MISSISSIPPIAN COMMUNITY AND CONSTRUCTION AT ANNIS VILLAGE

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ABSTRACT

Community layout and mound construction are commonly used to make inferences about the nature of Mississippian social organization. In this paper, I examine the construction of the Annis Village (15Bt2, 15Bt20, 15Bt21), a Mississippian mound center in western Kentucky, as understood through new fieldwork (2002-03) and WPA collections (1939-1940). The site underwent at least three expansions, as indicated by the construction of sequential palisades and enlargement of the earth mound. It is hypothesized that these construction episodes and variation in architecture reflect local changes in social organization.

INTRODUCTION

The study of the layout of past communities gives archaeologists important information that allows them to reconstruct the organization of the societies that constructed them. However, research on this topic is often limited by the lack of large-scale exposure of community plans because mound and village centers are rarely completely exposed. In this paper, I describe the sequential stages of construction and expansion of the Annis Village (15Bt2, 15Bt20), a single-mound site located along the Big Bend of the Green River in Butler County, Kentucky. This is possible because of a combination of large-scale Works Progress Administration (WPA) excavations and recent, more focused, Penn State work. I examine the overall layout of the site, how the use of space changed over time, and what can be said about social structure from the sites' features, their configuration, and their contents. Significant labor investment in the form of palisades, mounds, and structures is viewed as a marker for the presence of one or more individuals who wielded considerable influence.

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MISSISSIPPIAN COMMUNITIES

Archaeologists have long recognized that Mississippian mound centers were built according to a plan (e.g., Sherrod and Rolingson 1987). Early European explorers noted the existence of plazas, mounds, palisades, and residential structures (both summit and non-summit) (e.g., Elvas 1993) and nineteenth-century investigators described and mapped the layouts of mound sites (e.g., Squier and Davis 1998; Stout and Lewis 1995).

At the largest Mississippian sites, such as Cahokia, Moundville, Etowah, and Kincaid, (among others), there is clear evidence for a planned community (e.g., Cole, et al. 1951; Fowler 1997; King 2003; Knight 1998; Knight and Steponaitis 1998; Lewis, et al. 1998; Milner 1990, 1998; Pauketat 1994). This evidence consists of an orderly arrangement of mounds, clear demarcation of plazas, and construction of palisades around part or all of the site.

At smaller but more numerous sites possessing few or no mounds, evidence for community planning is less obvious but still present. Stout and Lewis (1998; see also Lewis 1990, 1996) provide a detailed summary of site plans in Kentucky's Mississippi Valley region, focusing on the importance of mounds, plazas, and palisades. Sites such as Larson in Illinois (Harn 1994), Snodgrass in Missouri (O'Brien 2000; Price and Griffin 1979), Hiwassee Island in Tennessee (Lewis and Kneberg 1946), and Andalex, Jonathan Creek, and Morris in Kentucky (Niquette 1991; Rolingson and Schwartz 1966; Webb 1951) possess mounds, plazas, palisades, and structures, often laid out in an orderly fashion and showing growth over time. Likewise, some Mississippian sites, like King and Ledford Island, show clearly organized arrangements of houses and other features, although mounds are absent (Hally 1988; Sullivan 1987).

ELITIES AND LABOR

Central to any discussion of Mississippian community patterns is the role and status of the local elite and their interaction with the non-elite inhabitants. These elite individuals were likely those who directed the construction of the site in some form or another. Therefore, the elite (presumably a chief and close kin) enjoyed greater prestige and wielded some level of control over the labor of others. The degree to which this control conferred an economic (subsistence) advantage is not clear (e.g., Cobb 2003; Milner 1998; Muller 1997; Pauketat 1994) and is beyond the scope of this paper, although it is unlikely that the needs of the chief greatly interfered with the day-to-day life of the villagers.

While there are no ethnohistoric descriptions available that specifically deal with Kentucky, written accounts from elsewhere in the Southeast indicate that chiefs lived in large structures atop mounds and that temples or "council houses" were also often located on summits (e.g., Bartram 1996:165; Biedma 1993:239; du Pratz 1972:333; Elvas 1993:75, 95). Payne (1994, 2002), in a cross-cultural study of chiefdoms and Mississippian architecture, shows that the houses of chiefs are substantially larger than those of the commoners and that these houses are usually in a prominent location,

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although this is not always the case (Hammerstedt 2005a). Regardless of whether or not summit structures were residences or ceremonial buildings, it is clear that summit architecture was emblematic of enhanced status and access was likely restricted to a small subset of the community (Lindauer and Blitz 1997).

Archaeologists working in the Southeast have used these accounts to inform their interpretations. Knight (1981, 1986; Schnell, et al. 1981:133, 137-145; see also Krause 1988), drawing on ethnohistoric documents and archaeological evidence from Cemochechobee, argues that mounds and the rituals performed upon them were central to Mississippian life. Black (1967) interprets the large structure on the primary mound summit at Angel Mound F as a temple and believes that the chief's dwelling was atop the largest mound, Mound A. Polhemus (1987) notes domestic refuse within summit buildings at Toqua and Hally (1996) uses summit architecture and mounds as evidence for chiefly succession and legitimacy in northern Georgia. Many more examples of summit architecture exist but merely confirm the pattern above.

The cost of labor required to build mounds and palisades was relatively high and was presumably directed by the chief or other individuals of high rank (see Milner 1998:150). Lafferty (1977:215) estimates that over 1.5 million person-hours were required to construct the mounds. Muller (1997:274) provides lower estimates of 15,000 person-hours (1 person-day per 1.25 m^3 of mound fill) and points out that the requirements would not have overly taxed the local residents (e.g., important subsistence tasks need not have been interrupted for construction). He argues that 1,250 people could have built the mounds at Kincaid in 100 years if each household of 5 people contributed only 4 days of labor per year. Further, Milner (1998; see also Hammerstedt 2005b) states that at Cahokia demands on households were not that great even during the peak of mound building.

The vast majority of Mississippian palisades were constructed using posts between 15 and 25 cm in diameter and were often accompanied by ditches or embankments for additional security (Milner 1999). Few estimates of palisade heights are in the literature, however Vogel and Allan (1985) estimate a height of 4 m for the Moundville palisade and Ritchie (1980) argues that the palisade at the Iroquoian Kelso site reached to a similar height of 4.5 m. Obviously, a considerable amount of labor would have been required to cut suitable posts with stone tools, to dig or twist the posts into the ground, and to maintain the walls as rot set in. Lafferty (1977:215) provides a figure of 7,000 person-hours for the construction of the palisade at Kincaid. Iseminger et al. (1990), estimate 130,000 to 190,000 person-hours for each Cahokia palisade while Milner (1998) argues that 500 people working for 10 days per year for 100 years would have been enough to construct each palisade.

