Numerous examples of ceremonial paraphernalia such as headaddresses, gorgets, beads, maces, spatulates, dance swords, effigy pipes, and figurines have been recovered in Mississippian contexts in Illinois. Artifacts such as these are generally interpreted as the ceremonial equipment of the Mississippian religion, often referred to as the Southern Cult or Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC) (Galloway 1988; Howard 1968; Waring and Holder 1945). The occurrence of these artifacts in Illinois represents the northernmost distribution of Southeastern Ceremonial Complex materials in which their holders were full participants in all aspects of Mississippian culture (Conrad 1989).

Many SECC artifacts are made wholly or partly of native copper, which was employed both for its malleability and value as a rare natural resource. Often these artifacts were decorated with highly symbolic motifs. Whether or not we assume that the raw material used in the media transmitting various SECC symbolic themes was imbued with symbolic overtones of its own (a safe assumption, given the differences between shell and copper art), it is clear that copper was one of a few central SECC symbols used for display of the paramount Mississippian period symbols. SECC copper artifacts are found throughout the southeastern United States at Mississippian period sites (Goodman 1984; Hamilton et al. 1974:23; Phillips and Brown 1978:189-192).

Ornamental or ceremonial copper artifacts were made using three basic techniques. A few ceremonial items are made of solid copper. Most frequently, they consist of a thin, sheet copper covering over a carved wooden, bone, or stone object. More elaborate are thin sheet-copper plates with impressed decorations. These rare "embossed" copper artifacts have often been interpreted as among the most important of Mississippian status-indicating and ceremonial artifacts (e.g., Waring and Holder 1945).

By far the most extensive sample of SECC Mississippian period copper comes from the Spiro site in eastern Oklahoma, where large caches of copper artifacts were found among other elaborate mortuary furnishings. These include numerous solid-copper beads, needles, pins, axes, and spud-shaped objects. There were also many copper-covered wooden and stone objects such as beads, earspools, human and animal effigies, masks, blades, and plaques. In addition, an estimate of over 265 embossed copper plates (Hamilton et al. 1974:188) were found.

Other southeastern sites, such as Etowah in northern Georgia and Moundville in central Alabama, have also produced considerable amounts of SECC copper. At Etowah, these artifacts are not only numerous but impressive in variety and workmanship. The list of copper from Etowah includes the famous embossed Rogan plates, several other anthropomorphic or zoomorphic embossed plates, embossed gorgets, numerous plumes (headress elements), cutouts, beads, cells and copper-covered axes, beads, earspools, and rattles in either zoomorphic or anthropomorphic forms (Goodman 1984:36; Moorehead 1932; Thomas 1984). The quantity of copper recovered from Moundville is similarly impressive. Numerous pendants, gorgets, plumes, axes, and copper-covered earspools, rattles, and imitation cougar canines are reported (Goodman 1984:29; Moore 1905, 1907).

Outside of these three "copper centers" (Spiro, Etowah, and Moundville), comparable quantities of SECC copper have not been found at any one site. However, copper artifacts with similar form and theme are present at many sites throughout the Southeast (Figure 1). Notable examples are the famous embossed copper plates of the Malden or Wulffing cache (Fowke 1910; Watson 1950) and those found at Mt. Royal (Moore 1894A, 1894B) and Lake Jackson (Jones 1962).

Although detailed stylistic analysis of Southeastern Ceremonial Complex copper has not
Figure 1. Selected Mississippian sites mentioned in text.

been undertaken (Phillips and Brown 1978:186), the similarity of elaborate copper artifacts found throughout the Southeast can certainly be interpreted as a unified artistic inspiration, and the possibility of a single source of manufacture has been suggested (Hurst and Larson 1958:180).

Spiro is the primary location where physical evidence that could be interpreted as indicative of manufacture has been found, while stylistic similarities between some of the artwork in embossed copper and other media support copper-plate manufacture at Etowah (Phillips and Brown 1978:208). One probable raw-material source seems to be the Etowah site in the southern Appalachians (Coed 1978:211–213; Hurst and Larson 1958), but the traditional upper Great Lakes sources cannot be overlooked. Likewise, the copper-nugget-bearing glacial drift of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers is a possible source (Brown et al. 1990:260). Harris (1921, 1927) reported finding copper nuggets along the Illinois River and described a 3,000-pound nugget (presently on exhibit at the Illinois State Museum) that was found in west-central Illinois near Spoon River. One such find prehistorically could account for all the copper artifacts recovered to date.

Thus, it has not yet been determined where any of these artifacts were manufactured, or for that matter, the source or sources of raw material. Stylistic comparisons will aid in structuring our interpretations of exchange and investigations into manufacture, but first much of the often poorly reported sample of SECC copper will have to be described and illustrated.

Mississippian Copper in Illinois

Mississippian contexts in Illinois have yielded nearly a full complement of the breadth of Southeastern Ceremonial Complex material. This paper attempts to summarize embossed copper plates, unusual copper-covered artifacts, and decorated copper-covered artifacts found in Illinois and compare them to similar SECC items found elsewhere. Some of these Illinois copper artifacts are well known and widely illustrated while references to others are obscure or nonexistent. Although certainly important as status-indicating objects, items such as undecorated copper-covered earspoons, rolled copper beads, awls, and needles have been excluded due to their lack of artistic and/or stylistically pertinent features.
Elaborate Mississippian copper artifacts in Illinois are summarized in this study under the functional categories of headresses, ear ornaments, gorgets, rattles, and ceremonial weapons. Also inventoried are miscellaneous fragments of embossed copper of indeterminate form and function.

**Headresses**

Sheet-copper headdress plates (Table 1, Figures 2-7) are arguably the paramount symbolic and status indicating Mississippian artifact type. Copper headaddresses or headdress elements from Illinois include at least three falcon plates, a rectangular plate bearing two dancing human figures, a square plate embossed with nodes, a copper-covered wooden (red cedar) “mask,” and one small, mace-like headdress.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>References</th>
<th>Association/Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edwards falcon plate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Material Service Quarry (IAS 111999), LaSalle County</td>
<td>Latchford 1985 (also Bareis 1960)</td>
<td>On the head of an Upper Mississippian Langford tradition burial identified as ca. 7-year-old child. Associated goods included at least one Langford Trilled jar and a celts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoria falcon plate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>&quot;The shores of Lake Peoria,&quot;</em> Peoria County</td>
<td>Powell 1894:39; Thomas 1894:48;</td>
<td>Excavated 1859 (not by Powell). Found with “a few glass beads” (dubious association, see Sampson 1991:10-15).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Bluff Lake figure plate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Same as above</td>
<td>Same as above</td>
<td>Lying near head in same Mississippian stone-box grave as falcon plate. Bone pin inserted in copper plate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cummings-McCarthy plate</td>
<td>7a</td>
<td>Mound 90, Cummings-McCarthy Group, Jersey County</td>
<td>Titterington 1943:240-246; Titterington notebook #5 - Illinois State Museum</td>
<td>At left of skull on adult male. No other grave associations. Other burials in cemetery had Jersey Bluff (Emergent Mississippian) jars and bowls, and Ancestral, Marquessa, and Campasula shell beads. Excavated 1938. (Also see Titterington 1936-47).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonson mask</td>
<td>7c</td>
<td>Edmonson Cemetery, Fulton County</td>
<td>Morse et al. 1961; Griffin and Morse 1961</td>
<td>On left clavicle of adult Mississippian burial along with three copper-covered limestone currency tools, two fragments of a thin copper-covered wooden antler, one copper-covered wooden disk, a number of stone, shell, and ceramic artifacts. Plate probably a rarely worn as a headrest. A forked-eye motif was painted on the mask in white lead-based paint.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Information on context for this plate is by personal communication with finder (William Roda 1988). The burial was exposed in 1965 by earth-moving equipment about 30 m west of University of Illinois excavations. Age and other physical anthropological attributes are by personal communication by George R. Milner. Examination of the cranium of this individual indicated well-expressed calva orbits, dental setae, and enamel hypoplasia. The curvature of the copper plate and copper casting on the child's cranium verify the placement of the plate.*
Figure 5. The Upper Bluff Lake falcon plate, Saddle Site, Union County, Illinois, (25.7 x 8.35 cm). (Courtesy The National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, cat. #88139.)

