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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by John G. Sabol, Jr., entitled "Trade Networks and the Development of Local Status and Rank in Dallas Society." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Anthropology.

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TRADE NETWORKS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL STATUS AND
RANK IN DALLAS SOCIETY

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Presented for the
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DEDICATION

Sin La inspiración y La amor de mi esposa Patti y mi hijo Juanito, Yò no podiá escribir este tesis. 'Este trabajo y labor es dedicado a ellos. El dice el gran amor que yo siento por ellos. Gracias Patti. Gracias Juanito.

Siempre mi amor a ti.

I would also like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of my grandmother, Mrs. Elizabeth Sabol. Her love, warmth, and kindness to me will always be treasured, her memory never to be forgotten. She is the greatest, most beautiful person that I have, or will ever, know. Thank You Baba.

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ABSTRACT

Hatch's (1974) recent analysis of Dallas mortuary patterning, based principally on the distribution of exotic artifacts in Dallas mound burials, has identified and defined a Dallas status and rank system. Hatch and Willey (1974) suggest that this status and rank system linked Dallas sites to one another. This sociopolitical integration was based on kinship affiliations between individuals in the various ramages at Dallas sites.

Hatch and Willey (1974), however, ignore the importance of independently-operating local processes in the development of status and rank in Dallas society. An alternative approach to the study of Dallas culture and social organization is presented here. A Dallas trade network is identified and its implications for the development of localized rank in Dallas society is analyzed.

Based on ethnographic data, a model of prehistoric Southeast trade is developed which indicates that individual traders or groups of traders, rather than chiefly elites, controlled the distribution of nonlocal materials found on Dallas sites. It is further suggested that local transactions and exchanges were conducted at specialized trading facilities which participated in the acquisition and distribution of these materials. It is suggested that these trading facilities contain distinctive behavioral and material elements which structurally differentiate them from other settlements. These elements include strategic geographic location in a regional setting, concentrations of nonlocal

materials, little local embedded wealth, and a cultural flexibility of established norms and customs pertaining to status and rank.

Three local trade centers are identified in the Dallas area. These include the Citico (40HA65), Toqua (40MR6), and DeArmond (3RE12) sites. It is proposed that Citico was a local center for the acquisition and exchange of marine shell entering the eastern Tennessee Valley; Toqua was a local trading facility involved in mica exchanges; and the DeArmond site was the location of local flint exchanges.

However, the mortuary patterning at these sites indicate that Citico and Toqua were multifunctional sites, commanding both sociopolitical and economic importance. DeArmond is seen as a unifunctional site involved in the trade and exchange of nonlocal materials. Finally, the differences in the mortuary patterning at these sites indicate that no single homogeneous mechanism or symbolizing process was responsible for the development of status and rank positions in Dallas society.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Recent analyses of the Dallas archaeological phase (Hatch 1974; Hatch and Willey 1974) indicate that a status and rank structure characterized Dallas society. This interpretation is based on the analysis of sex, age, location, artifact, and stature distributions in Dallas burials. Four trends based on these distributions indicate that the most privileged group in Dallas society were those individuals interred in mounds (Hatch and Willey 1974):

1. Mound burials tend to have a greater and richer variety of grave goods than village burials.
2. Exotic artifacts, such as copper and mica headdresses, ceramic bottles, and large marine shell vessels, are most frequently found in mound burials.
3. Exotic artifacts accompany individuals of all ages and both sexes in mounds.
4. Individuals interred in mounds tend, on the average, to be taller in stature than individuals buried elsewhere.

Hatch and Willey (1974:123) suggest that Dallas social structure was composed of a hierarchy of social positions similar to a ramage, characteristic of many Polynesian chiefdoms (cf. Sahlins 1958). For example, they suggest (Hatch and Willey 1974:123) that mound burials represent individuals of the uppermost ramage who had the highest status and rank in Dallas society. In contrast, Dallas village burials and burials located on the periphery of mounds, or adjacent to mounds, represent other social positions of status and rank in the ramage organization.

Significantly, this definition of Dallas social organization assumes that variations in Dallas mortuary customs at particular sites and in

specific burials represent minor deviations or alternatives in a homogeneous symbolizing process for preeminent status and rank.

According to Hatch (1974), this homogeneous symbolizing process is based on fictive or actual kinship affiliations between individuals in the various ramages at Dallas sites:

While the flow of exotic materials away from the political center can be expected to correspondingly decrease their access . . . the symbolizing process for the pre-eminent individuals would be the same, since the rulers of each became geneological brothers. (Hatch 1974:251)

It is suggested that this model does not adequately account for a regional development of status and rank positions in Dallas society. The model ignores the importance of independently-operating local processes in the development of status and rank in Dallas society. Hatch (1974) has assumed that all preeminent status positions evolved via a process of kinship affiliation:

Pre-eminent statuses were . . . related on a pan-area basis, rather than solely dependent upon the local social order. (Hatch 1974:250)

In this thesis, an alternative approach to Dallas social organization is presented. The alternative is based on (1) ascertaining the nature and importance of local variations in the Dallas symbolizing process; and (2) identifying those processes responsible for the development of local variations. Specifically, this involves a discussion of:

1. The significance of nonlocal materials, as particular symbolizing elements for status and rank, in Dallas burials.

2. The processes and mechanisms that were involved in the acquisition and distribution of nonlocal materials in Dallas society.

It is proposed that the identification of trading facilities, as elements of a Dallas trade transport network, are integral to the elucidation of Dallas social organization and settlement functions. It is hypothesized that the importance of trade, as the major function at particular sites, led to the development of local rank positions, differing from the general status and rank pattern isolated by Hatch (1974).

The methodological framework used to delineate these Dallas trade facilities and transport routes involve specific references to traders, trade networks, and trade goods in the ethnographic literature of the Southeast. This serves two purposes:

1. The identification of the cultural and economic processes in prehistoric Southeast trade. This assumes that the prehistoric processes were largely analogous to ethnographic data.
2. The implication of these processes to the development of local status and rank in Dallas society.

Based on ethnographic data, a model of prehistoric Southeastern trade will be developed which will be tested using Dallas archaeological data.

II. SOUTHEAST ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

Trade and Process in the Southeast

One of the earliest Southeastern ethnographic accounts referring to trade is contained in the journal of Alvar Nuñez Cabeca de Vaca. In 1527, Cabeca de Vaca accompanied Pamphilo de Narvaez on his expedition for the conquest of Florida. Narvaez and nearly all of his men perished in the sojourn. Cabeca de Vaca was one of the few survivors. His journal contains an account of his wanderings in the southeastern and southwestern portions of the present United States.

While living among the Charruco Indians, a tribe that inhabited the Texas Coast, Cabeca de Vaca became a trader. In his own words:

Among these I improved my condition a little by becoming a trader, doing the best in it I could, and they gave me food and treated me well. They entreated me to go about from one place to another to get the things they needed . . . This trade suited me well, because it gave me the liberty to go where I pleased. I was . . . no longer a slave. (Bandelier translation 1972:62-63)
(Emphasis mine)

This particular account illustrates the individualistic nature of trading and traders, and their importance in distributing goods from one region to another. Swanton (1946) has similarly emphasized this individualism:

In Pre-Columbian times, few individuals of the Southeast tribes traveled very far from home, but there were some exceptions, native traders or individuals of a curious or vagrant type of mind . . . (1946:736)

It appears that the cultural role of the trader included some form of social recognition and prestige. For example, Jones (1973) suggests that in the Southeast:

The primitive merchantmen engaged in this traffic were held in special repute, and had at all times safe conduct through the territories even of those who were at war with each other. (Jones 1973:64)

There was no authenticated instances of immunity granted to Indians engaged in trading (Myer 1928:724); but Mason (1910:332) suggests that there were, "intertribal laws of commerce," and that, "its agents were guaranteed freedom and safety." Cabeza de Vaca states that he received fair treatment from the natives, "who gave me to eat out of regard of my commodities. The inhabitants were pleased when they saw me and I had brought them what they wanted" (Bandelier translation 1972:63).

In an important passage, Jones (1973) identifies who these traders were:

It is said that, among the Indians of Cherokee, Georgia, in ancient times, were men who devoted their attention to the manufacture of spear and arrowheads, and other stone implements. As from time to time they accumulated a supply, they would leave their mountain homes and visit the seaboard and intermediate regions for the purpose of exchanging these implements for shells and various artifacts not readily obtainable in the locality where they resided. They were usually old men or persons who mingled not in the excitement of war and the chase. (1973:243) (Emphasis mine)

Similarly, Swanton (1928:723), quoting Lawson's History of Carolina, states

In their winter quarters, the women made baskets and mats, and those men who were poor hunters made wooden bowls, dishes, and spoons, and also tobacco pipes of white clay, which they were in the habit of trading to other Indians for deerskins and other artifacts.

It appears that the context of Southeastern trade involved a system a transactions in which goods in one locality were

exchanged for goods from other localities. Lafitau, writing around 1710, states:

There commerce is . . . a simple exchange of wares against wares. Each has something which the others have not, and the traffic makes these things circulate among them.
(Quoted in Myer 1928:737)

Similarly, Swanton (1946:736) suggests that "trade is determined to a considerable extent by the distribution of raw materials which have a demand value at a given time and place. . . ." Jones (1973) describes this barter commerce in the Southeast:

Between the coast and the interior a constant interchange of commodities was maintained . . . various objects manufactured by the dwellers among the mountains were readily sold to the coast tribes who gave in exchange for them . . . commodities native to the region. (1973:64)

Swanton (1946) identifies some of the trade goods involved in this barter commerce:

A steady trade between the highland and lowland sections in stone pipes and the raw materials out of which they were made, and mice [occurred] . . . For these, shells, shell beads and other coastal products were exchanged, and exchanges had to extend out of the section in order that the Indians might supply themselves with catlinite and copper. (Swanton 1946:255)

Finally, Swanton (1946) states that when DeSoto was at Pacaha, he met with eight Indian merchants who trade it (salt) through the provinces, and said that it was to be found 40 leagues from Pacaha. Some of the Spaniards set out with them to purchase salt, and to get specimens of a yellow metal which they supposed to be gold but actually proved to be copper and the Pacaha chief supplied them with pearls, deerskins, and beans with which to make the purchase. (1946:737)

In most exchange systems of this nature, large discrepancies may exist between the sources of nonlocal goods and the areas of consumption

and demand. For example, Southeastern ethnographic sources frequently mention, "wide commerce barter travels among the Indians" (Myer 1928: 737) to secure many materials that were not locally available. However, problems regarding distance and transport were considerably lessened by two factors:

1. An extensive system of prehistoric trails throughout large areas of the Southeast.
2. The development of local trade centers to facilitate the acquisition and exchange of nonlocal goods.

According to Myer (1928:737), the narratives of the earliest white explorers show that they found a large web-like network of aboriginal trails by means of which the natives were able to reach all important points. This enabled trade and exchange to be predictable, safe, rapid and efficient.

In the ethnographic literature of the Southeast, there are numerous references to specialized settlements that were the locus of trade and exchange. Some of the known Southeast trade centers include the Taensa and Quapaw towns as principal trade outlets on the Mississippi River (Magry 1875:442-443). The settlement of Iccaneechi, located below the confluence of the Dan and Staunton Rivers near the present Clarksville, Virginia, was also a great trading center (Swanton 1946:739). The town of Colifacheugi, located near the present Augusta, Georgia, was also an important center for trade (Swanton 1946:739). Finally, the town of Katearas, located near Chesapeake Bay, was the chief residence of the

Tuscarora chief and a "place of great Indian trade and commerce" (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:162).

Significantly, all of these settlements were located in geographically-centralized areas near major river transportation outlets. This strategic location provided the opportunity for these trade centers to command the flow of trade into and out of various regions. The historical record demonstrates (Polynyi et al., 1957) that the development of local trade centers served two purposes: (1) they minimized the cost and effort of long-distance trade; and (2) they maximized returns by providing a centralized locality where merchants from various regions could meet to exchange goods. Thus, instead of continually going from their home base to each resource and demand area and back, traders only needed to travel to one regional exchange center, making one set of exchange transactions.

