

*FROM THE SOUTHEAST TO FORT ANCIENT: A SURVEY OF
SHELL GORGETS IN WEST VIRGINIA*

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ABSTRACT

One of the most unique and artistic artifacts found throughout the eastern United States is the engraved shell gorget. During late prehistoric and protohistoric times many of these gorgets were transported from the Southeast, where they were associated with the Mississippian Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, into Fort Ancient territory.

Engraved shell gorgets can be traced to their region of origin, indicating prehistoric trade networks that were in place throughout the eastern United States. In addition, the gorgets can serve as temporal markers to order late prehistoric and protohistoric Fort Ancient sites in time.

Shell gorgets are found mainly in a burial context. In their home territory, rattlesnake gorgets were found primarily with adult females and subadults, probably of high rank. In contrast, the mask gorget was primarily associated with males and subadults. A study of burial associations at Fort Ancient sites should reveal the similarities in the way the gorgets were perceived, and shed some light on their function and significance, both in their original context and as trade items.

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For over one hundred years archaeologists have been trying to develop a clear picture of the people known as Fort Ancient, who lived in present day Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia (see Figure 1) during the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods. Fort Ancient villages first appeared in southern Ohio between AD 950-1000. After AD 1200, Fort Ancient settlements appeared in Kentucky and West Virginia. Fort Ancient society is described as a Mississippian manifestation, although it probably did not reach the chiefdom level of social structure.

Fort Ancient sites are found primarily along large water courses, such as the Ohio River, the Kentucky, Licking, and Big Sandy rivers in Kentucky; the Kanawha River in West Virginia; the Whitewater River in Indiana; and the Miami, Little Miami, Brush Creek, Scioto, Hocking, and Muskingham rivers in Ohio. These sites are located in three physiographic provinces: the unglaciated Allegheny Plateau, the Blue Grass Region of the Interior Low Plateau, and the Till Plains of the Central Lowlands.

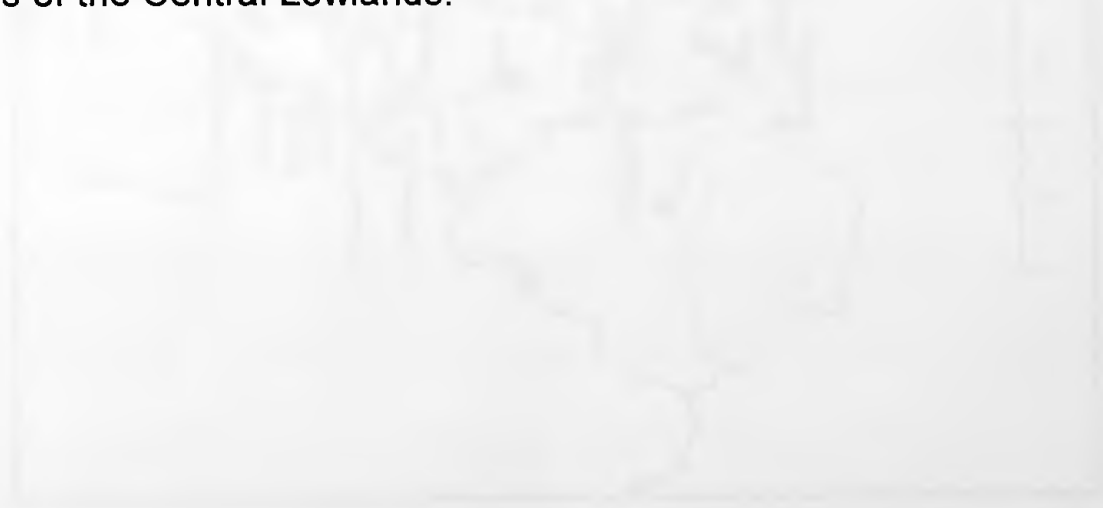
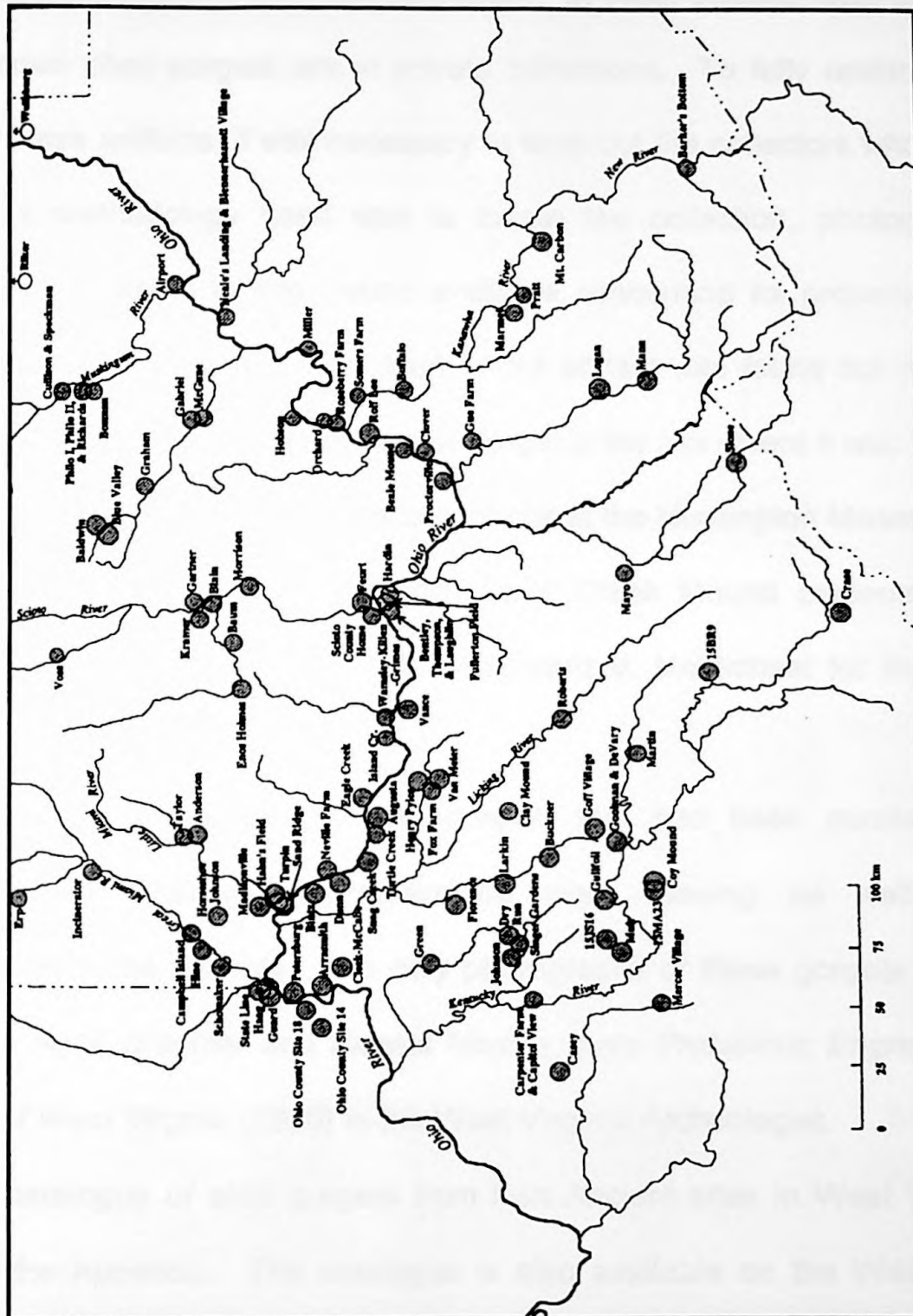


Figure 1. Currently recognized Fort Ancient sites (Drooker 1997).



METHODOLOGY

The engraved shell gorget is so unique that not only was it valued in prehistoric times, but it is also very rare today. In West Virginia, over 80 percent of the known shell gorgets are in private collections. To fully understand the range of these artifacts, it was necessary to seek out the collectors who possess them. The methodology used was to locate the collection, photograph the gorget, and access any information available concerning its provenience. In some instances, no records were kept or the artifact was found out of context. Many times the only provenience for the gorget is the site where it was found.

I was provided access to the collections at the Huntington Museum of Art, the Blennerhassett Museum, and the Grave Creek Mound museum. I was allowed access to the original notes of Edward V. McMichael for the gorgets from Buffalo.

Unfortunately, several of the gorgets that had been curated at the Blennerhassett Museum in Parkersburg were missing as well as the photographs of the artifacts. The only photographs of these gorgets are in an article by Janet Brashler and Ronald Moxley, *Late Prehistoric Engraved Shell Gorgets of West Virginia* (1990) in the *West Virginia Archeologist*.

A catalogue of shell gorgets from Fort Ancient sites in West Virginia is found in the Appendix. The catalogue is also available on the West Virginia Archeological Society website at www.wvlc.wvnet.edu/wvarlc/archp.html.

**TABLE 1
SHELL GORGETS**

GORGET #	PROVENIENCE	STYLE	SIZE	BURIAL ASSO
PU31/1	BUFFALO (46PU31)	MASK GORGET BUFFALO STYLE	9.25X14CM	MALE
PU31/2	BUFFALO (46PU31)	ENGRAVED MASKETTE WEEPING EYE DESIGN	4.5X5.5CM	MALE
PU31/3	BUFFALO (46PU31)	MASK GORGET UNENGRAVED	9X11.5CM	FEMALE
PU31/4	BUFFALO (46PU31)	UNENGRAVED MASKETTE	4.5X6CM	CHILD
PU31/5	BUFFALO (46PU31)	ENGRAVED MASKETTE WEEPING EYE DESIGN	2X3"	NONE
PU31/6	BUFFALO (46PU31)	UNENGRAVED MASKETTE	2.5CM WIDE	NONE
PU31/7	BUFFALO (46PU31)	RATTLESNAKE GORGET BRAKEBILL STYLE	10.5X9CM	CHILD
PU31/8	BUFFALO (46PU31)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN	15X17CM	MALE
PU31/9	BUFFALO (46PU31)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN	2.5CM WIDE	NONE
PU31/10	BUFFALO (46PU31)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN	6X5.5CM	CHILD
PU31/11	BUFFALO (46PU31)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN	5X5.5CM	FEMALE
PU31/12	BUFFALO (46PU31)	UNENGRAVED MASKETTE		CHILD
SU/9/1	BLUESTONE (46SU9)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN		
CB40/1	CLOVER (46CB40)	RATTLESNAKE GORGET CITICO STYLE	10.5X9CM	NONE?
LG5/1	MAN (46LG5)	LIZARD/SPIDER GORGET	6.5X10.5CM BROKEN	NONE
KA9/1	MARMET (46KA9)	MASK GORGET BUFFALO STYLE	10X13CM	MALE
KA9/2	MARMET (46KA9)	MASK GORGET BUFFALO STYLE	10.5X13CM	NONE
KA9/3	MARMET (46KA9)	MASK GORGET UNENGRAVED	10X12.5	MALE
KA9/4	MARMET (46KA9)	MASK GORGET UNENGRAVED	8.5X11.5CM	MALE
KA9/5	MARMET (46KA9)	RATTLESNAKE GORGET CITICO STYLE LIGHTLY ENGRAVED	12X11CM	
KA9/6	MARMET (46KA9)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN	10X10CM	
KA9/7	MARMET (46KA9)	UNENGRAVED MASKETTE	5.5 X 7 CM	
WD39/1	NEALE'S LANDING (46WD39)	ENGRAVED MASKETTE WEEPING EYE DESIGN		
MS61/1	ORCHARD (46MS61)	ENGRAVED MASKETTE WEEPING EYE DESIGN	2.5X3CM	CHILD
MS61/2	ORCHARD (46MS61)	ENGRAVED MASKETTE WEEPING EYE DESIGN	2X2.5CM	CHILD
MS61/3	ORCHARD (46MS61)	UNENGRAVED MASKETTE	3.5X4CM	CHILD
MS61/4	ORCHARD (46MS61)	MASK GORGET MCBEE STYLE	7.5X10CM	
MS61/5	ORCHARD (46MS61)	MASK GORGET MCBEE STYLE	8X11.5CM	
MS61/6	ORCHARD (46MS61)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN	8X8CM	CHILD
MS61/7	ORCHARD (46MS61)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN	15X13CM	
MS61/8	ORCHARD (46MS61)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN	14X15.5CM	MALE
MS61/9	ORCHARD (46MS61)	RATTLESNAKE GORGET	11X10CM	

GORGET #	PROVENIENCE	STYLE	SIZE	BURIAL ASSO
		CITICO STYLE LIGHTLY ENGRAVED		
KA31/1	PRATT (46KA31)	RATTLESNAKE GORGET CITICO STYLE	13X10CM	NONE
KA31/2	PRATT (46KA31)	RATTLESNAKE GORGET CITICO STYLE	12X10CM	NONE
MS51/1	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	MASK GORGET BUFFALO STYLE	9.5X11CM	CHILD
MS51/2	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	MASK GORGET BUFFALO STYLE		
MS51/3	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	MASK/RATTLESNAKE GORGET		
MS51/4	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	MASK GORGET BUFFALO STYLE	4.78"X5.78"	
MS51/5	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	HALF MASKETTE W/NOSE		
MS51/6	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	MASK GORGET BUFFALO STYLE		
MS51/7	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	MASK GORGET BUFFALO STYLE		
MS51/8	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	MASK GORGET BUFFALO STYLE		
MS51/9	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	MASK GORGET CHICKAMAUGA STYLE W/BEAD	13X18CM	MALE
MS51/10	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	ATYPICAL ROUND MASK WEEPING EYE DESIGN		
MS51/11	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	ATYPICAL HEART SHAPE MASK WEEPING EYE DESIGN		
MS51/12	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	BROKEN MASKETTE WEEPING EYE DESIGN	1-1/8"X1" BROKEN	
MS51/13	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	MASK GORGET BUFFALO STYLE		
MS51/14	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	HALF MASKETTE WEEPING EYE DESIGN	3.5X5.5CM	
MS51/15	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	RATTLESNAKE GORGET CITICO STYLE	12.5X11CM	NONE
MS51/16	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	SPIDER GORGET		
MS51/17	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	UNENGRAVED MASKETTE W/NOSE		
MS51/18	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	ERODED RATTLESNAKE	5.5"X5.5"	
MS51/19	ROLF LEE (46MS51)	ERODED RATTLESNAKE	3.25"X3"	
MS38/1	SOMERS FARM (46MS38)	CRUCIFORM GORGET RUSSELL STYLE	3.5"X3"	
MS36/1	SOUTHSIDE (46MS36)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN	12.5X10.5CM	FEMALE
MS36/2	SOUTHSIDE (46MS36)	ROUND GORGET PLAIN	14X12CM	FEMALE

HISTORY OF THE FORT ANCIENT CONCEPT

The earliest accounts of the society known as Fort Ancient placed it before the Hopewell culture in time. Intensive investigations during the late 1800s by archaeologists such as Charles L. Metz, Fredrick W. Putnam, at the Madisonville and Turner sites, and Warren K. Moorehead, at Fort Ancient and Hopewell Group sites helped divide the Ohio moundbuilders into two distinct cultures. The culture represented at the Turner and Hopewell sites appeared more advanced than the other in artistic expression and earthwork building (Essenpreis 1978).

Moorehead, working in Ohio, uncovered a large quantity of later prehistoric material near the site known as the Fort Ancient Earthwork. Later, during his analysis of the materials from the Baum Site in Ohio, William C. Mills noticed similarities between the materials there and those Moorehead had recovered. Mills also assumed that the builders of the earthworks had inhabited the villages where Moorehead had found the late prehistoric materials. Based upon this assumption, Mills gave the name of the earthwork (Fort Ancient) to the late prehistoric materials from the Baum Site (Sharp 1990).

The earthwork is now known as a Woodland site, but for several years archaeologists felt that Hopewell sites were more "advanced" than Fort Ancient sites and therefore later. By the end of the 1920s, through a great deal of investigation of Fort Ancient sites in the Ohio Valley, researchers finally

concluded that the Fort Ancient culture had developed after Hopewell (Sharp 1990).

James B. Griffin's landmark *The Fort Ancient Aspect* (1943) was the first attempt to synthesize all that was known about Fort Ancient sites. The purpose of Griffin's research was to "find and isolate smaller groupings within the larger cultural whole" (Griffin 1943).

Griffin utilized the Midwestern Taxonomic (or McKern) Method, to group sites into units based on similarities of cultural traits. The five taxonomic levels designated for the McKern system, in order of increasing inclusiveness, are focus, aspect, phase, pattern, and base. Griffin was able to define four foci within the Fort Ancient aspect. Each of the four foci, Baum, Feurt, Anderson, and Madisonville, had distinctive artifacts and pottery. Each focus was made up of several components or individual sites.

