

THREE

The Archaeology of Ancestral Monacan Society

N THIS CHAPTER I introduce Ancestral Monacan Society. Ancestral Monacan Society refers to the people of the Virginia interior (Piedmont, Ridge and Valley, and Blue Ridge) who became a recognizably distinct “tribal group” or “chiefdom” at the beginning of the second millennium A.D. While there is little doubt that language and historical memory were distinct between the preceding generations of peoples across the Chesapeake, in Native America (as throughout most of the non-Western world) language and historical memory are not boundaries to social interaction—to marriage, trade, and shared daily practices and ritual. But, at approximately A.D. 1000, other factors led to the definition of a people who came to be known as Monacans, as well as a people who came to be known as Powhatans. And those two polities are just two among the many that Spanish and English colonists name in their accounts. Ancestral Monacan Society was never internally homogeneous, and it would change in structure and space over time. The concept of Ancestral Monacan Society is one that takes its voice from archaeological studies. Archaeology is a science in its rigorous collection of field data, but it fulfills its greatest potential when it is a humanistic science informed by indigenous and anthropological insights (Spector 1993). A humanistic archaeology is one thinking about individual lives, daily activities, households, connections with other tribes, and especially for Native American people, the relationship of the living to the ancestors. In the preceding two chapters, the voices that formed the basis of this narrative were predominantly those of European colonists—from John Smith to Thomas Jefferson. This

chapter offers a different voice, an anthropological voice, interpreting archaeological data to construct a life history of the Monacan people before 1700.

This voice at first produces a report more than a narrative—but it is a report that addresses the many misconceptions and empty spaces left by colonial documents. I will review here what archaeologists have written about everyday life in Monacan society, such as what houses looked like, what the size of a Monacan household was, and how Monacan daily life changed over time. I will discuss the Monacan diet. The subject of diet may seem mundane except that the absence of agriculture was interpreted by Europeans as a sign of a society being “barbarous,” while agricultural societies were deemed more civilized—that is, more like Europeans. Food production, subsistence, is a window into possible surplus production and changes in social and political organization. This type of reporting, this voice, allows us to imagine Monacan life in a single generation, from being a member of a household to becoming part of the collectivity of the ancestors. Sometimes the report is based on quantified patterns of artifacts and features in the landscape, and other times it can be inspired and informed by one artifact, one household, or one earthen mound built up over centuries (Spector 1993).

A history drawn from archaeological data requires imagination and a wealth of comparative ethnographic knowledge. I benefit from moving between material remains of the past and historic texts and oral histories. At its best this type of archaeology brings a richer kind of understanding, even empathy. In the following discussion I describe what I consider to be a biography of the Monacan people, in life and in death, in the first seven centuries of the second millennium. These indigenous people are the ancestors of the much transformed, persistent, and now growing Monacan community of the twenty-first century. I will first clarify the idea of Ancestral Monacan Society; then I will discuss Monacan households, diet, connections to other Native American groups, including evidence for warfare, and the meaning of the Monacan mounds.

Ancestral Monacan Society, A.D. 1000

Monacan is a specific cultural entity that takes its unique form circa A.D. 1000. This Monacan society developed from the non-agricultural societies of the preceding twelve millennia (or more) in the greater Chesapeake area. Open boundaries and connectivity through mobility, marriage, exchange, and ritual (Claasen 2015; Sassaman 2010) defined the twelve thousand or more preceding years of American Indian settlement in the region. The Monacans of the past millennium are descended from those people. But it is hard to recognize a society of the Virginia interior that is fundamentally distinct from adjoining regions for most of that time. Some apparent differences between people of the coast and people of the interior can be discerned in archaeological study of material culture—especially the making and decorating of pottery—from about A.D. 200 on (Egloff and Potter 1982).

I suggest that two changes took place in A.D. 1000 that came to define a Monacan society distinct from the Algonquians to the east and Iroquoian speakers to the west and southeast. These changes created a new cultural landscape, one marked by towns placed almost exclusively alongside rivers with rich alluvial soils and the construction of distinctive accretional burial mounds. The river settlements reflected a shift to an agricultural economy.¹ In this, the people of the Piedmont were not unique in the Chesapeake region of that time, but they were possibly the first to adopt maize as a domesticate (Gallivan 2003; Potter 1983). The mounds, however, are a Monacan social practice distinct from that of any of their neighbors or any other mound building people of the eastern United States (Milner 2004). From that foundation, diverse practices of daily life, language, and identity, as well as diverse names, developed on different river systems in the Virginia interior. The Monacan world would stay fairly stable from A.D. 1000 to 1600, but does respond and restructure in the meeting and reshaping of cultures in the early colonial era (Cobb and DePratter 2012). The Monacan name is both timeless and bounded depending on your perspective; it is timeless and represents different ways of living over the

centuries to the present day. It is, in two words, both real and dynamic at the same time. Within that, the long-term commitment to a particular way of burying and honoring the ancestors—the accretional mounds of secondary bundle burials—demands attention eventually as a remarkable record of continuity in a fluid and changing world. The distinctive mounds live for many generations.

Not everyone would agree that the name Monacan can be applied to all of the central Virginia Piedmont, Blue Ridge, and Ridge and Valley regions. For example, John Smith's 1612 map makes a distinction between Mannahoac on the Rappahanock River and Monacan on the James, even as his text linked them together. Additional ethnic or polity names (Saponi, Tutelo, and Nahyssan) begin to appear in the Virginia interior in colonial records after 1612. These include names for tribal groups who today have a separate (though related) tribal and political identity (Saponi) and those who allied with Iroquoian groups and moved to Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada (Tutelo). I believe that these populations were connected historically. They were (and are) connected by a shared ancestry and language. Just as the Powhatan chiefdom, for example, contained at least thirty-two separately named polities within a single political entity in 1607, there is local diversity within the Monacan territory. How that diversity in naming is evaluated today is a matter for descendants, historians, and archaeologists to consider (Cobb and DePratter 2012).