In summary, the Southeastern ethnographic literature indicates that the acquisition and exchange of nonlocal materials was controlled by traders rather than institutionalized social groups such as chiefly elites. These traders, either as individuals or in groups, journeyed from one regional trade center to another, within an unspecified time period, trading their wares and acquiring goods in exchange.

The Archaeological Model

Based on the ethnographic data, a model of the prehistoric Southeastern trade and exchange process can be developed. This assumes that the prehistoric situation was largely analogous to the historic

pattern. It is hypothesized that the acquisition of nonlocal materials in the prehistoric Southeast, and the development of trade transport routes to particular areas, were governed by such factors as:

1. The availability of materials in quantities large enough to accommodate redistributions to nonlocal areas.
2. A constant demand for certain materials.
3. An ability to provide exchangeable goods (barter system).
4. A large regional market area.
5. The occurrence of local trade centers, situated in geographically-centralized localities which could effectively control the flow of trade into and out of large areas.

The model is based on economic efficiency. Achieving economic efficiency requires the development of methods and techniques which provide for large and consistent quantities of goods to circulate from source areas to consumers. The primary mechanism articulating this efficient and continuous movement is the local trade center. The use of these centers is based on a by-pass phenomenon (Beale 1973:144), whereby consumers reduce the number of intermediaries along the trade chain by dealing directly with localities where desired goods are readily available. This presupposes that consumers (including elites) find it more profitable to acquire goods in this manner than by constant direct demands on source areas via the organization of long-distance trading expeditions, sociopolitical assimilation, or military force.

This model also assumes that there are no complex centralized market systems, or a state-like sociopolitical organization in the prehistoric Southeast.

This economic model differs from previous models of trade that have been proposed by Southeastern archaeologists. Many of these models are based solely on the social implications of trade. They assume that the motivation for, and development of trade, particularly the acquisition of exotic raw materials, lies primarily in individual or group satisfaction and desire for prestige, power, and status. This interpretation further assumes that local corporate groups or chiefly elites could control the acquisition and distribution of nonlocal goods. For example, Larson (1971:67) postulates that the elite at Etowah, "control trade in certain raw materials and objects." Peebles (1971) also suggests elite-controlled trade in the prehistoric Southeast.

These social models largely ignore the economic forces that might have been operating on local social systems. Furthermore, these models have either ignored, deemphasized, or altogether abandoned the investigation of trading facilities and the important economic role of traders in the Southeast, thus presenting a distorted and simplified picture of the processes involved in prehistoric Southeastern trading relationships.

On a macrostructural level, these social models have failed to reconstruct or trace the entire life cycle of traded goods. Rather, they merely identify the final destination and symbolic function of nonlocal materials as status-defining artifacts. These models assume

that most nonlocal materials were only acquired for, and in demand by, chiefly elites. This contradicts Southeastern ethnographic data, which these models utilize, because most nonlocal materials were originally acquired within the context of barter exchanges, and most had utilitarian or domestic functions. For example, Swanton (1946:255,737) indicates that such items as deerskins, beans, salt, and stone pipes were frequent items of trade.

Finally, many of these social models fail to make the important distinction between the trade and acquisition of nonlocal raw materials and goods and the subsequent redistribution of finished products. The important theoretical question is whether the control of trade pertained to all nonlocal materials and/or to those finished products, such as copper and mica headdresses, large marine shell vessels, and engraved shell gorgets, manufactured specifically for elites and symbolizing a particular social position or rank in society. For example, once in the possession of high status persons or groups, many nonlocal goods, as finished products, achieved a more significant symbolic value with correspondingly different structural connotations. The distribution of Southern Cult objects in many Southeastern mound burials, possibly symbolizing supralocal status (Larson 1971; Pebbles 1971), is one example.

In the model proposed here, it is assumed that the movement of all nonlocal raw materials was initially controlled by traders, operating in an economically-efficient manner as cited above. Figure 1 summarizes the postulated economic process involved in the acquisition of nonlocal

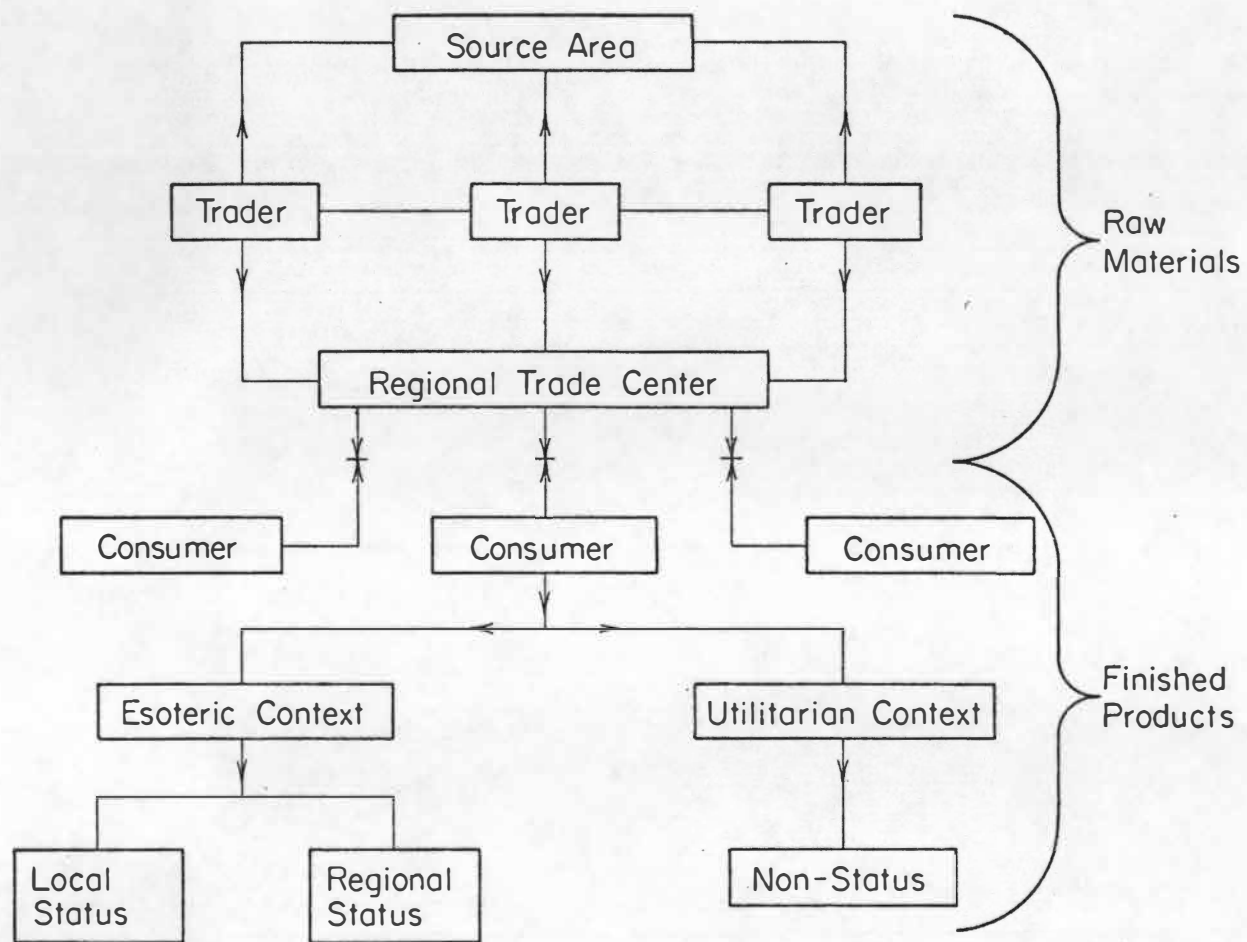


Figure 1. A Model of Prehistoric Southeast Trade during the Mississippian Period.

materials in the prehistoric Southeast. It should be emphasized, however, that this trade process was not necessarily universal during the Mississippian Period. A form of long-distance organized trade (Beale 1973), whereby many regional centers were by-passed, could have been carried out directly by elites in other parts of the Eastern United States. The site of Cahokia may be one example of a center involved in this type of trade system (cf. Porter 1969).

III. THE IDENTIFICATION OF A LATE MISSISSIPPIAN DALLAS TRADE NETWORK

Introduction

In his study of Dallas mortuary patterning, Hatch (1974) alludes to possible exchange networks between Dallas sites in East Tennessee and with sites in other areas. Since his primary objective involved a description of the Dallas social and political system, the identification of trade transport routes was superficial and indirect. However, in a summary of future research goals, Hatch (1974:253) does suggest that problems concerning the intensity of inter-intraregional trade, "clearly suggested in the distribution of Southern Cult paraphernalia, and the position of sites at major nodes of the river transportation system and river intersects, are of primary importance."

In this statement, Hatch suggests that trade centering at particular localities may be identified according to a site's geographic location, and the occurrence of nonlocal materials at a site. This implies that specific material and geographical configurations should characterize those sites participating in the trade and exchange of goods. Specialized trading facilities have been similarly defined for earlier prehistoric periods. For example, Struever (1968) identifies regional exchange centers as a Middle Woodland settlement type, "based on a high proportion of imported raw materials [at these sites] used exclusively in making sociotechnic items" (Struever 1968: 304). Similarly, Poverty Point (Ford and Webb 1956) and Indian Knoll

(Winters 1968) have also been characterized as local trading centers because of the concentration of nonlocal materials at these sites.

However, the identification of trading centers by these authors is misleading since they ignore the internal socioeconomic constraints that would affect the function of these sites, not as the final destination of goods, but merely as facilities which rapidly affect their transshipment (Sabloff and Rathje 1975:13). The crucial question, whether proposed trade centers provided an effective and efficient method of redistribution, has never been thoroughly investigated.

An alternative approach to the identification of Dallas trade facilities will be presented here. In this approach, geographic location and the concentration of nonlocal materials are secondary, though essential, criteria to identifying Dallas trading facilities.

Sabloff and Rathje (1975) suggest that the behavioral and material elements of trade centers consist of distinctive configurations which can be identified in an archaeological context. They define three major components of trade centers (Sabloff and Rathje 1975:14) (partially modified):

1. Cultural fluidity which means a flexibility of established cultural and social norms governing the development of status and rank, such as a culturally nonspecific merchantile ethic. This would maximize political neutrality, allow the potential for cross-cultural interaction, and provide the ability to adapt to political and economic changes in the social system.
2. Trading center efficiency which means the occurrence of little local embedded wealth of nonlocal materials

either as large quantities in caches or in burials as prominent status-defining artifacts.

3. Facilities to implement exchange, storage, transport, and resupply transactions.

Bias in the archaeological sample excludes the third component because most investigations of Dallas sites have centered on mounds rather than habitation or other functionally specialized settlements. Where mound and associated village areas have been excavated, the intrasite analysis has failed to delineate function-specific areas or features.

Tests for the first two of these components can be applied to the Dallas archaeological data. The identification of these attributes will be based on the analysis of two elements in the Dallas archaeological data. The first is the proximity of Dallas sites to communication or trade transport routes. The second element is the Dallas mortuary pattern. Mortuary data are used because:

1. The data are relatively accurate and complete for Dallas sites; and
2. It has been suggested that "grave goods represent appropriate equipment for the deceased in terms of the norms of the culture, and thus in general reflect concepts of a society as they pertain to the statuses and roles." (Winters 1968:208)

Thus, mortuary data enable the archaeologist to interpret the particular behavioral patterns at proposed trading facilities and to correlate these patterns in terms of the other attributes characteristic of these specialized settlements.

It is proposed that mortuary data is the most significant criterion for identifying the internal structural composition of trading

facilities. This assumes that the geographically-centralized location of a site and its position on a trade transport route merely suggest the probability that exchange transactions were centered there.

Mortuary data, on the other hand, may indicate the nature, amount, and importance of trade, either as a major or secondary function at a site, through the analysis of the quantity, type, and variety of status-specific artifacts. This assumes that some of the materials exchanged at local Dallas trade centers received symbolic representation in mortuary contexts and that local status and rank positions developed at these sites, reflecting the socioeconomic role of individuals participating in the exchange of nonlocal goods. This assumes as a major premise that trade, status, and rank are strongly intertwined; and that the individuals who participated in these exchanges were local merchants and auxiliary personnel who, guided more by local economic factors and ethics than regional codes involved in sociopolitical status and rank, served as middlemen between traders and consumers.

