THE CHEROKEE TOWN AT COWEETA CREEK

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology.

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ABSTRACT

CHRISTOPHER BERNARD RODNING: The Cherokee Town at Coweeta Creek

(under the direction of Professor Vin Steponaitis, Department of Anthropology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

This study of the Coweeta Creek archaeological site reconstructs the history of the Cherokee settlement, beside the upper Little Tennessee River in southwestern North Carolina, from the fifteenth through early eighteenth centuries AD. I summarize the fieldwork conducted at Coweeta Creek during the 1960s and 1970s. I describe public and domestic architecture that is represented archaeologically at Coweeta Creek as remnants of posts, hearths, doorways, and a variety of pits. European trade goods and radiocarbon dates lend insight into the absolute dates of the settlement, and the relative dates of structures and pits. The characteristics of aboriginal pottery are also helpful temporal markers, and this I develop a ceramic sequence that I apply as a chronological framework for mapping the built environment at this site at different points in its history. A village was present at the site by the 1400s. A formally planned town, with discrete public and domestic areas, took shape during the 1500s. Dwellings were abandoned during the late seventeenth century, as households moved farther away from this public space, but the public structure itself was still in place in the early eighteenth century AD. Alignments and arrangements of dwellings and

public structures were preserved from one generation of the town to another, connecting each generation of the community to its predecessors and successors. The placement of graves within and beside the townhouse and domestic houses materialized relationships between people and the social domains housed within these architectural spaces. My interpretations of continuity and change in the architecture and layout of the Coweeta Creek settlement, and the relationship between people and place at this site, are guided by comparisons with the archaeology of other native towns in southern Appalachia and by documentary evidence about the landscape of Cherokee towns during the eighteenth century. Traditional Cherokee towns were conceptualized as social entities rather than as specific points in geographic space. Coweeta Creek gives us a chance to study how a town attached itself to a place, through a patterned arrangement of public and domestic architecture, and by preserving this settlement plan as structures were renovated and rebuilt.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation traces the history of the Cherokee town situated near the confluence of Coweeta Creek and the Little Tennessee River in southwestern North Carolina. Fieldwork at Coweeta Creek and other sites in the upper Little Tennessee Valley was conducted in the 1960s and early 1970s by archaeologists and students from the Research Laboratories of Anthropology (RLA, now the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, and known by the same acronym) at the University of North Carolina (UNC) in Chapel Hill (Keel, Egloff, and Egloff 2002; Ward and Davis 1999:138-139). Excavations at Coweeta Creek were conducted as part of a broader archaeological study of the emergence and development of Cherokee culture in western North Carolina (Coe 1961; Keel 2002). Some of the principal participants in this endeavor developed interpretations of what they found at Coweeta Creek and at nearby sites, some of which were outlined briefly in publications relatively soon after the fieldwork was conducted (Dickens 1976:100-101, 170, 1978:124-125, 131, 1979:22, 24, 26; Keel 1976:214-217, 234), but there were only three formally written treatments of specific data sets from the Coweeta Creek site itself. One UNC M.A. Thesis about Cherokee pottery, some of which is referred to by archaeologists as the Qualla series, included a careful study of ceramics from the Coweeta Creek site (Egloff 1967). Another UNC M.A. Thesis examined the composition of the Coweeta Creek mound, an accretional mound that was created as a public structure known as a townhouse was built and rebuilt in a single spot, creating a low mound as the rubble of early manifestations of this structure were buried by its

later stages (Egloff 1971). One dissertation at North Carolina State University compares zooarchaeological materials from Coweeta Creek and other late prehistoric settlements in North Carolina (Runquist 1979). Several publications make reference to Coweeta Creek and its temporal placement (Dickens 1976, 1978, 1979; Keel 1976). These contributions notwithstanding, archaeological collections from Coweeta Creek have never been thoroughly studied (Keel, Egloff, and Egloff 2002), and my dissertation concentrates on only some of the vast amount of material recovered from this site. I hope that this study does credit to the considerable effort and expertise of the many people who participated in fieldwork at Coweeta Creek—Bennie Keel, Brian Egloff, Keith Egloff, Sandy Morrison, John Walthall, John Halsey, John Mattson, Roy Dickens, Jeannette Runquist, Patricia Holden, and other UNC students and RLA staff from Chapel Hill. I am grateful to other UNC graduate students and professors who have been involved in more recent analyses of archaeological materials collected during RLA excavations at Coweeta Creek—including Amber VanDerwarker, Gregory Wilson, Kandace Detwiler, Patricia Lambert, Brett Riggs, and Trawick Ward.

Several departments and agencies have supported the analyses I have done of archaeological collections from Coweeta Creek. The Mooney Fellowship from the RLA and a grant from the North Carolina Archaeological Society have funded radiocarbon dates from Coweeta Creek. I received a doctoral dissertation stipend from the UNC Center for the Study of the American South in the summer of 2000, which enabled me to concentrate on some of the artifact analyses outlined in later chapters. I have held a variety of research and teaching jobs in the UNC Department of Anthropology, Western Piedmont Community College (Morganton, NC), Warren Wilson College (Asheville, NC), and the RLA since 1995, which

have been good experiences as well as sources of stipends. My first several years of graduate school at UNC were generously supported by a Graduate Research Fellowship from the National Science Foundation.

Considerable credit is due to RLA staff and students who have contributed to the effort of curating artifact collections and archives of field notes, photos, maps, and artifact catalogs from Coweeta Creek. Steve Davis, Trawick Ward, and Vin Steponaitis have taken good care of materials from Coweeta Creek and many other sites in western North Carolina. Patricia Lambert, Patricia Samford, Tim Mooney, Tom Maher, Tiffiny Futch, Courtney Sproule, Amanda Hagood, Kimberlee Wynn, and Amy McDonough have participated in cataloging these collections and in digitizing photos and maps.

I am grateful to my dissertation committee members for their guidance, encouragement, support, and patience. My committee includes Vin Steponaitis, Trawick Ward, Margie Scarry, Brett Riggs, Steve Davis, and Brian Billman. I appreciate Vin's sage advice on all sorts of topics, and his very valuable coaching on research design, quantitative methods, and visual display of patterns in archaeological datasets. He has been very patient, very kind, and always encouraging. He creates a very good environment in which students can write a dissertation. I have also benefited greatly from Steve's considerable talents at creating digital images, his careful caretaking of UNC archaeological collections, and the arrangements he has made for RLA interns to help me with data collection and analysis. Thanks also to Bennie Keel, who is not a formal member of my dissertation committee, but who has been a great help in sharing with me his memories of the fieldwork that was conducted at Coweeta Creek and other sites by members of the Cherokee Project in the 1960s and early 1970s.

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Thanks to Elaine Maruhn and the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, for permission to quote excerpts of William Bartram's (Waselkov and Braund 1995) descriptions of eighteenth-century towns and the Cherokee cultural landscape in the Appalachian Summit province.

Thanks to Thomas Wells and the University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, for permission to quote Roy Dickens (1976) and Bennie Keel's (1976) published comments about Qualla pottery.

Chapel Hill has been a very good place to study and a good place to call home. Thanks to Jane Eastman, Randy Daniel, the late Tom Hargrove, the late Tim Mooney, Tom Maher, David Moore, Joe Herbert, Patricia Samford, Sara Bon-Harper, Linda Carnes-McNaughton, Randy Reeves, Ken Williamson, and Lesley Bartlett for showing me the grad school ropes during my first steps through the program at UNC. Thanks to Bram Tucker, Mintcy Maxham, Tony Boudreaux, Jon Marcoux, John Pleasants, Greg Wilson, Amber VanDerwarker, Kathy McDonnell, Marianne Reeves, Tiffiny Tung, Brandie Farriss, Barker Farriss, Flora Lu Holt, Elizabeth Monahan Driscoll, Paul Dionne, Lance Greene, Michael Scholl, Celeste Gagnon, Fletcher Linder, Jennifer Coffman, Elizabeth Jones, Allison Greene, Julie Flowerday, Hager El-Hadidi, Kandi Detwiler-Hollenbach, Theresa McReynolds, Michelle Schohn, Mark Plane, Brandon Bowman, Christy Boudreaux, Hart Matthews, Ross Bryan, and John Kitchens for sharing their ideas, for reading drafts of papers and proposals, and for otherwise contributing to the supportive network and stimulating academic environment that I have been lucky to have at UNC. I have tried out many of the ideas developed in this dissertation through lunchtime brownbag talks and less formal gatherings in Chapel Hill, and I am grateful for the feedback I have received. I finished writing the first draft of my dissertation while living in Ann Arbor, and thanks to Patrick Livingood, Susannah Livingood, Chris Glew, and Megan Agy for showing me the university museum and also the library, for letting me borrow books and journals, and for the chances we have had to talk and to trade ideas.

I appreciate comments and encouragement from scholars who have interests in the archaeology of Cherokee people and their ancestors in the western Carolinas and adjacent areas of Georgia and Tennessee. Thanks to Paul Webb, Lynne Sullivan, Gerald Schroedl,

David Hally, Charles Hudson, Mark Williams, David Anderson, and Marvin Smith for sharing their knowledge and also for asking me good questions that have improved what is said here in my dissertation.

I have been collaborating for the past three years with David Moore and Rob Beck in an archaeological study of Mississippian chiefdoms and their interactions with early European colonists in the upper Catawba Valley of western North Carolina. Thanks to Dave for moral support, for teaching me much about doing fieldwork in western North Carolina at sites that are similar in many respects to Coweeta Creek, and for helping me with problems in detecting and interpreting patterns in the archaeological datasets examined here. Thanks to Rob for our many conversations, in the field and traveling to conferences these past several years, about houses and house societies, the formation of communities, and the ways that relationships between ancestors and descendants are manifested in architecture and the built environment.

Thanks to Trawick Ward for giving me and other aspiring archaeologists his example of how archaeology can and should be done, from fieldwork through analyzing and interpreting evidence from the ground. I appreciate his honest and straightforward approach to archaeological data and the ethnographic tone of his own writing about what life was like in the past. I am glad to have Trawick as one of my friends and teachers, and I am grateful for the many meals I have had at the Ward home, and for the chances I have had to learn the art of barbecue in his backyard.

Thanks to Brett Riggs for generously sharing his vast knowledge of Cherokee archaeology and ethnohistory, and the nitty gritty details of Qualla pottery. His firsthand familiarity with pottery from southwestern North Carolina has contributed significantly to the

Qualla ceramic chronology outlined here. His knowledge of Cherokee architecture has also helped me greatly in identifying posthole patterns representing structures at the Coweeta Creek site.

I consider myself very lucky that I can share my archaeological interests and experience with my parents. They have been good advisors, generous supporters, and even active participants in archaeological projects with which I am involved, ever since I chose to pursue archaeology as my concentration in college, and then to continue that interest in graduate school.

I am grateful to all these people, and others, for their many contributions to the arguments that I present here. Any problems, of course, are my responsibility.

Hope Spencer has believed in me, has inspired me, and has also taken good care of me. My dissertation is dedicated to Hope, with love and affection. Thanks to Hope, and to her cats, for their companionship, inspiration, support, and encouragement.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Dozens of native towns dotted the river valleys of southwestern North Carolina and other areas in the southern Appalachians when Europeans began exploring and colonizing eastern North America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries AD. What did these towns look like? What social structures were present in the communities housed within these towns? How did towns change, spatially and socially, from generation to generation, as public architecture and household dwellings were built, renovated, rebuilt, and abandoned? What changes did native towns experience during the period when native people in the southern Appalachians, and elsewhere in the Southeast, first encountered Europeans and European material culture? This dissertation is an archaeological study of the history of the Cherokee town at the confluence of Coweeta Creek and the Little Tennessee River in southwestern North Carolina from the fifteenth through early eighteenth centuries AD.

The Coweeta Creek site (31MA34) is situated within the homeland of the historic Middle Cherokee towns (Figure 1.1). Coweeta Creek is roughly five miles south of, or upstream from, the location of Echoee, an eighteenth-century Cherokee village and a place noted in travel journals by several European visitors to southwestern North Carolina. Coweeta Creek is roughly one mile downstream from Tessentee Creek, whose name is probably derived from an eighteenth-century Cherokee community known as Tessentee. The

geographic setting of the Coweeta Creek site, and the nature of its material culture, makes it clear that the people living at Coweeta Creek were ancestors of eighteenth-century Middle Cherokee towns (Dickens 1976:100-101, 1978, 1979; Keel 1976:214-217; Riggs and Rodning 2002:38; Ward and Davis 1999:266). That said, the Coweeta Creek site itself cannot be directly associated with any of the specific eighteenth-century Middle Cherokee towns (Dickens 1967; Goodwin 1977; Hill 1997; Smith 1979).

The Coweeta Creek site, which was excavated by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology (RLA) at the University of North Carolina (UNC) between 1965 and 1971, is a palimpsest of pits, postholes, hearths, burials, entryways, and other material remnants of a long history of aboriginal settlement (Figure 1.2). The site map shown here is a composite of all the plan view maps drawn in the field to record what was found at the bottom of each excavation square. The dense array of postholes at the upper left of Figure 1.2 represents a public structure, known as a townhouse, six stages of which were built and rebuilt at a single spot, creating a mound formed by the stacked ruins of burnt and buried townhouses (Rodning 2002c; Schroedl 2001:286-287). Southeast of the townhouse is a ramada represented by a rectangular array of postholes that is oriented perpendicular to the entrance into the townhouse itself. Southeast of the townhouse ramada is a plaza that was at least partly covered by sand and clay. The lower part of Figure 1.2 shows postholes and other remnants of several domestic houses, and postholes that probably represent remnants of privacy fences, storage cribs, drying racks, and other outbuildings that may have been present in native towns like this one (Rodning 2001b; Schroedl 2000:212-213). The major problems of interest in this dissertation are the identification of specific structures within the palimpsest

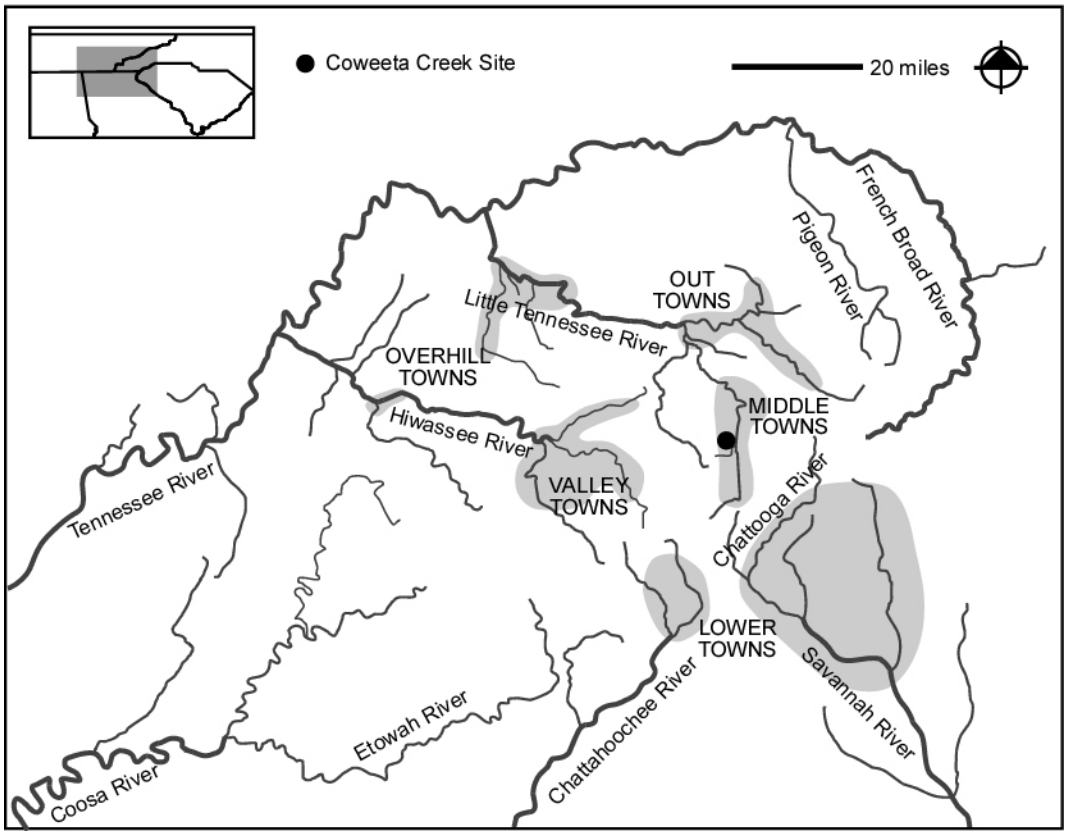


Figure 1.1. Historic Cherokee towns in southern Appalachia.

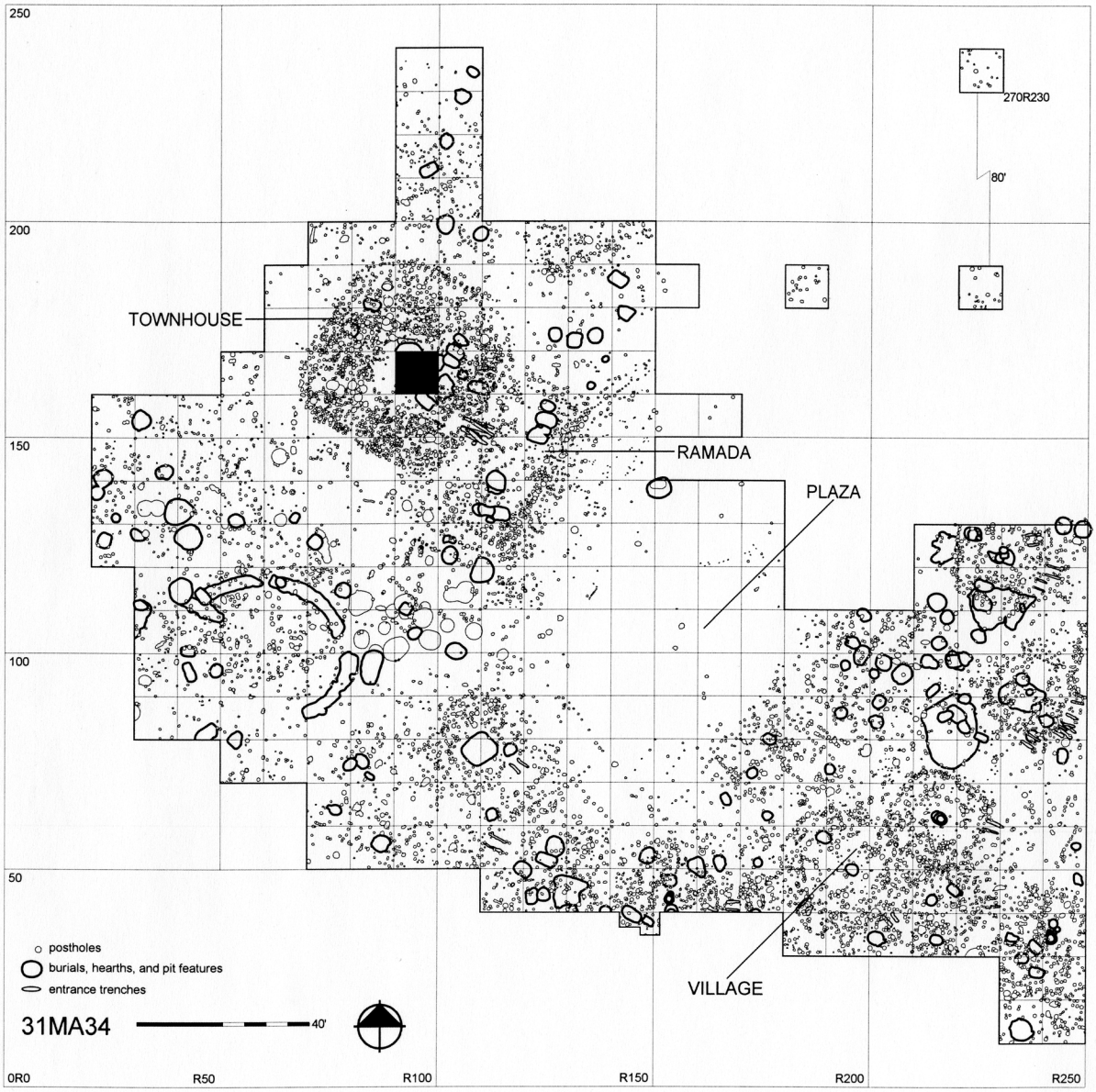


Figure 1.2. The Coweeta Creek site in southwestern North Carolina (see also Egloff 1971; Rodning 1999, 2001a, 2001b; Ward and Davis 1999).

depicted on the site map, the determination of the temporal relationships between public and domestic structures, and the identification of different stages of these structures.

The settlement at Coweeta Creek dates to the late prehistoric (or late precontact) and protohistoric periods. These period names are not intended to imply that native people of the southern Appalachians, and more generally in the Southeast, have no history before Europeans landed in North America. They are merely shorthand references to specific intervals of time before and after European contact in North Carolina. What I am labeling "late prehistory" here refers to the period from the fourteenth through the early sixteenth centuries AD, when the cultural landscape of the Southeast was dotted with Mississippian towns (Bense 1994:198-199; Milner 2004:141-149; Muller 1997; Smith 1986:62-63; Steponaitis 1986:390-391). What I refer to here as the "protohistoric period" spans the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries AD, after Europeans had begun colonizing the Southeast but before there were direct and sustained interactions between natives and newcomers in most places (Galloway 1995; Hudson 2002; Hudson and Tesser 1994; Smith 1987; Wesson and Rees 2002). Archaeological evidence indicates cultural activity at Coweeta Creek both before and after this timeframe. Artifacts collected from the ground surface at Coweeta Creek include projectile points diagnostic of all periods in the long history of native settlement North Carolina (see point types illustrated by Perkinson 1971, 1973; Purrington 1983). At the other end of the chronological continuum, evidence indicates the presence of some form of settlement at Coweeta Creek during the very early eighteenth century, at the dawn of trade between native peoples of the southern Appalachians and English colonists from South Carolina (see Goodwin 1977; Hatley 1991, 1995; Hill 1997; Schroedl 2000,

2001). It seems that Coweeta Creek was abandoned before the peak of this trade and the conflicts it engendered between native groups and colonists.

The results of my study are summarized in later chapters in a series of maps of what the built environment at Coweeta Creek looked like at different points in the settlement history of this Cherokee town. These maps illustrate both continuity and change in the arrangement and alignment of public and domestic architecture, through time, as townhouses and dwellings were built, renovated, rebuilt, and abandoned. They are therefore windows onto the relationship between people and place, and they reflect not only how people created the built environment of their town but also where they buried the dead. Anthropologists have recently devoted much interest to the ways that people relate to places and conceptualize their surroundings (Basso 1996a, 1996b; Chesson 1999, 2001a, 2001b; Kuijt 2000a, 2000b, 2001; Snead 2002; Sundstrom 1996, 2003; Tilley 1994, 1996). Some studies have concentrated on the nature of pathways and patterns of movement through past landscapes. Others have concentrated on the kinds of cultural memories and meanings that are attached to specific places and architectural spaces. My dissertation contributes to that literature, by deciphering some of the spatial patterns that structured the layout of an aboriginal town (Dickens 1978; Hally 1994a; Hally and Kelly 1998; Holley 1999; Lewis and Stout 1998; Lewis, Lewis, and Sullivan 1995; Lewis, Stout, and Wesson 1998; Moore 2002b; Rogers and Smith 1995; Schroedl 1998; Smith 1978; Sullivan 1995). I first try to identify specific structures and patterns in the spatial organization of this community. I draw upon these spatial patterns to reconstruct, figuratively speaking, the relationship between different architectural spaces at this settlement and the people within this town.

From a traditional Cherokee perspective, towns are social entities rather than specific places in geographic space, and town names refer more to the people within a town rather than referring to any particular point on the landscape. Households within a town shared a collective identity as a community, rooted primarily in shared ritual knowledge and practice, and in an acknowledgment of the varying civic duties that community members needed to perform. Members of a town nevertheless needed to create architectural spaces and arrangements that manifested the identity of a community as a town. Chapter 2 outlines the environmental and historical background to this study about the built environment of Cherokee towns. First, I describe the natural environment of the Appalachian Summit, the cultural and geographic province in southwestern North Carolina in which Coweeta Creek is located. Then, I summarize the archaeology of late prehistoric settlements in the Appalachian Summit, and in neighboring areas. I outline some of the major trends affecting native geopolitics in southern Appalachia during the late 1500s and 1600s, during the aftermath of European contact in the Southeast (see Hatley 1995; Schroedl 2000). I then consider ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence about the spatial and social organization of Cherokee towns in the eighteenth century, acknowledging the myriad problems applying ethnographic and ethnohistoric evidence to interpretations of archaeological data (see Charlton 1981; Crumley 1977; Galloway 1989, 1993, 1994, 1995, 2002; Wood 1990). This background guides interpretations drawn in later chapters about the built environment and social structure of the Coweeta Creek community.

My consideration of architecture and layout at Coweeta Creek is a case study in how a late prehistoric and protohistoric Cherokee town in southwestern North Carolina attached itself to a specific locality through an arrangement of public and domestic architecture and

outdoor spaces. Chapter 3 describes UNC's excavations conducted at Coweeta Creek from 1965 to 1971 as part of the RLA's broader effort to study the development of Cherokee culture in western North Carolina from prehistory through the eighteenth century. Although several publications refer to Coweeta Creek, fieldwork at the site has never been formally reported, nor have collections from this site received the analytical treatment they deserve (Dickens 1976, 1978, 1979; B. J. Egloff 1967; K. T. Egloff 1971; Keel 1976; Keel, Egloff, and Egloff 2002; Schroedl 2000:212-213, 2001:286-287; Ward and Davis 1999:138-139). Recent studies of materials from Coweeta Creek have rekindled interests in the potential of this site to yield insights into the lifeways of native people in southwestern North Carolina (Lambert 2001a, 2001b, 2002; Riggs and Rodning 2002; Rodning and VanDerwarker 2002; VanDerwarker and Detwiler 2000, 2002; Wilson and Rodning 2002). The present study concentrates on the architecture and community plan at Coweeta Creek.

Chapter 4 reconstructs the history of public architecture at the Coweeta Creek site. Several stages of a public structure, known as a townhouse, were built and rebuilt in a single spot, eventually forming a low mound composed primarily of the burnt and collapsed remnants of former townhouses (Rodning 2002c; Rodning and VanDerwarker 2002; Ward and Davis 1999:183-190). Archaeological evidence of building, burning, burying, and rebuilding this townhouse, always in the same place and with the same alignment and positioning relative to the public plaza and household dwellings in the village area beside it, reflects cycles in the death and rebirth of several generations of the town itself.

Chapter 5 identifies specific domestic structures within the maze of pits and postholes uncovered in the village area beside the Coweeta Creek townhouse and plaza. I first show maps of the deepest postholes in the village in an effort to find patterned arrangements of

four deep postholes around a hearth. Four inner roof supports, spaced around central hearths, are present in many late prehistoric and protohistoric Cherokee houses in western North Carolina (Dickens 1976:40-43; Shumate and Kimball 1997; Riggs and Shumate 2003). Roof supports were often set more deeply into the ground than other posts in Cherokee dwellings, and identifying roof supports may help in pinpointing the locations of structures in the village area at Coweeta Creek. I then identify an array of postholes, in which an entryway and a hearth are present, that together represent a clear example of a house in the village. Following these guidelines for identifying domestic structures, I delineate several houses in the village at Coweeta Creek. After attributing pits and postholes to these structures, I take them off the map to search for additional structures in the Coweeta Creek village area that can be identified from the residual postholes.

European artifacts and radiocarbon dates demonstrate that the native settlement at Coweeta Creek dates to the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods. Chapter 6 describes these datasets. I note patterns in the spatial distribution of European artifacts that suggest that late stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse were built after most, if not all, of the domestic houses in the adjacent village had been abandoned (see Dickens 1978:124).

Native pottery from Coweeta Creek is helpful both in dating the native town at this locality and in differentiating structures and pits that correspond to different episodes of its settlement history. Chapter 7 summarizes the characteristics of the Qualla ceramic series, which is associated with historic Cherokee groups in western North Carolina, and which is represented by the vast amounts of pottery collected during excavations at Coweeta Creek. I then describe my attribute analyses of pottery from Coweeta Creek and their implications for differentiating Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla ceramic assemblages (see

Griffin 1978:xx-xxi; Riggs and Rodning 2002; Ward and Davis 1999:178-183; Williams and Thompson 2000:97-99; Wilson and Rodning 2002).

Chapter 8 applies this ceramic chronology as a framework for attributing ceramic assemblages from burials, structure floors, and pits at Coweeta Creek to different episodes in the history of this native settlement. First, I tabulate the presence of sherds with characteristics diagnostic of Early, Middle, and Late Qualla pottery from all burials, pit features, and structure floors from which ceramics were collected. Then, I attribute these assemblages, and the contexts with which they are associated, to early, middle, or late episodes in Coweeta Creek settlement history, based on temporally sensitive characteristics of aboriginal pottery, radiocarbon dates, and the presence of European artifacts in some parts of the site. Not all burials, pits, and structures are easily attributable to a specific stage in the history of this native town. The chronological framework outlined in chapters 6, 7, and 8 nevertheless gives us a series of schematic maps of what the native settlement at Coweeta Creek probably looked like in the 1400s, 1500s, and 1600s.

Chapter 9 examines the spatial relationship between burials and structures during different stages in the history of the Coweeta Creek settlement, and it develops a model of social structure within the town through this consideration of mortuary patterns. I first compare the burial morphology and mortuary goods of graves in the Coweeta Creek mound with those in the village. I then associate graves with specific public and domestic structures, or stages of these structures, where these relationships are clear. Several graves were placed inside or beside early stages of the townhouse. Others were placed inside and beside dwellings in the village. The resting places of the dead were therefore surrounded by the houses in which surviving family members continued to live, and by the public architecture

that housed the community as a whole. Ritual events and daily activities in this town were conducted in the presence of the ancestors buried in these spaces, and memories of ancestors may have been attached to these architectural spaces themselves.

Archaeological evidence about architectural history, and the placement of burials within public and domestic spaces in the Coweeta Creek settlement, contribute to our knowledge about the relationship between people and place in southwestern North Carolina during the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods. The native community at Coweeta Creek created a built environment whose architectural arrangements and alignments lasted for many years, if not for several generations, as structures were built and rebuilt in ways that preserved an overarching settlement plan. The town organized itself in a formal arrangement of dwellings and domestic activity areas situated around a townhouse and public plaza. Memories of earlier generations of the community were preserved through the placement of graves within and beside the townhouse and domestic houses, and through the practice of rebuilding these structures in place. Like the community itself, public and domestic houses in this town also experienced cycles of death (abandonment) and rebirth (rebuilding). The nucleated settlement plan began to unravel during the late seventeenth century, as households moved farther away from the public center of the town, and the last stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse was abandoned in the early eighteenth century. This broad sketch of Coweeta Creek settlement history offers a model of the life cycle that many Mississippian and protohistoric towns in the southern Appalachians may have experienced.

My concluding chapter places Coweeta Creek in regional and temporal perspective. Towns like Coweeta Creek may have been situated at several other confluences between the upper Little Tennessee River and its major tributaries. Many other such towns, with

townhouses and plazas surrounded by compact arrangements of houses and domestic activity areas, probably dotted the bottomlands along the Tuckasegee, upper Hiwassee, and other rivers in southwestern North Carolina during the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods. Therefore, this dissertation offers a case study in the history of a native town that can be compared and contrasted with the archaeology of other settlements in the Appalachian Summit and neighboring provinces. The differences identified here between Early, Middle, and Late Qualla ceramics at Coweeta Creek may be applied, and revised, as a temporal framework for the study of regional settlement patterns in the Appalachian Summit during late prehistory and protohistory. Furthermore, the Coweeta Creek site is one of the only Cherokee settlements in western North Carolina with late prehistoric and protohistoric components that has been extensively excavated. Models of settlement layout, and its evolution, can be compared to and contrasted with other Cherokee settlements that have recently been and that will be excavated in years to come.

CHAPTER 2

CHEROKEE TOWNS

Maps dating to the eighteenth century show dozens of Cherokee towns in southwestern North Carolina, northwestern South Carolina, southeastern Tennessee, and northeastern Georgia. The populations of Cherokee towns probably ranged from 100 to 600 people, or from 10 to 60 households, following estimates based on town censuses and counts of the number of warriors per town during the eighteenth century (Schroedl 2000:204-206). Towns were differentiated from lesser Cherokee villages and farmsteads by the presence of public structures, known as townhouses, and the outdoor plazas beside them (Smith 1979:46-47). Town councils, whose deliberations took place in townhouses, made decisions that affected most if not all households within a community. Other rituals and more quotidian events held in townhouses and in the public plazas adjacent to them created moments in the lives of communities during which a group of people renewed a shared identity as a town. Although eighteenth-century Cherokee towns were anchored at particular points within the landscape, and specifically at the townhouses and plazas that formed the hubs of eighteenth-century Cherokee public life, belonging to a town created a deeper connection to other people within the community than it did to the geographic locale where the town was built. This chapter outlines the ways that Cherokee people conceptualized the communities of which they were members, and the built environment of the towns in which they lived, by reviewing

ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence about native towns dating to the eighteenth century and to the late prehistoric period. I first describe the natural environment of my study area, the archaeology of Mississippian settlement in this region, and the nature of early contacts and interactions between European colonists and native peoples in southern Appalachia from the sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries. I then summarize ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence about the spatial and social structure of Cherokee towns during the eighteenth century.

The Appalachian Summit

The Appalachian Summit is composed of several sprawling mountain ranges that have been home to native peoples for at least twelve thousand years (Figure 2.1; Sullivan and Prezzano 2001a:xx-xxvi, 2001b:329-331). The earliest settlers in the Appalachian Summit are represented archaeologically by the presence of Hardaway and other Paleoindian projectile points, which have been found in this region, although only rarely, and only on the ground surface rather than in buried deposits (Figure 2.2; Chapman 1985; Perkinson 1971, 1973; Purrington 1983:102-110; Ward and Davis 1999:46). During the Archaic period (8000 BC to 1000 BC), people continued to live primarily by foraging, but different groups seem to have grown more closely attached to specific regions or river valleys in the southern Appalachians (Ward and Davis 1999:67-72). This increased territorialism seems to have corresponded to generally increased population levels throughout the Appalachian Summit province. During the Woodland period (1000 BC to AD 1000), foragers probably began experimenting with different forms of farming, and people participated in Hopewellian exchange networks and

Figure 2.1. The Appalachian Summit landscape in southwestern North Carolina.

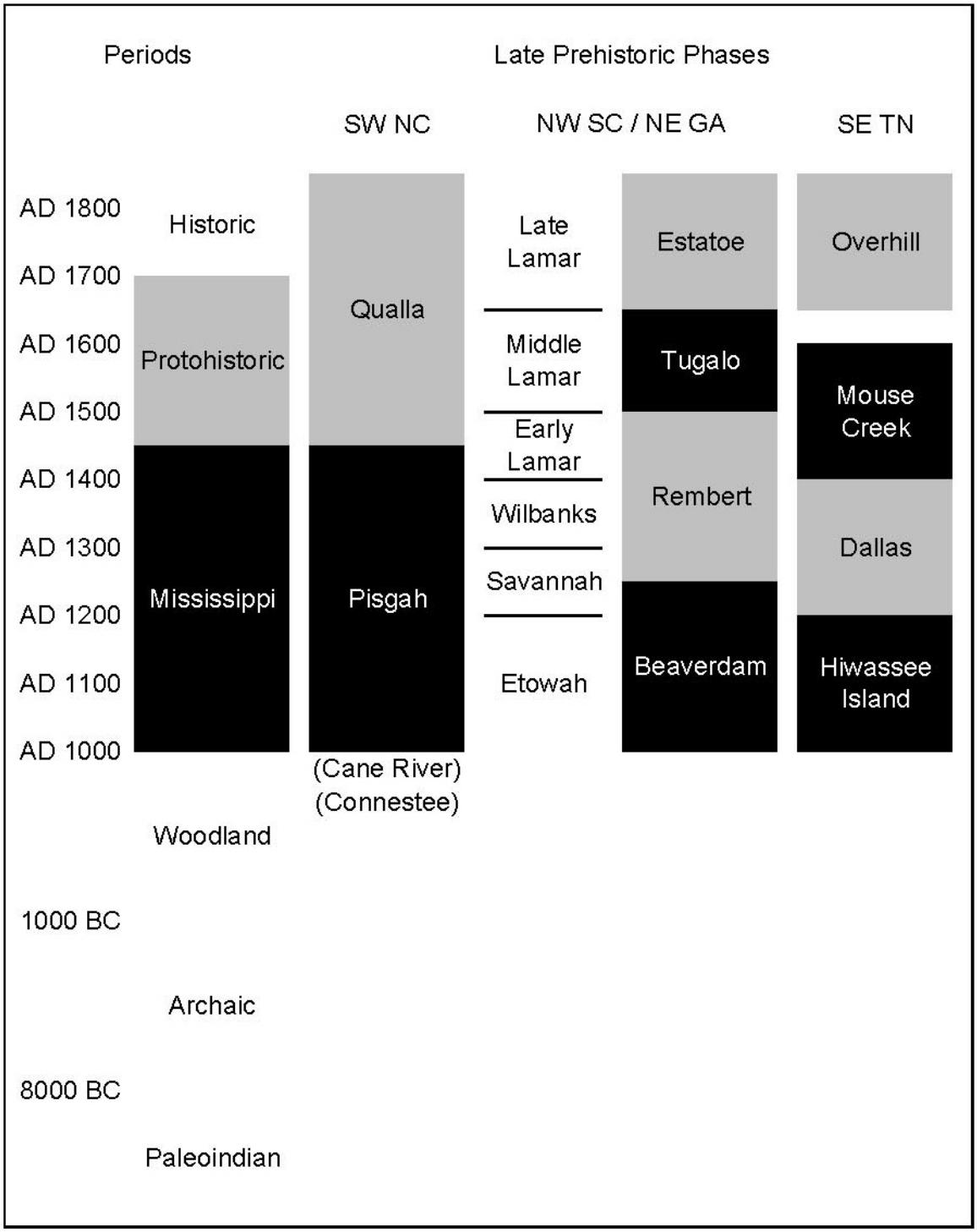


Figure 2.2. Archaeological periods and phases in southwestern North Carolina.

the shared ritual practices manifested in different forms across much of the Southeast and Midwest (Ward and Davis 1999:139-158). The Appalachian Summit was a major source for raw mica, which was traded widely, and shaped into symbolically and ritually charged items at Hopewell settlements and ritual places throughout the Eastern Woodlands (Ferguson 1974). Mounds dating to this period, where Hopewell ceramics and lithics have been found, are present in the Appalachian Summit (Chapman and Keel 1979; Kimball and Shumate 2003; Walthall 1985). Mississippian towns and farmsteads dotted the southern Appalachians from the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries (Dickens 1976). Mississippian groups formed chiefdoms comparable to, if less hierarchical and more localized than, the Mississippian societies present elsewhere in the Southeast and Midwest (Dickens 1986). During the eighteenth century, the Appalachian Summit was home to the Valley, Out, and Middle Cherokee towns in the Hiwassee, Tuckasegee, and Little Tennessee valleys (Figure 1.1; Dickens 1967, 1979:10; Duncan and Riggs 2003:15-20; Goodwin 1977; Hill 1997; King 1979:ix; Shumate and Riggs 2003:90-96; Smith 1979; Ward and Davis 1999:266). Middle Cherokee settlements were within 20 and 50 miles north of the area where Lower Cherokee towns were located, the latter situated near the ecotone between the Blue Ridge and Piedmont provinces of northwestern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina (Hally 1986a). Middle Cherokee towns were located some 50 to 90 miles upstream from the Overhill Cherokee settlements in the lower Little Tennessee Valley in the Ridge and Valley province of eastern Tennessee (Schroedl 1986a). The Valley Towns in the upper Hiwassee Valley were 30 to 40 miles west of the Coweeta Creek site. The Out Towns along the Oconaluftee and Tuckasegee rivers were some 20 to 30 miles northeast of Coweeta Creek and other Middle Cherokee settlements.

The mountain ranges of the Appalachian Summit include some of the tallest peaks and some of the oldest mountains in eastern North America. Several mountains are taller than 6000 feet, and many more are taller than 5000 feet. Forest composition varies dramatically up and down mountain slopes, and also from one cove and slope to another due to differential exposure to sunlight during different seasons of the year. Conifers are present on many summits, and some of the tallest mountains are covered by grassy and rocky balds, rather than by trees. Mountains and river valleys are otherwise blanketed by mast forests.

Countless rivers and creeks run down the slopes and through the valleys of the Appalachian Summit (Goodwin 1977; Hill 1997; Wynn 1990). Several streams run south and southeast towards the Savannah River—including the Tallulah, Chattooga, Keowee, Chauga, Tugalo, Horsepasture, Whitewater, Broad, and Green rivers. Others flow west to the Tennessee Valley—including the Hiwassee, Nottely, Valley, Tuckasegee, Oconaluftee, Nantahala, Little Tennessee, Pigeon, French Broad, Toe, and Watauga rivers. Some streams in the northeastern Appalachian Summit run north and northwest towards the New River in southwestern Virginia. Some at the southern edge of the Blue Ridge form the headwaters of the Chattahoochee River in northern Georgia. Alluvial bottomlands along major waterways like the Hiwassee River are more than one mile wide in some places between mountain ranges bordering the northern and southern edges of this watershed. By contrast, some river valleys in western North Carolina are very narrow, such as the steeply sided Nantahala Valley, with little room for large towns and the fields needed to sustain them, unlike the broader bottomlands present in some parts of the upper Hiwassee Valley and near the confluence of the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers.

Many alluvial soils in the Appalachian Summit are, and undoubtedly were in the past, very favorable for the kinds of farming practiced by native peoples of the Southeast (Ward 1965). Mica was one of the major mineral resources in western North Carolina, perhaps one of the major sources of this material in all of eastern North America (Ferguson 1974; Margolin 2000; Wetmore 2002:263). No major chert or chalcedony sources are known in the mountains of western North Carolina, the closest being those in the Tennessee Valley (Keel 1976:5). Many chipped stone tools were therefore made from locally derived quartz and quartzite. Ground stone tools and stone pipes were often made out of greenstone or chlorite schist.

Climate in the Appalachian Summit was conducive to farming practices that sustained sedentary towns and villages from late prehistory through the eighteenth century (Dickens 1978, 1986; Hill 1997; Schroedl 2000, 2001). Annual rainfall ranges from 38 to 83 inches per year at lower elevations, although it can vary significantly from year to year and from one river valley to another (Keel 1976:6; Purrington 1983:92). The growing season ranges from 150 to 190 days per year, depending on slope and aspect in this rugged mountainous setting (Keel 1976:6; Purrington 1983:92). These conditions supported multiple harvests every year by historic Cherokee farmers, who grew maize, beans, and squash in their gardens and fields, and who could harvest different resources at different times because of variation in the maturation periods of crops (Hatley 1989, 1991; Hill 1997:2-14; VanDerwarker and Detwiler 2002). Prehistoric and protohistoric Cherokee people complemented cultivated crops by gathering nuts, berries, and wild grasses and hunting such game as deer, bear, and turkey (Goodwin 1977:49-81; Hill 1997:14-24; VanDerwarker and Detwiler 2000).

The climate of the Appalachian Summit from the 1300s through the early 1700s was probably somewhat colder and dryer than is the case in modern western North Carolina. From roughly AD 1000 to 1300, during the Medieval Warm Interval, eastern North America may have been warmer and dryer than current conditions (Anderson 2001:166; Gallivan 2003:17-18). From roughly AD 1350 to 1750, during the Little Ice Age, average temperatures in eastern North America may have been considerably colder than they are today (Gallivan 2003:72-73; Fagan 2000; Grove 1988; Little 2003:26). Climatic changes attributable to the Little Ice Age have been cited as likely triggers for significant changes in native settlement patterns and geopolitics in many areas of eastern North America during this period, given the increased risk and decreased yields of native farming and foraging practices during such conditions, and the competition for land and other resources that may have ensued (Anderson 2001; Anderson, Stahle, and Cleaveland 1995). Environmental changes contributed to the abandonment of, or settlement dispersal within, many regions of eastern North America during the fifteenth century (Anderson 1994; Anderson, Hally, and Rudolph 1986; Bradley 2001; Cobb and Butler 2002; Fitzgerald 2001; Johnson 2001; Mainfort 2001; Milner and Smith 2001; Snow 2001; Wesler 2001; M. Williams 1994; S. Williams 2001). Notably, all but the upper reaches of the Savannah River Valley were abandoned during this period (Anderson 1994:235-289), and these developments may in part represent responses to major environmental changes. The northeastern part of the Appalachian Summit seems to have been almost entirely abandoned during the 1300s and 1400s (Whyte 2003). Some people from the *northeastern* Appalachian Summit and from settlements along the Savannah River may have moved to the *southwestern* Appalachian Summit during late prehistory (Dickens 1978). Movements and rearrangements of people in the greater southern

Appalachians probably demanded negotiations between groups about access to places and resources, and such interactions may have erupted in conflicts. Meanwhile, many late prehistoric and protohistoric towns and villages in the Southeast were surrounded by log stockades (Anderson 1994:309-311; Ashcraft 1996; Polhemus 1990; Sullivan 1995; Schroedl 1998), and enclosures at Mississippian settlements probably reflect the enduring threat of conflict between or within communities during this tumultuous period. Perhaps this threat of conflict stemmed from both environmental trends that increased risk or diminished the yields of Mississippian farming and foraging practices, and geopolitical relationships between towns and groups of towns.

Residents of the Appalachian Summit may have been favorably situated to withstand environmental perturbations because of the relative diversity of microenvironments in this part of the Southeast (Dickens 1986). Forest composition varied significantly according to slope and altitude, as did the resources that people could derive from the different microhabitats present between ridges and bottomlands in major river valleys of the Appalachian Summit province. Because of topography, any settlement in the Appalachian Summit was relatively close to several environmental zones. This characteristic of the natural environment would have given communities access to resources from a variety of settings. Should environmental conditions prove unfavorable in one ecological zone in a given year, people could still harvest resources from other settings, buffering risk by capitalizing on access to different microenvironments.

Native towns and farmsteads of course depleted local stores of the abundant natural resources available to them in the Appalachian Summit (Purrington 1983). Cutting trees for architecture and firewood, burning areas of woodland to enhance the yields of nut trees and

to make hunting easier, and gathering many different kinds of herbs and grasses in the woods and old fields surrounding towns would have affected forest composition (Hill 1997; Mooney 1900; Silver 1990). Towns may have had to disperse, or they may have had to move to entirely new settings, when wood and other local resource supplies were depleted, although how often that need would arise is not well known (see Schroedl 1998:88-89). By the late eighteenth century, some areas between Cherokee towns in eastern Tennessee may have been almost entirely deforested (see Hill 1997:72-76). An even more significant factor in longevity of any given settlement may have been the availability of arable land, although it is not entirely clear how long a town could farm the areas around it before depleting them, nor how long a recovery period would have been needed for the ground to replenish itself (Baden and Beekman 2001:510; Schroedl 1998; Schroeder 1999, 2001). Certainly, native people in the Appalachian Summit had significant *local* impacts on their environment (see Dickens 1986; Duncan and Riggs 2003:128-129). However, nothing in the archaeological record of the Appalachian Summit indicates major environmental degradation by native people at *regional* scales.

Several native trails crisscrossed the Appalachian Summit (Myer 1928). Not surprisingly, many trails corresponded to gaps between mountains (see Bass 1977; Duncan and Riggs 2003:244-246). The mountainous environment of the southern Appalachians undoubtedly guided movement between towns and groups of towns, and the contours of this landscape concentrated Mississippian and postcontact towns within the alluvial bottomlands of major river valleys.

South Appalachian Mississippian Towns

South Appalachian Mississippian societies were present in northern Georgia, eastern Tennessee, and the western Carolinas from the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries AD (Anderson 1990a, 1990b, 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, Anderson, Hally, and Rudolph 1986; Blitz 1999; DePratter 1991; Ferguson 1971; Hally 1988, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 1999; King 1999, 2003; Lewis, Lewis, and Sullivan 1995; Schroedl 1998; Smith and Hally 1992; Sullivan 1987, 1989, 1995; Ward and Davis 1999:158-178; Williams 1994, 1995; Williams and Shapiro 1996). Regional chiefdoms, whose borders often but not necessarily corresponded to the edges of river valleys, included groups of towns and the villages and farmsteads present in the surrounding areas. The capitals of these chiefdoms were towns with one or more earthen mounds. Differences in mortuary treatment, manifested in grave goods and in the placement of burials, reflect the presence of different forms of power and leadership in these societies and the distinctions, in some cases, between chiefs and commoners (King 2003; Sullivan 2001; Sullivan and Rodning 2001). South Appalachian Mississippian settlements dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are related to the Mouse Creek and Dallas phases in eastern Tennessee, the several phases grouped within the broader Lamar tradition in northern Georgia, late Pisgah and early Qualla phases in the Appalachian Summit province, and other archaeological complexes in neighboring areas (Dickens 1979; Hally 1994a; Hally and Rudolph 1986; Hally, Smith and Langford 1990; Levy, May, and Moore 1990; Moore 2002a; Sullivan 1995; Schroedl 1998). The following section is an introduction to South Appalachian Mississippian societies and settlements, which were present in several different environmental zones, including the Ridge and Valley of eastern Tennessee and northwestern Georgia, the South Carolina and Georgia Piedmont,

and the Appalachian Summit and Blue Ridge provinces of northern Georgia and the western Carolinas. My primary interest here is the architecture and built environment of South Appalachian Mississippian towns. This background section describes architecture and settlement plans that resemble those identified in later chapters at the Coweeta Creek site.

Several authors have noted the dynamic nature of power and leadership within South Appalachian Mississippian chiefdoms. Anderson (1994) has posited patterns of cycling through which late prehistoric chiefdoms in the Savannah River Valley and surrounding areas coalesced and collapsed during the course of several generations, as the capital towns of different chiefdoms shifted from one mound center to another. Hally (1993, 1996, 1999) considers apparent temporal gaps in mound sequences to reflect the instability of South Appalachian Mississippian chiefdoms, arguing that these gaps correspond to periods when mound centers were either abandoned or at least diminished in their geopolitical status. Blitz (1999) has attributed geopolitical shifts in the South Appalachian Mississippian landscape to the tendencies for neighboring chiefdoms to form alliances, or confederations, and also for some chiefdoms to split into discrete, autonomous, and competing polities. King (2003) has identified cycles in the emergence and decline of specific mound centers in the Etowah River Valley and surrounding areas as the main towns, or capitals, within regional and multiregional polities. King (2003) argues that the positioning of Etowah within prestige goods exchange networks was critical to its emergence as the center of the most powerful Mississippian chiefdom—for at least part of its history—in the greater southern Appalachians. Little (1999) considers warfare to have played a prominent role in the emergence of Etowah as the center of a multiregional chiefdom. The present study cannot relate the history of towns in the Etowah and Savannah valleys directly to the history of the

town at Coweeta Creek. That said, the history of chiefdoms in these areas undoubtedly affected the formation and development of late prehistoric and protohistoric towns in western North Carolina.

My very cursory comments here about models of the geopolitics of South Appalachian Mississippian chiefdoms certainly do not do justice to the whole range of topics and datasets explored by these and other scholars. I would like to point out, however, the consensus viewpoint that these chiefdoms were anchored within the landscape at settlements with earthen mounds. Most mound sites consisted of only one mound, although several multimound centers were present in the greater southern Appalachian landscape. Some mound centers experienced cycles of abandonment and resettlement, as evident in gaps in the stratigraphic ceramic sequences from such mounds, but South Appalachian Mississippian societies created connections between themselves and the landscape by building new mounds, or adding to old mounds. Many of these platform mounds in the Southeast are relatively modest in scale, and variation in the scale of moundbuilding may be related to variation in spatial scale and degrees of centralization within the dozens of chiefdoms that dotted the Southeast at any given point in the past (Beck 2003; Hally 1999; Muller 1997). Archaeologists have also interpreted Mississippian mounds as material depictions of the earth itself, with cosmological meanings, and they have argued that events during which mounds were built and rebuilt created and renewed the shared social identity of towns and entire regional polities (Knight 1986, 1989, 1990; Krause 1996; Schambach 1996). I consider these interpretations applicable to South Appalachian Mississippian mounds, and, that said, would suggest further that mounds are one of several kinds of archaeological

evidence about the nature of relationships between people and place in the southern Appalachians.

Earthen mounds were the social and political centers, although not necessarily the geographic centers, of South Appalachian Mississippian chiefdoms (Hally 1993, 1996, 1999). Mounds were landmarks. Even when abandoned, or diminished in their status relative to other mounds nearby, they were still visible additions to the landscape.

Platform mounds postdate earth lodges as forms of public architecture within South Appalachian Mississippian towns (Rudolph 1984). Earth lodges were built by covering frameworks of upright log posts and rafters with earth, although an alternative interpretation is that earth lodges had substantial earthen embankments but not earthen roofs (Crouch 1974; Dickens 1976:69-87; Larson 1994; Rudolph 1984; Ward and Davis 1999:171-175). Layers of clay and boulders placed atop collapsed and abandoned earth lodges formed pyramidal mounds. The summits of these mounds, sometimes reached by series of log steps, often served as platforms for structures and outdoor areas enclosed by palisades. Several of these mounds, built atop former earth lodges, were located in the greater southern Appalachians by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (King 2003; Lindauer and Blitz 1997; Rudolph 1984). Access to earth lodges seems to have been less restricted than access to the structures and other spaces on the summits of later platform mounds (Rudolph 1984). Earth lodges are therefore interpreted as settings for public events and councils within relatively egalitarian communities (King 2003:119-122). As has been noted, platform mounds served as hubs of geopolitics and public social life in Mississippian chiefdoms. In that respect, it is interesting to note that at least some platform mounds in the southern Appalachians were built on top of earth lodges, an earlier form of public architecture. These mounds effectively buried earlier

forms of public architecture. Perhaps the mounds themselves derived some of their symbolic power through this connection to past generations or to the memory of ancestors themselves.

The sequence of earth lodges preceding platform mounds has been identified in the Appalachian Summit at the Garden Creek site, along the Pigeon River in western North Carolina, where a pair of abandoned and collapsed earth lodges was covered by a platform mound (Dickens 1976:69-89; Keel 1976:65-69; Ward and Davis 1999:171-175). The earth lodges themselves displaced an earlier Mississippian village, which apparently had been surrounded by a bastioned palisade. The earth lodges, and an arrangement of posts beside them, were eventually buried with a series of mound deposits that included river boulders, basketloads of midden, clay caps, and sand. A log ramp was built along the slope of the mound leading up to its summit. A log palisade surrounded the mound summit, and two structures were built on this surface, one predating the other. It is not entirely clear what kinds of activities took place on this mound summit, although the mound may have served as a focal point of public life within the Mississippian town at this locality. Building the mound by burying earth lodges may have created an historical connection between events and activities that did take place on the platform mound summit and the earth lodges that served as public architecture for earlier generations of the surrounding community.

Other public structures were present at South Appalachian Mississippian towns during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Structures resembling townhouses, and the outdoor plazas adjacent to them, were settings for public life within local communities (Anderson 1994:308-309; Riggs and Shumate 2003:67). These public spaces represent precursors to the townhouses and plazas present at historic Cherokee and Creek towns in southern Appalachia and surrounding areas of the Southeast (Duncan and Riggs 2003:10;

Hally and Kelly 1998:54; Schroedl 1998:85-91; Sullivan 1987:26-28). Some townhouses were built on platform mounds, but many were not, and successive stages of some townhouses were rebuilt in place, creating accretional mounds. They were built of vertically placed wall posts, daubed walls, and bark or thatch roofs held up by inner roof supports and rafters (Schroedl 2001:288). Townhouses generally had a single doorway and a single central hearth, with roof support posts arranged around the space near the hearth, and with benches lining the inside walls (Schroedl 2000:214). The architectural designs and materials of townhouses were the same as those of domestic houses—townhouses were simply larger, they were set apart from dwellings and domestic activity areas, and they were built beside public plazas. Townhouses manifested the status of a group of local households as a town distinct from neighboring towns—each with their own sets of community leaders and public rituals. Some people were buried inside and beside townhouses (Schroedl 1986b). These people had probably achieved prominence through town leadership, through their roles and accomplishments as diplomats or warriors, or perhaps through their participation in exchange networks linking their towns with others (Rodning 2001a). Lesser settlements without townhouses did not represent the same scale of community as did towns, and people living at outlying villages and hamlets in rural areas probably affiliated themselves with one or more nearby towns for the social benefits that such membership probably engendered.

Households in South Appalachian Mississippian towns lived in dwellings situated around townhouses and plazas. Domestic houses were architectural counterparts to the public townhouse present within each town. That is to say that a townhouse "housed" the community as a whole, and created a setting for events and activities that preserved its status as a town, whereas dwellings and related activity areas "housed" the domestic life of each

household (Sullivan 1987:27). Houses were often rebuilt in place, indicating that households were often anchored to specific spaces within the built environment of their towns. Not only did houses create an architectural connection between households and their social and spatial placement within a community, but some household members were buried within and beside houses, thereby manifesting a connection between the dead and living members of each household, and also the symbolic connection between people and the houses themselves (Hally and Kelly 1998; Sullivan 1987:26; Sullivan and Rodning 2001).

Many South Appalachian Mississippian settlements were surrounded by log stockades, with gaps left in some sections as gateways through these enclosures (Ashcraft 1996; Dickens 1976, 1978; Hally 1994a; Hally and Kelly 1998; Moore 2002b; Polhemus 1990; Schroedl 1998; Sullivan 1995; Ward 1985, 1986). Some settlements in eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia were as large as ten acres, although most towns were probably five acres or smaller in size. Keeping log stockades around settlements of such sizes would have necessitated considerable amounts of effort and resources. Although these stockades may have been built in response to the threat of warfare, they served as social and spatial markers as well; they effectively formed the edges of towns and villages and also guided movement into and out of towns. Houses were often situated in compact arrangements between public plazas and the stockades at the edges of settlements. These stockades restricted town and village sprawl, so to speak, by setting boundaries within which houses and other structures were placed. Certainly, some local groups probably rebuilt stockades surrounding their villages and towns to accommodate growth, although many cases of rebuilding did not appreciably alter the amount of enclosed space. However, stockades may have encouraged households to rebuild their dwellings in place, atop abandoned and

buried remnants of earlier generations of their houses, because there would have been little room for households to shift their structures in one direction or another. Like townhouses and household dwellings themselves, stockades manifested a material connection between a community of people and a specific place, by defining the edges of a settlement, and also by encouraging people to rebuild public and domestic architecture in place. Renovating and rebuilding stockades may also have been a major event in the public life of a town or village, especially considering the number of logs needed to encircle entire settlements and the need for several households to participate in building and maintaining stockades.

The architectural characteristics noted above are evident at the Ledford Island, Mouse Creeks, and Rymer sites in the lower Hiwassee Valley of southeastern Tennessee (Lewis, Lewis, and Sullivan 1995; Schroedl 1998; Sullivan 1987, 1995). These settlements are all associated with the Mouse Creek phase, which dates to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Stockades and domestic houses were identified at all of these sites, and a townhouse and plaza were also unearthed at the Ledford Island site. Most domestic structures at these settlements ranged from roughly 16 to 26 feet square with rounded corners. These houses were built in shallow basins. Walls were made of vertically set posts, and this framework was finished with wattle and daub. Hearths were placed at the centers of structures, and the superimposition of several stages of many hearths reflects the history of building and rebuilding corresponding stages of domestic structures in place. Sets of four roof supports, spaced in square arrangements around hearths, held up rafters and roofs. Roofs themselves were probably made of bark or thatch, with clay added to roof sections surrounding the single smokehole in each structure. Earthen embankments may have been placed up against the outer edges of structures. Such embankments would have necessitated sturdy edges to the

entrance passages that cut through them, to keep earth from these embankments out of the passages themselves, and these entryways are represented archaeologically by pairs of parallel entrance trenches. Doorways were sometimes placed at a corner of a structure, and sometimes in the middle of a wall. There was only one entryway to most domestic and public structures, and the only opening in a structure besides its doorway was the smokehole in the roof above the hearth. Many doorways opened towards the southeast.

Public and domestic structures were similar in their architectural designs and materials, except that public buildings were much larger (Sullivan 1995). The townhouse at Ledford Island was roughly 45 feet square, with rounded corners, covering roughly 2025 square feet. It was situated at the northern end of the town plaza. Radiocarbon dates indicate that this public structure, and the settlement associated with it, date to the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. A series of three hearths in the middle of this public structure demonstrate that it was rebuilt at least twice after the original townhouse had been dismantled. Several domestic structures in the village area at Ledford Island likewise show signs that they were rebuilt. A log stockade, at least 220 to 250 feet away from the townhouse, enclosed this entire settlement.

The Ledford Island townhouse replicated the architectural layouts of household dwellings (Sullivan 1987). Beside this townhouse was a rectangular ramada. Comparable ramadas, or summer structures, were paired with domestic houses in the village area.

Another late prehistoric and protohistoric settlement with public and domestic structures, arranged around a town plaza, with a log stockade enclosing both public space and an adjacent village area, is represented by the King site on the Coosa River in northwestern Georgia (Hally 1988, 1994b; Hally and Kelly 1998) . The whole settlement covered roughly

five acres. The river formed the border of one side of the town. A log stockade surrounded this town on other three sides, and it was placed 130 feet away from the townhouse at its closest point. A pair of structures—including a townhouse and another structure that may have been a residence—was placed beside the plaza near the middle of the town, and household dwellings were placed in an area some 100 feet wide between the plaza and the stockade, outside of which was a large ditch. The main public structure was some 48 feet square, with rounded corners, or 2304 square feet in area. Domestic structures, which were also square with rounded corners, ranged from 18 to 22 feet on each side, or between 400 and 625 square feet. Multiple stages of hearths and entryways demonstrate that several domestic houses were rebuilt, either in place, or slightly offset from their original locations (Hally 1994a, 2002; Hally and Kelly 1998). The architectural design of these structures is substantially the same as that of other late Mississippian settlements in the southern Appalachians such as Ledford Island and Warren Wilson (Dickens 1976, 1978; Schroedl 1998; Sullivan 1987, 1989, 1995; Ward and Davis 1999).

Several houses at the Warren Wilson site, located in the French Broad drainage in western North Carolina, demonstrate the same architectural style as Mississippian houses at Ledford Island and King (Dickens 1976:19-68; Keel 1976:65-69; Ward and Davis 1999:158-166). The Mississippian village at Warren Wilson covered between two and three acres. Structures here were square with rounded corners. They ranged between 17 and 25 feet on each side. Hearths were present at the centers of these houses. Roofs were probably built with bark or thatch. Four roof supports, spaced in square arrangements around hearths, helped to hold up rafters and the sections of roofs where daubed smokeholes were built. These deeply set roof support posts were placed between six and eight feet inside the edges

of structures. The presence of paired entrance trenches indicates that the narrow entryways into these structures may have cut through earthen embankments around the outer edges of houses. Several of these dwellings were renovated or rebuilt, as evident from dense scatters of postholes, and the presence of several stages of hearths in some structures. Postholes between structures may represent posts from fences, storage bins, drying racks, and other forms of outbuildings and activity areas. A log stockade surrounded the village at Warren Wilson (Ashcraft 1996; Dickens 1976:46-51; Moore 2002b; Ward 1986). Successive stages of this stockade were built as the village grew, or as it shifted slightly during rebuilding episodes within an area of three acres identified as the maximum extent of the site. A public structure has not been identified at Warren Wilson, but the area near the presumed center of the village has been identified as a plaza, an outdoor venue for a variety of public events (Dickens 1976:94-96; Moore 2002b; Ward 1985).

Towns and villages were not the only form of South Appalachian Mississippian settlement, of course, and some households probably lived in hamlets and farmsteads scattered across the countryside between areas of major settlement concentrations (Baker 1982; Hatch 1995; Moore 1981; Shumate and Kimball 1997; Purrington 1983; Rogers 1995; Williams and Shapiro 1994). However, less study has been devoted to farmsteads than to larger settlements, partly because of the greater archaeological visibility of towns (Purrington 1983). Towns are, of course, represented by the material residues of the everyday lives of many households rather than a single household or a small group of them. Earthen mounds are present at some towns, and are often still visible on the modern landscape, whereas signs of small settlements may be partly if not entirely buried. Moreover, archaeologists have noted that, in some places, at some periods during the past, farmsteads were simply not

present, and that nearly everybody lived in towns (Williams 1995:127). Resolving issues about the whole range and history of settlement types in different areas demands thorough analyses of regional settlement pattern data and also robust chronological frameworks with which to date different sites relative to each other. Many archaeological phases in the southern Appalachians span more than 100 and in some cases up to 400 years. The problem in attributing settlements to such long phases, of course, is that settlements (or structures within settlements) associated with the same phase are not necessarily contemporaneous (King 2003:14-15; Schroedl 1998:88-89). Structures and settlements can experience entire cycles of abandonment and rebuilding within such long intervals.

Acknowledging these difficulties in determining the range of settlements present in different regions, and problems in dating them, I would emphasize the following four conclusions from archaeological knowledge about the South Appalachian Mississippian landscape.

1) Towns were the hubs of political and social life in South Appalachian Mississippian societies, and some of the largest towns were composed of several dozen households. Earthen mounds were present in some towns. Settlements with mounds may have outranked those without mounds in regional networks of power and prestige.
2) Townhouses and adjacent plazas were present at many South Appalachian Mississippian towns, including those without mounds. These architectural spaces presumably served as venues for the events and activities that comprised public life in South Appalachian Mississippian societies. These landmarks anchored households and local communities to specific points on the landscape where the events and activities of public life in South Appalachian Mississippian communities took place.

3) Houses were built with the same architectural designs and materials as townhouses. Some people were buried in and around dwellings. This spatial relationship speaks to the associations that developed between people and the architectural spaces in which they lived. Towns and townhouses formed architectural and social equivalents of households and dwellings, at different scales. The dead were buried inside and beside houses and townhouses, practices that may have embedded the memory of deceased members of the community in these architectural spaces.
4) Log stockades formed the edges of many towns and villages.

All of these characteristics of the architecture and layout of South Appalachian Mississippian towns shaped the relationship between people and place within these communities.

The Protohistoric Period

Native settlement at Coweeta Creek dates primarily between the fourteenth and early eighteenth centuries AD (Figure 1.2; Moore 2002a:11-36; Rodning 2002a, 2002b; Schroedl 2000:212-216, 2001:283-286; Ward and Davis 1999:260-272; Wesson and Rees 2002). Several developments altered the native geopolitics of the Southeast during this period. These developments include the inherently cyclical trajectories of Mississippian chiefdoms and some of the environmental changes already outlined. Other trends are directly related to the presence of Europeans in the Southeast. The following section briefly sketches the effects of early European contact on the native societies of the southern Appalachians.

Spanish expeditions first visited the southern Appalachians in the sixteenth century (DePratter 1994; Duncan and Riggs 2003:15-16; Hally, Smith, and Langford 1990; Hudson

1990, 1994, 1997; King 1979:x; Smith 2000, 2001). During the 1540s, the expedition led by Hernando de Soto visited towns along the Catawba headwaters in western North Carolina, but they crossed the mountains north of the historic Cherokee homeland en route to the upper Tennessee Valley (Beck 1997; Hudson 1997:185-189; Moore 2002a:19-22). During the 1560s, the expedition led by Captain Juan Pardo visited several native towns in the southern Appalachians and built six forts in the western Carolinas, but these colonial outposts were also probably located in areas north and east of the Middle Cherokee towns (Beck 1997; Hudson 1990:83-101; Moore 2002a:22-27). Members of the Pardo expedition met several native chiefs at the town of Joara, located at the Berry site in the upper Catawba River Valley (Hudson 1990:25, 35, 87). The names of several of these chiefs, often the same as the names of their hometowns, have been identified as Catawban and Siouan names related to native communities in the western Piedmont of North and South Carolina (Levy, May, and Moore 1990). Some of those chiefs who traveled to sixteenth-century Joara to meet Juan Pardo had the same names as eighteenth-century Cherokee towns located 100 to 150 miles southwest of the upper Catawba Valley in southwestern North Carolina (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992). Spaniards therefore must have known about historic Cherokee towns in the sixteenth century, if only by the names of some Cherokee town leaders, but they rarely if ever visited Cherokee towns themselves or, if they did, did not write about them. Cherokee communities almost certainly learned of Spanish colonists through the people who met Pardo at Joara and through native groups living close to the coastal areas where Spanish settlements were located (Beck 1997; Beck and Moore 2002:201). Cherokee people probably also had some access to selected forms of Spanish material culture, including beads or brass artifacts that circulated within native exchange networks across the Southeast during the sixteenth century

(Harmon 1986; Skowronek 1991; Smith 1987; Ward and Davis 1999:264; Waselkov 1989; Worth 2002) . Peaches probably reached native towns in the southern Appalachians during the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries, after their introduction to the Southeast by Spaniards (Gremillion 1993). Peach trees were easy to grow at the edges of native towns and fields, and evidence indicates that they spread more quickly and more widely than Europeans themselves did (Gremillion 2002). Native people in the southern Appalachians nevertheless did not develop the kinds of sustained exchange relationships with Spaniards that native people in the Southeast developed with French and English colonists in the eighteenth century.

European colonists did offer guns and other trade goods to native people in the Southeast in exchange for native war captives as early as the seventeenth century (Bowne 2000; Gallay 2002; Martin 1994; Smith 2002). Participation in the slave trade and rivalries in the deerskin trade probably created new forms of conflict and competition between native communities (Bowne 2000). Markets for slaves undoubtedly wrought profound changes in native practices of warfare and diplomacy in the Southeast (Dye 2002).

Warfare was very much a part of the lives of native people in the Southeast during late prehistory (Larson 1972; King 1979:xi). The earliest Spanish travelers in the Southeast noted rivalries between towns in some areas that probably had roots in late prehistory (Dye 1990). Warriors were depicted in the iconography of shell gorgets and copper artifacts that have been found at late prehistoric mound centers (Knight 1986). Prowess in warfare probably was one significant source of power and status within Mississippian chiefdoms, and the philosophy and practice of warfare was embedded within religious tradition. Ritual events, perhaps including feasting, probably surrounded actual events of combat, and some

forms of warfare between different chiefdoms may have been closely related to prestige goods display and exchange (Dye 1995). Warfare was conducted to negotiate or challenge prestige and power relationships between different chiefdoms, rather than to conquer and colonize territory (Dye 1990). During late prehistory, war captives may have been tortured and killed in some cases, or they may have been enslaved or adopted by towns whose warriors were victorious in battle. Treatment of captives probably changed dramatically during the protohistoric period. Many native communities experienced substantial population losses during the protohistoric period, and they may have waged war to replace those they had lots with those they could capture, or they could sell war captives as slaves.

The introduction by Europeans of a market for native slaves in the seventeenth century created new incentives for native warfare (Dye 2002). At first, warriors and chiefs may have welcomed outlets through which to exchange traditional war captives for trade goods that could enhance their own power and prestige. Groups of warriors eventually began raiding other communities for the sole purpose of capturing slaves, rather than for the social and religious incentives that may have inspired warfare in earlier centuries. The Westo settled abandoned areas of the Savannah River Valley in the seventeenth century to pursue this strategy, and Chickasaw warriors in Mississippi and Tennessee were deeply involved in the trade of slaves and horses by the seventeenth century (Bowne 2000; Morgan 1996; Smith 2002). The Cherokee experienced the depredations of slave traders and their native allies, especially raids by Catawba and Westo warriors (Gallay 2002:298-300, 319-322).

The slave trade may have struck more quickly and perhaps more devastatingly in coastal provinces than it did further inland, simply because native peoples living close to the coast were closer to the earliest European settlements. These developments still affected the

broader geopolitical landscape of the Southeast, even in areas far away from those where native people were sold as slaves and where disease and slave raids may have decimated whole tribes. Native networks of exchange and interaction connected native peoples living along the Atlantic and near the Gulf of Mexico with native towns in the southern Appalachians. Conflicts between natives and newcomers, and between different aboriginal groups, probably had ripple effects that were felt across the Southeast even while Europeans themselves were still concentrated in coastal settlements. Cherokee towns were touched by the effects of European contact in the Southeast even before significant numbers of Europeans and large amounts of European trade goods reached southern Appalachia.

Of course European material culture probably found its way to native towns in the southern Appalachians earlier than Europeans themselves did, as it was circulated in native exchange networks, and carried along aboriginal trails connecting native communities in coastal and inland provinces. During the 1600s, European trade goods were relatively scarce in the southern Appalachians (Hudson 2002). During the 1700s, English trade goods and English colonists became much more common throughout the Southeast (Hatley 1995).

Native people in the southern Appalachians and much of the rest of the Southeast became enmeshed in the deerskin trade with English colonists and the many different conflicts it engendered throughout the eighteenth century (Axtell 1997, 2001; Braund 1993; Champagne 1983, 1990, 1992; Corkran 1962, 1967; Crane 1981; Duncan and Riggs 2003:16-18; Goodwin 1977; Hahn 2002; Hatley 1989, 1991, 1995; King 1979:x; Perdue 1998; Persico 1979; Smith 1979; Worth 2000). French colonists sought alliances and trade relationships with Cherokee towns in the eighteenth century, but the French concentrated their efforts in Alabama and the Mississippi Valley rather than in the southern Appalachians

(Brown 1989, 1990, 1992; Galloway 1989, 1994, 1995; Sabo 1995; Turnbaugh 1979; Waselkov 1992, 1993). English colonists from Jamestown developed trade relationships with native villages in the Tidewater and Piedmont provinces of Virginia and the Carolinas, but this exchange network never spread to southwestern North Carolina (Gallivan 2003; Hantman 1991, 2001; Potter 1989; Rountree 2002; Rountree and Turner 1994). Certainly, some trade goods probably circulated widely through aboriginal exchange networks across the Eastern Woodlands. However, the earliest sustained efforts by Europeans to trade with native groups in the southern Appalachians were those of traders from Charles Towne. English colonists from Charles Towne first learned of Cherokee towns from Westo settlers along the Savannah River during the late seventeenth century (Hatley 1995:17-18). Soon afterward South Carolinians sought trade relations with native towns in the mountains near the Savannah River headwaters (Smith 1992:34-39). By 1690, Cherokees began traveling to colonial settlements and trading posts in South Carolina to exchange deerskins for such goods as glass beads, metal knives, metal pots, and blankets, and some itinerant traders visited native towns themselves (Hatley 1995:32-34). By 1710, English traders had begun living in Cherokee towns (Hatley 1995:42-51). Journals and correspondence by English traders living in native towns indicate that many Cherokee communities were receptive to these traders and new trade networks at first. During the early 1700s, several meetings between Cherokee leaders and South Carolina trade agents took place in the Lower and Middle Cherokee towns (Baden 1983:10-17; Randolph 1973:108-141). During the 1750s, colonists from South Carolina built forts close to Lower and Overhill Cherokee towns at the invitations of Cherokee town leaders (Baden 1983:10-17; Hatley 1995:92-99). Myriad grievances and conflicts eventually erupted between Cherokee towns and English colonists.