The Baum and Anderson foci shared similarities such as the predominantly grit tempered ceramics of the Late Woodland period. Several of the Baum focus sites were associated with burial mounds (Griffin 1943).

The Anderson focus had two distinctive traits. One was a shell gorget engraved with a cross and the other was a wide-based, triangular projectile point unlike those found in other foci (Griffin 1943).

The Feurt focus was geographically centered near the mouth of the Scioto River and upstream on the Ohio River. Feurt sites contained a distinctive

Feurt Incised pottery as well as beads made from the *Oliva* marine shell. The Feurt focus also shared many of the traits found in Baum sites (Griffin 1943).

The Madisonville focus contained many pottery styles, several of which were like Mississippian pottery. Griffin felt that the Madisonville focus represented a fusion of one group of people with traits of the early Fort Ancient culture influenced by another group of people with Mississippian cultural traits (Griffin 1943).

Griffin saw these foci as the basic units for further study. They represented "human groups possessing nearly identical cultural habits, assuming these habits would be reflected in the material traits by which the focus was defined" (Griffin 1943:336).

Griffin viewed Fort Ancient as an offshoot of a middle Mississippian culture that migrated into the Ohio drainage area and merged with a Woodland group that had already been exposed to some Mississippian cultural traits through diffusion. Griffin included five sites in West Virginia in his study: Clifton (Pratt), Brownstown (Marmet), Wells (Buffalo), Clover, and Blennerhassett Island (Griffin 1943).

In 1950, the development of radiocarbon dating led to the recognition of a greater time depth for Fort Ancient societies. Griffin had believed the Fort Ancient period to last only about 250-300 years. New dates with radiocarbon dating lengthened the time frame from approximately AD 1000 to 1650 (Graybill 1981).

In 1955, William J. Mayer-Oakes added a new focus to the Fort Ancient aspect in his book, *Prehistory of the Upper Ohio Valley*. He studied several protohistoric sites to the southwest of his primary study area, which he designated as the Clover complex. This new complex was contemporaneous with the Madisonville focus. Several of the sites included had European trade goods suggesting a protohistoric or early historic date (Mayer-Oakes 1955).

In 1961, in an unpublished undergraduate paper entitled *A General Survey of Fort Ancient in the Kentucky-West Virginia Area*, Robert Dunnell focused on twenty Fort Ancient sites in Kentucky and four in West Virginia. Using Griffin's and Mayer-Oakes' works as a starting point, he called the Clover Complex of Mayer-Oakes a focus, as it consisted mainly of sites in West Virginia that shared a number of traits with other sites in the Fort Ancient aspect (Henderson 1992).

Dunnell used seriation of ceramics to order sites in relative chronological order. He found that the most recent sites containing European trade goods also had the highest amount of shell-tempered pottery sherds. Sites with pottery containing little or no shell-temper, or mixed shell and grit temper, were considered to be the earliest. Seriation of other cultural traits was used to verify the relative ceramic dates (Henderson 1992).

Dunnell observed two groups of sites that did not fit any of Griffin's foci. He assigned these to two new foci, Yates and Mayo. Sites assigned to the Yates focus were located mainly in the central Kentucky Bluegrass region.

These sites had burial mounds associated with them, as well as circular houses, flexed and semiflexed burials, nonshell-tempered pottery, and crude stone disks. The other new division, the Mayo Focus, was located mainly in the southeastern mountains of Kentucky. These sites had an abundance of shell-tempered pottery and very crude goundstone artifacts (Henderson 1992).

Dunnell's Fort Ancient chronology began with the Yates focus around AD 1000. The Feurt and Mayo foci were considered middle Fort Ancient. Madisonville began early in the west and in time spread over most of the area. The Clover focus was considered late Fort Ancient, from around AD 1550 to 1680. Both Clover and Madisonville were still in existence around the time of European contact (Henderson 1992).

Although Dunnell's study had no absolute dates to work with, it is important for several reasons. Dunnell assigned a "relative temporal ordering" to the foci developed by Griffin. He developed two new foci and extended the date of Fort Ancient from AD 1000 to 1680 (with some lasting until 1790), which is very close to what is known today (Henderson 1992).

In 1970, Olaf Prufer and Douglas McKenzie examined the relationship between Late Woodland and Fort Ancient societies in south central Ohio. This led to the publication of *Blain Village and the Fort Ancient Tradition of Ohio*, by Prufer and Orrin Shane. From their comparison of Fort Ancient and Late Woodland pottery traits, Prufer and Shane concluded that the appearance of Fort Ancient was too sudden to be a gradual development from Late Woodland

and must have resulted from an influx of Mississippian individuals from the west, driving the indigenous Woodland peoples into the hills.

Prufer and Shane divided Fort Ancient into three periods: early (AD 950-1250), middle (AD 1250-1450), and late (AD 1450-1750). Early Fort Ancient societies includes the Baum, Baldwin, and Brush Creek phases. During the middle Fort Ancient phase, the Feurt phase follows Baum in central and eastern Ohio, and the Anderson phase follows Brush Creek in the western Fort Ancient area. Feurt and Anderson are considered temporally equivalent (AD 1250-1450). Throughout the late Fort Ancient phase Madisonville is predominant in the middle Ohio Valley (AD 1450 to 1750). Madisonville derives its traits from both foreign influences and local Fort Ancient phases (Essenpreis 1978).

In the 1978 work entitled *Fort Ancient Settlement: Differential Response at a Mississippian - Late Woodland Interface*, Patricia Essenpreis described the variation among Fort Ancient phases as a result of "differential development on the local level" (Essenpreis 1978:152). Essenpreis believed that examination of the phases demonstrated that they were partly contemporaneous and the presence of ceramic types of one phase found at sites of another was a result of interaction between groups rather than an evolution of one phase into another:

The model development described by Essenpreis, Fort Ancient appeared in southern Ohio by AD 950-1000, emerging out of a Late Woodland base and moving toward an increasing reliance on maize agriculture and increased sedentism. The stimulus for this change came from Mississippian cultures to the

west, that were also beginning to rely more on agriculture. The continuation of Late Woodland ceramic attributes, as well as house forms and burial practices, supports the Late Woodland base hypothesized by Essenpreis.

Other characteristics, which illustrate the Fort Ancient participation in the Mississippian system, were the emergence of larger, more stable villages often built around a central plaza and the appearance of a temple mound at the Baum site. The development of "more elaborate stylistic attributes in ceramics and more diversified bone and lithic technologies" shows a separation of these developing Fort Ancient villages from the "culturally ancestral Late Woodland cultures" (Essenpreis 1978:152).

Essenpreis believed that,

Fort Ancient development reflects the operation of at least two distinct cultural processes. The Baum, Baldwin, Brush Creek, Anderson, and Feurt phases develop as a result of incorporation of early Mississippian features into local adaptive systems. The subsequent Madisonville phase appeared as a result of population movement up the Ohio River from the west with expansion into areas of Kentucky and West Virginia that lack Fort Ancient antecedents (Essenpreis 1978:155).

In his Ph.D. dissertation, Jeffrey R. Graybill noted that, until 1981, all studies of Fort Ancient had treated the foci or phases as temporally homogeneous units. Graybill felt that all previous efforts had failed because of "a lack of a solid Fort Ancient chronology" (Graybill 1981:3).

Graybill stated that one major problem with the study of Fort Ancient was that archaeologists have assigned sites to it while lacking a firm definition of the concept. He suggested that all the sites that fit the traits of Fort Ancient, such as

shell-tempered pottery, circular villages, maize agriculture, burial mounds, and triangular points, which have been designated as Fort Ancient may not have belonged to a "cohesive entity". He noted that these same traits belonged to neighboring cultures as well. Graybill preferred to define Fort Ancient as "village-dwelling agriculturists inhabiting the central Ohio Valley" (Graybill 1981:23).

According to Graybill (1981:24), using his definition of Fort Ancient, geographic limits are purely arbitrary and the foci or phases proposed by Dunnell, Griffin, and Mayer-Oakes "represent spatial-temporal variability." These include the Baum, Anderson, Madisonville, Feurt, Clover, and Yates phases, and a new phase (introduced with his paper), Fox Farm. Two phases proposed by Prufer and Shane, Baldwin and Brush Creek, were excluded by Graybill because of their similarities to Baum

Graybill identified four Fort Ancient traditions based upon ceramic typology for his study. A "tradition" is essentially a temporal designation. The first is Baum/Anderson to the north (AD 1050-1450), Yates/Madisonville to the west (AD 1050-1650), Fox Farm to the south (AD 1450-1700), and Feurt/Clover to the east (AD 1050-1650). Each of these traditions except Fox Farm has a time depth of 400-600 years (Graybill 1981).

Graybill focused on the Feurt-Clover tradition for his study and used only larger habitation sites (.25 ha. or larger). He used seriation, radiocarbon dating, and topological cross-dating to order the sites chronologically. Three major artifact types, attributes, or classes were ranked to produce a summary order

table. Ceramic surface treatment, triangular points, and European trade goods were used to achieve his ordering scheme. He also used the survey record and the excavation record for three sites.

From his research, Graybill was able to show changes in settlement patterns over time. Before 1250 AD, Feurt-Clover sites were restricted to high terraces paralleling larger streams. Through time, these sites became larger and the houses changed from subsurface pithouses to larger surface dwellings. Burial mounds found in early Feurt-Clover sites were absent after AD 1250.

Graybill also defined three distinct periods of Feurt-Clover settlement variability. The Early Period (AD 1050-1250) was one of maize agriculture, circular to elliptical villages, and the use of exclusively shell-tempered pottery. All sites studied were located on high terraces (T-1, T-2) paralleling large streams. The sites were predominantly circular in shape and built around a central plaza. Burial mounds and a few burials were restricted to the plaza. There was no evidence of fortification in these sites (Graybill 1981).

During the Middle Period (AD 1250-1450), settlements were predominantly in the floodplain. The sites were larger and elliptical in shape. Burial mounds disappeared from the record about this time. There still were no fortifications (Graybill 1981).

In the Late Period (AD 1450-1650), villages were larger than before and located both in the floodplain and high terraces. The structures were larger and fortifications were seen for the first time. The evidence suggested widespread

merging of Feurt-Clover populations through time. Graybill saw this as a response to increasing conflict and aggression brought on by changes in climate that brought on crop failure and competition for limited resources. He also stated that even if the Fort Ancient groups were unaffected by this climate change themselves, their neighbors to the north might have been, compelling them to engage in warfare to the south (Graybill 1981).

In 1986, in Adams County, Ohio, a conference on Fort Ancient was held to allow discussion of current Fort Ancient issues, especially those relating to chronology and ceramic typology. Participants from all regions of the Middle Ohio Valley attended and agreed upon several points.

They agreed that early and middle Fort Ancient phases exhibit a great deal of interregional diversity (i.e. Anderson, Baum, Feurt, Osborne, Croghan, and Manion). Changes in ceramics and other aspects of Fort Ancient culture appeared around 1400 AD. After 1400, Madisonville series ceramics dominated all assemblages and settlements tended to be larger and more intensively occupied. The participants also agreed to replace the Madisonville "phase" (focus) with "Madisonville horizon" to better encompass the regional differences which might be present but overlooked (Sharp 1990).

A. Gwynn Henderson and David Pollack produced a model of Fort Ancient development based upon the investigations in Kentucky that may help identify general developments in other Fort Ancient cultural areas. This model differs from Prufer and Shane's (1970) as it views Fort Ancient as developing

from local Late Woodland cultures instead of a migration of peoples into the area. It also differs from the model proposed by Essenpreis, which attributed the changes associated with the Madisonville horizon to a migration of people out of the Miami drainage and into other Fort Ancient culture areas. Instead, the Madisonville horizon is seen as "a time of increased intraregional interaction within the Fort Ancient culture area." It also differs from other Fort Ancient models (Essenpreis 1978; Graybill 1981; Griffin 1943; Prufer and Shane 1970) as it attempts to characterize Fort Ancient social and political organization (Henderson 1992:282).

The model incorporated the evolutionary scheme proposed by Allen W. Johnson and Timothy Earle in the 1987 book, *The Evolution of Human Societies: From Foraging Group to Agrarian State*. This scheme "places social organization in the forefront", and is built on two main concepts, the subsistence economy and the political economy (Henderson 1992:282).

Henderson and Pollack's model views Fort Ancient culture as a horticultural society, which adapted to the differing environments of the Ohio Valley. By the end of the Late Woodland, a horticultural subsistence base was already established in this region and became increasingly "Mississippianized" through time, and late prehistoric interaction. Early Fort Ancient settlements were similar to what Johnson and Earle call "family/hamlet" type of "family level group" (Henderson 1992).

These family/hamlets usually consisted of 25-30 persons on a fairly permanent basis. Subsistence was based upon wild foods, sometimes with a small amount of horticulture. More often food was stored. Throughout the year, individuals or families moved out to exploit specific resources.

Middle period Fort Ancient villages became larger and more nucleated than in the previous period. House size was also larger. There was usually a buildup of thicker midden deposits around the village, which indicated a longer period of occupation. Often the village was built in a circular pattern around a central plaza. The presence of a central plaza suggests the importance of ceremonialism to middle Fort Ancient culture. Most middle Fort Ancient individuals were buried without any grave goods. Usually, the individuals were buried in a mortuary zone within the village except for infants and newborns, who were sometimes placed in trash pits (Henderson 1992).

After AD 1400, the Fort Ancient culture developed a wider regional and interregional ideological and exchange network. This was the beginning of the Madisonville horizon and widespread changes, including larger communities and possibly the beginning of the "Big Man" system to lead them (Hemderon 1992).

Henderson (1992) disagrees with Graybill's (1981) picture of increased conflict and warfare between groups as a result of crop failure due to climate changes. According to her, there is little evidence for increased conflict between Fort Ancient communities and groups to the north, except for the Buffalo site, a late Madisonville horizon in West Virginia.

The Madisonville horizon saw a change in burial practices also. No burial mounds were constructed during this period. Many more grave goods were buried with the dead during this time and most of the items were manufactured from nonlocal materials. This was the period represented by the marine shell beads and the plain or engraved (weeping eye or rattlesnake) marine shell gorgets. In the later part of the Madisonville horizon, burials included reworked copper and brass objects, which indicate indirect European contact (Henderson 1992).

Henderson (1992) states that prior to AD 1400, the Fort Ancient groups may not have traded with the Mississippian groups believed to be responsible for many of these exotic grave goods. Before that time one or the other of the two groups may not have felt the need to trade outside of their territories. After that time, both groups probably had an interest in developing exchange relationships. This trend toward trade also would account for the "Mississippianization" of late Fort Ancient groups.

The latest study of Madisonville and contemporaneous Fort Ancient sites was recently completed (1997) by Penelope Drooker and is reported in her dissertation, *The View From Madisonville*. This began as a reanalysis of previously recovered materials from Madisonville and explores the internal relationships of the village and external relationships with other Fort Ancient sites in Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia.

Drooker (1997:2) felt that Fort Ancient society displayed "peer polity interaction" which saw "autonomous sociopolitical units of similar size in the same geographic region". This model of social interaction experiences a "full range of interchanges taking place (including imitation and emulation, competition, warfare, and the exchange of material goods and or information) between autonomous socio-political units which are situated beside or close to each other within a single geographical region..." (Renfrew 1986:1).

According to Drooker (1997:4), during the late prehistoric Madisonville horizon, eastern and western Fort Ancient groups "were in regular and intimate contact, as evidenced by the similarities in ceramic styles, pipes, functional artifacts, settlement locations and organization, and supralocal symbols such as marine shell maskettes."

The currently accepted picture of protohistoric Fort Ancient society is not one of gradual, controlled change. By the end of the 17th century, the once populous Ohio Valley was abandoned. Although historians differ, the current view is that Iroquois incursions into the area, coupled with European diseases, led to the demise of villages along the Ohio and its tributaries (Drooker 1997).

FORT ANCIENT IN WEST VIRGINIA

The Ohio River drainage was home to many settlements during the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods (see Figure 1). There were numerous Fort Ancient sites along the Kanawha River, including Pratt, Marmet, Buffalo, Southside and Somers Farm. On the Ohio River there were villages at Neale's

Landing, Orchard, Roseberry Farm, and Rolf Lee. There may be other villages that have not yet been identified. This paper will deal primarily with late Fort Ancient Clover Complex sites, with a few exceptions.

SHELL GORGETS

John Swanton (1946), in *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, quotes John Lawson (1860:315-317), observing the historic Indians in the Southeast:

They oftentimes make, of this shell, a sort of gorge, which they wear about their neck in a string; so it hangs on their collar, whereon is engraven a cross, or some odd figure, which comes next in their fancy. There are other sorts valued at a doe skin, yet the gorges will sometimes sell for three or four buck skins ready dressed.

