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THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE KING SITE

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE KING SITE

by

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE KING SITE

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For Malcolm

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Introduction

This thesis addresses the problem of the investigation of architectural and spatial form of a Late Mississippian Indian village located in Northwest Georgia. Archaeologists have long been interested in the deciphering of settlement patterns. In archaeological studies, the questions of spatial form relationships usually concentrate on the accretive patterns resulting from the dwelling upon a site.

The settlement pattern of a group can reveal the patterns of the culture on several different levels. These levels may vary from the small events of day to day life, to larger patterns of kin affiliation or still deeper and encompassing reflections of ancient but persevering mythic relationships. Patterns may appear on just one of the levels, or in forms which span two or more levels in their expression.

This thesis is an attempt to investigate the forces behind the architecture form of the Southeastern Indians. My investigation began with a simple cataloging of structure attributes for the identification the formal patterns which were created at the time of occupation. I created a functional typology of the buildings by evaluating the presence of certain traits in order to produce a working model of structural groups and different site areas. From this information, I formed hypotheses about the formation and change of the site throughout the time of occupation.

I used two methods to search for significant patterns in the excavated data. The first method I used was a simple visual assessment of the site map and measurement of the data for patterns such as repetition, alignment, density and proximity, showing evidence of intentional formation. Secondly, I went to the ethnographic information about the Southeastern Indians to isolate patterns in the belief system that may have produced formal motifs

in spatial relationships. Next, I compared the patterns from the quantified data and the motifs from the mythological systems. I felt that the comparison of the two differently derived data sets would reveal and illuminate the Indians choice of forms.

Because the Mississippian Indians of the Southeast are known first hand only from scant records made by Europeans at the time of contact, the Indians motivations in architectural design are now glimpsed only through the veils of modern perceptions fashioned by archaeological methodology. I feel, however, that this handicap of a modern perceptual bias towards quantification can be an aid to the understanding of the Indian settlement pattern when making simple, objective visual assessments of patterns in the data. The detriment of the veiled vision comes in explaining the patterns or in finding the patterns which occur in more than one type of artifact.

Aims of the Research

The Indians of the King site were the last to live in terms of the wholly traditional ways of the late Mississippian period, and they were the first to see the advent of the historical period of European influence. There is little doubt that the ways of the Indian belief system which were recorded long after the advent of the historical age are a shadow of the original ordering of the Southeastern Indian mythological world. Despite the influence of the Europeans, the structure of the later mythic information probably had a remnant ordering in common with the Pre-Columbian belief system. That the contact period produced little change in the design of structures suggests that some part of the Pre-Columbian building tradition remained in force. Therefore, the historically recorded mythic information may still have contained a part of the belief system which may have originally influenced the shape of the architectural expression.

The intent of this thesis was to take a twofold look at the patterns left evident in the archaeological data. From the measurement of the depositional patterns, I composed a

typology of functional types of buildings, identified households, and identified changes in the patterns in order to find the changes in the development of the settlement through time. Secondly, I looked at spatial motifs within the belief system with the intent to identify correspondences with patterns in the archaeological data.

The King Site

The sedentary farmers of the King site were supported by a geography and climate which afforded their traditional agricultural technology. The Indians' way of life was supported by the availablity of temperate climate, tillable earth and indigenous plants for consumption and craft. However, the traditional Pre-colombian ways came to a close with the appearance of the Spanish.. The occupants of the King site saw the edge of a new phase in history when they first made contact with the European explorers.

Geography

The King site (9 Fl 5) is located in the Ridge and valley province of Northwestern Georgia (Figure 1). The province consists of sedimentary rocks from the Paleozoic age. The rocks have been folded into narrow ridges and valleys which run parallel to each other. Elevations of the site area are between 200 to 250 meters above sea level. Slight ridges and hills are scattered about the area and are composed of shales, sandstones and limestones. The maximum elevations of the hills and ridges are 30 meters. The flatter places in between the ridges are made from limestone and dolomite (Hally and Langford 1987:2).

The main environmental influence on the Indians was the floodplain soil which afforded the agricultural technology that the Mississippian Indians depended on. The soils of the floodplain area that the King site is located on are rich and yield an abundant harvest. These riparian soils were washed down the Coosa River and its tributaries, the Coosawattee, Oostanaula, Conasauga and Etowah and then deposited onto the broad floodplains of the area. The plant nutrients are abundant in the soils and the periodic inundation of the floodplains keep the soils replenished.

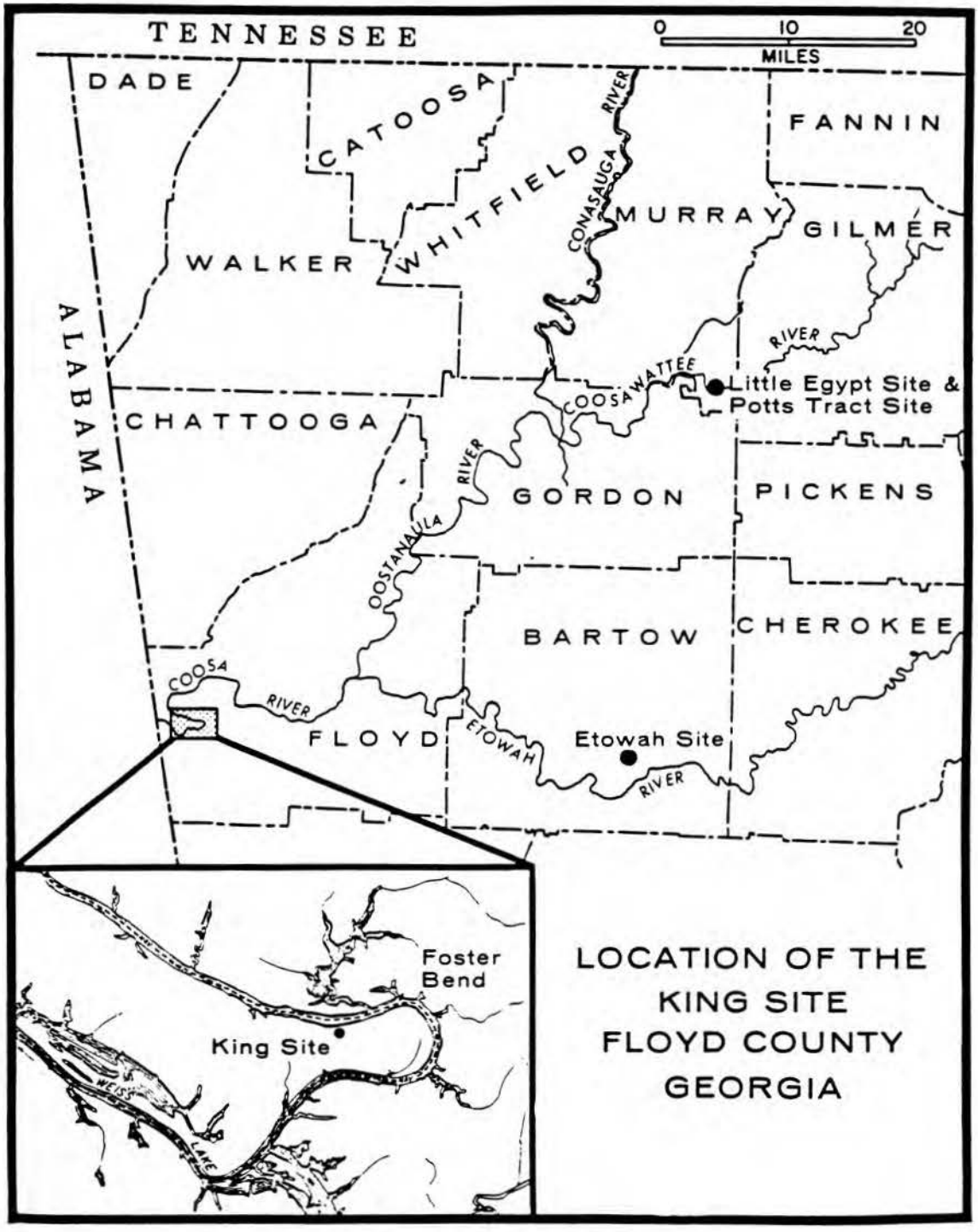


Fig 1. King Site Location (9FL5).

The richness and ease of tilling were the essential characteristics that afforded the agricultural technology of the Indians of the area. Because the soils are deposited by flooding the earth is quite loose and easily tilled with a simple digging stick and shell and wood hoes, the only agricultural tools used by the Southeastern Indians (Hudson 1976 :297).

The climate of the Ridge and Valley province is temperate. The average temperature is a maximum 87.5 degrees in July and a minimum of 32.3 degrees in January. The growing season here averages about 215 frost free days per year. Rainfall totals 50 to 65 inches a year. The rain fall occurs all year round with long periods of rain in the winter and shorter but more intense storms in the summer (Hally and Langford 1987:12).

Around the floodplain, the land is forested with oak, pine, and hickory. Early 19th century reports indicate the predominant species was oak with far lesser amounts of pine and hickory. The forests also contained ash, beech, sweetgum, yellow poplar, white oak, northern red oak, and basswood. In addition to the raising of maize, these forests provided supplementary indigenous foods gathered by the Indians. The forests were home to the main source of animal food, the deer, and other small animals with were utilized. The numerous rivers and streams which ran through the area supplied abundant fish which were also consumed (Hally and Langford 1987:10).

History

The Indian occupation of the King site occurred during the Barnett Phase of the late Mississippian period (Figure 2). The Late Mississippian period lasted from A.D.1350 to A.D. 1550. This was the final part of the Mississippian period which had spanned the period from 900 B.C. to 1550, the time of the first European contact in the Southeastern area. The Indians of the King site were most likely the ancestors of the historically known Creeks of the area who were reported by the Spanish.

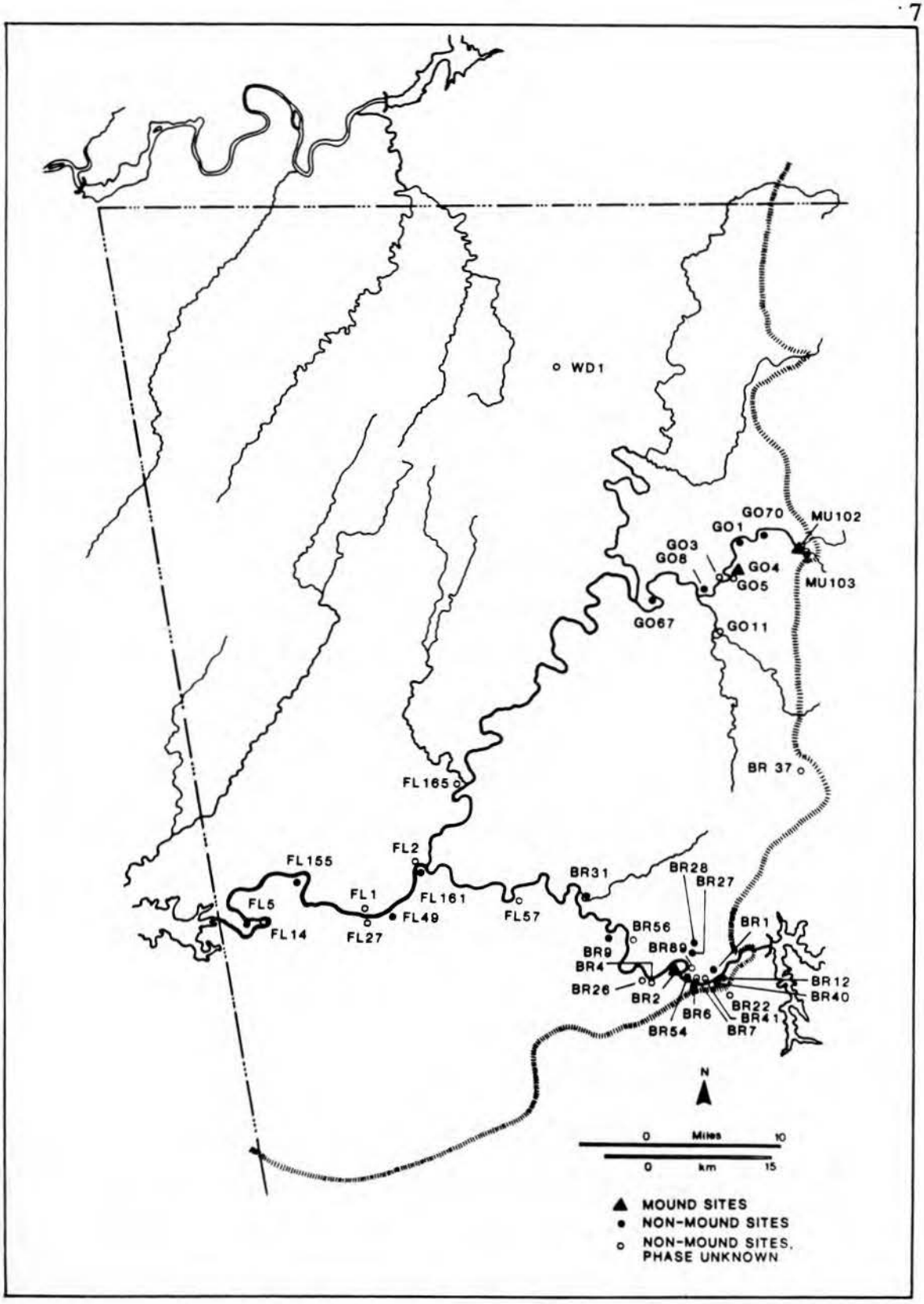


Fig. 2. Sites of the Barnett phase.

Direct contact with the Spanish by the Indians of King site is highly probable since a sixteenth century European sword and other iron goods were found there. The DeSoto expedition had passed through the area (Hudson et. al. 1985), and the King site may have been the town the Spaniards called Piachi. The Indian people of this phase saw the advent of the historic period. They were the last to experience wholly prehistoric ways of life. Occupation at the King site was a brief fifty years or less, and village life may have ceased shortly after the European contact.

The gift of the King site, a clear pattern of the settlement, is a result of the short occupation time. The establishment of the sites occupation at fifty years is a generous estimation of its duration (Hally: personal communication). The clarity of the occupational pattern is due to the lack of overlapping building episodes. The structures when built, were located on a clear spot or when rebuilt were done so right over the previous stage of building (Figure 3).

Excavation Methods

The King site is a plow zone site with only subsurface features remaining. Erosion and plowing destroyed the original midden surface of the site leaving only a few subterranean house floors intact. What was remaining in the subsurface soil, thousands of postholes, hundreds of burials and other features, made possible the reconstruction of a plan diagram of the village.

Excavators used several different recovery techniques during the field season of the summer and fall of 1975 (Hally 1976). The excavation procedure began with a pan scraper to remove the overburden of the plowzone in a continuous swath. The exposed area allowed the field crew to shovel shave the surface in order to simultaneously expose all of the posthole patterns over two-thirds of the site (Figure 3). Excavators mapped the posthole stains and the other features such as pits and burials. The exposed features were completely excavated; the postholes were left intact.

Fig. 3. King Site Map.

The investigators exposed only two-thirds of the site (Figure 4). Auger confirmation fixed the west line of the palisade and defensive ditch.

Water flotation methods insured the maximum retrieval of faunal and floral remains from the excavation of the intact house floors. Excavators gridded off the house floors into a nine square partition and mapped large artifacts in place. The excavation proceeded with excavators removing each grid area separately. This procedure facilitated later analysis of activity areas occurring within the structures.

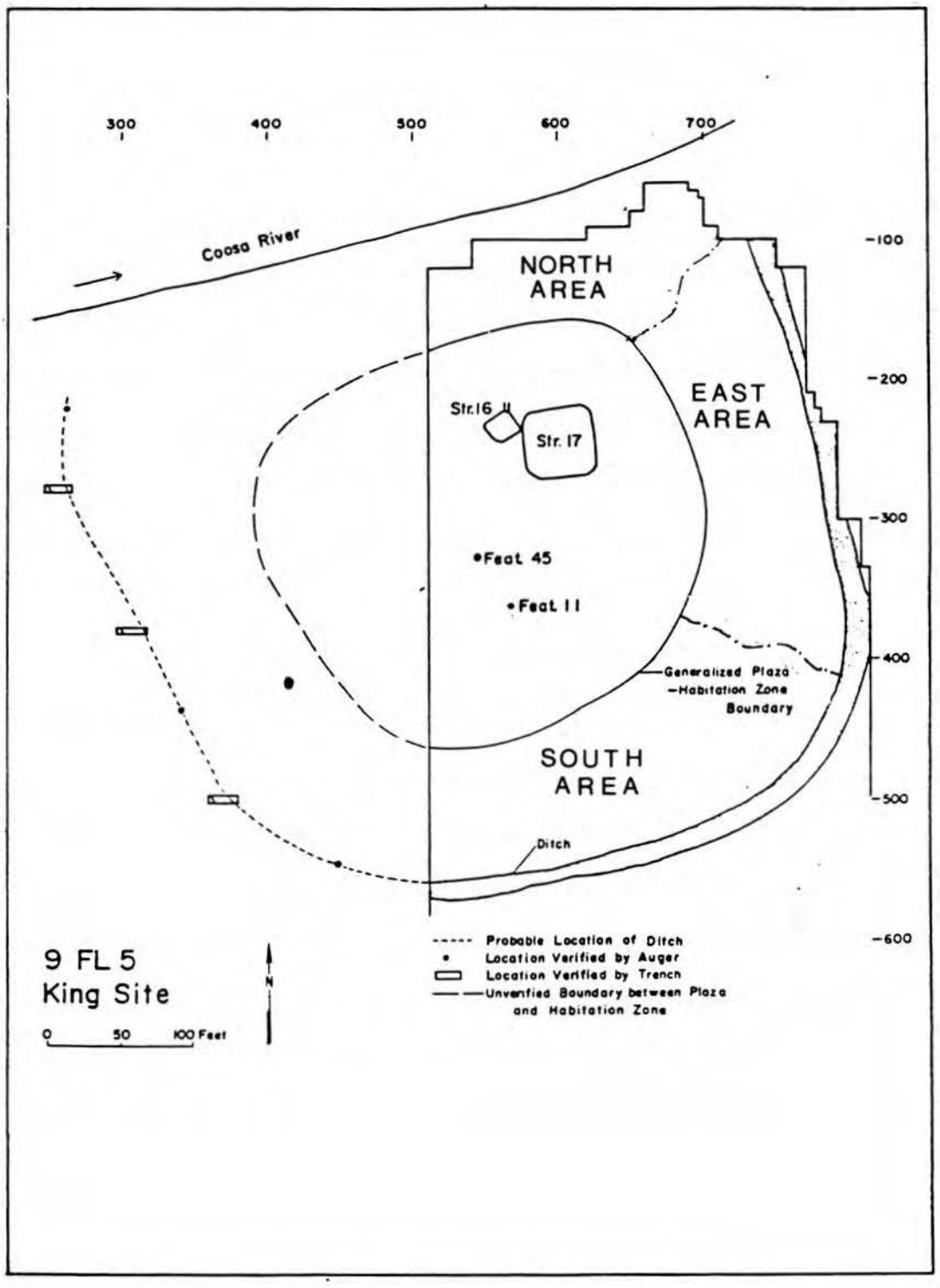


Fig. 4. King Site Diagram.

Literature Review

The literature review for this thesis may be divided into two parts which correspond with the two types of comparisons I made for the King site analysis. The first set of comparisons I made were between the King site material and data from other relevant sites from the Southeastern Cultural area. The second set of comparisons dealt with the relationship between culture and architecture. I will first present the literature which helped form my ideas about building form and culture. Then secondly, I will present the data references from other archaeological sites in the Southeast.

References on Building Form and Culture

There has been much written about the various ways in which an architecture is related to the culture in which it is produced. There are many different theories which try to explain the relationships. Some of these studies simply quantify traits found in the architectural remains without defining the processes which are responsible for their formation. On the other hand, there are studies which begin to offer explanations about the way the architecture is formed within a culture. In some of the literature of architectural and culture relationships, I found a line of reasoning which argues that some one part of a culture can be directly responsible for the nature and shape of that culture's architecture. This position is taken in an article by McGuire and Schiffer.

The article by Randall H. McGuire and Michael B. Schiffer (1983), "A Theory of Architectural Design", contains a model which posits that the cost of construction in terms of production labor, maintenance and design efficiency for the intended use, is the prime

determinant of the architectural form of a culture. This theory is almost wholly concerned with documenting the amount of effort which is expended in the trade-offs between the construction, maintenance and use requirements of architecture. McGuire and Schiffers model assumes that the three factors cannot be equally satisfied at once. The satisfaction of one of them is at the expense of the others.

This model does not directly address the choice of forms in the structures but rather offers a systematic way to evaluate the emphasis the designers have put on the production, maintenance and utilitarian functions. The discussion of the consideration and selection of forms is included in a part of the argument which the authors have considered as not well understood (McGuire and Schiffer 1983:281).

The McGuire and Schiffer model is useful when considering the relationship between economic conditions and architectural construction. The reasoning of the model is limited when explaining the choice of structural forms and spaces. In McGuire and Schiffers model, the economic system generates the architectural form, thereby making architecture a derivative expression. When tracing the line of causation back from the economic system, the original cause of the whole system turns out to be a series of historical conditions, such as geographic forms or climatic trends. Therefore, this model turns out to be a cloaking of random causation rather than an explanation of the forces behind the choices which appear as architectural design.

Amos Rapaport's House Form and Culture (1965) offers a model which is broader in citing the causal connections between a culture and its architecture than the McGuire and Schiffer economic model. Rapaport attempted to forge a synthesis between anthropological studies and architectural theory by creating a historical model which ranks architectural development into three levels: primitive, pre-industrial vernacular, and high style modern. This three part ranking system evaluates architecture on more than just the basic form of structures or construction technique.

Rapaport repeatedly stressed that the analysis of a culture's architecture at any of the levels must include consideration of the environment, economics and aesthetics. Rather than fashioning these influences into a causal chain ending in architecture form, Rapaport sees them as having an interrelated effect. The value to the King site analysis is the explanation of the role of the building specialists in relation to the forms of architecture. The shortcoming of this model is that Rapaport does not delve into the reason behind the choice of forms for an architecture.

Levi-Strauss (1963) in his work Structural Anthropology wrote about the correspondence between things of a culture and what the culture produces. Levi-Strauss assumed that architecture was an analog of the culture because the culture produced the architecture.

By Levi-Strauss' assumption, categories of things can represent relationships within the culture. If architectural and spatial form is a product which can be read as a document of the relationships within a culture, then there may be a window onto the thought behind the choice of the form. The key to understanding pattern formation and meaning in objects lies in how the things are used or thought of, rather than by the presence of similar physical characteristics in objects (Levi-Strauss 1963:4). Things that on one level of classification might appear different, may actually be a part of a pattern that uses different kinds of objects in the course of its expression. Therefore, architecture is not just a piece of a culture but is produced in a system, just as all things are shaped in the overall flow in the course of the culture's expression. Things in a culture are all produced out of the same vocabulary.

"The Berber House" by P. Bourdieu (1973) is an example of a structuralist analysis of the spatial relationships within a house and of the house within the settlement. Bourdieu uses a host of different artifact classes in the analysis, from the actual structural members of the house to the position of the weaving loom and the place where the crockery is kept. The

dichotomy of male and female is the predominant relationship represented in the artifacts and their positions in space. Almost all things fall into groups associated with males or females; these things distinguish themselves by contrasts against the opposite quality. Relationships between the things of the Berber world are relationships between overarching categories.

Levi-Strauss observed that the mythological order of thought of pre-modern technological man seeks to have all phenomena fall into classifiable categories which can be held as true in comparisons, on any level of observation (Levi-Strauss 1979). Although the belief systems of the contact period Indian groups are known only through scant references by Europeans during the early days of conquest and by Indian informants decades and centuries later, inferences can be made into the nature of Pre-Columbian belief structures (Hudson 1976:11-14). The belief systems of the historically known Southeastern Indian groups were categorical in structure and encompassed all levels of phenomena in their explanation of relationships between things and events (Hudson 1984:13).

Just as in the Berber house example, the Southeastern Indian belief structures or categories were often dualistic in nature. The Indians pitted opposites against each other. The relationships of objects or activities were seen by the Indians as relationships between categories of objects or activities. One essential distinction, between purity and pollution, illustrates the nature of the categorization process. The Indians considered things impure when an object or behavior transgressed boundaries and possessed characteristics of more than one group within the classificatory system. (Hudson 1976:317).

In order to conduct an investigation of the relationships between the Indian's belief system and spatial form, I turned to literature on the isolation and identification of motifs from cultural sources. Mirceas Eliade's The Sacred and the Profane is a work which synthesizes mythic patterns found in many different cultures into a coherent whole. This

work describes basic archetypal processes in terms of symbols which appear in the religious expression of many cultures.

These archetypal identifications were important to my research because they aided in analyzing motifs from the Southeastern Indian mythological order. Eliade used cross-cultural examples to illustrate models of spatial and architectural form which represent an ideal ordering according to religious beliefs.