These three assumptions have received support in a recent analysis of Late Archaic exchange systems (Winters 1968). Winters (1968:176-177) demonstrates that the distribution of burial goods can be used to identify trade and exchange at particular sites. This involves analyzing the cyclical patterns of appearance and disappearance of artifacts in burials. At trading facilities, particular material patterns occur in particular status contexts. This would restrict the quantity and variety of status-specific artifacts (those materials that were being

traded) symbolizing local social position and rank. In Dallas society, the particular context is mounds, a location indicative of status (Hatch 1974).

In summary, the ethnographic trade model means that Dallas trading facilities should have the following characteristics:

1. Geographically-centralized location which could effectively command and regulate the acquisition and subsequent redistribution of nonlocal materials in the Dallas area.
2. The occurrence of nonlocal materials at the site.
3. The existence of local materials which could be exchanged for nonlocal materials.

At those Dallas sites functioning exclusively as local trading facilities, the following additional characteristics should be found. These characteristics are based on the economic efficiency of trading centers:

1. There should be fewer varieties of grave goods symbolized in Dallas mound burials. These should be largely limited to nonlocal materials.
2. A limited quantity of nonlocal materials, as status-specific artifacts, should accompany individuals interred in mounds.
3. A conspicuous absence of exotic materials in the form of prominent status-specific artifacts should be found

with mound burials. These would include artifacts associated with Southern Cult paraphernalia such as headdresses, ceramic bottles, ceremonial celts and blades, copper, and large marine shell vessels.

Finally, Dallas specialized trading facilities should be characterized by a concept of flexible cultural norms governing the development of status and rank at these sites. These characteristics should further differentiate these settlements from other types of Dallas sites. Trading facilities should have:

1. A different symbolizing process for the type and location of status-specific artifacts than that isolated by Hatch (1974) for other Dallas sites.
2. A proportionally-larger number of adults, both male and female, compared to other Dallas sites, thus indicating a greater occurrence of achieved rather than ascribed status.

Trade Goods, Transport Routes, and Trading Facilities in the Dallas Area

Ethnographic literature indicates that an extensive system of trade in nonlocal materials occurred throughout large areas of the Southeast in the Historic Period. The distribution and exchange of three of these trade goods, marine shell, mica, and flint, will be used to identify Dallas trade transport routes and specialized trading facilities. The reason for selecting these particular trade goods is that the

archaeological data suggests that they were also trade items during the Late Mississippian Dallas phase (cf. Muller 1966; Dickens 1970; Hatch 1974).

Marine shell. In the Southeastern ethnographic literature there are numerous references to trade in marine shell between the coast and interior (Lawson 1860; Swanton 1928, 1946; Jones 1973). Shell transport routes probably existed in a number of areas based on the original source of the shell materials. There is evidence, however, to suggest that during the prehistoric period shell transport may have followed specific routes (cf. Perino 1968). Perino (1968:51) suggests that during the Middle Woodland Period a shell transport route passed through southwest Georgia, with possible trade stations at Swift Creek sites. According to Perino (1968:51), this geographic location would have access to both Atlantic and Gulf Coast sources. The large quantities of marine shell, which include species from both areas, found on these sites and others in southern and central Georgia (Baker 1932; Jones 1973:119) support this possibility, and suggest that this region was a large market area for the trade and acquisition of shell.

Perino (1968:51) suggests a shell transport route led from southwest Georgia into northern Georgia. A possible transport route could have followed the Chattahoochee River to the Etowah River where large quantities of both Atlantic and Gulf Coast shell occur at the Etowah site during the Late Mississippian Period (cf. Baker 1932). Though the time differential between the postulated Middle Woodland

Swift Creek trade stations and Etowah is considerable, it is suggested that the region remained a large market area for shell, and that trade transport routes remained intact. Myer (1928:743) also suggests that trade routes remained relatively stable for extensive periods of time, "Paths found and used by one people were, through a large portion of their length, followed by their successors."

From this large market area in Georgia, trade in shell could have proceeded northward into the eastern Tennessee Valley. This region appears to be another large market area for shell goods. Wyman (quoted in Holmes 1883:196-197) and Muller (1966) suggest such a possibility, and shell artifacts occur on archaeological sites in this area from Woodland to Mississippian times (cf. Lewis and Kneberg 1941; 1946).

A trade transport route connecting Georgia and East Tennessee might have followed either the Cisca and St. Augustine trail system or the Tennessee River-Ohio-Great Lakes Trail (Myer 1928). Beginning in central Georgia, a shell transport route would have followed these trails northwestward through Georgia, eventually connecting at Bridgeport Island, on the Tennessee-Alabama line, to trails that led into the eastern Tennessee Valley. It is significant that the Cisca and St. Augustine Trail passed near the Etowah site (cf. Myer 1928:847). This establishes the existence of a trail system which linked Bridgeport Island to Etowah. However, a branch of the Cisca and St. Augustine Trail system also led directly to the present Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Bridgeport Island provided a natural gateway for trade entering East Tennessee. Myer (1928:751/footnote) notes that the island's

importance, "as a trading point was quickly grasped by all the early white visitors to the region." From this location, four routes into East Tennessee were possible:

1. A river route up the Tennessee River system and along its tributaries. This is the easiest and most direct route into the Valley.
2. A northern overland route following the Tennessee River-Ohio-Great Lakes Trail. (Myer 1928)
3. A northeast overland route following the Great Indian Warpath Trail. (Myer 1928)
4. A northwest overland route following the Sequatchie Trail. (Myer 1928)

These trails connected to other overland and river routes which traversed a large portion of the eastern Tennessee Valley (Figure 2). For example, the Tennessee River-Ohio-Great Lakes Trail (Figure 2, no. 1) continued northward through the Tennessee Valley to the present Rockwood, Tennessee. Here, it connected to the Cumberland Trace Trail (Figure 2, no. 5) which led in a northwesterly direction to the settlements around the present Nashville, Tennessee. According to Myer (1928:834), this particular trail system was "much used by the Cherokees in going from the populous Indian region around the junction of the Clinch and Tennessee Rivers to the rich central portion of the Cumberland Valley."

At Harriman, the Tennessee River-Ohio-Great Lakes Trail met with the Clinch River and Cumberland Gap Trail (Figure 2, no. 6) (Myer 1928). Both of these trails continued northward into Kentucky and beyond. According to Wilburn (1940), the Tennessee River-Ohio-Great Lakes Trail also connected to the Keowee-Great Tellico-Chota Trail (Figure 2, no. 7)

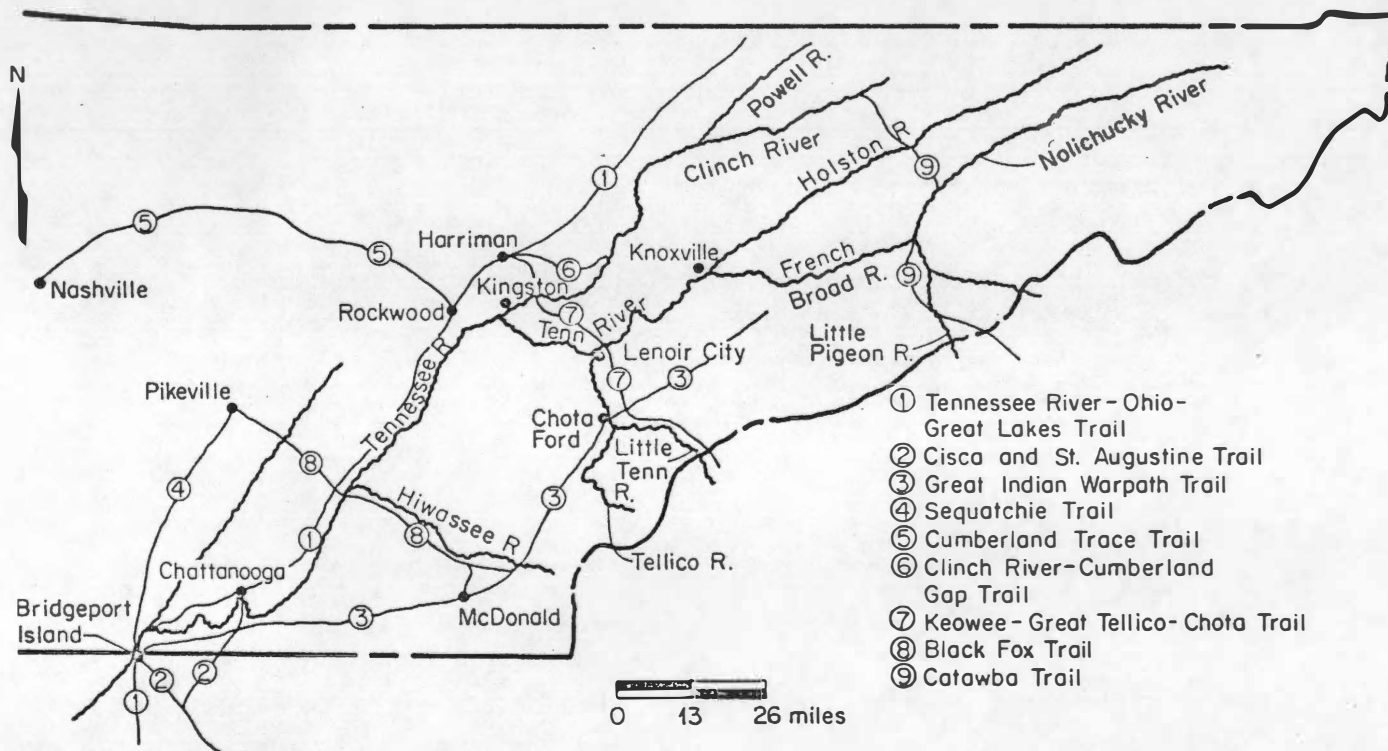


Figure 2. The Overland and River Trails in the Eastern Tennessee Valley.

one mile above the present town of Kingston, Tennessee. This trail crossed the Clinch River at the mouth of the Emory, passed Kingston, and continued in a southeastward direction to the present town of Lenoir City, Tennessee. From here, it continued south following the Little Tennessee River to Chota Ford near the Cherokee settlement of Chota. At this location, it connected to the Great Indian Warpath Trail (Figure 2, no. 3) (Myer 1928:750-751). The Keowee-Great Tellico-Chota Trail itself continued southeastward from Chota until it eventually crossed the Great Smoky Mountains into western North Carolina and northwestern South Carolina. The Great Indian Warpath Trail passed southwestward from Chota eventually meeting the Tennessee River-Ohio-Great Lakes Trail in the present suburbs of Chattanooga. The Great Indian Warpath Trail could also be followed southward where it eventually connected at Bridgeport Island to many other trails.

According to Myer (1928), the Black Fox Trail (Figure 2, no. 8) began at the Cherokee settlements along the Hiwassee River. This trail connected to the Great Indian Warpath Trail at two locations; east along the Hiwassee River, or at a southwest locality near the present McDonald, Tennessee. The Black Fox Trail itself passed along Rattlesnake Springs near the present town of Charleston, Tennessee, where it crossed the Hiwassee River near Gunstocker Creek. From here, it continued along the north side of the Hiwassee, crossing the Tennessee River just above Hiwassee Island. From this location, it continued westward into the Sequatchie Valley. About five miles south of the present Pikeville, Tennessee, the Black Fox Trail met the Sequatchie

Trail (Figure 2, no. 4, pg. 23) (Myer 1928). This latter trail continued down the Sequatchie Valley, following the Sequatchie River and eventually ending at Bridgeport Island.

There are no ethnographic data to indicate a large trading facility in East Tennessee. During the Late Mississippian Dallas phase, however, there may have been a number of small local exchange stations, or perhaps large sites which participated in exchange, situated along some of these trails.