Although the mound and palisade construction estimates listed above differ, the point as far as this paper is concerned remains the same. Building mounds and palisades was a time-consuming and expensive process but one which would have been easily accomplished with the population available (Hammerstedt 2005b). The individuals who were able to motivate and direct this construction likely wielded considerable influence

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and enjoyed some degree of prestige. Keeping this discussion in mind, let us move on to a description of the growth and expansion of Annis Village and its local socio-political implications.

ANNIS VILLAGE

The most prominent features at Annis are a 3.7 m tall earthen platform mound measuring approximately 33.5 m on a side (Figure 1) and a surrounding fortified village that encompassed approximately 1.3 ha (Figure 2). An estimated additional 0.5 ha was eroded away by the river thus making the original area of the village about 1.8 ha, assuming the village extended to the river's edge.

Figure 1. The Annis Mound as it Appeared Before Excavation in 1939 (Courtesy William S. Webb Museum of Anthropology, University of Kentucky. UKMA 3250.)

PREVIOUS WORK

C. B. Moore made the first professional visit to Annis in 1915, and described it as the "largest mound seen or heard of by us on Green River." (Moore 1916:480) His observation about the size of the mound has been borne out by subsequent research—no other such mound has been found for over 50 km. Moore excavated a 3 m deep and 17.5 m^2 "trial hole" in the mound and a second in the nearby Annis Sand Mound (15Bt21) but did not find anything of interest to him (e.g., no fancy burial goods) and moved elsewhere.

Annis was revisited in 1939-1940 by a Works Progress Administration (WPA) crew under the supervision of Ralph D. Brown. Brown's crew excavated the entire platform

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mound and much of the surrounding village, over 7,000 m^2. These excavations revealed three separate mound construction stages, termed the Sub-Primary, Primary, and Secondary mound (Figure 3); sixteen structures and numerous pits in the village area; two palisades; and over 30,000 artifacts (Figure 2)[1].

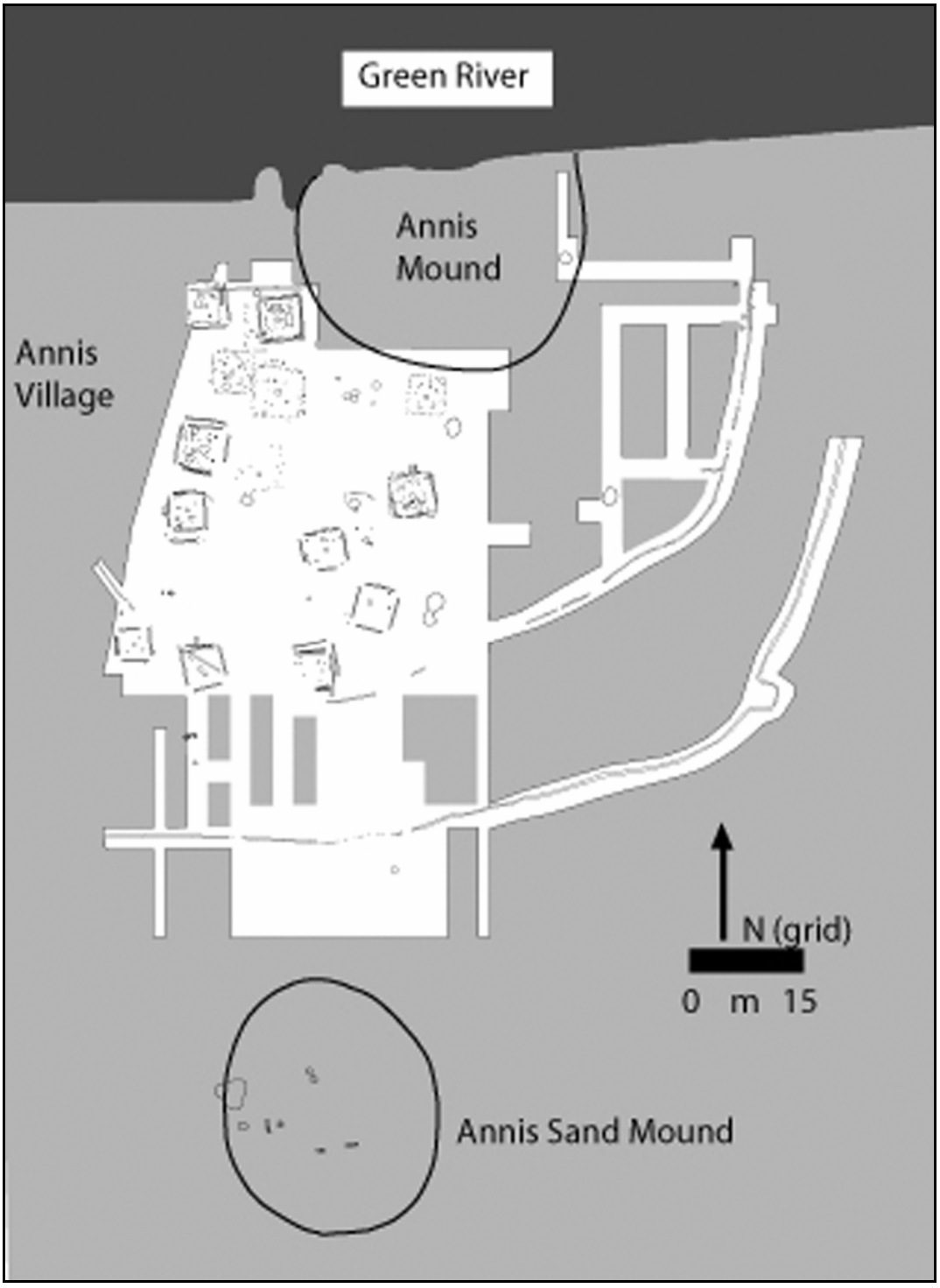

Figure 2. Annis Village Overall Site Plan.

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Penn State began an active research program at Annis in 2001. Excavation of 144 m^2 in 2002 and 2003 revealed a previously unrecognized palisade, a structure and extended one of the WPA-excavated palisades to the river bank. The excellent documentation left behind by Brown permits us to take advantage of the strengths of old excavations that provide large-scale exposures with selective sampling of artifacts versus focused excavations with the collection of diverse cultural and biological materials (Milner, et al. 2003). This combination of excavations and strategies cover enough of the site area to document change over time at Annis.