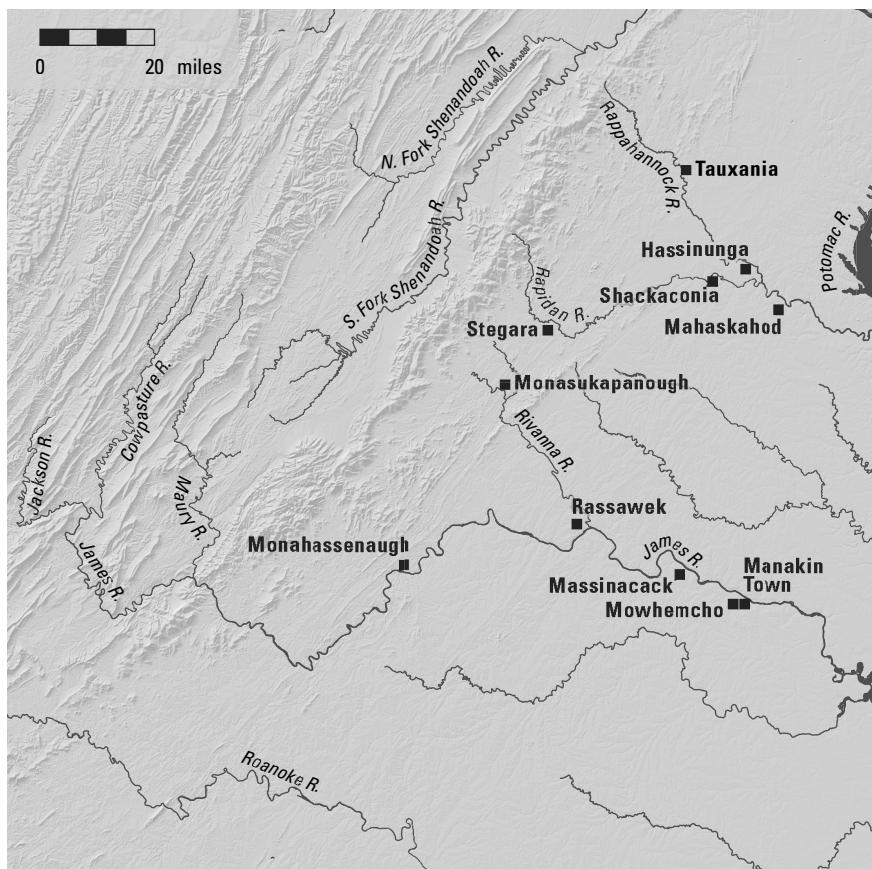
Patrick Vinton Kirch and Roger C. Green (2001) provided a useful anthropological model to help us think about the origins of a distinctly Monacan society. Their research is on Polynesian culture and begins with the recognition of tremendous diversity in the region considered to be Polynesia, from Fiji to Hawaii. Yet across the wide expanse (3,186 miles) of the Pacific there are aspects of Polynesian identity and shared history that can be found in language, political organization, and exchange. Evidence from archaeology, linguistics, and ethnography led Kirch (1984) to suggest a time and place when Polynesian identity could first be recognized and from which new Polynesian societies would later diverge. He refers to this time and place as Ancestral Polynesian Society.

In the smaller geographic realm of the greater Chesapeake region of North America, I think a time and place when Ancestral Monacan Society first coalesced can be imagined. I believe that the time was A.D. 1000 and the place was the area extending from the Ridge and Valley region of Virginia to the Piedmont. This area extends on both sides of the Blue Ridge Mountains and includes the narrow higher elevation reaches of the James and Rappahanock Rivers as well as the broader rivers and floodplains of the Piedmont. There is a history within this area that suggests that the oldest mounds are on the west side of the Blue Ridge and the most recent are on the east side. Taken together these agricultural and moundbuilding societies shared key elements of a cultural history that links them.

This chapter describes the archaeology of Ancestral Monacan Society and the societies that diversified from those first planters and builders of mounds between A.D. 1000 and 1700. The archaeology reviewed here is concerned with defining the Monacan community from the local to the regional level. I will look at household and village structure and subsistence. At the regional level I will look at evidence for warfare and changing boundedness. Finally, I will consider how the ancestors were a part of the living world of the Monacan people, attended to and built upon over centuries in special places. The region I consider ancestral Monacan territory includes (maximally) the known and named towns of the Piedmont and the region identified by the presence of accretional burial mounds (see maps 3 and 4).

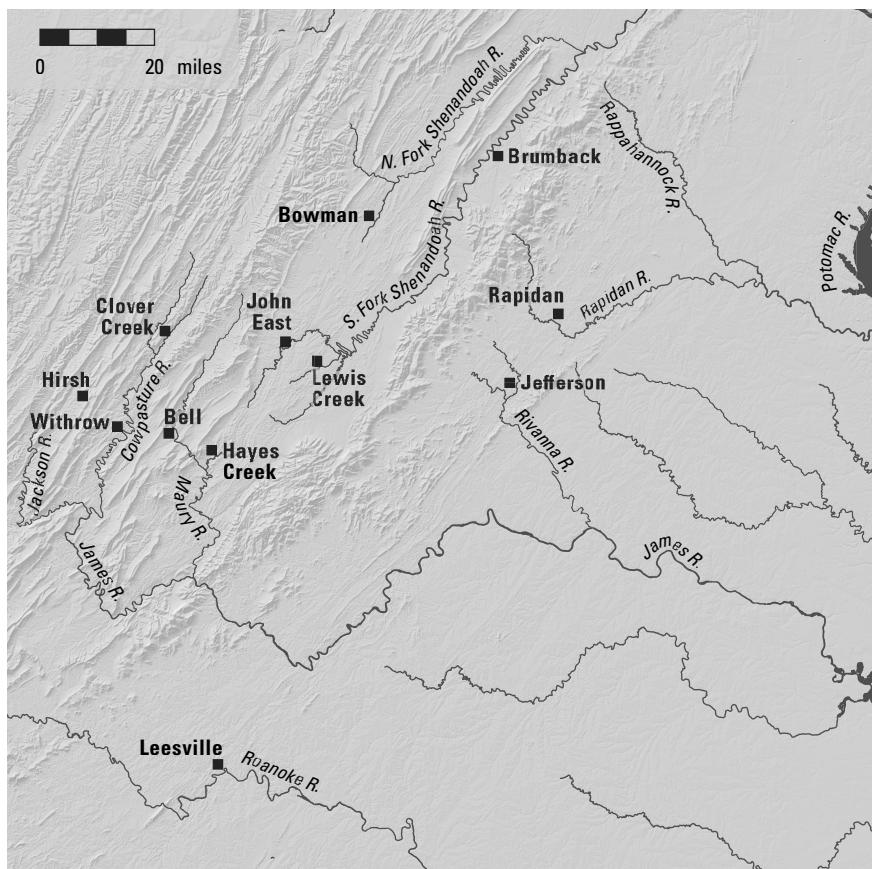
Monacan Households

The Roanoke Island colonist John White painted watercolors of Algonquian (coastal) Indian people and towns as they appeared to him in 1585 (Sloan 2007). These watercolors are the source of much insight into Algonquian life in the sixteenth century. The watercolors were engraved by Theodor deBry and widely distributed from the early seventeenth century to the present (Hulton 1984; Sloan 2007). Those paintings are remarkable representations of a time and place. But the ubiquity with which they are reproduced



MAP 3. The locations of the Monacan towns marked by John Smith on his 1612 map of Virginia. (Nat Case)

to illustrate Indian life across the Eastern Woodlands obscures important questions about the Monacan people. I want to know what Monacan houses looked like and what the size of Monacan households were. I want to know if houses had their own storage features for surplus maize production and if surplus existed at all. If such features existed in Monacan villages, were they located within houses or in a more communal setting? Each of these questions allows us to begin to imagine a Monacan household and how it changed over time in the Monacan millennium starting



MAP 4. The location of the thirteen known Monacan burial mounds. (Nat Case)

at A.D. 1000. The household was the basic unit of organization around which daily life was organized in these agricultural communities. How many houses were occupied in a typical Monacan village? And for each of those questions, to what extent can change over time be observed?