The term *gorget* comes from the French word *gorge*, for the throat. The term has come to mean any object with two or more holes suspended from the neck. Engraved shell gorgets are typically considered part of the Southern Cult or the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. The symbols that appear on many engraved shell gorgets are recurring themes that occurred throughout the Southeast and reflect the ideologies of the Mississippian culture.

THE SOUTHEASTERN CEREMONIAL COMPLEX

Mississippian societies in late prehistory (post 1000 AD) developed into complex chiefdoms. The ideology of these chiefdoms, reflected in the recurring motifs illustrated and engraved on the pottery and shell ornaments, is known as the Southeastern Ceremonial complex or Southern Cult.

The complex spread throughout the Mississippian and other Southeastern cultures reaching its peak around 1300, according to many archaeologists. The iconography is similar to that of Mesoamerica, and was at first thought to have spread from there. However, there is no concrete evidence of direct contact from Mesoamerica or of a center for the complex (Trigger 1978).

The complex was partly religious, partly economic, and partly a system of exchange (Muller 1989). Much about the complex is not well understood (Peregrine 1996). Brain and Phillips (1996) believe that there was no single ideology shared by the groups throughout the Southeast and that the Southern Cult is something of a misnomer. There were recurring themes that appeared from group to group, with variations.

The exotic artifacts and motifs of the Southeastern Ceremonial complex include engraved shell gorgets, cups, masks, repoussé copper plates, and polished stone axes. The designs of the complex include a human-bird figure, a hand with an eye, a weeping eye, various cross symbols (Peregrine 1996).

Many of the designs used on the shell gorgets represent elements found in the mythology of the Creek, Choctaw, Cherokee, and other groups from the Southeast. The cruciform, or circle and cross motif is thought to represent the world and the four cardinal directions. The circle is also a symbol of the sun and the cross represents the sacred fire (Taylor 1994). These themes were used much earlier in Early Woodland and before throughout the eastern United States (Muller 1989).

The spider motif represents the coming of fire. In Cherokee mythology, it was the water spider who wove a bowl and placed it on her back to carry fire to humankind (Taylor 1994).

In Southeastern mythology, the rattlesnake figure was associated with the Underworld and the constant struggle with the powers above, such as the land animals and birds. This figure, called Uktena, was greatly feared (Chapman 1985). In Cherokee mythology, Uktena is horned with a great flashing jewel on his head. He has seven bands of color around his neck and sometimes possesses wings or antlers. Among the Creek, Yuchi, and Hitchiti the Utkena is at home on land, in the water, or in the air, and preys on humans (Taylor 1994). Perhaps the gorget was worn to protect its wearer from the forces of the Underworld.

The weeping-eye or forked-eye motif found on mask gorgets also is found in cultures in other parts of the world. There are examples of similar designs from Mesoamerica, the Northwest Coast, Mexico, South America, Polynesia, and Africa (Compton 1959). Some archaeologists no longer think the mask gorgets were representative of the Southeastern Ceremonial complex.

There are several explanations for the significance of the weeping eye motif and the reason they adorn predominantly male ornaments. The first suggestion is that they were used as death masks. Since the mask gorgets usually show little evidence of routine wear, some archaeologists feel they were

strictly used for burial purposes and the lines radiating from the eyes represent tears (Kneberg 1959).

Another suggestion is that the forked-eye motif resembles a falcon, whose swiftness and aggressiveness were coveted by warriors. The evidence of a mask gorget in the war bundle of a historic Kansa warrior appears to add weight to this interpretation. Before battle, warriors opened their bundle and hung the gorgets around their necks. Another unique idea suggested by Marvin and Julie Smith (1989) is that perhaps the mask gorgets were symbolic trophy heads.

Perhaps the most well supported theory merges the falcon symbolism with the Thunderbird, that was part of the mythology of many southeastern Indian groups. In a Creek myth, thunder is a source of power for warriors (Smith and Smith 1989). A Cherokee myth tells of the Thunder Beings called upon to provide game for the people. The Thunder Beings' song brought many deer to feed the hungry Cherokee (Taylor 1994). Smith and Smith (1989) suggest that perhaps the gorgets are representative of the Thunder Beings and might be hunting charms. This would explain the predominantly male context and why they are sometimes found with subadults.

Engraved shell gorgets reflect such a high level of expertise and artistry that some archaeologists believe a society supporting full time artisans and specialists working at designated workshops is indicated. People of the eastern Tennessee Valley region were major participants in the Southeastern

Ceremonial complex in the 13th century when some of the earliest styles of gorget were manufactured (Muller 1989).

Many archaeologists believe that Mississippian culture and the Southeastern Ceremonial complex reached its apex around 1300 AD. However, Jeffrey Brain and Philip Phillips (1996:1) question the idea of Mississippian decline shortly after 1400 AD proposed by other archaeologists. They feel that this was a period of great activity and artistic expression and the engraved gorgets were "the epitome of sophisticated artistic and stylistic achievement during the late prehistoric Mississippian ascendancy". Dissatisfied with the time frame traditionally assigned to the Southern Cult and engraved shell gorgets, Brain and Phillips attempted to develop a better chronology.

Before radiocarbon dating, the Mississippian and Fort Ancient cultures were thought to have occupied only the last few centuries of prehistory. With the appearance of radiocarbon dating in the 1950s, the duration of both of these groups was found to be much longer, beginning around AD 1000. This also lengthened the perception of the span of the Southern Cult from around AD 1000 to 1700 (Brain and Phillips 1996).

Brain and Phillips (1996:2) felt that the Southern Cult belonged to a much later date and a much shorter interval. They felt the Cult represented the "zenith of southeastern artistic and technical sophistication..." and a climax within the Mississippian period, occurring just before European contact. They also

believed the European explorers not only hastened the process of decline and disintegration, but were the principal cause of it.

Brain and Phillips (1996) define late prehistory as beginning around AD 1200 and lasting until European contact, which for most of the Southeast was DeSoto's entrada, around 1540. Protohistory is defined as the period between the entrada and the establishment of a permanent French and English presence, around 1670. According to Brain and Phillips, most shell gorgets were deposited in their archaeological contexts after 1400 and before 1670.

Engraved shell gorgets can be used as "temporal markers" as well as evidence of trade between Fort Ancient villages and the southeast, particularly eastern Tennessee, where many of the gorgets found at Fort Ancient sites originated. The intensity of interaction between Fort Ancient and Mississippian societies can be inferred through the quantities of these exotic trade items from known external sources (Drooker 1997).

Brain and Phillips (1996) believe that the mask gorgets were all middle protohistoric in time, with some surviving into the eighteenth or even nineteenth century on the Plains. They overlapped in time with the rattlesnake gorgets, that first appeared during the early protohistoric period. The styles such as cruciform and spider were earlier, beginning in late prehistory.

Other archaeologists feel that the appearance of the gorgets at protohistoric villages outside of Mississippian territory occurred after the devastation caused by European contact, in particular, the De Soto entrada and

the breakdown of the Coosa chiefdom. After 1630, the rattlesnake design was gone from the East Tennessee region (Smith 1987).

TECHNIQUES

Shell gorgets were cut from large marine conch shells, or lightening whelks, of the species *Busycon perversum*, found only along the gulf and Atlantic coasts. Shell was commonly used for ritual and ornamental purposes. In Dallas villages, the Green Corn ceremony was celebrated with the "black drink" served from conch shell dippers (Chapman 1985).

Several techniques were used to form and decorate the gorgets. The basic shape was first cut from the outside whorl of the shell and an abrading tool was used to finish the edges. The design was engraved on the face of the disk using a sharp tool. The engraving was probably done with flint tools and finished with a fine-grained abrasive (Kneberg 1959).

The design chosen dictated which side of the shell was engraved. Round gorgets, such as rattlesnake gorgets, were engraved on the concave side of the shell while mask gorgets were engraved on the convex side. Some gorgets have decorative pitting as part of the design. Others have holes drilled all the way through as part of the design, in addition to suspension holes. Fenestration was used on some gorgets, where part of the design was cut away to create open spaces. Gorgets such as the Buffalo style with the weeping eye design had areas carved to produce a three-dimensional, bas-relief effect. Pigment

may have been added to some gorgets to fill in parts of the design, although little remains of these types of gorgets (Brain and Phillips 1996).

STYLES

Engraved shell gorgets come in many forms. Using combinations of technique, form, structure, and design, Brain and Phillips (1996) developed nine basic categories, or motifs, to classify the gorgets. These are: bird, crib, cruciform, geometric, human figural, mask, rattlesnake, spider, and the triskele. Each category contains several styles.

The categories developed by Brain and Phillips (1996) are similar to those used by Madeline Kneberg (1959) in *Engraved Shell Gorgets and Their Associations*. The terms for some categories are different and Brain and Phillips add a Geometric category. This paper will use the designations developed by Brain and Phillips.

There has been some controversy over Brain and Phillips (1996) style designations and the time frames they assigned to the different types of gorgets. Jon Muller (1997a, 1997b), in particular, takes issue with the late dates Brain and Phillips give for the Southern Cult and associated gorgets. He still believes that the Southern Cult dates to the late 13th and early 14th centuries, and that gorgets associated with the cult are from that period. However, he agrees that the rattlesnake and mask gorgets were late styles, but were probably not associated with the Southern Cult.

In West Virginia, only two kinds of engraved shell gorgets have been found in any number. The first type is the rattlesnake gorget. The second type of gorget commonly found in West Virginia is the mask gorget.

RATTLESNAKE GORGETS

The rattlesnake design is the latest of the engraved circular gorgets. The basic theme is a coiled rattlesnake with the body wrapped around the head. The eye is always in the center of the design and is represented by a pit circled by a series of concentric rings. The snake's open mouth reveals a row of teeth in each jaw. On some designs, curved horns or feathers on the upper jaw slant back toward the top of the head. The body of the snake is divided into three or four segments, represented by crosshatched, engraved lines indicating scales and separated by bars and concentric circles. At the end of the body the rattle is clear in all variations (Kneberg 1959).

Madeline Kneberg (1959) made a distinction between excised gorgets with fenestrations and conventionalized, unexcised gorgets. She believed the excised examples to be the earlier of the two. The conventionalized, unexcised rattlesnake is also found at late Yuchi (Mouse Creek Culture) sites.

Brain and Phillips (1996) have designated several styles within the rattlesnake theme which show a progression of development from the simple to the complex. These are: Lick Creek, Brakebill, Carters Quarter, and Citico. There is also a Saltville style that evolved from Lick Creek but was an evolutionary dead end.

The Lick Creek rattlesnake gorgets are generally small, less than 5cm, and simple in design. They display a great deal of open space or fenestration. Brain and Phillips (1996) believe that this is the original style of the genre because of its simplicity. The Lick Creek style corresponds to Kneberg's (1959) excised gorgets.

There have been no known gorgets of the Lick Creek style found in West Virginia. The style is found mainly in eastern Tennessee and bordering areas of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. More than half of the gorgets came from Toqua, a Mississippian town where the style may have originated (Brain and Phillips 1996).

The next, more complex style is Brakebill. This style also has fenestrations, which are narrower than Lick Creek. Most of the Brakebill style rattlesnake gorgets are found in eastern Tennessee, although one was found at the Buffalo site (46PU31) in West Virginia (see Figure 18).



Brakebill style rattlesnake gorget (Hanson 1975)

The Carters Quarter style displays fenestrations with less open space and more engraving than the two previous styles. No Carters Quarter style gorgets have been found in West Virginia.

The Citico style gorget is elaborately decorated over the entire concave surface. It is very similar to Carters Quarter without the fenestrations. Brain and Phillips (1996) view the Citico style as the end of the developmental sequence and as one of the latest and most numerous styles of shell gorgets. They also

believe that many examples of Citico gorgets share such a degree of similarity of design that they are from a single workshop, in this case at Williams Island.

The rattlesnake gorgets are thought to be associated with the Dallas Phase of Mississippian culture and in particular, the Coosa chiefdom, where they were primarily associated with high status women and children. The Dallas culture flourished in Tennessee and northern Georgia during late prehistory (Smith 1987).

Reports from early Spanish visitors to the Southeast reported numerous Dallas towns that were linked into a confederation subject to the chief at Coosa, thought to be the Little Egypt site in Georgia (Chapman 1985). When Hernando de Soto visited the Southeast, in 1540, the territory subject to the Coosa chief took 24 days to cover on horseback. De Soto's party encountered the Coosa chief, took him prisoner and released him far outside of his territory (Hudson, etal 1985).

After the De Soto visit, the Coosa chiefdom went through a period of decline. Villages were abandoned and most of the population moved about 150 miles to the southwest along the Coosa River into Alabama. Settlements became smaller and fewer, European diseases took their toll, and the number of mass graves increased. By the time the expedition of Tristan de Luna reached the Southeast, in 1559, all that was left of the once great Coosa chiefdom were seven small villages. Marvin Smith (1987) has dated the Citico style rattlesnake

gorget from before 1525 to between 1600 and 1630, after which they no longer appeared in the Southeast.

The area of east Tennessee, once home to the Dallas culture and the vast Coosa chiefdom, now became home to the Overhill Cherokee. The Coosa chiefdom later devolved into the Creek confederacy of villages (Chapman 1985). During this period of upheaval, engraved shell gorgets began to show up in Fort Ancient villages to the northwest. Fort Ancient territory has the second largest concentration of rattlesnake gorgets found after the eastern Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama region of Dallas culture (see Figure 2).

Jon Muller (1997) agrees that the Citico style rattlesnake gorgets came from a late 16th century context in eastern Tennessee and neighboring areas. However, he feels that the Citico gorget was associated with proto-Cherokee and historic Cherokee culture, and not the Coosa chiefdom, as the rattlesnake theme also appears in Cherokee mythology. Not only does he believe that the rattlesnake is not a Southern Cult style, but that it is probably not Mississippian.

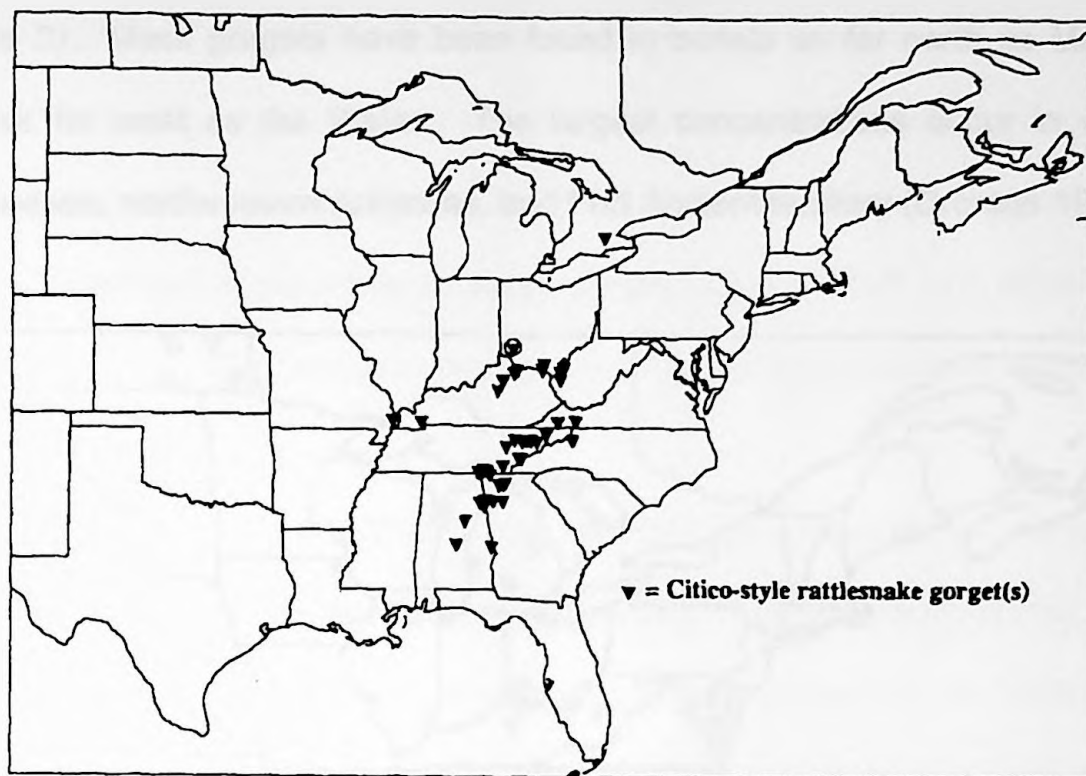


Figure 2. Distribution of Citico style rattlesnake gorgets (Drooker 1997).

According to Madeline Kneberg (1959), the amount of wear on rattlesnake gorgets is considerable indicating constant wear as opposed to only ceremonial or burial wear.

