OVERLAPPING WORLDS: AN EXAMINATION OF MACROREGIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY

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I have examined the final copy of this Thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science with a major in Anthropology.

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ABSTRACT

Archaeologists have long recognized the fact that long distance relationships existed in prehistoric societies. There have been many efforts to develop models for a satisfactory explanation for interactions and social change among groups. World Systems Theory, developed by Immanuel Wallerstein, is one such effort to examine mechanisms of inter-societal relationships and a determination of units of analysis for Pre-Columbian societies. To utilize this theory, archaeologists have made modifications and expansions to the theory, determining the advantage of using a world systems perspective, rather than all aspects of the model. An examination of Wallerstein's theory, as well as assessments and concerns regarding modifications, is examined. The premise that societies do not exist in isolation is one that should concern all archaeologists.

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LIST OF TERMS/NOMENCLATURE

World Systems Terminology

Bulk Goods Network	Division of labor based on production of everyday necessities such as food and raw materials
Core	Economically and politically dominant, exerting power and control
External Arena	Outside of the periphery maintaining its own economic system
Information Network	Areas that exchange information
Periphery	Exports raw materials and labor to the core
Political/Military Network	Polities that are allying or making war with each other
Prestige Goods Network	Areas that exchange luxury items with a high value/weight ratio
Semi-periphery	Components of both periphery and core; can be core areas in decline or peripheral areas attempting to improve position

INTRODUCTION

The approach of archaeologists to specific cultural areas of North America within the past 80-90 years has not changed significantly. Most will name themselves either a Southwestern, Southeastern, or Plains archaeologist. However, archaeologists have documented the existence of prehistoric and historic trade between the Southwest, Southeast, and the Plains populations. Kidder's excavations at Pecos Pueblo, New Mexico, included Plains-type stone and bone tools, lithic materials of Plains derivation, and fragments of bison robes (Kidder 1932: 183). Alex Krieger's 1946 *Culture Complexes and Chronology in Northern Texas* focused on the relationships between prehistoric Plains societies and the Southwest and Southeast (Krieger 1946: 9). J. Charles Kelley, in the 1950's, documented historic travels of the Jumanos, buffalo hunters and traders, who made annual trips from east to west Texas and beyond to areas of New Mexico and Mexico. His conclusion was that these traders had spread cultural traits and trade goods, not just historically, but also prehistorically (Kelley 1955: 981).

Yet, efforts to understand trade and resulting relationships between areas of North America have often been thwarted. Frank Roberts, a Southwestern archaeologist in the 1930's, stated that although trade may have been important, "their exact story, unfortunately, can never be known" (Roberts 1930: 155). Efforts by early twentieth century archaeologists revolved around static, descriptive classifications, such as culture classification systems. Often these systems relied on descriptive laundry lists of categories. None of these models acknowledged the dynamic underlying cultural processes that affect interregional contact and change.

The Southwest archaeologists are especially notorious for naming and placing boundaries around specific culture areas. Alfred Kidder's Southwest Pecos Classification System divided the Southwest into regions, and within each region, established chronology based on increasing complexity, especially of pottery. In 1932, a taxonomically oriented system for the Midwest was developed by McKern. McKern hierarchically ordered categories with morphologically similar assemblages. He explained his system with five main divisions.

> "The taxonomic frame consisted of five major divisions: focus, aspect, phase, pattern, and base, progressing from localized detailed to large general classes. The manifestation of a focus at any site is called a component of that focus. The method is comparable to a filing cabinet equipped with labeled drawers to facilitate the orderly arrangement of culture indicative data" (McKern 1939: 310).

James Griffin, the recognized father of Southeastern archeology, was a contributor to the notion of a separated area of archeology as a field of study. He revised McKern for Eastern North America using the following: Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Early Woodland, Middle Woodland, Mississippi and Late Woodland (Griffin 1952: 352). In his chapter, "Culture Periods in Eastern United States Archeology", he made the point that among the Ohio Hopewellian people (0-250 AD), there was "wide-flung trade or cultural connections" which "indicates a considerable knowledge of the entire area east of the Rocky Mountains"(Griffin 1952:360). With the presence of obsidian in the Ohio and Illinois Valley Hopewell sites, he stated the source would be "northern Rockies, the southern Rockies, New Mexico, or in Middle America" since no obsidian sources are found in the Southeast. Along with other traded material from other far-reaching areas, such as Florida, he maintained that "extensive trade relations had a primary purpose for

the acquisition of materials for ceremonial utilization" (Griffin 1952: 360). These would indicate "connections to the far southeast, the Plains, or the Mississippi Valley". He downplayed any connections with the Southwest or Mesoamerica. These same quotes by Griffin are used in the book, *Sun Circles and Human Hands*, edited by Fundaburk (1957).

Walter Taylor, in 1948, and Willey and Phillips, in 1958, helped to overthrow taxonomic archaeology. Willey and Phillips' Phase/Horizon model of "culture-historical integration" included reconstruction of "spatial-temporal relationships" (Willey and Phillips 1958:11). They stated that "external spatial and temporal dimensions should be kept within manageable limits of magnitude" (Willey and Phillips 1958: 57).

One limitation of regional analyses has been the tendency to define regions in terms of homogenous attributes, either natural or social. Often, these archaeologists focused on the core cultural characteristics found in localized sites to construct lists for the delineation of culturally defined areas that then become the subjects for the study of societal change. Another approach that defined regions as areas with homogenous characteristics was the culture area approach developed by Carl Sauer and his colleagues (Wissler 1927: 881). Wissler gathered information on all types of cultural attributes, such as language, architectural styles, technologies of production, and kinship structures, using these to designate bounded and adjacent culture areas. A major problem with these approaches was the assumption that homogeneity was a good approach to bounding social systems that were changing.

An important point in this discussion is the difference between natural or geographically bounded regions and human interaction networks, or areas where contact between groups existed. Processualist archaeologists stressed the important ways in

which local ecological factors conditioned sociocultural institutions and modes of living. This was an especially compelling perspective for understanding small-scale systems in which people were mainly interacting with adjacent groups. Yet, this kind of local ecological determinism is much less compelling when world-systems get larger, and long-distance interaction networks are seen as compelling and useful tools.

Archaeologists have drawn boundaries around their areas of study, looking at specific sites and using a microregional approach to their field of inquiry. There is much beneficial knowledge to be gained with this method. Is it possible that a part of Pre-Columbian human history remains undiscovered and that meaningful relationships continue to be hidden and buried from our knowledge?

DYNAMIC INTERCULTURAL MODELING

A macroregional approach to the pre-Columbian areas of the Southwest, Southeast, Southern Plains, and Mesoamerica region is a valuable theoretical tool to utilize for an additional picture of prehistoric life. Wallerstein's World Systems Theory (Wallerstein 1974: 229) perspective is a possible model to assist in an explanation of interaction areas as they contributed to intersocietal development. Herein, Wallerstein's theoretical approach will be reviewed, as well as a review of writings by archaeologists who have attempted to use or modify the world systems approach. An analysis of site findings in the Southwest, Southeast, and Southern Plains is cited and an investigation of the feasibility of using a modified world systems approach is considered for Pre-Columbian societies.

Based on works by Karl Marx, World Systems Theory was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein as a model of socio-economic and political organization. This world-systems perspective emerged as a theoretical approach for modeling and interpreting the expansion of the European economic system as it engulfed the globe over the past 500 years (Wallerstein 1974: 229). According to Wallerstein, intersocietal relationships can be predictable and explained as an economic organization system. Capitalism, as we know it in today's world, is not an economic system dependent on a nation's borders. It is rather a relationship involving other nations and is viewed within the context of a larger system (Wallerstein 1974: 230).

Wallerstein designated the three divisions of his world system, each having distinctive functions, as the core, periphery, and the semi-periphery. These three divisions are not necessarily bounded by geography but are more socially bounded. This

idea of a core/periphery hierarchy composed of advanced economically developed and powerful states dominating and exploiting less developed peripheral regions has been a central concept in the world-systems perspective. These areas frame nation-state interactions on economic, political, cultural, and social levels. Core empires, such as Spain in the fifteenth century, are economically and politically dominant, creating rules to exert power over other areas. The core supplies management, organization, capital, and finished goods. It also provides political stability for the periphery and semi-periphery. The periphery is countries which are labor intensive and provide raw materials and unskilled labor for the core and the semi-periphery countries. Inequality exists in terms of trade between the core and the periphery; therefore, the periphery is usually exploited by the core and the semi-periphery. The semi-periphery lies somewhere in between and has characteristics of both core and periphery. It will be exploited by the core but interacts with it on a level above the periphery.

