

of the sacral-political landscapes they produced created and helped maintain links between these groups. In such a view, the individual mounds at sites like Watson's Brake, or the varying masses of shell and earth at Horr's Island and other early circular or U-shaped coastal middens, may represent the efforts of contemporaneous tribal segments, whose collective activity transformed them into an organizational form larger and more com-

plex than what they had previously (Russo 1999; Russo and Saunders 1999; Widmer 1999). The ringed causeway linking the separate mounds at Watson Brake, in this view, represents the new collectivity.

It has also been variously suggested by southeastern archaeologists like Michael Russo, Rebecca Saunders, Dolph Widmer, and others, that the sizes of the individual mounds, or masses of earth and

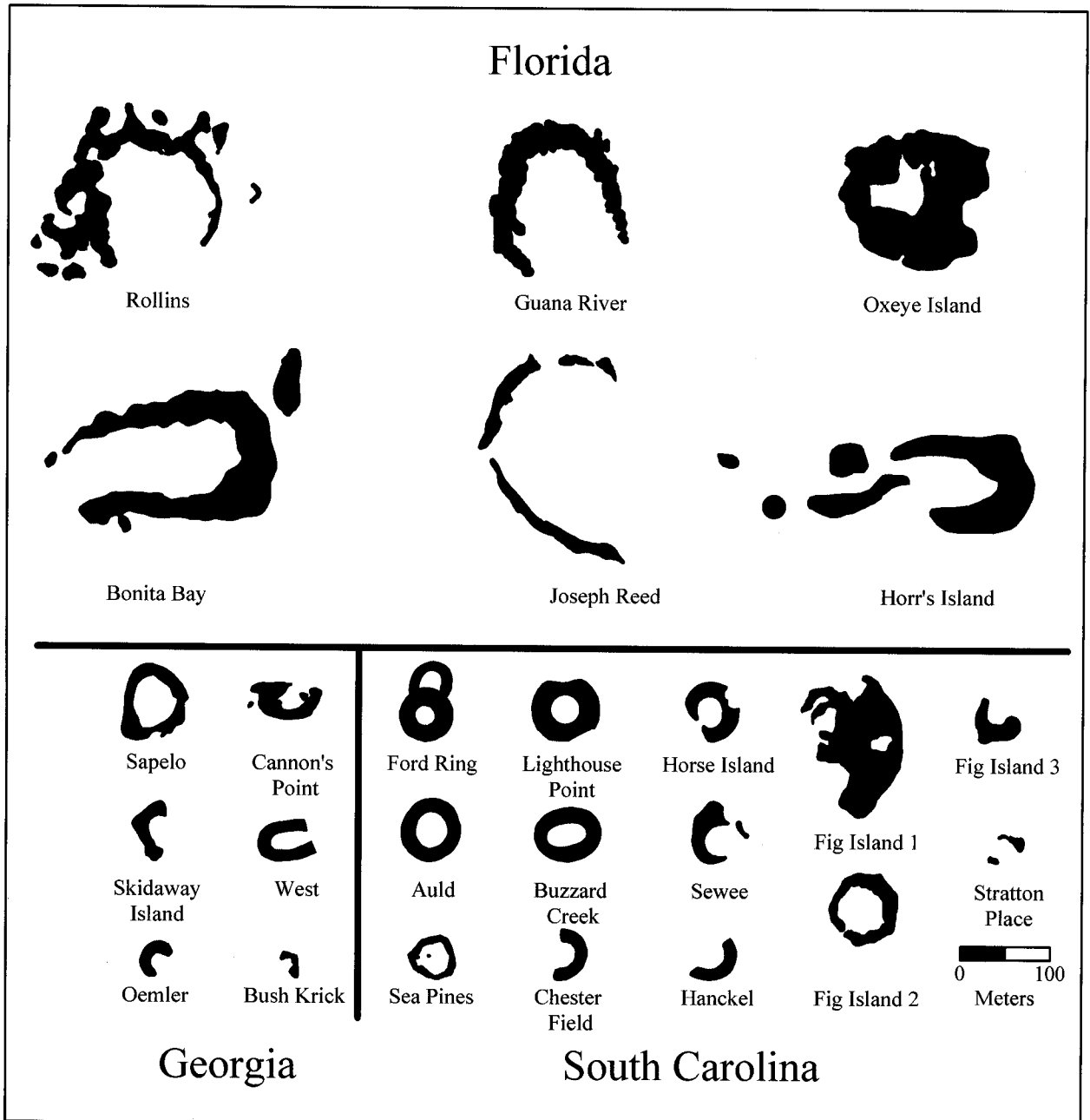


Fig. 7. Middle and Late Archaic Shell Ring and Midden Sites from the Southeastern United States (adapted from Russo and Heide 2001:492, courtesy *Antiquity*).