One such possibility is the Citico site (40HA65), located near the Tennessee River in the suburbs of the present Chattanooga, Tennessee. In a recent analysis, Hatch (1976) proposes that, "items of trade, whether carried overland or by canoe, must have passed through Citico on their journey into and out of the area" (Hatch 1976:95). Three trails passed near the site: the Tennessee River Trail, the Tennessee River-Ohio-Great Lakes Trail, and the Great Indian Warpath. This strategic geographic location would have provided the opportunity for the site, as Hatch suggests, to command both overland and river transport routes into and out of the area. Hatch (1976:96) further states that "its locations with respect to other Dallas sites would give Citico the opportunity to regulate the flow of (all) trade items both within the Eastern Tennessee Valley and with other regions to the south . . . and west. . . ." However, this contention ignores the possibility of trade transport routes entering the valley from other locations.

At Citico, shell artifacts occur in large quantities and a variety of forms associated with burials: earpins, beads, gorgets, cups

spoons, and vessels. Associations of shell with Citico village occupational areas, though undocumented, is also probable. The concentration of shell material at the site, and the settlement's geographic location and easy access to a shell transport route coming from Georgia, indicate that the site may have controlled the acquisition and distribution of this material into East Tennessee.

Mica. There are extensive deposits of mica (largely muscovite) in the Southern Appalachian uplift which extends from Alabama to the St. Lawrence River (cf. Colles 1906). There is archaeological evidence which suggests that a trade transport network existed between local mica source areas in western North Carolina and the eastern Tennessee Valley (cf. Dickens 1970; Chapman 1973; Walthall and Keel 1974). This mica trade transport network first appears as early as the Middle Woodland Period, comprising elements of Hopewell Interaction Sphere activities (Walthall and Keel 1974:9). For example, at the Icehouse Bottom site (40MR23) in East Tennessee, fragments of cut and uncut muscovite mica occur in all excavation levels within stratum II, the Middle Woodland zone (Chapman 1973:109). Chapman (1973:109) suggests that the source of this mica must have been western North Carolina, since there are no known outcrops of mica west of the North Carolina/Tennessee line.

At the Garden Creek site (HW⁰2) in western North Carolina, the Middle Woodland Connestee Phase shares many traits with Icehouse Bottom (Keel 1972; Keel and Chapman 1972), one of which is the utilization of mica (Chapman 1973:133). Chapman (1973:110) suggests that these two

sites were dispersal centers for mica or at least participated in the distribution of mica from the Appalachian Summit area to other areas during Middle Woodland times.

It appears that this mica trade transport network continued into the Late Mississippian Period. Dickens (1970:101) suggests that a mica transport network may have existed between the Pisgah Culture in western North Carolina and the Dallas Culture in East Tennessee. The Garden Creek site (HW⁰1), adjacent to HW⁰2, could have remained a locally important mica dispersal center since the site contains a major Pisgah occupation and mica, coming from local sources, occur in this later component (Dickens 1976).

One Dallas site that could have participated in a mica trade transport network is Toqua (40MR6), a recently excavated site located along the Little Tennessee River in Monroe County, Tennessee. Here, mica occurs almost exclusively as a status-specific artifact associated with the burials in Mound B (Richard Polhemus, personal communication, 1977).

The site may have been located along, or in close proximity, to the same mica transport route that was used during Middle Woodland times. Toqua is situated near the Icehouse Bottom site, and is strategically located on the Little Tennessee River and the Keowee-Great Tellico-Chota Trail which lead into western North Carolina and the mica source area. Furthermore, these routes and the Great Indian Warpath Trail connected the site to other sections of the eastern

Tennessee Valley. Toqua's geographic location as a result provided the opportunity to control the acquisition and distribution of mica to other Dallas sites.

Chert. According to Dickens (1970), there is a morphological similarity between Late Mississippian Pisgah and Dallas projectile points. This is based on the frequent lack of careful retouching and the presence of serrated edges (Dickens 1970:128). Dickens (1970:128) suggests that Plates 64, 66, and 81 in the Norris Basic Report (Webb 1938) contained projectile points which morphologically most closely resembled those found on Pisgah sites. These projectile points come from the Ausmus Farm site (no. 10), located near Speedwell, Claiborne County, Tennessee, and Walters village site (no. 11), located five miles below Walker Bridge in Union County, Tennessee. Furthermore, Dickens (1970:89-90) has stated that some of the chert found on Pisgah sites in western North Carolina may have come from East Tennessee.

According to Webb (1938:115), "outcrops of chert and flint in Knox dolomite were found not two miles" from the Walters village site. This geological formation occurs throughout large areas of the Upper Tennessee Valley. The association of this particular chert source, however, and the gross morphological similarity to flint found at the Walters village site and on Pisgah sites may indicate more than a casual relationship. Perhaps, Norris Basin chert coming from this or other local sources was used in a flint trade transport network between sites

in the Norris Basin and western North Carolina. However, since there are no mineralogical studies of chert found on Dallas and Pisgah sites, the existence of a trade network between Dallas and Pisgah sites remains unverified.

Other archaeological data supports the existence of a chert transport network between East Tennessee and western North Carolina. For example, Dickens (1970:101) suggests that mica may have been exchanged for East Tennessee chert. Though mica was not found at the Walters village site, it occurs at Ausmus Farm, associated with two burials in Mound 2 (Webb 1938:115). Significantly, in the same mound a cache of 14 flint points was found with a third burial. These 14 flint points are illustrated in Plate 64 of the Norris Basin report and morphologically resemble points found at Garden Creek (Dickens 1970:128), a Pisgah site in the mica mining area. Some of the Ausmus Farm chert may have come from local sources near the Walters village site. Five facts support this conclusion:

1. The projectile points at both sites are typologically and morphologically similar.
2. Dickens (1970:128) indicates that projectile points from these sites are the only points found in the Norris Basin which are similar to those found on Pisgah sites.
3. Webb (1938:126) indicates that Walters village is culturally most related to Ausmus Farm.

4. The sites are easily accessible to one another.
5. There are no other known chert sources locally available to the Ausmus Farm site.

It is significant that mica also occurs on two other Late Mississippian sites in the area. For example, mica occurs at the Lea Farm site in Feature I (Webb 1938:141), and several pieces of sheet mica occur in burial 48 at the Cox mound site (Webb 1938:175). These two sites, located on the Clinch River, are within easy reach of the Ausmus Farm and Walters village sites. Mica is not known to occur at any other Dallas site in upper East Tennessee. This restricted distribution of mica, occurring in association with local flint, suggests that a mica-chert exchange may well have occurred between the Norris Basin and western North Carolina. Despite this, the actual trade route between these Norris Basin sites and sites in western North Carolina has not been identified.

The De Armond site (3RE12), five miles south of the junction of the Clinch and Tennessee rivers at Kingston, Tennessee, is located near trails linking it to the Norris Basin and Pisgah areas. A short river route up the Tennessee River to its junction with the Clinch, and a passage up this latter river, would have connected the DeArmond site to the Norris Basin. The Keowee-Great Tellico-Chota Trail, located one mile above Kingston and about six miles northeast of DeArmond would have connected the site to the mica transport route between East Tennessee and western North Carolina. An alternative route could have

followed the Tennessee River east to its junction with the Little Tennessee River near the present Lenoir City. From here, the Little Tennessee River could be followed into western North Carolina. At DeArmond, mica is associated with Phase D and B mound burials, and flint points, similar in morphology and raw material to Norris Basin chert, occur in mound burials and in the village occupational areas. Though the actual source of the DeArmond flint is unknown, the site may have been a local trade facility where chert coming from upper East Tennessee was possibly exchanged for North Carolina mica. The strategic location of the site near a major transport route, and the concentration of mica at the site, indicate that DeArmond may have been involved in the distribution of mica to other Dallas sites in upper East Tennessee.

A Reconstruction of the Dallas Trade Network in East Tennessee

The development of trade and interaction between sites in East Tennessee and other regions assumes that:

1. Trade transport routes were stable for a long time, transport was safe and predictable, and specific routes were used for specific trade materials because these routes were the most direct and economical to use.
2. The proposed settlements were recognized as local trading facilities both by trader and consumer.
3. Local sources were actively exploited for exchange purposes, and local and nonlocal trade materials were in continuous demand in particular areas.

4. Sites in the trade network were contemporaneous.

Assumption one (cf. Myer 1928; Perino 1968) and assumption three (cf. Swanton 1946) are based on ethnographic and archaeological data. However, since assumptions two and four cannot be verified using the available data, only a tentative trade network can be offered.

Shell-mica-flint exchanges. Shell entered the eastern Tennessee Valley both as raw material and finished products. Jones (1973:119) remarks:

In several localities (in Georgia) we have found the columns of large sea shells cut off at the required lengths, particularly fashioned, and imperforate which were evidently obtained in this imperfect condition from the primitive shell merchantmen and kept for polish and completion at some future time by the purchasers. (1973:119)

However, at Etowah a large number of engraved shell gorgets occurred at the site in both village and mound contexts. These include the eagle dancer, spider, turkey cock, and rattlesnake motifs (Moorehead 1932:58, 60, 65/Figures 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35). The occurrence of worked shell at a particular site may be a function of sociopolitical rather than economic factors or distance from source areas. At prominent sociopolitical centers such as Etowah, some shell could have been diverted from transport routes and locally reworked as symbolic emblems of prominent social status. At the same time, unworked materials could have been transported by traders for distribution to other localities.

At Citico (40HA65), the postulated port of entry into the eastern Tennessee Valley for shell materials, large quantities of worked shell

have been found in mound burials. The apparent absence of unworked shell is probably related to the scanty archaeological literature on the site, and the bias toward identifying burial goods as opposed to materials occurring in the village occupational areas (cf. Hatch 1976).

It is proposed that shell artifacts, whether worked or finished, were transported from this primary center along the trail systems to other Dallas sites. The Tennessee River, and the Tennessee River-Ohio-Great Lakes, the Black Fox, and the Great Indian Warpath trails are the most direct routes from Citico to Dallas sites further north and east. This assumes that most shell, both Atlantic and Gulf Coast species, entered the eastern Tennessee Valley from the south rather than from the east or northeast.

Along the Tennessee River route, shell exchanges could have been specifically conducted at the DeArmond site (3RE12) for redistribution to the Upper Tennessee Valley. The site is strategically-located near the junction of the Tennessee and Clinch rivers. Shell could have been transported along both of these river systems, north along the Clinch into the Norris Basin and east along the Tennessee to its junction with the French Broad River near Knoxville. Shell could also have been locally exchanged at DeArmond for Norris Basin Flint. This is based on two facts: (1) shell and flint artifacts occur at DeArmond and Late Mississippian sites in the Norris Basin such as the Ausmus Farm and Walters village sites; and (2) the Tennessee and Clinch river systems link the DeArmond site to these Norris Basin sites.

In the system of the distribution of shell to the more eastern sections of the valley, these materials could have been transported from Citico (40HA65) to Toqua and perhaps exchanged here for mica. There are numerous quantities of both shell and mica at Toqua (Richard Polhemus, personal communication, 1977), and the site is located near the Great Indian Warpath Trail connecting it directly to Citico (40HA65). This trail system could have been used to transport shell from Citico and mica from Toqua. A more likely, though less direct, route is the Great Indian Warpath Trail to where it meets the Black Fox Trail along the Hiwassee River. This latter trail could then have been followed to the Tennessee River at Hiwassee Island, then down the river to the Citico site. The use of this particular trail system is based on the occurrence of mica at sites along the postulated transport route. Some of these sites include Ledford Island (16BY13) in the Chickamauga Basin, Hiwassee Island (37MG31, 63MG31, 63MG22) at the mouth of the Hiwassee, and the Davis (6HA2), Dallas (7HA1, 8HA1), and Hixon (1HA3) sites on the Tennessee River.

It is possible that mica was utilized as an exchange item at Citico to acquire shell coming from Georgia. This is supported by the occurrence of mica on sites along the postulated shell transport route from Georgia. For example, mica occurs at the Etowah site in burial 37 (Moorehead 1932:51) and is also associated with burial 76 in Mound C (Moorehead 1932:84). The Etowah site is located near the Cisca and St. Augustine trail system. The utilization of this trail system would have connected Etowah directly to Citico (40HA65). It is also

significant that mica occurs on Swift Creek sites during the Middle Woodland Period (Moore 1907). Thus, the postulated mica transport route, similar to the shell transport route, has a long evolutionary history in Georgia and East Tennessee.