Immanuel Wallerstein never claimed that his world-system theory could be applied to times or worlds before or outside the European-based modern, capitalist world-system, which form the core of his historical, empirical and theoretical analysis. On the contrary, Wallerstein insists that there has only been today's modern capitalist world system, and that all others have been something else, mostly "world empires" (Wallerstein 1974: 232).

Yet, there has been a convergence of interests between students of modern world systems and those of ancient societies. Students of modern world systems look to the past for insights into present systems, and students of ancient societies have considered using world systems theory for insights into past intersocietal interactions.

Archaeologists have reported systems of intersocietal interaction that bear a resemblance to world systems but are sometimes frustrated when using it as a tool for analyzing pre-Columbian systems. There have been active exchanges among anthropologists, archaeologists, world historians, and world systems theorists, both positive and negative (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 403). These attempts have led to a more generalized theory of world systems that is not so constrained by modern, capitalistic systems.

Peter Peregrine (1996) states that one reason there is a lack of interest in world systems theory is a basic confusion over two concepts: world systems perspective and world systems theory. The perspective idea allows one to perceive the world as a set of autonomous political units linked into a larger functioning unit through economic interdependence (Peregrine 1996b: 1). This world system is defined by its economic interdependence and not by any specific geographic boundary.

Steven A. Kowalewski (1996) uses the world system perspective, naming the Northwest, Southwest, and Southeast as world systems, with "macroregional interactions of labor procurement and warfare figuring significantly" (Kowalewski 1996: 27). His world system concept is defined such that changes in one world have effects on the others. Kowalewski states the following:

> "We archaeologists tend to favor the bottom-up, locality-to-macroregion method, but top-down, macroregion-to-locality method and theory provides its own insights . . . Since the demise of culture-history and its diffusionist theory, archaeologists have had no other conceptual framework except world systems for treating macroregional-local interaction" (Kowalewski 1996: 28).

Robert Hall and Christopher Chase-Dunn, two additional champions of the use of WST with archaeology, offer many guides in the ways that WST can actually be used by and can help archaeologists in their work. Hall states that WST with pre-Columbian

societies must be "modified extensively" (Hall 1999: 2). "The systemic range increases and its boundaries expand for different exchange networks from bulk goods, to political/military interaction, to prestige goods, to information/cultural flows" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 405). This is the area that "anthropologists, linguists, and even archaeologists should have and use to their comparative advantage". (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 405)

Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) have modified the basic world-systems concepts to make them useful for a comparative study of very different kinds of systems. They include very small networks composed of sedentary foragers, as well as larger regional systems containing chiefdoms, early states, agrarian empires, and the contemporary global political economy in their scope of comparison. Chase-Dunn and Hall define world-systems as important networks of interaction that "impinge upon a local society and condition social reproduction and social change" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 2). They note that different kinds of interactions often have distinct spatial characteristics and degrees of importance in different sorts of systems. They hold that the question of the nature and degree of systemic interaction between two locales is prior to the question of core/periphery relations. Indeed, they make the existence of core/periphery relations an empirical question in each case, rather than an assumed characteristic of all world-systems. Figure 1 shows a representation of their concept of the core, periphery and semiperiphery.

Chase-Dunn and Hall have increased the social system to include regions such as the "external arena" and "zone of ignorance" with differing types of bounding mechanisms defining their part in the localized "world" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 3).
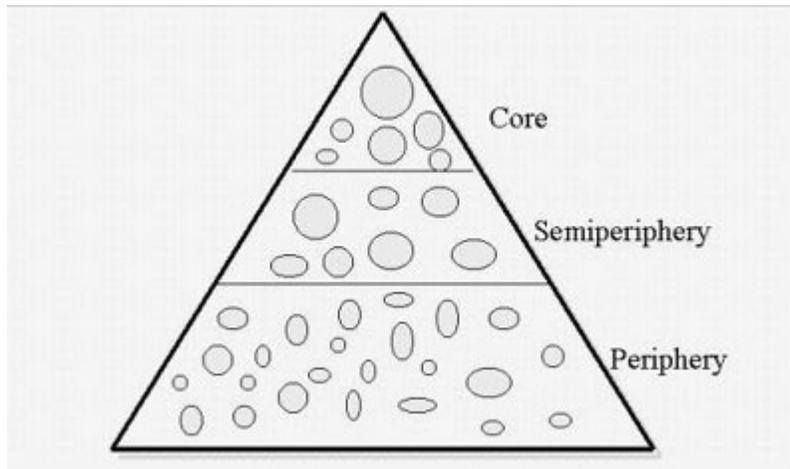
Figure 1 : Core/Periphery Hierarchy

Chase-Dunn and Jorgenson have further developed the concept of the semiperiphery. They argue that this concept should include the following meanings:

> "1. A semiperipheral region may be one that mixes both core and peripheral forms of organization.
>
> 2. A semiperipheral region may be spatially located between core and peripheral regions.
>
> 3. A semiperipheral region may be spatially located between two or more competing core regions.
>
> 4. Mediating activities between core and peripheral areas may be carried out in semiperipheral regions.
>
> 5. A semiperipheral area may be one in which institutional features are in some ways intermediate between those forms found in core and peripheral regions.
>
> 6. There is not an assumption that all world systems have semiperipheral areas." (Chase-Dunn and Jorgenson 2001:3)

This world system theory is seen as cyclical and ever changing, usually adapting to suit the demands of the social and natural environment. It is sometimes an ecological system where the availability of resources influences the economic, social, and political shifts in the system (Chase-Dunn 2004: 3). Regions are defined in terms of distributions of natural attributes such as climate, soil types, elevation, temperature, and related botanical and zoological habitation. Chase-Dunn and Jorgenson contend that the term "interaction network" is "far superior to cultural area and regional approaches for bounding human social systems" (Chase-Dunn and Jorgenson 2001: 1). The world-systems perspective sometimes argues that societies are subsystems within a larger single system, and that in order to understand historical development we must focus on the larger system as a whole.

With this cyclical process of change, there are two major cyclical phenomena: the rise and fall of large polities, and pulsations in the spatial extent and intensity of trade networks (Chase-Dunn and Jorgenson 2001: 3). "Rise and fall" corresponds to changes in the centralization of political/military power in a set of polities. The term "cycling" has been used to describe this phenomenon as it operates among chiefdoms (Anderson 1994: 2).

Rise and fall works somewhat differently in chiefdom systems because the methods used for the extraction of goods from distant groups are not as fully developed. David G. Anderson's (1994) study of the rise and fall of Mississippian chiefdoms in the Savannah River valley provides an excellent and comprehensive review of what he refers to as "cycling," the processes by which a chief polity extended control over adjacent chiefdoms and erected a "two-tiered hierarchy of administration" over the tops of local communities. At a later point, these regionally centralized polities disintegrated back toward a system of smaller and less hierarchical polities.

> "Cycling is the recurring process of emergence, expansion, and fragmentation of complex chiefdoms amid a regional background of simple chiefdoms. Regionally, these societies expand or contrast at the expense of or because of the actions of other chiefdoms. The centers of power shift or rotate over the region as first one and then another assumes prominence." (Anderson 1994: 10)

All world-systems in which there are hierarchical polities experience a cycle in which relatively larger polities grow in power and size and then decline. The cyclical expansion and contraction in the spatial extent and intensity of exchange networks due to trade expansion and contraction is referred to as pulsation. Different kinds of trade (especially bulk goods trade vs. prestige goods trade) usually have different spatial

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characteristics. The systems then pulsate with expansion and contraction. Pulsation changes the relative positions of polities within the system but not necessarily the system itself. System expansion transforms social relations in the newly incorporated areas. These cycles combine with demographic, epidemiological, climatological, and ecological processes to shape changes that occur in the system.

Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) have developed a nested network approach for establishing boundaries around world-systems that enables the comparison of the modern global system with earlier, smaller regional world-systems. They contend that it is the entire world-system rather than the individual society that constitutes the most important unit of analysis for explaining social change.

Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) note that in most intersocietal systems there are several important networks of different spatial scales that impinge upon any particular locale: information networks, prestige goods networks, political/military networks, and bulk goods networks. The largest of these systems would be those areas where information is exchanged. Information is light and can travel a long way. Usually a somewhat smaller interaction network is based on the exchange of prestige goods or luxuries that have a high value/weight ratio. The next largest interaction network is composed of polities that are allying or making war with one another. The smallest networks are those based on a division of labor in the production of basic everyday necessities, such as food and raw materials. Figure 2 illustrates how these interaction networks are spatially related in many world-systems.

The main drives in this model are population growth, ecological degradation, and population pressure (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 409). Population growth, other things
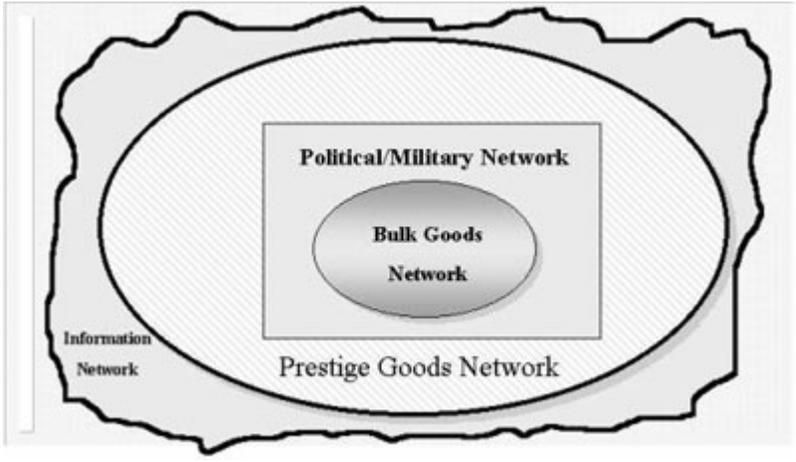
Chase-Dunn and Hall, 1997, p 409
Journal of World-Systems Research

Figure 2: Nested Interaction Networks

being equal, causes the decline of natural resources, referred to as ecological degradation. The type and degree of ecological degradation varies with the nature of production technology and the scale of the exploitation of natural resources. Population pressure results when lack of resources cause people to have to increase the amount of effort necessary to meet their needs.

Besides intersocietal competition, the model is usually tied to core/periphery relations because semiperipheral inhabitants are most often the agents of political expansion and technological development. Intersocietal competition and conflict as well as semiperipheral development are therefore considered world-systems processes, not societal ones (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 404).

The basic interaction model proposed in Figure 3 does not operate within single societies. It is a model that requires intersocietal interaction as the agent of social change, which is generally produced by competition among culturally different and politically autonomous groups. Some world-system anthropologists reject this model because they associate it with the ecological approach developed by Julian Steward (1955) which emphasized the relevance of social structures dependent upon ecological occurrences. Steward's approach was partly a reaction to the long-distance diffusionism of V. Gordon Childe (1951). Yet, world systems theory is so much more than diffusionism or an ecological adaptation approach to internal factors. It is dependent on large scale interactions and relationships between societies.

For some archaeologists to consider this model, new developments in archaeological technology can allow one to empirically examine and model spatial
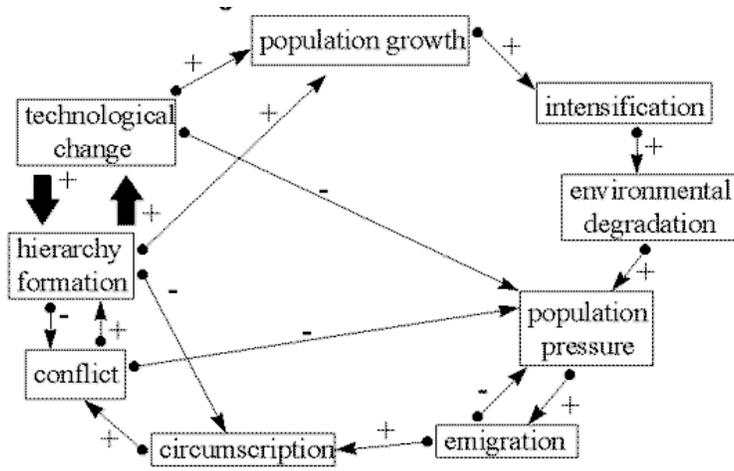
Figure 3: Basic interaction Model

characteristics, especially with dynamic spatio-temporal GIS (Geographic Information Systems). They are combining this technology with new theoretical perspectives, especially the comparative world-systems approach. The promise of a new dawn for understanding and explaining social change appears to be in reach. GIS is a technology that can help manage, analyze, and disseminate geographic knowledge. This involves new ways of combining the study of geographical regions with the examination of human interaction networks. Some social scientists erroneously assume that GIS data structures are restricted to the mapping of attributes that are stationary in space and that GIS is useless for studying things that move. However, to contrast this line of thinking, there already exist routines for mapping and projecting animal migration across Africa. Geographers are now developing GIS techniques based on vectors for mapping prevailing winds, but also for studying human migration (Tobler 1995: 327)

Gary Feinman, in *Pre-Columbian World Systems*, pleads for a "multi-scalar" approach that combines rather than plays off differing theoretical perspectives and analytical tools. He offers a plea for archaeologist to "look at the world from all angles, both the obvious and the less obvious" (Feinman 1996: 119). Of course, even the most macro-approach cannot "explain" every item dug up at a particular site, but neither can the most micro-approach. It can perhaps reveal the inner composition of the artifact or site, but it cannot afford the equally necessary and perhaps even more explanatory contextual overview of the more pan-regional methodology. Yet, how far should archaeologists be expected to extend this macro-systemic telescope?

MODEL VALIDITY

World systems theory has elicited both positive and negative assessments when used to explain ancient societies. The earliest attempt began with Richard Pailes and Joseph Whitecotton by examining relationships between Mesoamerica and the ancient Southwest (Whitecotton and Pailes 1986: 183). In 1992, a two-day symposium, organized by Chase-Dunn, Jackson, and Peregrine, brought together twenty-one scholars to debate the potential use of world systems theory with pre-Columbian North American societies. The resulting work, *Pre-Columbian World Systems* (1996)*,* produced both positive and negative attitudes, with concluding remarks by Feinman, stating, " We have put forward enough information for others to pursue" (Feinman: 119). Another compilation, edited by Kardulias, resulted from presentations at the 94th Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in November, 1995, again addressing key issues when demonstrating this application across time and space. In his conclusion, Kardulias states that the works were presented to stress the potential of using WST to study past cultural interactions (Kardulias 1999: 309).

Robert Jeske, in Kardulias' compilation, *World-Systems Theory in Practice* (1999), offers a study of the rise of Mississippian society between 1000 and 1450 using world systems theory (Jeske 1999: 203). The Mississippian appears more or less simultaneously across the southeast by AD 900 (Smith 1986: 4). Primary site locations were on river flood plains where cultivation of crops was feasible and where there was greater access to river resources. Fertile soils provided bountiful crops. Surpluses may well have been part of a redistributive system controlled by a local chief. These elites developed from earlier Big Men and they mitigated tasks to households and villages

owing to crop failure (Muller 1989: 11). Most Mississippian communities were actually

small, but there were important and large centers. The best known of these is Cahokia, on

the American Bottoms near the confluence of the Illinois River with the Mississippi near

the present day city of St. Louis. Cahokia was the location of the largest prehistoric

population concentration in North America (Fowler 1978: 457). Cahokia reached its peak

between AD 1050 and 1250, covering an area of more than five square miles.