Monacan houses were pole and thatch structures. They are identified archaeologically by the presence of post holes, the circular soil stains left when the poles decayed after use. The houses were typically oval in shape and not all the same size. At the James River

Piedmont Monacan town known as the Wood site (Gallivan 2003: 183–250), the maximum floor area of an oval house was 285 square feet and the smallest 130 square feet.² Measures of artifact type and density demonstrate that after A.D. 1000 houses in the Piedmont and the Ridge and Valley regions were occupied year-round and over a generation or more. Most people would describe these villages as sedentary. In Native American society this means that some people were always in the town; others moved out seasonally to live in short-term houses related to hunting or other specific tasks. Amoroleck told John Smith that some Monacan towns were “hunting towns.” Between A.D. 1000 and 1700, Monacan houses and villages were occupied over longer periods during the year and over more continuous years in one location. The same pattern is observed for the Powhatans of the Coastal Plain (Gallivan 2003).

Monacan houses were associated with features such as hearths, roasting pits, and storage pits. All of these varied in size and, critically, some were located inside houses while others were outside. Martin Gallivan (2003: 67–69, 96–98) termed the association of house and features a “household cluster,” and the size and function of those features connected to houses changed over time. For instance, with regard to storage pits, were domesticates grown for the use of the household or shared with a larger social group? Was a surplus produced, and if so, how large and for what purpose? Gallivan’s data on storage pits records several changes over time. First, storage pits in the early period under study (A.D. 900–1200) were typically adjacent to but outside of houses. Their contents would have been visible and theoretically accessible to all. After A.D. 1200, storage was kept within the house and associated directly with the domestic unit, presumably an extended family. Those outside the household would not have had immediate knowledge of or ready access to the contents of the storage pit. Both kinds of storage pits contained a surplus, but in the first instance it was public and in the second it was private.

Amoroleck reported that all the Monacan villages paid tribute to “the chiefest village of Rassawek,” a king’s house that was located at the juncture of the James and Rivanna Rivers (Barbour 1986, II:

175). According to Gallivan's study (2003) the largest houses in the village had the most storage space, more than would be expected simply by house size alone. After A.D. 1200 the presence of distinctly larger houses is noted. The presence of surplus and difference in house size may be indicative of a system of tribute. Tribute does not necessarily indicate an exploitative system, since it could well have been that chiefs and petty chiefs gathered surplus food to redistribute locally as needed. The material evidence for status difference based on economic control in the Monacan world is slight. Still, the emerging role of chiefs was likely contemporaneous with the shift from a strictly household-based domestic mode of production to regional political economies marked by some elements of hierarchy.

Monacan Towns, King's Houses, and "Divers Others"

Beyond the extended family, Gallivan (2003) compiled evidence that allows the visualization of Monacan towns as they changed over time. At the beginning of Ancestral Monacan Society, there were approximately two to four households per village, or approximately twelve to twenty-four people. Between A.D. 1200 and A.D. 1600 these numbers changed dramatically, doubling to approximately eight household clusters or forty-eight people per village. These Monacan town population sizes are interestingly within the range of those John Smith reported for most of the Powhatan towns. Some in the Coastal Plain were much larger with as many as five hundred people (Rountree 1989).

James P. Mooney (1907) speculated that the interior had a lower population density than the Coastal Plain, a density he estimated at roughly one person per square mile. However, the territory of the Monacans was nearly five times larger than that occupied by the Powhatans. Based on these very rough parameters, Mooney estimated the two regions to have approximately equal populations. If he was correct about the equivalence of the two regions, there were approximately fourteen to fifteen thousand Monacans living in the Piedmont. At first this seems unlikely as this equivalence is

unsupported by John Smith's 1612 map. The Powhatan region has two hundred towns identified and the Monacan area only twelve. But that latter number is a small sample of the total number of villages that had been occupied in the interior in the A.D. 1000–1700 period, as previously discussed. Archaeological surveys along the James and its tributaries in the Piedmont reveal a dense Woodland-era occupation along all of the major rivers, so dense that Thomas Klatka and I (Hantman and Klatka 1989) once described the river valleys as one continuous artifact scatter, making the identification of discrete villages impossible based on survey alone. The archaeological data should encourage any student of Piedmont indigenous history to always keep in mind Amoroleck's reminder of "divers" other unnamed towns in the Monacan region.

Between A.D. 1000 and 1700 Monacan villages were located typically on permanent rivers and streams, such as the James, Rivanna, Rappahannock, and Rapidan. This pattern is in contrast to the earlier history of the region that saw a pattern of small and dispersed settlements (Hantman and Klein 1992). L. Daniel Mouer observed that "Piedmont Late Woodland settlements in the James River Valley are, for the most part, compact clusters or linear arrangements of houses along the banks of rivers near stream confluences and on large islands" (1983: 17). C. G. Holland (1979) and I (Hantman 1985) both noted a striking correlation between Late Woodland village sites and soils of high agricultural productivity, a pattern attributed to the intensification of agricultural production. That same pattern of settlement could also have been a response to regional patterns of river-based trade and other forms of social interaction (Klein 1986). Small villages, sometimes called hamlets, are also found on upland streams and are the common form in post-1730 settlements.

In the early seventeenth century, John Smith's map based on information provided by Amoroleck recorded twelve Monacan king's houses (chiefly towns) or hunting towns, all along the major rivers of the Piedmont (map 3). I have often stressed that Smith also reported that there were "divers others," meaning many more uncounted (Hantman 1990). At two Monacan towns noted on the

map (Monasukapanough and Mowhemcho) both archaeological and documentary evidence suggests continued occupation well into the seventeenth century (Jefferson 1982; Hinke 1916). Colonial place names such as Indian Fields and Indian Garden also suggest a continuing Indian presence well past the time of English settlement on the coast. Fedore (2010) recorded fifty-three Native American sites in the Piedmont and Ridge and Valley interior that were possibly occupied during the seventeenth century. Most of these sites are to the south of the James, in the Roanoke River drainage. Contemporary dispersed Monacan hamlets (one or two houses) have also been found along the smaller tributaries of the James and Rivanna Rivers (Gallivan 2003: 223–29; Hantman et al. 1993).

Monacan Economy: Agriculture, Hunting, and Gathering

The Monacans of the last millennium were an agricultural people who also continued to hunt, fish, and gather wild plants. The English colonists said of the Monacan economy that they depended on “rootes and fruities.” As noted previously, this phrase was incorrectly read to mean that they were not agricultural, but “fruities” in the seventeenth century can and does refer to domesticated plants. A root, for example, referred to a plant such as “tockawohouge” (tuckahoe), which the English compared to potatoes. Tuckahoe was harvested, processed, and ground for making bread. Helen C. Rountree (1989) argues it was common on the eastern edge of Monacan territory near the falls (Mouer 1983). Fruit in the English vocabulary referred to both domesticated and wild plants but especially to the classic indigenous garden plants such as pumpkins and squash. However, the English did not conflate roots and fruit with maize, which was in a separate category. In 1612, William Strachey wrote that “Poketawes, which the West Indians (our neighbor) call Maiz, their kind of wheat, is here (in the high land) said to be more plenty than below” (Barbour 1969).