Figure 6. The Upper Bluff Lake dancing-figures plate, Saddle Site, Union County, Illinois, (15.5 x 16.5 cm). (Courtesy The National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, cat. #881142.)

Figure 7. (a) The Cummings-McCarthy plate, Cummings-McCarthy Mound Group, Jersey County Illinois (approx. 12 cm square) (Titterington notebook #5, Illinois State Museum, photo #AR 1081); (b) the Cahokia mace, Cahokia site, St. Clair County, Illinois (6.3 x 2.5 cm) (after VanBlair 1982:112); (c) the Emmons mace, Emmons site, Fulton County, Illinois (11.9 x 9.9 x 5.5 cm) (photo courtesy Morse Collection Western Illinois University).
element. Although the square and rectangular plates might be considered gorgets based on their shape, their archaeological context indicates they were probably headdresses.

**Ear Ornaments**

Many of the Illinois Mississippian copper artifacts that are comparable to SECC items elsewhere are not headdresses but ear ornaments (Table 2, Figures 8-10). One set of ear ornaments (the Meppen long-nosed-god maskette) is made wholly of copper, but the remainder of these items consist of sheet copper covering a carved wooden, stone, or bone artifact. The most common type of copper-covered artifact is the plain earring. However, these undecorated earrings have been excluded from this inventory, which includes only those ear ornaments that are decorated, effigies, or unusually shaped. The latter can be more confidently compared to similar specimens elsewhere.

**Gorgets**

The Dickson Mounds cross-and-circle gorget is the only copper gorget found in Mississippian context in Illinois (Figures 11 and 12). It was found in Mound J during excavations prior to the construction of the modern museum building. This large copper gorget, embossed with a cross-and-circle motif, was found on the chest of a 25-30-year-old male. Also associated with this burial were one large marine-shell forelock bead, 370 small marine-shell beads in three or four strands around the left wrist, a single strand of 19 marine-shell beads around the right wrist, a Kalois chert Ramey knife by the right hand, and a tool kit consisting of a variety of tools and raw materials between the knees (Harr n.d.; excavation records on file at the Museum of the Illinois State Museum).

**Rattles**

A set of at least seven copper turtle-shell-effigy rattles (Figures 11 and 13c) was found at the Mitchell site (11M50) in Madison County. Mitchell has been mentioned in a number of early publications (Bushnell 1904; Howland 1877, 1887; Mooreshead 1928:59-62; Norton 1912; Snyder 1909:71-92; Thomas 1964:134) that describe the site and the excavations that took place in the mound or discoveries made during destruction of the mound. Extensive controlled excavations at the site were not undertaken until Powers' 1960-1962 salvage work (Powers 1969, 1974).

Some of the most interesting discoveries at Mitchell were made in 1876 when one of the mounds was destroyed for use as fill for the railroad across Long Lake. Fortunately, some of these discoveries were described (Howland 1877; McAdams 1887:35-36), and some have since come into public hands. Henry Howland reports that many curious objects were wrapped in matting, including a number of small turtle shells made of sheet copper. He observed these, stating that the rest had been scattered and some had been collected by workmen (Howland 1877:207). Howland's artifacts are now in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian (Winters 1974:39-39).

William H. McAdams also apparently visited the Mitchell site during the destruction of the mound and gained possession of several copper implements and ornaments (McAdams 1887:35). McAdams' catalogue of Mitchell site materials at the Illinois State Museum lists fragments of three sheet-copper turtle shells.

A number of other artifacts apparently from the same mound are present in the collections of the Missouri Historical Society (Winters n.d.:3). At the time of Winters' inquiry, only the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>References</th>
<th>Associations/Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moppen long-nosed god maskettes</td>
<td>9a-b</td>
<td>Moppen Mounds, Colhoun County (Hazelwood, Baseline, and Pehm groups)</td>
<td>Banks 1986:Plate 34</td>
<td>Set of two copper long-nosed-god maskettes. No information on context (also see Fecht 1953).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effigy cougar canines</td>
<td>9c</td>
<td>Weaver-Bett's cemetery, (ISM 11F228A), Fulton County</td>
<td>Wray and MacNeish n.d.:17-19</td>
<td>Two copper-covered wooden effigy cougar canines found at sides of head of adult male Mississippian burial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effigy cougar canines</td>
<td>9d</td>
<td>Betts Village (ISM 11F237A), Fulton County</td>
<td>Wray and MacNeish n.d.:19</td>
<td>Two copper-covered wood effigy cougar canines. In refuse pit outside of Mississippian House #2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effigy cougar canines</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dickson Mound cemetery (ISM 11F34A), Fulton County</td>
<td>Conrad 1972:74, Harn n.d.</td>
<td>Two copper-covered wood effigy cougar canines found at sides of head of Mississippian burial (B:287).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effigy cougar canine</td>
<td></td>
<td>Crable cemeteries (ISM 11F892-498A), Fulton County</td>
<td>McDonald 1950:17; Morse 1960:126</td>
<td>A pebble-filled, hollow, copper-covered wooden effigy cougar canine excavated in 1900s by collectors. No contextual information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biconical earpools</td>
<td>10a</td>
<td>Powell Mound, Cahokia Mounds, St. Clair County</td>
<td>Titterington 1938:1a-15</td>
<td>Copper-covered wooden cones. Two halves connected by a pin. Excavated 1900-1931 in eastern burial group. Found by workman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biconical earpool</td>
<td></td>
<td>Greene cemetery, St. Clair County (now Booker T. Washington Site)</td>
<td>Perino 1959:132</td>
<td>Mississippian burials in mound on bluff top. Earpool described as similar to ones from Powell Mound but not grooved around center.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun-symbol earpools</td>
<td>10c</td>
<td>Clinton County</td>
<td>LaDassor 1966:8</td>
<td>Two copper-covered wooden earpools with fenestrations. Excavated 1964 by collector. No contextual information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spider earpool facing</td>
<td>10d</td>
<td>Gentleman Farm cemetery, (ISM L52A), LaSalle County</td>
<td>Brown et al. 1967:35</td>
<td>Spider design embossed on a sheet-copper earpool facing. Found on surface of Upper Mississippian Langford tradition cemetery mound.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 9. (a) The Meppen long-nosed-god maskettes, Meppen Mounds, Calhoun County, Illinois, back view (7.6 x 5.1 cm); (b) open long-nosed-god mask, side view (reduced, actual size nose 22.9 cm); (c) cougar-cerume effigy pendants, Hewett Betts cemetery, Fulton County, Illinois; (d) cougar-cerume effigy pendants, Betts Village, Fulton County, Illinois.