The dissatisfaction of many Cherokee towns with their English trading partners, negotiations between some Cherokee towns and French colonists, and conflicts between Cherokee and Creek towns in the 1730s and 1740s all contributed to war between Cherokee towns and South Carolina from 1759 to 1761. Deer were scarce at that point, the deerskin trade in the Southeast had dwindled, Cherokee communities found themselves adrift after several generations of life with an exchange network that had collapsed, Cherokee towns allied themselves with the British in the emerging conflict between them and their American colonies, and American colonial militias sacked native towns and burned fields and storehouses in southeastern Tennessee and southwestern North Carolina in the 1770s and 1780s.

Following these historical developments, the Cherokee landscape looked much different than it had during the 1500s and 1600s. Late eighteenth-century Cherokee communities were much more dispersed than the compact towns of earlier eras (Pillsbury 1983; Waselkov 1997; Wilms 1991). Townhouses still served as centers of public life in eighteenth-century Cherokee towns, but households affiliated with them were spread farther and farther away from these public architectural spaces, and farther apart from each other, than had been the case during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Wilms 1974).

After several generations of trade and other forms of interaction with English colonists, and earlier indirect encounters with Spaniards several generations before that, social relations within Cherokee communities may have been much different in the 1700s than they had been during the 1500s. Participation in the deerskin trade may have given at least some native households in the Southeast opportunities to advance their own economic interests independently of, and perhaps in competition with, other households. Such

individualizing trends sparked by European trade networks may have led to greater social and spatial distance between native households, and greater differences in material wealth, than was the case in native communities during the late prehistoric period.

These changes in the social fabric of native communities in the Southeast may have been exacerbated by warfare between native communities and European colonists and by the effects on public health of epidemic diseases introduced by Europeans (Davis and Ward 1991; Kelton 2002; Moore 2002a:192-193; Smith 1989a, 1994, 2002; Ward and Davis 2001). Epidemics certainly beset Cherokee communities in the southern Appalachians at several points during the 1700s and 1800s. It is more difficult to assess the occurrence and effects of European diseases, if any, in Cherokee towns during the 1500s and 1600s.

Historically known tribal societies of the Southeast such as the multiethnic Creek confederacy, the Choctaw confederacy, the Catawba villages, and the five distinct groups of Cherokee towns, coalesced as such in the midst of these changes during the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods (Davis 2002; Drooker 2002; Davis 2000; Early 2000; Galloway 1989, 1994, 1995, 2002; Hoffman 1995; Hudson 2002; Jeter 2002; Johnson 2000; King 2002; Knight 1994; Lorenz 2000; Merrell 1987, 1989a, 1989b; Moore 2002a:194-195; Perttula 1991, 1992, 1996, 2002a, 2002b; Rees 2002; Sabo 2000; Rodning 2002a, 2002b; Schroedl 1986a, 2000, 2001; Smith 1987, 2000, 2002; Waselkov 1993; Waselkov and Smith 2000; Wesson 2001, 2002; Wesson and Rees 2002; Worth 2000). The emergence of these tribal formations in the Southeast is sometimes cast as a widespread collapse of Mississippian culture as a whole, although scholars have noted considerable diversity in Mississippian chiefdoms themselves, and recent studies of the protohistoric Southeast have concentrated more on the diverse ways that native people adapted to life in the postcontact

Southeast. Native groups across the Americas certainly did experience profound cultural changes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, many of these changes were devastating to native people and cultural traditions in the long run. However, native groups were also adapting in their own ways to new opportunities given them, and new constraints imposed upon them, during the course of European exploration, settlement, trade, and the new rivalries and enmities created by these developments.

As background to my study of the settlement at Coweeta Creek, I would like to emphasize the following points about the protohistoric period in southwestern North Carolina.

1) Spanish explorers first traversed the southern Appalachians during the 1500s, but documentary evidence does not suggest that they visited the area near Coweeta Creek itself.
2) European contact altered the geopolitics of the Southeast by introducing new forms of warfare and diplomacy in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
3) English colonists from South Carolina developed trade relationships with native peoples in southern Appalachia at the end of the 1600s, and Cherokee groups acquired European trade goods through this exchange network.
4) The protohistoric period spans the centuries when historically known tribal societies of the Southeast—including the Cherokee, Catawba, Creek, Choctaw, and others—coalesced in the social formations recognized by these names, partly in response to European contact, but shaped by the tradition and culture of their Mississippian ancestors.

Although their presence in the Southeast certainly affected the lives of native people in the southern Appalachians, Europeans themselves rarely if ever ventured into the area where the Middle Cherokee settlements were located until the eighteenth century, and there are no eyewitness descriptions or maps of native towns in southwestern North Carolina during the protohistoric period.

Written Descriptions of Eighteenth-Century Cherokee Towns

European colonists wrote several descriptions of Cherokee towns and the nature of Cherokee public life as they witnessed it during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Brewer and Baillie 1991; Corkran 1969; Dickens 1967; E. R. Evans 1976; J. P. Evans 1979; Fogelson 1978; Kelly 1978a, 1978b; King 1979; King and Evans 1977; Randolph 1973; Steele 1977; Waselkov and Braund 1995:74-75, 76-77, 84-86; Wetmore 1983; Williams 1927:59, 1928; 1930:453). Of course, these were penned long after sixteenth-century encounters between Europeans and native people in the Southeast, and the considerable cultural changes set in motion by these interactions. That said, written descriptions of eighteenth-century native towns can be compared and contrasted with archaeological evidence from earlier eras. Eighteenth-century Cherokee households lived in paired summer houses and winter lodges, and their dwellings were loosely scattered around the townhouses and plazas that formed the public centers of their communities (Schroedl 2000). Gardens were placed in some areas between houses. Fields were present around the edges of towns. Eighteenth-century Cherokee townhouses and plazas were venues for the events that comprised the public lives of their communities, including gatherings of all people within a

town, and probably a variety of events attended by people from other towns (Schroedl 2000). Townhouses were material manifestations of the status of local households as towns in their own right, and they served as landmarks for their towns. The fires kept in the hearths of Cherokee townhouses represented both the spiritual life and the social vitality of the communities that were centered in these public structures, and it seems likely that earlier townhouses in southern Appalachia held comparable kinds of symbolic and sacred meanings to native people.

Eighteenth-century Cherokee dwellings included circular or octagonal winter lodges, rectangular ramadas or summer houses, and associated storage structures and outbuildings (Hill 1997:69-70; Perdue 1998:42-43; Schroedl 2000). Households may have kept harvested resources from gardens and fields on top of structures, and in storage cribs that were built to keep such stores off the ground (Schroedl 1986b:226-228). Although not described in eighteenth-century journals, archaeological evidence indicates that households dug pits near their dwellings for various processing and/or storage activities (Schroedl 1986b:82-90). Households included a woman and her husband, any children they might have, and in some cases probably also the parents and siblings of the mother and wife of the house. Men would generally move into the houses of their wives once they were married. Households undoubtedly sometimes grew as the husbands of young women moved in, although it seems likely that many newly married women would have formed their own households, distinct from the households of their own childhood. In any case, many members of matrilocal households belonged to the same matrilineal clans, and households associated with the seven traditional Cherokee clans were probably present in each major Cherokee town.

Winter houses were built by placing an array of log posts vertically in the ground, wrapping wattle and daub around this framework to make the walls themselves, and then building their roofs out of bark and wood (Faulkner 1978; Hally 2002; Williams 1927, 1928). Timbers placed horizontally across the wall posts served as wall plates, and log rafters were lashed to them. Rafters probably extended well past the walls themselves, creating overhanging roofs. Upper ends of rafters were held up by inner roof support posts, which were placed in the ground around the centrally placed clay hearths inside winter houses. Roofs themselves were made of bark or thatch, lashed tightly to beams and rafters. Sections of roofs inside the inner roof supports would have included layers of earth, especially at the edges of the single smokehole placed directly above the hearth of each winter house. Each structure had only one doorway. Benches made of wood and cane were placed along the edges of floors inside winter structures. Areas close to central hearths themselves were probably kept open to give people access to the hearth and workspaces beside them. Winter lodges may have been as much as 30 feet in diameter, and up to 15 feet tall at their midpoints, where rafters converged (Schroedl 1986b:224). Such structures were, and are, known to Cherokee people as *asi* (Hill 1997:70-72; Shumate and Kimball 1997; Shumate, Riggs, and Kimball 2003). European visitors often wrote that winter houses were dark and smoky, but also that they were quite warm, as low fires were kept burning and smoldering in household hearths.

Summer houses were rectangular structures (Williams 1927, 1928). They had roofs, but walls on only one side, if at all. Log posts, placed vertically in the ground, held up roofs that were probably made with the same kinds of materials as the roofs of winter lodges. These structures offered shelter and shade. They probably served as domestic workspaces

and as settings for social gatherings. Written descriptions of summer structures indicate that they ranged from 12 to 16 feet wide and from 20 to 60 feet long (Schroedl 1986b:227). They were built beside *asi* to form the pairs of seasonal dwellings kept by each Cherokee household (Schroedl 2000:219-220).

Eighteenth-century Cherokee towns were composed of several to several dozen households and their dwellings (Hill 1997:68-69; Persico 1979:92-95; Schroedl 2000; Smith 1979; Williams 1927). Many of the political and social events through which different households maintained their social ties as a community took place within townhouses, and on the outdoor plazas beside them. Architecturally, townhouses resembled domestic dwellings. Townhouses would have looked very much like the winter lodges kept by each household. Ramadas situated beside entryways into townhouses were analogous to the summer structures built beside winter houses. Small plazas or yards were probably situated beside most houses. However, townhouses and the ramadas beside them were much larger than their domestic counterparts, and their placement beside town plazas also clearly differentiated them from the domestic dwellings in areas surrounding these public spaces.

Only settlements where townhouses were present were recognized as towns (Hill 1997:68-74; Smith 1979:47, 57). This status differentiated these communities from the lesser settlements scattered across the countryside between Cherokee towns. People living in villages or farmsteads between Cherokee towns may have maintained social affiliations with one or more nearby settlements where townhouses were present.

Keeping townhouses gave a local group of households status as a town in its own right, even in cases in which two towns were present at the same locality, or were at least very close to each other (Goodwin 1977:156; Smith 1979:56-57). The case of Chota and

Tanasee along the lower Little Tennessee River is one example of this phenomenon (Schroedl 1978, 1986b:9-11). Before the 1740s, the townhouse at this locality marked the center of the town known as "Tanasee." By the 1750s, maps and journals refer to this settlement as "Chota." Both Cherokee communities may have been present at this locality during the early eighteenth century, with Tanasee initially a more prominent town than Chota (Goodwin 1977:39; Schroedl 1986b:9). Eventually Chota gained ascendancy as one of the most prominent Cherokee towns in southern Appalachia, following the death of a prominent leader at the Overhill Cherokee settlement of Great Tellico (Goodwin 1977:116; Schroedl 1986b:9). There was a period during which the towns of Chota and Tanasee each kept its own townhouse, even though there may not have been a clearcut spatial distinction between domestic areas for households affiliated with one or the other town. Another example of paired Cherokee towns situated at one locality is the case of Chatuga and Great Tellico along the Tellico River in southeastern Tennessee (Smith 1979:56-57; Steele 1977:47-48; Williams 1928:98-99). Each town kept a townhouse, and each was recognized as a distinct community.

Henry Timberlake visited the Overhill Cherokee towns in eastern Tennessee to negotiate peace between the Cherokee and Virginia colonists in 1762. He noted the presence of townhouses at seven towns shown on his map of Cherokee settlements along the lower Little Tennessee River (Hill 1997:70; Randolph 1973; Schroedl 1978; Williams 1927). He was welcomed to these towns during events that took place inside townhouses, and on the plazas beside them. He evidently stayed at and slept in townhouses during his visit, as he had neither kin nor other social connections in these towns and therefore no specific household dwelling where he was invited to stay. These public structures were clearly

recognizable landmarks within their towns (see also Williams 1930:453). Timberlake described townhouses that could fit several hundred people (see also Williams 1928:132). His account noted that these structures housed a variety of events that were part of public life:

> The town-house, in which are transacted all public business and diversions, is raised with wood, and covered over with earth, and has all the appearance of a small mountain at a little distance. It is built in the form of a sugar loaf, and large enough to contain 500 persons, but is extremely dark, having, besides the door, which is so narrow that but one at a time can pass, and that after much winding and turning, but one small aperture to let the smoak out, which is so ill contrived, that most of it settles in the roof of the house. Within it has the appearance of an ancient amphitheatre, the seats being raised one above another, leaving an area in the middle, in the center of which stands the fire, the seats of the head warriors are nearest it. (Williams 1927:59; see also Randolph 1973:142-154)

Timberlake's comments give the impression that town council meetings and negotiations with colonists were not the only activities that took place in townhouses. They were venues for public dances and other rituals. They were probably settings for more casual social interactions between town members as well.

Alexander Longe lived in Cherokee country for about ten years beginning in 1710. He described social gatherings of town elders in Cherokee communities in his journal (Corkran 1969; Hill 1997:12). Formal town council meetings were held in these spaces, but the extant postscript to Longe's journal makes it clear that more casual social interactions also took place in these settings. It is evident from Longe's account that townhouses, and the hearths inside them, were vested with deep symbolic and even sacred meaning. Movement in and out of this space was conducted with careful adherence to a set of rules and rituals:

> They will never allow any fire to be carried out of the temple by no means. I have light my pipe at the fire as I have been going home, the priest has given orders to take the pipe out of my mouth and put out the fire and delivered me the pipe again and prayed me not to be angry for they dreaded letting the fire

> that belonged to the temple to be carried abroad and to be mixed with common fire. They are so exact in their laws that they will not suffer the ashes that's taken off the altar to be carried out of the temple only once a year and then the priest offers meat offerings made by the fire and those that is appointed to carry out the ashes must fast and drink physic two days and there is a place appointed close by the temple to put these ashes. The place is called Skeona, being interpreted "the spirits" or place of the spirit. (Corkran 1969:36; see also Williams 1927:59)

Longe's account indicates that ashes or embers from the fire kept inside townhouses were taken outside this space only during ritual events, including those during which townspeople rekindled the fires in their household hearths.

The social rule that Longe encountered was part of the protocol about moving in and out of a Cherokee townhouse. Entering and departing townhouses may have been conceptualized by the Cherokee as movement not only through a doorway but also across a symbolic threshold. Entrance passages into townhouses were gateways between the symbolically charged spaces within townhouses and other architectural spaces within the built environment of Cherokee towns.

European visitors to the southern Appalachians were often welcomed to native towns at events that took place within townhouses, and on town plazas, and these events formed a formal and publicly acknowledged relationship between outsiders and a Cherokee town as a whole. These structures represent architectural spaces where local townspeople could interact with "outsiders," including nonnative "newcomers," and probably also native people from other towns and entirely different regions in some cases. It was certainly the case that European colonists counted, at least at first, as outsiders, and townhouses were probably also settings for deliberations between leaders from different native towns as well as those between Europeans and native people.

The Scottish baronet Alexander Cuming visited southern Appalachia in 1730, with an interest in forming peaceful trade relations between Carolina colonists and Cherokee towns. Cuming and several English and Scottish traders met with people from "all parts of the settlements" at the Nequassee townhouse in 1730, after visits with leaders at Keowee, Tanasee, Joree, and other towns (Steele 1977:27-33, 47-48, 57-58, 66-71; Williams 1928:136). Colonial trade agent George Chicken, dispatched from Charles Towne, had met with "the head men" of at least nine towns at the Tanasee townhouse in 1725, after arranging such a meeting through a series of dispatches sent from the Keowee townhouse (Williams 1928:96). Chicken had met with representatives from Cherokee towns in 1715 at Quanasee (Williams 1928:95). Traders John Herbert and Eleazar Wiggin visited the Lower and Middle settlements before their meeting in 1727 with leaders from several different towns in the townhouse at Tanasee (Salley 1936:16; Schroedl 1986b:9). Cherokee townhouses were not only significant to public life *within* each town, but they also were settings for interactions between people from *different* communities.

The Quaker naturalist William Bartram traveled through southern Appalachia in 1775, during his trek across much of the American South and his visits to dozens of Native American towns and abandoned towns and old fields along the way. He recognized ruined "mounts" and "monuments" amid former Lower Cherokee towns and old fields in northwestern South Carolina, and he also noted the ruins of a townhouse atop a mound at an abandoned town near the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River (Waselkov and Braund 1995:74-76; the latter probably in reference to the Dillard mound in northern Georgia, see Wynn 1990:58). He also described mounds and townhouses at Middle Cherokee towns in southwestern North Carolina, which formed the public centers of towns situated within what

he described as rich farmland and forest in the upper Little Tennessee Valley (Waselkov and Braund 1995:78-79; including the Nequassee mound in the modern town of Franklin, see Dickens 1967:13). Cherokee townhouses, old and new, were still very much a part of the Cherokee cultural landscape, even at the end of the eighteenth century after a long history of Cherokee interaction with English and French colonists.

Bartram wrote one of the most oft-cited descriptions of Cherokee public architecture with reference to the Cowee townhouse, located on the west side of the Little Tennessee River across from its confluence with Cowee Creek:

> The town of Cowe consists of about one hundred dwellings, near the banks of the Tanase, on both sides of the river…The council or town-house is a large rotunda, capable of accommodating several hundred people; it stands on the top of an ancient artificial mount of earth, of about twenty feet perpendicular, and the rotunda on the top of it being above thirty feet more, gives the whole fabric an elevation of about sixty feet from the common surface of the ground. But it may be proper to observe, that this mount on which the rotunda stands, is of a much ancienter date than the building, and perhaps was raised for another purpose. The Cherokees themselves are as ignorant as we are, by what people or for what purpose these artificial hills were raised…perhaps they were designed and appropriated by the people who constructed them, to some religious purpose, as great altars and temples similar to the high places and sacred groves anciently amongst the Canaanites and other nations of Palestine and Judea…The rotunda is constructed after the following manner, they first fix in the ground a circular range of posts or trunks of trees, about six feet high, at equal distances, which are notched at top, to receive into them, from one to another, a range of beams or wall plates; within this is another circular order of very large and strong pillars, above twelve feet high, notched in like manner at top, to receive another range of wall plates, and within this is yet another or third range of stronger and higher pillars, but fewer in number, and standing at a greater distance from each other; and lastly, in the center stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building, and to which the rafters center at top; these rafters are strengthened and bound together by cross beams and laths, which sustain the roof or covering, which is a layer of bark neatly placed, and tight enough to exclude the rain, and sometimes they cast a thin superficies of earth over all. There is but one large door, which serves at the same time to admit light from without and the smoak to escape when a fire is kindled; but as there is but a small fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry small sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoak; all around the inside of the

> building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas, consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with matts or carpets, very curiously made of thin splints of Ash or Oak, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the center the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shews at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year…(Waselkov and Braund 1995:84-85, reprinted here with the permission of the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, © University of Nebraska Press, 1995)

The architecture and the placement of this Cherokee townhouse clearly set it apart from nearby domestic houses. It is interesting to note that the Cowee townhouse was placed on the summit of an earthen mound, which itself was built at a much earlier date, on top of a natural knoll that accentuated the height and slope of the mound itself.

Bartram described an all-night ritual that took place in the Cowee townhouse on the eve of a ballgame with a neighboring Cherokee town, perhaps against another Middle Cherokee town or perhaps against a team from a different Cherokee town division:

> This assembly was held principally to rehears the ball-play dance, this town being challenged to play against another the next day…The people being assembled and seated in order, and the musicians having taken their station, the ball opens, first with a long harangue or oration, spoken by an aged chief, in commendation of the manly exercise of ball-play, recounting the many and brilliant victories which the town of Cowe had gained over the other towns in the nation, not forgetting or neglecting to recite his own exploits, together with those of other aged men now present, coadjutors in the performance of these athletic games in their youthful days…This oration was delivered with great spirit and eloquence, and was meant to influence the passions of the young men present, excite them to emulation and inspire them with ambition…This prologue being at an end, the musicians began, both vocal and instrumental, when presently a company of girls, hand in hand, dressed in clean white robes and ornamented with beads, bracelets and a profusion of gay ribbands, entering the door, immediately began to sing their responses in a gentle, low and sweet voice, and formed themselves in a semicircular file or line, in two ranks, back to back, facing the spectators and musicians, moving slowly round and round; this continued about a quarter of an hour, when we were surprised by a sudden very loud and shrill whoop, uttered at once by a company of young fellows, who came in briskly after one another, with rackets or hurls in one hand. These champions likewise were well dressed,

> painted and ornamented with silver bracelets, gorgets and wampum, neatly ornamented with moccasins and high waving plumes in their diadems, who immediately formed themselves in a semicircular rank also, in front of the girls, when these changed their order, and formed a single rank parallel to the men, raising their voices in responses to the tunes of the young champions, the semicircles continually moving round. There was something singular and diverting in the step and motions, and I imagine not to be learned to exactness but with great attention and perseverance; the step, if it can be so termed, was performed after the following manner; i.e. first, the motion began at one end of the semicircle, gently rising up and down upon their toes and heels alternately, when the first was up on tip-toe, the next began to raise the heel, and by the time the first rested again on the heel, the second was on tip toe, thus from one end of the rank to the other, so that some were always up and some down, alternately and regularly, without the least baulk or confusion; and they at the same time, and in the same motion, moved on obliquely or sideways, so that the circle performed a double or complex motion in its progression, and at stated times exhibited a grand or universal movement, instantly and unexpectedly to the spectators, by each rank turning to right and left, taking each others places; the movements were managed with inconceivable alertness and address, and accompanied with an instantaneous and universal elevation of the voice and shrill short whoop…The Cherokees besides the ball play dance, have a variety of others equally entertaining; the men especially exercise themselves with a variety of gesticulations and capers, some of which are ludicrous enough; and they have others which are of the martial order, and others of the chace; these seem to be somewhat of a tragical nature, wherein they exhibit astonishing feats of military prowess, masculine strength and activity. Indeed all their dances and musical entertainments seem to be theatrical exhibitions or plays, varied with comic and sometimes lascivious interludes; the women however conduct themselves with a very becoming grace and decency…(Waselkov and Braund 1995:85-86, reprinted here with the permission of the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, © University of Nebraska Press, 1995)

From these comments it is clear that women and men, young and old, played distinct yet complementary roles in at least some events that were conducted in Cherokee townhouses. Bartram witnessed a ritual that involved a whole Cherokee town, and given its public scope, there were probably widely shared rules about how different people within the community should and could participate.

Townhouses were also settings for rituals experienced by individuals or small groups rather than whole Cherokee towns (Hill 1997:72-74). Warriors and other townspeople fasted

in townhouses to prepare themselves for journeys that would lead them away from home (Perdue 1998:35). Travelers purified themselves and ritually renewed their social roles and relationships within their communities by staying in townhouses for several days upon returning to their hometowns (Perdue 1998:35).

The lives of men may have been tied especially closely to the symbolism of and activities associated with Cherokee townhouses (Rodning 2001a). Cherokee households were composed of women and children who were members of the same matrilineal clan and matrilineage within that clan, as well as males who were members of other clans but who had moved into the houses and households of their wives (Perdue 1998:41-46). Cherokee people traditionally practiced matrilocal residence patterns, meaning that adult males became members of their wives' households (Perdue 2003:34-35). Married men maintained social roles within their mothers' clans even as they developed affiliations and identities within their new households. Women nevertheless may have outranked men in some aspects of domestic life and clan kinship. Whereas household dwellings were architectural spaces closely associated with women and matrilineal kin groups, townhouses may have served as architectural spaces where men could gather with their peers. Perhaps townhouses served, at least sometimes, as architectural space connected to the lives and activities of males. During the eighteenth century, town governance and diplomacy in Cherokee communities were primarily (though not solely) the province of men, as were warfare and the ritual preparations for war and hunting expeditions (Champagne 1983, 1990; Gearing 1958, 1962; Perdue 1998:17-18, 37, 40; Persico 1979:92-95; Sattler 1995). For all these reasons, the lives of Cherokee men (or at least those with prominent public leadership roles) may have been tied

closely to townhouses, although women and children certainly participated in many public events and activities that took place in townhouses and plazas as well (Sattler 1995).

Household dwellings, and the realm of Cherokee social life situated within these architectural spaces, may have been closely related to the social roles and identities of women (Rodning 2001a). Women were leaders within households and matrilineal kin networks, although male elders often represented their matrilineages or their clans in at least some public settings and town council deliberations. Households were composed of a woman and her children, her parents and siblings in some cases, and a husband from another clan. Women were the chief gardeners and farmers in their households, tending crops and gathering resources from fields and forests outside their settlements (Hatley 1989). Men participated in harvests and helped to clear fields, but women performed the majority of farming tasks throughout each year (Hatley 1991). Men probably participated in building and rebuilding houses as well, but women seem to have outranked men in the social sphere of household life (Fogelson 1990). Women were prominent in clan kin networks, because clan membership was traced matrilineally (Perdue 1998). Relations between households and between clans within a town, of course, were mediated by town leadership and the practices of public life through which a shared identity as a town was created, renewed, remembered, and sustained. Diplomatic relations between towns may have been shaped in part by kin networks connecting people who lived in different towns but who were members of the same clans.

It may therefore be no coincidence that townhouses, architecturally speaking, were domestic houses "writ large" (Schroedl 1998:85; Sullivan 1987:28). Townhouses were built to different scales than their domestic counterparts, but the architectural designs and

materials were the same for both public and domestic structures. Households formed fundamental residential groups within Cherokee society, and Cherokee towns may have represented a parallel form of social organization at a broader scale. Cherokee houses, and the activity areas that probably surrounded them, were settings for the daily practice of domestic life. Cherokee townhouses and plazas created public spaces for members of different households, and members of different clans, to interact with each other during scripted ritual events and more casual social activities that took place in these venues.

Town council meetings held in Cherokee townhouses in the eighteenth century were often attended by all members of the community, although male elders often were the most influential participants in these proceedings (Persico 1979:93-95). Members of the same seven clans were present in all of the major Cherokee towns during the eighteenth century, and local leaders representing each of these clans were present at Cherokee town councils (Persico 1979:94), although one single clan may have been prevalent in any given town simply as an outcome of matrilocal residence patterns. Town councils sought consensus on decisions that would affect their communities, but townspeople were not bound by the decisions of their town councils, should they choose to dissent, although disagreements on at least some issues may have led dissenters to move to another town (Persico 1979:95), and councils comprised of elders may often have reached different decisions than those of younger warriors. Town leadership formed the highest level of authority in Cherokee society of the early eighteenth century, although clan leaders would have been prominent public personages as well (Perdue 1998:55; Persico 1979:93). Kinship, language, and other shared cultural practices created relationships between towns, and probably between Cherokee communities in different river valleys. For the most part, relationships between Cherokee

towns were not characterized by hierarchical differences in power, although this may have changed during the late eighteenth century, when Cherokee and other native peoples in the Southeast became more and more enmeshed in trade and conflict with Carolina and other European colonies, developments that favored greater centralization than had been the case during earlier generations. Leaders of Cherokee towns were spokespersons and advocates for their own townspeople, but they did not necessarily wield power in other towns (Perdue 1998:56; Persico 1979:95). Eighteenth-century Cherokee town leaders were certainly vested with social authority and prestige, but they possessed powers of persuasion rather than coercion (Sattler 1995). Eighteenth-century Cherokee people recognized several different kinds of power, and it is likely that many forms of power and leadership were practiced in Cherokee communities during earlier periods as well (Fogelson 1977; Gearing 1962; Gilbert 1943).

The significance of townhouses as major landmarks in the Cherokee cultural landscape lasted into the nineteenth century, when this architectural form came to house the government of the new Cherokee republic and the provincial courthouses built in every district of the Cherokee homeland (Champagne 1992; Persico 1979:104-106; Pillsbury 1983). By the late eighteenth century, Cherokee townhouses were not necessarily close to, geographically speaking, the dwellings of the communities they served (Wilms 1974, 1991). Nevertheless, townhouses endured as an architectural form housing the practices of public life in Cherokee communities. Meanwhile, the concept of townhouses continued to live on in the folklore and mythology of Cherokee people. During the late nineteenth century, Cherokee storytellers still spoke of town councils and ritual events in the mythical past that took place in townhouses (Mooney 1891, 1900).

Written and cartographic sources thus attest several social roles served by Cherokee townhouses. Townhouses were architectural manifestations of the social status of a group of households as a town, and the fires kept in townhouse hearths embodied the spirit of the communities associated with them (Duncan and Riggs 2003:73). Townhouses were settings for communal ritual events and town councils, and for purification rituals practiced by Cherokee people before leaving their hometowns (Duncan and Riggs 2003:10; Hill 1997:72-74; Smith 1979). Gatherings of leaders from several different communities would often take place in Cherokee townhouses, as would meetings between native leaders and European colonists. European visitors to the southern Appalachians were often welcomed to native towns during events that took place in townhouses and on the plazas beside them, and they often stayed in Cherokee townhouses during their visits. Many other kinds of activities undoubtedly took place in these architectural spaces. Ethnohistoric sources probably do not capture all or even most of the social rules about how different members of Cherokee communities participated in public events and activities that took place in Cherokee townhouses and plazas. Nevertheless, what does seem clear is that townhouses and plazas were hubs of Cherokee public life during the eighteenth century. Furthermore, they were major landmarks within the Cherokee cultural landscape.

Written descriptions of Cherokee townhouses also yield some clues about their architectural designs and dimensions. Several hundred people could fit in some townhouses, according to some descriptions, although townhouses predating the late eighteenth century were considerably smaller (Hill 1997:67-70; Schroedl 1978, 2000, 2001; Williams 1927). Circular or octagonal townhouses were paired with ramadas, which were placed beside doorways, and which guided people as they moved from a plaza and into a townhouse

(Schroedl 2000:219-220). Building and maintaining townhouses must have demanded considerable effort by townspeople, and gathering wood and earth to build and rebuild townhouses may have altered the forested landscapes surrounding Cherokee towns. Events and activities that took place within townhouses were undoubtedly critical to the social vitality of a community, and the demands of building and keeping a townhouse must have formed major components of public life in Cherokee towns.

Even though eighteenth-century Cherokee townhouses clearly were symbolically charged spaces, distinct from domestic dwellings, they were built with the same materials and techniques as domestic houses. European visitors to Cherokee towns noted both this similarity in the design and materials of public and domestic architecture as well as the differences in the sizes of townhouses and dwellings. These architectural similarities suggest similarities in the social domains housed in Cherokee public and domestic architecture. Towns and households, both social entities manifested in the architecture of townhouses and dwellings, were analogous and complementary social formations, at different scales, in traditional Cherokee culture.

Similarities between public and domestic architecture are also apparent at archaeological sites that are known to represent eighteenth-century Cherokee towns. The following section summarizes what archaeologists have learned about the built environment of Cherokee towns.

The Archaeology of Eighteenth-Century Cherokee Settlements

Archaeologists have identified and excavated the sites of several Cherokee towns in southern Appalachia dating to the eighteenth century (Dickens 1967, 1979, 1986; Hally 1986a, 1994a; Harmon 1986; Riggs 1989; Riggs and Shumate 2003; Schroedl 1978, 1986a, 1986b, 1989, 2001a, 2001b; Shumate and Kimball 1997). The following review gives us some expectations about what Cherokee towns in southwestern North Carolina and adjacent areas of southeastern Tennessee, northern Georgia, and northwestern South Carolina looked like during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This model can then be compared to and contrasted with the architecture and spatial layout of the Middle Cherokee settlement at the Coweeta Creek site as it is reconstructed in later chapters.

Considerable study has been devoted to the archaeology of Overhill Cherokee settlements in the lower Little Tennessee River Valley of eastern Tennessee, including the identification and investigation of the historic Cherokee towns of Chota-Tanasee, Toqua, Mialoquo, Tuskegee, and Tomotley, although archaeologists have also identified the sites representing the Overhill Cherokee settlements of Tallassee, Tellico, and Chilhowee (Baden 1983; Chapman 1985; Guthe and Bistline 1978; King 1977; King and Olinger 1972; Polhemus 1975, 1987, 1990; Russ and Chapman 1983; Schroedl 1986a, 1986b, 1989, 2000, 2001). Several of the Overhill settlements were situated at the sites of towns dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although the historical relationships between sixteenth-century chiefdoms and eighteenth-century towns in eastern Tennessee are unresolved (Dickens 1979:26-28; Schroedl 1986a, 1998:64; Sullivan 1995:100-103). At least seven Cherokee towns, each with a townhouse, were present along a roughly twenty-mile stretch of the lower Little Tennessee River during the mid-eighteenth century, several of which

included refugees from other Cherokee town areas (Baden 1983). Other towns were located on the Tellico River some fifteen miles upstream from (south of) its confluence with the Little Tennessee, and still other Overhill Cherokee settlements were situated along the lower Hiwassee River (Schroedl 2000). Circular and octagonal townhouses at Chota, Tanasee, Mialoquo, Toqua, and Tomotley ranged from 50 to 60 feet in diameter (Schroedl 1978, 1986b:540). These townhouses had either four or eight inner roof support posts, with the four-post arrangement predating the eight-post set needed for the larger townhouses of the later eighteenth century (Schroedl 2001:288). Octagonal townhouses were probably designed with seating for members of each of the seven clans on benches along seven sides, with the eighth side devoted to the doorway (Schroedl 2000:220). Many of the domestic dwellings found at Overhill Cherokee sites included round or octagonal winter lodges paired with rectangular summer houses (Schroedl 2000:219). Winter houses at Overhill Cherokee sites were between 19 and 24 feet in diameter, and the ramadas beside them ranged from 13 to 20 feet wide and from 26 to 35 feet long (Schroedl 1986b:267-268).

Townhouses and household dwellings were arranged in loose spatial configurations within eighteenth-century Cherokee settlements. Clusters of different dwellings have been identified in some areas of Overhill Cherokee settlements (Baden 1983:127-134; Schroedl 1986b:287:206). The more common pattern is that household dwellings were widely spaced within towns, from 40 to as much as 200 feet apart from each other (Chapman 1985:110-115; Schroedl 1986b:279). Domestic activity areas, represented archaeologically by arrays of postholes and pits, surrounded the clusters of seasonal structures and outbuildings that formed the dwelling areas of different households (Schroedl 1986b:287). Some dwellings may have been arranged in rows of houses, indicative of the presence of a formal settlement

plan, but such patterning is probably an exception rather than a norm at Overhill Cherokee settlements dating to the eighteenth century (Schroedl 1986b:282). Because of the wide spacing between household dwellings, eighteenth-century Cherokee towns ranged from four to 33 acres in size (Schroedl 2000:206). The upper end of this spectrum of settlement size is much greater than that of Mississippian towns in the southern Appalachians, which covered between two and 10 acres in area but which also were characterized by much more dense concentrations of structures than was the case at eighteenth-century Cherokee settlements (Beck and Moore 2002; Dickens 1978; Hally and Kelly 1998; Schroedl 1998; Sullivan 1987, 1989, 1995).

Archaeologists have identified several sites representing Lower Cherokee towns in northwestern South Carolina and northeastern Georgia, including Chauga, Tugalo, Estatoe, Chattooga, and Tomassee (Anderson 1994:205-217, 302-307, 326-328; Duncan and Riggs 2003:245, 295, 328-329; Hally 1986b, 1998a; Harmon 1986; Smith 1992:46-47; Smith et al. 1988; Wynn 1990). Earthen mounds have been identified at Chauga, Tugalo, and Estatoe, which were occupied throughout the 1400s and 1500s, when many other areas farther downstream in the Savannah River Valley were abandoned (Anderson, Hally, and Rudolph 1986; Kelly and de Baillou 1960; Kelly and Neitzel 1961). These mounds were built in several stages, many of which served as platforms for wooden structures built on their summits. They were first built long before the eighteenth century, but diagnostic ceramics from upper stages of these mounds have been interpreted as evidence that Cherokee townhouses stood on their summits during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Little is known about the architectural design of these townhouses, because little was left of the upper stages of the mounds when formal archaeological excavations were conducted. Relatively

little is known about domestic architecture in villages near these mounds, although some pits, postholes, and burials have been identified in areas adjacent to these mounds. It is possible that another Lower Cherokee town was present at the Nacoochee mound along the headwaters of the Chattahoochee River in northern Georgia, perhaps with a townhouse on its summit, although archaeologists have not identified direct evidence of what kinds of architecture may have been present on the summit of this mound nor in the area around the mound itself (Duncan and Riggs 2003:322-323; Heye, Hodge, and Pepper 1918; Smith 1992:47; Wynn 1990:57).

One of the Lower Cherokee towns where archaeologists have found traces of a series of townhouses and several probable domestic house areas is Chattooga, located along the Chattooga River in northwestern South Carolina (Howard 1997; Schroedl 1994). Five stages of a townhouse, which was a square structure with rounded corners, were uncovered at the Chattooga site, and four generations of the Chattooga townhouse were built and rebuilt in place. The first four stages of the townhouse were each 42 feet on each side (Schroedl 2000:214). Its last manifestation was 52 feet per side (Schroedl 2001:288). Beside the townhouse was a scatter of postholes, probably from a rectangular ramada, and lenses of sand and gravel in the area beside the Chattooga townhouse probably represent the town plaza. Domestic structures were scattered across the bottomland along the Chattooga River. The likely locations of such structures have been identified from high concentrations of artifacts collected during controlled surface collections, and during systematic subsurface testing, but not from broad exposure of the actual houses themselves. This settlement was abandoned sometime in the early or middle 1700s, although the first townhouse may have been built in the early 1600s.

Recent fieldwork at Kituwha has identified public and domestic architecture at this Cherokee Out town along the Tuckasegee River (Duncan and Riggs 2003:72-74; Riggs and Shumate 2003:65-69; Riggs, Shumate, and Evans-Shumate 1998). Geophysical surveys of the earthen mound at Kituwha show the presence of a townhouse or several stages of a townhouse, comparable in its design but much larger than the Coweeta Creek townhouse (Riggs and Shumate 2003:67-69). Geophysical surveys in areas around the Kituwha mound have identified signs of domestic houses, perhaps comparable in their architectural design and spatial arrangement to those in the Coweeta Creek village (Riggs and Shumate 2003:70-73). Kituwha is known as one of the legendary mother towns of the Cherokee people, and it was probably one of the largest native settlements in all of southwestern North Carolina during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Kituwha almost certainly included a public plaza and village area adjacent to its townhouse, as is present at the Coweeta Creek site, although Kituwha was a much larger town.

Several other historic Cherokee towns were situated at sites with earthen mounds that date to earlier eras (Mooney 1891; Moore 1990; Schroedl 1978; Duncan and Riggs 2003:72-74, 143-149, 171-174, 195-198, 322-323; Waselkov and Braund 1995:84-85; Wynn 1990). An eighteenth-century Cherokee town was situated at the Peachtree site in the upper Hiwassee Valley, and the remnants of a townhouse were still visible on the summit of the Peachtree mound as late as the 1800s (Dickens 1967; Dorwin 1975; Duncan and Riggs 2003:195-196; B. H. Riggs, personal communication 2002; Setzler and Jennings 1943; Skowronek 1991; Ward 2002). Another eighteenth-century Cherokee town was present at the Spikebuck mound along the upper Hiwassee River, where an English trading post was located during the early 1700s (Duncan and Riggs 2003:197-198; D. F. Morse, personal

communication 2001; Ward and Davis 1999). The mound at Dillard, located on the Little Tennessee River roughly nine miles upstream from Coweeta Creek, is associated with the historically known town of Old Estatoe (Duncan and Riggs 2003:169-171; Smith 1992; Wynn 1990). Mounds at Cowee and Nequassee both predate the historic Cherokee towns that were situated beside them (Dickens 1967; Duncan and Riggs 2003:141-155; Smith 1979). Currently, little is known about the spatial relationships between these mounds and the dwellings of historic Cherokee households in these towns. However, domestic architecture has been uncovered at other sites where Cherokee households lived during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Recent excavations at Mountain Park, in the Brasstown Valley, near the headwaters of the Hiwassee River in northern Georgia, have identified loosely scattered pairs of winter and summer houses representing Cherokee dwellings that date between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (Cable 2001; Cable and Reed 2001). Posthole patterns representing winter houses are square with rounded corners, ranging from 15 to 21 feet per side, averaging roughly 19 feet per side. Adjacent ramadas, representing summer houses paired with these winter lodges, range from 16 to 19 feet long, and from nine to 12 feet wide. Hearths are present at the centers of winter houses, with arrays of four roof support posts placed around the hearths. Scatters of pits and postholes near each pair of structures probably represent domestic activity areas, and perhaps storage cribs and drying racks. Interestingly, the pattern of paired winter and summer houses resembles the pairing of eighteenth-century Overhill Cherokee domestic architecture. However, winter houses at eighteenth-century Overhill Cherokee sites are round, or octagonal, not square with rounded corners. The Brasstown

Valley structures more closely resemble those at late prehistoric settlements along the lower Hiwassee River such as Mouse Creeks and Ledford Island (Sullivan 1987).

Recent excavations near the confluence of Alarka Creek and the Little Tennessee River in southwestern North Carolina have uncovered a winter lodge and summer structure where a single Cherokee household lived during the early seventeenth century (Shumate, Riggs, and Kimball 2003; Shumate and Kimball 1997). An octagonal winter lodge was represented by an array of postholes 22 feet in diameter, with a clay hearth at its center. Outside the doorway to this structure was a rectangular ramada, roughly 18 feet wide by 34 feet long. This farmstead is situated on a small bench, on what is otherwise a steep slope, at the head of an upland cove. Other farmsteads, perched along slopes or scattered across bottomlands, may have been part of the Appalachian Summit landscape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a site located on the upper reaches of Coweeta Creek less than a mile upstream from the Coweeta Creek archaeological site has been identified as one such farmstead (Baker 1982).

At the Tuckasegee site in southwestern North Carolina, archaeologists have excavated a burnt structure whose design and dimensions resemble those of winter lodges at Overhill Cherokee settlements in eastern Tennessee (Dickens 1978:123; Keel 1976:28-34; Ward 2002:86; Ward and Davis 1999:268-271). This circular structure was roughly 23 feet in diameter. Daub and timbers from the collapsed roof had fallen on top of the hearth at the center of the structure. Plowing may have displaced any traces of a doorway, or of a summer house, and neither was identified during excavations. Broadly speaking, the architectural materials and techniques seen in the remnants of the burned structure at Tuckasegee resemble those at other Cherokee sites dating to the eighteenth century.

Archaeological traces of log stockades have not been identified at eighteenth-century Cherokee towns. Perhaps threats of raids did not necessitate such enclosures, even though Cherokee towns often found themselves at war with Creek towns and with European colonists during the eighteenth century. Stockades may not have been an effective form of public protection against the kinds of warfare that threatened Cherokee communities during this period. Additionally, towns may no longer have had the commitment from the numbers of households that would be needed to build and to maintain stockades. Meanwhile, gathering material for stockades would have demanded considerable numbers of trees—as would other architectural forms for which timbers and bark were needed—and these may have been more scarce than they were during late prehistory.

Archaeological clues and historical evidence indicate that the following kinds of settlements were part of the eighteenth-century Cherokee landscape. Some settlements, perhaps those representing the oldest or most prominent towns, were built around earthen mounds that predate the sixteenth century. Public structures known as townhouses were sometimes built on the summits of these earlier mounds. Public plazas were probably located beside these mounds, with household dwellings placed in residential areas adjacent to these public spaces. The built environment of towns without mounds was probably similar, with a townhouse and plaza beside a village area, and towns without mounds (like Chattooga) probably outnumbered those with mounds (like Kituwha). Log stockades may not have been built at many eighteenth-century towns. Farmsteads and villages without townhouses dotted the eighteenth-century countryside between settlements where townhouses were present.

The layouts of nineteenth-century Cherokee towns in northern Georgia were even more dispersed than those of eighteenth-century Cherokee settlements. New kinds of farming, hunting, trading, and other activities encouraged very different settlement patterns than those of earlier eras (Goodwin 1977; Waselkov 1997). Townhouses still formed the architectural centers of many communities, and sometimes they were built at earlier mounds or abandoned towns, but households in those communities were often spread out for several miles away from townhouses themselves (Mooney 1900; Wilms 1974). By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, many Cherokee farmsteads resembled those of nearby white settlers and yeoman farmers (Pillsbury 1983). More and more Cherokee households had begun to live in log cabins, and outbuildings and fences became more and more common in the Cherokee landscape as people continued to blend Anglo lifeways with traditional practices and cultural values (Wilms 1991).

Throughout the eighteenth century, then, Cherokee communities conceptualized themselves as towns, an identity that was most clearly manifested in townhouses. The edges of towns were not always clearly marked on the landscape. Membership within a town depended more upon participation in the public life of that town rather than keeping a house close to the townhouse itself.

During earlier centuries, however, native people in southern Appalachia lived in compact settlements, with formally planned arrangements of townhouses and domestic houses situated around public plazas. Such settlements were probably quite common in greater southern Appalachia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in the specific areas where Cherokee towns were located during the eighteenth century. This chapter has drawn from ethnohistoric sources to sketch an outline of the social and spatial structure of

eighteenth-century Cherokee towns, it has summarized archaeological knowledge about the architecture and layout of eighteenth-century Cherokee settlements, and it has described the kinds of Mississippian towns that were present in the southern Appalachians during late prehistory. This background guides the way that I identify specific stages of the townhouse and dwellings from the architectural palimpsest at Coweeta Creek and the way that I draw conclusions about the social structure of the community situated there. The architecture and layout of Coweeta Creek resemble those of late prehistoric settlements in southern Appalachia more so than they do the Cherokee towns that have been studied archaeologically and that are known from documentary sources.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT COWEETA CREEK

Excavations at the Coweeta Creek site were part of a broader study by UNC archaeologists during the 1960s and 1970s—known as the Cherokee Project—of Cherokee cultural history in western North Carolina (Coe 1961; Dickens 1976, 1978, 1979; Egloff 1967; Egloff 1971; Keel 1976; Keel, Egloff, and Egloff 2002; Ward and Davis 1999:183-190). Surveys and excavations in several river valleys identified late prehistoric mound centers and villages that were thought to represent communities ancestral to eighteenth-century Cherokee towns. Several sites were correlated with towns and villages noted on maps and in written descriptions of the eighteenth-century Cherokee landscape. European artifacts and native ceramics found on the ground surface at Coweeta Creek led to the provisional interpretation that this site dated to the end of late prehistory and to the protohistoric period. Successful excavations in nearby areas of southwestern North Carolina during the 1960s had unearthed Mississippian structures at the late prehistoric Warren Wilson and Garden Creek sites and at the eighteenth-century settlements of Tuckasegee and Townson (Dickens 1967; Keel 1976; Ward 2002). Spatially contiguous excavations were planned at Coweeta Creek to learn what Cherokee structures and settlements looked like between these late prehistoric and eighteenth-century bookends. Excavations of a burned structure at Coweeta Creek—the last of several stages of a townhouse, it was later learned—began in 1965. Excavations in later

field seasons exposed five more stages of the townhouse at Coweeta Creek, as well as the remnants of several dwellings and an outdoor plaza between the townhouse and the main concentration of domestic structures, and fieldwork continued until 1971. Artifact collections from RLA fieldwork at Coweeta Creek and other sites in the upper Little Tennessee Valley received cursory analysis during the 1960s and 1970s, and recent studies of these materials have revived interests in the clues they hold about late prehistoric and protohistoric Cherokee lifeways (Dickens 1976:100-101, 132, 1978:123-126, 131, 1979:22, 24-27; B. J. Egloff 1967; K. T. Egloff 1971; Keel 1976:214-217, 234; Lambert 2000, 2001, 2002; Rodning 1999, 2001a, 2002a; Runquist 1970, 1979; Schroedl 2001a:212-213, 2001b:286-287; VanDerwarker and Detwiler 2000, 2002; Wilson and Rodning 2002). This chapter describes the nature of RLA surveys in western North Carolina and the UNC excavations at the Coweeta Creek site in particular.

Archaeologists affiliated with the Cherokee Project recorded hundreds of prehistoric and historic native settlements in western North Carolina during pedestrian surveys of fields along rivers and their major tributaries, including sites dating to every period of Native American settlement of the Appalachian Summit (Dickens 1976; Keel 1976). Some earthen mounds were easy to identify, and archaeologists and antiquarians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had described and excavated several of them (Dickens 1976:6-9, 1979:3-9; Heye 1919; Keel 1976:65-74; Mooney 1889; Setzler and Jennings 1941; Thomas 1894). European maps of southern Appalachia dating to the eighteenth century place several Cherokee towns and villages along recognizable rivers, and these maps served as guides for finding and identifying corresponding archaeological sites (Dickens 1967; Goodwin 1977; Smith 1979). Archaeologists walked across fields around mounds, at other localities where

they anticipated finding historically known towns noted on maps and in travel journals from the eighteenth century, and in areas that seemed likely settings for native towns and villages due to the presence of arable farmland, level ground, access to water, or access to other resources. This approach to archaeological surveys in western North Carolina may have favored large settlements, but some sites recorded during the Cherokee Project probably do represent small villages and farmsteads. Surveys were not guided by rigorous sampling strategies, and surface collections of artifacts generally were not gathered within spatial grids. The edges of artifact concentrations on the ground surface were marked on maps when and where they were recognized. Field notes record visual impressions about the diversity and density of artifacts found on the ground surface, including comparisons *between* sites and between different areas *within* sites. Although they represent neither a systematic nor a random sample of artifacts from surveyed areas, they are relatively complete collections of diagnostic artifacts, and they are an abundant and untapped source of evidence about native settlement patterns in the past.

Field notes from 1963 and 1964 describe dense concentrations of potsherds and other artifacts on the ground surface north of the confluence of Coweeta Creek and the Little Tennessee River (B. J. Egloff 1967; K. T. Egloff 1971; Keel, Egloff, and Egloff 2002). This locality was situated on a floodplain along the upper Little Tennessee River itself, and similar landforms in other parts of the upper Little Tennessee Valley had been recognized as the likely locations of major native settlements. The eighteenth-century Middle Cherokee towns of Nequassee (31MA2) and Cowee (31MA5) were known to be associated with mounds some seven and twelve miles downstream from the Coweeta Creek site, respectively. The eighteenth-century Middle Cherokee villages of Tessentee (perhaps represented by sites

31MA36 and 31MA39, 1.5 miles upstream from, or south of, 31MA34) and Echoee (possibly represented by sites 31MA20 and 31MA21, 2.5 miles downstream from, or north of, 31MA34) were also close to the Coweeta Creek site. Landowners did not grant the RLA access in 1965 to the field where the Cowee mound is located. The mound at Nequassee had already been surrounded by downtown development in the Macon County seat at the town of Franklin. Sites representing the Cherokee towns of Iotla and Echoee were not threatened in 1965, and therefore there was no perceived urgency in conducting fieldwork at either of those sites, although surface surveys were conducted at both sites. Given these circumstances, and the numbers of potsherds and other artifacts found on the ground surface at the Coweeta Creek site, this site was chosen for extensive excavations in 1965. At the outset, it was thought that fieldwork at Coweeta Creek would last one field season, after which excavations would be moved to another Cherokee site.

A series of surface collections at Coweeta Creek from 1963 to 1965 had recovered thousands of artifacts. These collections included potsherds, stone projectile points, pieces of aboriginal clay and stone pipes, ground stone celts and celt fragments, chipped stone axes, hammerstones, and glass beads. The greatest density of artifacts was present near the highest point of a low rise above the surrounding floodplain, and charcoal and daub were also concentrated in this area on the ground surface (compare with Moore 2002a:197-211). This spot was later confirmed as a mound when excavations revealed the presence of the stacked ruins of several burnt townhouses, although as is shown in later chapters, the Coweeta Creek mound is architecturally different than pyramidal platform mounds at other sites in western North Carolina (compare with Dickens 1976:69-101; Keel 1976:75-101; Moore 2002a:214-223). Test pits excavated in the mound in 1965 yielded great quantities of artifacts, including

more than 1000 sherds from one 5 by 5 foot square (Keel, Egloff, and Egloff 2002:50). A topographic map of the site was made before more extensive excavations were begun (Figure 3.1).

The excavation grid at Coweeta Creek included squares that were each 10 feet by 10 feet (Figure 3.2). Grid coordinates were designated as "X number of feet" north of an arbitrary X axis and "Y number of feet" to the right of an arbitrary Y axis. Each excavation square was designated by the grid coordinate of its southeastern corner. For example, the southeastern corner of the unexcavated square in the mound was 160 feet north of this X axis and 100 feet to the right, or east, of the Y axis. Thus the coordinate designation of this square was 160R100.

Horizontal and vertical datum points at Coweeta Creek were marked by metal stakes set in the ground near grid point 40R230 and at grid point 140R110 (Figure 3.2). The first datum was established in 1965, and it was assigned an arbitrary vertical elevation of 100.00 feet. The second datum was established in 1966, 164 feet northwest (at 303 degrees) of the first datum (which therefore was at or near grid point 40R230), and its elevation relative to the first datum was determined to be 101.85 feet. The spatial relationship between these datum points was checked by triangulating between known points set during the first field season at Coweeta Creek. This second datum served as the primary reference point for later fieldwork at Coweeta Creek.

A surface collection grid was set at the Coweeta Creek site in 1966, although areas within this grid were not equivalent to each other in shape or size, but artifacts from the ground surface in these general areas were bagged separately until excavations were brought to an end after the field season in 1971. The four quadrants of the mound yielded by far the

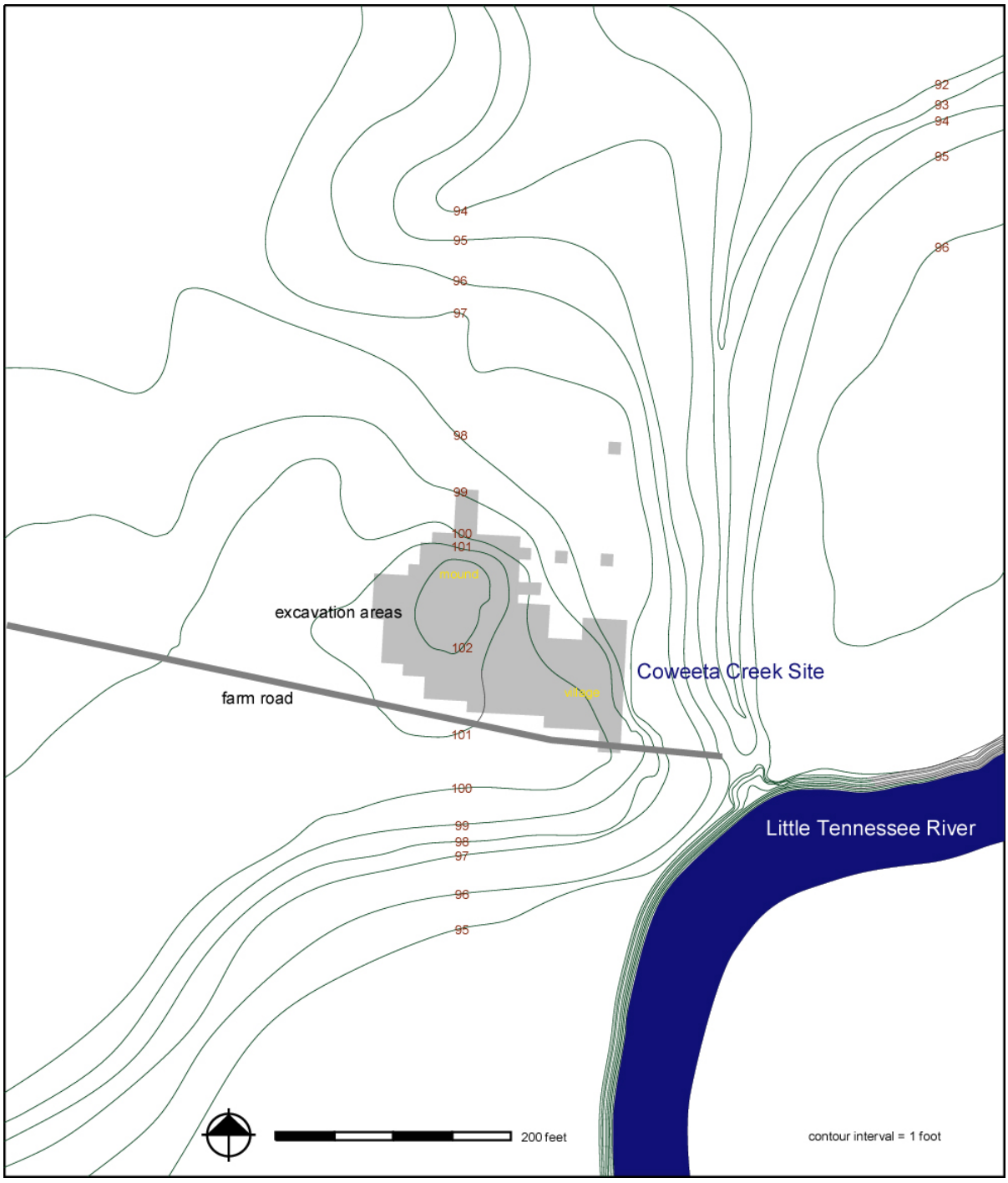


Figure 3.1. Topographic map of the Coweeta Creek site (adapted from Egloff 1971).

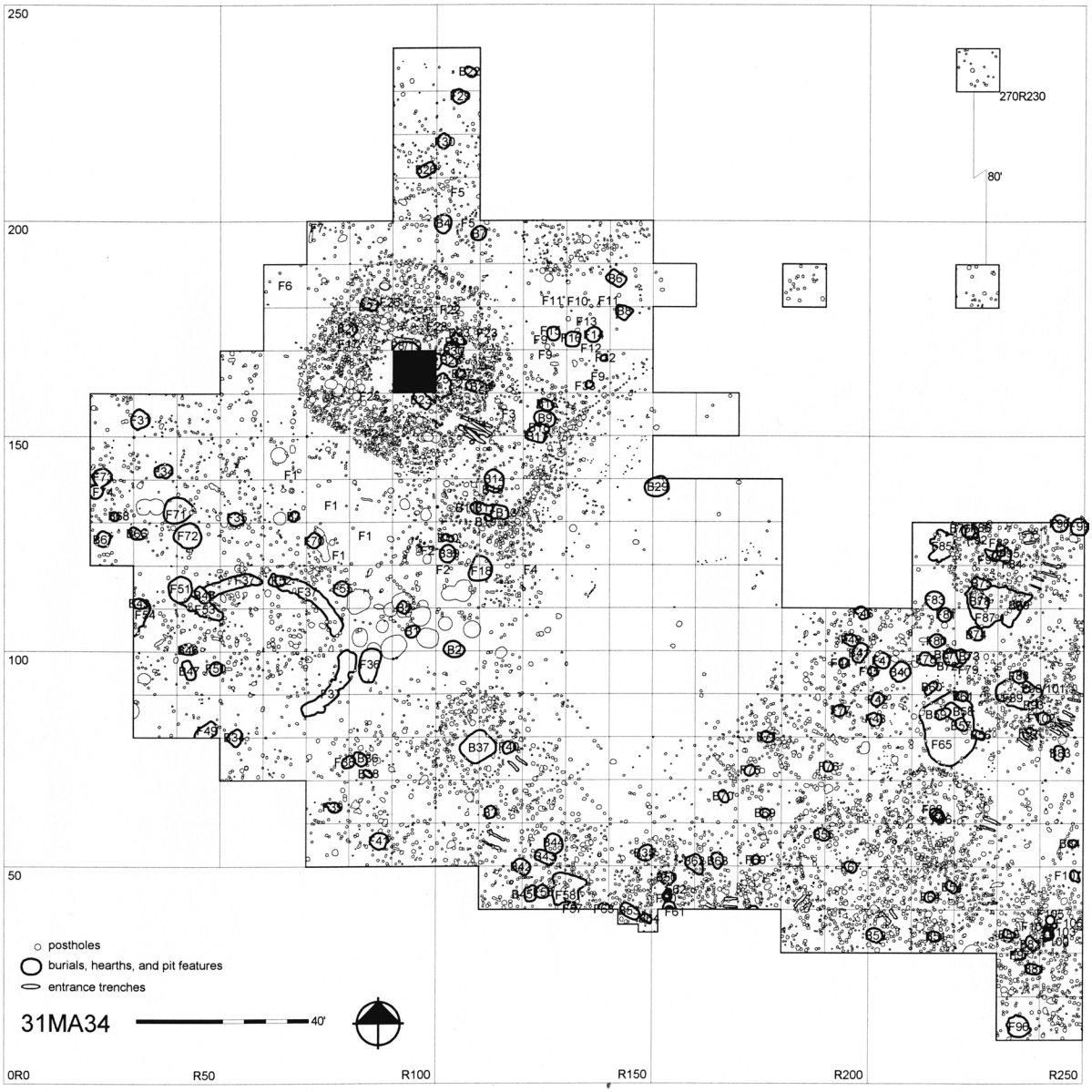


Figure 3.2. Burials and features at the Coweeta Creek site (see also Egloff 1971).

most artifacts, including thousands of potsherds. Areas adjacent to the eastern edge of the mound yielded relatively few artifacts, probably because this area was the town plaza. Few artifacts were found on the ground surface west of the mound; perhaps the mound itself was at or near the western edge of the settlement. The spread of artifacts on the ground surface covered an area of some three acres, and noticeable concentrations of artifacts were present in discrete areas close to the locations of domestic houses uncovered during later excavations (as shown in RLA field notes and maps by Keel, Egloff, and Egloff). A total of 273 squares, or roughly 27,300 square feet, was excavated, and if the estimated site area of three acres is accurate, then roughly 20% of the whole settlement was uncovered (Figure 3.2).

The plow zone in each excavation square was dug with shovels, and dry-screened through half-inch mesh hardware cloth, by hand or with mechanical sifters. The bases of the plow zone and all other recognized strata in each square were cleaned with trowels for photographs and maps, as was the top of subsoil. Squares in the mound included layers corresponding to floors of successive stages of the townhouse, deposits between these floors, and the different deposits that accumulated along the eastern edge of the mound, as the townhouse was built and rebuilt, and as the ramp leading to its entrance grew along with the stacked ruins of the townhouse itself. Squares in the plaza and in the village generally included plow zone deposits down to the top of subsoil, or down to the sand covering the plaza surface.

The mound was excavated by peeling back architectural rubble to expose the floors of six successive manifestations of the townhouse (Figure 3.3; Egloff 1971; Rodning and VanDerwarker 2002; Ward and Davis 1999:183-186). When it was recognized that several earlier townhouses were buried underneath the burnt remnants of its last stage, excavations in

Figure 3.3. Floor 1, the last stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse (courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology).

squares around the townhouse cut through several levels down to the top of subsoil, effectively pedestaling the mound. Stratigraphic profiles exposed by these flanks around the mound revealed the layering of material from several manifestations of the townhouse, with burnt wood and some daub in deposits between successive floors. However, these stratigraphic views at the edges of the mound were not necessarily representative of stratigraphy in the middle of the mound, given the thin deposits between floors and the dense concentration of postholes from different stages of the townhouse (Figure 3.4). Therefore, short trenches were dug into the southeastern, southwestern, northeastern, and northwestern corners of the mound, moving towards the hearth in the middle of the townhouse (Figure 3.5). These cuts exposed stratigraphic profiles that guided excavations of the earliest four stages (near the bottom of the mound) of the townhouse. Floors of the latest two stages (the uppermost levels of the mound) had already been exposed when these four test trenches were cut into the mound itself.

Excavations then dismantled the rest of the mound, with trowels, in reverse order of its construction (Figure 3.6; Egloff 1971; Keel, Egloff, and Egloff 2002:50-51). Above each floor were thin layers of fill, which had been spread across the rubble from the preceding structure to create an even surface on which to build a successor. Then excavators dug through the matrix of fired clay rubble from daubed smokeholes and structure walls, lying on top of charred timbers and split cane matting. Underneath the remnants of roofs and benches were the floors themselves, and deposits that included sand and some ash from the hearth. Postholes were present amid other architectural remnants of each stage of the structure, and of course many postholes cut through several of the superimposed townhouse floors, making attribution of postholes to specific stages of the structure difficult in some cases. The matrix

Figure 3.4. Excavations around the edges of the Coweeta Creek townhouse (courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology).

Figure 3.5. Exploratory trenches in the Coweeta Creek mound (courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology).

Figure 3.6. Floor 2, the fifth stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse (courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology).

collected from the floors themselves was waterscreened through half-inch-, eighth-inch-, and sixteenth-inch-mesh screens. Soil samples and flotation samples were collected from each floor from each ten-foot square.

Maps were drawn of postholes, hearth, burials, and burnt timbers associated with each stage of the townhouse, except for its latest stage (Figure 3.6). The latest preserved manifestation of the townhouse was, of course, the first to have been uncovered, and the routine of exposing a floor and mapping the corresponding stage of this structure was developed after digging through the last stage. Comparisons of figures 3.3 and 3.6 show that these last two stages were virtually identical in their dimensions and in their placement.

The mound was barely visible as a mound when excavations of the Coweeta Creek townhouse were begun. It was not until the second season of fieldwork that it became apparent that the remnants of several stages of a townhouse were present (Figure 3.7). The stacked ruins of this series of townhouses formed a stratigraphic sequence, including floors and the architectural rubble between them, which was little more than two feet tall. With roughly one additional foot of plow zone covering the mound, it was barely two feet taller than the surrounding ground surface at its highest point. That said, the mound was identifiable by the greater density of artifacts found on the surface of the mound as compared to the ground surface surrounding it.

Figure 3.8 shows the approximate edge of the Coweeta Creek mound. The townhouse, of course, is represented by the concentration of postholes inside the area covered by the mound. The edge of the mound lies outside the edges of the townhouse for at least two reasons. First, mound deposits have undoubtedly been spread out by erosion and

Figure 3.7. Stratigraphic column in the Coweeta Creek mound (courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology).

by plowing and other earthmoving activities during the twentieth century. Second, there seems to have been a ramp built in the area east of the entrance into the townhouse.

Figure 3.8 shows the endpoints of profile drawings illustrating the stratigraphy of the Coweeta Creek mound. Figure 3.9 depicts the layering of townhouse floors—with sand and architectural rubble between them—in the middle of the mound. The premound humus represents the ground surface that was present when the first townhouse was built. Premound humus is present at the edges of the mound near the edges of the townhouse itself. Figure 3.10 demonstrates the stratigraphy of the eastern edge of the mound. Rather than a series of floors, this eastern section of the mound was composed of deposits related to a ramp that was built beside the entrance to the townhouse. Concentrations of river boulders were present in the uppermost intact deposits of sand and clay, and underneath this layer were additional lenses of sand and clay. A rectangular ramada was built in the area beside the townhouse, as is demonstrated by the array of postholes in between the townhouse and plaza (Figure 3.2). A ramp of sand, clay, rocks, and perhaps other materials may have formed the ground surface beneath the townhouse ramada, and the ramp itself may have gotten steeper as the stack of buried townhouses grew taller (Figure 3.11).

East of the Coweeta Creek townhouse and ramada was an area where no evidence of structures was found. It was characterized by a much lighter density of postholes than is present to the northwest and southeast. This area represents a public plaza. Some maps of excavation squares, as they were drawn in the field, do mark the apparent edges of the plaza, and these edges generally correspond to the edges of posthole concentrations related to the townhouse and village, although there are some areas where the edges were not mapped and cannot be pinpointed precisely. The surface of the plaza itself was covered with clay, which

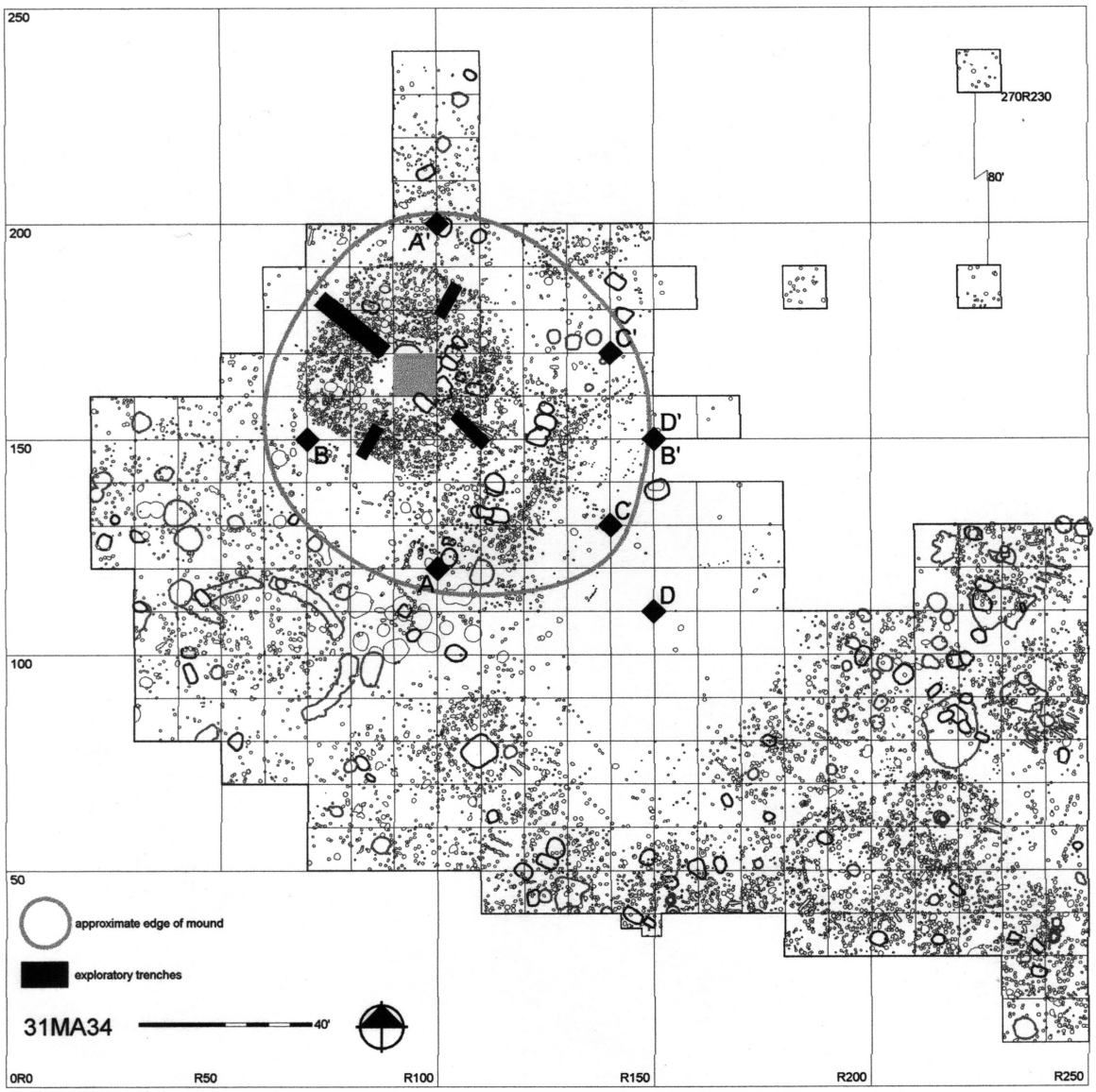


Figure 3.8. Endpoints of stratigraphic profile drawings in the Coweeta Creek mound.

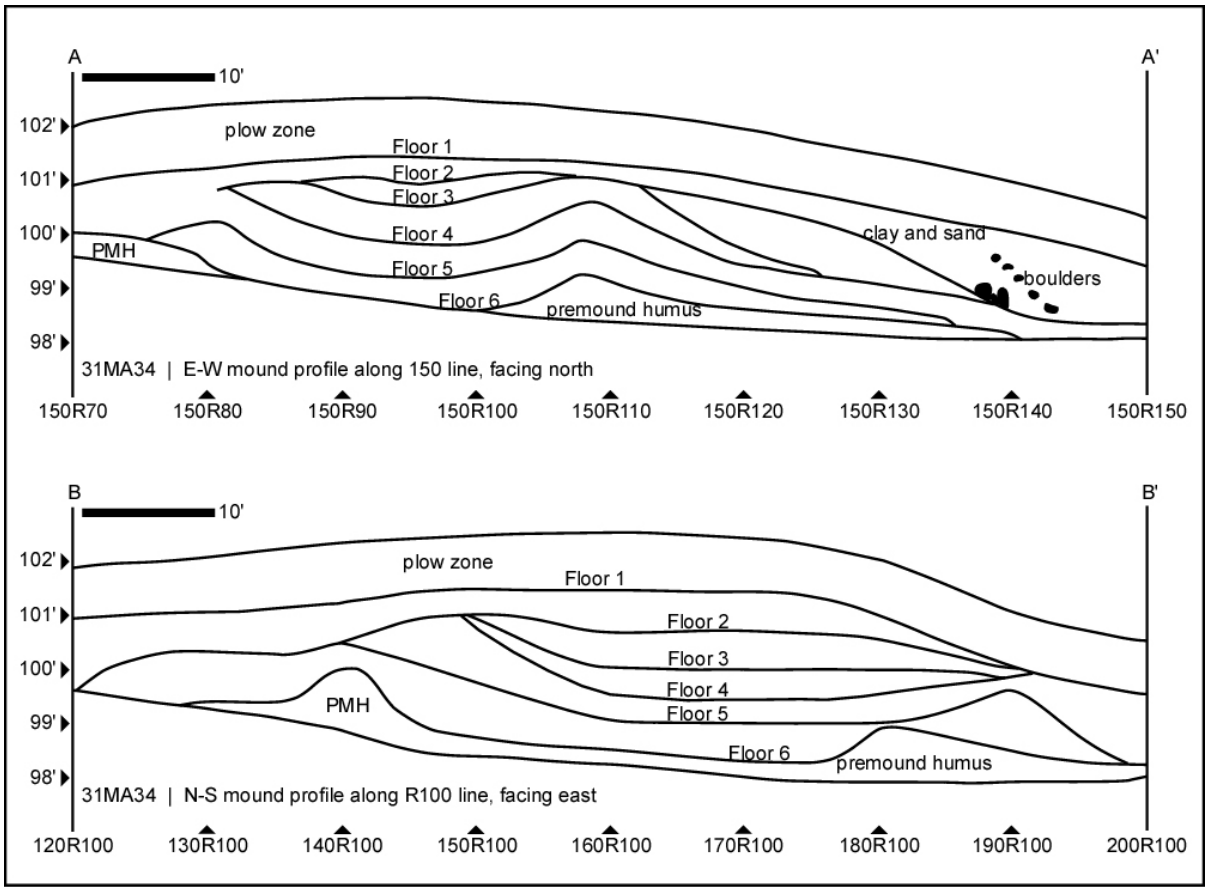


Figure 3.9. Profile drawings of stratigraphy in the middle of the Coweeta Creek mound (keyed to Figure 3.8).