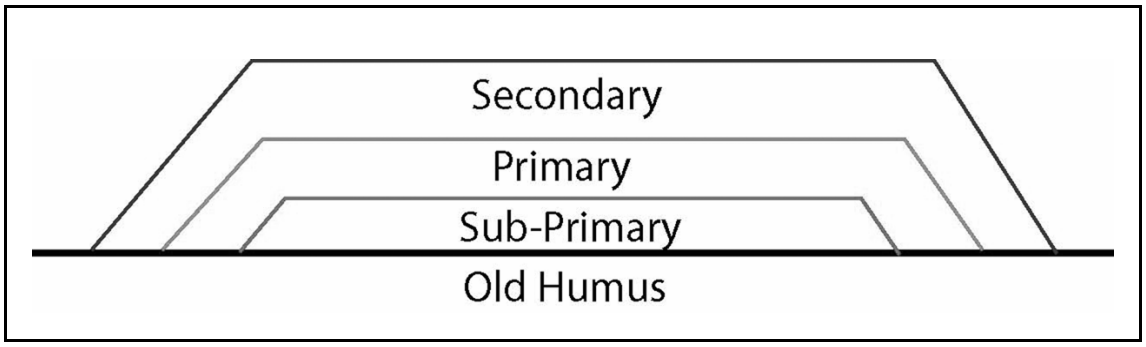

Figure 3. Schematic Diagram of Mound Construction Stages (not to scale).

CONSTURCTION AND EXPANSION OF ANNIS

The earliest recognizable Mississippian occupation at Annis is represented by the Old Humus (pre-mound) layer (Figure 4)[2]. This level consists of a number of postmolds that do not form any recognizable pattern. The exact date of occupation remains unclear, however the presence of a lone Ramey Incised sherd hints at a twelfth- to thirteenth-century occupation (Fowler and Hall 1972; Milner, et al. 1984).

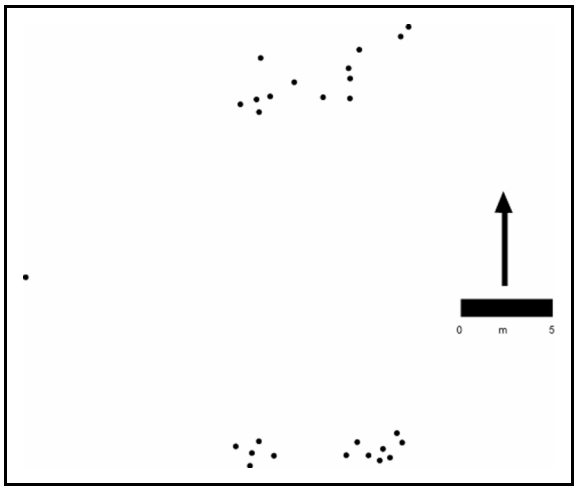

Figure 4. Old Humus Layer, Pre-Mound.

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Phase 1

The first clear evidence for the Mississippian occupation of the site is referred to here as Phase 1. The initial construction of the mound occurred, referred to by the WPA excavators as the Sub-Primary mound. This mound stage reached a maximum height of 70 cm above the Old Humus level, and it was topped by a summit structure (Figure 5). This structure was constructed using single-set posts and was rebuilt at least once. The floor area encompassed by this structure is unclear due to erosion prior to excavation but it exceeded 89 m^2. Numerous hearths and trash-filled pits were excavated within this structure and two large flank middens were recorded on the east slope of the mound (Figure 6). These middens contained primarily animal bone (primarily white-tailed deer), but also some shell and pottery. A wide variety of skeletal elements are represented and many of the long bones seem to have been purposefully smashed. A few show evidence of pot polish (White 1992:120-128). Jars, bowls, and pans --both shell- and grog-tempered-- were the most common vessel forms in the Sub-Primary mound.

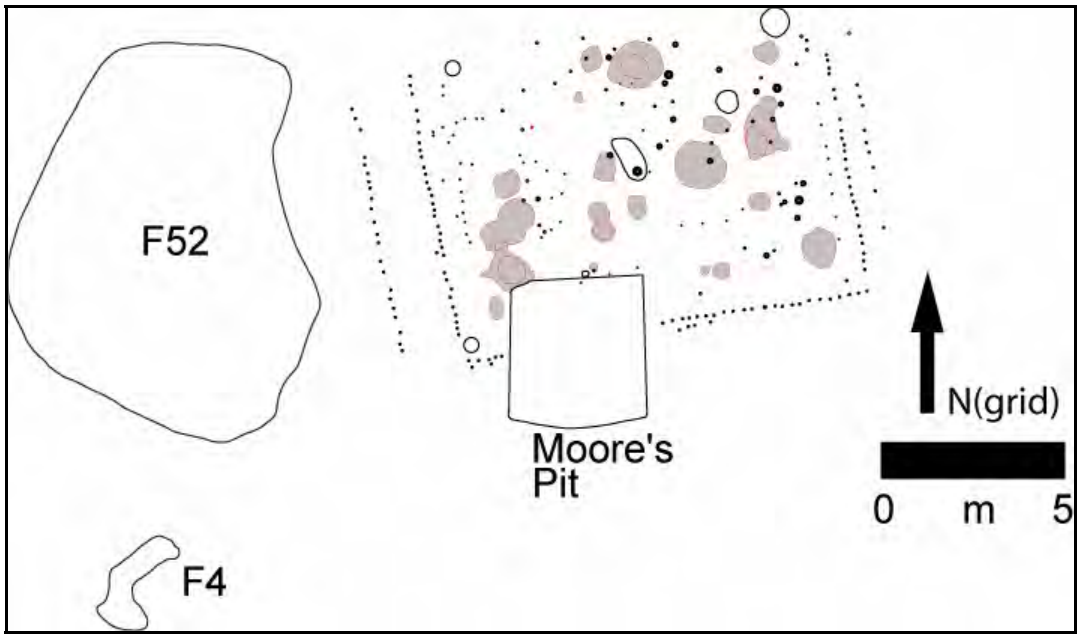

Figure 5. Sub-Primary Mound Structure, Part of Phase 1 Construction. Fire-Related Features are Gray; Pits are Open Circles.

About this time the first palisade was constructed (Figure 6). This was a deep trench with individual posts, some made of ash (*Fraxinus* sp.; Lee Newsom, personal communication 2003) set at approximately 20 cm intervals (Figure 7). This palisade was approximately 114 m long. Extrapolation based on this length and assuming 20 cm spacing between posts results in an estimate of 570 posts for the entire enclosure. It encloses an approximately 0.25 ha D-shaped area with the river forming one side. A 2-sigma calibrated radiocarbon range of AD 1285-1405 with multiple intercepts (Beta 181396, 181398, wood charcoal) was obtained from two samples from a charred post in

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this palisade. The palisade wall superimposed an earlier wall-trench structure found during Penn State's 2003 excavation (Figure 5)[3]. The structure, located east[4] of the mound, would have been contemporaneous with, or slightly predated, the initial mound construction.

