SOCIOPOLITICAL MEANING OF FAUNAL REMAINS FROM BAKER VILLAGE

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Baker Village was a Fremont horticultural community occupied between about A.D. 1030 and 1250. The residents of Baker Village built at least five pithouses and seven aboveground storage structures arranged around a much larger, centrally located building. The spatial patterning of faunal remains indicates that more ungulate and leporid bones were recovered from floors, hearths, and middens in the Central Structure than in the pithouses and surface storage structures. These data may support the interpretation that private ceremonies or feasts were held inside the Central Structure. Together with evidence of community planning, reduced mobility, and relatively low population size, the data also indicate that an influence-based political hierarchy probably existed within Baker Village.

La Aldea de Baker era una comunidad hortícola de los Fremont ocupada entre los años 1030 y 1250 d.C. Los residentes de la Aldea de Baker construyeron por lo menos cinco casas semisubterraneas y siete estructuras de almacenaje superficiales que fueron arregladas alrededor de un edificio mucho más grande centralmente situado. El patrón espacial de los restos faunísticos indica que más huesos bisulcos y leporinos fueron recobrados de los suelos, los hogares, y de la basura en la Estructura Central que en las casas subterráneas y las estructuras de almacenaje superficiales. Estos datos apoyan la interpretación de que las ceremonias privadas o los festines ocurrieron dentro de la Estructura Central. Estos datos, junto con la evidencia del plan de la comunidad, la mobilidad reducida, y el tamaño de población relativamente bajo indican que una jerarquía política basada en influencia probablemente existió dentro de la Aldea de Baker.

The Fremont were prehistoric horticulturists who inhabited portions of the North American eastern Great Basin and Colorado Plateau between A.D. 650 and 1350. Previous research has focused on defining Fremont cultural variation based on the presence of material items such as figurines, maize and faunal remains, and on stylistic differences in architecture, ceramics, and projectile points (Aikens 1967; Dalley 1970; Madsen 1980; Marwitt 1970, 1986). Madsen (1989:xiii), however, recently concluded that despite 70 years of research, archaeologists only have a vague understanding of who the Fremont people really were.

This lack of understanding may be partly due to the types of models that have been used to interpret the Fremont (Barker 1994:2). Previous models have focused on describing or explaining Fremont subsistence and settlement patterning using evolutionary ecology models, but other aspects of Fremont lifeways, such as their sociopolitical organization, have yet to be researched in a systematic way (but see Montgomery and Montgomery 1993:31–35 for a recent review of previous interpretations of Fremont social organization). In contrast, scholars of the prehistoric American Southwest have been engaged in lively debates about puebloan political organization (Creamer 1996; Doyel 1991; Fish and Fish 1991; Kantner 1996; Lightfoot and Upham 1989; McGuire and Saitta 1996; Redman 1991; Sebastian 1991; Spielman 1995).

Recent excavations at sites such as Baker Village (Barker 1994; Wilde 1994), Huntington Canyon (Montgomery and Montgomery 1993), and Round Spring (Metcalfe 1993) have sparked an interest in researching Fremont social and political structure at the intracommunity and intercommunity levels. In this paper, I use several models to interpret the sociopolitical meaning of faunal remains recovered from Baker Village (Figure 1).

Baker Village

Baker Village is one of many horticultural Fremont villages located to the north of the better-known Anasazi, Hohokam, and Mogollon cultures of the

