

REVERENCE FOR THE DEAD: IDENTIFYING AND INTERPRETING  
PATTERNS IN MORTUARY OBJECTS WITHIN  
THE HOLLYWOOD MOUND SITE  
  
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REVERENCE FOR THE DEAD: IDENTIFYING AND INTERPRETING  
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THE HOLLYWOOD MOUND SITE

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This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Amanda Corsi. Her love  
and support has been the constant driving force through  
these past two and a half years.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I truly appreciate everyone who has pushed me to finish this final piece of research. Where I am at now has taken hard work and a lot of dedication that I would not have been able to accomplish on my own. I would like to give thanks that my committee has been incredibly patient with me in completing this thesis. Under the guidance of Dr. Kent Reilly, Dr. Adam King, and Dr. Elizabeth Erhart, I have accomplished much more than I thought possible. Their push to continue working helped to produce something that I am tremendously proud of, and something that I hope represents the knowledge they have imparted in me.

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**ABSTRACT**

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I will be exploring the origins and local use of foreign objects found at the Hollywood and Etowah Mound sites during the Mississippian period. Dedicatory offerings within these archaeological sites are known to have contained numerous ritual goods. Both of these sites will

serve as points of comparison within this research. I will argue that a number of the artifacts at the Hollywood Mounds arrived from Etowah as a part of a larger trade network and that these items were subsequently used within ritualistic caches found in Mound B at Hollywood.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Mississippian population centers throughout the Southeastern United States have long been known as areas of great political complexity and importance. However, focusing on the depths of connectedness between these Mississippian sites is a more recent scholarly endeavor. The breadth of trading and exchange relationships as well as religious connections between these sites is far greater than previously thought. To investigate this point, this thesis will examine the spread of a belief system along the Savannah River to the mound site of Hollywood in Georgia (9RI1).

Hollywood will serve as the archetype for my research into this facet of the archaeological record because it displays a rich intermingling of locally made pottery and traditions coupled with imported objects closely tied to much larger Mississippian centers, some of which are at a great geographic distance. Suggested ways in which these



imported objects may have traveled from their points of origin include acts of alliance, war, and ideological exchange, which would involve knowledge transference between different polities. As previously stated, the most common explanation for this movement has been some form of exchange, either long-distance or down-the-line from center to center (King 2007). Hollywood's particular blend of local and imported styles can be readily visualized through the arrangement of the archaeological features present within the mortuary mound at the site, Mound B. Style, as it is used within this thesis, is simply the formal qualities of a work of art that connects it to other works of art (Reilly 2012: Personal correspondence). Most notable of these items are artifacts related to the South Eastern ritual traditions of the Central Mississippi Valley (CMV) (Baillou 1965: 4).

### **The Mississippian World**

The Mississippian period occurred roughly from A.D. 900-1600 and is largely noted for such features as platform mounds, shell-tempered pottery, and a reliance on corn based agriculture. Mississippian social organization was primarily ranked, involving two social groups, typically with a smaller elite group composed of the chief and his

family along with related nobles. This organization would imply a rank of nobles, primarily associated with chiefdoms or paramount chiefdoms, usually portrayed in the art with an assortment of status markers such as ornamental weapons and decorative items typically worn around the body. During this time period Native Americans visualized their ideology on mediums such as shell, cloth, wood, pottery, and copper. The Mississippian period was a time of broad connections through trade and transference. Numerous scholars have presented possible explanations for this form of exchange. These descriptions help account for the movement of particular styles from their point of origin. Important interactions between different polities of the Mississippian period included "intermarriage between paramount and subsidiary elites, rebellions, wars of succession, distribution of status goods, and tribute collection" (King and Freer 1995: 267). This approach to interactions allows for the system to work on a variety of different scales. These include the relationships between the highest of political units as well as those between smaller influential powers. It is through these relationships that much ritual material may have been distributed throughout the Mississippian world.

As previously stated, the artifacts found at these sites can typically be attributed to the ritual expression of the American Southeast, sometimes referred to as the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC). The SECC is a concept encompassing ritual objects and ceremonies found within the Southeastern United States during the Mississippian time period (Waring 1945). The artifacts associated with this ideological, ritual, and mythological complex displays specialized artifacts with many similarities in design and iconographic symbols, all of which ultimately tie back into the complex traditions of Native American cultures of the Mississippian world. However, because of the baggage that the SECC label carries, the concept has recently come under scrutiny by several academics (Knight 2006). Despite these problems with the SECC label it nevertheless conveys the message of interconnectivity between those Southeastern sites that I will be discussing in this thesis. Regardless of the name that is given to the phenomenon deriving from ancient Native American trade and interaction, the meaning remains clear: it demonstrates a complex network of interrelated themes and styles which spread prominently through the Southeast during the Mississippian period. Because of this I have chosen to emphasize the artifacts geographic and

ritual connections, and not refer to them as being the broader "SECC".

Each piece of evidence plays an essential role in understanding the broader context of the artifacts from the Hollywood site. The complete assessment of this corpus will also include a series of digitally created maps and databases. These resources will be used to integrate all available data into a succinct understanding of the Mississippian mound site of Hollywood, Georgia. What follows is a detailed explanation of the concepts and ideas that will become key pieces of evidence in this thesis and how they are to be employed in the process of artifact analysis.

### **Spatial Orientation and Tableau**

As mentioned above it is important to discuss grave objects within the context of the mortuary structure. The tableau, or grouping of burial goods, demonstrated at the Hollywood site is also vital in understanding the deeper symbolic subtext of the mortuary remains. A formal understanding of how tableau functions provides insight into how imported ideas and beliefs show up in the archaeological record (Carr 1995: 120). In numerous instances throughout the Southeast, relationships between

artifacts and burials demonstrate the rank and position that an individual held within their social group. The funerary items discussed at Hollywood, however, may in fact be representative of a larger symbolic statement rather than simply being a political report on the social hierarchy of the elite population at the site. The tableau of prestige goods alongside skeletal remains demonstrates the intrinsic symbolic values of the population (Maccreaux and Dye 2007: 6).

An example of tableau at Hollywood may take the form of other, previously identified, accounts such as the one found in what is known as the "Beaded Burial of "Mound 72" at Cahokia (Figure 1) (Knight et al. 2001: 121). An elaborate adornment of marine shell beads underlay a male individual entombed at Mound 72 in this burial. This shell material appeared to be laid out in the likeness of a bird or raptor being, and is situated, as previously stated, directly beneath the male body (Figure 2). An additional burial was unearthed directly below the first. This second individual was coterminous with the original, but was facing the opposite direction. By connecting cultural affiliations of bird imagery alongside the orientation of the bodies within the beaded burial of Mound 72, this

tableau may serve as a physical depiction of a prominent mythological figure within the ideology of the Mississippian people. The alignment of these bodies in association with the bird imagery suggests that these two individuals substituted for the celestial heroes known as the Thunder Twins. Given the precedence placed upon these supernatural figures within Mississippian society (Reilly 2004, Knight 2010, Waring 1945), it is not surprising to discover that the Cahokia burial monuments contained the most elaborate sumptuary objects, expressing their striking presence in a physical form (Townsend and Sharp 2004: 33).

Presently, as the only mound center in the middle Savannah region to contain elaborate CMV goods, this thesis will demonstrate that a similar pattern of ritual symbolism was observed within Mound B at Hollywood. The hearths located at the center of each burial layer may function as a tableau similar to Cahokia's beaded burial. The burials in both the upper and lower layers seem to be centralized around these two fire pits. Additionally many artifacts at Hollywood are closely clustered together. This grouping of Hollywood's objects may indicate a bundling tradition at the site, a practice first brought to light by Kent Reilly through his work on Mississippian archaeology and

iconography (Reilly 2004; Reilly and Garber 2007). The bundled ritual objects are a key to understanding the Hollywood tableaus (King 2011: 7).

### **Stylistic Connectedness**

Through stylistic analysis and iconographic studies we are able to organize motifs and themes, eventually placing them into styles and style regions encompassing the various Mississippian sites in the Southeast. Evidence seems to indicate that the non-local goods in Hollywood's Mound B may have either been created in the Braden art style or originated from the CMV, the region along the Mississippi River where the Ohio River joins from the north and its connection with the Arkansas River in the south. As my analysis of these mortuary items will reveal, Hollywood was intimately linked to the projected Braden style corridor (Figure 3) (Reilly and Garber 2007) that connects many of the most significant Southeastern sites. Additionally the burial goods presented in Mound B are known to have appeared during the florescence of many of these same influential Mississippian period sites. All of these facts considered, it is possible to make the argument that elite goods, as well as long distance trade communication, may be identified by investigating the archaeological record

through both the physical examination of the cached objects and the iconographic interpretation of the symbols that these objects carry. These artifacts serve as billboards, helping us to better understand the Native American past. While cross-examining Hollywood to other Mound centers in the Southeast will reveal what fundamental themes transcend the site, the contextualized meaning of these objects in each location will help in understanding the key differences in their usage.

For a proper comparative analysis I have chosen a well-known CMV affiliated site: Etowah, Georgia, located almost 200 miles northwest of the Hollywood Mounds (Figure 4). This site was chosen not only because of its connection to the Braden stylistic corridor, but because many of the artifacts at Etowah display very close thematic and stylistic ties to those objects which have been discovered at Hollywood. These associations point towards a history of interaction between these two sites. Because of Etowah's affluence during its Wilbanks phase (1250-1375), the appearance of stylistically similar mortuary goods at Hollywood during the same time period generates the primary hypothesis of this thesis: Etowah may have been slowly rewriting the political and ideological landscape. However,



the presence of such materials could also be explained by a scattering of elites directly linked back to Etowah. The movement of goods, symbols, ideology, and perhaps people, while identifiable throughout the Southeast, appears to happen in a slightly different manner in most locations. In either case, the story of Hollywood and Etowah provides an incredibly interesting example of ancient Native American interaction and exchange.

In order to demonstrate Hollywood's links to Etowah through the Braden style corridor, and the larger Mississippian trade network as a whole, it became critical for me to assemble an artifact corpus capable of demonstrating stylistic and iconographic links between these far-flung areas. The bulk of these objects consist of items recovered by Henry L. Reynolds during his excavations at the Hollywood mounds between the years of 1889 and 1890 (Thomas 1985[1894]). Currently the majority of these artifacts have been curated and catalogued at the Smithsonian Museum Support Center in Suitland, Maryland. These objects were made available for closer inspection through: 1) Photographs provided by Dr. Adam King at the University of South Carolina and, 2) My personal visit to the Museum Support Center on March 29, 2012 where I

conducted first hand examinations of the ceramic vessels and copper pieces to be described later on.

### **Purpose of Research**

This thesis represents the foundation for recovering a mythic story; one which has only come down piecemeal and has become obscured by time. A dual ethnographic and archaeological approach to this research will provide a more complete understanding of the stylistic traditions in this geographic region. Furthermore the variation within southern ideological traditions invokes a desire for a more suitable template which can be applied towards recognizing the context of the Hollywood site within the larger CMV interaction sphere. The artifacts from both Hollywood and Etowah can clearly be recognized as art objects: items that were beautifully crafted and tell a significant and fascinating narrative, one which archaeologists have only recently begun to recover. Striking images of the supernatural stand out in hopes of passing down these complex tales of ancient Native American life. Ultimately, by utilizing archaeological and iconographic methodologies Hollywood will secure its location within the Braden interaction sphere, more specifically will be shown to be closely tied with the political power of Etowah, and

demonstrate a unique form of tableau within its mound  
structure.

## **CHAPTER 2: HISTORY AND BACKGROUND OF KEY CONCEPTS**

In order to best lay out the information that will be discussed in this thesis, a basic understanding of the two sites will be needed. The following chapter summarizes key information about both the Hollywood and Etowah sites. Additionally I cover the history of the methodological approach I will be using to analyze the artifacts from both archaeological sites. Finally an overview of what style, in particular those relevant to this corpus, is presented as the final point.

### **Synopsis of the Hollywood Mounds**

The Hollywood Mound site, so named for the railroad "whistle-stop" settlement that occupied the land, is a Mississippian period site composed of two medium-sized mound structures. It is located some 12 miles below the Fall Line just south of Augusta in Richmond County, Georgia (Figure 5). The site is situated in the flood plain of the Savannah River and, due to the watercourse cutting northeast and then south, sits on a small peninsula.

Unfortunately due to its location and the more recent deforestation of the land, the site has seen increased flooding over the past century (Baillou 1965). In addition to this degradation the land has been privately owned and heavily employed for agricultural development. Such development includes a barn structure on the top Mound B and crops planted throughout the locale. Despite these difficulties the site has undergone two extensive and thorough excavations which I will outline below.

The Hollywood mounds were first investigated by one of Cyrus Thomas' field assistants, Henry Reynolds, on behalf of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) and under the "Mound Exploration Division" (Thomas 1985[1894]). Reynolds had been engaged in surveying ancient earthworks in the Coastal Plain of South Carolina and adjacent states during his employment by the BAE (Anderson 1996:148). Much of Reynolds' work was of unparalleled accuracy and detail, leaving much of these reports unrivaled until the later 1920's (Anderson 1994: 189-193; 343-354; Waring 1968d: 293). Unfortunately following his exemplary work at Hollywood, Reynolds was sent to work at the Mulberry Mounds in South Carolina where he took ill and passed away while in the field on April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1891 (Waring 1968). Due to

Reynolds' premature demise, only a very brief synopsis of his work appeared in the *Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology*, published three years later (Anderson 1996; Thomas 1985: 326-327). This publication is one of the only primary sources remaining that details Reynolds' excavations in the Southeast.

Reynolds' excavations at the Hollywood Mounds almost fully unearthed the smaller of the two mounds, Mound B. This earthwork is conical in shape, 10 feet high and 70 feet wide. The excavations consisted of a series of two trenches, one running east and west and the other north and south. The top 3 feet of the mound consisted of historic period artifacts dating to around A.D. 1800 based on the style of ornamented ceramics recovered (Figure 6). The trenches were then taken down further, all the way to the bottom of the mound where Reynolds exposed an impressive assortment of artifacts. For this discussion some of these objects will be considered art objects (Waring and Holder 1945).

As revealed through the BAE reports, Mound B is stratified consisting of three distinct cultural deposits and two stratigraphic layers of soils (Figure 7). The top layer has been bulldozed over by the past titleholder of

the property, Mr. Raymond Floyd (Figure 8). However, much of the lower portion has remained undisturbed. The destroyed top 3 feet was composed of micaceous loam and contained intrusive historic period artifacts such as the decorated ceramic materials mentioned previously and iron nails. The cultural levels containing the elaborate ritual material are directly below this destroyed 3 feet and are divided into an upper and lower horizontal section. This layering demonstrates two distinct series of interment events during the site's timeline.

The upper horizontal section revealed by Reynolds is two feet in depth and is directly below the line separating the previously discussed damaged top strata. The lower horizontal section rests upon what has been described as a blackened rich vegetable mold, which is thought to have been the original surface on which mound construction began (Figure 9) (Thomas 1985 [1894]). All of the burials found in these trench excavations have been found to be non-intrusive and were made before the division of the layers had been completed (Thomas 1985 [1894]: 319).

Both cultural deposits contain individual entombments found clustered together around a central hearth feature. According to Reynolds' map (Figure 10) the upper layer

contained only four burials, while the lower layer consisted of seven individuals. Unfortunately the skeletal remains left at this site are badly decayed leaving only trace fragments behind. The poor condition of the skeletal material permits only vague conjectures as to the sex and age of these individuals (Figure 11). This is a regrettable outcome due to the poor burial preservation at the site. Alongside each of these graves were elegant artifacts closely grouped together and meticulously documented by Reynolds (Figure 12) (Thomas 1985 [1894]). The fire pit in the center of each layer seems to represent some form of vertical connection between the two interment layers, perhaps a physical axis mundi linking the two deposits, meaning there may also be some significance as to the positioning of the physical bodies in each of those layers. The original drawings of the burial layers by Reynolds display an almost reversed copy of each other. Those burials on the top are laid out on the northeast side of the hearth and those burials on the bottom are in the southwest corner. Based upon the arrangement of the hearths as a central point in each of these interment layers, and a high frequency of burned material and charcoal, fire may have played an important role in the funerary process here at Hollywood. Due to the close association of the burials



and the physical artifacts it seems that the objects at Hollywood are a cohesive set of purposefully placed grave goods that can holistically be understood as a complex tableau (King 2011: 6).

The collection of artifacts from Hollywood encompasses elegant ceramic vessels, clay pipes, worked stone, repoussé copper plates, and celts of both the stone and copper variety, most of which has been recovered from the lower burial levels within the mound. Clemens de Baillou later noted that it was Reynolds' excavations that brought Hollywood into the spotlight as one of the eastern most outposts of the CMV Mississippian traditions (Baillou 1965: 4). Unfortunately while Reynolds has been lauded as an incredibly thorough archaeologist, the report put out by the BAE was riddled with inaccuracies and various other problems. These complications include mislabeled artifacts, poor quality reprinted maps, and some items which had been omitted completely from the discussion. The struggles in deciphering this account can most likely be attributed to the fact that Reynolds had passed away three years prior to the reports publication. Luckily the original log books for the artifacts, where they were entered into the Smithsonian's Museum archives, has helped to shed light on

many of these inconsistencies (Appendix 1). Reynolds' original field notes remain unrecovered.

The precise dating of the Mound B burials has been in contention over the years because of two disparate dates. The dates ranging from A.D. 1250-1350 are proposed by David Anderson (Anderson 1994), and others extend as late as the early 16<sup>th</sup> century (Brain and Phillips 1996). Despite these dating discrepancies, the excavations have provided enough physical material to name an identifiable archaeological phase, the "Hollywood Phase" (Table 1) (Anderson et al. 1986; Hally and Rudolph 1986; Rudolph and Hally 1985). The dating associated with the Middle Mississippian period, as well as the iconographic imagery covering these artifacts, falls within the date range agreeing with Anderson's original overview of the site. This is further supported by Adam King's and Keith Stephenson's research in 2011 when they were able to examine all of the Hollywood site artifacts and conclude that both the upper and lower burial levels date well within the A.D. 1250-1350 range (King and Stephenson 2011).

The only other excavation which has taken place at Hollywood was conducted in 1965 by Clemens de Baillou. De Baillou was a well-known archaeologist of the time and had

recently been appointed as the director of the Augusta Richmond Museum. The efforts of de Baillou focused on the other mound structure at the site. Mound A is located 280 feet south of Mound B (Figure 13). The mound was originally pyramidal in shape though cattle farming and the aforementioned flooding have washed away many of its physical characteristics (Thomas 1985 [1894]). The Mound A excavation was another trench excavation that ran along the southwest corner of the mound and stretched a total of 70 feet. The work by de Baillou also revealed another three cultural levels, though it wasn't until the depth of 50 inches that the first Native American ceramics were found (Baillou 1965). Ultimately a large assortment of Plain, Savannah Check Stamped, and Savannah Complicated Stamped ceramics were recovered from the mound. While there is a wealth of artifacts to be analyzed from the Hollywood site, the focus of this research concentrates on a specific set of items recovered from Mound B.

### **Synopsis of the Etowah Site**

The Etowah site has long been known as an important Mississippian center where elaborate and sometimes foreign objects were placed in elite graves. Mound C at Etowah has been identified as the mortuary mound where the majority of

these ritual objects were located. The patterning found within the mound reveals possible corridors of exchange and communication between Etowah and many other Mississippian sites. Just as interesting is the fact that the geographic distribution of ceramic and gorget styles found within Mound C is mirrored by their patterning within the burials at the site. Elaborate goods from Etowah include the previously mentioned shell gorgets and pottery vessels, as well as items such as stone axes and copper headdress ornaments. These objects will be discussed below.

There have been a number of disagreements regarding the construction and layout of the mound, but this can be attributed to the fact that it was unearthed over the lengthy span of 1884-1961 and was investigated as part of three separate excavations within that time period (Figure 14). The first was conducted by John P. Rogan under the direction of Cyrus Thomas of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1894. Rogan investigated a small portion of the summit of Mound C, encountering 11 graves and some of the more famous artifacts including the well-known Rogan copper plates. His excavations were not as rigorous as excavations are today. Unfortunately, the lack of clear methodology in Rogan's project left only a vague

description of the excavations and its findings to be interpreted (King 2007).

The second set of excavations was conducted by Warren K. Moorehead from 1925-1927 under sponsorship of the R.S. Peabody Foundation. Moorehead effectively excavated away all of the summits of Mound C as well as a small portion of its flank. He recorded an additional 110 burials and recovered a number of elaborate grave goods. While Moorehead's excavations proved to be more thorough than Rogan's excavations, there were still many additional burials and grave goods to be discovered in the later excavations of Mound C.

The third and final of these projects was conducted by Lewis H. Larson Jr. from 1954-1961 for the Georgia Historical Commission. Larson completed the excavation of the entirety of Mound C and the remaining flanks. There he encountered a very surprising additional 244 burials, largely around the margins of the mound's many stages. Of these three documented endeavors, Larson's provided the most concise and easily understandable report. It was through his work that the previous two attempts at excavating the mound were brought together for study.