The misunderstanding that takes the presence of agriculture as a mark of a more complex or sophisticated society, as the English believed, should not be kept alive. There are well-known societies

in the Americas that harvest abundant wild resources and maintain hierarchical (complex) societies. Nor should the European world-view that the adoption of domesticates was a superior economy that had to be learned be repeated in the twenty-first century. Agriculture is neither superior to harvesting dependable wild plants³ nor is it healthier (Cohen and Armelagos 1984). Just the opposite is true. The issue is not how food is grown or harvested but instead whether it can produce a surplus. Maize can produce a harvest beyond the needs of a particular season or beyond the needs of a household (e.g., tribute), which can then be stored. Thus the study of Monacans and agriculture is not a marker of cultural complexity. It was an economic choice made by households and towns that was based on the one advantage that maize agriculture does offer—the opportunity to produce a storeable surplus. At A.D. 1000, and possibly earlier, most if not all Monacans added maize to their existing economy of encouraging the growth of nutritious near-domesticates, harvesting nuts, fishing, and hunting.

The evidence for the addition of agriculture to the Monacan economy is threefold. First, there was a clear shift around A.D. 900–1000 to villages being built on high-yield agricultural soils. Across the Chesapeake archaeologists have previously noted that maize was only widely adopted after about A.D. 900 (Potter 1993: 144). Macrobotanical remains of maize cupules and squash seeds were recovered from storage and cooking pits by University of Virginia excavations at the Spessard site (44FV134),⁴ near the juncture of the Slate and James Rivers. Associated charcoal from these features yielded radiocarbon dates of A.D. 1165, 1263, and 1220 (Gallivan 2003: 202). Three other sites in the James River Piedmont have also yielded evidence of cultigens and date between the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Gallivan 2003: 202). The Graham-White village in the Piedmont interior dates to the period after English colonization and yields interesting botanical results. K. J. Gremillion's (1993) analysis of thirty-five features from this site showed that maize and hickory nut were the dominant plant food remains. Beans, squashes and gourds, and sunflowers were also noted. Eleven varieties of fleshy fruits—not indigenous to North

America—were recorded, the result of trade with past Spanish and English settlements (Klatka and Klein 1993: 4–5).

A second line of evidence regarding diet involves the direct analysis of skeletal data. Chemical analyses such as stable isotope studies offer the opportunity to ask about the percentage of diet that meat, wild plant, and domesticated plant foods made up in the Monacan diet. There are also markers left on bone that indicate diet-related disease, such as an over-reliance on carbohydrates. University of Virginia excavations at the Rapidan Mound (44OR1) allowed a unique opportunity to conduct stable isotope studies of Monacan people who lived in the period roughly between A.D. 1100 and 1500. These studies were done with the permission of the Monacan Indian Nation and with an understanding that the remains would be reburied at the Monacan Ancestral Cemetery in Amherst County. That reburial did take place. Gold (2004) provided an overview of the bioarchaeological methods engaged in the study of Monacan diet, summarized below.

The direct bioarchaeological study of Monacan people who lived in the Virginia interior between A.D. 1000 and 1700 reveals a significant reliance on maize in their diet. Carmen C. Trimble (1996) received permission to examine fifteen samples from the Rapidan Mound and from two other Monacan mounds: Hayes Creek Mound and Lewis Creek Mound. Individuals were buried in these mounds between A.D. 1000 and 1500. The results are striking. While the maize diet of those interred at Rapidan was relatively high, the diet of the Monacans interred in the Hayes Creek and Lewis Creek Mounds consisted of between 50 and 75 percent maize. The remainder of their diet would have been distributed among wild plants, fish, deer, and other small mammals.

A third line of evidence regarding diet is focused specifically on the wear patterns and diseases (e.g., dental caries or cavities) that affect teeth. A diet high in carbohydrates such as maize will often result in the appearance of caries, a phenomenon not seen prior to A.D. 1000 in the Chesapeake region. Looking at evidence from three Monacan mounds in use between A.D. 1000 and 1500 and located on both sides of the Blue Ridge Mountains, Debra L. Gold

(2004) identified 3,810 teeth with carious lesions. That figure represents approximately 25 percent of all teeth studied from the three mounds. Gold provided the following summary: “The frequency, severity and location of dental caries in the Virginia mound populations indicates that maize was a significant part of the diet in late prehistoric interior Virginia and that its consumption did not change during the period of mound use. Maize consumption, however, did not exclude significant investment in wild plant, animal and riverine resources” (Gold 2004: 96).

The adoption of maize agriculture across the Americas typically led to increasingly less healthy populations (Cohen and Armelagos 1984). However, in the “agricultural” first seven centuries of the Monacan millennium, there is no evidence to suggest an increase in the prevalence of diet-related disease, beyond the increase in dental caries (Gold 2004: 126–31).

The level of maize consumption measured by stable isotope analysis places the Monacans of the Late Woodland period squarely within the type of diet recorded for contemporary seats of power in the Southeast, such as the chiefdom center of Moundville in Alabama and the Powhatan chiefdom (Gold 2004: 122–29; Hantman 2001). At the Mississippian urban center of Cahokia just east of St. Louis, Buikstra and Milner (1991) were able to use independent data to differentiate elites and commoners. They found that it was predominantly the commoners who were eating a maize diet while elites had a diet higher in meat. Maize was important to overall populations as a staple and may have been required by an elite or emerging elite by way of maintaining a local staple economy and surplus. It was not a high-status food in the Mississippian world and was likely not one in the Monacan world either.

Analysis of animal bones found in trash deposits within towns leaves no doubt as to the prevalence of deer in the meat diet of the Monacans (Barber 1991; Lapham 2005). However, Heather A. Lapham (2005) notes the effect of the introduction of the European deerskin trade. After this time, circa 1650, some villages show animal bone frequencies indicative of killing substantially more than an individual deer or two per hunt. This reflects a priority on hides

and trade rather than on meat or on maintaining the deer population. However, other contemporary villages continued a pattern of taking deer in smaller numbers and with certain age/sex ratios that indicate single or small-game subsistence hunting. Lapham's (2005) study was based on data from just west of the Monacan ancestral territory, but provides an important reminder of differential Indian participation in trade at the time of English colonization.

Monacan Social Networks: Beyond the Town

Exchange of goods, food, mates, labor, and information are universally a part of social life within and between all societies. Ancestral Monacan Society was, of course, no different. But what makes up the exchanges of goods and information varies over time and space, as does the intensity of such flows. Tribal groups or chiefdoms are often assumed to be demarcated in space by boundaries. But boundaries may be better conceived within a continuum of boundedness in order to avoid the presumption of fixed and impermeable edges and instead reflect fluid boundaries that vary over time. The production of objects and the limiting of access to objects and information can be part of a regional political system.