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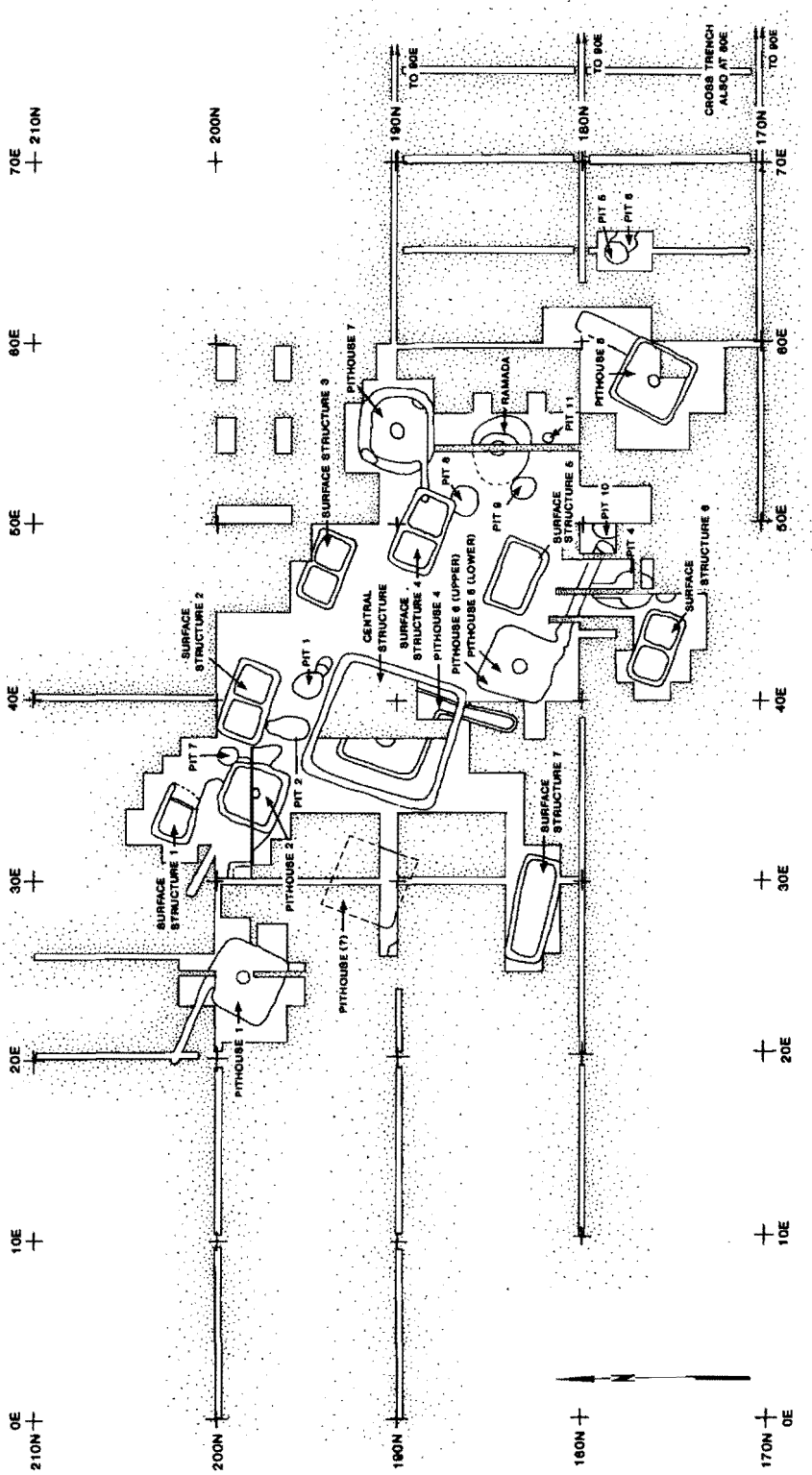
70E
80E
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210N
200N
190N
180N
170N
TO 90E
CROSS TRENCH ALSO AT 90E
PIT 5
PIT 6
PITHOUSE 7
PITHOUSE 8
RAMADA
PIT 11
SURFACE STRUCTURE 3
PIT 9
PIT 8
SURFACE STRUCTURE 5
PIT 10
PIT 4
SURFACE STRUCTURE 6
SURFACE STRUCTURE 2
CENTRAL STRUCTURE
SURFACE STRUCTURE 4
PITHOUSE 4
PITHOUSE 6 (UPPER)
PITHOUSE 6 (LOWER)
PIT 1
PIT 7
PIT 2
SURFACE STRUCTURE 1
PITHOUSE 2
PITHOUSE (?)
SURFACE STRUCTURE 7
PITHOUSE 1

American Southwest. Fremont sites generally exhibit one or more of the following core Fremont traits: (1) one-rod-and-bundle basketry construction, (2) a unique moccasin style made from the hock of a deer or mountain sheep, (3) trapezoidal-shaped clay figurines and pictographs, and (4) brown utilitarian ware and black-on-gray painted ceramics that were diverse in form and style (Morss 1931; see also Madsen 1989; Marwitt 1986). Fremont sites range from relatively large, sedentary or semisedentary villages to small, seasonal procurement camps (Schmitt et al. 1994; Simms 1986), although remaining unresolved is the issue of whether or not small sites that contain a few grayware sherds (e.g., Smith 1992) should be classified as Fremont habitations.

Baker Village is located near the Nevada-Utah border in east-central Nevada (see Wilde and Soper 1994 for more details). It is considered an outlier in relation to the concentration of Fremont village habitation sites located in central and southern Utah (Talbot and Wilde 1989:10–14, Figures 3–10).

Brigham Young University conducted excavations at Baker Village during the summers of 1991–1994 (see Wilde and Soper 1994 for the most current review). The site consists of at least one large, centrally located structure (called Central Structure throughout this paper), seven pithouses, seven aboveground storage structures, and over a dozen pits located outside structure walls (Figure 1). The Central Structure was built on top and centered over Pithouse 4. Pithouse 6 was built on top of Pithouse 5 (see Figure 1). The majority of structures appear to have been manufactured from mud or clay bricks.