Despite the fact that these excavations have provided a large amount of data, the quality of some of the excavation reports is called into question. Due to the differences in understanding the reports it becomes difficult to combine these excavations and compile a complete representation of the Mound. Larson (1954), as well as Jeffrey Brain and Philip Phillips (1996) have produced overviews of the construction at Mound C in their respective publications, though neither is a complete representation of the full burial picture. Fortunately Adam King has been able to provide a more complete interpretation of Mound C. King has been able to provide a much more in-depth and complete look at the Mound C construction stages, as well as provide time periods for the site's occupations.

King has argued that Mound C was built in seven distinct construction stages (King 2007). Three of these were built between AD 1250 and 1325 during the Early Wilbanks phase and an additional four were constructed between AD 1325 and 1375 during the Late Wilbanks phase (Figure 15). Additionally, many of these construction stages were accompanied by smaller lobed burials to the sides of the mound. The initial foundations of Stage 1 were

composed of sand and clay deposits, which would eventually become the first summit of the mound. Records of the excavations also suggest that there was a building constructed atop this summit. Stage 2 was similar in the composition and structure of the first, though the question remains as to whether or not a building was constructed atop this mount. This was subsequently covered by two sets of continuous earthen layers and dubbed stage 3, which then concluded the list of Early Wilbanks constructions (King 2004: 153-165).

The Late Wilbanks stages began with the fourth platform of construction and took place at the northern edge of Mound C, after which a rectangular palisade wall enclosed the entire structure. The fifth stage saw the addition of an alternating set of yellow, orange, grey and "light" sands all capped by dark clays. Yellow clay was then piled up to around one and a half meters in height creating stage 6. The final addition contained dark red and grey clay, and at the completion of this stage the structure was completely surrounded by one last palisade line, thus completing the construction of Mound C (King 2007; King 2004: 153-165).

Following Larson, King has also identified differences in grave distribution between the Early and Late Wilbanks phases. During the Early Wilbanks phase, people had been buried on the summits and around the flanks of each mound stage. By the Late Wilbanks phase graves were no longer placed in the mound summit and the graves encompassing the flank of the mound clustered into five discrete groupings. These patterns found in the interment locations have become important considering their relation to specific motifs found on their accompanying grave goods. As is evident, Mound C presents itself as a very complex construction with an enormous amount of history behind it, allowing for an interesting and in-depth comparison not only to the Mound B structure at Hollywood, but between specific burials as well.

### **Dedicatory Caches**

Some of the most interesting artifacts linked with the CMV at both Hollywood and Etowah have been discovered within dedicatory caches located within the mortuary mound structures at each archaeological site. For the purpose of this research a dedicatory cache is a context of specific artifacts located within a mortuary structure. These items may be associated with single or multiple individuals, but



many artifacts may not directly accompany a specific individual. Regardless of whether they are associated with specific burials or they are found unaccompanied, their inclusion in the burial mound still classifies them as part of a dedicatory cache. Diagnostic features of dedicatory caches include body orientation, associated grave goods, and specific types of interment processes (Evans and Webster 2001: 4). Burial caches denoted by material wealth generally contain artifacts embodying sociotechnic or ideotechnic properties. As ritual objects, mortuary items encompass strong ideological ties and may not be interpreted on a strictly utilitarian basis. Instead the examination of burial goods must rely on cultural and physical variables. Ethnographic data will help to refine the final interpretations of the Hollywood caches that are presented within this thesis.

Through the artifacts recovered from dedicatory caches the researcher can deduce a number of important details that the artifacts may have conveyed to the original population which laid them out: the elite status of the individual associated with the items, the trade connections of those items, and the specific patterns with which those artifacts receive in burial treatment (Carr 1995). However,

insufficient attention has been given to identifying these caches and recognizing their context within individual sites. In this thesis I will tackle the problem of identifying mortuary caches directly by discussing which aspects of culture and ideological symbolism were transported from the central Mississippi style area to the Hollywood Mound site in Georgia. Hollywood displays distinct dedicatory events ripe for this form of interpretation. Specifically, I will focus on both the assemblages of the ceramic vessels and a number of copper artifacts, all of which seem to have been cached together with specific ritual goods in the lower level of the site's mortuary mound, Mound B.

The process of identification in reference to dedicatory caches has been meticulously laid out by Christopher Carr (Carr 1995). Carr showcases how the two interconnecting concepts of culture and physical remains are best utilized (Carr 1995: 107) when attempting to interpret dedicatory caches (Table 2 and Table 3). Carr's variables serve as the premise for reconstructing mortuary organization through Hollywood's dedicatory caches. Nevertheless, simply identifying these cultural and physical traits does not solve the question of how mortuary

practice must be contextualized. Many Mississippian societies share the same set of mortuary symbolism and employ them antagonistically with varying connotations (Binford 1971: 16). Interpreting dedicatory caches thus becomes a matter of pinpointing the differences in symbolic and social treatments of the physical remains, particularly when dealing with two culture groups. Evidence provided by Reynolds (Thomas 1985[1894]) suggests that the Hollywood Mounds showcase a specific set of mortuary practices represented across two distinct burial traditions. These burial traditions were most likely assimilated over the course of Hollywood's interactions with other polities in the CMV (King and Stephenson 2011: 12). Mortuary practices at Hollywood are primarily represented by its ceramic assemblage. This specific ceramic assemblage will be discussed in further detail in the following chapters.

Within this thesis, the process of consigning artifacts to a specific cache relies heavily on the initial BAE report and the reproductions of Reynolds' original excavation maps. For the sake of consistency I have employed the National Museum's (NM) numbering system designed for archival purposes in the Smithsonian's database. Each of the dedicatory caches has been assigned a

grouping number based on the artifacts' proximity to each other, as detailed within the 1985 BAE report. Reynolds was incredibly meticulous in detailing the spatial relationships of each burial good, and therefore this thesis is well served in utilizing these data to propose specific dedicatory caches.

### **Panofsky's Methodology**

As stated earlier, one of the keys to understanding how the Hollywood Mounds interacted with Etowah is moving past the simple stylistic qualities of an artifact judgment sample (Rice 1987: 257) utilizing iconographic interpretation. An iconographical analysis of each artifact in this sample will be conducted utilizing the Panofskian method of artifact interpretation. Erwin Panofsky, for which this method is named, was a heavily influential academic and became the father of modern iconographic studies. The process of breaking down artifact imagery into component parts is detailed below through Panofsky's three fundamental iconographic steps.

The first of these steps deals with understanding the primary or natural subject matter of a given image. This step in the iconographic process only identifies the most basic design attributes. These attributes are recognized as

pure forms, and are represented by lines, colors, and shapes. When combined these elements form recognizable anthropomorphic figures, animals, and ritual objects. These neutral and unbiased interpretations of form expressed on artifacts are herewith considered to be artistic motifs (Figure 16). Recognizing motifs is considered a pre-iconographical description of the artwork and lays the groundwork for future interpretation (Panofsky 1939: 5).

The penultimate step in Panofsky's methodology takes previously established motifs and augments them with cultural themes. By affixing theme to motif, an image previously devoid of substance begins to carry conventional meaning. Until now the cultural significance imbued upon an image has remain locked. By recognizing the secondary meaning of an icon, we come one step closer to fully understanding it. However, in order to perform this analysis the researcher must possess the required knowledge to correctly identify motifs of a given culture (Panofsky 1939: 7).

After successfully identifying both the primary and secondary subject matter of an art piece, the deeper intrinsic meaning is closer at hand. This final step in the iconographic process conveys religious, political, and

philosophical views as distilled through the singular viewpoint of the artist. Therefore it is likely that these art objects are an expression of a culture at the time of their conception. Even the medium chosen by the artist can reveal key characteristics of a specific temporal setting. Applying Panofsky's methodology to Hollywood's artifact analysis will allow for a complete synthesis of ethnographic narratives and physical remains found at the site.

### **Art Styles of the Hollywood Region**

As previously stated, art styles can be used to define artifacts from Hollywood, ultimately demonstrating that they originate from other more established sites in the CMV. The link between Hollywood and Etowah is built upon these artistic styles. The first of the styles to merit discussion within this thesis is the Braden style. The Braden art style is one of the prevailing forms of art expression in the Southeast and has come to be closely associated with the ritualistic traditions of the Mississippian peoples (Brown 2004: 37; Brain and Phillips 1996; Reilly 2004). Braden is a major stylistic phenomenon that developed within the vicinity of the Cahokia region in south-western Illinois and the American Bottom (Brown 2004:

107). The Braden style thereupon spread throughout the Southeast and was displayed on a multitude of artistic mediums. This list includes: shell cups, gorgets, carved stone figurines and the surfaces of ceramic vessels. The malleability of the Braden art style allowed for both two dimensional and three dimensional representations of iconographic content. The defining aspect of Braden is the emphasis on equilibrium between placement and anatomical detail in both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms (Brown 2004: 107). The ideals of this style are best demonstrated in the forms, patterning, and crafting of the Rogan Plates discovered in Mound C at Etowah (Figure 17). While the artifacts from Hollywood may not directly be linked to the Braden style of art, it remains a salient connection because of the Braden corridor's CMV connections.

Another of Hollywood's potential artistic linkages discussed in this thesis is the Bellaire style. This style, similar to Braden, is manifested thorough a variety of media in the Southeast. Bellaire finds its origins and namesake in an effigy pipe tradition best represented at sites such as Moundville, Alabama, and the Emerald Mounds in Mississippi (Brain and Phillips 1996: 392). A stone pipe recovered from Moundville in the Bellaire style (Figure 18)

portrays a feline figure with barred teeth protruding from a threatening opened maw. Other key characteristics include a flat nose and tri-forked eye surround motifs (Power 2004: 98). This stone effigy pipe is an archetypal example of the Bellaire style: it combines both feline and serpentine characteristics and demonstrates organic incised markings highlighting the rounded structure to the vessel. These most salient characteristics continue to be expressed, despite any differences in technique, medium, or design field (Brain and Phillips 1996: 392). These features have similarly appeared on engraved shell gorgets, copper repoussé plates, and decorated pottery vessels in the CMV. Additionally the Holly Bluff, a new artistic style defined recently by Jim Knight, will be presented as a possible style family present at the Hollywood site. All of the styles mentioned above will be gone over in more detail in later chapters.

With this knowledge I am able to demonstrate the intimate ties that Hollywood and Etowah shared during a key point in the Mississippian timeline. The notion of styles play heavily into this assessment and so does the previous work conducted at each site. The following chapters present detailed and neatly laid out supporting evidence to make



the case for this hypothesis, and also brings up questions that may need additional research to conclusively prove.

### CHAPTER 3: STYLE AND CONNECTEDNESS

Great strides have been taken in recent years to identify and interpret symbolic and aesthetic expression as seen through visual imagery (Townsend 2004: 19). Annual conferences held at Texas State University-San Marcos have become the leading sources of new approaches and ideas in this field of study. Archaeologists are now able to define styles, themes, and motifs in an effort to link ancient societies, enabling us to understand the breadth of their political, economic and cultural influence.

Style, as it is referred to previously, is an analytic tool used to classify artifacts into specific groupings in order to demonstrate pre-historic relationships between culture groups and what are now seen as archaeological sites. This approach is taxonomic, encompassing description, identification, and classification of objective components found within the imagery. The styles that define Hollywood's artifacts seem to have originated from other more established sites in the CMV, (Brain and

Phillips 1996: 192) more specifically; these connections seem to point directly to the material culture of Mound C at the Etowah site. By analyzing the styles on a select corpus of Hollywood artifacts I will secure the site's place within the CMV network and explain this link as a result of strong trade connections between Hollywood and Etowah. However, before linking Hollywood to Etowah, and the greater CMV network, I will provide a brief summary of previous work conducted by myself and Dr. Adam King that demonstrates Etowah's connection to the CMV through a similar variety of style analysis in order to demonstrate the basics of this process.

### **Etowah and the CMV**

In order to begin linking Etowah to the CMV a catalog of all shell gorgets from excavations at Mound C was constructed. The gorgets displayed a multitude of styles and themes (Figure 19), providing a large data set to work with. One of these, the Hightower style gorgets, was broken down into the anthropomorphic and turkey-cock variety of gorgets. Other gorgets within the corpus included cruciform, annular, triskele, filfot cross, and crib.

Each of these gorgets has a distinct distribution pattern which can best be used to hypothesize their

geographic origin. By analyzing all of the shell gorgets from Etowah and visually matching them to analogous artifacts, regional identities began to surface. Both the anthropomorphic and turkey cock varieties of the Hightower style was found to be largely associated with eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia, leading Jon Muller to argue that it was a style strongly tied to the eastern Tennessee region (Muller 1997). Similarly, the crib gorgets are likely an eastern Tennessee creation as well. Other connections that were made included recognizing the concentration of cruciform and filfot gorgets along the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, annular gorgets compacted around central Illinois, and the triskele gorget likely being a central Tennessee creation. The distributions of the gorgets (Figure 20) create clear geographic connections.

In addition to the assembly of shell gorgets found within Mound C, there were also many pottery vessels. By eliminating local styles from the corpus material, these pottery types served additional evidence for linking Etowah to the CMV. The vessel's form and style were the key elements in this undertaking. Sources that proved useful in

this endeavor included Brain and Phillips, Roy Hathcock, and Kevin Smith.

The corpus of non-local pots included Avenue Polychrome, in the distinctive carafe and teapot form, a bottle with a trilobed base, and one with a perforated base likely originated in Southeast Missouri or Northeastern Arkansas. Brain and Phillips also identify a Fortune Noded vessel and a blank-faced water bottle in the Mound C corpus, both of which likely originated in northeastern Arkansas (Brain and Phillips 1996). Two of the painted bottles found in Mound C likely originated in eastern Tennessee. One appears to be an example of Hiwassee Red on Buff (Figure 21) and the other of these vessels is of the negative painted variety that Kevin Smith suggests is an eastern Tennessee creation.

The geographic origins of both the pottery and gorget material reveal a consistent pattern of external connections, linking Etowah and the CMV. Taken together, these lines of evidence create a compelling argument that Etowah was connected to areas ranging northern Georgia through central Tennessee, to the Central Mississippi Valley, all of which persisted for over a century—from AD 1250 to 1375.

## **Hollywood Ceramic Styles**

Similar to the work done with Etowah's artifacts, gathering images of the Hollywood pottery vessels was one of the most crucial steps in this thesis. Photographs taken by Dr. Adam King, Dr. Keith Stephenson, and myself during a visit to the Smithsonian Museum Support Center are the primary sources used for this ceramic analysis of Mound B. The Hollywood artifact catalog, found in the Smithsonian's archives, was also used in sorting and identifying these ceramic goods (Appendix). In addition I have synthesized the previous research conducted on the Hollywood ceramics, including work by Brain and Phillips, Adam King and Keith Stephenson, and information from the compiled works of Antonio J. Waring (Waring 1968). However, all of these data are, at their most basic level, driven by the imagery, so a visual comparison of each artifact becomes just as significant as relying on the pre-established classifications given to the Hollywood artifacts. I have therefore included detailed accounts of each of these vessels broken down into their individual motifs and elements. This includes how basic elements and motifs have been composed as well as looking for a string of similarities throughout their design in order to best

allocate them to a style grouping. The original artifact numbers, as laid out in the 1985 BAE report, are used where available.

For the purposes of this thesis I rely on the decorated ceramics with readily interpretable imagery. These items were excavated from the lower layer of Mound B and include two incised ceramic cups with serpentine motifs and a negatively painted Avenue Polychrome vessel. The images and motifs that these items bear are representative of a long-standing stylistic tradition within the CMV. The recent trip to the Museum Support Center provided an opportunity to inspect many of these objects first-hand, allowing for high resolution photographs, composite three dimensional renderings, as well as charcoal rubbings to be taken. All of these have offered much greater detail than the simple black and white photography that is more widely available. To begin, I will breakdown the serpentine vessels utilizing the Panofskian three part methodological approach described in the preceding chapter. This will ultimately lead into identifying the style group these ceramics belong to.

The first of the serpentine cups is also one of the most classically discussed artifacts from Hollywood; it is

vessel 12 (Figure 22) and was recovered near a central hearth in the lower level on Reynolds' original excavation. For clarity, the original BAE report erroneously identified this pot as pot 16 with the museum number NM 135202; however, research at the Museum Support Center and further research done by Christopher Thornock has revealed that it is in fact pot 12 and NM 135196. This artifact was found just northeast of a longneck jar (NM 135195), five clay pipes (NM 135218-135222) and one soapstone pipe (NM 135216), all of which were also near the fire bed. Additionally it rested adjacent to vessel 13, which will be discussed later.

The motifs on ceramic vessel 12 displays intertwined serpent bodies that crisscross around each other on the vessel's surface. In an effort to visualize this image in a two dimensional plane I have performed charcoal rubbings of the piece and employed a previously reconstructed rollout of the image. Using these two resources I have digitally reconstructed the rollout of all serpent figures on this vessel (Figure 23). With these it was easier to determine that there are a total of four separate serpentine bodies presented on the vessel. On the uppermost snake there is a trifurcated eye surround, large antler like horns, and a



long protruding tongue. The body of this first serpent showcases crosshatching throughout its body with an oval shaped motif inserted sporadically between the hatch marks. The second snake has an anthropomorphic head, well defined by its humanoid nose, mouth, and beaded forelock. While this creature also carries an eye surround, it differs greatly from that of the first serpent. Similarly the body patterning is altered as well, replaced with reversed diagonal lines. The third serpent is also humanoid in appearance, but again differs in the shape of its eye surround and by the presence of an ear spool. The final serpent is stylistically analogous to the first one described, completely zoomorphic and likewise having comparable horn and body patterns. The only differences between the two zoomorphic serpents are the presence or absence of oval body markings and the eye surround's design. In summation, while vessel 12 displays four serpentine creatures along its surface, they each differ in how the serpents are represented, displaying a wide range of distinctive motifs (Figure 24).

Vessel 13 is the second serpent ceramic recovered from Mound B at Hollywood (Figure 25). As mentioned earlier, this artifact (NM 135204) is adjacent to 12, resting near a

broken vessel (NM 135215) which sat directly above a copper ax head wrapped in cloth (NM 135228). This vessel, like 13, was similarly relocated by the efforts of Christopher Thornock. This vessel is much smaller in size compared to most of the other pottery from Hollywood and unlike the other incised snake vessel, 13 only has a single serpent adorning its surface. Strong stylistic similarities to 12 can be found in the design of the serpent on vessel 13, in particular the uppermost horned zoomorphic serpent. The body of this serpent has a crosshatching design throughout its length, and its eye surrounds seem to be three-pronged, thus significantly resembling the first zoomorphic serpent from 12. Due to the similarity in motif design on both of these serpents, this vessel has been called a companion piece to the first (Brain and Phillips 1996: 192), with its eye surrounds and antler like protrusions being key characteristics.

Because of the strikingly similar characteristics of these objects it is easy to relegate them to a singular style group. Previous attempts at defining their style have long held them in the Braden stylistic group, due in part to their association with engraved shell from Spiro, Oklahoma (Brain and Phillips 1996:191). However, recent

efforts on the part of Jim Knight, have defined a new style family, the Holly Bluff style. This report, initially presented at the 2012 Mississippian Iconographic Conference at Texas State, created a new style based upon a number of Mississippian artifacts, both shell and ceramic, representing the most up-to-date interpretations of these items. The canons for this style, as explained in Knight's presentation, are as follows: a curvilinear preference in design, overlapping figures, a frequent use of cross-hatching, fringed fins/crests/tongues, and an artistic license to play with both theme and motif. Additionally the subjects that are predominant within the Holly Bluff style are: serpentine figures (especially horned rattlesnake creatures), axis symbols and ogee motifs, and human heads among other items. Utilizing the definitions that Knight has provided, it can be argued that the serpentine pottery vessels from Mound B at Hollywood fit within this projected style. Each demonstrates the serpentine figures, including the horned variant, abundant crosshatching, overlapping figures, and a sense of variety in the motifs adorning each serpent. Additionally the creatures upon these artifacts bear a striking visual similarity to other objects used to define the Holly Bluff style (Figure 26). Due to this, the style region proposed by Knight would therefore also apply

to these vessels, placing their proposed geographic origin within the CMV (Figure 27).

The last ceramic item that I will discuss in detail is vessel 16 (NM 135202). This ceramic vessel is a negative painted- long neck jar exhibiting a centralized cross motif (Figure 28). This item was located to the north-west of the central hearth feature present in the lower level and three to four feet west of vessels 12 and 13. This ceramic artifact was discovered sitting directly atop a copper plate (NM 135227), which rested directly above the blackened subsoil at the base of the mound. The other artifacts associated with this vessel are the previously mentioned copper repoussé plate and fragments of mica and shell. The cross motif displayed on the jar is subsequently surrounded by two concentric circles, the outer-which displays a petaloid or "feathered" motif. This pattern is again repeated on the opposite side of the jar. According to Brain and Phillips, this jar is of the Avenue Polychrome variety, whose form originates in the CMV (Brain and Phillips 1996). Isolated burials at Etowah reveal strikingly similar pottery, whose geographic origins reinforce the CMV affiliation.

