

## THE FABRIC OF POWER

### TEXTILES IN MISSISSIPPIAN POLITICS AND RITUAL

Penelope B. Drooker

A significant body of literature highlights power relations and their archaeological manifestations in Mississippian society, often in connection with ceremonial centers such as Cahokia (e.g., Barker and Pauketat 1992; Emerson 1997; Emerson and Pauketat 2002; King 2004; Knight 2010; Marcoux 2007; Muller 1997; Pauketat 1992, 1994; Pauketat and Emerson 1997; Payne 2002; Troccoli 2002; Welch and Butler 2006; cf. e.g., Brown 2006). Many of the archaeological hallmarks of Mississippian peoples, including settlement pattern hierarchies, ceremonial center organization with plazas surrounded by burial mounds and substructure platform mounds, complex iconography, and mortuary practices indicating multilevel ranked societies with ascriptive status differentiation, have been interpreted in terms of dominance and power relations. So has the rich variety of exotic materials and finely crafted prestige<sup>1</sup> and ritual objects from Mississippian contexts, such as iconographic pipes, figurines, and effigy vessels; engraved marine-shell cups and gorgets; embossed copper symbol badges; finely crafted stone weapons and palettes; and carved wooden masks and figurines.

Mississippian pliable fabrics and basketry have rarely been at the forefront in discussions of Mississippian power relations or of objects interpreted as embodying sacred or secular power. For instance, the aforementioned publications typically do not even include fabrics, textiles, or basketry in their indexes, and the most compelling recent exhibition featuring Mississippian art, "Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South" (see Townsend and Sharp 2004), included no fabric or basketry objects. Nevertheless, a plethora of evidence exists—from ethnohistorical accounts to depictions in Mississippian iconography to remnants of actual fabrics—that these materials, too, served as manifestations of power within Mississippian societies, used in conjunction with objects in other media but contributing unique qualities of their own.

*What Is Power?*

To support this chapter's discussions, a brief comment about "power" as a concept is in order. Theorists have proposed three modes of power: "power to," that is, the ability of an individual to act or do something (Emerson 1997:19; see also Pauketat 1994:2; Sweely 1999:11); "power over," that is, the coercive ability to control or prevent others' actions (Emerson 1997:19; Kehoe 1999:17; Wolf 1990:586–587); and "power with," that is, persuasive, noncoercive influence toward obtaining a desired goal (Spencer-Wood 1999:179).<sup>2</sup>

It is simplistic to think of power as a static hierarchy of domination. Spencer-Wood calls it a "dynamic negotiation between individuals" (1999:180). It is both multiscalar, simultaneously existing at different levels (Levy 1999; Wolfe 1990), and multidimensional (Sweely 1999:12). Some arenas of power include religious or spiritual power; political power, which may be coercive or persuasive, or both; military power, manifest as physical domination; economic power; and social power. A given individual or group may wield power in one area rather than another, or in multiple overlapping areas.

Ideology, which in Marxian theory serves to obscure the reality of material inequality in hierarchical societies (Emerson 1997:22–25), can be an important persuasive force in power relations. Iconography often serves as visual shorthand of ideological principles.

*Markers of Power in Mississippian Society*

Cahokia, the earliest, largest, and probably the best-known of the Mississippian "temple mound" ceremonial centers (Figure 2.1), evokes superlatives in most descriptions of its material culture and the social fabric that supported it. The "overarching civil and religious authority of Cahokia's central government" (Hall 2004:103) and the enduring influence of the "Cahokian Expression" on the ritual imagery of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC) (Brown 2004) make this center, together with contemporaneous communities and centers in the American Bottom, the poster child for the local, regional, and inter-regional power relations that are often highlighted as typical of Mississippian society.

Thomas Emerson summarized the manifestations of political power at Cahokia as (1) architecture that includes elaborate and large structures, ritual facilities, specialized storage facilities, and recreated sacred landscapes; (2) evidence of status and wealth in concentrations of prestige goods and wealth goods; and (3) mortuary patterns that differentiate elites from commoners. Religious power is manifest as (1) architecture that includes

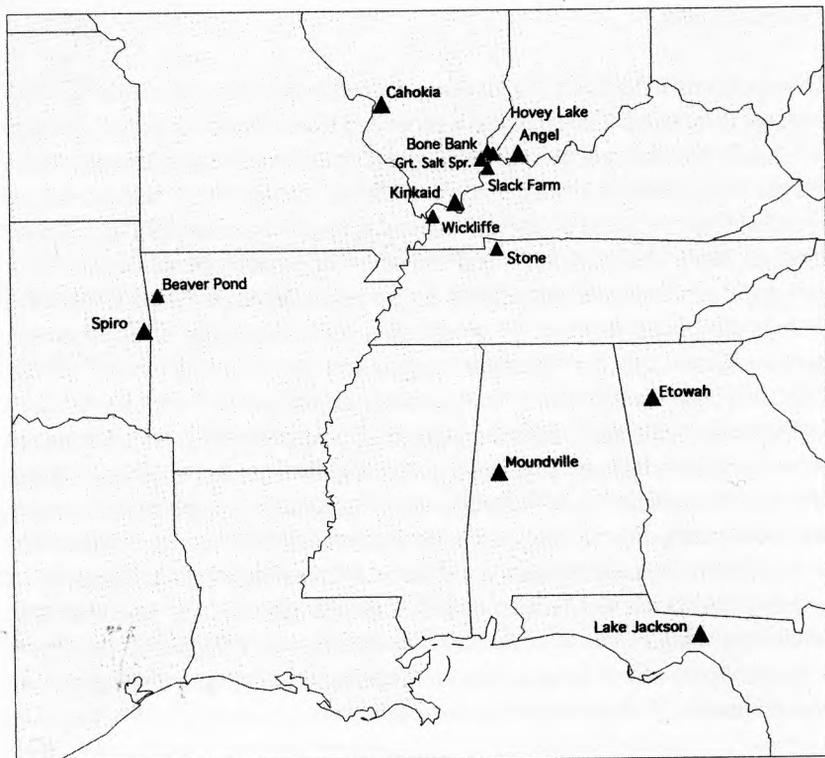


Figure 2.1. Locations of sites mentioned in chapter 2.

temples and charnel houses, specialized ritual structures, and recreated sacred landscapes; (2) concentrations of religious and symbolic artifacts and ritual plants; and (3) special mortuary patterns (Emerson 1997:37). Such markers also characterize later Mississippian ceremonial centers such as Spiro, Etowah, Moundville, Lake Jackson, and the historically known chief village of the Natchez, although exact manifestations differ over time and space (see, for instance, the papers included in Butler and Welch 2006, particularly the critical comparison of Cahokia and early Moundville [Wilson et al. 2006]).

Emerson singled out prestige goods as “symbols of individual power,” describing them as “exotic, ritually charged durable materials (associated with elite positions) that circulate through extensive . . . exchange networks that touch distant places and foreign elites” (Emerson 1997:33; see also Helms 1988; Renfrew 1986). They are seen as “critical links in carrying out social transactions and paying debts,” both among elites and down the social ladder (Emerson 1997:33; see also King 2004:165). Jon Marcoux (2007) argues,

based on evidence from the Moundville chiefdom, for the importance of locally derived goods as well as nonlocal materials and objects as “display goods” within the chiefdom.