Figure 10. (a) The Powell Mound "spindles", Cahokia site, St. Clair County, Illinois (largest 7.3 x 2.85 cm) (after Titterington 1938:15); (b) Green County earspool, (diameter 8.9 cm) (McAdams Collection, Illinois State Museum); (c) Clinton County earspools (largest 4.4 cm diameter) (after LaDnier 1966:8); (d) Gentlenu Farm earspool, Gentlenu Farm site, La Salle County, Illinois (diameter 3.3 cm).
Figure 11. Elaborate copper gorget, rattles, and ceremonial weapon.

Figure 12. The Dickson Mounds cross-and-circle gorget, Dickson Mounds site, Fulton County, Illinois (14.5 cm diameter).

catalogue cards were available for examination. Listed were 38 copper beads, a fragment of a copper turtle shell, and a piece of sheet copper (Winters n.d.-20; 58-59).

An accurate description of the sheet-copper turtle shells is provided by Howland. A total of seven are known.

The shape of those artifacts are remarkably true and perfect, showing a central ridge from end to end, produced by pressure from the under surface. A narrow flange or rim, about 1/2 of an inch in width, is neatly turned at the base, and over the entire outer surface the curious markings peculiar to the tortoise shell are carefully produced by indentation—the entire workmanship evincing a delicate skill, of which we have never before found traces in any discovered remains of the arts of the Mound Builders [Howland 1877:207].

These small, sheet-copper imitations of the box turtle are apparently a set of rattles since one of the examiners at the Museum of the American Indian has a white quartz pebble adhering to the interior of the carapace (Winters 1974:40-41). The McAdams specimen at the Illinois State Museum is accompanied by a copper plastron. The plastron has two central holes that correlate to those of muskellunge anklet rattles commonly found at Illinois Mississippian sites (e.g., Baker et al. 1941:26; Harr 1980:29, 97; Smith 1991:Plate IV). We believe that the Mitchell turtle-effigy rattles were probably also anklet rattles.

At the Rose mound group, overlooking the Illinois River valley near Blue City in north-eastern Schuyler County a set of unusual copper-covered artifacts was found. Associated with an adult burial in Mound 13 were "anklets of small wooden balls and flat pieces of wood plated with copper" (Baker et al. 1941:23-24) (Figure 13d). Associated with a child within the same grave was a copper-covered flat wooden object of indeterminate shape or function (Baker et al. 1941:24, 28).

The small hemispheres are described as consisting of "two separate pieces of wood; a flat
plate or disk of wood 2 cm. in diameter which was fitted into the interior of a hollow hemisphere of wood flush with the edge. They are oval in shape, with the long axes measuring about 2.5 cm, and both the hemisphere and the flat wood plate have two holes for attachment. Nine of these artifacts were found, but only a few were removed intact (Baker et al. 1941:27).

Ceremonial Weapons

A copper-covered wooden (red cedar) invitation blade was found at the Mississippian Gillette cemetery, located along the Illinois River bluff top in southern Schuyler County, Illinois (Figures 11 and 14). The exact context or associations of the blade are unknown. Other material from this site includes copper-covered earspools, a vertically compound Ramey Incised jar, marine-shell beads, a large annular marine-shell gorget, and a fenestrated-cross marine-shell gorget (Conrad 1989:104–105, 1991:147; Dye and Wharey 1989:349).

Miscellaneous Embossed Copper

Also included in this study are nine reports of specimens that, except for the ravages of time, would be important additions to this survey (Table 3, Figures 15 and 16). These range from copper headdress plates to decorated sheet-copper scraps. Some specimens were too badly disintegrated to recover or describe, others are merely poorly described finds that have not subsequently been observed and/or curated. These are important to list from the standpoint of Illinois archaeology, but unfortunately they can make very little contribution to this study.

Temporal Affiliations of Illinois Elaborate Copper

Throughout prehistoric copper has remained one of the most important items of exchange. Isolated copper artifacts appear in Illinois throughout the Archaic period. Examples of this are an Early Archaic lanceolate copper spearhead from Starved Rock (Mayer-Oakes 1951:Figure 101–30), a Middle Archaic copper wedge in extreme southern Illinois (Jeffries and Butler...
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>References</th>
<th>Assumption/Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19a</td>
<td>Green site (11110A), Waco and MacNeal Rd., Fulton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Excavated 1966 by collectors. Overall design cannot be deciphered. Has incised design similar to depiction of ancient rock art.</td>
<td>Unembossed copper fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19b</td>
<td>Emmons cemetery, Fulton County, Illinois</td>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Unembossed copper fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19c</td>
<td>Emmons cemetery, Fulton County, Illinois</td>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Unembossed copper fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19d</td>
<td>Moneo et al. 1983, p. 75</td>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Unembossed copper fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19e</td>
<td>From E. T. J. B. Prentice in &quot;The sandals of Chicago,&quot; Apparantly associated with pottery and a shell, shell, decoration, and present location unknown. Apparently did not go to Smithsonian's Mocha Mound 1928-36.</td>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Unembossed copper fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19f</td>
<td>From MCA's B. E. Wood in &quot;The sandals of Chicago,&quot; Apparantly associated with pottery and a shell, Shell, decoration, and present location unknown. Apparently did not go to Smithsonian's Mocha Mound 1928-36.</td>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Unembossed copper fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19g</td>
<td>Cawley Mound, St. Clair County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19h</td>
<td>Florence Sheet cemetery, St. Clair County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19i</td>
<td>Adamson Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19j</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19k</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19l</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19m</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19n</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19o</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19p</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19q</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19r</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19s</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19t</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19u</td>
<td>Galley Point Mound, Clinton County, Illinois</td>
<td>Mower 1882, 227, p. 105</td>
<td>Two large segmants and some small fragments.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 3: Undated Illinois Mississippian Unembossed Copper Fragments.
1982:1476 and Plate 47, Late Archaic axes from the Hemphill site (Walton 1962:Plate 20-21) and a Late Archaic rat-tail spear from Rock Island County (Anderson 1987).

Increased quantities of copper artifacts begin to appear in Illinois during the terminal Archaic/Early Woodland period (500-1000 B.C.) in the form of such items as beads, awls, gorgets, celts, spearheads, and fishhooks (e.g., Esarey '86). During this time, a system of exchange of exotic materials and artifacts manufactured from these materials was apparently established (Goed 1980).

During the Middle Woodland period, copper artifacts increased in quantity and variety with the appearance of more elaborate forms. Notable examples in Illinois are an embossed copper plate from the Bedford mound group in Pike County (Ferino n.d.) and another from the Petney Landing mound group along the Mississippi River in Henderson County (Markman 1988:276 and Plate 3:9). These and other copper plates from Middle Woodland contexts from various other parts of the eastern United States can be easily separated from later Mississippian examples. As stated by Phillips and Brown (1978:186), "in repoussé copper the discontinuity, both temporal and stylistic, is complete." The only evidence for continuity between Middle Woodland and Mississippian artistry in copper is that both use symbols that represent widely shared world views that have considerable temporal depth.

