessee and northern Georgia, depict two birds facing one another (Figure 28). Brain and Phillips (1996:12-16) originally identified these birds as “turkey-cocks,” but Lankford (2007a) suggests that they should be referred to more broadly as crested birds. Notably, Hixon-style crested birds bear a striking resemblance to the fantailed crested-bird bowls recovered from the Twist and Vernon Paul sites in the CMV.

Within Hixon-style design fields, these coupled crested birds appear to be standing on or inside a ceramic pot, separated by a vertical striped pole. Lankford (2007a) interprets the pot itself as a representation of the Beneath World while the plane horizontal with its rim –

oftentimes depicted as a bar – may be viewed as a symbol of the Earth Disk, floating atop the waters below. The Above World, or sky vault, is simply represented by the semicircular area of the gorget above the ceramic pot. Within this image, the vertical striped pole represents an axis mundi. The crested birds – like the axis mundi – seem to straddle or connect cosmic realms. In this way, Hixon-style gorgets, which exhibit imagery very similar to CMV rim-effigy bowls, act as models of the Mississippian cosmos.

Unlike Hixon gorgets, rim-effigy bowls do not depict an obvious axis mundi. However, it should be remembered that rim-effigy heads were occasionally hollow, containing a single ceramic rattle. When empty, a rim-effigy bowl could be easily shaken to create a rattling noise. However, evidence of sooting and carbonization suggests these bowls acted as containers for cooked foods or liquids (see House 2005:52, 54, 60; Phillips 2002: vessel 1339). To limit spillage, the most reasonable way to “rattle” a full rim-effigy bowl would be to swirl it in a circular motion. Interestingly, this motion not only creates a watery vortex symbolic of the Beneath World (see Nowak 2018), but also figurative vertical axis comparable to the striped pole depicted in Hixon-style gorgets. Although a physical axis is not present, this movement creates an axis of sound (see Lankford 2007a), suggesting that – when maneuvered – rim-effigy bowls may have become interactive models of the Mississippian cosmos (Figure 26).

Studies of other Mississippian ritual ceramics support this reading of CMV rim-effigy bowls as handheld cosmograms. Most notably, Ramey Incised jars from Cahokia have been interpreted as cosmic models deployed during agricultural renewal rituals (Emerson and Pauketat 2008; Pauketat and Emerson 1991). Within the Ramey form, Pauketat and Emerson (1991) identify a tension between Beneath and Above world forces. Specifically, they view the ceramic vessel itself and its contents as symbolic of the Beneath World. In contrast, the space above the

jar, or the area from which the user approaches the vessel, represents the Above World. The Above and Beneath worlds articulate at the jar's orifice, which is surrounded by incised cosmological symbols that form a cross-in-circle centering motif. In this way, the entire Mississippian cosmos is represented in a single ceramic vessel (Figure 29), paralleling the interpretation of CMV rim-effigy bowls presented here.



Figure 28. Examples of Hixon-style gorgets from the Hixon and Etowah sites. Note the similarity in appearance to fantail crested-bird effigies found on CMV rim-effigy bowls (from Lankford 2007a: Fig. 2.7).

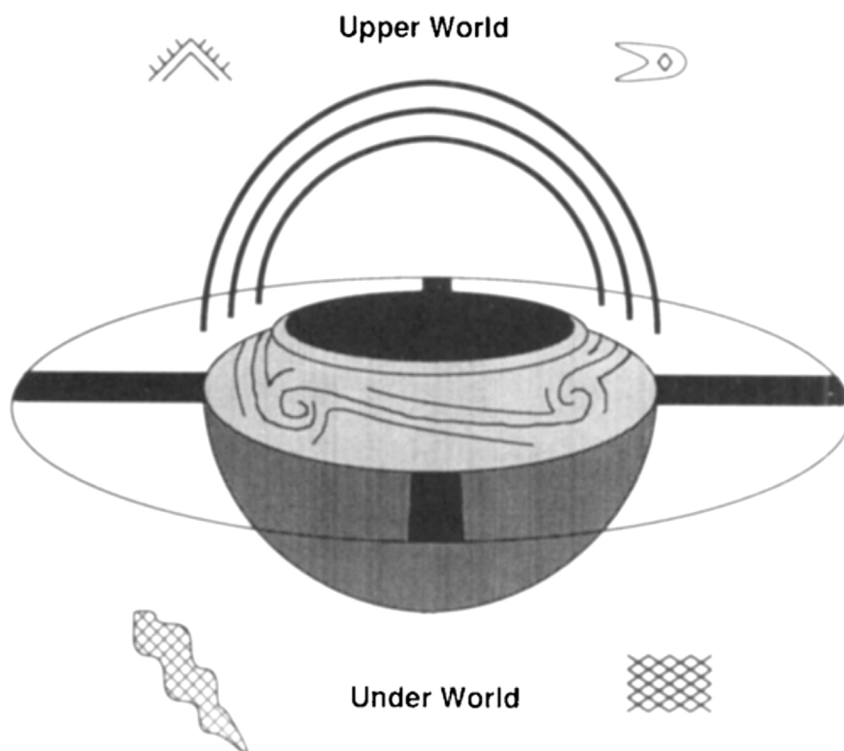


Figure 29. The Ramey Incised jar as a cosmogram (from Pauketat and Emerson 1991: Fig. 11).

CHAPTER 6 BEYOND ICONOGRAPHY

The iconographic model of rim-effigy bowls outlined above provides insight into the potential meaning of these vessels, as conceived by Late Mississippian communities in the CMV. However, several questions regarding the social and religious contexts within which these bowls operated remain unanswered. A review of the spatial distribution of vessel styles, as outlined in Chapter 4, suggests that potters or workshops produced rim-effigy bowls in a particular style for local use. That is, multiple phase-specific communities of beholders may have existed within the CMV. In contrast, the wide distribution of vessel themes suggests that these communities generally shared ideas of what constituted appropriate rim-effigy bowl subject matter, although specific subthemes were likely preferred by some communities. Further, an evaluation of the association between bowl style and theme indicates that while bowl themes recur across the region, bowls of a specific style tend to depict a single theme. Overall, these results suggest that communities not only maintained their own rules of visual correctness, but also preferred specific subject matter. But what was the nature of the communities that were “beholding” or utilizing these rim-effigy bowls? And in what socioreligious contexts did they deploy these vessels?