The process of motif and pattern interpretation in The Sacred and the Profane is similar to Levi-Strauss' structural analysis. Eliade writes of how a space is transformed and used in different cultural systems rather than simply cataloging similar beliefs about spatial configurations. Because the King site was a newly settled town, The Sacred and the Profane is especially pertinent because it contains an extensive section devoted to the spatial expression of ideal relationships in the world which occurs with the conversion of a place from chaos to claimed, ordered land.

I have included Carl Jung's study of archetypes in this review because of his work on the manifestation of the archetype in architecture. Jung's work is similar to Eliade's work in that there is an emphasis on the appearance and function of the symbol in a culture. However, Jung's theory of archetypes was not about the absolute existence of the symbols but rather their production and meaning relative to the experience of the person or society producing them (Jung 1963:58). The value of Jung's work for this study lies in understanding the way that symbols are produced in a culture and what their function is in a society.

The King Site in Its Context

The references presented here were used for comparisons of the King site's archaeological material with other sites in the Southeastern Cultural area. I have grouped the archaeological information according to the divisions of a model created by David

Clarke (1977). The three levels are based on patterns of qualities within a structure, qualities expressed between more than one structure and across the site, and between sites themselves. His terms for these are respectively, micro, semi-micro, and macro (Clarke 1977:11-13).

Clarke created the methodology to investigate spatial patterns in a systematic fashion. He identified differing levels of spatial significance and created the three tier ranking. The most basic level of data division is the individual structure. The King site structures' physical attributes are size, building stages, hearth placement, distances from other architectural features, and the association with other features such as burials. The household level measurements are, in part, based on the results of the structure data, but also include the relative placement of secondary structures, orientation of the primary house walls, and relationships of other structures to each other. The site level data include the plaza structures and any information which considers the form of the site as a whole. Also, any relevant regional information to the King Site is included by the report in this level of analysis.

Identifying the level in which phenomena occur is an extremely important distinction when looking for patterns in the architectural remains. Distinguishing the level in which a pattern appears is the key to uniting quantifiable measurements and cognitive or intuitive pattern recognition. Clarke stresses the importance of simple visual inspection of the data maps and he maintains that pattern recognition is accomplished by first examining maps for repetitions of forms and patterns before complex spatial analyses begin (Clarke 1977:10).

Inter-Site Patterns

Inspection of the site map shows three distinct architectural areas in the site. These areas were the plaza, the defensive palisade and sandwiched between them were the domestic structures. These were all represented by patterns of postholes. The postholes,

which are the remnants of the primary domestic structures, indicate a type of house that is well reported by early ethnographic accounts and well represented at other archaeological sites of the Mississippian Southeast (Swanton 1946:387-420).

Preliminary documentation and analysis of the King Site architecture has been presented in several reports by David Hally, the principal investigator of the site's excavation in the 1974-75 field season (Hally 1975, 1983, 1984). Other investigations into the site's architecture have focused on burial patterns and have contributed to knowledge of the settlement pattern (Seckinger 1977).

Ethnographic accounts from the Southeast date from the De Soto and other Spanish expeditions (Force 1848) of the sixteenth century and but reports of this area are more numerous after the early eighteenth century. Although the early reports did not give a detailed account of the architectural form, they are useful for comparisons with the later accounts. Through these comparisons it is possible to get an idea of how life had changed from the contact period to the later historical times.

Charles Hudson (1976) has distilled a number of accounts into a comprehensive narrative on all facets of Southeastern Indian culture. His architectural description combines ethnographic accounts and archaeological reports in an effort to paint a complete picture of the Southeastern Indian culture. Other compilations less narrative in style were written earlier in this century and provide information about the Indian groups of the area and the people who wrote about their lifeways (Swanton 1928, 1946).

One of the earliest and most detailed accounts was from William Bartram (Hudson 1976:213-222). Bartram described the basic architecture and settlement pattern for the Creek Indians which is quite close to the patterns of structures indicated by the postholes at the King Site (Hudson 1976:213). His descriptions are germane to the King site analysis because it is likely that the Indians of the King site were a part of a group which became the historically known Creek tribe (Hally 1987).

With very recent work done on the settlement patterning through mortuary analysis of the Mouse Creek site by Lynne Sullivan (1986), and Richard Polhemus' work on the structures of the nearby Toqua site (1987), a clearer picture of the architecture of the region is emerging. Other excavations of villages from the Mississippian period yielding data about the architecture that are relevant to the King Site are the Snodgrass Site (Price 1973), the Angel Site (Black 1967), and the Chota Site (Shroedl 1986). This list is by no means exclusive, as there was a pan-regional adaptation and a consistency in the technology of building across sites during the Mississippian period.

Because the pattern revealed in the King site material is site wide, the distinction of structures into constituent households is important. The definition of a household unit is an important distinction, both culturally and spatially, in the analysis of a site. The definition of a household is elusive and may be based on a variety of factors. Given that we do not possess detailed reports of Mississippian cultural practices at the time of Spanish contact with the Indians of the King Site, ethnographic inference is the best source of knowledge. Therefore, subtle demarcations of households from ethnographic records are not possible from the lack of detail in the reporting of information at the time of initial European contact.

Polhemus (1987) and Sullivan (1986) both devote a great deal of effort in establishing an understanding of what comprises a household organization pattern in their sites. They base their composition of a household on spatial attributes and the presence of burials in particular configurations. They differ on the interpretation of the spatial patterns which would describe the design of the summer structure, but the basic household composition of a winter house, summer house, and household burial plot is shared by them. This arrangement is supported by Bartram's account of a Creek household consisting of more than one structure (Hudson 1976:213).

Sullivan attempted to find evidence of lineages residing in close proximity within the Mouse Creek Site. The information for lineage affiliation is more subtle and evasive

than the information for the basic household organization. Ceramics and burial attributes are a possible avenue to this level of knowledge of kin affiliation. Unfortunately, information for that level of refinement is not available at this time for the King site. What is available are attributes of building orientation, spatial relationships between structures, and a synthesis of information compiled from measurements made on the individual structures. However, Sullivan critiques the use of spatial proof on the basis that it is difficult to prove conclusively the contiguous occupation of lineage groups based solely on the evidence of building orientation or frontage (Sullivan 1986:438).

Settlement patterns of open plazas containing mounds or public council houses, defined by domestic structures on the periphery is a Pan-Mississippian phenomena (Hudson 1976). Price (1974), found at least two areas of domestic structures surrounding open courtyards or plazas at the Snodgrass Site. This site was a short occupation site that may have been intentionally destroyed by fire. Several other associated sites in the area follow the same pattern of settlement and demise within a short time. With the example of the quickly established sites of which Price writes and the frequent occurrence of sites with plazas across the Southeast, open spaces seem to be an intentionally included design element.

Intra-Site Patterns

Hally (1987) uses the distribution of mound sites to construct a model for the extent of political units in the north Georgia area. There is a spacing of mound sites that indicates a maximum and minimum distance which also occurs in other cultures of similar development. The pattern of spacing seems to be a result of the ability to maintain influence as a function of distance traveled from a mound center to an outlying town. The King site probably would have paid tribute to a chief of the nearest mound center but town level political decisions would have been solved by the leader or leaders of the village.

A model for village political power based on acquired status over inherited status is indicated from the mortuary analysis from the Mouse Creek, Toqua, and King sites (Seckinger 1977, Sullivan 1986, Polhemus 1987). From the assessment of the burial goods and the placement of the burials within the site, a picture emerges of high status interment areas with some restriction of access. This would tend to support the idea of the diffusing of centralized power during the Barnett phase (Seckinger 1977:34).

Mississippian chiefdoms were separated by vast areas of uninhabited no-mans lands. These lands were unclaimed (Hudson 1976: 211). Outlying towns were raided by hostile groups and towns could change chiefdom affiliation, so there was probably some lively activity along these buffer zones. The King Site may have been on the edge of one of these chiefdoms (Hally: personal communication 1988).

The King Site was completely surrounded by a palisade and a ditch. This is an indication that there was a pressure for a well fortified defensive system. One possibility arising from this scenario of a required palisade is that the King site was a new town settlement in the area, and because of extending into a new area subject to raiding, the defensive measures were required.

Research Methods

I have organized the study of the data into two parts based on the kind of methodology used. The first part is a examination of the site by identifying the patterns by quantifiable measurements. The second part is an investigation of the relationships of the patterns found by the measurements to patterns in the belief system of the Southeastern Indians.

Description of Structures

The architecture of the King Site was built over a fifty-year period (Hally 1975:3). Most of these structures were rebuilt at least once, but they saw little change in style or method of construction. Polhemus has noted that even during the time of tremendous cultural change of the European contact period there was a striking conservatism in the maintenance of traditional structural design and construction methods (Polhemus 1987:222-243). The Mississippian period saw a basic adherence to the techniques of wattle and daub construction for domestic structures. The use of wattle and daub was described in several ethnographic accounts (Bourne 1904:9-10; Swanton 1911:59,260; Adair 1968:449).

The King Site architecture uses a single-set rigid log wall construction. This type of structural system dates to a late Mississippian horizon (Nash 1969, Lewis and Kneberg 1946, Polhemus 1987). The time of occupation at the King Site supports this chronology.

Lewis and Kneberg (1946: 53) describe this type of log construction as using structural wall uprights with a posthole size diameter of .6 to .8 feet. Spacings between these post holes were 1 to 3 feet. The King Site structures have internal posts for roof support which were single large posts or bundles of smaller posts standing together and arranged in a square. The postholes that are the remains of the internal support posts illustrate this kind of construction because they appear as either large single stains or clusters of adjacent stains.

Because we have maps illustrating the size and distribution of postholes recorded from a three acre portion of the site, the strength of the analysis lies in observing the size and formal arrangement of the postholes (Figure 3). The postholes were not excavated by

the investigators, therefore, the information available for analysis consists of posthole diameters, fill material and spatial location.

Three main architectural elements show up in the plan map of the village. A palisade with a defensive ditch appears as a line of postholes ringing the edge of the settlement. The plaza area is distinguished as a scarcity of postholes at the center of the site. Domestic structures are represented by clusters of postholes sandwiched between the two.

The substantial primary houses are quite easy to see in the plan of the village. Their exterior walls used single-set rigid posts for support of the wattle and daub material. These posts were set in postholes which were dug individually (Figures 5 and 6). Repeated house rebuildings over the same spot of land and the provisioning of interior furnishings created a dense cluster of post holes.

The postholes located between the houses probably represent a variety of buildings and facilities including menstrual huts, corn cribs, sweat houses, general storage huts, and summer houses. There are a few areas where a patch of ground allows for clear patterns of secondary structure but for the most part the areas external to the primary houses teem with a mass and profusion of postholes.

Size configuration and the occasional preservation of a charred post were the only attributes that were availa or analysis. Charred posts were available from only a few structures on the site, so my analysis concentrated on size and pattern. With the two attributes of the postholes with which I decided to work, I attempted to use size of the postholes to reliably cull out significant patterns based on the diameter of the stain.

I measured postholes composing structures from different areas in the site, from areas between but not including the structures, and from identifiable secondary structures (Figure 7) . A similar shaped graph was produced by plotting the diameters by tenths of a foot for any of the areas I measured (Figures 8, 9 and 10). Not only were there no

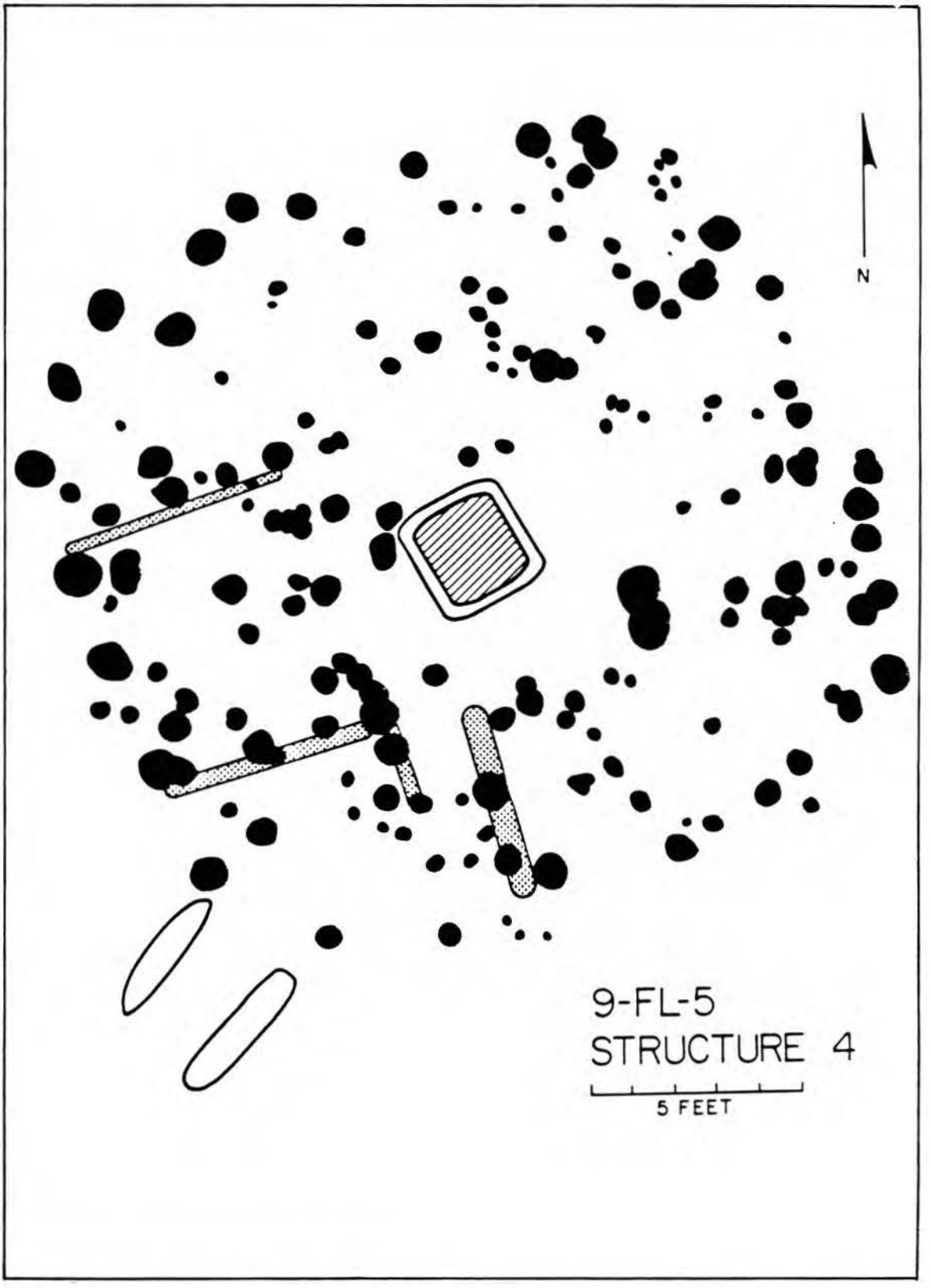


Fig 5. Structure 4.

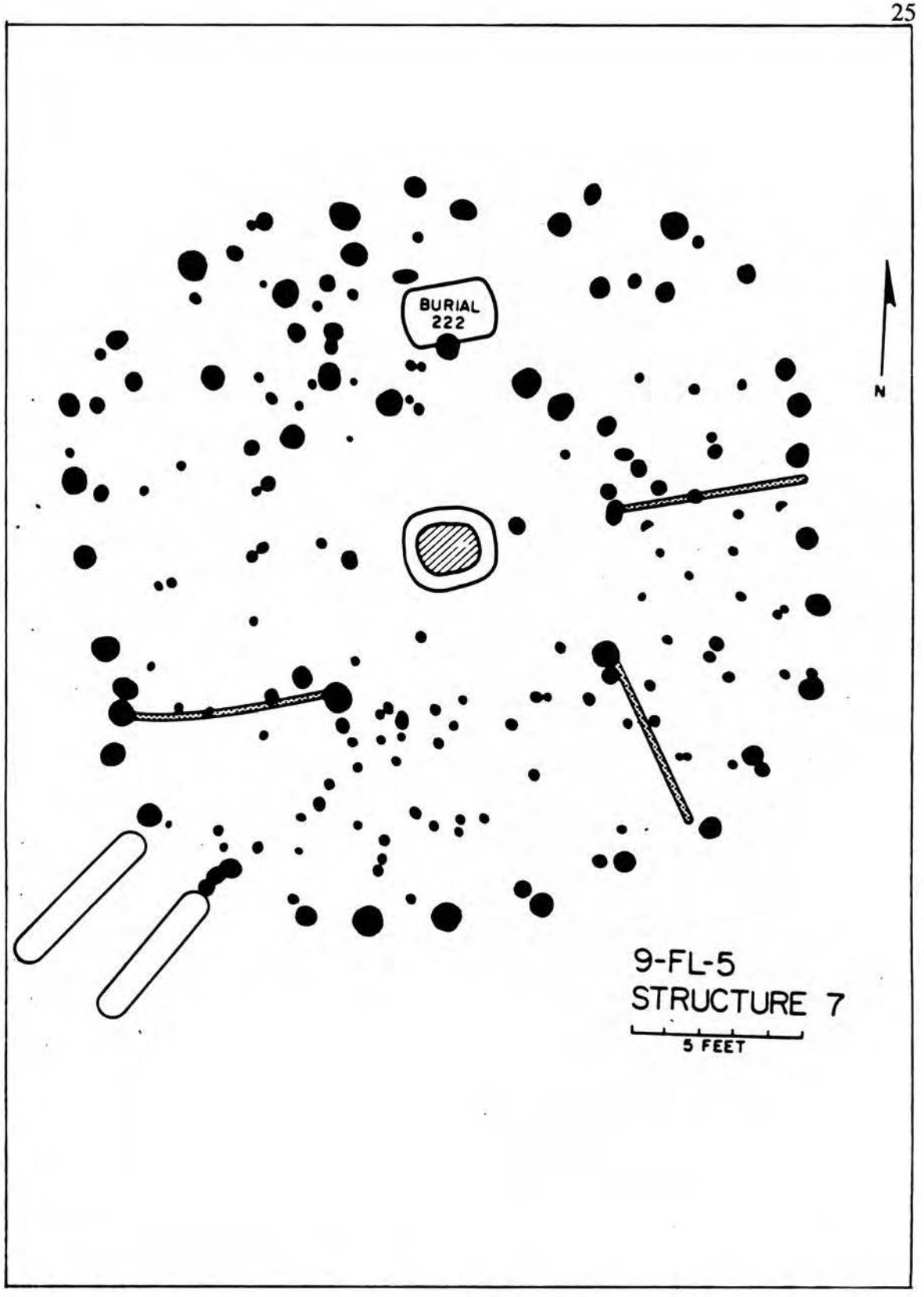


Fig. 6. Structure 7.

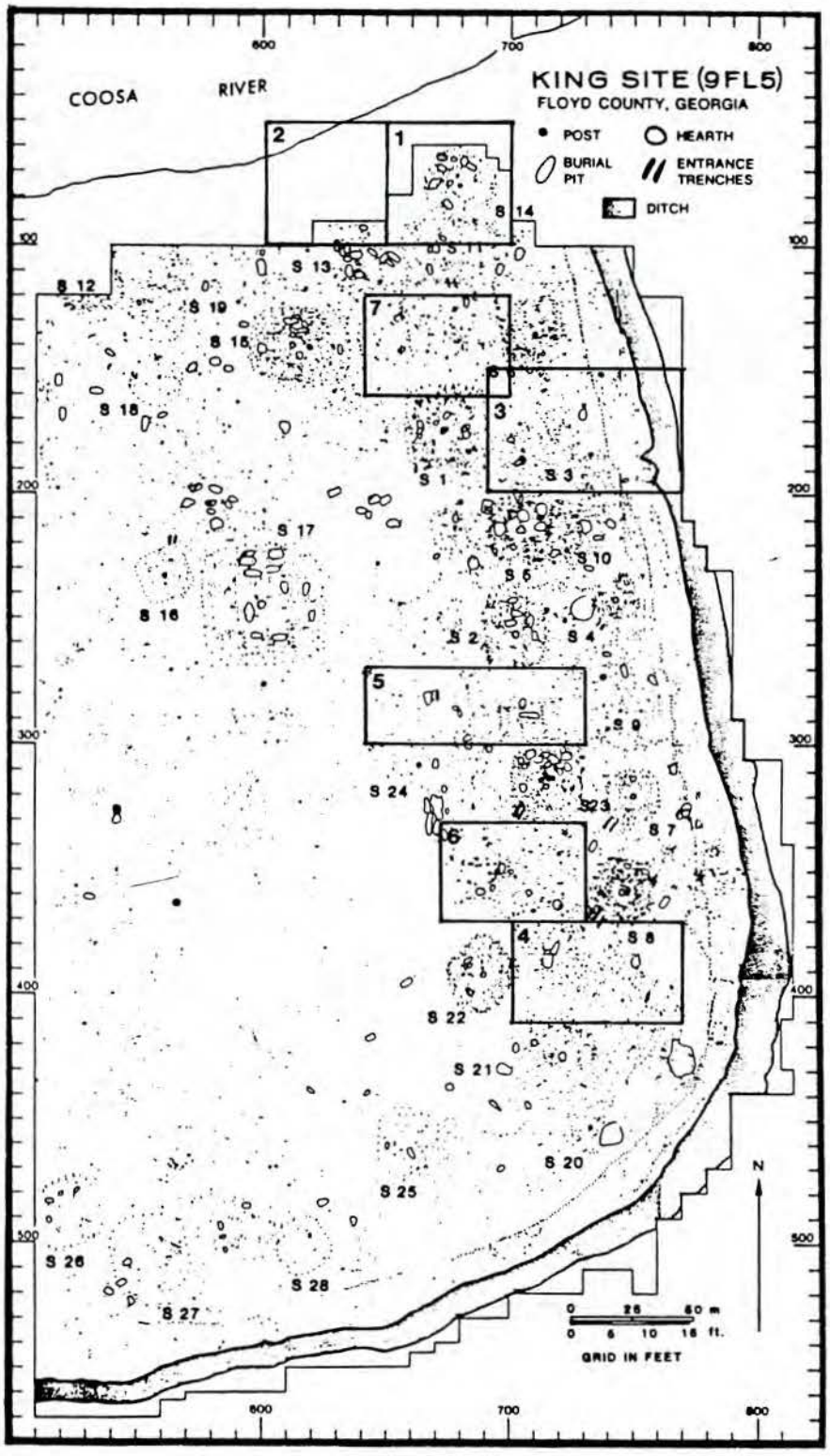


Fig. 7. Areas 1-7, Excluding Identified Structures.

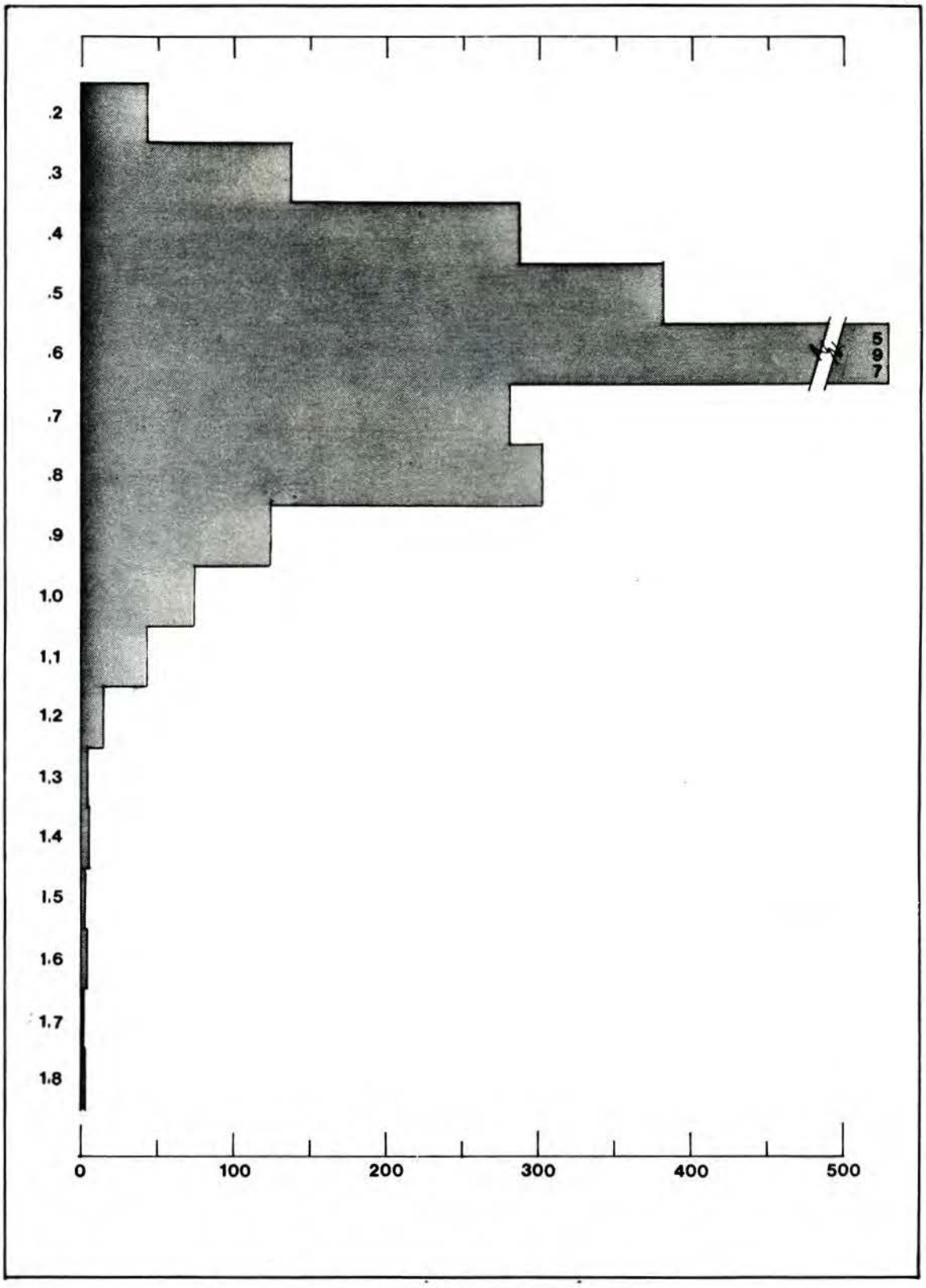


Fig. 8. Numbers of all Postholes by Size.