Prestige/display goods may serve as status markers such as badges of office, rank, or kin group, which are restricted in use to a particular social segment, or they may serve as wealth items, which anyone can own, and which are “quantifiable in that more, larger, or better made items represent greater wealth” (Prentice 1987:198–199). Examples of Mississippian status markers (for individuals or groups) include large copper symbol badges portraying birds, birdmen, and other iconographic images (Strong 1989); distinctive headplates associated with warriors (Brown 1989:201–202); certain styles of marine shell gorgets associated with particular corporate kin groups at Etowah (King 2004:163; Marceaux and Dye 2007:184); and marine shell mask gorgets typically found with burials of men and children who are assumed to be male (because of their proximity to these gorgets) even though their remains can not be sexed (Smith and Smith 1989). Marine shell beads—found in amounts from one to thousands in burials of elite and nonelite men, women, and children—provide an outstanding example of wealth goods (Prentice 1987). However, masses and/or caches of prestige/display goods, including shell beads, associated with burials may signify collective ritual performance rather than elite wealth, prestige, and/or dominance (e.g., Brown 2006; cf. Emerson and Pauketat 2002:114–118)—manifestation of a different sort of “power.”

Emerson and other archaeologists privilege durable materials such as marine shell, copper, quartz crystals, redstone, and exotic cherts in their definitions and examples of Cahokian prestige goods (Emerson 1997:33; Pauketat 1992; see also Brown 2004), undoubtedly because fabrics and other perishables were an insignificant part of the archaeological record there. However, fabrics did function as wealth items, status markers, and ritual objects in Mississippian society. Their special impact derives particularly from their use as clothing, embodying and signaling personal and ceremonial identity (Wobst 1977, 1999), and as easily transported prestige goods (cf. Schneider 1977), important in elite peer polity interaction (cf. Renfrew 1986).

### *Mississippian Fabrics*

Because objects made from organic materials are subject to rapid deterioration under most archaeological conditions in the Midwest and Southeast, our evidence for Mississippian pliable fabrics and basketry comes not only from primary evidence—actual objects or fragments of them—but also from a broad array of secondary evidence (Drooker 2001b).

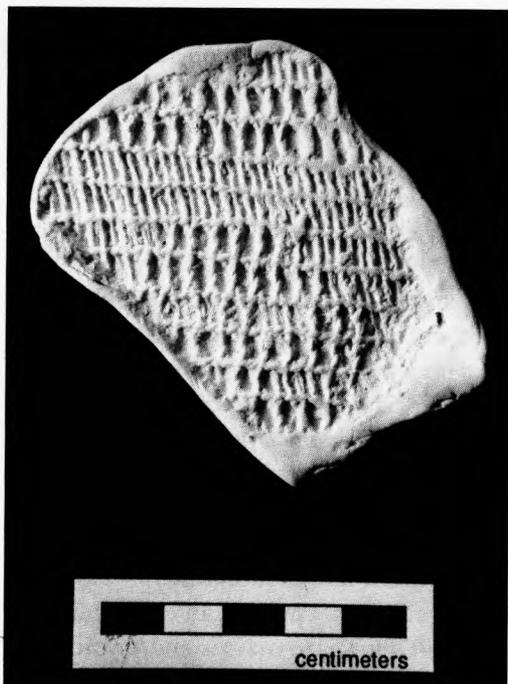


Figure 2.2. Clay cast of “octagonal openwork” (plain twining combined with transposed interlinked warp elements) fabric impressed on pottery, Wickliffe Mounds site, Kentucky.

#### ATTRIBUTES OF FABRICS AND FABRIC OBJECTS

Objects in everyday use, such as skirts, shawls, headbands, sandals, mats, bags, baskets, and hunting and fishing nets, sometimes have been preserved as charred fragments or under dry conditions in caves and rockshelters (e.g., Drooker 1992:58–93; Horton 2010; Kuttruff 1987; Kuttruff et al. 1998; Scholtz 1975). Much evidence also has been preserved as impressions on pottery (e.g., Drooker 1990, 1992, 1993, 2001a, 2003; Henderson 2004; Kuttruff and Kuttruff 1996; Pappas 2008; Spanos 2006; Stathakis 1996). Mats and baskets were interlaced in twill patterns using cane or bark strips. Pliable fabrics were produced through the techniques of twining, interlacing, and knotting, with no evidence for the use of mechanical looms. Plant fibers, twisted or spun into yarn, were the most common materials in these ordinary or “subsistence” fabrics. Decoration of everyday fabrics was in the form of simple stripes (created by grouping twining rows and/or using colored yarns) and through lacy geometric designs created by manipulating selected warp elements (Figure 2.2) (see also Drooker 1992: Figures 9, 24–29, 50, 51). Impressions on pottery provide evidence that a type of twined fabric capable of producing bicolored figurative designs like those on eighteenth- to twentieth-century Great Lakes storage and “medicine” bags was being

made and used in Mississippian and Caborn-Welborn contexts (Drooker 1992:107, Figures 9d, 17, 26; Pappas 2008: Figure 6–7).<sup>3</sup>

Examples of very fine-scale and elaborate fabrics and basketry, requiring much skill and time to produce, have survived primarily in elite mortuary contexts at Spiro, Etowah, and a few other locations, and occasionally as impressions on ceramics (e.g., Brown 1996:413–416, 422–425, 619–631, 2014; Burnett 1945; Byers 1964; Drooker 1991, 1992 and references therein, 2001a, 2011; Horton 2014; Horton and Sabo 2011; King and Gardner 1981; Kuttruff 1987; Kuttruff and Drooker 2001; Sibley and Jakes 1994; Sibley et al. 1996; Webb and McKinney 1975; Willoughby 1952). Structurally decorated fabrics have also survived as impressions on stone palettes and as pseudomorphs<sup>4</sup> on copper plates, again primarily in mortuary contexts (e.g., Drooker 2004a, 2004b, 2007; Jones 1982: Figure 7a, 1994:130; Steponaitis et al. 2011:94, 96–98). Their functions include large mantles, both plain and feathered, elaborate sashes, portions of headdresses, and containers or wrappings for bundled objects. Some were decorated with painted or resist-dyed designs and others with added elements such as bone or shell beads (e.g., Drooker 1992: Figure 6; King and Gardner 1981: Figure 4; Moorehead 2000 [1932]: Figure 34; Willoughby 1952: Plates 147, 148). Types of pliable fabrics besides those mentioned include very elaborate openwork designs similar to European bobbin lace, made with white or natural plant-fiber yarns, which have come from Spiro, Etowah, and the Stone site in Tennessee (Drooker 1991, 2011:178–181 and references cited), and twined tapestry, in which different-colored wefts are used to build up mosaic-like designs, which is known only from Spiro (e.g., Brown 1996:623–624, Figures 2–155, 2–156; Burnett 1945: Plate 88; King and Gardner 1981: Figures 5, 6; Willoughby 1952: Plates 140, 141). Baskets can be double-walled, and both baskets and mats from burial mound contexts display elaborate geometrical designs (e.g., Brown 1996:420, Figures 2–43 to 2–46; Horton and Sabo 2011; Moorehead 1932: Figure 64; Webb and McKinney 1975), although complex patterned float weave basketry also has come from rock shelters and caves (e.g., Scholtz 1975:87–107). Yarns of both plant fiber and animal fiber are found in fabrics from elite mortuary contexts such as at Spiro and Etowah, as are mixed-fiber yarns such as rabbit hair and plant fiber, or plant fiber, animal fiber, and feathers/down (King and Gardner 1981:124, 126, 128–130; Willoughby 1952: Plates 142, 143). Both their contexts of disposition and the amount of time and skill required to produce them provide evidence that such fabrics can be considered “prestige goods,” as opposed to “subsistence goods.”