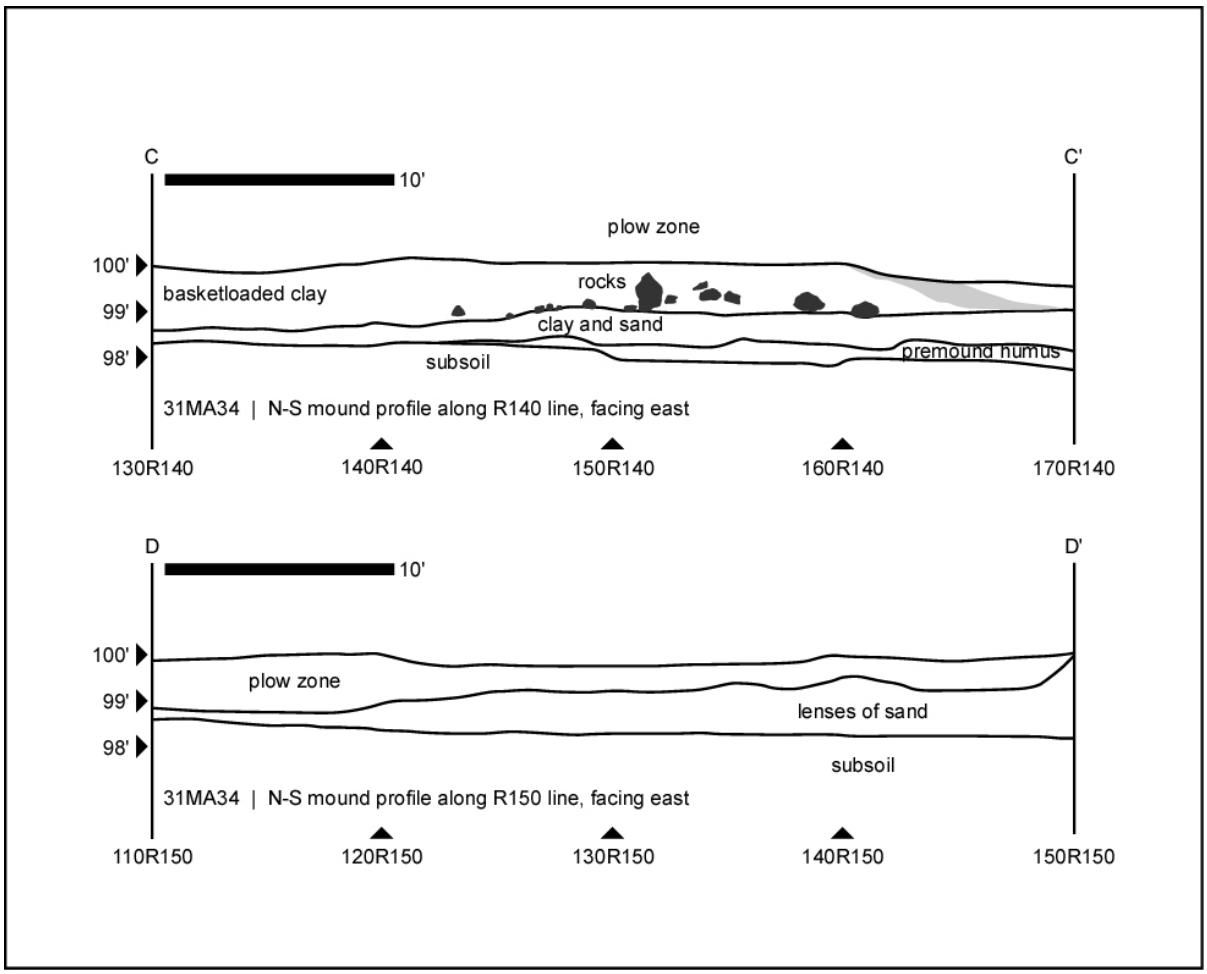


Figure 3.10. Profile drawings of stratigraphy at the eastern edge of the Coweeta Creek mound (keyed to Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.11. Clay and rocks in the ramp beside the Coweeta Creek townhouse (courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology).

had hardened and in some cases had cracked due to its exposure as an outdoor surface (Figure 3.12). Atop the clay surface of the plaza were thin lenses of sand. This sand could represent alluvial deposition, or it could have been placed on the plaza by people, as part of the landscaping necessary to create an outdoor venue for public events and activities. Given the presence of artifacts in these lenses of sand, it seems more likely that it is a cultural rather than a natural deposit. The presence of sand lenses in several excavation squares in this area indicates that sand was intentionally put down as part of the surface of the plaza itself.

Contiguous excavations in the area adjacent to the plaza exposed the remnants of domestic houses (Figure 3.13). These dwellings were archaeologically visible as arrays of postholes, hearths, entryways, and, in some cases, preserved sections of floors covered by the daub and other burnt material from house roofs that had collapsed on house floors. Several burials and pit features were uncovered inside domestic structures and in areas near them. Some artifacts—including pots, a carved wooden vessel, a carved wood paddle for stamping unfired pots, and chipped stone tools—were found in place on the floor of one domestic structure. This and several other houses had burned down. Burning may have been a simple and effective means of dismantling a house, especially if a household planned to build a successor in its place and needed to get rid of an old structure, but some houses may have burned accidentally. The materials from which these houses were made—bark, thatch, cane matting, log posts and rafters—would have burned quickly and completely, whether they were torched on purpose, or inadvertently lit by sparks from fires in domestic hearths or outdoor firepits.

Intact hearths, burials, firepits, and other pits and basins identified under plow zone deposits in both the mound and village were excavated with trowels and other hand tools.

Figure 3.12. Clay surface of the Coweeta Creek plaza (courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology).

Figure 3.13. Two domestic houses in the Coweeta Creek village visible as darkened patches of earth at the left and right sides of this excavated area (courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology).

They were not excavated in levels, but in many cases, field notes record concentrations of material distinct from surrounding deposits, such as concentrations of ash and charcoal or lenses of sand and clay. Most features and burials were not bisected, but profile drawings were done in the field after they had been excavated, at which point planview drawings were also drawn. All fill from features and burials at the site was waterscreened through half-inch-, eighth-inch-, and sixteenth-inch-mesh hardware cloth. Samples from each of these contexts were collected for flotation, which was still new as an archaeological technique at the time, and which was conducted in the field.

A total of 83 burials, in which were found skeletal remains of 88 individuals, were identified and excavated at Coweeta Creek, including 32 burials in the mound and plaza and 51 in the village area (Figure 3.2; Table 3.1; Appendix A; the designation "Burial 65" was not used). Eighty-seven percent (N=72) of these were oval or rectangular pits that extended straight downward from top to bottom. Thirteen percent (N=11) were shaft and chamber graves. Shafts were dug straight into the ground, with chambers cut out to one side where an individual and his or her grave goods were buried. The tops of burial chambers often collapsed, and dirt would be intentionally placed or would simply slump into the resulting gaps above these collapsed chambers. Figure 3.14 shows an example of a typical shaft and chamber burial, and in this particular case the chamber intruded an earlier grave. Figure 3.15 shows the only example of a shaft and chamber grave whose chamber was placed directly underneath the center of the shaft, rather than at its side. Hearths were built above the collapsed chambers of both of these burials. Fill deposits above some graves probably represent efforts to even out the ground surface above other burials that slumped after burial pit fill had settled. Graves were probably dug with wooden digging sticks, then filled with

Table 3.1. Burials at Coweeta Creek

Burial Type	Burial Numbers
Shaft And Chamber (N=11, 13%)	5, 6, 15, 17, 29, 34, 37, 39, 42, 80, 83
Simple Oval Pit (N=72, 87%)	1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, (burial at 60R112?)

the dirt taken out of these pits after the burial itself had taken place. Potsherds were often included in burial fill, as incidental inclusions that had simply been lying on the ground and scooped up when graves were dug and then filled. Chronologically diagnostic characteristics of sherds found in burial pits help in assigning them to different episodes in the settlement history at Coweeta Creek, as is outlined in Chapter 8. More thorough analyses of the distribution of mortuary artifacts, and the spatial distribution of burials at Coweeta Creek, are presented in Chapter 9.

A total of 106 contexts were recorded and excavated as features at Coweeta Creek, including two that were identified as pits dug by recent relic collectors (Figure 3.2; Table 3.2; Appendix B; the designation "Feature 21" was not used). Most of these features are circular pits, oval pits, or hearths. Five feature designations (11, 22, 23, 27, and 59) actually refer to sections of ceramic vessels, including a pot found inside a domestic hearth, and clusters of several vessel sections found on the floors of two different stages of the townhouse. Two features (56 and 107) represent large postholes. The following comments summarize the range of features uncovered and excavated at the site.

Several feature designations in and around the Coweeta Creek mound refer to concentrations of architectural debris from the townhouse. Features 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 13 are concentrations of daub near the edge of the mound, probably representing burnt architectural debris from a late stage of the townhouse. Features 17, 20, and 28 refer to concentrations of charred thatch, probably from benches or perhaps from sections of collapsed roofs, found amid other burnt architectural debris in the townhouse. Features 4, 24, 25, 26, and 29 are concentrations of boulders associated with the townhouse, probably representing architectural material that was part of the townhouse or part of the ramp outside

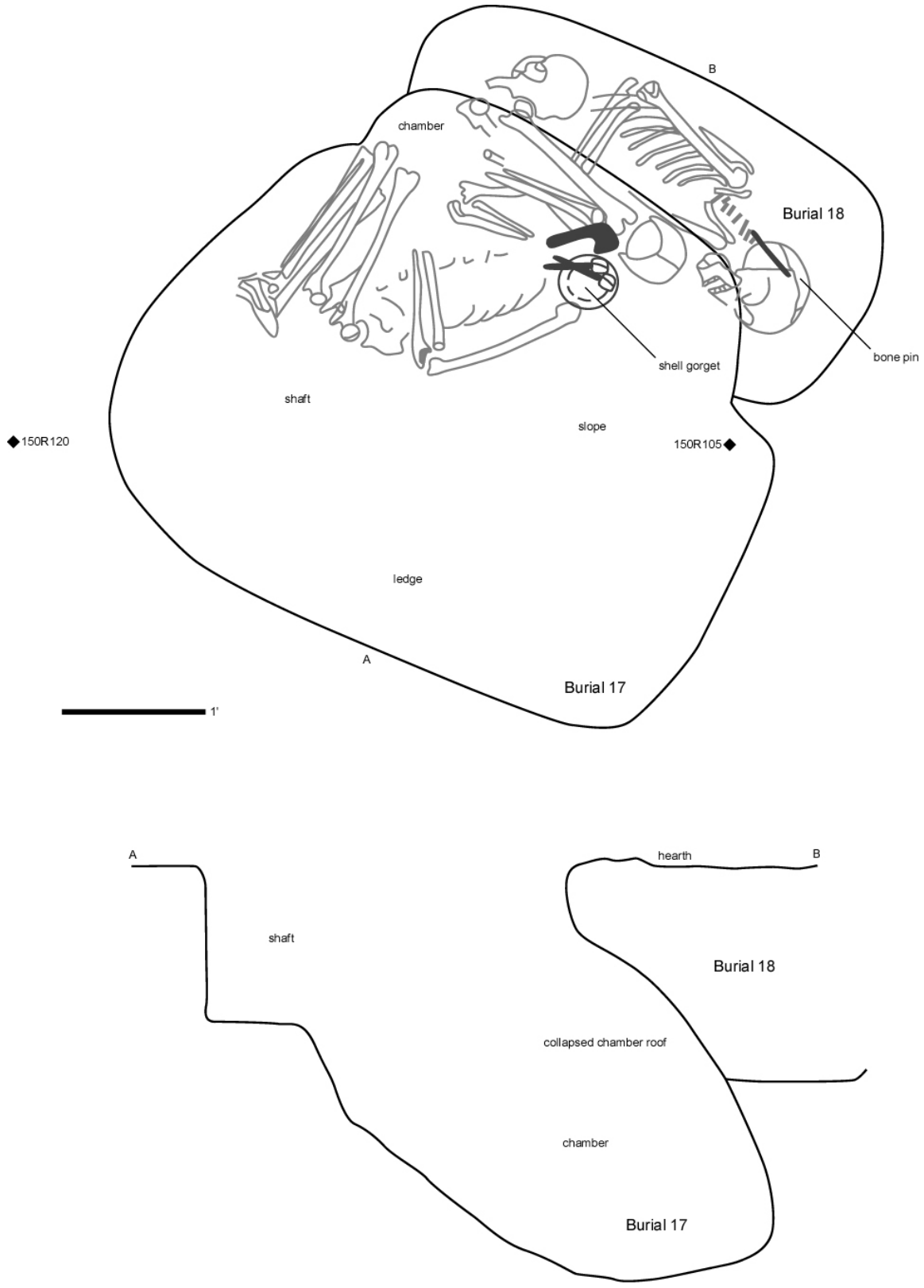


Figure 3.14. Burial 17 at Coweeta Creek.

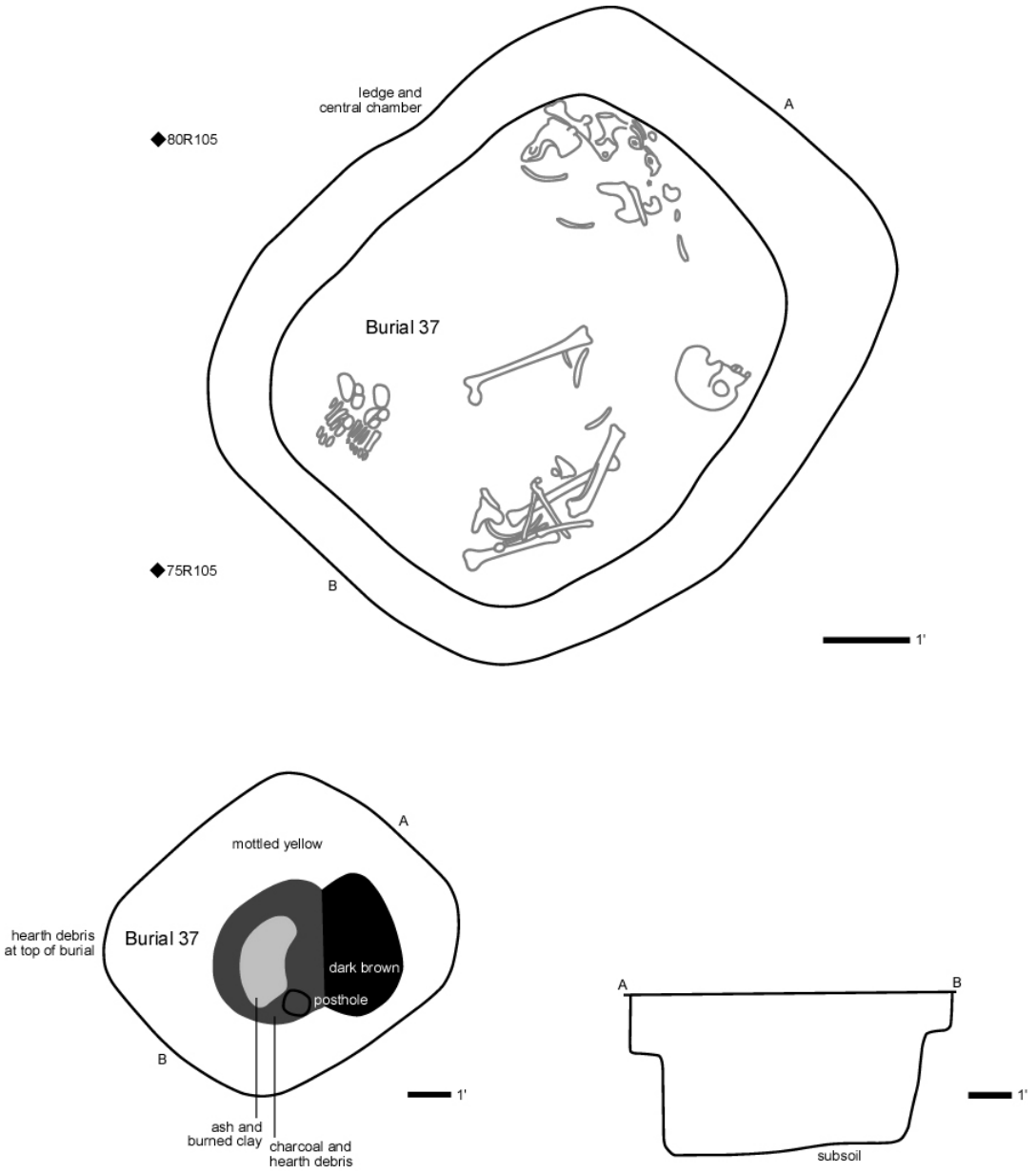


Figure 3.15. Burial 37 at Coweeta Creek.

Table 3.2. Features at Coweeta Creek

Feature Type	Feature Numbers
Pits/Basins (N=42)	14, 15, 16, 18, 32, 33, 34, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 55, 65, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 83, 88, 91, 93, 96, 98, 99, 100
Hearths (N=26)	8, 19, 52, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 82, 90, 92, 94, 95, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, on top of Burial 18, hearth on top of Burial 37, hearth at 40R173?
Firepits (N=4)	29, 30, 31, 38
Ditches/Trenches (N=5)	36, 37, 49, 53, 54
Pots	22, 23, 27, 59
Thatch	17, 20, 28
Clay	10
Rocks	4, 24, 25, 26
Daub	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13
Roof Fall	58, 84, 89
Wall Fall	97
Fill	79, 85, 86, 87
Large Postholes	56, 107
Modern Disturbances	3, 12

its entrance. Feature 10 is a clay deposit near the northeastern edge of the mound that is probably related to this ramp. None of these features is intrusive into subsoil, which is one reason they are marked on Figure 3.2 but not outlined with precise edges. They all also have irregular shapes, which is another reason they are labeled on Figure 3.2 but not given discrete edges.

Eight designated features at Coweeta Creek refer to sections of floors and rubble from collapsed roofs and walls. Feature 97 includes burnt clay from the collapsed wall of a domestic structure. Features 58, 84, and 89 all refer to collapsed roof material lying atop preserved sections of structure floors. Features 85, 86, and 87 all refer to material spread across uneven areas to create even surfaces on which structures were built. Feature 79 is a similar fill deposit outside of a house, apparently put down to even out an uneven surface, after a burial pit settled and before a second burial was placed in the ground at the same spot.

Twenty-six of the features that were excavated at Coweeta Creek are formally prepared clay hearths. The hearth in the last stage of the townhouse was some 7.5 feet in diameter. An earlier stage of the hearth, placed in the same spot within the townhouse, was only 5.6 feet in diameter. The average diameter of hearths in domestic structures in the village was 2.12 feet, and they ranged from one to 3.5 feet in diameter. The average depth of domestic hearths, from rim to base, was 0.42 feet, although some were as deep as 1.1 feet. Hearths were made of molded clay, which was of course hardened and reddened by fires kept inside them. Ash and charcoal were often found inside hearths, but relatively few artifacts were found in them. Figure 3.16 shows planview and profile drawings of a series of hearths inside one domestic structure at Coweeta Creek, representing successive stages of a hearth that was kept in place during each manifestation of the house. Figure 3.17 shows another

hearth, which was also rebuilt at least once, and which is unique among all hearths at the site in having oak stakes driven into the ground as a framework around which clay was applied to build the hearth itself.

Features 30, 31, and 38 are identified as firepits (Figure 3.18). These pits did not have the fired clay walls and rims of formally prepared hearths. The fill in these pits, however, included concentrations of fire-cracked rock, charcoal, ash, and burned clay. Either these pits were receptacles for debris from fires, or, more likely, fires were lit in these pits themselves. They range from 2.15 to 3.6 feet in diameter, and from 0.25 to 0.5 feet deep.

Forty-two features at Coweeta Creek are round pits or basins. Diameters range from 1.7 to 6.6 feet, averaging 3.39 feet. Depths range from 0.2 to 2.45 feet, averaging 0.76 feet. The edges of some of these pits slope steeply from top to bottom, with sharp angles between bottoms and side edges, conforming to what Schroedl (1986b:43-63) describes as "pits." Others have more rounded cross sections, whose bottoms and sidewalls form an unbroken curve, which are what Schroedl (1986b:43-63) identifies as "basins." Figure 3.19 shows profile and planview drawings of four circular pits from the area southwest of the townhouse, including features 71 and 72, which are comparable to features 73 and 74, and which are all located southwest of the mound. Figure 3.20 illustrates another large circular pit, designated Feature 96, located close to one of the domestic houses in the village. Ceramics from features 71, 72, and 96 are considered in Chapter 7 for the purposes of developing a ceramic chronology, in addition to Feature 65. Charcoal samples from features 65, 72, and 96 have been radiocarbon dated, and the chronological implications of these radiocarbon dates are discussed in Chapter 6, as is the presence of European artifacts in pits southwest of the townhouse mound, including features 71 and 72.

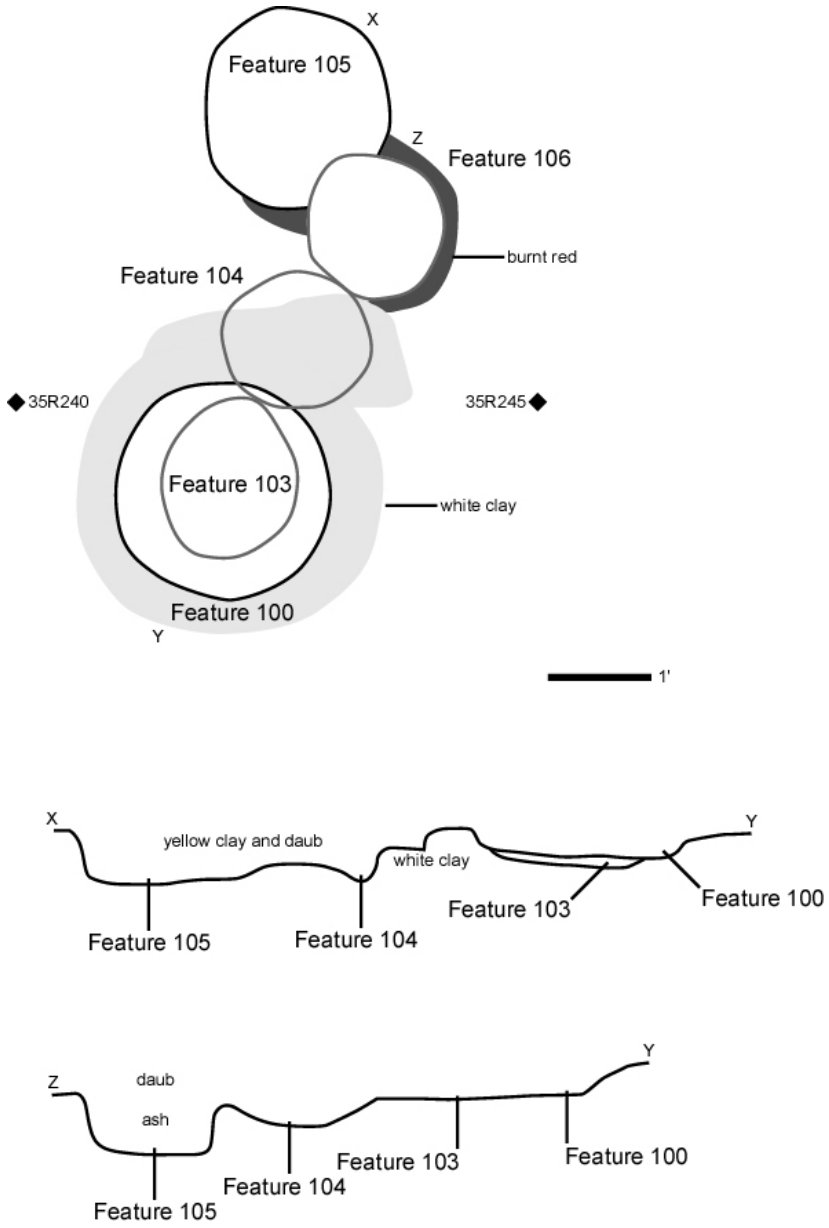


Figure 3.16. Successive stages of the hearth (Features 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, and 106) in Structure 5 at Coweeta Creek.

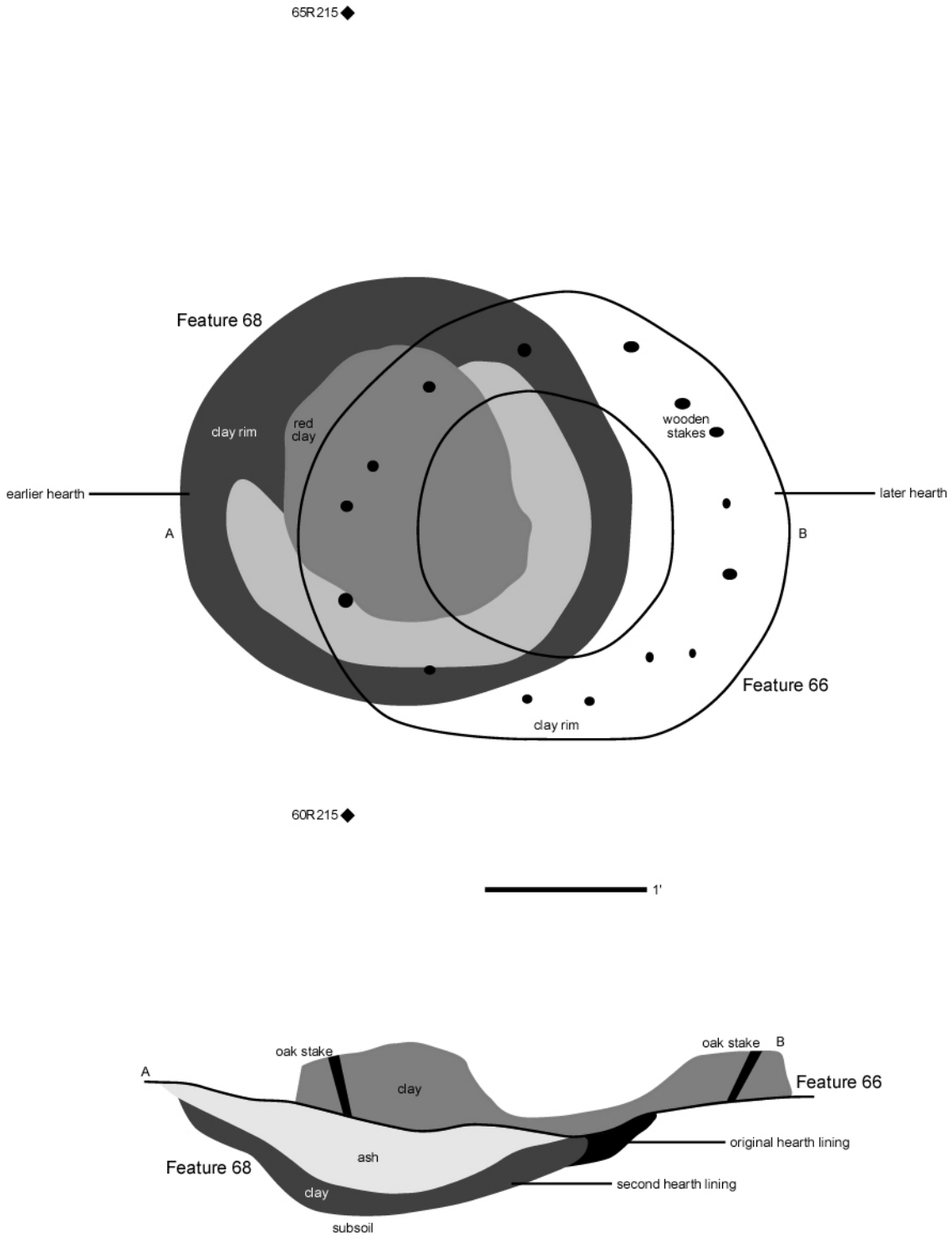


Figure 3.17. Successive stages of the hearth (Features 66 and 68) in Structure 6 at Coweeta Creek.

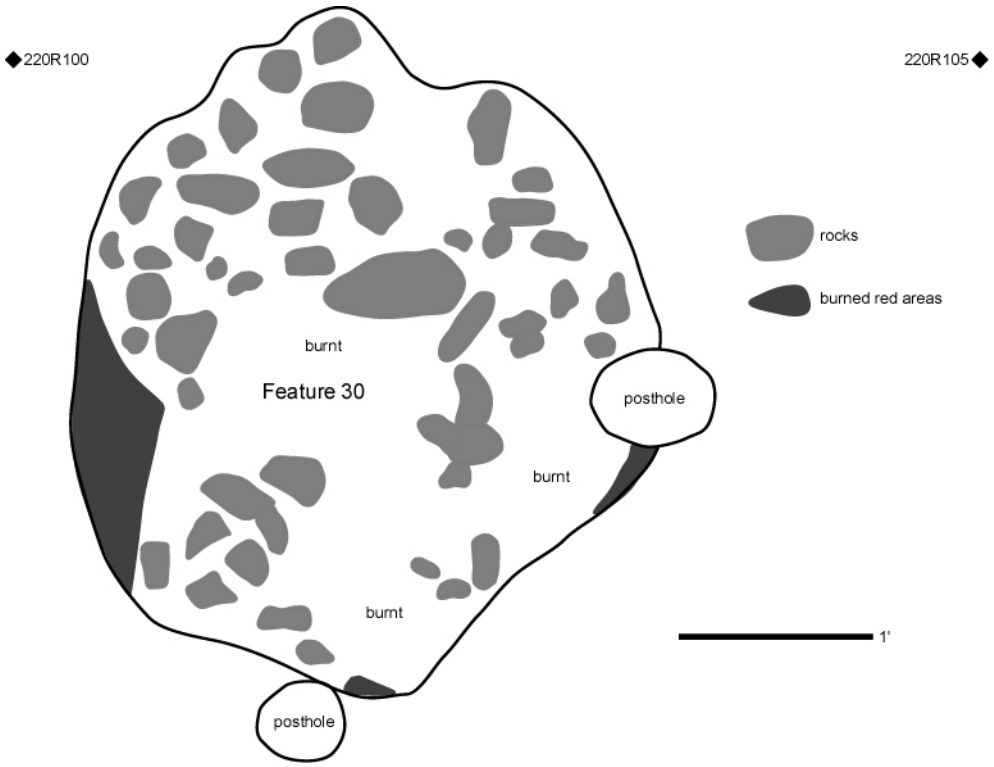


Figure 3.18. Outdoor firepit (Feature 30) at Coweeta Creek.

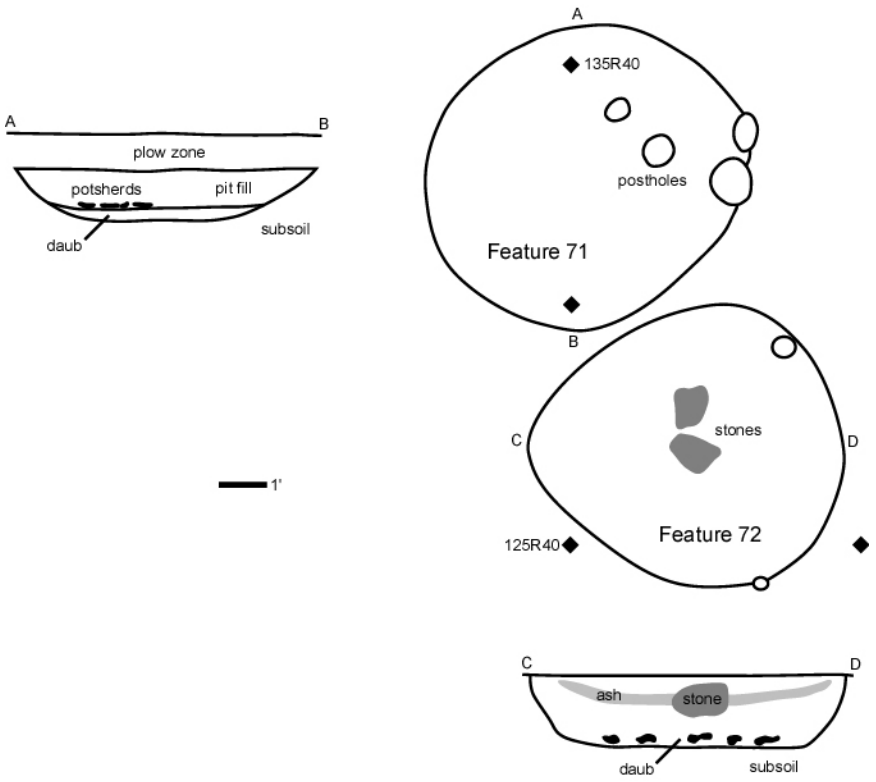


Figure 3.19. Circular pits (Features 71 and 72) at Coweeta Creek.

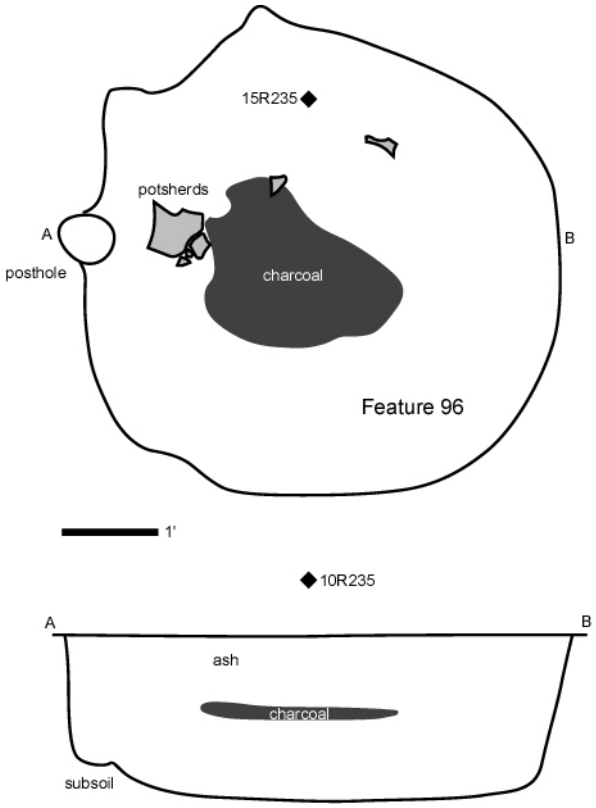


Figure 3.20. Circular pit (Feature 96) at Coweeta Creek.

Feature 65 is an oval basin measuring 16 feet long and 12 feet wide (Figure 3.21). It was 18 inches deep at its deepest point. A concentration of dark brown sandy loam and mottled yellow clay was present at the top of Feature 65, ranging from three to eight inches deep. A layer of ash and charcoal, ranging from two to six inches deep, covered much of the bottom of Feature 65, resulting either from fires lit in the basin itself or from dumping burnt material as part of the effort to fill it. Hundreds of potsherds, projectile points, ground stone and chipped stone tools and debitage, bone tools, fragments of animal bone, and charred plant material were found in Feature 65, most from the brown fill between the bottom layer of ash and charcoal and the top of the pit itself. Feature 65 may represent a borrow pit, roasting pit, or a pit designed for some form of processing activities, and it was filled in with village midden, or feasting debris, or a combination of them. Feature 65 is a unique feature at the site.

Another puzzling feature at Coweeta Creek is Feature 37 (Figure 3.22). This segmented semicircular ditch in the area southwest of the mound ranges from three to four feet wide. There are three gaps in this trench plus an apparent opening on its southwestern side, and these gaps range from two to five feet wide. The ditch has gently sloping sides and is roughly one foot deep. The several segments of this ditch form a semicircle that is roughly forty feet in diameter, enclosing a space of some 200 square feet. Field notes indicate that the fill in Feature 37 is similar to the humus layer present on the ground surface when the first stage of the townhouse was built. Some of this humus could have been dumped into Feature 37 after it was scooped up during landscaping and other preparations of the area where the townhouse was built.

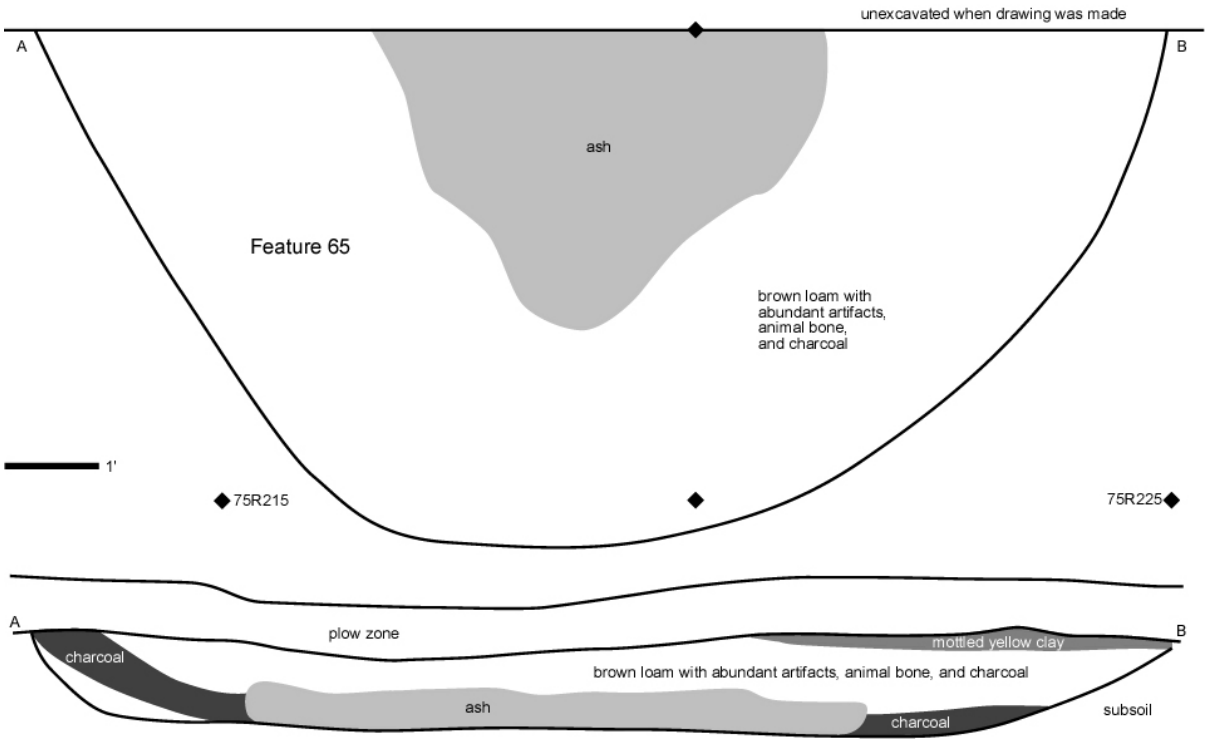


Figure 3.21. Oval basin (Feature 65) at Coweeta Creek.

Figure 3.22. Feature 37 at Coweeta Creek, looking west.

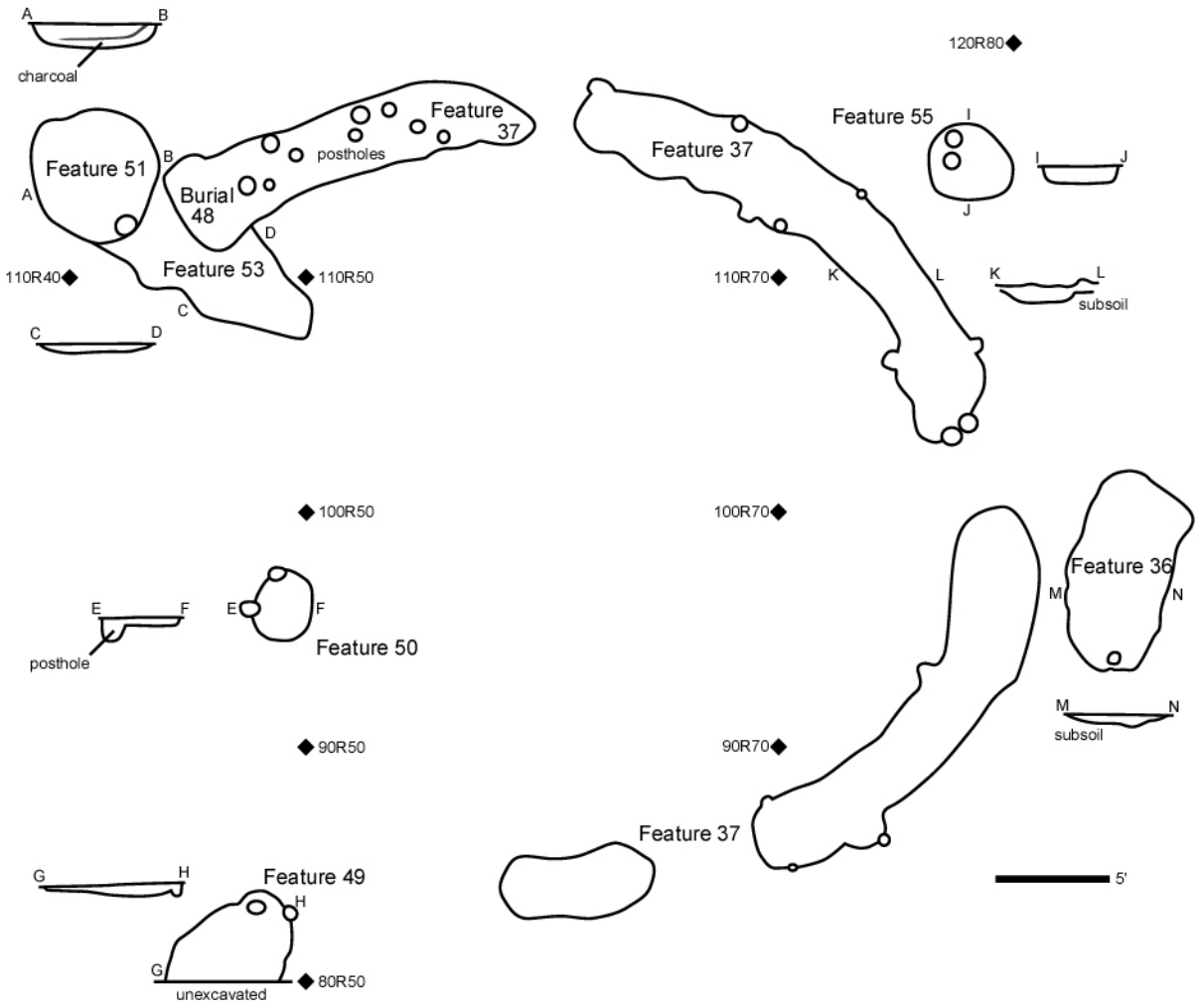


Figure 3.23. Feature 37 at Coweeta Creek, plan view.

Several other features at Coweeta Creek may be associated with Feature 37 (Figure 3.23). Feature 36 (roughly 9 feet long, 4.5 feet wide, and five inches deep) resembles the segments of the ditch and runs parallel to the easternmost arc of Feature 37. Feature 53 (roughly 9 feet long, 4.5 feet wide, and five inches deep) likewise resembles the ditch, both in planview and profile, and it juts to the southeast from the northwestern corner of Feature 37. It is adjacent to Burial 48. This grave postdates Feature 37 and Feature 53 but may predate the circular pit designated Feature 51. Feature 52 is a hearth contained within the northern segment of Feature 37, and Feature 50 is a small circular pit at the center of the space bounded by the segmented trench. Feature 54 may represent a continuation of Feature 37, and Feature 49 also may be related in some way to this enigmatic ditch. This discontinuous series of trenches may represent the foundation of some kind of screen, designed to hide or restrict access to an enclosed space, and also to the activities that took place in such an enclosure. There were some postholes present at the bottom of these trench segments but not as many as might be expected if it were an enclosure. It is worth noting that the several segments of Feature 37 form an arc that is roughly the same size as those at the Town Creek site in Piedmont North Carolina, and at the Cullowhee Valley School site along the Tuckasegee River (Ashcraft 1996; Coe 1995). The semicircular ditch at Town Creek is located beside the southwestern corner of the mound and plaza at that site, which is analogous to the placement of Feature 37 at the Coweeta Creek site (E. A. Boudreaux, personal communication 2004; B. H. Riggs, personal communication 2004).

Later chapters make some reference to the design and contents of some of the features at the Coweeta Creek site, and they also refer to ceramic data from both features and burial pits. However, I am not primarily concerned here with determining the functions of all the

pit features at the site. Instead, I concentrate on reconstructing the architectural history of the townhouse, identifying specific domestic houses in the village, and attributing these structures to different episodes in the settlement history of this town.

Tracing the history of the Coweeta Creek townhouse is relatively straightforward, as each stage was built on top of its predecessors, but identifying domestic structures in the village is more complicated, given the overlapping concentrations of pits and postholes. I have already shown stratigraphic drawings of the series of townhouses in the mound, and Chapter 4 is a more detailed sketch of the history of the townhouse, stage by stage. I have noted the village area southeast of the townhouse and plaza where domestic dwellings were placed, and Chapter 5 outlines an approach to identifying specific houses, only some of which are visually apparent from a first glance at the site map.

CHAPTER 4

PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE

Public architecture at Coweeta Creek includes the townhouse (Structure 1), the ramada built beside the entrance into the townhouse (Structure 2), and also the plaza that was placed between the townhouse and village. This chapter traces the history of building, burning, burying, and rebuilding the Coweeta Creek townhouse. I first describe archaeological remnants of each of the six successive stages of the townhouse, beginning with its earliest manifestation. I then consider the significance of continuities and changes in the design and placement of the townhouse from one stage to another, and its alignment relative to the ramada and plaza beside it.

The floors of successive stages of the townhouse are numbered according to the sequence in which they were excavated, from latest to earliest, from the top to the bottom of the mound (Figure 4.1; see also Figure 3.9). Floor 1 thus refers to the last townhouse. Floor 6 represents the earliest townhouse. These labels were given to these respective floors in the field. They are maintained here because artifact provenience designations and field records follow this numbering scheme. Burnt architectural debris was present on top of each floor, and this matrix was covered by layers of fill that had been put down to cover remnants of collapsed townhouses and to create even surfaces for their successors. The layers of sand between floors 4 and 5 were somewhat thicker than those between other floors, but the layers

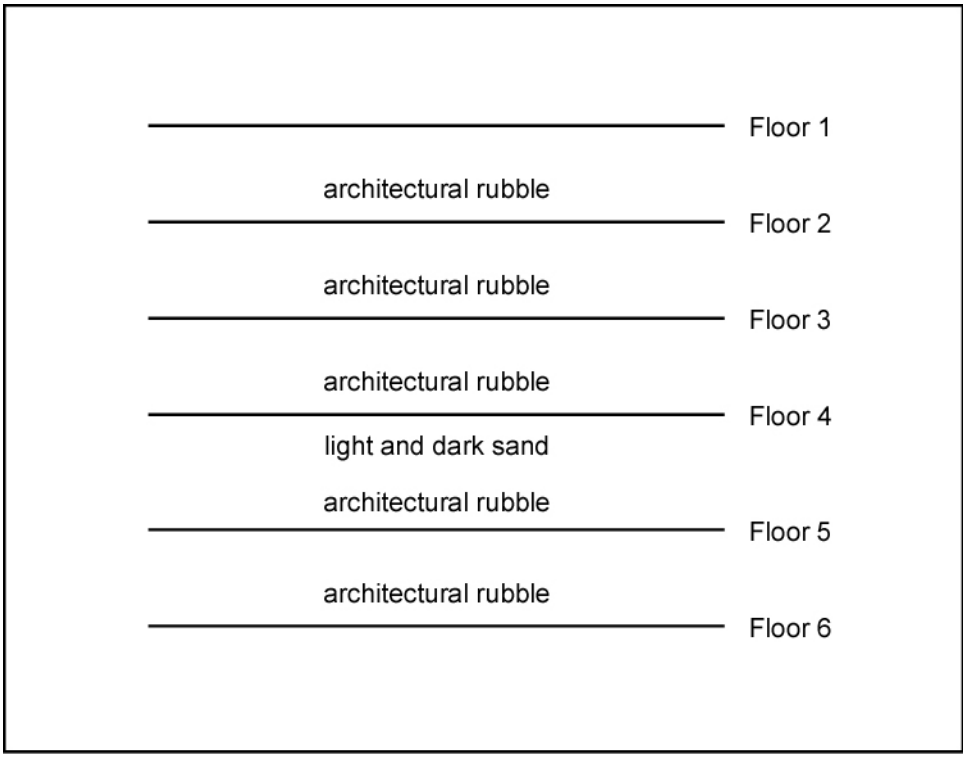


Figure 4.1. Schematic drawing of stratigraphy in the Coweeta Creek mound.

between successive floors were only several inches thick at most.

Underneath the first stage of the townhouse, near the outer edges of the structure, were found deposits of premound humus (Figure 4.1; see also Figure 3.9). Subsoil was present underneath premound humus and underneath sections of floors near the outer edges of the townhouse. This pattern indicates that the ground surface was cleared away before the first townhouse. This effort created a basin in which the townhouse itself was then built (Figure 4.2). Premound humus may then have served as a source of material for an earthen embankment around the outer edge of the townhouse itself (Figure 4.3). This conclusion is admittedly speculative. That said, it seems likely that there was an earthen embankment around the edge of the townhouse, for at least two reasons. First, these embankments may account for the presence of entrance trenches, if the latter were needed as foundations for doorways sturdy enough to cut through the embankments themselves (Hally 2002; Lewis, Lewis, and Sullivan 1995). Second, the placement of structures in basins and the practice of embanking structures with earth both seem to have been widespread Mississippian architectural techniques in the southern Appalachians (Hally 2002; Hally and Kelly 2002; Schroedl 1998; Sullivan 1987). The premound humus may have been scooped out to create a basin in which the townhouse was built because a semi-subterranean structure would have been better insulated than a free-standing aboveground structure would have been, and/or because a structure set in a basin could better withstand the effects of weather, and/or because this step may have made it easier to create and to maintain a floor. It may also have served the more symbolic purpose of creating a ritually pure surface on which to place a townhouse.

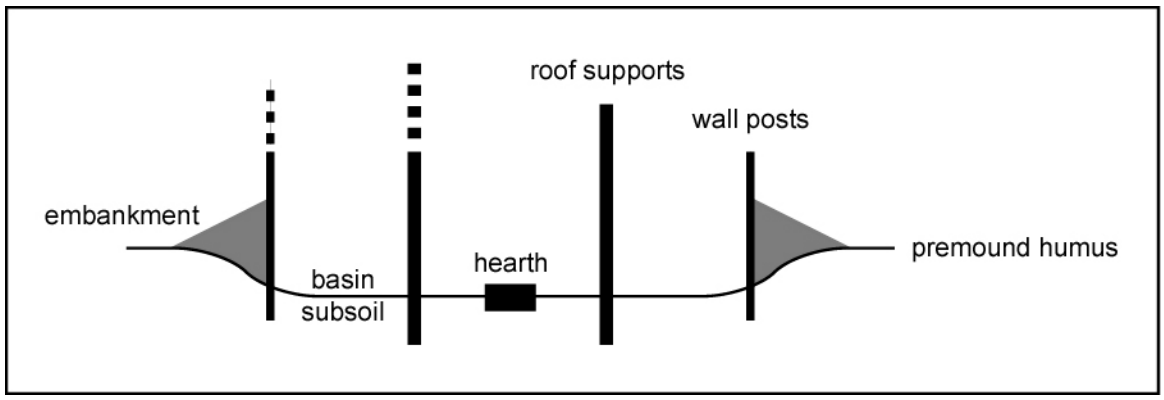


Figure 4.2. Premound humus and the townhouse basin.

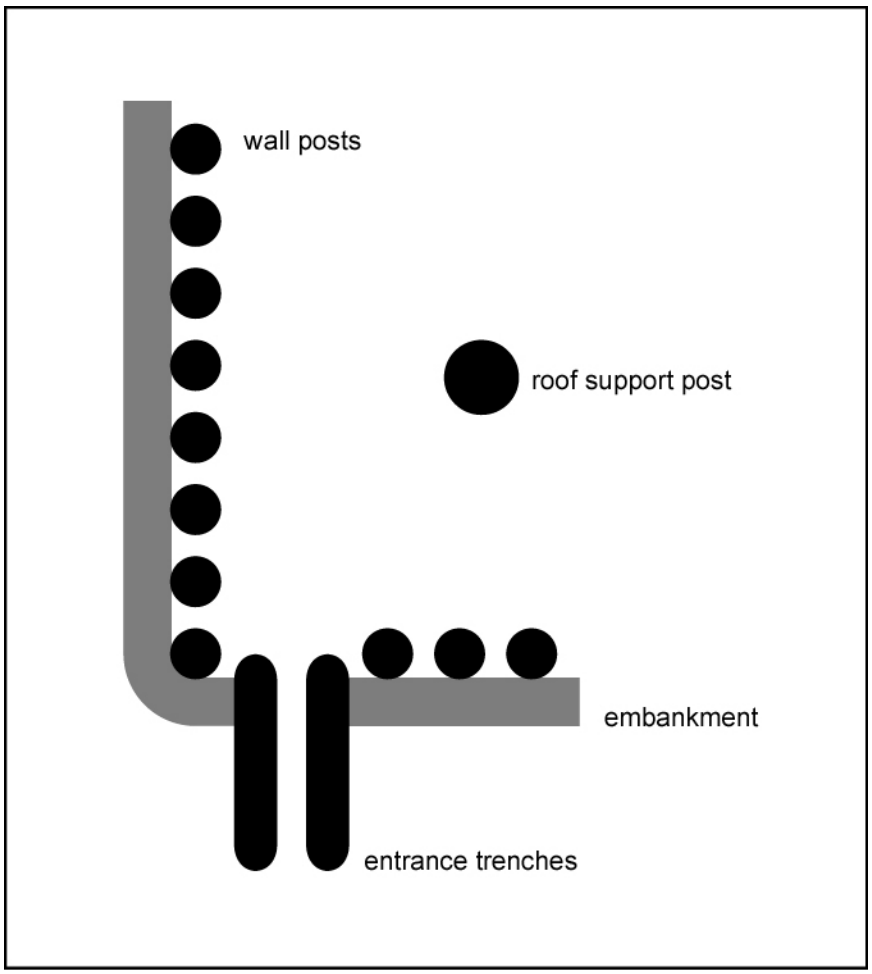


Figure 4.3. Earthen embankments and entrance trenches.

The first stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse (Floor 6) was roughly 48 by 48 feet square, with rounded corners (Figure 4.4). The floor of this earliest townhouse corresponds to the top of subsoil or the top of the premound humus, and Figure 4.4 therefore shows postholes and burials associated with the first townhouse and ramada and also some postholes and burials that are associated with later stages of these structures. A clay hearth was built in the center of the structure, and four roof support posts were placed around it. Roof supports are represented by concentrations of large postholes near each corner of the townhouse. The roof support posts themselves seem to have been as much as two to three feet in diameter. They are situated between 10 and 15 feet from the hearth and between seven and 12 feet from the corners of the structure. They are placed roughly 20 to 26 feet apart from each other. These posts would have helped to hold up the section of the roof surrounding the smokehole, as there would have been daub added to the bark and thatch in the middle section of the roof around the smokehole itself—remnants of all of these architectural materials have been identified in the mound. The placement of hearth and roof support posts was generally consistent in each stage of the townhouse after this original arrangement, although renovations and replacements probably necessitated some slight shifts in the precise placement of these posts—especially after there were already several sets of large postholes buried within the ruins of former townhouses. A doorway was placed at the middle of the southeastern wall of the first townhouse, and it opened to the southeast, towards the ramada and plaza. The presence of two pairs of parallel entrance trenches associated with this floor suggests that the original doorway may have been rebuilt—perhaps to correct its alignment—before the first stage of the structure itself was abandoned. The presence of these entrance trenches may indirectly imply the presence of earthen

Figure 4.4. Floor 6, the first stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

embankments around the outer edge of the first stage of the townhouse and its later stages (Hally 1994a:154-155).

The second stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse (Floor 5) also covered an area of some 48 by 48 feet, and the hearth was kept in its original place (Figure 4.5). The second stage was rebuilt atop the daub and charred wood that were left after the first townhouse was burned and covered. This second townhouse was very similar to its predecessor. Roof support posts in this townhouse were placed in the same spots as their predecessors. The doorway was moved from the middle of the southeastern wall to the southernmost corner of the structure, some ten feet southwest of the original. It continued to open towards the southeast. Interestingly, graves were placed on both sides of both of these doorways. Several burials were situated north and south of the original entryway (Figure 4.4). Others were placed on both sides of the path formed by the later doorway (Figure 4.4). It is difficult to relate these graves to specific stages of the townhouse. That said, the burials inside the townhouse and in the townhouse ramada area all originate at or near the bottom of the mound. Those in the northeastern part of the ramada form a pathway parallel to the entrance to the earliest townhouse. Those in the southwestern part of the ramada form a pathway parallel to the entrance to the second and later stages of the townhouse. Therefore, the burials in the northeastern part of the ramada probably correspond to the first manifestation of the townhouse, and those in the southwestern part of the ramada probably correspond to the middle stages of the townhouse.

The third stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse (Floor 4) was very much like the second in its dimensions and in the placement of hearth and doorway (Figure 4.6). Several inches of light sand and dark sand were placed atop the burnt remnants of the second stage.

Figure 4.5. Floor 5, the second stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

Figure 4.6. Floor 4, the third stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

This sand was probably deliberately placed on top of architectural rubble to create an even surface for another townhouse, although at least some of this sand could represent flood deposits. Burnt timbers were found lying on this floor, and these represent beams and rafters from the roof (Ward and Davis 1999:186). Sections of several pots were found on this floor, including a jar that may have been placed on a bench along the inner edge of the structure (Wilson and Rodning 2002:29).

The fourth townhouse (Floor 3) resembled the third (Figure 4.7). Burnt timbers and pieces of charred cane were also found on this floor, again thought to be material from the roof that fell on the floor when the structure burned. The original hearth was still present, and the four inner roof support posts were still set in their original arrangement. The doorway was placed at the southernmost corner of the structure. Its doorway continued to open towards the southeast.

The fifth (Floor 2) stage of the townhouse may have been somewhat larger, and more round, than its predecessors (Figure 4.8). The first four stages of the townhouse were roughly 48 by 48 feet, each covering an area of 2304 square feet. The fifth stage may have been as much as 52 by 52 feet, or close to 2704 square feet. Its corners were somewhat more rounded than those of earlier stages. The hearth was moved slightly north of its original position near the middle of the townhouse. The doorway was placed at the southern corner of the structure. The ramada was still present in the area outside the townhouse entrance.

The last manifestation of the townhouse (Floor 1) resembled its fifth stage (compare figures 3.3 and 3.6 with Figure 4.8). A map comparable to those in figures 4.4 to 4.8, showing postholes specifically associated with each floor, was not drawn in the field, because the procedures for excavating floors 1 and 2 were different than those with which

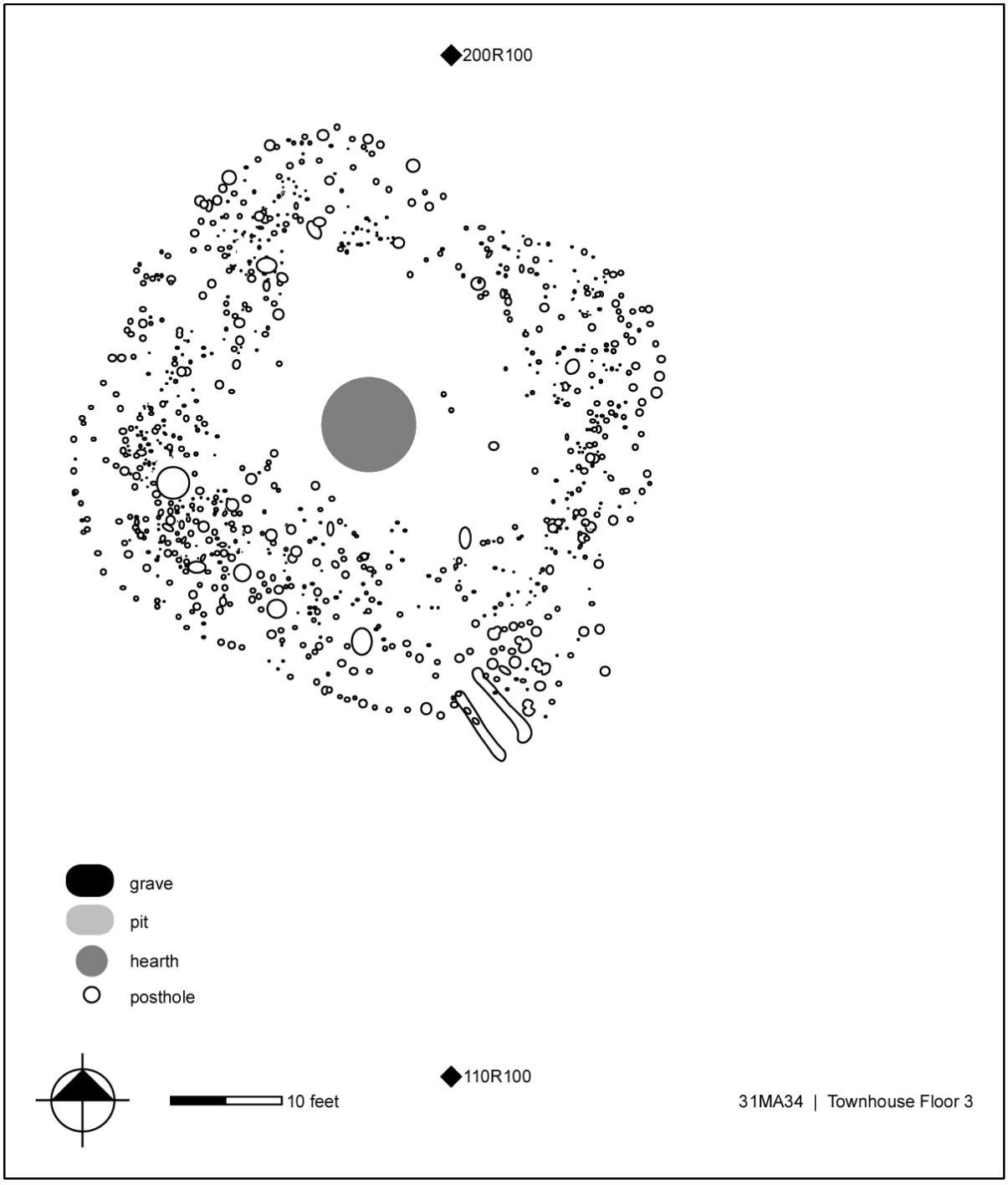


Figure 4.7. Floor 3, the fourth stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

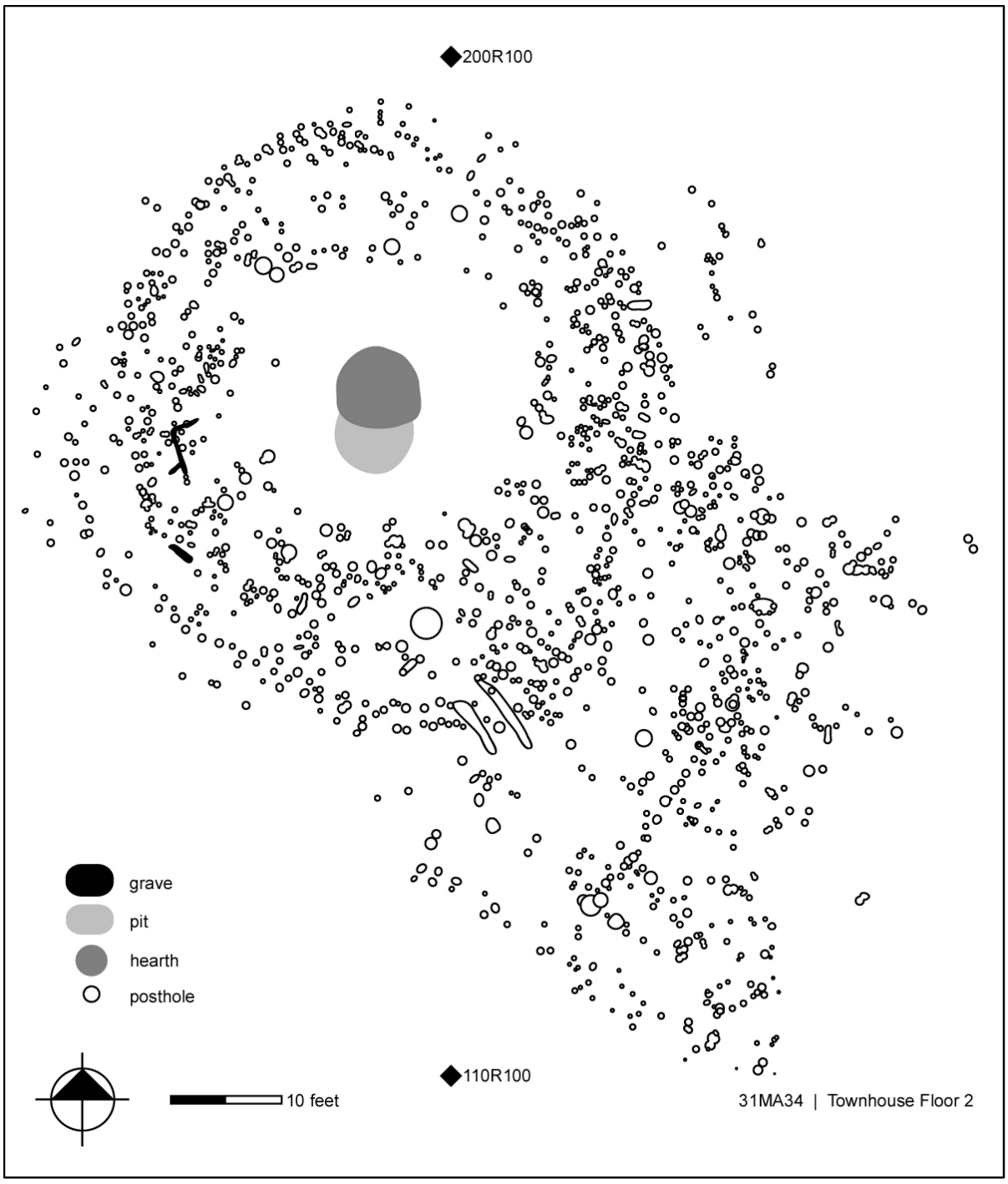


Figure 4.8. Floor 2, the fifth stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

floors 3 through 6 were exposed. I have not digitized a map specifically depicting postholes associated with Floor 1, but all indications are that this last stage is comparable to the townhouse associated with Floor 2.

Late stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse (Structure 1) replicated their predecessors with some modifications (Table 4.1). One change in the townhouse from its earliest to latest stages was its enlargement, from 48 to 52 feet square. The doorway was repositioned slightly when the second stage of the townhouse was built, and this doorway at the southern corner of the structure, rather than in the middle of the southeastern wall, was replicated in later manifestations of the townhouse. However, each doorway maintained the same alignment and direction as the original. Moreover, the hearth, and probably also the roof support posts around it, were placed in the same loci in every stage of the townhouse. Despite some changes, the design and placement of the Coweeta Creek townhouse seems to have been consistent from its earliest to latest stages.

It is not entirely clear how many years elapsed, on average and in each particular case, between successive stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse. I would speculate that each townhouse experienced considerable renovation—replacing selected posts and beams, replacing sections of the roof, filling in uneven surfaces—but that the act of rebuilding the townhouse in its entirety represented a major event in the public life of the entire town. Relevant radiocarbon dates and temporally sensitive artifacts are described in later chapters, and they are consistent with the hypothesis that the townhouse was rebuilt once every 25 to 35 years (compare with Schroedl 2000:286-289). This estimate seems long compared to the estimated life spans of Mississippian domestic houses in the Southeast, but townhouses may not have been rebuilt as often as domestic houses, given the differences in the numbers of

Table 4.1. Public Structures at Coweeta Creek

	Center	Hearth	Doorway	Length[1]	Width[1]	Area[1]
Structure 1	165R95			(average) 49	(average) 49	2434
latest						
Floor 1	165R95	Feature 8	southeast	52	52	2704
Floor 2	165R95	Feature 8	southeast	52	52	2704
Floor 3	165R95	Feature 19	southeast	48	48	2304
Floor 4	165R95	Feature 19	southeast	48	48	2304
Floor 5	165R95	Feature 19	southeast	48	48	2304
Floor 6	165R95	Feature 19	southeast	48	48	2304
earliest						
Structure 2	145R115			40	15	600

[1] Feet and square feet.

people and the amount of raw material needed to build these public and domestic structures (compare with Muller 1997:189-190; Pauketat 2003:45-47; Smith 1995:239-242) . I suggest that the townhouse was probably rebuilt once by each generation of the community.

The townhouse ramada (Structure 2) was probably rebuilt as often as was the Coweeta Creek townhouse itself, if not more often, but the important point to note here is that it was maintained and rebuilt as long as the townhouse itself (Table 4.1). Figure 4.8 shows that this ramada was indeed built beside the fifth townhouse, and field notes make it clear that the ramada was also present in association with the sixth and last stage of the townhouse. Figure 4.4 depicts postholes that include those associated with early stages of this ramada, corresponding to early stages of the townhouse. The complicated stratigraphy of the eastern edge of the mound makes it difficult to relate specific postholes to specific stages of the ramada (see Figure 3.10). It is also difficult to discern the actual edges of any particular stage of the townhouse ramada because of the redundancy of building and rebuilding (see Figure 4.9). The preponderance of evidence from the Coweeta Creek site, and the presence of ramadas beside Mississippian and protohistoric public structures elsewhere in the southern Appalachians, leads me to conclude that the ramada was present beside each manifestation of the townhouse, and that it may have been built and rebuilt as often as the townhouse itself.

Several pits northeast of the townhouse ramada may represent receptacles for the disposal of select debris from the hearth and other sources within the townhouse itself (Figure 4.9). Feature 32 is a circular pit with steep edges, roughly 20 inches in diameter, extending six inches deep from its origin in the premound humus (Figure 4.10). Its contents include ash and charcoal, burned bone, and sherds from one large jar. Feature 33 is a circular

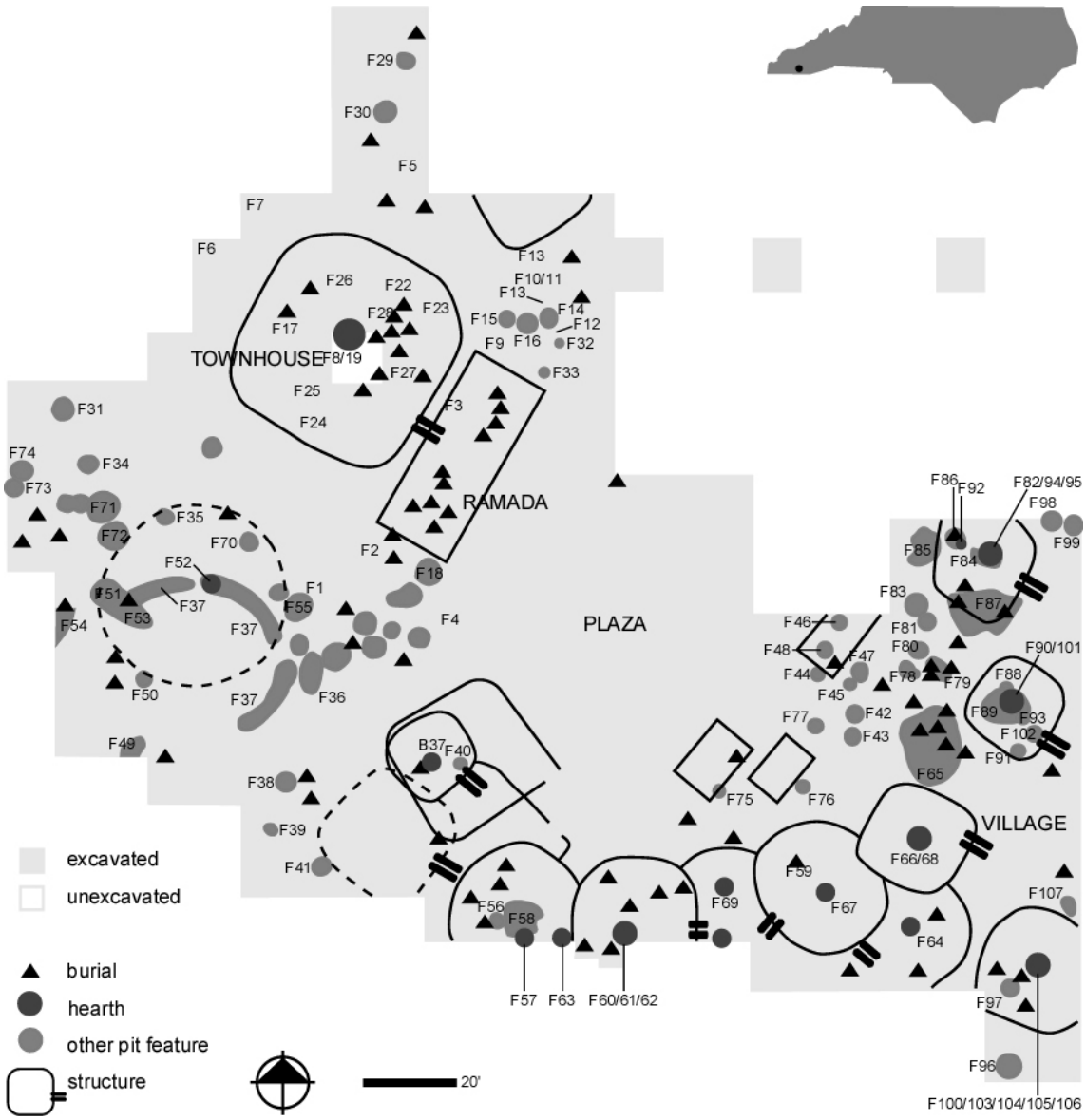


Figure 4.9. Settlement plan at the Coweeta Creek site.