Radiocarbon dating and the construction of buildings directly on top of other buildings indicate that the site was at least periodically occupied for three to four centuries, with a peak period of occupation during the thirteenth century A.D. (Wilde 1994). The radiocarbon dates bimodally cluster around A.D. 1030 and A.D. 1250, although none of the structures appears to date to the earlier time period (Wilde 1992). A community of at least five families may have simultaneously occupied Baker Village beginning about A.D. 1200 (Wilde 1994:3).

The most striking feature at Baker Village is the Central Structure (Figure 1), which measured approximately 50 m^2 in size. In contrast, the seven pithouses each measured between 10.5 and 20 m^2. Each of the seven pithouses contained ventilator shafts, but a ventilator shaft was not attached to the Central Structure. The Central Structure contained a central hearth, as did each of the seven pithouses.

The walls of the Central Structure, pithouses, and surface storage structures all were aligned within about 3° of one another, or roughly between 105 and 108° (Figure 1; also see Wilde 1994:13, Figure 2). Wilde (1994:17, Figure 6) argued that some of the pithouses and storage structures were aligned and arranged around the Central Structure to mark the winter and summer solstices. The alignment of living and ceremonial structures to celestial phenomena, and the knowledge of relationships between cosmic events and successful harvests, has been linked to increased sociopolitical complexity (Bauer 1996; Rolingson 1990:38).

Figure 1 (opposite). The buildings and pits of Baker Village. Pithouse 3 was not well preserved, so the bones found within this possible pithouse are not included in this analysis.

Political Hierarchies and Fremont Social Organization

The remainder of this brief overview discusses three aspects of studying sociopolitical complexity in the archaeological record: (1) categorizing social inequalities, (2) mobility, and (3) feasting and private ceremonies. The general principles discussed below serve to highlight some of the key issues that have not been explicitly discussed by scholars of the Fremont culture but which must become integrated into any model that purports to explain Fremont social organization.

Social Inequalities

Wason (1994:19) defined a political hierarchy as those social structures that "extend beyond age, sex, personal characteristics, and intrafamilial roles" (see also Begler 1978:573; and see Flanagan 1989:246–248 for a discussion of the origins of this definition). Political hierarchy implies inequality, but all societies display some form of inequality (Aldenderfer 1993:8; Flanagan 1989:249, 261; Paynter 1989:387; Price and Brown 1985:12; Price and Feinman 1995:4). Political hierarchy, therefore, may be conceived of as a continuum of inequality (see also Aldenderfer

1993:26). In this way, "Hierarchy [may refer] to the degree to which power is concentrated in the hands of a relatively few people within the political entity" (Nelson 1995:599).

Nelson's (1995) definition of hierarchy focuses on differing levels or scales of power, yet it is important to distinguish between coercive power and influence (Begler 1978:574). For example, Begler (1978:574–575), following Weber (1947), noted that influence is one's ability to persuade, while power is one's ability to control. Thus, when viewed as a continuum, influence and persuasion occupy a position between egalitarian patterns of behavior and coercive power.

Societies that emphasize egalitarian behavior generally exhibit various forms of inequality that are gender or age specific (Barnard and Woodburn 1988:7; Flanagan 1989) and that result in minimal levels of inequality. Leadership roles may be temporary (Hill 1984), and leaders usually emerge based on characteristics such as age or sex (but see Kent 1993:243 for a counterview). These types of political organizations may be classified as "egalitarian" (Fried 1967), as "immediate-return" (Barnard and Woodburn 1988), as "unranked" (Wason 1994), as "transegalitarian" (Hayden 1995), or as "heterarchies" (Crumley 1995). For example, gender-based inequality occurred in some Great Basin foraging societies when men assumed temporary leadership roles to perform special ceremonies (leading pronghorn drives, for example) or to complete special resource procurement tasks (achieving the status of "rabbit boss") (Jorgensen 1994:93).

Toward the middle of the continuum are societies with leaders who have few coercive powers and must rely instead on persuasion and influence to achieve a higher status in the minds of others. Typically, gender- and age-based inequalities are more structured and complex in these societies than in those that emphasize egalitarian relationships. Additionally, disgruntled individuals of these communities may decide to ignore higher-status individuals or to leave the community without threats of violence, revenge, sanctions, and the like (e.g., Kantner 1996:46–47). Examples here are the Great Men and Big Men societies of New Guinea (Strathern 1982). Among the Baruya, for example, Great Men shamans emerge who have formalized, lifelong ceremonies and rituals that they are expected to perform (Godelier 1982).

Toward one end of the continuum are societies with leaders who have the power to coercively manipulate other people's behavior. All people may be ranked relative to one another, and ranking may be used to allocate resources. In North America an example might include the "complex chiefdom" that developed at Cahokia (Kelly 1990a; O'Brien 1989).