It is worth noting, for reasons explored below, that one technical attribute typical of Mississippian fabrics is the preference for a particular twist direc-

tion in yarn construction and twined fabric construction. Over much of the Mississippian world, particularly in the "Middle Mississippi" region, both single- and double-ply yarns, as well as weft twining rows, overwhelmingly tend to be twisted in the "S" direction (Drooker 1992:207); that is, if the yarn or row is held vertical, the slant of the twisted elements is in the direction of the center portion of the letter "S." The opposite twist is known as "Z." Although yarns and fabrics from Spiro and Caddoan Ozarks sites display significantly more "Z" twisting than in regions farther east (Drooker 1992:201–203, 207; Kuttruff 1988a), recent research by Elizabeth Horton has demonstrated a shift over time in Ozark Plateau fabrics from Late Woodland to Mississippian, to larger proportions of final "S" twist in yarns and twining rows for plant-fiber fabrics, but a retention of "Z" twist construction in feather cloth, considered a continuation of an earlier local tradition (Horton 2010:34, 471–478, 485).

Two- and three-dimensional images of Mississippian people provide additional valuable information about garments and adornment made from perishable materials. Representations of Mississippian elites, ancestors, and anthropomorphic supernatural beings in media such as carved and/or engraved stone, engraved shell, copper, and pottery depict elaborate regalia including items made of both durable and perishable materials, the latter incorporating what appear to be woven and twined fabrics, some highly decorated (e.g., Drooker 1992:76–79). Some extant fabrics can be matched to particular images. Together, they can tell us much.

Spanish chroniclers were notably impressed with the quality of Late Mississippian fabrics, writing of the fine mulberry-fiber yarns and "very pretty blankets" made by the women of Ichisi (Rangel in Clayton et al. 1993:I:271) and of "feather mantles (white, [green], vermilion and yellow) . . . rich and elegant for winter" stockpiled near Cutifachiqui (*aka*, Cofitachequi; Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:I:83).

#### FABRIC PRODUCTION

Economically, fabrics embodied a large amount of time, energy, and skill. From replication studies, we know that even ordinary garments required on the order of 150 hours or more for gathering and processing materials, spinning the yarn, and constructing the fabric (Drooker 1992:164–170, 226–234, 2011; Ericksen et al. 2000). Smaller-diameter and/or multifiber yarns, structural patterning in fabrics, applied ornamentation such as feathers or beads (e.g., Drooker 1992: Figures 6, 27, 51, 52; Willoughby 1952: Plates 142, 143), and dyes or pigments to add color (e.g., Brown 1996: Figure 2–155; King and Gardner 1981:130, 132; Sibley and Jakes 1994) would multiply that time expenditure greatly, as well as requiring additional skills. It is quite likely that

most of this work was accomplished by women (Drooker 1992:11–12, 237). Their expertise, the “power to” fashion a wide range of yarns and fabrics not only exactly suited to their functions but also, in some cases, strikingly elaborate, constituted an important, and sometimes overlooked, contribution to the social economy of their communities and polities.

Was there specialization in Mississippian fabric production? Although each household would have been responsible for producing pliable fabrics and basketry for everyday use, it is quite possible that different tasks, such as plant fiber preparation, yarn spinning, and fabric construction were carried out by different age groups, as is typical, for instance, in the Andes (e.g., Franquemont 1986). Very likely at least part-time specialists—highly experienced craftspeople—created the most elaborate fabric items (Drooker 1991:231–232, 2011:178–182). In the case of ceremonial items (see below), such practitioners likely also would have been ritual specialists.

Because even the most intricate Mississippian fabrics required little in the way of production equipment (at most, a simple frame), it is not surprising that, to date, archaeological evidence for localization or control of fabric production by any particular group has not been found. However, ceramic spindle whorl sizes and clustered distribution in and around the American Bottom do provide evidence for increased and quality-controlled yarn production at particular locations, perhaps indicating “that fiber production was carried out by a few people with an intent to increase production” (Alt 1999:132). In her study of fiber perishables from Ozark bluff shelters, Horton notes a change over time, from Late Woodland to Mississippian, to finer bast fibers for skirts and mantles (2010:505–506). Although the bluff shelter assemblages contained no ceramic spindle whorls, one intact wooden spindle rod with a gourd whorl did survive, and Horton suggests that the combination of finely processed bast fibers and weighted spindle spinning would have made “the production of significant quantities of cloth,” including “complex, intricate and high-quality cloth,” more feasible (2010:498–499). Spindle spinning is also a viable hypothesis for the large quantities of cloth, including notable amounts of fine-scale and decorated fabrics, impressed on pottery at Mississippian and later Caborn-Welborn sites in the lower Ohio River valley region, where (for instance) more than 200 perforated discs were excavated at the Angel site (Black 1967:457; Drooker 1992: 159, 226–228; Drooker 2007).

Rather than a purely economic concern or a control of prestige-goods production by elite patrons, as some have proposed (e.g., Pauketat 1997a, 1997b), loci of concentrated craft production may be related to reciprocal obligations of corporate groups within the larger society (Kelly 2006). An historical account by a priest accompanying a French expedition on the lower

Mississippi River may give the flavor of Mississippian communal fabric production. During a visit to an Ouma village in 1700, he spent the day in a cabin “filled with women who spin bark and work at the looms. Some of them are wives of the great chief who has been dead for some months” (du Ru 1934:29).

### *Fabrics and Socioeconomic Power in the Mississippian World*

Social, political, economic, and ritual functions of Mississippian fabrics undoubtedly overlapped, like the multiple social identities of their makers and users. I have chosen to discuss fabrics likely associated with social/political/economic relations among humans in “this world,” separately from fabrics likely associated with rituals or ceremonies marking relations between humans and other nonhuman beings in the cosmos as a whole. There is some inevitable overlap.

#### ITEMS OF STATUS, DISPLAY, AND WEALTH

One key function of fabrics, the world over, is that of clothing. Clothing, in turn, is a key item in signaling social identity (or identities), boundaries, and interactions (e.g., Wobst 1977). Colors, symbols, and unique stylistic features associated with a person’s clothing can signify age, gender, social or kin group affiliation, and other attributed or acquired statuses. Greater numbers and greater complexity of labor-intensive garments associated with an individual or group can serve as indicators of wealth. Clothing that incorporates highly visible nonlocal objects or materials, such as marine shell or copper, can objectify sociopolitical ties to other polities, and the power(s) that this may imply, on a personal level.