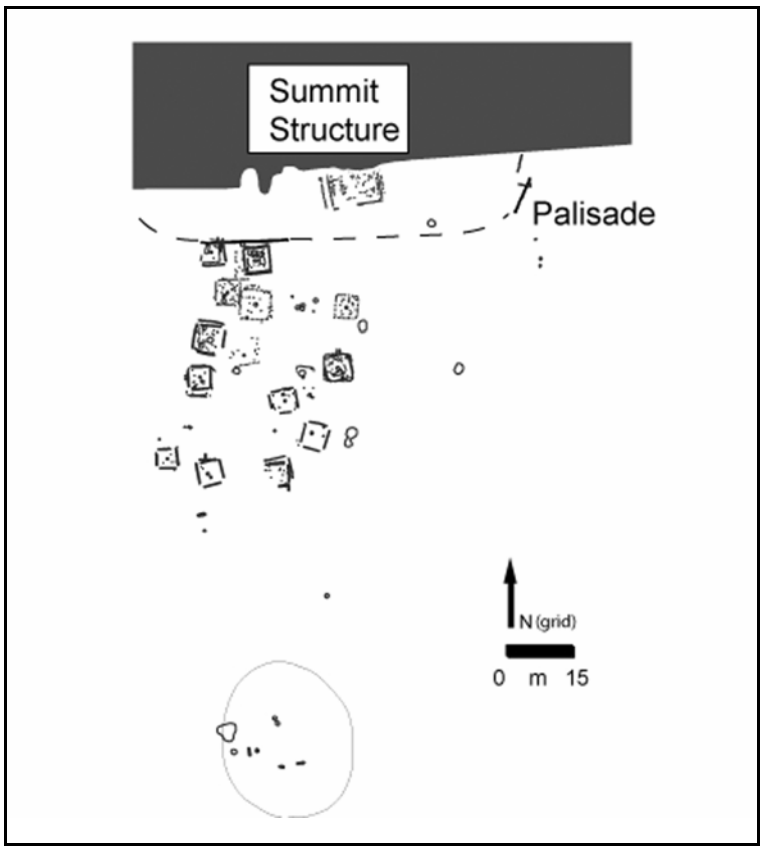

Figure 6. Phase 1 Palisade and Sub-Primary Mound Summit Structure. The Dashed Line Indicates the Presumed Path of the Palisade. A Pre-Phase 1 Structure is Superimposed by the Palisade to the Upper Right.

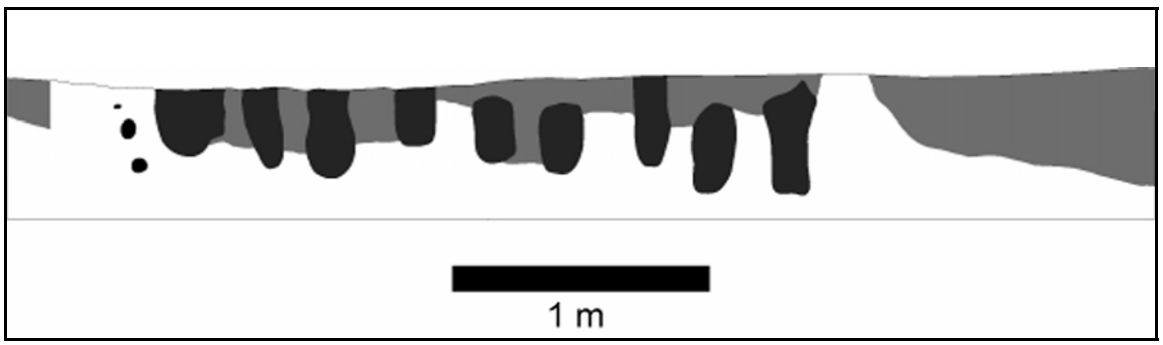

Figure 7. Profile of Phase 1 Palisade Showing Posts (black) and the Trench (gray). Facing Southeast.

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The presence of a handful of Ramey Incised, Powell Plain, and Matthews Incised, *var. Manly* sherds[5] (Figure 8) in both mound fill and summit feature fill lend support to this radiocarbon assay. It is likely the mound and palisade wall were used at the same time.

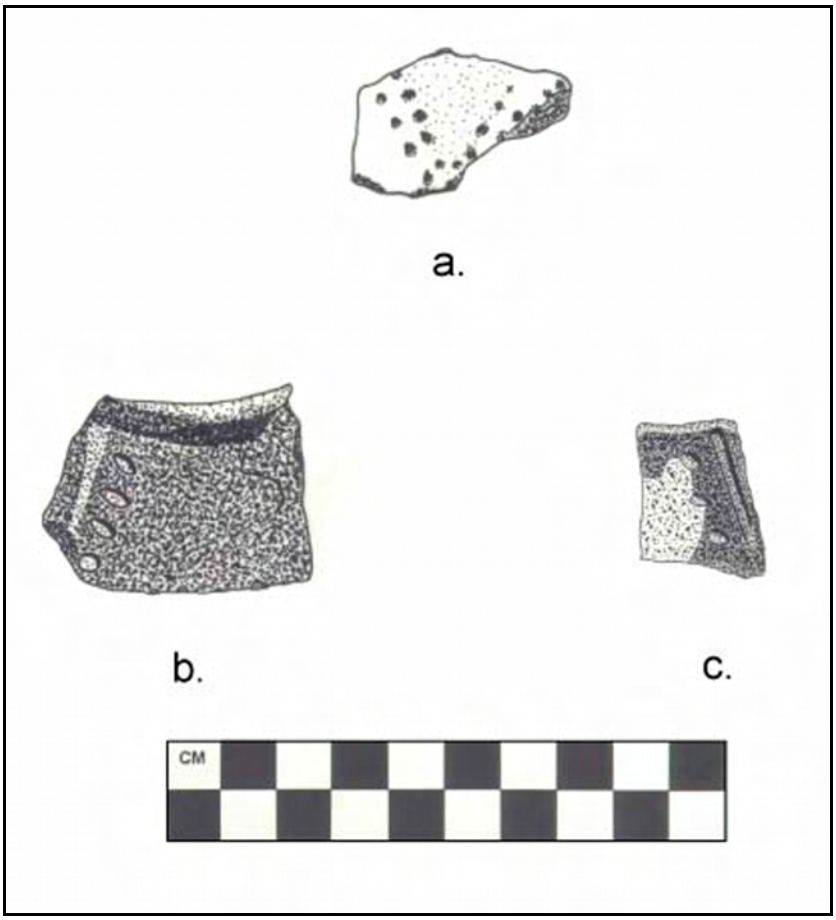

Figure 8. Decorated Sherds from Old Humus and Sub-Primary Feature and Mound Fill. a). Matthews Incised, *var. Manly* (Bt2-C381-5); b). Ramey Incised (Bt2-C169-1); c). Ramey Incised (Bt2-C96-112). Drawing Used Courtesy of Rich Burnette.