At Toqua, shell acquired from Citico (40HA65) may have been reworked into various finished products. This is based on the occurrence of probable shell-working tool kits, unfinished conch artifacts, and shell debris on a single undisturbed house floor at Toqua (Richard Polhemus, personal communication, 1977). Some of the worked shell from Toqua could have been exchanged for mica from western North Carolina. Dickens (1970:101) suggests that marine shell may have been traded over the mountains from East Tennessee to acquire mica. He further suggests (1970:132) that engraved shell gorgets found on Pisgah sites were either brought into western North Carolina from the Tennessee Valley or were local copies of the East Tennessee items. Muller (1966) suggests that engraved shell gorgets were a major trade commodity throughout the Southeast. He also suggests that ready-made shell gorget blanks also may have been trade objects (Muller 1966:34).

It is possible that shell blanks were acquired from Citico and reworked into shell gorgets at Toqua, perhaps specifically to acquire mica from western North Carolina. This is not to suggest that all the shell acquired from Citico was raw material, or that all the shell made at Toqua was in the form of gorgets. Many forms of shell artifacts occur at Toqua and many of these symbolized individual or group status.

At Toqua, engraved shell gorgets bearing the rattlesnake and mask designs (Richard Polhemus, personal communication, 1977) are also the principal gorget motifs at Pisgah sites in western North Carolina (Dickens 1976:127). This suggests possible trade in gorgets between Toqua and the Pisgah sites. The major problem in verifying a trade relationship between the two areas is a lack of rigid typological, chronological, and spatial controls for shell gorgets. Until such controls are possible, this implied trade in shell gorgets will remain highly tentative.

Mica could have been acquired by Toqua traders in exchange for East Tennessee flint coming from local sources in the Norris Basin. Norris Basin flint could have been transported south along the Clinch River and Keowee-Great Tellico Trail to Toqua; and mica could have been transported along these same trails to the Norris Basin. These trails are the most direct route to upper East Tennessee. An alternative route through the same area could have involved the utilization of the Clinch River to its junction with the Tennessee River below Kingston, Tennessee. Thence, along the Tennessee River east to its junction with the Little Tennessee River near Lenoir City, Tennessee. From here, the Little Tennessee River could be followed to Toqua. The DeArmond site (3RE12), located along these transport routes, could have served as a local exchange center for the acquisition and distribution of mica to the Norris Basin sites and flint to the Toqua site. This conclusion is supported by the occurrence of mica and flint in DeArmond mound burials.

There are other possible routes which the mica-flint exchange network could have followed from the Norris Basin into western North Carolina. One alternative route could have by-passed both DeArmond and Toqua leading directly into western North Carolina via the Clinch, French Broad, and Little Pigeon River systems. This involved the utilization of the Catawba Trail (Myer 1928:772) (see Figure 2, pg. 23). Along this route, mica would have entered East Tennessee from the northeast for direct exchange for chert. There are no known Dallas sites containing mica along this route. However, Fains Island (1JE1), a Dallas site located $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Dandridge, Tennessee, on the French Broad River, has mica artifacts associated with three burials. Despite the occurrence of mica at this site, the more probable route for mica entering East Tennessee and flint entering western North Carolina involved the use of the Little Tennessee, Tennessee, and Clinch river systems and the Keowee-Great Tellico Trail. This conclusion is supported by the occurrence of mica on sites along this route from Middle Woodland to Mississippian times (cf. Thomas 1894; Webb 1938; Salo 1969; Chapman 1973; Nash n.d.; Alden n.d.; Hayes n.d.). These sites include the Dallas sites of Citico (40MR7) (Salo 1969) and Toqua (Richard Polhemus, personal communication, 1977) and the Middle Woodland site of Icehouse Bottom on the Little Tennessee River; Bell (51RE1), Long Island (37RE17) (Thomas 1894), Wilson (17RE6) (Hayes n.d.), Tarwater Farm (116RE33), (Nash n.d.), Middle Woodland sites and the DeArmond (3RE12) (Alden, n.d.), site on the Tennessee River; the Norris Basin Dallas

sites of Cox Mound, Lea Farm and Ausmus Farm (Webb 1938), on or within easy access of the Clinch River, and the Middle Woodland site of Stiner Mound (Webb 1938).

Summary

The proposed Late Mississippian Dallas trade network assumes that the system of acquisition and exchange of nonlocal goods was similar to that ethnographically documented for the Historic Period in the same area. In this system, there are interdependent trade materials. The acquisition of one trade item is interrelated with, and dependent upon, the movement of certain other goods. This type of exchange system appears to have a long developmental history in the Southeast (cf. Struever 1968:308). Trading centers, as local accumulation and redistribution points during the Historic Period, were also an important element of prehistoric trade. The evolution of trading centers may have begun as early as the Late Archaic Period in the Southeast (cf. Winters 1968:218). However, the reconstruction of Dallas trade and exchange and the local importance of trading facilities remains based on hypothesized assumptions from ethnographic accounts and archaeological data. Figures 3 and 4 summarize the proposed Dallas trade and exchange network. This network is hypothetical because it is based on potential not actual access to source areas and transport routes. The system is simplistic because other nodes along the trade transport route are unidentified. Nevertheless, it accounts for the general processes and mechanisms that would have been operating in the system.

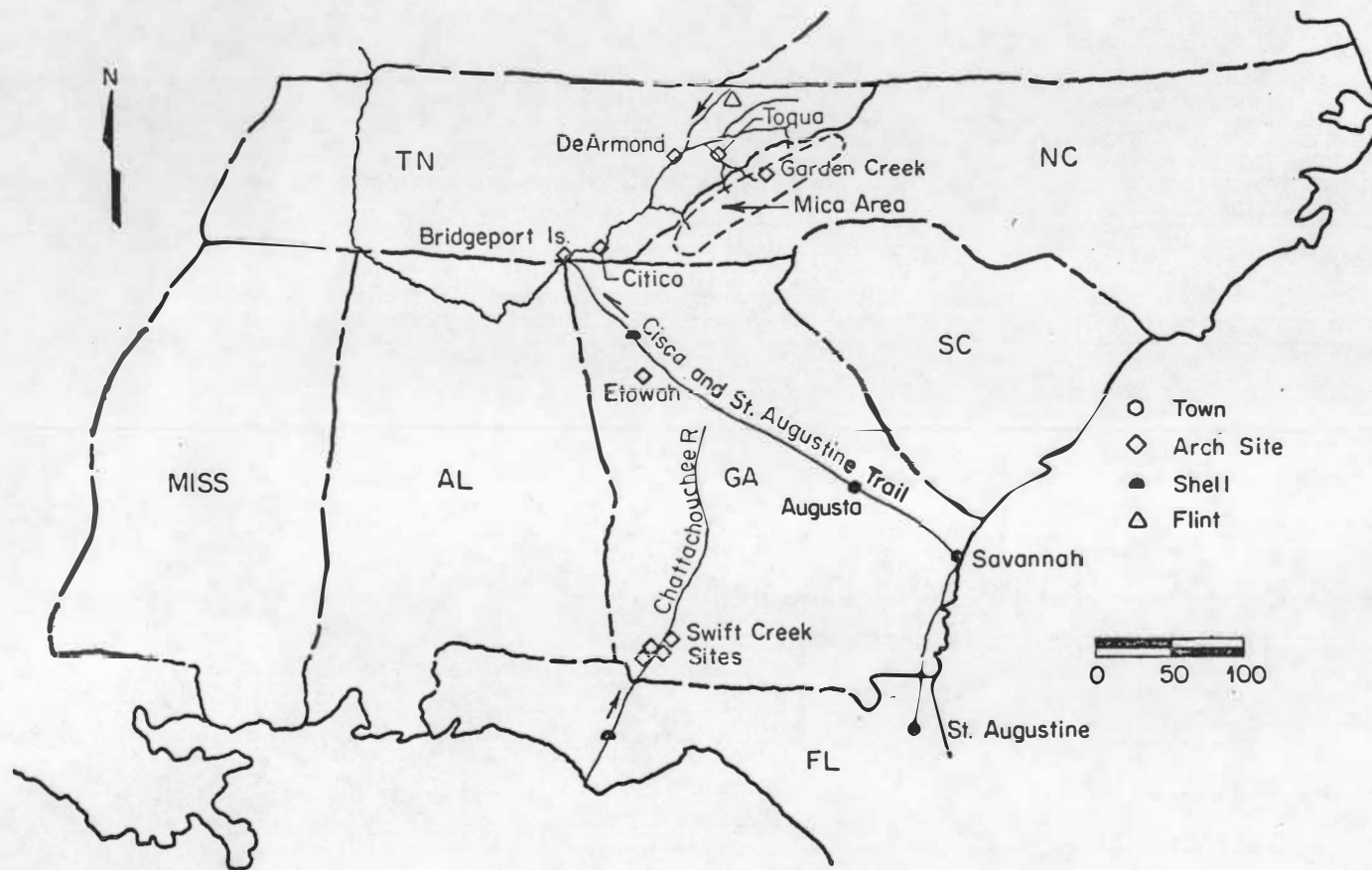


Figure 3. The Prehistoric Trade and Exchange Network.

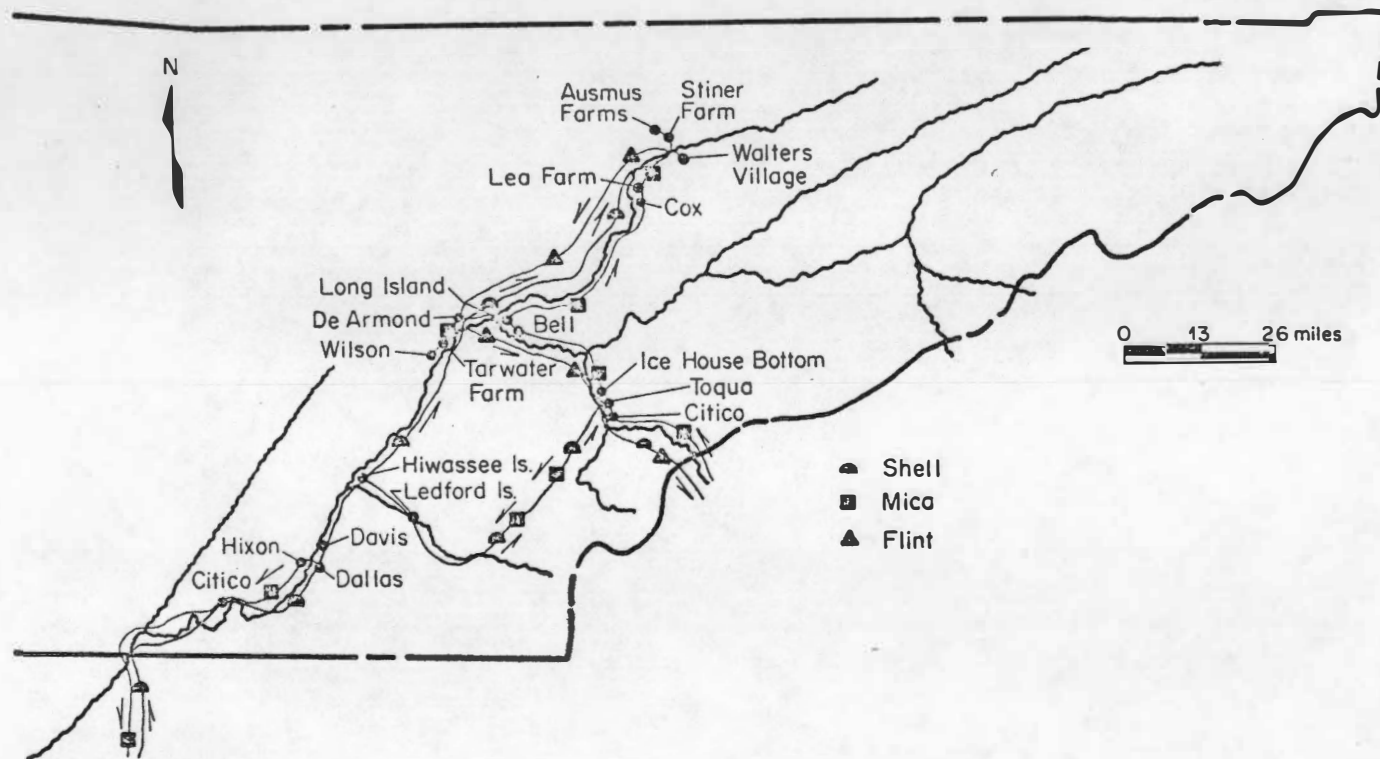


Figure 4. The Dallas Trade and Exchange Network in East Tennessee.