Trade and access to nonlocal stone tools made from chert and rhyolite has long been understood as charting the ebb and flow of social boundaries in the larger Middle Atlantic region (Stewart 1989). Gold and I (2002) suggested that for two thousand years before the appearance of the recognizable Monacan Ancestral Society, the Middle Atlantic region was characterized by a cyclical pattern in which competition for status was defined by the ability to access nonlocal prestige goods. Important exchange links between the peoples of the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain developed. The first objects in this trade were steatite (soapstone) bowls, quarried and shaped in the Piedmont of Virginia. These bowls had special significance, especially in regions where steatite quarries were not found. The bowls were traded to many locations in the eastern United States including the Coastal Plain of Virginia, as far north as Pennsylvania and south to Georgia (Holland et al. 1981). They

had lug handles, but were too heavy to carry for more than a short distance and were clearly not produced for basic household cooking during a time when seasonal mobility was the norm. They predate the use of pottery. The limited portability of these bowls, the residues found in them, and the labor invested in their production strongly suggest a ritual or special purpose use. Based on a review of ethnographic data regarding stone bowls, a cautious inference can be made that steatite bowls were used for boiling with fire-treated stones and serving ritual (tea) drinks (Klein 1997: 147).

Steatite bowls are found in archaeological contexts throughout much of the eastern United States, but within that large area they were limited in distribution to a subset of sites and individuals. Steatite is not rare, but it is a natural resource restricted largely to quarries in the Piedmont. Access to good steatite sources may have been controlled or contested. This limited access to the production and distribution of soapstone bowls seems the norm for some two thousand years, but a change occurred circa 1000 B.C. At that point, ceramic vessels were produced that used fragments of steatite as temper mixed with local clays to produce containers that precisely emulated the distinctive shape and size of the stone vessels. This pottery is more widely distributed than are fragments of the stone bowls. Kenneth E. Sassaman (1993) and Gold and I (2002) suggest that control over the production of stone vessels became a source of tension, as that control was challenged with the production of everyday accessible containers made with steatite in fragments. Gold and I (2002: 288–89) further suggest that the production and limited distribution of certain vessels and long-distance exchange goods are evidence for ranking or status marked in material culture. The rise and fall in the ritual production and long-distance exchange of steatite bowls is an important precursor to a pattern of restricted exchange practices that is embedded in Monacan culture after A.D. 1000.

The Jamestown colonist William Strachey wrote that there had been an ancient enmity between the people of the Coastal Plain and those of the Piedmont (Barbour 1969: 34–35). Archaeological data show the movement of Piedmont steatite bowls across that

line. A recognizable social boundary between the Coastal Plain and the Virginia interior first appears circa A.D. 200 (Egloff and Potter 1982). Prior to that time, containers made of stone or clay (and tempered with stone) looked largely the same on both sides of the Fall Line, suggesting a free flow of information and likely people as well. But after that date there are methods of pottery production that distinguish one region from the other. Why that occurs is an important question, since shared information and unbounded ceramic and stone tool styles had been the norm for thousands of years. The boundary that is revealed in the archaeological record circa A.D. 200 is the first glimpse of a cultural boundary that ebbed and flowed and was, without question, not timeless.

In the early centuries of the second millennium both the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain participated in the widespread trade networks of nonlocal stone, especially rhyolite from Pennsylvania. But the Monacans and Powhatans saw or brought about a virtual end to that trade, a pattern common across the Middle Atlantic (Stewart 1989). After this time, local raw materials (such as quartz) were used instead. However, the Monacans of the Piedmont continued to obtain high-quality chert from the west side of the Blue Ridge Mountains, a part of their ancestral territory (Parker 1989). This trade appears almost exclusively in the form of finished projectile points.

There was a marked increase in boundedness between the emergent chiefdom polities of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain beginning circa A.D. 1000. This is the time that Monacan and Powhatan ancestral societies become recognizable as different chiefdoms (Gallivan 2003: 177). The everyday pottery, stone tools, and mortuary ritual strongly suggest that with population growth and the surplus production of maize, the presence of cultural boundaries intensified. Still, there is little evidence of hostility and every reason to assume marriage and exchange ties continued between the more bounded polities.

Potomac Creek pottery is a distinctive, well-decorated ceramic type made in the Coastal Plain of Virginia but found on several sites in the Piedmont in the second millennium A.D. Potomac

Creek is an iconic pottery style that is part of the long-term pattern of trade crosscutting cultural boundaries, perhaps linking local elites. On the Rivanna River, the James River, and the Rappahannock River, excavations at villages have recorded Potomac Creek pottery in surprising frequency (Potter 1993). James B. Griffin's (1945) classic study of pottery from Virginia concluded that the ceramics of the Piedmont bear a closer relation to the ceramics of the Coastal Plain than to those of other contemporaneous polities to the west, such as the Fort Ancient (Ohio) area. The affinity of the Virginia interior to the cultures of the Coastal Plain, rather than to the mound-building cultures of West Virginia and Ohio, suggests local Chesapeake social ties older than A.D. 1000.

Rountree (1993: 47) notes that Piedmont-based mineral and plant pigments were rare and valuable to Coastal Plain Powhatans. A desired variety of puccoon (*Lithospermum canescens*)—a plant that produces a distinctive red dye used in body ornamentation—was obtained by coastal people from their neighbors in the Piedmont prior to and at the time of first European presence. Red was an important color to the Powhatans and could be produced from several minerals and plants, but the puccoon red was the most desired (Rountree 1989: 76).

When the English met the Algonquian people at Roanoke and Jamestown, they observed that it was the ability of chiefs to obtain a red mineral—copper—that served to secure political control and tribute from neighboring polities. The flow of copper into the Coastal Plain was controlled by the chiefs, who distributed some to petty chiefs and (when needed) to mercenary warriors. Copper paid as tribute was kept in the chief's storehouse, placed in the burials of elites, and cast into the James River where temples for the gods had been built alongside it. Copper had been historically a means of establishing and maintaining relations with elite Algonquians: petty chiefs, chiefs, and the paramount. No one else, in fact, could wear or display copper. Stephen R. Potter (1989) showed that access to copper was highly restricted circa 1600, but that the breakdown of the Powhatan paramount chief's control in the face of English colonial policy led to an increase in the number of indi-

viduals who had access to it. The prestige value of copper, like that of the steatite bowls of an earlier generation, had been challenged and upended at a time of social upheaval.

Coastal elites had to rely on trade with the people of the interior to obtain copper. That reliance meant primarily depending on trade with the Monacans who mined the copper of the Blue Ridge Mountains and controlled trade from the Great Lakes that had to pass along Piedmont river exchange systems. Chemical sourcing has documented the predominant use of local copper among native societies in the Appalachians, yet copper was also traded from Great Lakes sources (Goad 1979). Gregory D. Lattanzi's (2007) chemical study of copper artifacts in the northern Chesapeake region documented the use of local (interior) copper sources. In chapter 4 I explore the importance of these sourcing studies for our understanding of intertribal relations at the time of the Jamestown colony.