THE MASK GORGET

There is some question about whether masks were actually gorgets, suspended at the throat or chest. However, enough have been found on the chest of individuals in a burial context to confirm that they probably were worn around the neck or on the chest, although they do not show as much wear as

other styles of gorgets (Kneberg 1959). The mask gorget has a similar distribution to the rattlesnake gorget, although it is much more dispersed (see Figure 3). Mask gorgets have been found in burials as far north as Manitoba and as far west as the Plains. The largest concentrations occur in eastern Tennessee, northeastern Arkansas, and Fort Ancient territory (Drooker 1997).

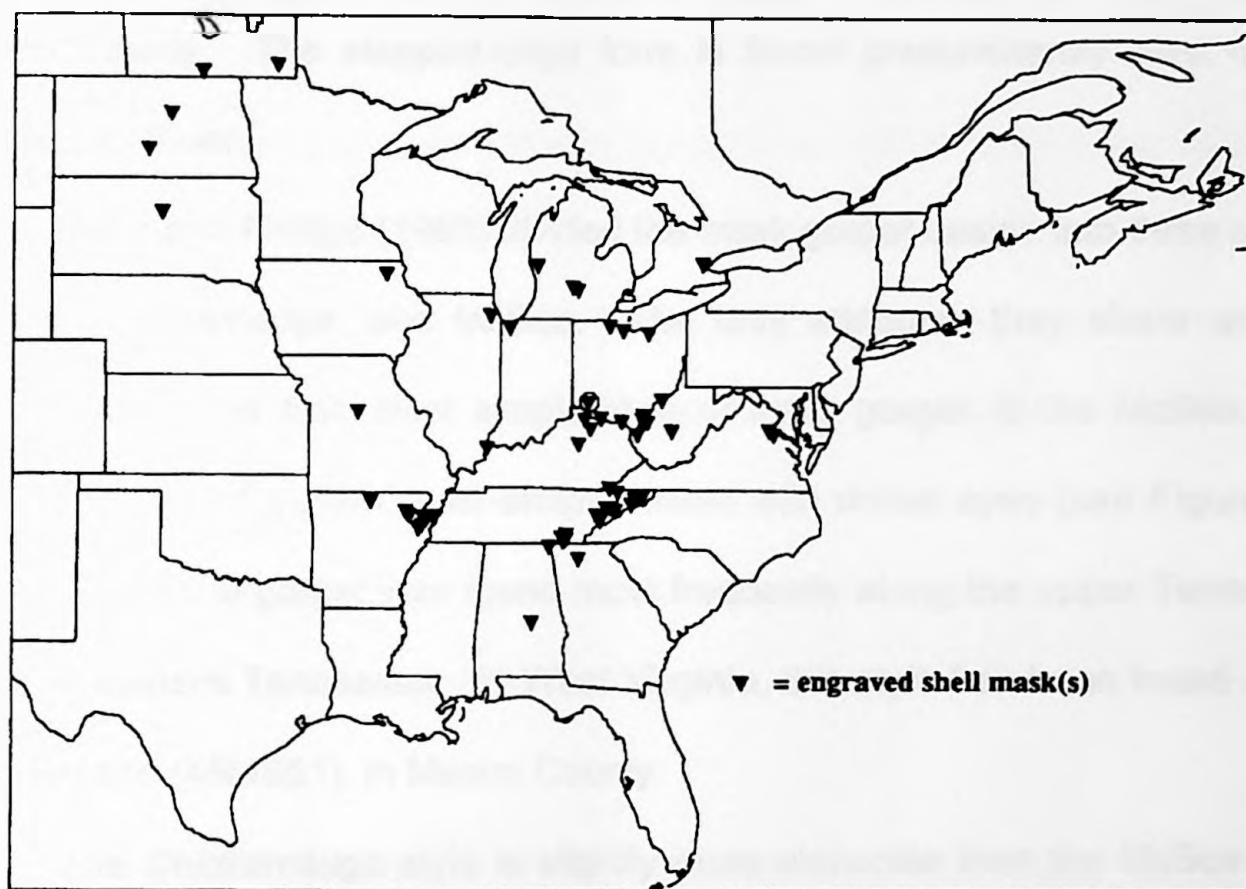


Figure 3. Distribution of mask gorgets (Drooker 1997).

Mask style gorgets are the largest because they are made from the outer whorl of the conch shell. The mask design is always engraved on the convex side of the shell. The form of the mask can take one of several shapes. Marvin

and Julie Smith (1989) noted four distinct shapes: pear-shaped, square-jawed, stepped-edge, and round. The pear-shaped form appears most frequently.

Smith and Smith (1989) felt that the square-jawed form might be a Fort Ancient style. However, in West Virginia, both the pear-shaped and the square-jawed forms are commonly found. There are also examples of an unusual round mask gorget and a pear-shaped mask gorget found at Rolf Lee (46MS51), in Mason County. The stepped-edge form is found predominantly west of the Mississippi River.

Brain and Phillips (1996) divided the mask gorget design into three styles: Buffalo, Chickamauga, and McBee. The only attributes they share are the drilled eyes. The first, most simple style of mask gorget, is the McBee style, which consists of a plain, pear-shaped mask with drilled eyes (see Figure 43). The McBee-style gorget was found most frequently along the upper Tennessee River in eastern Tennessee. In West Virginia, this style has been found at the Orchard site (46MS61), in Mason County.

The Chickamauga style is slightly more elaborate than the McBee style, consisting of a raised, bas-relief nose and drilled eyes (see Figure 50). A mouth may be drilled or not present. The Chickamauga-style mask gorget has been found most frequently along the upper Tennessee River, with smaller concentrations in Arkansas and Alabama (Brain and Phillips 1996). In West Virginia, this style gorget has been found at Rolf Lee (46MS51), in Mason County.

The third, and most elaborate style, is the Buffalo-style mask gorget with a weeping-eye design. The archetype for this style is the mask gorget found at the Buffalo site (46PU31), in Putnam County, West Virginia (see Figure 4). The Buffalo-style mask gorget usually has a carved, bas-relief nose, and a mouth indicated by drilling or carving. The most diagnostic feature is the treatment of the eyes and surrounding area. Engraved circles and forked designs called the "forked eye" or "weeping eye" sometimes embellish the eye holes.

On some mask gorgets parallel zigzag lines run from the eyes down the face. It has been suggested that these markings represent tears, tattooing, or face painting. These markings have been suggested to represent the natural markings of birds of prey such as the falcon or duck hawk. According to Madeline Kneberg (1959:27), "the motif occurs on various objects, including copper plates depicting eagles and eagle dancers. It is a design associated with the entire time span of the late temple mound culture, although the shell mask is very late."

Marvin and Julie Smith (1989) have identified eight major forms of the "weeping eye" or "forked eye" (see Figure 4). The designs surrounding the eye can have two, three, or four prongs, with elaborate lines or rays extending down the face.

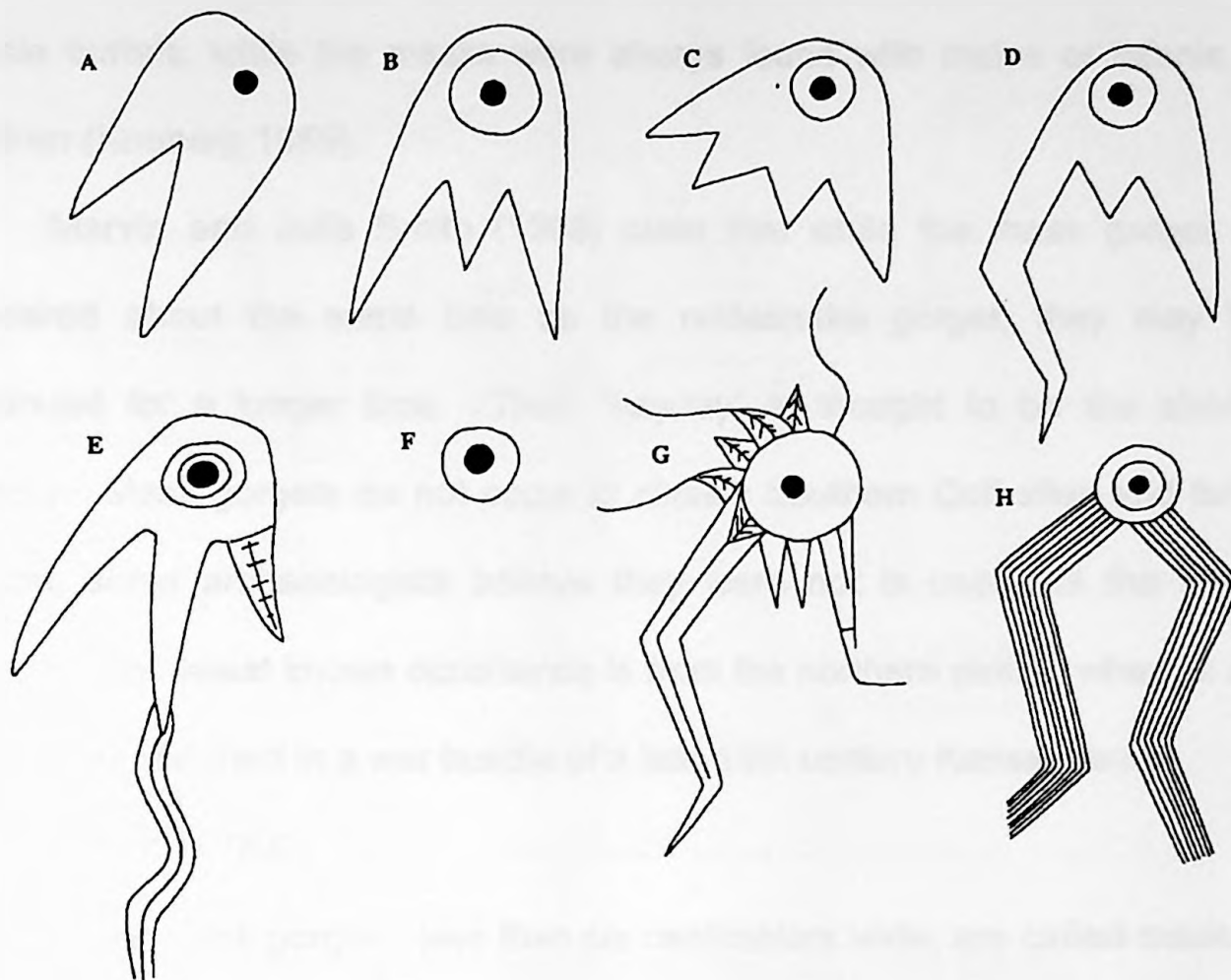


Figure 4. Weeping eye types: (A) double fork; (B) triple fork; (C) quadruple fork; (D) jagged extension; (E) tears; (F) circle; (G) forked circle; (H) circle with rays (Smith and Smith 1989).

The upper edges of the mask sometimes have engraved, parallel lines which may represent hair or a headdress. These lines are similar to those found on the head treatment of the conventionalized dancer design of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (Kneberg 1959).

The mask gorget has been found in the same burials as the rattlesnake gorgets in Tennessee, indicating that they were in use at the same time.

According to Kneberg, the rattlesnake gorgets were found with both male and female burials, while the masks were always found with males or infants and children (Kneberg 1959).

Marvin and Julie Smith (1989) state that while the mask gorget form appeared about the same time as the rattlesnake gorget, they may have continued for a longer time. Their "heyday" is thought to be the sixteenth century. Mask gorgets do not occur at classic Southern Cult sites and for that reason, some archaeologists believe they were not in use until the fifteenth century. The latest known occurrence is from the northern plains, where a mask gorget was reported in a war bundle of a late 19th century Kansa warrior.

MASKETTES

Small mask gorgets, less than six centimeters wide, are called maskettes. These are sometimes engraved with a weeping eye design or sometimes plain. According to Penelope Drooker (1997), the maskette seems to be concentrated more in Fort Ancient territory than other gorgets (see Figure 5). Drooker also observed that the maskettes might have been made primarily for subadults. This pattern also appears in West Virginia, although the majority of maskettes found are poorly provenienced. Of six maskettes with known provenience, one was found with an adult male and five with subadults of unspecified gender.

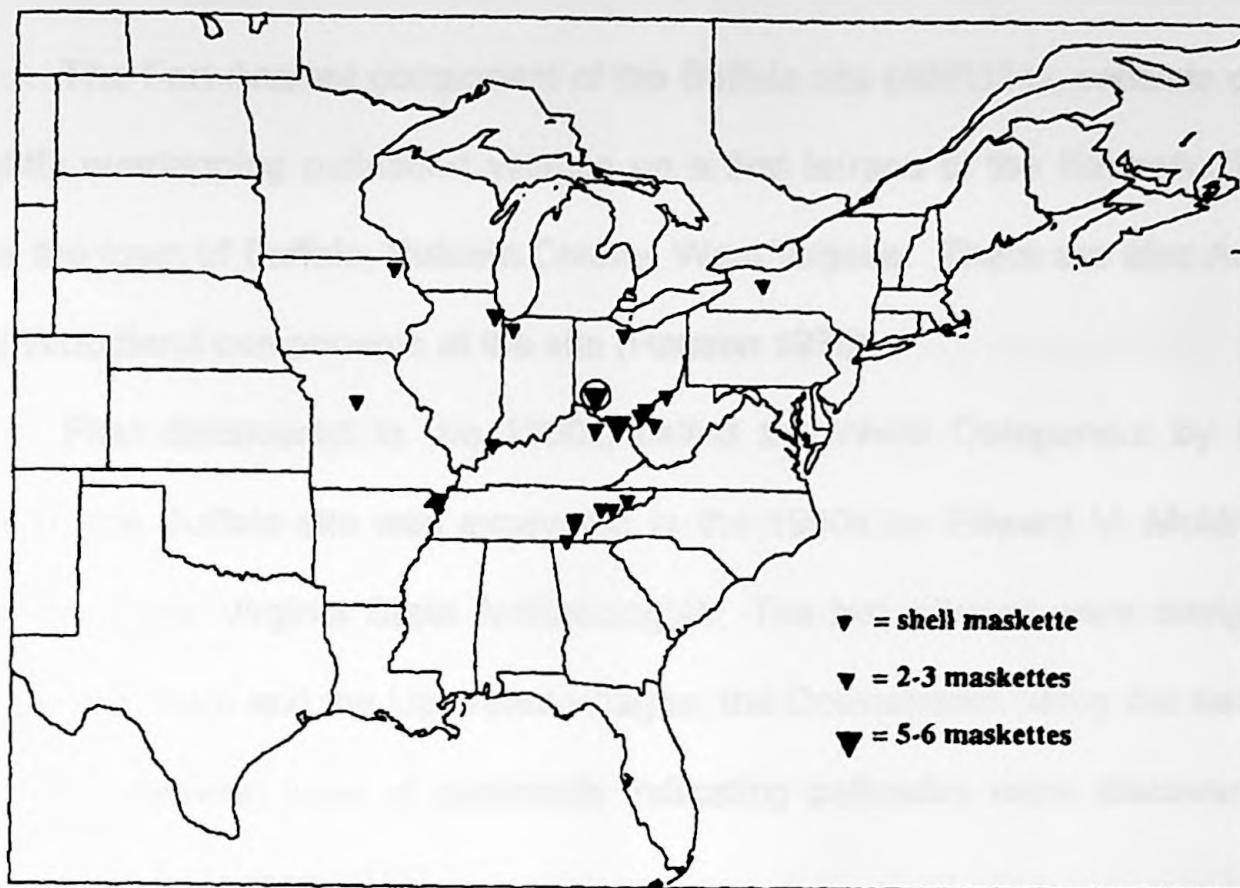


Figure 5. Distribution of maskettes (Drooker 1997).

PLAIN GORGETS

Plain unengraved gorgets are plentiful throughout the Southeast and at Fort Ancient sites. According to Brain and Phillips (1996), this is a late style that was purposely left unengraved. In West Virginia, plain gorgets have been found at Buffalo, Bluestone, Marmet, Orchard, and Southside.

The next section will discuss Fort Ancient village sites in West Virginia where shell gorgets have been found. Most of these are late protohistoric Clover Complex villages, with a few exceptions.

BUFFALO

The Fort Ancient component of the Buffalo site (46PU31), consists of two slightly overlapping palisaded villages on a first terrace of the Kanawha River, near the town of Buffalo, Putnam County, West Virginia. There are also Archaic and Woodland components at the site (Hanson 1975).

First discovered in the 1930s, called the Wells Component by Griffin (1943), the Buffalo site was excavated in the 1960s by Edward V. McMichael, then the West Virginia State Archaeologist. The two villages were designated the Downstream and the Upstream villages, the Downstream being the earlier of the two. Several lines of postmolds indicating palisades were discovered for each village (Hanson 1975).