Phase 2

During the second phase of construction, referred to here as Phase 2, an additional 90 cm of soil was added to the mound. This level, termed the Primary mound, reached a maximum height of 1.6 m above the Old Humus. It expanded south far enough to cover part of the Phase 1 palisade, which by this time was abandoned. Again, the mound was topped by a structure (Figure 9); this one exhibited a combination of single-set post and wall trench construction techniques. The entire area delineated by the post molds

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encompassed at least 250 m^2, although it is unlikely that this entire area was roofed since no interior support posts exist. The post molds seen on the south and east sides likely formed an fence that blocked public view of an interior wall-trench structure of uncertain dimensions.

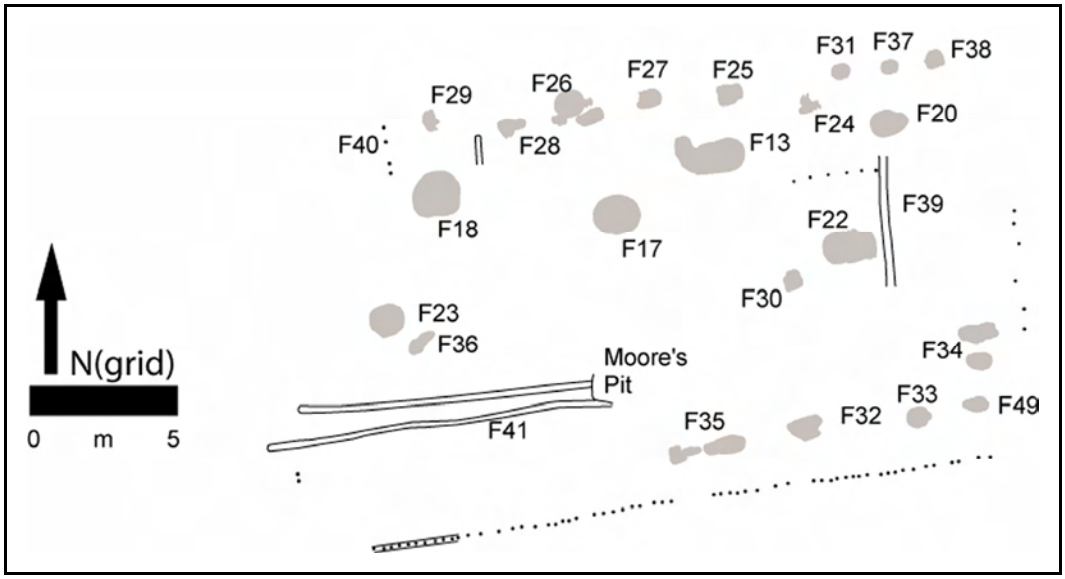

Figure 9. Primary Mound Structure, Part of Phase 2 Construction. Fire-Related Features are Gray.

It is unlikely that anyone resided on the mound during Phase 2. All of the non-architectural features atop this mound stage were fire-related--either hearths or surface fires--although no charcoal or burned daub was recorded. No clay platforms or seats such as those reported for parts of eastern and central Tennessee (e.g., Lewis and Kneberg 1946; Myer 1928; Webb 1938) were present. No trash-filled or storage pits were identified on this level and there was a near-absence of domestic debris --only two jar rims and one unknown vessel form, along with a handful of body sherds and stone, were recovered.

At or near the same time as the enlargement of the mound, a low embankment with a second palisade, also constructed by placing posts within a deep trench, was built to surround the now-larger village (Figure 10). Approximately 1025 posts were used in the construction of this 205 m long palisade. At this point, the settlement encompassed approximately 0.75 ha. A 2-sigma calibrated radiocarbon range of AD 1265-1300 with an intercept of AD 1285 (Beta 181397, wood charcoal) was obtained for the Phase 2 palisade.

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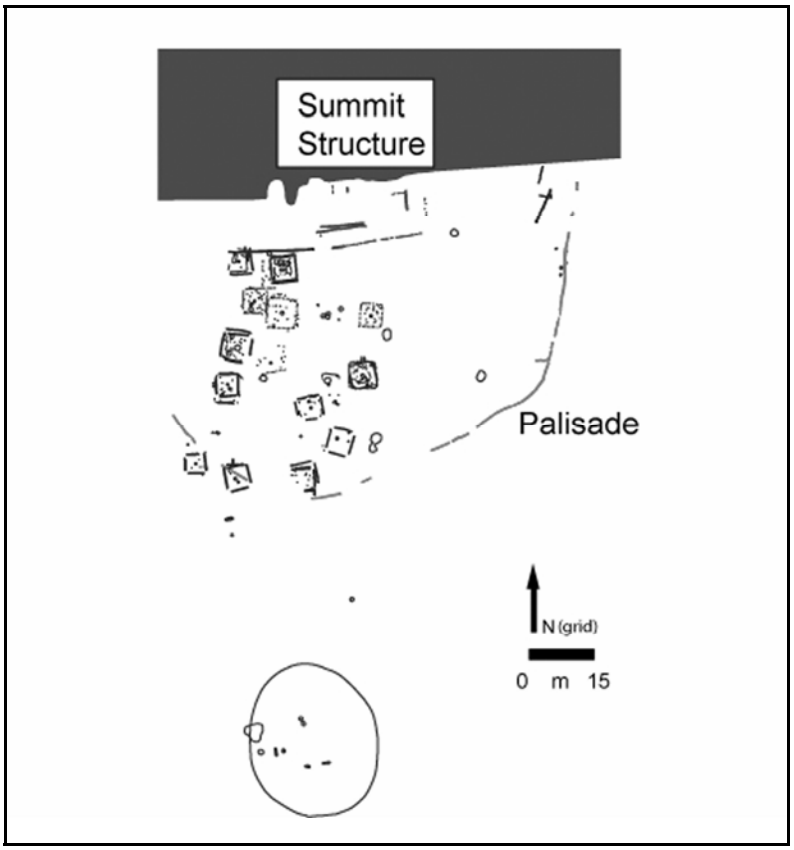

Figure 10. Phase 2 Palisade and Primary Mound Summit Structure.

Phase 3

The third and final stage of village construction saw the most significant labor investment. Over 2 meters of soil was added to the mound, termed the Secondary mound, bringing it to its final dimensions of 3.7 m high and 33.5 m on a side. A wall-trench structure with an estimated floor area of 105 m^2 was located on the Secondary mound summit (Figure 11). This building was the first with an identifiable entrance--two short wall trenches set at a right angle to the eastern wall. An internal partition may have also been present.