The Cummings-McCarthy headdress plate (Figure 7a) presents an interesting problem in that although reported as a Late Woodland context, we have elected to include it in our summary of Mississippian period examples. It is our feeling that the Jersey Buff ceramic assemblage from this mound correlates well with the nearby Emergent Mississippian Merrell (A.D. 900-1500) and Edelhardt (A.D. 950-1000) phases (Kelly et al. 1984:147–157). This artifact is of a highly specific form that is closely paralleled by examples from sites in the St. Johns River region of Florida (Moore 1894a:140-143, 201, 1895:484). In all probability, the Cummings-McCarthy plate found its way to Illinois by way of the emerging Mississippian trade routes circa A.D. 900–1500.

The long-nosed-god maskette from Meppen (Figure 9a) and biconical earpools (Figure 10a) from the Powell Mound and the Booker T. Washington site can confidently be assigned to
the circa A.D. 1000 to 1200 range. Their contexts in Illinois agree with the dating of these artifacts elsewhere (e.g., Hall 1991:31; Williams and Geggin 1956).

Other evidence of embossed copper artifacts in Illinois during the early part of the Mississippian period is limited to a small fragment of undetermined decoration and function found at the site (55S793). Although this fragment was reported to have been found in an Early Jackson phase (circa A.D. 1050–1100) Mississippian house (excavation records on file at Dickson Mounds Museum), exact details of this find are lacking. A number of truncated Middle Woodland pits were found in the floor of this house, and later Mississippian remains have also been found at this site.

The copper-covered wooden blade found at Gillette Cemetery (Figure 14) has also been assigned to Eveland times based on the presence of a compound Rainy Incised vessel from the cemetery (Conrad 1989:104–105, 1991:147). However, Conrad’s assignment of the Gillette materials to the earliest part of the Illinois River valley Mississippian period is weakened by the mixed diagnostic associations of the Gillette Cemetery, which also has a large annular shell gorget and a fenestrated-cross gorget. Annular marine-shell gorgets are common only in later Illinois River valley Mississippian phases (circ. A.D. 1250–1450) (Conrad 1989; Santure et al. 1990; Smith 1951). Comparable fenestrated marine-shell gorgets in the central Illinois River valley have come from the Larson and Crable site cemeteries (Morse 1960:Figure 63; Smith 1951:Plate V), indicating post-A.D. 1200 associations. An assignment of the Gillette site copper-covered blade to A.D. 1050–1100 is thus tentative, at best.

The Dickson Mounds cross-and-circle gorget (Figure 12) can be confidently assigned to a Larson phase (A.D. 1150–1250) context (Harm n.d.). The cultural context of the Peoria falcon plate (Figure 4) is virtually unknown, except for its putative association with glass beads (Powell 1994:39). An early historic context for this plate is considered extremely unlikely. The exact context of the Vandevert plate (Figure 16a) is not completely clear, but examination of the ceramics from the site also indicates a post-A.D. 1200 date, and Conrad (1991:147–149) has assigned this assemblage to the Crabtree phase (A.D. 1300–1375).

On their own stylistic merits, the Edwards falcon plate (Figure 3) and Gentleman Farm spider earspool (Figure 10d) should be from post-A.D. 1200 contexts. The Upper Mississippian Langford tradition has long been theorized to continue as late as A.D. 1500 (Brown et al. 1967:43). Although the earliest Langford tradition remains now can be assumed to date close to A.D. 1000, there is still general acceptance for Langford continuing until A.D. 1500 (Brown and Asch 1990:150, 154; Doenhous 1988:125; Emerson and Brown 1992:82; Jeske and Hart 1988:181–185). Nevertheless, there is less and less reason to believe that Langford persists after A.D. 1350 or 1400. Most Langford radiocarbon dates fall into the A.D. 1000 to 1350 range. Only two charcoal dates (Beta-12587 and Beta-12588) and an early 160bs bone date support a post-A.D. 1350 persistence of the Langford tradition. These dates we completely reject, and thus we assume that the Edwards plate and the Gentleman Farm spider earspool date in the A.D. 1200 to 1400 range.

Since the Cahokia mace (Figure 7b) was a surface find, little can be said about its context. Artifacts of this type appear in the Mississippian period and are known to persist into the Historic period in the Southeast (Smith 1989:142–146). The exact context of the Mitchell turrettshell rattle (Figure 13a-c) is also poorly documented, but the primary occupation of the rest of that site occurred during the Moosehead phase (A.D. 1150–1250) (Porter 1974). Of the numerous artifacts found during the destruction of the Mitchell mound, only the three copper-covered bone earspools (Winters 1974:66–99) and a cache of ground-chert spatulate tools (Titterington 1938:6) can be assigned to the Mississippian period on a firm typological basis. Nothing is known of a copper headdress plate excavated by Patrick from a small mound at the Cahokia site (Table 3). The only other documented examples of elaborate copper from the immediate Cahokia area are the two small embossed-plate fragments from the Florence Street site (Table 3, Figure 16b), which are firmly dated to the Sand Prairie phase (circa A.D. 1250–1400).

The embossed plates from the Offerman and Upper Bluff Lake sites in southern Illinois were found in stone box graves, which are generally late Mississippian in age. Stone-lined graves were also found in the Galley Pond mound where a decorated pendant or plate was found (Table 3). Certainly graves of this type in the American Bottom generally date no earlier than the Sand Prairie phase (Griffin 1977:488; Milner 1938b:121; Milner et al. 1984:179–181).

The Emmons mask (Figure 7c) was found in a late Larson phase or post-Larson phase
Sampson and Eseney 465
cemetery (Conrad 1989:111). Supporting this temporal assignment is a negative-painted bottle from this cemetery. Illinois Valley sites producing negative painting span the A.D. 1100 to 1450 range, but the practice becomes common only after A.D. 1300 (Esarey 1989). Conrad (1991:144) notes that the Enmons cemetery is organized, indicating a restricted usage in time. He tenta-

All but one of the Illinois examples of copper-covered wood canines (e.g., Figure 9c-d) appear to date to Otterford phase contexts (cira A.D. 1100-1200). The exception is from the Crabie site, which dates to approximately A.D. 1300-1425. The Crabie copper-covered canine is hollow and contained pebbles, while the other apparently did not (McDonald 1970:17).

In summary, most of the embossed and ornate copper from Illinois seem to fall in the post-A.D. 1200 era, but there are clear pre-A.D. 1200 associations indicated for an Enwegem Mississippian headdress plate, copper-covered effigy canines, copper long-nosed-god maskets, and copper-covered biconical ear polls. However, the most elaborate copper arti-

Regional Comparisons

Illinois examples of elaborate Mississippian copper artifacts display a wide range of stylistic and technical attributes. Comparison of Illinois material to the known total of elaborate Mississippian copper immediately makes it clear that the Illinois material has close stylistic analogues and intimate technical similarities to distant materials. This can only be explained by trans-

Headresses

There are considerable differences in style between the Edwards falcon plate and those found at Etowho (Moorehead 1932; Thomas 1894:292-312) and Lake Jackson (Jones 1982:35).