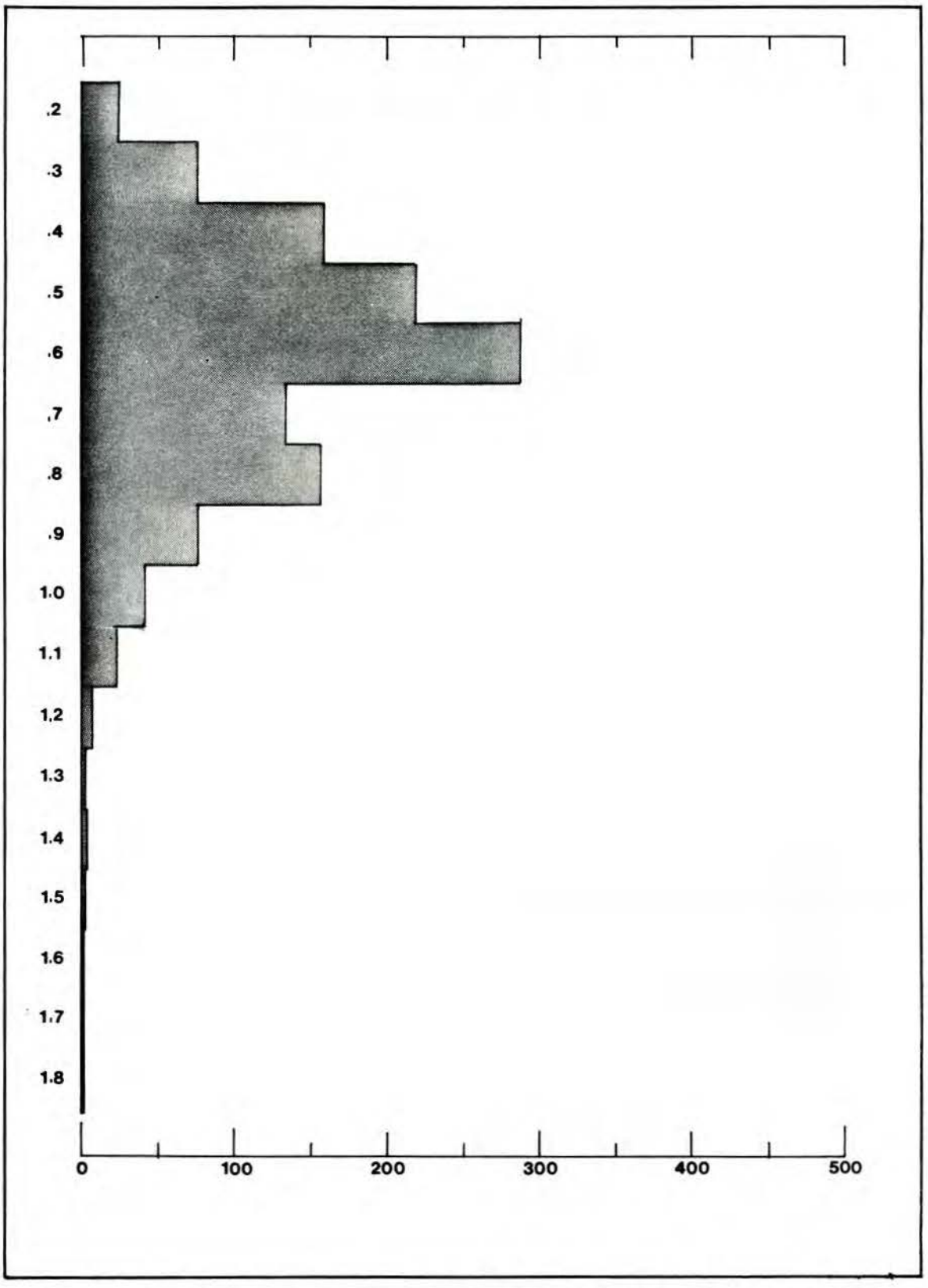


Fig 9. Numbers of Postholes by size, Areas 1—7, (excluding identified structures).

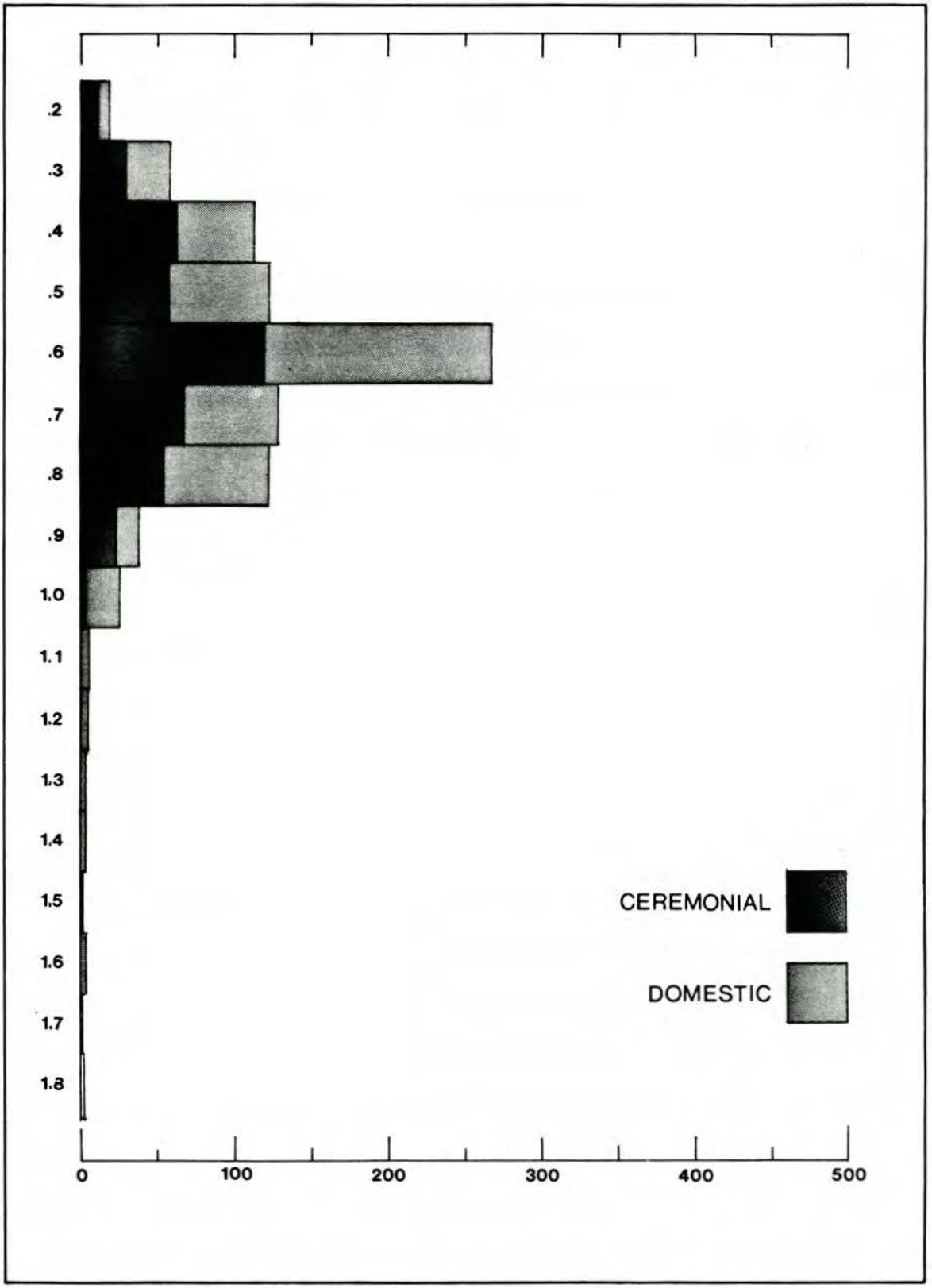


Fig. 10. Numbers of Postholes by Size, Structures 3, 14, 16, 17, 22, 26, 27, and 2.

correlations between postholes size and structural type, but the .6 feet in diameter posthole represented a quarter of the sample. Eighty percent of the sample fell between .5 and .8 feet in diameter. The postholes larger than 1.1 feet in diameter seem to have been created more specifically for accommodation of a particular post size, such as a large diameter, load bearing internal support post.

The predominance of the .6 posthole may be the result of construction practice rather than a reflection of post size. At least four different post shapes were represented by charred post remnants. Structure 14 had well preserved internal posts. From the map of 14's hearth area it is evident that the relationship of charred posts to posthole size varies considerably (Figure 11). The larger of the posts had less fill in the posthole indicating a better fit whereas the smaller posts were sometimes dwarfed by the amount of fill with which they were surrounded.

The variable relationship between posts and postholes was an indication of construction method. The Indians were probably digging the postholes to a general size without specifically fitting the post to the posthole. The information yielded by the measurements of the postholes tells us more about how the Indians were building the structures rather than characteristics specific to actual structural elements.

Early ethnographic accounts state that building material and construction techniques are employed for all kinds of inhabited structures whether public/sacred or private/-domestic. The King Site primary structures had wattle and daub walls with some indication from charred remnants that cane overlays may have been used. The aboriginal use of the cane mat on the walls to protect the clay material from being washed out was a common wall treatment in the Southeast (Black 1967:497). The roofs overhung the walls achieving the same preservation effect (Polhemus 1987:211).

Because the aboriginal ground surface at the King Site had been destroyed by erosion and plowing, there was no direct evidence for the berming of the external walls.

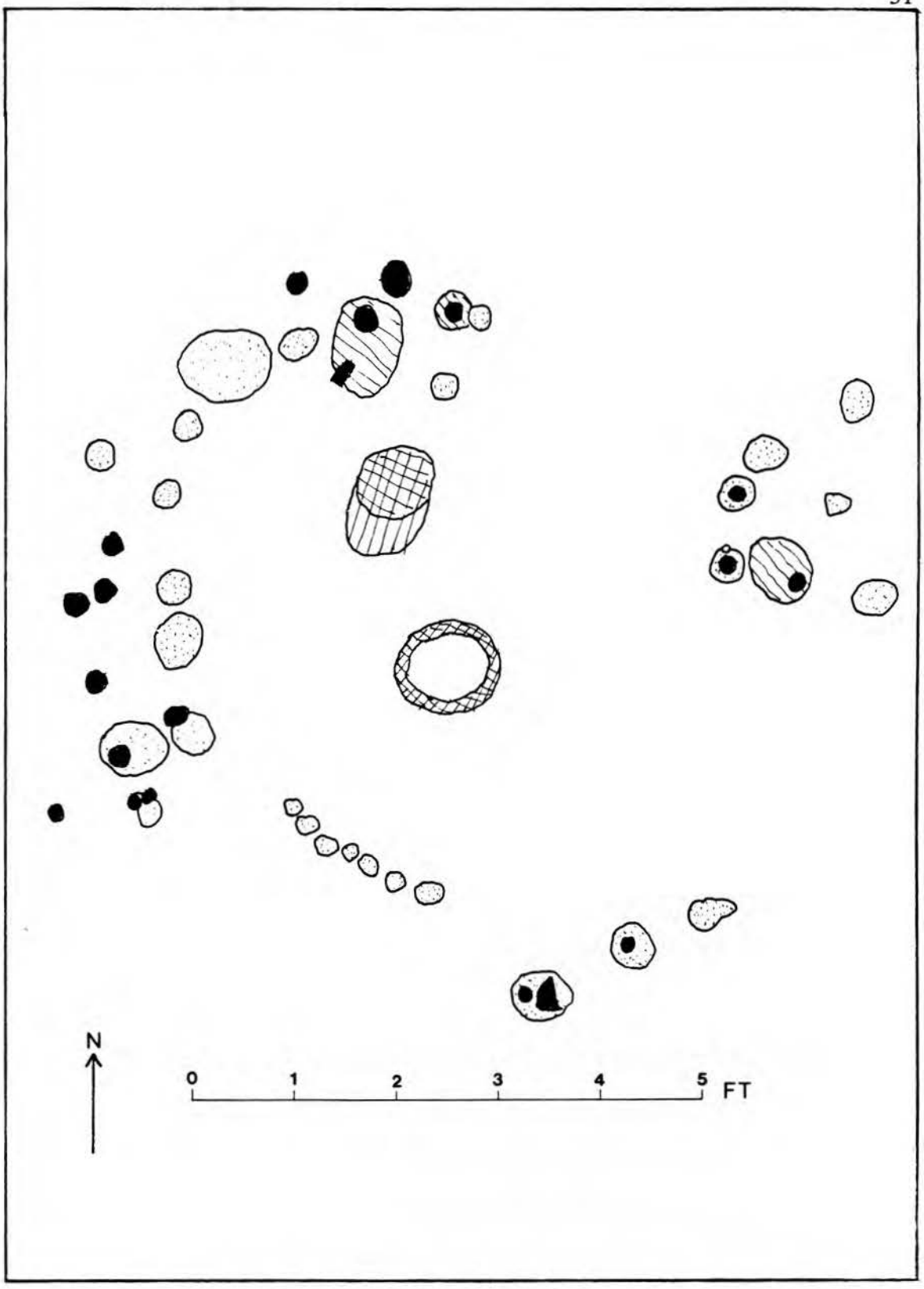


Fig. 11. Structure 14 Hearth Area.

However some of the house floors were preserved and there were remnants of the scooped basin subsurface construction. This is indirect evidence of berming. Berming is useful for protecting mud clay walls and providing insulation while being a convenient way to dispose of excavated earth from the construction of the basin (Polhemus 1983).

Entrance trenches were found in six of the structures. It is not clear if the other structures lacked them or if they were destroyed by erosion. Four sets were oriented to the SW/NE diagonal and occurred on the SW corner of the structure. The other two sets of trenches were oriented north-south and they were one each on the north and south side of the structures. The SW oriented trenches all occurred on domestic structures but the north-south trenches occurred in a public structure and a modified domestic structure whose function is uncertain.

Hearths were found in most of the structures. Several structures were missing hearths, but this is probably a result of the destruction of the site by erosion. In all of the structures which had only one building stage, the hearth was located in the center When there was evidence of the moving of the structure's walls through rebuilding, the hearth had shifted so that it would remain in the center. Some of the hearths were rebuilt without shifting position. The stages of the hearth rebuildings were moved around a point common to all of the stages in that position. These hearths were probably all built during and correspond to one wall building stage. Conversely, if the hearth was shifted, then it probably meant that the walls had been shifted too.

Some well preserved examples of hearths were circular with a high molded rim. Most of the hearths were circular but lacking the rim. In some structures fired areas surrounded the clay hearths. These areas may have been used for food preparation (Swanton 1946:356 ; Hally 1981). Because the occupation of the King site was so brief, the variation in hearth form probably did not reflect a chronological development such as Polhemus found in the Toqua site (Polhemus 1987:187).

Burials were another variable used in the architectural analysis. Many burials were found in the structures. There is ethnographic evidence that it was not uncommon for someone to be buried under the floor of the house in which they lived (Swanton 1946:724; Adair 1968: 187). There is also a reference to the summer structures having the dead buried underneath them as well (Swanton 1946:724; Adair 1968:187). A few of the structures showed an uncharacteristic high number of burials or possible use associated with burials. In these structures, burials were a key factor in analysis.

Ethnographic accounts report that there are smaller structures which functioned as storage for corn and summer shade arbors. These types of structures were seen in the sites of the Toqua report and at Hiawassee island (Sullivan 1986; Polhemus 1987). They were also noted ethnographically from the earliest Spanish accounts (Force 1848).

Based on the variables listed above, I have developed an architectural typology that divides the structures into functional groups based on the analysis of the characteristics just described. The basic building technology is the same for domestic and public structures, therefore the typological analysis puts the structures into function groups. The typology follows the list of structural attributes and descriptions.

List of Structural Descriptions

The list of structures includes location, number of burials, number of rebuilding stages, size of the floor area, and any other pertinent information from the excavation or subsequent analyses. The locational attributes are given in feet from an external boundary and in tier affiliation. The tier affiliation is a subjective evaluation of structures. On assessment of the site map, I decided that one possible way of understanding the structures was to assign them to groups based on their inclusion into rings radiating outward from the plaza (Figures 12-15).


KING SITE (9FL5)
FLOYD COUNTY, GEORGIA
COOSA RIVER
POST
HEARTH
BURIAL PIT
ENTRANCE TRENCHES
DITCH
S 1
S 2
S 3
S 4
S 5
S 6
S 7
S 8
S 9
S 10
S 11
S 12
S 13
S 14
S 15
S 16
S 17
S 18
S 19
S 20
S 21
S 22
S 23
S 24
S 25
S 26
S 27
S 28
N
0 25 50 m
0 5 10 15 ft
GRID IN FEET
600
700
800

Fig. 12. Tier 0.


KING SITE (9FL5)
FLOYD COUNTY, GEORGIA
COOSA RIVER
POST
HEARTH
BURIAL PIT
ENTRANCE TRENCHES
DITCH
S 1
S 2
S 3
S 4
S 5
S 6
S 7
S 8
S 9
S 10
S 11
S 12
S 13
S 14
S 15
S 16
S 17
S 18
S 19
S 20
S 21
S 22
S 23
S 24
S 25
S 26
S 27
S 28
N
0 25 50 m
0 5 10 15 ft.
GRID IN FEET

Fig. 13. Tier 1.

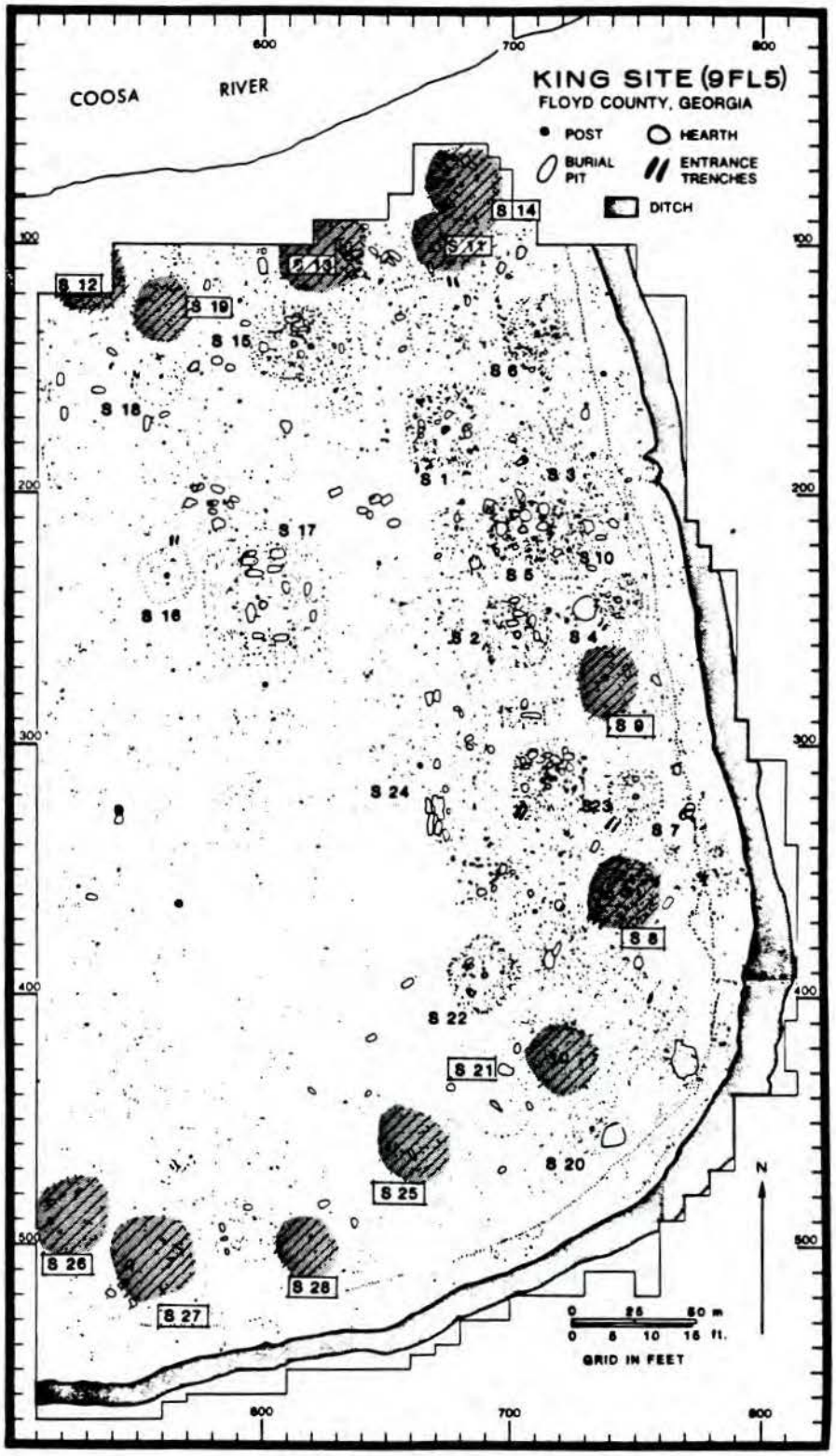

KING SITE (9FL5)
FLOYD COUNTY, GEORGIA
COOSA RIVER
POST
HEARTH
BURIAL PIT
ENTRANCE TRENCHES
DITCH
S 1
S 2
S 3
S 4
S 5
S 6
S 7
S 8
S 9
S 10
S 11
S 12
S 13
S 14
S 15
S 16
S 17
S 18
S 19
S 20
S 21
S 22
S 23
S 24
S 25
S 26
S 27
S 28
N
0 25 50 m
0 8 10 16 ft.
GRID IN FEET

Fig. 14. Tier 2.


KING SITE (9FL5)
FLOYD COUNTY, GEORGIA
COOSA RIVER
POST
HEARTH
BURIAL PIT
ENTRANCE TRENCHES
DITCH
S 1
S 2
S 3
S 4
S 5
S 6
S 7
S 8
S 9
S 10
S 11
S 12
S 13
S 14
S 15
S 16
S 17
S 18
S 19
S 20
S 21
S 22
S 23
S 24
S 25
S 26
S 27
S 28
N
0 25 50 m
0 5 10 15 ft.
GRID IN FEET

Fig. 15. Tier 3.

Structure 1

Structure 1 is located at 170S and 670E in the northeast area of the site. This structure had been excavated previous to the others and rectification between the maps is not good. Located on tier 1, Structure 1 is 57 feet from the palisade. Two, possibly three rebuilding stages are indicated, but because of the discrepancies between maps of different field sessions the post hole alignments are a bit vague in certain areas. Three hearths overlapped but were shifted enough to be moved to accommodate a centering of them relative to the walls. Sizes of the rebuildings are 2 stages of 576 square feet and 1 stage of 812 square feet. From the configuration of the posthole wall lines, it is clear that there was an enlargement of the structure.

Structure 2

Structure 2 is located at 250S and 700E in the east central part of the site. This structure was excavated previous to the 1974 field season. This structure is on the first tier and is 57 feet from the palisade. There are two building stages each stage has 676 square feet. The hearth has two stages to accommodate its centering with respect to the two phases of walls. Six burials were inside the structure and burial 9 seems to predate the building. This structure had a modern drainage ditch interrupt the southwestern corner.

Structure 3

Structure 3 was excavated previous to the 1974 field season. It is located at 190S and 730E adjacent to the palisade at a thirteen foot distance. Structure 3 has a very diffuse posthole pattern. The size of the only building stage is an estimate of 256 square feet. There are no burials within. The hearth is an area of fired sand and clay with some loose daub.

Structure 4

Structure 4 is located 15 feet from the palisade at 240S and 740E. There is one building stage which is 351 square feet. The structure is without burials. Evidence of entrance trenches is on the southwest corner of the walls slanting in a southwest/northeast direction. The hearth occupies the exact center of the floor. There may be some evidence of interior partitions (Figure 6).

Structure 5/10

The structure is represented by a very large mass of postholes. Located on tier 1 at 215S and 705E, this structure is 45 feet from the palisade. The two building stages are widely spaced; the easternmost structure (10) predates Structure 5 as evidenced by the arrangements of hearths and postholes. Structure 5's hearths are intrusive into the wall postholes of Structure 10. The configuration of the hearths are 3 stages of a tethered hearth in structure 5 and one stage in Structure 10. Structure 5 is larger (675 square feet) than Structure 10 (576 square feet). Some of the original house floor was intact. Structure five was potted by pot hunters during excavation.