I. Rim-Effigy Bowls in Context

To address these questions, I again looked to the traditions of Native peoples of the Central Plains and Southeast. Specifically, based on documentation of ritual activity among these

historic groups, I posit that the communities of beholders identified in this analysis consisted of independent religious collectives. Historic examples of these collectives are well known. For instance, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, ritual sodalities were reported among the Ponca, Pawnee, Iowa, Osage, Caddo, Tunica, and Omaha (Murie 1914; Huffman and Early 2014; O'Brien 1986; Skinner 1915). These sodalities practiced oftentimes proprietary forms of ritual activity and spiritual veneration. Each collective generally identified with a specific animal spirit, culture hero, or cosmic character. Sodality membership was exclusive, limited to a select number of individuals who possessed specialized skills. Only individuals who experienced mystical visions of the group's totem were granted admission. Initiated members were obliged to pay fees and acquire esoteric knowledge in addition to performing dances, religious rites, and acts of legerdemain. Many sodalities also owned sacred bundles containing cosmologically-charged items, including animal pelts, rattles, maces, pipes, and feathers (Dye 2017b, 2018, 2019).

Historically, sodality membership was often extended exclusively to elite or aristocratic individuals (Bailey 1995; Fortune 1932). Group activities were often oriented toward aggrandizing the reputation the sodality and its members. Thus, in addition to performing charter rites and ceremonies, ritual sodalities also functioned as avenues to greater social, political, and economic power. An important element of enacting this aggrandizement included the production of ritual sacra, such as finely crafted ceramic vessels. These objects were often manufactured in limited numbers by prestigious sodality members (Bailey 1995; Fletcher and LaFlesche 1911; see also Dye 2018). Ritual sacra produced in these contexts constituted inalienable possessions that were curated, owned, and passed down by an exclusive group of individuals. Rather than being exchanged or circulated among groups, these items were retained within the context of the

collective itself. In this way, these objects served to maintain and reify a sodality's collective identity. Through acts of sacred production and veneration, sodalities legitimized their existence as highly respected and powerful social entities (see Dye 2019; Weiner 1985).

Based on historic-period examples, Dye (2018, 2019) has argued for the presence of ritual sodalities in the Late Mississippian CMV. Through an evaluation of serpent imagery on ceramic vessels – including rim-effigy bowls – he has specifically proposed the existence of several different “water spirit” sodalities within the region. When Dye's work is considered alongside the findings of this study, it seems that CMV rim-effigy bowls may have indeed functioned not only as ritual sacra but also as material symbols of group membership (see also Weiner 1992:100). Specifically, that historic sodalities identified with specific spirits, culture heroes, and cosmic beings could explain the association between rim-effigy bowl style and theme in the Late Mississippian CMV. That is, communities of beholders – constituting distinct religious collectives – may have produced vessels with specific subject matter as representations of their identity and vehicles of social aggrandizement. As inalienable goods, these vessels would not have been circulated but rather retained by members of the collective, producing the distinct phase-specific concentrations of bowl styles and themes revealed in the kernel density maps (see Chapter 4). Upon death, individuals belonging to these collectives may have been interred with a rim-effigy bowl to signify their group membership.

Dye (2018) has further argued that ritual sodalities in the Late Mississippian CMV would have likely been highly competitive and short-lived – only existing for a few generations before being surpassed by more prestigious collectives. If ritual sodalities in the CMV were relatively ephemeral religious institutions, the coexistence of several rim-effigy bowl style and theme concentrations within each phase may at least be partially attributed to chronological trends in

the region. That is, as phase-specific religious collectives rose to and fell from prominence, so did understandings of visual correctness and preferences for subject matter. It should also be recalled that quality of execution varies greatly among rim-effigy bowl styles in the CMV. Many lack aesthetic quality, suggesting that they were produced by part-time, non-specialists. Others are very well-crafted, indicating the existence of attached specialists or workshops (see Costin and Hagstrum 1995). Further, nearly a quarter of the sample in this analysis could not be confidently assigned to *any* style. That is, they are stylistically unique. Thus, some religious collectives in the CMV may have indeed been more prestigious than others, allowing them to recruit, initiate, and commission skilled craftspeople. For example, the overwhelming predominance of finely crafted Style 2 cat monsters in the central area of the Nodena phase may represent the supremacy and longevity of a ritual sodality that venerated the Great Serpent. Overall, quality of production may be reflective of a collective's power, wealth, and status.

It worth noting that this type of ritual organization and associated materiality diverges from patterns observed at large ceremonial mound centers in other regions of the Mississippian world. Rather than using specific iconography to advance dominant ideologies or elite political agendas throughout a broad area (see King 2017b; Knight 1989; Pauketat and Emerson 1991), CMV rim-effigy bowls seem to be the products of very localized religious collectives that existed within confines of specific phases or polities. In addition, these groups may have been in direct competition with one another, seeking to attain wealth and political prestige. Perhaps this more decentralized mode of ritual behavior can be attributed to the relative lack of sociopolitical consolidation and high frequency of inter-polity warfare in the region (see Rees 2001). Through membership in religious collectives, elite individuals seeking elevated status may have been actively competing with others in the pursuit of political, social, and economic aggrandizement.