The Edwards plate (Figure 5) is much more similar to both the Malden (Powers 1910:Plate 15-19; Watson 1950), and Spiro falcon plates (Hamilton et al. 1974:Figures 46-68; Phillips and Brown 1978:Figures 241 and 242). The general outline of these western falcon plates is long and narrow. Features of the Edwards plate head are especially similar to the Malden plates, except that the orientation of the head seems to be reversed (see Figure 3). This apparent anomaly can be explained by making reference to a specific production detail on the heads on the Malden plates. On each of the Malden plates, the eye surround is depressed while the eye itself is raised. The Edwards plate was apparently prehistorically broken across the neck and reassembled with.

Directly below the eye surround of the Edwards plate are two raised oval. These markings are not present on any other copper falcon plate or, for that matter, any falcon image on any other medium. The eye surround itself is not affected or distorted by the additional element.

The Edwards plate is especially similar to the Malden plates (Figure 17) with respect to features of the beak, the triangular cutout between the beak and tongue, the triangular cutout below the lower crest feather, and the attachment of the lower crest feather to the shoulder. It is significant that similar cutouts do not occur on the Spiro examples. The cutout between the tongue and beak of the Edwards and Malden plates is utilized to portray what Phillips and Brown (1984:177) have termed "Moore's hump", for lack of a better name. In reality, this hump is present on most birds but not in the pronounced form portrayed by the Mississippian artists. At Spiro, "Moore's hump" is found in the Craig A shell engraving that Phillips and Brown (1978:187) believe to be inspired by styles in copper art. Significantly, however, this feature is not portrayed on Spiro copper.

The lower half of the Edwards plate, especially the features of the wings, legs, and tail, are
most comparable to the Spiro plates. It should be remembered, of course, that the tails of all the Malden plates are missing.

The Upper Bluff Lake falcon plate (Figure 5) is so similar to the Malden plates that we are confident in proposing that it is (to follow Phillips and Brown's 1978: 207 phraseology), "if not from the same hand,... almost certainly from the same workshop." Furthermore, this plate has a complete tail, allowing us to speculate with more confidence on the appearance of the tails of the Malden plates (e.g., Chapman and Chapman 1972: 74). In fact, the Malden (Fowke 1910; Watson 1950), Toul Creek (Hamilton et al. 1974: 164; Slay 1958: 90), Reed Mound (Hamilton et al. 1974: 163-164), Edwards (Latchford 1985), and Upper Bluff Lake (Cobb 1991: 62-64; Thomas 1894: 161; Watson 1950: 60-61) falcon plates are all extremely similar (Figures 17 and 18).

Although all of these falcon plates, and those from Spiro, are still subsumed under the as of yet undifferentiated "Classic Elowah" style (Brown 1989: 201), we are prepared to identify these 12 plates from five sites as constituting a copper-art style that can be differentiated from even the Spiro falcon plates. That is, we propose that not only are these copper plates quite distant stylistically from other falcon plates such as those at Elowah, but they have an artistic specificity that separates them (below the "phase" level) from the Spiro falcon plates. This would correlate to Phillips and Brown's concept of a "workshop" (Phillips and Brown 1984: xvii) and would be taxonomically analogous to the well-known McAdams style (Phillips and Brown 1978: 174-175). The obvious designation for this tightly defined "workshop" level of production would be the "Malden style" (Figure 19).

The Peoria plate (Figure 4) is different in nearly all respects from the Malden style plates. It has not been previously linked to any other style or specific copper plate (Conrad 1989: 112).

This plate is nearly as wide as it is tall. Similar proportions are noted for the famous Rogn hawk-dancer plates from the Elowah site (Willoughby 1932: Figures 14-15), and closer comparisons reveals other similarities. If one disregards the dancer, the wings and tail of the Elowah hawk dancers and the Peoria plate are similar. The Peoria plate also shares scallops at the top of each wing with another Elowah falcon plate (Thomas 1894: Plate XVII; Willoughby 1932: Figure 7). This shared element (Figure 20) is not found on any other falcon plate in the literature. The execution of the feet and legs of these plates is also somewhat similar.

Another stylistic feature linking the Peoria plate to Elowah is a technical attribute of producing the decorations on these plates. The ventral spots on the Malden, Spiro, Edwards, and Upper Bluff falcon plates are produced entirely by pressure from the opposite side of the
plate. In contrast, the ventral spurs of both the Peoria and Etowah falcon plates are produced from both sides as expressed by a depressed ring around each spot. The technique used to produce the rest of the design of these plates is also generally similar. Clearly, the attributes of the Peoria plate are to the Etowah falcons and falcon impersonators, and the attributes of this group of embossed copper plates are not closely related to the Malden style of Spiro falcons.

The Upper Bluff Lake dancing-figures plate (Figure 6) has not commanded much stylistic attention, although Phillips and Brown's (1978:175) comment that it is closely related to their
McAdams style. They also note similarities to the intertwined snake men of Craig C and link features of the Upper Bluff Lake races to Braden B and C (Phillips and Brown 1978:175). Few other observations can be made since comparable specimens in copper have not been found. The most important (and previously unpublished) information relating to stylistic affinities of the Upper Bluff Lake plate is the simple fact that it was found in the same grave as the Upper Bluff Lake falcon plate (Table 1).

The intimate connection between the Upper Bluff Lake dancing-figures plate and the Malden style falcon plates strengthens the significance of the observed stylistic distance between the falcon plates of the Malden style and their counterparts at Spiro by associating the Malden style with Phillips and Brown's McAdams style. We feel that this strengthens the probability that the ritualistic integrity of our Malden style ultimately must be interpreted as evidence of a regional base of production for some of the embossed copper plates.

The Cummings-McCarthy plate (Figure 7a) also contains unusual decoration unparalleled in Illinois. Generally similar examples have been found at Spiro and Moundville (Hamilton et al. 1974:93-96) and at Lenois Island, Tennessee and in Jackson County, Alabama (Harrington 1922:46, 255-256, Plate LXXXIII). More pertinent are the nearly identical plates that have been found in the St. Johns River region of Florida at Grant Mound (Moore 1895:482-488) and Mt. Royal (Moore 1894b:139-143). Importantly, Grant Mound also contained a pair of long-nosed-god maskettes and a copper-covered biconical ramshead, and Mt. Royal also produced embossed geometric plates nearly identical to those from Spiro (Phillips and Brown 1978:206-208).

The embossed sheet-copper mace from Cahokia (Figure 7b) is the most northerly reported example of this class of artifact. Sometimes described as pendants or spangles, these headdress elements are rarely found outside the Southeast and are clearly differentiated from the mouse-shaped sheet-copper ornaments farther north (Hall 1962:143-146, Plates 80-81). Many examples of items very similar to the Cahokia mace have been found in the Southeast at a number of sites, including Moundville (Moore 1903) and Etowah (Byers 1962:215; Larson 1959; Willoughby 1932). Most similar to the Cahokia example are those from Etowah.

The Emmons mask (Figure 7c) is a unique artifact in Illinois and worthy of extended discussion. Based on its similarity to an artifact found at the Etowah site (Larson 1957), the Emmons mask was interpreted by Morse et al. (1961:128) as probably being a rattle. Larson had asserted that the Etowah rattle was most similar to the human heads held in the hands of dancing figures on plates from Etowah (Thomas 1894:Figure 186 and Plate 17) and Spiro.