Importantly, there are both qualitative and quantitative social and environmental features (such as demography, style, technology, burial practices, and ecological conditions) that help archaeologists predict where a community is likely to fall on the continuum (for example, Kelly 1991, 1995; Upham 1990:98–115), although the causes of different forms of political hierarchy are often debated (Arnold 1996:6; Boehm 1993:227–228). For example, there is a well-known link between low levels of inequality and small community size (Boehm 1993:236; Upham 1990:99–101). Renfrew (1973), for example, argued that if only 25–50 individuals lived in a community, then archaeologists simply cannot think in terms of large-scale political and social stratification. Upham (1990) argued that large-scale political and economic change only occurs after intracommunity populations exceed 500 people and only after regional population densities exceed 10,500 people.

Present evidence suggests that Baker Village had at least five extended families living at the site at any particular time, although the site is larger than the area excavated. It is unlikely, however, that the village had more than 50 occupants. Given this relatively small population size, the political organization at Baker Village probably would lie somewhere between the egalitarian end and the middle of the inequality continuum. This means that Baker Village probably had more complex political inequalities than are typically seen in foraging societies, and the leaders of the village probably relied on influence and persuasion to achieve their status.

In addition, burials have not yet been found at the Baker Village site, but previous research indicates that differential treatment of the dead occurred in at least some Fremont villages. Most Fremont burials have been found without grave goods. A small subset of burials at sites such as Backhoe Village (Madsen and Lindsay 1977) and Evans Mound (Pecotte 1982), however, does con-

tain grave goods. This led Madsen and Lindsay (1977:78) to conclude that "The occurrence of both well prepared and expeditious interments, often at the same site . . . argues for a status differential of some kind." Howell and Kintigh (1996:550–551) have recently reiterated the argument that differential numbers of types of grave offerings generally signify status or leadership roles.

Mobility

Mobility tends to be a better predictor of a group's sociopolitical complexity than it is of a group's subsistence strategy (Cohen 1985:100, 104; Kent 1989:3). That is, social inequalities tend to increase as mobility decreases and as circumscription increases, whether the subsistence strategy is based on hunting and gathering, horticulture, or agriculture (Aldenderfer 1993:11; Cashdan 1980:116; Renouf 1991:91–93). The degree of sedentism exhibited by Fremont populations, therefore, is important to an understanding of Fremont political organization. Simms (1986) has shown that many Fremont groups may not have practiced "permanent sedentism" (after Kent 1989:2). However, it would be unusual if they did. Based on cross-cultural ethnographic and prehistoric evidence, Kent (1989:2) stated that "seasonal sedentism" is characteristic of the vast majority of horticultural societies. In seasonally sedentary horticultural societies, a permanent camp or village that is occupied for a relatively long period of time is established, and from this location smaller groups make seasonal trips to collect critical wild resources. This settlement pattern seems to characterize the Patrick phase and the Emergent Mississippian period in the American Bottom just before the development of complex chiefdoms in eastern North America (Kelly 1990a, 1990b). Prehistoric California "triblets" near present-day San Francisco were only semisedentary, yet they exhibited a more complex political hierarchy. This led Bocek (1991:61) to argue that archaeologists should expand the definition of "sedentary" to include several group strategies that reduce overall mobility. These include long-term, continual occupation of a single site with subgroup mobility, as well as repeated occupation of only two or three sites over many years.

Some Fremont sites such as Baker Village had relatively labor-intensive buildings such as mud brick or stone pithouses and aboveground storage structures; domesticated crops such as maize were grown and stored; and wild plant and animal foods made up significant components of the diet. Such sites undoubtedly served as sedentary communities from which small hunting and gathering parties were sent to obtain wild food resources (see also Sharp 1989:20 and Simms 1986:206, 213). This degree of sedentism probably would indicate that the social relations between the residents of Baker Village were more structured and complex compared to their more mobile, foraging neighbors.

Feasting and Private Ceremonies

The ability to procure surplus quantities of food, craft items, labor, lithic raw material, and the like is an important factor in the development of more complex political systems (Arnold 1996:7; Hayden 1995:22; Kim 1994:120; Webster 1990:337–338). Surpluses may be procured or produced simply to store enough food and other critical items as a buffer against lean times, to obtain food and other items to be used for acquiring exotic goods or wealth, or to be used in public or private feasts and ceremonies.

Interpreting the meaning of feasting in the archaeological record is a complex problem. Hayden (1995) contrasts two types of feasting. Public feasting is a social strategy for match-making and for conveying solidarity among peoples or groups. In contrast, competitive feasting is a social strategy used by leaders to demonstrate and maintain power or influence. Many largely egalitarian Great Basin hunter-gatherers practiced public feasting rituals, often called "fandangos," and thus feasting does not necessarily demonstrate higher levels of political inequality.