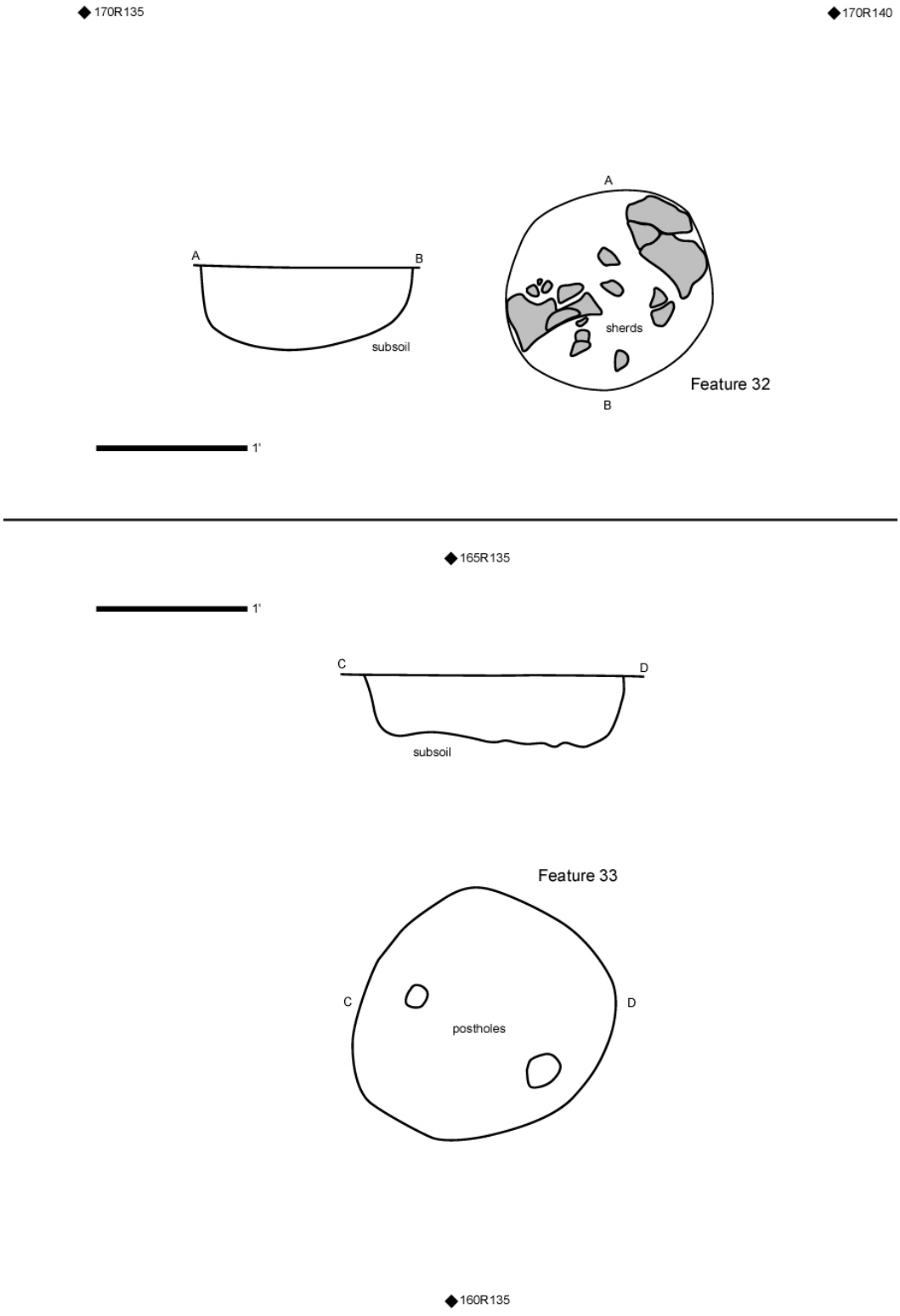


Figure 4.10. Circular pits with ash and charcoal (Features 32 and 33) near the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

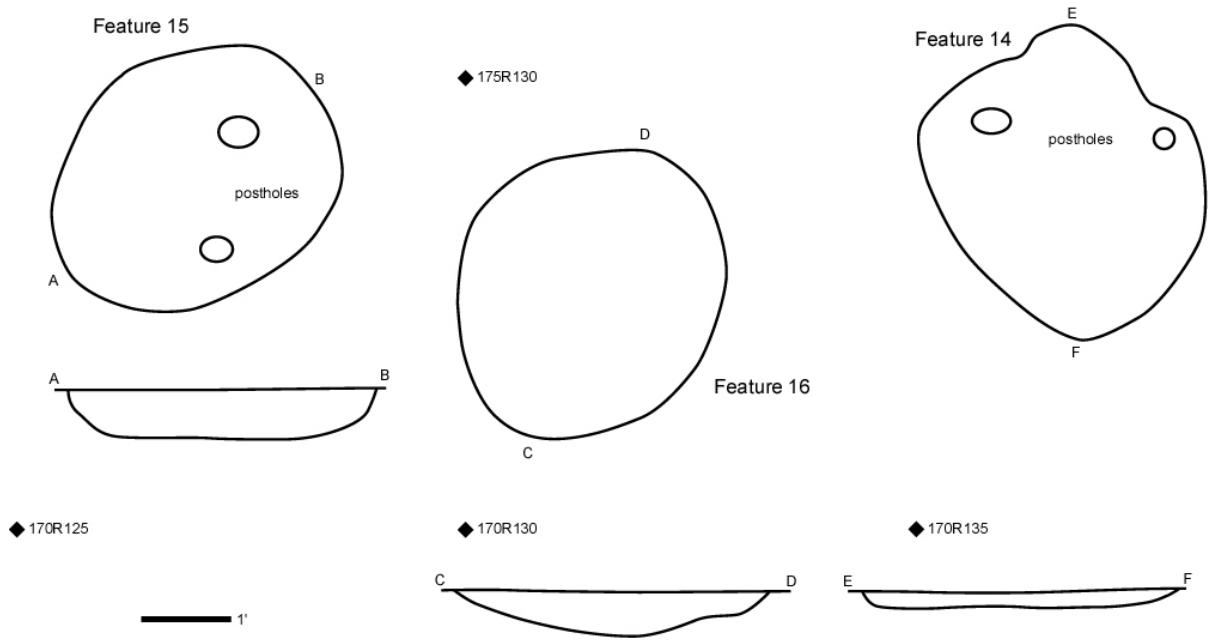


Figure 4.11. Circular pits (Features 14, 15, and 16) northeast of the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

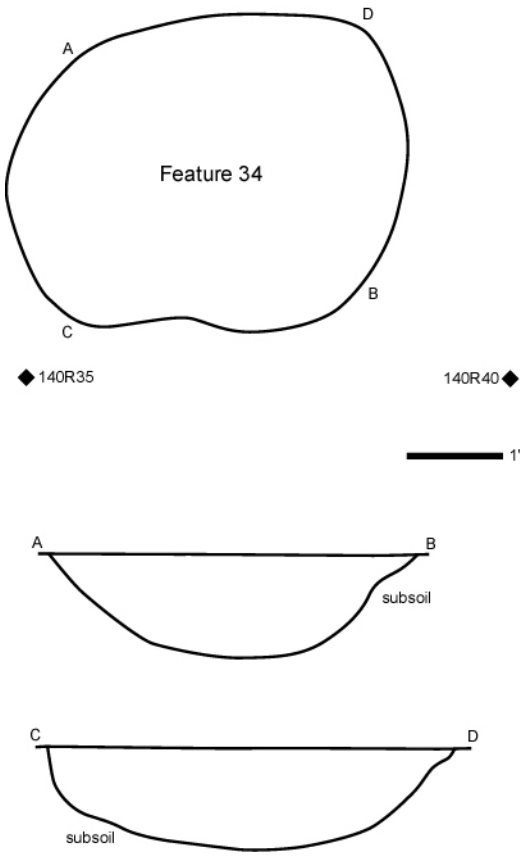


Figure 4.12. Circular basin filled with ash and charcoal (Feature 34) southwest of the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

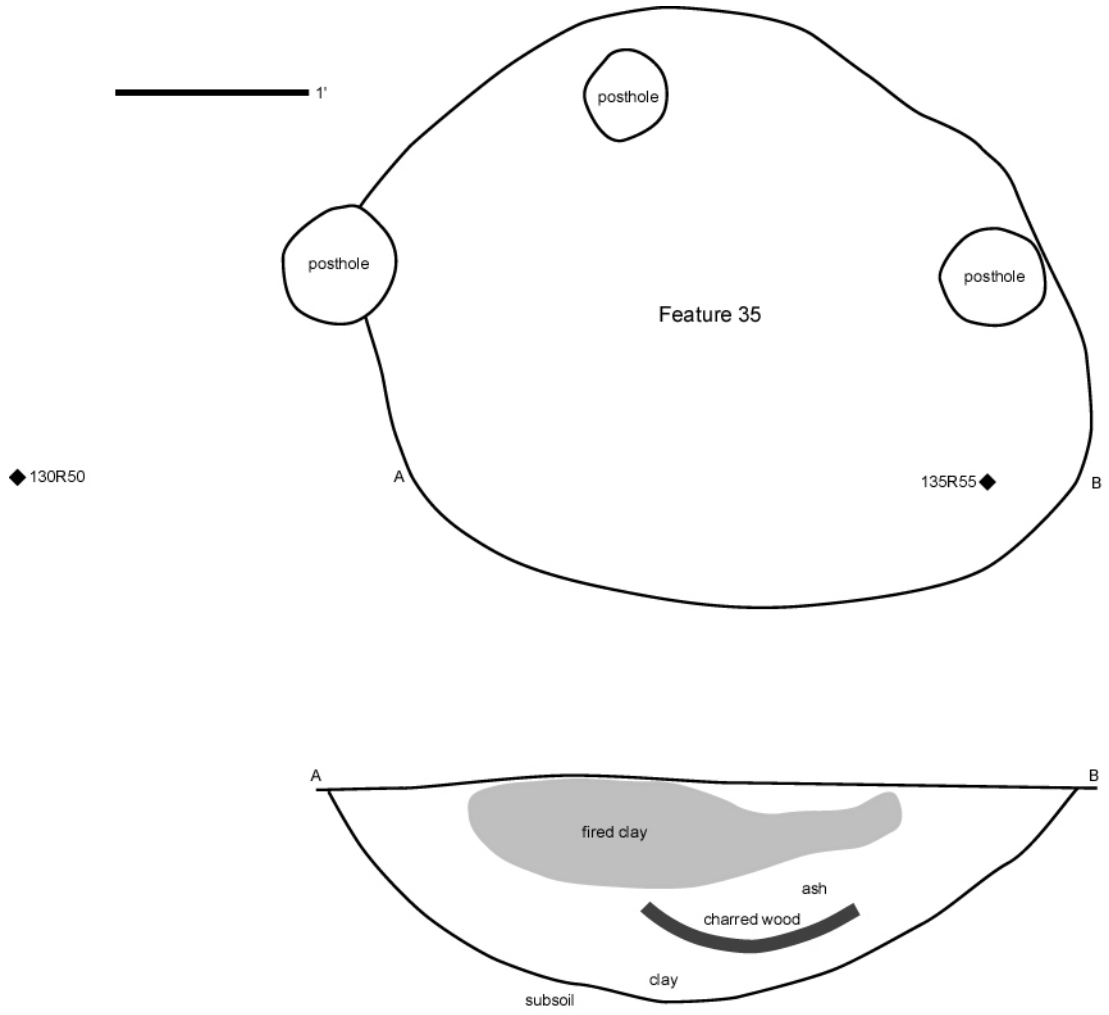


Figure 4.13. Circular basin filled with ash and charcoal (Feature 35) southwest of the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

basin, with steeply sloping edges, roughly 20 inches in diameter, and five inches deep from its origin in the premound humus (Figure 4.10). The contents of this basin include ash and charcoal, cracked rocks, burned bone, and sherds from one large jar. Features 32 and 33 are very similar to each other in their morphology and contents. Both include concentrations of ash and charcoal, but fires were probably not set within these pits. I concur with field notes speculating that ash and charcoal in these pits may derive from activities that took place within or beside the townhouse. I would suggest more specifically that debris from the townhouse hearth was disposed in these pits. The tops of these pits were identified in deposits of premound humus, and the pits therefore may be associated with the earliest stage of the townhouse. Features 14, 15, and 16 are also located in the area northeast of the townhouse ramada (Figure 4.9), but field notes do not describe the same kinds of ash and charcoal concentrations that are identified in features 32 and 33. Features 14, 15, and 16 are circular pits that range from 30 to 45 inches in diameter and that are 5 to 8 inches deep (Figure 4.11), slightly larger in diameter than features 32 and 33.

Other features southwest of the townhouse mound may also represent receptacles for the disposal of debris from the townhouse hearth (Figure 4.9). Feature 34 is roughly 49 by 38 inches and 13 inches deep (Figure 4.12). Feature 35 is roughly 38 by 29 inches and 13 inches deep (Figure 4.13). Both are somewhat larger than features 32 and 33. The presence of charcoal, ash, daub, burnt clay, and cracked rocks in these features indicates they may have served similar functions as features 32 and 33. My identification of these features as receptacles for debris from the townhouse hearth certainly must be considered speculative. That said, given the ritual significance accorded townhouse hearths in ethnohistoric sources, it seems likely that there would have been specific places near townhouses in which to

dispose of debris from those hearths, and features 32 through 35 may represent such deposits, although this provisional identification should be tested, and also compared to ash heaps created beside historic and modern stomp grounds.

Another pit beside or under the ramada is Feature 18 (Figure 4.4). The top of this pit was recognized in the premound humus, and thus it is likely associated with an early stage of the townhouse ramada. Mottled red clay, yellow clay, and midden were present in this pit, which was 6.35 by 5.65 feet, and 2.35 feet deep. Its placement at the southwestern end of this ramada indicates it is related to events and activities in and around the townhouse. The midden and clay dumped into the pit may represent byproducts of activities that took place here.

Several pits are present in the area southwest of Feature 18 (Figure 4.9). These pits were never formally designated with "feature" numbers in the field. They likely represent borrow pits, perhaps the source of earthen material needed for building or rebuilding sections of the townhouse, as have been noted near the Cherokee townhouse at Chota-Tanasee in eastern Tennessee (Schroedl 1986a:232). Maintaining and renovating townhouses may have required considerable amounts of sand and clay, certainly more than could have been dug out of these pits, but their placement close to the townhouse ramada is comparable to the concentration of such borrow pits near the Chota-Tanasee townhouse (Schroedl 1986a:230). These pits probably should be considered "features" and should be studied further.

Covering the ground surface beneath the townhouse ramada was a ramp connecting the entrance into the townhouse with the town plaza. This ramp was composed of clay, sand, rocks, and perhaps the remnants of burnt and buried ramadas as well. It was built up as the

layered ruins of successive townhouses created a slight rise above the original level of the townhouse.

The sand and clay in the ramp beside the Coweeta Creek townhouse, and the rock concentrations present here, may have antecedents in earlier forms of moundbuilding in western North Carolina. Layers of clay and clusters of boulders were found between different stages of several late prehistoric mounds in northeastern Georgia and southwestern North Carolina, where they capped former mound stages to create surfaces for later forms of mound summit architecture (Anderson 1994:205-217; Kelly and Neitzel 1961; Ward and Davis 1999:174-175). Boulders were included in the Peachtree mound in North Carolina, and there probably were structures placed atop the successive surfaces present in this mound (Dickens 1979:23-24; Setzler and Jennings 1941; Ward and Davis 1999:175-176). Boulders covered the fallen posts of a structure beside the earth lodges buried within Garden Creek Mound #1 (Dickens 1976:82), and perhaps rock concentrations at the eastern edge of the Coweeta Creek mound served a similar purpose in covering posts from collapsed ramadas. There was a log ramp leading to the summit of Garden Creek Mound #1 (Dickens 1976:78), but no evidence of a log ramp has been detected in the Coweeta Creek townhouse mound. Both boulders and clay may have been placed beside the Coweeta Creek townhouse to enhance the structural integrity of the townhouse itself or the ramp leading up to it. They may also have had symbolic significance as architectural components of the ramp and ramada that guided movement from the plaza into the Coweeta Creek townhouse itself.

Plazas have been identified beside public structures at several late prehistoric settlements in the southern Appalachians, and of course a plaza was present at Coweeta Creek between the townhouse and village area at the site (Figure 4.9). The long axis of the

plaza runs from southwest to northeast, parallel to the townhouse ramada and perpendicular to the axis formed by the entrance into the townhouse, which runs from northwest to southeast. These axes, manifested architecturally by the townhouse, its ramada, and the town plaza, were significant in structuring the layout and alignment of both public and domestic architecture. The main concentration of domestic houses is situated on the other side of the plaza from the townhouse and townhouse ramada, as shown in Figure 4.9. Most of the entryways into domestic houses in the village are aligned to the same axis as the entryway into the townhouse, as is also shown in Figure 4.9. Rather than merely an empty space between the townhouse and village, the plaza should be considered an essential component of the formal layout of the town (see Kidder 1998, 2004; Moore 1996a, 1996b).

Log stockades are another form of public architecture at late prehistoric and protohistoric settlements in the southern Appalachians, but excavations at Coweeta Creek have not uncovered direct evidence of a log stockade surrounding the town (Figure 4.9). It may be that excavations simply did not extend far enough away from the Coweeta Creek townhouse to reach such a stockade. Stockades at some late prehistoric settlements in northern Georgia and eastern Tennessee were more than 100 feet away from the townhouses in those towns (Hally and Kelly 1998; Sullivan 1987). The compact arrangement of houses in the village area at Coweeta Creek has been interpreted as evidence that a log stockade did surround the town even though direct archaeological evidence of such a stockade has not been identified (Dickens 1978:131; Ward and Davis 1999:186-187). It seems likely that the town at Coweeta Creek was surrounded by a log stockade, at least during part of its settlement history, although this is still an unresolved issue at this point. Log stockades have been identified at several late prehistoric settlements in western North Carolina, and,

therefore, it seems likely that Coweeta Creek would also have been so enclosed (see Ashcraft 1996; Moore 2002b).

Whether or not a stockade was present, other forms of public architecture—the townhouse, townhouse ramada, and plaza—all demonstrate the presence of a formal town plan at the Coweeta Creek site, which was preserved as the town itself was rebuilt. The formal arrangement and alignment of the townhouse and plaza probably structured the movement of people through the public area within their town. Spatial axes manifested in the townhouse and plaza fit within an overarching town plan in which domestic houses adhered to the same alignments as the townhouse and plaza did. These alignments were preserved in each manifestation of the townhouse. My interpretation of that continuity is that the built environment of one generation of the town structured the settlement plan of later stages in its life history. Each townhouse referenced its predecessors, if only in that every townhouse was built on top of the burned and buried remnants of its earlier stages. The townhouses and townhouse hearths at Coweeta Creek materialized the identity of the surrounding community as a town. Townhouses were buried in the Coweeta Creek mound once their lives were done, as were remnants of old townhouse hearths, as well as several people whose status within the community entitled them to burial within the townhouse. I conclude from this point that the memory of earlier generations of the community was embedded in the townhouse itself, as a landmark for the town, and a material connection to its past. I am not arguing that specific people buried in the mound were venerated in ancestral cults, merely that the placement and alignment of the first townhouse set in place spatial reference points that shaped the built environment of the town in later years. This continuity anchored people in the community to this particular place and created architectural

threads connecting each generation of the community to its predecessors and its successors. This continuity is most clearly evident in the consistency in design and placement of successive manifestations of the townhouse.

Such consistency was probably guided primarily by the symbolic and even sacred meanings embedded in townhouses and in townhouse hearths. Symbolically, the west was likely associated with darkness and death. Conversely, the east would have been associated with light, and doorways to the townhouse may have opened towards the east or southeast for this reason. Consistent arrangements of the doorway, roof support posts, and hearth probably ensured that people moved through the townhouse, and in and out of this space, along the same pathways throughout its architectural history. The hearth in the townhouse also may have created a portal that literally formed a pathway from the earth to both the upper and lower worlds, and keeping it in place would have been imperative to the social vitality of the town (B. H. Riggs, personal communication 2004). It may also have been easier to rebuild hearths and entryways in place rather than moving them, and entryways to both public and domestic structures that opened towards the southeast effectively helped to protect inside spaces from northwesterly winds during the winter (H. T. Ward, personal communication 2000). Many aspects of building and rebuilding townhouses probably were guided by both practical considerations and symbolism, including the very practices of burning and burying townhouses before building their successors.

Thin lenses of sand and perhaps some midden were spread across each burned and dismantled stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse, covering the former structure and creating a surface for a successor. This practice served the very practical purpose of preparing the ground surface for another structure, and burning may have been the easiest

way to dispose of a townhouse. Burning and burying old townhouses may have taken place with feasts and other ritual events commemorating the death and rebirth of the townhouse, and of the community as a whole.

Archaeologists have recognized the phenomenon of burying and rebuilding mounds and structures at Mississippian settlements in other parts of the Southeast. Krause (1996) has described cycles of events during which structures on the summit of a Mississippian mound at the Snodgrass site in the Middle Tennessee Valley in northern Alabama were built, burned down, and capped with mantles of clay that blanketed old mound surfaces and created new platforms. He concludes:

> In broader perspective, I view the periodic destruction of Mississippian mound summit buildings and their sealing with clay or dirt as marking the end of a particular era of ritualized or ritually sanctified corporate social, political, and economic behavior. I suspect that subsequent moundbuilding efforts were organized and directed by an appropriate successor. If I am right, then at least some instances of Mississippian mound surface burial chronicle the succession of authorities to office and title, however that may have been locally determined and expressed. (Krause 1996:63)

Townspeople at Coweeta Creek did not cover burned townhouses to build a pyramidal platform mound, but burning and burying a townhouse and creating a surface for a succeeding stage of the townhouse may well have represented the succession of leaders within the community, the renewed identity of local households as a town, or both.

The practice of burning and burying structures built on mound Mississippian mound summits seems to have been widespread across the Southeast. Schambach (1996) has described archaeological evidence of these practices at a Caddoan mound in Arkansas where sand was placed around structures, and roof materials were removed, before the structures were set on fire and eventually covered with sand. He writes:

> The reason for this remarkable degree of preservation is that these buildings were all burned and buried according to the same careful ritual. First sand was piled around the walls, sometimes to the height of the eaves. Then the roof was probably removed, for we found few, if any, roof members and very little thatch. Then the building, standing roofless inside a thick wall of earth, was set on fire. As soon as all the walls were burning well, they were pushed in, one at a time, and then quickly covered with sand, smothering the fire and producing the remarkably complete carbonized remains that we found. For the Caddo, one immediate objective of this ritual may have been to produce the great plume of smoke and steam that must have emanated from each burned and buried building for days or even weeks, as a cord or more of wood was slowly reduced to charcoal…Before a temple was burned, sand was carried inside and piled on the central hearth, probably extinguishing the fire. (Schambach 1996:41)

One point made here raises the issue of whether public structures such as the Coweeta Creek townhouse, or domestic structures that were similarly burned and buried, may have smoldered for several days or longer before their architectural successors were built. Fires may have been dampened somewhat by daub and other material from collapsed roofs and perhaps by thin lenses of sand and midden that covered smoldering remnants of the townhouse. However, each townhouse was made of wood, bark, thatch, and other materials that would have burned easily and quickly. Each townhouse probably did burn rapidly, and the presence of charred timbers and thatch found on some of its floors indicate that the fires did not last long enough to burn everything entirely, although, alternatively, burying a townhouse while it was still burning or smoldering may have diminished or put out flames by cutting off the supply of air that would have fed them. Moreover, although some daub is present in deposits between townhouse floors, it is not nearly as much as would have been present had these structures not been all but entirely consumed by fire. What was left behind was buried, first by preparing the ground surface and then building a succeeding stage of the townhouse, and this architectural history eventually created a mound composed of the remnants of several generations of this public structure.

Earthen mounds possessed symbolic and even sacred meanings to Mississippian peoples. Knight (1989) has argued that many pyramidal mounds in the late prehistoric Southeast represent icons of the earth itself. Mounds were often quadrilateral in shape with flat summits, with the four sides and four corners "manifesting four world directions" (Knight 1989:287). Earthen ramps led to the summits of many mounds, representing cosmological pathways as well as guiding people from ground surface to mound summit (Knight 1989:287). Certainly, the act of building mounds created community, as people cooperated to build mounds and to add blanket mantles and clay caps to mounds that were already present on the landscape. Meanwhile, the outcomes of these events became part of the landscape, shaping the lives of people in the surrounding community for years to come. Pieces of this broader Mississippian tradition in the Southeast survived into the eighteenth century, when Cherokee communities still buried old and collapsed townhouses (Knight 1989:282; Mooney 1900:335-336; Sturtevant 1978:200).

Moundbuilding episodes in the late prehistoric Southeast were probably religious rituals as much as they were public social events. Knight (1986) has identified the ritual practices in several cults as sources of social solidarity and hierarchy in Mississippian culture. Participation in moundbuilding created social ties among people who dug clay and sand and built mounds with basketloads of these materials. Pyramidal mounds also became monuments to the chiefs who directed these efforts and who lived or conducted rituals on their summits. Mississippian platform mounds formed the centers of chiefdoms (Anderson 1999; Hally 1999; Lindauer and Blitz 1997). Some mounds served as settings for elite feasts (Smith and Williams 1994). At major Mississippian centers in the Southeast, arrangements of mounds created whole monumental landscapes that materialized specific worldviews and

elite knowledge about the relationships between different groups of people (Dalan 1997; Demel and Hall 1998; Kidder 1998; King 1999; Knight 1998; Mehrer 2000; Pauketat 2000; Payne and Scarry 1998; Steponaitis 1998; Wesson 1998). Even at lesser Mississippian settlements in the Southeast, arrangements of mounds at town plazas created public architectural spaces that embedded concepts about spirituality and social relations in the built environment (Holley 1999; Muller 1998; Lewis and Stout 1998; Stout and Lewis 1998). Mythological knowledge about mounds endured in Cherokee culture throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and events at the Kituwha mound are still significant to modern Cherokee culture (Knight 1989:282; Duncan 1998:27; Duncan and Riggs 2003:73; Mooney 1900:336-337; Riggs and Shumate 2003:72-73).

The townhouse at Coweeta Creek was not built on the summit of a pyramidal platform mound, like those that were present at many native towns in the Southeast during late prehistory, but it did share the following characteristics with Mississippian mounds. First, the Coweeta Creek townhouse was set apart from domestic houses and was also situated beside a town plaza. Second, the Coweeta Creek townhouse was a setting for the practice of public life within the community by virtue of its greater scale compared to domestic houses, and due to its placement across the plaza from the village area. Third, each stage of the townhouse was built on top of the remnants of its predecessors, and the townhouse fire was kept in a hearth that was situated in the same spot in each of its six manifestations, literally and probably symbolically connecting the hearth and fire in each generation of the townhouse to its predecessors and successors. Lastly, the townhouse was square, with rounded corners, and those corners pointed towards the four cardinal directions. The Coweeta Creek mound was not built as an earthen platform. Rather, it represents a

material outcome of a long history of building and rebuilding a townhouse. Nevertheless, this history must have reflected, and renewed, its status as a landmark. The Coweeta Creek townhouse, and others like it, therefore possessed some of the meanings that may have been attached to late prehistoric platform mounds.

The townhouse at Coweeta Creek differs from late prehistoric platform mounds in some respects. The mound at Coweeta Creek formed only as one townhouse was built atop the burnt and buried remnants of its predecessors—it was not built as a pyramidal platform specifically designed with a summit high above the surrounding ground surface. The mound at Coweeta Creek was not itself a quadrilateral pyramid with a flat summit—although the townhouse was square with rounded corners. Additions to the Coweeta Creek mound were relatively minimal, and in this respect they differed significantly from the more substantial additions to many Mississippian mounds in the Southeast. Clay was placed across part of the Coweeta Creek mound, but it apparently only covered the ramp that led from plaza through ramada to the doorway of the townhouse itself.

An even more significant difference between the Coweeta Creek townhouse and the more monumental mounds built at some Mississippian towns in the Southeast is that the Coweeta Creek townhouse was presumably widely accessible to the community who built it and the people who lived around it. There almost certainly were rules guiding the movement of people from the plaza into the townhouse, from the townhouse to the space outside of it, and within the townhouse itself. There probably were some events during which only some people had access to the townhouse. There probably were other events during which different groups of people followed very specific rules about their participation and presence in the townhouse. However, the plaza itself was a widely accessible public area within the

town. Neither the architectural design of nor the placement of the townhouse seems to have been guided by a philosophy of exclusive access to this public space. Furthermore, the design of the townhouse resembled the designs of domestic structures in the village, differing only in scale. Domestic structures at Coweeta Creek "housed" the households who lived in them (see Chapter 5). The townhouse at Coweeta Creek "housed" the public life of the people who considered themselves to be, and were considered by others to be, members of this community (see Chapter 2).

Broad access to public architecture may have contributed to the apparent conservatism seen in the pattern of replicating the same structure in each stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse. The townhouse and plaza were truly public spaces in that they belonged to the whole community, not to an elite kin group within the town. Certainly, select members of the community certainly achieved statuses during their lifetimes that entitled them to burial inside and beside the townhouse. However, all people within the town had access to at least some of the events and activities that took place in the townhouse and plaza beside it. The visible characteristics of public architecture manifested the communal identity of people within the town, and their relationships with preceding and succeeding generations of the town, rather than materializing the identities of specific chiefs or hierarchical power relations between chiefs and commoners. This social philosophy was embedded within every generation of the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

The placement and architectural layout of the Coweeta Creek townhouse are consistent from its earliest to its latest manifestation. I conclude from this point that the people in this town, and in others like it, shared a set of rules about the layout of public space within their community, and probably also about a set of symbolic meanings attached to the

arrangement of a townhouse and plaza like that seen at the Coweeta Creek site. I suggest further that these shared concepts were in place, literally and figuratively, for several generations of the townhouse, and therefore probably several generations of the community at Coweeta Creek as well. The practice of replicating the townhouse in rebuilding it ensured, whether intentionally or not, that people moved through public space within their community along the same pathways as their predecessors had, and as their descendants would in years to come. Burning and rebuilding the townhouse was an event akin to the burial and rebirth of this structure, and of the community itself. This architectural history materialized connections between successive generations of the Coweeta Creek community.

The townhouses at Coweeta Creek are more comparable to late prehistoric townhouses in southeastern Tennessee and northern Georgia, and to the townhouse at Chattooga, than they are to archaeologically known Cherokee townhouses dating to the middle and late eighteenth century. Historic Cherokee townhouses were circular or octagonal, from 50 to 60 feet in diameter, with rectangular ramadas beside them (Schroedl 1978, 1986a:540, 2000). Coweeta Creek townhouses were square with rounded corners, between 48 and 52 feet across, with rectangular ramadas beside their entryways (Rodning 2002c). Such architectural shifts suggest that the Coweeta Creek townhouse may predate the eighteenth century, and this expectation is confirmed by radiocarbon dates and chronologically diagnostic artifacts outlined in chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 5

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

Domestic structures at Coweeta Creek are represented archaeologically by patterned arrangements of postholes, pits, hearths, and paired entrance trenches in areas south, southeast, southwest, and north of the plaza (Figure 5.1; Table 5.1). Some dwellings are relatively easy to identify from a quick visual scan of the site map. Others are hidden in the dense scatter of postholes depicted on the map. Here, I identify specific domestic structures at Coweeta Creek. I first review some of the architectural characteristics of historic Cherokee dwellings and late prehistoric houses in southern Appalachia. Then, I outline my methods for identifying specific structures at Coweeta Creek. I then describe sixteen structures present within ten clusters of postholes. Maps and descriptions given here probably do not capture the whole spectrum of structures at the Coweeta Creek site, nor do they attribute every posthole to a specific structure or enclosure, but they are one step towards unraveling the palimpsest of postholes and other remnants of houses and outbuildings at the site.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, and as noted in Chapter 2, most Cherokee households lived in pairs of seasonal dwellings (Baden 1983; Russ and Chapman 1983; Schroedl 1986b, 2001a, 2001b; Shumate, Riggs, and Kimball 2003; Sullivan 1995). Circular or octagonal winter houses—made of singly set wall posts that formed the

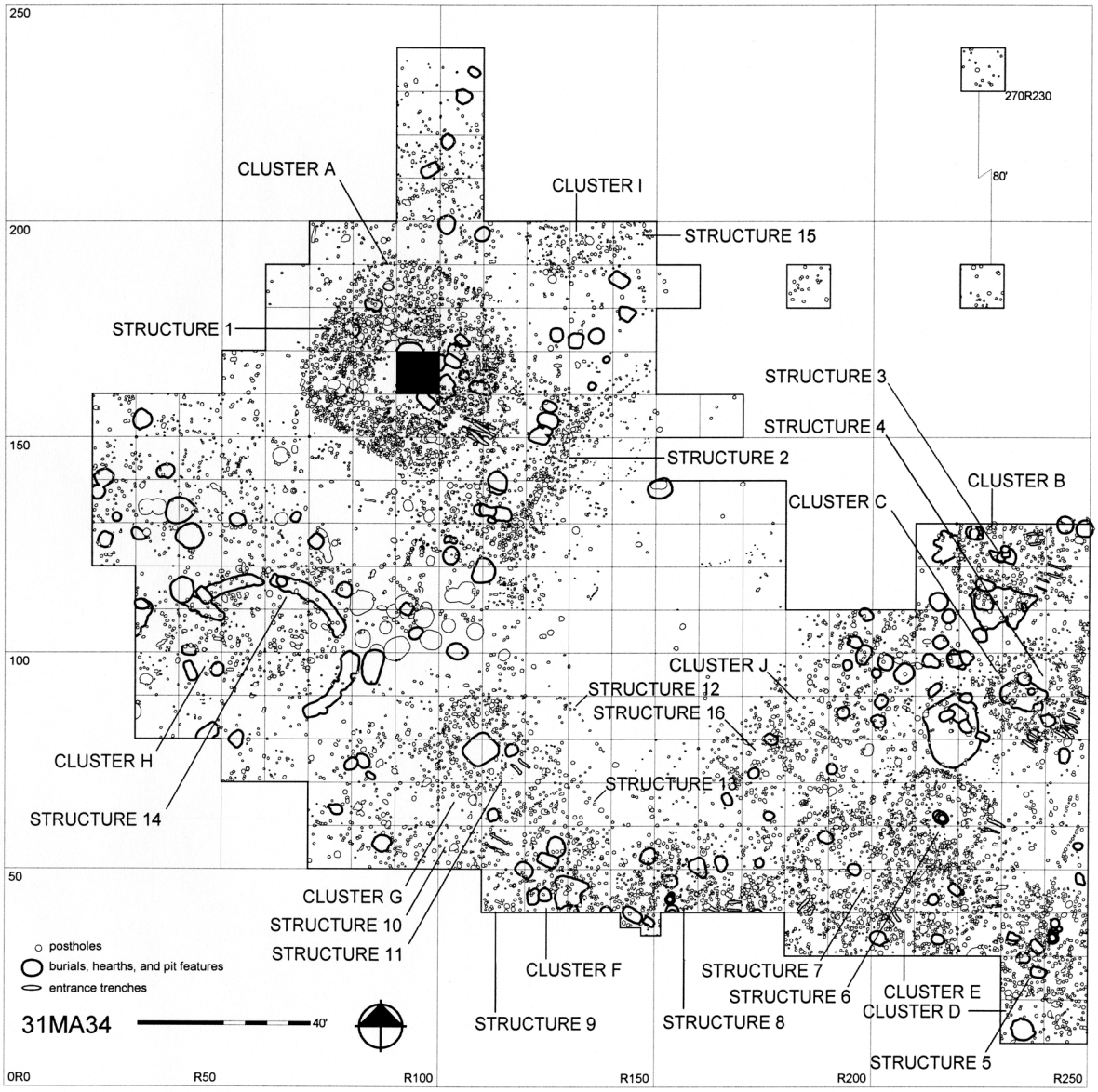


Figure 5.1. Posthole clusters and structures at the Coweeta Creek site.

Table 5.1. Domestic Architecture at Coweeta Creek

Structure	Shape	Center	Hearth	Door	Length[1]	Width[1]	Diam[1]	Area[1]
3 C	square	124R231	Fea 82	SE	21	21		441
B		123R231	Fea 95					
A		123R230	Fea 94					
			(Fea 92)					
4 B	square	91R237	Fea 90	SE	18	18		324
A		91R237	Fea 101					
5 E	square	34R242	Fea 100	SE?	23	23		529
D		35R243	Fea 103					
C		35R241	Fea 104					
B		38R243	Fea 105					
A		36R244	Fea 106					
6 B	square	62R216	Fea 66	SE	20	20		400
A		62R216	Fea 68					
7 D	round	50R196	Fea 67	SE/SW?			29	660
C		43R214	Fea 64	E				
B		52R174	Fea 69	?				
A		40R173	(40R173)	?				
8 C	square	43R154	Fea 61	E	23	22		506
B		41R154	Fea 60					
A		44R154	Fea 62					
9 B	round	41R131	Fea 57	?			32	804
A		41R139	Fea 63	?				
10	?	63R101	?	SE				
11	rectangle	79R110	Bur 37	SE	21	19		399
12	?	80R120	?	SE	30	30		900
13	?	60R130	?	?				
14	?	116R64	?	?				
15	square	200R130	?	?				
16	rectangle	78R173	none	NW?	15	8		120

[1] Feet and square feet.

framework for structures finished with wattle and daub, topped with roof beams and roofs made of bark, thatch, and some dirt—ranged from roughly 19 to 24 feet in diameter (Schroedl 1986b:267). A hearth was placed at or near the center of each winter lodge. A set of four inner roof support posts spaced around such a hearth held up the roof, in the middle of which was placed a daubed smokehole, positioned directly above the hearth itself. Each winter lodge had one doorway and one smokehole in its roof. Rectangular summer houses—made of posts that supported roofs but not necessarily walls, and often placed near the doorways to the winter structures with which they were paired—ranged from 13 to 20 feet wide and from 26 to 35 feet long (Schroedl 1986b:268). The roofs of summer structures offered shelter, and they may have served as storage platforms as well. Although some domestic activities certainly took place inside winter houses, especially in and beside their hearths, many domestic tasks were probably conducted beneath summer structures, and in outdoor areas around houses. Winter lodges and summer houses, and probably storage structures and other outbuildings that are difficult to detect archaeologically, together represent the domestic dwellings in which households lived during the eighteenth century.

As outlined in Chapter 2, late prehistoric domestic houses at Mississippian settlements in northern Georgia, southeastern Tennessee, and the western Carolinas were different in several respects from the paired seasonal dwellings characteristic of historic Cherokee dwellings (Dickens 1978; Hally 1994a, 1994b, 2002; Hally and Kelly 1998; Hally, Smith, and Langford 1990; Lewis and Kneberg 1941; Lewis, Lewis, and Sullivan 1995:71-74, 473-476, 500-504, 527-530; Polhemus 1987, 1990; Rodning 2001b; Schroedl 1998, 2001a, 2001b; Sullivan 1987, 1995; Ward and Davis 1999). Mississippian houses were square with rounded corners, from 18 to 26 feet across. Vertical log posts formed the

framework for walls that were finished with wattle and daub. Four inner roof supports were placed around central hearths. Daubed smokeholes were placed above the hearths in the sections of roofs held up by these roof support posts. Benches lined the inside walls of these structures around areas beside central hearths. Doorways were placed along one edge, or sometimes at the corners of houses. Entryways to both public and domestic structures are visible archaeologically as pairs of trenches, leading outward from the lines of postholes representing the walls of these structures. Such foundations for doorways probably cut through earthen embankments, which surrounded the outer edges of structures, and therefore necessitated sturdy entrance passages that prevented embankments and other materials from eroding into houses. House floors seem to have sloped downward from the walls towards central hearths, and in at least some areas of the southern Appalachians houses were built in excavated basins (Lewis, Lewis, and Sullivan 1995). This combination of depressed floors, earthen embankments around the outer edges of houses, and steeply pitched roofs may have contributed to the impression developed by some early European colonists that these houses were entirely covered by earth (Hally 2002). Rectangular ramadas, similar to eighteenth-century summer structures, are associated with domestic houses at some late prehistoric and sixteenth-century settlements in northern Georgia and eastern Tennessee, although they have not been identified in direct association with domestic dwellings at late prehistoric settlements in western North Carolina. Houses at late prehistoric and eighteenth-century settlements in eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia resemble the public structures present in these towns, as is seen in similarities between public and domestic architecture at Coweeta Creek.

Domestic houses at Coweeta Creek are more comparable to late prehistoric houses in southern Appalachia than to historic Cherokee dwellings (see Schroedl 2001:287; Ward and Davis 1999:186). Others have noted the resemblances between houses at Coweeta Creek and those at late prehistoric settlements in western North Carolina such as Garden Creek and Warren Wilson (Dickens 1978). This type of domestic structure is also seen at late prehistoric settlements in northern Georgia and eastern Tennessee (Hally 1988; Polhemus 1990; Sullivan 1987). Indeed, the first step in my search for structures at Coweeta Creek was to look for posthole patterns comparable to the houses at sites such as Warren Wilson and Garden Creek. However, other techniques have also proven helpful in identifying houses in the Coweeta Creek village area.

One of the challenges to unraveling the maze of postholes in the Coweeta Creek village stems from the fact that structures were renovated and rebuilt (see Prezzano 1988; Warrick 1988). Some renovations probably entailed the replacement of specific posts and timbers. Periodically, however, entire structures were rebuilt. Often, and as is seen in the townhouse mound, structures were rebuilt in place. However, even slight shifts in one direction or another, or slight changes in the placement of the hearth and entryway, make it difficult to attribute postholes to one specific stage of a structure and even, in some cases, to identify the edges of a structure with precision. Figure 5.2 demonstrates this problem schematically. Figure 5.2 depicts a series of three stages of a house, built and rebuilt in place, with only slight changes in its placement and alignment from one manifestation to another. Shaded postholes in these schematic sketches represent deep posts, including roof supports and some of the wall posts. The posthole pattern representing the first stage of this hypothetical house is easy to trace, but the pattern gets very messy after just two rebuilding

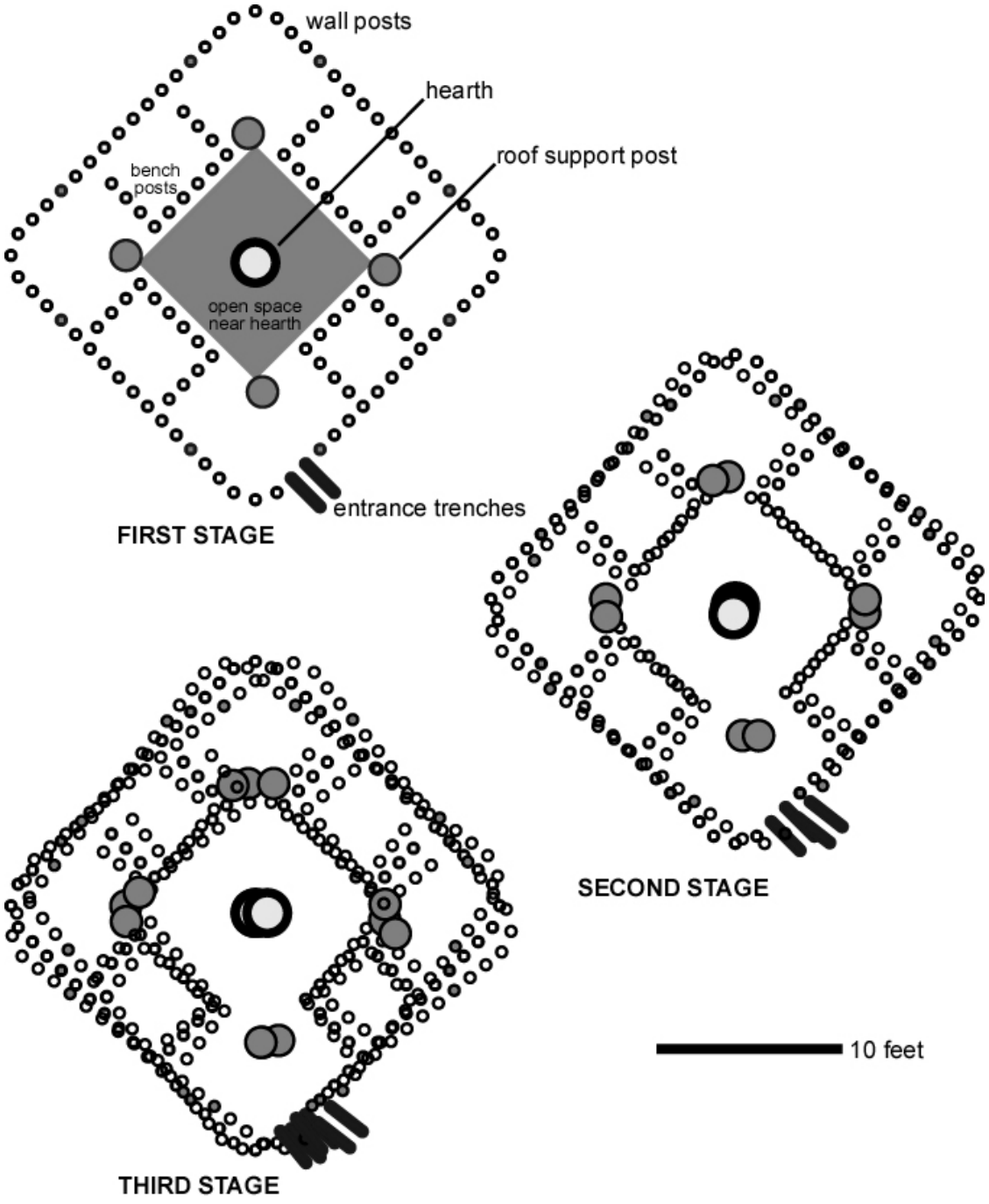


Figure 5.2. Schematic drawing of stages of structures at the Coweeta Creek site.

episodes. Greater movement of structures from one stage to another of course would create an even more complicated scatter of postholes. And in addition to building, renovating, and rebuilding houses, it is reasonable to presume that many people would build fences, drying racks, storage cribs, and other outbuildings, thereby complicating posthole patterns seen archaeologically.

One way that I have tried to identify structures at the Coweeta Creek site, as already noted, involves simply looking for patterned arrangements of postholes, hearths, entryways, and preserved sections of floors. Some structures are relatively easy to spot, especially when compared to maps and descriptions of houses at the Warren Wilson (Dickens 1976:41-42) and Garden Creek (Keel 1976:68-69) sites. That said, visually scanning the Coweeta Creek site map does not identify all the structures present in the Coweeta Creek village, nor does it always pinpoint the edges of structures in areas where several stages of structures, or several distinct structures, overlap.

Another approach I have taken in my search for structures at Coweeta Creek is to look for patterns of deep postholes representing roof support posts. Some, but not all, roof support posts in Mississippian houses at Warren Wilson are deeper than postholes representing wall and bench posts (Dickens 1976:32-46). Meanwhile, several large and deep postholes have recently been identified as a set of roof support posts around a hearth in an historic Cherokee winter house near Alarka Creek, in southwestern North Carolina, some twenty miles north of Coweeta Creek (Shumate, Riggs, and Kimball 2003; Shumate and Kimball 1997). Certainly, the depths of postholes, as they can be detected archaeologically, are affected by many different factors, especially in situations in which considerable renovating and rebuilding were done in the past. However, posthole depths (and diameters)

may be helpful clues to the presence of roof support posts, and the structures of which they were an integral part.

Figure 5.3 shows hearths, paired entrance trenches, and all of the postholes at Coweeta Creek that are deeper than 24 inches below the top of subsoil. Several of these deep postholes probably represent inner roof supports, especially those close to hearths. The areas of this map that are shaded black represent squares for which there are no data about posthole depth. Those with gray shading represent excavation squares in the mound. Analyses of data on the depths of postholes in different stages of the mound are not attempted here, because it is easy to identify the edges of the townhouse and the townhouse ramada without this additional consideration. This map identifies patterned arrangements of deep postholes visible on the map of the whole site map. When looking at closeup views of specific areas of the site, it is helpful to look at all postholes greater than or equal to 18 inches deep, not just those greater than or equal to 24 inches deep.

Figure 5.4 is the same map except that it includes all postholes at Coweeta Creek deeper than 18 inches. Several patterns of four deep postholes around hearths are even more clearly depicted in Figure 5.4 than they are in Figure 5.3. In some cases, triangulating from "suspected" roof support posts leads to other probable roof support posts "missing" from these maps. These missing roof support posts are sometimes only slightly shallower than the depth thresholds of 18 and 24 inches. Of course one could choose other depth thresholds, but my pilot study of the depths of all postholes associated with one house indicated that these thresholds clearly identified its roof supports, in addition to some of its wall posts. Furthermore, my test case indicated that maps showing all postholes greater than 18 inches deep were good predictors of roof support posts. Therefore, maps in this chapter, which

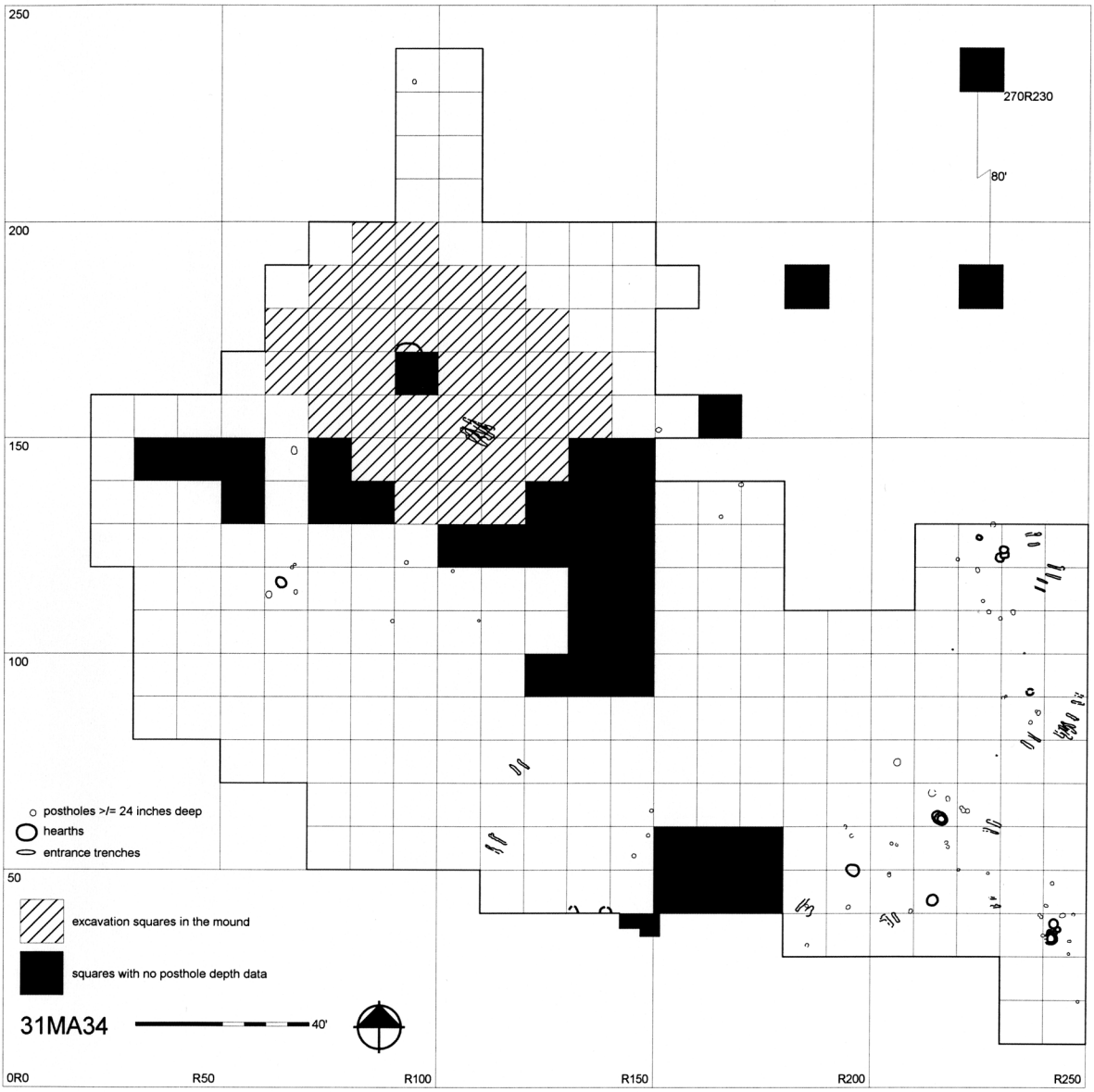


Figure 5.3. Postholes at Coweeta Creek ≥ 24 inches deep.

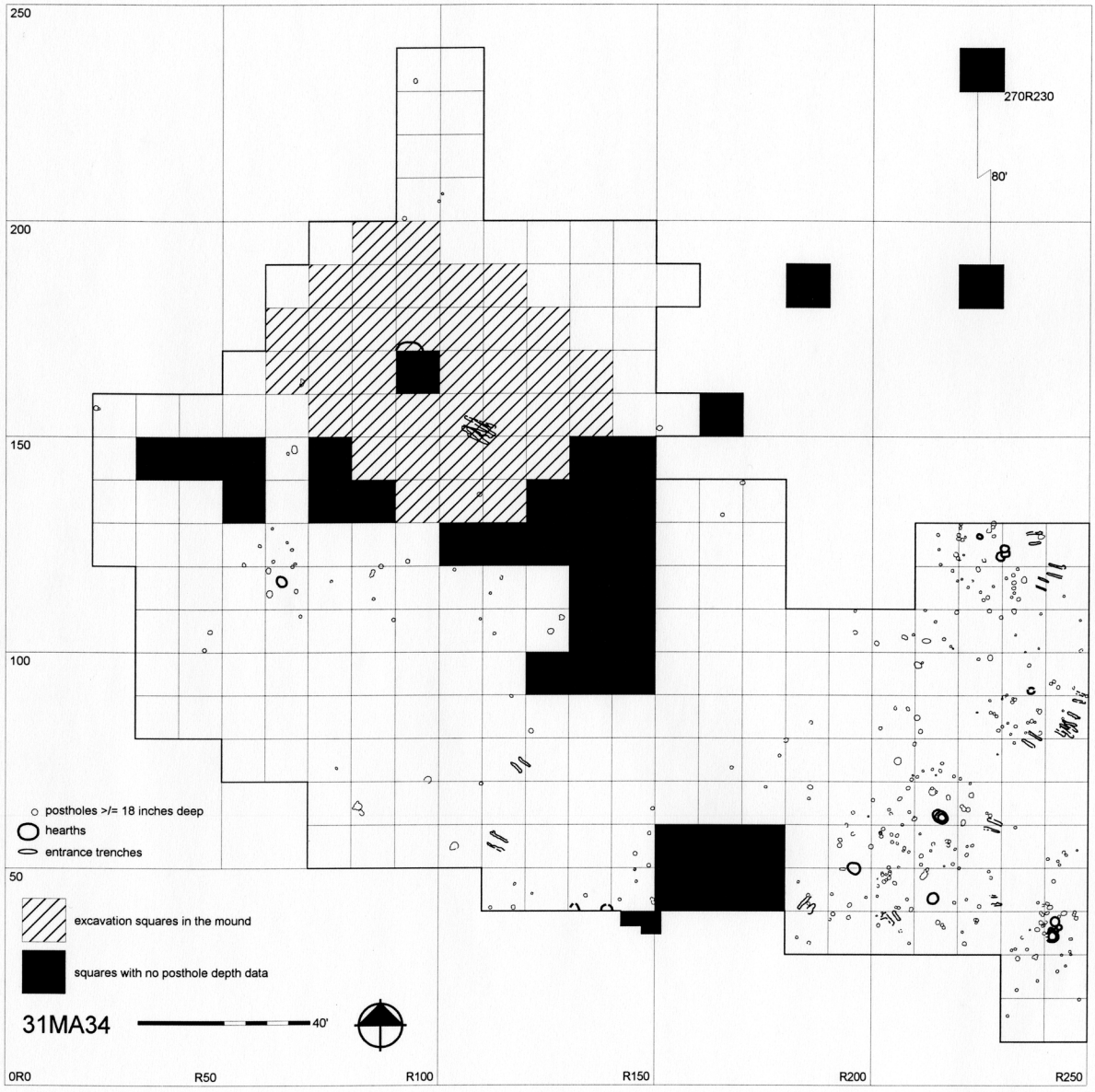


Figure 5.4. Postholes at Coweeta Creek ≥ 18 inches deep.

show all the postholes in different clusters at the site, indicate all those greater than 18 inches deep.

Of course, not every deep posthole at Coweeta Creek represents a roof support post, and not every roof support is necessarily represented by a deep posthole. Some structures at Coweeta Creek include four deep postholes arranged in a square around a hearth. Many if not all of these arrangements probably represent sets of roof support posts. Some structures at Coweeta Creek include only two or three deep postholes near their hearths (or several deep postholes in two or three corners of each structure). Other postholes that could represent roof supports can be identified by triangulating from these deep postholes and by visual comparisons of posthole diameters (roof support posts are sometimes, but not always, wider than wall and bench posts).

The following series of maps show postholes, burials, hearths, entrance trenches, and other features in ten different posthole clusters at the Coweeta Creek site. My goals are to demonstrate where structures are located, to determine what their dimensions are, and also to identify how many stages of each structure are present. My clusters are discrete concentrations of postholes and pits, some of which correspond to one structure, others of which include more than one structure. Descriptions of posthole patterns representing structures identify how many stages of each house are present based primarily on the number of stages of hearths inside them. I identify postholes that may represent roof support posts near hearths, where and when they are recognizable. I cannot always discern which roof support post goes with which, given the abundant evidence of rebuilding and post replacement seen on these maps. Doing so would demand much more detailed consideration of each specific structure than is given here.

Posthole Clusters at Coweeta Creek

The following descriptions and maps of 10 different posthole clusters at the Coweeta Creek site identify one or more stages of 16 different structures (Figure 5.1). Borders drawn here between clusters are based on my visual impressions of edges between discrete concentrations of postholes. These decisions may diminish the visibility of posthole patterns that crosscut multiple posthole clusters. Furthermore, the maps and descriptions of these posthole clusters almost certainly do not capture the whole spectrum of outbuildings and fences that may have been present between houses at Coweeta Creek. Nevertheless, this section does help in deciphering the maze of postholes in the village area at Coweeta Creek.

Cluster A (Figure 5.1)

Cluster A includes postholes associated with the townhouse (Structure 1) and the townhouse ramada (Structure 2). These structures have been described in Chapter 4. Several domestic houses demonstrate the same overall layout of entryways, roof supports, and hearths as the townhouse, and concentrations of postholes representing dwellings are comparable to the dense concentration of postholes representing Structure 1.

Cluster B (Figure 5.5)

Cluster B includes postholes from Structure 3, a domestic house centered near grid point 122R232. This structure is roughly 21 by 21 feet square, with rounded corners and several pairs of entrance trenches along its southeastern edge. Postholes outside the doorway to this structure may represent ramadas or some other form of outbuilding, but this suggestion is speculative.

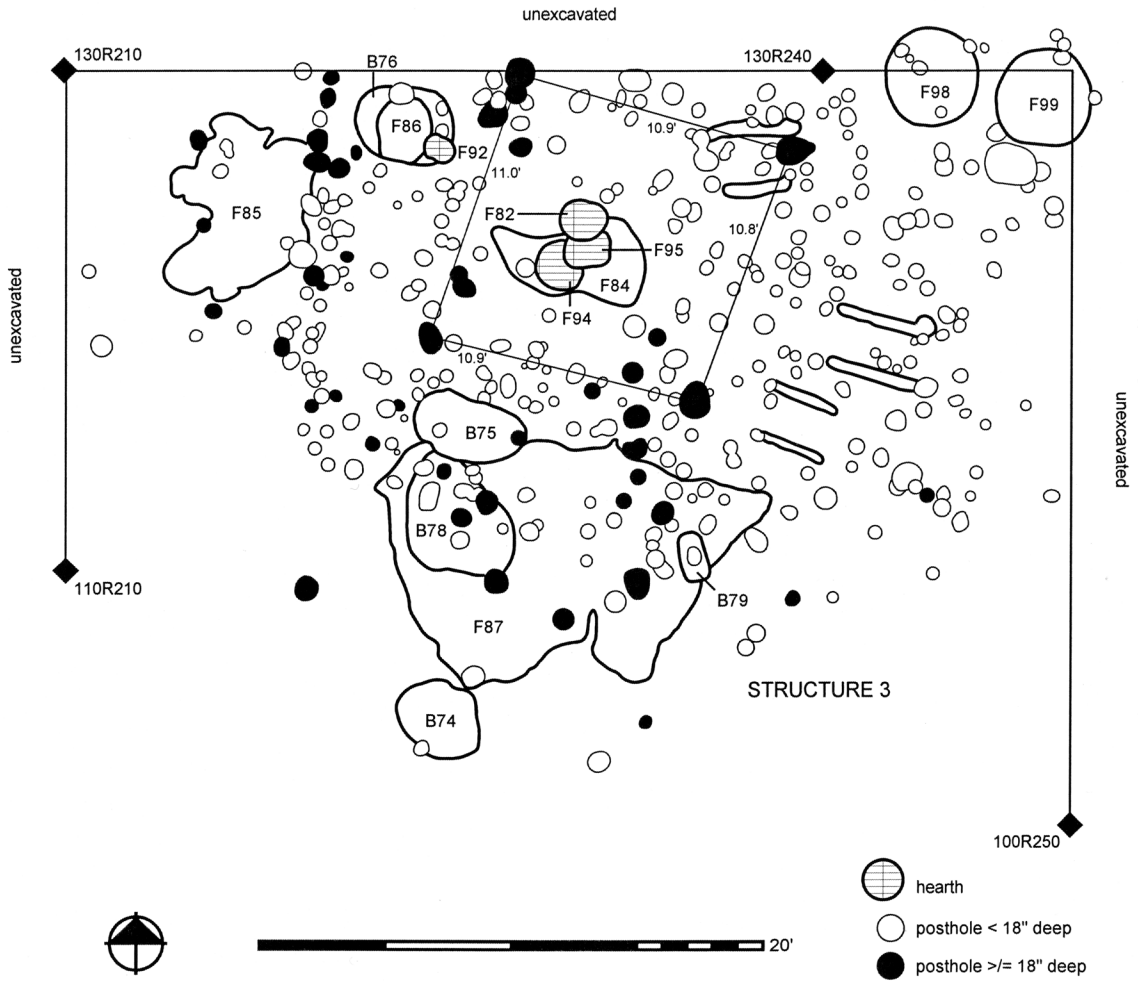


Figure 5.5. Cluster B at Coweeta Creek.

Three stages of a hearth are present in Structure 3, including features 82, 94, and 95, and Feature 84 represents roof fall that had collapsed on the hearth and the floor in the surrounding area. Feature 92 is a hearth as well, and it predates Burial 76 and Feature 86. It is unclear whether Feature 92 is another hearth in the same structure, or if it is the hearth of an entirely different house than Structure 3. The surrounding posthole pattern suggests that Feature 92 is a hearth placed in the back corner of Structure 3. Alternatively, this hearth may be associated with a stage of the house that is offset from the others. The northernmost pair of entrance trenches may represent a corner entry to a stage of the structure that is not centered on Feature 82. However, it is difficult at present to identify a corresponding posthole pattern for such a structure. If it is present, this offset house may be centered on the hearth designated Feature 92.

At least five burials can be attributed to Structure 3, including burials 75, 76, 78, and 79 inside the structure, and Burial 74 outside the house. Feature 86 represents a fill deposit that was spread across Burial 76 to even out the ground surface when the fill in this burial pit and in Feature 92 settled.

At least two, and probably three, stages of an entryway to Structure 3 are present in Cluster B. Two of these are clearly present along the southeastern edge of Structure 3. The third is actually inside Structure 3. It may correspond to another structure or to a stage of this structure that is centered at Feature 92.

Roof support posts from Structure 3 are clearly evident in the arrangement of deep postholes (shaded black) in the area around the series of three successive hearths in Cluster B. These roof support posts are roughly 10 to 11 feet apart from each other. The more southern roof support posts are situated six and seven feet away from the southwestern and

southeastern corners of the structure. It is unclear whether any of the deep postholes in Cluster B represent roof support posts for a structure whose hearth is Feature 92.

Outside the entryway to Structure 3, in the southeastern part of Cluster B, are linear arrays of postholes that may represent part of a ramada or a small storage structure of some kind. I acknowledge the possibility that there is a structure outside the entryway to Structure 3 but am hesitant to assign a formal designation to any such outbuildings.

I suggest that there are at least three stages of Structure 3 represented in Cluster B, which I designate structures 3A, 3B, and 3C, and I associate these with features 82, 94, and 95, the central hearths of these three manifestations of the house. Feature 84 probably represents roof fall on top of the floor of the last stage of this house. Feature 92 may represent a hearth in a fourth stage of this house even though this additional structure is not given a formal designation here.

Cluster C (Figure 5.6)

Cluster C includes postholes from Structure 4, a domestic house centered near point 91R237. This structure is roughly 18 by 18 feet square, with rounded corners. As many as five pairs of entrance trenches are present, all opening to the southeast, and most of which are placed near the middle of the southeastern wall of the structure. Two stages of a hearth are present, including features 90 and 101, and Feature 89 represents roof and wall fall that had collapsed on top of the floor in the hearth area. This deposit is intruded by features 88 and 93, which along with Feature 102 probably represent pits or depressions in the floor.

Feature 91 predates the southernmost pair of entrance trenches associated with Structure 4. This entryway is positioned at the southernmost corner of Structure 4, farther

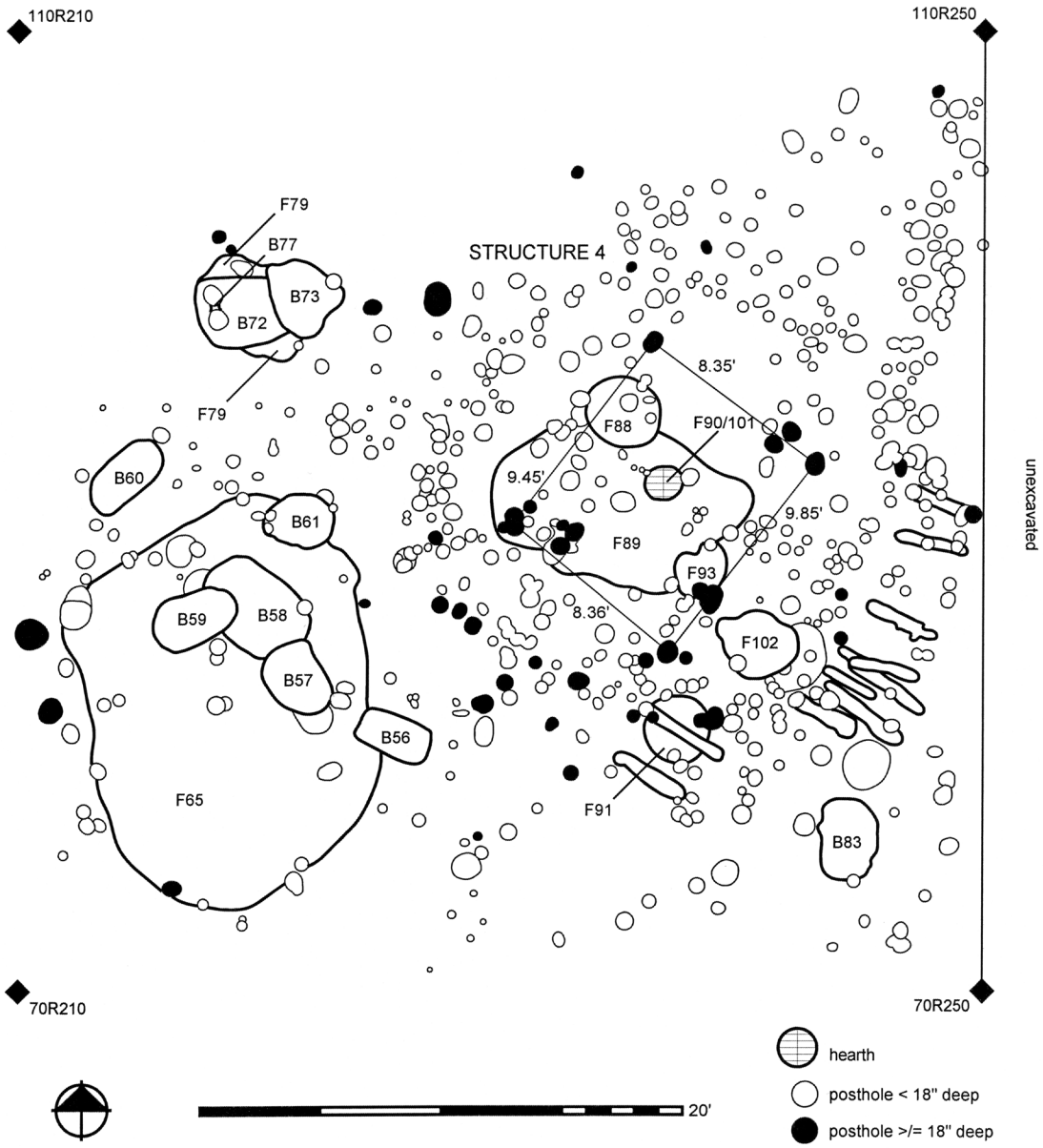


Figure 5.6. Cluster C at Coweeta Creek.

south than the four other stages of the doorway. It probably is an entryway to Structure 4, although its location makes its relationship to other elements of this house unclear.

Burial 83 may be associated with Structure 4. This assertion is based solely on the proximity of the burial to the entryway into the house. Burial 83 is close to a rectangular array of posts that may be a ramada of some sort near the southern corner of Structure 4. Several burials are also present in the area behind this structure. Burials 72, 73, and 77 all postdate Feature 79, a fill deposit that may have been placed here to even out the ground surface after burial pit fill had settled. Burials 56, 57, 58, 59, and 61 all postdate Feature 65, a large oval basin that, based on radiocarbon dates (Chapter 6) and ceramic evidence (Chapter 7), probably dates much earlier than the structures built beside it. Burial 60 may also be part of the cluster of burials in this area beside Structure 4.

The deep postholes inside Structure 4 almost certainly represent a set of roof support posts. These posts are placed between eight and ten feet apart from each other, and between four and five feet away from corresponding corners of the house itself. This and other characteristics of Structure 4 make it very similar to Structure 3, except that the former is somewhat smaller than the latter.

The linear array of postholes north of Structure 4 and its entryway may represent a wall. It may represent a stage of the same dwelling that is simply offset from, and placed further northeast than, the stages of the structure whose hearths are represented by Feature 90/101. It may instead represent an entirely different house than Structure 4.

South of the doorway to Structure 4, and at the southern edge of Cluster C, is a rectangular array of postholes that may represent a ramada associated with this house. I

consider this identification speculative but again simply wanted to acknowledge the possible presence of such outbuildings outside Structure 4.

I suggest that Cluster C includes at least two, and perhaps more, stages of Structure 4. I label them structures 4A and 4B, each associated with one stage of the central hearth, surrounded by an array of deep postholes that probably represent roof supports. I speculate that the corner of another structure, or another stage of Structure 4, is present in the northeastern part of Cluster C, although the spatial limits of excavation here preclude further comment.

Cluster D (Figure 5.7)

Cluster D undoubtedly includes remnants of another domestic structure, although one not as clearly defined as those in clusters B and C. No entrance trenches are apparent in Cluster D, although it is likely that they would have been located just slightly farther east than the edges of the excavated area. Five stages of a hearth are present in Cluster D, probably associated with five successive stages of a house. Either feature 104 or 105 is the earliest stage of this hearth. Both predate Feature 106, which predates features 100 and 103, and it is likely that the latest stage of the hearth is Feature 100. The northeastern and northwestern edges of the posthole scatter in Cluster D probably correspond to the edges of a structure. Although less distinct, the southwestern wall of such a structure is probably present at the southern edge of Cluster D between Burial 81 and Feature 96. Feature 97 represents a deposit of black and gray clay that is interpreted as wall fall. Feature 96 is a large pit in the southern part of Cluster D that is probably located outside a structure, perhaps comparable to the placement of features 98 and 99 near the northeastern edge of Structure 3.