Jeske agrees with Chase-Dunn and Hall's typology of world systems forms

covering socio-political-economic situations from band-level, kin-based lineage systems

to fully industrialized state-level capitalist systems. He also uses the rubric of breaking

core-periphery interactions into two larger groups: core-periphery differentiation, where a

large group interacts with a smaller group; and core-periphery hierarchy, where the core

demonstrably dominates the smaller group economically, militarily, politically, or

ideologically.   Jeske endorses Chase-Dunn and Hall's taxon of chiefdom, a non-state, but

stratified society. He states that there is probably little controversy on using this with

Mississippian society, but he needed to determine whether the interactions between

Cahokia and surrounding smaller polities was "hierarchical or differential in nature".

(Jeske 1999: 207)

> "In a hierarchical system, the core creates the periphery by pulling it into
> the exchange system as a politically and economically dependent area.
> This creation of a dependent area implies some form of coercive power
> over the peripheral area, either through military threat or some enticement
> so powerful that the population in the targeted area accepts their
> subservient role in the exchange system. In effect, the core must extend to
> the periphery an offer that they cannot refuse." (Jeske 1999: 207).

Jeske states that first there must be a fundamental power asymmetry such that the

core can dominate the periphery. Secondly the assumption as a result of this power

asymmetry as the core can control an exchange system crucial to its existence. Third, this exchange system must structure all other aspects of the economy in the peripheral society. In the case of Cahokia, Jeske wanted to determine if there was a chiefdom level society, with a small number of ruling elites based in Cahokia having political, economic, and marriage alliances with each other as well as with elites in outlying areas of the American Bottom and beyond. Did the core elites have the capability to coerce other elites, as well as non-elites, into an unequal system of economic exchange? Such coercive power could conceivably consist of military, economic, or ideological control of access to desired or necessary resources.

How could Cahokia and the Mississippian culture be placed in bounding core/periphery interaction areas? Cahokia and the immediate surrounding area are clearly unique and represent a core area. However, the extent of the core and the further extent of the periphery are much less definite. It may be that Cahokia and its immediate suburbs were a core, with the American Bottom region a semi-periphery and the sites in the Illinois, Wabash, and Ohio River valleys the periphery. However, it may also be that the entire American Bottom is the core.

If Cahokia and the American Bottom represent the core, where are the semi-periphery and periphery? The semi-periphery and periphery could include the Angel Site in Indiana and Dickson Mount in the central Illinois River valley. (Jeske 1999: 208)

There is also the area of Oklahoma and Arkansas to consider. In particular the Spiro mounds, with evidence of 850 A.D. to 1450 A.D. culture, is located in LeFlore County on the southern bank of the Arkansas River about fifteen miles from Fort Smith, Arkansas. These sites, considered to be Caddoan sites, share many Mississippian traits,

yet retain a regionalization that suggests they might be part of a Middle Mississippian periphery, or again, at least semi-periphery. As a further wrinkle, there is a much larger extension of Mississippian into the north, east, and west, which archaeologists have termed Upper Mississippian. It is quite possible that groups in these areas made up the true periphery of the Mississippian world. These are groups whose pottery shares many of the same motifs as Middle Mississippian, but who live at sites that are more similar to Late Woodland villages than to the hierarchical Middle Mississippian hamlet/town/city pattern, and which lack pyramidal mounds (Jeske 1999: 208). It is easy to understand the difficulty of these hierarchal terms, but does that mean that we do not consider at all these relationships or use the terminology from WST to demonstrate interaction areas?

Jeske's conclusion is that it appears there may have been a nested core/periphery phenomenon (Jeske 1999: 209), with Middle Mississippian, American Bottom sites, Middle Mississippian Central Illinois-Wabash-Ohio Rivers sites, Caddoan sites in Arkansas, and Oneota-Fort Ancient-Langford sites of Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Northern Illinois, Central Indiana, and Ohio all displaying varying degrees of peripheralization from the area of Cahokia. There were also hundreds of Mississippian sites on major waterways of the southeastern United States, many of them large regional centers containing platform mounds, plazas, and organized residential centers (Smith 1978: 483). However, Jeske treated the other southeastern sites as independent, political units that had their own core-periphery interactions outside of any connections with Cahokia and the Midwestern Middle Mississippian sites. He stated that this was not entirely true because there were sea shells from the Gulf Coast found at Midwestern Mississippian sites, and, therefore, there had to be some interaction between Cahokia and

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groups to the south. This evidence demonstrates that the Southeast and Mississippian

sites were likely interacting core areas.

Control of redistribution of resources has been argued by some to account for the

rise of Cahokia and its elite (Fowler 1969: 28). The need for redistribution of resources

within the American Bottom, however, does open up the possibility that at least some

agricultural produce was transported from the semi-periphery to the core area and then

transported elsewhere. It is also possible that dried bison meat may have been sent to

Cahokia from peripheral sites. While such meat would be archaeologically invisible at

Cahokia, bison kills indicative of more than local-scale consumption at peripheral sites

would not be. A systematic investigation of Mississippian era bison kill sites on the

plains with this hypothesis in mind might be in order.

The Cahokia elite exhibited power by organizing the remaining population into

coordinated labor. The building of Monk's Mound, containing 22 million cubic feet of

earth, suggests that Cahokia's elite organized large-scale, labor-intensive activities. It

would stand to reason to suggest that Cahokia possessed the potential for a power

relationship with its periphery and semi-periphery. Yet, how extensive an area was under

the Cahokian elite power system is an important question.

> "Based on excavations at the ICT-II tract at Cahokia, they show that
> during the Lohman Phase (AD 1100-1150) the residential community plan
> was highly structured and oriented on a central grid system, indicating a
> high level of community control by a central power. Centralized authority
> is perhaps best symbolized by the dramatic burials within Mound 72,
> where an aged male was laid out on a cloak of shell beads; several
> individuals buried alongside him are interpreted as sacrificed attendants.
> Four young males between the ages of 18 and 25, who were buried minus
> their heads and hands, with arms interlinked, are interpreted as an 'honor
> guard'. Also nearby, an ossuary contained the remains of 33 young
> women, interpreted also as sacrifices. It is conceivable that the aged
> individual buried with such ceremony, or someone like him, was a central

authority capable of organizing the growth of the large ceremonial and residential site of Cahokia along a well-defined grid system" (Jeske 1999: 210).

It is conceivable that Cahokia, because of its sheer size and magnitude relative to neighboring Mississippian groups, might have been perceived as a credible military threat to far off groups. Core elites may well have been able to enlist or coerce significant military support through political, economic, or marriage ties with local elites.

Although Wallerstein was insistent that economically important goods were the moving force in core periphery interactions, Schneider (1991: 45) has argued that an exchange in elite-controlled ritual paraphernalia may be more important than staples, especially in pre-capitalist economies. Peregrine (1991: 193) has argued that trade in exotic or prestige goods was crucial in the development of Mississippian social complexity. He contends that control of exotic and prestige goods by elite males provided a resulting competition and eventual change of the social system. Peregrine's argument is that the distribution of exotic goods does not reflect pure economic exchange or competition for material resources but is actually a reflection of a desire for greater prestige and acceptance into an elite hierarchy.

Peregrine (1991: 195) puts forth three major hypotheses in an attempt to show that Mississippian exchange was not centered around economic necessity but was structured by elite power-prestige ties: (1) core sites should have more exotic and prestige goods than peripheral sites; (2) adult males should control exotic and prestige goods and be buried with more of these items than others; (3) goods should be directed by adult males to particular people or places. He tests his hypotheses by examining the distribution of shell bead artifacts, "exotic goods" (shell beads plus selected artifacts

found in burials), and "prestige goods" (selected artifacts minus shell beads), in burials at four sites in the American Bottom and two sites in the Little Tennessee River area (Peregrine 1991: 196). Jeske states that Peregrine's data did not adequately answer his hypotheses one and three. According to Jeske, most of Peregrine's tests were statistically insignificant, leaving his hypotheses unsupported by the archaeological record.

There is some evidence to suggest that the core/peripheral trade was unbalanced in that some ritual items seem to be sent to the periphery, with little return to the core. John Kelley (1991: 70) notes that when we examine the distribution of exotic artifacts in Cahokia and its northern periphery, we see that trade items made from materials from the south of Cahokia are found at both locations. These artifacts include marine shells and hoes made from a particular, highly localized material called Mill Creek chert. However, northern artifacts are not found to the south of Cahokia. To Kelley, this pattern suggests that the American Bottom appears to be a conduit, or gateway community, for the movement of southern goods such as marine shell northward. Kelley suggests that the Cahokia development begins as an outpost on the northern edge of a southern core area, and eventually is elaborated through its function as a gateway for the movements of these ritual items and then becomes a core (Kelley 1991: 71).