A select number of individuals from within a community, however, may conduct private ceremonies among themselves or host a select group from a community nearby. In these societies, public ceremonies or feasts may be attended by all the members of the community, but the private ceremonies would be held at a different time and place. Private ceremonies generally signify greater inequalities because they often are held to sanctify, legitimize, or build political inequalities (see, for example, Aldenderfer 1993:20–22).

The subsistence base at Baker Village consisted of relatively large quantities of wild animal

Table 1. Number of Identifiable Specimens Present (NISP) and Unidentifiable Bones Recovered from Baker Village.

Taxa	NISP
Bison bison	137
Ovis canadensis	184
Antilocapra americana	219
cf. *Cervus canadensis*	1
Lepus cf. *californicus*	2,825
Sylvilagus sp.	141
Lynx rufus	5
Taxidea taxus	1
Mustela cicognanii	1
Canis cf. *familiaris*	25
Leporidae	5,812
Aves	86
Anura	9
cf. Salmonididae	6
Artiodactyla (small)	303
Artiodactyla (large)	34
NISP Totals	9,789
Unidentifiable fragments	120,290
Total Bone Specimens	130,079

resources (see Table 1) as well as domesticated crops such as maize. Wild animal resources such as pronghorn and hares can be taken in large numbers by driving them into corrals or nets, and the procurement of large numbers of animals within a short time period probably produced surplus meat and hides as well. Both surplus maize and animal products at Baker Village could have been used by individuals with influential status to fulfill specific religious ceremonies or feasts that they were expected to perform, traded for exotic goods, or used in private ceremonies in order to solidify their political position within the community.

To summarize, the residents of Baker Village built a structure (the Central Structure) that was twice the size of any other building. They built at least five pithouses and seven surface storage structures around it, making the structure the focal point of the community. The walls of the pithouses and surface storage structures were aligned to match those of the Central Structure. The Central Structure undoubtedly was built to do more than house a family. The Central Structure's large size and central placement within the community support the interpretation that the building served as a ceremonial meeting place, as a house for a leader with influential status, or both. Among the Iroquois, for example, chiefs and their families resided in larger houses than did the families of people with less political influence, yet a chief's house also served as a community meeting place (Trigger 1990:133).

Faunal Remains and Sociopolitical Complexity

Crabtree (1990), Driver (1995, 1996), Kim (1994), and Pohl (1985), among others, have discussed the use of faunal remains to elucidate prehistoric political organization. The vast majority of zooarchaeological studies aimed at measuring sociopolitical complexity have been conducted on state-level societies and on historic sites (see Crabtree 1990; see also Lyman 1994:415–416), although several studies have been conducted on "middle range" societies (e.g., Driver 1996; Jackson and Scott 1995; Miller and Burger 1995; Morse and Morse 1990; Pohl 1985; Welch and Scarry 1995).

The spatial distribution of bones of different animal species and of "prime cuts of meat" may reflect the political organization of sedentary village communities (Kolb 1994:522). This is because leaders residing in sedentary villages may have controlled communal hunting and ritual to the extent that they also may have controlled whether or not certain animals were used in special ceremonies in particular places within a site (Driver 1996:367–368; Pohl 1985:137–138, 142). For example, at Sand Canyon Pueblo, a Pueblo III site located in southwestern Colorado, Driver (1996:370) reported that those areas of the site that had high kiva:room ratios produced the greatest frequencies of deer bones. In Peru, Miller and Burger (1995:445) reported that probable higher-status areas at the site of Chavin de Huantar contained more fish bones than probable lower-status areas of the site. At the Maya site of Seibal, Pohl (1985:137, 142) found more forest dwelling and rare taxa in elite contexts.

Miller and Burger (1995:445) also reported, however, that there was no evidence that the leaders of Chavin de Huantar had differential access to prime cuts of camelid meat. Similarly, no evidence for differential access to prime cuts of deer meat was found at Sand Canyon Pueblo (Driver 1996). In contrast, there is good evidence that the leaders of Cahokia and other large Mississippian centers were provisioned with meat or privileged with the consumption of the prime portions of deer carcasses (Jackson and Scott 1995:194, 200; Kelly 1996).

It seems logical that the spatial patterning of faunal remains within "mid-range" inequalities may show differential numbers of animal species in ceremonial structures or in leaders' residences, but the deposition of prime cuts of meat may not take place in these same locations. Leaders who relied on influence and persuasion may have used animals for private ceremonies or feasts, but they probably either did not or could not control differential access to the prime cuts of animal carcasses. Leaders who had the power to coerce should have been able to monopolize and control the consumption of prime cuts of meat. In these societies, one may find both differential patterning of certain animal species and prime cuts of meat in ceremonial structures or in leaders' residences. If the residents of sedentary villages were somehow able to maintain relative equality both politically and economically, then faunal material should be evenly distributed throughout the site except in concentrated trash disposal areas.