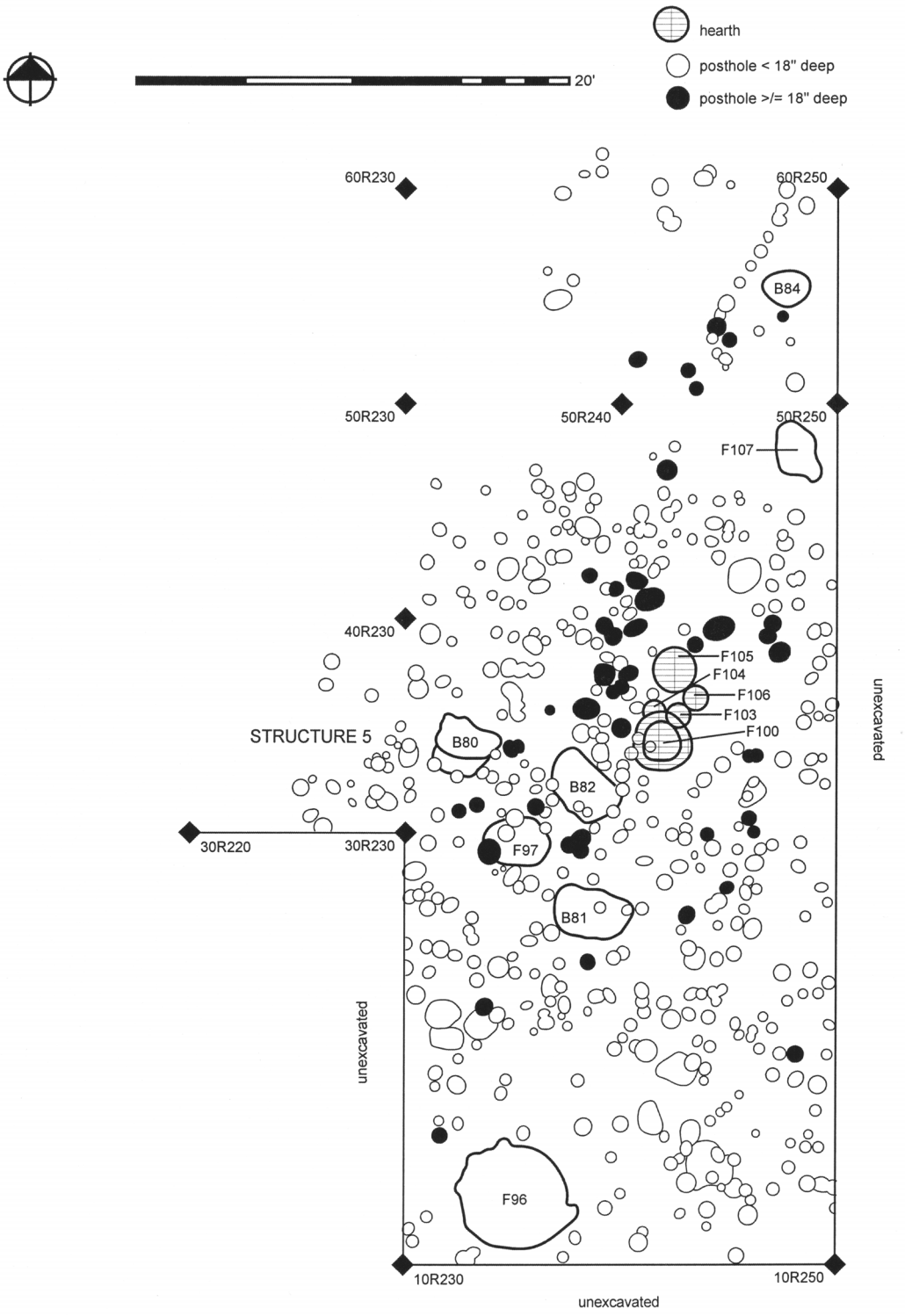


Figure 5.7. Cluster D at Coweeta Creek.

Several burials are present in Cluster D, probably all inside the house here. Burials 80, 81, and 82 are all located in the southwestern quadrant of this posthole cluster, perhaps all situated in the southwestern corner of the house. Burial 84 is located outside of, and ten feet north of, this presumptive house. It may or may not be associated with this structure. This burial is situated beside an apparent screen or fence represented by the line of postholes in this area.

Patterned arrangements of deep postholes are difficult to identify in Cluster D, in contrast to the clear presence of these patterns in clusters B and C. Some of the deep postholes in Figure 5.7 may represent roof support posts. The complicated arrangement of these deep posts, and the lack of clear lines of wall postholes in Figure 5.7 as compared to the edges of structures 3 and 4 in clusters B and C, may reflect slight shifts in the placement of a house here from one stage to another.

I consider Cluster D to represent the remnants of Structure 5. Five stages of a hearth, including features 104, 105, 106, 103, and 100, probably correspond to five successive manifestations of Structure 5, which are here designated structures 5A, 5B, 5C, 5D, and 5E. Measurements of the distance from the hearths to the apparent walls of Structure 5 lead me to estimate its size as 23 by 23 feet.

I consider it very likely that entryways to these stages of Structure 5 were placed along its southeastern wall, as is the case with almost every other structure at the site, even though there are no entrance trenches within the area encompassed by Cluster D. Structure 5 is comparable in many respects to structures 3 and 4, which have doorways at their southeastern edges and corners. Structure 5 probably also would have opened towards the southeast, and its entryway may simply lie southeast of the area that was excavated here.

Cluster E (Figure 5.8)

West and northwest of Structure 5 is Cluster E, which includes remnants of at least two different houses, structures 6 and 7. Structure 6 is comparable in its design and dimensions to structures 3 and 4—it is 20 by 20 feet square with rounded corners and an entryway along its southeastern side, a central hearth, a set of four roof support posts, and an array of postholes outside the doorway to Structure 6 that may represent an outbuilding. Structure 7 represents a different kind of house—it is an estimated 29 feet in diameter, it is more rounded than are structures 3-6, its roof support posts are spaced farther apart than those in structures 3-6, and one stage of Structure 7 seems to have had a doorway opening to the southwest rather than to the southeast. I doubt that any single stage of this structure had more than one doorway. I make that assertion entirely on the fact that Mississippian houses in the greater southern Appalachians generally have only one entryway.

Structure 6 is shown in the upper right section of Figure 5.8. The northwestern and northeastern edges of Structure 6 are easily recognized, as is its southeastern side where its entryway is situated. The southwestern edge of the structure is harder to identify, because of the overlap with postholes from Structure 7, but field notes and maps make it clear that Structure 6 postdates Structure 7, and that Structure 6 is square with rounded corners. Roof support posts in this house are spaced between seven and nine feet apart from each other. They are between five and seven feet apart from the corners of the structure. The hearth represented by Feature 68 predates Feature 66. These stages of the hearth are associated with what are here designated structures 6A and 6B.

Structure 7 is shown in the lower left section of Figure 5.8. Much of the floor of the last stage of this house was preserved. Several pots, vessel sections, stone tools, wooden

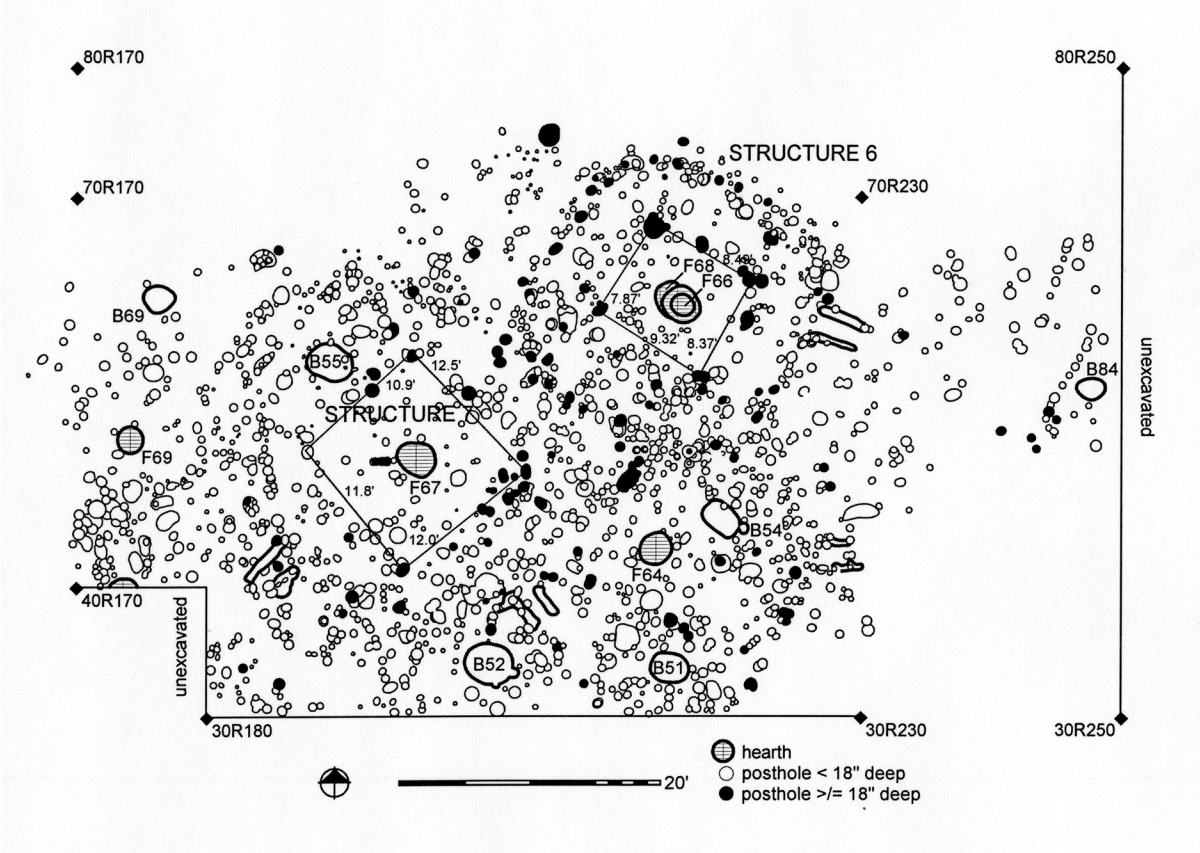


Figure 5.8. Cluster E at Coweeta Creek.

artifacts, and sections of charred cane were found lying amid the charred timbers and other burnt debris lying on this floor. Burial 55 is associated with this house. Feature 67 is the central hearth in this stage of the structure. Deep postholes near the hearth may represent roof support posts, spaced between 11 and 12 feet from each other. These postholes are placed between eight and nine feet away from the corners of the structure. One entryway is present along the southeastern side of this structure, another at its southwestern edge. It is unclear whether these represent doorways associated with different stages of Structure 7, or if there may have been two contemporaneous entrances into the same stage of Structure 7.

Pinpointing the edges of Structure 7 is difficult, and there are scatters of postholes to the west and to the southeast of the last stage of Structure 7 itself. West of this last stage of Structure 7 are Feature 69, another hearth south of Feature 69, and Burial 69—I consider these to be part of two earlier stages of Structure 7. In the southeastern section of Cluster E are the hearth at Feature 64, burials 51, 52, and 54, entrance trenches at the eastern corner of a structure, and deep postholes in the area around Feature 64 that may represent roof supports—I consider all of these to be part of another earlier stage of Structure 7.

My reasons for identifying these earlier stages of Structure 7 are the following. First, hearths like features 64 and 69 are rarely, if ever, found outside structures. Second, the pair of entrance trenches east of Feature 64 is additional evidence of the presence of a structure in this area. Third, the arrangement of deep postholes—which may represent roof supports—near Feature 64 is yet another indication of the presence of a structure centered on this hearth. Fourth, field notes indicate that the floor associated with Feature 67 and Burial 55 is the latest of several structures in this area. This floor clearly predates Structure 6, and postholes associated with Structure 6 truncate the pattern of postholes representing Structure

7. The preserved floor around Feature 67 is associated with the last stage of Structure 7, and posthole patterns and hearths from earlier stages of Structure 7 are located adjacent to this last stage of the house.

One implication of the conclusion that these four hearths correspond to four stages of Structure 7 is that this house experienced different kinds of rebuilding episodes than did structures 3, 4, 5, and 6. When Structure 3 was rebuilt, for example, it was rebuilt in place, and the new hearth and doorway were directly superimposed on earlier stages of these architectural elements. When Structure 7 was rebuilt, in contrast, it was shifted slightly. Each stage was close to its predecessors, but this house was rebuilt in an offset pattern. This pattern of rebuilding created the sprawling array of postholes and pits seen in Cluster E, unlike the very compact concentration of postholes in Cluster B.

The northeastern edge of postholes associated with Structure 7 is truncated by the array of postholes associated with Structure 6. This point makes it clear that Structure 7 predates Structure 6, and this relationship is confirmed by both radiocarbon dates and ceramic evidence outlined in later chapters. The truncation of Structure 7 by Structure 6 makes it difficult to outline the shape of Structure 7, and it makes it difficult to determine its diameter, but the distance from Feature 67 to the apparent edges of the structure is roughly 14 or 15 feet, and its estimated diameter is therefore 29 feet. If that estimate is accurate, Structure 7 is significantly larger than structures 3-6. The roof support posts in Structure 7, accordingly, are spaced much farther apart than are those in structures 3-6.

I cannot determine the chronological relationship between features 64 and 69, although both likely predate Feature 67, which represents the hearth associated with Structure 7D. I consider the presence of three hearths in the area around Structure 7D to

reflect the presence of three earlier stages of this house, including structures 7B (whose hearth is Feature 69) and 7C (Feature 64). I tentatively designate the structure associated with the hearth at grid point 40R173 as Structure 7A.

Cluster F (Figure 5.9)

West of Structure 7 is Cluster F, which includes remnants of two domestic houses, structures 8 and 9. Structure 8 is 22 by 23 feet square with rounded corners, it has an entryway along its southeastern side, and it has three successive stages of a central hearth. Structure 9 has an estimated diameter of 32 feet, an estimate based on my measurements of roughly 16 feet from its hearth to its northwestern edge.

Structure 8 corresponds to the dense scatter of postholes on the right side of Cluster F in Figure 5.9. Its central hearth is represented by features 62, 60, and 61, in that order from earliest to latest, and, respectively, these hearths are associated with structures 8A, 8B, and 8C. Inside this structure are burials 64, 63, 62, 60, 53, and 35. Some deep postholes west of the hearth may represent roof support posts. There are no data on the depth of postholes in the eastern half of the structure.

Structure 9 is shown to the west of Structure 8 in Figure 5.9. One stage of its hearth is represented by Feature 63 and another by Feature 57, and these hearths are seven feet apart from each other. Feature 56 is a large posthole and is perhaps a roof support post inside this house. Feature 58 represents midden accumulation on the floor of the structure. It seems likely that Feature 57 is the hearth associated with Feature 58, which probably represents the last floor of this structure, which is intact because it was not disturbed by later construction activities.

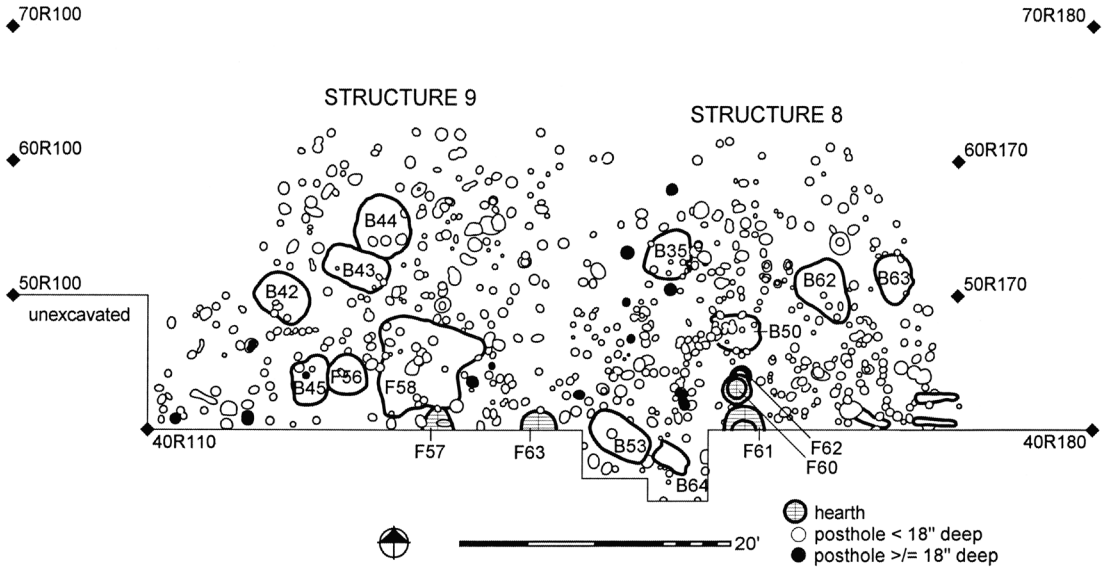


Figure 5.9. Cluster F at Coweeta Creek.

I therefore attribute Feature 63 to Structure 9A and Feature 57 to Structure 9B. I propose that Structure 9A predates Structure 9B. I admit that this structure chronology is speculative, but I am convinced that these two hearths represent two stages of Structure 9, and that this structure was rebuilt in an offset pattern similar to Structure 7. Like Structure 7, the hearth of Structure 9 was moved when the house was rebuilt, rather than being rebuilt in place, as was the case with three successive stages of Structure 8. Like Structure 7, the posthole pattern associated with Structure 9 was truncated by the array of postholes associated with a later house, and in this case the later house is Structure 8.

Cluster G (Figure 5.10)

Cluster G includes postholes from at least two structures, and probably two others, near the southwestern end of the plaza.

According to field notes, the pair of entrance trenches just north of grid point 50R110 is not associated with Structure 9. An arrangement of deep postholes west of this entryway, probably representing a set of roof supports from a structure, is shown in Figure 5.10. No hearth is situated in this area, but the presence of a set of roof supports and a pair of entrance trenches—which open to the southeast like many other entryways at this site—leads me to conclude that there was a structure here, as noted in the lower section of Figure 5.10. Therefore, I label this building Structure 10. However, I am hesitant at this point to identify the edges of Structure 10. Postholes that may be related to this particular structure are difficult to differentiate from those related to other structures or enclosures in Cluster G.

Another structure in Cluster G, associated with the pair of entrance trenches near grid point 75R120, is represented by the concentration of postholes around Burial 37 and Feature

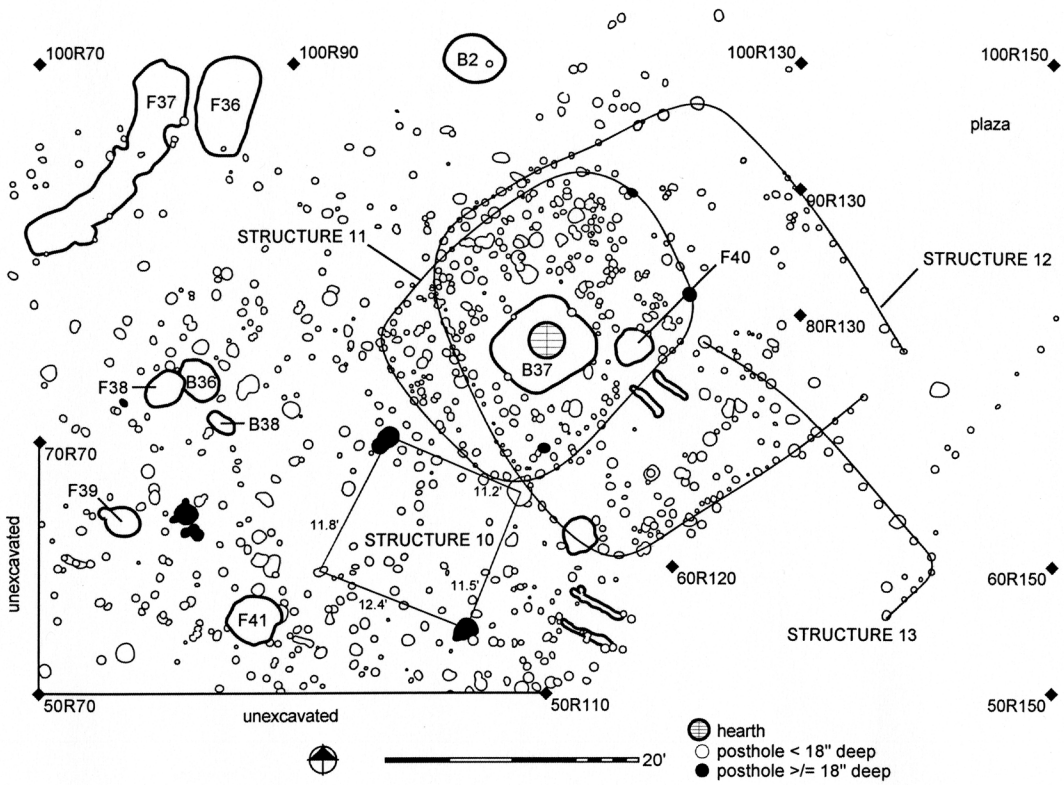


Figure 5.10. Cluster G at Coweeta Creek.

40. I designate this building Structure 11. The concentration of postholes representing Structure 11 measures roughly 19 by 21 feet. Other linear arrays of postholes that overlap with Structure 11 represent other structures or outdoor enclosures.

One of these linear arrays forms a rectangle, some 30 by 30 feet (Structure 12), with an apparent entryway represented by a gap in the postholes near its easternmost corner (Figure 5.10). A hearth and a set of roof supports associated with this structure cannot be identified, and the chronological relationship between this posthole pattern and Structure 11 is not clear. A structure or an outdoor enclosure of some kind is present here, and it is therefore identified as Structure 12 on this map.

Another such structure or enclosure (Structure 13) may be represented by another line of postholes in Cluster G (Figure 5.10), which continues southeast and into the area designated Cluster F (Figure 5.9), where it then is difficult to trace through the postholes associated with structures 8 and 9 (Figure 5.9). This line of postholes intersects Structures 12, and perhaps Structure 11. Given its resemblance to Structure 12, this line of postholes is designated Structure 13.

Several features and burials are present in areas around these structures in Cluster G, especially in the area southwest of Structure 11 and west of Structure 10. Burial 2 is actually close to the edge of the townhouse ramada (see Figure 5.1). Burial 2 may therefore be one of the several graves—including burials 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8—that are located along the perimeter around the townhouse mound (see Figure 5.1). The relationships between features 39 and 41, and burials 36 and 38, and the structures in Cluster G, are unknown. Feature 38 is identified as a firepit, because of the presence of charcoal, burnt clay, and ash in its fill, but it is not a formal hearth like those inside houses.

One other posthole pattern in Cluster G deserves comment. Beginning at point 86R104, near the western edge of structures 11 and 12, is a paired line of postholes. This line runs northwest towards point 100R70, near features 36 and 37, and then curves to the southwest. It is tempting, though admittedly speculative, to conclude that these postholes form a pathway running from structures 11 or 12 to the area enclosed by the semicircular ditch represented by Feature 37. Although one segment of Feature 37 is shown here on the map of Cluster G (Figure 5.10), it will be considered further in my discussion of Cluster H (Figure 5.11).

Cluster H (Figure 5.11)

Cluster H covers most of the area southwest of the townhouse and plaza. The densest concentration of postholes within Cluster H surrounds Feature 52, a hearth, which is surrounded by several deep postholes that probably represent a set of roof supports from a structure. The other major element of Cluster H includes Feature 37, a semicircular ditch, and other related trench features.

Feature 37 includes three discontinuous segments that together are 65 feet long and enclose an area of roughly 750 square feet. The fill of Feature 37 closely resembles the premound humus underneath the earliest stage of the townhouse, indicating that these ditch segments probably are contemporaneous with or earlier than the first townhouse. Other trenches in this area—features 36, 49, 53, and 54—may be related to Feature 37 in some way. These features are shallow trenches, ranging from 2.5 to 4.5 feet wide, and from roughly three to eight inches deep. Features 51, 55, and 70 are all circular pits around the

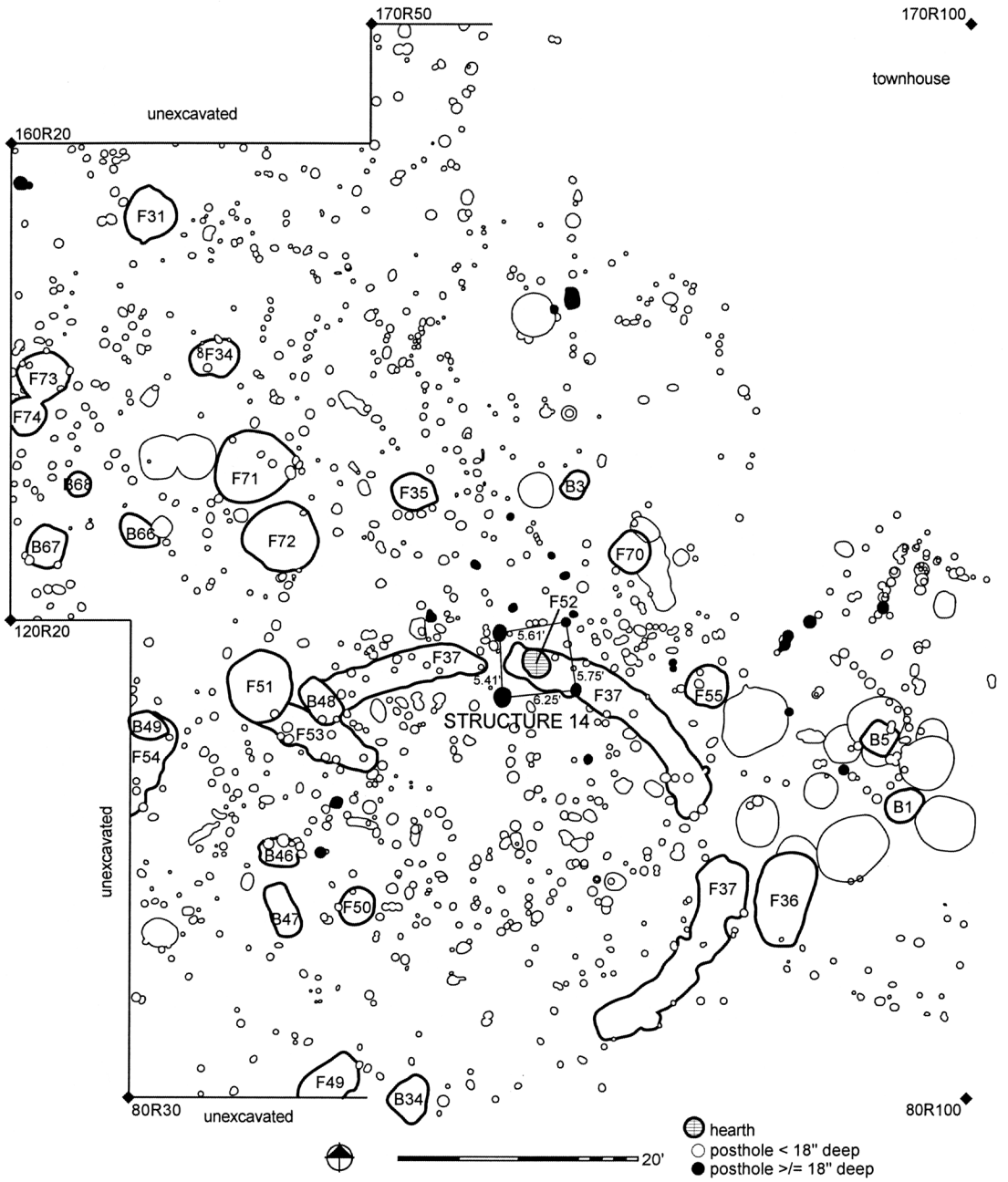


Figure 5.11. Cluster H at Coweeta Creek.

outer edge of Feature 37, and inside the arc formed by Feature 37 is Feature 50, another circular pit.

Several other pit features are present in the area north of Feature 37. Features 34 and 35 have been noted in Chapter 4 as possible receptacles for the disposal of debris from the townhouse hearth. Feature 31 probably represents an outdoor firepit, comparable to features 30 and 38, all of which contained fire-cracked rock, charcoal, ash, and artifacts in them. Features 71, 72, 73, and 74 are all circular pits, ranging from 2.9 to 6.6 feet in diameter, and from 0.4 to 1.0 feet deep, and abundant amounts of European and aboriginal artifacts were present in the fill of these pits. The presence of European artifacts here suggests cultural activity in this part of the site during the late 1600s or early 1700s (an issue that will be revisited in Chapter 6), probably at a much later point in time than activities associated with Feature 37.

Several burials are present in the area around Feature 37. Burials 66, 67, and 68 are clustered northwest of Feature 37. Burials 46 and 47 are located southwest of the arc formed by Feature 37. Burial 48 intrudes the end of one segment of Feature 37, and Burial 34 is close to the southern end of Feature 37. Burial 49 intrudes the end of Feature 54, which is another segment of this discontinuous ditch. Burials 1 and 5 are close to pits and postholes that are probably associated with the townhouse ramada. Burial 3 is placed close to the townhouse also.

Feature 37 may represent the foundation for a screen of some kind, hiding activities from the view of people in public and domestic areas further east and northeast, or it may have formed a symbolic threshold. The space enclosed by this ditch, but accessed via openings between its several discontinuous segments, may have been the setting for any

number of events and activities that needed to take place apart from the settings of quotidian events and activities within the town. These activities may have included anything, or everything, from menstrual seclusion, to mortuary ritual, to shamanic practices that needed to be shielded from public view. Identifying the nature of activities in this part of the Coweeta Creek site is beyond the scope of the present study. That said, it does seem to represent a space set apart from domestic areas in other parts of the Coweeta Creek settlement, and this spatial distinction may correspond to conceptual distinctions between events that took place here and the more normal and mundane activities that took place in and around domestic houses.

I suspect that Feature 37 dates early in the history of this settlement for two main reasons. First, field notes compare the fill in Feature 37 to the premound humus, the ground surface that was present before the earliest townhouse was built at Coweeta Creek. Second, another comparable trench has been identified at the Cullowhee Valley School site on the Tuckasegee River in southwestern North Carolina (Ashcraft 1996; D. G. Moore, personal communication 2004). The ditch at Cullowhee is thought to date to the Late Woodland period, given the presence of Woodland-period Napier-series ceramics in it. The semicircular ditch at Coweeta Creek may or may not date quite that early, but its similarity to the Late Woodland feature at Cullowhee raises the possibility that Feature 37 predates many other contexts at the Coweeta Creek site. Whatever is represented by Feature 37, it may have served as a placeholder that guided the development of the town plan. Both the plaza and townhouse were placed in the area beside Feature 37, suggesting that this space may have served as a reference point for the formal town plan that took shape during late prehistory.

Feature 52 and many of the postholes in the area around it are intrusive into Feature 37. The hearth designated Feature 52 is surrounded by deep postholes that probably include a set of four roof supports. The cloud of additional postholes in the area around it may be part of a structure.

I propose that a structure is indeed present here for two main reasons. First, some of the deep postholes near Feature 52 probably represent roof support posts around the hearth inside a structure. Second, the scatter of postholes around Feature 52 is consistent with the size of eighteenth-century Cherokee winter houses in the Appalachian Summit and surrounding areas (Faulkner 1978; B. H. Riggs, personal communication 2004; Schroedl 2000; Ward 2002). This structure at Coweeta Creek may therefore represent an eighteenth-century winter house. The presence of such a structure, dating to this late period, may help to explain the presence of European artifacts in features 71 to 74 and in the plow zone in this part of the Coweeta Creek site, southwest of the townhouse mound.

Structure 14 may therefore represent one of the latest, if not the latest, contexts at the site, whereas Feature 37 may date to the early end of settlement history at the site. Structure 14 may be contemporaneous with a late stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse, and it may even postdate the abandonment of the townhouse. Feature 37 may predate the townhouse altogether, although this space may have been visibly marked in some way, as the town was built around it in later episodes of the long history of settlement at the Coweeta Creek site.

Cluster I (Figure 5.12)

Cluster I includes postholes located in an area north of Structure 2 and near the northeastern corner of Structure 1. This scatter of postholes is tentatively designated as Structure 15

because of its resemblance to the corners of other structures at the site. The chronological relationship between Structure 15 and the townhouse, and between Structure 13 and dwellings in the village, are not clear.

Cluster J (Figure 5.13)

Cluster J includes postholes and pits in an area some 30 to 35 feet wide between the plaza and the concentration of domestic houses in the Coweeta Creek village. The border between this area and the plaza is very distinct (Figure 5.1). It is more difficult to identify the boundary between this area and the domestic houses further southeast in clusters C and E (Figure 5.1).

I suggest that linear arrays of postholes in this area between the plaza and village are remnants of ramadas. An easily discernible example of one such ramada is Structure 16, which is outlined and labeled as such in Figure 5.13. Other arrays of postholes in this area may represent other ramadas which are outlined, although not labeled, in Figure 5.13. I am only provisionally identifying these additional ramadas because these posthole patterns are difficult to trace, and even more difficult to confirm or disconfirm. I nevertheless consider Structure 16 to represent one of many such ramadas in this area of the site, between the village and plaza.

Four burials are present in this area. Burial 71 is situated at the northeastern end of Structure 16. Burial 70 is just south of Structure 16. Burial 41 may be placed inside another ramada. Burial 40 is located in the area east of this ramada.

Thirteen other pit features are present in this area. Features 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, and 47 are all comparable in their dimensions and in their contents. They range from 2.3 to 3.7 feet

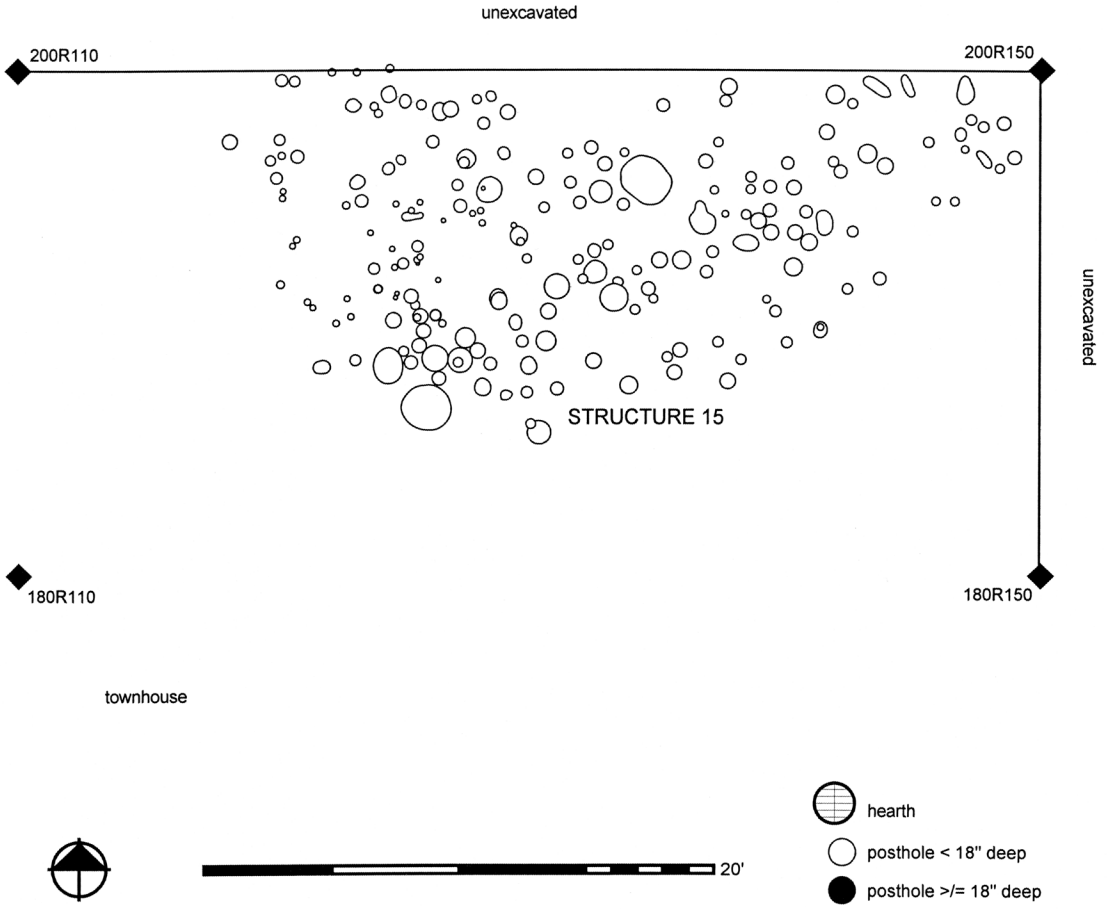


Figure 5.12. Cluster I at Coweeta Creek.

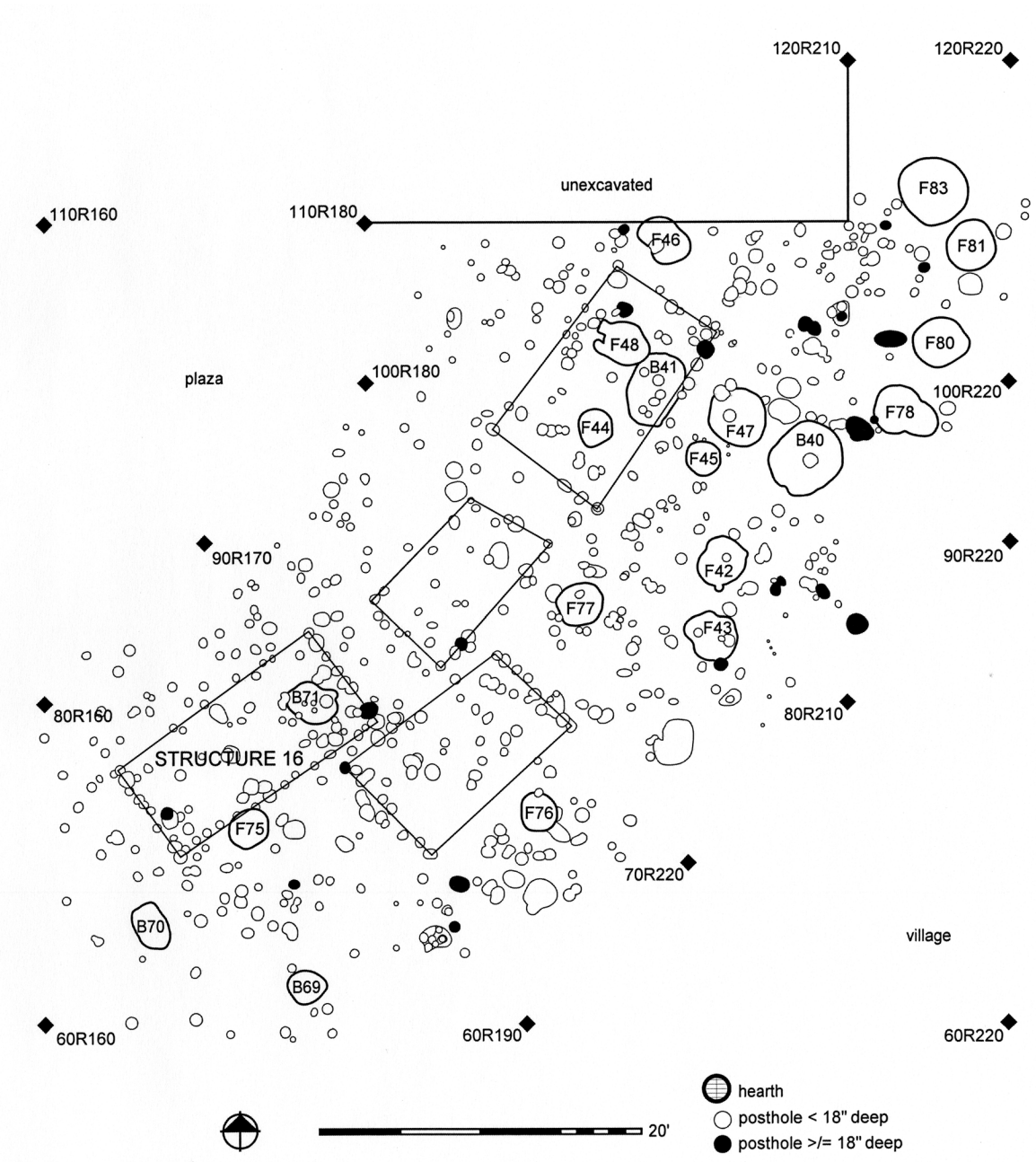


Figure 5.13. Cluster J at Coweeta Creek.

in diameter and from 0.5 to 2.5 feet deep (Figure 5.14). Each had dark brown fill in its bottom level, with yellow sandy clay at the top (Figure 5.15). Features 48, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, and 83 are circular pits and basins ranging from 2.0 to 4.3 feet in diameter, and from 0.3 to 1.3 feet deep. Reconstructing the functions of these pits, and determining the origin of the artifacts and deposits with which they were filled, is beyond the scope of this study. Given the similarities among pits in these two very general categories, however, it seems likely that there were consistent patterns of activities that took place in this area, and perhaps only in this area, of the site.

I speculate further that these ramadas were architectural counterparts to the townhouse ramada on the other side of the plaza. Structure 16 is parallel to the plaza, and others may have been, as well. Structure 16 seems to have been relatively open on its northwestern side, facing the plaza, if the gaps between postholes along this side of it are any indication. These ramadas may have offered shelter for tasks related to events that took place on the plaza and in the townhouse. They may have balanced—visually and conceptually—the townhouse ramada on the opposite side of the plaza.

Other Areas

The posthole clusters identified here do not cover the entire area of excavations at the Coweeta Creek site. They do include the areas where structures are concentrated. They do not include several squares north and northeast of the townhouse mound, where some postholes are present, but where structures are either not present or have not yet been recognized.

Eight excavation squares were dug north of the Coweeta Creek mound in search of postholes or other signs of a stockade that may have enclosed this settlement (Figure 5.1). These squares, covering an area some 20 feet wide and 80 feet long, may not be far enough away from the townhouse to capture a line of postholes representing a stockade. Features 29 and 30 were uncovered in these squares, both of which are pits in which concentrations of rocks were present, thus indicating they may have been firepits. Burial 20 and 22 were also uncovered in this area north of the mound. Posthole patterns in this area may represent fences or screens, or even sections of structures, but not enough area has been exposed to say much more about how this space was used or how it fit into the broader settlement plan.

Excavations of several squares northeast of the Coweeta Creek mound and plaza, not contiguous with the main excavation area, uncovered nondescript scatters of postholes as well (Figure 5.1). The presence of postholes in squares 180R190 and 180R230 indicates that the northeastern edge of the plaza lies somewhere between them and grid point 140R180. The presence of postholes in these squares and in square 270R230 indicates that there may have been additional domestic structures in the area northeast of the townhouse and plaza.

Rebuilding Houses

Overlapping posthole patterns, and the multiple stages of hearths and entryways in several structures, reflect considerable renovation and rebuilding of dwellings at the Coweeta Creek site. There are two major categories of domestic dwellings at Coweeta Creek. The first is represented by structures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8—these houses range from 18 to 23 feet square, with rounded corners and doorways opening towards the east or southeast. This type of

structure is present at other late prehistoric settlements in southwestern North Carolina. The second group of domestic structures is represented by structures 7 and 9—these houses seem to have been more rounded in shape, with diameters estimated at 29 and 32 feet. These different types of dwellings are associated with two different patterns of rebuilding.

The smaller square houses with rounded corners—including structures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8—were rebuilt in place. Entryways were moved slightly from one stage to another, but they often overlapped, and they often paralleled the placement and alignment of earlier stages of these doorways. Successive stages of hearths, and probably also roof support posts, were rebuilt in place as well. An outcome of this rebuilding practice is that successive stages of a structure are superimposed on each other. This superimposition is clearly evident in structures in which several stages of a single hearth are present.

The larger and somewhat more round houses—including structures 7 and 9—were rebuilt in an offset pattern. Entire dwellings were shifted from one stage of these structures to another. New hearths were constructed in this approach to rebuilding, rather than renovating or reconstructing an old hearth already in place. An outcome of this rebuilding practice is that successive stages of a structure overlap but are not directly superimposed on each other. Such rebuilding episodes effectively create a sprawling array of postholes that is more difficult to decipher than the more compact, and denser, concentrations of postholes that result from rebuilding structures in place.

Houses rebuilt in the offset pattern (structures 7 and 9) seem to predate those rebuilt in place (structures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8). This temporal relationship is evident in Cluster E (Figure 5.8), where the posthole pattern representing Structure 6 truncates the posthole patterns associated with Structure 7. Although less distinct, the same overlapping pattern is

seen in Cluster F (Figure 5.9), where Structure 8 intrudes the remnants of Structure 9. Overlaps in posthole patterns indicate that structures 7 and 9 predate structures 6 and 8. These temporal relationships are confirmed by ceramics and radiocarbon dates discussed in chapters 6 and 7.

These different forms of house rebuilding probably reflect different settlement layouts. Structures 7 and 9 may have been houses in a spatially dispersed village. There was probably a substantial amount of space around and between houses in such a settlement. This situation left ample room for households to shift the centers of their houses in one direction or another when they rebuilt these dwellings. Structures 6 and 8, and others like them, represent dwellings in a much more compact village. Houses in such a settlement were placed close to each other—ten feet between structures 3 and 4, fifteen feet between structures 5 and 6. Such an arrangement left little room for households to move their dwellings when rebuilding them—thus the several cases here of structures rebuilt in place, tethering each household to a single spot within the broader town plan.

Of course, the Coweeta Creek townhouse was rebuilt in place, like the domestic houses that are here designated as structures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8. Furthermore, the townhouse is square with rounded corners, an enlarged version of these dwellings. Therefore, it seems likely that these houses are contemporaneous with some stages of the townhouse.

The houses identified as structures 7 and 9 seem to follow a different architectural design than the Coweeta Creek townhouse, and they may predate the townhouse altogether. These early houses at Coweeta Creek were rebuilt in the same area from one stage to another, but they were also shifted somewhat in the course of rebuilding. Later houses and the townhouse at Coweeta Creek were part of a more compact town, in which dwellings were

spaced closely together, and in which households may have been closely anchored to these specific points within the town from one generation to another, as they rebuilt their houses in the same places and around the same hearths.

If this scenario is correct—if the "round" houses predate the "square" houses—then it is interesting to note that both sets of dwellings seem to have shared the same general alignment. The townhouse also follows this alignment, and the townhouse ramada and plaza are perpendicular to it. Most doorways open towards the southeast, or to the east, and only one entryway faces southwest.

This consistency in the alignments of entryways—and of public and domestic structures more generally—suggests that these alignments may have been set in place very early in the history of the settlement. The look of the settlement changed somewhat through time as some structures were abandoned and as others were built. An overarching settlement plan nevertheless seems to have guided the consistent placement of new houses and new townhouses as they were added to the built environment of this community.

How often were houses rebuilt? Presently, I have no data from Coweeta Creek with which to propose an answer. Other authors have estimated the life span of native houses in the Southeast at anywhere from five to fifteen years based on archaeological evidence and ethnographic comparisons (Muller 1997:189-190; Pauketat 2003:45-47; Smith 1995:239-242). Therefore, I suggest that households at Coweeta Creek rebuilt their houses once every five to fifteen years. Considerable renovation and post replacement was probably conducted between rebuilding episodes. Decisions to rebuild houses were probably motivated by social considerations as well as considerations about the physical conditions of houses themselves.

How were houses abandoned? Evidence at Coweeta Creek indicates that many houses were burned down. The fires that burned them may have been accidental or intentional, but that issue cannot be resolved here. Houses were built of materials such as wood, bark, daub, and thatch, all of which would have been susceptible to accidental fires (see Hally and Kelly 1998). The presence of these materials in houses, meanwhile, meant that they could have been very easily dismantled simply by setting them on fire. Events during which houses were burned, and then were either abandoned or rebuilt, may have marked significant moments in the life cycles of households in the Coweeta Creek community. This suggestion is speculative, but it is conceivable that rebuilding houses symbolized social renewal of households, in addition to serving the more practical purpose of renewing the actual structures that housed them.

Domestic Architecture at Coweeta Creek

Domestic houses are concentrated in the village area south and southeast of the Coweeta Creek townhouse and plaza (Figure 5.1). Several ramadas were placed along the southwestern edge of the plaza, perhaps parallel to the townhouse ramada. Several dwellings were situated further south and east, probably including many more in areas beyond the limits of excavation. This chapter has identified several house patterns within the maze of postholes present in the village area southeast of the townhouse and plaza, and specific stages of houses that experienced one or more rebuilding episodes. More detailed study of the history of each house is certainly warranted, as are further considerations of the nature of domestic activities in these spaces.

At least one structure is also present in the area southwest of the townhouse. This structure may represent a house dating late in the history of settlement at the site, perhaps associated with a late stage of the townhouse, or even postdating the townhouse altogether.

Several structures are present in the area near the southwestern end of the plaza. Structures 10 and 11 probably represent domestic houses, given their size and shape, but structures 12 and 13 are difficult to interpret.

Many of these houses are probably contemporaneous with at least some stages of the townhouse, given the similarities in the design of the townhouse and many of the dwellings in the village at Coweeta Creek, and given their shared alignment. When households rebuilt their dwellings, they tended to replicate earlier manifestations of these houses, and to preserve the broader town plan in which they balanced—visually and perhaps conceptually as well—the townhouse. None of these dwellings was rebuilt as many times as the townhouse, and, therefore, it seems likely that at least some houses were abandoned before the sixth and last preserved stage of the townhouse was built.

Although this chapter has drawn some conclusions about the relative dates of different structures at Coweeta Creek, based primarily on the evidence of overlapping posthole patterns and the architectural similarities and differences between structures, other clues enhance our understanding of both relative and absolute dates of different contexts at the site. Chapter 6 discusses the chronological implications of radiocarbon dates and the presence of European artifacts in some contexts at Coweeta Creek. Chapter 7 then outlines patterns in ceramic data that enable us to attribute some contexts to Early, Middle, and Late periods in the history of settlement at Coweeta Creek.

CHAPTER 6

EUROPEAN ARTIFACTS AND RADIOCARBON DATES

Several authors have made general comments about the dates of settlement at Coweeta Creek, placing it in the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods, and noting evidence of continued settlement through at least part of the eighteenth century (Dickens 1976:100, 1978:131, 1979:24; Keel 1976:234; Rodning 2001a, 2001b; Riggs and Shumate 2003:67-68; Schroedl 2000, 2001; Ward and Davis 1999:183-190). Can the timeframe of native settlement here be determined with any greater certainty and precision? How can we differentiate earlier and later contexts at the site? Recently derived radiocarbon dates give us some relevant clues. European artifacts, which are present in some contexts at the site, are helpful chronological markers as well. This chapter outlines the chronological implications of these datasets. My interests are first to determine beginning and end dates for this settlement, and, secondly, to propose relative dates for different contexts at the site.

Radiocarbon Dates

Recent radiocarbon assays of ten charcoal samples from Coweeta Creek demonstrate that this native settlement spans the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods (Table 6.1). The dated samples were collected by waterscreening during UNC excavations at Coweeta Creek in the

Table 6.1. Radiocarbon Dates from Coweeta Creek

Context	Measured Radiocarbon Age	Conventional Radiocarbon Age	Intercept	C12/C13	1-sigma (68% probability)	2-sigma (95% probability)	Sample
Feature 72	220 ± 60 BP	200 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1670	-25.9	cal AD 1650-1680 cal AD 1730-1810 cal AD 1930-1950	cal AD 1530-1560 cal AD 1630-1950	Beta-167072
Townhouse Floor 1	220 ± 50 BP	210 ± 50 BP	cal AD 1660	-25.9	cal AD 1650-1680 cal AD 1740-1800 cal AD 1930-1950	cal AD 1530-1550 cal AD 1630-1700 cal AD 1720-1820 cal AD 1840-1880 cal AD 1920-1950	Beta-167067
Townhouse Floor 3	230 ± 60 BP	210 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1660	-26.2	cal AD 1650-1680 cal AD 1740-1810 cal AD 1930-1950	cal AD 1520-1580 cal AD 1630-1890 cal AD 1910-1950	Beta-167068
Structure 7D	280 ± 60 BP	250 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1650	-26.8	cal AD 1530-1550 cal AD 1630-1670 cal AD 1780-1800	cal AD 1490-1690 cal AD 1730-1810 cal AD 1920-1950	Beta-175805
Feature 96	300 ± 40 BP	290 ± 40 BP	cal AD 1640	-25.8	cal AD 1520-1580 cal AD 1630-1650	cal AD 1490-1660	Beta-167073

Table 6.1. Radiocarbon Dates from Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Context	Measured Radiocarbon Age	Conventional Radiocarbon Age	Intercept	C12/C13	1-sigma (68% probability)	2-sigma (95% probability)	Sample
Structure 7D	390 ± 60 BP	370 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1490	-26.1	cal AD 1450-1530 cal AD 1550-1630	cal AD 1430-1650	Beta-175804
Townhouse Floor 6	410 ± 60 BP	390 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1470	-26.1	cal AD 1440-1520 cal AD 1580-1630	cal AD 1420-1650	Beta-167069
Structure 7D	450 ± 60 BP	450 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1440	-25.1	cal AD 1420-1470	cal AD 1400-1520 cal AD 1580-1630	Beta-175803
Structure 7D	560 ± 70 BP	520 ± 70 BP	cal AD 1420	-27	cal AD 1400-1440	cal AD 1300-1480	Beta-167070
Feature 65	740 ± 60 BP	750 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1270	-24.5	cal AD 1240-1290	cal AD 1180-1310 cal AD 1370-1380	Beta-167071

1960s and 1970s. The charcoal from which these samples were chosen has been stored at the RLA in paper or plastic bags, and packed inside cardboard boxes, since it was collected in the field. Conventional radiocarbon analyses of selected samples from Coweeta Creek were conducted by Beta Analytic Laboratories in Miami. The C13/C12 ratios measured for each sample were also input into standard formulas for deriving C14 ages. Radiocarbon ages were then calibrated, with the calibration database developed by Stuiver and colleagues (1998), and with the spline calibration procedure outlined by Talma and Vogel (1993). These ten dates reflect a history of settlement at Coweeta Creek that spans a period of several centuries.

Four radiocarbon samples come from a single domestic structure, and a group of three others come from the floors of three different stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse. The dated events in these cases are the moments when trees died. These samples probably derive from timbers that were part of these structures themselves. They could instead be firewood, which may have been cut from live trees, but which may also have been dead before it was collected for firewood. The target events are the moments when structures were abandoned, which was often accomplished by burning, and of course it is difficult to know precisely what interval of time passed between the dated and the target events.

One source of the difference between the dated (i.e., cutting trees down for posts) and target (i.e., structure abandonment) events stems from the interval of time between collecting raw materials—timbers, bark, cane—and building structures themselves. It seems likely that, in an environment such as the southern Appalachians where wood would have been plentiful, native people would have cut trees for posts and timbers when they needed them (Goodwin 1977; Hill 1997; Purrington 1983). Cutting, transporting, debarking, and otherwise preparing log posts and beams, and sections of bark that covered roofs, certainly would have demanded

considerable effort and expertise, and there may have been preferred seasons for cutting different kinds of wood. However, there would not have been any significant advantage to stockpiling wood for long periods. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that the dated and targeted events of radiocarbon assays on charcoal samples from structural material are close to each other in age. Moreover, the differences between them are undoubtedly much less than the age ranges associated with radiocarbon dates.

Another source of the difference between dated and target events of radiocarbon dates from structural material relates to the life spans of structures themselves. Archaeologists have estimated that late prehistoric and protohistoric domestic structures in the Southeast may have been expected to last as long as five to fifteen years, although many were probably abandoned and rebuilt after briefer intervals, and households probably renovated their dwellings more often than rebuilding entirely new ones (Muller 1997:189-190; Pauketat 2003:45-47; Smith 1995:239-242). When considering the results of radiometric analyses of charcoal samples, intervals of five to fifteen years are minimal, and, for all practical purposes, negligible. Radiocarbon dates from the Coweeta Creek townhouse, and from one of the domestic houses at Coweeta Creek are therefore considered accurate, if not precise, estimates of the points in time when these structures were standing.

Differences between the dated and targeted events in radiometric analyses of charcoal samples from three pit features at Coweeta Creek may be even less than those for radiocarbon dates from structures. Charcoal from these features probably derives from midden deposits representing domestic debris, discarded material from feasts or other events, or some combination of both primary and secondary refuse. There were probably only brief

periods between cutting wood, or collecting dead wood, and then dumping burnt debris into the ground.

The single date from Feature 65 clearly identifies this oval pit as one of the earliest contexts at the site. It suggests that Feature 65 may date as early as the 1200s or 1300s. The late end of its age range is close to the early end of the age ranges of dates from Structure 7D, suggesting the possibility that Feature 65 was filled in when Structure 7D was built, or that Feature 65 was filled in when Structure 7D was still standing.

Four dates from Structure 7D suggest that this dwelling was burned down and abandoned sometime during the fifteenth century. The two-sigma ranges for all four dates overlap in the 1400s, although the earliest date may be as old as the 1300s, and the age ranges of all four do extend into the 1600s. The one-sigma ranges for three of these dates cluster in the 1400s. The calibrated intercepts of three of four dates from Structure 7D are also clustered in that timeframe. These radiocarbon data lead me to conclude that Structure 7D probably dates to the fifteenth century.

Charcoal samples from features 72 and 96 at Coweeta Creek date sometime between the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries. The calibrated intercept of the date from Feature 96 is AD 1640, and its one-sigma date ranges span the periods from AD 1520 to 1580 and from AD 1630 to 1650. The calibrated intercept associated with the date from Feature 72 is AD 1670, and its one-sigma date ranges fall within the seventeenth century or later. European artifacts are present in Feature 72, and I consider them consistent with radiocarbon evidence that this feature dates to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries. European artifacts are not present in Feature 96, and I therefore suggest that it probably dates to the early 1600s if not the 1500s.

Dates from the Coweeta Creek townhouse are clearly later than those from Feature 65 and Structure 7D but are comparable to dates from features 72 and 96. The sixth and last stage (Floor 1) of the townhouse dates to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, as does its fourth stage (Floor 3). The calibration curve that matches radiocarbon ages to calendrical dates is relatively flat in the section that corresponds to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Therefore, samples of charred wood that date to this period, but that actually are separated by several to several dozen years, may have the same or similar radiocarbon ages and date ranges. This phenomenon may explain the overlap in radiocarbon dates and age ranges of charcoal samples from Floor 1 and Floor 3 of the townhouse, as the latter certainly predates the former, given the stratigraphic relationships between them. Meanwhile, given the shape of the calibration curve corresponding to this period, the dates from these late stages of the townhouse could actually place them in the early 1700s, rather than the late 1600s.

A charcoal sample from the earliest stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse has been dated to sometime in the late fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The first townhouse may date this early, or it may even date to sometime in the seventeenth century. It is clear that the last townhouse was still standing at the end of the 1600s, if not during the very early 1700s, given the presence of European artifacts in the last stage of the townhouse. The date from the first stage of the townhouse therefore indicates that as many as 200 to 250 years may have elapsed between the points at which the first townhouse was built and when its last stage was abandoned. The following comments consider alternative scenarios for this series of townhouses, depending on whether the earliest townhouse dates to the “early” or “late” end of the radiocarbon date range.

If the earliest townhouse dates to circa AD 1500, it follows that each of the six manifestations of the townhouse may have stood for as long as 35 to 40 years, unless there were temporal gaps between the abandonment of townhouses and the construction of their successors. Such hiatuses between townhouses seem very unlikely. The consistency in the configuration and placement of each townhouse suggests that each stage was rebuilt as soon as its predecessor was abandoned. An estimate of 35 to 40 years per townhouse, nevertheless, seems like a very long life span for a structure made of wood and earth. It is not clear how long posts could have stood in the ground before rotting, although the aforementioned estimates of Mississippian house longevity (five to 15 years) is a reasonable estimate. Some posts, especially roof supports, may have had long lives, and they may have been recycled in some cases, but it seems likely that structures in the southern Appalachians would need considerable maintenance and perhaps rebuilding after about 10 years. Public structures, however, may have had longer lives than domestic structures, for several reasons. First, a different range of activities may have taken place in and around public structures than in domestic settings, and they may have had different impacts on the structures themselves. Second, a decision to rebuild a public structure affected a greater range of people, representing several households and kin groups, than decisions to rebuild domestic dwellings, and the relatively greater amounts of labor and raw materials needed for rebuilding public structures may have contributed to longer intervals between rebuilding townhouses than rebuilding domestic houses. More people, and perhaps more resources, may have been devoted to maintaining a townhouse than to the upkeep of any specific dwelling within a town. Nevertheless, even thirty years seems almost too long to expect any structure to have weathered the environment of the southern Appalachians. Furthermore, it

also seems longer than one generation of the people living in towns in this part of the Southeast. If the townhouse was rebuilt once every generation, when the rites and responsibilities of town leadership were passed from one generation to another, an interval of 15 to 25 seems more likely than 30 to 40 years. Therefore, the early end of the radiocarbon date range from the first stage of the townhouse is probably too early. Likewise, the late end of its age range is probably too late.

If the first townhouse was built circa AD 1650, it would have been rebuilt five times within 50 to 75 years. It is certainly conceivable that the townhouse could have been entirely rebuilt once every ten years or less. However, other considerations point to greater longevity of each stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse. First, historic Cherokee communities kept fires burning constantly in townhouse hearths, and this practice may have helped public structures in the southern Appalachians last longer than their domestic counterparts, by keeping timbers dry, and also by preventing insects and other pests from settling into the material from which structures were built (see Corkran 1969:12-13; Hill 1997:72-73; Randolph 1973:148-149). Second, an estimate of 15 to 25 years is consistent with documentary evidence that the Apalachee townhouse at Mission San Luis, in what is now Tallahassee, Florida, was built in 1656 and rebuilt twice between then and 1704, making the average lifespan of each townhouse some 20 to 25 years (see Hann 1994:347-349; Shapiro and McEwan 1992). Such an estimate seems closer to the length of time it would have taken for one generation of a community, and one generation of leadership within a community, to replace its predecessors. Admittedly, these points are consistent with, rather than indicative of, my proposal that the average life span of each stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse exceeded ten years.

I favor an estimate of 15 to 25 years per townhouse because it would place the earliest townhouse at Coweeta Creek in the sixteenth century, assuming its sixth and last stage was standing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, which seems clear from radiocarbon dates and the presence of European artifacts in this stage of the structure. Other public structures in the southern Appalachians, which resemble the Coweeta Creek townhouse in design and dimensions, are thought to date to this period. The Coweeta Creek townhouse is similar to the public structure at the Ledford Island site in eastern Tennessee, which is thought to date to the late 1400s or early 1500s (Sullivan 1987). The Coweeta Creek townhouse also resembles the Lower Cherokee townhouse at Chattooga, whose earliest stage probably dates to the 1600s if not the late 1500s (Schroedl 1994, 2000:214-216, 2001:286-289). These similarities with other dated townhouses in the greater southern Appalachians lead me to conclude that the first townhouse at Coweeta Creek may date to the sixteenth century.

One way to summarize radiocarbon data from Coweeta Creek is to concentrate on the calibrated intercepts of these dates (Table 6.2). Table 6.2 shows that several contexts—including features 72 and 96 and floors 1 and 3 of the townhouse—are close to each other in age, and their intercepts fall within the seventeenth century. Table 6.2 further demonstrates that Structure 7D and Feature 65 predate these features and late stages of the townhouse, although the earliest stage of the townhouse may be contemporaneous with or only slightly later than Structure 7D itself.

Another way to visualize these radiocarbon data is to consider the one-sigma ranges associated with these dates (Table 6.3). This graphical display shows three clusters of dates, with Feature 65 at the early end, one townhouse and Structure 7D in the middle, and features

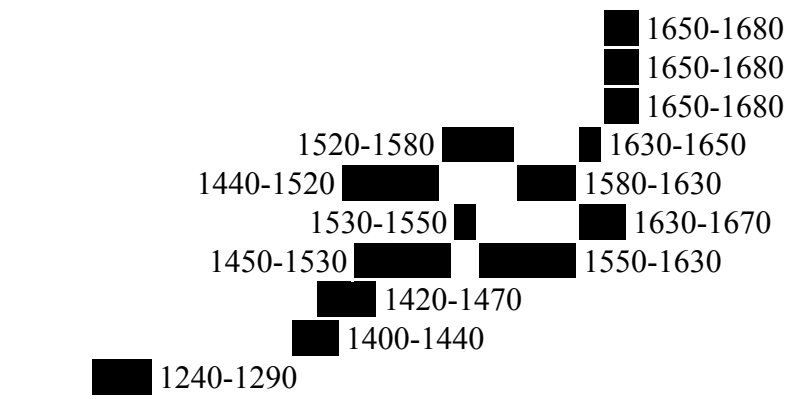
Table 6.2. Calibrated Intercepts of Radiocarbon Dates from Coweeta Creek

	1200 1300 1400 1500 1600 1700	Radiocarbon Age[1]	Calibrated Intercept[2]	European Artifacts	Sample Number
Feature 72		220	1670	Present	Beta-167072
Townhouse Floor 1		220	1660	Present	Beta-167067
Townhouse Floor 3		230	1660	Present	Beta-167068
Feature 96		300	1640		Beta-167073
Townhouse Floor 6		410	1470		Beta-167069
Structure 7D		280	1650		Beta-175805
Structure 7D		390	1490		Beta-175804
Structure 7D		450	1440		Beta-175803
Structure 7D		560	1420		Beta-167070
Feature 65		740	1270		Beta-167071

[1] Measured radiocarbon age in years BP.

[2] Intercept of radiocarbon age with calibration curve in cal AD.

Table 6.3. Date Ranges of Radiocarbon Samples from Coweeta Creek



	Radiocarbon Age[1]	Calibrated Intercept[2]	European Artifacts	Sample Number
Feature 72	220	1670	present	Beta-167072
Townhouse Floor 1	220	1660	present	Beta-167067
Townhouse Floor 3	230	1660	present	Beta-167068
Feature 96	300	1640		Beta-167073
Townhouse Floor 6	410	1470		Beta-167069
Structure 7D	280	1650		Beta-175805
Structure 7D	390	1490		Beta-175804
Structure 7D	560	1420		Beta-167070
Structure 7D	450	1440		Beta-175803
Feature 65	740	1270		Beta-167071

[1] Measured radiocarbon age in years BP.

[2] Intercept of radiocarbon age with calibration curve in cal AD.

72 and 96 and late stages of the townhouse at the late end. My interpretations of the patterns depicted in tables 6.2 and 6.3 are that at least one house in the Coweeta Creek village predates the townhouse and that the townhouse was still standing late in the history of this settlement. The radiocarbon date from Feature 65 indicates that it may date to an even earlier period than Structure 7D. Although that may be the case, there are similarities in the ceramics from Feature 65 and Structure 7D, and these data are considered in the next chapter. I conclude from similarities in ceramics that Feature 65 and Structure 7D are probably closer in age than is apparent from the radiocarbon dates. I think this issue deserves further consideration, but I think that radiocarbon dates do indicate clearly that some contexts in the village predate the townhouse, and I would summarize what we can conclude from radiocarbon data as follows.

The current set of radiocarbon dates from Coweeta Creek demonstrates that a native settlement was present here for a longer period than that represented by the series of townhouses in the mound. At least one pit in the village may date as early as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. At least one domestic structure probably dates to the fifteenth century. The townhouse was still standing in the late 1600s or early 1700s. Other contexts at the site also date to this late timeframe. It is not clear from these data whether there was continuous settlement at Coweeta Creek from the 1400s through the early 1700s, or if the site was abandoned and later resettled, but the site definitely spans the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods.

This scenario fits well with expectations developed many years ago about the temporal placement of the Coweeta Creek townhouse and village, and also about the temporal relationships between them. Those early impressions were predicated primarily

upon the presence of European trade goods in late stages of the mound, and the absence of European artifacts from the village, leading to the conclusion that the village was abandoned before the last stages of the townhouse were built (Dickens 1978:123-125; Keel, Egloff, and Egloff 2002). They also relied to some degree on diagnostic characteristics of aboriginal ceramics found at the Coweeta Creek site, although ceramic series and phases in western North Carolina correspond to long periods and large geographic areas, which therefore encompass considerable variation, and which make it difficult to attach precise dates to ceramic assemblages (Griffin 1978:xx-xxi; Ward and Davis 1999:178-182). The rest of this chapter describes the assemblage of European artifacts from the Coweeta Creek site, and the following chapter considers the chronological implications of ceramics from different parts of the site.

European Artifacts

European artifacts found at Coweeta Creek are concentrated primarily in the townhouse mound and in the area southwest of the mound (Table 6.4). Some were found in the plaza, in both plow zone contexts and in layers of sand that presumably once covered the plaza itself. Some were found in the village south and east of the townhouse, but most of the European artifacts from this part of the site were recovered from the plow zone or ground surface rather than from structure floors, undisturbed features, and burials. This section describes European artifacts from the Coweeta Creek site. My primary interest here is what clues they offer about the dates of this native settlement, rather than the nature of social changes in the Coweeta Creek community resulting from access to European material culture.

Table 6.4. European Artifacts from Coweeta Creek

	Glass Beads	Kaolin Pipe Fragments	Brass Bell	Brass Buttons	Brass Beads	Brass Fragment	Copper Wire	Metal Blades	Wrought Nails	Metal Axe Head	Metal Ring	Metal Fragment	Gunflints	Musket Ball	Musket Spring	Peach Pits
Mound																
Slump	5	8											1	2		
Surface and Plow Zone	28	19			2	1	1	1			1		10	2		2
Townhouse Floor 1	2691	46				1		1			1		2			1
Townhouse Floor 2	269	1														1
Townhouse Floor 3	716	4		2		1										
Townhouse Floor 4	210				1											2
Townhouse Floor 5	324	4		1	1						2					2
Townhouse Floor 6	5	2									1					2
Structural Debris	8															
Entrance Trenches	2															
Postholes Under Mound	131	2			1											
Feature 3		1														
Feature 8	245	6														
Feature 19	44															
Feature 26	9															
Plaza																
Surface and Plow Zone	26	44								1			1	6	1	
Sand Covering the Plaza	7	5												1		

Table 6.4. European Artifacts from Coweeta Creek (Continued)

	Glass Beads	Kaolin Pipe Fragments	Brass Bell	Brass Buttons	Brass Beads	Brass Fragment	Copper Wire	Metal Blades	Wrought Nails	Metal Axe Head	Metal Ring	Metal Fragment	Gunflints	Musket Ball	Musket Spring	Peach Pits
Area Southwest of Mound																
Surface and Plow Zone	12	18							1				1	4		
Feature 37	2															
Feature 38								1								
Feature 41	8															
Feature 51	7															
Feature 71		3														
Feature 72	373	5	1		4						1					
Feature 73		1														
Feature 74	50															
Area Southeast of Mound																
Surface and Plow Zone	25	25							1					1		
Feature 68									1							
Feature 83	1															
Burial 84	4															
General Surface	44	7														
Site Totals	5246	201	1	3	9	3	1	3	3	1	6	0	15	16	1	10

European material culture did reach many inland areas of the Southeast before Europeans and European settlements themselves did. Spanish artifacts found their way across the Southeast through native exchange networks during the sixteenth century (Harmon 1986; Schroedl 2000, 2001; Waselkov 1989; Worth 1994, 2002). The seventeenth-century slave market motivated some native groups to seek war captives who could then be traded to European colonists as slaves, and European material culture reached the hands of at least some native people through this form of exchange (see Chapter 2; Bowne 2000; Drooker 1997; Gallay 2002; Martin 1994; Morgan 1996; Smith 1987:135, 1992:28, 2000:113, 2001:154; 2002:5-9). Cherokee towns may or may not have conducted slave raids themselves, but they definitely bore the brunt of attacks by slavers during the 1600s, and perhaps in the early 1700s. Late seventeenth-century towns in the southern Appalachians and elsewhere in southeastern North America began participating in the deerskin trade with South Carolina colonists, and in the conflicts that erupted due to rivalries and alliances that developed during the era of the deerskin trade (see Chapter 2; Smith 1992:34-48). Native people from the southern Appalachians had begun traveling to English trading posts closer to the coast by the late seventeenth century, and Carolina traders began living in Cherokee towns soon afterward (Goodwin 1977; Hatley 1995; Hudson 2002; Schroedl 2001a; Smith 1979; Wilms 1991). Cherokee towns may have entered exchange networks with European colonists later than native communities situated closer to early European colonial settlements, but they had access to European material culture by the late 1600s, and native people across the Southeast grew more dependent on access to European trade goods throughout the 1700s.

European artifact assemblages from sixteenth-century native sites in the greater southern Appalachians often include faceted chevron beads, brass armbands, and metal

knives and axes (Smith 1987:45-46). Spanish expeditions visited western North Carolina in the 1540s and 1560s, and although they met Cherokee people along the way, their travel routes did not lead them through the heart of the historic Cherokee homeland (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992; Hudson 1990, 1997, 2002; Schroedl 2000). Spanish artifacts nevertheless may have reached Cherokee towns through native trade networks, and if this were the case, one suspects they would include brass artifacts, glass beads, and metal knives in styles that date to the sixteenth century (Hally, Smith, and Langford 1990; Harmon 1986; Waselkov 1989).

European artifact assemblages from seventeenth-century native sites in the interior Southeast often include brass beads, scrap pieces of brass, and turquoise blue or white glass beads (Smith 1987:46-52). Kaolin pipe stems are present in many of these assemblages, although they are more prevalent in eighteenth-century contexts. It has proven difficult to identify characteristics of European artifact assemblages that are diagnostic of the seventeenth century, except for the fact that there are more limited quantities and varieties of European artifacts at seventeenth-century sites than at sites dating to the eighteenth century.