Structure 6

This structure is located at 135S and 710E on the third tier. Its distance to the pali sade is 19 feet. One hearth is centered in the largest phase of the structure with some indications of another hearth centered for the other phase. The structure has 576 square feet and no burials. There is one building stage. Daub and burned red sand indicate burning.

Structure 7

Structure 7 is located at 750E and 320S. The distance from the palisade is 22 feet. This structure is part of the third tier and oriented with the palisade. There is one building stage and it describes an area of 441 square feet. The hearth is centered. Because the structure was in a well preserved part of the site, evidence of entrance trenches, interior

walls and floor basin surface remained. Preservation of floor debris was good due to the structure having burned (Figure 6).

Structure 8

Structure 8 is also in the best preserved part of the site. Located at 350S and 740E, it is part of the second tier. This structure is located 32 feet from the palisade. Two burials were found in the structure. The basin floor was intact for the excavators.

Two sets of entrance trenches were evidence of more than one building stage (Figure 16). The hearth configuration is illustrative of hearths having shifted to a recentered position with respect to the altered walls. By this information two stages of building might be inferred. However,the shift may not have been a result of full replacements of the entire wall length. The walls lines are a bit crooked and the shape of Structure 8 is not as rectilinear as most of the other structures. This may have been a result of patching some of the walls. The south wall seems to have been completely rebuilt and the shifting of the hearth may have been in response to the replacement. The north wall appears to have been built over at the eastern corner. The structure was expanded by the rebuilding of the walls, from 576 to 696 square feet .

Structure 9

Structure 9 is located at 274S and 740E on tier 2. The house is 25 feet from the palisade. There is one building stage and one hearth in the center of the structure which measures 576 square feet. This structure burned and many posts were preserved in place. The four internal support posts all were preserved. Their diameters were .55, .6, .7, .6. Not much evidence of fill surrounding them meant that the postholes were close to the size of the post. One inference may be that the larger set posts had holes dug to size whereas the smaller posts were placed in holes which were dug generically. Two burials were found in the structure.

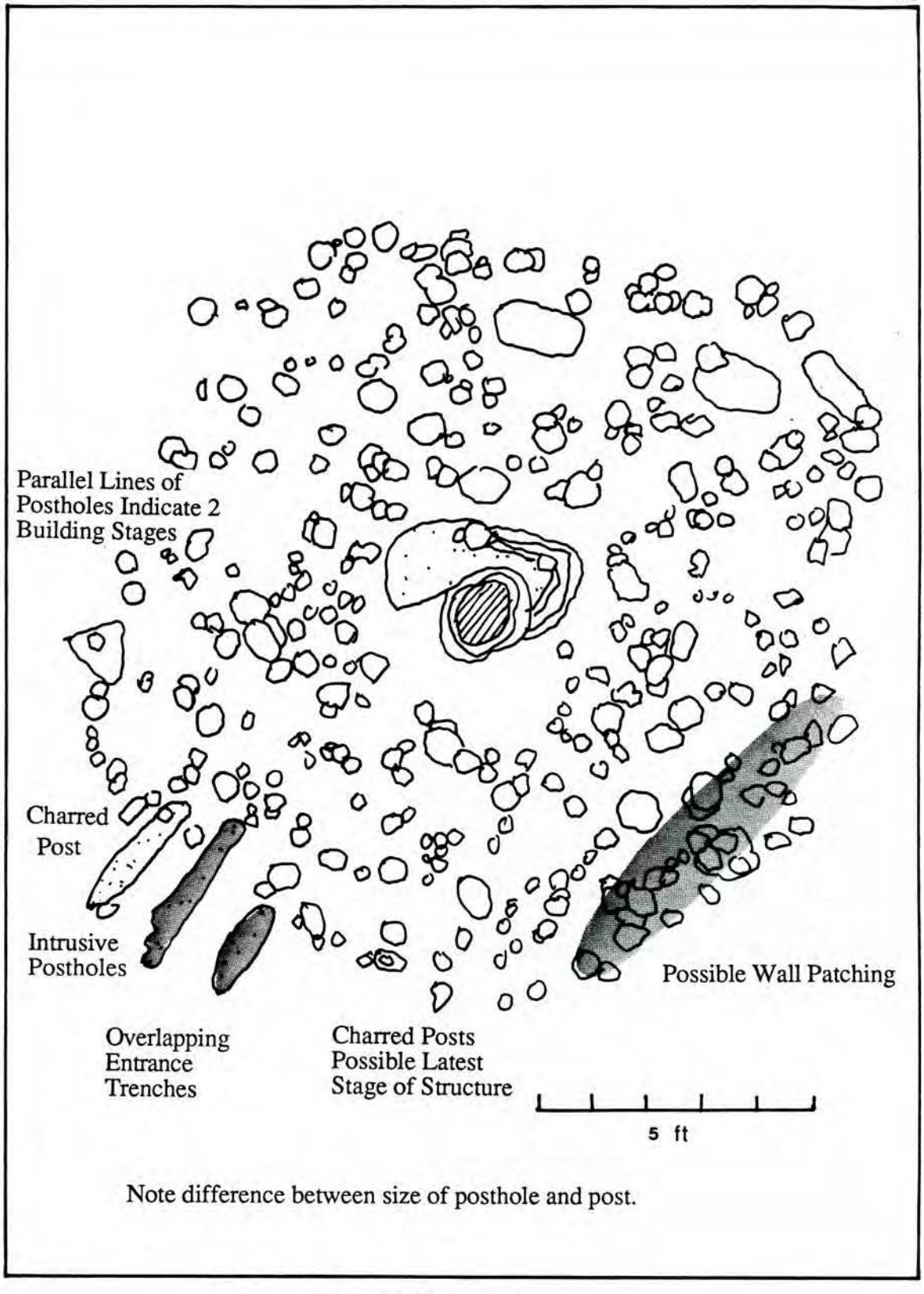


Fig. 16. Structure 8.

Structure 11

Structure 11 is located at 100S and 670E at the north end of the site on the second tier, 50 feet from the river. The floor area is 625 square feet. This is the only structure which touches another structure (14). Structure 11 is odd because two of the four burials are intrusive into the hearth. A small bit of fired area is the only remainder of the central hearth. The entrance trenches are in a north/south alignment extending from the southeast corner. From the evidence of the hearth intrusion the burials indicate that this possibly may have been a domestic structure that had changed into some sort of a mortuary related space.

Structure 12

Structure 12 was incompletely excavated on the north part of the site. It is located on the second tier at the edge of the excavation at 120S and 530E . Size and stage are estimated by the two walls which were inside the excavation boundary to be 576 square feet with one or two stages at the most.

Structure 13

Structure 13 is at the north end of the site at 110S and 640E on the tier 2. This structure is one of the smallest structures on the site with 351 square feet. Thirteen burials were interred in the structure. The burials are in three different orientations. The burials occur throughout the structure and intrude into the place where a central hearth would be. Burning is indicate by daub and flecks of charcoal. This structure may have been a mortuary.

Structure 14

Structure 14 was at the northern extent of the excavation and at 80S, 670E. It is 35 feet away from the river. This building was included in tier 2. Structure 14 touches Structure 11 at the southwest corner. Eleven burials were included in the structure in the north and west parts of the structure. The hearth was well preserved and contained a small

pot when excavators uncovered it. A four foot row of small posts carefully aligned next to each other spanned between the south and east internal support posts.

Two building stages show signs of the floor space possibly enlarging. The structure showed evidence of destruction by fire and a outermost row of posts were preserved. This structure may have been patch altered with out the replacement of all of the walls. The floor area sizes are 598 and 714 square feet.

Structure 15

Structure 15 is at the northern edge of the plaza. Its coordinates are 140S, 610E and it is a tier one structure. There are nine burials in the floor. Two hearths are widely separated. From the wall alignments three stages are indicated. One of the hearths is centered for two of the stages which have 870 and 681 square feet of floor area. The other hearth is centered to the right of the other hearth for a floor area of 1024 square feet. This is the largest of the structure areas in the domestic part of the site. Nine burials are found in the floor.

Structure 16

Structure 16 is on the plaza so it was rated as tier 0. Its location by coordinates is 230S, 560E. It has an entrance trench which is aligned north/south from the north corner. The structure was without burials and the floor area is 400 square feet. A hearth is present in the center of the structure.

Structure 17

This building is the largest structure on the site with 2401 square feet,and is located on the plaza (Tier 0, 245S, 600E) (Figure 17). It is 155 feet from the palisade. By its size and position in the village it is certain that it was the public council house. The alignments of internal partitions are easy to read in the pattern of the postholes. Ten burials were in the floor and they were oriented in two directions. Eight interior support posts

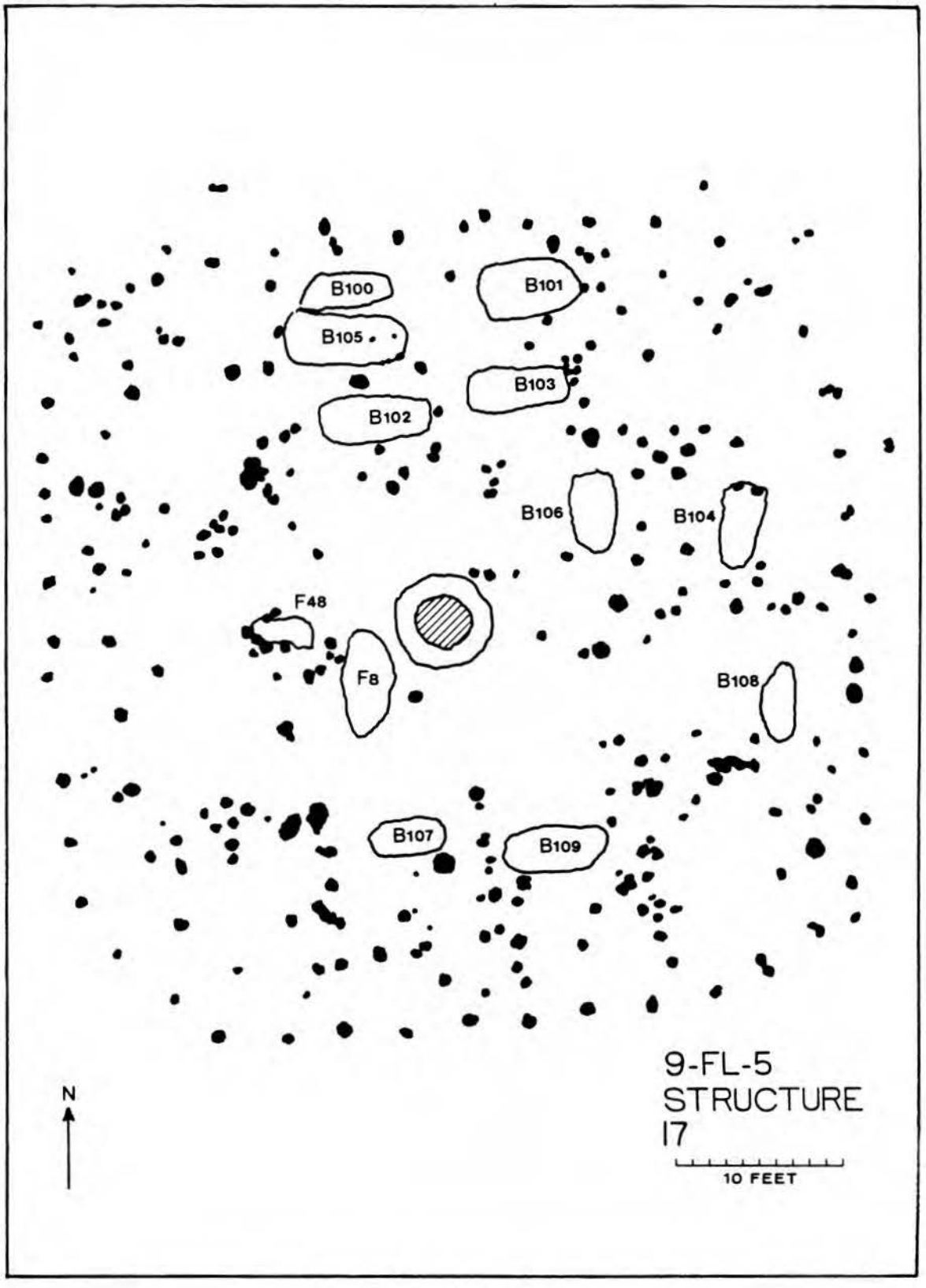


Fig. 17. Structure 17.

instead of four handled the long span of the roof members. The building had one stage of building with no patching apparent.

Structure 18

Structure 18 is located at 150S and 550E. It is directly north of Structure 16 on the edge of the plaza (tier 0). It is about the same size as Structure 16, having 400 square feet of floor area, but it is the most round of all the structures. There were no burials or hearths. It may have been a building associated with the other public buildings.

Structure 19

The location of this structure is 120S and 560E on tier 2, 55 feet from the river. Structure 19 is just north of Structure 18 which forms a line of similar structures in a north south pattern. This structure has 420 square feet with one building stage. Structure 19 has one burial. Burning of the structure is indicated.

Structure 20

Structure 20 is located at 455S, 735E on the third tier, 17 feet away from the palisade. The posthole pattern for this structure is quite diffuse. The size is an estimate of less than 400 based on the space available for a structure. The clearest marker for its presence is a hearth. There are no burials associated.

Structure 21

Structure 21 is located next to the plaza at 425S and 720E. It lies 45 feet from the palisade on tier 2. The floor area of the structure is 676 square feet and there was only one building stage. The hearth was in the center of the floor. Some intact floor remained with daub and charred posts indicating a burned structure. The structure had no burials.

Structure 22

Structure 22 is a tier 1 structure located right next to the plaza(390S, 700E), 90 feet from the palisade. This structure has one building stage with a few indications of patching. The hearth has a fired area around it. Three burials have been found. The structure has burned.

Structure 23

Structure 23 is in a well preserved part of the site. It was located at 310S, 715E on the first tier, 52 feet from the palisade. This may have been the oldest structure on the site. Four building stages are indicated by multiple hearths and several alignments of wall postholes (Figure 18). Preservation was good in this structure as it had an intact floor and evidence of entrance trenches remaining.

The sequence of the building stages is partially reconstructible. From evidence of postholes overlapping and measurements assuming a central hearth alignment a possible enlargement of the household is suggested. Two of the stages were 576 square feet. The next stage was 729 and the last stage is 784 square feet.

Twelve burials is the second highest number of burials contained in a structure on the site, one more than the public house.

Structure 24

Structure 24 is on the edge of the plaza (tier 0, 310S ,650S) 110 feet from the palisade. It is diffusely represented by a hearth surrounded by 4 interior supports post precisely arranged in a square. It has entrance trenches and two burials may be associated with it.

Structure 25

Structure 25 is located at 460S and 660E on the second tier, 50 feet from the palisade. There are 2 building stages of 576 square feet and 770 square feet. The hearth is

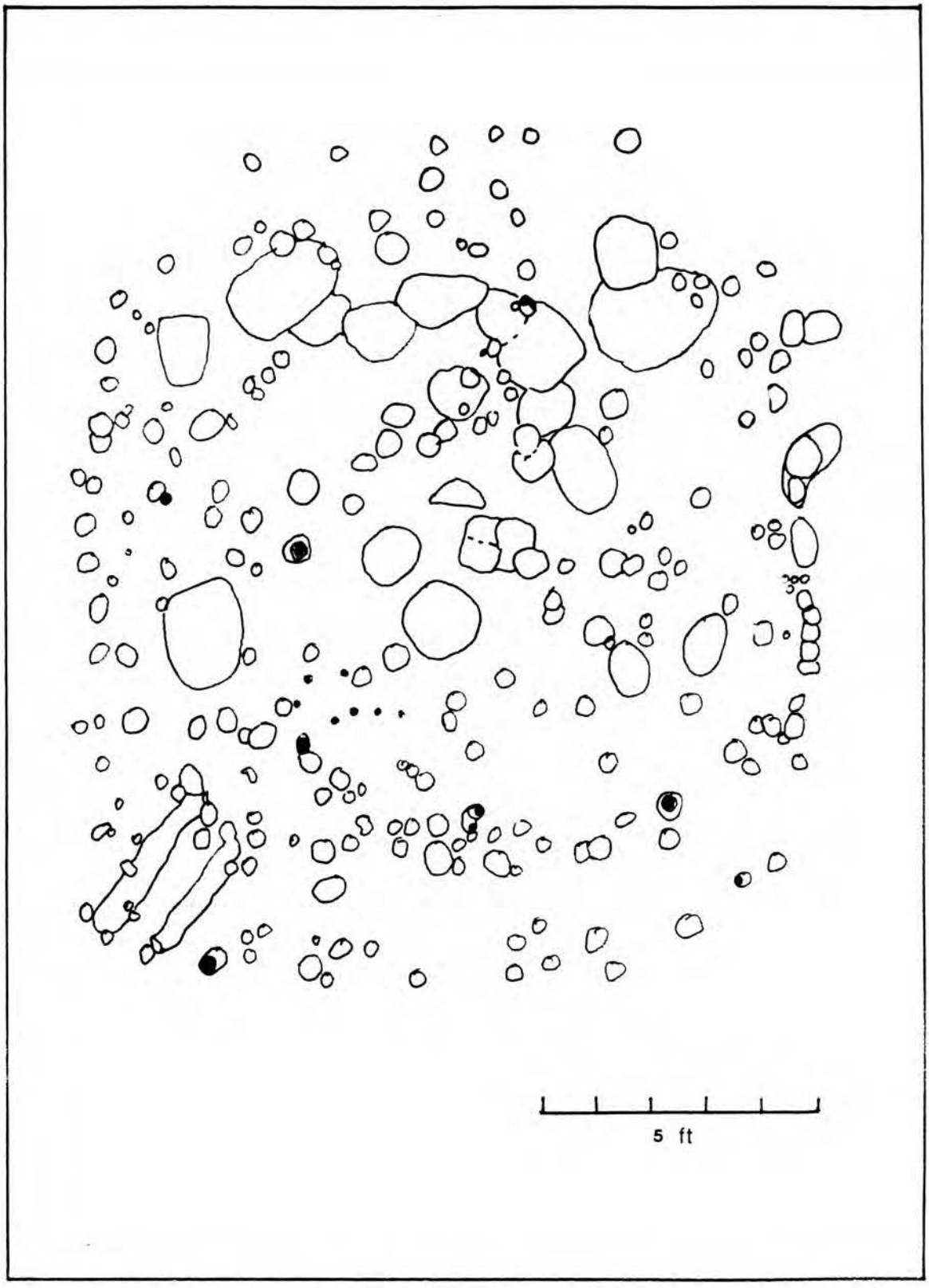


Fig. 18. Structure 23.

missing but four interior support posts exactly centered indicate where it should be. The orientation of this structure is north/south between two groups of structures that are oriented with their corners to the cardinal directions. Two burials may be associated.

Structure 26

Structure 26 is located at 485S and 525E on tier 2, 43 feet from the palisade. This is a very erosion damaged part of the site. The exterior wall postholes show 2 building stages with evidence of expansion. The hearth is missing but the interior support posts are centered in a square. The walls are oriented half way to cardinal directions. Four burials are associated.

Structure 27

Structure 27 is located in the eroded part of the south end of the site. It is part of tier 2 and is 25 feet from the palisade. The coordinates are 510S and 555E. One building stage is indicated for a floor area of 900 square feet. It is unclear how many burials are associated with this structure. The hearth is absent.

Structure 28

This structure is located at 500S and 615E on the second tier, 20 feet from the palisade. One stage of building and no burials are attributes of the 451 square foot building.

Typology of Structures

Because the King site had a short occupation, the technology of building remained consistent. I have created a typology for the architecture of the King site that classifies the structures into functional groups (Figure 19). The typology groups structures by means of a series of branching attributes. The attributes are, in order of use: location, pattern, size, burial and refinements through selected features. I grouped the structures first according to location, and then I refined their inclusion into subsequent groups by the rest of the attributes in the order listed.

Location

The King site is composed of two basic areas: the plaza and the domestic household area. The fundamental distinctions between these two areas are qualities of public versus private space. The plaza is the location of public events and group rituals. Ethnographic reports describe rituals such as the Green Corn Ceremony and important matches of ritualized sport as occurring on the plaza of a Mississippian villages (Hudson 1976:222; 1984: 20). The plaza was treated specially by having an absence of construction and constant maintenance. This care of the area was carried out by members of the group at large (Hudson 1984:20).

There seems to be a difference between the plaza and the domestic zone which is reflected in the characteristics of burials found in the two areas. In the mortuary analysis of villages close to the King site, recent studies have made distinctions in the social ranking of burials in the plaza versus burials in the domestic zone (Polhemus 1987, Seckinger 1977, Sullivan 1986). Sullivan found that the location of the burials was a better indicator of sta

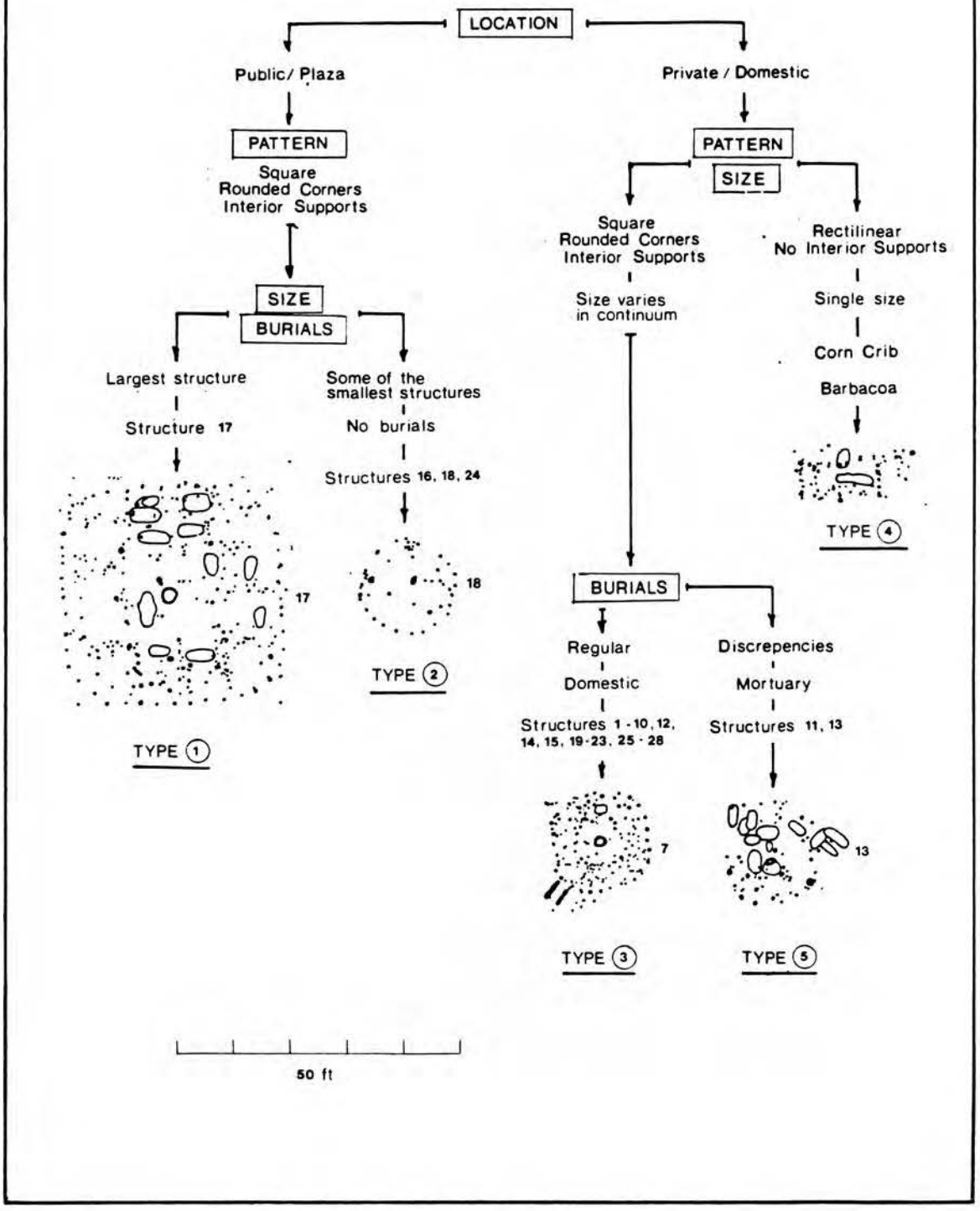


Fig. 19. Typology of Structures.

tus than grave good inclusion, and that interment of a burial in the plaza was an indication of higher status than a domestic area burial (Sullivan 1986:506)

Patterns

The plaza associated structures all have the same type of plan pattern. The footprint of the structure is a square with rounded corners. This posthole pattern is from the construction of a wattle and daub structure. Two kinds of internal support post patterns were found in the plaza architecture. One pattern had four internal support posts per structure. The other pattern had eight posts for internal support. The occurrence of these two patterns was related to the size of the structures. A large structure had the pattern of eight postholes and the smaller structures had the four post pattern.