Although religious collectives in the CMV may have viewed rim-effigy bowls as indicators of identity, all rim-effigy bowls – regardless of style or theme – seem to function as cosmograms. Given this shared form, it is possible that religious collectives deployed rim-effigy bowls during ritual events specifically intended to reinforce or restore universal balance by acknowledging the generative tension between cosmic forces. This type of ritual activity was common among historic Native groups. For example, green-corn ceremonialism, which celebrates the renewal of life in the form of a successful crop, was vital to the restoration of cosmic wholeness, peace, and harmony among many Southeastern groups (Fairbanks 1979; Hudson 1979; Martin 2000; Swanton 1931). Further, many Plains groups performed an annual Sun Dance, a ritual generally characterized by the raising of a large central post symbolizing the axis mundi (see Lankford 2007c; Spier 1921:491). The post, oftentimes painted red, was meant reestablish the link between the layers of the cosmos and reconnect with ancestral spirits (Dorsey 1905:57; Lankford 2007c; Lawrence 1993; Spier 1921:503).

Mississippian societies likely conducted similar regenerative rituals emphasizing the structure and order of the cosmos. In fact, Mississippian ceremonial centers may have been purposefully organized as cosmic diagrams. Wesson (1998) suggests that many Mississippian sites acted as sacred landscapes wherein all aspects of the built environment contained cosmic symbolism. Specifically, many mound and plaza sites can be interpreted as sacred public squares. These quadripartite spaces, often containing a central post, may have intentionally referenced the structure of Mississippian cosmos (see Emerson 1997; Kelly 1997). Mississippian elites would have harnessed the spiritual power embedded within these balanced spaces to promote dominant political ideologies and legitimize their status (see also Knight 1996b). In this way, the diagrammatic nature of Mississippian ceremonial centers may have reinforced social

hierarchies among communities. Ultimately, the performance of ritual activity within these spaces would have been integral to maintaining cosmological *and* social order.

Mississippian renewal ceremonies likely involved the preparation and consumption of potent medicines. Ethnohistoric accounts of green corn ceremonialism among Cherokee and Muskogee Creek groups, suggest that black drink, a stimulant emetic beverage brewed from Yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*), and other medicines made from willow root, snakeroot, and ginseng, may have been essential elements of Mississippian purification rites (Fairbanks 1979; Hudson 1979; Martin 2000). Ethnohistoric descriptions of central Plains tribes also detail the importance of medicine preparation among ritual sodalities performing rites of renewal and healing (Dye 2017b; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911; Murie 1914; Skinner 1915).

Residue analyses indicate that Mississippian ritual ceramics were indeed used for medicine decoction (see Crown et al. 2012; Miller 2015). Notably, based on this evidence, Dye (2018:33) has posited that the ritual ceramics produced by Mississippian ritual sodalities in the CMV were used for the preparation, presentation, and consumption of medicines. Medicines would have been ingested by practitioners seeking to achieve ritual purification, perhaps during attempts to conjure their totemic spirit or culture hero. These invocations may have been intended to harness power from supernatural beings that could restore cosmic balance or wholeness. Notably, CMV effigy bowls show evidence of continued use in the form of basal abrasion, rim chipping, and carbonization patterns (Dye 2018:35; House 2005: 50-60; Phillips 2002: vessel 1339). This use-wear indicates that rim-effigy bowls did not simply function as temple statuary but may have frequently been used to prepare ritual medicines or other comestibles. In fact, as discussed above, a brewed decoction would have been ideal for swirling a rim-effigy bowl, both to produce a rattling noise and to create a figurative axis mundi.

Perhaps bolstering this interpretation of rim-effigy bowls as ritual sacra belonging to religious collectives are archaeological and ethnohistoric depictions of Native shamans in Eastern North America. For instance, Steponaitis and colleagues (2019) argue that Mississippian period anthropomorphic carved stone pipes from the lower Mississippi River valley depict shamans or other ritual practitioners in the midst of ceremonial activity – perhaps even in trance states fueled by potent medicines (Figure 30). They suggest that the complex and distinctive hairstyles, hats, and caps donned by these individuals – as rendered in the pipes – signify their identity and status within society.

These head coverings may have also conferred special power to their users. Historic period Native ritual practitioners, including ritual sodality members, were thought to receive cosmic abilities through communication with and supplication to supernatural beings or spirits (see Dye 2017b for a review of such practices in the Central Plains). Distinctive headwear was thought to facilitate this bond. For example, the ritual sodalities and medicine societies of the Iowa, Pawnee, Ponca, and Omaha incorporated specific headwear – namely hide or animal-pelt caps – into their practices. These caps, which were often adorned with horns, antlers, or feathers, indicated their membership in a specific sodality. More importantly, however, this headwear was thought to possess the shamanistic powers that allowed for the invocation of specific transcendental beings. Similarly, the Winnebago historically wore long hair locks – positioned at the front of the head – in reverence to Redhorn, a major culture hero (Dieterle 2005; Radin 1948). The association between scalp locks and Redhorn may extend as far back as the Mississippian period, as evidenced by ritual regalia that features depictions of scalp locks alongside motifs such as severed heads and skinned bones (Brown and Dye 2007).