The glass beads at Coweeta Creek are consistent with what archaeologists recognize as an assemblage that dates to the seventeenth century, or perhaps the early eighteenth century (Figure 6.1; Table 6.5). Most of the beads are drawn beads (N=5232), rather than wound beads (N=14). The former are made by shaping glass into long cylinders and then cutting them into beads, and the latter are made by wrapping molten glass around pieces of wire. The vast majority of the drawn beads from Coweeta Creek are opaque white or turquoise blue beads. The prevalence of these beads is comparable to other assemblages in the interior Southeast that date to the late seventeenth century (Smith 1987:44-52). Thirty-

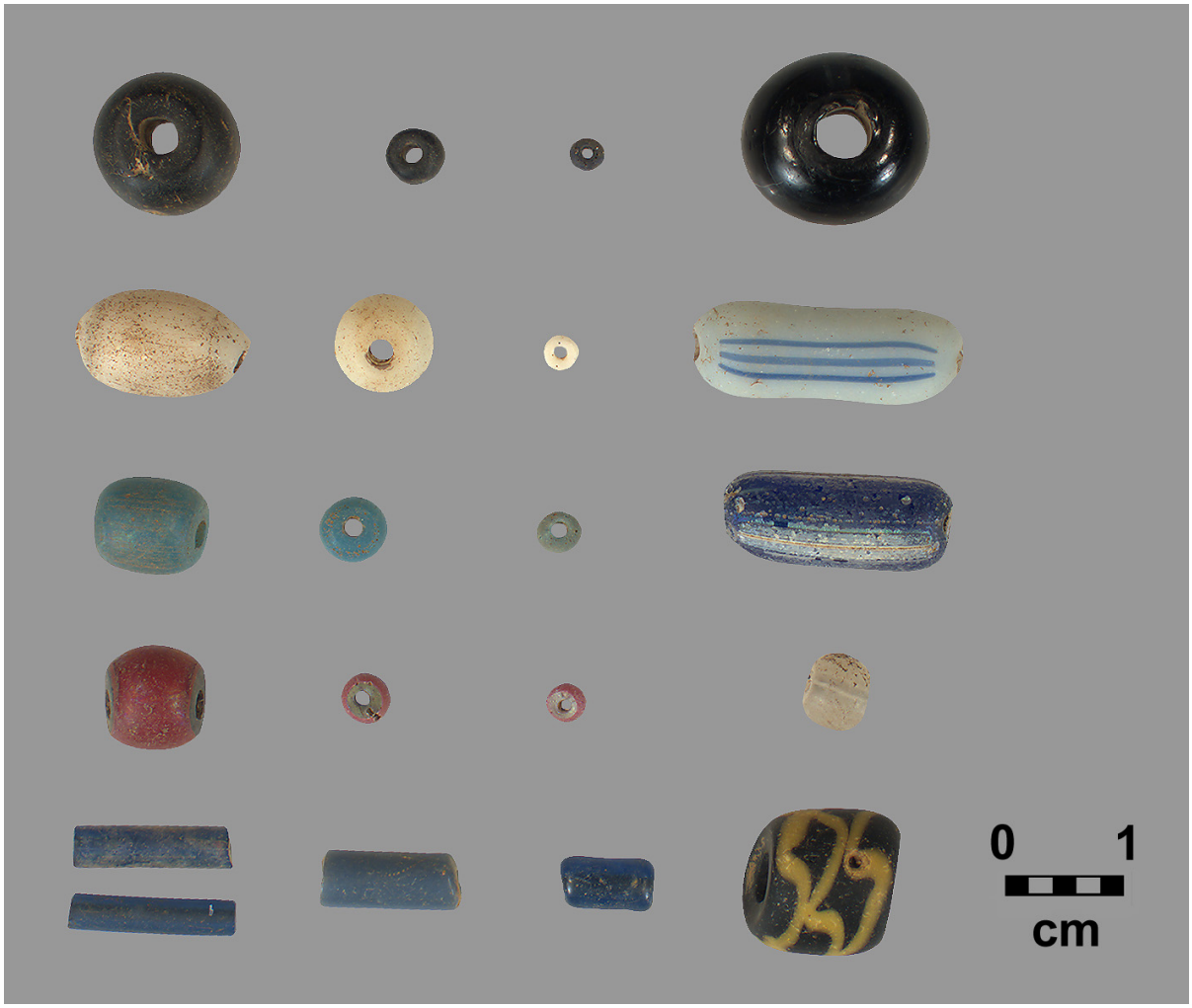


Figure 6.1. Selected glass beads from Coweeta Creek (photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

six translucent, striped, "gooseberry" beads from Coweeta Creek are consistent with this proposed timeframe (Brain 1979:106, Type IVB1; Quimby 1966:87). One fragment of a transparent, faceted bead represents a type thought to date to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries (Brain 1979:110, Type WIIA2). One hundred thirty-three "Cornaline d'Alleppo" beads are present in the assemblage from Coweeta Creek, including small seed beads and larger spherical beads—this type of bead, with a redwood exterior and a gray or black interior, is thought to date to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries (Brain 1979:106, Type IVA2; Carnes 1987:152; Kidd and Kidd 1970; Ward and Davis 1993:140-141, 369-370, 428-429). One "Roman" bead was found in the plow zone in the village area at Coweeta Creek, its black surface decorated with yellow inlays—this type of bead is thought to date to the late 1600s or early 1700s (Brain 1979:112-113, Type WIIIA6; Carnes 1987:152; B. H. Riggs, personal communication 2002; M. T. Smith, personal communication 2000). None of the beads from Coweeta Creek resemble any of the bead types associated with Spanish expeditions in southeastern North America during the sixteenth century (Smith 1987:29-33). Glass beads from Coweeta Creek therefore probably date to the late 1600s or early 1700s (Ward and Davis 1999:183-185).

These glass beads are concentrated in late stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse and in the plaza. Ninety percent of the glass beads from the site were found in the mound or plaza, and most of these were recovered from upper levels of the mound (Table 6.6). More beads were found in association with the last stage of the townhouse (N=2691) than were found with all other stages (N=1656) combined (Table 6.6). The five beads found in deposits on and above the floor of the earliest townhouse may have trickled down to that level through later postholes. Roughly nine percent (N=457) of the glass beads at the site were found in

Table 6.5. Types of Glass Beads at Coweeta Creek

	Mound														Plaza	
	Surface and Plow Zone	Slump	Townhouse Floor 1	Townhouse Floor 2	Townhouse Floor 3	Townhouse Floor 4	Townhouse Floor 5	Townhouse Floor 6	Structural Debris in Mound	Entrance Trenches in Mound	Postholes Beneath Mound	Feature 8	Feature 19	Feature 26	Surface and Plow Zone	Sand Covering the Plaza
Drawn Beads[1]																
IA1			5			2	1					3				
IA2	1				1											
IA3	3		11		1	1	4									
IB1		1														
IB3																
IIA1																
long	1	2	1					1							1	
barrel				1	1										2	
round	2		10	1	2		2				1	1			1	1
seed	1	1	946	139	244	67	77	2			28	161	15	3	1	
IIA2			15	3	2		2									
IIA3							2									
IIA5																
long							1									
barrel																
round			2		1	1					1		5		1	
seed	1		315		53	15	27				5	34			4	
IIA6																
long	2															
barrel															1	1
round	3			1	4	1	6			1						
seed	2		136	8	63	20	32			2	10	2	10	1	1	
IIA7																
long																
barrel					1	1										
round	3		2	3	6	3	11			3		1	1		1	
seed	8		189	50	156	26	59	1		1	12	42	10	1	10	2
IIA15			7	9	11	5	7		1		3					
IIB2					1											
IIB4					1											

[1] Brain 1979:100-107.
[2] Brain 1979:107-112.

Table 6.5. Types of Glass Beads at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Southwest of Mound							Southeast of Plaza						
Surface and Plow Zone	Posthole in Square 100R60	Feature 37	Feature 41	Feature 51	Feature 72	Feature 74	Surface and Plow Zone	Floor in Square 80R230	Feature 83	Burial 84	General	Totals	
													Drawn Beads[1]
					8		1					9	IA1
												0	IA2
1					5		2				1	9	IA3
												0	IB1
					3						1	4	IB3
													IIA1
				1	1						1	3	long
2											2	4	barrel
					7		2				5	14	round
3		1			177	37	2		1		6	227	seed
												0	IIA2
												0	IIA3
													IIA5
												0	long
											1	1	barrel
1							1				2	4	round
					80	6	1				2	89	seed
													IIA6
					1							1	long
		1										1	barrel
					1			1			1	3	round
			1		30		1				2	34	seed
													IIA7
												0	long
							1				3	4	barrel
1					2	1	9			2	6	21	round
1			7	5	20	4	3			2	8	50	seed
											1	1	IIA15
												0	IIB2
												0	IIB4

Table 6.5. Types of Glass Beads at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

	Mound														Plaza	
	Surface and Plow Zone	Slump	Townhouse Floor 1	Townhouse Floor 2	Townhouse Floor 3	Townhouse Floor 4	Townhouse Floor 5	Townhouse Floor 6	Structural Debris in Mound	Entrance Trenches in Mound	Postholes Beneath Mound	Feature 8	Feature 19	Feature 26	Surface and Plow Zone	Sand Covering the Plaza
Drawn Beads[1]																
IIB10																
IIB13											1	1				
IIIB1					1	1										
IVA2																
round			1	1	1		2									
seed			47	6	24	2	7			1	8		3		2	
IVB1																
round			9			2	3									
seed			9		3	1	4									
IVB2				1												1
IVB6							2									
IVB8			1		4		1									
Indeterminate			985	46	134	62	74	1	1		62			4		
Wound Beads[2]																
WIA1																
large		1														1
small					1											
WIA6																
large	1															
small																
WIIA2															1	
WIIIA6																1
Totals	1	1	1052	54	168	68	93	1	1	1	71	1	3	4	3	3

[1] Brain 1979:100-107.
[2] Brain 1979:107-112.

Table 6.5. Types of Glass Beads at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Southwest of Mound							Southeast of Plaza						
Surface and Plow Zone	Posthole in Square 100R60	Feature 37	Feature 41	Feature 51	Feature 72	Feature 74	Surface and Plow Zone	Floor in Square 80R230	Feature 83	Burial 84	General	Totals	
													Drawn Beads[1]
							1					1	IIB10
												0	IIB13
												0	IIIB1
													IVA2
											1	1	round
2	1				24							27	seed
													IVB1
					4							4	round
				1								1	seed
												0	IVB2
												0	IVB6
					1							1	IVB8
					9	2							Indeterminate
													Wound Beads[2]
													WIA1
												0	large
											1	1	small
													WIA6
												0	large
												0	small
												0	WIIA2
												0	WIIIA6
2	1	0	0	1	38	2	1	0	0	0	2	47	Totals

Table 6.6. Distribution of Glass Beads at Coweeta Creek

		#	%
Mound		4683	89.27%
	Mound Surface	19	
	Plow Zone	4	
	Slump	5	
	Features	298	
	Townhouse Floor 1	2691	
	Fill Above Floor	0	
	Townhouse Floor 2	269	
	Fill Above Floor	28	
	Townhouse Floor 3	689	
	Fill Above Floor	28	
	Townhouse Floor 4	182	
	Fill Above Floor	311	
	Townhouse Floor 5	13	
	Fill Above Floor	1	
	Townhouse Floor 6	4	
	Premound Humus	0	
	Structural Debris	8	
	Entrance Trenches	2	
	Mound Postholes	131	
Plaza		33	0.63%
Area Southwest of Mound		457	8.71%
Area Southeast of Mound		30	0.57%
General		43	0.82%
Totals		5246	100%

pits and other contexts in the area southwest of the mound. Less than one percent (N=30) of the glass beads found at the site come from the village area southeast of the mound. One bead was found in architectural debris lying on the floor of Structure 4, in Square 80R230. One other glass bead was found in Feature 83, near the band of ramadas beside the village and close to Structure 3. Clearly, beads are far more prevalent in late stages of the townhouse than in other parts of the site. Therefore, it seems very likely that these late manifestations of the townhouse postdate most other contexts at the site, including houses in the village area, southeast of the plaza, or that activities involving beads were too place primarily in the townhouse and the plaza beside it, or both.

As is the case with the glass beads, kaolin pipe fragments from Coweeta Creek probably date to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries (Figure 6.2; Table 6.7). Native people began to incorporate these new pipes, and also new forms of tobacco, into aboriginal smoking practices in the seventeenth century (Ward and Davis 1999:240-241). The assemblage of kaolin pipe fragments from Coweeta Creek is comparable to those at many native sites in eastern North America that date to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Archaeologists have shown that the diameters of the holes in these kaolin pipe stems tend to decrease through time. There are two different approaches to deriving estimated dates from these measurements. One method derives a calendrical date for an assemblage of kaolin pipe fragments through a regression equation. The other proposes a range of dates based on the mean and mode of pipe stem bore hole diameters in a selected assemblage of kaolin pipe fragments.

The latter method entails comparing average diameter measurements to a chart of average diameters from independently dated sites near the English colonial settlement of

Figure 6.2. Kaolin pipe fragments from Coweeta Creek (photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

Table 6.7. Kaolin Pipe Stem Dates from Coweeta Creek

	Mound	Plaza	Southwest of Mound	Southeast of Mound	General	Totals
8/64"	0	1	0	1	1	3
7/64"	9	6	2	2	0	19
6/64"	32	12	7	3	5	59
5/64"	25	10	9	9	1	54
4/64"	1	0	1	0	0	2
Mean	5.73	5.93	5.53	5.67	6.14	5.76
Mode	6	6	5	5	6	6
Date[1]	1670-1710	1670-1710	1670-1710	1670-1710	1670-1710	1670-1710
Date[2]	1713	1705	1720	1715	1697	1712

[1] Following Harrington 1951, 1954.
[2] Following Binford 1962, 1972.

Jamestown. Harrington (1951, 1954) has described this method of measuring diameters in 1/64-inch-intervals by recording the number of 1/64-inch-increments in the diameter of the drill bit that is the best fit inside each stem hole. Harrington demonstrated that 7/64" was the most commonly measured pipe stem bore hole diameter in kaolin pipe assemblages from sites near Jamestown known to date from 1640 to 1670, and that 6/64" was the most commonly measured diameter in assemblages from sites known to date between 1670 and 1710 (Table 6.8). The widest measured diameter of bore holes in kaolin pipe stems from Coweeta Creek is 8/64 inches (or one-eighth of an inch), which is recorded as "8." The narrowest stem hole in kaolin pipe fragments from Coweeta Creek is 4/64 inches (or one-sixteenth of an inch), which is recorded as "4." My measurements of kaolin pipe stem bore hole diameters are comparable to those dated by Harrington to the period between 1670 and 1710 (Table 6.7).

Another method for estimating the date of a group of kaolin pipe stems involves inserting an average diameter measurement into a formula that derives a calendrical date rather than a date range. Binford (1962, 1972) modified Harrington's method in an effort to derive more precise date estimates than the intervals of 30 to 40 years derived through Harrington's approach. Date estimates are derived here with the same data inserted into the Binford formula, which is $x=1931.85-38.26y$, where "y" is the average measurement in 1/64-inch increments of pipe stem hole diameters in an assemblage of kaolin pipes and pipe fragments, 1931.85 is the theoretical date at which pipestem hole diameters would reach zero if the trend in decreasing hole diameters had continued to that point, 38.26 is the interval of years between average diameter measurements expressed in 1/64th-inch intervals, and where "x" is the estimated date of an assemblage. The estimated date for the entire assemblage of

Table 6.8. Kaolin Pipe Stem Dates from the Coweeta Creek Mound

	Last Stage of the Townhouse	Earlier Stages of the Townhouse
8/64"	0	0
7/64"	2	7
6/64"	18	14
5/64"	11	14
4/64"	1	0
Average Diameter[1]	5.66	5.80
Estimated Date[2]	1715	1710

[1] Average Diameter = N/64" (see Harrington 1951, 1954).
[2] Estimated Date = 1931.85 - (38.26 * Avg Diam) (see Binford 1962, 1972).

kaolin pipe fragments from Coweeta Creek is 1712 (Table 6.7). The estimated date for all of the kaolin pipe fragments from the Coweeta Creek townhouse mound is 1713 (Table 6.7). The 32 kaolin pipe stem pieces from the last stage of the townhouse have yielded a date of 1715 (Table 6.7). The 29 stem fragments from plow zone, ground surface, and layers of sand in the plaza have yielded a date of 1705 (Table 6.6). These date estimates do vary somewhat, of course. That said, they all do point to an estimated date for this assemblage of kaolin pipe fragments at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Table 6.9 summarizes kaolin pipe stem hole diameter measurements from which these dates were derived following both Harrington's and Binford's methods. This table groups diameter measurements taken from all kaolin pipe stem fragments from the mound, the plaza, and areas to the southwest or southeast of the mound and plaza. It includes data from all stratigraphic contexts within these areas of the site, including surface and plow zone, structure floors and deposits between townhouse floors, and pit features. Certainly, this inclusive approach lumps data from different excavation contexts. However, excluding measurements from the plow zone or ground surface does not greatly change the dates derived for assemblages of kaolin pipe fragments from different areas of the site.

Table 6.4 lists counts of all kaolin pipe fragments found at the site. These numbers include pieces from stems and bowls. Of course, some kaolin pipe fragments include sections of both stems and bowls, although these are counted here as stem fragments. Most of these artifacts were found in the mound, and most of these were found in upper stages of the mound. Forty-six kaolin pipe fragments are associated with the last stage of the townhouse. By comparison, only 11 kaolin pipe fragments were found in earlier stages of

Table 6.9. Bore Hole Diameters of Kaolin Pipe Stems from Coweeta Creek

Context	Count	Mean	Mode
Mound	67	5.73	6/64"
7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7			
6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6			
5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5			
4			
Plaza	29	5.93	6/64"
8			
7 7 7 7 7 7			
6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6			
5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5			
Area Southwest of Mound	19	5.53	5/64"
7 7			
6 6 6 6 6 6 6			
5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5			
4			
Area Southeast of Plaza	15	5.67	5/64"
8			
7 7			
6 6 6			
5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5			
General Surface	6	6.17	6/64"
8			
6 6 6 6			
5			
Site Totals	136	5.81	6/64"

the mound. Forty-nine were found in the plaza. Fifteen kaolin pipe fragments were found on the ground surface or in the plow zone in the village area southeast of the townhouse and plaza, but not in pit features, nor on the floors of domestic structures. Nine kaolin pipe fragments were found in three of the pit features in the area southwest of the townhouse. Eighteen more were found in plow zone and on the ground surface in this area of the site. The spatial distribution of kaolin pipe fragments at Coweeta Creek suggests that late stages of the townhouse and plaza, and some features southwest of the mound, probably postdate dwellings south and east of the plaza. It is likely that more kaolin pipe fragments would have been found in association with domestic houses at Coweeta Creek if these smoking pipes had been available before the houses were abandoned.

Other forms of European material culture found at Coweeta Creek are consistent with indications from glass beads and kaolin pipe stems that the Coweeta Creek townhouse was still standing during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Metal artifacts are more common in upper levels of the mound than in the village area to the south and east of the townhouse and plaza. Their spatial distribution lends support to the idea that the late stages of the townhouse postdate most, if not all, of the domestic houses in the village area.

Seventeen brass artifacts were found at Coweeta Creek (Figure 6.3). One brass fragment was found in the last stage of the townhouse. Another brass fragment and two brass buttons were found on the floor of the fourth townhouse (Floor 3; compare with Brain 1979:189). One brass button and one brass cone were found in fill above the floor of the second townhouse (Floor 5; compare with Brain 1979:195). One brass or copper pendant, one brass fragment, and two brass beads were found in plow zone deposits in the mound.

Figure 6.3. Brass artifacts from the Coweeta Creek site (photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

One brass cone was found in one of the postholes in the mound. Four brass cones were found in Feature 72. The top of one flushloop bell was also found in Feature 72. Flushloop bells are thought to date to the seventeenth century and are found at several sites in southeastern North America (Brown 1979:201). This specimen may represent the only flushloop bell yet identified in western North Carolina (Brown 1979:205).

Brass artifacts were traded across the Southeast through native exchange networks, reaching the hands of some native groups even before they had direct and sustained contact with Europeans themselves (Ward and Davis 1999:260-267; Waselkov 1989; Wesson 1999). One result of this practice is that some European trade goods reached western North Carolina and other areas of southeastern North America before Europeans themselves did. The brass from kettles and other forms of European material culture was cut into circles and other shapes to make gorgets and pendants. Some pieces of brass were shaped into arrowheads, or cut into strips that were then rolled into cones to which archaeologists refer as brass cones or bangles. Artifacts made of native copper had long circulated across the Southeast as prestige goods. It is likely that European brass was adopted as an alternative to native copper, and widespread interest in these forms of material culture encouraged the rapid spread of brass across the Southeast once it first reached native hands. The brass artifacts found at Coweeta Creek are consistent with other indications that the late end of settlement history at Coweeta Creek falls in the late 1600s or early 1700s.

Four metal blades have been found at Coweeta Creek (Figure 6.4). One metal blade was found outside the edge of the last townhouse. Another was found in plow zone in the mound (compare with Brain 1979:152-153). An axe head was found in the plow zone in the

plaza area (compare with Brain 1979:140-143). Another metal blade was found at the top of Feature 38, near Feature 37, in the area southwest of the townhouse and plaza.

Metal tools tended to hold sharp edges longer than their aboriginal counterparts made of stone, and, therefore, native groups in the Southeast adopted metal blades and axes soon after they first became accessible, even as native people were more selective in or resistant to the adoption of some other forms of European material culture (Harmon 1986; Odell 2001; Ward and Davis 1999:254-255). Given the presence of so few metal tools at the Coweeta Creek site, and their absence from burials, it is most likely that the site predates the middle and late eighteenth century, when metal would have been more easily accessible and more widely available. Spaniards introduced some metal artifacts to native people in southeastern North America during the sixteenth century, but it was not until the eighteenth century that native people in the southern Appalachians had direct and sustained access to trade networks through which they could acquire metal axes and knives.

Nine other metal artifacts from the site are attributable to the native settlement at Coweeta Creek (Figure 6.4). One metal fragment was found in fill above the first (Floor 6) and another above the second (Floor 5) stage of the townhouse. A metal ring was found in Feature 72, southwest of the townhouse. One of three nails were found at the site is a cut nail from the plow zone in the village area southeast of the mound and plaza (Figure 6.4, bottom left), and another is a wrought nail from the plow zone in the area southwest of the townhouse mound (compare with Brain 1979:156). A second wrought nail (Figure 6.4, shortest nail) was found in Feature 68, the earlier stage of the hearth in Structure 6. This nail may have been acquired from seventeenth-century English colonists, or from sixteenth-

Figure 6.4. Other metal artifacts from the Coweeta Creek site (photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

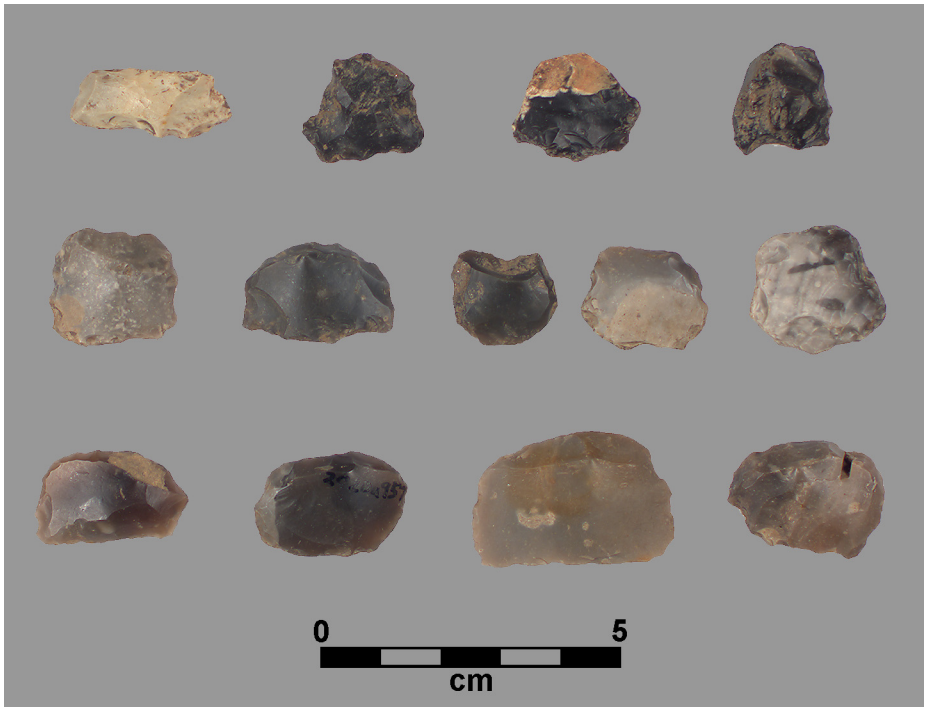


Figure 6.5. Gun flints and gun spalls from the Coweeta Creek site (photograph by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.).

century Spanish expeditions, and then traded from one native group to another, until it reached the hands of the household living in Structure 6 (see also Waselkov 1989:129).

Several artifacts from Coweeta Creek indicate that local residents had access to firearms or to materials associated with them (Figure 6.5). Fifteen gunflints and gun spalls have been identified at Coweeta Creek, most of which were found in and around the mound (compare with Hamilton 1979:210-211; Kent 1983; White 1975; Witthoft 1966). Of the ten found on the ground surface of the mound and plaza, three are spalls, three are strike-a-lights, and four others are true gunflints. One gunflint was found in the plow zone in the plaza. Another gunflint was found in the plow zone southwest of the townhouse. One gun spall was found in mound slump, and two gun spalls were associated with the last stage of the townhouse. Sixteen lead balls were found at Coweeta Creek, primarily in the plaza area (compare with Brain 1979:208-209). Eight of these were found in plow zone and surface contexts, and one was found in lenses of sand covering the plaza. Five were found in mound slump, and one was found in the plow zone in the area southwest of the mound. One lead ball was found in the plow zone in the village southeast of the plaza. One musket spring was found in plow zone in this same area, although it may be related to ritual performances involving guns, or to the activity of colonial militias in the Middle Cherokee town area during the middle and late eighteenth century, rather than to native settlement at Coweeta Creek during the late 1600s and early 1700s.

At least ten peach pits and seeds were recovered from the Coweeta Creek mound. Two were found in fill above the earliest stage of the townhouse. These may have been deposited in this context before or soon after the earliest townhouse was abandoned, or they may have reached that level of the Coweeta Creek mound much later, migrating downward

through postholes that cut through the floors of several stages of the townhouse. Six charred peach pits were found in floor deposits and architectural rubble related to later stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse. Two were found in the plow zone on top of the mound. Peaches and peach trees were not trade goods, of course, in the same sense as glass beads or kaolin pipes. The presence of charred peach pits at Coweeta Creek nevertheless does reflect the spread of peach trees to southwestern North Carolina by the seventeenth if not the sixteenth century. Peaches were first introduced to the Southeast by Europeans in the sixteenth century, and they seem to have spread rapidly, even into areas far from early European settlements themselves (Gremillion 1993). They were widely adopted by many native people in the Southeast during the 1500s and 1600s because they were easily incorporated into aboriginal practices of gardening and farming (Gremillion 2002).

At least two different scenarios may account for the denser concentration of European artifacts in the Coweeta Creek townhouse and plaza and in the area southwest of these public spaces, as compared to their lesser frequencies in the village. Their differential presence in mound and village contexts cannot be attributed to differences in excavation and recovery methods, as field notes indicate that excavators specifically looked for glass beads and other forms of European material culture in architectural debris from dwellings in the village, after European artifacts had been recovered from late stages of the townhouse. One possible scenario is that these new forms of material culture only circulated within events and activities situated in public space within the town. Another plausible scenario is that late stages of the townhouse, or at least its last stage, postdate the domestic houses at the site. The former scenario may or may not be true, although it is an issue that will not be resolved here, but the latter scenario seems very likely. All members of the Coweeta Creek

community probably had access to the townhouse, and so the concentration of these artifacts cannot be attributed to exclusive access to European material culture by any particular group within the town. Many glass beads and kaolin pipes were probably dropped by women and men participating in dances and in other activities held in the townhouse, but there is no evidence indicating that European trade goods were actively hoarded or otherwise kept within this space. It seems likely that European artifacts—especially glass beads, kaolin pipes, and other items that could have been easily lost or broken—would have also found their way into house floor deposits and pit features in the village, if domestic structures in that part of the site were contemporaneous with the last stage of the townhouse. Even though European material culture probably did play significant roles in events that took place in the Coweeta Creek townhouse and plaza, it is likely that it would have been circulated and displayed in domestic settings as well.

Indeed, several forms of European material culture were rapidly and widely adopted by native people in North Carolina once they had access to it. At archaeological sites in the Piedmont, frequencies of glass beads and kaolin pipes increase dramatically during the late seventeenth century, once villages of Siouan speakers had access to English trade goods (Boudreaux 2002; Eastman 2001, 2002; Ward and Davis 1999:254-255). European artifacts are present in far greater numbers in seventeenth-century than in sixteenth-century contexts in the Piedmont, but they are present in all contexts at these sites. Of course, there were significant differences in the social structures and politics of native villages in the Piedmont and in native towns of the Appalachians Summit, and people in these different provinces undoubtedly experienced early encounters with Europeans and European material culture in different ways (Dickens 1967, 1979; Ward 1985; Ward and Davis 1999:260-267). However,

it seems likely that European trade goods would have circulated within both public and domestic settings soon after they first reached the Appalachian Summit, as seems to have been the case within Siouan villages of the Piedmont.

Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that the dense concentration of European artifacts in deposits related to late stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse, as compared to their near absence from structures and pits in the village, indicate that late manifestations of this public structure postdate domestic dwellings. European artifacts certainly are associated with plow zone deposits and some undisturbed contexts in the village. However, they are much more abundant in and around the mound, and especially high numbers of them are associated with late stages of the townhouse.

The major points about European material culture at Coweeta Creek to consider here are the following. First, several categories of these artifacts are concentrated in and around the townhouse and plaza and are much less common in the village area south and east of the townhouse. Although this difference may reflect social practices that concentrated European material culture in public rather than domestic settings, it is more likely attributable to temporal differences between the townhouse and village (Dickens 1978; Egloff 1971). This spatial distribution does not preclude the likelihood that *some* domestic houses at Coweeta Creek are contemporaneous with *early* stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse. Second, the characteristics of these European artifacts are consistent with European artifact assemblages from other sites in the Southeast thought to date to the seventeenth and perhaps the early eighteenth centuries (Schroedl 2000, 2001; Smith 1987, 2000). This assemblage includes glass beads, kaolin pipe fragments, brass beads, one metal axe head, several metal blades, and charred peach pits. The presence of these artifacts in some structures and pit features

indicates that these particular contexts date no earlier than the mid-1500s, and probably no earlier than the mid-1600s, given the later arrival of Europeans and European material culture to native towns in the southern Appalachians than in other parts of the Southeast (Hudson 2002:xxxi-xxxv). The concentration of European artifacts in the latest stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse and plaza, and their relative scarcity in domestic houses in the adjacent village area, suggests that late stages of the townhouse date to the late seventeenth or very early eighteenth centuries, and that late stages of the townhouse probably postdate most if not all of the dwellings in the village (Dickens 1978:131).

Summary

European artifacts and recently derived radiocarbon dates together suggest the following timeframe for native settlement at Coweeta Creek. Late stages of the townhouse probably date to the late 1600s or early 1700s. They postdate most or all of the dwellings in the village area. European artifacts found in the plaza area indicate that this outdoor space was still in use when late stages of the townhouse were standing. Earlier stages of the townhouse, dating to the 1500s and early 1600s, were contemporaneous with several domestic houses placed in the village area southeast of the townhouse and plaza. Even earlier settlement at Coweeta Creek is attested by one radiocarbon date for one pit feature in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, and radiocarbon dates for one domestic structure in the fifteenth century. The aboriginal town at Coweeta Creek therefore spans at least three centuries, if not longer, including the end of the late prehistoric period and the two centuries after native people in the Southeast first encountered Europeans.

CHAPTER 7

QUALLA CERAMICS FROM COWEETA CREEK

Ceramics from Coweeta Creek and many other late prehistoric and protohistoric settlements in southwestern North Carolina are attributable to the Qualla series, which is generally thought to date from roughly AD 1450 to 1908 (Dickens 1976:13-15, 1978, 1979:22-28; B. J. Egloff 1967; K. T. Egloff 1971; Greene 1996; Hally 1994a:146-153; Keel 1976:40-45; Moore 2002a:172-173; Purrington 1983:148-149; Riggs 1989, 1997, 1999; Riggs and Rodning 2002; Riggs and Shumate 2003:90-91; Schroedl 2000:212-213; Ward and Davis 1999:178-183; Williams and Thompson 1999:97-99; Wilson and Rodning 2002). This chapter summarizes the major characteristics of Qualla pottery. It then outlines attribute analyses of Qualla ceramics from the Coweeta Creek site that demonstrate detectable differences in the rim decorations and surface treatments associated with Early, Middle, and Late Qualla pottery. The ceramic chronology derived from these analyses will be applied in Chapter 8 as a framework for reconstructing aboriginal settlement history at the Coweeta Creek site. Patterns of temporal variation in Coweeta Creek ceramics complement evidence described in Chapter 6 that lends insight into the absolute and relative dates of structures and pit features at the site.

The Qualla Series in Southwestern North Carolina

The Qualla ceramic series encompasses pottery found at late prehistoric and postcontact Middle Cherokee settlements, including the Coweeta Creek site, as well as sites in the Valley and Out town areas in the Tuckasegee and Hiwassee river valleys in southwestern North Carolina. The following description of Qualla pottery outlines the range of variation seen in vessel types, paste characteristics, surface treatments, and rim decorations at the Coweeta Creek site. Later in this chapter, I consider the relative frequencies of attribute states in Qualla sherd assemblages from various contexts at the Coweeta Creek site. Before presenting those analyses, I compare Qualla pottery to other late prehistoric and protohistoric ceramic series in western North Carolina and surrounding areas. These comparisons generally substantiate the temporal placement of Qualla ceramics—and therefore contexts at Coweeta Creek and other sites in North Carolina where they are present—in the late prehistoric and postcontact periods.

Qualla pots include jars and bowls made of light, finely made, grit-tempered pastes, with complicated stamped outer surfaces and burnished or polished inner surfaces (Figure 7.1; Egloff 1967). The basic characteristics of the Qualla series were outlined almost forty years ago, with reference to potsherds collected during surface surveys and excavations by the Cherokee Archaeological Project in western North Carolina (Dickens 1976; Egloff 1967; Keel 1976). It was recognized then that Qualla ceramics closely resembled pottery attributed to the Lamar ceramic tradition in northern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina, and recent treatments of Qualla pottery in the literature emphasize that Qualla pottery in North Carolina is synonomous with the Tugalo and Estatoe series in South Carolina and Georgia (Dickens 1979; Ward and Davis 1999; Riggs and Rodning 2002). Vessel walls range from

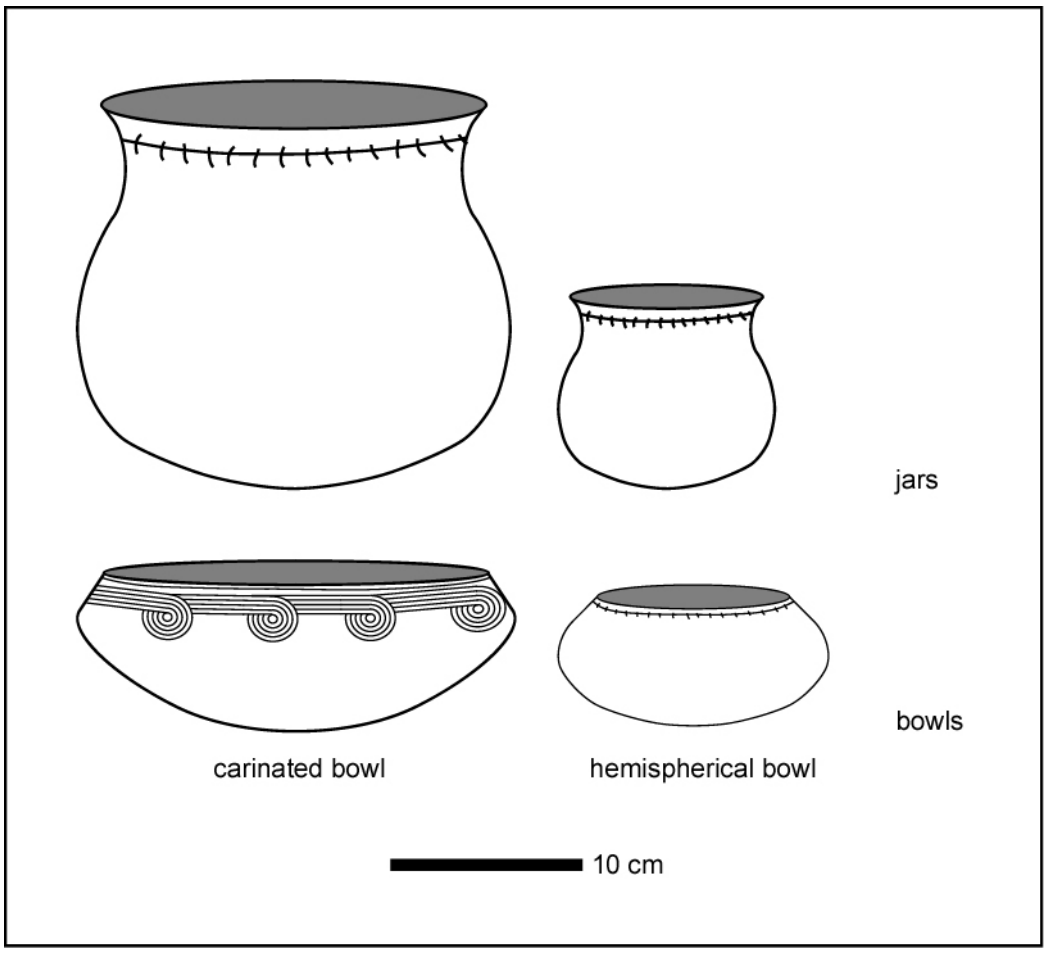


Figure 7.1. Qualla vessel types seen at Coweeta Creek.

four to ten millimeters thick, although of course there is some variation in vessel thickness at different points of any given pot. The combination of many finely ground aplastic particles—known as grit—is the predominant tempering agent in Qualla pottery. Grit probably includes some amounts of sand as well as very small quartzite particles, given the abundance of both in the ground near Cherokee towns. Sand or quartz is the primary tempering agents in some Qualla sherds, rather than the more general suite of particles subsumed within the category of grit. The paste of grit-tempered Qualla potsherds often includes considerable amounts of mica, due to its natural abundance in local clays (Ferguson 1974; Margolin 2000). Generally speaking, grit-tempered Qualla-series sherds are much thicker (and less like sandpaper to the touch) than sand-tempered Connestee sherds, the latter of which date to the Middle Woodland period in the Appalachian Summit province, but Qualla ceramics are comparable in thickness and paste characteristics to Mississippi-period Pisgah-series pottery (Dickens 1976, 1979; Holden 1966; Keel 1976; Moore 1981, 1986; Wetmore 1996, 2002).

Globular jars and carinated bowls (referred to as cazuelas) are the major vessel types present in Qualla ceramic assemblages (Figure 7.2; Riggs and Rodning 2002; Wilson and Rodning 2002). Jars are characterized by everted rims with rim strips (Figure 7.3). Rim strips are often folded and pinched, leaving the impressions of fingernails or fingertips along the lower edge of the rim strips themselves (Figure 7.4). Rim strips are sometimes notched with dowels or other tools, creating slightly different patterns than the fingertip or fingernail impressions seen on pinched rims (Figure 7.4). Another variation on this theme is represented by rims with notched fillets. Fillets are linear clay beads added to rim strips, creating a platform that can be notched, again achieving a visual effect comparable to that

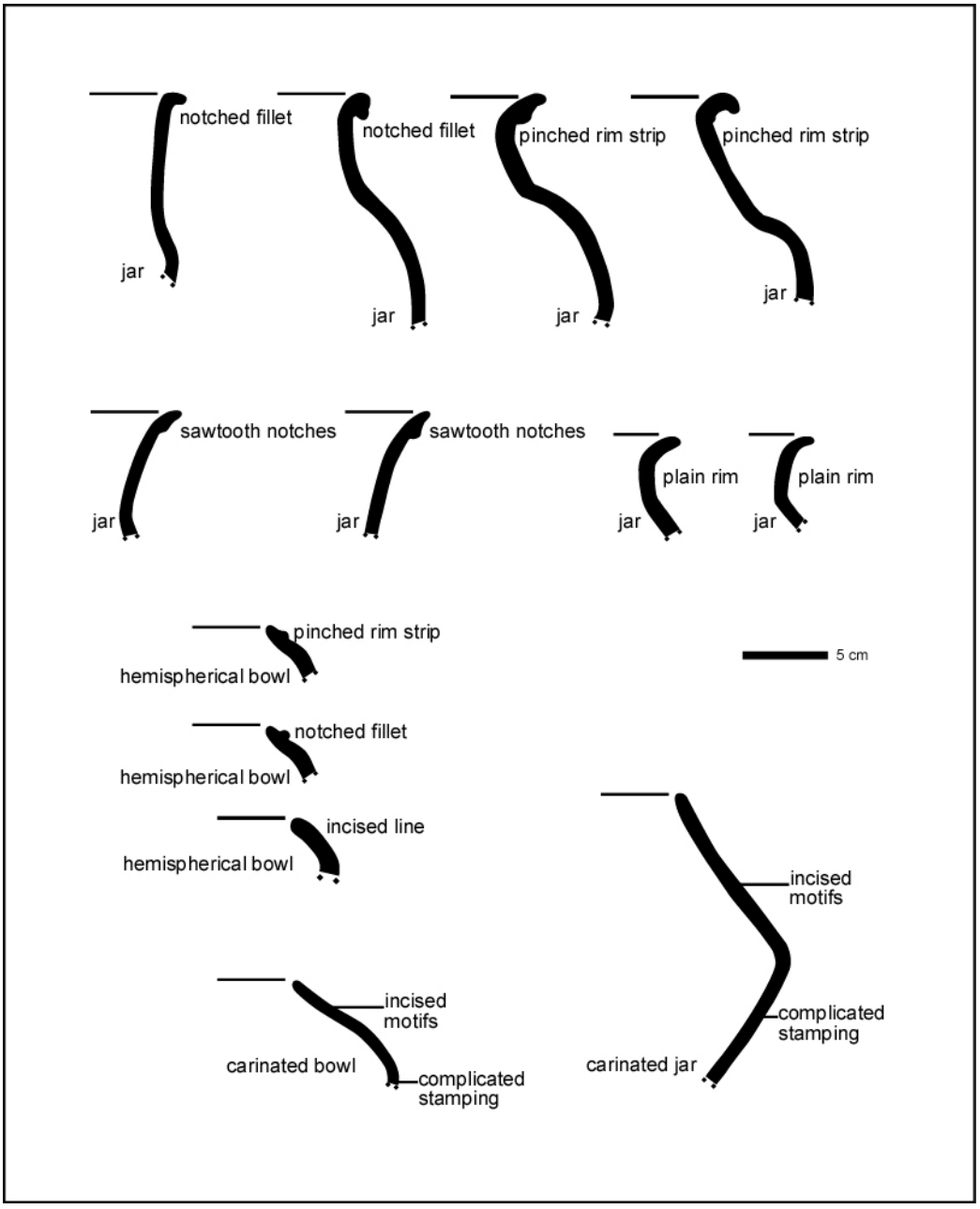


Figure 7.2. Qualla rim profiles seen at Coweeta Creek.

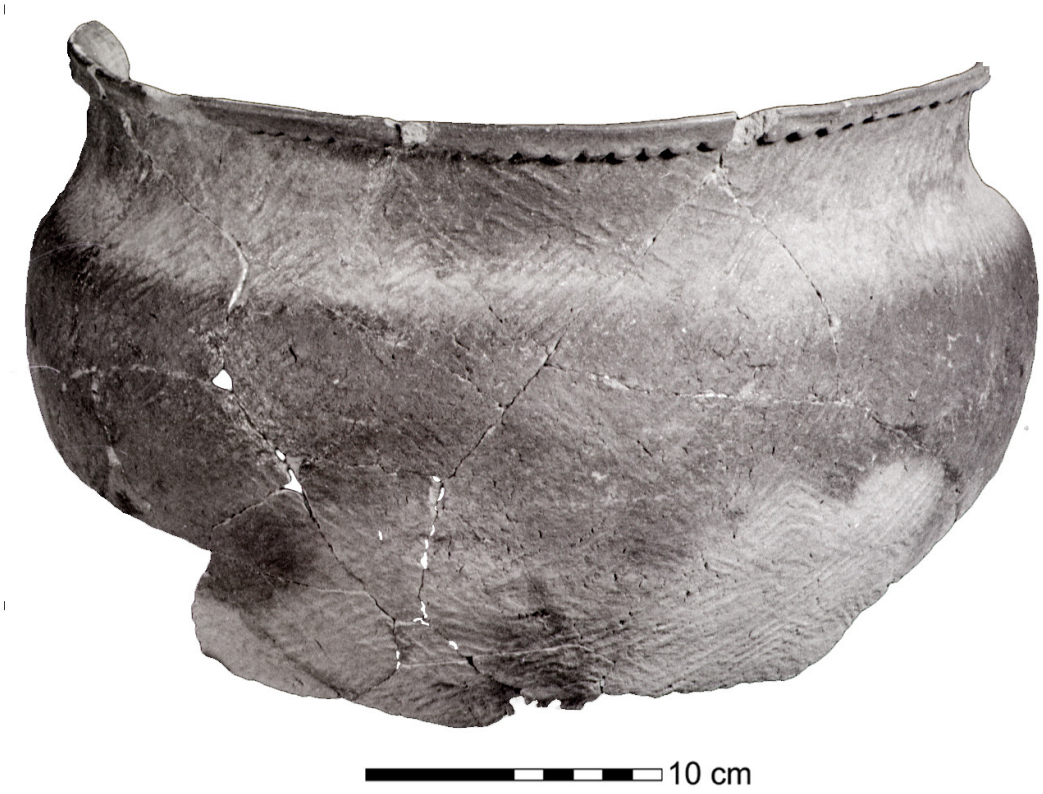


Figure 7.3. Qualla globular jar from Coweeta Creek (photograph by Gregory D. Wilson and Christopher B. Rodning).

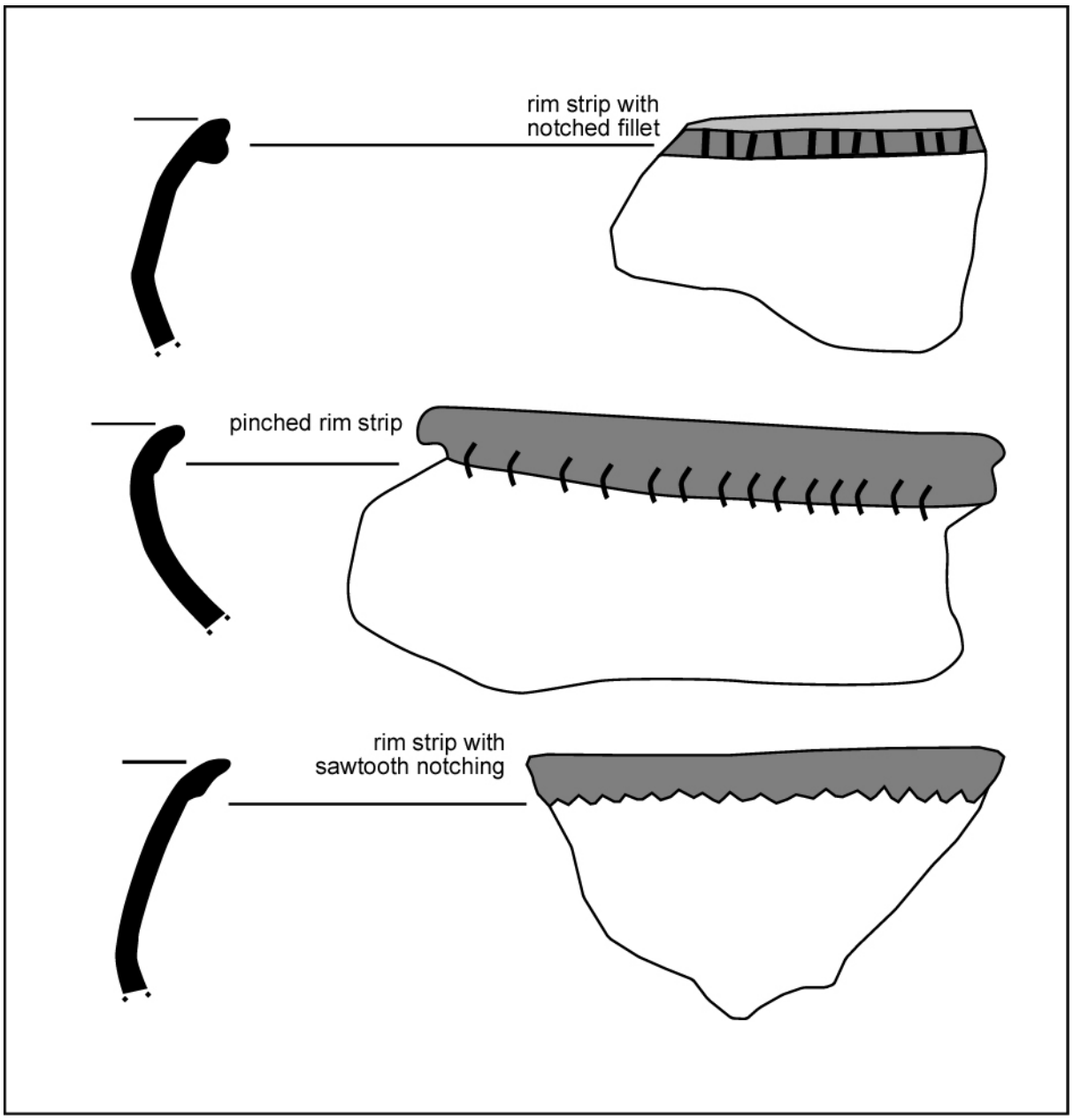


Figure 7.4. Qualla rim strips as seen at Coweeta Creek.

seen on folded and pinched rim strips. This same suite of pinched or notched rim strips is present on hemispherical bowls, another vessel class present in Qualla assemblages (Figure 7.5). All these vessel types are easily differentiated from cazuelas (Figure 7.6). Cazuelas are characterized by sharp angles between the upper and lower sections of these vessels. Cazuelas almost always have geometric motifs incised on their upper sections, with complicated stamping present on the outer surfaces of lower sections, below their shoulders. Bowls are the most common type of carinated vessel in Qualla assemblages, although some cazuelas have rims tall enough to warrant identification as carinated jars (Figure 7.7).

Several incised motifs are present on Qualla cazuelas (Figure 7.8). Many of the same designs are present on cazuelas associated with other Mississippian and protohistoric ceramic series in greater southern Appalachia (Hally 1994a; Moore 2002a). Some incised motifs are analogous to complicated stamped patterns seen in Qualla pottery and other ceramic series (Hally 1986a; Moore 2002a). It seems likely that these designs were forms of symbolic expression and communication, given the visibility they would have had near the rims of cazuelas, and the intricate incised motifs present on them. The symbolic content of any such messages manifested in these incised patterns is unknown.

The predominant exterior surface treatment on Qualla pottery is complicated stamping (Egloff 1967; Figure 7.9). Several curvilinear and rectilinear motifs are present. Some sherds are large enough that specific motifs are recognizable, although many are too small for such identification, and many are too small even to identify motifs as curvilinear or rectilinear designs. Many sherds bearing linear stamp patterns may be examples of complicated stamped sherds whose motifs are larger than the sherds themselves, although

Figure 7.5. Qualla bowl with restricted rim from Coweeta Creek (photograph by Gregory D. Wilson and Christopher B. Rodning).

Figure 7.6. Qualla carinated bowl from Coweeta Creek (photograph by Gregory D. Wilson and Christopher B. Rodning).

Figure 7.7. Qualla carinated jar from Coweeta Creek (photograph by Gregory D. Wilson and Christopher B. Rodning).

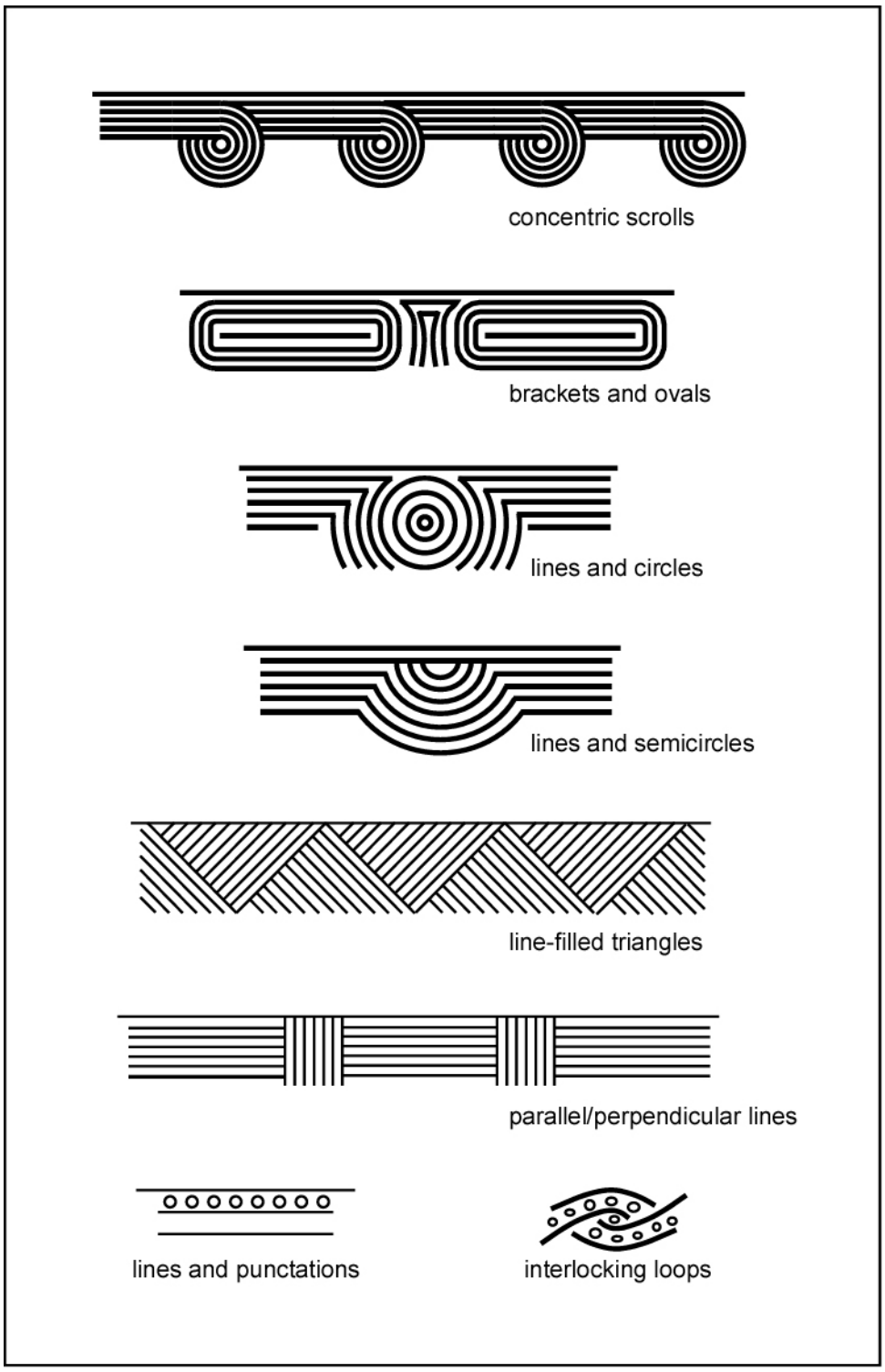


Figure 7.8. Qualla geometric incised motifs as seen at Coweeta Creek (see also Egloff 1971; Hally 1986b, 1994a).

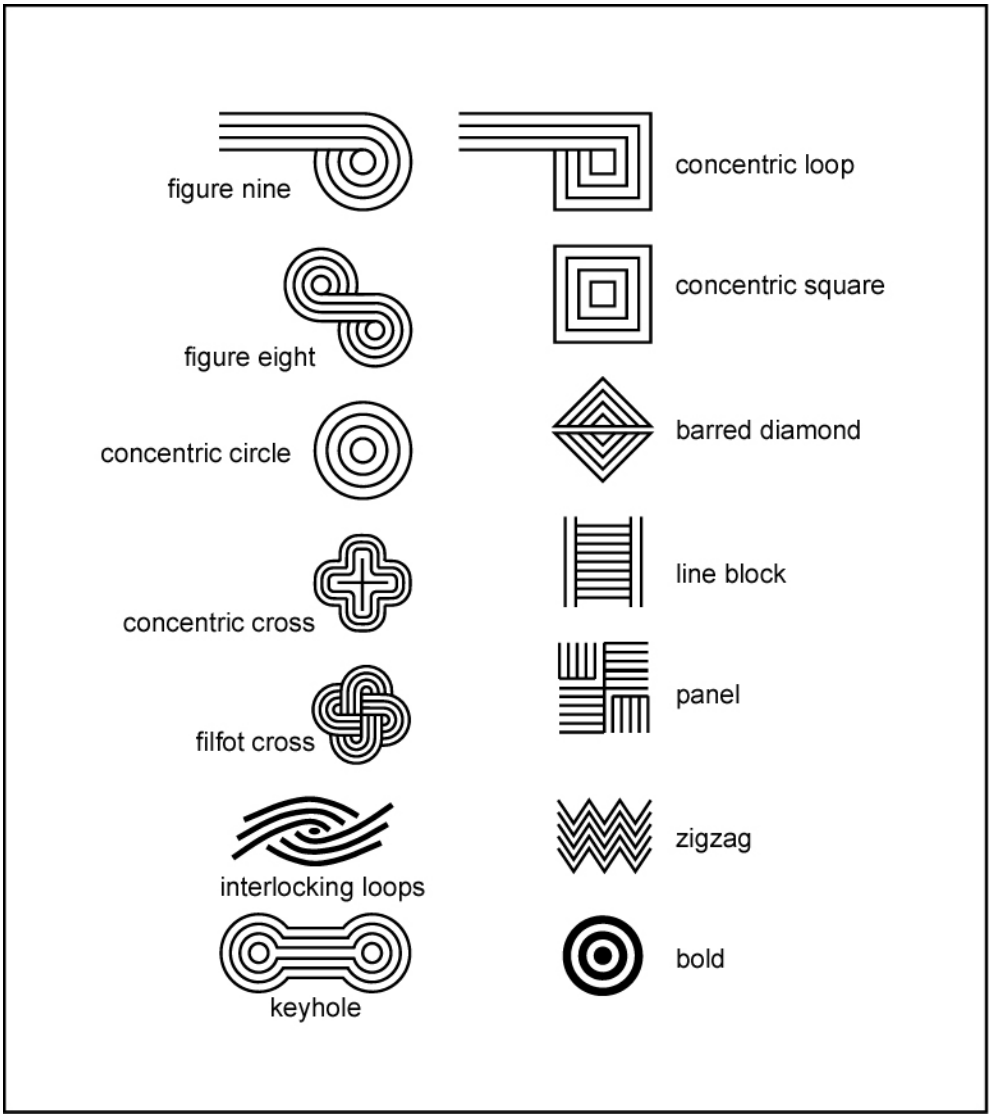


Figure 7.9. Qualla complicated stamp motifs at Coweeta Creek Creek (see also Egloff 1971; Hally 1986b, 1994a).

some probably do represent simple stamping. Other exterior surface treatments include red-filmed, coarse plain, smoothed plain, burnished, cordmarked, and corncob impressed.

Some check stamping is present in Qualla assemblages (Figure 7.10; Egloff 1967; Riggs and Rodning 2002:45; Ward and Davis 1999:183). Check stamping is a significant surface treatment in Cherokee pottery during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, less so during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Diamond check stamping, which is different than the check stamping seen on Qualla pottery dating to the eighteenth century, may a represent good temporal marker of ceramics that date to an earlier period, as will be seen later in this chapter. What I am here calling "rectangular check stamping" includes patterns with bold lines and deep grid cells. What I here designate as "diamond check stamping" refers to patterns with thin lines and very shallow grid cells.

Qualla pots were made by building up coils of grit-tempered clay into vessel shapes, slapping the still-wet clay with carved wooden paddles against anvil stones held against the inner walls of these vessels, and then adding rim strips that either were folded and pinched, notched, or, in some cases, punctated (Egloff 1967; Figure 7.4). Stamping pots with carved wooden paddles before firing forced air bubbles out of the clay. It also helped to mold clay coils together into vessels. This practice enhanced the resistance of vessels to the thermal shock of the firing process, and their resistance to mechanical stresses resulting from the cycles of heating and cooling that pots experienced as cookware (Hally 1983a, 1983b, 1986a). Stamped surfaces also may have made it easier to hold pots and to move them back and forth from hearths to other places within and beside dwellings. Of course, the practice of stamping vessels with carved wooden paddles left impressions of those carved designs on the pots themselves, and it seems likely that specific motifs communicated different meanings to

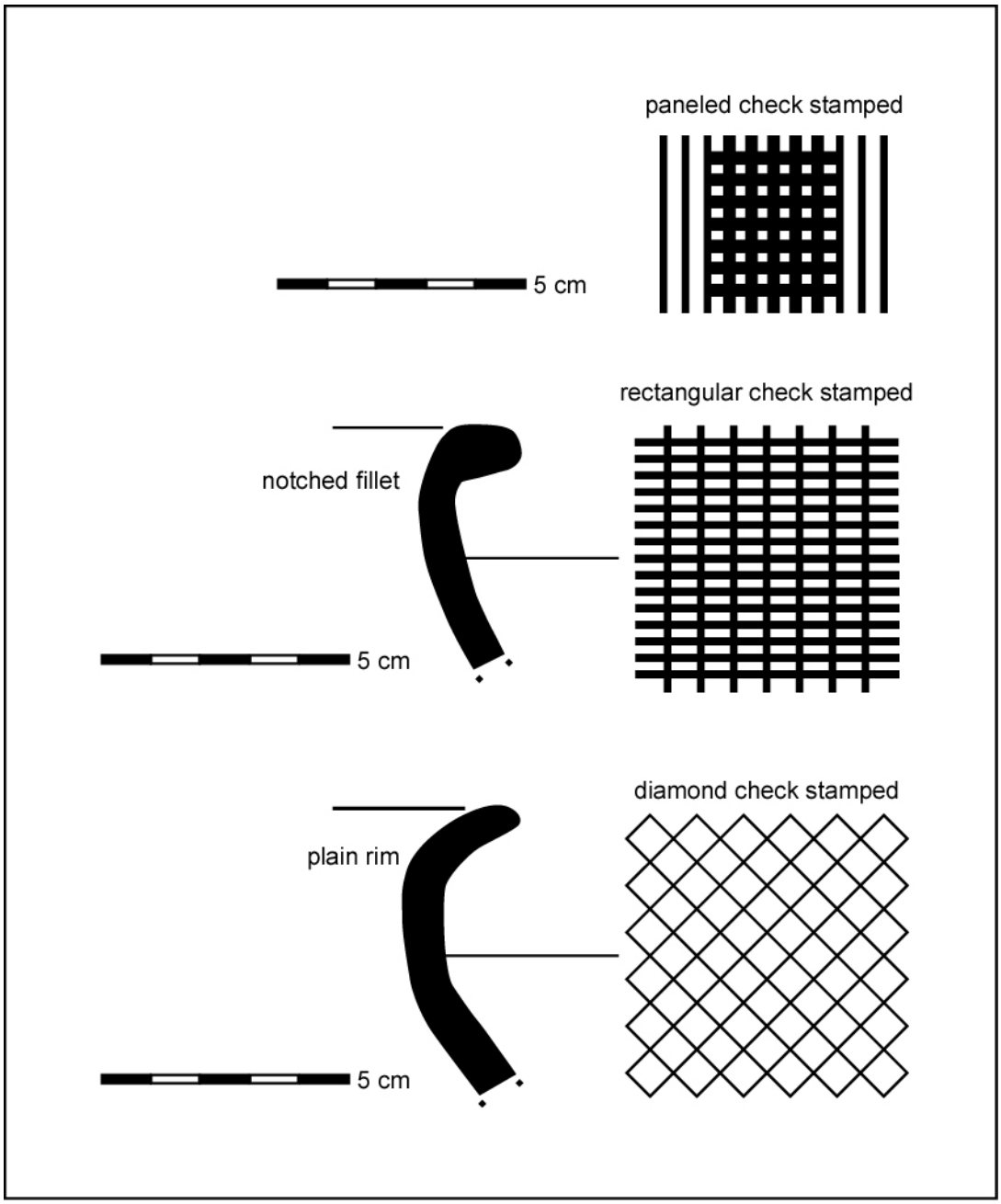


Figure 7.10. Qualla check stamp patterns as seen at Coweeta Creek.

the people who would carve stamped paddles, to the potters who would stamp their pots with them, to the people who would use pots for cooking and other activities, and to those who would otherwise see these pots during the courses of their everyday lives. Stamp motifs may well have communicated information about the social identity of potters themselves, or about the households and lineages to which they belonged. On the other hand, potters sometimes blurred specific motifs by "over-stamping" or by wiping out the lands (protrusions) and grooves (indentations) of these motifs once they were done paddling pots to create the "smoothed-over" effect seen on some sherds, on which stamp motifs are almost entirely worn away, and barely visible.

The inner surfaces of Qualla vessels were scraped smooth with shells, and they were then burnished with pebbles (Riggs and Rodning 2002). Burnishing reduced the permeability of the vessels, thereby enhancing their performance as containers. Burnishing pots created facets and smooth polished surfaces that are clearly visible on many sherds found at archaeological sites.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, tools for making pots were passed down from one Cherokee potter to another (Harrington 2002; Holmes 1903; Riggs and Rodning 2002). It is possible that burnishing pebbles, and perhaps carved wooden paddles and other potmaking tools, were bequeathed and inherited from one generation of potters to another in the more ancient past. Such practices may have significant implications for interpreting chronological trends in the relative frequencies of different surface treatments.

In addition to finding Qualla ceramics at Middle Cherokee settlements in the upper Little Tennessee Valley, archaeologists have identified dozens of sites with Qualla ceramic assemblages in the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee valleys, the homeland of the historic

Cherokee Out Towns during the eighteenth century (Dickens 1979; Egloff 1967:14-18; Schroedl 2001:289; Ward and Davis 1999:266-267). Globular jars with sharply pronounced shoulders and pinched or notched rim strips are present in these assemblages, as are incised cazuelas. Complicated stamping is the predominant outer surface treatment, with rectilinear motifs more common at settlements known to date to the eighteenth century than at sites thought to date to the seventeenth century. Late Qualla ceramics have been identified at several sites in the Cherokee Out Town area (Greene 1995, 1996).

Sherds attributable to the Qualla series have been found at the late prehistoric Peachtree mound and village in the upper Hiwassee River Valley, where the Cherokee Valley towns were located during the eighteenth century (Dickens 1967; Egloff 1967:12-14; Schroedl 2001:290; Setzler and Jennings 1941:9-10). Sherds with pinched rim strips represent the same kind of globular jars as those present at Coweeta Creek and other sites in North Carolina and at Cherokee settlements in northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina (Setzler and Jennings 1941:plates 32-35). Incised cazuelas vessels are also present in this assemblage (Setzler and Jennings 1941:plates 36-37). Complicated stamping is present on the outer surfaces of many jars, and on the lower sections of cazuelas, as is characteristic of other Qualla ceramic assemblages. Many of these sherds from Peachtree probably date to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is very likely that ceramics from early stages of this mound and village date to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, if not earlier. Late Qualla ceramics are present at many sites in the upper Hiwassee Valley (Riggs 1996, 1999).

Ceramics found at Overhill Cherokee settlements in the lower Little Tennessee Valley differ from Qualla pottery in surface treatments and paste characteristics (Schroedl

2000). Overhill pottery is tempered with shell, and plain surface treatments are more common than complicated stamping (Baden 1983:37-62; Schroedl 1986a:320-330, 1986b:128, 2000:215, 2001:279-285). Differences in clays in western North Carolina and the upper Tennessee Valley probably account for many of these differences in native ceramics from these areas of the eighteenth-century Cherokee homeland (Egloff 1967:73-75). Overhill pottery is easily differentiated from the Qualla sherds that are present at some eighteenth-century Cherokee settlements in eastern Tennessee (Egloff 1967:18-19).

Sherds from Overhill Cherokee settlements in eastern Tennessee that are identified as Qualla pottery probably represent the movement of refugees from the Lower, Out, and Middle Cherokee towns to Chota-Tanasee, Mialoquo, and other towns in eastern Tennessee during the eighteenth century (Baden 1983). Some households and whole Cherokee towns from the western Carolinas moved to eastern Tennessee because of encroachment by English colonists on areas where the Middle, Out, Valley, and Lower towns were located (Baden 1983:10-17; Schroedl 1986a:5-16, 322, 536; 2000:216-221).

Brian Egloff (1967) wrote the first formal description of Qualla ceramics (see also Dickens 1976:13-14, 200-201, 209-210; Keel 1976:40-45, 102-107, 214-216). Egloff had conducted surveys and excavations at the Coweeta Creek site, and at several other late prehistoric and historic Cherokee settlements in the upper Little Tennessee Valley and neighboring areas of southwestern North Carolina. His comparative study of Cherokee pottery identified many similarities between Qualla ceramics from southwestern North Carolina and pottery from the Lower Cherokee towns, in northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina.

Roy Dickens (1976:200-201, 1978, 1979) and others have identified Pisgah pottery as one of the major precursors to Qualla ceramics, and this model of Qualla pottery developing out of Pisgah influences has been entrenched in the material culture sequence of the Appalachian Summit (but see Keel 2002:140). Pisgah pottery—well represented by sherd assemblages from the Warren Wilson and Garden Creek sites—is characterized by complicated stamping, including greater percentages of rectilinear than curvilinear motifs (see Dickens 1976:172-186), and inner surfaces are burnished or polished, as is also the case with Qualla ceramics. Pisgah jars have very distinctive collared rims, with slash punctuations or incisions (see Dickens 1976:178-183), which differentiate them from the folded and pinched, or notched, rim strips characteristic of Qualla jars. The paste and temper of Pisgah pottery are broadly comparable to those of Qualla ceramics. Carinated bowls and jars are not part of Pisgah ceramic assemblages, in contrast to the presence of incised cazuelas in Qualla and other late Mississippian and protohistoric ceramic series in the greater southern Appalachians, although the incised design fields between the rims and shoulders of Qualla cazuelas bear some visual resemblances to the collared and incised rim strips seen in Pisgah pottery. Certainly, several Pisgah-phase settlements predate sites with Qualla-series ceramic assemblages, and this temporal relationship between "Pisgah" and "Qualla" ceramics has been identified at sites such as Garden Creek (Dickens 1976:200-201). However, the Pisgah series is not the only nor necessarily the most significant antecedent of Qualla pottery, and ceramics not attributable to the Pisgah series, though contemporaneous with the late end of the Pisgah phase, may be present in late prehistoric contexts at some sites in the Appalachian Summit (Keel 2002:140; Purrington 1983; Riggs and Rodning 2002:37-39; Riggs, Shumate, and Evans-Shumate 1996, 1997; Schroedl 2001:282; Ward and Davis

1999:180-181; Whyte 2003). The Middle Mississippian ceramics known as Savannah and Wilbanks wares—as defined and recognized in northern Georgia and western South Carolina—are probably significant precursors to what is identified as Qualla pottery in southwestern North Carolina (B. H. Riggs, personal communication 2004). Sherds with surface treatments and rim modes that are comparable to both Wilbanks and Early Qualla pottery (as defined in this chapter, and see also Riggs and Rodning 2002, and Ward and Davis 1999) have recently been found at sites on the Ravens Ford Tract in southwestern North Carolina (P. A. Webb, personal communication 2004).

Dickens (1978) correctly noted a regional spatial distinction between concentrations of sites with Pisgah and Qualla ceramic assemblages. His interpretation of this spatial pattern was that groups associated with the Pisgah phase (AD 1000-1450) moved southwest to areas where sites attributable to the Qualla phase (AD 1450-1908) are concentrated. Underlying this migration model was the idea that Pisgah ceramics were the direct precursor to Qualla pottery. Undoubtedly, some movements of households or entire communities probably did take place during late prehistory. However, there are antecedents to Qualla ceramics in the Tuckasegee, upper Hiwassee, and Little Tennessee valleys of North Carolina that cannot and should not be attributed to the Pisgah series.

Dickens (1979) did acknowledge the influences of South Appalachian Mississippian ceramics from Georgia on the development of Qualla pottery, which he considered to represent a merger between local Pisgah pottery and influences from styles found in regions further south. Figure 7.11 summarizes the traditional sequence of late prehistoric and postcontact phases—based primarily on ceramics—in southwestern North Carolina and surrounding areas. Figure 7.11 offers an alternative sequence as well—one that is considered

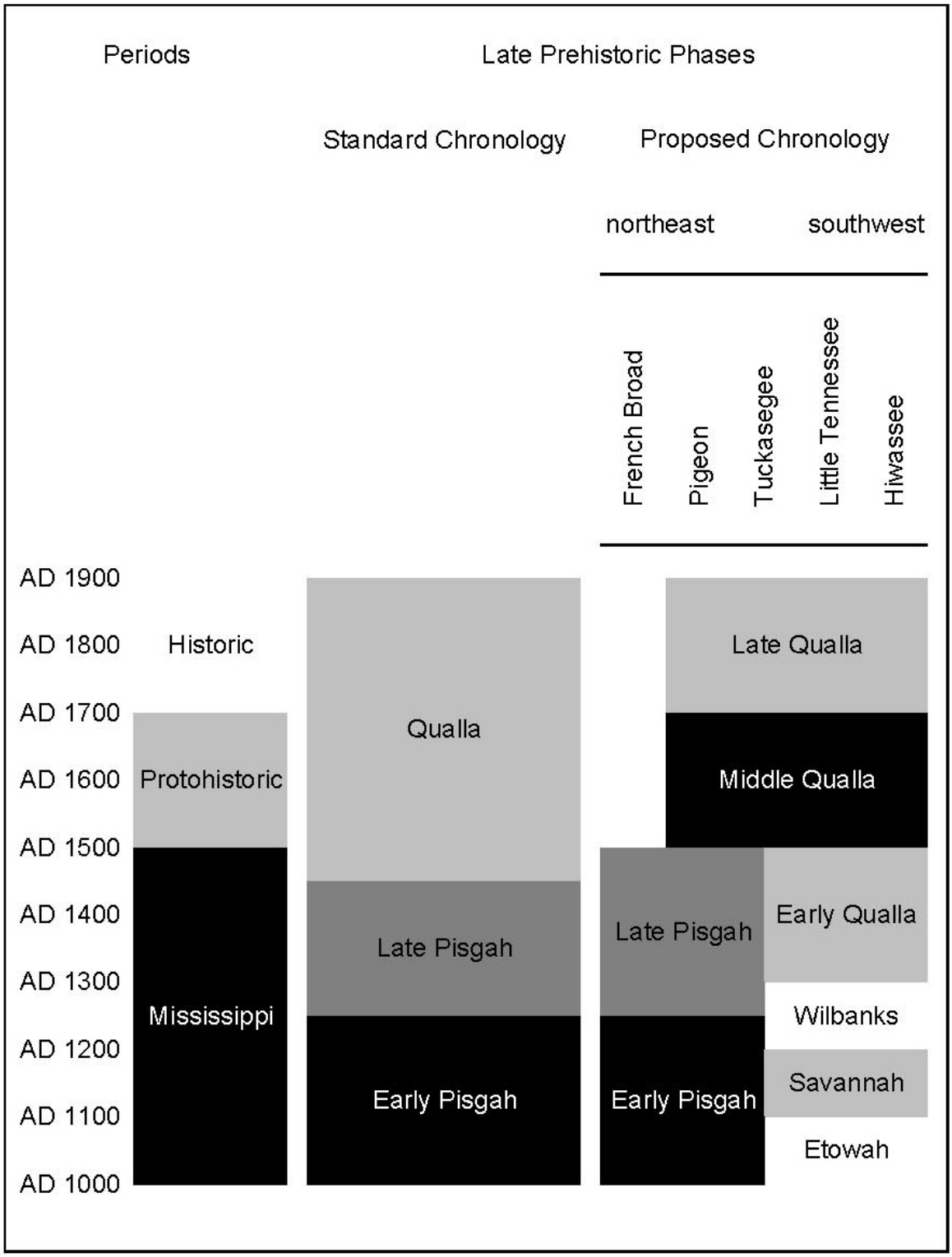


Figure 7.11. Phase sequence in river valleys of southwestern North Carolina.

in this chapter—that differentiates the kinds of ceramics seen in different drainages, that acknowledges a temporal overlap between the Pisgah and Qualla ceramic series, and between the phases by those same names, but that emphasizes similarities between Qualla pottery and the Estatoe and Tugalo series of northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina.