As might be expected, high-ranking Mississippians tended to be associated not only with durable status and wealth items, but also with elaborate fabrics. It is no accident that the largest known assemblages of very high quality (fine-scale, elaborately patterned/decorated, labor-intensive) organic Mississippian fabrics have been associated with elite burial contexts, with the greatest variety and numbers coming from the Great Mound at Spiro (e.g., Brown 1996; Horton 2014; King and Gardner 1981; Kuttruff 1988a, 1988b; Willoughby 1952). Jenna Kuttruff developed and used an index of production complexity to compare fabrics from elite versus nonelite Caddoan Mississippian burials, finding a significant correlation of more-complex fabrics with elite burials (Kuttruff 1988a, 1991, 1993). Fine-scale and elaborate fabrics also are known from elite burials in Etowah’s Mound C (e.g., Byers 1964: Figure 14; Drooker 1991: Figure 4; Sibley et al. 1991: Figure 6; Willoughby 2000 [1932]: Figure 34; personal examination). For example,

an intricate lace-like fabric was among the wealth of objects accompanying Burial 57, an adult male, which included "8 large conch shell bowls, an engraved shell gorget bearing a representation of an 'eagle warrior,' 2 copper axes, 5 or 6 embossed sheet copper plates, a profusion of shell beads, and 2 copper covered wooden ear discs" (Larson 1971:64; Sibley et al. 1991).

Claudine Payne notes that maintenance of power and authority requires "advertising," which "is most effective when it is easily understood, highly visible, and reaches the largest possible audience" (2002:193). The power of regalia incorporating such "advertising" was not lost on early Spanish visitors. According to Rangel, the cacique of Tascaluca greeted Soto "on a . . . mound to one side of the plaza, about his head a certain headdress like an *almaizar* [type of turban], worn like a Moor, which gave him an appearance of authority, and a *pelote* or blanket of feathers down to his feet, very authoritative" (Rangel in Clayton et al. 1993:I:290).

Other symbolic aspects of ceremonial dress might or might not have been understood by Europeans. For instance, leaders greeting nonlocal visitors often were described as wearing white, the color of stability and peace (cf. Lankford 2008:73–97). The chief of Taensa in Louisiana, visiting a French delegation in 1682, "was clothed in a white robe" (Tonti in Parkman 1892: 281–282), and both the cacica of Cutifachiqui in South Carolina and the cacique of Coosa in Georgia were carried to meet Soto on litters covered with white cloth (Rangel in Clayton et al. 1993:I:278, 284).

A number of extant garments from Mississippian ceremonial center mortuary contexts clearly were designed to convey symbolic information from a distance, some perhaps related to personal status/social persona, others evidently ceremonial or ritual in nature (see discussion below), and many likely serving both purposes. For instance, nine garments from Spiro—five mantles and four woman's skirts—included three mantles featuring very large, repetitive resist-dyed or painted motifs in a contrasting color (Willoughby 1952:117–118, Plates 145–149). Close up, the rabbit hair yarn of all nine garments would signal their difference from the far-more-common garments made from plant fiber. Beyond any symbolism related to color or motifs, coloration and decoration of these fabrics would have required special skills and extra production time, indicative of "wealth"/"prestige" objects. Another example with similar properties came from an elite burial at Etowah: a fine-scale animal-fiber fabric in dark red, decorated with contrasting resist-dyed motifs (Willoughby 1932: Figure 34; personal examination).

Feathered mantles, an eye-catching class of garment also requiring significant investment of time and skill (Drooker 1992:73–74), may or may not have been exclusively, or even primarily, associated with higher-ranking people. Virtually all examples that survived in the archaeological record of



Figure 2.3. Clay cast of decorated fabric impressed on pottery: Roundel design (approx. 10 cm diameter) from an elaborate lace-like fabric, Stone site, Tennessee.

the Southeast were associated with burials, but some of these burials were in caves or rock shelters rather than burial mounds or “elite” cemeteries (e.g., Holmes 1896:29–30; Horton 2010: Table 10.1). Besides feathered fabric fragments and cordage from Spiro’s Great Mortuary (e.g., Willoughby 1952: Plates 142–143), about a dozen feathered robes and many fragments, dating from Late Woodland to Mississippian, have come from Ozark rock shelter burials (Horton 2010:344–345, 357, 479–487). Although recognizing historical accounts that clearly link feather robes to “high status individuals, such as male leaders,” Horton draws attention to an apparent association in the Ozarks of women and children with feather robes as burial shrouds (Horton 2010:484).

Fabrics from nonelite contexts, such as those impressed on pottery vessels in the lower Ohio River valley, include a variety of structure types that could produce unique motifs suitable for marking social identity (e.g., see figure 2.2; Drooker 1992: Figures 9, 26, 27, 28, 51; Pappas 2008: Figures 5-4, 5-15, 5-18, 5-27, 5-28, 5-29, 6-7). Large numbers of these types of decorated fabrics were produced (Drooker 1992:211, 216–217, 2007). However, except for one notable example from the Stone site in Tennessee (Figure 2.3) (Drooker 1991, 1992:190–192; see discussion below), they did not re-

quire levels of skill and time equivalent to those needed for the most elaborate fabrics from Spiro and Etowah, or to robes incorporating feathered cordage. As well, their delicate designs would not have been visible at any great distance.

#### FABRICS IN THE CHIEFDOM ECONOMY

In his analysis of the Moundville economy, Paul Welch considers several models of production, distribution, redistribution, and internal and external exchange of subsistence and prestige goods (1991:6–22). The model that best fit Moundville (1991: Figure 6.1) incorporated (1) subsistence goods produced by local households and distributed to local centers and thence to the paramount center, (2) local prestige goods produced in the paramount center and distributed to local centers as well as being used for external exchange, and (3) nonlocal prestige goods coming in to the paramount center and being redistributed to local centers. Welch notes that this model was specific to Moundville, and that certain lingering questions might be due to the lack of preservation of items made from organic materials. Whether other Mississippian polities conformed to this particular model (see, e.g., Wilson et al. 2006, for a comparison between Moundville and Cahokia), their economies likely all involved internal and external movement of subsistence and prestige goods. Despite the rarity of fabrics in the archaeological record, clearly they were a significant component of this social economy. Their production and distribution would have paralleled those of other goods circulating within and between polities.

Fabric “blankets” made from plant fiber yarn and worn as mantles by both women and men were collected as tribute within sixteenth-century polities such as Cutifachiqui (Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:74–75). These would have been common fabrics, of the sort likely produced in every household. Their distribution could easily have conformed to that noted for subsistence goods in the Moundville polity. In a number of towns, Spanish chroniclers commented on large *barbacoas* or elevated storage buildings containing shawls, skins, feather mantles, maize, and other items. Stockpiles of clothing, pearls, and weapons also were found in mortuary temples (Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:75, 83, 87–88). The presence of labor-intensive items such as feather mantles hints at the inclusion of other types of elaborate fabrics that might be considered local prestige goods (e.g., Drooker 1991) among the stored items.