Approximately 562 burials were uncovered, all except one from the Downstream Village. 71 percent were buried in the floors of the houses, usually just inside the walls. 26 individuals were buried with shell gorgets or pendants around their necks. Another group of 51 individuals was buried with shell beads, with or without shell pendants. European trade items were also found at Buffalo, indicating a protohistoric time frame. The radiocarbon dates for Buffalo are 1525 to 1625 AD (Hanson 1975). Buffalo belongs to the Clover Complex.

At the present time, 12 shell gorgets are known to have been found at the Buffalo site. Two large mask gorgets have been found, one in such a poor state of preservation that it is impossible to tell if it was engraved. The mask gorget that was the archetype for the Buffalo style developed by Brain and Phillips

(1996) was found at Buffalo (see Figure 7). It is still one of the most well-preserved, artistic examples of the style. Five small maskettes were found at Buffalo, two engraved and three unengraved.

The only example of a Brakebill-style rattlesnake gorget was found at the Buffalo site with the burial of a child. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this gorget is unknown and the only known photograph is in the Hanson report on the Buffalo site (Hanson 1975). Found with the rattlesnake gorget were six irregular-shaped shell pieces, each with two holes. Two of these pieces show engravings indicating that they were cut from a rattlesnake gorget (see Figure 19).

Four round, plain shell gorgets have also been found at Buffalo. In addition, there are numerous smaller shell pendants, beads and disks and at least one inner portion of a whelk, which could indicate that many of these ornaments were manufactured at the site from exotic materials.

CLOVER

The Clover site (46CB40), in Cabell County, occupies an area of approximately 11 acres on the second terrace of the Ohio River near Lesage, West Virginia. The Clover site contains components from Paleo-Indian to historic times. The Fort Ancient component, lasting from approximately 1550 to 1630 AD falls with the Madisonville horizon, and has been used as a model for the "Clover Complex" designation, that encompasses other sites from this time period, including Buffalo, Orchard, Rolf Lee, and Marmet (Maslowski 1991).

The Clover site has been surface collected for at least 100 years. In the 1980s, the Marshall University Archaeological Field School conducted the first systematic study of Clover. These investigations revealed intact deposits from the late prehistoric to the protohistoric Madisonville horizon, in a semi-circular zone. The center of the zone is empty of features, indicating a central plaza (Maslowski 1991).

The artifacts found are typical of this time period Fort Ancient villages, and include shell-tempered pottery, with Z-twist cord markings, a characteristic that Clover shares with other Fort Ancient sites to the east, such as Buffalo, Rolfe Lee, Marmet, and Gue Farm. Fort Ancient sites in Ohio do not show this pattern (Maslowski 1991).

One Citico style rattlesnake gorget has been found at Clover (see Figure 27). There is a report of a mask gorget found at Clover by a local collector, although there is no photograph and the gorget cannot be located. As with other sites that contain exotic shell ornaments, the Clover site contains European trade items, such as glass beads, smelted metal scraps, copper, or brass beads, cones, and effigies cut from metals of possible European origin, which suggest an indirect trade relationship with Europeans (Maslowski 1991).

MARMET

The Marmet site, originally called Brownstown, has been a favorite to local collectors for years. The site was first excavated and recorded in the 1930s. Marmet is two distinct sites separated by the meandering Lens Creek.

The upper site, Marmet Bluffs (46KA7), was destroyed by construction (Youse 1988).

The other, downriver site called Marmet Village (46KA9), shows the greatest evidence of Fort Ancient occupation closest to the Kanawha River. As with other Fort Ancient sites in the area, little information has been documented except by avocational archaeologists. Artifacts found with burials at Marmet include both shell ornaments and European trade items. Several types of glass beads, as well as copper and brass objects have been found (Youse 1988).

Two large Buffalo-style masks with weeping eye designs were found at Marmet (see Figures 29, 30). Each was found during the construction of different houses. One was found on the chest of an adult male and the other with no provenience. Two unengraved mask gorgets were also found at Marmet (see Figures 32, 33). Both of these gorgets are in such a poor state of preservation that it is impossible to tell if they were engraved. One of the gorgets has inset bead eyes and was found with a projectile point laying on top of it. The gorget has holes on both sides to allow the point to be tied to the mask. One small unengraved maskette was also found at the Marmet site (see Figure 37). Additionally, two round gorgets have been found at Marmet. One is unengraved and the other has very light engravings of a Citico style rattlesnake design. A mineral or organic residue covers the surface of the gorget, obscuring the faint engravings (see Figure 34). Marmet was probably occupied between 1525 and 1640 AD.

MAN

The Man site (46LG5), located on a terrace of the Guyandotte River in Logan County, West Virginia, was discovered during the construction of the Man Hospital in 1954. Subsequently, several members of the West Virginia Archeological Society excavated the site. Their investigations revealed a variety of features including the post holes of a palisade surrounding the village. They also discovered fire hearths, refuse pits, storage pits, and burials (Moxley and Bloemker 1985).

Artifacts from the Man site included triangular projectile points, stone tools, shell-tempered pottery, stone gaming pieces, bone tools, bone beads and shell ornaments (Moxley and Bloemker 1985). A unique shell gorget was found in the grave fill of an adult male burial that had been disturbed by a later burial. The gorget is broken and has an engraving of an animal with a cross inside a circle on its back (see Figure 28). While the circle and cross are Southern Cult symbols, the animal is unlike any reported in the literature available. The representation may be of a spider, although it only has four legs.

The occurrence of this style of gorget and the absence of later styles, such as the rattlesnake or mask gorgets, is further evidence that this site was occupied during a period earlier than the protohistoric. The Man site has been dated to the Woodside Phase circa 1450 AD, and is the first site from this phase in West Virginia (Moxley and Bloemker 1985).

NEALE'S LANDING

Neale's Landing (46WD39) is located on a terrace on Blennerhassett Island in the Ohio River, Wood County, West Virginia. Erosion of the site was extensive and in the 1970s excavations were begun to salvage any remaining data that were available. Friable blue glass beads and an iron ax were among the artifacts found, and at least one small shell maskette was found at the site, although no information or photos are available. Neale's Landing is thought to date to between 1580 and 1630 AD (Drooker 1997).

ORCHARD

The Orchard Site (46MS61) is located about six miles north of the mouth of the Kanawha River, on a second terrace of the Ohio River. The site was first discovered in the 1930s and for many years was excavated by avocational archaeologists (Moxley 1988). The Orchard site is thought by many to be later than other Fort Ancient sites in the area and has a unique artifact assemblage, quite similar to Madisonville. It has been dated 1640-1690 AD. According to Jeffrey Graybill (1981), the layout of the Orchard site is similar to historic Indian villages of the 1700s and is unlike the circular palisaded Fort Ancient villages found elsewhere along the Kanawha and Ohio rivers. Some archaeologists believe that Orchard may be one of the last villages occupied by Fort Ancient people before they were driven out of the Ohio Valley (Moxley 1988).

The Orchard artifact assemblage contained over one hundred pottery vessels, unlike other village sites in West Virginia. At least three hundred

burials were excavated from the site. Approximately 30 percent of the burials contained one or more pots, many with food for the deceased. More than fifty pipes were found at Orchard. European copper and brass items were also found there, although few glass beads were found. Jeffrey Graybill felt that few glass beads were found because the north-south trade network responsible for most of these items began to collapse in the 1630s (Moxley 1988).

Bob Maslowski (1984) disagrees with this time frame and believes that the Orchard site is earlier than Clover complex sites in West Virginia. He compared Orchard, Madisonville, and Lower Shawneetown, to Buffalo, Clover, Rolf Lee, and Neale's Landing, in relation to their location (floodplain or high terrace) and distance from a river. Maslowski found that the Clover complex sites are all located on high terraces adjacent to rivers and below the 50 year floodplain, while Orchard, Madisonville, and Lower Shawneetown are on high terraces, farther from the river, and above the 100 year floodplain. At both Orchard and Madisonville there was an increase in the number of pots found with burials, few European trade items, and many distinctive pipes.

The shell ornaments found at Orchard include marginella shell beads, long, tubular shell beads, shell ear ornaments, and at least nine shell gorgets (Moxley 1988). Two unengraved McBee-style mask gorgets were found (see Figures 43, 45). In addition, three maskettes were found, two of which have a weeping eye design (see Figure 39). These two maskettes were found with the burial of an infant, which was found buried upright (Roland Barnett, personal

communication 1998). Three round plain gorgets were also found at Orchard, as well as a lightly engraved Citico-style rattlesnake gorget. This gorget is covered with a residue that obscures the light engraving.

PRATT

Originally called Clifton, the Pratt site (46KA31) was found during construction of a city building. Nothing was ever written about the excavations. In the 1940s, the construction time keeper on the project gave two Citico-style rattlesnake gorgets to Leslie Martin (see Figures 50, 51). The occurrence of the gorgets indicates a protohistoric period of occupation at Pratt.

ROLF LEE

For many years, the Rolf Lee farm in Mason County, West Virginia, on the Ohio River, was a favorite of local collectors. The site is located on gently rolling floodplain and bisected by WV Route 2. In 1964, the members of the West Virginia Archeological Society excavated the site (Youse 1965). There are two site numbers assigned to Rolf Lee. The downstream area of the site (46MS51) can be seen on infrared aerial photography as a circular village with an open plaza. The upstream portion of the site (46MS123) is located outside of the circular village (Maslowski 1984).

The excavations revealed a thick midden layer, nineteen burials, as well as random postmolds. Artifacts found include shell-tempered pottery, with a variety of rim designs and predominantly strap handles; bone tools; stone implements and gaming pieces; and tools and points manufactured from

Kanawha black chert. Shell ornaments and European trade goods including glass beads, copper and brass tubular beads, and flat pieces of copper and brass were also found (Youse 1965). These items indicate a late date for Rolf Lee, a Clover Complex site, with radiocarbon dates of 1550 to 1640 AD.

Rolf Lee has produced more shell gorgets than any other site in West Virginia. At least 19 gorgets have been photographed or documented and there is evidence that others were found. At this time, 11 large mask gorgets have been found at Rolf Lee. Of these, five are Buffalo-style mask gorgets with a weeping-eye design. Two others have unusual shapes for mask gorgets, a round mask with a weeping-eye design and the a heart-shaped mask with a weeping-eye design (Brashler and Moxley 1990).

Another mask gorget from Rolf Lee has engravings from a rattlesnake gorget on the opposite side. In addition, an unengraved Chickamauga-style mask gorget was found with an unusual teardrop-shaped shell bead suspended from the bottom (see Figure 50). A broken maskette with a weeping-eye design was found at Rolf Lee (see Figure 56). Two half maskettes have also been found there, one of the Chickamauga style with a raised nose that was probably made from a reworked rattlesnake gorget, indicated by the design on the back. The other half maskette has an engraved weeping-eye design (see Figure 57).

One Citico style rattlesnake gorget was found at Rolf Lee. It is very well preserved and by far the most elaborately detailed example found in West Virginia (see Figure 59). Brain and Phillips (1996:101) describe this gorget as

engraved "in the manner of the Williams Island Workshop group" although "divergent in several details." They mistakenly identified the gorget as coming from Marshall County, probably because of the MS designation. There were also two poorly preserved rattlesnake gorgets found, although nothing is known about them except for a photograph taken by Edward McMichael. One is small and may be a Lick Creek gorget. The other is larger and has open spaces that may be part of the design or from erosion.

A spider motif gorget was also reported to have come from Rolf Lee (Brashler and Moxley 1990). Although no photos are available, Ron Moxley has personal knowledge of it (Moxley personal communication 1998). The spider motif is a traditional Southern Cult design, usually only found in the Upper Tennessee region. The spider gorget is an earlier style than either the rattlesnake or mask gorget (Brain and Phillips 1996).

SOMERS FARM

The Kanawha River floodplain in Putnam and Mason counties widens to such an expanse that numerous villages probably occupied it in late prehistoric and protohistoric times. Only local collectors know many of these village sites. Somers Farm (46MS38), in Mason County, is one of these sites. Little information is available about the village, although at least one shell gorget was found there.

The gorget is an example of what Brain and Phillips (1996:32) call a Russell style of cruciform gorget, which they describe as, "a fenestrated cross in

a circle", or a "filfot cross" which is a recurring motif on southeastern pottery (see Figure 60). The Russell style cruciform has been found at Etowah, in Georgia, Russell County, Kentucky, and Saint Marys, Missouri. This is the only example of this style found in West Virginia (see Figure 6).

As no dates are available for Somers Farm and the cruciform style is an earlier style than the Citico rattlesnake or the mask gorgets, it is probable that the Somers Farm site was occupied earlier than the protohistoric period.

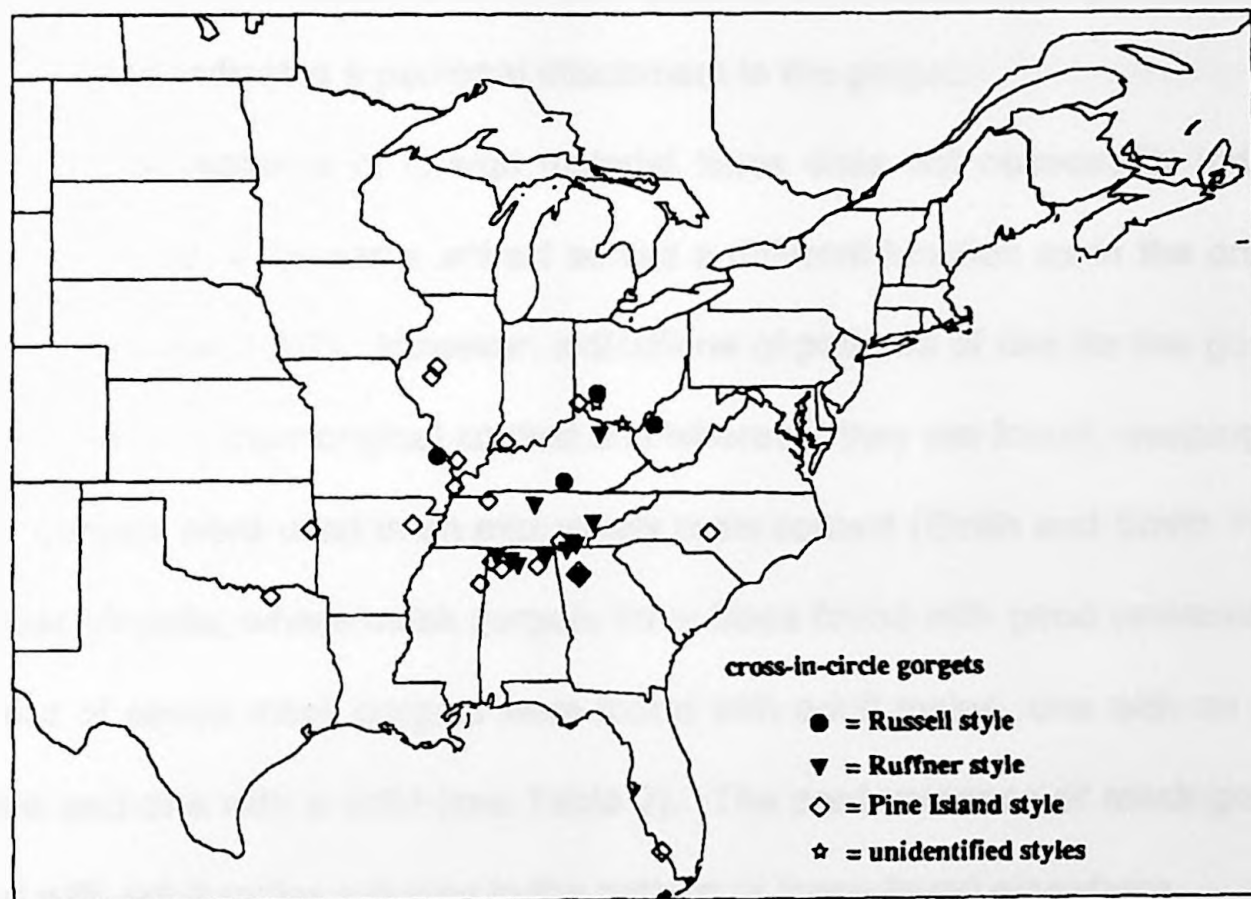


Figure 6. Distribution of cruciform gorgets (Drooker 1997).

SOUTHSIDE

Another probable village site along the Kanawha River in Mason County is at Southside (46MS36). This site has also produced shell ornaments,

although no engraved gorgets have been found. Two round unengraved gorgets and a pair of shell ear ornaments were found with the burial of an adult female (see Figures 61, 63).

SHELL GORGETS IN FORT ANCIENT CONTEXT

It is uncertain what meaning the engraved shell gorgets, created in Mississippian societies, held for the Fort Ancient individuals who obtained them through trade. However, because of their exotic nature as well as their scarcity, they were no less valuable to their new owners. The fact that they were buried with the dead indicates a personal attachment to the gorget.