Dickens has hinted at these similarities in writing that:

> Beginning around AD 1250, Pisgah potters were affected by the first in a continuing series of interactions with cultures to the south and west, which brought about the use of more varied and bolder rectilinear stamps, some curvilinear stamps, larger vessels, small vertical lugs to replace loop handles, and an inslanted, cazuela-like rim with incised decorations. By about AD 1400, Pisgah ceramic styles, now limited to the interior of the Appalachian Summit, began to take on an increasing number of attributes of the more southerly Lamar development. A merger of Pisgah and Lamar styles, accomplished by about AD 1450, resulted in the Qualla series pottery, which has been identified with historically documented Cherokee towns. (Dickens 1976:209-210, reprinted here with the permission of the University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, © 1976 by the University of Tennessee Press).

Keel likewise relates the emergence of Qualla pottery in North Carolina to trends in the broader Lamar tradition centered in Georgia and South Carolina:

> The ceramics of the Qualla phase can be considered an Appalachian Summit Area manifestation of the Lamar style horizon…During the period of time when the Qualla phase was developing out of the earlier Pisgah phase in the Appalachian Summit Area, comparable developments were taking place in other parts of the South Appalachian Province. In the Ridge and Valley area of eastern Tennessee the Dallas culture was taking its final form by replacing the Wilbanks-Savannah phase in Piedmont Georgia. Similarly, Lamar ceramic elements would also begin to appear in the Piedmont cultures of the Carolinas. (Keel 1976:216-217, reprinted with the permission of the University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, © 1976 by the University of Tennessee Press)

Qualla ceramics are closely comparable to Tugalo-series and Estatoe-series pottery from northern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina (Anderson 1994:302-307; Anderson et al. 1986; Dickens 1979:24-27; Hally 1986a, 1994a). These ceramics are well represented at late prehistoric and protohistoric sites in areas along the headwaters of the Savannah River

where Lower Cherokee settlements were situated during the eighteenth century. Several settlements in northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina where Tugalo and Estatoe ceramics are found are located less than thirty miles south and southeast of Coweeta Creek and other sites in North Carolina where Qualla ceramics have been found. The Tugalo phase dates from roughly AD 1500 to 1650. The Estatoe phase follows at roughly AD 1650 to 1800.

Complicated stamping is by far the most prevalent exterior surface treatment on Tugalo-series ceramics (Hally 1986a). Burnishing is the predominant interior surface treatment, and grit is the major tempering agent. Vessels include globular jars with everted rims, hemispherical bowls with inverted rims, and carinated bowls with geometric incised motifs. Notching on the rim strips of both globular jars and hemispherical bowls initially covered whole rim strips up to the lips of the jars themselves, but by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these patterns of notching, or the fingernail impressions created by pinching, were generally restricted to the bottom edges of pinched rim strips (Hally 1994a:147). Cazuelas seem to have become part of Mississippian ceramic assemblages in southern Appalachians during the late fourteenth or fifteenth centuries (Hally 1994a:149).

Complicated stamping, interior burnishing, and grit temper are also prevalent in Estatoe-series pottery (Hally 1986a). Broadly similar complicated stamp designs and incised motifs are present in both Estatoe and Tugalo ceramics. Check stamping is present in Estatoe-series ceramics, which is noteworthy, given its virtual absence from earlier Tugalo-phase assemblages.

The same suite of jar and bowl forms is present in Estatoe, Tugalo, and several other ceramic series in northern Georgia from the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries (Hally

1983a, 1983b, 1986a, 1986b, 1994a; Shapiro 1984). This range of vessel forms includes jars, designed for cooking and storage, and hemispherical bowls designed for cooking and reheating small amounts of soups and stews. The cazuelas present in these assemblages seem to have been designed primarily as serving vessels, although they would also have been useful for warming small amounts of food. Some vessel sections may have been recycled as pans for baking nut breads.

Qualla pottery from sites in southwestern North Carolina is similar in many respects to ceramics from historic Lower Cherokee settlements such as Tomassee and Chattooga in northwestern South Carolina (Schroedl 2000:213, 2001:288; Smith et al. 1988). Ceramics from the Chattooga site, dating to the 1600s and early 1700s, comfortably fit descriptions of the Tugalo and Estatoe series. Archaeological investigations at Tomassee have uncovered architecture and artifacts dating to the middle and late eighteenth century, including jar rims with pinched or notched rim strips, and rimsherds from incised cazuelas. Unfortunately, the limited scope of excavations at Tomassee makes it difficult to characterize its ceramics as a single assemblage. However, the broad similarities between pottery from Tomassee and Chattooga and ceramics from Coweeta Creek further bolster the temporal placement of the Qualla series in western North Carolina in the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods.

Jack Wynn (1990:54-58) has noted the presence of Tugalo and Estatoe ceramics at sites in northeastern Georgia even closer to Coweeta Creek than Chattooga and Tomassee (see also Hally and Langford 1988). What are called Qualla ceramics in the Appalachian Summit province of western North Carolina are, broadly speaking, the same form of pottery identified farther south and southeast along the headwaters of the Savannah River as Tugalo or Estatoe (Hally and Rudolph 1986:63-80; Williams and Thompson 1999:97-99, 128-129).

Whatever label archaeologists apply to these ceramics of course is less significant than what they can learn from them about ancient Cherokee lifeways, but it is imperative to note the overwhelming similarities there are between Qualla pottery and other local manifestations of the broader Lamar ceramic tradition in the southern Appalachians (Hally 1986a, 1986b, 1994a). I maintain the taxonomic designation of Qualla ceramics because it is present in the archaeological literature, including comments about material culture at Coweeta Creek, although it is imperative to add that what are called Qualla ceramics in North Carolina are the same as the Tugalo and Estatoe pottery of northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina. I consider Qualla pottery to represent one of the many regional manifestations of the broader Lamar ceramic tradition.

David Hally (1994a:146-153; Cable and Reed 2000:112-124; Caldwell 1955; Holmes 1903:130-145; Sears 1955; Smith 1992; Wauchope 1948, 1950, 1966; Williams and Thompson 1999:68-72; Ward and Davis 1999) has outlined the major characteristics of, and temporal trends in, ceramics that are considered part of the Lamar tradition, an archaeological label that refers to late Mississippian and protohistoric material culture in northern Georgia and surrounding parts of southern Appalachia. Early Lamar (1350-1500) pottery is characterized by complicated stamping, notched or pinched rim strips, and patterns of incising that are much less elaborate than incised designs on cazuelas present in later Lamar assemblages. Middle Lamar (1500-1650) ceramics—including the Tugalo series—are characterized by overlapping complicated stamped designs on outer surfaces, parallel notches placed along the bottom edges of jar rim strips, and a variety of geometrical incised motifs near the rims of cazuelas. Late Lamar (1650-1800) assemblages—including the Estatoe series—display greater amounts of check stamping, decreasing numbers of incised cazuelas

with much narrower and more numerous incised lines, and a greater variety of jar rims, including rolled, filleted, and thickened rims in addition to the forms of pinched rim strips seen in earlier ceramics. Roy Dickens (1979:24) noted similar trends in Qualla pottery from the western Carolinas, recognizing parallel developments in ceramics identified as Lamar and those identified in western North Carolina as Qualla.

David Moore (2002a:172-173) has noted broad similarities between the complicated stamping, incised motifs on cazuelas, and pinched or notched jar rim strips of Qualla pottery with ceramics designated as part of the Burke series, represented by ceramic assemblages from sites in the Western Piedmont, near the eastern edge of the Appalachian Summit. Burke pottery dates to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and thus it is contemporaneous with some Pisgah and some Qualla ceramic assemblages. Burke pottery is present at sites in the upper Catawba and Yadkin river valleys, one hundred miles east of areas where Qualla ceramics are common. Although there are broad similarities in these two ceramic series, plain and burnished outer surfaces are much more common in Burke assemblages. Whereas Qualla pottery is made of micaceous clays tempered with grit, soapstone is the primary temper in Burke ceramics and is one of its unique characteristics. Whereas Qualla assemblages include both curvilinear and rectilinear complicated stamp motifs, most identifiable Burke complicated stamp motifs are curvilinear, and although incised cazuelas are present in both series, the frequencies of specific incised motifs may vary. Despite these differences, the Burke and Qualla ceramic series are regional variants of the Lamar tradition in western North Carolina.

Although there has been some treatment of the temporal placement of the Qualla series relative to Pisgah and Lamar ceramics in the published literature, the chronology of

Qualla pottery demands further consideration (Egloff 1967; Dickens 1979). It is generally accurate, if not very precise, to say that Qualla ceramics date to the late prehistoric and protohistoric period. Archaeologists have recently begun to identify how ceramic attributes vary from the early to the late end of the Qualla phase.

Ward and Davis (1999:179-183) have proposed a tripartite division of the Qualla ceramic series in the interest of developing a more precise ceramic chronology spanning the period between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries in southwestern North Carolina (see also Riggs and Rodning 2002; Riggs 1997; Riggs and Kimball 1996; Riggs, Shumate, and Evans-Shumate 1996, 1997). At present the Qualla series, and the Qualla phase, span some four centuries, and this framework may mask significant temporal and geographic variation in Qualla ceramics in different parts of western North Carolina (Dickens 1978:137; Griffin 1978:xxi; Hally 1994a:147). Archaeologists are relatively familiar with Qualla pottery dating to the eighteenth century, but recent reassessments of ceramics from Coweeta Creek, and significant finds at other sites in southwestern North Carolina, enhance our understanding of differences between Early, Middle, and Late Qualla pottery (Riggs, Shumate, and Evans-Shumate 1996, 1997).

Examples of Qualla ceramics dating to the eighteenth century are clearly the handiwork of potters in historically known Cherokee towns. Eighteenth-century Qualla pottery has been identified at sites along the Tuckasegee and the upper Little Tennessee rivers. Middle Middle Cherokee and Out town areas. Eighteenth-century Qualla pottery is also present at sites in the Hiwassee River Valley where the Cherokee Valley towns were located.

Earlier manifestations of Qualla ceramics are neither as well known nor as much studied in the archaeological literature as those present at historic Cherokee settlements. Ward and Davis (1999:181-183) consider much of the pottery from the Coweeta Creek site to represent "Middle Qualla" ceramics. Riggs and Rodning (2002:38-39) draw from observations of ceramics from this and other sites in southwestern North Carolina to sketch an outline of what "Early Qualla" pottery looks like and how it relates to other ceramic series in surrounding areas. As has been noted in earlier chapters, the last stage of the Coweeta Creek townhouse probably dates to the late seventeenth if not the early eighteenth century. Therefore, some potsherds from Coweeta Creek probably date to this timeframe, at the early end of the Late Qualla phase, and contemporaneous with the Estatoe phase. However, much if not most of the aboriginal pottery from Coweeta Creek dates to an earlier period, and thus provides the definitional basis for "Early Qualla" and "Middle Qualla" pottery. The following discussions of Coweeta Creek ceramics outline the steps I have taken in sampling and studying the vast assemblage of potsherds from this site, and the temporal trends that I have detected.

Qualla Pottery from Coweeta Creek

My consideration of Qualla pottery from Coweeta Creek seeks to identify temporal trends in the relative frequencies of specific attribute states in sherd assemblages from different contexts at the site. My intention here is not to dismantle earlier treatments in the literature of the characteristics and dates of the Qualla pottery but to examine variation within specific attributes this ceramic series in North Carolina. My goal is simply to identify and to describe

patterns of temporal variability within the Qualla series as it is manifested at Coweeta Creek. I first describe the samples of sherds from Coweeta Creek that I have considered in this chapter for the purposes of developing a ceramic chronology. I then describe how I have recorded observations of attribute states on sherds in these and other sherd samples from the Coweeta Creek site. Several tables and charts then summarize temporal trends in ceramics from the Coweeta Creek site. These patterns guide my proposed framework for differentiating Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla pottery.

Sherd Samples

Excavations at Coweeta Creek recovered several vessel sections and more than 500,000 sherds. I have examined sherds from all features and burials at the site (N=14,126), from all levels of one excavation square in the mound (N=9185), from the floors of domestic structures (N=341), from the floors all six stages of the townhouse (N=8487), and from surface collections. Many attributes are difficult to discern on small sherds, and I therefore set size thresholds of two centimeters in length for rimsherds and four centimeters for body sherds to determine my samples, meaning that the numbers of observations included in my datasets are lower than the total sherd counts noted above. Attribute data were recorded for all sherds in my samples larger than these thresholds, although I recorded data on the temper present in all sherds from burials and pit features regardless of size. I have recorded observations of temper, surface treatments, sherd thickness and size, and rim form and decoration. Samples chosen here for building a ceramic chronology include sherds and vessel sections from the floor of one domestic structure, from the floors of three stages of the townhouse, and from three pit features. Taken together, these samples include sherds from a

broad range of the spatial and stratigraphic contexts present at the site. I focus here on these seven contexts because radiocarbon dates are available for them, giving us independent evidence for putting them in chronological order. I acknowledge that the samples selected here are derived from a small number of contexts, but they do include high percentages of the total numbers of sherds recovered from pits and structure floors at the site, and sherds from these selected contexts do give us a snapshot of ceramics at different points in time.

The samples considered here include sherds from the three pit features (features 65, 72, and 96) with the highest sherd counts of all pit features at the Coweeta Creek site. Their combined sherd counts equal 5029 sherds, or 37% of all the sherds from excavated burials and features at the site. Radiocarbon dates have been derived for charcoal samples from each of these pits, which "anchor" these "snapshots" of Qualla pottery in time.

Other samples considered here include sherds from the floors of three stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse (floors 1, 3, and 6) and from one domestic house in the village. Radiocarbon dates have been derived for charcoal samples from each of these contexts. The domestic assemblage includes sherds and vessel sections from the floor of Structure 7D. This assemblage includes the incised vessel designated in the field as Feature 59, which was found lying at the bottom of Feature 67, the central hearth inside Structure 7D. The combined sherd counts of these samples from the domestic house and three townhouse floors equal 4621 sherds, some 54% of the total number of sherds from all structure floors at the site. The sherd assemblages from floors 4 and 5 of the townhouse account for most of the remainder of the sherds from structure floors at the site. These floors have not been radiocarbon dated, and thus the sherds from these contexts are not considered here, for the

purposes of developing the Qualla ceramic chronology, but relative frequencies of attribute states in these assemblages resemble those from floors 3 and 6.

Ceramic Attributes

My interests here focus on the relative frequencies of different attribute states in assemblages of sherds from these seven selected contexts at the Coweeta Creek site. My description, earlier in this chapter, of the range of variation in Qualla pottery covers the attributes that I will consider in analyses of variation in the attributes of these sherd samples. These attributes include rim decoration, exterior surface treatment, interior surface treatment, and temper, and I have recorded additional variables in examining these sherds.

Vessel portion was recorded for every sherd in my samples. Most sherds were identified either as rim or body sherds. Some sherds do include parts of a vessel's shoulder, the point of maximum breadth below the rim. Some could be identified as part of a vessel's neck, the section between the tip of the rim and the shoulder. Some sherds represent the bases of ceramic vessels. Exterior surface treatments on basal sherds were often worn down or smoothed, perhaps because it was difficult to stamp those surfaces of unfired pots, or more likely because setting pots on the ground altered the original surface treatments applied to the bases of pots. Basal sherds were generally thicker than sherds from other parts of vessels.

I recorded the thickness of each sherd, using the following ordinal categories—2-4 mm, 4-6 mm, 6-8 mm, 8-10mm, and >10 mm. Most sherds tend to fit in the "4-6 mm" or "6-8 mm" categories. For the most part, Qualla pots range from six to nine millimeters thick, although thickness does vary within vessels themselves (Egloff 1967). By contrast, Connestee pottery—which dates between AD 200 and AD 900—ranges from four to six

millimeters thick, and its sand temper makes such thin walls possible (Keel 1976). Thickness data are not considered further in the analyses presented here, although it can be said that the thickness of Qualla pots is comparable to that of Pisgah vessels, and also similar to the thickness of Tugalo and Estatoe pottery.

I recorded the size of each sherd, again in ordinal categories of maximum length—2-4 cm, 4-6 cm, 6-8 cm, 8-10 cm, and >10cm. Allocation of individual sherds into specific size categories is not important to the present analyses. They are significant only in that rim sherds less than two centimeters in length, and body sherds less than four centimeters in length, were excluded from consideration in identifying frequencies of specific surface treatments and rim modes.

Temper was noted for each sherd, including for sherds from pit features and burials that were smaller than these size thresholds. Temper was recorded as fine or coarse grit, sand, quartz, limestone, or shell. Grit and sand were by far the most common tempering agents present in these sherd samples. I consider grit to include particles that are embedded in the clay matrix of sherds but that do not have angular edges. Strictly speaking, the grit in Qualla sherds, and in Lamar ceramics, necessarily includes some amounts of sand, quartz and quartzite, and also mica, all of which are common in the soils of the southern Appalachians. Grit-tempered sherds, however, rarely have the blocky chunks of quartz present in quartz-tempered sherds. Sand-tempered sherds, meanwhile, feel much more like fine sandpaper when handled than do grit-tempered sherds. I have differentiated "fine" and "coarse" grit temper visually. "Fine grit-tempered" sherds do sometimes have one or two large pebbles in them, but they all have a matrix in which finer grit predominates, and these temper particles never protrude through the inner or outer surfaces of the sherds themselves. "Coarse grit-

tempered" sherds are those in which particles greater than one millimeter in width are common. My decision rules about what sherds have "coarse" and "fine" grit temper are admittedly subjective, and further analyses certainly should develop a more rigorous means of differentiating them.

The major exterior surface treatments on pottery from Coweeta Creek include complicated stamping and incising (Table 7.1). Check stamping is another surface treatment present on sherds from the site (Figure 7.12). Sherds in the upper part of Figure 7.12 show "rectangular" check stamping. Those in the lower part of Figure 7.13 exhibit "diamond" check stamping. Another variety of check stamping, which is very rare, is here called panel check stamping (Figure 7.10). Corncob impressed, red-filmed, exterior-burnished, coarse plain, and smoothed plain surface treatments are also seen on sherds from this site. Sherds with cord marked, fabric impressed, net impressed, and roughened surfaces are present in low numbers.

Complicated stamp motifs on sherds from Coweeta Creek include both rectilinear and curvilinear designs (Figure 7.13). I have recorded the specific complicated stamp motifs present on sherds whenever they are recognizable. Many sherds are too small for specific motifs to be identified. I therefore have coded many sherds as "rectilinear" or "curvilinear" complicated stamped, if a sharp angle (rectilinear) or a discernible curve (curvilinear) is visible on them. Some sherds are too small even for this level of pattern recognition, even though they can be identified as complicated stamped.

The lands and grooves of complicated stamp patterns generally range between two and three millimeters wide. Some, however, have wider lands and grooves, and they can be referred to as bold complicated stamped. However, this distinction is subjective. Bold

Table 7.1. Surface Treatments

Exterior Surface Treatment		Interior Surface Treatment
Complicated Stamped		Burnished
Curvilinear Complicated Stamped		Smoothed
Figure Nine	Concentric Circle	Plain
Figure Eight	Concentric Oval	Red Filmed
Wavy Lines	Concentric Cross	
Filfot Cross	Interlocking Loops	
Keyhole	Bold	
Indeterminate		
Rectilinear Complicated Stamped		
Concentric Scroll	Line Block	
Concentric Square	Barred Diamond	
Zigzag	Panel	
Indeterminate		
Smoothed Over Complicated Stamped		
Bold Complicated Stamped		
Elongated Complicated Stamped		
Linear Stamped		
Simple Stamped		
Check Stamped		
Diamond		
Rectangular		
Paneled		
Incised		
Burnished		
Smoothed Plain		
Coarse Plain		
Red Filmed		
Corncob Impressed		
Cord Marked		
Fabric Impressed		
Net Impressed		
Roughened		
Brushed		
Engraved		
Punctated		

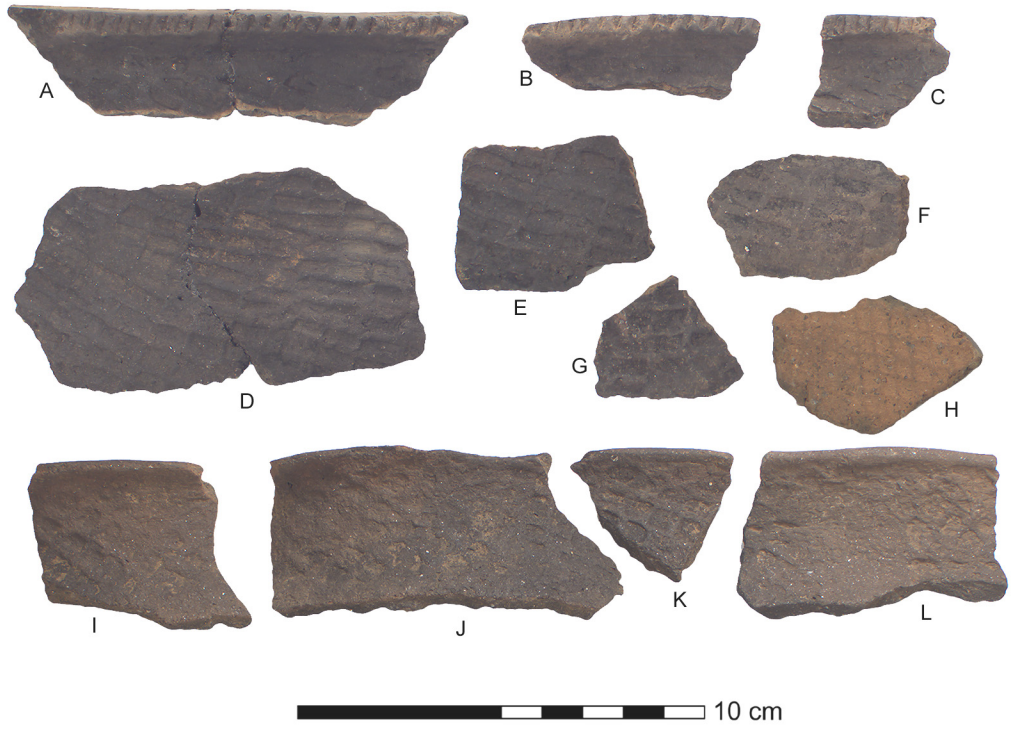


Figure 7.12. Qualla check stamped sherds from Coweeta Creek (A-G, rectangular check stamped; H-L, diamond check stamped).

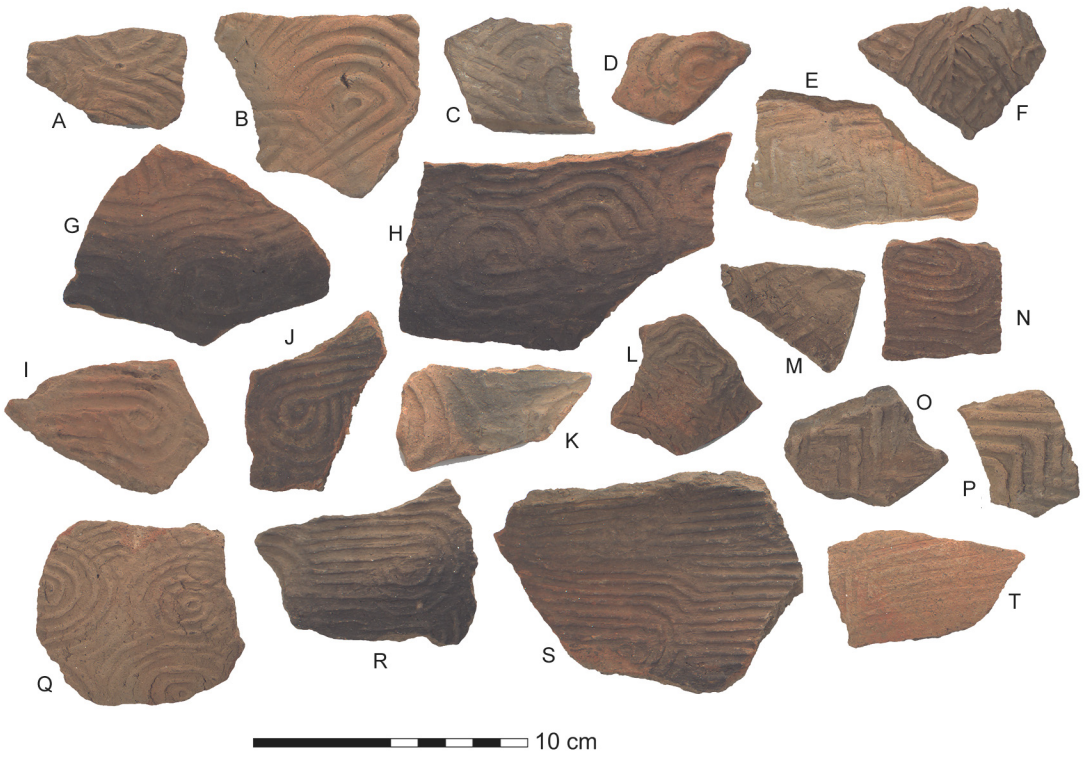


Figure 7.13. Qualla complicated stamped sherds from Coweeta Creek (A-D, K, R, S, curvilinear complicated stamped; E, M, O-P, T, rectilinear complicated stamped; F, barred diamond; G-J, figure nine; N, concentric oval; Q, concentric circle).

complicated stamping is never very common. I have grouped bold complicated stamped within the general category of complicated stamped. I have also lumped smoothed-over complicated stamped sherds into the complicated stamped category. Smoothing over complicated stamp designs (before pots are fired) may properly represent a distinct surface treatment, but smoothed-over complicated stamped vessels are in fact complicated stamped before they can be smoothed-over. Moreover, it is difficult to say, in many cases, whether complicated stamped patterns on sherds are worn away because of intentional smoothing by potters, or by the gradual effects of use wear.

Another subset of my broader complicated stamped category is elongated complicated stamped, which refers to stamp patterns longer than eight centimeters in length. Some sherds have simple stamped outer surfaces, but I have only coded them as such when sherds are large enough that I felt confident in this identification. Some sherds are small enough that parallel lands and grooves, without angles or curves in them, may simply be sections of larger complicated stamped patterns, and I have categorized these as linear stamped, although I suspect that most of these are actually sherds from vessels with complicated stamped outer surfaces.

The last major category of exterior surface treatments at Coweeta Creek is incising (Figure 7.14). Geometric motifs are incised on burnished or smoothed plain upper surfaces of cazuelas, between the rims and sharply angled shoulders of these carinated vessels, and punctuations are often added to these design fields. Although not specifically recorded in my datasets, the width of incised lines ranges from roughly one to four millimeters. Incised designs on cazuelas are in some cases the same motifs as the complicated stamping on the globular bases of these vessels, below their carinated shoulders. Specific incised motifs were

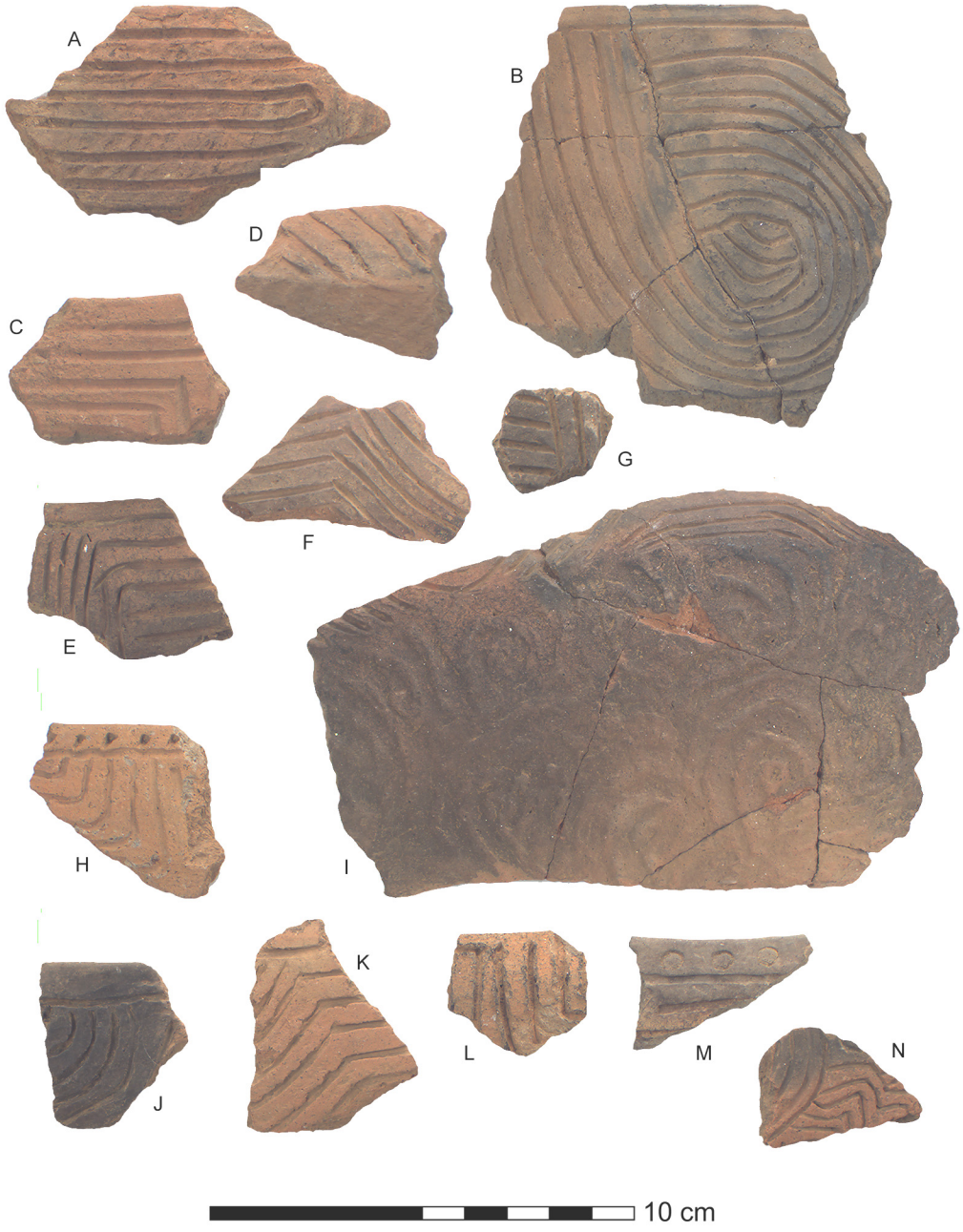


Figure 7.14. Qualla incised sherds from Coweeta Creek (A, C-H, J-N, geometric incised motifs; B, carinated bottle with incised figure nine motif; I, carinated vessel with incising above shoulder and complicated stamping on bottom).

recorded when they were recognizable. Many incised rimsherds are only large enough for parallel line segments to be visible on them.

The interior surfaces of most Qualla pots are burnished, and others are smoothed (Table 7.1). I have categorized sherds as "burnished" if shiny or reflective surfaces, burnishing facets, or both were present. I have classified sherds as "smoothed" if they looked smooth but lacked the polished appearance that results from burnishing. The inner surfaces of some sherds were burnished or smoothed and then painted red. Sherds without any sign of interior surface treatment are listed as plain.

An additional set of data was also recorded for rim sherds (Table 7.2). The shape of the edge of each rim, known as the lip, was noted. Virtually all of the rimsherds in my samples had round or flat lips. Rim decoration and profile data were also recorded. Most everted rims, which angled outward away from the interior portions of vessels, represent jars (Figure 7.1; King 1977). Generally speaking, jars were designed for cooking and storage. Jars thus had restricted openings, which helped hold contents inside the pots themselves. Bowls were designed for cooking small amounts of food and for serving them, and their openings, less constricted than those of jars, offered easy access to the contents they held. Inverted rims represent hemispherical bowls with restricted rims, and carinated rims with geometric incised motifs represent bowls known as cazuelas (Figure 7.1; Hally 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1986a, 1986b). The rims of cazuelas are, for the most part, unmistakable, even if their sharply angled shoulders are missing, because they are relatively straight from lip to shoulder, and because they almost always have incised motifs on them. Other rim forms present in low numbers in these assemblages include rolled rims, thickened and rounded rims, and straight rims.

Table 7.2. Rim Modes

Jars	Bowls
Everted	Carinated
Rim Strip	Incised
Pinched Rims	Plain
Sawtooth Notching	Inverted
Punctated	Rim Strip
Unnotched	Pinched Rims
Fillet Strip	Sawtooth Notching
Notched	Fillet Strip
Unnotched	Notched
Thickened and Rounded	Unnotched
Collared and Incised	Collared and Incised
Rolled	Incised Line Parallel to Rim
Plain	Plain
Straight	Punctated

Strips of clay would have been added to the tops of both jars and hemispherical bowls to form the rims themselves, although some rims (referred to here as plain rims) lack any kind of thickening or notching (Figure 7.4). Many rim strips were placed on the top of the vessel and then were folded and pinched, although some were punctated with circular sticks or reeds along the bottom edges of rim strips—rimsherds with these rim strips are equivalent to the "folded" and "pinched" rims noted in the published literature (Figure 7.15; Hally 1986b:108-109; see also Egloff 1967:46-51; Moore 2002a:289-298). Pinching generally left fingertip or fingernail impressions along the bottom edges of rim strips, although in some cases notches were made with dowels. Some forms of notching created "zigzag" patterns on the bottoms of rim strips. These notched patterns resemble the edges of saw blades and are therefore referred to here as "sawtooth" notching. Another type of notched jar rims includes those with rim fillets, or beads of clay that were added to rim strips to create an outwardly projecting surface in which to place parallel notches—such rimsherds are referred to as "L-shaped" or "filleted" rims (Figure 7.15; Hally 1986b:109-111; see also Egloff 1967:47-49; Moore 2002a:164-168). Fillets were placed midway between the lips and the bottoms of rim strips in many cases. They were placed at the lip of some rims, thereby forming an "L" shape, and here I group rim sherds with either of these kinds of notched fillets together in one category. Although most fillets are notched, some rimsherds have unnotched fillets, and this represents another category of rims.

The same forms of pinching and notching are visible on the rims of hemispherical bowls. Some rimsherds are small enough that it is even difficult to identify them as "everted/jar" or "inverted/bowl" rims, and the rims of some hemispherical bowls are actually very slightly everted close to the lip. I have therefore grouped inverted bowl rims with

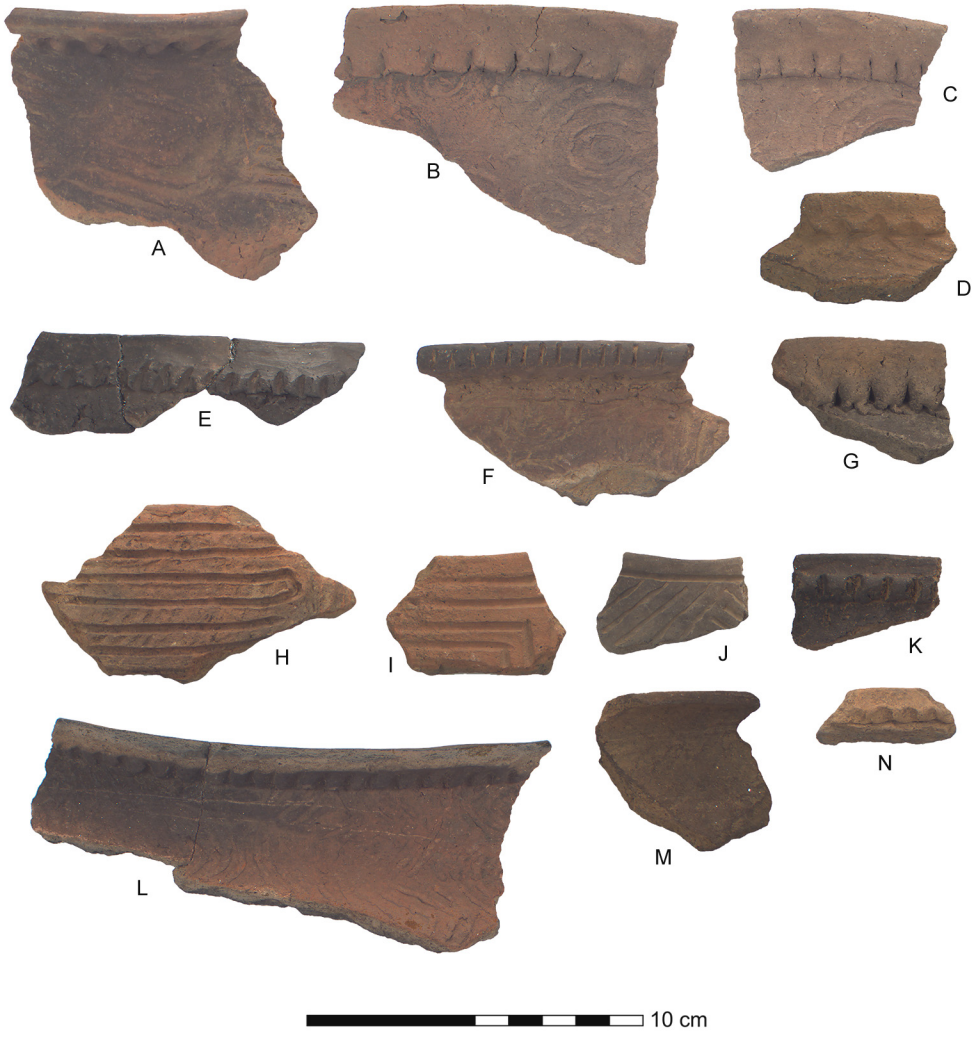


Figure 7.15. Qualla rim sherds from Coweeta Creek (A-C, G, L, pinched jar rim strips; D, rim strip with sawtooth notching; E, hemispherical bowl rim with notched rim strip; F, jar rim with notched fillet; H-J, incised carinated rim; K, everted rim with notched fillet; M, plain everted rim).

pinched or notched rim strips with everted jar rims in my counts of these different forms of rim decoration. I would add that the numbers of rimsherds that can be identified as inverted hemispherical bowl rims is relatively small, compared to those that can be identified as everted jar rims, and they do not greatly affect the resulting counts and percentages of sherds with "pinched" or "notched" rim strips.

Collared rims, with slash-shaped incisions or punctations on vertically-faced rim strips, are present in very low numbers and only in early contexts at Coweeta Creek. This type of rim is typical of the Pisgah series. It is not common in historic Cherokee pottery.

Appendages are rarely present on rimsherds from Coweeta Creek. Handles and lugs are uncommon. Rim effigies are even rarer.

The characteristics of rimsherds from Coweeta Creek are the same as those present in Lamar pottery, from sites in northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina. I would make the same comparisons with respect to other attributes, including temper and surface treatment. I consider the similarities of Coweeta Creek ceramics to the eighteenth-century Estatoe series and the sixteenth-century Tugalo series to be one of many clues that the native settlement at Coweeta Creek dates to this timeframe. But what did Qualla pottery look like at different points within this period? Can archaeologists differentiate sixteenth-century Qualla from eighteenth-century Qualla pottery? The following analyses explore this possibility. The results identify patterns of chronological change in rim modes and surface treatments in Qualla ceramics.

Analysis

The following tables and graphs summarize the relative frequencies of attribute states in Qualla pottery from independently dated pit features and structure floors at the Coweeta Creek site. I first give general descriptions of the Qualla pottery associated with these dated contexts. I then compare and contrast the characteristics of these assemblages, which can be arranged in a chronological sequence with reference to radiocarbon dates, and also with reference to the presence of European artifacts in some contexts. The ceramic data considered here are derived from tables in Appendix C. The tables in Appendix C list the characteristics of sherds from all of the structure floors, pit features, and burials at the site from which sherds were recovered, including those that are not considered here for the purposes of constructing a ceramic chronology.

The deposits from which these sherd samples are derived are best considered palimpsests. When structure floors were formed, and when pits were dug and filled in, some sherds that had been lying on or near the ground surface at Coweeta Creek could have been redeposited in those contexts. Therefore, some "early" sherds probably are included in assemblages from "late" contexts. Inasmuch as ceramic characteristics can be relied upon as temporal markers, sherd assemblages can only be considered clues about the time after which, rather than the time before which, an archaeological deposit was created. However, it does seem that there are sets of characteristics that can be considered diagnostic of sherd assemblages that date to the early, middle, and late end of the Coweeta Creek ceramic sequence.

Sherds from Feature 72—located southwest of the townhouse, and radiocarbon dated to the late seventeenth century—are easily recognizable as Qualla pottery (Figure 7.16).

Sherds from incised cazuelas are present, as are complicated stamped sherds, including many with rectilinear motifs (Figure 7.16). Pinched rims are present, but they are outnumbered by rims with notched fillets (Figure 7.17). Although not included in the present analysis, sherds from Feature 71, which is adjacent to Feature 72, show comparable frequencies of surface treatments and rim decorations. Sherds from these contexts are very similar to Estatoe-series pottery (Hally 1986a). European artifacts present in both features 71 and 72 demonstrate that their contents were deposited in these pits during the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.

European trade goods are absent from Feature 96—which is radiocarbon dated to the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries, and which is located near Structure 5—but sherds from this pit are likewise easily recognized as Qualla pottery (Figure 7.18). Grit is virtually the only tempering agent present in this assemblage although some sherds are tempered with sand. Curvilinear complicated stamping and incising are the most prevalent exterior surface treatments, and burnishing is the most common interior surface treatment (Figure 7.19). Check stamping is absent. Some rimsherds with notched fillets are present, but pinched rims are the most common rim form in this feature assemblage (Figure 7.20). This assemblage is very similar to Tugalo-series ceramics (Hally 1986a).

Pottery from Feature 65—which is radiocarbon dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, and which is located between structures 4 and 6—differs significantly from the Qualla ceramics in features 72 and 96 and does not fit neatly into the standard taxonomic designation of Qualla pottery (Figure 7.21). Grit is the most common temper material in sherds from Feature 65, but several sherds have dark, compact, sandy pastes. Complicated stamping is present on sherds from Feature 65, and several of these sherds have elongated

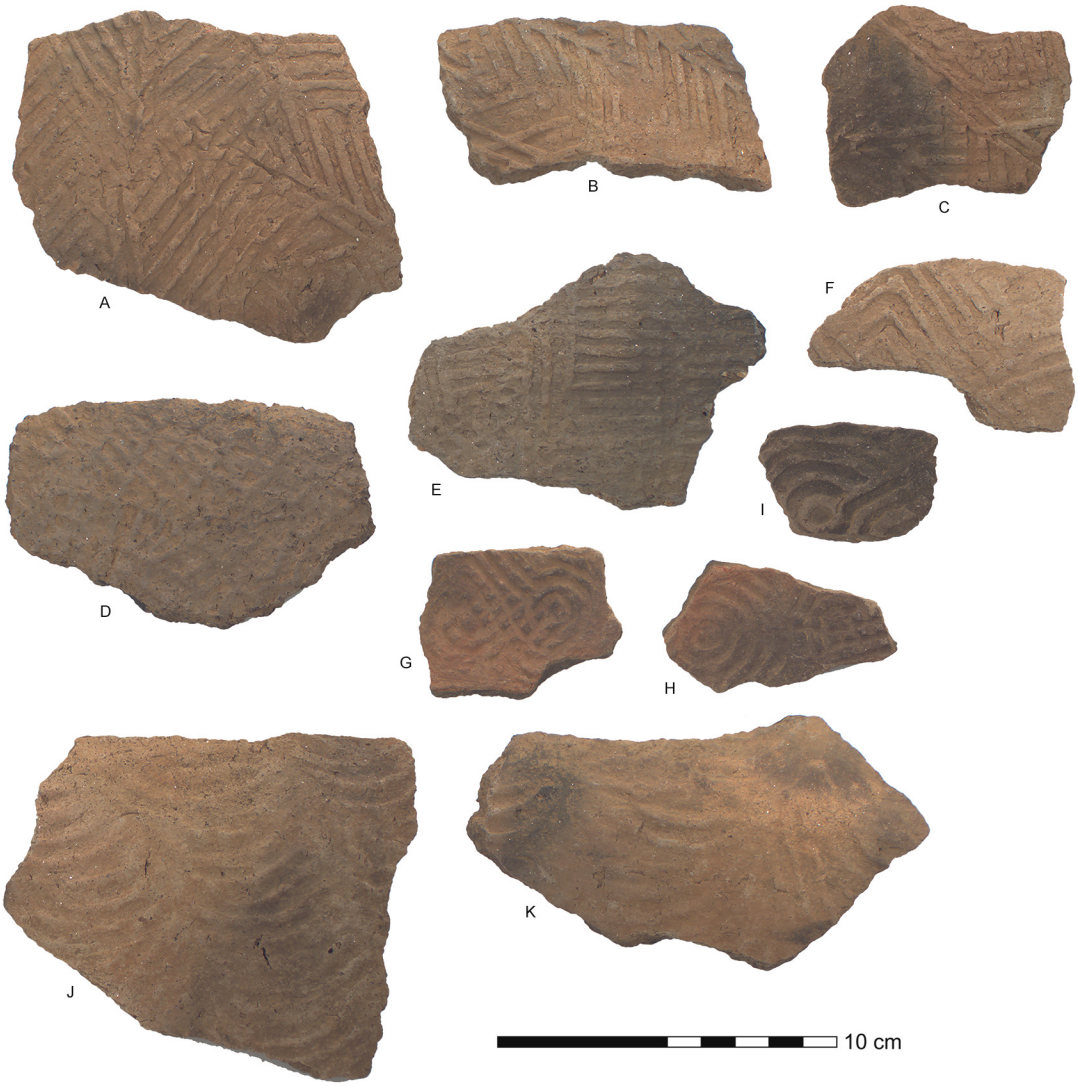


Figure 7.16. Sherds from Feature 72 at Coweeta Creek (A-C, barred diamond or stem-and-leaf; D-F, rectilinear complicated stamped; G-K, curvilinear complicated stamped).

Figure 7.17. Rims from Feature 72 at Coweeta Creek (A-E, H-K, complicated stamped sherds from jars with notched fillets; F-G, hemispherical bowl rims with notched fillets; L-N, thickened and rounded rim; O, incised carinated bowl rim; P, jar rim with unnotched rim strip).

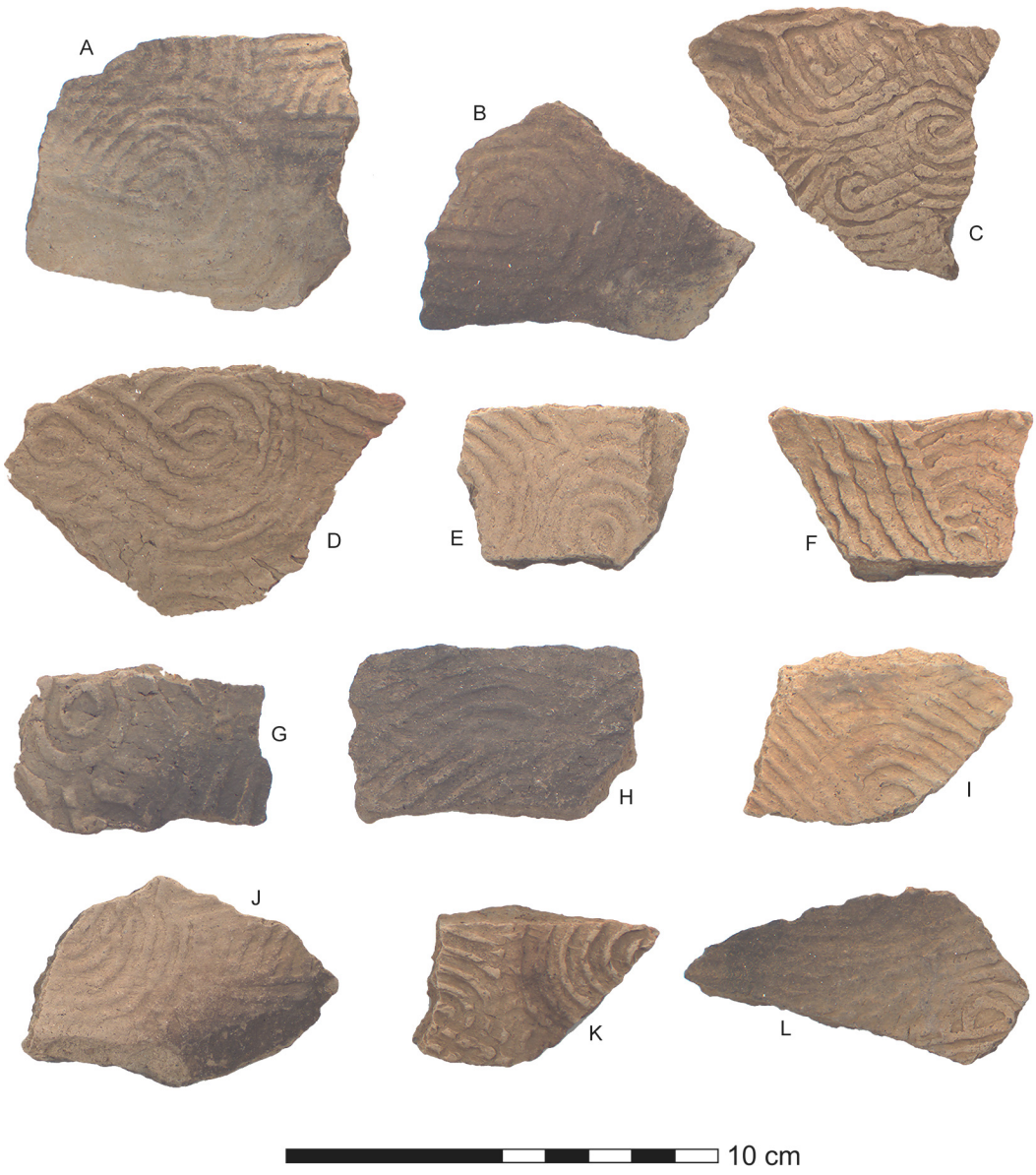


Figure 7.18. Sherds from Feature 96 at Coweeta Creek (A-D, F, L, figure nine; E, G-K, curvilinear complicated stamped).

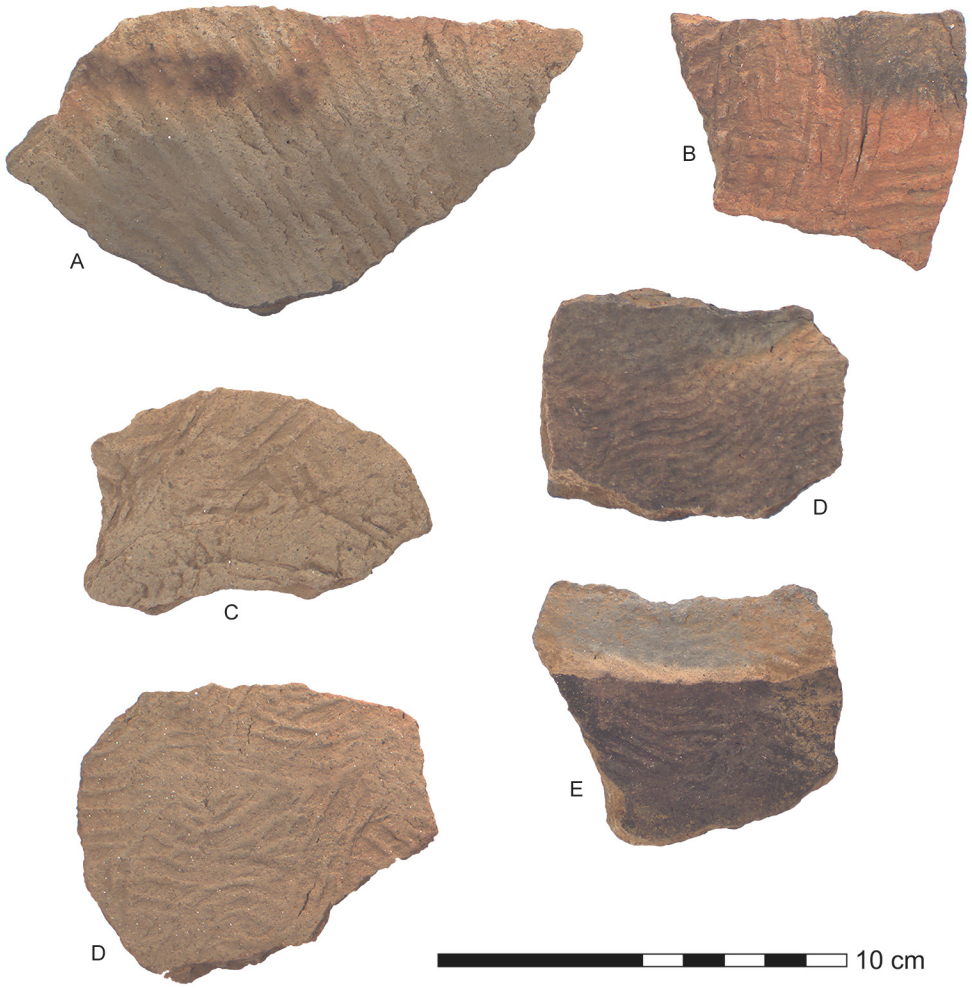


Figure 7.19. Sherds from Feature 96 at Coweeta Creek (A, linear stamped unidentified; B, rectilinear complicated stamped; C-E, curvilinear complicated stamped).

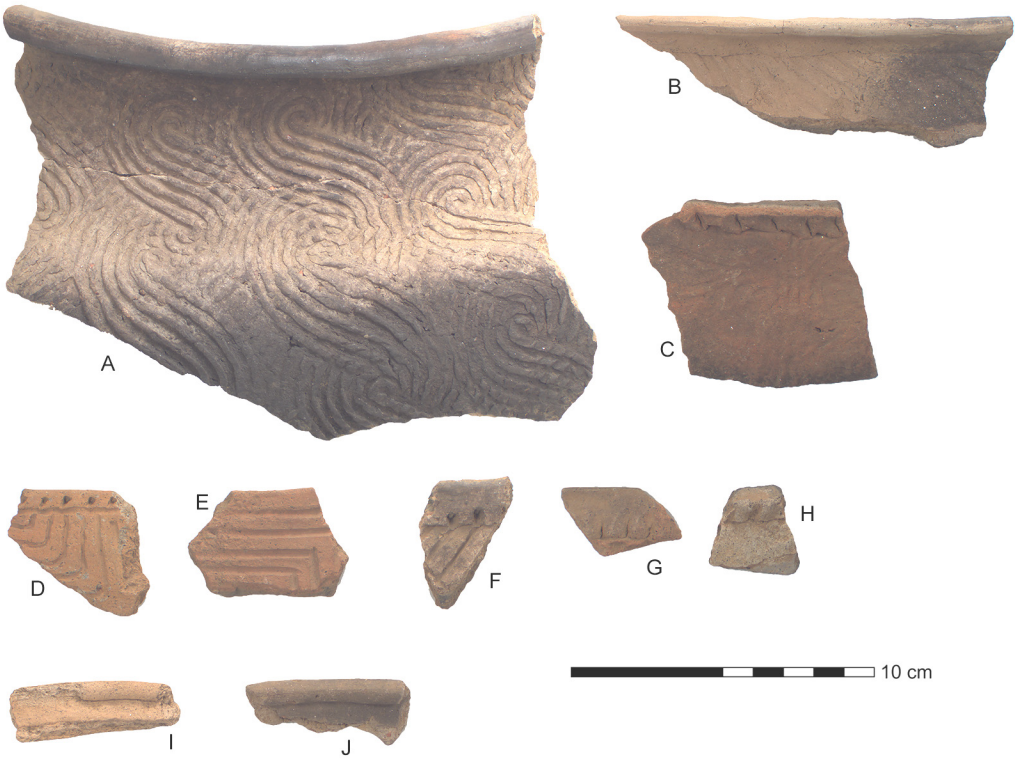


Figure 7.20. Rimsherds from Feature 96 at Coweeta Creek (A-C, pinched jar rims; D-F, carinated rims with incised motifs; G-H, hemispherical bowls with pinched rims; I-J, rolled rims).

complicated stamp motifs, although others have curvilinear and rectilinear complicated stamp motifs comparable to those seen in later contexts. Coarse plain exterior surface finishes are also present on several sherds from Feature 65, whereas this type of surface treatment is seen only rarely on sherds from features 72 and 96. All the check stamped sherds from Feature 65 exhibit diamond check stamping rather than the rectangular check pattern. Some sherds are burnished, or burnished and then painted red, on both inner and outer surfaces. Rather than the "pinched" rims common in Feature 96 or the "filleted" rims common in Feature 72, many rims from Feature 65 have sawtooth (or zigzag) notches along the bottom edges of their rim strips. Bowl rims with single incised lines in the Feature 65 assemblage are different than incised sherds from other (presumably later) contexts at the site, in which cazuelas have geometric motifs formed by multiple incised lines. Several plain rims, without the pinching or notching so common in Qualla and Lamar pottery, are present in the Feature 65 assemblage—these jars are the same type of vessel as jars seen in Savannah and Wilbanks ceramics (Riggs and Rodning 2002). One collared rim with slash incisions, like those seen in Pisgah pottery, is present in the Feature 65 assemblage—such collared rims are typical of Pisgah but not Qualla ceramics (Ward and Davis 1999). The presence of pinched and notched rims, and complicated stamping, suggests that this assemblage can be designated as Qualla pottery, but the plain rims, red-filmed sherds, sand-tempered sherds, and sawtooth notching on some rim strips are not considered typical characteristics of the Qualla ceramic series as it is has been understood.

The ceramics from Feature 65 are comparable in many respects to sherds and vessel sections from the floor of Structure 7D, which is radiocarbon dated to the fifteenth century. Elongated complicated stamping is visible on some sherds from this floor, as are some of the

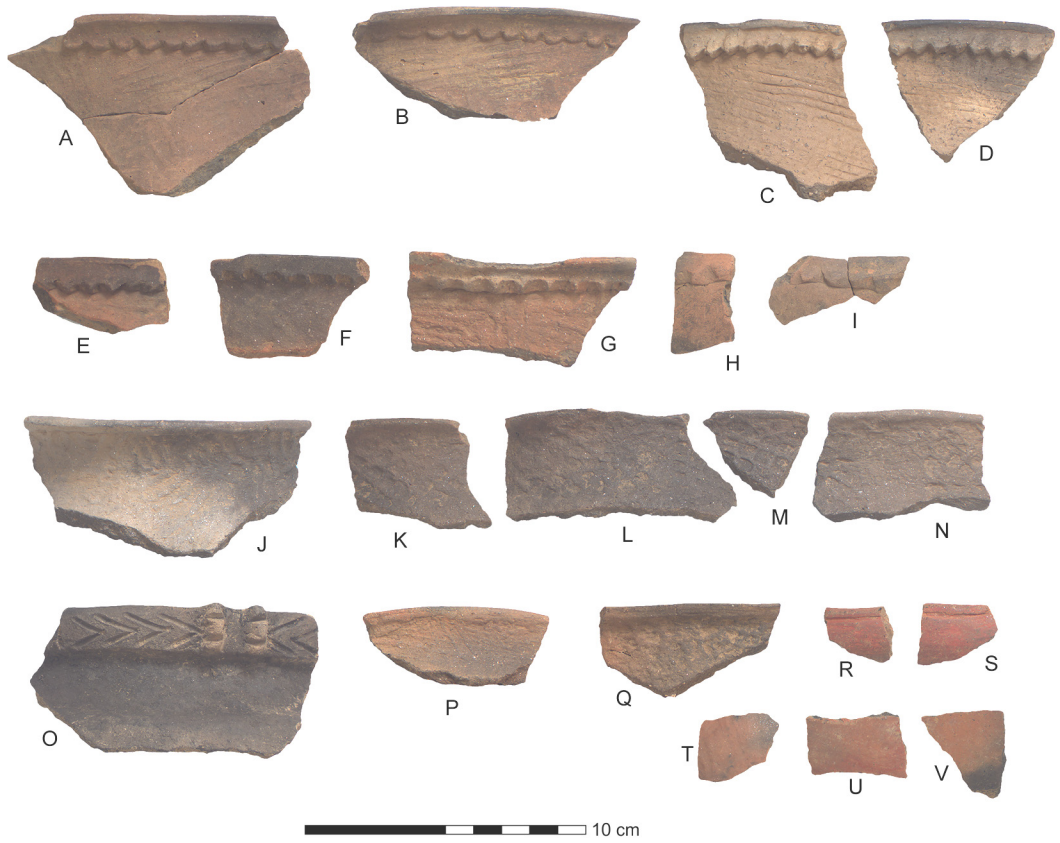


Figure 7.21. Sherds from Feature 65 at Coweeta Creek (A-E, rim strips with sawtooth notching; F-G, pinched rims; H-I, hemispherical bowls with pinched rims; J-N, P-Q, plain everted jar rims; O, collared and incised jar rim (Pisgah series); R-V, sherds from red-filmed bowls with single-incised rims).

same complicated stamp designs seen in assemblages from features 72 and 96 (Figure 7.22). Sections of jars with sawtooth notching are present, as are hemispherical bowls with pinched or plain rims (Figure 7.23). Part of a carinated vessel (Feature 59) was found lying in the hearth (Feature 67) of this structure, but its single incised scroll, coarse plain surface, and flat bottom differentiate it from the cazuelas seen in later contexts. Grit temper is the most common temper type in this feature assemblage, but sherds with sand temper are also present.

Assemblages from Feature 65 and Structure 7D are unlike those from townhouse floors, especially in the presence of coarse plain and diamond check stamped surface treatments, plain rims, rim strips with sawtooth notching, and sherds with sand temper. Radiocarbon dates from Feature 65 and Structure 7D indicate that they both predate the townhouse. Ceramics from these contexts seem consistent with this proposed temporal relationship.

On the other hand, ceramic assemblages from features 72 and 96 are very similar to those from townhouse floors. Sherds from Floor 1 of the townhouse—its last stage, radiocarbon dated to the late 1600s—resemble those from Feature 72 in surface treatments, rim decorations, and paste characteristics (Figure 7.24). Rectilinear complicated stamping is present, as is rectangular check stamping. Pinched rims are present, but rims with notched fillets are more numerous. Sherds from Floor 3 of the townhouse—representing its fourth stage, radiocarbon dated to the 1600s—resemble those from Feature 96 in the presence of curvilinear complicated stamping, pinched rims, and cazuelas with incised motifs (Figure 7.25). Although not considered in this particular discussion, sherds from floors 4 and 5 of the townhouse resemble those from Floor 3 in surface treatments, paste characteristics, and

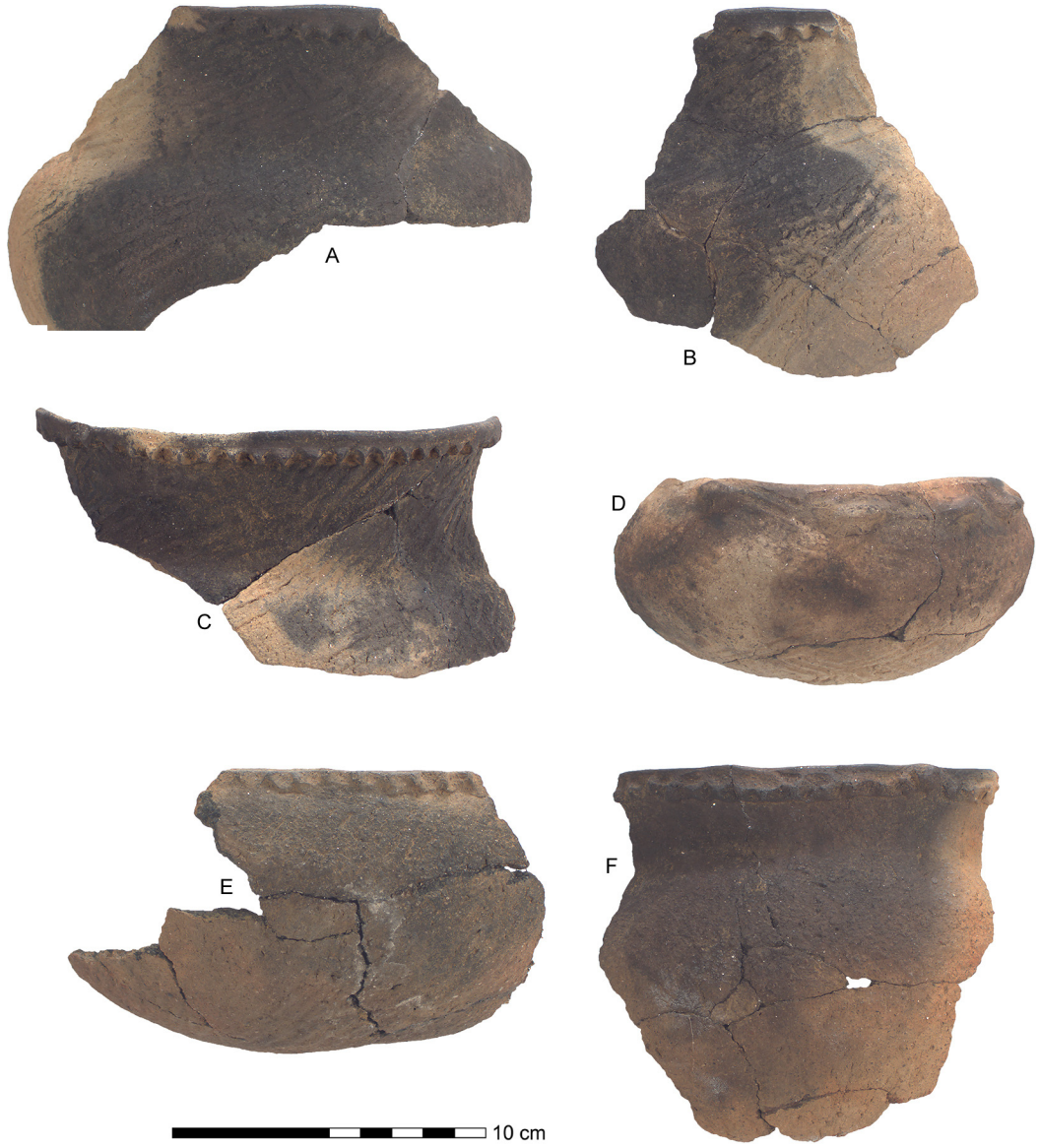


Figure 7.22. Vessel sections from Structure 7D at Coweeta Creek (A-C, complicated stamped jar, rim strip with sawtooth notching; D, hemispherical bowl with lugs near rim; E, hemispherical bowl with notched rim strip; F, coarse plain jar, pinched rim strip).

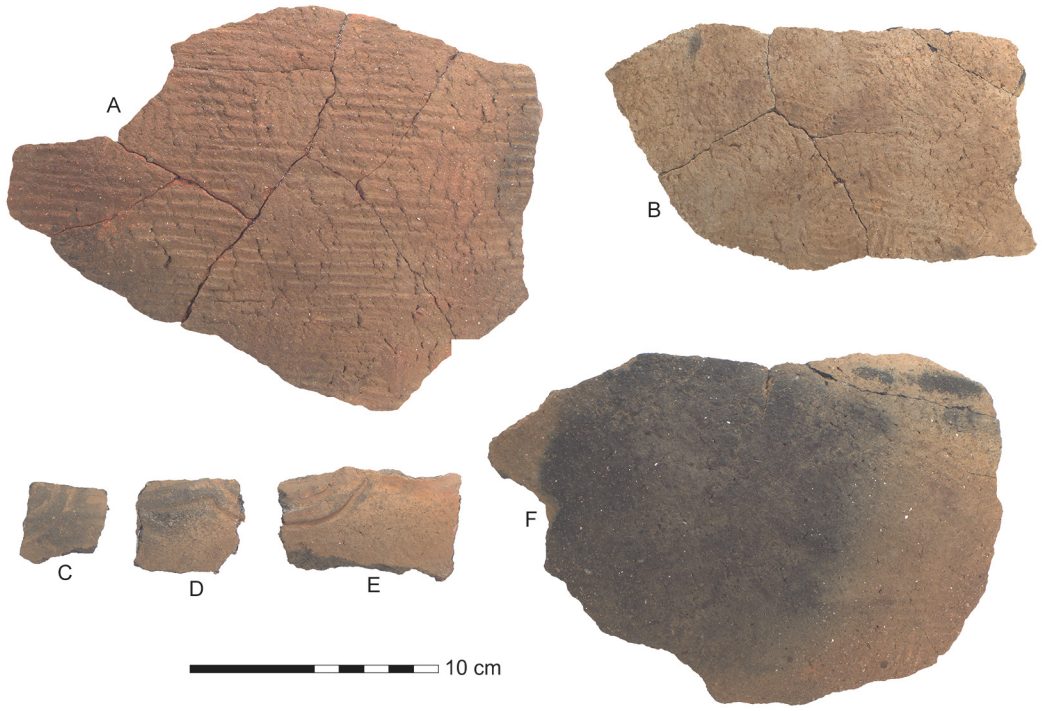


Figure 7.23. Vessel sections and sherds from Structure 7D at Coweeta Creek (A, elongated complicated stamped; B, curvilinear complicated stamped; C-E, single incised line; F, complicated stamped).

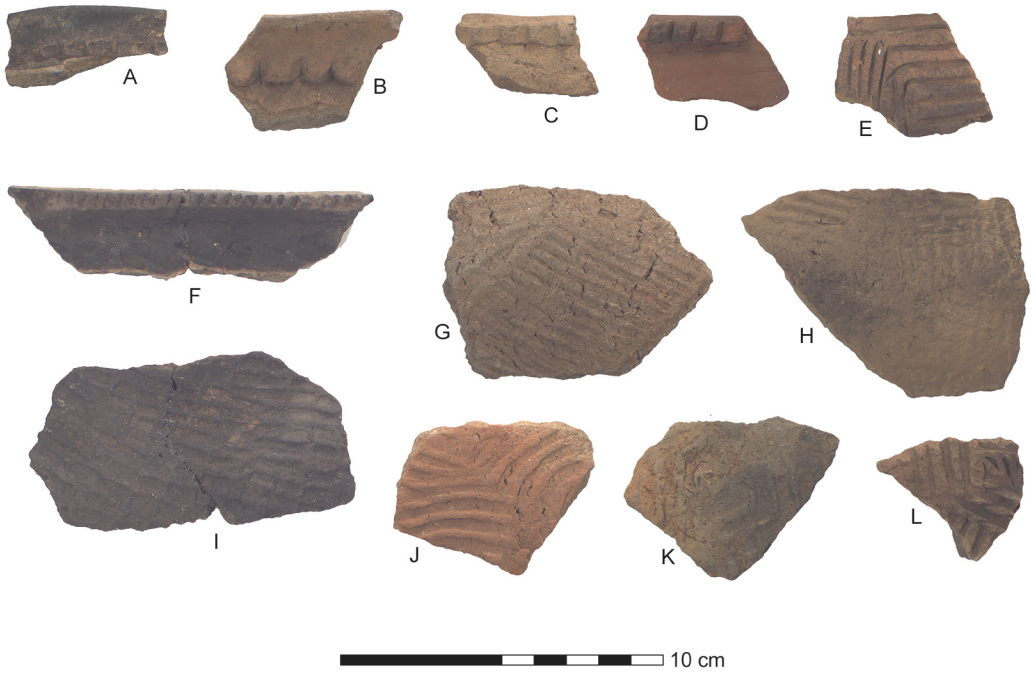


Figure 7.24. Sherds from Floor 1 of the townhouse at Coweeta Creek (A-B, pinched rims; C-D, F, rims with notched fillets; E, carinated bowl rim with incised motif; G-L, sherds with complicated stamped outer surfaces).

rim modes. The last sample of sherds considered in this chapter comes from Floor 6, which is radiocarbon dated to the late fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, and whose ceramics are more comparable to those from later floors of the townhouse than they are to Feature 65 or Structure 7D.

Temporal trends in specific attributes, as evident from comparing and contrasting these sherd samples, can be depicted visually in diagrams that resemble frequency seriations (see Keel 1976:60, 155, 209). I have ordered these different contexts in a chronological sequence based primarily on the calibrated intercepts of their radiocarbon dates. They therefore are not true frequency seriations, but they do depict relative frequencies of different attribute states in sherd assemblages dating to different periods of time. The true dates of these selected contexts may be somewhat earlier or later than the calibrated intercepts of associated radiocarbon dates, but the relative temporal relationships between them are accurately reflected in these calibrated intercepts. Feature 72 is placed at the late end of the sequence because of its late radiocarbon date and because of the European artifacts present in it. Feature 96 is placed, in chronological order, between floors 3 and 6 because its radiocarbon age range fits that timeframe, and because European artifacts are absent from this pit, meaning it probably predates the late 1600s and could even date to the 1500s. I will now summarize continuity and change in the relative frequencies of different types of temper, surface treatments, and rims in sherd assemblages from these contexts. The following diagrams show broad patterns that can be interpreted as clues about the differences between Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla pottery at Coweeta Creek.