Each of the three proposed trading facilities commands an important geographic location, similar to those Historic trade centers mentioned in Southeast ethnographic literature. The Citico site (40HA65) is strategically located along three trail systems which (1) connected the site to known shell transport routes in Georgia; and (2) connected the site to other Dallas sites in East Tennessee which contain shell. Similarly, the Toqua site (40MR6) is strategically-located along a known mica transport route from western North Carolina. The location of the site near the Great Indian Warpath and Keowee-Great Tellico-Chota trails provided transport routes to the lower and upper East Tennessee Valley. Finally, the DeArmond site (3RE12) is strategically located on trails connecting the site to three transport routes: (1) a mica transport route from Toqua; (2) a shell transport route from Citico; and (3) a flint transport route from the Norris Basin.

Of the three postulated trading facilities in the Dallas area, it appears that, based on geographic location alone, the DeArmond site was the most strategically-located settlement in the overall intra-Dallas trade network. Ethnographic data confirms this contention. Ethnographic data indicates that the area near the confluence of the Tennessee and Clinch Rivers, five miles north of DeArmond, was situated along the major river and trail systems during the Historic Period. It is significant that in 1792 John Sevier built a fort (Southwest Point), at the junction of these two rivers, because of this important geographic location. Haywood (1891:284-285) emphasizes the fort's

importance in controlling Indian travel and communication up and down the river systems:

The [position] of this place would effectively prevent the intercourse between the Upper and the Lower Cherokees . . . the Northern and Southern tribes often passed in canoes 150 miles up the latter river [Clinch], to its junction with the Tennessee, and then up and down this latter river into any part of the Cherokee country . . . [the fort] would not only destroy water communication, but being directly on the road between the Southern and Northern tribes would obstruct their passage by land [as well]. (emphasis mine)

Haywood (1891) further comments on the strategic military position of the fort:

The only two practible fords on the Tennessee were both within five miles of this place. The same number on the Clinch, which were only eight miles from the same place, and the main gap on the Cumberland not more than 10 . . . the whole [Cherokee country] would be under the eye of a garrison . . . which at this spot would be at the center of their [Indian] intercourse and nation . . . and so near to the body of nation as would enable the troops at all times to fall suddenly upon them . . . in 30 hours from this place by water, any of the [Indian] towns might be attacked, or in 48 by land. (Haywood 1891:285) (emphasis mine)

Thus, to the early colonists of the area, the fort was situated in an important and strategic military location. To the Indian, the area was the nexus of the major river and overland thoroughfares which led to all sections of the surrounding region. It is not difficult to envision the great economic significance of this geographic location, in particular as a centralized locality for Indian trade, exchange, and social interaction. The location of the DeArmond site, at this major crossroads, is comparable, more so than that of any other Dallas site, to the locations of those trade centers mentioned in the ethnographic

literature. In many respects, the site is more strategically placed since it is near the location of the major overland, as well as river trails. Based on these data, the mortuary patterning at the site should indicate that the primary and possibly only function of the site was as a Dallas trade facility of the highest and most important order.

IV. DALLAS MORTUARY PATTERNING AND TRADE CENTER FUNCTION

Little Local Embedded Wealth

As part of the hypothesized trade center model, three trends in the mortuary data pertaining to embedded wealth should be found at those settlements functioning exclusively as trade centers. These trends should contrast significantly with those patterns occurring at other Dallas settlements as follows:

1. There should be fewer varieties of grave goods at trade centers. Furthermore, grave goods should be largely limited to nonlocal materials.. These trends would reflect the specialized economic function of a trading facility and the symbolized economic status of the settlement's elite. In contrast, larger varieties of grave goods should occur at other Dallas sites. These would symbolize the broader cultural role and status of these settlements and/or segments of their inhabitants.
2. A limited quantity of nonlocal materials, as status-specific artifacts, should occur at trading facilities. This would reflect the economic function of the site as an effective facility for the distribution, rather than symbolization, of nonlocal materials. At other Dallas sites, larger quantities of nonlocal materials should occur. This would reflect sociopolitical factors and

symbolized status rather than the economic factor of redistribution.

3. A conspicuous absence of valuable and exotic nonlocal materials in the form of prominent status-specific artifacts should occur at trading facilities. Most of these artifacts should possess local, personal status or utilitarian value rather than regional symbolic and status connotations. In contrast, valuable status-specific nonlocal objects should occur at other Dallas sites, and, in some instances, should occur in special segregated mortuary contexts. This would indicate prominent regional social and political status rather than local status and rank.

These contrastive trends, differentiating trading facilities from other types of Dallas settlements, are based on the postulate that,

A trading system which leaks large quantities of goods locally would not be functioning as a useful trading center. (Sabloff and Rathje 1975:13)

This postulate indicates that the acquisition and localization of large quantities of nonlocal materials and the constant drain of these materials from the society through burial practices, or symbolizations of social prominence during life, prevents the redistribution to other areas. In other words, trading facilities are specialized settlements involved in the transshipment of goods to other areas. They are not necessarily the final destination of goods.

Sabloff and Rathje (1975) also suggest that valuable exotic status-specific items cannot be expected to turn up as local investments of wealth in burials at proposed trade centers:

Material items are kept in a form and context in which they can continue to be used as capital within the economic system; they are rarely used in a form or context that makes their future extraction and use as capital difficult. (Sabloff and Rathje 1975:13)

The potential leakages of nonlocal materials, as prominent status-specific artifacts, are minimized at trading facilities by merchants and a mercantile attitude toward wealth as liquid capital rather than investment. Mortuary data should reflect these differences.

The mortuary patterning at Citico, Toqua, and DeArmond will be analyzed in order to identify the internal sociopolitical complexity of these sites and their sociopolitical and economic importance to Dallas society. The Hixon (1HA3) and Citico (40MR7) sites will also be utilized in this analysis. The archaeological data indicates that these settlements were prominent sociopolitical rather than economic centers. The Hixon site, located on the Tennessee River in Hamilton County, Tennessee will be studied as the type site of a unifunctional social-political center. This is based on three characteristics of the site: (1) the site has minimal occupational debris relative to the size of the site; (2) the site is located on a slope in an area of poor agricultural land. Both of these characteristics are atypical for Dallas settlement locations; and (3) individuals interred in the Hixon mound have a status-specific artifact (monolithic axe) which has not yet been recovered from other Dallas sites (cf. Kneberg 1959). In these

respects, and possible others, Hixon is not comparable to other Dallas sites. It is suggested that the site was not occupied on a regular basis but used primarily as a depository for high-status individuals after death.

The Citico site (40MR7), located on the Little Tennessee River in Monroe County, Tennessee, also appears to be a locally prominent sociopolitical center. This is based on the site size and the occurrence of numerous important status-specific artifacts such as a copper headdress, large marine shell vessels, and a ceremonial flint blade associated with the mound burials (cf. Salo 1969).

The analysis of the mortuary patterning at these five Dallas sites should indicate major structural and functional differences based on sociopolitical and/or economic significance to Dallas society.

DeArmond (3RE12). According to the excavator's report (Alden n.d.), the DeArmond mound contained eight construction phases. These include from the summit to the base of the mound, phases B, C, D, E, G₁, G, and H. Very little occupational debris accumulated on each mound surface indicating that the time intervals between construction phases were apparently quite short.

The mound was not used as a place for burial until Phase D, since only one interment was placed in the mound previous to this phase. This exception occurred in Phase F and was a child burial with associated grave goods (3RE93). In Phase D, 14 burials were encountered, six of which were scattered and had indeterminate associations. Of the

remaining eight burials, seven had associated grave goods. These seven burials had either shell or mica grave goods, both postulated exchange items at DeArmond. Just as Phase D, shell and mica occur in Phase B, the major occupation of the site. Seventy-seven individuals were interred during this phase. Although only 43 burials had associated grave goods, 26 burials, representing 60 percent of Phase B burials with grave goods, contained shell and mica artifacts. Other grave goods, such as projectile points, pipes, bowls, jars, bone tools, awls, and bone implements also were found (Alden n.d.). Two of these Phase B burials contained only mica; 15 burials contained only shell artifacts; and one burial contained both mica and shell artifacts. These 18 burials account for 69 percent of all burials with mica and shell during Phase B. Table 1 summarize the Phase B and D burial data.

TABLE 1
BURIAL DATA FROM PHASES B AND D AT THE
DEARMOND MOUND

	Total Number of Burials	Number of Burials With Grave Goods	Shell/ Mica	Shell/ Mica/Others	Others
Phase D	8	7	7	0	0
Phase B	<u>77</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>17</u>
Totals	85	50	25	8	17

These data indicate that, while Phase B has more individuals and a greater number of grave goods, shell and mica are still the prominent burial associations. Combining Phases D and B, there are 85 mound burials, 50 of which had accompanying grave goods. Of these 50 burials, 25 (50 percent) contained only shell and mica artifacts, and 33 (66 percent) contained shell and/or mica plus one or two other grave goods. These data suggest that DeArmond mound burials contained limited and restricted status symbolizing objects, largely those comprising the postulated exchange items. This indicates that shell and mica were the most important status-specific artifacts at the site. These artifacts would be the logical symbolizing elements if both mica and shell exchanges were conducted at the site. Thus, the status and rank of the DeArmond elite appear to be locally and economically defined. Economic efficiency in the redistribution and symbolization of these artifacts is enhanced because both mica and shell are associated with mound burials in limited quantities rather than in large caches.

Data from the village occupation also support this view. For example, Alden (n.d.:18) states that the artifact material from the village occupation was not plentiful, and shell artifacts were in most instances cached with burials. Only two small, cut mica fragments were found in the village area.

It is significant that there are no prominent status-specific artifacts associated with DeArmond mound burials. No copper artifacts, ceramic bottles, or large marine shell vessels, the best indicators of prominent social status at other Dallas sites (Hatch 1974), are found at

DeArmond. These items are largely replaced by mica and small shell artifacts, none of which was as socially valuable as the supralocal symbols, though mica is considered a mound-specific artifact type (Hatch 1974).

The artifacts accompanying individuals interred in the mound probably were used for personal adornment or to define localized status and rank. For example, Alden (n.d.:18) suggests that "the use of this material [shell] was confined primarily to the manufacture of artifacts for adornment" such as beads and gorgets'. Hatch (1974:183) suggests that some of the mica at the site "could be cut into ornamental shapes and worn as status-specific symbols." Significantly, there is no evidence of mica headdresses, a prominent status-specific object (cf. Hatch 1974). Similarly, engraved shell gorgets having the rattlesnake and conventionalized dancer motifs occur at the site. These types are not considered a supralocal status symbol because they are usually associated with individuals interred in village areas, a location not indicative of high status (Hatch 1974). In contrast, the turkey cock motif, found at the Hixon, Toqua, and Citico (40HA65) sites, is usually associated with individuals interred in mounds, a location indicative of prominent status (Hatch 1974).

In summary, mica and shell are the principal status-defining artifacts associated with DeArmond mound burials. But none of these materials occur as prominent status-specific objects such as mica headdresses, large marine shell vessels, and engraved shell gorgets with the turkey cock motif. This indicates that mica and shell artifacts,

though locally available, were not used to symbolize prominent regional sociopolitical status and rank. The nature and context of these artifacts indicate that they were symbolizations of the local economic status of the DeArmond elite.