The acceptance of foreign material items does not necessarily indicate cultural change, if the same artifact serves a different function as in the original context (Drooker 1997). However, indications of patterns of use for the gorgets can be seen. In their original context and wherever they are found, weeping eye mask gorgets were used in an exclusively male context (Smith and Smith 1989). In West Virginia, where mask gorgets have been found with good provenience, five out of seven mask gorgets were found with adult males, one with an adult female and one with a child (see Table 2). The predominance of mask gorgets found with adult males adheres to the pattern of those found elsewhere.

*TABLE 2
BURIAL ASSOCIATION OF SHELL GORGETS*

STYLE	MALE	FEMALE	SUBADULT	TOTAL
MASK	5 (71.4%)	1 (14.3%)	1 (14.3%)	7 (100%)
MASKETTE	1 (16.7%)	0	5 (83.3%)	6 (100%)
RATTLESNAKE	0	0	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
PLAIN	2 (28.5%)	3 (43%)	2 (28.5%)	7 (100%)

Although the number of maskettes found with good provenience is small, it appears that most of these gorgets are found mainly with subadults. Drooker (1997) states that the maskettes have a higher concentration in Fort Ancient territory than in the Southeast. Perhaps these ornaments were manufactured locally from broken or discarded gorgets for the children.

There is not enough information regarding the associations of the rattlesnake or plain gorgets to determine any patterns. Several of the mask gorgets and associated shell ornaments show evidence that rattlesnake gorgets were reworked into new gorgets. This is an example of local craftsmanship from nonlocal materials.

CONCLUSION

This study of shell gorgets is the beginning of a database that will continue to develop. Hopefully, more shell gorgets will be found to add understanding to the patterns that are seen here.

There is evidence of long and continuous interaction between local Fort Ancient villages and other groups located in several geographic regions. The shell ornaments came primarily from eastern Tennessee. Many of the European trade items probably came from the same area as well. Other European goods came from Susquehannock groups in the northeast. It has also been demonstrated that there was interaction with other Fort Ancient villages farther west (Drooker 1997).

The exact routes the trade networks used from eastern Tennessee to the Kanawha Valley is not known. A logical route would be along the New River, to the Kanawha, and finally the Ohio River. The location of Fort Ancient sites along the Kanawha and Ohio rivers made frequent interaction with other groups certain.

There are many types of interaction. It can be planned or unplanned, direct or indirect, positive, negative, or neutral. It is usually for the purpose of obtaining materials, services, information, political alliances, enhancing status, power, health or social ties. The actions of groups in the Southeast and elsewhere experiencing direct European contact eventually affected groups farther inland (Drooker 1997).

The research reported here indicates similar functions of the mask gorgets in Fort Ancient context to those in the Dallas culture and elsewhere. Given the complex design of the gorgets, it is probable that these cultures enjoyed sufficient regular contact to have similar ideologies. For example, burial placement within houses, as seen at Buffalo, is a practice shared by the Cherokee, Catawba, Yuchi, Creeks, and Chickasaw people (Maslowski 1984).

Penelope Drooker (1997:30) states that "...it is clear that the more similar the use of a 'foreign' item in the receiving group to its mode of use in the originating group, the closer in contact and more attuned the two populations are likely to be." Using this criteria, the similar patterns of use of the mask gorgets

indicate a very close degree of interaction between Fort Ancient groups and Mississippian groups.

Shell maskettes appear to be concentrated in Fort Ancient territory (Drooker 1997). There is little information regarding the small maskettes in the literature dealing with shell gorgets from the Southeast. Perhaps the maskettes are a local phenomenon and an indication of ideology imported from the Southeast and interpreted by Fort Ancient people. The occurrence of a maskette made from a rattlesnake gorget at Rolf Lee indicates that the maskette is a late type of gorget. Maskettes were also buried mainly with subadults indicating the esteem Fort Ancient society placed on their young. More study is needed to clarify the significance of these artifacts.

As nonlocal objects, shell gorgets can be used as temporal markers to order Fort Ancient sites in time. Brain and Phillips (1996) have developed a relative chronology that places the mask gorgets as the latest type, spanning from middle protohistoric until the 1800s in a widely dispersed geographic pattern. The rattlesnake gorget overlaps the mask in time, from early protohistoric (1540) until around 1630. Triskeles have a similar time span as the rattlesnake gorget. The bird, cruciform, human figural, and spider gorgets are late prehistoric gorgets.

Buffalo, Marmet, Neale's Landing, Orchard, and Rolf Lee have all yielded mask gorgets. The presence of European trade items is evidence for a protohistoric time frame for these sites. At Rolf Lee both the rattlesnake and

mask gorgets styles were found, as well as a reported spider gorget. This would indicate a longer span of occupation, from middle Fort Ancient into the protohistoric period. The large number of late style gorgets found at Rolf Lee (n=18) indicates a late occupation for the site (see Table 3). The large number of gorgets found at Buffalo (n=12) would also seem to indicate a late time frame for the site.

TABLE 3
TEMPORAL SEQUENCES

SITE	MASKETTES	MASKS	RATTLESNAKE	PLAIN	OTHER	TOTAL #
Orchard	(3) 20%	(2) 10.5%	(1) 11%	(3) 30%		9
Clover	(1) 6.7%		(1) 11%			2
Rolf Lee	(4) 26.6%	(11) 58%	(3) 33.3%		1 Spider	19
Neale's Landing	(1) 6.7%					1
Buffalo	(5) 33.3%	(2) 10.5%	(1) 11%	(4) 40%		12
Marmet	(1) 6.7%	(4) 21%	(1) 11%	(1) 10%		7
Pratt			(2) 22%			2
Man					1 Lizard	1
Somers Farm					1 Cruciform	1
Southside				(2) 20%		2

Rattlesnake gorgets have been found at Clover, Buffalo, Marmet, Orchard, Pratt, and Rolf Lee. European trade items have been found at all of these sites, except Pratt. The presence of the rattlesnake gorgets at Pratt indicates a protohistoric occupation there as well.

Man has been radiocarbon dated at 1450 AD, an early date confirmed by the lack of later styles of gorgets or European trade items. Both Somers Farm and Southside were probably occupied during the middle Fort Ancient period, as no late styles of gorgets or European trade items have been found at either site.

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APPENDIX



Figure 7

Gorget: PU31/1

Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)

Size: 9.25 x 14 cm

Buffalo style mask gorget with weeping eye design.
Found with burial of adult male.
Now at Grave Creek Mound museum.



Figure 8
Gorget: PU31/1 (Reverse side)
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)
Size: 9.25 x 14 cm

Buffalo style mask gorget with weeping eye design. Found with burial of adult male. Now at Grave Creek Mound museum.



Figure 9

Gorget: PU31/2

Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)

Size: 4.5 x 5.5 cm

Engraved maskette with weeping eye design. Found with burial of adult male. Other burial items include geometric mussel shell pieces (see Figure 11), 695 marginella shell beads, and shell stemmed ear disks (see Figure 12). Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

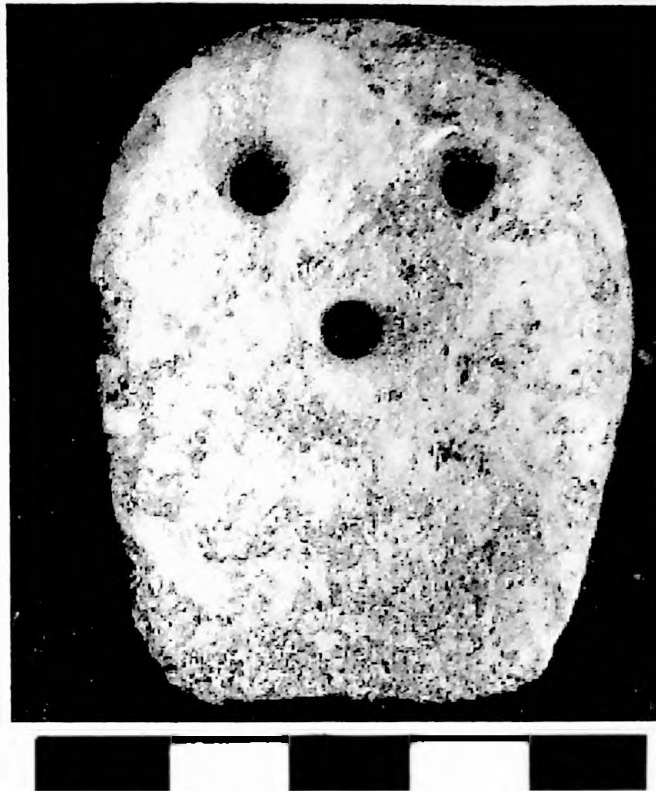


Figure 10

Gorget: PU31/2 (Reverse side)

Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)

Size: 4.5 x 5.5 cm

Engraved maskette with weeping eye design. Found with burial of adult male. Other burial items include geometric mussel shell pieces (see Figure 11), 695 marginella shell beads, and shell stemmed ear disks (see Figure 12). Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

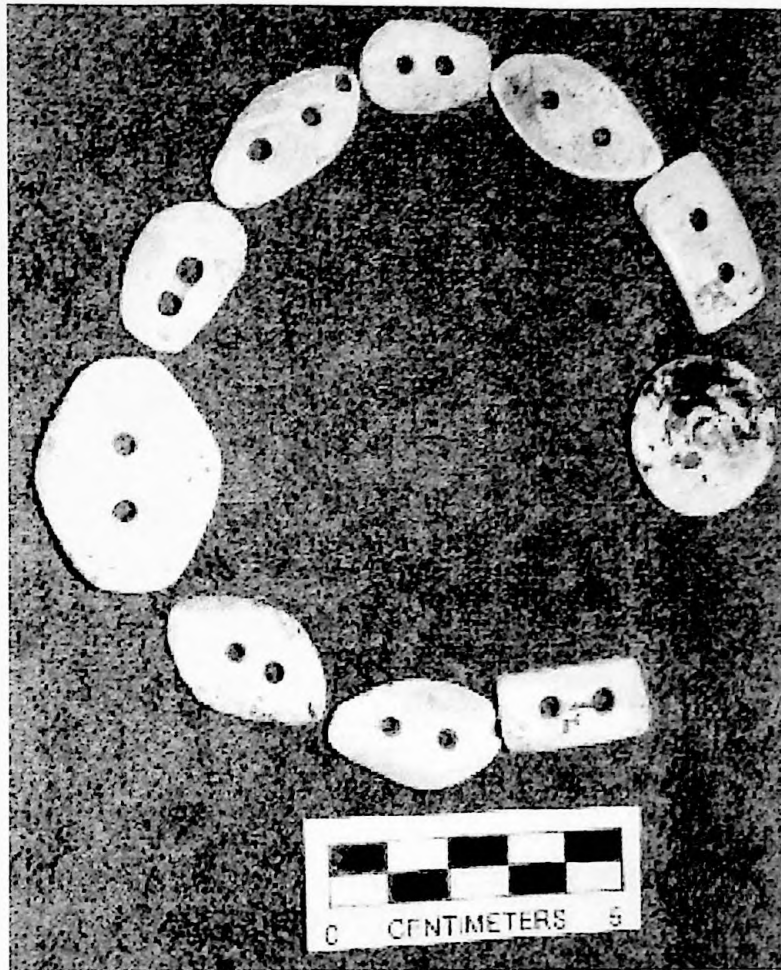


Figure 11
Geometric mussel shell pieces found with gorget PU31/2
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

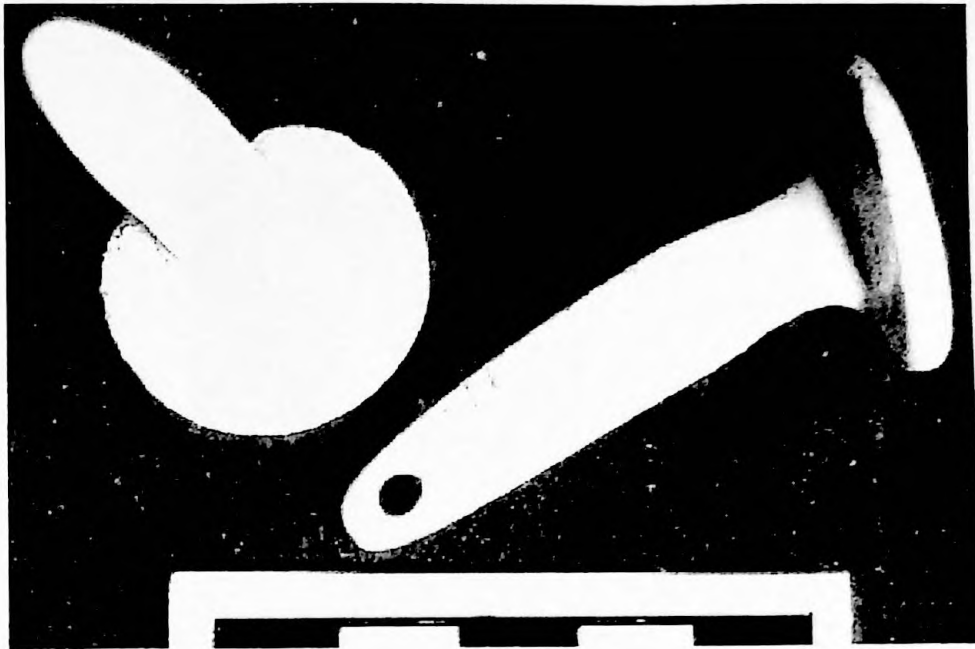


Figure 12
Shell stemmed ear disks found with gorget PU31/2
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 13
Gorget: PU31/3
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)
Size: 9 cm x 11.5 cm

Unengraved mask gorget in a very poor state of preservation. This mask gorget was found with an adult female in a burial with an adult male.



Figure 14
Gorget: PU31/3 (Reverse side)
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)
Size: 9 cm x 11.5 cm

Unengraved mask gorget in a very poor state of preservation. This mask gorget was found with an adult female in a burial with an adult male.



Figure 15
Gorget: PU31/4
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)
Size: 4.5 cm x 6 cm

Unengraved maskette found with burial of a child.



Figure 16
Gorget: PU31/4 (Reverse side)
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)
Size: 4.5 cm x 6 cm

Unengraved maskette found with burial of a child.



Figure 17
Gorget: PU31/6
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)
Size: 2.5 cm wide

Unengraved maskette found on surface at Buffalo.
Photo courtesy of David Martin.

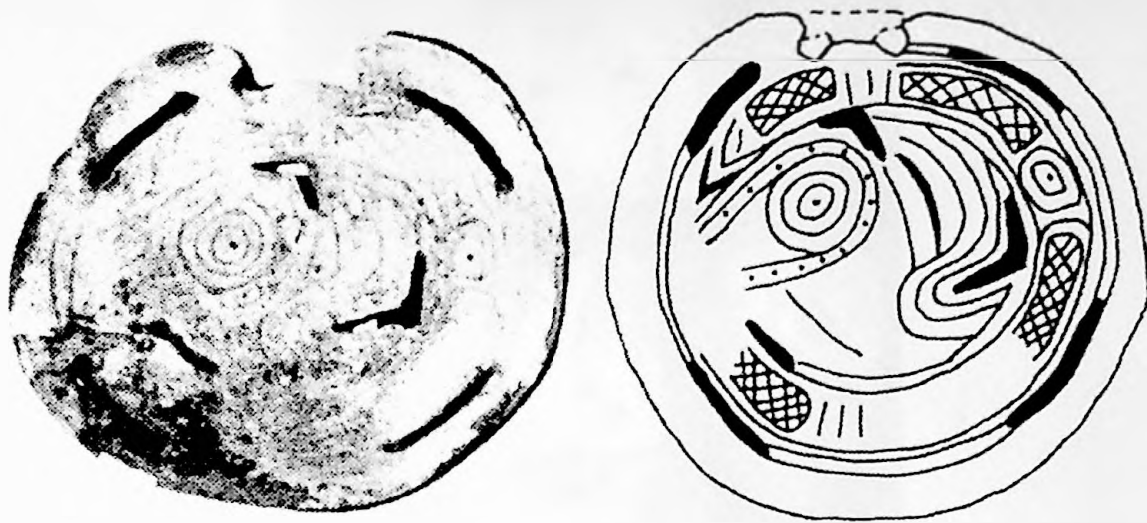


Figure 18

Gorget: PU31/7

Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)

Size: Unknown

Brakebill style rattlesnake gorget found with burial of child. Other burial items include six geometric shell pieces, two of which are made from reworked rattlesnake gorget (see Figure 19). Present location of gorget is unknown. Photo from Hanson (1975).