The domestic area contains two definitely assignable patterns. Almost certainly there were more than two kinds of structures in the domestic zone but only two were positively identifiable. The primary pattern was a square with rounded corners, identical to the pattern shape of the plaza structures. These patterns were the result of wattle and daub house construction. The construction technology of these houses was the same as for the structures on the plaza. The four internal support post pattern was consistently used throughout the domestic zone.

The other pattern noted in the domestic area had a rectilinear shape, about 8 x 14 feet. These patterns were found adjacent to the primary wattle and daub structures through out the domestic area. From ethnographic descriptions of "Barbacoas"(Force 1848:37), corn cribs and summer arbors, it is reasonable to assign a function of storage shed or summer arbor to this arrangement of postholes.

Size

The structures located on the plaza had two very different sizes. The largest structure is found on the plaza. This structure has 2401 square feet of floor area. It probably was the council house which has been described in the ethnographic accounts (Swanton 1946: 389). The other structures located on the plaza are among the smallest of the site with an average floor area of 410 square feet, so that there is a wide variation in the amount of square footage represented by these two groups. One of these small structures is just adjacent to the council house; the others are on the periphery of the plaza.

The domestic area secondary structures are all roughly the same size. The domestic area primary wattle and daub structures have a range of sizes that varies continuously from 1052 to 351 square feet. There is nothing to indicate that any particular size of structure was used for a special function; domestic structures seem to have been built in a range of sizes (Figure 20). There are exceptions to the classification of certain of these structures but not in terms of the criteria of size alone.

Presence of Burials

Burials were found in the large main council but not definitely in the smaller structures on the plaza. Structure 24 is problematic because its outer ring of postholes are missing, so that absolute association with burials in the area is not possible. Structure 16 and Structure 18 definitely do not have burials and they are adjacent to the main council house.

Burials were found in most all of the residential structures except for the smallest of the houses. The largest structures tend to have the most burials. The secondary structures have associated burials.

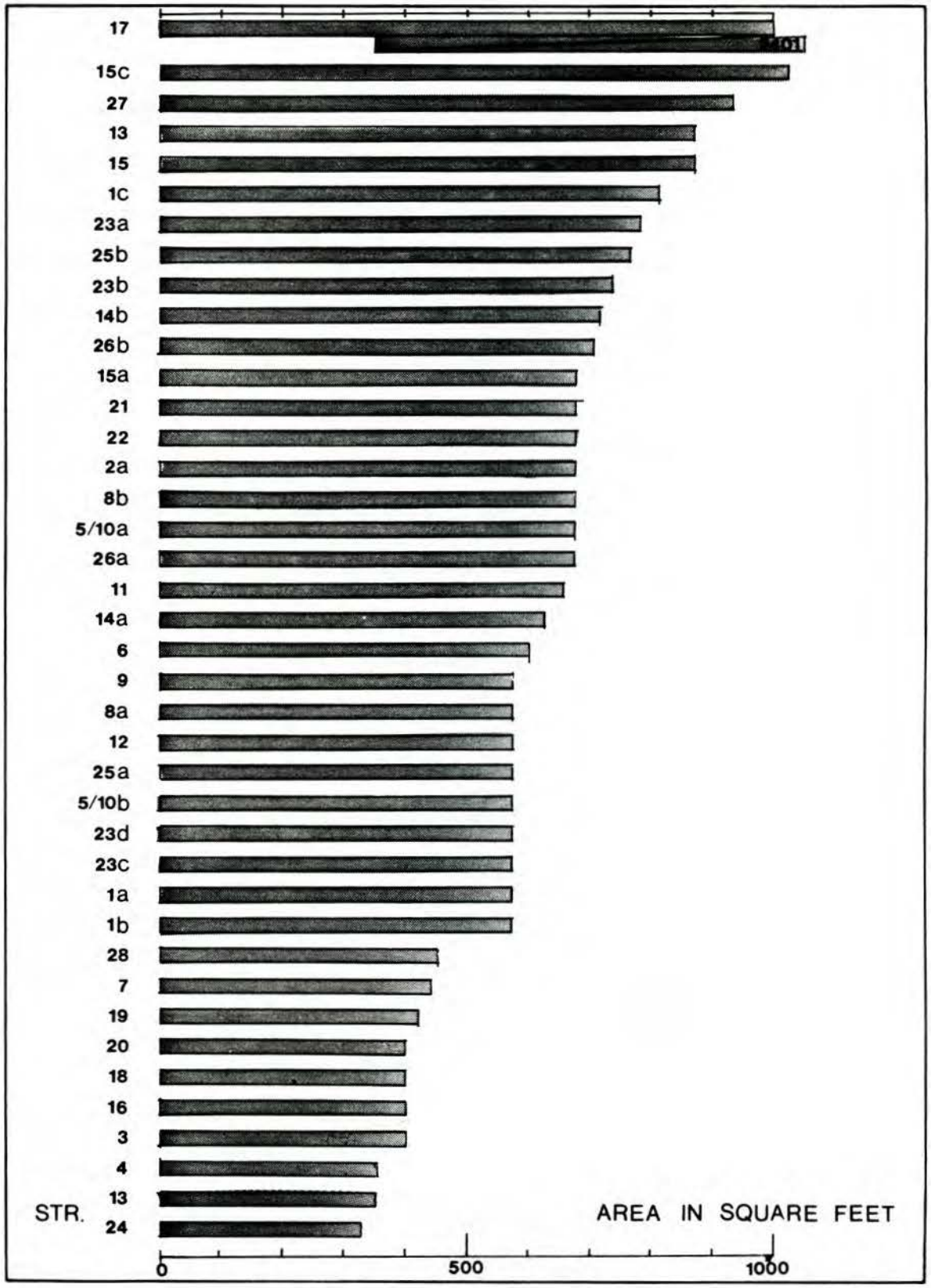


Fig. 20. Floor Area by Structure.

Associational Refinements

Burials in conjunction with size and the presence/absence of hearths signify another possible type of structure. Structure 13 has 351 square feet of floor area and is the third smallest structure in the site. It contains thirteen burials, the most in any structure. The next three structures which contain the most burials are Structure 14, Structure 23 and Structure 17, the main council house. Both Structure 14 and Structure 23 have building stages over 700 square feet and the main council house has 2401 square feet. The relationship of a large floor area to large numbers of burials contrasts sharply with the small floor area of Structure 13. This combination of 13 burials and small area tends to point to a different function for this structure. The burials intrude into the area where the hearth should be so that it is doubtful that this structure was used as a household without a hearth. Structure 13 may have been a mortuary.

Structure 11 is just next to Structure 13. Structure 11 has four burials in a floor area of 625 square feet which is not an unusual number for a structure of that size. The central hearth has been intruded into by two of the burials. These two structures are the only structures possessing burials intrusive into the central hearth area. One possible explanation for Structure 11 is that it may have first functioned as a household and then was transformed into a mortuary later. Its close location to Structure 13 may indicate a mortuary district.

Type

Five functional types are distinguished in the typology. The plaza area contains type one and type two. Because of their location on the plaza these two types probably have a public function. Type one has one structure: Structure 17, the main council house. This is was classified as a type within the plaza group by its great size and the inclusion of burials. Type two contains Structures 16, 18 and 24 which were identified as public buildings based on their position in the plaza. Their exact function is unknown.

Type three structures are located in the domestic zone and functioned as primary houses. Type three included Structures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, and 28. This type is distinguished by location in the domestic zone, and by comparison with ethnographic reports that describe the inclusion of burials in the household structures.

Type four structures are found in the domestic area and are distinguished by a different pattern from the Type three household structures. The structures are not numbered but their location is recorded on a site map (Figure 21).

Type five structures are found in the domestic area. They and possess the same pattern as type three house structures but through analysis of associated features they appear to have possessed a different function. Structures 13 and 11 may have functioned as mortuary structures.

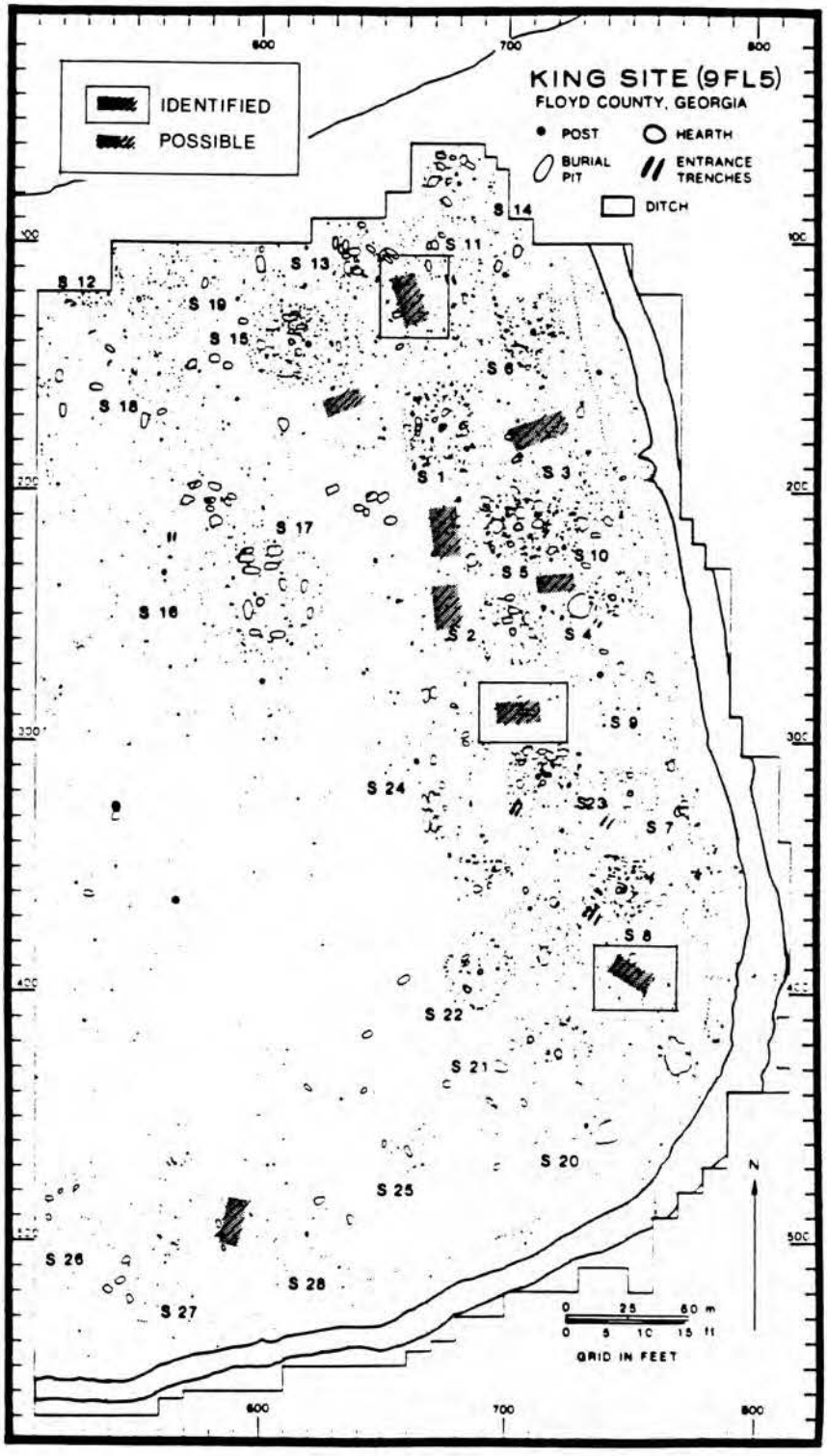


Fig. 21. Type 4 Structures.

Growth of Households

The goal of this chapter is to present a model of household formation, affiliation and change. Historic Creek households were described in the ethnographic literature as possibly composed of more than one structure. William Bartram described the Creek household as thus:

> Every family, however, has not four of these houses; some have but three, others not more than two, and some one , according to the circumstances of the individual, of the number of his family (Swanton 1946:392).

Therefore, I began to look for patterns which would appear across several structures, not just in the particular characteristics of individual structures. This pattern search was accomplished by a simple examination of the site map along with a comparison of several attributes which were chosen to characterize the structures and place them in spatial relationships. The individual structures were then analyzed for inclusion into larger groups of households and site level affiliations such as lineages.

Because the technology is the same for all wattle and daub structures and all of the houses were of wattle and daub, the identification of households into specific lineages is impossible from the architectural construction. Only the evidence of things which are produced by an individual's hand, such as pottery or blades are sensitive enough to map identifiable affiliations of lineages between structures. Information of that sort is not available for the King site at present. And, although specific lineage identification from stylistic attributes was beyond the level of information available, I was able to infer the possible organization of different households from observations of the attributes found in individual structures and from the site pattern as a whole.

There was little comparison between the structures within their functional groups of the typology. In contrast, this chapter will concentrate on the domestic functional group. Included within this group are the wattle and daub primary residences and the rectangular secondary structures. The other functional types will be considered in the comparison with domestic structures when site level patterns are involved.

The model of site form and growth presented developed from an analysis of structure placement within the site and the analysis of the patterns formed by the presence of these attributes: structure size, number of building episodes, and the numbers of burials within structures. The structures were ranked on a chart for comparison. All the structures were included in the ranking. These rankings were then compared between the attributes for analysis. Then armed with an idea of which attributes were likely to be related with the other attributes, I evaluated the structures by distance and tier designations. This yielded site level patterns of structures. The attributes which were used to isolate the patterns are described as follows.

Attributes for the Description of Structures

Distance and Tier

Two measurements locate the structures relative to one another within the site. One of the measurements is the distance from an exterior boundary, and the other measurement is a relative ranking of position moving away from the plaza designated by inclusion in a tier. These two measurements are complementary.

The distance from external edge of the site gives an objective measurement on a quantifiable scale in feet from the outside edge of the settlement. The measurement was taken between the central point of the hearth (when the hearth was missing, the center of the structure was used) and the closest point on the palisade or river's edge. There is some

Table I. Data by House Number.

House	Distance	Tier	Size	Dimension	Burial	Stages
1A	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
1B	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
1C	57	1	812	28x29*	6	3
2A	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
2B	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
3	13	3	400	20x20	0	1
4	15	3	351	18x19	0	1
5/10A	45	1	576	24x24	6	2
5/10B	45	1	675	25x27	6	2
6A	19	3	400	20x20	0	2
6B	19	3	576	24x24	0	2
7	22	3	441	21x21	1	1
8A	32	2	576	24x24	2	2
8B	32	2	676	26x26	2	2
9	25	2	576	24x24	2	1
11	50	2	625	25x25	4	1
12	40	2	576	24x24	?	1
13	56	2	351	18x19	13	1
14A	35	2	598	26x23	11	2
14B	35	2	714	28x25.5	11	2
15A	75	1	648	24x27	9	3
15B	75	1	870	29x30	9	3
15C	75	1	1024	32x32	9	3
16	160	0	400	20x20	0	1
17	155	0	2401	49x49	10	1
18	85	0	400	20x20	0	1
19	55	2	420	20x21	1	1
20	17	3	400	20x20	3	1
21	45	2	676	26x26	0	1
22	90	1	676	26x26	3	1
23A	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
23B	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
23C	52	1	729	27x27	12	4
23D	52	1	784	28x28	12	4
24	110	0	324	18x18*	0	1
25A	50	2	576	24x24	2	2
25B	50	2	770	27.5x28	2	2
26A	43	2	665	25.5x26	4	2
26B	43	2	702	26x27	4	2
27	20	2	930	30x31	2	1
28	20	2	451	20.5x22	0	1

Table II. Data by Distance From Palisade.

House	Distance	Tier	Size	Dimension	Burial	Stages
16	160	0	400	20x20	0	1
17	155	0	2401	49x49	10	1
24	110	0	324	18x18*	0	1
22	90	1	676	26x26	3	1
18	85	0	400	20x20	0	1
15A	75	1	648	24x27	9	3
15B	75	1	870	29x30	9	3
15C	75	1	1024	32x32	9	3
1A	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
1B	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
1C	57	1	812	28x29*	6	3
2A	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
2B	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
13	56	2	351	18x19	13	1
19	55	2	420	20x21	1	1
23A	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
23B	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
23C	52	1	729	27x27	12	4
23D	52	1	784	28x28	12	4
11	50	2	625	25x25	4	1
25A	50	2	576	24x24	2	2
25B	50	2	770	27.5x28	2	2
5/10A	45	1	576	24x24	6	2
5/10B	45	1	675	25x27	6	2
21	45	2	676	26x26	0	1
26A	43	2	665	25.5x26	4	2
26B	43	2	702	26x27	4	2
12	40	2	576	24x24	?	1
14A	35	2	598	26x23	11	2
14B	35	2	714	28x25.5	11	2
8A	32	2	576	24x24	2	2
8B	32	2	676	26x26	2	2
9	25	2	576	24x24	2	1
7	22	3	441	21x21	1	1
27	20	2	930	30x31	2	1
28	20	2	451	20.5x22	0	1
6A	19	3	400	20x20	0	2
6B	19	3	576	24x24	0	2
20	17	3	400	20x20	3	1
4	15	3	351	18x19	0	1
3	13	3	400	20x20	0	1

Table III. Data by Tier.

House	Distance	Tier	Size	Dimension	Burial	Stages
16	160	0	400	20x20	0	1
17	155	0	2401	49x49	10	1
24	110	0	324	18x18*	0	1
18	85	0	400	20x20	0	1
22	90	1	676	26x26	3	1
15C	75	1	1024	32x32	9	3
15B	75	1	870	29x30	9	3
15A	75	1	648	24x27	9	3
1C	57	1	812	28x29*	6	3
2B	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
2A	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
1B	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
1A	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
23D	52	1	784	28x28	12	4
23C	52	1	729	27x27	12	4
23B	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
23A	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
5/10B	45	1	675	25x27	6	2
5/10A	45	1	576	24x24	6	2
13	56	2	351	18x19	13	1
19	55	2	420	20x21	1	1
25B	50	2	770	27.5x28	2	2
11	50	2	625	25x25	4	1
25A	50	2	576	24x24	2	2
21	45	2	676	26x26	0	1
26B	43	2	702	26x27	4	2
26A	43	2	665	25.5x26	4	2
12	40	2	576	24x24	?	1
14B	35	2	714	28x25.5	11	2
14A	35	2	598	26x23	11	2
8B	32	2	676	26x26	2	2
8A	32	2	576	24x24	2	2
9	25	2	576	24x24	2	1
27	20	2	930	30x31	2	1
28	20	2	451	20.5x22	0	1
7	22	3	441	21x21	1	1
6B	19	3	576	24x24	0	2
6A	19	3	400	20x20	0	2
20	17	3	400	20x20	3	1
4	15	3	351	18x19	0	1
3	13	3	400	20x20	0	1

Table IV. Data by Size of Structure.

House	Distance	Tier	Size	Dimension	Burial	Stages
17	155	0	2401	49x49	10	1
15C	75	1	1024	32x32	9	3
27	20	2	930	30x31	2	1
15B	75	1	870	29x30	9	3
1C	57	1	812	28x29*	6	3
23D	52	1	784	28x28	12	4
25B	50	2	770	27.5x28	2	2
23C	52	1	729	27x27	12	4
14B	35	2	714	28x25.5	11	2
26B	43	2	702	26x27	4	2
2A	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
2B	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
8B	32	2	676	26x26	2	2
22	90	1	676	26x26	3	1
21	45	2	676	26x26	0	1
5/10B	45	1	675	25x27	6	2
26A	43	2	665	25.5x26	4	2
15A	75	1	648	24x27	9	3
11	50	2	625	25x25	4	1
14A	35	2	598	26x23	11	2
23A	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
23B	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
1A	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
1B	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
5/10A	45	1	576	24x24	6	2
25A	50	2	576	24x24	2	2
8A	32	2	576	24x24	2	2
6B	19	3	576	24x24	0	2
12	40	2	576	24x24	?	1
9	25	2	576	24x24	2	1
28	20	2	451	20.5x22	0	1
7	22	3	441	21x21	1	1
19	55	2	420	20x21	1	1
6A	19	3	400	20x20	0	2
16	160	0	400	20x20	0	1
18	85	0	400	20x20	0	1
20	17	3	400	20x20	3	1
3	13	3	400	20x20	0	1
13	56	2	351	18x19	13	1
4	15	3	351	18x19	0	1
24	110	0	324	18x18*	0	1

Table V. Data by Number of Burials.

House	Distance	Tier	Size	Dimension	Burial	Stages
13	56	2	351	18x19	13	1
23D	52	1	784	28x28	12	4
23C	52	1	729	27x27	12	4
23A	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
23B	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
14B	35	2	714	28x25.5	11	2
14A	35	2	598	26x23	11	2
17	155	0	2401	49x49	10	1
15C	75	1	1024	32x32	9	3
15B	75	1	870	29x30	9	3
15A	75	1	648	24x27	9	3
1C	57	1	812	28x29*	6	3
1A	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
1B	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
2A	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
2B	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
5/10B	45	1	675	25x27	6	2
5/10A	45	1	576	24x24	6	2
26B	43	2	702	26x27	4	2
26A	43	2	665	25.5x26	4	2
11	50	2	625	25x25	4	1
22	90	1	676	26x26	3	1
20	17	3	400	20x20	3	1
25B	50	2	770	27.5x28	2	2
8B	32	2	676	26x26	2	2
25A	50	2	576	24x24	2	2
8A	32	2	576	24x24	2	2
27	20	2	930	30x31	2	1
9	25	2	576	24x24	2	1
7	22	3	441	21x21	1	1
19	55	2	420	20x21	1	1
6B	19	3	576	24x24	0	2
6A	19	3	400	20x20	0	2
21	45	2	676	26x26	0	1
28	20	2	451	20.5x22	0	1
16	160	0	400	20x20	0	1
18	85	0	400	20x20	0	1
3	13	3	400	20x20	0	1
4	15	3	351	18x19	0	1
24	110	0	324	18x18*	0	1
12	40	2	576	24x24	?	1

Table VI. Data by Number of Building Stages.

House	Distance	Tier	Size	Dimension	Burial	Stages
23A	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
23B	52	1	576	24x24	12	4
23C	52	1	729	27x27	12	4
23D	52	1	784	28x28	12	4
15A	75	1	648	24x27	9	3
15B	75	1	870	29x30	9	3
15C	75	1	1024	32x32	9	3
1A	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
1B	57	1	576	24x24	6	3
1C	57	1	812	28x29*	6	3
14A	35	2	598	26x23	11	2
14B	35	2	714	28x25.5	11	2
2A	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
2B	57	1	676	26x26	6	2
5/10A	45	1	576	24x24	6	2
5/10B	45	1	675	25x27	6	2
26A	43	2	665	25.5x26	4	2
26B	43	2	702	26x27	4	2
8A	32	2	576	24x24	2	2
8B	32	2	676	26x26	2	2
25A	50	2	576	24x24	2	2
25B	50	2	770	27.5x28	2	2
6A	19	3	400	20x20	0	2
6B	19	3	576	24x24	0	2
13	56	2	351	18x19	13	1
17	155	0	2401	49x49	10	1
11	50	2	625	25x25	4	1
20	17	3	400	20x20	3	1
22	90	1	676	26x26	3	1
9	25	2	576	24x24	2	1
27	20	2	930	30x31	2	1
7	22	3	441	21x21	1	1
19	55	2	420	20x21	1	1
3	13	3	400	20x20	0	1
4	15	3	351	18x19	0	1
16	160	0	400	20x20	0	1
18	85	0	400	20x20	0	1
21	45	2	676	26x26	0	1
24	110	0	324	18x18*	0	1
28	20	2	451	20.5x22	0	1
12	40	2	576	24x24	?	1

error built into this procedure because the river may have altered its banks, destroying the original northern edge of the site or the north face of the palisade.

As previously described in the structural description section, the tier designations are arbitrary and are based on the layout of structures as they appear on the site map (Figures 12-15). The structures appeared to occur in three concentric zones around the central plaza. I created four tier designations. Structures located within the plaza were grouped as tier 0. The structures which formed the edge of the plaza were labeled as tier 1. The structures closest to the palisade received the designation of tier 3 and the structures which were neither on the plaza nor on the palisade between tiers 1 and 3 were labeled as tier 2.

The combination of the tier assignments with the linear measurement from the defined edge of the site created a combination of subjective and objective measurements which helped to clarify locational relationships.

Building Stages

The number of building stages of a structure relies on the relationship of the hearth to the wall post lines. For all structures, the hearths were within at least 1 foot of the center and most were exactly in the center of the houses. In the structures which have a single building stage, the hearth was in the exact center. Of the structures with multiple building stages, the number of hearth stages always exceeded the number of wall building stages. The hearths were shifted in the same number and direction as the wall lines. The number of hearths exceeds the wall building stages because of the presence of overlapping rebuilt hearths. Therefore, the Indians were probably moving the hearth when they altered a structure's walls for a rebuilding stage.

Hearth stages are either overlapping one common area or completely separated. The overlapping hearths may shift position slightly from stage to stage but maintain at least one area in common to all the stages. Because there are always more hearths than building

stages in the structures with multiple stages, the overlapping hearths were probably created during one building stage in the structure.