Warfare?

The permeability and fluidity of the boundary that emerged between the Piedmont Monacans and the Coastal Plain Powhatans is best understood through both trading and raiding (warfare). Over time, relationships of hostility and alliance can both be documented. Further, hostilities would have flared within chiefdoms as much or more than between them. Chief Powhatan wiped out the Chesapeake polity who had been a tribute-paying member of the chieftaincy shortly before 1607. This was apparently a response to a warning from his priests that a people would rise up from the east. Chief Powhatan, apparently, chose to interpret that as his eastern people, the Cherokees. Competition for resources does not here appear to underlie the hostilities seen in the early seventeenth century. The intent or source of the priests' vision, or why Powhatan interpreted it as he did, is unknown.

English colonists were told many times that the Monacans were warlike, hostile invaders, a people who would not feed a stranger in their midst. It should also be remembered that the English of-

ferred, on many occasions, to help the Powhatans fight their mortal enemy the Monacans—an offer that was never accepted. John Smith reported that the Powhatans “do not fight for land or goods, but principally for women and principally for revenge” (Barbour 1986, II: 165). Other enemies existed for the Powhatans and Monacans, such as the Susquehannocks and other Iroquian groups to the north (e.g., the Massawomecks, or the Erie), as well as early Spanish colonizers who made their first appearance in 1560, then to be wiped out by Powhatan warriors in 1570.

What were the levels of hostility that ebbed and flowed between A.D. 1000 and 1700? And of those cycles of hostility, how many led to what would be understood as intertribal warfare? There are two principal lines of evidence to be considered. The first is the construction of defensive architecture. In the Monacan and Powhatan territories, such architecture took the form of fences or palisades. Here John White’s drawing of the palisaded town of Secotan near Roanoke is helpful (Sloan 2007: 112–13). The palisade is simply composed of posts set in the ground, each post some small distance from the adjoining ones. These would surround a town, and so the fence played some role in keeping attackers out and deflecting arrows. But these palisades or fences were far from impenetrable and had visible and wide entry points. Such wooden walls were, of course, susceptible to fire. No palisaded villages have been identified in Monacan territory, either from documents or archaeological study. Among the Coastal Plain Powhatans, palisaded villages appear after A.D. 1200 and are common at the end of the sixteenth century and start of the seventeenth (Gallivan 2011). If palisades are defensive structures in the greater Chesapeake region, they occur in a limited geographic area and are a late introduction to village planning.

A second line of evidence relating to warfare comes from direct analysis of human remains and the evaluation of trauma as a cause of death. Thomas Jefferson had asked whether the people buried in the mound on the Rivanna had died in battle. In addition to the presence of women, children, and infants in the burial population, he noted the absence of trauma in the bones: “No holes were dis-

covered in any of them, as if made with bullets, arrows, or other weapons" (Jefferson 1982: 99). Those circumstances made clear to Jefferson that the bones were not those of people who had been slain in battle.

Recent studies of the Monacans reveal a slightly more complex picture. Violence and warfare were not uncommon in the eastern United States, and post-mortem analyses of burial populations have played a large role in documenting this. It is possible to distinguish healed accidental fractures from violent trauma, and within the latter category, the incidence of wounds from an arrow or axe. Gold (2004) demonstrated that there are indeed instances of blunt-force cranial wounds among Monacan burials in mounds. One individual buried at the Lewis Creek Mound suffered a violent blow to the head that had healed, and three individuals at the Rapidan Mound and the Hayes Creek Mound had similar wounds. The victims included both males and females. Lewis Creek predates Hayes Creek and Rapidan, and this may (tentatively) suggest an increase in violence over time. Gold (2004: 132) concludes that data from the three mounds suggests a pattern of intermittent hostilities. It is impossible, however, to determine the basis or frequency of such hostility. The most important point may be that the evidence for long-term enmity between the Powhatan and Monacan people leading to warfare and death in battle is clearly unsubstantiated archaeologically.

Mortuary Ritual and Monacan Burial Mounds

Ancestral Monacan Society was characterized by three kinds of mortuary practices, one of which became dominant and defining in the era between A.D. 1000 and 1700. Before that time, throughout the region there were individual extended burials, located in and adjacent to villages (Holland 1963; Sternheimer 1983). Small cairn burials, containing secondary burial remains of two or three individuals, have been found in both the Piedmont and the Ridge and Valley provinces (Gardner 1986). They are typically older—dating to between A.D. 200 and 1000. The third form is the most visible,

most common, and most defining of Ancestral Monacan Society—burial in accretional burial mounds. Accretional burial mounds are distinguished by multiple layers of human remains, earth, and stone, one upon the other, resulting in an elevated mound (MacCord 1986). In use for multiple generations, such mounds outlasted the houses and villages whose inhabitants would eventually become the ancestors in the mounds. The distribution of the thirteen accretional burial mounds defines the (shifting) spatial parameters of Ancestral Monacan Society (see map 4).

The Monacan mounds were not all in use at the same time, and as one might expect variation developed over time in ritual practice. But the ritual practice observed collectively over seven centuries allows a distinction to be drawn between the Monacans and their neighbors. To the south, west, and southwest, individual interments were most common, placed within and adjacent to villages (Ward and Davis 1993). To the north and east, in the Coastal Plain, belowground secondary burial ossuary features are well known (Curry 1999). The ossuaries in the Coastal Plain may well be similar in form to that of the burial features that created the Monacan mounds, and the number of people interred per event is similar. But ossuaries do not create the monument, or ancestral history, that the Monacan mounds visibly do. In the Coastal Plain, aboveground charnel houses were constructed for chiefs (Rountree 1989; Sloan 2007: 114–15).

The first Monacan mound burials were often placed in the remains of an older village. This speaks to strong continuity of community but with a marked transformation in this sacred ritual treatment of the ancestors. The first burials in a Monacan accretional burial mound were typically placed at the surface of the local topography or even in subsurface pits (Dunham 1994). In the secondary burial process, the bones of about twenty-five to thirty individuals were buried in one temporary location and kept there over a period of years sufficient to allow the bodies to become disarticulated naturally. It has been estimated, based on studies of other Eastern Woodland cultures, that after approximately seven to twelve years the bones were gathered up and comingled. Comingling means that

the individual body was not discernible; instead there was a collection of bones from the community mixed together as one. The burial group was then covered with earth and stone.