Cahokian Ramey Incised pottery is found at sites throughout the main river drainages of the Midwest and could be seen as signifying the presence of the Cahokian core to those in the periphery. Ramey Incised pottery contains decorative elements that historically were powerful symbols, such as the thunderbird, and ones indicative of the continuity of life, as well as warrior status (Hall 1991: 10). Elite ownership and display of Cahokian pottery may be the core. However, according to Hall, Ramey Incised
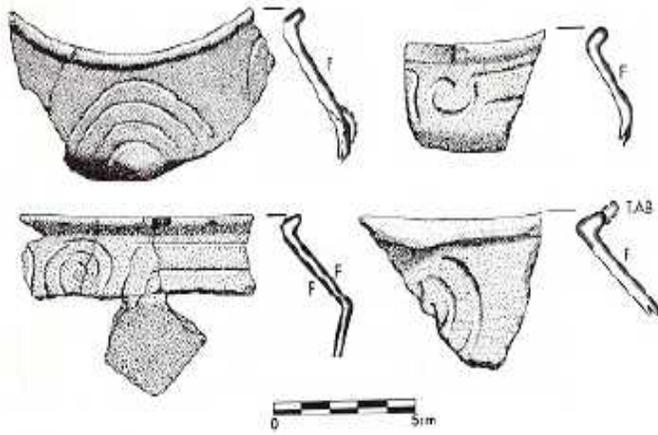
Ramey-Incised sherds, Julien site
www.mueseum.state.il.us

Figure 4

pottery is often recovered from general habitation middens (rubbish dumps) and not necessarily in elite graves or other places of social or ritual significance (Hall 1991: 15). If elites controlled the distribution of these pots, we would expect them to be found clustered in elite house structures and/or graves. The non-clustered depositional context strongly suggests that ownership or trade of Ramey Incised pottery was not under the control of a ruling elite. These examples do not support the notion that core elites controlled trade with the peripheral populations. It does support the idea that direct or indirect contact between Cahokia and sites in the far distant lands was feasible.

It is clear from the investigations that some exotics such as marine shell did move from the south, through Cahokia, to the semi-periphery and periphery. In addition, small amounts of copper and smaller amounts of other exotic items or raw materials possibly moved from the periphery to the core. Moreover, it appears that the movement of these exotics, such as ceramics with symbols of warriors and the thunderbird, and long-nosed god masquettes, moved possibly in both directions, from core to periphery and periphery to core (Jeske 1999: 214). Could loyalty or subservience of the peripheral populations also have been involved? Archaeologically, this is very difficult to prove. Jeske's conclusion is that Mississippian society does not seem a "compelling case for a hierarchical model of core-periphery interaction" (Jeske 1999: 216).

> "However, the notion of differential core-periphery interaction is a framework in which the concepts of gateway communities and prestige-goods exchange can be examined in relationship to each other to find a comprehensive approach to Mississippian society. The task now is to operationalize our expectations for what such a system would look like archaeologically, and to devise testable hypotheses that would differentiate a world systems approach from other concepts such as interaction spheres or other models of reciprocal and redistributive trade networks" (Jeske 1999: 216)

An entire volume, edited by Katherine A. Spielmann, is devoted to interactions among prehistoric and historic societies in the Southwest and the Plains region. In Spielmann's contribution, she discusses interaction approaches of two types: buffering exchange models and mutualism models (Spielmann 1991:4). Exchange of craft or ritual items can establish and maintain ties with societies that can supply needed food in times of scarcity. Mutualistic relations create interdependence on the materials and supplies that each society can provide.

Within this volume of work, Timothy Baugh defines the total system of regional exchange involving Southeastern and Southwestern communities with the Plains societies, naming it the Southern Plains Macroeconomy. He uses a modified world systems approach, naming three components of this macrosystem: cores (the Pueblo villages in New Mexico), peripheries (the Plains nomadic hunter-gatherers), and the semiperiphery (part-time horticultural populations in western Oklahoma and central Kansas) (Baugh 1991: 107).

Another archaeologist who makes use of world systems theory in Spielmann's book is David R. Wilcox. He states that world systems theory has opened up "new horizons" for an analysis of interactions between local settlements, regional systems, and world systems in the Southwestern political system (Wilcox 1991: 130). The Mesoamerican world system's interactions with the Southwest are "undeniable" although the specifics in this writing are devoted to the Plains-Pueblo interactions. "An analysis of the Plains-Pueblo macroregional systems reveals previously unappreciated relationships with implications for the Pueblo political organization" (Wilcox 1991: 131). Wilcox

believes that interactions included exchange, alliance, and warfare. He argues that changes occurred in response to the fall of the Casas Grandes trading system in Mexico.

A counter position is held by Gil Stein, who places himself at the other extreme and stands firmly in the second camp of archaeologists who think WST is useless. His view is not to use WST at all and to "leave it by the wayside" (Stein 1999: 154). According to Stein, World Systems Theory is of virtually no use for archaeology, and "indeed it leads us down the garden path even after it is modified so much as to leave little more than a short-hand for inter-regional interaction system" (Stein 1999: 158). Stein claims that for the study of such interactions, his own "Distance-Parity Model" (Stein 1999: 165) can do the same thing as WST, only much better. He alleges that WST is a

> "procrustean bed that overemphasizes the role of external dynamics and whose economic determinism denies all possible agencies and especially the role of culture and ideology, to the periphery. . . In assigning interregional interaction the decisive transformational role, the world-system model ignores the less visible, but, in the long run, far more important [domestic] endogenous changes" (Stein 1999: 167).

He argues that compared to simpler tribal groups, the more complex the society, the more it was at risk of decline and fall when its lifeline or sustenance was broken by natural and/or social events beyond its control. For the real problem is that archaeology has often not looked far enough to find all relevant world systemic factors and even causes of local or regional events.

Stein's "Rethinking World-Systems" is a negative assessment of the validity of WST applied to the pre-1500 era. Indeed, he suggests that it only works well in the Post-Industrial Revolutionary age. He even asserts that world-systems are not systems (Stein 1999: 159-160).

Frank's assessment of Stein is that he's lacking in knowledge and appreciation of

the intricacies of the pre-Industrial era. Frank writes of the failure of archaeologists to see

the potential of WST. He states the following:

> "Fail must all those archaeologists who--to their and our peril--ignore or
> disdain interregional exchange networks out to their farthest reaches.
> Moreover, it is not so much ignoring the 'internal dynamics' of the
> part/peripheries that will make us miss the power relationships among and
> even within different polities. It is ignoring the internal dynamic of the
> whole world system that puts our partial analyses at risk of missing an
> essential element of the explanation." (Frank 1999: 293)

He states that "Alice Kehoe and others claim to see evidence of what may have been a

much larger still 'world-system' in which the Mississippi, Southwest, and

Mesoamericans all participated jointly" (Frank 1999: 285).

EXAMINATION OF EVIDENCE

It would seem helpful to use the world system perspective to note that the Southeast, Southwest, and Mesoamerica exhibit qualities of core areas while incontrovertible evidence is present to demonstrate interconnections and linkages among the three regions (See Figure 5).