Figure 19
Geometric shell pieces found with gorget PU31/7
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)

Found with Brakebill style rattlesnake gorget in burial of child.
Two pieces show engravings from reworked rattlesnake gorget.



Figure 20

Gorget: PU31/8

Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)

Size: 15 cm x 17 cm

Large round plain gorget found with burial of adult male.
Photo courtesy of Havey Allen.



Figure 21
Gorget: PU31/9
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)
Size: 2.5 cm

Small round plain gorget found on surface at Buffalo.
Photo courtesy of David Martin.

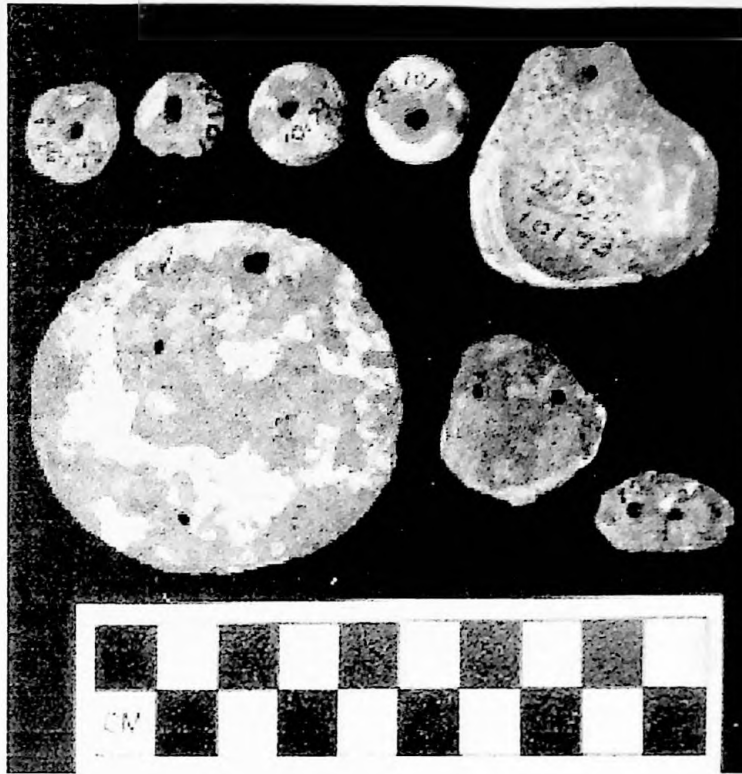


Figure 22

Gorget: PU31/10

Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)

Size: 5.5 cm x 6 cm

Round plain gorget found with pear shaped shell pendant, 2 irregular shaped shell pieces, and 4 shell beads. Found with burial of child.

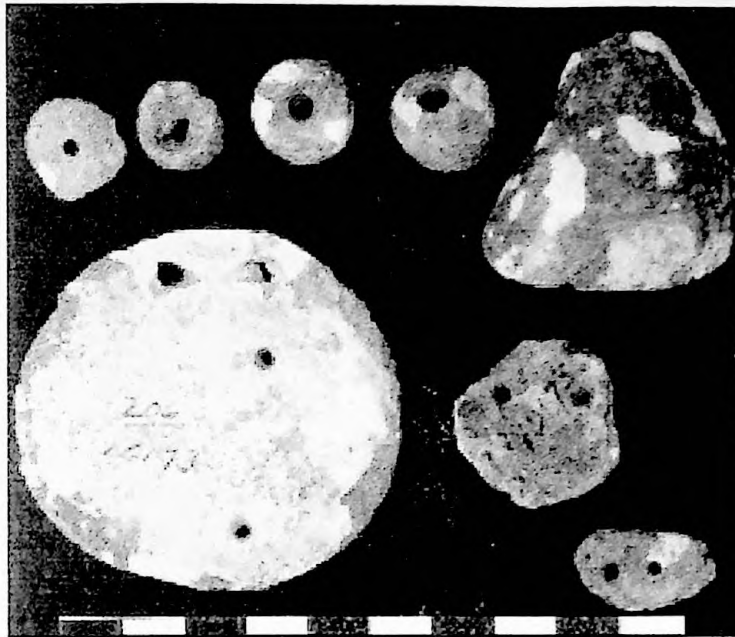


Figure 23
Gorget: PU31/10 (Reverse side)
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)
Size: 5.5 cm x 6 cm

Round plain gorget found with pear shaped shell pendant,
2 irregular shaped shell pieces, and 4 shell beads.
Found with burial of child.



Figure 24
Gorget: PU31/11
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)
Size: 5 cm x 5.5 cm

Round plain gorget found in burial with adult female.



Figure 25
Gorget: PU31/11 (Reverse side)
Provenience: Buffalo (46PU31)
Size: 5 cm x 5.5 cm

Round plain gorget found in burial with adult female.



Figure 26
Gorget: SU9/1
Provenience: Bluestone (46SU9)
Size: Unknown

Very large plain gorget. No information available.



Figure 27
Gorget: CB40/1
Provenience: Clover (46CB40)
Size: 10.5 cm x 9 cm

Citico style rattlesnake gorget from Clover. No burial association.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 28
Gorget: LG5/1
Provenience: Man (46LG5)
Size: 6.5 cm x 10.5 cm broken

Broken lizard/spider gorget from Man. No burial association.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

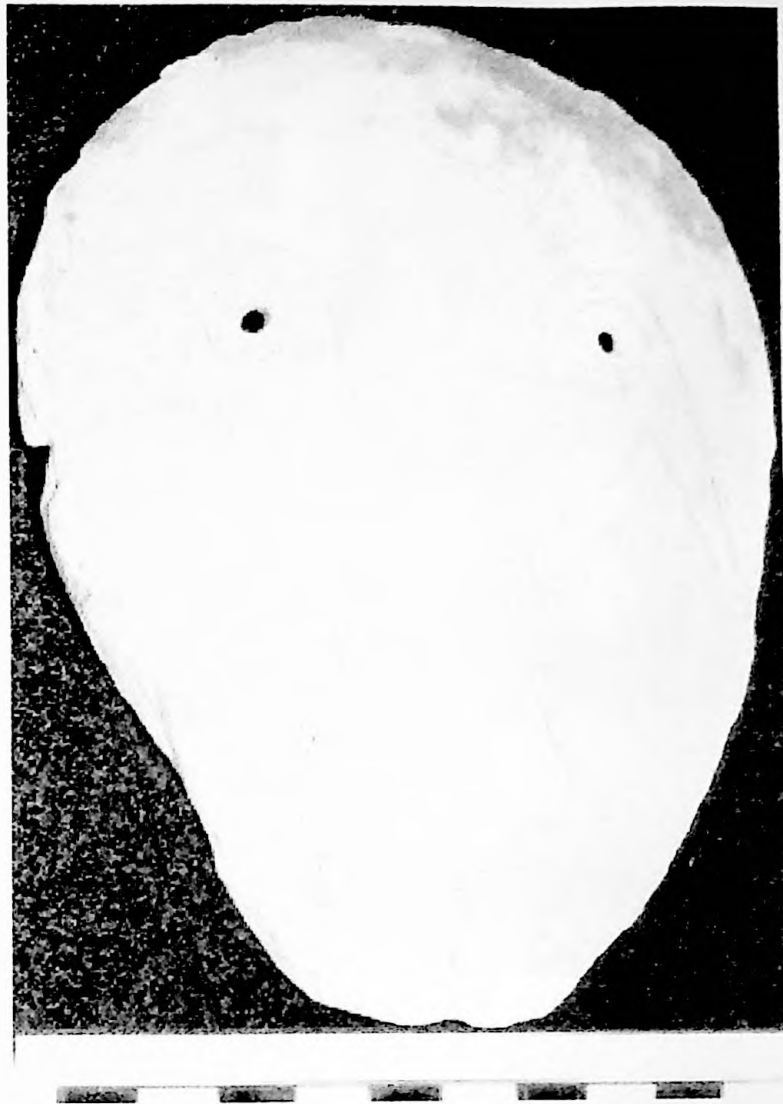


Figure 29
Gorget: KA9/1
Provenience: Marmet (46KA9)
Size: 10 cm x 13 cm

Buffalo style mask gorget from Marmet. Found on the chest of an adult male during the construction of a house.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 30

Gorget: KA9/2

Provenience: Marmet (46KA9)

Size: 10.5 cm x 13 cm

Buffalo style mask gorget from Marmet with weeping eye design. Found out of context during excavation for the basement of a house. Known as the Sheppard gorget, after Chris Sheppard who found it and later donated it to the State of West Virginia. It is now at the Blennerhassett Museum.



Figure 31

Gorget: KA9/2 (Reverse side)

Provenience: Marmet (46KA9)

Size: 10.5 cm x 13 cm

Buffalo style mask gorget from Marmet with weeping eye design. Found out of context during excavation for the basement of a house. Known as the Sheppard gorget, after Chris Sheppard who found it and later donated it to the State of West Virginia. It is now at the Blennerhassett Museum.



Figure: 32
Gorget: KA9/3
Provenience: Marmet (46KA9)
Size: 10 cm x 12.5 cm

Severely eroded McBee style mask gorget from Marmet.
Found with an adult male.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

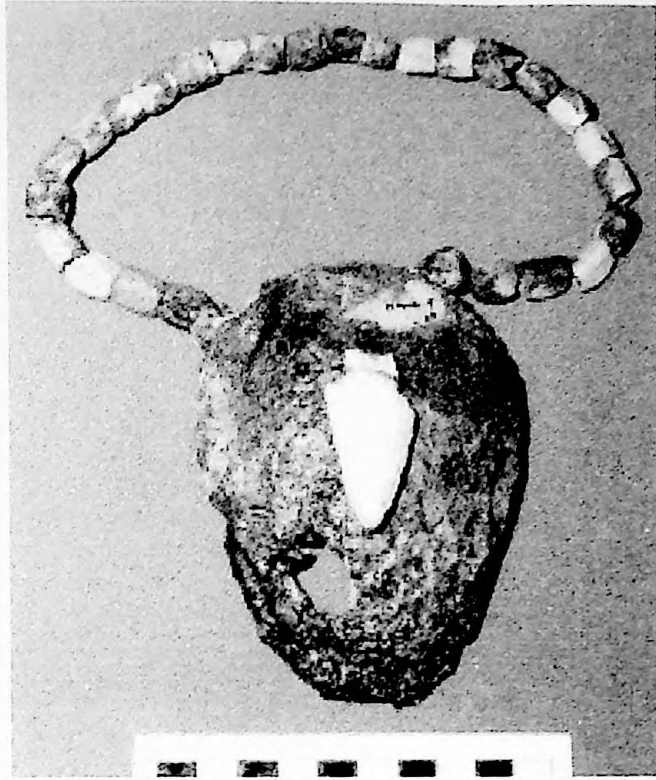


Figure: 33

Gorget: KA9/4

Provenience: Marmet (46KA9)

Size: 8.5 cm x 11.5 cm

Severely eroded possible McBee style mask gorget found with projectile point laying on top. Found with an adult male. Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

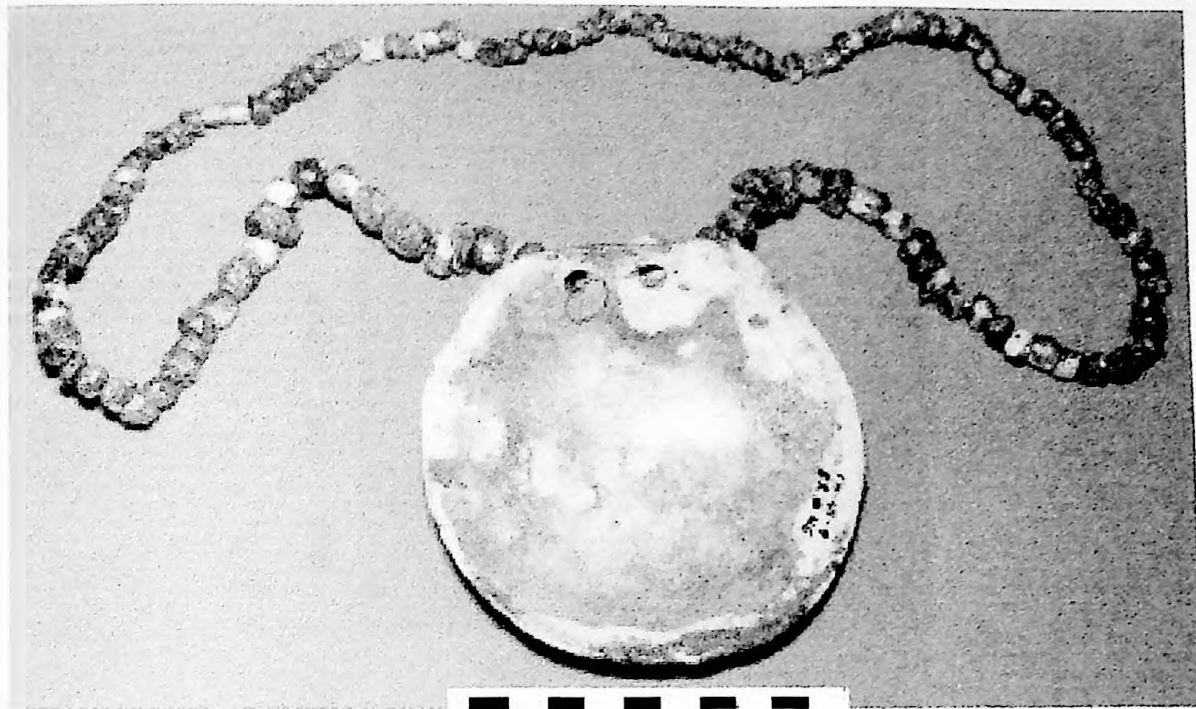


Figure: 34

Gorget: KA9/5

Provenience: Marmet (46KA9)

Size: 12 cm x 11 cm

Citico style rattlesnake gorget, lightly engraved or very worn. There is a dark residue covering the surface of the gorget that obscures the engraving. Found close to the surface at Marmet with burial of child.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

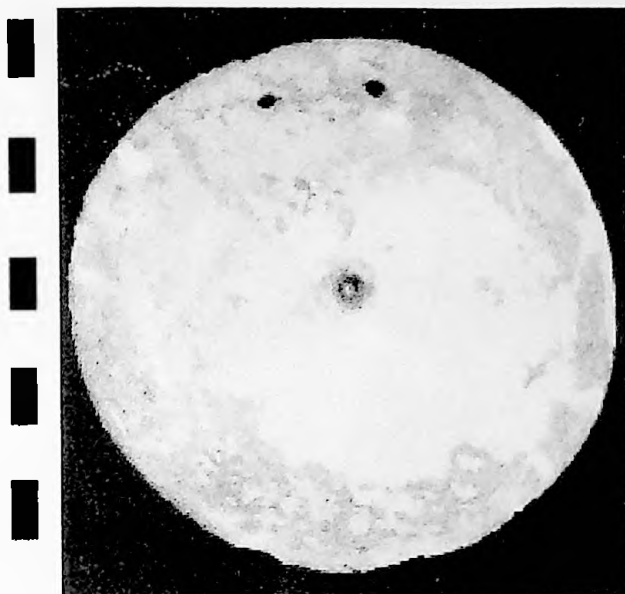


Figure 35
Gorget: KA9/6
Provenience: Marmet (46KA9)
Size: 10 cm x 10 cm

Round plain gorget with central hole. No information available.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure: 36

Gorget: KA9/6 (Reverse side)

Provenience: Marmet (46KA9)

Size: 10 cm x 10 cm

Round plain gorget with central hole.