Citico (40HA65). The Citico site, located near the Tennessee River on the outskirts of Chattanooga, Tennessee, contains three major occupational areas. These include a large village area, a small mound, and a large truncated pyramidal mound. The mounds are located at opposite ends of the village area. Unfortunately, Citico has been the focus of numerous relic collectors, unscientific excavation techniques, and recent urban renewal, which have created a variety of problems and contradictions in the interpretation of the archaeological data from the site.

However, recent analysis of the archaeological record (Hatch 1976) indicates that large quantities and varieties of artifacts were associated with the burials at the site. Many of the artifacts are outstanding examples of prehistoric craftsmanship:

Stylistically and functionally they equate with similar objects from Etowah, Moundville, the Nashville area, and Spiro during the height of the Southern Cult Period, and it is probably due to these very objects that Waring and Holder refer to Citico as a cult center. (Hatch 1976:82)

Some of the artifacts include ceremonial blades and celts, copper headdresses, copper armbands, copper-covered wooden rattles, copper beads, pendants, ear ornaments, spear points, and conch shell cups, and

gorgets engraved with the turkey cock motif (Hatch 1976). The great variety of copper artifacts suggest high social prominence and status:

Copper headdresses and earspools (and other copper-related artifacts) more so than any other type of objects, suggest immediate symbolic connotations, and that their inclusion is apparently sufficient for mound locational status. (Hatch 1974:160)

Significantly, no copper artifacts were associated with DeArmond burials, though a copper artifact occurs in Phase D fill in the mound. This suggests major structural and social differences between the Citico and DeArmond sites. Other data from the Citico site appear to confirm this contention. According to Hatch (1976:95), Citico is the most internally diverse site in the Dallas area, and the, "only site with three major sectors, each with its own burial program, and it probably contained . . . some of the most elaborately accompanied burials in the entire region." In a comparison of the relative quantity and variety of supralocal Southern Cult objects from Dallas sites (Hatch 1974), Citico ranked third behind Hixon (1HA3) and Dallas (7HA1), this without a consideration of a single burial from the large mound.

These data suggest that the Citico site was an important sociopolitical center in the Dallas area. The nature and variety of status-specific artifacts, associated exclusively with individuals interred in the large mound, indicate the prominent social and political status of the Citico elite.

However, the geographic location of the site, near the postulated shell transport route, and the concentration of these artifacts at the site, indicate that a secondary function of the site was the

acquisition, exchange, and redistribution of shell into the eastern Tennessee Valley.

It is significant that shell artifacts at the site have supralocal status-specific significance. These include large shell vessels and engraved gorgets with the turkey cock motif. This is logical, assuming that the sociopolitical role of the site was structurally more important than the economic role. Perhaps regional sociopolitical and local economic status positions occurred at the site, reflecting the dual role and function of the settlement. Differences in the symbolizing process for status and rank, between the large and small mounds, might indicate such a possibility. However, until a formal analysis of the burial patterning is made, this conclusion will remain tentative.

Finally, there is the possibility that Citico was a local copper acquisition center. Numerous quantities and varieties of copper occur at the site, and Citico is located on a possible trade route (Great Indian Warpath Trail) leading from a postulated local source area, the Ducktown deposits in Polk County, Tennessee (cf. Goad 1974).

In summary, the geographic and mortuary data from the Citico site indicate that the settlement was a multi-functional site, contrasting with the proposed unifunctional significance (trade facility) of the DeArmond site.

Toqua (40MR6). The archaeological data from Toqua are still in the early stages of analysis. However, the preliminary data indicate that a large variety of grave goods accompanied Toqua mound burials

(Richard Polhemus, personal communication, 1977). These include prominent status-specific artifacts such as copper headdress fragments, copper artifacts, shell gorgets with the spider and turkey cock motifs, painted ceramic bottles, massive marine shell vessels, and a ceremonial Dover flint blade (Richard Polhemus, personal communication, 1977). The variety and nature of associated grave goods indicate a major structural-functional difference between this site and DeArmond. It appears that Toqua, like Citico, was a major, or important sociopolitical center. Other data from the site support such a contention. For example, preliminary analysis of the burial patterning indicates three major status-specific sectors similar to those at Citico. These include the village area, Mound A, and Mound B. Mound A appears to have a greater and richer variety of grave goods than Mound B. Mound A contains "younger prominent individuals, generally males," while Mound B contains "older prominent individuals, generally males" (Richard Polhemus, personal communication, 1977). The almost exclusive occurrence of mica, and the frequent occurrence of turtle shell rattles and knobbed-top shell earpins with individuals in Mound B indicate little variety in grave goods associated with these burials. Significantly, Mound B individuals have two characteristics of local economic status. First, in Mound B burial accompaniments are largely restricted to shell and mica, postulated trade items at the site. Second, Mound B has a large number of older adult individuals. Ethnographic data suggests that traders and merchants were generally old men (cf. Swanton 1928; Jones 1973). Mound B burials at Toqua also have prominent status-specific

objects such as painted ceramic bottles, copper, and massive marine shell vessels. This indicates important sociopolitical, as well as economic, status for these individuals and Toqua itself. The distinctions between Mound A and Mound B individuals suggest that the prominent sociopolitical individuals were interred in Mound A, and individuals participating in the trade and exchange of nonlocal materials were in Mound B. A complete analysis of the Toqua burials is required to verify this suggestion.

In summary, the preliminary mortuary patterning at Toqua indicates that the site was an important sociopolitical center. Intrasite differences in the mortuary patterning and the strategic location of the site along a postulated mica transport route also indicate that the site may have been an important economic center.

Summary. The mortuary data indicate that, of the three postulated trading facilities in the Dallas area, DeArmond is the only site that did not have prominent sociopolitical status. The artifacts found at DeArmond, Citico, and Toqua exhibit enormous differences in the quantity, variety, and quality of status-specific objects, suggesting different symbolizations of sociocultural rank and prominence. This can be seen not only as a difference between the relative sociopolitical importance of each site, but also in the individual or group status among elites. The differences in status-specific artifacts between these sites accounts for only one element in the overall symbolizing process for Dallas status and rank (Hatch 1974). In order to clarify and substantiate the

contrast in Dallas settlement functions, additional elements in the symbolizing process must be identified. The identification of these elements would further differentiate the structure of Dallas settlement types.

V. DALLAS MORTUARY PATTERN AND TRADE CENTER FUNCTION

Cultural Fluidity (Flexibility of Norms)

The trade model suggests that cultural fluidity and local flexibility in established norms pertaining to status and rank should be found at those sites participating in the trade and exchange of nonlocal goods. While flexible cultural codes and norms are not restricted exclusively to particular settlements or settlement functions, the particular behavioral and material patterns that occur at trading facilities can be isolated and identified using mortuary data. Some of these include the identification of status-specific artifacts, their location with burials, and their particular association with age groups. The analysis of these trends would indicate the importance of particular artifacts and the status of specific age groups at trading facilities.

Age/location and artifact/location variables in the Dallas symbolizing process will be used to determine the existence and degree of cultural fluidity at Dallas settlements (cf. Hatch 1974). The age/location variable assumes that the development of local status at a trading facility was based on one's participation in acquisition, exchange, and redistribution. Thus, local rank positions should be based on achieved rather than ascribed status. This assumes that wealth, social prestige, rights, and power based on social position were not given to members of age groups who during their life span could not have contributed efficiently to the exchange system. This

particular age group would include all subadults (infants and children). Hence, at specialized trading facilities all individuals interred in mounds should be adults, or a proportionally-larger number of adults than at other Dallas mounds. Hatch (1974) notes that Dallas mounds contain a disproportionally large number of adults. However, the important question, not answered by Hatch (1974), is why some Dallas mounds and villages have larger numbers of subadults and others few or none. It is proposed that this difference reflects achieved and ascribed elements in the social system at particular Dallas sites.

The artifact/location variable assumes that materials exchanged at trading facilities have important status-specific significance, and would be found with mound interments. More importantly, the artifact/location variable at trading facilities should contrast significantly with those occurring at other Dallas sites.

Trends in the symbolizing process will be analyzed using mortuary data from the DeArmond (3RE12), Hixon (1HA3), and Citico (40MR7) sites. Since Hixon and Citico (40MR7) are proposed sociopolitical centers, the age/location and artifact/location distributions should compare well with each other and contrast significantly with DeArmond. The nature of the archaeological data from Citico (40HA65) and Toqua (40MR6) eliminates these sites from the present analysis. At Citico (40HA65), analysis has not differentiated burials removed from the village and burials removed from the mounds (cf. Hatch 1976). At Toqua, precise age/location and artifact/location distributions have not yet been determined (Richard Polhemus, personal communications, 1977).

DeArmond (3RE12). At DeArmond, there are significant deviations in the symbolizing process for marine shell. For example, at most Dallas sites "massive beads used in any manner and shell beads when used as arm, wrist, or ankle bands were indicative of mound status (Hatch 1974:127). Large and small beads usually occur as necklaces with subadult female village burials (Hatch 1974). At DeArmond, shell beads as both band and necklace elements only occur with adolescent females, exclusively in the mound. Engraved shell gorgets are also uniquely distributed. According to Hatch (1974), they are usually associated with subadults in village areas. At DeArmond, seven of nine gorgets are associated with adult males in the mound. Similarly, engraved rattlesnake gorgets, usually associated with subadults in village areas (Hatch 1974), also occur in the mound at DeArmond associated with an adult male. At DeArmond, the distribution of the conventionalized dancer design gorget conforms to location (village area), but not to age and sex expectations.

Deviations in the symbolizing process at DeArmond share two trends: (1) a movement of many shell artifacts from village to mound symbolization; and (2) the exclusive association of these shell artifacts with adults rather than subadults. This indicates the importance of shell and its particular locational symbolization at the site. This suggests that the symbolizing process at DeArmond involved different cultural and social norms for identifying status artifacts and age categories compared to other Dallas sites. This difference represents achieved status, since all deviations in shell at DeArmond

are associated with adult/mound rather than subadult/village burials. The data does not indicate rigid ascriptive rules of rank and social prominence.

The age categories of DeArmond burials bear this out. In Phases D and B, the two major burial interment levels, there are 85 individuals associated with these two phases that can be accurately aged. All individuals except one infant, and three children (4 percent) were old enough to have been active participants in the social system. In contrast, 16 (30 percent) of 52 village burials were either infants or children. These data indicate that most individuals interred in the DeArmond mound, a location normally associated with ascribed status (Hatch 1974), achieved their social status and recognition.

In summary, the importance of both mica and shell in the mound burials, the geographic location of the site, the specific deviations in the symbolization of shell, and the almost exclusive association of adults in the mound indicate that at DeArmond there was a local development of status and rank positions based on the site's importance as a local trading facility.

Hixon (1HA3). The Hixon site appears to be the most important sociopolitical center in the Dallas area, possibly functioning as the primary ceremonial center for Dallas society. There are four reasons for this:

1. There are large quantities and varieties of prominent status-specific artifacts associated with mound burials.

2. Many of these status-specific artifacts, such as copper, also occur in village areas and other locational contexts. These associations do not conform to the Dallas symbolizing process for artifact/location isolated by Hatch (1974).
3. One of these status-specific artifacts, the monolithic axe, has not been recovered from other Dallas sites. (cf. Kneberg 1959)
4. The status and rank system at the site appears to be the most rigid and ascriptive in the Dallas area.

At Hixon, copper artifacts, including headdresses, earspools, pendants, axes and disks occur in numerous mound burials and in the village area. The large numbers and varieties of these artifacts suggest social prominence and status. Other supralocal symbols at Hixon include ceramic bottles, associated with four burials; marine shell vessels or dippers, associated with ten burials; a mica headdress; large conch shells, associated with two burials; a monolithic axe, associated with a multiple burial; and ceremonial Dover flint blades, associated with two burials (cf. Kneberg 1959).

The age/location element for status and rank at the site indicates a large ascriptive element. Of the 96 mound burials at the site, 21 (22 percent) are subadults (infants or children). This indicates that a large number of individuals attained their social position by birth-right alone. Of greater significance, however, is the fact that each stratigraphic level in the mound contained similar age/location and

artifact/location distributions. In each level there are (Hatch 1974: 167):

1. A mature male with a copper ornament and other mound-specific shell paraphernalia.
2. An adolescent female with artifact ties to the mature male.
3. A mature female with numerous shell artifacts.
4. A retainer for the mature male.
5. Other female subadults.