Orr's "Survey of Caddoan Area Archeology" (1952) states that the Caddoans (Hasinai of East Texas), in an area including Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas, during the last Mississippi stage, referred to as the Fulton Aspect (1400-1600), had contact with "Plains groups as well as Puebloan groups in the southwest"(Orr 1952: 239). He also speaks of the controversy that arose regarding the relationships of the Gibson Aspect of the Early Mississippi (1000-1200) stage to outside cultures, especially in relation to the concept of the Southern Cult. He references Richard MacNeish who in 1947 wrote an article stating his belief that the Southern Cult came directly in from the Huastec area of Mexico. Griffin, however, felt that connections were "fairly vague" (Orr 1952: 248). Many analyses of the materials found at sites such as Spiro in Oklahoma are descriptive in nature, without speculation of source of material or ideas. He does reference Alex Kreiger, who found connections between the Sanders Focus (800-1000) in Van Zandt County, Texas and Cahokia, such as "bean pots, jars with looped handles, and notched triangular projectile points, and human and frog effigy pipes" (Orr 1952: 250). Orr states that a study of cross influences between the two dominant centers, Spiro and Cahokia, promises "fruitful research" (Orr 1952: 250). He concludes with the idea that the common ceremonialism of the Southern Cult represented a "powerful influence with wide radiations" (Orr 1952: 255), diffusing eastward to Etowah, Georgia and Moundville,
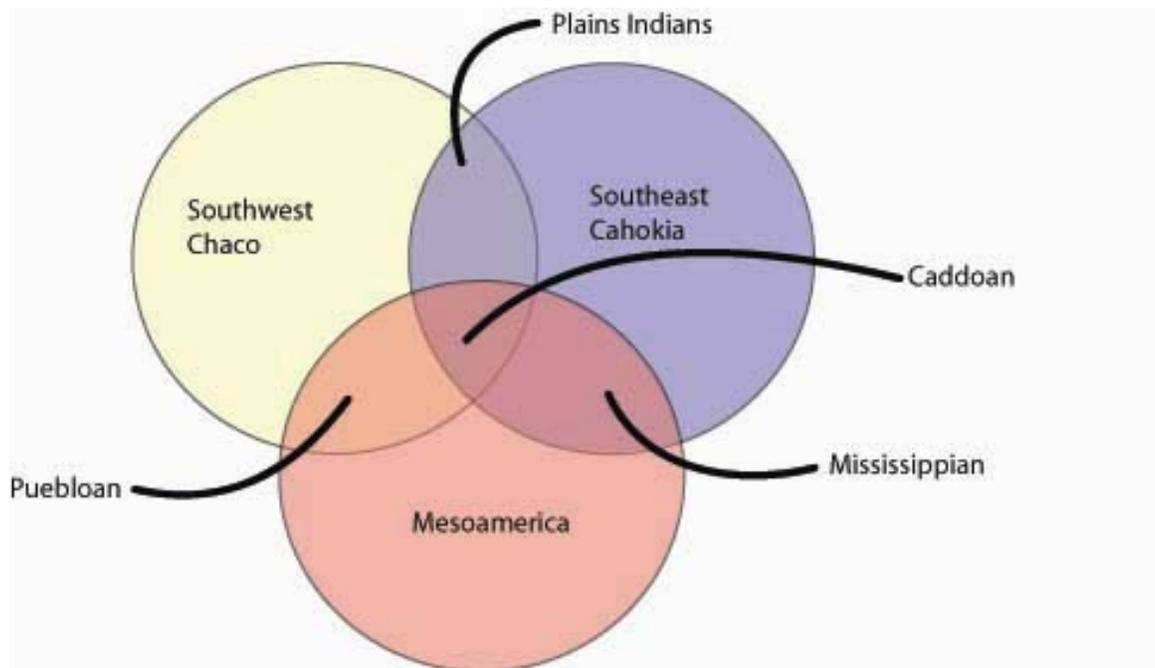
Figure 5: Pre-Columbian North American Perspective

Alabama. Orr also makes a reference in his conclusion of the "appearance of the Gibson Aspect, partially at least from Mesoamerica, a highly unique and elaborate culture became established and sent out strong ceremonial influences into the Southeast" (Orr 1952: 255). With the breakdown of the Gibson ceremonialism, "strong influences swept in from the Plains and the distant Puebloans to make cultural contributions" (Orr 1952: 255).

Platform mounds with temples atop and community layouts with plazas, as well as certain artifacts and decorative motifs have caused scholars over several decades to speculate about connections to Mesoamerica, ranging from outright colonization from Mesoamerica to influences of trade and ideology exchange. There are connections of objects and even maize, but surprisingly, most scholars argue today that links to Mesoamerica were limited with everything from architecture to cosmology deriving from indigenous sources (Fagan 1991: 406). It should be noted that these debates are similar for the North American Southwest where the influences of Mesoamerica seem clear. Arguments are surprisingly similar.

A consideration of the Caddoan area in Texas and Oklahoma is in order. In 1985 at the Regional Archeological Symposium for Southeastern New Mexico and Western Texas, a report was given by Jim Couzzourt from the Tascossa Creek Site in the Panhandle of Texas. In his discussion of the Palo Duro Culture, identified by Dr. Jack T. Hughes and Patrick S. Willey in 1978, was his identification of four different types of brownware, along with a sherd of a classic Woodland vessel. His question was, "Where are the brownwares coming from?" (Couzzourt 1985: 65) Were they coming by trade out of the Mogollon area in New Mexico, or was there migration of the Mogollon peoples,

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where around 1200 AD it appeared that many abandoned their villages and migrated to other areas? His conclusion was that it was "clear that the two peoples were aware of each other and conducted some form of social intercourse, either by direct contact or by trade" (Couzzourt 1985: 77). He continues in his writings to state that in the Panhandle Aspect sites, beginning around 1250, "trade with other groups becomes a very important activity, manifested by tools and flaking debris of obsidian, Olivella beads, turquoise beads and pebbles, and at least thirteen varieties of Puebloan pottery, usually glazewares" (Couzzourt 1985: 98).

At the same conference, a paper given by Claude Brown, "A Tale of Two Sites" (1985), concentrates on sites in Lubbock County, Texas. At these two sites were 70 sherds of Jornada Brown pottery from the Central Mountain area of present day New Mexico.

In 1981, the 16th Regional Archeological Symposium for Southeastern New Mexico and Western Texas, Regge Wiseman from the Museum of New Mexico, presented a variety of sites, from El Paso, Texas, up into Southern and Central New Mexico, all containing a variety of pottery known as Playas Incised Red. This pottery is associated with Playas Red and Casas Grandes Rubbed Incised of Casas Grandes in Mexico. His conclusion was there was an "acute need for further research" (Wiseman 1981: 26).

Michael Collins, in 1965 at the Second Regional Archeological Symposium for Southeastern New Mexico and Texas, wrote of excavations in Andrews County, Texas, showing an "extensive occupation between 1200 and 1450 with indications of a Puebloan group, possibly Mogollon, and one of peoples of the Plains tradition" (Collins 1966: 27).

Figure 6: Playas Incised Red

http://www.beloit.edu/~museum/logan/southwest

Figure 7: Casas Grandes Rubbed Incised

http://www.beloit.edu/~museum/logan/southwest

Figure 8: Chupadero black-on white

http://www.utexas.edu/research/tarl/images/Chupedero_sherd1-lg.jpg

Pottery types of Chupadero black-on-white, El Paso Polychrome, and Ochoa Indented Brown Ware, and others, all New Mexican types, were found, along with an adobe style house.

No conclusion was made, but a discussion of a possible migration of Puebloan people or a significant trading of ideas and wares could have occurred. At this same conference, Tom S. Ellzey discussed a northern Panhandle Aspect site. The area, divided into the Antelope Creek and Optima Foci, had differences in architecture. The Antelope Creek Focus was "distinguished by large multiroomed pueblos with stone masonry" (Ellzey 1966: 64).

Other conferences in other years produced the similar evidence. Mogollon pottery was present at sites as much as 150 miles farther east than the Southwest archaeologists usually designate as Mogollon territory. Other sites as Bull Hill Site in Midland County, Texas, written about by Ronnie Shawn, always have conclusions of either trade ware or a "southwestern influence indicating contact with the Southwestern Pueblos" (Shawn 1975: 29).

Consider then these major centers of power and influence in the years from 1000 to 1440. As already discussed, Cahokia, along with the areas of Spiro, Oklahoma, Moundville, Alabama, and Etowah, Georgia, had distinctive ceremonial objects and pottery. The ceremonial pottery, stirrup-necked vessels, and effigies often were decorated with symbolic designs such as the hands, eye, equal-arm cross, sun, star, bird, serpent, and spider. Other motifs included the sun circle, forked eye, and hand and eye. There were god-animal representations using variations of the bird, the serpent, and the eagle with variations of anthropomorphization of beings. It would be very unusual for one to

observe these ceremonial objects and effigies and not think of a Mesoamerican influence. There are numerous illustrations and pictures of these objects in the book, *Sun Circles and Human Hands* (1957), but only a small paragraph quoting Phillips. He concludes that many of the ceremonial objects found at these sites are "of Mexican origin". He states that there were probably two mechanisms: "rapid diffusion from group to group and carried by moving people in which the spread was cross-cultural" (Phillips 1940: 360).