Refuse-filled and storage pits reappeared in this level; some were filled with charcoal. No prepared hearths are evident but other fire-related features, possibly surface fires, exist, particularly just outside the eastern wall. Jars, pans, and bowls are the most common vessel forms. Two plate rims were also recovered

A third, and final, palisade was also constructed at this time, presumably to encompass the village (Figure 12). This palisade, 277 meters in length, defined the final limits of the village at approximately 1.3-1.8 ha and is the only one of the three palisades with a bastion (Figure 13). No profiles exist for this palisade, although the plan maps are quite similar to the Phase 1 and 2 palisades. It is probable that it was constructed in the same manner and an estimated 1385 posts were used.

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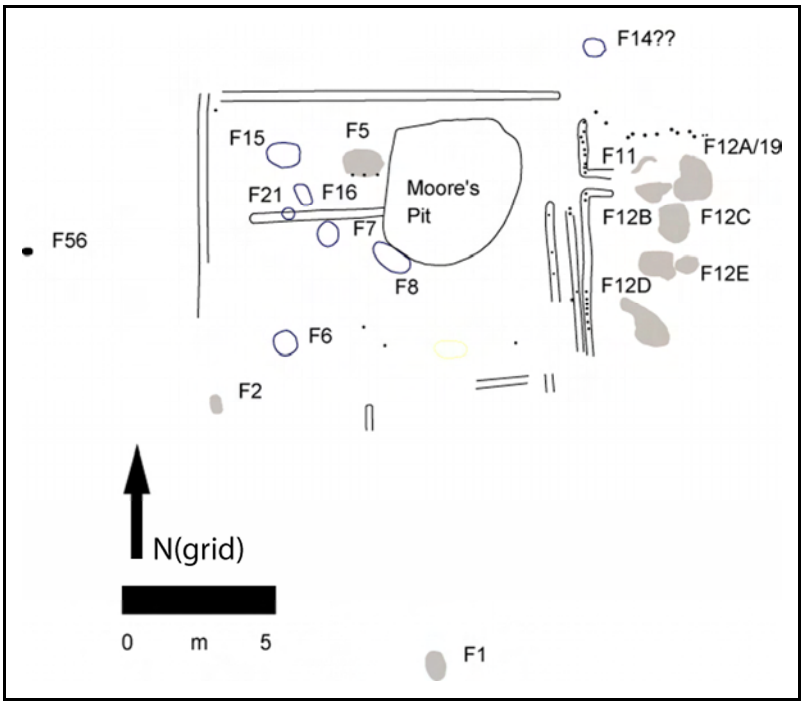

Figure 11. Secondary Mound Structure, Part of Phase 3 Construction. Fire-Related Features are Gray; Pits are Open Circles.

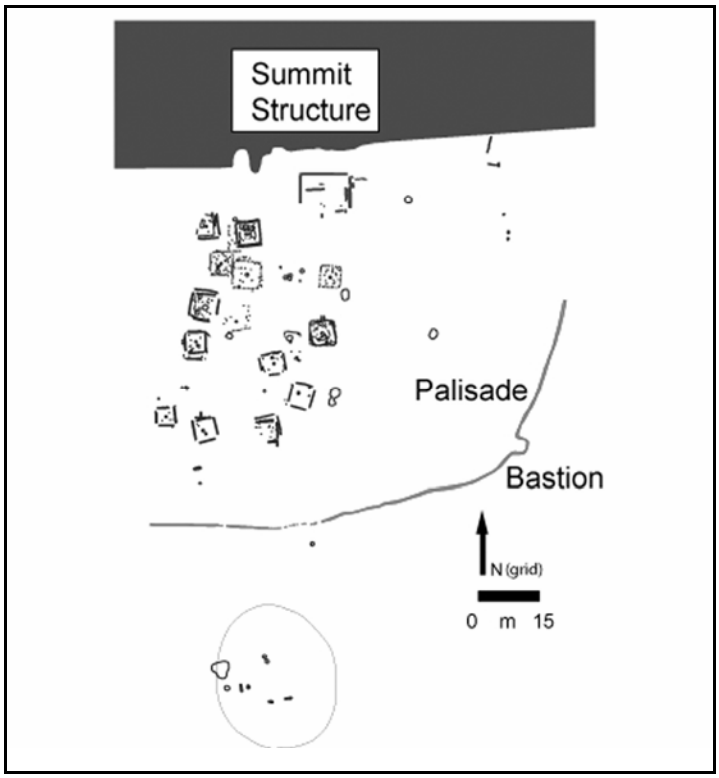

Figure 12. Phase 3 Palisade and Secondary Mound Summit Structure (Note Bastion on Eastern Section of Palisade).

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Figure 13. Bastion After Excavation (Courtesy William S. Webb Museum of Anthropology, University of Kentucky. UKMA 4111).

Further evidence for village expansion can be seen in the village plan. Several wall-trench houses were built over the remains of the Phase 1 and 2 palisades. No radiocarbon dates are available for either the Secondary mound or the outer palisade, however the presence of strap handles in the Secondary mound fill points to a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century construction (Hilgeman 2000), a date that fits comfortably with the radiocarbon dates presented above.

Summary

To summarize, each phase of Annis' expansion saw an increase in the overall volume of the platform mound and the area circumscribed by the palisade. Interestingly, there is no evidence for a plaza—rather there appears to be a ring of houses around the mound (although it is possible that a plaza may have existed at one point only to have houses constructed within it during a later construction episode). The available data puts most construction between the 12th and 15th centuries.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND COMMUNITY PATTERNS

The growth of the platform mound and the surrounding village provides important insights into the social situation at Annis and how it changed over time. No burials were present in the platform mound or within any of the village structures; therefore, this discussion focuses on structures, mound construction, and palisades. Detailed discussion of each construction phase can be found elsewhere (Hammerstedt 2005b)

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Phase 1

During Phase 1, mound construction began and the first palisade was constructed. The Sub-Primary summit structure was clearly domestic based on the presence of refuse-filled pits, hearths, and several large flank middens (Figure 5). These middens, which contained primarily animal bone, do not appear to be related to feasting since all parts of deer are heavily represented and many of the long bones were purposefully smashed to extract marrow. The construction of the initial palisade indicates a need for a social or defensive boundary surrounding the mound and at least some of the village (Figure 6).

It is likely that a particular individual or local kin group had risen to local prominence and took up residence on top of the mound. The construction of the Sub-Primary mound both literally and figuratively elevated these people above their neighbors.