Although Larson settled on characterizing the Etowah specimen as a rattle, he also discussed its connection to the complex of long-nosed-god maskettes (Williams and Goggins 1956). In this vein, Griffin and Morse (1961) characterized the Emmons effigy as likely representing a
"short-nose god" mask. More than 40 masks of red cedar were found at Spiro (Hamilton 1952:40). Most of the Spiro specimens show scars different from the Etowah rattle, since they lack cattellated headress elements, but they do have hollowed-out backs. Size of the Spiro masks varies considerably, which led Hamilton (1952:40) to interpret some as ear ornaments, which of course also relates to the long-nosed-god complex.

Larson (1957:9-10) and Phillips and Brown (1978:146) have noted that the Etowah rattle is nearly identical to a headress element on the anthropomorphized Maiden plate (Fowke 1910:Plate 16; Watson 1958:Figure 3). There are also at least three very similar headresses on shell carvings from Spiro (Phillips and Brown 1978:Plates 2, 17, and 22g). Two of the effigy human heads on headresses in Spiro shell art and the one on the Malin plate (Figure 21) are part of a highly specific Braden "higo crest" style headress (Phillips and Brown 1978:87, 146).

Taking our lead from Phillips and Brown and Conrad (1989:110, 1971:144), we suggest that the Emmuns mask must also be interpreted primarily as a Mississippian headress element. The fact that one of the four effigy human heads shown does have a lower jaw makes it clear that the similarities between the Emmuns mask in Illinois, the Etowah rattle in Georgia, and some of the Spiro red cedar masks in Oklahoma derive from the fact that in each case they functioned as standardized elements of a highly specific variety of elite Mississippian headress. Both the Etowah rattle and the Emmuns mask have appropriately placed attachment holes for this purpose.

Of course, none of these interpretations are mutually exclusive (a headress can be a rattle and either can be a "god mask"). More to the point, it is important to observe that the connections indicated by the Emmuns mask are with material at both Etowah and Spiro, as well as the Malden style copper plates.

Ear Ornaments

Copper long-nosed-god macelettes, such as the pair from Meppen (Figure 9a), are a rare Southeastern Ceremonial Complex item. Only seven pairs from seven widely spaced sites are known. Examples of shell and, in one case, bone are nearly as rare (Kelly 1951:73-74). All of these copper macelettes are so similar that they were almost certainly made at the same workshop. Initial work by Williams and Goggin (1956) made a strong case for the movement of these items and others between Cahokia, Spiro, and points further south.

Copper long-nosed-god macelettes have turned up in eastern Oklahoma at Spiro (Brown 1976:297-298) and Harlan (Bell 1972) and more distant sites. Gahagan (Webb and Dodd 1939) and Grant Mound (Moore 1985). Similarities of items found at these sites supply some of the standard references to interregional trade of elite goods during the Mississippian period (e.g., Brown et al. 1990:264-265; Griffin 1946:88-89; Kelly and Cole 1931:332, 335; Webb and Dodd 1939:112-115; Williams and Goggin 1956:40-45).

Even though slightly more of the copper long-nosed-god macelettes have been found in the south, we agree with Hall (1991:30-34) that their point of origin may well be within the Cahokia
sphere. The quantity of marine-shell maskettes in the north and the fact that Hall (1899:240–247) has connected them to a Winnebago and Ioway mythological hero known as Red Horn or "He Who Wears Human Heads as Earrings" (Radin 1948) tend to support this conclusion. It is of special note that another rare item, biconical earpools (Figure 10a), have been found at sites such as Grant and Spiro, which also have long-nosed-god maskettes (Brown 1976:297–299; Moore 1985:482–488; Perino 1959:132; Williams and Coon 1956:54). It may be that the long-nosed-god theme is closely connected to these less elaborate earpools.

The distribution of copper-covered earpools across the Southeast is widespread, and the examples are numerous. We have restricted our attention to decorated copper-covered earpools, which have much more specific stylistic connections and a more limited distribution. Examples are relatively rare outside of Spiro. The decorated copper-covered stone earpool from Greene County, Illinois (Figure 10b) is similar to sun-circle designs found on decorated earpools from Spiro (Brown 1976:273–290; Hamilton et al. 1974:Figure 110). More significantly, the Greene County earpool is very similar to an earpool depicted on the anthropomorphized falcon plate from the Malden cache (Figure 21a).

The cutout sun-circle-motif earpools from Clinton County (Figure 10c) are only broadly similar to the Greene County example and many of the Spiro examples. None of the Spiro copper-covered earpools have the decoration formed by cutouts. However, two pairs of earpools nearly identical to the Clinton County pair were found in a stone-box grave in Marion County, Alabama (Fundaburk and Foreman 1957:Plate 9) and one was found in a stone-box grave near Nashville, Tennessee (Thruston 1987:303, 352). The only other items similar to the Clinton County earpools are a sheet-copper gorget from Alabama (Fundaburk and Foreman 1957:Plate 10b) and a number of cutout ornaments from Moundville (Moore 1905).

The earpool facing with a spider motif from the Gentleman Farm site (Figure 10d) is unparalleled. Spiders occur only rarely on copper (Hamilton et al. 1974:165), wood (Fundaburk and Foreman 1957:12; Walther 1980:219), or stone (Phillips and Brown 1978:204), but are relatively common on engraved marine shell. About three dozen examples of marine-shell spider gorgets are known, eight of which have been found in Illinois (Esarey 1987, 1990). Esarey notes that those few spiders on media other than shell are geographically and stylistically marginal to those on shell.

The spider on the Gentleman Farm earpool facing lacks the cephalothorax cross common to both the southwestern (McAdams style) spider gorgets and the depictions of spiders at Spiro. The distribution of Mississippian spider gorgets lacking the cephalothorax cross centers in eastern Tennessee, northern Georgia, and Alabama. We would shrink from endorsing the Gentleman Farm earpool facing as an imported item on this basis, however, since there is another problem to consider.

Based on ethnographic analogies and admittedly slim contextual data, Mississippian spider gorgets have been consistently associated with female aspects of Mississippian symbolism (Esarey 1990; Kneberg 1959). In fact, the need for harmony between the Mississippian significance of spiders and the symbolic media appropriate for women (in other words, not ear ornaments or elaborate headdresses) probably accounts for the lack of these creatures on copper except in two cases peripheral to the main concentrations of spider symbolism (Esarey 1990). The Gentleman Farm spider is a stylistic anomaly. Its apparent function and its symbolic content express a contradiction that is difficult to explain.