Spanish accounts reveal that the volume of stockpiled fabrics was notable. Caciques and cacicas alike gifted Soto with large quantities of shawls and feathered mantles (e.g., Hodge and Lewis 1907:173, 174, 210), and after Soto's death, the remnants of the *entrada* were able to obtain more than enough blankets to use as sails on the seven brigantines they built to carry them-

selves down the Mississippi and back to New Spain (Bourne 1904:1:187–191; Clayton et al. 1993:I:151; Hodge and Lewis 1907:173, 174, 209–211). As noted, this large volume of fabrics may have been made possible by the adoption of weighted spindle spinning, which significantly speeds up yarn production, as well as making it easier to produce a consistent product.

Emphasizing the economic, and probably symbolic, importance of stored fabrics is the fact that they were targeted and seized as booty by Native warriors. For instance, during a raid jointly conducted by Soto and the cacique of Guachoya against neighboring Nilco in eastern Arkansas, while the Spaniards butchered Nilco villagers, Guachoya warriors loaded their canoes with clothing from the houses (Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:135–136). Exhibiting “power over” their enemies undoubtedly involved not only pillage per se but also the element of humiliation. Seizure of clothing might add a very personal insult to that humiliation, as well as an economic blow to local stockpiling.

Although Spanish accounts of “tribute” imply a one-way path for these stockpiled items from lower- to higher-ranking people, they also could have functioned as “communal wealth” (Horton 2010:498). Stockpiled shawls, feather mantles, and other fabrics might have been used in a number of ways; for instance, to clothe high-ranking individuals within a polity, to wrap the honored dead, for upper-level or general redistribution within a polity, and for external gifts and exchange. Whatever the nuances of the system within a given polity, fabrics moving within it, particularly clothing, with its intimate relationship to particular individuals, groups, and statuses, would embody its social and power relations.

Both historical accounts and the archaeological record provide evidence for fabrics as external exchange items. The Soto entrada encountered Natives west of the Mississippi who made salt from local salines to “carry it into other parts, to exchange for skins and shawls” (Hodge and Lewis 1907:218). Spanish leaders also participated in elite-level ceremonial exchanges, of the sort that might take place between leaders of peer polities. Across the entire Southeast, fabric blankets or mantles frequently were presented to Soto by local caciques in greeting ceremonies (e.g., Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:83, 106, 115, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 132, 140; Rangel in Clayton et al. 1993:270). In at least one encounter, feather blankets were presented to the horses (Cañete in Clayton et al. 1993:I:308), which probably were viewed as extraordinary beings worthy of particularly elaborate gifts. (No mention is made of a feather mantle ever being presented to Soto himself.)

Evidence of very long-range movement of fabrics in external exchange networks is provided by a few fragments of plain-weave cotton cloth from Caddoan Mississippian contexts. Cotton fiber was produced no closer to this area than the Rio Grande Valley (Teague 1998: Figure 1.12), more than

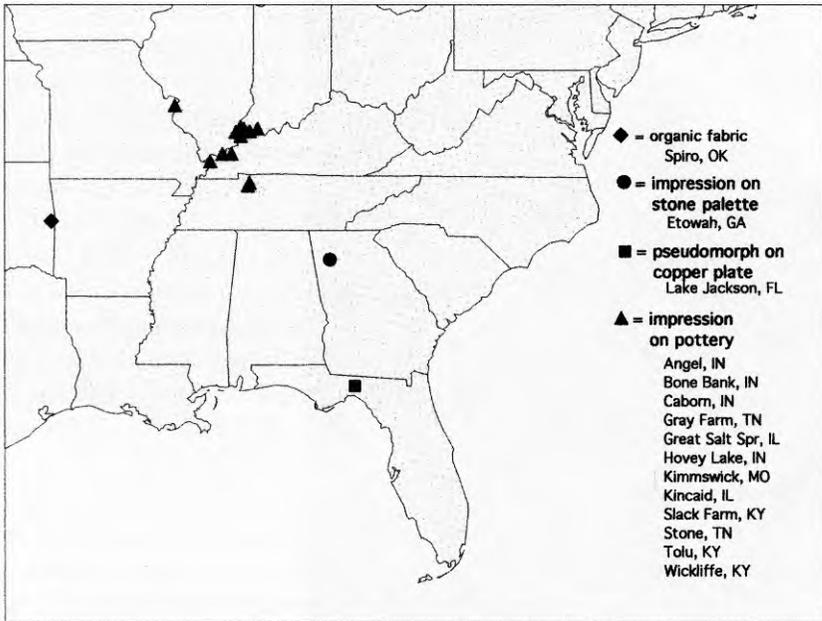


Figure 2.4. Locations of sites from which “octagonal openwork” fabrics are known.

1,000 km away. The best-known transported examples of cotton fabric came from Spiro, where they were located under a stack of copper plates (Brown 1996:621, Figure 2–158). At thirteen single-ply warps and wefts per cm, they are extremely fine-scale. Two additional fragments came from the Ozarks Pine Mountain region Beaver Pond site, a location relatively close to the Arkansas River, which has been suggested as part of a Trans-Plains exchange network (Horton 2010:53, 213–214, 479). These are much coarser than the Spiro example (five doubled or double-ply elements per cm) and are not known to have come from a mortuary context.

Fabric exchange within the Southeast might be represented by the geographical distribution of a distinctive type of twined fabric with structural decorative patterning that is sometimes called “octagonal openwork” (see figure 2.2), which was quite common at Mississippian settlements around the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, such as Wickliffe, Kincaid, and Angel Mounds, and persisted in Caborn-Welborn contexts near the confluence of the Wabash and Ohio Rivers after the mound centers were abandoned (Figure 2.4) (Drooker 1992:41, 101, 108–111, 118–120, 158, 164, 168, 179, 182, 183, 185–191, 198–199, 202, 203, 205, 211, 215–218, 221–222, 225, 228, 230, 236, 240; 2007; Hoyal 2005). In that region (and in a few scattered instances in the Cumberland River valley), octagonal openwork patterns were preserved as impressions on “salt pan” pottery. These impres-

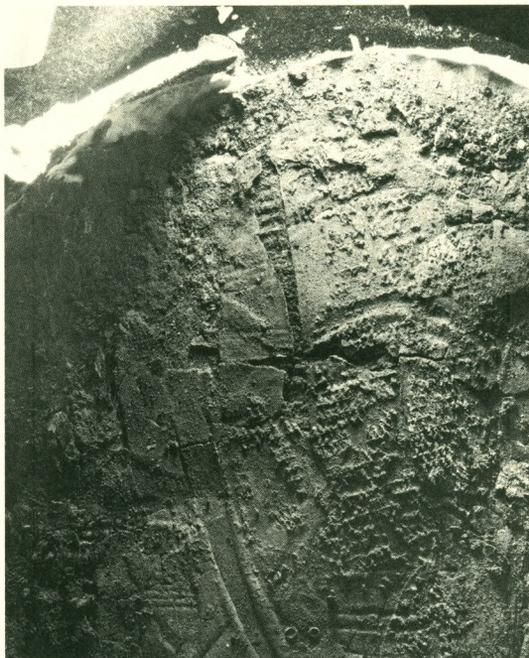


Figure 2.5. Interior surface of copper “hawk man” plate from Burial 16, Mound 3, Lake Jackson, Florida, with adhered “octagonal openwork” fabric, probably preserved as pseudomorphs. Note presence of fabric on both sides of plate (courtesy of Florida Division of Historical Resources).

sions were most likely made from nonelite fabrics originally used as skirts and mantles. Outside that region, however, the few known occurrences of this fabric structure are from elite burial contexts: organic fragments from the Great Mortuary at Spiro (Brown 1996:624, Figure 2–154b); impressions on a ritual stone palette at Etowah, probably from use as a bundle wrapper (Steponaitis et al. 2011:96–97); and fragments preserved on both sides of an elaborate copper “hawk man dancer” breast plate associated with an adult burial in Mound 3 at Lake Jackson, Florida (Figure 2.5) (Drooker 2007; Jones 1982: Figure 7a, 1994:125–126; see also Troccoli 2002:176–178). Again, this fabric probably served as a wrapper for the plate. It seems possible that the octagonal openwork fabrics found in elite burial contexts at the three Mississippian paramount centers may have been made elsewhere, traveling to their eventual ritually charged resting places through high-level exchange. Although relatively easy to make and common in their homeland, these lacy, decorative fabrics could have been highly valued in distant regions where they were not being produced.