a



b

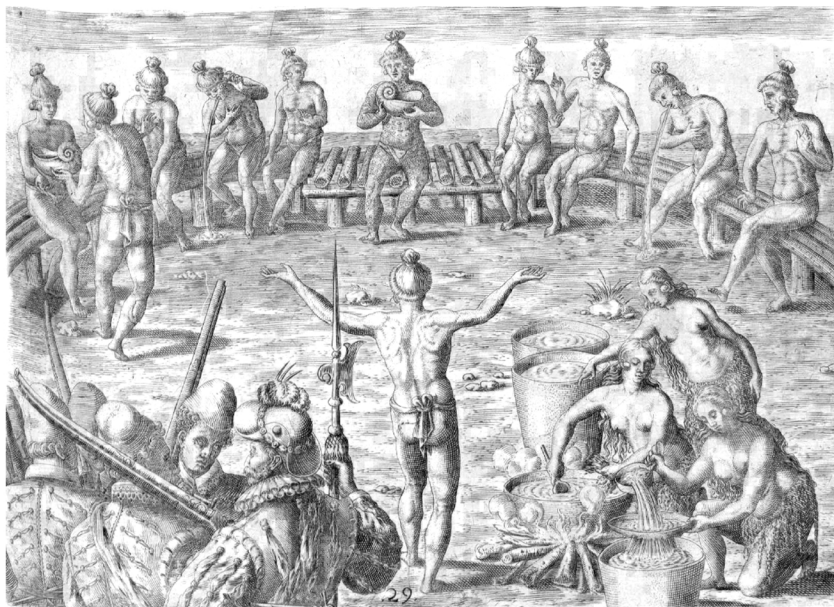
Figure 30. Crouching-human stone pipes identified by Steponaitis and colleagues to be representations of shamans or religious practitioners. Note their distinctive hairstyles/head coverings (from Steponaitis et al. 2019: Figs 3a, 3i).

Images of ritual practitioners sporting distinctive hairstyles and head coverings are present in many ethnohistoric accounts of Native groups in eastern North America. For example, cartographer Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues illustrated many scenes of the Timucua during his time in Florida as member of Jean Ribault's sixteenth-century expedition to the New World. In one illustration, a Timucua diviner is depicted in a contorted crouch as he enters a trance state in order to discover the location of an enemy. An accompanying scene depicts figures partaking in a purifying ceremony in which a medicinal decoction is consumed from shell bowls (Le Moyne de Morgues and de Bry 1591: Plates 12, 29). In both of these ritual scenes, the individuals don distinctive caps that may have signified their position as important ritual practitioners or social figures (Figure 31). In addition, many of George Catlin's paintings of Native warriors and shamans from the Great Plains exhibit complex hairstyles and head coverings. In his writings, Catlin occasionally described the unique hair styles adopted by the peoples he illustrated. For instance, among the Crow, Catlin observed that powerful men "cultivate their natural hair to such an almost incredible length, that it sweeps the ground as they walk... On ordinary occasions it is wound with a broad leather strap [and] carried under his arm" (1842: 49-50).

Notably, aside from the major themes discussed previously, many rim effigies from the Late Mississippian CMV depict humans with elaborate head coverings, hairstyles, or caps. For instance, rather than exhibiting a distorted head shape, many conehead effigies appear to be wearing a conical cap (compare Hathcock 1988: Figure 447; Lankford and Dye 2014: Figure 4a). Other human effigy heads don what may be animal pelts resembling serpent monsters and birds (see Hathcock 1983: Figure 11; Morse and Morse 1983: Figure 39). Many more of the human effigies with intricate hairstyles and head coverings in this sample were considered to be thematically unique (see Table 3). Could it be that these effigies depict religious practitioners



a



b

Figure 31. Illustrations of the Timucua Indians. (a) A diviner in a trance state seeking the whereabouts of an enemy. (b) Men, likely warriors, consuming and vomiting black drink. From Le Moyne de Morgues and de Bry 1591: Pls.12, 29.

performing one of their collective's charter rites? Given ethnohistoric accounts of headwear, caps, and pelts, intricate hairstyles may have indeed served to mark identity, reference specific cosmic beings, and conjure the spirits venerated by CMV religious collectives.

In sum, religious collectives in the Late Mississippian CMV may have utilized rim-effigy bowls for medicine preparation during charter rites or ceremonies emphasizing the structure and wholeness of the cosmos. Their form and subject matter create layered references to the vital balance between cosmic forces (see Hudson 1976; Lankford 2008). Their use within specially constructed ceremonial spaces would have only functioned to strengthen the intended outcomes of these essential ritual performances. The cosmic beings referenced by the effigies themselves, combined with their orientation within a miniature model of the cosmos, create a readable object that would have clearly signified the meaning of these vessels. In many ways, rim-effigy bowls likely acted to evoke certain foundational oral stories or charter myths among religious collectives (see Reilly 2011:120). And in turn, through the production and utilization of these vessels, religious collectives actively recreated and reinforced the critical tenets of Mississippian cosmology.

II. Final Thoughts

This analysis has ultimately provided an iconographic model of Late Mississippian CMV rim-effigy bowls, a heretofore understudied ritual art corpus. More specifically, analyses of style and theme distributions throughout the region suggest the local production and use of these vessels by specific communities of beholders – perhaps ritual sodalities or other religious collectives. These communities appear to have maintained stylistic and thematic rules that dictated the appearance of their rim-effigy bowls. However, based on their morphology, it seems

that these vessels broadly functioned as interactive, handheld cosmograms. That is, rim-effigy bowls – regardless of style and theme – served to reinforce the concept of permanent Above World/Beneath World tension, an integral aspect of a larger cosmology shared by all Mississippian societies (see Hudson 1976; Knight 1981; Lankford 2008).

Through the formulation of this iconographic model, this study has begun to situate the CMV – as a region – within larger understandings of Mississippian art and iconography. It is clear that, in their form and function, these bowls held substantial cosmological meaning for CMV communities. However, this iconographic model is limited by the sample of rim-effigy bowls chosen for analysis, for which data on context and chronology was not gathered. Mississippian potters in the CMV produced rim-effigy bowls for nearly 300 years. The function and significance of these vessels almost certainly fluctuated during this time. Because photographs – rather than museum collections – were consulted for this study, in depth evaluations of change over time were beyond reach. With improved contextual and chronological data, better knowledge of how rim-effigy bowls were used across space and time, perhaps partially attained via gravelot seriations, could be achieved. This would provide a more nuanced understanding of rim-effigy bowls in the CMV.