The presence of Ramey Incised pottery, sometimes argued to have ideological value in the American Bottom (e.g., Pauketat and Emerson 1991), is unsurprising in these contexts. However, its importance was likely linked simply to the fact that it was a tradeware from a distant region and did not have the same ideological meaning to the residents of Annis as it did to people near Cahokia. Further, while plates are not well represented in the sample, a number of pans are present. Pans were not always used for the evaporation of brine in salt-making; the smaller examples could have been used for serving or food preparation. Usewear on one vessel from the Julien site in Illinois indicates that it was used for parching (Milner 1984); this is backed up by other archaeological and historic references (Adair 2005:399; Brown 1980:28-30; Lewis and Kneberg 1946:90; Lewis, et al. 1995:104; Milner 1984:153; Thruston 1890:159).

The construction of the initial palisade represented a need for local defense and perhaps a local social boundary. There is no evidence for bastions or ditches associated with this palisade, however, a significant amount of labor would have been required to cut the trees, transport them, and lift them into place. Perhaps more importantly, construction of the palisade would have pulled people away from important subsistence tasks.

Phase 2

The village and mound were enlarged during Phase 2. A second palisade was built, enlarging the enclosure to around 0.75 ha (Figure 10). The mound nearly doubled in size, covering the old Phase 1 palisade, and a substantial summit structure was constructed and surrounded by a fence (Figure 9). All available evidence points to a non-residential function for this structure: few artifacts, no pits, fire-related features only, and substantial architecture. It is unclear where the local elite, presumably a chief and his or her relatives, lived at this time. There are a number of structures located near the mound that are possibilities. One of these, Structure 10, was adjacent to the mound and contained a cache of marine shell beads and blanks covered by potsherds (Figure 14).

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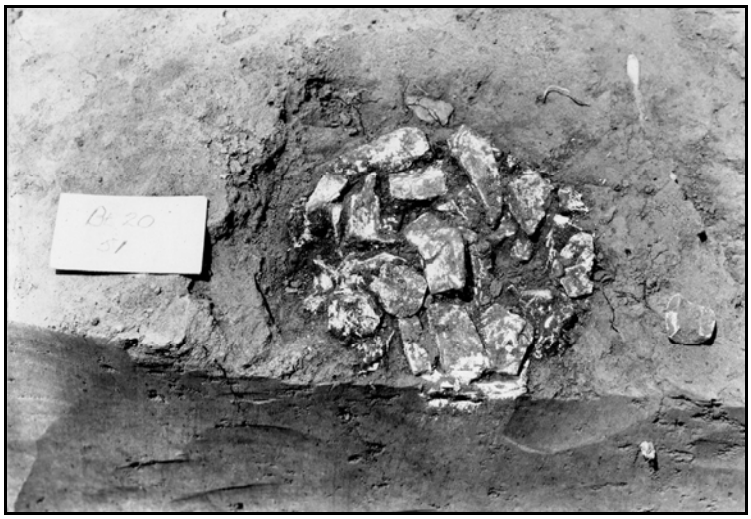

Figure 14a. Marine Shell Bead Cache in Situ (Courtesy William S. Webb Museum of Anthropology, University of Kentucky. UKMA 4064).

Figure 14b. A Sample of the Beads (top row) and Blanks (bottom row). (Bt20-FS152).

The summit structure at this stage was likely a building used for ritual activities, presumably by a limited number of the local population. The fence would have screened the activity taking place atop the mound from view. Similar fences on mound summits or slopes have been described by European explorers and found at several sites, including Angel, Bessemer, Cahokia, Etowah, Lake George, Towosaghy, and several in the Savannah River valley (Anderson 1994; Black 1967; DeJarnette and Wimberly 1941; Larson 1971; Price and Fox 1990; Smith 1969; Swanton 1911; Williams and Brain 1983).

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These have generally been referred to as "temples" or "council houses" in the literature. However, as mentioned above, no burials or obvious internal features, such as prepared clay platforms or seats, were recorded. Nevertheless, this building likely served some unknown, but important, public or community function.

It is possible that at this time the people living at Annis chose a more group-oriented council form of leadership rather than relying on a single individual. Presumably local elites were still in residence, but they no longer lived on the mound summit. Their chief responsibility may have been to carry out ritual functions atop the mound.

Phase 3

The final expansion of the site is perhaps the most intriguing for several reasons. First, the mound increased in height by over 2 m above the Primary mound (Phase 2), and clear evidence for a domestic dwelling with more complex architecture (wall trenches, a doorway, and partitions) is present (Figure 11). Third, the surrounding village continued to grow and a third palisade with a single bastion was constructed (Figure 12).

It seems clear that at this time there was a return to a society in which a chief was given greater attention than the other residents. This perhaps could be a shift from the Phase 2 council-style form of leadership to one dominated by a powerful chief who took up residence atop the mound. Alternatively, another group took over possession of the site after a period of abandonment. The latter scenario has been suggested for the Mississippian occupation at Andalex in nearby Hopkins County (Clay in Niquette, et al. 1991) but is doubtful at Annis since the sequential palisades are neatly nested rather than overlapping.

Regardless, whoever was living on the mound wanted to make a clear statement of their authority. By recapping the mound, the chief established a purifying tie with the earth, an act believed to be a major symbolic aspect of Mississippian religion and ritual (Knight 1986). Further, by reestablishing a residence on the mound he/she placed themselves on a far different plane, both symbolically and literally, than the rest of the local villagers. The structure is also significantly larger than the average village structure (the Phase 3 summit structure covers 105 m^2 and the mean for village structures is 35 m^2) (Figure 15), thus indicating another attempt to distinguish the chief from the average villager.

The palisade again required a major labor investment. The village reached its largest area during Phase 3 and the presence of a bastion indicates that some degree of conflict existed in the area. However, one bastion alone would not provide sufficient protection against an attacking group; certainly not the same level of defense that would have been possible at other western Kentucky sites, such as Jonathan Creek (Webb 1951) and Morris (Rolingson and Schwartz 1966), that possessed palisades with evenly spaced bastions. The Annis Village bastion faces out into a wide, flat area and may have served as a fortified gate or as a watchtower to provide an early warning system to people working in the nearby fields as well as a line of defense.