An interesting report by David H. Jurney and William Young, presented at the 1995 Caddo Conference in Austin, Texas, focused on a collection of known occurrences of exotic Southwestern pottery and turquoise found at archaeological sites across the Southern Plains and the Trans-Mississippi South. Occurrences of southwestern pottery vessels or turquoise artifacts in northeastern Texas were discussed by Kreiger (1946). According to these two writers, there has been little progress since Kreiger in the interpretation of this important aspect of prehistoric interregional trade. Other findings (Schambach 1993: 187) have indicated the potential existence of Spiroan trade networks between the Southwest, Plains, and Lower Mississippi Valley, with overland connections between the Red River and Arkansas River. Apparently, overland trails extended west to the Rio Grande Pueblos. The Sanders site is the principal candidate for a possible trade area in northeastern Texas, and it seems that the distribution of known turquoise and southwestern pottery centers around that location.

A selection of archaeological complexes across the Southern High Plains that possess Southwestern pottery, turquoise, and occasionally obsidian, suggestive of a bison products-maize exchange system, are the following:

Upper Canark (Antelope Creek): AD 940-1500
Washita River: AD 1250-1500
Zimms: AD 1265-1425
Henrietta: AD? 1575
Tierra Blanca: AD 1400-1650

The Southwestern pottery types found at the sites include Rio Grande Glaze Periods I and II, Tewa Polychromes, El Paso Polychromes and Brownwares, Three Rivers Red-on-Terracotta, Lincoln Brownware, and Arboles Black and White (Jurney and Young 1995: 3).

Turquoise beads, pendants, and even semi-worked raw turquoise ore fragments have been found throughout northeastern Texas (Krieger 1946: 207-208). Among the most significant was a necklace with beads and pendants from a juvenile burial at the Goss Farm (41FN12) in Fannin County. At least two burials at the Sam Kaufman site yielded turquoise artifacts similar to those at Goss Farm (Jurney and Young 1995: 1). The turquoise recovered from the Goss farm, west of the Sanders Site, is undoubtedly the most spectacular find in the region and contains more turquoise than anywhere else in the study area combined. The burial was that of a five to six year old child, with one red pottery sherd and beads found around the head and shoulders in short groups from 0.5-3.0 inches long. The necklace consisted of 260 small disc-shaped beads and two pendants, ranging in color from bright blue, to bluish green, to almost white (Jurney and Young 1995: 2).

In 1989 Linda S. Cordell and George J. Gumerman, two noted Southwest archaeologists, edited *Dynamics of Southwest Prehistory*. This edition of a 1983 conference included an interesting statement by the two editors:

"Much conference time was spent discussing the processes underlying similarities among the areas that seemed to indicate cultural interaction . . . some using the term 'alliances,' some 'interaction spheres', and some the term 'system'. In part, the diversity reflects controversy over the nature of the interactions, and in part just the novelty in approaching these questions." (Cordell and Gumerman 1989: 1)

Within this edition, Paul Fish covers the easiest area of connection to Mesoamerica, the Hohokam, who inhabited areas in the Sonoran Desert of Arizona. He speaks of artifacts and ballcourts with a "Mesoamerican flavor" but states that actual Hohokam "interchanges with Mexico is poorly evaluated" (Fish 1989: 22). Steven LeBlanc has an interesting discussion in reference to the "sphere of interaction centered at Casas Grandes" (LeBlanc 1989: 179). This major center in Mexico had an interaction sphere approximately 100,000 sq km, which made it similar to the sphere surrounding Chaco.

There is evidence at Casas Grandes of a hierarchical organization with a population in the thousands. There were ballcourts, platform mounds, and aqueducts. There was craft specialization, such as areas to raise macaws, and quantities of stored goods. There is evidence of a decline around 1300 that is also very similar to the time of decline of Chaco. LeBlanc states that much of the interaction sphere of Casas Grandes may have been dependent on trade and exploitation of the American Southwest, with trade of macaw feathers and copper bells for the turquoise found in the Southwest.

Then, of course, there is Chaco Canyon, of which there has been much study and much speculation. In his book *The Chaco Meridian*, Stephen Lekson begins with the assumption that in Southwest prehistory, there were three capitals with political complexity and organized, surrounding regions. These cities were Chaco Canyon, Aztec Ruins, and Casas Grandes, also known as Paquime. These centers were sequential in habitation, the most important settlements during their time, and each controlled the

distribution of exotic materials, such as macaws, copper bells, and shells (Lekson 1999: 15). Symbols and architecture form were important to all three, including the symbol of positional alignment. On observation of the three locations on a map, it is clear that the three cities are built on the same meridian. Lekson's intent in this book is to show that this alignment was intentional.

Chaco was the political and economic center of the eleventh century Pueblo world. Outliers within the San Juan Basin probably participated in a form of redistribution, yet there are identical outliers beyond the Basin where food redistribution could not have been its primary focus (Lekson 1999: 37). The far away outliers appear to have been involved in the political-prestige economy of macaw feathers and bells. Lekson proposes a preponderance of influence and authority over an area that extended as far as the Mogollon settlements of the Mimbres Valley. Then, in 1125, "the wheels came off," construction ceased at Chaco, and the Mimbres societies came to an end (Lekson 1999: 64).

Lekson then summarizes the excavation of Paquime, or Casas Grandes, by Charles Di Peso, who originally suggested a connection of similarities between Chaco and Paquime. Casas Grandes was one of the largest settlements in the New World, with a ceremonial complex, a ballcourt, and a series of over one thousand pueblo-like rooms. Paquime became the major link for Mesoamerican exchanges of prestige goods such as copper bells, macaws, shells, and ceramics to the Southwest and turquoise to Mexico (McGuire 1989: 56). Lekson states that he ridiculed, along with other archaeologists, the idea that the two centers that were 630 km apart, and even further separated by time, could have connections. Yet, Aztec is introduced as the possible bridge between the two

other cities. Aztec was the second major center in Pueblo prehistory and was almost

exactly on the Chaco-Paquime meridian. The years of Chaco (900-1125), Aztec (1110-

1275), and Paquime (1250-1450) appear to be sequential centers. His argument uses tree-

ring dating of the three sites, unique architectural elements shared among the three sites,

the North Road, which was evidence of Chacoan surveying, and the geographic

coordinates (Lekson 1999: 70). The ruling elite from Chaco perpetuated their rule by

moving the ceremonial city along the meridian.

Did these rulers have the knowledge and technical ability to create a 720 km

alignment? Lekson states this ability was demonstrated by an extensive network of roads

that were engineered in straight lines, even if it meant stairways and ramps cut into

canyon walls. The North Road runs north from Pueblo Alto to Aztec Ruins (Lekson

1999: 115).

Progressively, the sequence from Chaco to Aztec to Paquime was an adaptive

transition from gardens watered by diversion canals from canyon run-off, to ditches at

Aztec, to canal irrigation at Paquime. Each city progressively increased their control of

production (Lekson 1999: 171).

Lekson called for a "new comparative archaeology" because the tactics of

southwestern prehistory are based on shared similarities. He made a significant

observation of the lack of a paradigm at this time to work with research that goes beyond

material finds of pottery and architecture.

Alice Kehoe discusses lack of acknowledgement of evidence for contacts and

shared iconography and architecture between Mesoamerica and Mississippian societies

such as Cahokia. She gives as an example the Harvard archaeologist Philip Phillips who

conducted an analysis of engraved conch-shell cups from Spiro. After consultation with a Gulf of Mexico shell "expert", he quotes the following:

> "The Spiro shells . . . must have come from either the Huastecan area or the Florida Keys. Since a practically identical tradition of shell carving existed contemporaneously at Spiro and in the Huasteca, I think that cultural exchange between these areas must have been strongly developed. (quoted in Phillips and J. Brown 1978: 26).