In addition to gathering data on context and chronology, the iconographic model presented here should now be subjected to comparative testing (see Knight 2013a). Do other rim-effigy bowls – either from the CMV or elsewhere – conform to the model presented here? Can this model be extended to interpretations of other art corpora in the CMV? The CMV has produced a wide variety of finely-crafted ritual ceramics beyond rim-effigy bowls that surely contain equally important details about the Mississippian belief system as a whole and its local variants. While it will never be possible to access the true Native meaning of these vessels,

evaluating additional rim-effigy bowls and ritual ceramic forms – and perhaps even art objects from other regions of the Mississippian world – within the context of this iconographic model could serve to either corroborate or contradict its assumptions.

Limitations aside, this analysis extends the general scope of current research in the field of Mississippian iconography. Ritual art corpora from other regions of the Mississippian world, namely the original “Big Three” ceremonial mound centers spotlighted by Waring and Holder (1945), have been reviewed in detail. This study constitutes a deliberate attempt to transcend the monolithic and oftentimes restrictive notion of Mississippian art and iconography expounded by the SECC. Like other recent studies of Mississippian ritual paraphernalia, this analysis offers insights into a largely overlooked corpus in order to further understandings of meaningful heterogeneity in Mississippian art and iconography. Even as attitudes toward the nature, content, origin, and utility of the SECC continue to vacillate, these vessels should not be discounted in future explorations of Mississippian cosmology and its variable expressions across space and time. In other words, CMV rim-effigy bowls should continue to be discussed alongside Spiro’s shell cups, Etowah’s copper plates, and Moundville’s engraved ceramics.

APPENDIX A: RIM-EFFIGY BOWLS USED IN ANALYSIS

Table A.1 provides a record of all rim-effigy bowls used in this analysis. Style and theme designations are provided, as well as contextual data at the state, county, and site level. Lower Mississippi Survey (LMS) site numbers are reported. Photographs and illustrations of each vessel may be found in the sources cited. Photographs taken by Philip Phillips for his dissertation research were retrieved from the LMS Archives, an online repository managed by the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at UNC-Chapel Hill (Phillips 2002).

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
1	O'Brien 1994: Fig. 7.4b	bird of prey	raptor	1	Berry	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-O-16	Parkin
2	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 327	bird of prey	raptor	1	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
3	O'Brien 1994: Fig. 6.21	bird of prey	raptor	1	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
4	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 326	bird of prey	raptor	1	Kersey	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-03	Nodena
5	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 325	bird of prey	raptor	1	N/A	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	N/A	Nodena
6	D. Morse 1989: Fig. 20b	bird of prey	raptor	1	Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-04	Nodena
7	D. Morse 1989: Fig. 20a	bird of prey	raptor	1	Upper Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-01	Nodena
8	Phillips et al. 1951: Fig 102k	human	indet.	1	Walls	Desoto Co.	Mississippi	13-P-01	Walls
9	Phillips et al. 1951: Fig. 102m	human	warrior	1	Walls	Desoto Co.	Mississippi	13-P-01	Walls
10	Perino 1967: Fig. 78, top	human	indet.	1	Banks	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-08	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
11	Phillips 2002: vessel 3407	human	indet.	1	Bell Place	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-P-02	Nodena
12	Phillips 2002: vessel 3439	human	indet.	1	Blytheville	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena
13	Phillips 2002: vessel 3498	human	indet.	1	Shawnee Village	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	11-P-01	Nodena
14	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 372	serpent	dog	1	Brooks	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	Cooter, MO	Nodena
15	Hathcock 1988: Fig 373	serpent	dog	1	Chickasawba	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena
16	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 092	serpent	dog	1	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
17	Phillips 2002: vessel 3465	serpent	dog	1	Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-04	Nodena
18	Phillips 2002: vessel 3338	serpent	dog	1	Upper Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-01	Nodena
19	Phillips 2002: vessel 3451	serpent	dog	1	Upper Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-01	Nodena
20	Phillips 2002: vessel 3410	serpent	dog	1	Upper Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-01	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
21	Phillips 2002: vessel 3424	serpent	dog	1	Upper Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-01	Nodena
22	Phillips et al. 1951: Fig. 102h	serpent	dog	1	Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-04	Nodena
23	Phillips 2002: vessel 2136	serpent	snake	1	Pecan Point	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	11-P-06	Nodena
24	D. Morse 1989: Fig. 7i	crested bird	indet.	2	Upper Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-01	Nodena
25	D. Morse 1989: Fig. 20d	crested bird	wood duck	2	Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-04	Nodena
26	Phillips 2002: vessel 3493	crested bird	wood duck	2	Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-04	Nodena
27	Phillips 2002: vessel 2387	crested bird	wood duck	2	Pecan Point	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	11-P-06	Nodena
28	Phillips 2002: vessel 3486	serpent	cat	2	Beck	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	13-O-07	Walls
29	Phillips 2002: vessel 3487	serpent	cat	2	Bell Place	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-P-02	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
30	Bogg and Bogg 2016: pp. 139, top	serpent	cat	2	Berry	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-O-16	Parkin
31	O'Brien 1994: Fig. 1.1	serpent	cat	2	Berry	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-O-16	Parkin
32	Hathcock 1988: 403	serpent	cat	2	Berry	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-O-16	Parkin
33	O'Brien 1994: Fig. 7.5	serpent	cat	2	Berry	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-O-16	Parkin
34	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 009	serpent	cat	2	Big Eddy	St. Francis Co.	Arkansas	12-N-04	Parkin
35	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 007	serpent	cat	2	Blytheville	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena
36	Bogg and Bogg 2016: pp. 140, bottom	serpent	cat	2	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
37	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 043	serpent	cat	2	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
38	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 119	serpent	cat	2	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
39	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 052	serpent	cat	2	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
40	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 412	serpent	cat	2	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
41	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 029	serpent	cat	2	Brooks	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	Cooter, MO	Nodena
42	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 024	serpent	cat	2	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
43	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 028	serpent	cat	2	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
44	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 040	serpent	cat	2	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
45	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 038	serpent	cat	2	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
46	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 019	serpent	cat	2	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
47	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 008	serpent	cat	2	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
48	Bogg and Bogg 2016: pp. 135, bottom	serpent	cat	2	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
49	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 061	serpent	cat	2	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
50	Bogg and Bogg 2016: pp. 136, bottom	serpent	cat	2	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
51	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 416	serpent	cat	2	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
52	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 119	serpent	cat	2	Chickasawba	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena
53	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 413	serpent	cat	2	Chickasawba	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena
54	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 415	serpent	cat	2	Chickasawba	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena
55	Phillips 2002: vessel 3489	serpent	cat	2	Golightly Place	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-03	Nodena
56	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 0422	serpent	cat	2	Gosnell	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
57	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 034	serpent	cat	2	Gosnell	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena
58	Bogg and Bogg 2016: pp. 139	serpent	cat	2	Medlin	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-R-02	Nodena
59	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 050	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Cross Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Parkin
60	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 048	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
61	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 246	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
62	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 018	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
63	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 0377	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
64	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 0622	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
65	Bogg and Bogg 2016: pp. 140, top	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
66	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 031	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
67	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 022	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
68	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 054	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
69	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 020	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
70	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 046	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
71	Bogg and Bogg 2016	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
72	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 049	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
73	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 408	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
74	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 065	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	N/A	Nodena
75	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 064	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	N/A	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
76	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 057	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	N/A	Nodena
77	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 045	serpent	cat	2	N/A	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	N/A	Nodena
78	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 016	serpent	cat	2	N/A	St. Francis Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
79	D. Morse 1989: Fig. 7i	serpent	cat	2	Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-04	Nodena
80	Phillips 2002: vessel 744	serpent	cat	2	Pecan Point	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	11-P-06	Nodena
81	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 027	serpent	cat	2	RC Nickols	St. Francis Co.	Arkansas	13-N-15	Kent
82	Bogg and Bogg 2016: pp. 132, bottom	serpent	cat	2	Rhodes	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	12-O-06	Walls
83	Phillips 2002: vessel 1301	serpent	cat	2	Rose Mound	Cross Co.	Arkansas	12-N-03	Parkin
84	D. Morse 1989: Fig. 20e	serpent	cat	2	Upper Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-01	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
85	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 85	bird of prey	raptor	3	Lipsky	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-04	Kent
86	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 84	bird of prey	raptor	3	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
87	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 96	human	conehead	3	Clay Hill	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-07	Kent
88	Phillips 2002: vessel 2054	human	conehead	3	Greer	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-17	Kent
89	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 99	human	conehead	3	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
90	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 100	human	conehead	3	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
91	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 97	human	conehead	3	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
92	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 472	human	indet.	3	N/A	Poinsett Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Parkin
93	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 89	human	warrior	3	Lipsky	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-04	Kent
94	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 90	human	warrior	3	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
95	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 88	human	warrior	3	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
96	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 041	serpent	cat	3	Beck	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	13-O-07	Walls
97	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 026	serpent	cat	3	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
98	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 032	serpent	cat	3	Gant	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-P-06	Nodena
99	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig 051	serpent	cat	3	Lipsky	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-04	Kent
100	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 030	serpent	cat	3	Lipsky	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-04	Kent
101	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 056	serpent	cat	3	N/A	Desoto Co.	Mississippi	N/A	Walls
102	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 003	serpent	cat	3	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
103	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 248	serpent	dog	3	Grant	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-11	Kent
104	Phillips 2002: vessel 2061	serpent	dog	3	Greer	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-17	Kent