#### *Fabrics and Ritual Power in the Mississippian World*

Since Antonio Waring and Preston Holder’s seminal discussion of Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC) objects and motifs (1945), much re-

search, analysis, speculation, debate, and consultation has been lavished on the study of SECC and other Mississippian iconography and what it, together with ethnohistorical information, can tell us about Mississippian peoples' belief systems and (power) relationships between themselves and other beings in their cosmos (e.g., Galloway 1989; King 2007; Lankford 2008; Lankford et al. 2011; Reilly and Garber 2007a). In discussing the history of SECC studies, Kent Reilly and James Garber note that "this Mississippian Period artistic tradition consists of the artifacts, symbols, motifs, and architectural groupings that provide the physical evidence for the ritual activities practiced by the numerous ethnic groups comprising the demographic and cultural landscape of the Mississippian Period. It is also the discernible cosmology, ideology, and political structures of those various Mississippian Period groups" (Reilly and Garber 2007b:1).

Vernon James Knight has made the case that Mississippian "symbolic objects for ceremonial display, or *sacra* . . . suggest a triad of coexisting types of cult institution: (1) a communal cult type emphasizing earth/fertility and purification ritual, (2) a chiefly cult type serving to sanctify chiefly authority, and (3) a priestly cult type mediating between the other two, supervising mortuary ritual and ancestor veneration" (Knight 1986:675). Mississippian fabrics have a special niche in this ritual landscape.

Fabrics can serve as objects or markers of ritual power through visual characteristics that indicate their association with particular important ceremonies and/or powerful beings, as well as through subtle inherent characteristics that embody particular aspects of the cosmos. Certain fabrics might have physical characteristics with obvious ritual connections, and/or their depositional contexts might hold the key to understanding their ritual significance. Two important functions that fabrics served in Mississippian ritual life were as ceremonial regalia and as containers or wrappings for ritual objects, but even everyday fabrics may have manifested ritual aspects of a broadly shared worldview.

#### RECOGNIZING RITUAL POWER FROM A DISTANCE

Ceremonial garments are significant for their ability to signal the roles of their wearers as communicators with powerful beings or as actual embodiments of such beings. Both chiefly and priestly roles can be embodied.<sup>5</sup> Attributes of ceremonial garments and related fabrics that can signify particular meanings include form, color, and motif. Large-scale, highly visible attributes are typical of fabrics worn or used in public ceremonies.

The most spectacular examples of likely ceremonial garments come from the Great Mortuary at Spiro. Intricate, labor-intensive tapestry fragments depicting feathers, weeping eyes, and the "tied animal" motif in yellow, red, and black are described by King and Gardner as "the first known instance

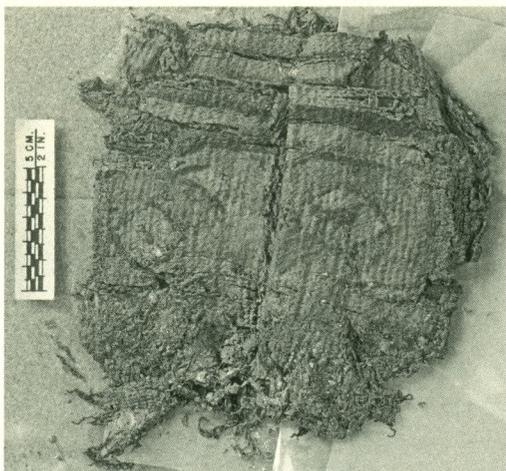


Figure 2.6. Twined tapestry fragment, Great Mortuary, Spiro, Oklahoma. Eye motifs, probably bird heads (courtesy of Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution; catalog no. 423,373).

of truly representational design in Spiro textiles" (1981:132, Figures 5, 6) (Figure 2.6). They suggest that these might have been remnants of "capas with large, full human figures," like those depicted on some birdman copper plates and marine shell objects (Brown 2007; King and Gardner 1981: Figure 7; Strong 1989). James Brown provides a slightly different interpretation, noting that a particular large fragment depicting feathers (Figure 2.7) (Brown 1985: Figure 23; Burnett 1945:45, Plate 88;) could have been part of "a suitable cloak or mantle to simulate the wings of a bird, such as the falcon. This sort of garment could easily have been used in the costumery implied in the depictions of the falcon impersonator" (1996:623). Its design, rendered in contrasting colors, would have been strikingly visible from a distance. Brown notes that this cloth fragment was associated "with falcon copper plates in a high status copper plate burial (A6a)" (1996:624). Yarns included both plant and animal fibers (Brown 1996:623).

Fragments of feathered garments were recovered at both Spiro and Etowah (Brown 1996:622–623; Sibley et al. 1996). Although none of the Etowah fragments was large enough to distinguish whether particular motifs were present, it is possible that some of them, too, were designed to depict symbolism related to birdmen. At a minimum, comparable colors were present. For instance, chemical analysis of a feathered Etowah fabric from an extremely rich burial showed that the feathers were dyed red and gold (Sibley and Jakes 1994). That is, the colors did not come simply from collecting feathers of a particular hue, but by expending effort and skill to produce exactly what was required or desired.

One aspect of the birdman concept relates to conflict (Brown 2007:85–87).



Figure 2.7. Twined tapestry fragments, Great Mortuary, Spiro, Oklahoma. Feather motifs; largest fragment 31.75 cm (12.5 in) wide (courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution [18/9351]; photo by NMAI Photo Services).

The master of ceremonies for the interment of the Great War Chief of the Natchez in 1725 wore a headdress with red feathers and a knee-length garment ornamented with feathers in alternate rows of red and black (Willoughby 2000 [1932]:42). It is possible that this priestly role involved regalia specific to the chiefly role of the deceased.

Brown mentions other motifs rendered in twined tapestry excavated at Spiro, including “flag” and “key” designs that “would be appropriate for a serpent cloak, which is often so rendered in engraved shell representations” (1996:624).