As discussed above, present evidence derived from general social theory suggests that the political structure at Baker Village probably was more complex than societies that emphasize egalitarian behavior. Does the spatial patterning of faunal remains at Baker Village support this interpretation? At Baker Village, a more specific question becomes: were the bones randomly distributed across the site except in concentrated trash disposal areas, or were the bones concentrated in the Central Structure in large enough numbers to indicate that special ceremonies or feasting rituals occurred inside the building?

In order to answer this question, a spatial distribution of the faunal remains recovered from Baker Village must first be completed. Second, if large concentrations of bones are found to occur in any of the structures, then further analysis must be undertaken to determine if the concentrations were created by "filling" and leveling a previous floor or use surface with sediment and debris to create a new floor or a new use surface; if the animal carcasses were first processed outside structure walls and later thrown into a building (was the structure used as a repository for trash?); or if the animals were cooked, processed, and disposed of inside a building in which the bone concentration was found. Put simply, if the faunal material from Baker Village was randomly distributed throughout the site except for concentrations of bone in trash disposal areas and in fill debris, then faunal analysis could not be used to support the interpretation that more complex social inequalities existed at the site. On the other hand, if the evidence suggests that large numbers of animals were processed and disposed of inside the Central Structure, then feasting rituals *may have* occurred inside the building. This could indicate that more formalized and complex inequalities existed among the members of the village because this kind of faunal patterning may occur in societies that hold public feasts in a public arena for all to attend but also hold private feasts for a select number of individuals. Under this political system, large concentrations of bones might occur inside the Central Structure unless all or most of the faunal material used during the feasts was subsequently cleaned from the building and dumped in a trash pile or in another structure.

The general model and methodology discussed above are used below to compare the spatial patterning of faunal remains within the Central Structure at Baker Village to that found within the pithouses and surface storage structures. The identifiable bone per structure that was found on or within floors, hearths, and middens were separated from the bone found within fill debris in each building. The quantity of identifiable bones from floors, hearths, and middens in each structure was then compared.

Spatial Patterning of Faunal Remains at Baker Village

A total of 130,079 identifiable bones and unidentifiable bone fragments was recovered from the excavations at Baker Village, excluding rodent bones (Table 1). Hundreds of complete or nearly complete and unburned rodent (in particular *Spermophilus* sp.) bones, interpreted as natural burrow deaths, also were recovered from the excavations, but they are excluded from further analysis. A total of 9,789 bones was identified to at least the class level. The remainder of the bones consisted of unidentifiable bone fragments. At least 9,318 of the 9,789 identified bones (or 95.2 percent) consisted of just five taxa: mountain sheep (*Ovis canadensis*), pronghorn (*Antilocapra americana*), bison (*Bison bison*), hare (*Lepus* cf. *californicus*), and cottontail (*Sylvilagus* spp.).

Table 2. Number of Identifiable Leporid Bones Recovered on or within Structure Floors, Hearths, and Middens at Baker Village.

		Pithouses				
Feature	Central Structure	PH5	PH7	PH1	PH8	PH4
Floor	357	22	0	8	135	16
Hearth	8	0	4	0	0	0
Midden	2,894	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	3,259	22	4	8	135	16

Table 3. Number of Identifiable Bison Bones Recovered on or within Structure Floors, Hearths, and Middens at Baker Village.

		Pithouse	Surface Storage Structure
Feature	Central Structure	PH5	SSS2
Floor	1	1	2
Hearth	2	0	0
Midden	21	0	0
Totals	24	1	2

Table 4. Number of Identifiable Pronghorn Bones Recovered on or within Structure Floors, Hearths, and Middens at Baker Village.

		Pithouses			
Feature	Central Structure	PH2	PH1	PH8	PH4
Floor	2	1	1	3	2
Hearth	2	0	0	0	0
Midden	42	0	0	0	0
Totals	46	1	1	3	2

Tables 2–5 report the number of identifiable bones of leporids, bison, pronghorn, and mountain sheep recovered on or within floors, hearths, and middens in the structures at Baker Village. Leporid bones were recovered from these three contexts in the Central Structure and in five of the seven pithouses. Leporid bones were absent from these contexts in the surface storage structures. The Central Structure contained 24 to 814 times more identifiable leporid bones on or within floors, hearths, and middens than the five pithouses that contained leporid bones from similar contexts (Table 2).

Bison bones were recovered on or within floors, hearths, and middens only in the Central Structure, one pithouse, and one surface storage structure. Bison bones were 12 times as common in the Central Structure than in the surface storage structure, and 24 times as common in the Central Structure than in the pithouse (Table 3).

Pronghorn bones were recovered on or within floors, hearths, and middens in the Central Structure and in four of the seven pithouses. Pronghorn bones were absent from these contexts in the surface storage structures. The Central Structure contained 15 to 46 times more identifiable pronghorn bones on or within floors, hearths, and middens than the four pithouses that contained pronghorn bones from similar contexts (Table 4).