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
105	Phillips 2002: vessel 2059	serpent	dog	3	Greer	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-17	Kent
106	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 97	human	indet.	4	N/A	Cross Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Parkin
107	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 92	human	indet.	4	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
108	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 91	human	indet.	4	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
109	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 93	human	indet.	4	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
110	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 371	indet.	indet.	4	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
111	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 233	indet.	indet.	4	Grant	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-11	Kent
112	Phillips 2002: vessel 1396	bird of prey	raptor	5	Fortune Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-15	Parkin
113	Phillips 2002: vessel 2137	crested bird	indet.	5	Twist/Turkey Island	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-14	Parkin
114	Phillips 2002: vessel 1661	crested bird	wood duck	5	Parkin	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-01	Parkin

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
115	Phillips 2002: vessel 1319	crested bird	wood duck	5	Rose Mound	Cross Co.	Arkansas	12-N-03	Parkin
116	Phillips 2002: vessel 1341	crested bird	woodpecker	5	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
117	Phillips 2002: vessel 1339	crested bird	woodpecker	5	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
118	Phillips 2002: vessel 1340	crested bird	woodpecker	5	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
119	Bogg and Bogg 2016: pp. 141, top	serpent	dog	5	Miller Mound	Poinsett Co.	Arkansas	10-O-01	Parkin
120	Perino 1967: Fig. 79 top	serpent	indet.	5	Banks	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-08	Nodena
121	Phillips 2002: vessel 2524	serpent	indet.	5	Blytheville	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena
122	Phillips 2002: vessel 1173	serpent	indet.	5	Fortune Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-15	Parkin
123	Phillips 2002: vesel 1378	serpent	indet.	5	Fortune Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-15	Parkin