The first is from burial 81 in Mound C at Etowah and was discovered by Moorehead (Figure 29). This is also a negative painted ceramic, takes the form of a wide mouthed bottle, and exhibits the centralized cross and circle motif similar to vessel 16. The source for this has been cited as originating around the Central Mississippi Valley (Brain and Phillips 1996:143). The second is a Nashville Negative, Sikeston variant, and is of the Caraffe form (Figure 30). This vessel is from burial 44 and was excavated by Larson, displaying a somewhat similar cross and circle motif and whose form matches vessel 17 from Hollywood (NM 135203). The last item from Etowah is also the one that exhibits the closest style and form to vessel 16, and was recovered by Moorehead. Unfortunately this artifact's provenience within Mound C at Etowah is unlisted. However, based on style and form it is also likely from the CMV region. Based on these stylistic associations to these artifacts from Etowah, and the previous research done at Hollywood, I have constructed a map displaying the likely geographic origin for Hollywood's Mound B pottery vessels (Figure 31).

Additional ceramic vessels that have not been discussed at length in this thesis include vessel 9 (NM 135197) (Figure 32). Traces of fire were noticed above this

pot and was found associated with skeleton No.2 on Reynolds' maps, possibly indicating multiple ceremonies attached to this and the associated burial. The form that this vessel takes is very distinctive, a triple headed base which links up to the opening above. This vessel, along with the other has shown strong geographic ties to the CMV and likely arrived along with the other artifacts from that area traveling along the Braden Corridor (Brain and Phillips 1996: 192).

### **Hollywood Copper Styles**

As with the ceramic artifacts discussed here, other artistic mediums play a key role in identifying Hollywood's trade connections. The cluster of copper items discussed previously (NM 135227) were located in the same burial zone as the negative painted vessel at Hollywood. Unfortunately the copper pieces have been corroded, leaving green verdigris typical of most copper recovered in an archaeological context. This, in addition to its fragmentary condition, has left most of the copper material from Mound B difficult to examine. One of the few readily identifiable pieces is the largest and most spectacular of the copper material recovered from Hollywood (Figure 33). The original burial context of this item included leather

wrapping and an organic woven matting, all of which were finally encased in wood. This embossed copper plate is what Reynolds' originally described as a "Mexican figures" (Thomas 1985[1894]), but is now understood as a frontal facing feline creature with large eyes surrounded by trifurcated eye surrounds, and a large open mouth displaying numerous teeth. On either side of this creature's mouth there are double crescent motifs. In addition it displays a bulbous nose with sets of curved lines extending to the top of the face (King 2011). Directly between the nose and the top jaw are five small holes, which will be discussed shortly. Upon inspecting this object it is clear that there are enough stylistic similarities to connect this copper plate to the supernatural entity known as the piasa, or underwater panther (Figure 34) (King 2011: 2, Lankford 2006). The underwater panther itself is an amorphous being and can demonstrate characteristics of a panther, serpent, bear, or raptor (Powers 2004: 189, O'Brien 1994: 1, Phillips and Brown 1978: 91).

Due to the distinctive characteristics of this copper plate, archaeologists have long placed it within the Bellaire style family (Brain and Phillips 1996:192).

However, Bellaire, as it is presently defined, is limited to a sculptural genre of pipes (Figure 35) and to date facial features have yet to be described in much detail and therefore Jim Knight believes that there is little evidence to place the piasa plate within the Bellaire style family (Jim Knight 2012: Personal Correspondence). Because of this, it becomes difficult to relegate the copper plate to this style based simply on similar subject matter. Instead, truly stylistic features, having to do with the manner of presentation should be identified in order to best locate a geographic origin. Unfortunately the number of two dimensional frontal facing felines is relatively slim within current archaeological reports. Examples of ceramic representations include the Pecan Point vessel (Figure 36) from Arkansas, and the panther vessel from the Berry site in Missouri (Figure 37). The corpus of copper panthers is likewise miniscule. Other than the Hollywood piece the only other copper panthers are from Etowah and eastern Tennessee, likely the Hiwassee Island site (King 2011:2) (Figures 38 and 39).

From these frontal facing felines I can assign diagnostic style attributes. Starting with the eyes, each representation displays a circular eye with no pupil,



surrounded by a three pronged eye surround. There is also a set of curvilinear lines protruding from where the nose would be on each artifact. Additionally there is a large open maw with pointed teeth displayed. However, this is where the similarities between the two different artistic mediums end. This may be due to the differences in the artistic mediums used, or perhaps they indicate distinct stylistic differences. The copper pieces however, exhibit a multitude of additional linked traits. These include: a stylized oval-shaped bulbous nose, crescent shapes on either side of the mouth (assuming the design adheres to bilinear symmetry), and a preference for pronounced canine dentition surrounded by duller/flat teeth. This strong connection of stylistic traits may place the copper panthers into a style family that is, much like Bellaire, confined to a specific genre. The parallels between these three pieces are unmistakable and embossed copper plates are known to have come from templates (Reilly 2004). Due to the similarities in design and medium of the panther copper plates, there is a distinct possibility that these pieces were modeled on the same template. Because of this, I have created distribution maps separated by the ceramic and copper mediums. On this map I have also included a rough layout of the geographic regions for the stone pipe piasa

artifacts in the Bellaire style, making a stronger argument that this overall theme has a central locus in the CMV (Figure 40).

### **Reconstructing the Hollywood Copper**

The remainder of the copper fragments surrounding the underwater panther plate have been drawn and digitally enhanced in order to bring out smaller details that may have escaped the naked-eye. These enhanced fragments were then cut out and taken onto a light-table to reconstruct the original forms. No piece displayed an easily identified pattern; instead unsystematic and unsymmetrical curvilinear designs ran throughout the breaks, making the pieces difficult to reassemble. This may indicate that their design was embossed without any strict standard or design in mind (Schnell et al. 1981: 125). However, large enough fragments have been partially reconstructed into what must have originally been arrowhead designs or motifs similar to those found at Etowah by Larson (Figure 41). Upon looking at material recovered elsewhere in the Southeast, such as Cemochechobee in Georgia, Moundville in Alabama, and Etowah, their relationship became readily apparent. Each of these sites contained multiple copper elements associated with elaborate headdresses. These headdresses may have been

decorated with embossed copper arrowhead designs displaying similar curvilinear motifs to those found at Hollywood. These analogous artifact clusters have historically contained twelve separate arrowhead pieces (Larson 1971). However, due to the unfortunate condition of the Hollywood copper material only two distinct arrowheads can be reasonably identified. The majority of the distal ends have been broken off, and the remainder of the pieces exhibit rounded edges. Each of the aforementioned fragments is perforated with holes that were most likely used for their attachment to the original headband. There is a distinct possibility that any remaining fragments from Hollywood Mound B were either overlooked in the initial excavation by Reynolds or that they were scattered in separate units at the time of burial and have yet to be discovered (Knight et al. 2001, Thomas 1985[1894]).

The copper ornaments recovered in Hollywood's burial mound are likely representations of the symbol badges, which Lewis H. Larson described during his research at Etowah Mound C. The Etowah symbol badges represent an amalgamation of designs very similar to those in Mound B at Hollywood. Larson describes these typological categories: the standard arrowhead shape, terraced baton, cycloid

baton, eagle tail, eagle head, and plume (Figure 42). These copper symbol badges were all employed in a similar fashion to the arrowheads found at Cemochechobee (Schnell et al. 1981); each one was placed in a headdress and then decorated with feathers and copper.

The majority of the symbol badges recovered at Etowah were found in association with the skull of individuals in their graves. The fanned arrangement of the headdress (as seen in Larson's reconstruction in Figure 43) seems to derive from a number of wooden rods, bound together at a single end. Leather, which had been recovered from one of the headdresses, seemed to have been attached to some of the aforementioned rods. This leather strip was lying over a skull, which seems to indicate that it was used as a band to hold it on an individual's forehead (Larson 1959: 110). Additionally many of the copper badges displayed impressions of bird feathers. As Larson notes, no two headdresses seemed to be duplicates, possibly indicating specific ritual connotations. The context in which these Etowah headdresses were found and recovered aided in the eventual reconstruction of the Hollywood piece, described later.

There is a distinctive black residue on the back side of the underwater panther plate from Hollywood (Figure 44). This unidentified organic material could theoretically represent some form of mastic or adhesive resin similar to that found at Cemochechobee (Knight et al. 2001), though the confirmation of this hypothesis must wait until a thorough chemical analysis can be completed. However, if this proves to be correct, the underwater panther would most likely have been mounted on a wooden panel (Knight et al. 2001, Larson 1959) and used as a centerpiece within the headdress. This idea is reinforced by the perforations directly above the mouth of the creature, mentioned earlier in this chapter, and would likely have been used to tie and reinforce the bond to the wooden panel. As the central marker of a headdress, the plate would likely have been offset by the simple geometric designs of the remaining copper symbol badges. In all probability the copper underwater panther plate from Hollywood was a single aspect of much more elaborate regalia bearing the symbolism and ritual associated with a specific cult within a larger stylistic tradition of the CMV.

For the purposes of this argument I have completely reconstructed what the potential headdress at Hollywood may

have looked like (Figure 45). This reconstruction adheres to the patterns laid out by the Etowah and Cemochechobee sites. There is a central headpiece, in this case the underwater panther plate, and surrounding it are the smaller symbol badges. In this case I have elected to only show the arrowhead design with the curvilinear motif, as there was not enough remaining copper to hypothesize any other potential forms. The case for Hollywood and Etowah being linked together is supported greatly by the fact that each demonstrated underwater panther headdress designs. The symbolic and ritual significance of these headpieces will be discussed later on.

### **Hollywood and Etowah**

Ultimately the patterns that are expressed in Mound B at the Hollywood site can be directly linked back to the archaeological site of Etowah because of their unmistakable stylistic ties, with both sites containing comparable artifacts and burial caches. In addition to the similarities between each of the mortuary mounds at Etowah and Hollywood, the underwater panther plates seems to represent a significant link between these two sites. Only three copper plates that feature a forward facing underwater panther have been recovered from Mississippian

era sites thus far. Due to the fact that Hollywood is positioned geographically close to Etowah, and that the plate showcases similar stylistic markings, it can be argued with some certainty that panther plate found in Mound B was likely the product of a close relationship between the two sites. Until additional underwater panther plates are discovered, these three sites remain uniquely tied by this artifact style.

Due to the similarities in artifacts, styles, and geographic ties displayed at both Hollywood and Etowah, there must have been a series of exchanges, and most likely a history of travel between the two sites. Because of the complexity of many of these artifacts and the distances they would have had to travel, this connection between Hollywood and Etowah may have represented the wider spread of a complex belief system down the Savannah River. It is likely that the path to power and dominance was intimately tied to the acquisition of elaborate foreign goods; high ranking individuals would seek out these ornate items in order to maintain their position of authority (Reilly 2004). Undoubtedly Hollywood sought foreign materials from more powerful polities in the central Mississippi valley,

the main site for these exchanges ultimately becoming Etowah.

The proposal presented here explains how the connection between Etowah and Hollywood can be visualized through artifact analysis and why it is possible to determine that many mortuary objects arrived directly from Etowah because of their stylistic and thematic similarities (Dye 1995: 291). The artifacts within Mound B were not items of chance, nor were they a random assortment of goods placed together indiscriminately by the site's inhabitants. The geographic origins and stylistic associations meant something to Hollywood's inhabitants and were purposefully placed in their final resting places.



## CHAPTER 4: ARTIFACT IMAGERY AND CONTEXT

Understanding the mortuary objects and their context within Mound B at the Hollywood site is an incredibly important endeavor when attempting to interpret the principal function of the mound. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, the foreign objects in this lower level came directly from the CMV, and more specifically, were mediated through the archaeological site of Etowah. Because of this relationship, specific themes in CMV ideology can be seen throughout this burial layer. This is an important point because the themes and styles found at Etowah hint at those found here at Hollywood, and perhaps help to interpret their meaning. Each artifact will be discussed as a separate entity and then evaluated within its context and association with other objects found in the mound. This is a crucial step because an artifact's context can clarify its meaning and often even add to it. While a definitive statement cannot be made at this point, the context of these artifacts will help to establish them as

either dedicatory caches, meant to mark the burial of elite and powerful individuals, or as ritual stacks designed to form a tableau with deeper ritual significance. Many of these associations can be made in large part due to the efforts of the Iconography workshop held annually at Texas State, which I have mentioned previously. It was at those conferences that Mississippian archaeologists were able to interpret cosmologically significant linkages between motifs and ideology (Reilly 2004, Lankford 2004 and 2006).

### **Cosmology and Iconography**

Linking Hollywood's artifacts to the Mississippian cosmological model is an important step in this iconographical analysis because the motifs constructed during the Mississippian time period generally focused directly on cosmological associations (Reilly 2004: 127). The leading studies in this field of archaeology have been conducted at the Mississippian Iconographic Conference. The research conducted there is a multi-disciplinary approach often referred to as the San Marcos School of Interpretation. Archaeologists, anthropologists, art historians and others convene for this annual meeting where they are directed into smaller project groups. These projects range from redefining style groups, defining

motifs and symbols, and broadening our understanding of Mississippian interactions through Native American art pieces. Research includes detailed ethnographic analyses, the study of large scale corpus material from the Southeast, and collaboration between each professional. At the end of the conference each group presents their findings, many of which are later developed into publications and presented elsewhere. Some of the key works to arise from this process include *Hero, Hawk and Open Hand* (2004) and *Studies in Mississippian Iconography* (2006). It is because of these individuals and this conference that our knowledge of the cosmos and their related motifs has advanced to the current stage that it is.

This cosmos, according to the people of the Mississippian period was divided; a world consisting of three separate yet connected realms or worlds (Figure 46). Through ethnographic sources we have learned that the supernatural beings which inhabited these lands were able to journey between each level and often possessed mythic powers not accessible by ordinary human beings. The first of these realms is the Above World, a realm filled with powerful sacred forces and containing hero figures such as the Birdman, Thunder Twins, supernatural avian creatures,

and the primordial creative deities. Because of these associations, common motifs related to the Above World include birds, raptors, petaloid or feather-like images, and powerful warrior imagery.

The second of these realms is the Middle World, the plane in which humans themselves exist and the home of animal powers. Animals were often crucial players in ancient Native American tales due to the otherworldly powers they often possessed. Oftentimes creatures from each of the other two realms would transcend their natural boundaries and find themselves within This World. Their presence within this sphere was typically to either provide assistance to a people or to cause mischief among them. People of This World would regularly try to harness these powers through ritual and ceremony, usually decorated in specific regalia in order to do so.

The third and final location is the Beneath World, located underneath the waters of the Earth and described as a place of chaos and death (Reilly 2004: 127, Lankford 2006: 107-135). Because of this, the realm is normally represented by decapitated heads, bones or skulls, and creatures such as the underwater panther and horned serpent. During the night, it was believed that the Above

World and the Beneath World switched places (Reilly 2004: 128), accounting for the darkness of night and letting the inhabitants of the Beneath World roam the night sky. The astral manifestation of the night sky is what we now call the Milky Way and was seen as an important path of travel for the deceased's souls. The dichotomy of the Above and Beneath Realms often played out in themes of light and dark, or life and death, representing the constant struggle between the two. Due to the work of the Iconographic Workshop we know that oftentimes the motifs and symbols mentioned above were employed as locatives used to explain the cartography of these cosmic realms, similar to the legend on a map (Reilly 2004: 129).

How can we now apply this knowledge to the interpretation of the Hollywood artifacts? What follows is an analysis of a select group of objects from Mound B's lower level that have been discussed previously in this thesis. It should be noted that this is not a complete list of the artifacts present in this layer, and their interpretation is not necessarily representative of all remaining artifacts. This breakdown will discuss the images displayed on these artifacts and attempt to elucidate the reader on the cosmological ties these figures hold.

Additionally I will examine how these symbols bear further meaning based on the artistic medium they are presented through as well as their context within the mound.

### **Meaning and Imagery- Vessel 12**

Vessel 12, the first of the two Hollywood snake cups, presents an interestingly deep look into the symbolism present at Hollywood (Figure 47). As discussed previously, this ceramic cup displays four serpentine figures running throughout its design. The two zoomorphic serpents on Hollywood vessel 12 best exemplify the traits of a being known as the horned serpent in the mythology of the Mississippian world, and are likely artistic representations of this character. The tripartite cosmological model mentioned earlier becomes useful, as we now know where this supernatural creature resided, the underwater realm.

The horned serpent, or great serpent as it is sometimes called, was a powerful mythological being within the Mississippian world that was strongly connected to the Beneath World (Lankford 2006); reinforced continuously by closely examining Native American narratives and paying attention to how the supernatural entity of the serpent has been represented. Its role within Mississippian society

seems to have linked it to the celestial path of souls, which at first seems strange due to its diametric opposition to the Above World. However, winged variants of the serpent would have access to the nightly celestial realm as it shifted from the Beneath World into the sky above. Lankford elaborates on this point by saying that the serpent played an important guiding role on the path of souls and has convincingly argued that the constellation of Scorpio was its physical manifestation (Lankford 2004; 2006). Here in this road of light, the serpent held the role of guardian of the path of souls. As it dwelt beneath the waters in the Beneath World it reigned as the lord of that realm and of all the other underworld creatures that inhabited it. Suffice to say, the serpent in all of its various forms was a powerful Mississippian deity that played many roles throughout each realm of the cosmos.

One such example of the serpent within a Native American narrative, entitled *King of the Tie Snakes*, details the exploits of a young boy who loses his father's pottery vessel in the waters of a stream (Swanton 1929). Upon entering the water, the child is pulled underneath by the "King of the Tie-snakes", and is then assigned certain tasks which he must complete in order to retrieve the pot.

The presence of the tie-snake underwater is an ethnographic demonstration of serpents residing in the Beneath World. Later in this same narrative the tie-snake expresses his command of underworld power by protecting the child's home village. This account demonstrates that serpents are both revered for their noteworthy powers and play a significant role within Mississippian mythology.

Reinforcing their Beneath World connection again, vessel 12 displays its four serpent beings intertwined around each other. Many Mississippian groups saw each of the three cosmological realms as being further divided into tiers. Due to the number of tiers thought to be within the Beneath World, this specific usage of four serpents may be representative of the four levels believed to be in this realm (Lankford 2006). Another hypothesis for the number of serpents may be rationalized through the narrative in the story mentioned above. In the tie-snake tale, the king of the snakes assigns the child various tasks to complete in order to retrieve his father's pottery vessel. In each of these trials the child attempts to accomplish a particular goal, but falters three times before successfully completing his task (Swanton 1929: 35). After his fourth attempt the child is able to continue forward with the



retrieval of his father's pot. The significance of the number four in this story may relate to why vessel 12 is decorated with four separate serpents.

Additionally the eye surrounds on two of the serpents on this vessel are trifurcated. By examining the larger corpus of Mississippian artifacts we find that the trifurcated eye surround has been identified as a tell-tale sign that a being has been associated with the underworld. This was discovered in part due to finding the trifurcated eye surround in connection with a multitude of Beneath World creatures. This continues to reinforce their underworld affiliation (Reilly 2004:130). It is likely that many Native American narratives have physical representations of their messages branded onto certain artifacts; vessel 12 is just a single example of this from Hollywood.

An additional potential thematic design presented through the intertwined and overlapping snakes is the ogee. Kent Reilly has argued that these overlapping snakes form an ogee, an ideological doorway created from the form of two snake's bodies (Reilly 2004: 124). Ogees are symbols commonly found on Southeastern artifacts of the Mississippian period and designate portals to other levels

of the cosmos. These ogees allow individuals to cross thresholds into other realms (Pauketat and Emerson 1991:930, Phillips and Brown 1978:153-154). Serpents have been intimately tied to the ogee motif, sometimes even carrying the symbol as a marking on their skin (Figure 48). The opening formed by the body of the serpents, or through the symbols they carry, would then serve as the nexus between two different planes.

Often ogees are presented on a two dimensional medium such as stone palettes. The rattlesnake disk from Moundville is a clear demonstration of the intertwined serpent theme in 2D (Figure 49). Additionally, this palette reinforces the portal motif through the use of an additional portal symbol, the hand and eye, representing the celestial realm of the Mississippian cosmos and located in the center of the palette (Figure 50). Hollywood vessel 12, however, is three dimensional and thus allows for further interpretations to be made. The most striking difference between this artifact and other two-dimensional examples is that the opening in the pottery can act as a physical manifestation of the ogee motif, reinforced by the serpent imagery which is readily apparent on the Hollywood vessels. The material found within this ceramic object,

either in the form of solid objects or stored liquids (Pauketat and Emerson 1991: 933) would have been presented by a ritual practitioner or religious individual with direct access to Beneath World powers. Therefore it is likely that the serpent imagery, and subsequently the ogee portals that they form, served as visual labels denoting the origin of the contents this vessel originally contained (Reilly 2004).