The other hearth movement represented in the archaeological remains was shifted hearth stages that were completely separated. In Structure 23 for example (Figure 18), the hearth was shifted four times and also showed evidence of overlapping stages in one of the positions. From the hearth evidence alone, four building stages are indicated for Structure 23. The wall lines support this estimate by also indicating four building stages for this structure.

Several conclusions from the assessments of the relationship between the hearths and the wall post led to a refinement of the number of building stages. These conclusions are tentatively offered and subject to testing on a larger sample than the structures of the King site.

My conclusions are, as follows:

◊ A shifted hearth centered within an outline of wall postholes indicates a discrete building stage.

◊ An overlapped hearth within one outline of wall postholes is indicative of the rebuilding of only the hearth during a single building stage.

◊ The shifted hearth always has walls within which it is centered.

◊ The overlapping hearth stages do not have to center exactly upon the previous hearth. The new hearth stage can overlap only over a portion of the previous hearth's area and still be assumed to occur within one building stage, representing a centered hearth spatially.

◊ The assessment of how many building stages a structure has can be seen in the relationship between the hearths and the wall lines.

Size

The size of the structure is given in square feet and by the length and width of the walls. All of the structures were rectilinear. Most of the structures were precisely square with slightly rounded corners. Measurements of size were made by measuring across the center of the structure from center to center of opposing wall post lines. When the structure had disturbed wall lines, the measurement was made as close to the center of the structure as possible. The structures were ranked from largest to smallest square footage by building stage.

Burial Presence

Most of the burials were found in the primary and secondary structures in the domestic area and the council house in the plaza. The plaza also contained area of multiple burials. A few individuals were buried in single graves found throughout the site.

The comparative attribute, number of burials per structure, has the potential to aid in the estimation of the relative age of the structures. Ethnographic records describe the practice of burying the dead beneath the floor of the house they occupied in life (Hudson 1976:335-336; Swanton 1946:392). Based on this practice of burial within the house, the longer a structure is occupied, then the more likely it is to have more burials than a house which is occupied for a shorter period.

The drawback to using burials as a single indication of relative occupation time of structures is that a catastrophic event within a family may cause one house to have more burials, thereby, artificially aging it relative to other households. Also, the rules of house burials are not fully known which could have influenced relative numbers of burials in the houses. The number of burials is most useful in a multi-variable comparison.

The presence of burials in the structures was ranked by the greatest to least number of burials that could be considered to belong to a structure. This variable was ranked by structures as it was not possible to definitely assign burials to stages of the structures.

Comparison of Stages, Size and Burial Number

The strongest pattern to emerge from the ranked charts shows a relationship between the the number of building stages, the size of the floor area and the number of burials in the domestic structures (Table VI). Essentially, the domestic structures with the greatest amount of building stages also tend to have the greatest number of burials and the largest floor areas for at least one of their building stages.

The domestic structures 23, 14, and 15 have the most burials of any structure except for Structure 17, the council house and Structure 13, which possibly functioned as a mortuary. These multi-stage domestic structures are three of the four largest buildings in floor area of their largest stage. Structures from other functional groups do not fit this pattern. For example, Structure 17, the council house, has the largest floor area of any structure and ten burials. It breaks with the pattern found in the domestic structures, in that, it has only one building stage.

Of the domestic structures which have six or more burials, all have multiple building stages and an average floor area of 780.8 square feet (the largest stage was used for average). This average of area is much larger than the average of 650 square feet for all domestic structures. The number of building stages for structures with more than six burials ranges from two to four.

Strucıures which have one to four burials are all domestic. These houses have a range of floor area from 400 to 930 square feet with an average size of 678 square feet. The largest building stage was used to calculate the average. The maximum number of building stages for this group was two.

All of the structures without burials were under 451 feet except for structures 6 and 21. Domestic and public buildings were included in this group. The average floor area of all structures without burials is 447 square feet. All of these structures have one building stage except for Structure 6 (the largest building stage was used for the average). The average floor area of domestic structures without burials is 490 square feet. The average size of public buildings without burials is 374 square feet.

When all stages of structures are compared, the most frequently occurring stage is 576 square feet (from a square floor area 24' on a side). This stage occurs most frequently in multi-stage structures (Figures 22 and 23); ten multi-stage structures have this size building stage as opposed to two single stage structures. Of the ten structures which have multiple stages, six structures have floor areas of 576 square feet. Five of the six structures which have the 576 square feet stage show evidence of enlargement in subsequent stages. Structure 6 is the exception: it began as a 400 square foot structure and was enlarged to 576 square feet.

The second most numerous floor area stage occurring in four stages was 20' by 20' floor area with a total of 400 square feet. The third most frequent area was a 26' by 26' floor space with a total of 676 square feet. Two structures had 351 square feet of space with dimensions of 18' by 19'.

Because all of the multi-stage structures were involved in the strongest pattern to emerge from the ranked lists, I created a chart to examine these structures more closely.

Multistage Stage Ranking Chart

This chart compared the stages of the ten multi-stage structures (Figure 24). Twenty four building stages from ten structures are shown. Structure 23 has four stages, the most of any structure. Structure 15 has three stages, the next highest number per

Fig. 22. Structures with Multiple Stages.

Fig. 23. Structures with Initial 24' x 24' Stages.

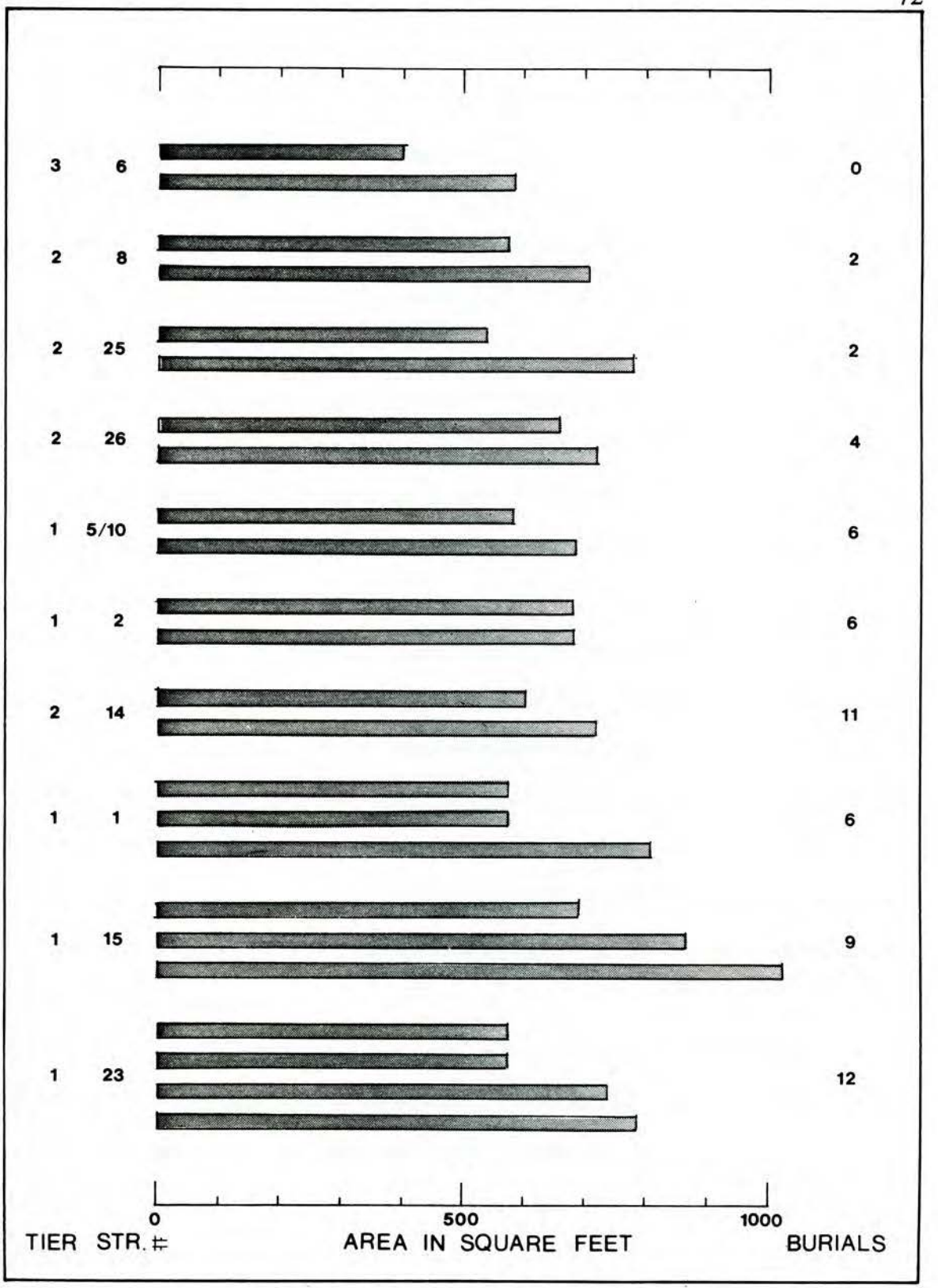


Fig. 24. Area of Building Stage by Structure.

house. The rest of the structures have two stages apiece. Of the twenty four building stages, ten of them are the 576 square feet stage. Because this was a frequently reoccurring stage, I turned to the hearth and wall relationships of each structure on the chart to see if I -- could define in what order this common stage appeared. I used the assumptions of the the hearth always having been centered in order to search for hearth and wall relationships.

Structure 6 had two stages, one larger than the other (400 and 576 square feet). The order of these stages is unknown.

Structure 26 had a small size difference between the two stages (665 and 702 square feet). Because this structure was from the most heavily eroded part of the site, evidence for the order of the stages was not available. Although, the interior support post placement illustrated the center of the structure, the hearth was missing and hence, were any clues to sequence of the stages.

Structure 2 was rebuilt in the same spot with the same floor size, 676 square feet or 26'x26'. The central hearth had two stages. Between these two stages, the heart position shifted slightly south. The structure's wall lines overlap with one set just slightly south of the other. Therefore, if I assume that the Indians were recentering the hearths in structures when they rebuilt them, then the two hearth positions are centered for both stages.

The two stages of Structure 8 were not an entire replacement of all four walls. With a comparison of the hearths and the amount of wall that was rebuilt, I have assigned two stages to this structure.

The south wall had a two rows of wall posts. Outward expansion of the wall was indicated by intrusive postholes. The postholes of the wall line most south (the exterior wall line) intruded into an entrance trench which connected to the interior wall line (Figure 16). By this evidence, the exterior south wall line is later than the interior wall line. Also supporting this conclusion, an entrance trench scar which connected with the exterior wall line had not been intruded into by postholes.

The south wall with the entrance trenches is the only wall of Structure 8 that had been moved during a rebuilding stage. The north and east walls are dense with posthole stains which may have been the result of rebuilding the walls in the same line or just patching the walls periodically. The west wall is quite distinct in its posthole line but it does not appear to have been rebuilt or patched much. This may indicate that the west wall was reused but not rebuilt or patched.

An area of what might possibly be patching is shown on Figure 16. This area is in the southeastern part of the structure and is indicated by a thick line of postholes including a pit with a cluster of posthole stains within it. This thick line of postholes distend the wall, making the plan of the structure more amorphous than rectilinear. Charred posts were found in this area indicating that this wall part may have been part of the last building stage before destruction.

The central hearth had two stages as indicated by two distinctive shapes. Two overlapping rebuilding episodes occurred within each shape. The later hearth shape had been shifted in the same direction as the south wall had been moved. The second hearth was in the center of the enlarged area just as the first hearth had been in the initial stage of the structure. The combination of the hearth evidence and the wall line evidence lead me to a judgement of there being multiple building stages instead of just one and with some patching and reuse of the parts of the existing structural elements instead of a wholesale replacement of the walls.

Structure 25 is located in the most eroded part of the site. Indication of a hearth is missing. The internal support posts are the clue to the sequence of the stages. Because of intrusive postholes and the relationship of the interior support post to the wall post lines enlargement of the structure is indicated. This structure was in a very eroded part of the site and without the corroborative evidence of a hearth this judgement of enlargement of the structure is not as firm as in other structures.

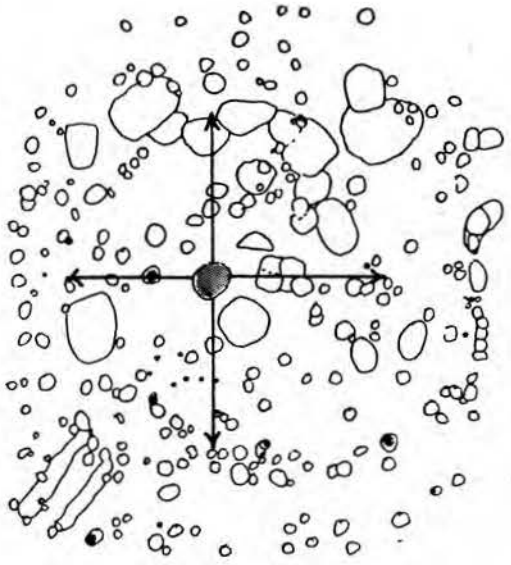
In Structure 5/10, is clear that the Structure 5 stage is intrusive into the Structure 10 stage. Structure 10 is the smaller of the two stages. Of the two structures, 10 is the easternmost. When the structure was rebuilt, the new hearth area of Structure 5 was located over the west wall line of Structure 10.

Structure 1 has three hearths and three distinct structure wall outlines. The three hearths are shifted from stage to stage in the same directions as the building walls were shifted. The latest hearth is centered within the walls of the largest stage. The evaluation of this structure was problematic because the maps of this structure are from two different excavation seasons. Therefore, the evaluation of the enlargement of this structure is not as firm as other structures.

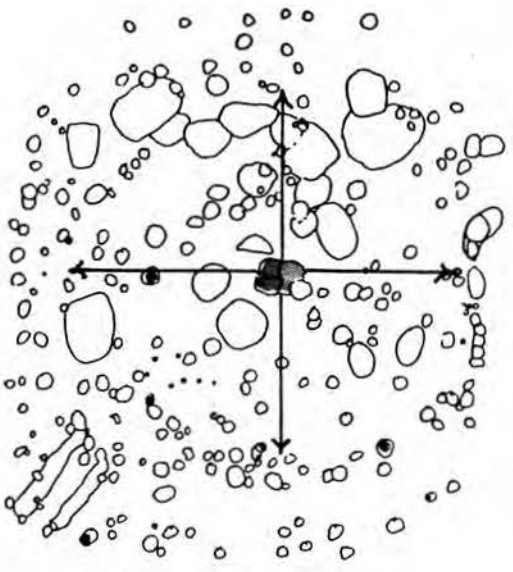
Structure 23 has four building stages, the most of any structure. Because of the complexity of the multiple wall lines (Figure 18), I examined the positions of the hearths to see if they were centered within walls. Based on the assumption that hearths are always centered within walls of a structure, I measured out in four directions from each of the four separate hearth positions. Three of the hearth positions were exactly centered within four walls. One of the hearth stages definitely had three walls at equidistant positions, with a fourth wall possibly represented with a scant line of posts (Figure 25).

The east wall was dense with intrusive postholes. Three of the building stages may have used this line of wall posts. There was no shift of wall lines to the east or west of the east wall. The west side of the structure had multiple wall lines. The north and south sides of the structure also have multiple lines of posts.

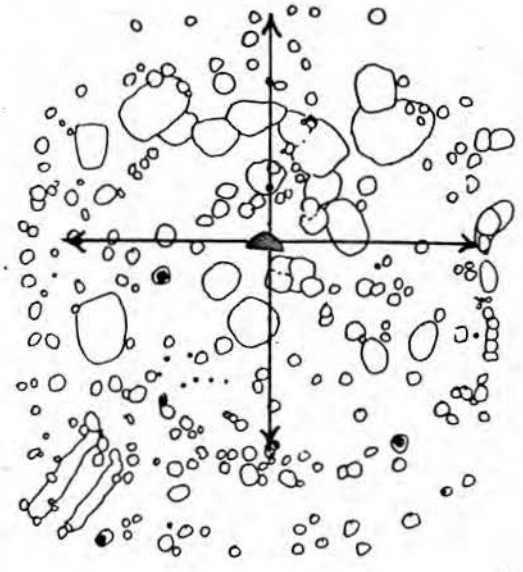
Hearths 4, 5, and 6 were overlapped around a central point (Figure 26). These hearths were 12 feet from the east wall of the structure. There were wall post lines 12 feet from the hearths in the three other directions as well. Hearth 4 was the earliest stage, followed by hearth 6. Hearth 5, the latest of the three, seems to have merged with 6 and -----



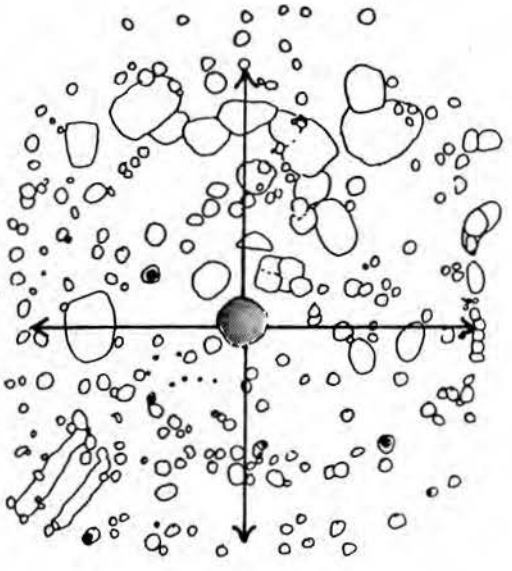
Hearth 1 Stage



Hearth 4,5, and 6 Stage



Hearth 3 Stage



Hearth 2 Stage

Fig. 25. Structure 23 Hearth-Wall Relationships.

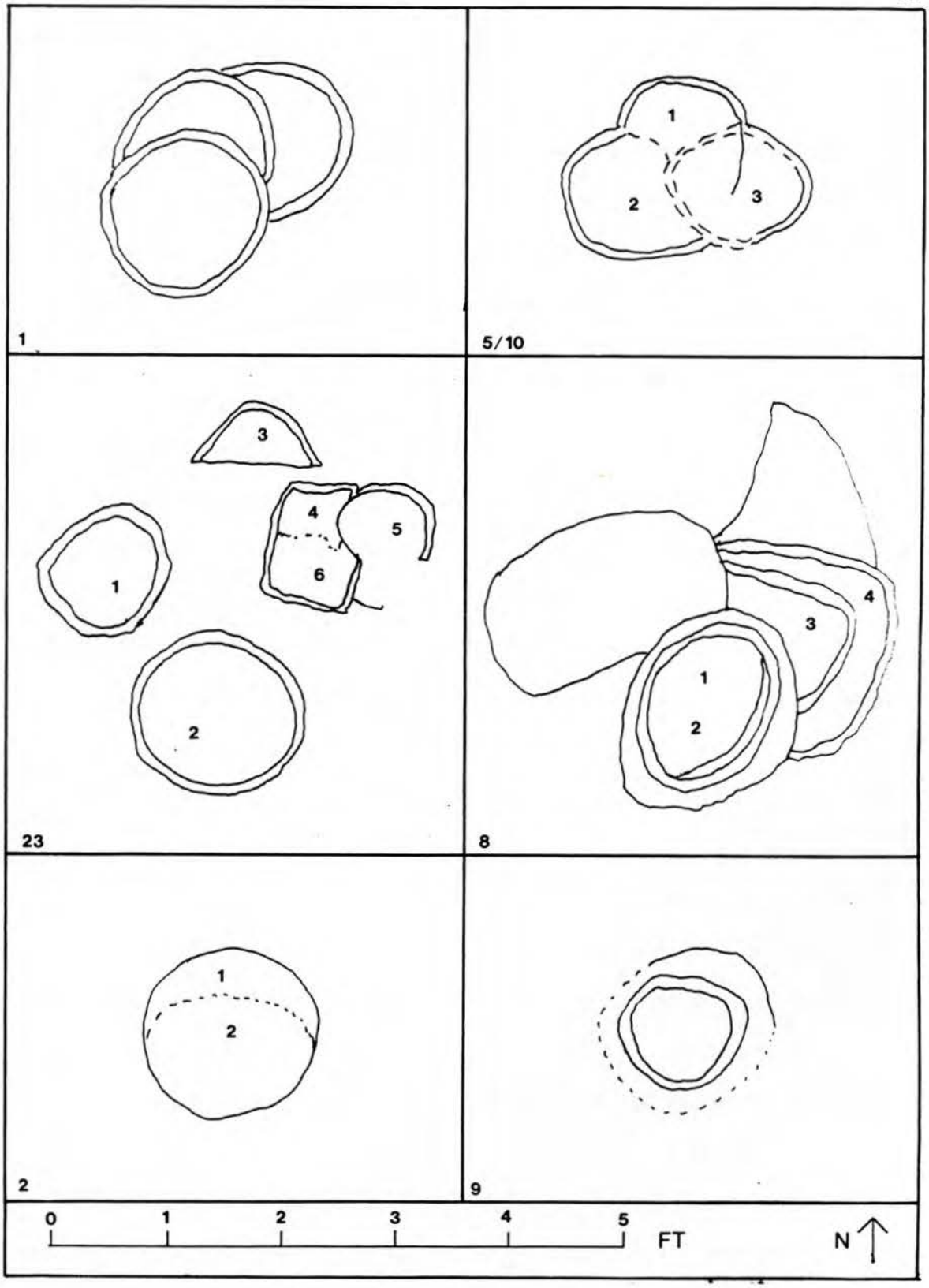


Fig. 26. Hearth Stages

intruded into 4. There was an intrusive post hole in hearth 5 which indicated that hearths 4, 5, and 6 were from an early episode.

Hearth 3 was 13.5 feet away from the east wall. There were lines of postholes 13.5 feet away from the hearth in the other directions as well. The south wall of the line 13.5 feet away from hearth 3 had entrance trench scars terminating on it.

Hearth 2 is centered with four walls at a distance of 14 feet in each direction. The south wall of this stage is an exterior wall of any of the structural stages. This line of posts intrudes into the entrance trenches associated with the Hearth 3 south wall. Therefore, Hearth 2 appears to be from a later stage than Hearth 3.

Hearth 1 is located 16 feet from the east wall. There was not a wall line located that far from the hearth in any of the other directions. There are, however, walls located to the north, west, and south of Hearth 1. These walls are all 12 feet away from the hearth. If these walls are associated with Hearth 1, then this stage is the same size as the stage associated with Hearths 4, 5, and 6. Hearth 1 and Hearths 4, 5, and 6 were on the same east west axis and were approximately 2 feet apart.

While it is not possible to definitely fix Hearth 1 within the stage sequence, it may be reasonable to conclude that the Hearth 1 stage occurred around the same time as the Hearth 4, 5, and 6 stage because the size of the structures are the same. Also, the movement of the structure from one stage to the next allows for the possible reuse of some of the walls because to structure was only shifted in one direction. The other stages of Structure 23 that are judged to be later move the building north and south as well as west.

Based on the information from the hearth and wall line relationships, a hypothetical sequence of stages is, as follows. The Hearth 1 structure was the earliest. The next building stage centered on that centered on Hearths 4, 5, and 6 would have moved east. The subsequent two stages associated with Hearths 2 and 3 moved and expanded. These stages

reused the position of the east wall, but their other three walls were located in different areas because of the expansion of the floor area.

The chart of building stages in multi-structure houses indicates that the 576 square feet stage occurred during the initial stages of the structures except for Structure 6.

Comparison of All Attributes

When the three measurements of size, building stages and burial numbers are placed in spatial relationship to each other by linking them with the other criteria of distance and tier position, interesting patterns appeared at the level of site organization. The distance criteria were used to check the Tier designations in order to verify the intuitive grouping. Once this was done the Tier designation proved to be the most useful in discussing patterns of structures located spatially within the site.

The Tier designation produced a grouping of structures with patterns which supported the functional typology. The structures of the first, third and zero tiers were clearly grouped according to the functional typology. The structures of the second tier were not clearly defined into a group pattern.

Tier 1 contains the largest domestic structures, rebuilt the most times and with the most burials. Of the five Tier 1 structures, one is to the north of the Plaza and the other four ring the plaza to the east.

Tier 2 structures are the largest group of structures and there is a wider range of structural attributes. Within the eastern part of the site the pattern of the Tier 2 structures is the clearest. The Tier 2 structures are between the structures adjacent to the palisade and the structures which line the plaza edge according to the ideal rational of the Tier assign-ments. The North and the South ends of the site were not as clear in pattern as the eastern part. The North end of the site was incompletely excavated, therefore all structures which were north of the Tier 1 structure were assigned to Tier 2.

The south end structures were assigned to Tier 2 based on an intuitive judgement of the site map pattern. The structures in the South part of the site form a thinner ring of domestic structures which lack the layering in the North and East parts of the site. Tier two was assigned to them as a default for the lack of relative positions of structures in that part of the site. Because Tier 2 received many structures assigned by default to this group, there is no general pattern among these structures. Tier 3 structures are located next to the palisade . These structures are houses with under 451 square feet of floor area, the smallest structures of the domestic group. All Tier 3 structures have one building stage except for Structure 6. Structure 6 has a building stage of 400 square feet which is similar to the other Tier 3 structures and another stage of 576 square feet. The only burial of the Tier 3 houses occurs in Structure 7.