The only exception to the artifact/location distribution occurs in Level 0 where copper was replaced by a mica headdress.

This sociopolitical hierarchy of status and rank, structurally the most pronounced in the Dallas area, indicates a rigid sociocultural code and norms defining status and rank positions.

In summary, the geographic location of the site, the minimal mound and village occupational debris at the site, the quantity and variety of status-specific artifacts, including monolithic axes not found at other Dallas sites, and the rigid ascriptive element at the site, indicate that a regional rank structure based on sociopolitical importance developed at Hixon.

Citico (40MR7). The symbolizing artifacts at Citico indicate a locally-important sociopolitical center. Some of the prominent status-specific artifacts occurring at the site include copper, large marine shell vessels, ceramic bottles, a ceremonial flint blade, and a lizard-head effigy pipe (Salo 1969). The occurrence of copper, associated with burials in the mound and village areas, indicate prominent sociopolitical status.

According to Salo (1969), Citico mound burials "were richly endowed with burial accompaniments." One of the most frequent burial goods were minerals such as mica, galena, copper, and hematite. These artifacts occur in 23 percent of the burials at the site. It is significant that individuals of various age groups were interred in the mound without status-location artifacts other than minerals. Of the 13 burials containing minerals, 10 were interred in the mound. Hatch's (1974:192) suggestion that "minerals may simply be reserved for mound status at Citico regardless of age" may be true.

At Citico, there are 42 burials in the "Eastern Secondary Mound" and the "Primary Mound" (Salo 1969:Table 5A). Of these 42 individuals, 9 (21 percent) are infants or children, a percentage similar to Hixon (1HA3) (22 percent), but considerably higher than DeArmond (3RE12) (4 percent). In contrast, of the 91 village burials at Citico (40MR7), 31 (34 percent) were infants or children. This is similar to the percentage of DeArmond village interments (30 percent). This suggests that the composition of village burials according to age categories are similar at both sites, yet a sizeable difference exists when mound group compositions are compared.

Deviations in the symbolizing process at the site centering on minerals might indicate a secondary site function, possibly economic. The site is located on the Little Tennessee River providing access to trade materials coming over the mountains from western North Carolina. Perhaps the site was another node on the mica transport network. Significantly, Citico (40MR7) and Toqua (40MR6) are located in close

proximity to one another. Whether the sites were contemporaneous, however, has not been determined. Regardless, the percentage of subadults in the mound, and the symbolizing process for preeminent individuals containing status-specific artifacts, indicate that the site was socially more important than its possible economic function.

VI. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In a recent study, Hatch (1974:247) suggests that

the scarcity of such objects as conch shell vessels, ceramic bottles, and copper head and ear ornaments, coupled with their significant covariation with mound location, and access to these exotic goods suggest that they represent insignia of rank in the Dallas sample.

These three artifact types, associated with adult and subadult mound burials of both sexes, are the key to Hatch's (1974) regional rank structure.

The analysis of the symbolizing process as manifest at the Citico (40HA65), Hixon (1HA3), Toqua (40MR6), Citico (40MR7), and DeArmond (3RE12) sites show that different degrees of structural variability exist between and within these settlements. The only major similarity between these sites is preferential treatment for mound burials rather than village burials. Major differences exist between these sites in the type and symbolization of status-specific artifacts, and the degrees of ascribed and achieved status. For example, the Hixon, Citico (40HA65), Toqua, and Citico (40MR7) sites all have similar status-specific artifact types such as copper, massive marine shell vessels, and ceramic bottles, none of which occur at DeArmond. Monolithic axes, as a supralocal status-specific artifact, only occur at Hixon. Both Hixon and Citico (40MR7) appear to have only locally ascribed status systems. At Citico (40HA65) and Toqua, however, there are intrasite differences in the quantity and type of status-defining artifacts which indicate local achieved statuses as well as ascribed social positions.

In contrast, at DeArmond, the specific deviations in the symbolizing process all indicate achieved statuses.

How can we explain the obvious heterogeneity in the Dallas symbolizing process for status and rank, in particular the nonoccurrence of many elements at the DeArmond site. Hatch (1974) suggests a sociopolitical factor:

The distribution of most Southern Cult material in the Dallas sample is seen to directly correspond to the range of preeminent and subordinate status positions at each of the several interacting sites. (Hatch 1974:251)

Hence, the presence of this material and its associated symbolizing process indicates preeminent status; its absence, subordinate status.

This explanation ignores the factor of time and the intrasite differences in the mortuary patterning. Hatch's hierarchy of preeminent and subordinate status positions is built on a synchronic framework. This is logical since there were, and still are, no chronological controls to determine changes in the Dallas social system. Nevertheless, to assume that kinship extension and affiliation alone were involved in the development of a preeminent Dallas rank structure ignores the enormous structural and functional variability between and within Dallas settlements, and the interplay of local sociopolitical forces and ideologies on the social system.

In this thesis, the processes of trade were used to determine the internal structure and variability of Dallas settlements and the effects of trade on the local social order. The analysis of the mortuary data at particular Dallas settlements was used to identify, as

well as present data permit, gradations in sociocultural complexity, site function, and local status and rank. Based on these gradations and intersite differences, a typology of Dallas settlements and settlement functions can be developed. Figure 5 illustrates this typological scheme. The typology represents a synchronic settlement system. However, it does suggest possible sociopolitical developments of different settlement types. Though the typology is simplistic, it provides a methodological framework for the identification and placement of additional sites, and represents an improvement in Dallas settlement types by alleviating simple mound/village site designations.

It is proposed that settlements, from specialized trading facility (DeArmond) to sociopolitical ceremonial center (Hixon), would develop status and rank systems. It is further proposed that the initial development of a status and rank system could have involved a similar symbolizing process and mechanism, perhaps Hatch's (1974) proposed kinship extension. Since all Dallas sites probably were not contemporaneous, further development of status and rank could have occurred independent of the initial processes of kinship affiliation. Local economic processes, such as trade and local social forces such as flexible or rigid cultural norms, surely contributed to the evolution and development of increasingly different site functions. These processes created new status and rank positions. This is why the synchronically-based Dallas mortuary data indicates gradations, deviations, and alternatives in the symbolizing process of status and

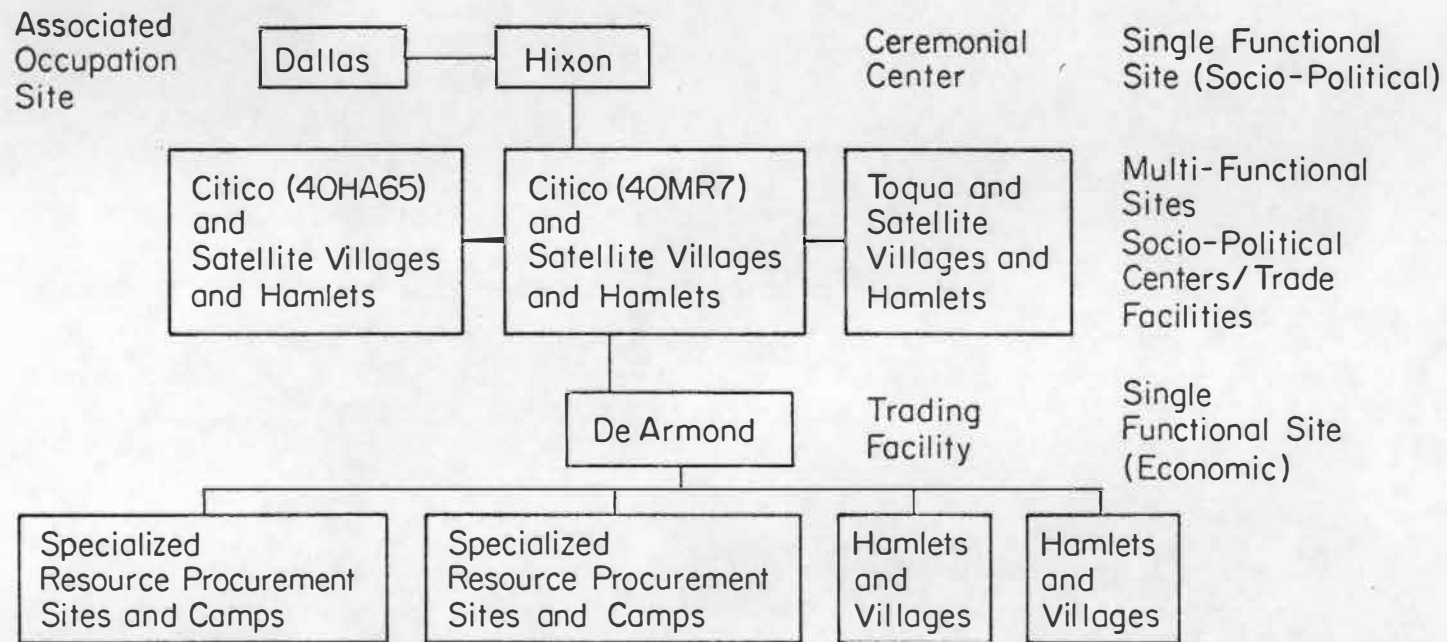


Figure 5. Typology of the Dallas Settlement System.

rank. There never was a homogeneous mechanism or symbolizing process in Dallas culture. Rather, there was a series of culminating social evolutionary mechanisms that eventually extended Dallas status and rank positions over a wide area. The simple notion that status and rank positions grow or spread from a political center is no longer acceptable as an explanation of Dallas social organization.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CONTINUED INVESTIGATION OF DALLAS TRADE NETWORKS AND TRADE FACILITIES

This thesis represents a preliminary reinterpretation of the Dallas sociopolitical and economic systems. There are a number of ways to enhance and expand the findings that have been presented here. Most importantly, research should focus on the development of a Late Mississippian Dallas phase chronology. This should be the primary objective in the integration and definition of the Dallas archaeological culture in time and space. Without such diachronic controls, the analysis of intersite and interregional sociocultural relationships cannot be made.

Future research should also focus on continuing to identify settlement components or site nodes along the Dallas trade transport network. The investigation of village domestic areas, and the isolation of functionally-specific areas within sites, such as storage facilities and workshops, is particularly important. The investigation and definition of intrasite differences in mortuary patterning is important in determining the internal structural complexity and evolution of status and rank systems at Dallas sites.

On a regional scale, surveys to locate Dallas satellite camps, hamlets, and smaller villages is critical in constructing a more holistic Dallas settlement system. This would help alleviate the bias in the Dallas site sample by deemphasizing the concept that Dallas

settlements are exclusively large and complex and occur only along major river transportation systems or in proximity to prime agricultural land.

A research strategy of this nature should also focus on identifying intrasite architectural patterns and site planning and comparing these patterns for different Dallas sites. Such analyses would help to further define and differentiate the elements and configurations of functionally-different types of settlements.

Trade routes, regional interactional exchange boundaries, and local and nonlocal source areas need to be investigated to better understand Dallas economic, sociopolitical, and spatial-organizational systems.

Time-space correlations of exotic and utilitarian raw materials and finished products in the Dallas area need to be refined. For example, no one has compared mineralogical and stylistic similarities of mica or chert in the Dallas area. There has yet been no thorough studies of the shell artifacts on Dallas sites, such as Baker's (1923; 1932) analysis of the Cahokia and Etowah mollusks. Questions relative to species, quantity, distribution, and stylistic representations of shell artifacts need to be investigated. The analysis, distribution, and sources of East Tennessee flint also needs investigation. Finally, no one has conducted comparative analyses of supralocal symbols such as mica and copper headdresses, ceramic bottles, and large marine shell vessels in the Dallas area. Were supralocal symbols manufactured specifically for elites? Did the objects originate as finished products at one or more localities? Did small groups of specialized craftsmen make them or did large segments of the population contribute to their

manufacture? These are significant questions that need to be answered.

It is hoped that future research will continue to focus on the investigation and significance of Dallas trade networks and trading facilities.

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