### **Meaning and Imagery- Vessel 13**

This vessel, much like vessel 12, presents a zoomorphic serpent coiled around the surface of the cup (Figure 51). Unlike the previously described vessel, vessel 13 only contains a single serpent entity. However, the snake here is nearly identical to the first serpent seen on vessel 12 (Figure 52). So when speaking of the imagery itself, it is likely that this serpent is also an embodiment of the supernatural horned serpent deity. Likewise because of this, vessel 13 demonstrates strong connections to the Beneath World.

The serpent present here also seems to be decorated with an eye surround, however, because of the condition of the vessel it is difficult to conclusively say what variety it is. While two-pronged eye surrounds have been shown to

appear on serpents within the larger corpus of Southeastern artifacts, they are typically tied to the Above Realm and are reinforced by avian imagery, wings, or other celestial motifs. The body markings also exhibit cross-hatching patterns, though they lack the ovoid symbols seen previously. Because the serpent is clearly similar to the one on vessel 12 and displays no visible Above World motifs, it is likely firmly connected with the Beneath Realm and its associated powers.

Because of the numerous similarities that both serpent vessels display, many similar interpretations can be made. While this particular item displays a singular serpent, it is seen continuously coiling around the ceramic cup and therefore I believe that this is a variation on the intertwined serpent ogee motif. The singular coil serpent may therefore be a pars-pro-toto for the more complex theme of multiple serpents. If this is indeed the case, the vessel likely held analogous contents as vessel 12 and was used in very similar ritual procedures, if not the very same one.

### **Meaning and Imagery- Piasa Plate**

Another of the artifacts within Mound B displaying a supernatural zoomorph is of course the copper piasa plate,

which also has its own cosmological and symbolic associations (Figure 53). In many Native American narratives the scales and hair of the underwater panther, or *piasa*, were composed of copper and shell. This both explains the medium in which the artifact was created and ties it to the powers of the Beneath World, as both the materials of shell and copper are associated with that realm. Because the underwater panther is a creature of the Beneath World, it is also directly tied to the powers of chaos and death (Lankford 2004; King 2007: 256; Reilly 2004). Underworld powers additionally encompass the domains of fertility, and were perceived as being closely associated with the axis representing the path of souls (Lankford 2004).

The underwater panther itself is said to be a powerful supernatural creature, and lord of the underworld. It is a chimera like creature, featuring attributes of feline and serpent creatures, sometimes also sprouting wings and antlers (Reilly 2004: 128). In addition, this creature possessed a large whipping tail, and on many occasions was thought of as the cause for whirlpools within deep waters. These of course were the causes of many human casualties and reinforced the image of the panther as a powerful

primordial being of death. Because of this, the panther was thought of as a netherworld creature reigning over the realm of death, much like the serpent. The panther was able to transcend the realms of the cosmos, crossing from the Beneath World into This World and therefore the panther was often encountered along journeys of conquest and exploration (Reilly 2004). As the creature expressed its power within these other realms it often came into contention with Above World powers, such as the thunder twins and raptor beings. All of these associations continually reinforce the panther's Beneath World power and its prominence within the Mississippian belief system.

Ethnographic accounts that detail this fearsome creature sometimes even mention the existence of four separate piasas, each occupying one of the cardinal directions of the world (Lankford 2004; Swanton 2000). Such an example of this on a previously recovered artifact is found within the engraved shell corpus of Spiro, Oklahoma (Figure 54). As seen here, there are four piasa creatures surrounding the centralized cross motif. Therefore much of the copper material, and possibly the shell fragments found within Mound B's lower level may be linked with the

centering motif in addition to being used as ritual constructions for Beneath World symbolism.

As discussed in the previous chapter, this plate was most likely a mounted badge on the front of a ritual headpiece and very similar to the other pieces of copper that display this frontal facing piasa. If we view this piece as inheriting a specific ritual power, then the wearer of said object would likely have had access to supernatural powers. The headdress, while an integral piece of an elaborate outfit would have been a small portion of a much more complex and intricate piece of ceremonial regalia worn during specific events and ceremonies. These elements combined with the piasa's prominent role in the underworld point to the fact that it would likely have been used during specific rituals related directly to gaining access to Beneath World powers and possibly even used in the theme of death.

Additionally this copper piece may have been part of an object of status, worn by those who had earned that privilege through either lineage or personal effort. This is a distinct possibility as both the supernatural represented, and the copper material itself were highly coveted and held in high regard during this time. This may

have pointed to a high standing within the political structure of the Hollywood site, relation to a prominent lineage within the site, the status as a religious practitioner, or even all of these ideas combined. Status symbols and elite markers were common during this period of Native American history. Etowah is an excellent example of this tradition, and Hollywood's close ties to the site may have meant that the artifacts were used in a similar manner to those in Mound C at Etowah. While the copper artifact's exact meaning has yet to be identified, it is an excellent example of ritual regalia that unquestionably held deep symbolic meaning to the people that inhabited Hollywood.

### **Meaning and Imagery- Vessel 16**

Much like the supernatural creatures mentioned above, the cross and circle motif exhibited on negative painted vessel 16 presents significant ideological information. This particular motif is widespread and present in materials from Cahokia, Spiro, Etowah, Moundville and many others. The most typical representation of this motif features two concentric circles with a centralized cross in the middle (Diaz-Granados 2011: 86).

The centering theme is an important and ancient principle for the peoples of the Southeast (Dye 2011: 110).



In both ethnographic accounts and modern day Native American rituals this motif represents the centering aspect of the cosmos and plays the role of an axis point within each realm. It functions as the locus for the axis mundi pole, or the world tree, with each serving as a bond between all three realms and acting as a centering point in each. Oftentimes it is accompanied with a petaloid motif, which is featured in this thesis and is displayed on vessel 16. The petaloid motifs, due to their similarity to feathers on a bird, have become somewhat synonymous with avian imagery, and this develops the argument that this cross and circle may represent the cosmological center of the Above World (Diaz-Granados 2011:87; Reilly 2004: 129).

In addition to the form found at Hollywood, the cross and circle is also seen in a "spinning" variant. Many of these variations have been seen on vessels and other artifacts that otherwise feature underworld or water spirits. It is an interesting deviation from the above mentioned petaloid cross and circles in that it represents the polar-opposite realm of the Mississippian cosmos. As proposed by Kent Reilly, it is likely that the cross and circle is to be seen as an all-encompassing centering motif, and that the associated realm depends heavily on the

associated motifs and imagery (Reilly 2004; Reilly and Garber 2007).

The negative painted aspect of vessel 16 is likewise just as interesting. This design is proven to have a close association with the cross and circle motif, as it is found on numerous negative painted ceramics from this time period. In the Southeast these vessels have "a consistent, recurrent design theme; they are representations of the cross-in-circle and sun circle motifs" (Hilgeman 2000:191). The ritual significance in these vessels is explained by Sherri Hilgeman: they were likely fired by one ceramic specialist and then painted by another ritual specialist, and as grave goods they were likely interred with the individual as accompaniments to the other realms of the cosmos (Hilgeman 2000; Dye 2011). Therefore the significance of this pottery vessel cannot be understated, because just like the supernatural zoomorphs, it is a distinct ideological marker within the mound.

It is likely that the iconography on the outside of this ceramic vessel would be wholly indicative of its contents and how they may have been employed by the Mississippian people. Much like the serpent vessels, the contents of this bottle may have held a particular power

through its connection to a specific Mississippian realm. Because this particular vessel was labeled with the petaloid motifs, this vessel likely had strong Above World associations. One hypothesis is that the vessel allowed ritual access to this celestial realm through ceremonial consumption of the items within.

### **Context and Meaning**

Now that I have presented the initial interpretations of the artifacts in this corpus and have considered their meaning within the Mississippian cosmological model, the next step is to elaborate on these deductions by employing additional contextual information. The way in which this will be done is through the examination of the placement of each specific artifact within the mound. Context can add multiple layers of meaning into the equation, because the physical placement of artifacts hints towards the true significance of these symbols as viewed through the people that originally placed them within the mound. Additionally, if artifacts are found adjacent to one another, the significance is compounded between the two because they begin to suggest more complex stories. How individuals utilized these symbols and artifacts is a direct expression of their thoughts and belief system. All of this plays off

the initial symbolic meaning of the images and helps to better understand the importance of these elaborately crafted objects at the site of Hollywood.

As I have mentioned before, the placement of these objects within the mound, and more specifically a burial mound, poses the possibility for these items to represent elite status at Hollywood. Hollywood's CMV link at Etowah may mean that the foreign and more elaborate goods at Hollywood are markers for the most important individuals throughout the site's history. While nothing can be said with the utmost certainty, the context of these objects will certainly help to clarify why and how the artifacts discussed in this thesis were buried within Mound B.

### **Context and Meaning- Serpent Vessels**

Vessel 12 was discovered in close proximity to the central hearth feature in the original excavation map as drawn by Reynolds. This artifact was situated just northeast of a longneck jar (NM 135195), five clay pipes (NM 135218-135222) and one soapstone pipe (NM 135216) (Figures 55 and 56), all of which were not far from burial two. Interestingly vessel 12 rested directly on vessel 13, the second of the snake cups found at Hollywood. The context of all of these artifacts can play an integral role

in changing, amplifying, and clarifying the meaning of the serpents.

Of the above mentioned artifacts that were found in context with the serpent vessels only one item, the soapstone pipe (NM 135216), has any form or design that lends itself to a more rigorous interpretations. This particular piece presents a sitting humanoid figure hold a ceramic vessel. Because of the structure of this pipe, the smoke would have emanated from the pottery that the figure is holding when in use. While not directly adjacent with the serpent cups, the presence of this pipe may hint at additional interpretations for the vessels within the mound. As stated earlier, both cups may have contained ritual material allowing for access to a different realms power. The act of smoking this soapstone pipe could be seen as a reminder that otherworldly power billowed forth from the insides of these vessels, with the smoke being a physical representative of that function. As demonstrated through this hypothesis, adjoining artifacts within Hollywood's Mound B may have well served as reinforcing a particular message from those that placed them within their resting place.

Because the serpent vessels were so closely oriented together they were likely parts of an intentionally placed tableau of artifacts. Both of these ceramic goods were representing access to Beneath World power through the contents held within them. Because of this fact, both of the serpent cups (Vessels 12 and 13) can be seen as intimately tied to the Beneath World powers of the Mississippian cosmological model. It seems that there was no coincidence in the placement of these vessels, as both the cosmological associations and corresponding vessel design seem to place them into a purposefully placed stack. The two ceramic vessels also share a unified thematic design as both illustrate wrapped or intertwined serpents. Additionally, a closely situated vessel, pot 14 (NM 135215) was located atop a copper ax head (Figure 57). The copper, as discussed previously is a symbolic marker for Beneath World power. Their close association to each other would therefore have been a reinforcement of the Beneath World themes and portal access, perhaps as part of ceremonial entrance to the underworld. It is difficult to argue the case that these objects, individually or as a stack, were elite markers. This is centrally due to the fact that neither was closely associated with skeletal remains. However, as both serpent vessels were placed within a

mortuary mound, they may have been seen as a guide for the bodies entombed around them, acting as the escorts of the deceased onto the path of souls rather than marking a specific elite individual, which would make sense given the serpent's role in Mississippian cosmology as it has been discussed previously. It is also possible that the smoke discussed in relation to the soapstone pipe may have additionally referenced this service.

#### **Context and Meaning- Piassa and Vessel 16**

The copper piassa ornament is closely associated with vessel 16. This negatively painted ceramic artifact was located to the north-west of the central hearth feature present in the lower level and adjacent to "burial 7", resting near the head. Further out, about three to four feet west of the vessel, lay the serpent vessels 12 and 13. The ceramic vessel 16, the negatively painted bottle, sat directly atop the copper piassa plate, and these two items rested above the blackened subsoil at the base of the mound. The other artifacts associated with this vessel were the previously mentioned copper fragments from the plate and fragments of mica and shell.

However, unlike many other Southeastern sites, the piassa headpiece had been bundled: the copper was wrapped in

leather, then placed within a fine rush matting, and then finally encased in bark beneath vessel 16. Additionally this headpiece was not found directly atop any skull or skeleton of a deceased individual. In both instances at Etowah and Cemochechobee, copper headdresses were directly in association with human remains. In fact one of the distinct classes that Larson depicts in his excavations at Etowah was the ornamental costumed burials (Figure 58) (Larson 1971: 62). Because of the plates disassociation with any particular individual I argue that this copper plate, while definitely a component of the headdress discussed in chapter three, was not specifically a costume or regalia piece once interred within the mound. The implications of this are likely that the piasa plate was not a personal symbol of a singular individual who held elite status, but perhaps a more genuinely ceremonial object.

Both the negative painted vessel and the copper piasa plate in this cache also have another previously established connection. The Spiro shells display these two motifs together. The piasa plate, appearing directly beneath the negative painted bottle, may therefore represent the piasa's connection to the cardinal



directions. Another explanation is that it is a literal interpretation of the cosmos as a whole, a purposefully placed tableau, with the Beneath World power resting underneath a centering motif for the Above World (denoted by the petaloid motifs). I would argue that because of the context of the piasa plate, and its close connection to other artifacts rather than a human skull, that the headpiece may have never been used as a piece of regalia at Hollywood and perhaps arrived and was used strictly within the context of a burial mound. While this is uncertain, because other forms of regalia and headdresses have been found directly atop human remains, the Hollywood piece may be a demonstration of this form being used outside of its initial function. Additionally, for the same reasons mentioned above, I believe that the piasa plate and the negatively painted vessel formed another distinct stack within the mound.

King has argued that the copper ornaments were a part of sacred bundles that enabled their holder to perform certain rituals or dances (King 2011). Interestingly some of these ritual practices may have survived in modern Native American groups. Perhaps this stack took on a similar role at Hollywood, enabling the inhabitants to

perform specific ritual functions even before the objects were interred within the mound. This symbolism is identified at the Hollywood site as well as other Southeastern sites that participated in the same ritualistic traditions seen throughout the CMV. Additionally, this miniature cosmological model perhaps alludes into the overall structure of Mound B and how each layer is symbolically connected, which I consider the overall significance of in the forthcoming chapter

My central hypothesis for this cache however, revolves around the piasa stack as a completed ritual bundle dedicated to the transition of souls from This World to the next. As stated earlier, Hilgeman believes that the negative painted vessel was likely used as an escort for the deceased onto the path of souls. It therefore makes sense that it has been bundled with an artifact closely tied with Beneath World power, and thusly the path of souls, or Milky Way. George Lankford research further supports this theory in that the underwater panther's secondary avatar was indeed the great horned serpent (Lankford 2006; Prentice 1986). The two creatures in fact demonstrate alternate forms of the same supernatural power and life-taking deity, able to transcend the various levels

of the cosmos (Brown 1997). As the night sky arose, this was seen as the Beneath World shifting upwards into the atmosphere. This transition would signify a transformation of the piasa creature into its horned serpent counterpart (Lankford 2004; Lankford 2007). This transition into the night sky and the appearance of the serpent is emblematic of Lankford's path of souls (Lankford 2006, Reilly 2004: 127), the pathway in which the dead journeyed to the otherworld. Perhaps vessel 16, with its Above World imagery and association with the Piasa beneath hinted at that transition from the Above World into the night sky. In terms of context and placement, both the serpent cup stack and the piasa stack seem to represent the cosmic trail of the afterlife and are appropriate counterparts in their context of human burials, positioned in this specific setting as a guide for the interred as their souls departed from This World. The bundle as a whole would have provided the passageway for the deceased's soul to complete its journey into the afterlife.

As mentioned above, accompanying this "piasa stack", and lying against vessel 16, is vessel 17. The form is very similar to that of the negative painted vessel; however, it does not seem to bear any remarkable decoration or detail.

This piece of pottery does however, rest upon two copper celts wrapped in cloth and bark, as well as a stone discoidal (Figure 59). The copper seems to bear the same treatment as the wrapped piasa plate, and is similar in appearance to the axe head discovered near the serpent vessels discussed earlier. Additionally both of these artifact stacks have vessels resting atop them, which I have previously mentioned as typically holding ritual liquid solutions. This liquid could have been indicative that both vessels allowed access to Beneath World power, through the piasa plate and copper celts respectively. While this at first seems to be unrelated to the piasa and negative painted vessel, I would argue, as others have as well, that it serves a similar purpose due in large part to its close association with the piasa stack and the treatment and layout of its accompanying artifacts (King 2011). Both of the stacks seem to carry a common premise of being anchored or tied to the mound by these copper artifacts. Either through the portals created by the openings, or the liquids within them, it is likely that these artifact stacks are reinforcing the theme of soul travel through the Milky Way, similar to how the serpent cups complement each other with overlapping themes. While these two stacks may represent a more complex thematic

design beyond what I have concluded here, but due to a lack of prominent iconography to interpret it is difficult to conclusively say so.

### **Auxiliary Artifact Connections**

In addition to the interpretations and context behind the imagery on the artifacts described above, these items also have some additional significance when looked at as a whole. The artifacts are closely tied together; each stack forms a complex tableau that was purposefully placed in its final resting spot likely dealing with the transport of souls. The placement of these artifacts within their respective caches may demonstrate the way in which the souls of the dead could gain access to the primordial supernatural powers of the Beneath World. In both instances pottery vessels were placed either on top of or in close association with copper artifacts. Mentioned above, the mouth of each ceramic vessel functions as an ogee: a portal-entrance to the Beneath World. Their proximity to the nearby copper artifacts reinforces the idea that these vessels may have provided access to the powers of the preternatural Beneath World (Figure 60). Both of these stacks therefore must be tied together in some way outside of their connection to the Beneath World. As mentioned

earlier, the panther and the serpent were in fact two-sides of the same supernatural creature. Therefore their ultimate meaning and context within the mound was likely to reinforce the image of the deceased's souls being escorted to the realm of the dead.

Ultimately I believe that unlike many Mississippian burial mounds within the Southeast, these artifacts demonstrate much more than the elite status of an individual. This conclusion is based on two lines of evidence. The first piece of evidence is simply the fact that the artifacts are dispersed liberally throughout the mound without any apparent accordance to patterned burial treatments and most are not directly associated with a specific burial in the mound. The second line of evidence is that each of these artifacts seems to have been placed in direct association with a complimentary, or at the very least comparable, artifact that carries very specific connotations. While the elite status of the individuals within Mound B at Hollywood is certainly a relevant question, I do not believe that the artifacts found amongst them are indicative of any prescribed status. Nevertheless, the artifacts' compositions seem to point towards a larger

tableau of the mound as a whole, which I will hypothesize on in the final chapter.

## **CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

### **The Cosmological Structure at Hollywood**

Ignoring the intrusive historical objects recovered from the upper layer in Mound B, the mound seems to have traces of a larger tableau representing facets of the Mississippian cosmos. As I alluded to earlier, this is one of the most attractive and interesting features of Mound B's overall composition (King and Stephenson 2011: 14). While David Anderson (1996) previously suggested that the steady decline in the quality of art items at the site may have reflected a period of elite impoverishment, stating that "evidence for an impoverishment of chiefly centers prior to their abandonment was documented through mortuary analyses at several [other Savannah River] mound sites" (Anderson 1996: 180), recent evidence points toward a much more cohesive premise.

Because Hollywood's two burial levels were nearly coterminous (King and Stephenson 2011: 13), it is likely that the differences observed in their layout had purpose



and was meant to convey a specific ideological message. This proposal alludes back to the burial within Mound 72 at Cahokia, mentioned earlier (Figure 2). This becomes a more legitimate comparison when it is understood that Hollywood's linkage to Etowah may have connected it to additional Mississippian sites further outside its sphere of interaction. Because the human remains were not intrusive into either of the burial floors, individuals may have been laid atop what was then the surface of the mound. Later, perhaps during a ritual event or ceremony they would have been covered over. This process would lock the physical remains, and therefore their symbolic meaning, in place. Additionally, the individuals buried may not have been deceased at the time of covering, a practice not uncommon during this time period. If buried alive, the bodies would have served in completing the ideological message that the creators of the mound desired. I offer the following hypotheses on this subject.

As demonstrated in this thesis, Mound B has strong cosmological associations. If the two centralized hearths can be seen as representing an axis mundi, then each level of the mound may therefore represent a different realm of the Mississippian cosmos. The lower level has some striking

Beneath World imagery, save for a few artifacts. Unlike the lower horizontal layer however, the upper level showcases stamped ceramics, decorated in either check or filfot scroll stamp designs (Figure 61), and a much smaller selection of stylistically elaborate goods. Additionally the interments in the upper layer consist of ceramic urn burials, save for a single full body burial similar to those of the lower level. Initially these burials, and thus the entire upper level, were thought to have been intrusive, and interred at a much later date (Brain and Phillips 1996: 192). Recent samples of artifacts in both layers have been sent to be processed for radiocarbon dating to test this (King and Stephenson 2011). As pointed out above, the results from these investigations tell a much different tale than what the initial reports suggested (Brain and Phillips 1996: 191; Anderson 1994: 189-193). In fact, the time difference between the two mortuary levels at Hollywood is relatively minimal (King and Stephenson 2011).