Tier 0 structures are all located on the plaza. These structures which are public are either the largest structure, Structure 17, or some of the smallest structures with under 500 square feet. The public structures are all of one building stage. The largest structure, the council house, had only one building stage. This is at variance with the tendency of the domestic structures to have more building stages with larger floor areas.

Structure 24 is the only public structure not within the north half of the site. It was located on the edge of the plaza but it lacks any other evidence to connect it with the public complex of buildings. Structure 24 is distinguished only by its interior support post post–holes and hearth. From the dimensions indicated by the spacing of the interior support post posthole stains, it is the smallest building on the site. Two entrance trench scars found may have been associated with Structure 24 but because the wall post alignments are missing their association is only speculative.

I brought in other attributes in order to refine the Tier evaluations into a more de–tailed assessment of site patterns. The other attributes were found only occasionally in the

structures, therefore, they did not lend themselves to analysis based on a ranked list as did the other five attributes.

Other Attributes

Precision of Measurement

From the evidence gathered in the analysis of the building stages, it was quite clear that the structures were measured and built to a specific size. Twenty six out of 40 identified building stages were square. The Indians had aligned the four interior support posts into an exact square pattern during the construction of the structure. The interior support posts were positioned about a third of the way out from the center of each structure. A possible influence for a measured, square building design may be from the ease of cutting the same size members for all parts of the structure. In a square building all of the structural members of a particular part of the structure are the same size.

The centering of the hearth in each building stage may have been evidence for a conscious attempt by the Indians to adhere to a preconceived design ideal. There also may be a case for a conscious choice of form shown by the occurrence of the initial building stage of 24' by 24' (576 square feet) floor area in 5 of the 7 structures which had that floor area as part of the building sequence.

Entrance Trenches

Parts of the site were badly eroded. Many structures lacked any trace of entrance trench scars. I was not able to ascertain if entrance trenches were not built or if they had been erased by the erosion. The entrance trenches which had survived were in structures from the best preserved part of the site. Entrance trenches were found in six houses and two public buildings.

The entrance trenches of four of the domestic structures were close to the same orientation and located on the same corner of each house. Structures 23, 7, 8, and 4 all had trenches which were between 31 and 40 degrees east of north and located on the southwest corner of the structures. Structure 1 deviated from this pattern. This house had a possible entrance trench scar on the southwest corner but differed from the pattern of the other structures in two ways. The alignment of the Structure 1 scar is more northward than the trenches of the other domestic structures. Also, it is of a different shape than the other entrance trench scars.

Structures 11 and 16 have entrance trenches which follow a north-south alignment from the north corner in the case of Structure 16 and from the south corner in the case of Structure 11. Structure 16 is located on the plaza and is part of public building typology. Structure 11 is of uncertain function but classed as a domestic structure.

Another pair of entrance trenches were found where the north east corner of Structure 24 might have been. Because the external line of wall posts has been destroyed for Structure 24 it hard to definitely associate the trenches with the structure.

Orientation of Domestic Area Structures

Orientations of structures by entrance trench position were dependant on the condition of the site. Many of the structures did not have entrance trenches. The orientation information that was available for most structures is from the directions of the walls of the structures. Most of the structures are oriented toward the cardinal directions. Either the wall face or the corners of the structures point to the four directions. The east palisade wall runs generally north/south so that it is hard to determine if the structures are responding outright to the cardinal directions or to the the palisade wall.

Most all of the structures in the north two-thirds of the site are oriented north/south, with the palisade wall. Only structures 11, 16 and 24 deviate from the palisade alignment.

In the southeast corner of the site, the houses are also oriented with the palisade. The walls of Structure 8 anticipated the westward curve of the palisade. The wall orientation of Structure 8 was at an angle between the wall position of Structure 23 and structures 21 and 22. These structures all parallel the course of the palisade as it changes from the east to the south boundary. Structure 25 is oriented with the north-south axis and is not parallel to the palisade. Structures 26, 27, and 28 are aligned with the south palisade wall.

Burial Goods

The burials on the site were analyzed for age, sex and grave good affiliation. The burials which had indications of high status inclusion were all located in the north half of the site (Figure 27). The high status burials markers were iron items, stoneworker's kits and blades. These items were all found in the burials occurring in the north part of the site above Structure 24.

The most elaborate burial, 92, was found in Structure 15. Structure 15 had the largest floor area stage and its position defined the north end of the plaza. Burial 92 had in addition to the stone workers kits, blades and points, a conch cup, a conch necklace, embossed copper and pottery which may have had special significance in relation to the Sacred Fire.

The two second most elaborate burials occurred in Structure 1 and on the east side of the plaza above Structure 24. Burials 15 in Structure 1, and Burial 117 in the east margin of the plaza, both had the additional inclusion of a stone disk to the high status repertoire of the grave goods. All three burials were adult males

The council house also possessed indications of high status burials. Several of the burials had stoneworkers' kits and blades. One of these burials had a shell mask, as well. All of these burials were found in the north part of the structure. All identified burials were males.

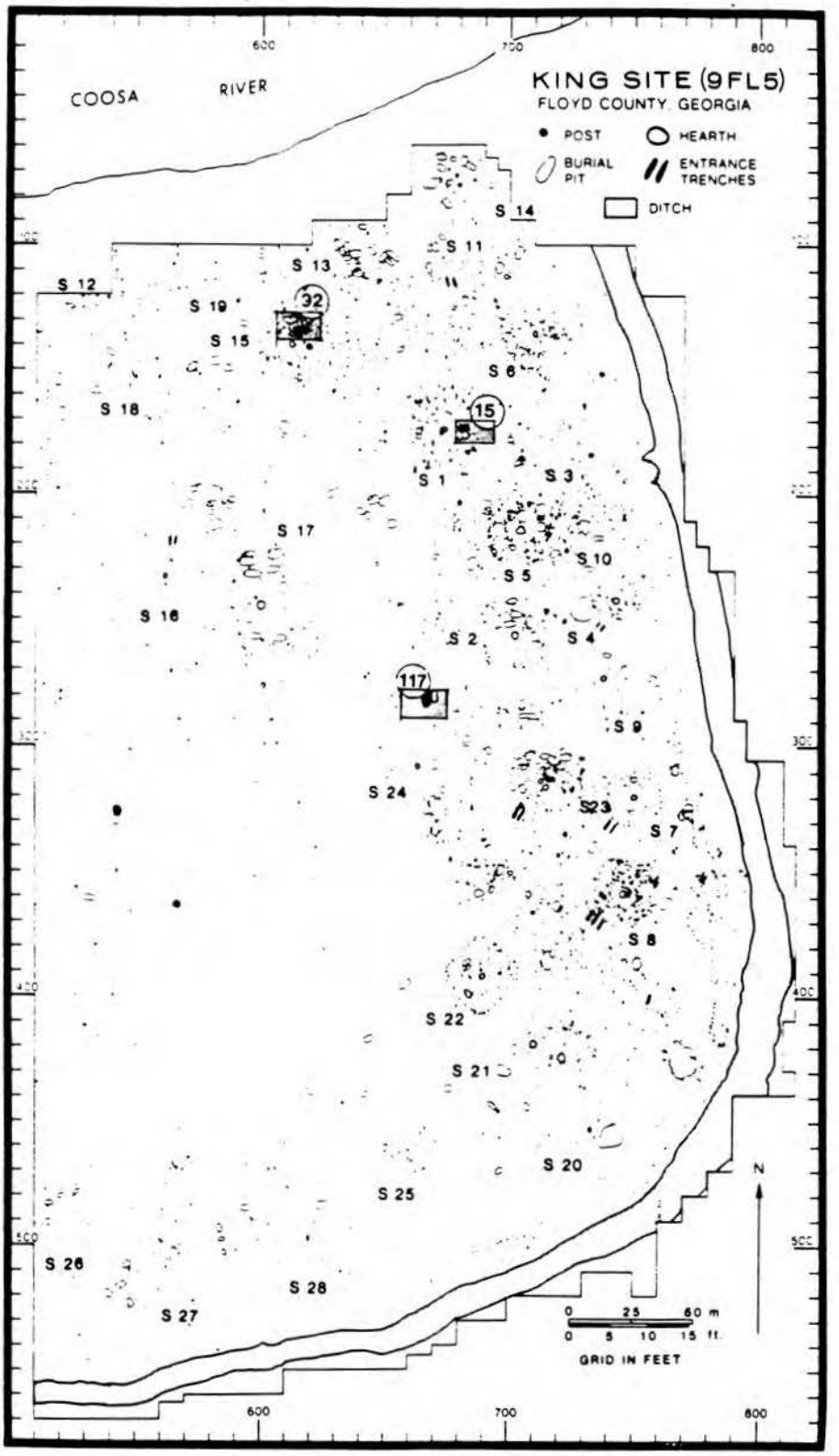


Fig. 27. High Status Burials

The burials on the plaza at large were both male and female. Different age groups were represented in the burials. One possible female Indian was with the high status burials on the plaza north of the council house. She was an older adult of about 45 to 50 years old, possessing iron and a large cache of points. Females did not have the high status lithic goods. The status markers included with females were more likely to be rattlesnake artifacts.

Both structures, 15 and 1, in which the most elaborate burials were found, were the largest houses in the north part of the site. No high status burials were found in the structures in the south part of the site even though Structure 27 had 930 square feet of floor area. This may signify that it is the simultaneous presence of several attributes which signify status rather than just size of structure alone.

Site Area Description

From the information gained from all of the attributes analyzed together, the patterns of the site fall into groups in areas on the sides around the plaza (Figure 28). The North part of the site is distinguished by a number of special function buildings. The East part of the site has a repetitive pattern of households. The South part of the site is quite eroded, but the structures were probably domestic structures, but with a different layout of structures than the East site area. The plaza public buildings have a different pattern of structures than the the other three areas.

The North area was incompletely excavated. Of the structures which were excavated, this area had one Tier 1 house, Structure 15. The rest of the structures were designated as Tier 2 based on the distance away from the plaza. Structure 15 had the largest floor area of any house stage and had the second highest number of stages with three. Nine burials were found within the structure. One of these burials had the most prestigious array of grave goods.

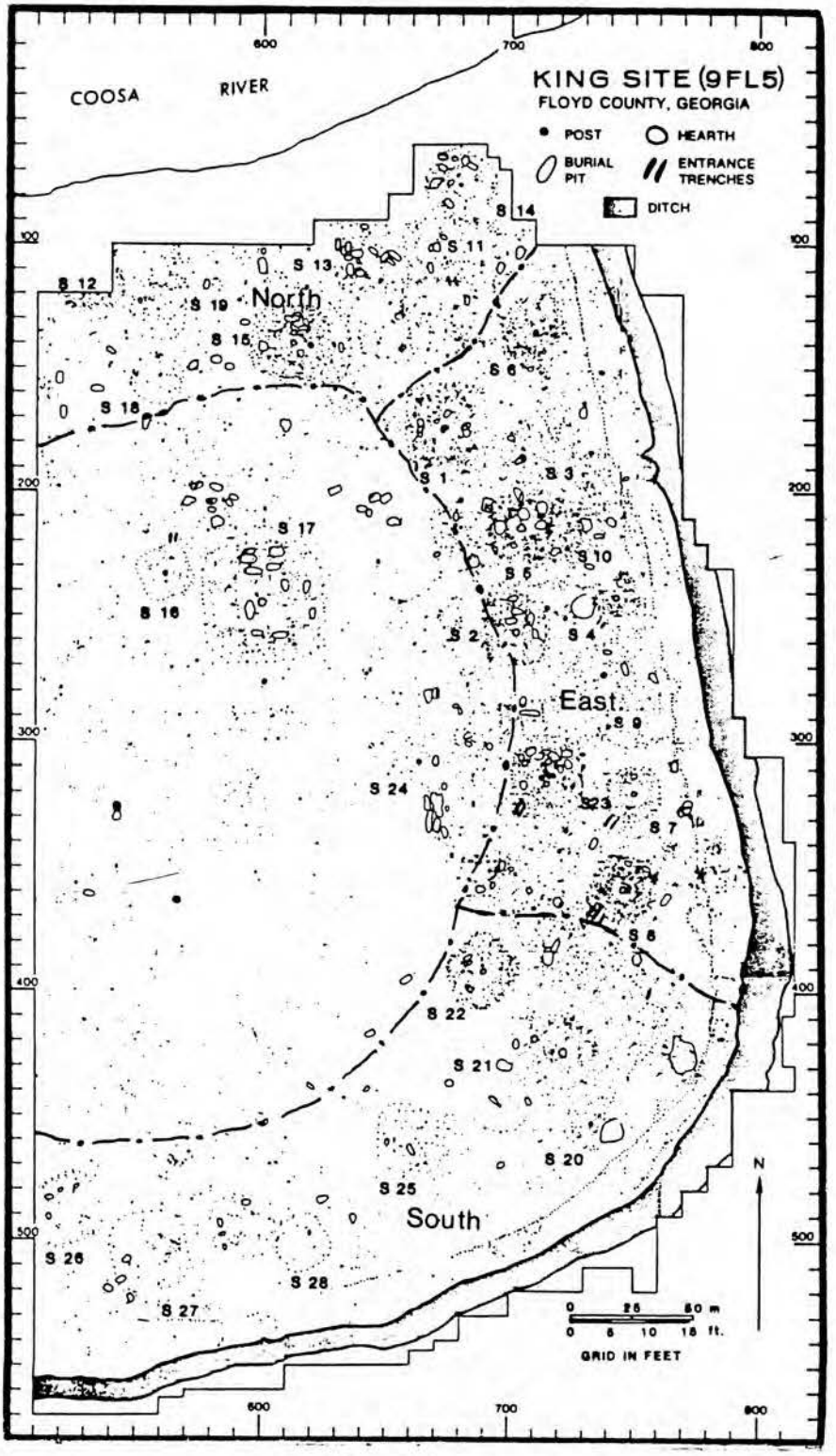


Fig. 28. King Site Areas.

The north end of the site has structures which have unusually high numbers of burials in comparison with other structures on the site. Structure 13, the mortuary, is in this area. Structures 11 and 14 were structures which had unusual burial patterns. They were both located just to the east of Structure 13. Structure 14 had, by far, the most burials of any Tier 2 domestic structure. It had eleven burials whereas the next highest number of burials in a Tier 2 domestic structure is four. Structure 11, located between structures 13 and 14, has a questionable domestic function because two of its four burials intrude into the hearth.

The north end of the plaza contains all but one of the public structures. The South end of the plaza is empty of structures. Two of the public structures of the north half of the plaza had an interesting alignment. Structure 16 is unique in orientation. The corners of the structure pointed towards the cardinal directions. The entrance trench scars of Structure 16 are aligned on a north/south axis from the north corner of the structure. They point towards Structure 18 which is directly north of Structure 16. These two structures were the same size and were similar in that they had unique patterns in plan. Structure 16 was unique in its orientation and Structure 18 was the most round of all structures. Structure 16's orientation also stood in stark contrast to the wall alignment of Structure 17 which has its wall faces to cardinal directions.

The south end of the site presents a sparse pattern of structures. The houses of the South part of the site are quite large, with few building stages and few burials. None of the burials had any high status items. The South edge of the plaza is not as precisely defined as the north and east edges of the plaza. This is because of the few structures built in this part of the site. The site was heavily eroded in this area which accounts for the fewer postholes in general. However, there was not a total destruction of the subsurface remains here. It is probable that traces of structures would have remained in this area if there had been more houses built.

here. It is probable that traces of structures would have remained in this area if there had been more houses built.

The orientation of the structures were varied. Some structures were aligned with the palisade and others had no apparent influence of orientation.

The eastern area of the site was a densely built area of domestic structures. Structure 24 was located on the eastern edge of the plaza. This is the only structure in the east area identified as something other than a domestic structure. The houses along the edge of the plaza were multi-staged, with large floor areas in the latest stages. Many burials in this area had grave goods including the two second richest burials of the site. The orientations of the structures were generally north-south, in alignment with the palisade. Most of the examples of entrance trenches on the site were found here due to better preservation. Tier patterns of structures were quite clear and in general, the houses were organized into patterns which allowed for the development of models of site growth and formation.

Although secondary structures were found in the Northern and eastern parts of the site, most of the clearly identified secondary structures were seen in the areas between the houses of the eastern part of the site.

Summer Structures

I did not use this structure as a indicative variable in the analysis of the site. Only a few examples of the pattern clearly appeared in the site map. I felt that the best use of the presence or absence of this structure in an area would be in the corroboration of household patterns.

The pattern of postholes indicating the secondary structures is seen quite clearly in the area between structures 2 and 23 (Figure 21). The pattern is about 18 feet long and 8 feet wide. There is a double row of posts along one end about 2 feet apart. Burials are

often associated with this pattern. Other places where the pattern is clearly seen are, just south of Structure 8, just to the south between structures 11 and 13, just to the east of Structure 1, and to the west of structures 2 and 5. Other possible patterns may be located between structures 23 and 22 but because of the profusion of post holes the patterns are not clear.

This type of structure fits the description of a barbacoa mentioned in the early Spanish accounts (Force 1848:37). The barbacoa is a corn crib storage facility. Often these facilities were used as shading devices, a sort of summer arbor. The ethnographic accounts report the inclusion of a summer compliment to the heavier built primary winter structure (Swanton 1946:388). The ethnographic accounts mention the practice of sleeping in the shade giving structures. The practice of burying the dead under their sleeping quarters of the winter houses may have carried over to burial under the summer place of sleeping.

Both Polhemus and Sullivan spend great effort on isolating the summer structure component of their households (Polhemus 1987; Sullivan 1986). Their definitions of a household unit represented in the architectural pattern depends on the isolation and identification of a full compliment of seasonally adapted structures.

At the King site, the assignment of the secondary structures to particular primary houses is speculative. These secondary structures tended to occur in the larger voids between the structures. The pattern of the arbors distribution may be suggestive of location within a courtyard with shared access by a few structures rather than the one to one assignment with a primary winter house. However, there are so few clearly identified examples of this structure making any conclusions weak.

Hypothetical Models of Site Formation

Certain patterns have become apparent in the analysis of the occurrence and location of structural attributes within the site. Burials in structures tend to be more numerous in the North end of the site (Figure 28). The East area contains the clearest patterns of attribute relaltionships. The patterns are the occurance of the large multistages houses with burials. The pattern of the East area also shows that structures which have the most events of rebuilding occur on the periphery of the plaza. The smallest structures of the area are either adjacent to the palisade or on the plaza. The south area structures tend not to follow patterns in the east part of the site. Their size and numbers of building stages are not in the same patterns as the other areas of the site. From my observations of the structure patterns, I attempted to formulate possible senarios of how the site was formed.

Rules of matrilineage were a decisive factor in establishing residential rules of households (Hudson 1976:213). One possible explanation for the decreasing size of the structure as distance from the plaza increases may have come from a status and affiliation choice. It may have been important for family members to reside next to each other in order to consolidate effort in tasks and share in the status held by the head of the household. If the large, plaza edge structures were the main seat of the family, then the sub houses of the household would have sacrificed available floor area in order to be located next to the primary household. It is possible that the group household tasks were performed in and around the main house, leaving the smaller houses for accommodations of smaller groups of people in the same family such as unmarried sons, married daughters or elderly kin.

There seems to be a different pattern of structures in the south part of the site but it is unclear why. The structures have fewer incidences of building stages. This may be an indication of relative age of the different areas of the site. If building stages were an indication of age of structures then the structures of the south part of the site would be younger. This would strengthen the argument for the smaller palisade-adjacent structures occurring on the eastern part of the site as being a reflection of the choice to remain close to the family seat over availability of space in which to build a large domestic structure.

The ring of structures thins at the south area of the site. If this thin pattern is not a result of erosional damage to the site, then the sparseness of structures supports the idea of a more recently built structures compared with the North and East parts of the site. The structures, if this model were true, would not have had the development time to expand households with the addition of structures.

In terms of size, the second largest structure is located in the south area. It is without high status burials. In fact, there are no high status burials in the south part of the site. The lack of high status markers may indicate that a large size floor area alone is not enough to signal high status. This would tend to support the theory that status among the King site Indians is an acquired attribute. Perhaps status within this community was a function of the length of time a family had been involved with the village.

In the northern part of the site, there seems to be a tendency towards specialized buildings. Structure 13 seems to have had a special mortuary function. Structure 11 may have been transformed from a domestic structure into a special function structure,also possibly a mortuary. It was adjacent to Structure 13. This may be a clue to its transformation. The area of structures 11 and 13 may have become a mortuary district. The transformation of the structure may be an indication that the area had changed function from a domestic area to special/ritual place.

With all of the attributes taken together, this area of the site appears to possibly have been a special function district. The presence of the mortuary in Structure 13, the intrusive burials in Structure 11 and the high number of burials in Structure 14 tend towards illustrating a mortuary district. However, with the inclusion of Structure 15 in this area, perhaps more than just a mortuary district is indicated. Structure 15 had the greatest size of building stage with a burial which had the most elaborate grave goods. This structure had all of the indications of a high status household. Perhaps the North end of the site became an area associated with the most elite household. Increasingly more special function structures came to be located there.

Household Configuration

The houses in the East part of the site show clear patterns of arrangements. These arrangements suggest a possible scheme of the development and grouping of structures. Lack of sensitive artifact analysis prohibits definite assignment of structures into a particular lineage affiliations. However, I was able to tenatively assign structures into households of more than one structure. I will present the model of hypothetical households discussing three groups of structures from the East part of the site.

The pattern is best shown by the arrangement of structures 23, 7,and 8 (Figure 29). This pattern is also seen in structures 2, 4, and 9 and in structures 1, 5/10, 3 and 6. The pattern is a four fold partition of an area of three structures into quadrants. The positions of the three structures have received designations. The main house is located in the northwest corner closest to the plaza. The second house is located in the southeast corner. The third house is located in the northeast corner. The southwest corner was an open area with a secondary structure located in the opening.

The designation of the houses as being first, second or third is based on an increasing elaboration of size, number of burials and in one case grave good association. The

Fig. 29. Household Groups.

general pattern is that the first house will be larger than the other houses in the group. The first house will have more building stages and more burials. In short, it will have more evidence of intensity of occupation and possibly by inference a longer occupation. The second house will generally have the same initial floor size and may be enlarged but will fail to be expanded to the size of the first house. In an alternative scenario, the first house and the second house may have been built simultaneously but the first house was privy to more burials and more elaboration through expansion of building stages. The third house has the least floor area and one building stage (Figure 30).

The general model thus presented is a distillation of the characteristics found in the three groups. The specific descriptions of the groups will be discussed, as there is some deviation from the ideal. Through the examination of the specific cases a model will be presented. The first and second houses of the Structure 23 group both began at a 24 by 24 foot (576 square feet) stage. The first house was rebuilt at least four times and resulted in an ultimate final stage larger than the largest building stage of the second house. The third house had the least square footage. The first house had many more burials than the second structure. There was a possible secondary structure in the open space of the southwest quadrant.

Structure 2, the first in its group, began with a larger initial building stage than the first buildings of the other two groups (26 by 26 feet as opposed to 24 by 24). This house was rebuilt to the same size. The second structure in the group had one building stage of 24 by 24 feet which was smaller than the first house of the group. The third house of the group was the smallest. As in the Structure 23 group, the first structure had more burials than the second or third house.