No information available.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure: 37
Gorget: KA9/7
Provenience: Marmet (46KA9)
Size: 5.5 cm x 7 cm

Unengraved maskette from Marmet. No information available.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure: 38
Gorget: KA9/7 (Reverse side)
Provenience: Marmet (46KA9)
Size: 5.5 cm x 7 cm

Unengraved maskette from Marmet. No information available.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 39

Gorget: MS61/1, MS61/2

Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)

Size: 2.5 cm x 3 cm, 2 cm x 2.5 cm

Two engraved maskettes with weeping eye design from Orchard.
Found in burial with infant.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

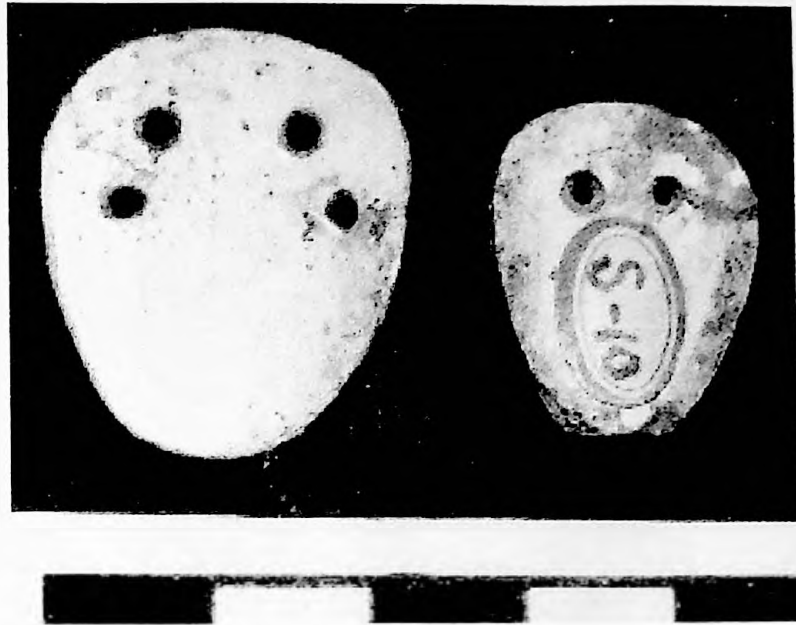


Figure 40

Gorget: MS61/1, MS61/2 (Reverse side)

Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)

Size: 2.5 cm x 3 cm, 2 cm x 2.5 cm

Two engraved maskettes with weeping eye design from Orchard.
Found in burial with infant.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 41

Gorget: MS61/3

Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)

Size: 3.5 cm x 4 cm

Unengraved maskette from Orchard. Found buried with a child.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 42

Gorget: MS61/3 (Reverse side)

Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)

Size: 3.5 cm x 4 cm

Unengraved maskette from Orchard. Found with a child.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 43

Gorget: MS61/4

Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)

Size: 7.5 cm x 10 cm

McBee style mask gorget from Orchard. No information available.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 44

Gorget: MS61/4 (Reverse side)

Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)

Size: 7.5 cm x 10 cm

McBee style mask gorget from Orchard.

No information available.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 45

Gorget: MS61/5

Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)

Size: 8 cm x 11 cm

McBee style mask gorget from Orchard.

No information available.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 46
Gorget: MS61/6
Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)
Size: 8 cm x 8 cm

Round plain gorget from Orchard. Found in burial with a child.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 47

Gorget: MS61/7

Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)

Size: 15 cm x 13 cm

Round plain gorget from Orchard. No information available.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

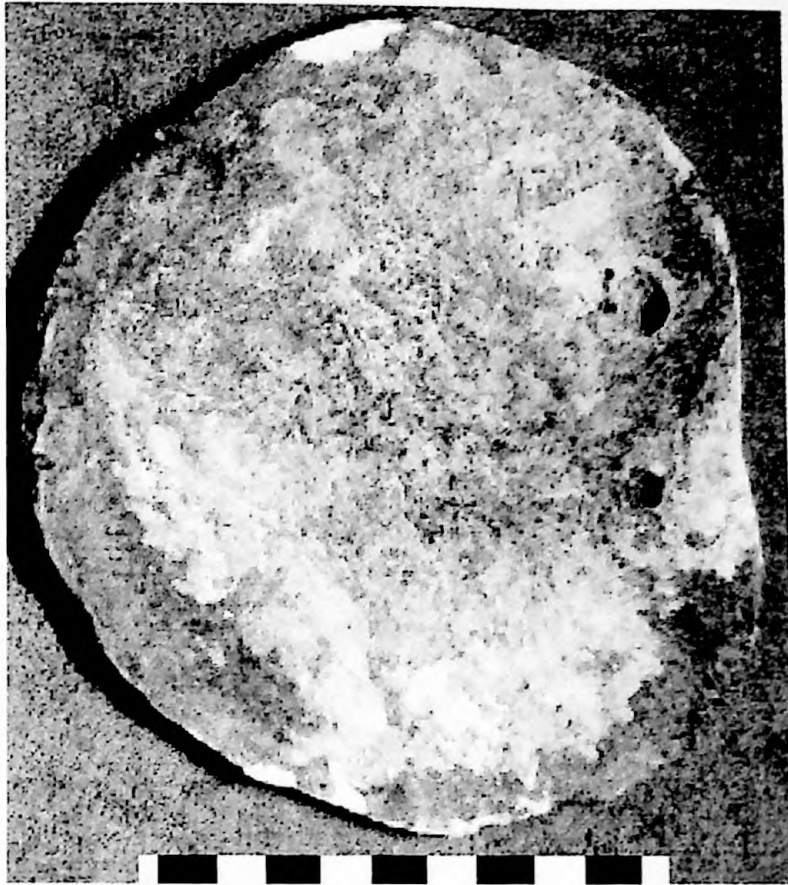


Figure 48

Gorget: MS61/8

Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)

Size: 14 cm x 15.5 cm

Round plain gorget from Orchard. Found with adult male.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 49

Gorget: MS61/9

Provenience: Orchard (46MS61)

Size: 11 cm x 10 cm

Citico style rattlesnake gorget with very light engravings.

Rust colored residue obscures left side of engravings.

No information available.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 50
Gorget: KA31/1
Provenience: Pratt (46KA31)
Size: 13 cm x 10 cm

Citico style rattlesnake gorget found at Pratt during construction of city building.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 51
Gorget: KA31/2
Provenience: Pratt (46KA31)
Size: 12 cm x 10 cm

Second Citico style rattlesnake gorget found at Pratt during construction of city building.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 52

Gorget: MS51/1

Provenience: Rolf Lee (46MS51)

Size: 9.5 cm x 11 cm

Buffalo style mask gorget from Rolf Lee. Found over face of child with copper anklet around neck.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 53
Gorget: MS51/4
Provenience: Rolf Lee (46MS51)
Size: 4.78" x 5.78"

Buffalo style mask gorget from Rolf Lee.
No information available. Gorget destroyed in fire.
Photo by Bill Williams.



Figure 54

Gorget: MS51/9

Provenience: Rolf Lee (46MS51)

Size: 13 cm x 18 cm

Chickamauga-style mask gorget found with tear drop shaped shell bead and drilled suspension hole. Found with burial of adult male.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

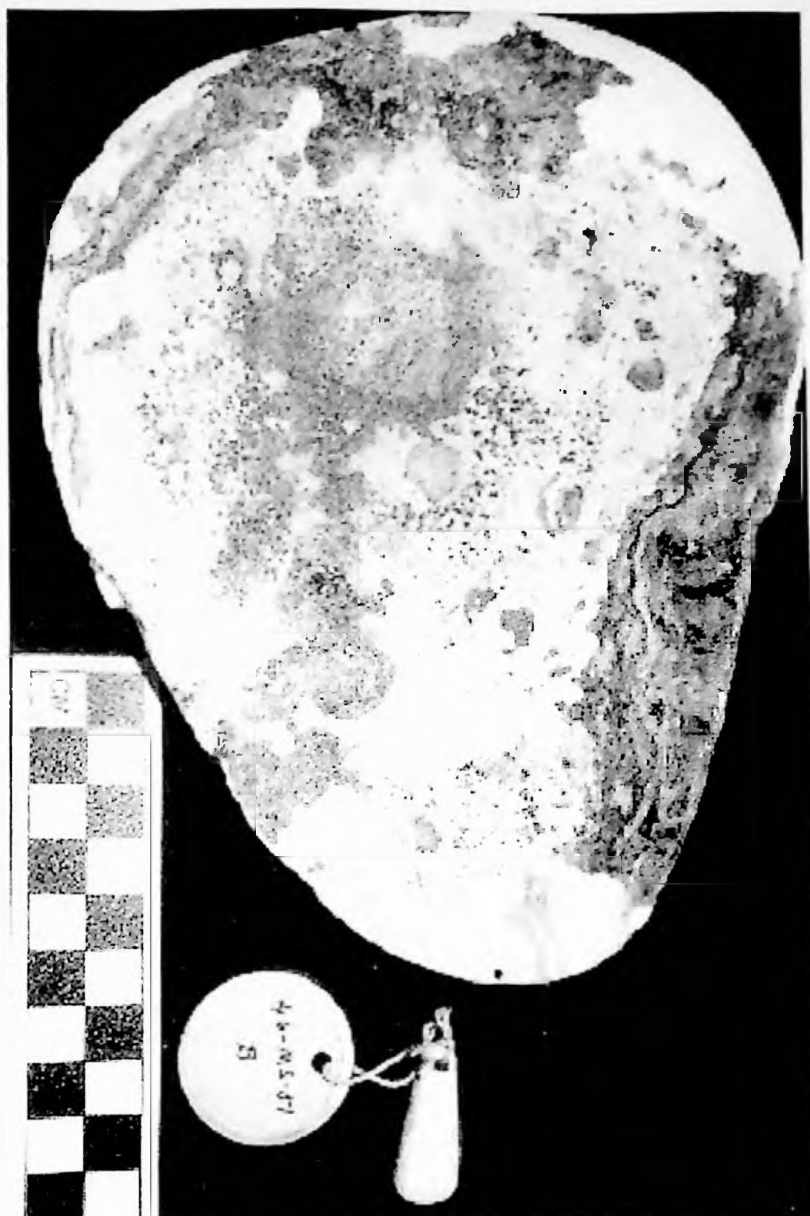


Figure 55

Gorget: MS51/9 (Reverse side)

Provenience: Rolf Lee (46MS51)

Size: 13 cm x 18 cm

Chickamauga style mask gorget found with tear drop shaped shell bead and drilled suspension hole. Found with burial of adult male.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 56

Gorget: MS51/12

Provenience: Rolf Lee (46MS51)

Size: 1-1/8" x 1" broken

Broken maskette with weeping eye design.

No information available.

Photo courtesy of Bill Williams.



Figure 57
Gorget: MS51/14
Provenience: Rolf Lee (46MS51)
Size: 3.5 cm x 5.5 cm

Half engraved maskette with weeping eye design.
No information available.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 58
Gorget: MS51/14 (Reverse side)
Provenience: Rolf Lee (46MS51)
Size: 3.5 cm x 5.5 cm

Half engraved maskette with weeping eye design.
No information available.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 59

Gorget: MS51/15

Provenience: Rolf Lee (46MS51)

Size: 12.5 cm x 11 cm

Citico style rattlesnake gorget. Found in ash pit at Rolf Lee.
Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.



Figure 60

Gorget: MS38/1

Provenience: Somers Farm (46MS38)

Size: 3.5" x 3"

Russell style cruciform gorget from Somers Farm. The only cruciform gorget known in West Virginia. No information available.

Photo courtesy of Bill Williams.



Figure 61

Gorget: MS36/1

Provenience: Southside (46MS36)

Size: 12.5 cm x 10.5 cm

Round plain gorget found with MS36/2 and shell ear ornaments.

Found with adult female.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

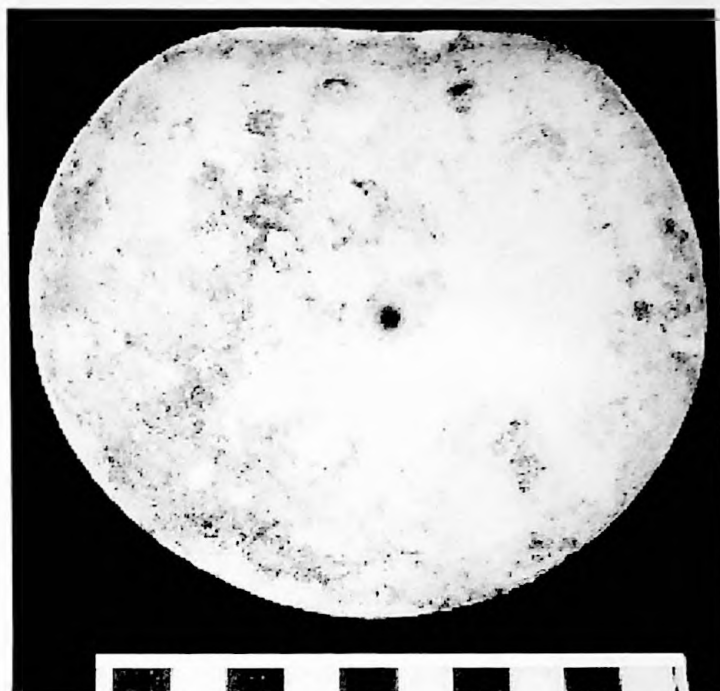


Figure 62

Gorget: MS36/1 (Reverse side)

Provenience: Southside (46MS36)

Size: 12.5 cm x 10.5 cm

Round plain gorget found with MS36/2 and shell ear ornaments.
Found with adult female.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

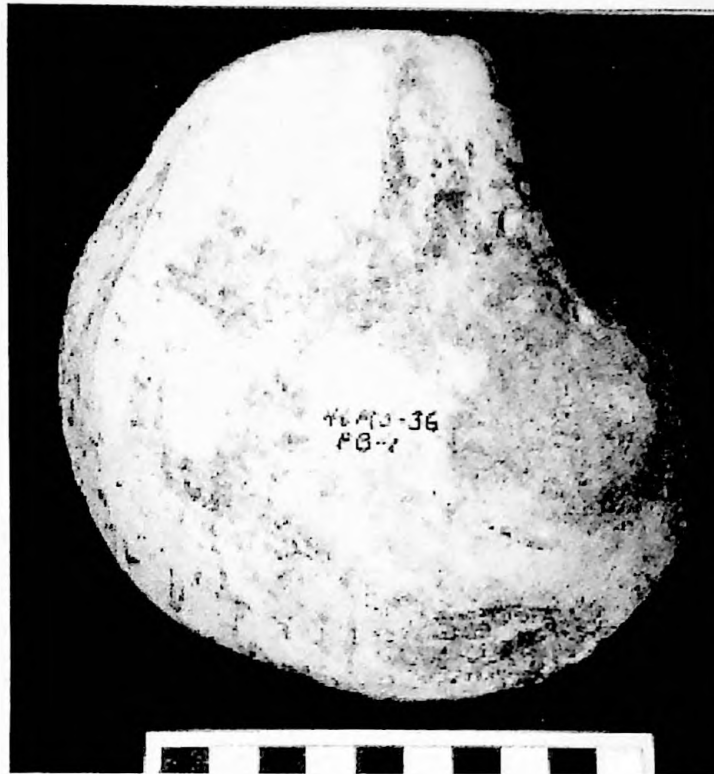


Figure 63

Gorget: MS36/2

Provenience: Southside (46MS36)

Size: 14 cm x 12 cm

Round plain gorget found with MS36/1 and shell ear ornaments.

Found with adult female.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.

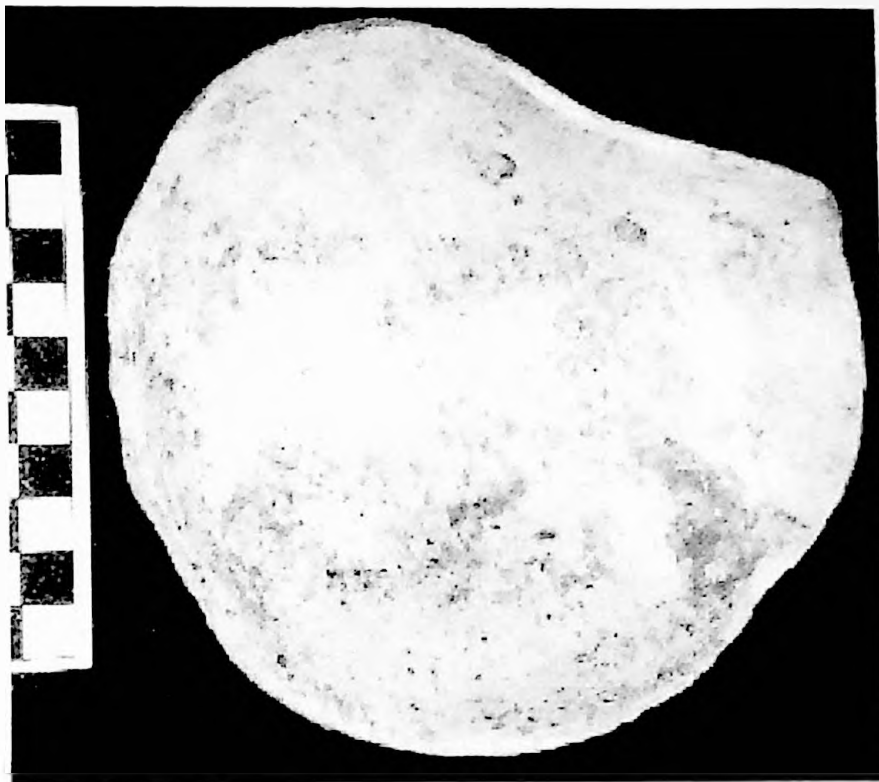


Figure 64

Gorget: MS36/2 (Reverse side)

Provenience: Southside (46MS36)

Size: 14 cm x 12 cm

Round plain gorget found with MS36/1 and shell ear ornaments.

Found with adult female.

Photo courtesy of Harvey Allen.