Table 1 summarizes the size and inferred mortuary population for each of the mounds, largely based on Gary Dunham's (1994) effort to reconstruct the mounds as they would have looked while in active use. Population estimates are generated on best available data from Gold's (2004) bioarchaeological analyses. Radiocarbon dates are presented with caution. Many of these sites were excavated before radiocarbon dating, and the dates available are a small sample. The radiocarbon dates confirm the interment of the dead in accretional burial mounds in the period from A.D. 1000 to 1430. There are good reasons to assume continued use of the mounds into the seventeenth century (Hantman et al. 2004; Holland 1979; Jefferson 1982). There is variability in the number interred and the estimated use-life of each mound. Some of the mounds had a fairly short life-span of only two generations (ca. 14–24 years), perhaps more if the population per burial event was small. However, at least half of the Monacan mounds had burial populations of one thou-

Table 1. Monacan mounds of the Virginia interior, west to east

Mound	Diameter (feet)	Maximum		Mound population	C-14 date range (years A.D.)
		height (feet)	Volume (cubic feet)		
Clover Creek	36	10	4,946	50	1190–1280
Hirsh	47	7	4,396	100	—
Withrow	30	15	5,103	1,000	—
Bell 1	30	4	1,361	50	—
Hayes Creek	56	10	7,595	1,000	1010–1390
John East	40	5	3,206	150	1010–1160
Lewis Creek	40	16	9,667	900	1000–1160
Linville	36	14	6,907	1,200	—
Senedo	24	5	1,305	50	—
Brumback	40	14	8,459	800	—
Rivanna	35	12	5,562	1,000	—
Rapidan	40	15	9,089	2,500	1300–1430
Leesville	23	6	1,201	50	—

sand or more, which suggests a span of use of fifteen to twenty generations, or three to four centuries. Over time, some mounds reached as high as sixteen feet with a basal diameter of fifty feet.

I offer the following points⁵ as the most pertinent features describing the Monacan mound complex:

1. There is coherence to the mound complex as a unit, in space and time.
2. There are also patterns of historical change, most notably the shift over time from a predominance of individual burial to mass secondary burials.
3. Most of the mounds are built over submound and habitation features, evidence of continuity with societies predating A.D. 1000.
4. Some of the mounds are constructed of earth and stone, and others are constructed almost entirely of earth.
5. Some of the mounds contain a very large number of individuals as compared to other mortuary sites in North America. Four of the mounds are projected to have had 1,000 individuals interred and one, the Rapidan Mound, had as many as 2,200 individuals.
6. Some of the mounds contain as few as two burial events, and others have as many as forty to one hundred episodes of burial ritual and mound formation.
7. Two of the mounds are associated with towns that Amoroleck and John Smith's map identified as king's houses.
8. There is a trajectory of west-to-east movement in the initial use of the mounds. Prior to A.D. 1200, the actively used mounds are located to the west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. After A.D. 1200, the three in most active use are in the Piedmont. There is wide overlap of usage and some of the western mounds (e.g., Hayes Creek) were used past A.D. 1400.
9. The earlier mounds contain individual interments with burial goods such as pipes and pottery. The later mounds contain no burial goods.

What is the meaning of these distinctive mortuary features? Is it possible to say that there was one, overarching meaning amidst the variability from mound to mound? When the mounds are compared to neighboring Mississippian mounds, with the latter's accumulation of prestige objects, differences between elites and commoners, and the clear emphasis on individuals in death, the Monacan mounds have long been thought to represent the collective burials of an egalitarian society. The egalitarian interpretation is based on the lack of distinction between burial features; the fact that diet and health are equally good across burial features; the paucity to absence of trade goods in the burial features; and the deemphasis of the individual within the collective in the ritual process.

There are problems with concluding there was an absence of inequality based on the above criteria. First, such a conclusion emphasizes the materiality of power (food, trade goods) and assumes the "individuals" emphasized in Mississippian mounds are political leaders and not priests. Second, the argument for "equal access" to the mounds has a major flaw: the mounds are associated with only twelve towns amidst a much larger number of contemporary ones. Far more people were living in the Monacan region at any one time than were buried in the mounds. Two mounds (Rapidan and Rivanna) are associated with towns identified as king's houses (Stegara and Monasukapanough). Thus, in fact, there is an important distinction in Monacan society. Some people lived in towns that were home to the bones of the ancestors in monuments of earth, stone, and bone, but most people did not.

Power and authority differentials no doubt existed within Monacan society. Amoroleck and others referred to king's houses and tributary relations among the Monacans in the early seventeenth century. Differences between chiefs and commoners were present in 1607. Gold (2004) has suggested that the difference in agricultural productivity inherent in differential land quality and changing patterns of surplus storage control may have sown the seeds of or reflected social inequality in Ancestral Monacan Society. I (1990: 684) have suggested that, in this historical moment, a rit-

ual mortuary process that masked inequality or leveled tensions of emergent inequality might be encouraged or welcome in the society or by decision of chiefs (see also Gold 2004 and Shanks and Tilley 1982). The mounds were not elaborate, the labor costs not extensive. What the mounds did was transcend the individual and the time of a single generation to connect the living with the ancestors. Situated on the flat floodplains of highly travelled rivers, they were in some times and places a visual reminder of the presence of a chief's town house and the authority that derived from the ancestors. They were, as well, monuments on the landscape that marked the ephemeral and variable duration of the authority of a chief and his or her place. The bones were a continuing source of power, rather than power or authority residing in any individual who lived beside those bones for a time. It is possible that with the ascension of a new chief, that person would have moved to the mound, to the ancestors, rather than start a new ritual burial place. If not, there would be far more than thirteen mounds created over the seven centuries under discussion. The public mortuary ritual that took place every seven to twelve years was one part of a Monacan process in which individual status in life was transformed back to the societal collective in death, while the power of chiefs was simultaneously both acknowledged and collectively kept in check.

It was John Smith that attached the term “barbarous” to the Monacan people he hardly knew. “Barbarous” carries many meanings in colonial rhetoric, but one is the failure to know how to maximize the productivity of land. This term stuck to reconstructions of Monacans in the past, but it was used in colonial writing frequently to refer to the Powhatans as well (Hantman 1990: 681; Sheehan 1980). “Babarous” or “savage” were used interchangeably and universally to refer to indigenous non-Christians in the colonies. To seventeenth-century Europeans the emphasis on what today is called sustainability but was then seen as a failure to maximize productivity was an affront to God’s very purpose for land and its inheritors. The failure to maximize also provided a convenient ideological and religious justification for colonial expansion (Gosden

2004). The long reach of colonial rhetoric and bias has been felt differentially in the centuries after they were produced.

Three hundred years after the founding of Jamestown, James Mooney (1907) published a paper in anthropology's paramount journal, the internationally influential *American Anthropologist*. There he described the Monacans as "ruder" than their neighbors the Powhatans. The Mannahoac of the Rappahannock River were "wandering hunters for the greater part" (Mooney 1907: 31). When the colonial language and bias surrounding the culture of food production is deconstructed and the inability to see the mounds (monuments) is corrected, archaeology provides an alternative voice, and new considerations of Monacan identity and political economy are possible.