The five dark red, rabbit hair mantles from Spiro included one with a highly visible crenelated design and two that featured motifs of large

(~15–38 cm diameter) concentric circles or half circles in yellow or off-white. The latter originally were interpreted as sun symbols (Willoughby 1952:145–148) but appear to have multiple associations in Mississippian art, including serpents, winged serpents, and piasas (e.g., Lankford 2007a: Figures 5.1, 5.6; Phillips and Brown 1978: Figures 254, 257, 260, 262), among many other contexts. Concentric circles also were a prominent design feature in an extremely elaborate lace-like plant fiber fabric from the Stone site, a stone-box-grave site in Tennessee's Cumberland River valley (see figure 2.3) (Drooker 1991, 1992:190–192; 2011: Figures 9, 10).

On a somewhat smaller scale, but still visibly striking, is a dark red, animal fiber fabric from Grave 19, Mound C, Etowah, decorated with 6–7-cm diameter cross, circle, and cross-in-circle motifs in yellow or off-white (Willoughby 2000[1932: Figure 34; personal examination]). The cross-and-circle motif, common in Mississippian iconography and related to core cosmological concepts (e.g., Brain and Phillips 1996:25–37; Hall 1997:98–100; Lankford 2007a; Phillips and Brown 1978:150; Waring and Holder 1945: Figures 2, 4), is incorporated into a number of elite mortuary fabrics that could have functioned as ritual garments. Besides being realized in contrasting colors on the surface of the Etowah fabric, it occurs in a much subtler, smaller-scale version (approximately 1-cm diameter motifs), worked into the structure of a complex lacy fabric from Spiro (Brown 1996:624, Figure 2–157; Drooker 1991: Figure 3).

Colors as well as symbols in these garments undoubtedly were significant. For instance, Tom Emerson and Tim Pauketat draw attention to the ubiquity of white and, particularly, red pigment in public spaces at Cahokia after the metaphorical “Big Bang,” (2002:113–114; see also Lankford 2008: 73–97 on the ethnohistorical significance of these colors).<sup>6</sup>

In addition to tapestry mantles that perhaps replicate the garb of powerful birdmen or serpent men, other known Mississippian fabrics might replicate clothing associated with particular mythical beings depicted in stone, metal, shell, or clay. A possible example comes from the middle Cumberland Valley in Tennessee.

Pottery effigies of women depicted as wearing patterned shawls were deposited as grave goods with many subadult burials in Cumberland Valley stone box graves. These include both older and younger versions of what is probably a single personage. A recent study by members of the Mississippian Iconography Workshop included more than two dozen examples of this effigy figure, concluding that it “is without doubt the single most important subject in the pottery of the Middle Cumberland Culture,” who might represent a “possibly supernatural personage who was venerated or invoked in the practices of a mortuary cult complex across the Cumberland

River basin" (Sharp et al. 2011:178, 195–196). The negative-painted garment on these figures is distinctive, typically incorporating shoulder roundels, parallel vertical or diagonal lines, and a prominent crosscutting horizontal stripe(s) (e.g., Sharp et al. 2011: Figures 8.4–8.6; see also Drooker 1992:77, 79, Figure 19). It can be distinguished from a depiction of body paint or tattoos by the fact that its design is continuous across arms and body.

Although this design is complex, it could have been rendered in "octagonal openwork" (see figure 2.2), a fairly straightforward technique that was common in fabrics impressed on pottery in the region surrounding the Ohio-Mississippi River juncture (see figure 2.4). This technique is known from at least two Cumberland Valley sites in Stewart County, Tennessee, one of the seven counties from which the effigy figures have come (Sharp et al. 2011:178). However, contrast between the two textures in this type of fabric would not have been strong, so that even large-scale designs would not be prominently visible from a distance.

A better candidate can be seen in the elaborate lace-like fabric from the Stone site in Stewart County, which actually included a prominently visible roundel of the correct scale (~10 cm diameter) (see figure 2.3), as noted by Sharp et al. (2011:183). Unlike other known complex fabrics from the Southeast, this one was preserved as an impression on a pottery vessel discarded in a pit lined with charcoal and containing a variety of food remains, which the excavators tentatively interpreted as "some kind of cooking pit later filled in with the garbage from the feast" (Coe and Fischer 1959:48). Replicating the shawl designs depicted on Cumberland Valley female pottery figures using this technique certainly could be done, but only with a very large investment of time and skill (Drooker 1991:80–82, 1992:190–192, 2011:178–181). If such effigy figures indeed represent a supernatural personage invoked during mortuary practices, particular women might have worn shawls of similar design during funerary rituals, honoring and perhaps embodying this personage. To speculate wildly, the Stone site fabric, which seems incongruously elaborate to have been employed in the production of a pottery vessel, could have been deliberately impressed on a vessel associated with funerary feasting.

In historical times, a double-faced twining technique using two contrasting yarn colors was employed to depict symbolism of This World, the Upper World, and the Under World on Great Lakes medicine bags. One side often would show an Upper World symbol or being such as Thunderbird, and the other a This World being such as a deer or an Under World being such as Underwater Panther (Drooker 1992:69–72; Phillips 1989; Whiteford 1977a, 1977b; see also Krutak 2013:137–138). A similar double-faced fabric structure has been found impressed on pottery from thirteenth-century

contexts at the Wickliffe Mounds site in Kentucky, although the fragment was not large enough to infer any depiction (Drooker 1992:106–108, Figure 9c), as well as on a sherd from the ca. fifteenth-century Caborn-Welborn Slack Farm site, Kentucky (Pappas 2008:23, Figure 6–7, third image). Such a fabric might have been used to produce thirteenth-century medicine bags, but the technique did afford a means of depicting representational motifs of symbolic power by a more economical method (in terms of time and materials) than twined tapestry.

#### “SECRET” SYMBOLISM IN MISSISSIPPIAN FABRICS

Symbolism in Mississippian fabrics went beyond visible colors and motifs. For instance, yarn materials and subtle details of yarn and fabric construction may also have embodied significant aspects of Mississippian beliefs with respect to ritual power.

Mississippian fabrics made of animal hair or containing combinations of animal and plant fibers are known primarily from elite mortuary contexts (see above). All yarns analyzed from Spiro twined tapestry fabrics consist of mixed fibers, always including animal hair (Kuttruff 1988a:224–231, 254–261). Fiber combinations could be due to technical considerations, since animal hair such as rabbit is slippery and difficult to spin alone. However, an in-depth analysis of a variety of samples from Spiro found surprising fibers and combinations of fibers in most of them (King and Gardner 1981:126–130). Feather fragments and down were spun together in some yarns, with down coming from turkeys (or other gallinaceous birds) and geese. Most analyzed yarns contained mammal hair (probably mostly rabbit), small amounts of plant fiber, and down. Unfortunately, the published information from this study does not provide data about the fabric sources for the analyzed yarns, so any connection between symbolic meaning and ritual function cannot be considered. However, it certainly seems likely that these laboriously constructed yarns objectify some relationship between This World and the Above World, perhaps related to powerful composite beings such as birdmen. Fiber from particular animals and birds might well hold very specific ritual meanings (e.g., turkey as a war symbol [King and Gardner 1981:132]).

As noted before, Mississippian yarns, both single- and double-ply, consistently exhibit a final “S” twist, as do rows of twining within fabrics. Double-ply yarns typically were formed by twisting together two single-ply yarns twisted in the “Z” direction, so the choice of final twist direction obviously was not driven by a technical limitation. Where temporal differences could be compared, an increase of “S” twisting over time was apparent (see Drooker 1992:201–231, particularly 207, 218, 220, 227; Horton 2010:354, 471–478). What might have been the significance of this attribute?