A close connection between the Illinois River valley and distant sources of finished Mississippian copper artifacts is equally evident in another class of copper artifact. While the four occurrences of Mississippian copper-covered cougar-canine effigies found in the Illinois River valley (Figures 9c and 9d, Table 2) stand in relative isolation in midwestern Mississippian contexts, exactly this type of artifact has been found at a number of Mississippian sites in Alabama and Tennessee (Goodman 1984:23–29), at the Cahagen Site in northern Louisiana. Keller Place in southwestern Arkansas (Goodman 1984:50–51; Moore 1909:Figure 93), and at the Cherry Valley mounds in northeastern Arkansas (McPherson 1962:143–145). A rough "headband" with multiple copper-covered carved "bear" canine pendants was also found at Spiro (Hamilton 1952:41), which may indicate that our characterization of these pendants as ear ornaments is overly restrictive. Thus, even though copper-covered effigy canines are quite rare in Illinois and surrounding states, they are clearly a mainstream prestige artifact at numerous distant Mississippian sites.
Gorgetts

Comparison of the Dickson Mounds circle-and-cross gorget (Figure 12) is not so easily undertaken. Although a number of embossed circular copper gorgetts have been found, few are directly comparable to this specimen. Circular copper gorgetts emossed with the cross-and-circle design have been found at Spiro (Hammond et al. 1974:141-142), Moundville (Moore 1986:2-15), Moundville (Moore 1986:2007), and Etowah (Fanduburk and Foreman 195:10:10). Most similar to the Dickson Mound gorget are the examples from Spriro and the nearby near Norman site. The size of these gorgetts is comparable, as is the division of the gorget into four quadrants by embossed lines. Concentric circles, surrounding the four sets of embossed copper gorgetts at all of the above-noted sites, but only the Dickson Mounds gorget has scallops inside the cross and along the margins of the plate. In terms of specific stylistic attributes, the Dickson Mounds gorget stands in relative isolation.

Rattles

In technical, artistic, and stylistic terms, the turtle-shell-effigy rattles from the Mitchell site (Figure 13c-e) are unparalleled by any other Illinois Mississippian site. The Rose Mound hemispheres (Figure 13d) also represent a set of ankle rattles but are much smaller and not effigies. Winters (1974:40) points out that turtle rattles have played an important role in ritual activity for thousands of years. The copper variation of the turtle rattle came into use around A.D. 200 in the "culturally advanced and rich Middle Woodland sites in Ohio" (Winters 1974:40). Specifically, Winters is speaking of 18 turtle-effigy rattles from the Mount City group that formed a belt (Mills 192:372-374).

Especially similar to the Mitchell rattles is a copper effigy of a turtle shell found in the Tick Island Mound on the St. Johns River in Florida (Moore 1964:134-135). This effigy is directly comparable in size, perforations, and wrapping around the Mitchell rattles described by Howland (1857). Also found at the Tick Island Mound were a pair of copper-covered (deer?) jaws (Moore 1964:135) similar to those found at Mitchell.

Moore (1964:31-32) also reported that copper-covered wooden artifacts at the ankles of a burial that was associated with a number of other copper artifacts at the Cahokia site in Illinois. Little can be said about these artifacts except that they were carved of wood. It is probable that these were also rattles. A copper-covered wooden rattles was also found near the knees of this burial. Interestingly, this site also produced a pair of copper long-nosed-god masks, a red stone frog-effigy pipe, and five copper-covered wooden animal-effigy pipes (Webb and Dool 1939). A somewhat similar frog pipe was found in the American Bottom near Cahokia (Emerson 1962:33-34; McAdams 1887), and as previously indicated, copper long-nosed-god masks have also been found in the Cahokia area. Whatever the origins of the Mitchell turtle-shell-effigy rattles, a clear connection exists between Cahokia Mississippian and the Caddoans at the Cahokia site.

Larson mentions the usage of copper-covered wooden ankle rattles at the Etowah site. He is not completely clear about the shape of these artifacts, although he does state that rattles from several burials were carved to represent bird talons (Larson 1989:142).

Ceremonial Weapons

Conrad (1984:105) has noted that the copper-covered wooden blade (Figure 14) from the Gillette Cemetery is paralleled only by examples from Spiro (Brown 1976:193). Hamilton et al. 1974:Figure 107) and Etowah (Cry 1941). Stylistically, this leaves little opportunity for comparison, although it is an artifact that only the Gillette blade exhibits naturalistic flaking patterns.

Discussion

Territorial Divisions

Muller (1986:1989) has argued that the elaborate art traditions of the late-prehistoric Southeast have been viewed as identical in style, duration, and social function and that distinct cultural styles and stylistic episodes have been placed under the "cult" label. He proposed (Muller 1989:14-19) that horizons of the Southern Cult, which he terms Developmental Cult, the Southern Cult, Attenuated Cult, and Post-Southern Cult, can be distinguished by style and
context. Our conclusions lead us to agree with these temporal divisions, although we do not agree wholly with the implications inherent in these names.

Artifacts such as long-nosed god masks, which are important in Muller’s (1989:14) definition of the Developmental Cult, are temporally associated with copper-covered effigy canoes or claws, biconical earpools or spindles, and red stone effigy pipes at various sites throughout the southeastern United States. All of these items are either present in relatively early Mississippian contexts at Cahokia or at other Illinois sites in contexts relating to the kind of Cahokia’s importance (A.D. 1000–1250). It is our view that these items were traveling through the Cahokia sphere and some were possibly produced there.

The most elaborate copper in Illinois clearly postdates Cahokia. Accordingly, a small embossed shell-copper piece is the only identified item of embossed copper that has appeared at Cahokia. In fact, very few examples of embossed copper seem to occur anywhere in Cahokia’s immediate area. Although peak American Bottom region settlement complexity and population occurred circa A.D. 1000–1250 (Lohmann through Moorehead phases), peak Mississippian occupation in the Illinois Valley was attained in the A.D. 1150–1400 period (e.g., Conrad 1991). Other Southeastern Ceremonial Complex items present in the Illinois River valley, for example spider pendants, are present only in the latest American Bottom area contexts and are also absent entirely from Cahokia itself (Esarey 1987; Phillips and Brown 1976:175).

Cultural Context

The distribution of these artifacts in Illinois can be argued to largely correlate with the most northerly Mississippian societies that were full participants in the Mississippian culture. Conrad (1989:98) has noted that central Illinois River valley Mississippian societies participated fully in the exchange of goods and information that characterized the Southeastern Cultural Area during late-prehistoric times. He emphasizes that these societies are by no means marginal to the Mississippian cultures of the south and that minor differences should not place them on the other side of a major cultural divide. The presence of these rare, sociotechnic copper artifacts in Illinois Mississippian societies can only be viewed as supporting Conrad’s conclusion.

The lack of falcon plates and other late art styles associated with the “Warrior cult” at Cahokia can be overemphasized by ignoring this matter of style chronology. For example, Emerson notes that there was very limited deposition of military items or symbols in Cahokia Mound 72, stating that “the thematic focus of much of Cahokia iconography and ritual/ceremonialism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the water/fertility concept” (Emerson 1989:92). Although this may be true to some extent, we would contend that there is ample warrior symbolism present at Cahokia. The anthropomorphized falcon symbolism of the Birdman tablet, warrior heads engraved on pottery and stone, woodpecker on the Emery tablet, ground-chert mace, and the arrowheads in Mound 72 are all clearly military items or warrior symbols. Symbols such as embossed falcon headrings were simply not in use prior to the circa A.D. 1250 decline of Cahokia.

Style, Production, and Exchange

Surveys and comparisons of two other classes of elaborate ceremonial and status-indicating items found at Illinois Mississippian sites (marine-shell spider gorgets and negative-painted ceramics) have led to the conclusion that many such classes of sociotechnic artifacts were locally manufactured expressions of overriding continuities that persisted between the Illinois Mississippian and their geographically contiguous counterparts in the lower Ohio and Mississippi drainages (Esarey 1987, 1988, 1990). Similarly, there is no question that the similarities present in elaborate copper are a powerful expression of these same overriding continuities. However, in contrast to locally, or even regionally, based production of status goods expressing generic Mississippian iconography, our compilations and comparisons of the most elaborate copper held by Illinois Mississippian shows that there are specific shared stylistic and technical features that could only be accounted for by long-distance exchange of completed artifacts. Importantly, the stylistic connections expressed in Illinois elaborate copper are in many cases not with their nearest contemporary Mississippian neighbors along the Mississippi and lower Ohio, Tennessee, and Cumberland drainages but with the assemblages of copper at Spiro, Etowah, and a handful of other distant sites.