Mountain sheep bones were recovered on or within floors, hearths, and middens in the Central Structure and in five of the seven pithouses. Mountain sheep bones were absent from these contexts in the surface storage structures. The Central Structure contained nine times more identifiable mountain sheep bones on or within floors, hearths, and middens than the five pithouses that contained mountain sheep bones from similar contexts (Table 5).

Overall, the Central Structure contained 17 times more leporid and ungulate bones on or within floors, hearths, and middens than the combined assemblage of pithouses and surface storage structures that contained these bones in similar

Table 5. Number of Identifiable Mountain Sheep Bones Recovered on or within Structure Floors, Hearths, and Middens at Baker Village.

		Pithouses				
Feature	Central Structure	PH6	PH2	PH7	PH1	PH8
Floor	5	0	1	0	1	1
Hearth	0	1	0	1	0	0
Midden	4	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	9	1	1	1	1	1

Table 6. Minimum Number of Elements of Ungulate Upper Limb Body Parts in the Central Srtructure and Three Pithouses at Baker Village.

	Taxa		
Structure	Bison	Pronghorn	Mountain Sheep
Central Structure	4	1	0
Pithouse 6	0	0	1
Pithouse 5	1	0	0
Pithouse 2	0	1	0

contexts. These figures are a conservative estimate of the actual number of identifiable bones that lie on or within the floors, hearths, and middens in the Central Structure because at least 75 percent of the deposits within each pithouse and surface storage structure were excavated, but only about one-third to one-half of the deposits were excavated within the Central Structure (see Figure 1). It is, therefore, likely that the Central Structure contains at least 50 times more identifiable bones within floors, hearths, and middens than all of the pithouses and surface storage structures combined.

Table 6 reports the number of prime cuts of ungulate body parts recovered from floors, hearths, and middens in the pithouses and the Central Structure. No prime cuts of ungulate body parts were recovered from any of the surface storage structures. The bones used for this analysis included the proximal and distal femur, the proximal and distal tibia, the proximal and distal humerus, and the scapula. Although the precise order of utility (in terms of caloric value of meat, marrow, and external fat) of these elements differs from one ungulate to another, these upper limb bones are generally relatively high ranking in those ungulates studied to date, including caribou and bison (Binford 1978; Brink 1997; Emerson 1993; Jones and Metcalfe 1988; Metcalfe and Jones 1988). These data indicate that ungulate upper limb portions were not differentially recovered in substantially larger numbers in the Central Structure compared to the numbers recovered within most of the pithouses. Further, ungulate upper limb portions were not found in substantially large numbers in any one of the pithouses.

Discussion and Conclusion

The large number of faunal specimens in the Central Structure was primarily due to the existence of a thick, charcoal, and bone-filled midden within the building (see, for example, Table 2), although this pattern was also due to the fact that the majority of bones in the pithouses and surface storage structures were recovered from fill debris (Table 7). Were the bones recovered from this midden first processed outside the Central Structure and later thrown into the building? The midden was sandwiched between the main floor below and a thick layer of silty-clay fill above. Roof clods were found at the very top of this midden between the midden and the silty-clay fill. Sometime after the midden was created, the roof collapsed, and fill was dumped on top of the midden and roof fall to create a new floor. The top of the midden conforms to the basin-shape of the main floor of the structure rather than lying horizontal from one end of the building to the other, as might be expected if the material was used to fill the structure to create a new floor. The midden was also "fluffy" in character or not compacted, so the midden probably suffered very little trampling damage before the deposition of the roof clods and the fill above. These data indicate that the midden probably does not represent fill debris.

If a family resided in the Central Structure, and if the large concentrations of bone were simply

Table 7. Percentages of Identifiable Bones of Leporids and Ungulates Recovered from Each Structure at Baker Village.

	Bones in Structure (N)	In Floors, Hearths, Middens	
		Bones (n)	% Bones
Central Structure	5,576	3,338	60.0
Pithouses			
PH1	26	10	38.5
PH2	77	2	2.6
PH4	636	18	2.8
PH5	665	23	3.4
PH6	163	1	.6
PH7	241	5	2.1
PH8	432	139	32.2
Surface Storage Structures			
SSS1	0	0	0
SSS2	3	2	66.7
SSS3	18	0	0
SSS4	3	0	0
SSS5	1	0	0
SSS6	37	0	0
SSS7	0	0	0

due to day-to-day deposition of domestic trash, then the data indicate that the families who occupied the seven pithouses regularly cleaned their homes, but that the family who resided in the Central Structure did not regularly clean their house. This scenario seems highly unlikely.