Yet Phillips rejected Mississippian-Mesoamerican contact, stating, "a good deal of hard evidence is needed to prove it" (Phillips and Brown 1978:27). Kehoe states that with Cahokia's location on the waterway leading into the Gulf of Mexico and the ports of the Huastec and Maya, it would be reasonable to think there would be travel up and down the river, as well as overland. The similarity of platform pyramidal mounds constructed around great plazas, surrounding by well-constructed houses using finely polished open bowls and cups, amid miles of hamlets with fields of maize and squash is a good argument of a sharing of ideas (Kehoe 1998:169).

The last perspective is from Stephen H. Lekson and Peter Peregrine, in an article titled, "A Continental Perspective for North American Archaeology" (2004). They state that their essay presents concepts and frameworks for discussion, yet knowing that many of their readers in the SAA Archaeological Record would reject their ideas. Recent works such as Jared Diamond's Guns, Germs and Steel (1999), focuses attention on historic networks with interconnections and linkages among its regions and civilizations. With a need to understand large-scale dynamics, they state that it would be useful for "North American archaeology to get its global house in order . . . Nothing is gained and much is lost by assuming isolation of major cultural areas in North America".

(Lekson and Peregrine 2004: 15). Their obvious view, which is endorsed by this writer, is that Paleo-Indian interactions were continental in scope since historic groups operated on similarly large scales. Why then should we assume that their prehistoric predecessors behaved any differently?

It is obvious from the previous discussion that there are numerous objects of Mexican origin found at Southwestern sites: copper bells, scarlet macaw feathers, and shells from as far south as the Bay of Banderas on the Mexican coast. Yet over the past 20 years, Mexico has become less conspicuous in archeological discussions (Lekson and Peregrine 2004: 16).

Even though there have been few items of Mexican manufacture found in the Southeast, iconographic forms such as birdmen and long-nosed gods, engraved effigy forms, and rituals such as arrow-sacrifice suggest deep connections between Mexico and the Southeast. The pyramidal mounds and plazas are also significant examples of parallels to Classic and Post-classic Mexican ones. Alignment to cardinal points or to celestial objects in Mississippian ideology was another similarity to Mexican astronomical beliefs.

An even more controversial question is Cahokia. Does the lack of Mexican-derived material at Cahokia mean that Mexican-derived ideas were not present? With clear evidence of interactions between the Huasteca and Caddoan regions, is it impossible that there was no influence or interaction between the two?

Comparisons between these areas open an array of questions for understanding processes on a continental scale. Can this world system perspective be used to explain culture change and to better understand interaction networks in prehistoric times? Could

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the Southwest and the Southeast, with its interregional relationships and trade networks

between Mesoamerica and the Southern Plains, be studied using this model? Is a

macroregional approach to archaeology helpful? Is Wallerstein's world systems theory

advantageous for archaeology, or does it need modifications to account for pre-

capitalistic societies? Is there a continued dissatisfaction with existing approaches to

"interaction spheres", and what alternatives can be used by archaeologists to determine

appropriate units of analysis when considering the importance of culture contact as a

force for change?

POTENTIAL FOR WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY

Throughout the course of this document, significant points have been addressed with reference to interregional contacts and the dynamic patterns of social and economic organization and change. There has been no definitive tool or model to study these dynamic patterns or the social consequences of long-distance interactions. Archaeologists such as Alfred Kidder, W. C. McKern, and James Griffin made important contributions to analyze specific culture areas. Wallerstein, and his theory of world systems, provides an alternative parameter of explanation for an expanded view of interactions between culture areas. However, a more appropriate approach for pre-historic societies is a world system perspective.

Wallerstein's idea, aimed at a description of the modern, capitalistic world, is one of world economies operating within an external arena. A division of core states and peripheral and semi-peripheral areas characterizes these world systems. The core, with technological advancement and economic institutions, enables it to extract surplus from the periphery. The periphery is mainly the source of labor and raw materials for use by the core. It is a relative concept and is dynamic and multidirectional in terms of flow of goods and people. The semi-periphery is the link between the core and the periphery, integrating the two economically and geographically. It can also be a buffer to moderate political pressures from the periphery to the core. The semi-periphery does not have access to the opportunities offered by being part of the core. In this model is the ability to deal with change. The patterns of trade and influence between the parts can be variable. The core may change through time, and shifts may occur. The semi-periphery

may decline to periphery or be promoted, or the external arena may be incorporated into the periphery.

This concept of core and periphery is not just an attempt to rethink or reinvent diffusionist thinking, which did not attempt to explain the context in which relationships played out or changed. It is in fact a demonstrated tool for interregional interactions. It is not a perfect tool. Therefore, archaeologists have designed modifications for pre-capitalistic societies for the analysis of long distance relationships, especially between societies with different patterns of social or economic organization.

Peter Peregrine, Thomas Hall, Christopher Chase-Dunn, and others have all made modifications by redefining the nature of exchange networks from exclusively necessity goods to prestige goods and incorporating the cycling process of rise and fall in hierarchical polities. Chase-Dunn and Hall developed a nested approach including bulk goods, prestige goods, political and military networks, and information networks.

Can the concepts of world systems theory be used universally in all situations? No, but the world system perspective can be a general framework to analyze specific conditions in which different levels of economic or political development did produce social change. Even with modifications to Wallerstein, we would still expect the core areas to be consumers of the products of the periphery and be the dominant political partner, while the peripheries are the net providers and dominated partners.

When one examines the archaeological evidence in the Southeast, the Southwest, Mesoamerica, and the Plains/Caddoan region, the reader would have to conclude the existence of interactions among these areas. Figure 9 shows the relative distances from core to core. With core regions existing at Chaco Canyon, Cahokia, and Mesoamerica, it

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may be possible to conclude that the Plains/Caddoan region would be a semi-periphery for all three cores. These three substantial chiefdoms conducted their interactions through the areas of intersection in the Southern Plains. It should also be evident that what we conclude from the archaeological record may not have been the perception of center and periphery based on our own culturally determined vision of the past. The archaeological record does depend on newly developed techniques and a realization that many organic items, such as fur or textiles may not have survived.

Archaeologists would be well advised to keep in mind that certain prestige goods found at these sites, such as conch shells, are lightweight, portable, and driven by trade between these areas of connection. To the modern mind, these shells may not seem to have significance as staple goods. Yet, it is obvious with the numbers of shells found at sites in all of these regions that there was significance to them as an essential part of their culture. If we look at our material culture, the computer chips from Indonesia are minor in terms of material volume. These chips have a major impact on our culture and lifestyle. These shells could well have been a significant part of their lives in terms of religion and/or culture. Therefore, why would we not consider it important to analyze their interregional relationships?

The pros and cons of the world systems perspective given by various archaeologists have been considered. Some archaeologists have used this approach, while others have dismissed its usefulness entirely. At this time the world systems perspective with its modifications for pre-capitalist societies is the best tool we have for a continental perspective. It is difficult for archaeologists to move from one frame of reference to another, from a small-scale reference to a recognition of patterns on a larger

Figure 9: Distances between the three core regions

scale. The areas of prehistoric North America have borders developed by archaeologists, yet these borders had little meaning for the ancient inhabitants. The interactions with other areas, whether for an exchange and trade of goods, fighting and war, or for the flow of information, were significant to the area's development.   Archaeology can benefit from a macroregional approach to provide additional insights into culture change and interaction spheres.

A world systems perspective should not be the solitary approach to examining archeological problems. It is, however, a useful tool to explore and understand a continental perspective and large-scale dynamics. Individuals past and present are not predictable robots responding in a set way to one system or another. People and their cultures are complex entities with connections beyond those of their own local community. Questions must be asked, and ways to learn about past social and ideological aspects must be addressed. There is not one answer to the major controversies in archaeology that exist today, and archaeologists must be open-minded in order to identify missing parameters. The separate methodologies can complement each other, and possibly, a better model can be found along the way. Maybe the world systems perspective doesn't always work, but we need to continue to work on interregional relationships beyond the level of interaction spheres and other classification systems. Most cultures are shaped by their neighborhoods. We ignore cultural interactions at the peril of cutting off our understanding of the past.

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