Similar or identical elements, motifs, and themes in embossed copper between Illinois and
Sampson and Esrey

other sites throughout the Southeast are some of the clearest evidences for physical transfer of finished Mississippian artifacts. Indeed, nothing else could explain the presence of embossed plates sharing intricate and nearly identical elements in such widely separated locales as the Illinois River valley and Etowah, i.e., the Ennomon mask or the shared technological aspects of the Pietsia falcon and Thomas’ Mound C falcon, the Cahokia area and Florida’s Grant Mound and Southern’s Canoe, or the copper long-nosed god maskettes, or Illinois and Oklahoma (the Edwards and Upper Bluff Lake falcon plates and Oklahoma’s Reed Mound).

No small amount of attention has been given to the nature of this exchange might be. It has been stated or implied in a number of studies that the trade in marine shell and copper was somehow linked (Coggeshall 1984:7; Phillips and Brown 1972:26-268) and that the interaction components of this complementary relationship may have had considerable antiquity (Goed 1980). Goed’s (1978) demonstration that much southwestern Mississippian-period copper is Appalachian in origin and Phillips and Brown’s (1978:208) contention (halfwritten, but reasonable) that Spiro is an equal contender with Etowah as a source for embossed copper makes flow of copper and marine shell into Cahokia and its hinterlands all the more inscrutable.

Indirect receipt of Cahokia’s shell through Spiro is possible since Spiro was obviously well connected to trade in marine shell. If such trade occurred, it must have been primarily in raw marine shells since very little Spiro style engraved shell has turned up in the Cahokia area (Phillips and Brown 1978:120-171). What then would have been returned in exchange for shell? One of the proposed products of Cahokia are the so-called stone figures. Prentice (1964:243-244) presents a strong argument that figurines were manufactured in the Cahokia area and exported to Spiro in the finished form. Also in support of this origin is the simple fact that the Big Boy figure pipe (Hamilton 1952:Plates 9 and 10) is adorned with long-nosed-god maskettes at the ears. This and the distribution of god maskettes can be interpreted to indicate that long-nosed-god maskettes are also a signature of trade originating at Cahokia. The origin, history, and history of production of the entire corpus of elaborate Mississippian copper artifacts lies at the crux of this issue. As mentioned in the introduction, early speculation on production favored a single source of manufacture (e.g., Hurst and Lasser 1958:180). Relatively convincing arguments were made by others that Spiro or Etowah as a source could be marshalled (Phillips and Brown 1978:268). However, with close examination of the range of variation and regional connections of copper at Spiro (Hamiton et al. 1974) and the perspective gained by taxonomical organization of Spiro shell art (Phillips and Brown 1978, 1984), it has become clear that the question of production is not so simple. The most important observation at this early stage of research is that each of the major deposits of Mississippian copper so far discovered (Moundville, Etowah, and Spiro) have distinctive, albeit somewhat overlapping, assemblages. Their distinctive style assemblages are a function of both time and geography in spite of the overall connectedness of all Mississippian copper art. For instance, Moundville, like Cahokia, declined early relative to Etowah and Spiro (e.g., Brown et al. 1990:258), which shaped the nature of its copper assemblage drastically. This would be of little concern if Spiro and Etowah had even roughly isomorphic copper style assemblages, but there are imbalances and exclusivities between the two that are significant. Brown (1989:201) has broadly outlined two major embossed-copper style divisions ("Classic Etowah" and "Stack"), which relate to Braden A and Braden B shell-art divisions, respectively. These two styles subsume most of the variation in embossed copper. The division itself does not rule out common origins for all embossed copper, but it does significantly clarify the issue. If, for instance, the differences expressed at this first level of generalization (between Classic Etowah and Stack) are the result of changes in an ongoing tradition of embossed-copper production in a single locale, then neither Spiro nor Etowah can be that source. Geography and the weighted distribution of various traits will continue to insert implications into the issue of source as embossed-copper style taxonomy evolves.

Difficult as it may be to elucidate sources and trade connections by working backward from the points of final deposit of these clearly mobile commodities, there are clues. Key among these is that whenever a technical or artistic detail can be observed to be geographically delineated from even closely related material, the implication is that manufacture took place at a different time or place, or by a different group of artisans.

Our best case in point is the group of Malcom style falcon plates, which we have isolated from very similar falcon plates at Spiro on the basis of minor but consistent details of production (Figures 17-19). Looking either towards or away from Spiro as a source, and without consider-
ing the origins of the "Stack" style of embossed copper, problems immediately emerged in assigning these two minor stylistic divisions of falcon plates to the same source as the Etowah site falcons and the generally eastern falcon imprints with which they presently share the broad "Classic Etowah" designation (Brown 1989:201; Phillips and Brown 1978:166–168). Therefore, it is our opinion that the long-standing search to identity a single site or geographic area as the point of production for all embossed-copper plates will be ultimately frustrated by the fact that there are indeed geographically feasible artistic and/or technical expressions that assure multiple, geographically separate, but artistically linked, sources of manufacture. Independent support for this interpretation can be seen in the technical distinctions of the Malden style falcon plates (which differ uniformly from their close counterparts at Spiro), as well as the implications of the Malden style shell gorget (which have strong Craig school connections, but with a distribution that ensures they could not have been manufactured outside of the Illinois-south
east Missouri–Western Kentucky region).

This does not invalidate over-arching stylistic connections made elsewhere (i.e., Brown 1989; Brown et al. 1990; Phillips and Brown 1978, 1964), but clarifies that those affinities were generated by unified artistic conventions born of close contact and inspiration by exchanged examples rather than shared participation in insolated schools of production. Three points of production for embossed copper would seem to be a minimum, and one of these should lie within the distribution of the Malden style falcon plates (Figure 19). Beyond these observations, we can only join Phillips and Brown (1978:186) in eagerly awaiting the long-overdue stylistic analysis of all the southeastern Mississippian elaborate copper.

Conclusions

Comparisons elsewhere have shown that elaborate copper items at widely separated Mississippian sites share important stylistic and technical features that can only be explained by specialized production and long-distance transfer of finished objects. Examination and comparison of this class of artifacts from Illinois Mississippian contexts support this conclusion and supply additional evidence that there are geographic patterns of stylistic and technical features that have significant implications regarding production and exchange.

It can safely be said that elaborate copper ceremonial regalia was the ultimate Mississip-
ian period commodity. As a commodity, it involved an exotic and highly valued raw material modified by a highly specific technology and artistic technique. As the most important ceremonial and status-indicating paraphernalia of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, the presence of elaborate Mississippian copper in Illinois attests to the importance of Illinois Mississippian societies and reflects their intimate connection with other major Mississippian centers. Here, as elsewhere in the Mississippian world, these elaborate copper items and their decorations embodied universally accepted metaphysical superstructures and bespoke an exclusivity that greatly transcended, and thus legitimized, local hierarchies.

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