The filfot cross design, one of the prominent designs seen on the ceramics of the upper level, also hints at additional cosmological associations. This cross design was a standardized depiction of the southeastern cosmological

model as a whole (Saunders 2000). This motif, along with other cross designs, is believed to be a direct cognate of the four-log fires that burn at the center of Muskogee Creek ceremonial grounds (Howard, 1968; Lankford, 2004). This connotation plays in well when taking the central hearths of each level into account. In many accounts an axis mundi, a cosmological link between the above and Beneath Worlds, was represented by ceremonial fires. These fire express another example of cosmological a similar cosmological mode;ing.

If the lower level of the mound can be seen as a representation of the Beneath World, then the upper level may then play the role of the Above World. Unfortunately no definitive associations have been made between the upper level vessels and the celestial realm thus far. Because of this, it is likewise a possibility that the lower and upper layers of Mound B may indicate two distinct levels of the Beneath World. Similar to the other realms of the Mississippian cosmos, the Beneath World was partitioned into independent levels. With this knowledge it is possible to hypothesize that each of the burial layers at Hollywood may have represented levels of the underwater realm. The sky imagery on the ceramic vessels within the mound would

not necessarily discredit this theory either; they would simply indicate the cosmological location of the Above World as it appeared during the night, rotating beneath the earth and resting beneath the waters. While a more complete synthesis of Mound B's artifacts is required to further expand on this matter, it can be said with certainty that each burial level complements the other, both spatially and ideologically (King and Stephenson 2011: 13). A second hypothesis for Mound B's tableau, detailing the specific cultures involved at Hollywood, will now be presented.

#### **A Blending of Cultures at Mound B**

An understanding of Mound B's complete mortuary layout is required in order to realize Hollywood's complex relationship with the ideology of the CMV, its relationship to Etowah, and its ideological connections. With the central fire pits playing the role of a consistent feature between the two levels, the lower level artifacts are shown to be focused to the west of this center, and the upper level artifacts are focused to the east. The amalgamation of foreign and local items in their burial contexts at Hollywood are likely the result of a complex blend of ritual culture from both the local Savannah River area and

the geographic region encompassed by the Braden corridor and the CMV to the west.

While the urns in the upper layer were initially identified as mortuary deposits belonging to the Irene style of burial urns (Brain and Phillips 1996; Anderson 1996), this is not the case. In fact Irene ceramics are located near the coast, and date to around 1400-1500 AD. The Irene site is located 130 miles to the southeast of Hollywood, much further down the Savannah River and positioned near the coastline (Figure 62). Their classification as Irene has long been a misnomer, and has only served to propagate the incorrect dating and cultural associations of the upper layer of Mound B. In fact the upper layer is demonstrative of the local culture of the Savannah River area in which Hollywood was a key part. Therefore these pottery vessels were not an intrusive foreign good, but a representation of the local styles of the site.

The orientation of the artifacts perhaps therefore reflects this geographic connection. The upper level artifacts obviously representing the local fare of the time, and the lower level (oriented towards the west) would likely have been representing the complex culture of the

CMV and Etowah, perhaps as an ideological demonstration of Hollywood's cosmopolitan nature in the Southeast. The complimentary nature of the two layers must have been purposefully constructed by the original inhabitants of Hollywood; whether this represented the fabrication of a three dimensional cosmogram, trade connections to the CMV, or both, is still up for debate.

### **Etowah's Role at Hollywood**

Because of Etowah's close connection to Hollywood, its role in understanding the layout and tableau of Mound B is paramount. Specifically Mound C at Etowah has provided a control for the interpretation of Hollywood's Mound B artifacts. They both share very distinct artifact styles and types, not to mention that they are two of only three sites thus far found with a copper piasa piece. It was additionally important to see elite dedicatory caches within the archaeological record in order to provide a comparative model for approaching Mound B. Understanding how these patterns appeared at Etowah was an exercise that helped me to come to the realization that Hollywood's artifacts may not simply be markers for elite individuals.

Of course the most important aspect of the Hollywood-Etowah connection is that of their similar ideological and

cosmological ideals. The proposition that Hollywood artifacts were mediated through Etowah is a key component in the interpretation of the artifacts at the site. The fact that Hollywood may have directly inherited aspects of Etowah culture may allow for future CMV connections to be made. The relationship of the ceramics, as well as the headdress, to Etowah was instrumental in interpreting and hypothesizing on the Hollywood mound site. Etowah's role has laid the cornerstone, detailing Hollywood's CMV connection, and much of my research has been built upon this connection.

### **Review of Research and Future Suggestions**

The Hollywood site in Georgia has provided an pivotal case study for how the acquisition of CMV ritual objects may have both ideologically and politically influenced lower Savannah River polities. The initial reports from both Henry Reynolds and the BAE gave insufficient attention to Hollywood and the context of its mortuary artifacts. Due to Reynolds' death before the BAE publication these original documents lacked the necessary details that would allow for a comparative site analyses to take place. Because of this fact, Hollywood's position amongst other Mississippian polities has long been obscured by poor

records, reporting, and inconsistent data. Recent studies that shed light on these problems, as well as the new images, data and maps in this thesis have been incorporated to provide an firm foundation for the continued interpretation of the Hollywood Mounds and their artifacts. The aspects of culture and ideological symbolism displayed through these artifacts discussed here have demonstrated that these ritual goods were likely transported from the central Mississippi valley style area via far-reaching trade networks into the Hollywood Mound site. This took place vis-à-vis Etowah and therefore suggests a complex history of interaction along the Braden style corridor.

Some of the most interesting artifacts associated with the process of object and ritual transference were discovered within the stacks in the lower level of Mound B. These items have all been recovered from the lower burial level of that mound, and each of these cached artifacts is a ritual object demonstrated in this thesis to have been purposefully placed in its final resting place. The burial tableaux that these artifact bundles create has allowed for the deep iconographic analysis presented here and the application of the most current studies in archaeological style families. Because of these facts, the previously



discussed pottery vessels and copper plates, which appeared during the florescence of the many influential Mississippian period sites, must be interpreted as a gestalt grouping of objects. When examined together, the unusual amalgamation of local and foreign goods within Mound B provided the opportunity to develop interesting hypotheses regarding the symbolic, mythological, and cultural subtexts located within the site.

By exploring the aspects of status, trade and burial patterns at Hollywood, a model has been built in which it is possible to compare Hollywood with other Mississippian era sites. In particular this research has focused on the archaeological site of Etowah in Georgia. The corpus of artifacts recovered from within Mound C at Etowah has been presented as a likely branch of Hollywood's trade network, and possibly a mediating body between Hollywood and the rest of the CMV. The styles represented on Etowah's artifacts are the reason I have been able to draw ritual and ideological correlations between these two sites. The ceramic vessels at each site accounted for much of the referenced material, because they are both the most abundant and they provide numerous links through their themes and styles. The second data set connecting these two

sites was their copper artifacts, and in particular, two copper repoussé plates. While the forward facing underwater panther plate is only a singular object at both Etowah and Hollywood, they may be one of the most critical pieces of this argument. The reasoning for this, as I have defended in this thesis, is that the design is limited to a very specific geographic region and only three of these copper plates have been recovered thus far. Because of this fact, an authoritative stance can be taken in arguing that these sites were in direct communication with each other. In addition to this, the fact that both sites demonstrate elaborate underwater panther headdresses provides another strong line of evidence supporting the Etowah and Hollywood connection. Further research into the subject material presented at both Etowah and Hollywood may provide for a better understanding of these correlations as well as providing explanations for other patterning found in artifact groupings in Hollywood's Mound B. As this is ongoing research, I plan to continue looking at the data presented here and expanding upon these data sets by including additional artifacts recovered from Hollywood to augment the corpus of potential non-local items. Because of this, the comparison offered here is but a glimpse at the

possible connections that can be made between the sites of Hollywood and Etowah.

It is important to note that the method of transference proposed for the ideology and artifacts referenced in this thesis is a single hypothesis based upon the current research I have conducted on Hollywood. By incorporating the remaining Mound B artifacts alongside the objects recovered from Mound A, a more detailed and comprehensive process may be identified. This in turn will lend more credit to the geographic connections I have presented in this thesis. The issue becomes a matter of recognizing cult centers, the spread of their belief system into the more peripheral sites, and how this process took place at fringe sites such as Hollywood. The exact method with which these processes took place is as of yet undetermined, but perhaps the hypotheses presented here will help pave the way for any future investigations into this problem.

Knowing this, there are several additional avenues of future research that can and must be taken into consideration. Most of what remains to be discovered at Hollywood will require additional excavations to be made within both mounds at the site. As stated by De Baillou,

his excavations in 1960 on the flanks of Mound A revealed a deep layer of "post-aboriginal alluvium" that seemed to cover the surroundings flanks of the mound. These excavations indicate that there may have been a small village area adjacent to Mound A. This village area, if it still contains the original artifacts, would likely also contain the material needed in order to better understand the degree in which Hollywood relied upon locally manufactured goods. Further excavations must of course rely on the original maps constructed by De Baillou and Reynolds, simply due to the fact that the mounds have been leveled by recent farm activity and are otherwise undetectable.

De Baillou provided an elaborate ceramic vessel corpus from which we can compare the composition of the two Hollywood mounds. Questions that are likely to arise would include: what percentage of local and foreign goods are displayed in Mound A, whether Mound A was also a cosmological model put together to represent some other aspect of Mississippian ideology, and how far apart the two mounds were constructed temporally. All of this will require additional carbon dating and iconographic interpretation.

Reynolds' original excavation reports all seem to point to the fact that the acquisition of elite goods and ceramics decline in the mortuary record after the initial artifacts were deposited. Therefore the upper level, including all of its associated mortuary objects, marked an important period in Hollywood's developmental history. The fact that each of the interment levels were intimately tied to each other and separated by only a small time period suggests that there is additional significance to their composition and interment that should be explored. Further iconographic examination of the upper level urn burials must take place, as well as an investigation into what significance directionality plays within each of Mound B's levels in order to truly understand the purpose of its layout.

Ultimately, the Hollywood Mound's display of non-local goods likely originated from the Central Mississippi Valley where many Mississippian ritual goods were more prominent than in the Hollywood geographic region. Interpreting the dedicatory caches at this site therefore has been a matter of both identity and delineating symbolic and social treatments of the deceased between differing cultural groups. The evidence thus far suggests that the Hollywood

Mounds showcase a very unique blend of mortuary practices that likely represent a wide range of referent meanings. Many of these must have been assimilated over the course of their interactions with other polities, and over a larger span of time than previously thought.

### **Concluding Statements**

Unlike the patterns observed in other Southeastern sites, the middle Savannah River chiefdoms only began development around the beginning of the Hollywood phase in A.D. 1250 (Anderson 1996: 156). Upon looking at this timeline, the lower level of Mound B, representing the first construction phase at Hollywood, may in fact predate many of the established mound centers located on the river to the south of the site. If Hollywood was indeed the first of the mound centers in the middle Savannah area, then the arrival of the elaborate goods found in Mound B could be seen as the impetus for the continued development of Mississippian polities throughout this geographic region (King and Stephenson 2011: 12) and therefore this research has much farther implications than what has been touched upon in this thesis. In addition to its foreign ties to sites such as Etowah, the local traditions that originated

along the Savannah are also an important component in Hollywood's mortuary makeup.

The research I have conducted on both Hollywood and Etowah's mortuary mounds has provided new insight into the possible connectedness that these two Mississippian centers display. The research tells the story of specific traditions and cults that were transferred from the greater Braden interaction sphere to Hollywood, with Etowah acting as the conduit. Because of Etowah's influence on Hollywood, it suggests that Etowah's reach stemmed further down the Savannah River than previously thought. The results of this research also indicate that the introduction of CMV symbolism and ritual may have been blending seamlessly with local traditions to produce a new amalgamation of the Mississippian belief system not seen anywhere else. Thus an investigation of the artifacts at Hollywood reveals to the modern archaeologist how an understanding of the ideological process can be visually and thematically understood at not only major Mississippian sites such as Cahokia and Etowah, but at sites like Hollywood as well.

# APPENDIX A

Table 1: Hollywood Period Timeline

Dates (A.D.)	Upper Piedmont	Inner Coastal Plain	Mouth of the Savannah River
1800	No occupation	No recognized occupation	No recognized occupation
1700	Estatoe		
	Unnamed		
1600	Tugalo		
1500			
1400	Rembert	Silver Bluff (provisional)	Irene I
1300	Beaverdam	Hollywood	
1200		Jarrett	Lawton (provisional)
1100	Woodstock	Savannah I	St. Catherine's
1000			Interior St. Catherine's Equivalent
900			
800	Late Swift Creek/Napier	Interior Wilmington Equivalent	
700			



Table 2: Carr's Physical Body Characteristics

Response Variables: Mortuary Practices and Forms		
Variable		Some examples of variable states
Body characteristics		
1.	Body preparation (B)	Washing; painting/ sprinkling the body or bones with pigment, perfume, flowers; (i.e., ornamentation of the body or bones as given) prior to the funeral
2.	Body treatment (B)	Mutilation, embalming, cremation, autopsy, disarticulation, degree of disarticulation; bundling or other packaging of bones/ashes, cannibalism (i.e., processing of the body or bones) prior to or during funeral, secondary burial
3.	Body position, either 3a or 3b, undetermined	See 3a
3a.	Body position during preparation and treatment	Flexing/extension of body; positioning of legs, arms, head; chest up or down; on left side, right side
3b.	Body position at burial (B)	Same as 3a

Table 3: Carr's Cultural Burial Characteristics

“Outline of Cultural Materials” Traits that were Chosen for Search in the  
Ethnographic Literature

Traits pertaining to mortuary rituals and behaviors

164	Morbidity, including the distribution of diseases and accidents
165	Mortality, including death rates and causes
211	Mnemonic devices, including commemorative statuses and monuments
266	Cannibalism
428	Inheritance
523	Hobbies, including heirlooms
533	Music, including dirges and laments
682	Offenses against life, including punishment of attempted suicide
727	Aftermath of combat, including disposition of war casualties
731	Disasters, including reactions to them
76*	Death
761	Life and death, including protective amulets
763	Dying, including postmortem examinations and body manipulation
764	Funeral
765	Mourning
766	Deviant mortuary practices

## APPENDIX B



Figure 1: Cahokia Mound 72

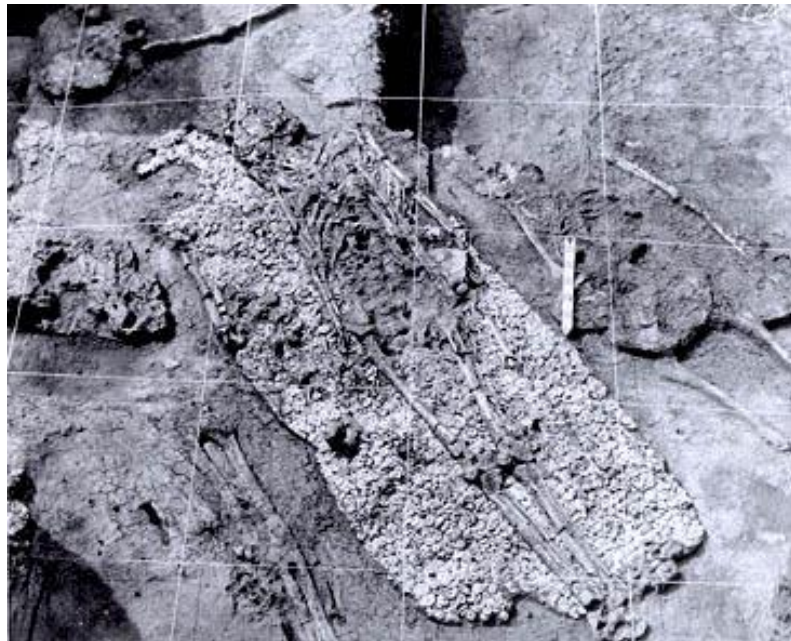


Figure 2: Shell Burial at Mound 72 with Raptor Figure



**Figure 3: Braden Style Corridor**

(Image from: Reilly 2004)





Figure 4: Etowah Mounds

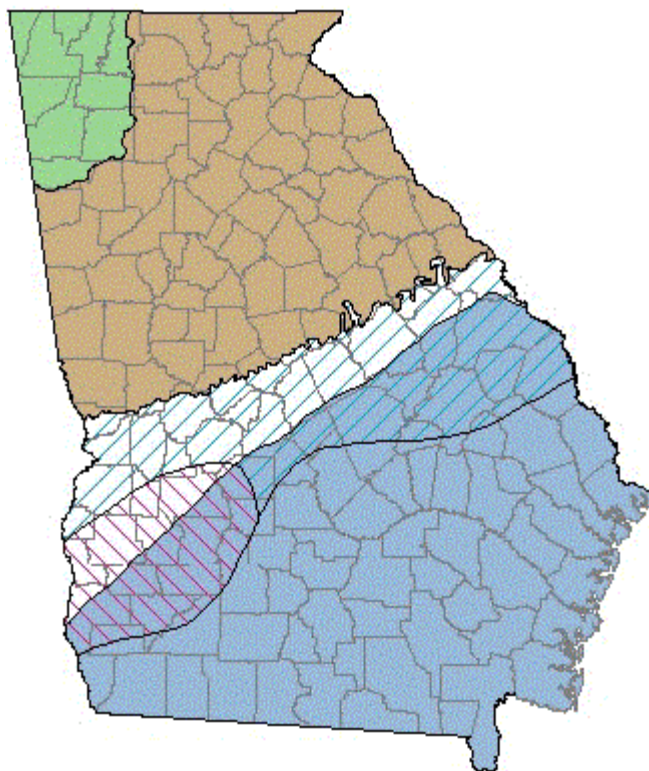
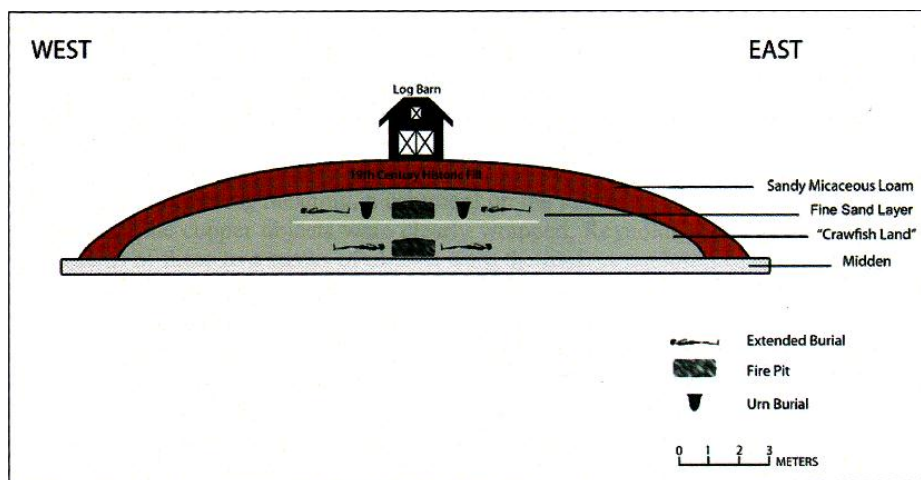


Figure 5: Location of Georgia Fall  
Line



**Figure 6: Historic Ceramics at Hollywood**

(Photograph courtesy of Adam King)



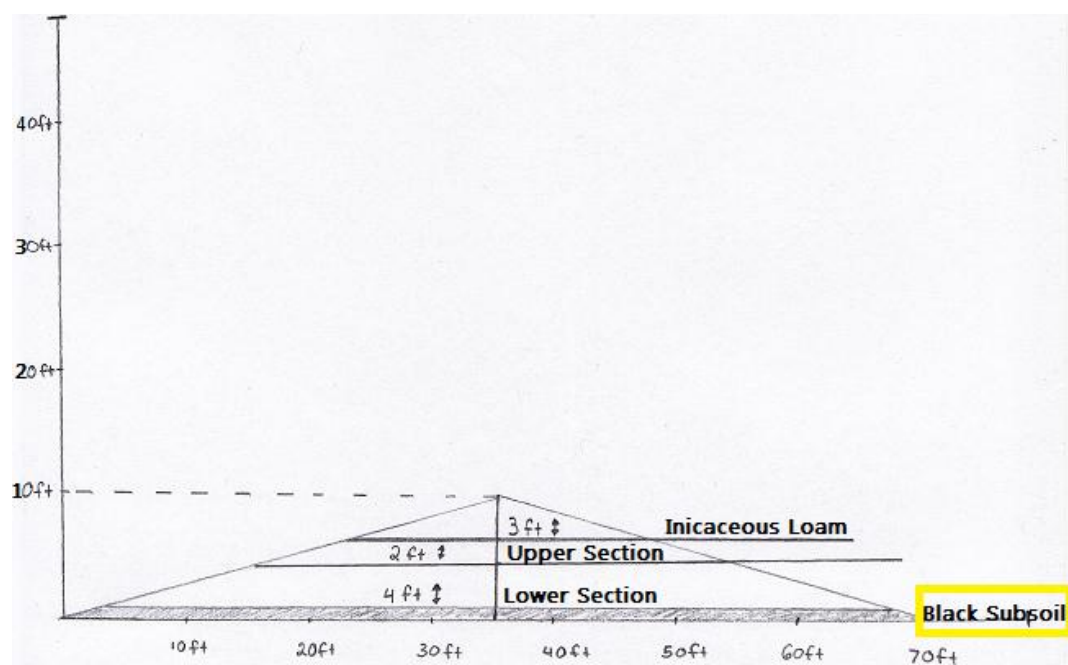
**Figure 7: Mound B Stratigraphy**

(Image from: King and Stephenson 2011)