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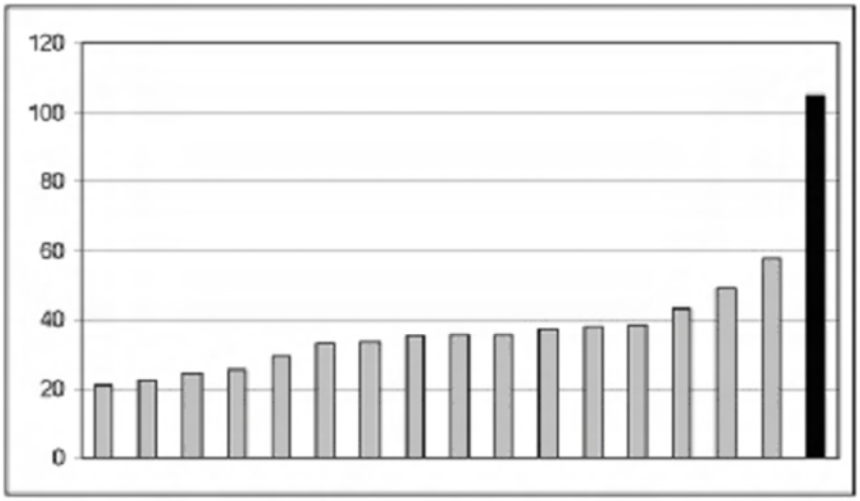

Figure 15. Structure Area Comparison. Individual Village Structures are Gray, Secondary Mound Structure is Black. Scale is in Square Meters.

Summary

To recap my interpretation of the shifting social situation at Annis, then, let me offer a few remarks. During Phase 1, we see a local leader with enough influence to have a low mound constructed and a substantial, if small, palisade built. During Phase 2, the use of the mound shifted to a non-domestic, presumably ritual, purpose. A large structure enclosed by a fence was built atop the mound and a second, larger palisade was built around the expanding village. Evidence for a local elite in residence is not clear, although they might have occupied adjoining houses, such as Structure 10 with its marine shell bead cache. Finally, during Phase 3 the mound was significantly enlarged and again served a domestic function. This may have been an attempt by a new, perhaps unrelated, leader to exert influence and legitimize their position by symbolically recapping the mound. The significantly enlarged palisade indicates some level of local stress, an additional attempt to illustrate the power of the chief, or both.

Each of these construction phases would have required the mobilization of a considerable amount of labor. The degree to which this labor would have interfered with daily subsistence tasks would have varied with the intensity of the construction. If a crisis required the palisade to be erected quickly the labor would be more focused, hurried, and disruptive. However, if circumstances permitted it to be constructed in a more leisurely fashion, the impact on the local population would have been lessened.

Mound construction would have had less of an impact than the palisade. Even if the various mound stages would have been raised fairly quickly, only a few days to a week of labor would have been required to complete the task with an similar amount of time required to construct the various forms of summit architecture.

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ANNIS VILLAGE IN A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

A number of researchers have contributed to the understanding of the regional settlement dynamics of western Kentucky. Most of this work has taken place in the Ohio-Mississippi Confluence region (e.g., Clay 1997; Kreisa 1990, 1995; Wesler 2001 among others). Albeit with somewhat differing interpretations, these researchers have developed models for the interaction and integration of various mound sites in the region and their degree of independence from larger sites such as Kincaid and Angel.

Unfortunately, at this point it is difficult to place Annis Village into a more comprehensive regional perspective. This is partly because the Green River Mississippian is poorly known despite a significant (and growing) body of data. Sites within the Western Coalfields section of the Green River drainage include Eaton (Hanson 1959), Kirtley (Rolingson 1961), Morris (Rolingson and Schwartz 1966), and Martin Mound (Milner and Smith 1986). Kirtley and Morris are small sites that seem to date to AD 1000-1300 (Lewis 1990), somewhat earlier than the major occupation at Annis. The nearby Martin Mound (15Bt1), a stone box burial mound excavated by the WPA, promises to provide important information on burial treatment and chronology in the area and is the focus of an upcoming Penn State project.

Not including Martin, the nearest mound site is Andalex, located 56 km away (Figure 16). Closer to Annis, there are Mississippian houses scattered along the Green River, often superimposed on Archaic shell middens: areas of especially fertile soil. Until more work is done in this area, it is not possible to fully understand how Annis Village fits into a broader regional context or the processes that drove the sequence of cultural change at the site. It is perhaps part of broader patterns seen in this part of the mid-South and Midwest as suggested by the eventual abandonment of the site and the surrounding area.

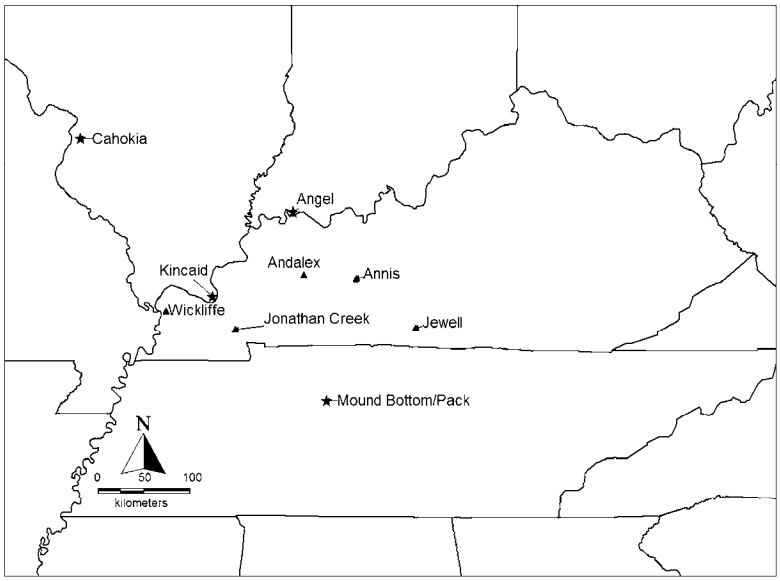

Figure 16. Location of Andalex and Selected Nearby Sites. Stars Represent Major Sites Triangles Represent Smaller Sites.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Funding for this project was provided by the Pennsylvania State University College of the Liberal Arts Research and Graduate Studies Office, the Department of Anthropology's Hill Fellowship, and the Department of Continuing Education. I would like to thank Carroll and Doris Tichenor for serving as gracious hosts, allowing several Penn State field schools to excavate at Annis (under the direction of George R. Milner and myself), and preserving the site for all these years. Finally, Rich Burnette drew the sherds in Figure 8 and George Milner made helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

FOOTNOTES

[1]All of the WPA collections and documents are curated at the William S. Webb Museum of Anthropology at the University of Kentucky.

[2]I have described the mound stages and their contents in more detail elsewhere (Hammerstedt 2005a, b).

[3]It is not yet possible to sort out which village structures belong to each phase of site expansion. However, a number of them were in the same place for some time as indicated by rebuilding episodes at the exact same location.

[4]All directions used in this paper refer to grid orientation not magnetic orientation.

[5]The Ramey and Powell sherds from Annis are mentioned by Milner (1990:25) as UKMA collections from "along the lower Ohio River and its tributaries".

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