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
124	Phillips 2002: vessel 1682	serpent	indet.	5	Fortune Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-15	Parkin
125	Phillips 2002: vessel 2604	serpent	indet.	5	N/A	Poinsett Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Parkin
126	Phillips 2002: vessel 1343	serpent	indet.	5	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
127	Phillips 2002: vessel 1336	serpent	indet.	5	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
128	Phillips 2002: vessel 1596	serpent	indet.	5	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
129	Phillips 2002: vessel 1594	serpent	indet.	5	Parkin	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-01	Parkin
130	Phillips 2002: vessel 2151	serpent	indet.	5	Parkin	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-01	Parkin
131	Perino 1967: Fig. 80, top	crested bird	indet.	6	Banks	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-08	Nodena
132	Phillips 2002: vessel 1589	crested bird	woodpecker	6	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
133	Phillips 2002: vessel 1439	crested bird	woodpecker	6	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
134	Phillips 2002: vessel 1337	crested bird	woodpecker	6	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
135	Phillips 2002: vessel 1586	crested bird	woodpecker	6	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
136	Phillips 2002: vessel 1150	crested bird	woodpecker	6	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
137	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 323	crested bird	woodpecker	6	Twist/Turkey Island	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-14	Parkin
138	Perino 1967: Fig. 75, bottom	serpent	snake	6	Banks	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-08	Nodena
139	Phillips 2002: vessel 3005	serpent	snake	6	Barton Ranch	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-O-10	Parkin
140	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 012	serpent	snake	6	Chickasawba	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena
141	Phillips 2002: vessel 1679	serpent	snake	6	Fortune Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-15	Parkin
142	Phillips 2002: vessel 1593	serpent	snake	6	Halcomb Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
143	Phillips 2002: vessel 1370	serpent	snake	6	Halcomb Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
144	Phillips 2002: vessel 1138	serpent	snake	6	Halcomb Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
145	Bogg and Bogg 2016: Fig. 063	serpent	snake	6	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
146	Phillips 2002: vessel 2561	serpent	snake	6	N/A	Poinsett Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Parkin
147	Phillips 2002: vessel 1342	serpent	snake	6	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
148	Phillips 2002: vessel 1592	serpent	snake	6	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
149	Phillips 2002: vessel 1591	serpent	snake	6	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
150	Phillips 2002: vessel 3332	serpent	snake	6	Upper Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-01	Nodena
151	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 447	human	conehead	7	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
152	Lankford and Dye 2014: Fig. 5b	human	conehead	7	Chucalissa	Shelby Co.	Tennessee	12-P-02	Walls

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
153	Lankford and Dye 2016: Fig. 5a	human	conehead	7	Walls	Desoto Co.	Arkansas	13-P-01	Walls
154	Morse and Morse 1983: Fig. 39	human	indet.	7	Rhodes	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	12-O-06	Walls
155	Phillips et al. 1951: Fig. 1021	human	indet.	7	Walls	Desoto Co.	Mississippi	13-P-01	Walls
156	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 466	human	warrior	7	Beck	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	13-O-07	Walls
157	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 11	human	warrior	7	RC Nickols	St. Francis Co.	Arkansas	13-N-15	Kent
158	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 467	human	warrior	7	Walls	Desoto Co.	Mississippi	13-P-01	Walls
159	Phillips 2002: vessel 1334	crested bird	fantail	8	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
160	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 337	crested bird	fantail	8	Twist/Turkey Island	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-14	Parkin
161	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 338	crested bird	fantail	8	Twist/Turkey Island	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-14	Parkin

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
162	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 336	crested bird	fantail	8	Twist/Turkey Island	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-14	Parkin
163	Brown 2005: Fig. 6.10	crested bird	fantail	8	Vernon Paul/Jones Place	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-09	Parkin
164	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 335	crested bird	fantail	8	Vernon Paul/Jones Place	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-09	Parkin
165	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 432	crested bird	indet.	8	Manley	St. Francis Co.	Arkansas	12-N-02	Kent
166	Phillips 2002: vessel 3434	crested bird	indet.	8	Vernon Paul/Jones Place	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-09	Parkin
167	Phillips 2002: vessel 2602	bird of prey	raptor	9	Blytheville	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-Q-02	Nodena
168	Phillips 2002: vessel 1372	bird of prey	raptor	9	Fortune Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-15	Parkin
169	Perino 1967: Fig. 79, bottom	crested bird	wood duck	9	Banks	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-08	Nodena
170	Perino 1967: Fig. 80, bottom	crested bird	wood duck	9	Banks	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-08	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
171	Phillips 2002: vessel 3109	crested bird	wood duck	9	Bell Place	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-P-02	Nodena
172	Phillips 2002: vessel 1371	crested bird	wood duck	9	Fortune Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-15	Parkin
173	Phillips 2002: vessel 1587	crested bird	wood duck	9	Halcomb Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
174	Phillips 2002: vessel 1151	crested bird	wood duck	9	Halcomb Mounds	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
175	Phillips 2002: vessel 1681	crested bird	wood duck	9	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
176	Phillips 2002: vessel 1595	crested bird	wood duck	9	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
177	Phillips 2002: vessel 1335	crested bird	wood duck	9	Neely's Ferry	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-04	Parkin
178	Phillips 2002: vessel 3443	human	conehead	10	Beck	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	13-O-07	Walls
179	Lankford and Dye 2014: Fig. 4a	human	conehead	10	Belle Meade	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	13-O-05	Walls