**Figure 8: Mound B as of 2012**

(Photograph courtesy of Johann Sawyer)



**Figure 9: Blackened Subsoil on Lowest Section of Mound**



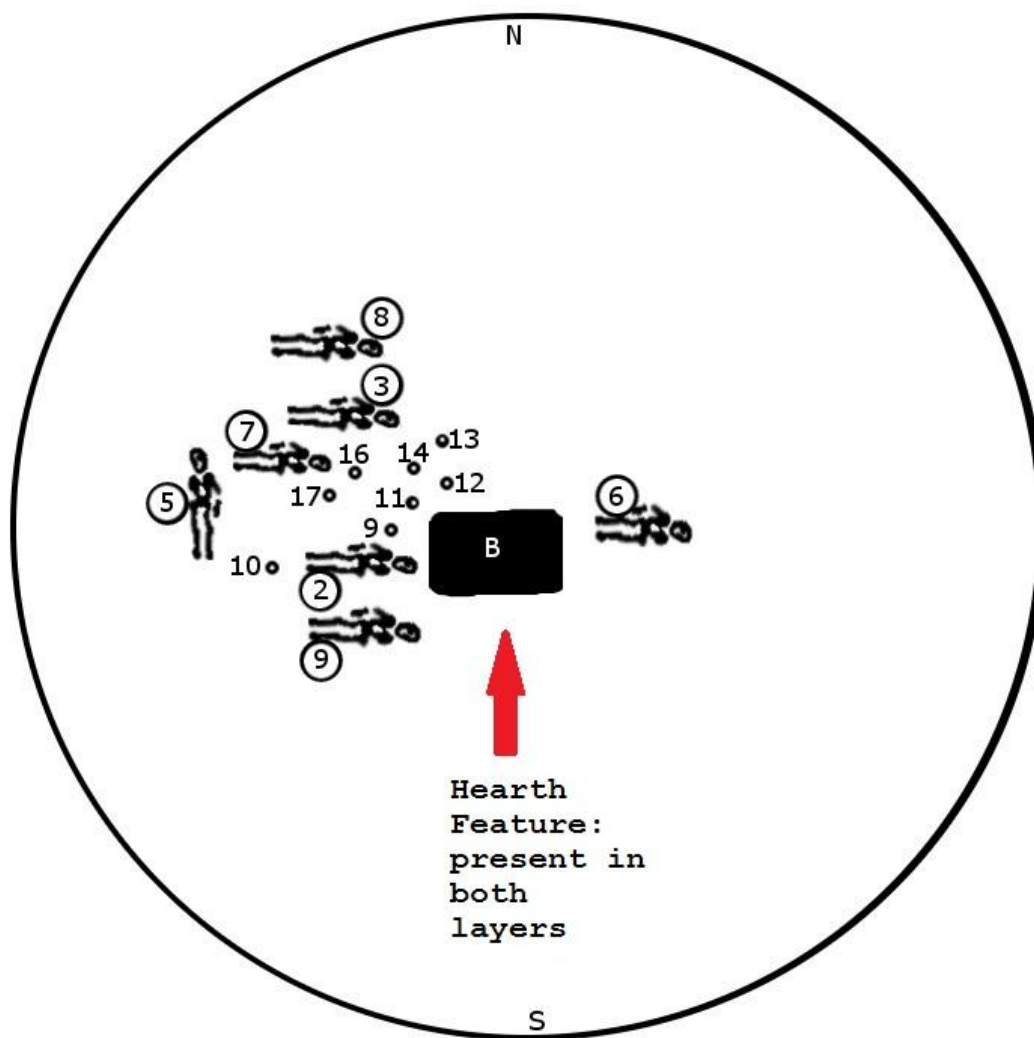
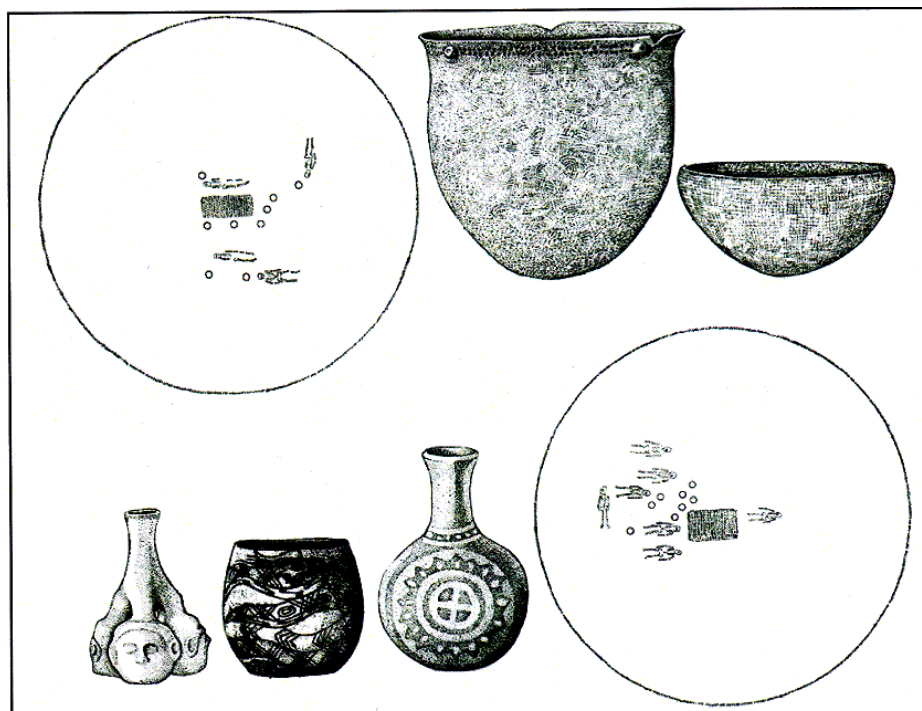


Figure 10: Hearth Features Present in Both Levels



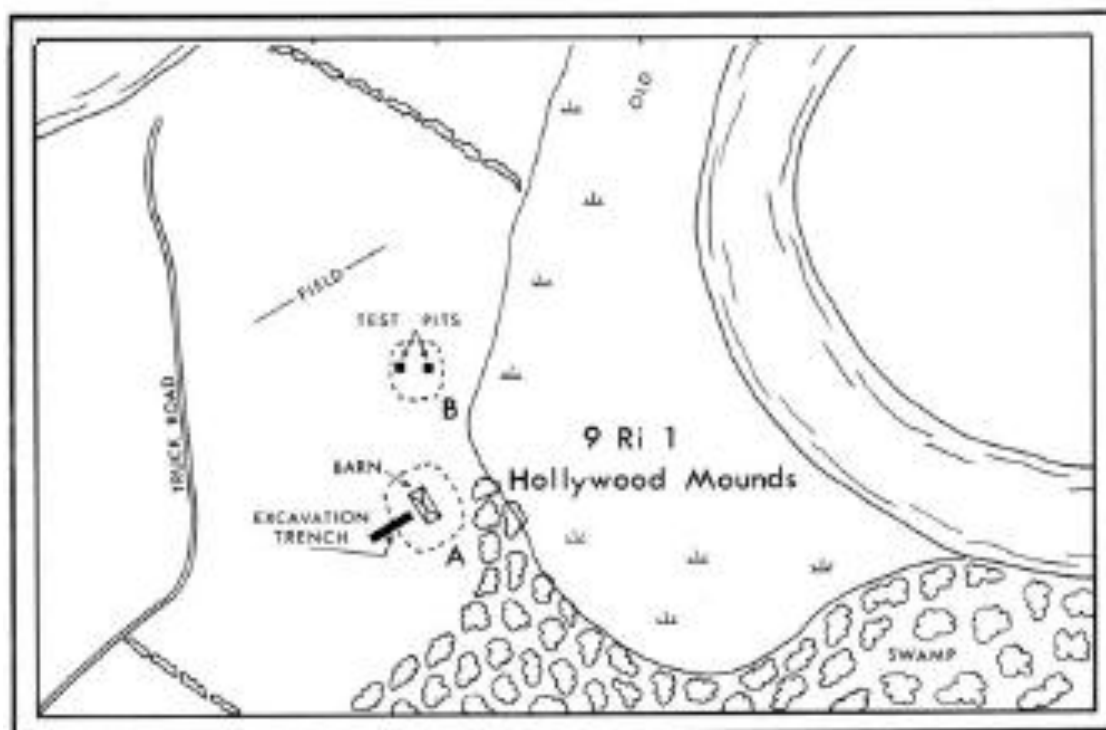
Figure 11: Burial Remains at Hollywood





**Figure 12: Reynolds' Original Burial Maps**

(Image from: King 2011)



**Figure 13: Hollywood Mounds on Site Map**

(Image from: de Baillou 1965. Page 5)

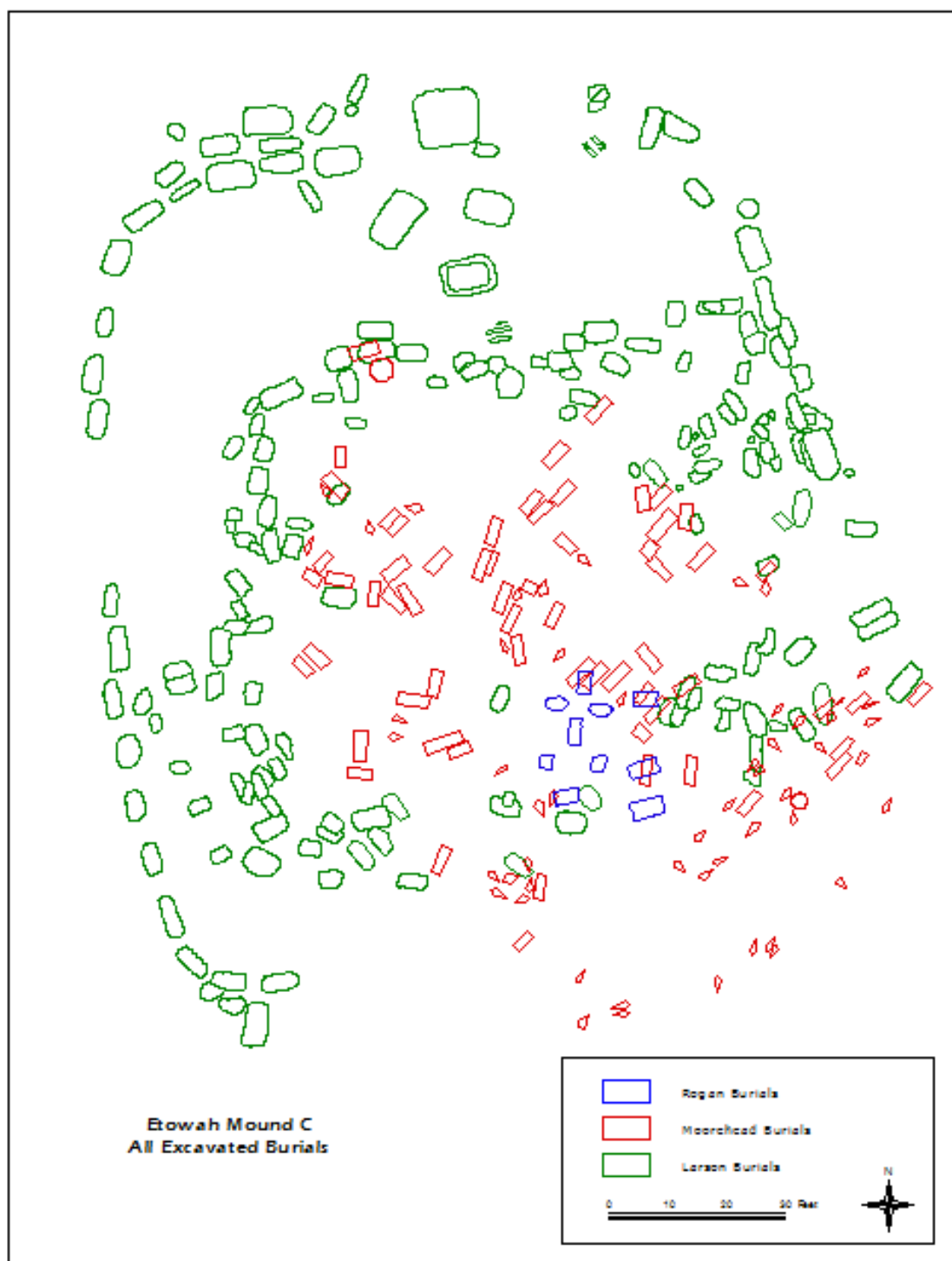
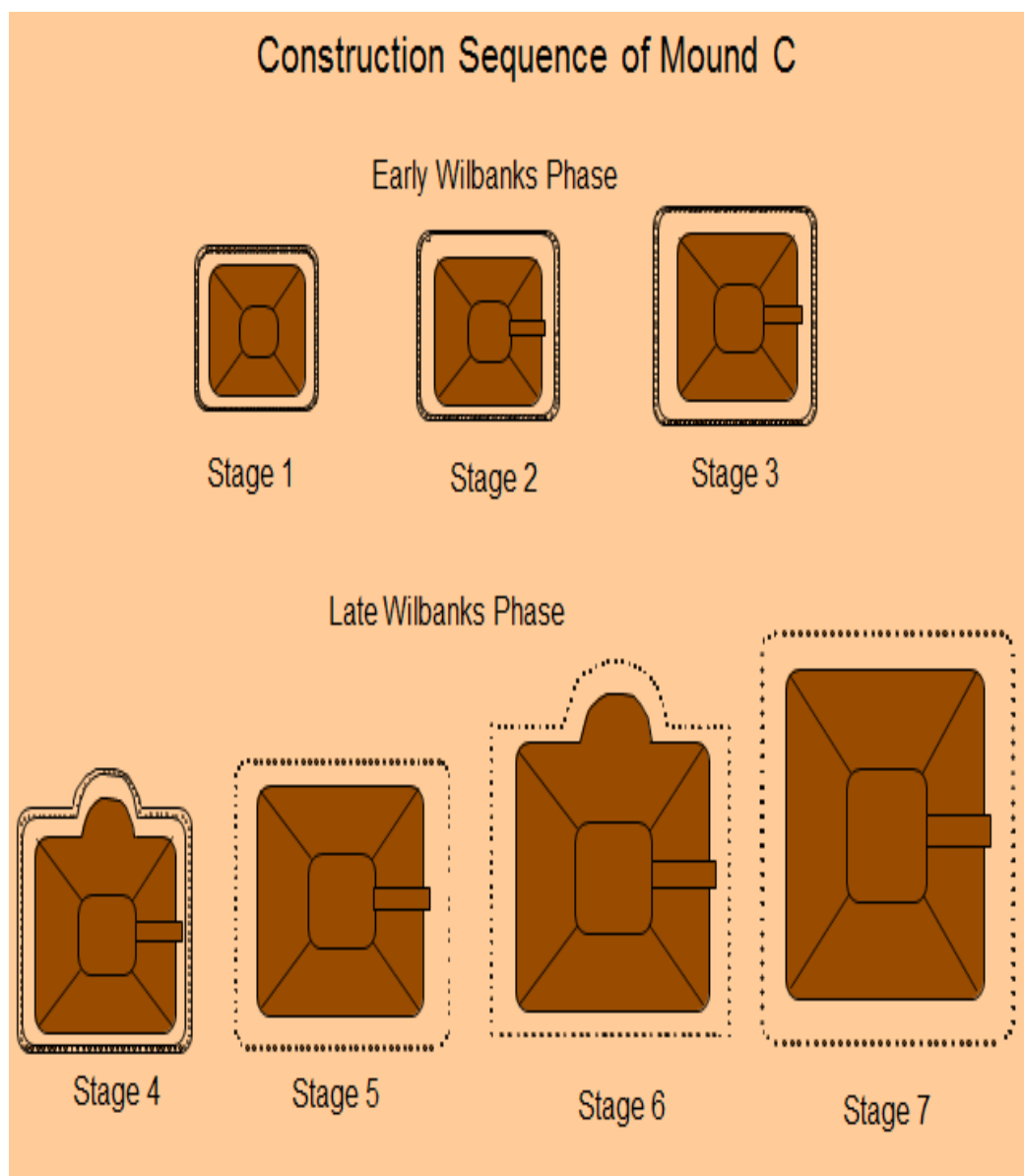


Figure 14: Etowah's Mound C Excavations

(Image courtesy Adam King)



**Figure 15: Wilbanks Phases at Etowah**

(Image courtesy Adam King)

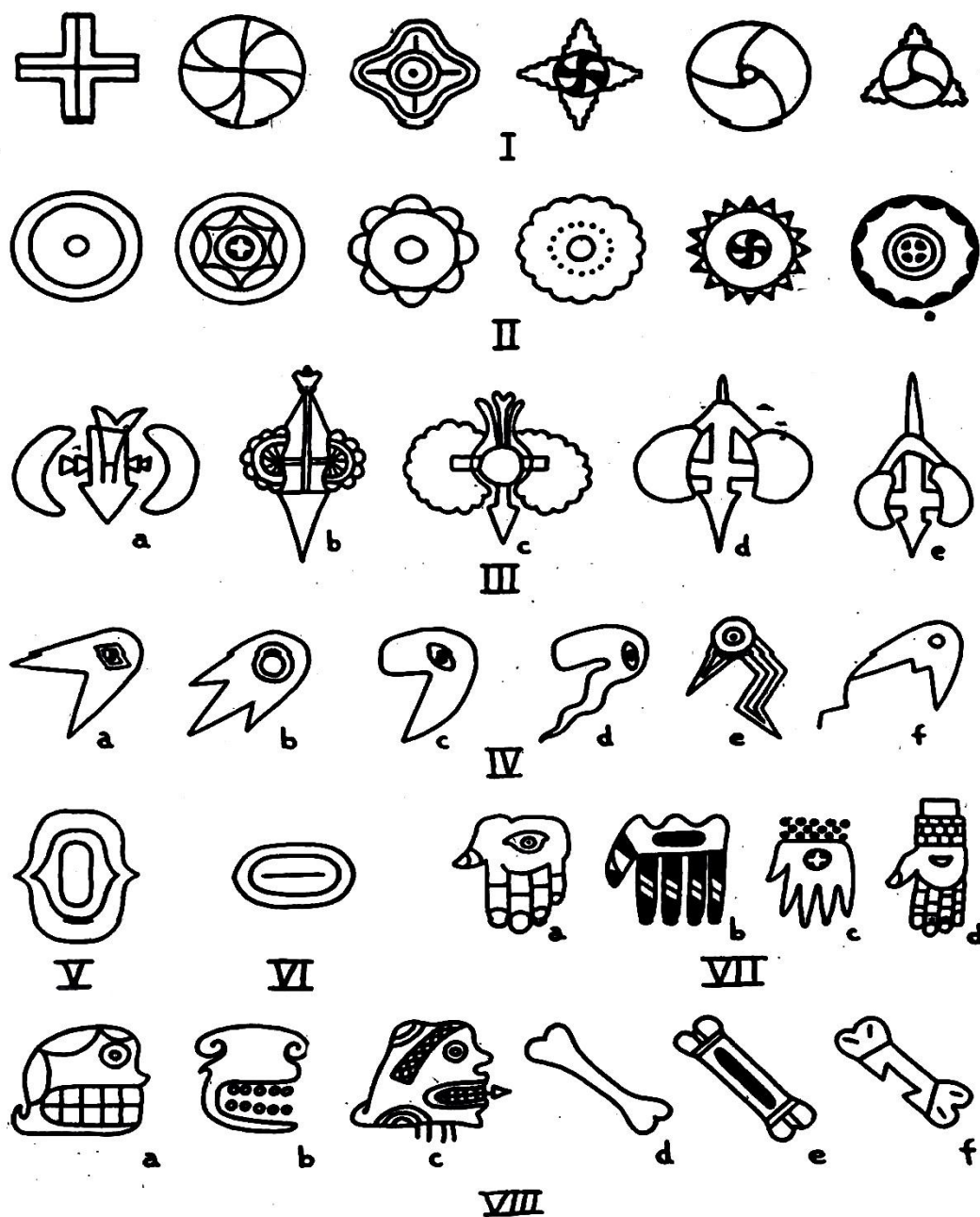


Figure 16: Mississippian Motifs

(Image courtesy Kent Reilly)