Ancestral Monacan Society: A Summary

At the beginning of the last millennium the Monacans added domesticated plants to their diet in relatively large amounts. This investment in corn and land changed the Monacan relationship to the hilly and mountainous landforms of the interior. After A.D. 1000 their towns were focused on the major river valleys with flat, alluvial fields. These towns were, for the most part, modest in size, but numerous in their distribution across the James and Rappahannock River Valleys. Before A.D. 1200, an average town contained up to four households, or about twenty-four people. Between A.D. 1200 and 1600 town population increased twofold to eight households with about fifty people per town (Gallivan 2003). Surplus production was never abundant, but the storage features associated with houses demonstrate it existed. At first that surplus was in public space, while later it was kept within the house. One can imagine the seeds of potential inequality growing across the society as land was not equally productive and the control of surplus shifted from a seemingly communal to an individual matter. Households and towns that included a burial mound, those that were living directly with the ancestors, were restricted to a very, very few places.

While the archaeological evidence for Ancestral Monacan Society offers these suggestions of inequality, inequality was not necessarily present and not necessarily exploitative if it was. That is, evidence for the development of individuals or households of greater prestige may be inferred from the archaeological sites, but the chief in non-Western societies often works for and serves literally at the will of his or her people (Clastre 1987) as well as the pleasure of the ancestors who live among them. The role of a chief, with access to better land, surplus food, and external trade connections, was a relatively new role in Ancestral Monacan Society, most clearly evidenced after A.D. 1200. Amoroleck and John Smith's map of the indigenous landscape noted king's houses in Monacan territory.⁶ This role could have been the source of some tension; it may also have been welcomed in the complex politics of the Chesapeake as Europeans disrupted the longstanding cultural geography in eastern North America. I think the best answer is that it was both.

The accretional building of mounds for the ancestors was a distinctive Monacan ritual practice. As is common with ritual practice, it is both timeless and subject to change. For instance, Gold (2004) observed that the later Piedmont mounds had far fewer burials of children as compared to the earlier mounds. At first, multiple means of interment (e.g., cremation) were found in the mounds, but over time secondary bundle burial was used almost exclusively. The later mounds included far more individuals and more bundles of bones than the earlier mounds. This translates to a realization that for the living there had been increasingly more community ritual events honoring and burying the dead in later centuries. Consider that the Rapidan Mound is not one event but represents approximately seventy-two community burial rituals of bundled and comingled bones that occurred over a period of about five hundred years.⁷ Three other well-studied mounds would have been home to thirty-four ritual events extending over a quarter century. In the seven centuries of Monacan accretional mound building, those time frames are striking. And each mound was within a town. If these were rituals that either empowered an existing chief or installed a new chief, then they marked significant

moments of continuity (sometimes) or change (sometimes) in the life of each generation and the ancestry of the Monacan people.

Every adult may have had an eventual place in a mound. But not every adult lived alongside the ancestors. Robin Beck (2007) has written about the symbolic, kin-based historical association of what anthropologists (Kirch and Green 2001; McKinnon 1991) call “house societies.” The house of the house society is not a building; it is not the household. It is a symbolic and organizing collective of people who define themselves, in part, through their association with the ancestors. The house society may be egalitarian or hierarchical at different times but typically serves to resolve ever-present tensions between the two competing ideologies. There would have been multiple house societies within the Ancestral Monacan world of the Virginia interior. Each would have had iconography and trade goods that identified membership. Each would have identified with ancestral spirits. The ancestors have the authority to address the living and the living must care for and make offerings to the ancestors. Beck (2007: 7–8) writes, “It is easy to see why the bones of the dead, particularly long bones and skulls, are so vital to the life of the house. Curating the dead . . . legitimizes house rights to contested resources like land and water, and the planting of ancestors near house architecture maps such claims on the landscape.” Life itself is sought from the dead (Polynesians ask the ancestors to “multiply us”). And displeased ancestors are a cause of death (McKinnon 1991).

The ritual of secondary burial and the mingling of the bones symbolically erases whatever inequality existed in life. Everyone is equal in a secondary burial where the individual body, the person, is purposefully not maintained. Yet the association of the mounds themselves with certain individuals in certain towns potentially enhanced the power of a chief. Competing individuals would have to start a new mound, an event which did not happen very often. It is hard to know whether, in the contingent historical moment, mound mortuary rituals checked or enhanced chiefly power. Over hundreds of years it could have been, and would have been, both. What was permanent was the presence of the ancestors, in the

mounds, who lived in perpetuity and maintained Monacan society over the millennium.

The house society model emphasizes how individuals would control surplus and trade, if they did, only with approval and authority gained through association with sacred sources of power. The noted southeastern archaeologist James Brown (2007: 227) asked of the house society model: "What place does [it] have in an area where archaeological scholarship has focused upon the chiefdom as the dominant form of sociopolitical organization to the near exclusion of alternatives?" The chiefdom model has been read into colonial renderings of the Powhatans' government and modern day interpretation of Powhatan society as a paramount chiefdomcy (Rountree 1989; Turner 1985). A comparative study of Powhatan society at the moment of the Jamestown chronicles argued that it was, in fact, the most centralized chiefdom in the Americas (Feinman and Neitzel 1984). Hierarchy, surplus production, and tribute demands, once developed, have been presumed to be entrenched as organizing structures. I have argued many times that the Monacans of the post A.D. 1200 period were also a chiefdom. After all, they were described as having king's houses and tribute payment, too, in 1608. I have no doubt that they were hierarchically organized, especially in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. That was possible because their ideology allowed for that structure. It also kept it in check. After studying the Monacan mounds, Gold (2004) spoke of a society marked by heterarchy instead of hierarchy, where competing lineages and leaders in a society accepted it as the norm for egalitarian and hierarchical ideologies to exist side by side. Decision-making and power were distributed among several chiefs, lineages, or clans. A classic model of a heterarchical society is the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy. It is a question for the future how constant or cyclical the manifestations of heterarchical or hierarchical organization were in day-to-day life and in regional politics.

Recent research has begun to challenge both the material basis of authority and the permanence of inequality in the Chesapeake world. There were chiefs to be sure, and some were powerful and

enduring. But, for the Monacans and their neighbors, leadership was not absolute and was characterized by cycling, risk, and political leveling mechanisms resisting the relatively new hierarchical forms seen after A.D. 1200. One especially powerful response to the uncertainty of leadership, of new-found hierarchy, would be a ritual of renewal at a sacred place that invoked the ancestors' approval and the perpetuity of the society.

Gallivan (2007) was particularly instrumental in arguing for the power of place, rather than individuals, in the Algonquian chiefdom. Having studied the Algonquian chief's town of Werowocomoco, home to Chief Powhatan, he noted that Powhatan the man, born to a chiefly lineage and ruling over some five or six polities, moved to Werowocomoco to become a chief of a larger (thirty-two polities) chiefdom. Werowocomoco as a town of chiefs was much older by centuries than Powhatan, the man, and it was not the place of his birth. Studying both cultural sides of the Fall Line, I and others have argued that the material basis of power has been far too heavily emphasized in writing the history of Chesapeake Native American societies (Hantman 2013; Hantman et al. 2009). Power and authority, and the ability to wear those, was with the ancestors and in the landscape first (Gamble 2017). For the Monacan people that landscape would be a town on a major river that included a burial mound, sacred home of the ancestors.