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
180	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 447a	human	conehead	10	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
181	Lankford and Dye 2014: Fig. 3c	human	conehead	10	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
182	Phillips 2002: vessel 3149	human	conehead	10	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
183	Phillips 2002: vessel 3149	human	conehead	10	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
184	Lankford and Dye 2014: Fig. 1a	human	conehead	10	Mound Place	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	12-P-03	Walls
185	Perino 1967: Fig. 78, bottom	bird of prey	owl	indet.	Banks	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-08	Nodena
186	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 290	bird of prey	owl	indet.	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
187	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 299	bird of prey	owl	indet.	N/A	Cross Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Parkin
188	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 83	bird of prey	owl	indet.	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
189	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 322	bird of prey	raptor	indet.	Beck	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	13-O-07	Walls
190	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 302	bird of prey	raptor	indet.	Brooks	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	Cooter, MO	Nodena
191	O'Brien 1994: Fig. 6.20	bird of prey	raptor	indet.	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
192	O'Brien 1994: Fig. 309	bird of prey	raptor	indet.	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
193	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 311	bird of prey	raptor	indet.	Knappenberger	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	11-P-11	Nodena
194	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 321	bird of prey	raptor	indet.	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
195	D. Morse 1989: Fig. 20c	bird of prey	raptor	indet.	Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-04	Nodena
196	Phillips 2002: vessel 3006	crested bird	indet.	indet.	Barton Ranch	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-O-10	Parkin
197	Phillips 2002: vessel 3067	crested bird	indet.	indet.	Beck	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	13-O-07	Walls
198	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 303	crested bird	indet.	indet.	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
199	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 229	crested bird	indet.	indet.	Lipsky	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-04	Kent
200	Phillips 2002: vessel 3408	crested bird	indet.	indet.	N/A	Poinsett Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Parkin
201	Phillips 2002: vessel 3494	crested bird	indet.	indet.	Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-04	Nodena
202	D. Morse 1989: Fig. 7h	crested bird	indet.	indet.	Upper Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-01	Nodena
203	Phillips 2002: vessel 3436	crested bird	indet.	indet.	Vernon Paul/Jones Place	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-09	Parkin
204	Phillips 2002: vessel 3150	crested bird	wood duck	indet.	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
205	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 247	crested bird	wood duck	indet.	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
206	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 122	crested bird	wood duck	indet.	N/A	Lee Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
207	Hathcock 1988: Fig 332	crested bird	wood duck	indet.	N/A	Poinsett Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Parkin

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
208	Phillips 2002: vessel 1585	crested bird	wood duck	indet.	Rose Mound	Cross Co.	Arkansas	12-N-03	Parkin
209	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 330	crested bird	wood duck	indet.	Twist/Turkey Island	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-14	Parkin
210	Phillips 2002: vessel 3406	crested bird	wood duck	indet.	Waponocca Lake	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
211	Phillips 2002: vessel 2519	crested bird	woodpecker	indet.	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
212	Lankford and Dye 2014: Fig. 13	human	conehead	indet.	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
213	Lankford and Dye 2014: Fig. 6a	human	conehead	indet.	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
214	Phillips 2002: vessel 3190	human	conehead	indet.	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
215	Phillips et al. 1951: Fig. 102o	human	conehead	indet.	Bell Place	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-P-02	Nodena
216	Lankford and Dye 2014: Fig. 3b	human	indet.	indet.	Beck	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	13-O-07	Walls

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
217	O'Brien 1994: 7.4c	human	twins	indet.	Berry	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-O-16	Parkin
218	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 471	human	twins	indet.	Brooks	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	Cooter, MO	Nodena
219	O'Brien 1994: Fig. 7.9	human	twins	indet.	Brooks	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	Cooter, MO	Nodena
220	Hathcock 1983: Fig. 114	human	indet.	indet.	Grant	Lee Co.	Arkansas	13-N-11	Kent
221	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 475	human	twins	indet.	Knappenberger	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	11-P-11	Nodena
222	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 476	human	indet.	indet.	Scott	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	09-P-05	Nodena
223	Phillips et al. 1951: Fig. 102n	human	indet.	indet.	Bell Place	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-P-02	Nodena
224	Phillips et al. 1951: Fig. 102p	human	twins	indet.	Pecan Point	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	11-P-06	Nodena
225	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 465	human	warrior	indet.	Manley	St. Francis Co.	Arkansas	12-N-02	Kent
226	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 474	human	warrior	indet.	N/A	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	N/A	Nodena

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
227	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 464	human	warrior	indet.	N/A	St. Francis Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
228	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 449	human	warrior	indet.	N/A	St. Francis Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
229	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 473	human	indet.	indet.	N/A	St. Francis Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
230	Bogg and Bogg 2016	serpent	cat	indet.	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
231	Bogg and Bogg 2016	serpent	cat	indet.	Campbell	Pemiscot Co.	Missouri	08-Q-07	Nodena
232	Bogg and Bogg 2016	serpent	cat	indet.	Miller Mound	Poinsett Co.	Arkansas	10-O-01	Parkin
233	Bogg and Bogg 2016	serpent	cat	indet.	Miller Mound	Poinsett Co.	Arkansas	10-O-01	Parkin
234	Bogg and Bogg 2016	serpent	cat	indet.	N/A	Desoto Co.	Mississippi	N/A	Walls
235	Bogg and Bogg 2016	serpent	cat	indet.	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Nodena
236	Phillips 2002: vessel 2542	serpent	cat	indet.	N/A	Poinsett Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Parkin

Table A.1. List of Rim-Effigy Bowls Used in Analysis (continued)

Vessel No.	Source	Theme	Subtheme	Style	Site	County	State	LMS Site No.	Phase
237	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 410	serpent	cat	indet.	Parkin	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-01	Parkin
238	Phillips 2002: vessel 3464	serpent	dog	indet.	Barton Ranch	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-O-10	Parkin
239	Phillips 2002: vessel 3462	serpent	dog	indet.	Bradley	Crittenden Co.	Arkansas	11-P-02	Nodena
240	Bogg and Bogg 2016	serpent	dog	indet.	N/A	St. Francis Co.	Arkansas	N/A	Kent
241	Phillips 2002: vessel 3490	serpent	indet.	indet.	Nodena	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-Q-04	Nodena
242	Phillips et al. 1951: Fig. 102f	serpent	indet.	indet.	Bell Place	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-P-02	Nodena
243	Phillips et al. 1951: Fig. 102i	serpent	indet.	indet.	N/A	Mississippi Co.	Arkansas	10-P-02	Nodena
244	Phillips 2002: vessel 1305	serpent	snake	indet.	Rose Mound	Cross Co.	Arkansas	12-N-03	Parkin
245	Hathcock 1988: Fig. 331	serpent	snake	indet.	Vernon Paul/Jones Place	Cross Co.	Arkansas	11-N-09	Parkin

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