The Structure 1 group possessed the greatest deviation from the general pattern. Structure 1, the first house had about the same amount of burials as the second house. The

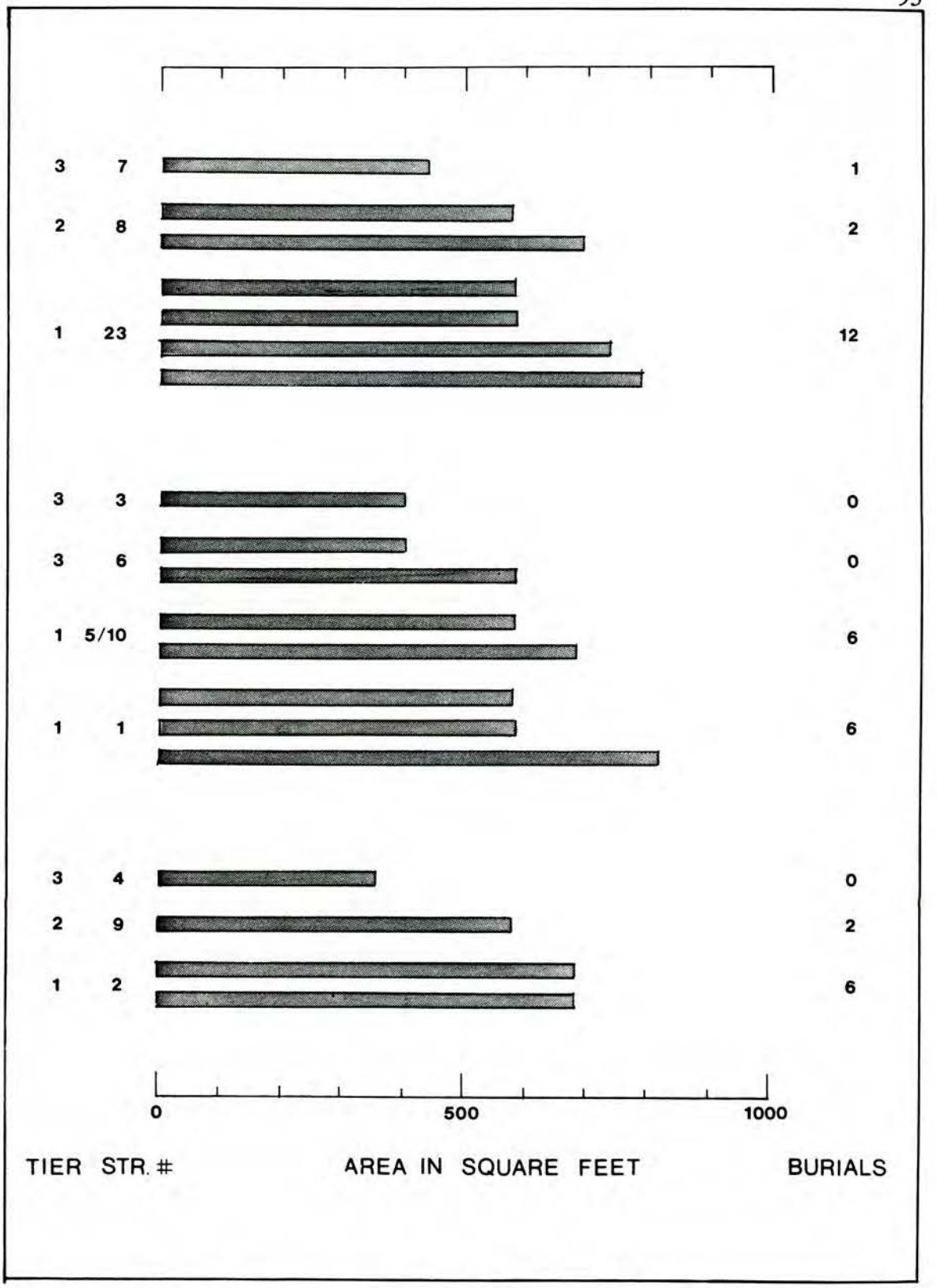


Fig. 30. Area of Building Stages by Household Group.

second house had been shifted quite a bit west towards the plaza. This allowed space for the construction of the third structure. The third structure was shifted down closer to the second structure and an internal court yard was created in the void left from the shift. Another anomaly of this group was that there may have been two of the third structure types. Structure 6 may have been part of this group. Inferential evidence for this inclusion comes from the position of Structure 11 as the closest other structure to Structure 6. As stated before, Structure 11 may have been transformed from a domestic structure into a special function structure. Structure 6 has evidence of being rebuilt and one of its stages is the size of typical third house structures in the other two groups. With its position it creates the boundaries of two courtyards, one with structures 15, 11 and 13 ; the other with structures 1, 5/10 and 3. With the special functions of 13 and possibly 11 it seems that if it were part of a regular expansion of a household it would go with this Structure 1 group. This is of course speculation but the inclusion of one of the most high status burials in Structure 1 might argue for the hypothesis that this is a high ranking household with more appropriation of space including their own interior courtyard.

From inferential evidence it is possible to construct a hypothetical model of the formation of these groups. Structure 5/10 is a unique structure on the King site because it shows the greatest amount of displacement in subsequent building stages. Structure 5/10 was moved twelve feet over towards the west when the structure was rebuilt. This allowed room for the construction of Structure 3 between the palisade and Structure 5/10. If this is assumed to be a consistent pattern of building among the three groups then the first and second structures were built before the third structures. There are no clues to the sequence of building of the first two structures except that the first stages of the first and second buildings of Structure 1's and Structure 23's groups are the same size. Perhaps they were built at the same time or perhaps there was a preconceived notion of what the initial size of the structure should be for a particular dweller.

The hearth sequences of the first and second structures of all groups are similar to each within its group (Figure 26). The hearth configuration of Structure 1 and Structure 5/10 are similar. There are three hearths in each structure linked in the same way. The hearths of Structure 2 and Structure 9 are also similar to each other in configuration. They both have basically one circular hearth located in the middle of the floor. Structures 8 and 23 both have several episodes of hearth building. Structure 23 has six hearths, three tethered in four separate areas in the center of the building. Structure 8 has four hearth episodes in the center of the floor. Fired areas may indicate more but it is unclear. The number of the hearths may differ but the style of the hearth distribution is similar between first and second structures of each group. Because the hearth pattern is similar between the first and second houses of a group the idea of affiliation between these structures is reinforced.

Assigning the relative building sequence of the structural groups is an exercise in the possible reconstruction of the site form. Based on the numbers of building stages, the Structure 23 group could be the oldest with 4 building stages of the main structure. Structure 1 group seems to be the next oldest, with 3 building stages, and the Structure 2 group is the latest.

It is not unreasonable to offer the idea that Structure 23 group and Structure 1 group were before the Structure 2 group. The Structure 23 group looks like an ideal arrangement with equidistant spacing of structures but, in fact, it may be that the pattern is suggesting an evolving pattern of households. It could be that structure 1 group was transformed into a closer analog of an ideal formation hence the shift in Structure 5/10 to accommodate spacing. It could be that Structure 1 group represented a higher status group with more structures and hence a slightly differing construction.

Summary

In summation, a hypothetical explanation is offered for the formation of the group of structures. The key structure is the structure of the group which is closest to the plaza. The other structures which are grouped with the structure on the plaza derive their household identity from affiliation with the main house and the configuration of structures comes as a configuration of kin relations. The three structures of a group are a pattern of growth which also may come to be a reflection of a growth in status. Hence, the pattern may be both a indication of the kin structure of the household, an indicator of the growth and development of a household and indirectly, a testimony to the relative influence and wealth of the family group.

The testing of these models of site formation and hypotheses will have to be carried on in further work. The proof will come from an understanding of how sites are formed rather than a simple assessment of traits. The domestic structures which have been occupied the longest are the ones just adjacent to the plaza, defining its edge. They are larger, rebuilt more times and have the most evidence of burials. From inferences based on the inclusions of high status goods, it is possible that these are the structures of the higher status households. It is also possible that because of a similar size of initial building stage that they were households which founded the site at roughly the same time.

Town Organization

The site is the intersection of two levels of life patterns. On the micro level, it is the pattern of everyday life repeated for the duration of the occupation. On the macro level, it is a form and existence influenced by the lay of the land, the geography and climate, and the expression of the culture writ large.

This chapter is a summary of the patterns recognized within the King site. The collected patterns were used to set the King site within a larger context of information. This more inclusive view revealed patterns manifesting at an intersite, culturewide level. When I examined all the levels of patterns together, from the individual structures to the regional level organization, I began to see a possible rationale for the form of the King site. The rationale suggested connections between mythological motifs and the architectural form.

I will first summarize the major observations that I made in the course of analyzing the architectural patterns within the site. Then I will compare the King site in its regional pattern. And, finally I will present the comparisons between the spatial patterns and the patterns within the mythology.

On the individual level of patterns, many of the structures changed through time. The Indians rebuilt their houses on the same spot, and in most cases enlarging them throughout their occupation. The evidence for enlargement was in the relationship of the walls to the hearth placement. During the rebuilding of one house, the occupants shifted the structure by ten feet in order to make room for another smaller house. This may have indicated a change or development in the thought about how household structures should be spatially arranged.

Regular patterns of households appeared in the distribution of the structures. These repeated patterns possibly may have indicated a shared ideal of spatial arrangements. Three groups of structures were tentatively identified as households compounds. These groups all bordered the plaza to the east. The largest of the houses was always on the edge of the cleared plaza ground and the smallest structures were next to the palisade. The larger houses had more burials than the smaller structures of the East area. All three groups had an internal consistency of the hearth style between the first and second structures.

The King site had three different areas of spatial arrangements on the three sides of the plaza.The North area had many burials and the highest status burial of the site. It could have been a special function district as well as a domestic area. The South area contained only a few houses of a different arrangement than the North or East side. Perhaps the arrangements of these areas speak of an original ideal ordering for the settlement with certain specialized areas organized according to the plan.

These patterns are all suggestive of a conscious ordering of space within the site by the inhabitants. I was interested in how the King site fit into its regional context. The information from the regional context gave me insights into possible rationales behind the creation of the site form. This led to questions of the connections between the mythology and the architectural form.

The King site occurred at the farthest extent of the Late Mississippian Barnett phase. Ceramic identification linked the King site inhabitants.to the Little Egypt site dwellers, 85 km up river. The king site and the three adjacent sites of the Barnett phase were established on a stretch of land that is without immediate cultural precedence (Hally 1988: personal communication). That the King site may have been a splinter group of the larger Little Egypt group is an interesting but speculative idea.

From recent research, a model of the distribution of Barnett phase sites has been proposed. The sites fall into groups where the distribution of affiliated settlements is with-

in a radius of the distance which can be easily traveled in a day. Sites occur at a distance from a mound center of either less than 17 km or more than 31 km (Hally 1987:8). The 31 km distance may be a result of the large buffers of land that divided the chiefdoms of the area. The sites located on the edge of these buffers would have been subjected to raiding by warriors of a different affiliation. War was an important event and much status was gained by brave acts. Therefore, ongoing skirmishes may not have been uncommon in areas along an edge of a chiefdom.

The King site had both a palisade and a defensive ditch. The presence of the palisade may be a reflection of the existence of warfare in the area. From the structural configuration, it seems that the palisade defined the extent of the town before there was a large amount of building within the barrier. The houses occurred in a continuous band around the central plaza, between the plaza and the palisade. The plaza and the palisade were the same shape. The site geometry was symmetrical and there was a large posthole lined with limestone slabs, probably for the accommodation of a chunky post, marking the exact center of the site. This concentric organization may suggest a predetermined shape to the community.

A possible interpretation of the presence of a palisaded town in an area which lacked an immediate cultural precedent is that the King site was a new town established wholesale in the area. The indians would have needed to consider the spatial ordering at the time of the incorporation of the town. The palisade would have set the town's outline because if the Indians were moving into land which needed to be defended, the erection of the palisade would be an important first act. Quite possibly an initial settlement plan started with the form of the palisade could have taken a period of time in development, so that the town was filled in gradually according to an original established layout.

Because there was no precedent of existing building form that the King site had to relate to when it was established, the town layout came as a new order onto the place where it existed. Questions are then raised of how the order was chosen for the settlement.

Questions of how, usually involve questions of who. The question of the identity of the design agency is not a typically asked of archaeological data but in this case may generate some interesting possibilities. An early ethnographic report describes the architect and his process of designing the council house for a Creek village. It seems that the architect was Tukabahchee Miko, a well known Upper Creek leader and at the time its leading medicine maker. After giving the dimensions of the building as "about 60 feet in diameter and 30 feet high" the account states that the Tukabahchee Miko:

> "cut sticks in miniature of every log required in the construction of the building, and distributed them proportionately among the residents of the town, whose duty it was to cut logs corresponding with their sticks, and deliver them upon the ground appropriated for the building at a given time. At the raising of the house, not a log was cut of changed from it's original destination, all come together in their appropriate places, as mentioned by the designer. During the planning of this building, which occupied him six days, he did not partake of the least particle of food "(Swanton 1928:179).

If the King site were a new town, the implementation of the architectural form might call for a design specialist, (such as the medicine man mentioned in the quote) in order to insure compliance with the larger order of things. If there was an existing shared idea (i.e. an ideal formed in accordance with the order of the belief system) of how to construct houses and shape households, then there may have been an existing idea of the ideal town form from the same order of rationale. Perhaps inhabitants of the King site, just as at the town in the quote, called upon a resident specialist to insure the correct manifestation of the settlement. A resident shaman/ architect could have insured a integrated continuity to the eventual unfoldment of the town because he would have been the authority which was sought out at each new building event.

The medicine man was often the leader in the knowledge of the myths, legends and ways of systems of thought among a people (Harner 1980). Members of his group consulted him for the due process of rites and rituals. If the same person was responsible for the upholding of the belief systems and the correct spatial relationships of forms then there may have been connections between the order of the architecture and the order of the mythology. This should be especially so in this case because of the tendency of the Southeastern Indian to regard things in terms of their categorical relationships.

I found few references about searching out spatial patterns in the mythology of a culture. Assessing data for reoccurring patterns can be accomplished by a process as simple as noting the presence or absence of attributes. Analyzing the data for clues to explain the motivation of a particular design form is more difficult. It is hard to justify after the fact analyses of design motivation with a high degree of certainty. Because of this factor of uncertainty, some explanative models place the cultural motivation behind design choices in a catch-all part of a model (McGuire and Schiffer 1976: 281). This renders any attempt to deal with aesthetic and formal choices as relatively unimportant to the formation of the particular cultural expression.

Instead, if the particular chosen form of the architecture and artifacts can be understood within the larger order of their culture, in particular, the representation of ideal order, then the forms and their utilization may come to offer insights into the process of that culture. This line of questioning has the potential to augment the traditional realms of information in archaeology. Levi-Strauss writes:

> "If history, when it is called upon unremittingly (and it must be upon first) cannot yield an answer, then let us appeal to psychology or the structural analysis of forms; let us ask ourselves if internal connections, whither of a psychological or logical nature, will allow us to understand parallel recurrences whose frequency and cohesion cannot possibly be the result of chance (Levi-Strauss 1963:24)."

The historical Creek Indians made parallel references between architecture on two different levels. They referred to the plaza with the same term as they used to refer to the summer council area," Creeks sometimes called the entire square ground *tcoko-thlako,* or "big house," and referred...to the individual... (buildings on the plaza) as "benches" (Hudson 1976:221).

Bartram writes of the similarity between the lay out of the dwellings of the Creeks and their public areas,

> "The dwellings of the ... Creeks consist of little squares, or rather of four dwelling-houses incising a square area, exactly on the plan of the Public Square (Swanton 1946:392)."

The building configuration of the quote is in the same arrangement as the domestic structures of the households of the East area of the King site.

The similarities of terminology and spatial organization may be an indication of the Indian's categorization of objects. If the Southeastern Indian architecture was thought of categorically and there is no reason why it was not, then the rationale behind the design might be understood by looking at what sort of thing or pattern was chosen by the Indians in order to express the category of an Indian town of dwellings.

To begin with this line of reasoning, I looked first at the basic shapes of the town and dwellings. The shape of the town was roughly a square with a vacant center. This was also the shape of the structures. There was a parallel orientation of most of the structure walls and the palisade and the were constructed in the same fashion. Both were made of rows of individually set posts in a square shape with rounded corners. In each case, the rounded square shape was defining the external boundary of a discrete area.

Within the areas of the palisade, on the large scale, and the house on the small scale, there was a similar treatment of like areas. The plaza area was tended and swept clean of all debris, especially when it became transformed into a microcosm of the world for the annual ceremony of renewal, the Green Corn ceremony. At this time of the year

individual transgressions were absolved and the world was temporarily halted in the extinguishing of the fires in the town. The old order was collapsed, while the new order was rekindled as the chief ignited the fires of the coming year. Each household was relit by a communal distribution of the newly sanctified fire. This fire came to be tended in the center of the of the domestic structures.

The center of the structures were cared for much in the same way as the central plaza was tended. In the excavations of the King site, the structures that were excavated showed a dearth of materials in the center of the structure. The floors were free of debris within the area of the central support posts. The structure floor's debitage patterns showed that there was a tendency to carry on different types of activities in certain areas of the structures.

The majority of household debris was located in the south half of the structure. The burials and possibly the sleeping couches were along the north wall of the house (Hally 1975: 25-26). There were certain kinds of debitage in consistent areas within the house. The King site dwellers may have associated a proper use of certain areas for certain activities. This affiliation of ideas of right use with certain areas may have transcended scales of expression from the house area to the site in general.

A parallel between the house level and the site level occurred with the treatment of the dead which may have been linked a categorical way of thinking. Although burials are found throughout the site, the north half of the site contains an area which may be a mortuary area. Two structures are suspect of performing a special function for the treatment of the dead by having a great number of burials and intrusive burials in the hearth area. Many domestic structures and the council house somewhat echo this tendency, in that most of the burials in the houses are in the north part of the structure. Some burials occur in other parts of the structures, albeit with less frequency so that, the evidence is suggestive rather than conclusive.

Embellishment of the center point was a recurring motif at the King site in both the macro and micro level of expression. The houses had hearths which were in the exact center of the structure. And, because the hearths may have been moved repeatedly to retain their central spot, it is not unreasonable to assume the the center spot was important.

The site had a very large posthole, possibly for the chunky post, in the exact center of the site. The post was in the exact center of the plaza which was surrounded by a ring of houses. The outside edge of the village was bounded by the palisade, roughly the same shape as the plaza edge and external defensive ditch. This whole organization was in concentric rings radiating outward from the marked center.

Within the King site as a whole, change and growth of the architectural form was indicated. Even though there was change and growth in the site, the patterns of change were congruent with original patterns. This suggests a return to and consultation of the rules of order which produced integrated patterns.

These suggestions come in the tentative form of the similarities of shapes in the built form. If these spatial motifs were produced, in part, by a shamanistic process as in the case of the Tukabahchee Miko, then it would be reasonable to expect traces of the mythology in the design choice. The rationale behind the form and patterns of the architecture might be detectable in the body of explanatory knowledge possessed by the shaman and recorded in the mythology.

An avenue of investigation I used for the identification of spatial lietmotifs was the isolation of significant spatial relationships in the origin and creation myths of the Southeastern Indians. If the mythological ordering of the world of the King site Indians is as a fully integrated matrix of events which seeks to have all phenomena resonate into an integrated whole, then the architectural expression would not be excluded, but, instead may have been an important testimony to the right condition of the world in an ideal form.

Eliade writes of the ordering of the environment in The Sacred and the Profane. He describes two ways the a group can transform the world from the chaos of the unsettled, to the organization of the known. Basically both ways are an attempt to bring previously un-ordered space into a classification that resonates with the already established cosmic order.

One process in the sanctification of the space is to ritually recreate the creation of the world. The second way is to assimilate the cosmos by projecting from the center outward to the four points of the horizons (Eliade 1959: 52). This aligns and integrates the previous chaos of unsettled land into a place with an organization paralleling the cosmic ideal. The underlying assumption here is that any correctly ordered place will offer no resistance to activities which are in accord with the known order.

The center of the world is the best place to reside in Eliade's explanatory model. The center is where the ideal order has broken through in expression from the cosmic ideal to the level of mundane space. This center mark or the *axis mundi* has the function of uniting the three planes of manifestation, the upper world, the lower world and the world of habitation. The *axis mundi* is a rod, pole or some other vertical form which enables the connection to continue in the center of the *imago mundi*, which is the replication of the structure of the cosmos in the world.

The Southeastern Indian mythological world and the King site contain both of the dominant motifs of Eliade's model. The marking of the center and the orientation to the cardinal directions are found on all the levels of spatial expression.

The chunky pole is the *axis mundi*, the four cardinal points are mentioned repeatedly in the mythology. Each group of Indians probably considered themselves to live in the center of the world (Hudson 1976:122). The origin myths of the Cherokee have the water-beetle as establishing the *terra firma* from a lump of clay that spread across the primordial waters from the center to the four horizons.

> "When all was water, the animals were above in (the upper world), beyond the arch; but it was very crowed, and they were wanting more room. They wondered what was below the water, and at last. . . "Beaver's Grandchild," the little water-beetle, offered to go and see if it could learn. It darted in every direction over the surface of the water, but could find no place to rest. Then, it dived to the bottom and cane up with some soft mud, which began to grow and spread on every side until it became the island which we call earth. It was afterward fastened to the sky with four cords, but no one remembers who did this.(Hudson 1976:133)"

The cardinal directions all have special meaning in Southeastern mythology. The Creek assigned specific values to each of the directions as well as colors. Red was assigned to the north, having the associative values of sacred fire, blood, life and success. Blue was the color of the South meaning trouble. The color of the East was white and meant warmth, peace and happiness. The west had the connotation of the color black, the color of the night and death (Hudson 1976:132).

The basic form of the King site architecture is a square oriented with the cardinal directions with the center embellished by special treatment of some sort (Figure 31). The plaza is mimicked by the structure layout. Each has a centered element. The chunky pole is a vertical element just as the smoke rising from a fire lit from the consecrated sacred fire is a connection with the order above.

The areas of the site all had different configurations of building layouts. Perhaps the decision to have a certain kind of area was based on the function of the area's relationship to qualities of the directions. For example, the largest houses were in the north half of the household group. The largest house of the site was located just north of the plaza. These observations are highly speculative but could lead to questions sparking further research into these kinds of spatial/mythological relationships.

Admittedly there is a handicap from the outset in this type of investigation in that we do not possess firsthand accounts of the mythology as it existed at the time of European contact. What is available are the accounts much after the fact. The mythology of the Cherokee was brought into the ethnographic accounts by Swimmer, a Cherokee Medicine

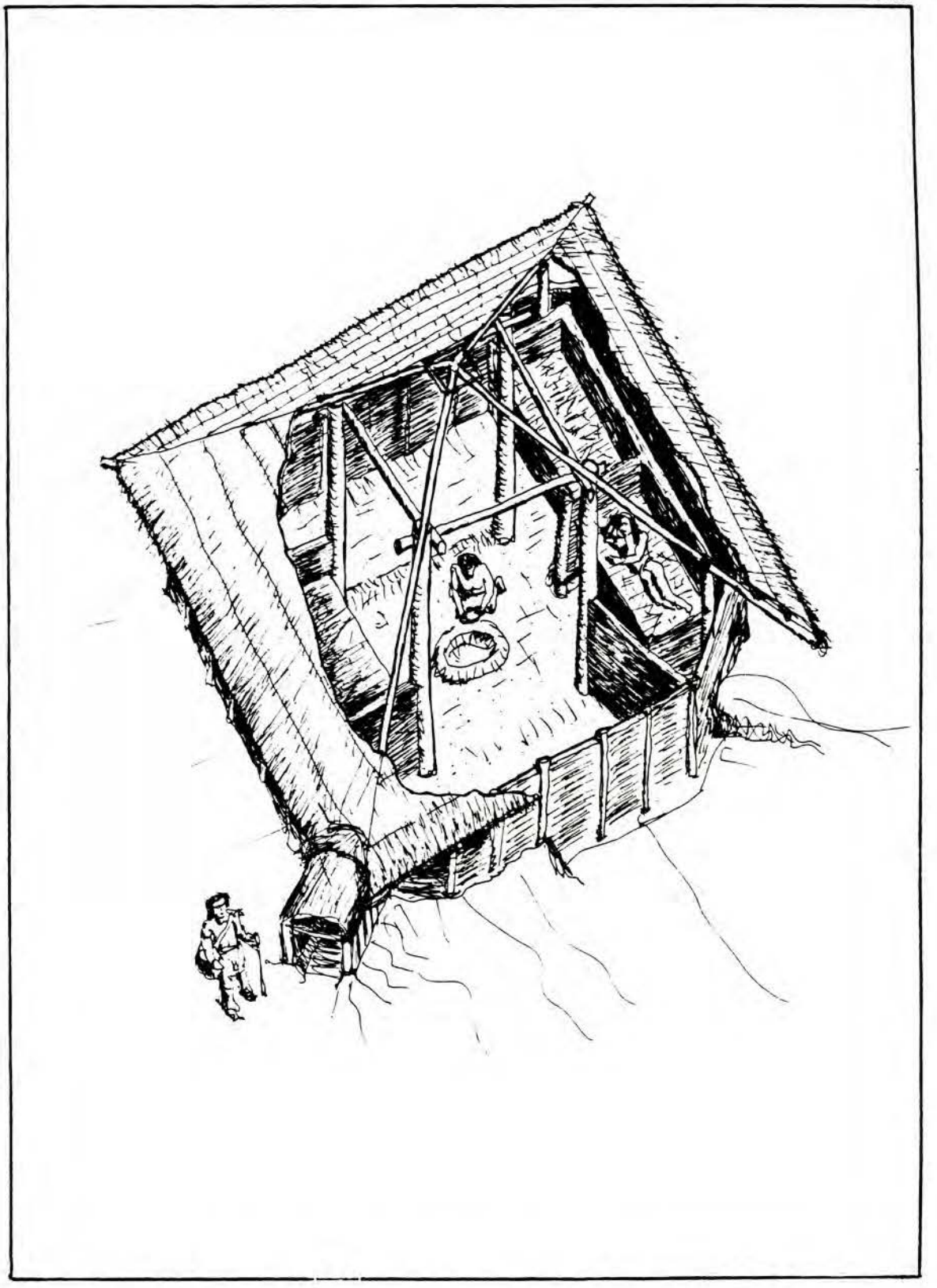


Fig. 31. Conceptual Reconstruction of Structure.

Man of the 19th century (Hudson 1976:12-14). However as Hudson notes, even though by the 19th century the details of the myths may have been lost or changed, there was probably something of the basic structure of the myths which had survived because they are the categories of thought.

Suggestions for Further Research

In summary, the architecture of the King site Indians seems to have been laid out in a patterned design transcending many levels of expression. Two possible veins of further investigation include a more rigorous analysis of the mythology for clues to spatial arrangements. A more in-depth comparison of the organization of the myths could refine the process of culling motifs from the texts. Also, comparisons between the King site and other villages with longer occupation could bear interesting results in understanding the development of village forms through time.

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