**Figure 17: Rogan Plate from Etowah**

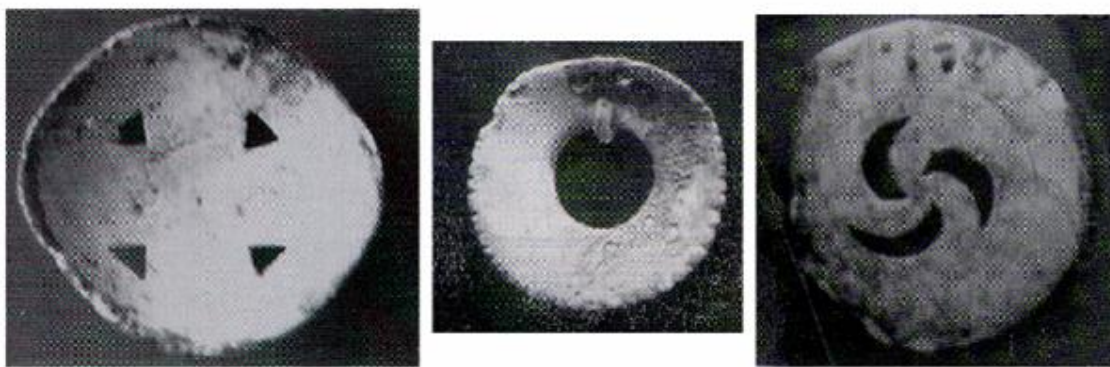
(Photograph from: King 2004)



**Figure 18: Bellaire Pipe from Moundville**

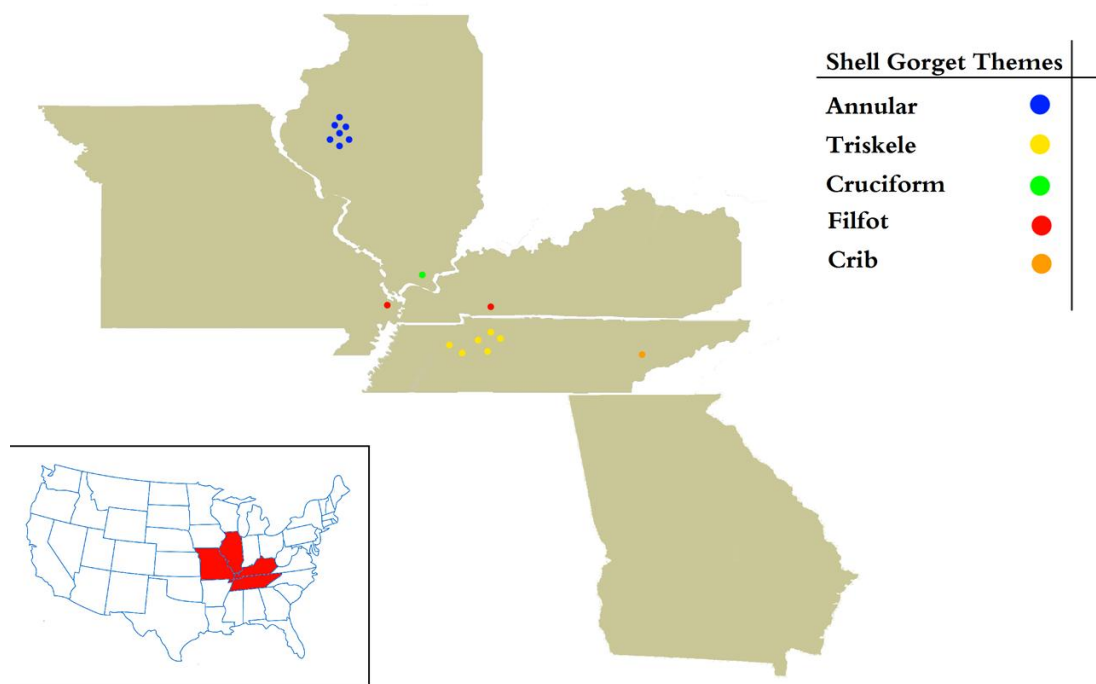
(Photograph courtesy of Jim Knight)



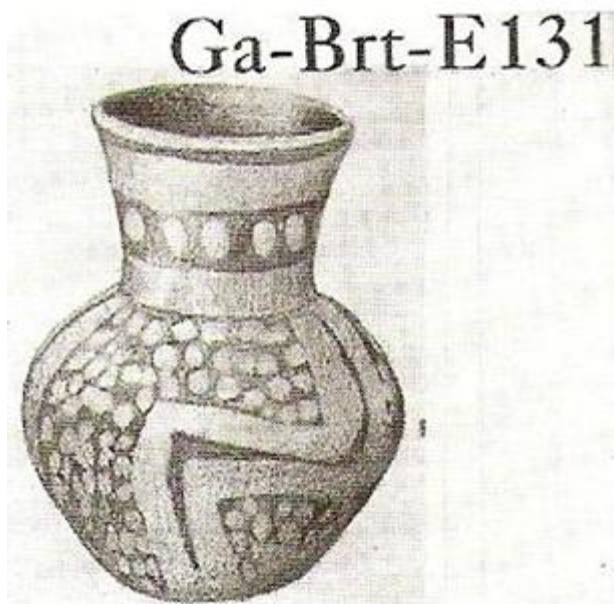


**Figure 19: Etowah Gorget Styles**

(Photograph from: Brain and Phillips 1996)



**Figure 20: Etowah Gorget Style Distributions**



**Figure 21: Etowah Pottery Vessel**

(Photograph from: Brain and Phillips 1996)



**Figure 22: Vessel 12 Serpent Cup**



Figure 23: Digitized Serpent Reconstruction

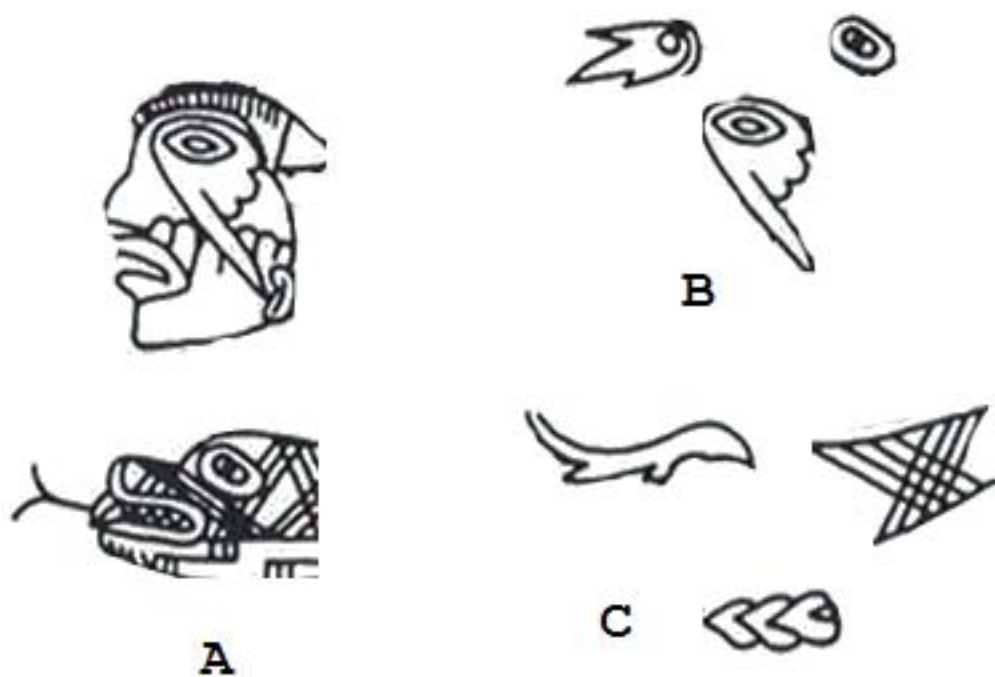


Figure 24: Vessel 12 Motifs





Figure 25: Vessel 13 Serpent Cup

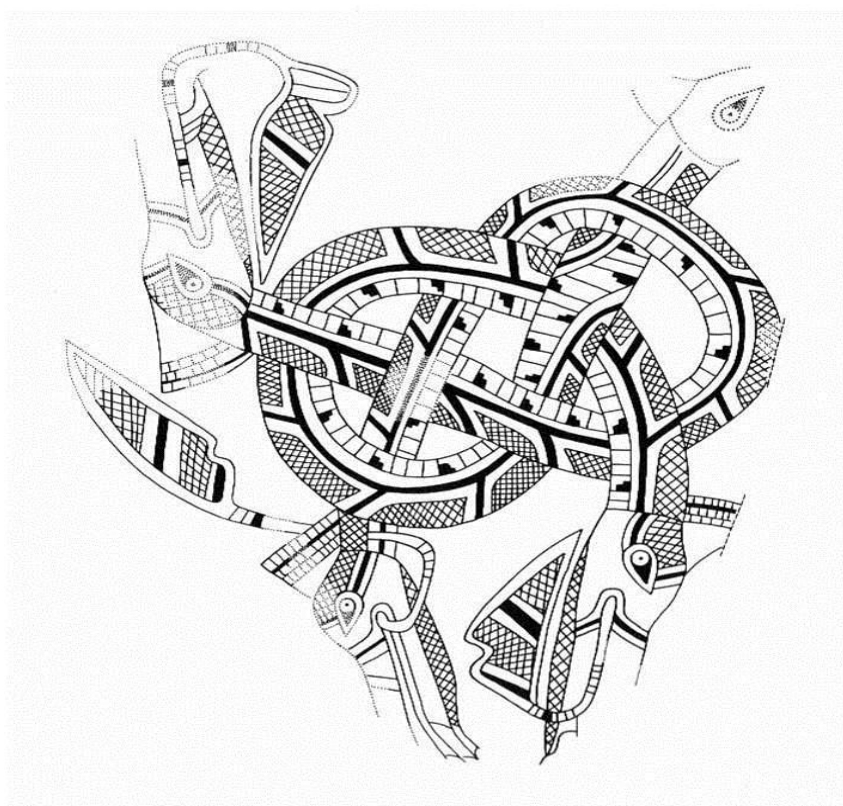


Figure 26: Holly Bluff Style Image

(Image from: Phillips and Brown 1978)

## Holly Bluff Style Tradition, provenienced locations

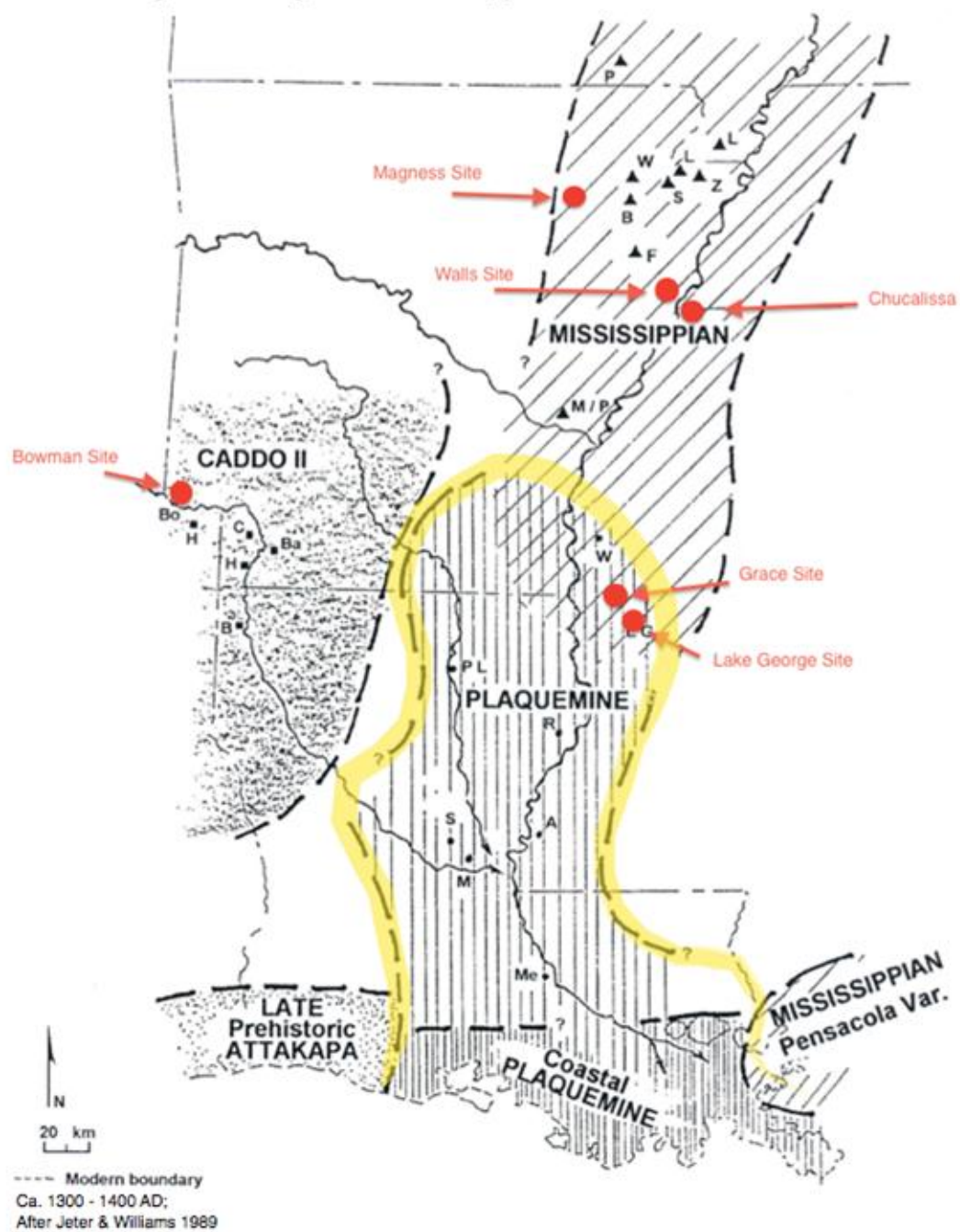


Figure 27: Holly Bluff Style Region

(Image courtesy of Jim Knight)

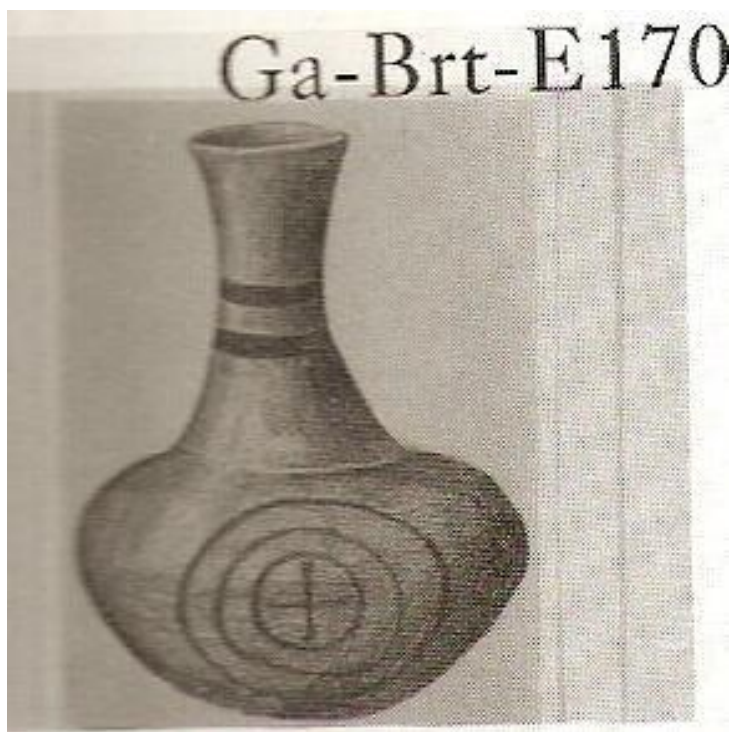


Figure 28: Vessel 16 Negative Painted



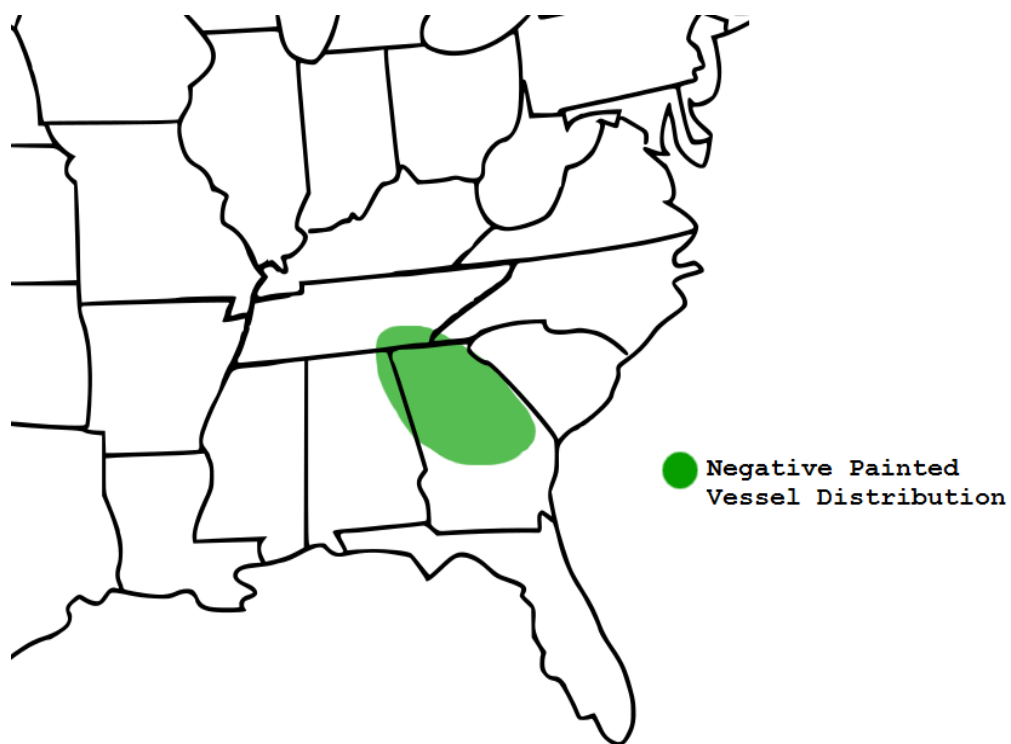
Figure 29: Moorehead  
Negative Painted Vessel





**Figure 30: Caraffe Form Pottery**

(Photograph from: Brain and Phillips 1996)



**Figure 31: Negative Painted Geographic Distribution**



**Figure 32: Vessel 9 Triple Headed  
Ceramic**

(Photograph courtesy of Adam King)



**Figure 33: Copper Piasa from  
Hollywood**



Figure 34: Artist Depiction of Piasa Creature



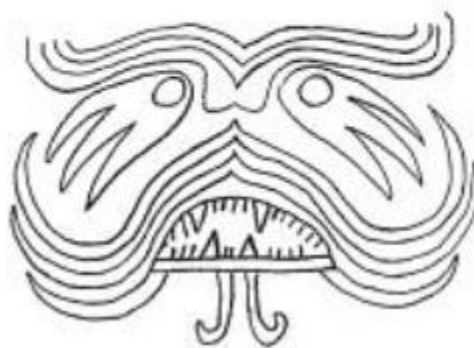
Figure 35: Bellaire Piasa Pipe

(Photograph courtesy of Jim Knight)



**Figure 36: Pecan Point Piasa Vessel**

(Photograph courtesy of Jim Knight)



**Figure 37: Berry Site Piasa Vessel**

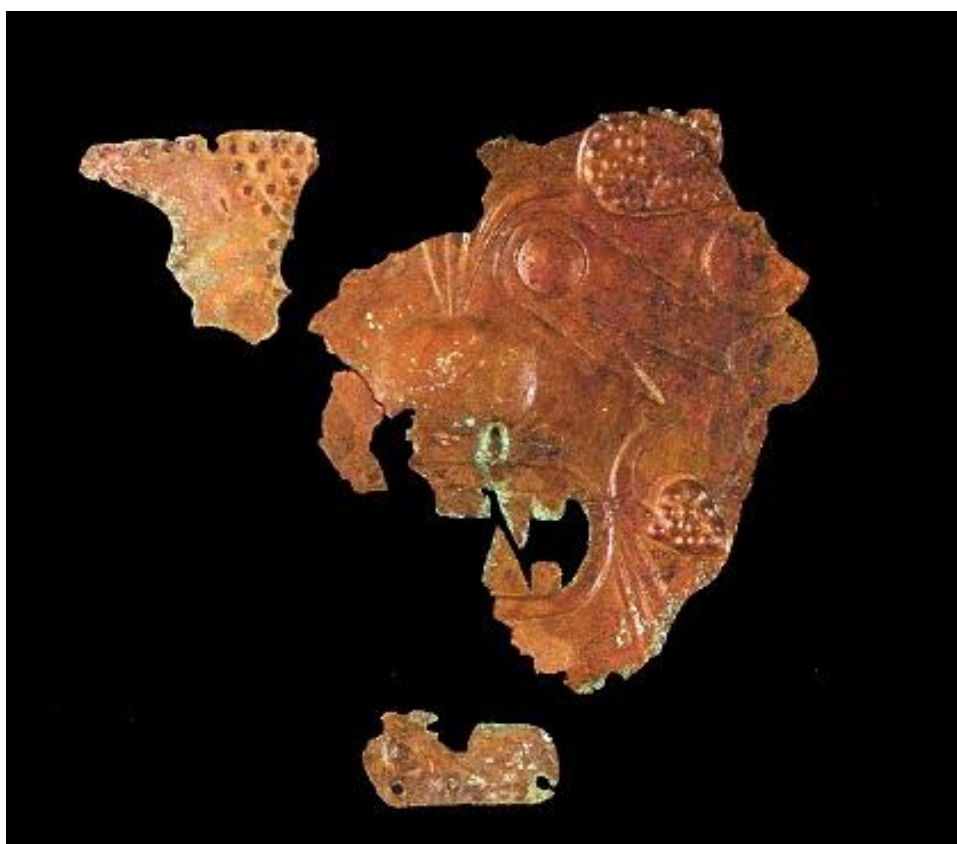
(Photograph from: Reilly 2004. Page 126)