It therefore appears that the two most parsimonious explanations to account for the large quantity of bones in the Central Structure are: (1) the bones represent short-term consumption of large numbers of animals inside the building or (2) the building was used as a repository for trash. Both of these scenarios are plausible, but the former seems more likely. Features similar to the midden in the Central Structure at Baker Village have been found at other Fremont sites. For example, House 11 at the Round Spring site was larger and more elaborately constructed than any other pithouse at the site (Metcalfe 1993). House 11 also contained a layer of cultural material that was sandwiched between the main floor below, roof fall above, and fill above the roof fall (Metcalfe 1993:290). The cultural material between the floor and the roof fall/fill in House 11 at Round Spring consisted of a rich and dense assemblage of faunal remains, lithic artifacts, grinding stones, ornaments, and figurines (Metcalfe 1993). This led Metcalfe (1993:296) to conclude, "Because it is so much more elaborate than apparently contemporary structures on the site and because of the numerous figurines, some speculation must center on implications for ceremonial use of the structure, perhaps even a kiva-like set of domestic and ceremonial functions."

If the midden and the large numbers of faunal remains inside the Central Structure represent trash disposal practices, then this would indicate that, at least for a time, the residents of Baker Village occupied a number of the pithouses but not the Central Structure. However, this interpretation fails to explain why the Central Structure, and only the Central Structure, was used as a repository for trash because no large concentrations of bone were found within any of the other pithouses or surface storage structures except in fill contexts.

If the midden and the extremely large number of bones deposited in the Central Structure were the result of religious or political ceremonies or feasts, then many bones were left in primary context instead of being cleaned out of the building. If this is the case, then the midden may represent the final ceremony, or a series of final ceremonies, conducted inside the Central Structure before the village was abandoned for some length of time. The midden may have been left in place because the residents expected to abandon the site shortly after the ceremonies were completed (e.g., Schiffer 1987:59, 97–98). Baker Village was then reoccupied sometime after the roof collapsed. Fill was dumped on top of the midden and roof debris, and a new floor was created.

The interpretation that the midden and bones simply represent trash disposal practices cannot be

unequivocally dismissed. Nevertheless, faunal patterning similar to that found at Baker Village has been found at a number of recently excavated Fremont villages, each with a single large structure, including Round Spring (Metcalfe 1993) and Huntington Canyon (Montgomery and Montgomery 1993). It does not seem logical to argue that a new behavioral trait has been identified for the Fremont, one in which only the largest structure at Fremont villages were built or targeted as a repository for trash. In addition, the possible feasting debris recovered from the Central Structure would be consistent with other lines of evidence that point to increased political complexity at Baker Village and other Fremont village sites, such as architectural size and arrangement of buildings, decreased mobility, and differential treatment of the dead.

The lithic artifacts, ornaments, and figurines from Baker Village have not been studied in detail. The precise nature of the social inequalities that existed at Baker Village will remain obscure until these data are analyzed. In addition, the social inequalities within the Fremont area as a whole will be unknown until analyses are conducted at a series of contemporary Fremont villages that may have interacted with one another. The main point here is that there is a growing body of evidence supporting increased political complexity within Fremont villages, and the faunal data presented above are consistent with this interpretation. The relatively low population size of Fremont villages, however, would point to inequalities that certainly did not exceed "mid-range" on the inequality continuum. This means that if more complex inequalities existed at Baker Village and other Fremont villages, they probably were achieved through some form of influence and persuasion. Economic and "dual inheritance" models that account for the development of more complex age- or gender-based inequalities in hunting and gathering and small-scale horticultural societies, such as those discussed by Aldenderfer (1993), Barnard and Woodburn (1988), and Hayden (1996) contain components that may help to define and explain more explicitly the Fremont pattern in the future.

For example, Aldenderfer (1993:13) argued that as mobility decreases, ritual "may be increasingly called into question as existing ritual practice fails to predict or cope with new social conditions." As an example, Aldenderfer (1993:19) described the case of the Nata River Basarwa, whose contact with outside groups and new forms of ritual, together with their own increasingly sedentary lifestyle, resulted in the emergence of "incipient political leaders." And in two additional examples (the Chippewa of the Great Lakes region and the Gabrielino of southern California), Aldenderfer (1993:19–26) described how economic or social stress coupled with increased sedentism resulted in the emergence of increased political complexity, "secret societies," and privately held ceremonies or feasts.

It is tempting to speculate that some type of economic, demographic, or social stress, together with contact with new forms of ritual from the puebloan groups to the south or the Mississippian pattern to the east, began the development of what archaeologists would come to call "Fremont." The pre-Fremont Great Basin or Great Plains foraging societies that likely developed into the Fremont probably had "rabbit bosses," "antelope shamans," and the like, and it may have been from these individuals that some seized the opportunity to increase their political status as distinct forms of ritual emerged among the sedentary horticultural communities of the eastern Great Basin and northern Colorado Plateau. The spatial patterning of faunal remains at Fremont villages may reflect these changes in political structure.

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