The ethnohistorical record does include some instances of ritual choice for particular directions of yarn spinning, such as Peruvian yarns that were counterspun to avert black magic (Kerner 1963). However, I was unable to develop a specific hypothesis for this widespread and consistent "community of practice" (cf. Minar 2001) in Mississippian yarn and fabric production. I was intrigued, then, to learn of research by Laura Kozuch (1998), who suggests that the overwhelming presence at Mississippian archaeological sites of sinistrally coiled whelk shells, rather than equally available large marine shells coiled in the opposite direction, might be, at least in part, an ideational choice. She demonstrates a congruence among the whelk spiral direction, clockwise-spiraling ramp access to the tops of certain Mississippian mounds, Creek sacred fire construction, and the inward-spiraling clockwise direction taken by male dancers described in early European accounts (1998:122–145). Kozuch notes that "ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts in the Southeast indicate that sinistral spirals were sacred, akin to the clockwise path of the sun" (1998:133). This spiraling direction is also congruent with the visible lines in S-twisted yarns and twining rows. The consistent, widespread occurrence of S-twisting in both ordinary and ceremonial fabric items thus may express a basic aspect of the Mississippian belief system, perhaps providing access to ritual power for all who used them.

#### MISSISSIPPIAN FABRICS FROM RITUAL CONTEXTS

Fabrics from the archaeological record may incorporate attributes that immediately signal their significance in Mississippian ritual life to modern researchers. However, as with other types of artifacts, contexts of deposition can tell us much, and ethnohistorical accounts can provide potential models for testing.

Mortuary contexts, with their direct associations between individuals and objects, are perhaps the most evocative, and a number of instances have been discussed above. In her study of Ozark Plateau fabric traditions, Horton (2010) draws particular attention to feather cloth associations with burials, but she also notes strong evidence that most if not all burials in this region were wrapped in some way, whether by "hide, cloth or basketry." She further observes that "shrouding, bundling, and containing are mean[s] of both respecting ancestors and protecting descendants from the dead" (2010: 480–481). Although some people wore recognizable clothing, many more were wrapped in a sequence of textiles and hides, with bundles tied by fiber or hide cords, and placement on "beds" of matting or grass (Horton 2010:481–483). Here and elsewhere it is unclear whether such wrappings were specially prepared "burial shrouds" or materials that happened to be on hand, but their ritual importance is clear.

Fabrics also often "clothe" objects of power. Wrappers and containers

for ritual objects and bundles may have some parallels with ritual wrappings for the dead, serving as both a protection for the objects and a shield for the people who might inadvertently come in contact with them. Some examples from the Mississippian archaeological record include a repoussé “hawk dancer” copper plate interred with a burial at Lake Jackson, Florida, which was wrapped in “octagonal openwork” fabric (see figure 2.5; see above for additional information); copper turtle-effigy rattles and copper-covered bone items wrapped in fabric, matting, and animal viscera or skins from the large Mitchell Mound near Cahokia (Pauketat 1994:84; Winters 1974: 39–41); objects such as a headdress and copper plates, some wrapped with hide, associated with elaborate, distinctive lidded baskets at Spiro (Brown 1996:414, 416; Horton and Sabo 2011); and four stone palettes bundled with minerals and pigments with impressions of five different twined fabrics on sides and bottoms (Steponaitis et al. 2011; the authors also note additional bundles from Mississippian contexts, including Etowah, the Pickwick Basin, and elsewhere [2011:101]).

Again, it is not always clear whether such wrappings were specially created for that purpose. For instance, the palette bundles from Moundville appear to have been wrapped with a variety of typical everyday fabrics, one of which might have been an import, but otherwise with no particular distinguishing features (Drooker 2004a, 2004b; Steponaitis et al. 2011:96–97). Only their placement indicates their significance. Although historical bundles often incorporate specially constructed wrappings for contained objects (e.g., Kelly 2006: Table 12–1; Krutak 2013:137–139), in some cases European machine-made cloth was used (e.g., Gilmore 1932a:45, 46). Whether such cloth was chosen because it was deemed “special” or its use was merely expedient is not clear.

The recent discovery, through re-analysis of the disturbed archaeological record at Spiro, of a “Spirit Lodge” within the Craig Mound (Brown 2014; Horton 2014) might be thought of as a macro sacred bundle. This defined space, a late addition to the mound that contained sacred bundles and regalia, appears to have been hung with colorful tapestries (some previously interpreted as garments) that might have been made specifically for the Spirit Lodge. Both unique, labor-intensive fabrics and unique, labor-intensive double-woven cane baskets featured prominently in this sacred space.

### *Conclusion*

Just as with other, more durable types of materials and artifacts, fabrics can be demonstrated as actively participating in many aspects of Mississippian social, political, economic, and ritual power relations.

The examples discussed here only scratch the surface of the intimate association of constructed fabrics with social, political, economic, and spiritual “power over” and “power with” within the Mississippian world. Fabric producers, who most likely were women (Drooker 1992:11–12; Kehoe 2001), wielded the “power to” create these important objects. Through both primary and secondary evidence, Mississippian fabrics can provide multifaceted insights into the power relations of their makers and users.

### *Acknowledgments*

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### *Notes*

1. Prestige goods, display goods, and skillfully crafted goods are terms often but not always used synonymously to signify “artifacts that are rare, non-utilitarian, and ornately crafted,” often of nonlocal production and/or made from nonlocal materials (quotation from Marcoux 2007:243, who prefers to use display goods for such objects in the Moundville political economy). Although the term “prestige goods” comes with some baggage—in that it is sometimes explicitly associated with nonlocal objects/materials (e.g., Pauketat 1994:20–21)—I have chosen to use it throughout this chapter for both local and nonlocal “luxury” goods.

2. For additional theoretical overviews and perspectives, see also, e.g., Emerson and Pauketat 2002:119–120; Feinman 2002; Miller and Tilley 1984; O’Donovan 2002; Payne 2002:190–195.

3. For more information on particular materials, techniques, tools, and fabric structures, see, e.g., Drooker 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993; Kuttruff 1988a, 1988b.

4. A pseudomorph is “a mineral, usually a metal corrosion product, that completely

covers and replicates the form of a perishable object such as a yarn or feather" (Drooker and Webster 2000:272).

5. In some Mississippian polities and time periods, ritual power and politico-economic power/authority may have been so closely connected that they, and their markers, might be indistinguishable. For instance, during the development of the Moundville polity, elites were increasingly distanced from nonelites, symbolized by their "restricted access to a cosmologically charged, ceremonial regalia" representing chiefly cult symbolism (Beck 2006:32–33; see also, e.g., King 2004; Marceaux and Dye 2007; Payne 2006:104–106; Troccoli 2002; cf. Brown 2006).

6. The "Big Bang" pertains to a "rapid political consolidation at Cahokia" ca. A.D. 1050—"archaeologically, a virtually instantaneous and pervasive shift in all things political, social, and ideological" (Emerson and Pauketat 2002:109).