**Figure 38: Etowah Piasa Plate**

(Image from: Brain and Phillips 1996)



**Figure 39: Hiwassee Island Piasa Plate**

(Photograph courtesy of John Pafford)



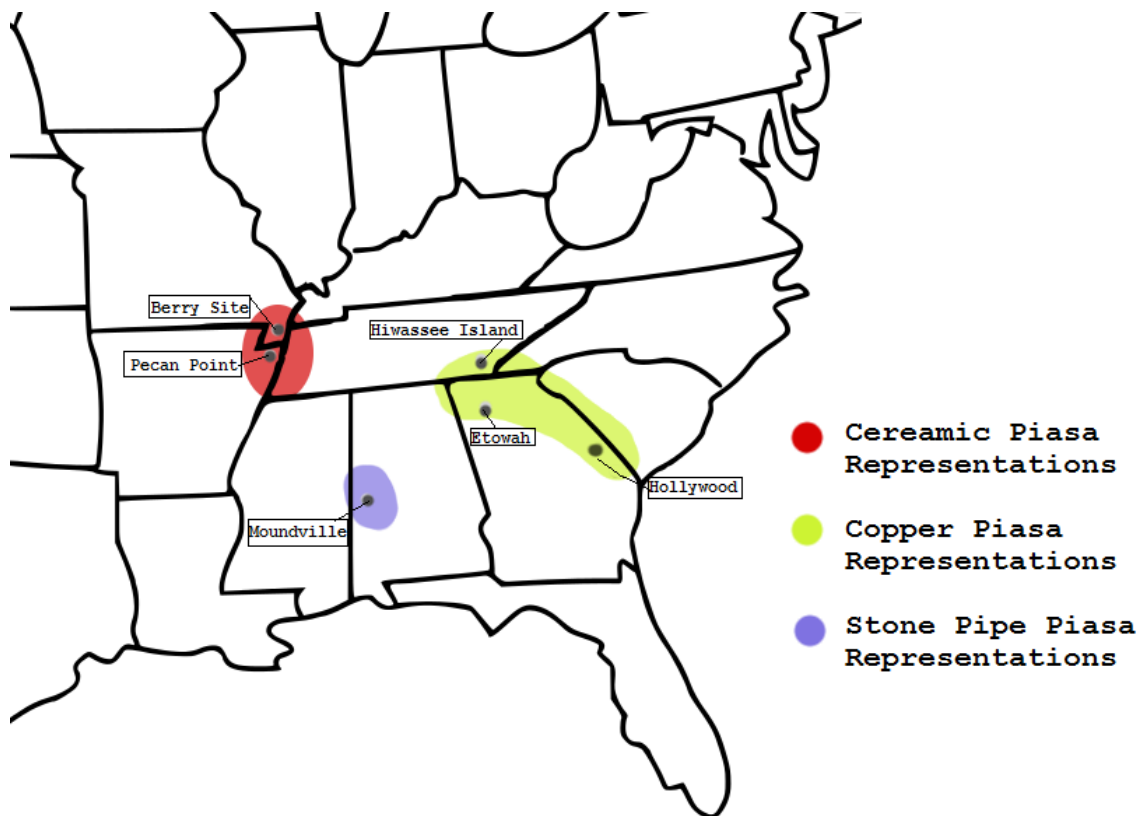


Figure 40: Piasa Theme Distribution Map

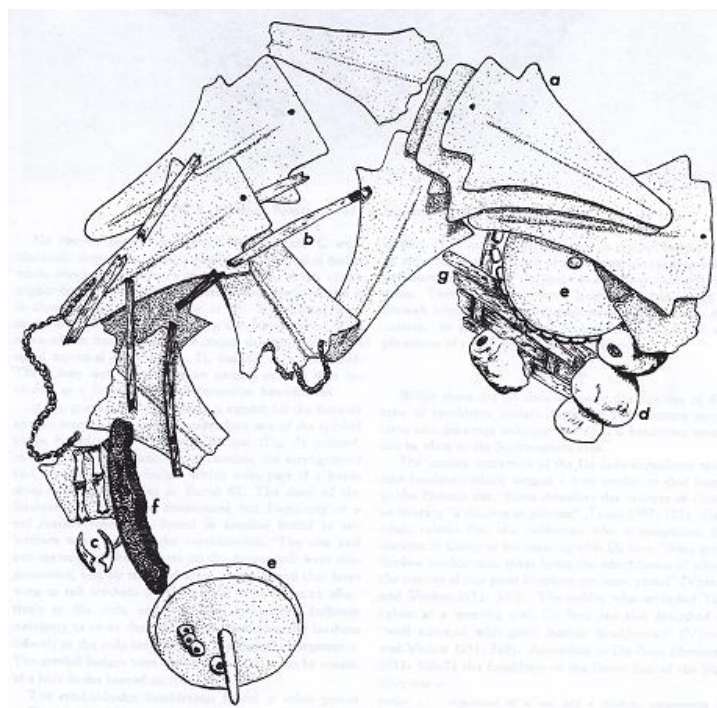
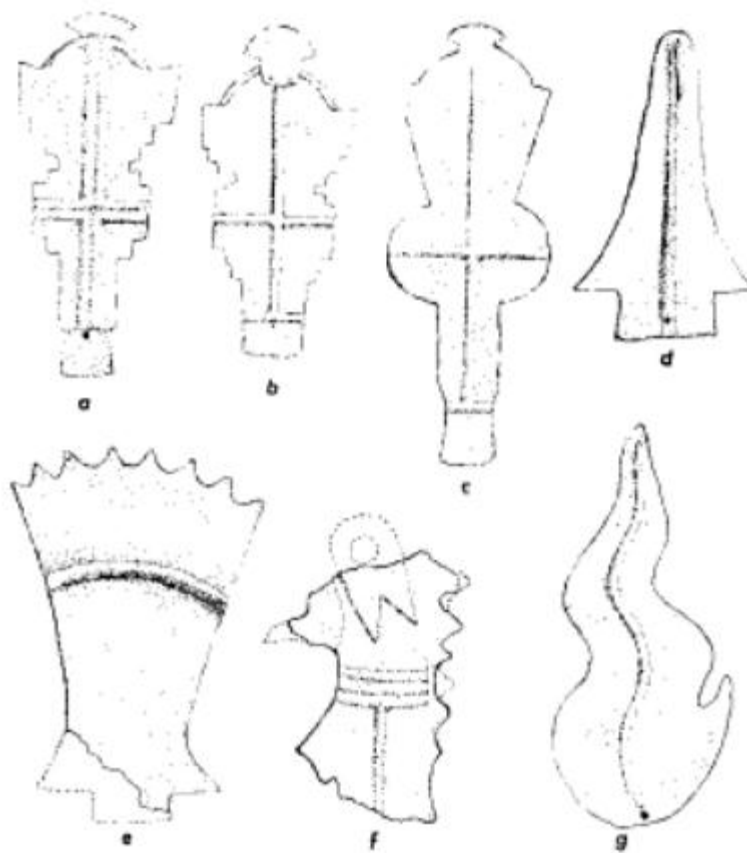


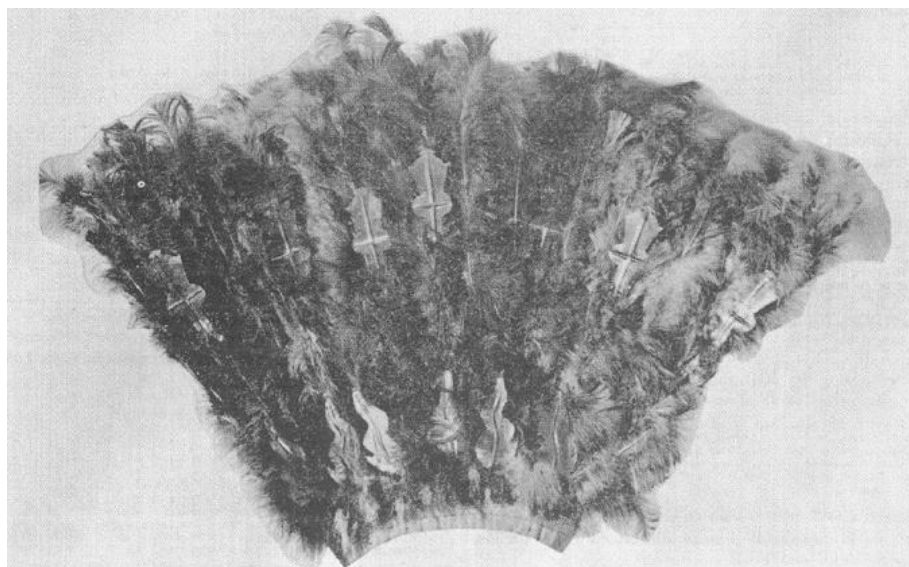
Figure 41: Etowah Arrowhead Symbol Badges

(Image from: Larson 1959. Page 110)



**Figure 42: Assorted Symbol Badge Designs**

(Image from: Larson 1959. Page 109)



**Figure 43: Reconstructed Etowah Headdress**

(Image from: Larson 1959. Page 111)



Figure 44: Black Organic Material on Copper Plate



Figure 45: Reconstruction of the Hollywood Headpiece

(Reconstruction by Author)





Figure 46: Mississippian Cosmological Model



Figure 47: Vessel 12 Serpents

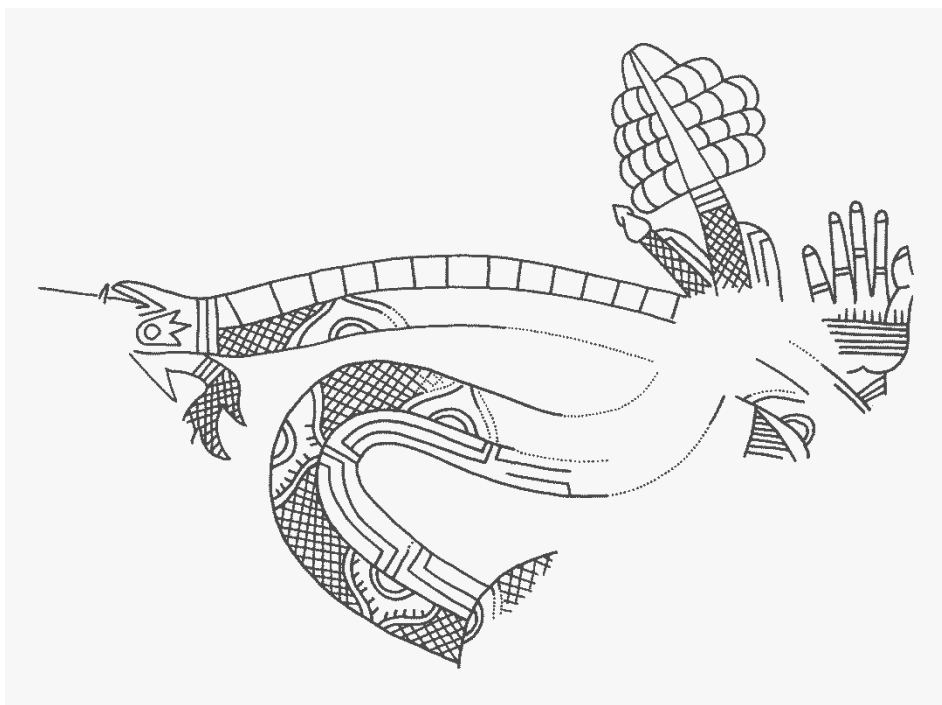


Figure 48: Ogee Skin Markings

(Image from: Phillips and Brown 1978)



Figure 49: Moundville Disk

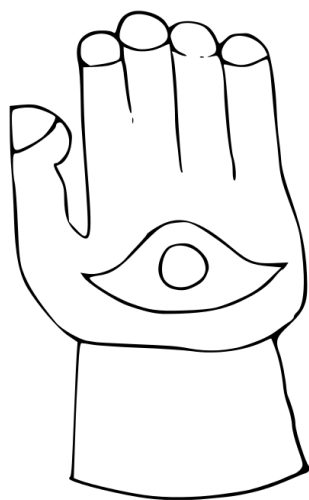


Figure 50: Hand and Eye Motif





Figure 51: Vessel 13 Serpent



Figure 52: Close-up of Vessel 12 Serpent



Figure 53: Close-up of Piasa Plate

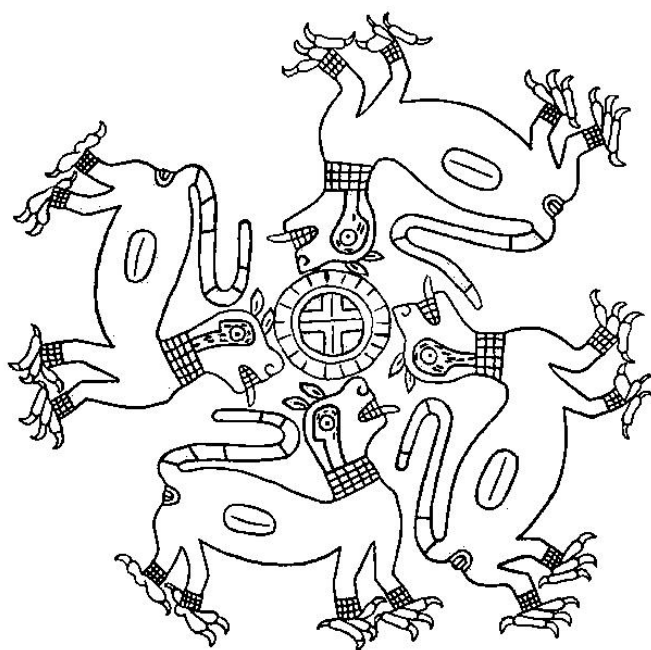


Figure 54: Spiro Piasa Figures

(Image from: Reilly 2004)





Figure 55: Hollywood Long-Neck Jar



Figure 56: Assortment of Pipes in Mound B

(Photographs courtesy of Adam King)



Figure 57: Copper Artifact Axe Head

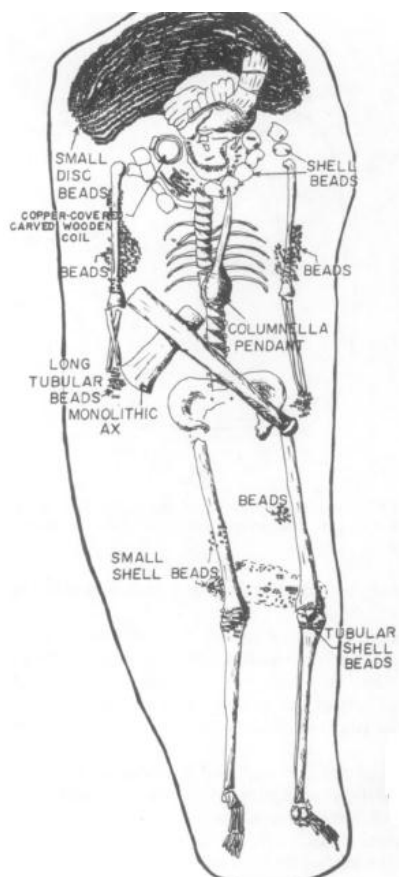


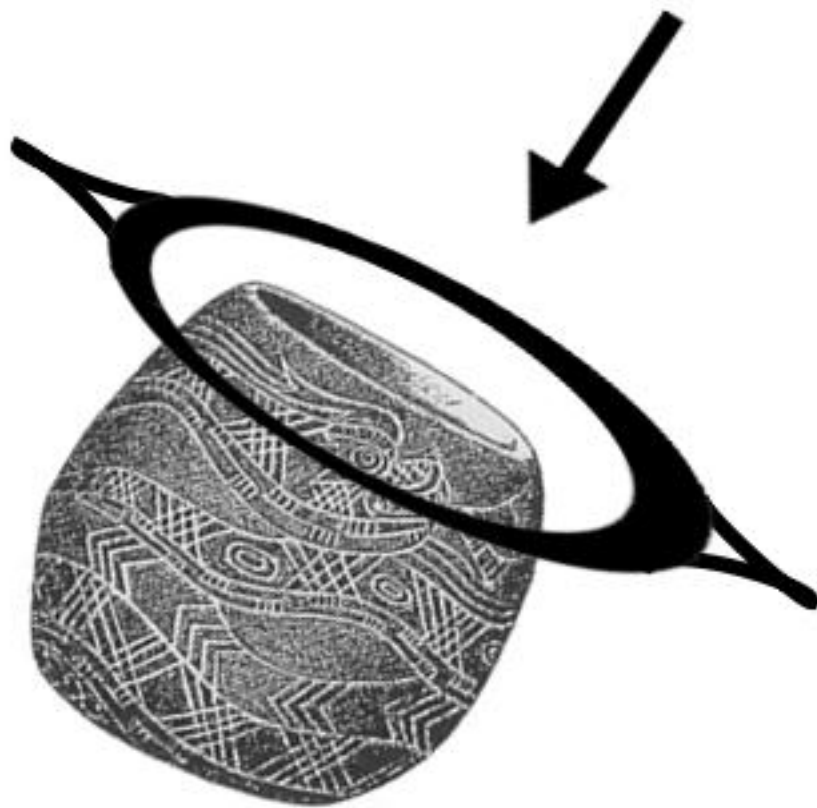
Figure 58: Larson Costumed Etowah Burial

(Image from: Larson 1971. Page 62)



**Figure 59: Discoidal and Copper Celt**

(Photographs courtesy of Adam King)



**Figure 60: Underworld Portal Access**



Figure 61: Filfot Design on Upper Level Pottery

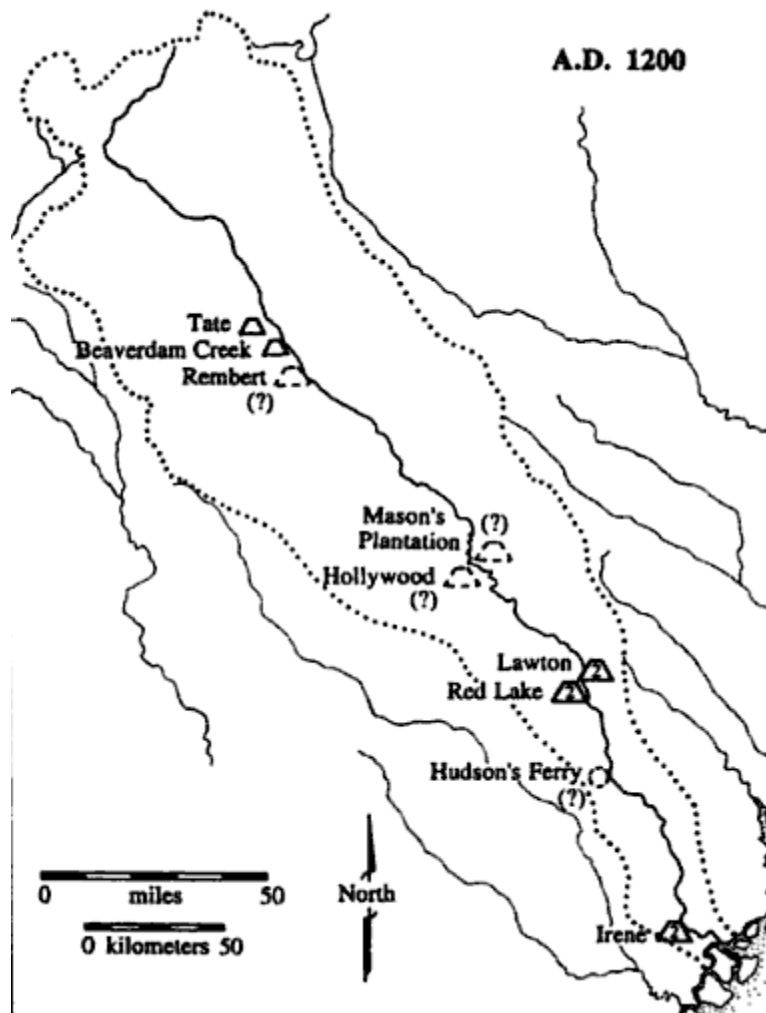


Figure 62: Irene's Location

(Image from: Anderson 1996)

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