Figure 7.26 shows the relative frequencies of different types of temper in sherds from these selected contexts (Table 7.3). Fine and coarse grit are the predominant temper

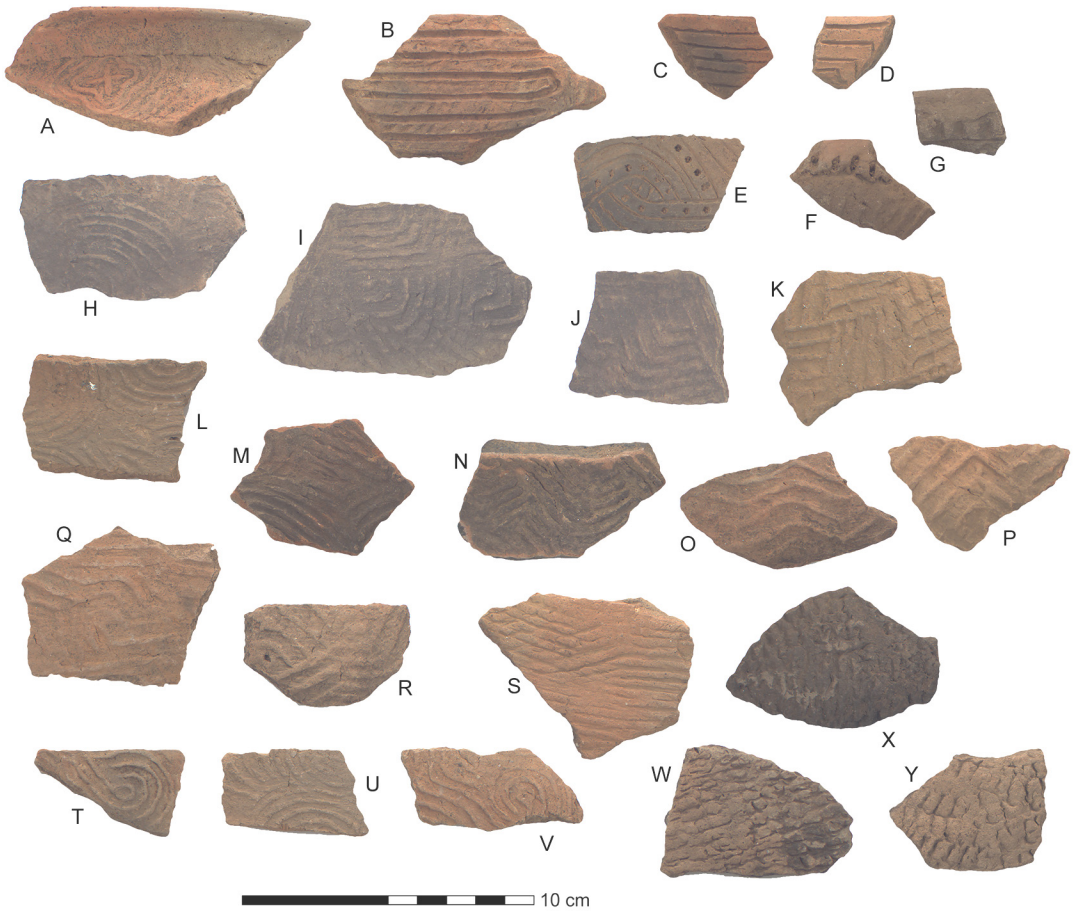


Figure 7.25. Sherds from Floor 3 of the townhouse at Coweeta Creek (A, jar with pinched rim and concentric cross stamp motif; B-E, incised cazuelas; F-G, hemispherical bowls with notched rim strips; H-W, sherds with complicated stamped outer surfaces; W-Y, sherds with corncob impressed outer surfaces).

materials in sherds throughout the sequence. Sand temper is relatively more common early in the sequence, in Feature 65 and Structure 7D, for example, than it is in later contexts.

Figure 7.27 illustrates the relative frequency of different interior surface treatments (Table 7.4). Burnishing is the most common interior surface treatment throughout the sequence. Red filming occurs early. The apparent variation shown in Figure 7.28 in the presence of sherds with smoothed inner surfaces is difficult to interpret. The main conclusion drawn here from Figure 7.28 is simply that most sherds from these samples are either burnished or smoothed.

Figure 7.28 illustrates changes in the relative frequencies of exterior surface treatments (Table 7.5). Complicated stamping is present throughout the sequence, as is incising. Coarse plain and diamond check stamping are present primarily at the early end of the sequence, and rectangular check stamping is present primarily in late contexts.

Figure 7.29 depicts chronological changes in the proportions of rim modes (Table 7.6). Pinched rims are present throughout the sequence, but rims with notched fillets outnumber pinched rims in late contexts. Thickened and rounded rims (see Figure 7.17L-M) are never very numerous, but they are most common at the late end of the sequence. Straight rims are also rare but also most commonly seen in late contexts. Rolled rims (see Figure 7.20I-J) are similar to pinched rims, in that rim strips were folded, but they were never pinched in such a way that a series of fingernail or fingertip impressions was created. Rolled rims seem most common in the middle segment of the sequence. Plain rims clearly date to the early end of the sequence, as do rims with sawtooth notching.

Problems in interpreting these ceramic data from townhouse floors arise when considering the formation of these deposits and the disturbance of floors during activities

Table 7.3. Frequencies of Temper Types in Selected Ceramic Assemblages from Coweeta Creek

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 72	1970 97%	49 2%	15 1%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	2034	2034
Townhouse Floor 1	113 60%	75 40%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	188	1340
Townhouse Floor 3	324 98%	3 1%	0 0%	3 1%	0 0%	0 0%	330	2896
Feature 96	1674 98%	7 0%	22 1%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1703	1703
Townhouse Floor 6	46 79%	11 19%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 2%	58	385
Structure 7D	225 77%	0 0%	51 18%	15 5%	0 0%	0 0%	291	291
Feature 65	1149 89%	86 7%	54 4%	2 0%	0 0%	1 0%	1292	1292

Table 7.4. Frequencies of Interior Surface Treatments in Selected Ceramic Assemblages from Coweeta Creek

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 72	173 57%	119 39%	11 4%	0 0%	303	2034
Townhouse Floor 1	163 90%	14 8%	5 3%	0 0%	182	1340
Townhouse Floor 3	303 94%	10 3%	6 2%	3 1%	322	2896
Feature 96	172 73%	63 27%	0 0%	0 0%	235	1703
Townhouse Floor 6	49 89%	1 2%	4 7%	1 2%	55	385
Structure 7D	110 68%	52 32%	0 0%	0 0%	162	291
Feature 65	221 74%	55 18%	0 0%	23 8%	299	1292

Table 7.5. Frequencies of Exterior Surface Treatments in Selected Ceramic Assemblages from Coweeta Creek

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 72	206	2	10	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	14	2	0	0	0	19	260	2034
	79%	1%	4%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	1%	0%	0%	0%	7%		
Townhouse Floor 1	83	4	0	0	19	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	7	115	1340
	72%	3%	0%	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%		
Townhouse Floor 3	220	10	0	0	2	0	1	0	21	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	261	2896
	84%	4%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	8%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%		
Feature 96	155	14	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	176	1703
	88%	8%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%		
Townhouse Floor 6	33	1	10	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	48	385
	69%	2%	21%	2%	2%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%		
Structure 7D	130	6	0	0	0	0	0	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	162	291
	80%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	16%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 65	95	6	2	6	0	0	22	89	0	0	41	0	0	0	22	2	285	1292
	33%	2%	1%	2%	0%	0%	8%	31%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%	8%	1%		

Table 7.6. Frequencies of Rim Decorations in Selected Ceramic Assemblages from Coweeta Creek

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 72	31 53%	11 19%	0 0%	4 7%	0 0%	1 2%	2 3%	2 3%	4 7%	0 0%	4 7%	59	36	95
Townhouse Floor 1	28 54%	17 33%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	4 8%	0 0%	0 0%	1 2%	0 0%	2 4%	52	13	65
Townhouse Floor 3	0 0%	58 87%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	9 13%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	67	8	75
Feature 96	7 8%	54 64%	0 0%	1 1%	2 2%	16 19%	2 2%	2 2%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	84	13	97
Townhouse Floor 6	2 15%	5 38%	0 0%	0 0%	1 8%	2 15%	0 0%	3 23%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	13	0	13
Structure 7D	0 0%	7 32%	6 27%	0 0%	2 9%	6 27%	1 5%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	22	0	22
Feature 65	0 0%	19 23%	5 6%	0 0%	50 60%	1 1%	4 5%	0 0%	0 0%	4 5%	0 0%	83	14	97

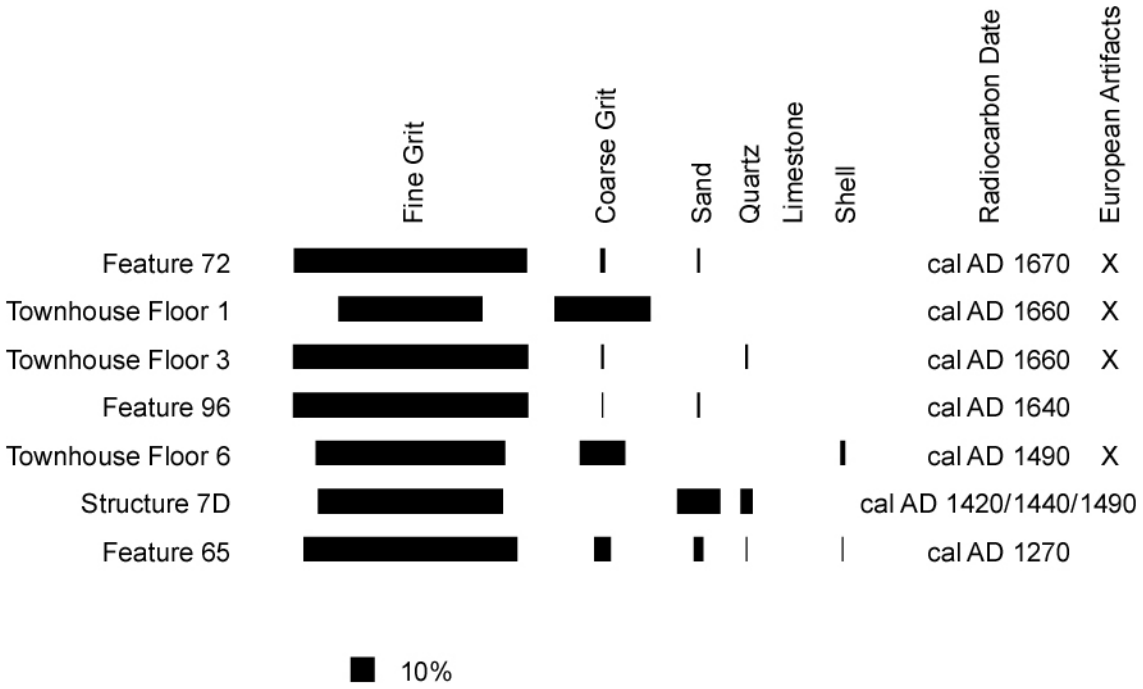


Figure 7.26. Relative frequencies of temper types in selected ceramic assemblages from Coweeta Creek.

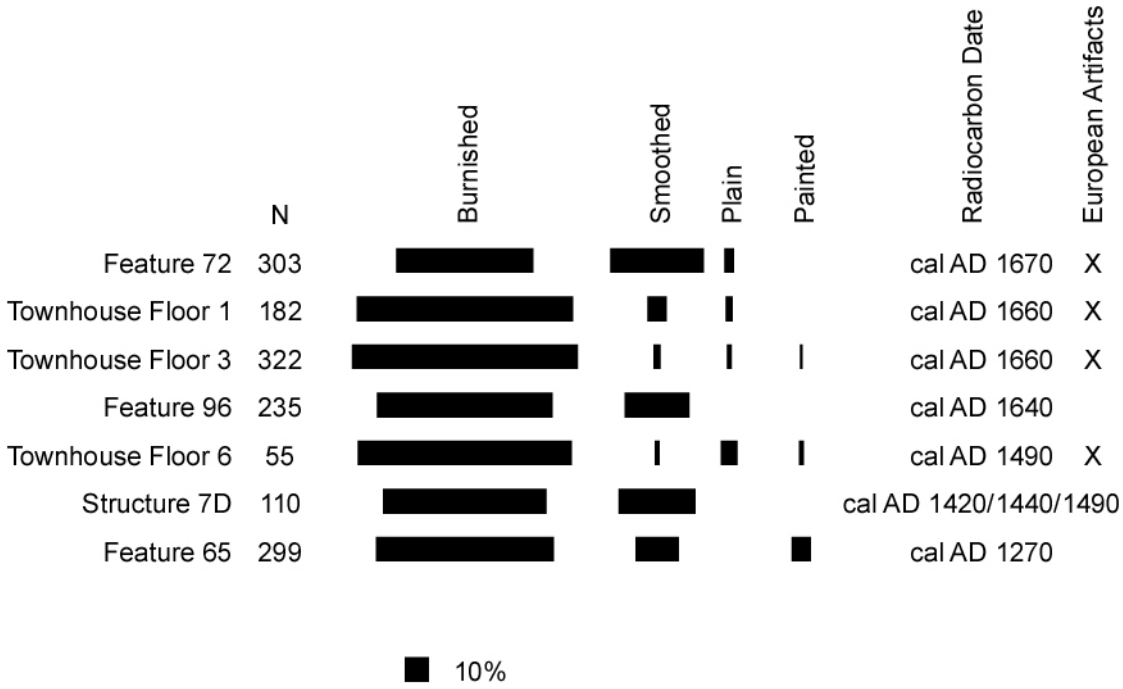


Figure 7.27. Relative frequencies of interior surface treatments in selected ceramic assemblages from Coweeta Creek.

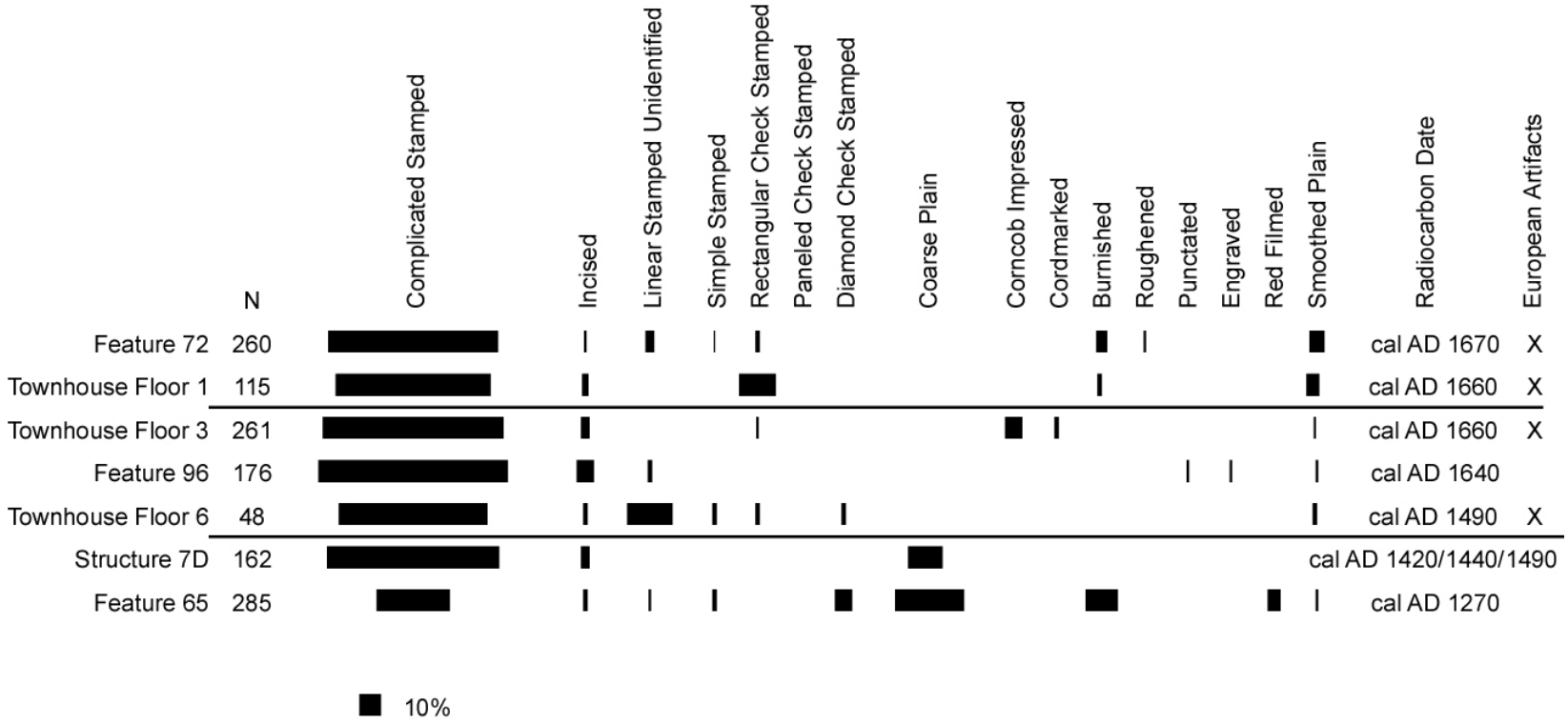


Figure 7.28. Relative frequencies of exterior surface treatments in selected ceramic assemblages from Coweeta Creek.

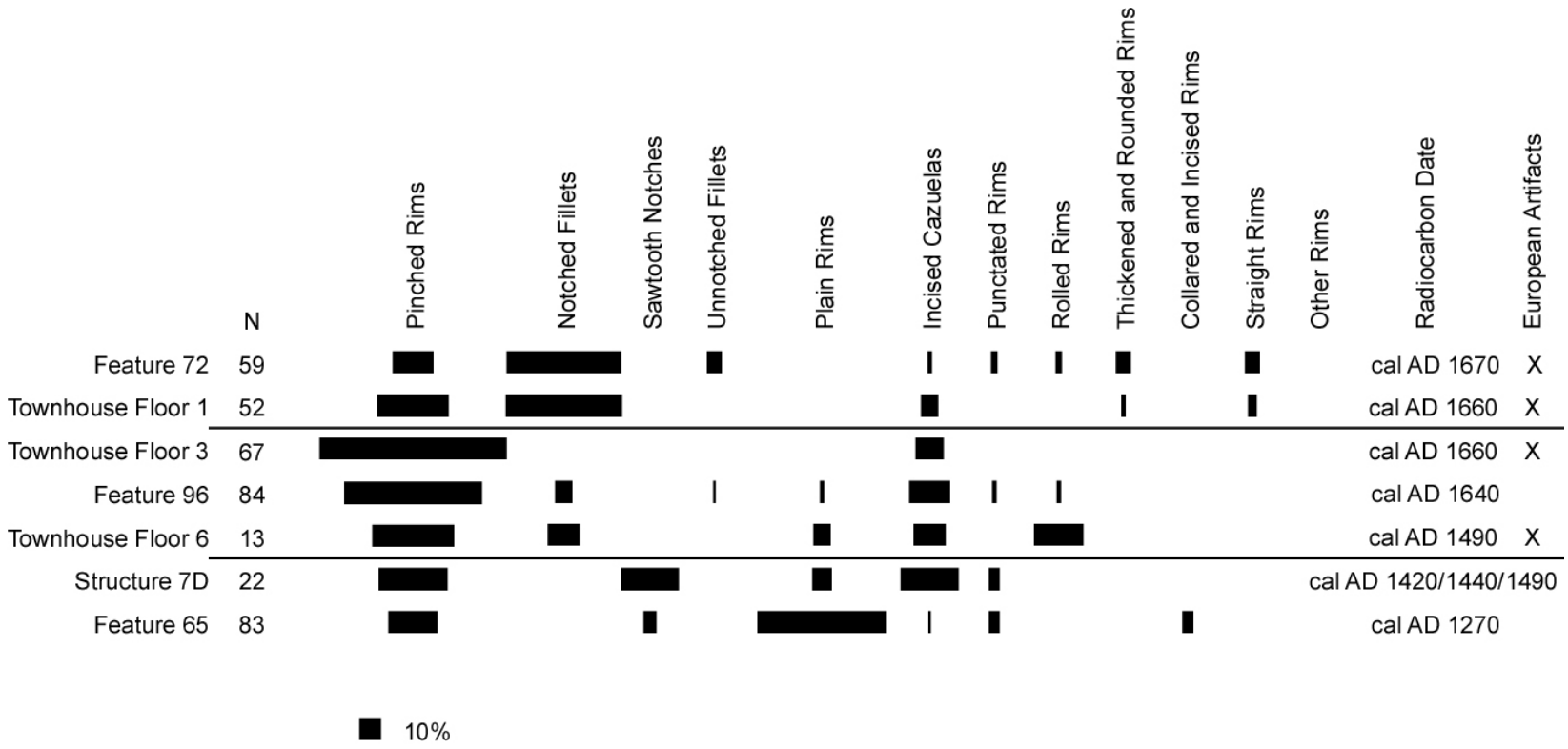


Figure 7.29. Relative frequencies of rim decorations in selected ceramic assemblages from Coweeta Creek.

related to renovating and rebuilding successive stages of the townhouse. Sherds found directly on each townhouse floor were bagged separately in the field from those found in the architectural rubble and fill found between floors. Ceramics in the layers between floors may have been scooped up from midden deposits near the townhouse—or from the village—and then redeposited atop a dismantled townhouse as secondary or tertiary debris. There is a greater likelihood that sherds found on floors are directly associated with—and contemporaneous with—the corresponding stages of the townhouse. Therefore, the analyses here have focused only on sherds found on floors themselves. However, another problem is that many posts from each successive stage of the townhouse cut through the buried remnants of one or more earlier stages. Some potsherds may have migrated "upward" in the mound if they were pulled up as posts from later stages of the townhouse were placed in the ground. Potsherds probably also migrated "downward" in the mound through postholes, especially if sherds were intentionally placed at the bottoms of postholes to help support the posts themselves, or to fill in the holes left after posts were taken out of the ground. A good example of this phenomenon is a rimsherd from a large cazuela that was found in the floor of the third stage of the townhouse. A large sherd from the same vessel was found at the bottom of a posthole that cut through both earlier floors and extend into subsoil. These problems of stratigraphic mixing may help explain apparent aberrations in the sequences of surface treatment and rim decoration that are presented in figures 7.28 and 7.29.

Figure 7.29 shows that some rimsherds from Feature 96 and from the earliest townhouse floor have notched fillets, whereas this form of notched rim strips is more typical of assemblages from later contexts. The presence of a single rimsherd with a notched fillet on the earliest townhouse floor is probably the result of stratigraphic mixing. It could have

reached this level of the mound through postholes and other disturbances associated with later stages of the townhouse. The presence of these rims in Feature 96 is probably an early occurrence of a rim decoration that is still less common than pinching. It is clear that the ratios of these different modes of rim decoration in Feature 72 and the last stage of the townhouse are reversed.

Figure 7.28 shows that two rectangular check stamped sherds are present in the assemblage from Floor 3 of the townhouse, although this surface treatment is thought to date slightly later. I would attribute the presence of these sherds on this floor to stratigraphic mixing. I am convinced by evidence considered here—and my impressions from looking at sherds from other contexts at the site—that rectangular check stamping does date to the late end of the ceramic sequence at the site and that diamond check stamping is an early marker.

Additional demonstration of this point is seen in the concurrence of these different check stamp patterns and temper types (Table 7.7). Most of the diamond check stamped sherds identified in assemblages from all pit features and structure floors at Coweeta Creek are sand-tempered. By contrast, all of the rectangular check stamped sherds from these contexts are grit-tempered. Sand never eclipses grit as a temper material at Coweeta Creek, but sherds with sand temper are more common in early than in later contexts. The fact that more than half the diamond check stamped sherds from Coweeta Creek are sand-tempered rather than grit-tempered is consistent with the suggestion that diamond check stamping is a surface primarily associated with early ceramics at this site.

The concurrence of diamond check stamping and plain rims, thought to represent an early rim form, yields another clue about the early placement of diamond check stamping (Figure 7.10). All thirteen rimsherds from burials and other pit features at Coweeta Creek

Table 7.7. Check Stamping and Temper in Dated Assemblages from Coweeta Creek

	Grit	Sand	
Rectangular Check Stamped	33 100%	0 0%	33
Diamond Check Stamped	12 48%	13 52%	25

which have diamond check stamping on their outer surfaces are plain rims. By contrast, the three known rimsherds from Coweeta Creek with rectangular check stamping have notched fillets, which are thought to date late in the sequence. The diamond check stamping, as it is identified here, resembles Savannah Check Stamping from Middle Mississippian contexts in Georgia (Williams and Thompson 1999). This similarity strengthens the identification of this surface treatment as an Early Qualla marker in the Appalachian Summit of North Carolina (Riggs and Rodning 2002).

Are there comparable chronological trends in the relative proportions of rectilinear and curvilinear complicated stamp designs? Table 7.8 shows that elongated complicated stamping is present in early assemblages, specifically those from Feature 65 and Structure 7D, but not in later contexts at Coweeta Creek. Table 7.8 also summarizes the counts and percentages of sherds with rectilinear and curvilinear complicated stamping from dated contexts at Coweeta Creek. The contrast between ratios of rectilinear to curvilinear complicated stamping in features 72 and 96 is striking, and it suggests that rectilinear motifs may be more common than their curvilinear counterparts in late contexts. This pattern is contradicted by the presence of more rectilinear than curvilinear complicated stamped sherds on the earliest floor of the townhouse, although this ratio may be skewed by the small number of sherds from this context with identifiable complicated stamped motifs. Furthermore, curvilinear motifs are more prevalent than rectilinear designs in complicated stamped sherds from the last stage of the townhouse. However, there are higher relative frequencies of rectilinear complicated stamping in Feature 72 and Floor 1 of the townhouse than in Feature 96 and Floor 3 of the townhouse.

Table 7.8. Types of Complicated Stamping in Dated Assemblages from Coweeta Creek

	Elongated Complicated Stamped	Curvilinear Complicated Stamped	Rectilinear Complicated Stamped	Subtotal	Indeterminate Complicated Stampec	Rectilinear:Curvilinear
Feature 72	0 0%	26 33%	53 67%	79	127	2.04
Townhouse Floor 1	0 0%	68 88%	9 12%	77	8	0.13
Townhouse Floor 3	0 0%	210 97%	7 3%	217	3	0.03
Feature 96	0 0%	96 97%	3 3%	99	56	0.03
Townhouse Floor 6	0 0%	12 86%	2 14%	14	21	0.17
Structure 7D	39 85%	7 15%	0 0%	46	84	0
Feature 65	5 42%	3 25%	4 33%	12	83	1.33

Table 7.9 lists the counts of sherds with specific complicated stamped motifs from dated pit features, from each floor of the townhouse, from the floor of Structure 7D. This table does not show easily recognizable temporal patterns in the distribution of specific motifs, except that, as noted, elongated complicated stamping dates early in the sequence. However, it does demonstrate the range of variation in complicated stamped motifs seen at Coweeta Creek. Furthermore, it shows that the figure nine motif is the most common identified complicated stamp design at Coweeta Creek.

Table 7.10 lists counts of sherds with recognizable incised motifs from dated pit features, from each floor of the townhouse, and from the floor of Structure 7D. Small sample sizes make it difficult to say much about temporal trends in the frequencies of different incised designs, although comparisons with other sites may yield clues about broader spatial and temporal distributions of specific motifs. However, this table does convey the range of variation in incised motifs seen on cazuelas at Coweeta Creek. Furthermore, it indicates that the concentric scroll—akin to the figure nine complicated stamped design—is the most common incised pattern seen in the ceramics from Coweeta Creek.

Why are there not discernible changes in complicated stamped designs and incised motifs in the ceramic sequence outlined here? It may simply be that the sizes of these samples, which include only handfuls of incised sherds, are not large enough to capture meaningful trends. It may also be that the selected contexts are so close to each other in age that they do not span enough time for such changes to manifest themselves in sherd assemblages. Hally (1986a) has noted that the same suite of incised and complicated stamp motifs are present in both sixteenth-century Tugalo pottery and eighteenth-century Estatoe ceramics in northern Georgia, and, therefore, perhaps similarities in the frequencies of motifs

Table 7.9. Complicated Stamped Motifs at Coweeta Creek

	Curvilinear Complicated Stamped											Rectilinear Complicated Stamped											
	Figure Nine	Figure Eight	Concentric Circle	Concentric Oval	Concentric Cross	Filfot Cross	Interlocking Loops	Wavy Lines	Keyhole	Bold	Indeterminate	Concentric Scroll	Concentric Square	Barred Diamond	Line Block	Zigzag	Herringbone	Bold	Indeterminate	Elongated	All Curvilinear	All Rectilinear	Total
Feature 72		1 1%					1 1%				23 29%	1 1%		21 27%	5 6%				27 34%		25	54	79
Townhouse Floor 1											68 92%			3 4%	1 1%	2 3%					68	6	74
Townhouse Floor 2											8 100%										8	0	8
Townhouse Floor 3	23 11%				1 0%			7 3%	6 3%		173 80%			1 0%					6 3%		210	7	217
Townhouse Floor 4	148 28%	3 1%	14 3%	2	3 1%		10 2%	13 2%	4 1%	66 13%	254 48%					1 0%			6 1%		517	7	524
Feature 96	28 29%	6 6%					2 2%				58 60%								3 3%		94	3	97
Townhouse Floor 5	14 48%	2 7%								2 7%	10 34%								1 3%		28	1	29
Townhouse Floor 6	7 50%										5 36%								2 14%		12	2	14
Structure 7D											7 18%									32 82%	7	0	39
Feature 65									1 8%		2 17%			1 8%	1 8%				2 17%	5 42%	3	4	12

Table 7.10. Geometric Incised Motifs at Coweeta Creek

	Single Scroll	Single Line	Rectilinear Lines	Curvilinear Lines	Concentric Scrolls	Interlocking Loops	Parallel Lines	Lines and Circles	Brackets and Ovals	Lines and Punctations	Lines and Semicircles	Line-Filled Triangles	Parallel/Perpendicular Lines	Indeterminate Motifs	Totals
Feature 72														2 100%	2
Townhouse Floor 1											2 50%		2 50%		4
Townhouse Floor 2															0
Townhouse Floor 3		1 10%			4 40%	1 10%	1 10%		1 10%		2 20%				10
Townhouse Floor 4		1 14%		2 29%	1 14%		1 14%					2 29%			7
Feature 96			1 7%				1 7%	1 7%		1 7%	1 7%	1 7%		8 57%	14
Townhouse Floor 5		1 25%								1 25%	2 50%				4
Townhouse Floor 6														1 100%	1
Structure 7D	7 100%														7
Feature 65		6 50%	1 8%											5 42%	12

in different contexts at Coweeta Creek are not surprising. Hally (1994a) has also suggested that incised motifs on cazuelas, while present in varying amounts in several river valleys in northern Georgia, seem to peak in frequency in one particular area, and there may be regional patterns in the distribution of incised motifs, and perhaps also in complicated stamp patterns, in different areas of western North Carolina as well.

The foregoing series of tables and diagrams are not as clearcut as would as be desirable for showing temporal trends in Qualla ceramics from Coweeta Creek, but they show some broad patterns that are meaningful, and these trends are consistent with expectations about chronological change in ceramics from the beginning to the late end of the Qualla phase (see Dickens 1979; Ward and Davis 1999:178-183; Riggs and Rodning 2002). Grit is the prevalent tempering agent throughout the sequence at this site, although assemblages from early contexts at the site also include some sand-tempered sherds. Inner surfaces are almost always either burnished or smoothed, and some red-filming is present as an interior and exterior surface treatment in early assemblages at the site. Greater changes are seen in complicated stamping and modes of rim decoration in the ceramic sequence represented at Coweeta Creek. Temporal variation in these attributes, therefore, offers clues about how to differentiate early, middle, and late assemblages of ceramics at Coweeta Creek.

Ceramic data considered here support the following conclusions about exterior surface treatments on ceramics from the Coweeta Creek site:

1) Complicated stamping is the most prevalent surface treatment throughout the sequence. Elongated complicated stamp motifs are present in early contexts. Rectilinear motifs may eclipse curvilinear motifs in some late contexts, but

this is not true in all cases, and some degree of curvilinear and rectilinear complicated stamping is present throughout this sequence.

2) Incising is a rim decoration seen in all contexts, although cazuelas with geometric incised motifs are most common in the middle and late segments of the sequence, and red-filmed bowls with single incised lines are an early occurrence.
3) Diamond check stamping, coarse plain, and red-filming are all primarily early surface treatments.
4) Rectangular check stamping is a late surface treatment.

The data considered here demonstrate the following points about rim decoration and the Coweeta Creek ceramic sequence:

1) Plain rims, and rims with sawtooth notching along the bottom edges of rim strips, are most common at the early end of the sequence.
2) Collared rims are rare and are present only in early contexts.
3) Incised cazuelas are present throughout the sequence, although they are more common in middle and late segments of the sequence than they are in early contexts.
4) Folded and pinched rims are the most common rim form during the middle of this sequence, but rims with notched fillets outnumber pinched rims at the late end.

Chronology

Temporal trends in Coweeta Creek ceramics—especially in outer surface treatments and rim decorations—support the following subdivision of the Qualla series. I summarize my conception of the major characteristics of Early, Middle, and Late Qualla pottery here, from latest to earliest. I propose calendrical dates for Early, Middle and Late Qualla subphases based on radiocarbon dates from relevant pit features and structure floors.

Late Qualla (AD 1650-1838) pottery is characterized by complicated stamping and rectangular check stamping, and by burnished or smoothed inner surfaces (Figure 7.30). Rims with notched fillets outnumber folded and pinched rims. Sherds with rectilinear complicated stamping are more common than they are in Middle Qualla assemblages, and they may even outnumber those with curvilinear complicated stamp designs in some Late Qualla assemblages. Incised cazuelas are present, although the frequencies of these vessels may have decreased after approximately 1700, as more and more Cherokee households replaced them with metal pots, and cazuelas disappeared by 1750 (B. H. Riggs, personal communication 2004). Grit represents the predominant tempering agent, although the distinction sometimes made between coarse and fine grit temper demands further consideration. The presence of Late Qualla pottery is well represented at Coweeta Creek by sherds from Feature 72 and from the last stage of the townhouse. It is not seen on any of the domestic house floors. Radiocarbon dates from contexts at Coweeta Creek with Late Qualla ceramics place them in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The characteristics and temporal placement of Late Qualla pottery at Coweeta Creek are therefore comparable to those of assemblages attributed to the Estatoe phase in northeastern Georgia (see Hally 1986a).

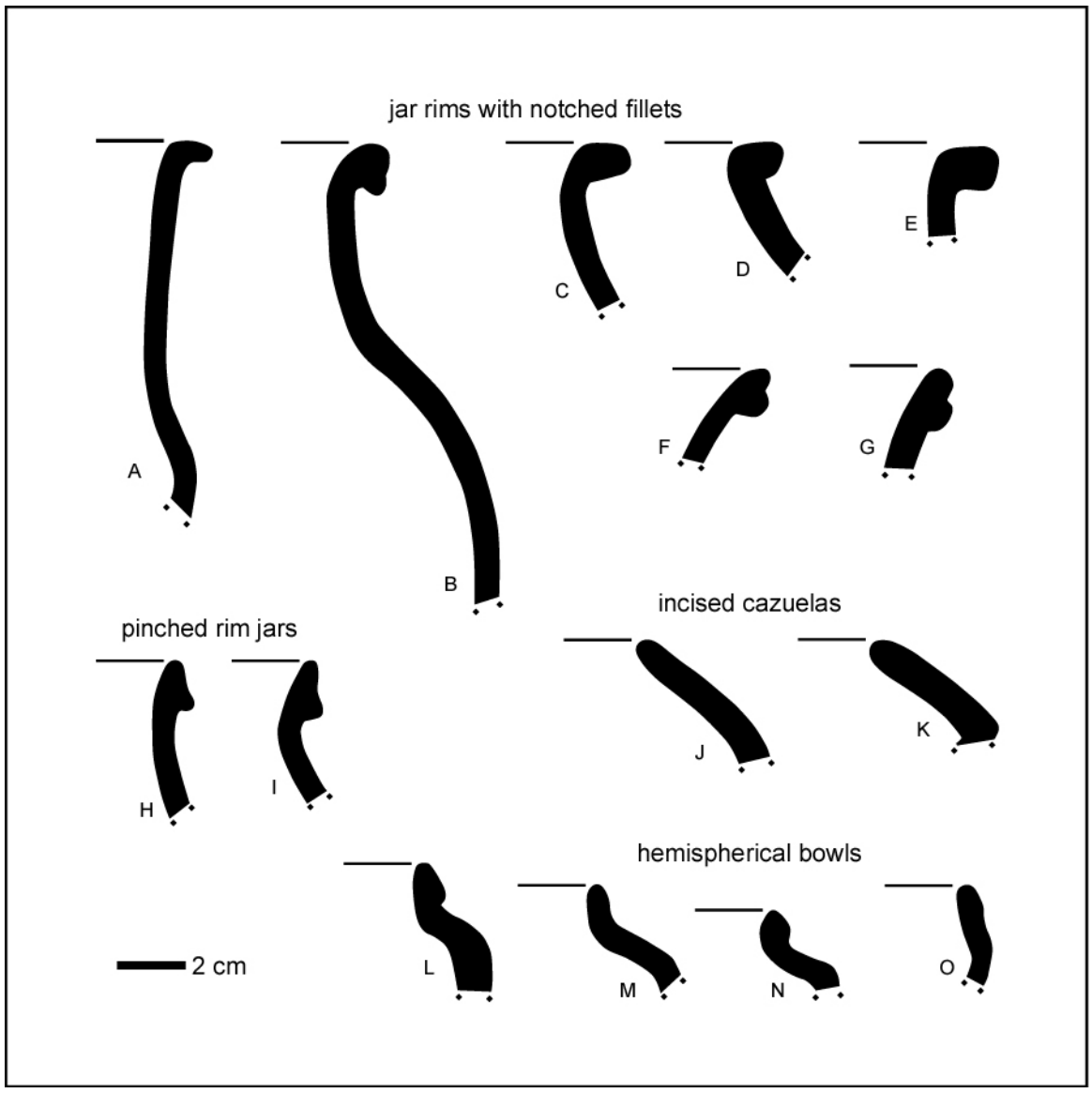


Figure 7.30. Late Qualla rims from Coweeta Creek (A-I, everted jar rims; J-K, carinated bowl rims; L-O, hemispherical bowl rims).

Middle Qualla (AD 1500-1650) ceramics are characterized by complicated stamping, incised cazuelas, and burnished or smoothed interior surfaces (Figure 7.31). Both rectilinear and curvilinear complicated stamp motifs are present, but curvilinear designs predominate. Other surface treatments include corncob impressing and minimal amounts of smoothed plain and cordmarking, but check stamping is absent. Fine grit is, by far, the most common temper material. Sherds from Feature 96 and the first four stages of the townhouse are all good examples of Middle Qualla pottery. Radiocarbon dates place these contexts at the Coweeta Creek site, and Middle Qualla ceramics more generally, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Assemblages identified here as Middle Qualla are comparable to and contemporaneous with the Tugalo series in northeastern Georgia (Hally 1986a).

Early Qualla (AD 1300-1500) ceramics exhibit complicated stamping, early forms of incised motifs, and burnished or smoothed inner surfaces (Figure 7.32). Rectilinear and curvilinear complicated stamping are both present in Early Qualla pottery, as is an elongated rectilinear variant of complicated stamping not seen in later contexts. Coarse plain and diamond check stamping are also seen in Early Qualla assemblages, as are sherds with red filming on both inner and outer surfaces. Folded and pinched rims are present, as are folded rims with sawtooth notching along the bottom edges of rim strips, and significant numbers of plain rims—lacking notches or thickening of any kind—are also included in these assemblages. Grit is the primary tempering agent, but sand temper is also present. Sherds from Feature 65 and from Structure 7D can be considered examples of Early Qualla pottery. Radiocarbon dates place these Early Qualla assemblages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This temporal placement suggests that the earliest Qualla ceramics are coeval with pottery attributable to the late end of the Pisgah series in southwestern North Carolina.

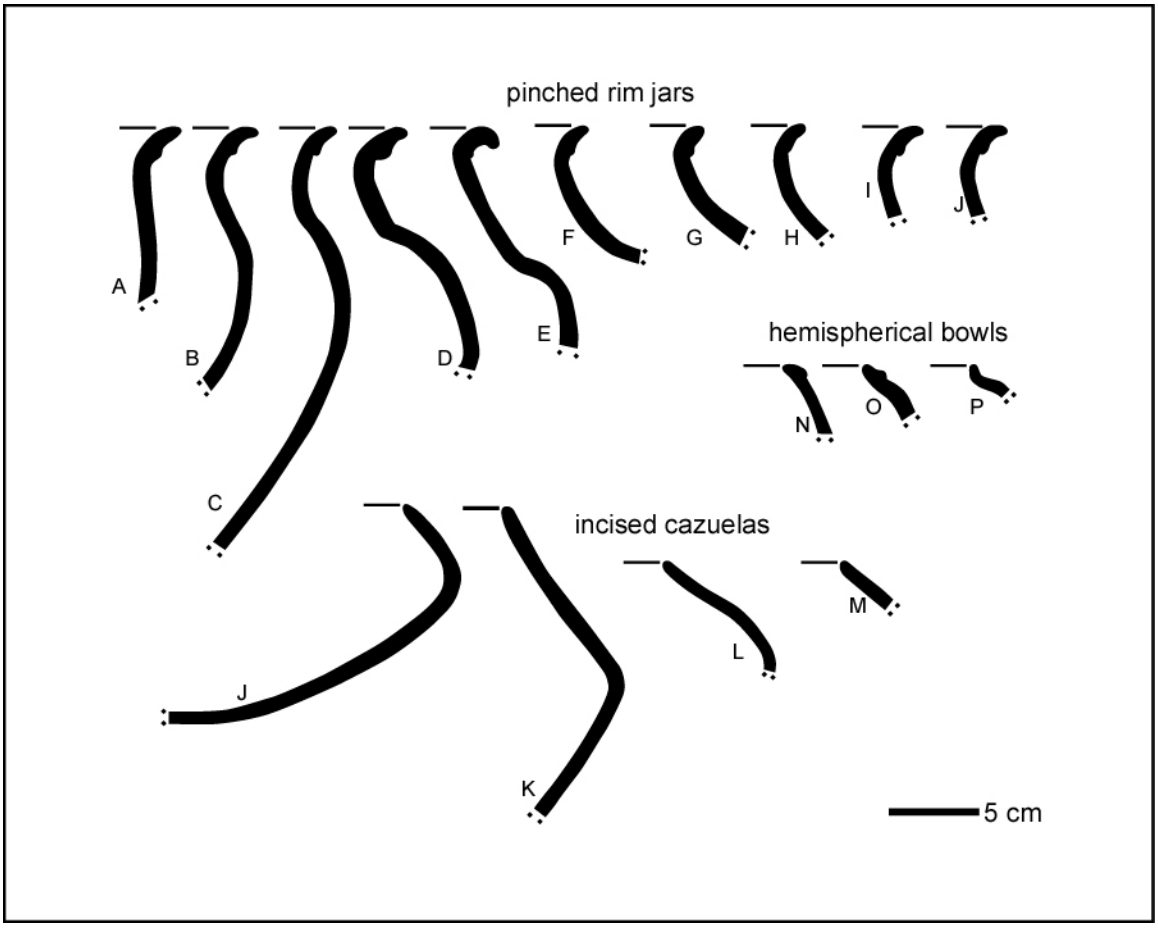


Figure 7.31. Middle Qualla rims from Coweeta Creek (A-J, everted jar rims; N-P, hemispherical bowl rims; J, carinated bowl; K, carinated bottle; L-M, carinated bowl rims).

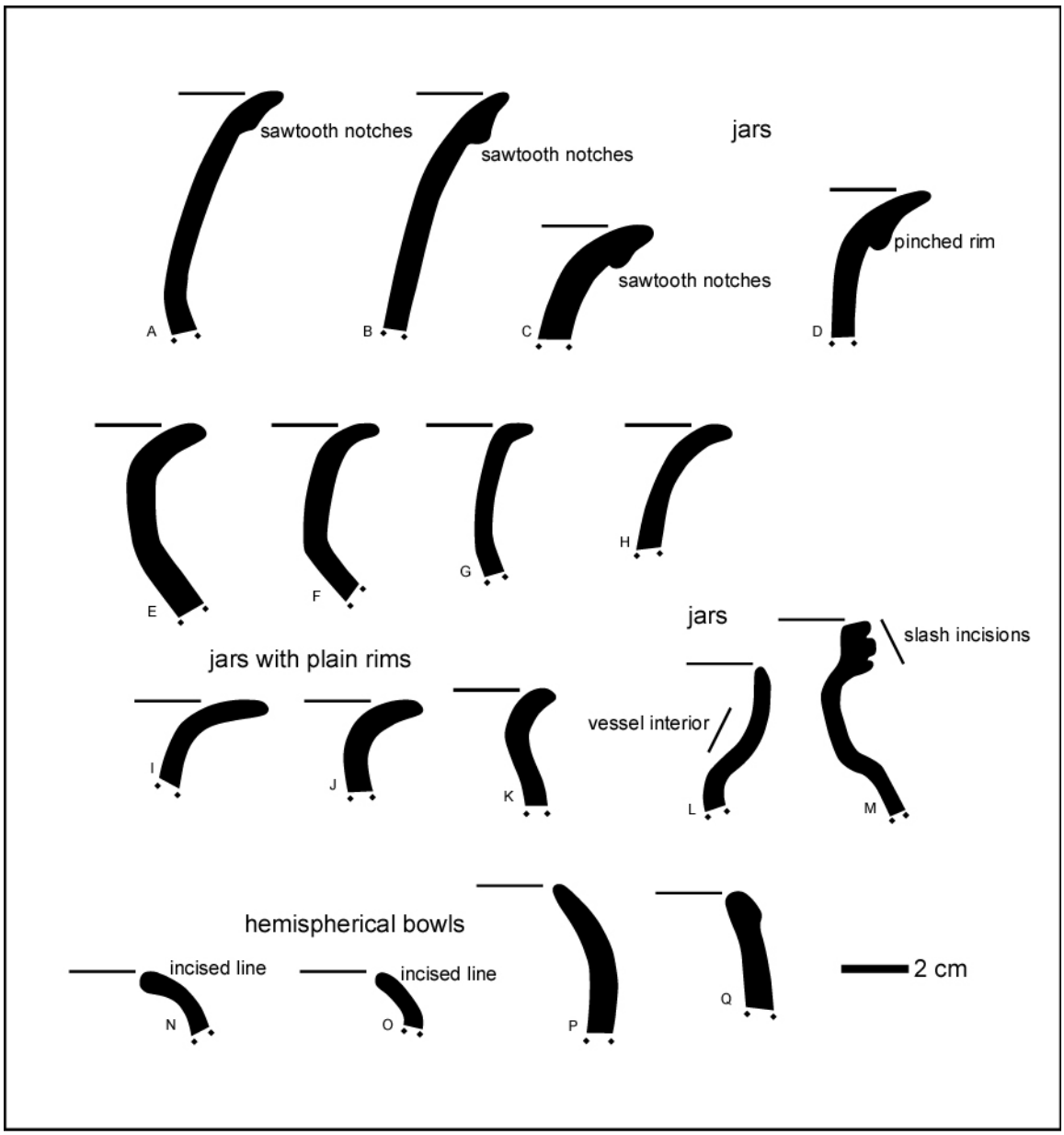


Figure 7.32. Early Qualla rims from Coweeta Creek (A-K, everted jar rims; L, jar rim; M, collared jar rim; N-Q, bowl rims).

The Qualla series as a taxonomic designation includes ceramics related to the Valley, Out, and Middle Cherokee towns in North Carolina, and it has long been considered a derivative of the Pisgah series (Figure 7.11). Indeed, Pisgah and Qualla ceramics do have much in common—such as complicated stamped exterior surfaces, burnished interior surfaces, and grit temper, all characteristics that are also associated with Savannah and Lamar ceramics, not just with Pisgah and Qualla pottery. However, Pisgah and Qualla pottery also each include characteristics not seen in the other—such as the collared and punctated rims of Pisgah jars and bowls, the incised cazuelas typical of Qualla and other Lamar ceramics, and the pinched or filleted rims seen in Qualla and other forms of Lamar pottery. My findings in studying ceramics from Coweeta Creek indicate that "Early Qualla" and "Late Pisgah" ceramics probably overlap in time, and that the similarities between Qualla and Lamar ceramics in northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina are as great as or greater than the similarities between Qualla and Pisgah pottery in southwestern North Carolina. At least some, if not many, descendants of people living in Pisgah-phase settlements during late prehistory probably were absorbed within groups living at Qualla-phase settlements during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This point notwithstanding, pottery attributable to the Pisgah series is not the only, nor necessarily the most significant, antecedent to Qualla ceramics. As outlined here, Middle and Late Qualla pottery from Coweeta Creek closely resemble Tugalo and Estatoe ceramics, respectively (Riggs and Rodning 2002). These latter ceramic series, meanwhile, are successors to ceramics associated with the Beaverdam (AD 1000-1250) and Rembert (AD 1250-1500) phases in northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina (Hally and Rudolph 1986). Rather than a merger between Pisgah and Lamar pottery, the emergence of the Qualla series as such

should probably be considered as an outcome of many influences within the South Appalachian Mississippian tradition, within which Pisgah and Qualla ceramics were both local variations on a much broader theme.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the characteristics of Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla pottery from the Coweeta Creek site and has proposed dates for each of these subdivisions of the Qualla ceramic series. I have developed this ceramic chronology primarily as a means to order structures and pits at Coweeta Creek in a chronological sequence. I will apply this chronological framework towards reconstructing settlement history at Coweeta Creek in the following chapter. An additional contribution of this proposed ceramic chronology is that it should be applicable not only to Coweeta Creek but also to the study of ceramic assemblages from other late prehistoric and protohistoric native settlements in the Appalachian Summit province. The descriptions of Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla pottery given here should be considered as a step toward a more precise framework for sorting ceramics from the Appalachian Summit than the general distinction between sherds attributable to the Pisgah or Qualla phases. Certainly, these traditional categories—the Pisgah and Qualla series—are generally accurate identifications. However, attributing specific sherds, or whole assemblages, to the Pisgah or Qualla phases does not offer precise chronological placement, because both phases each span more than four centuries. Of course, the same critique can be made of the chronological framework for Qualla ceramics that I have proposed here, which includes discrete sets of characteristics attributable to periods lasting from 150 to 200 years.

The tripartite division of the Qualla series, as I have outlined it in this chapter, nevertheless does identify specific sets of characteristics diagnostic of narrower intervals of time than the four centuries spanned by the Qualla phase, as it has been understood.

This model of temporal variation in Qualla ceramics is designed to fit assemblages of sherds into one of three chronological subdivisions of the Qualla phase. The assemblages that are the basis for constructing this chronology are composed of sherds found in pit features and on structure floors at Coweeta Creek, although this framework is potentially applicable to the problem of dating assemblages from entire sites. This ceramic chronology is based on relative frequencies of attribute states, and, therefore, it is more effective at the level of assemblages than it is at the level of individual potsherds. Some sherds from Coweeta Creek, especially rimsherds on which several attributes are visible—including temper, surface treatments, and rim form and decoration, for example—are recognizable as Early, Middle, or Late Qualla pottery, given the presence of several attribute states associated with one segment of this chronological sequence. On the other hand, many attribute states—including incising, complicated stamping, and grit temper—can be present in Early, Middle, and Late Qualla assemblages, meaning that many individual sherds are not easily attributed to one of these subsets. I am confident that most rims with notched fillets probably are Late Qualla rims, and that diamond check stamping and coarse plain are primarily Early Qualla surface treatments, but small numbers of sherds with these characteristics can also be seen in Middle Qualla assemblages. I am confident that cazuelas with geometric incised motifs, and jars with pinched rims and complicated stamped outer surfaces, are most typical of Middle Qualla assemblages, but these characteristics are also present in varying degrees in Early

Qualla and Late Qualla assemblages. The important point to note here is simply that my Qualla ceramic chronology is best applied to assemblages rather than to individual sherds.

It is also important to add that this Qualla ceramic chronology can and should be tested, and revised as needed, through further study of Qualla ceramics from Coweeta Creek and other sites in southwestern North Carolina. Further analyses, for example, may identify specific complicated stamp or incised motifs that have very narrow temporal or spatial distributions, and they may clarify unresolved issues about the temporal significance of varying proportions of sherds with curvilinear and rectilinear complicated stamp patterns. Another interesting issue to pursue would be the degree of constriction formed by jar rims, which may vary through time in predictable and measurable ways. I am confident that I have identified some significant chronological changes in Qualla ceramics, but I am sure there are other trends not detected here. I am relatively confident that the calendrical dates proposed here for Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla pottery are generally accurate, and they are based on several radiocarbon dates. Additional radiocarbon dates from Coweeta Creek and other sites in the Appalachian Summit, coupled with further attribute analyses of ceramics, will undoubtedly clarify and modify these subsets of the Qualla series. The more we know about temporal trends in Qualla pottery, the better we can date settlements with these ceramics, and the better we will understand the history of Cherokee settlement in the Appalachian Summit.

CHAPTER 8

SETTLEMENT HISTORY

This chapter assigns structures, burials, and other pits and basins at the Coweeta Creek site to early, middle, or late stages in the history of this settlement. These episodes correspond roughly to the periods assigned to Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla ceramics, as outlined in Chapter 7, and the characteristics of potsherds found in different deposits at Coweeta Creek are one source of evidence considered here about the relative chronology of these contexts. Radiocarbon dates and the presence of European artifacts, as outlined in Chapter 6, offer additional clues about the temporal placement of pits and structures at the site. Here, I describe the rules by which I fit specific stages of the townhouse and domestic houses into one of three episodes in Coweeta Creek settlement history. Then, I identify which burials, hearths, basins, and other pits are associated with these structures. I then sort the residual features into one of my three periods through consideration of ceramics, radiocarbon dates, and the presence of European trade goods. I conclude with schematic maps showing the settlement at Coweeta Creek at three different points in time.

Evidence outlined in preceding chapters supports the following broad sketch of Coweeta Creek settlement history. A settlement was present here in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, if not earlier. A townhouse was still present at the end of the seventeenth century, and the town was largely abandoned during the early eighteenth century. If

settlement at Coweeta Creek had continued past the early 1700s, it is very likely that a greater number, and a greater diversity, of European trade goods would be found in burials, in other pit features, and also on house floors (Smith 1987). Native people in the southern Appalachians began trading with South Carolina colonists during the late seventeenth century, and this exchange intensified dramatically in the 1700s, especially when traders began living in native towns (Goodwin 1977; Hatley 1995; Hudson 2002).

This chapter maps the built environment at Coweeta Creek at different points between the fourteenth and early eighteenth centuries. My task is to unravel the palimpsest of structures, hearths, burials, and other pits at Coweeta Creek by sorting them into three different periods (Figure 8.1; see also Figure 1.2). My temporal intervals parallel the periods associated with Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla ceramics (Figure 7.12; see also Figure 7.11). The Early Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek fits somewhere within the period from AD 1300 to 1500, and the Middle Qualla settlement dates between AD 1500 and 1650. The Late Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek corresponds to the early end of the Late Qualla phase, the late seventeenth and very early eighteenth centuries.

Radiocarbon dates are one set of clues about where specific structures and pits fit within this tripartite framework of settlement history. I concentrate here on the calibrated intercepts of these dates. Dated charcoal samples, of course, may date to any point within the age ranges associated with them. The calibrated intercepts of nine dates—excluding one seventeenth-century date from Structure 7D that is considered an outlier—from seven contexts nevertheless do sort these deposits into relative chronological order, and for the most part, they also seem to place these contexts close to the correct absolute dates. I focus in this chapter on the calibrated intercepts of dates from three stages of the townhouse, the

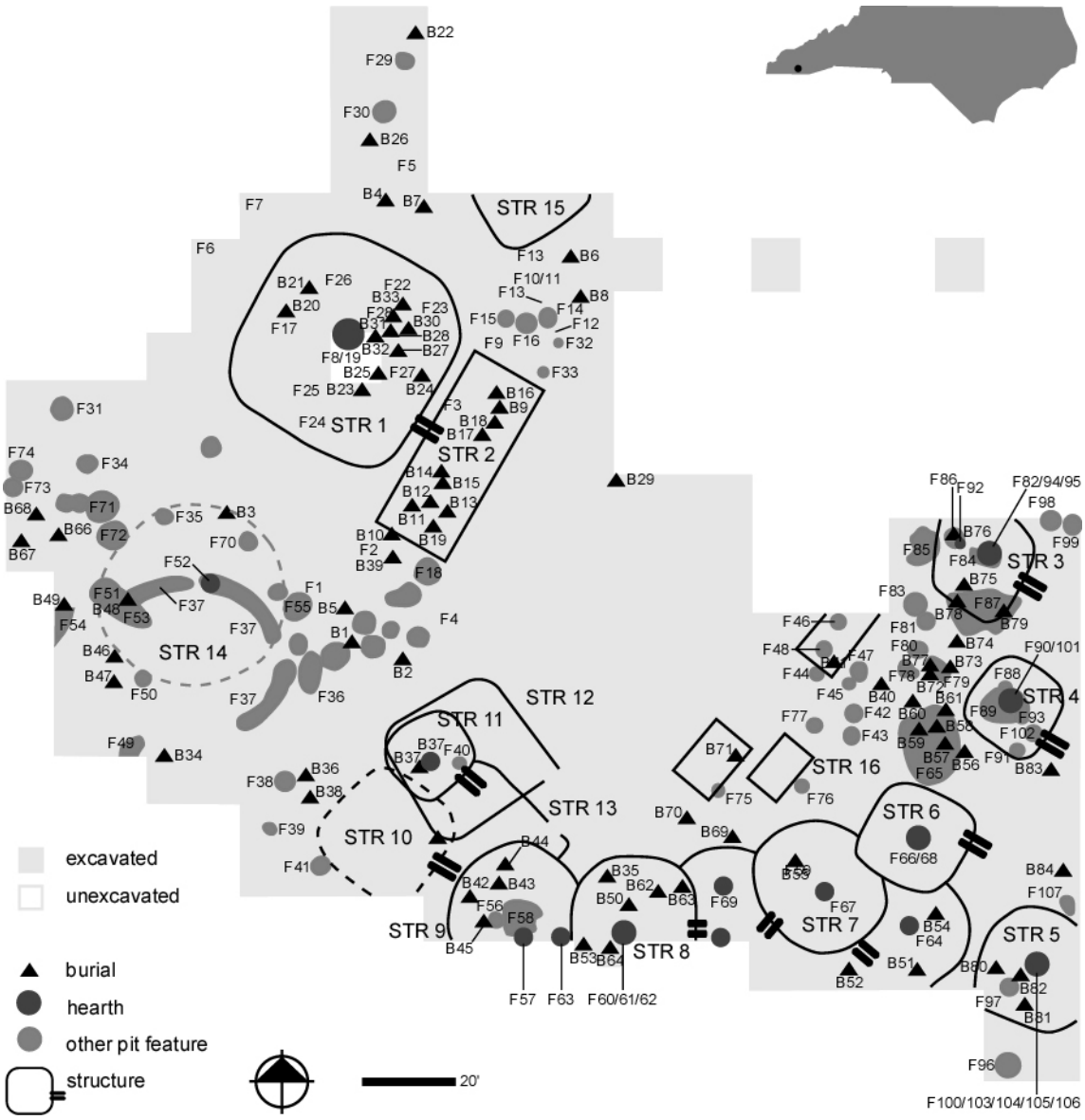


Figure 8.1. Schematic map of the Coweeta Creek site.

three dates from Structure 7D, and the dates from features 65, 72, and 96. Radiocarbon assays were conducted to date ceramics from these contexts at Coweeta Creek. Other chronological indicators can be identified in an effort to fit other contexts into different stages in settlement history at Coweeta Creek.

European artifacts can also be considered clues about the dates of the deposits in which they are present. Some pieces of European material culture—wrought nails, brass artifacts, and some types of glass beads acquired primarily from the Spanish—reached native settlements in the interior Southeast during the sixteenth century (Moore 2002a; Smith 1987; Waselkov 1989). English trade goods probably did not reach native towns in southwestern North Carolina—including Coweeta Creek—in abundance until the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Hudson 2002; Rodning 2002a; Smith 1987), although peach pits, six glass beads, and an iron wedge have been recovered from a farmstead near Alarka Creek that has been radiocarbon-dated to the mid-seventeenth century (Shumate and Kimball 1997; Shumate, Riggs, and Kimball 2003). Undisturbed contexts at Coweeta Creek with any European artifacts necessarily postdate European contact, and therefore could date to the Middle or Late Qualla phase. Contexts at Coweeta Creek with more than ten European artifacts probably date to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century—the early end of the Late Qualla phase—simply because that volume of material was unlikely to have been present at this town before that late date. I admit that ten is an arbitrary number. I only make this distinction in an effort to differentiate European trade goods that may have reached Coweeta Creek in the late 1600s or early 1700s and the smaller numbers of them that may have found their way to southwestern North Carolina through down-the-line exchange networks (or by other means) at an earlier date.

Stratigraphic and spatial associations between structures and features are another form of evidence about the relative chronology of archaeological contexts at the site. For example, stratigraphic evidence makes it clear that floors 4 and 5 of the townhouse are more recent than Floor 6 but earlier than Floor 3. A more subtle spatial pattern with chronological implications is seen in the overlap between posthole patterns associated with structures 6 and 7, which demonstrates that Structure 6 postdates Structure 7 (Figure 5.8). The latter is radiocarbon dated to the fifteenth century. The former therefore could date to the 1500s or early 1600s. A similar spatial relationship and overlap is seen in the intersection of posthole patterns associated with structures 8 and 9, indicating that Structure 9 predates Structure 8 (Figure 5.9). Hearths and burials inside structures are very likely associated with, and therefore contemporaneous with, those structures, such as the hearths and burials in structures 7 and 9.

Variation in ceramics from different contexts, as outlined in Chapter 7, is another form of evidence about the relative chronology of pits and structures at Coweeta Creek (Table 8.1). Of course, not all contexts with Early or Middle Qualla pottery necessarily date to the Early or Middle Qualla phases, because earlier sherds can be deposited in later contexts. On the other hand, the presence of ceramics with Late Qualla characteristics in an assemblage indicates that the related deposit probably does date to the Late Qualla phase. Again, individual sherds cannot always be reliably dated. However, an assemblage can be dated with greater confidence based on the relative frequencies of selected attribute states.

My decisions about which ceramic attributes to include are drawn from conclusions in Chapter 7 about broad temporal trends in ceramics from Coweeta Creek (Table 8.1). Some attribute states—such as grit temper, burnished inner surfaces, complicated stamping

Table 8.1. General Characteristics of Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla Ceramics at Coweeta Creek

	Temper	Exterior Surface Treatment	Interior Surface Treatment	Rims
Late Qualla[1]	fine grit	complicated stamped	burnished	notched fillets > pinched rims
AD 1650-1908	coarse grit >10%	incised	smoothed	incised cazuelas
		panel check stamped	plain	thickened and rounded rims
		rectangular check stamped		rims with unnotched fillets
		burnished		straight rims
		smoothed plain		
Middle Qualla[2]	fine grit	complicated stamped	burnished	pinched rims > notched fillets
AD 1500-1650	coarse grit <10%	incised	smoothed	incised cazuelas
		corncob impressed	plain	rolled rims
Early Qualla[3]	fine grit	complicated stamped	burnished	plain rims
AD 1300-1500	sand temper >10%	incised	smoothed	sawtooth/zigzag-notched rims
		diamond check stamped >1%	painted	red-filmed/incised bowls
		coarse plain >5%		collared and incised rims
		burnished >5%		
		red filmed >2%		
		simple stamped		

[1] Contemporaneous with and comparable to the Estatoe series (Hally 1986a, 1994a; Schroedl 2000, 2001; Wynn 1990).
[2] Contemporaneous with and comparable to the Tugalo series (Hally 1986a, 1994a; Schroedl 2000, 2001; Wynn 1990).
[3] Early Qualla overlaps in time the Late Pisgah phase in the Appalachian Summit region of western North Carolina.

Table 8.2. Chronological Markers of Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla Contexts at Coweeta Creek

	Selected Ceramic Attributes	Other
Late Qualla[1] AD 1650-1908	notched fillets > pinched rims rectangular check stamped >1%	>10 European artifacts radiocarbon dates kaolin pipe stem dates glass beads
Middle Qualla[2] AD 1500-1650	pinched rims > notched fillets	<10 European artifacts radiocarbon dates
Early Qualla[3] AD 1300-1500	collared and incised rims > 1% rims with sawtooth notches > 1% red filming >2% coarse plain >5% diamond check stamped >1% plain rims >1%	0 European artifacts radiocarbon dates

[1] Contemporaneous with and comparable to the Estatoe series (Hally 1986a, 1994a; Schroedl 2000, 2001; Wynn 1990).
[2] Contemporaneous with and comparable to the Tugalo series (Hally 1986a, 1994a; Schroedl 2000, 2001; Wynn 1990).
[3] Early Qualla overlaps in time the Late Pisgah phase in the Appalachian Summit region of western North Carolina.

and incised outer surfaces—are present throughout the sequence (Table 8.1). Therefore, they are not especially helpful markers of where sherd assemblages fit within the sequence. Other attribute states—including plain rims, coarse plain outer surfaces, rectangular check stamping, diamond check stamping, red-filmed surface finishes, sawtooth-notched rim strips, collared rims—are markers of ceramic assemblages from specific periods (Table 8.2).

The following sections apply these rules towards dating different contexts at the site. First, I fit the townhouse and several domestic structures into the early, middle, or late episodes of settlement at Coweeta Creek, and I identify which features and burials I associate with (and therefore contemporaneous with) these structures (Table 8.2). Structures are sorted into different periods on the grounds of ceramic evidence (Table 8.1), radiocarbon dates (Table 6.1), and European trade goods found in late stages of the townhouse (Table 6.4). Similarities or differences in architectural designs of structures, and the stratigraphic relationships between them, are also considered as clues about the temporal relationships between houses and the townhouse. Then, I discuss evidence of the temporal placement of burials and other pits that are not directly associated with structures at Coweeta Creek, considering the same kinds of evidence as chronological clues.

The Townhouse and Domestic Houses

Most structures at Coweeta Creek date to the Early Qualla or Middle Qualla phase. Several have been radiocarbon dated. European artifacts, diagnostic ceramics, and architectural similarities between structures are all considered here as clues to their temporal placement.

Table 8.3 summarizes the chronological markers associated with public and domestic floors from which potsherds were recovered (see Figure 8.1). Structures 3 and 4 are not included in Table 8.3, because the potsherds from preserved sections of floors are not helpful for chronological purposes. Sherds from the floor of Structure 6 are not listed here because they include none of the specific attributes included in Table 8.3, although I will refer to them in the following discussion when I contrast the Middle Qualla sherds from the last floor of Structure 6 with Early Qualla sherds from the floors of structures 7 and 9. The checklist in Table 8.3 notes which conditions (chronologically diagnostic ceramic characteristics, the presence of European artifacts, radiocarbon dates) are met by different structure floors. Lines divide the contexts listed in Table 8.3 into three different sections. These divisions reflect my judgment about which structures that date to the early, middle, or late segments of the occupational history at this site. The following discussion explains my reasoning.

The first and last stages of the townhouse have been radiocarbon dated, indicating that its six known manifestations together spanned much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. European artifacts present in several stages of the mound are consistent with the conclusion that it was probably abandoned sometime early in the eighteenth century (see Chapter 6). Ceramic assemblages from townhouse floors are consistent with this conclusion (see Chapter 7). Therefore, I conclude that the townhouse dates to the Middle and Late Qualla phase, from the 1500s through the early 1700s.

The first four manifestations of the Coweeta Creek townhouse probably date to the Middle Qualla phase and its last two stages to the Late Qualla phase. European artifacts and a radiocarbon date clearly place its last stage (Floor 1) in the Late Qualla phase, and this placement is consistent with the presence of rectangular check stamping and the prevalence

Table 8.3. Sequence of Structures at Coweeta Creek

Structure	Collared and Incised Rims > 1%	Rims with Sawtooth Notches > 1%	Red Filming >2%	Coarse Plain >5%	Diamond Check Stamped >1%	Plain Rims >1%	Pinched Rims > Notched Fillets	1-10 European Artifacts	Rectangular Check Stamped >1%	Notched Fillets > Pinched Rims	10+ European Artifacts	Body Sherds[1]	Rim Sherds[2]	Radiocarbon Date
Townhouse Floor 1									X	X	X	115	1340	cal AD 1660
Townhouse Floor 2											X	9	68	
Townhouse Floor 3							X				X	261	2896	cal AD 1660
Townhouse Floor 4							X				X	624	3245	
Townhouse Floor 5							X				X	70	553	
Townhouse Floor 6							X	X				48	385	cal AD 1470
Structure 9B					X	X	X					13	56	
Structure 7D		X		X			X					162	291	cal AD 1420/1440/1490

[1] All body sherds >4cm in length, from which surface treatment data were recorded.

[2] All rim sherds >2cm in length, from which rim data were recorded.

of rims with notched fillets in its ceramic assemblage (Table 8.3; see also Chapter 7). The sixth and last manifestation of the townhouse matches the design and layout of its fifth and penultimate stage, and I therefore suggest that these last two townhouses date to the Late Qualla phase. The ceramics and a radiocarbon date from the earliest stage of the townhouse (Floor 6) place it within the Middle Qualla phase. Although some European trade goods and peach pits are associated with early and middle stages of the townhouse, they could date to the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. There are far more European artifacts associated with upper levels of the mound than with its earlier stages (Table 8.3; see also Chapter 7). The ceramics from the second (Floor 5) through the fourth (Floor 3) stages of the townhouse exhibit characteristics associated with Middle Qualla pottery, and I therefore suggest that the first four stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse date to the Middle Qualla phase.

Radiocarbon dates from the last floor of Structure 7, excluding one date in the seventeenth century that is an outlier, indicate that the last stage of Structure 7 dates to the fifteenth century. This house clearly predates the townhouse. Differences between the ceramics found on the floor of this house, and on the floors of the townhouse, support this proposed temporal relationship. Therefore, I assign this house at Coweeta Creek to the Early Qualla phase.

The similarities in architectural designs and alignments of the townhouse and several of the other dwellings in the village indicate that many of the domestic houses at Coweeta Creek are contemporaneous with the townhouse. Structures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8 are all built with the same design as the townhouse, although these houses are one quarter of the size of the townhouse. Structures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8 all demonstrate the same pattern of renovation and rebuilding in place—creating overlapping series of hearths and doorways—as is seen in the

townhouse. I therefore suggest that all these houses are contemporaneous with the early stages of the townhouse, that they all date to the Middle Qualla phase, and that they all postdate the Structure 7D, the last stage of an Early Qualla house. I think this interpretation is consistent with the fact that there are no European artifacts from these house floors—unlike the thousands of glass beads, kaolin pipe fragments, and other European trade goods in the last stage of the townhouse—and that it is also consistent with the ceramics found on the floor of Structure 6B, which again is one of the Middle Qualla houses contemporaneous with the townhouse.

Ceramics from the floor of Structure 6B include curvilinear complicated stamped sherds and sherds from incised cazuelas (Figure 8.2). The sherd assemblage from this house closely resembles those from early floors of the townhouse, which are considered examples of Middle Qualla assemblages (Figure 7.26). Pottery from Structure 6B is clearly different from the Early Qualla ceramics from the floor of Structure 7D, which includes coarse plain and elongated complicated stamped surface treatments, and rims with sawtooth notching (Figure 7.23).

My proposal that ceramics from Structure 6B (Middle Qualla) postdate those from Structure 7D (Early Qualla) is consistent with the fact that the posthole pattern associated with structures 6A and 6B intersects and truncates the pattern associated with Structure 7D (Figure 5.8). If other houses with designs and dimensions comparable to those of Structure 6—Structures 3, 4, 5, and 8, and the townhouse—are roughly contemporaneous, then all of them date to the Middle Qualla phase. If the structure similar to Structure 7—that is, Structure 9—is contemporaneous, then these two houses probably date to the Early Qualla phase.

Figure 8.2. Middle Qualla sherds from the last stage of Structure 6.

The contemporaneity of structures 7 and 9 is further substantiated by the similarities in the Early Qualla ceramics found on the floors of these houses. As has been noted, several sherds and vessel sections were found on the last floor of Structure 7, and from Feature 67, its hearth. Several sherds also were recovered from the last floor of Structure 9, as part of the deposit designated Feature 58, an accumulation of fill and artifacts on the floor of this house. The presence of diamond check stamping, plain rims, and rim strips with sawtooth notching in the sherd assemblages from both of these floors suggests these structures are likely contemporaneous with each other. Sherds from structures 7 and 9 at Coweeta Creek both fit the description of Early Qualla pottery that is outlined in the preceding chapter.

Table 8.3 and discussions here of ceramics from structure floors refer only to the townhouse and some of the domestic structures at Coweeta Creek (see Figure 8.1). Other clues do offer some insight into the chronological placement of other structures. For reasons outlined later (i.e., ceramics from Burial 37), Structure 11 probably dates to the Early Qualla phase. Structure 11 may postdate structures 12 and 13, based on the overlap and intersections of posthole patterns, and, therefore, structures 12 and 13 are also attributed to the Early Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek. Given the similarities in the posthole pattern representing Structure 15 and the posthole patterns of Middle Qualla houses (Structure 6, for example), I assign Structure 15 to the Middle Qualla phase as well. Because the doorway to Structure 10 seems to open directly onto an Early Qualla structure (Structure 9, that is), I also assign Structure 10 to the Middle Qualla phase, at which point its doorway would not have been obstructed by the earlier structure. Structure 16 and other ramadas along the southeastern edge of the plaza at Coweeta Creek may be contemporaneous with the townhouse ramada, given the similarities in the layout of these ramadas, and thus they can

probably be assigned to the Middle Qualla phase. For reasons outlined later in this chapter (i.e., the similarities between eighteenth-century Cherokee winter lodges and the cloud of postholes representing Structure 14, and the presence of European artifacts in nearby pits such as features 71 and 72), Structure 14 may date to the Late Qualla phase. Assignments of these structures to specific episodes in the history of this settlement are less reliable, in my view, than the assignments given to the townhouse and to structures 3 through 9.

Structures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8 are probably contemporaneous with each other, and with early stages of the townhouse. These houses and townhouses are all square structures with rounded corners, and with entryways that fit the same southeasterly alignment. Domestic houses range from 19 to 24 feet square, and the townhouse from 48 to 52 feet square. Ceramics from the floor of the last stage of Structure 6 resemble Middle Qualla pottery from early and middle stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse. All of these houses, and the townhouse, fit within an overarching town plan. This stage in Coweeta Creek settlement history corresponds to the Middle Qualla phase, between AD 1500 and 1600.

Structures 7 and 9 are probably part of an Early Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek. Posthole patterns representing structures 7 and 9 are truncated by posthole patterns from later structures, but they seem to represent round houses close to thirty feet in diameter. The last stage of Structure 7 has been radiocarbon dated to the fifteenth century. Ceramics from the floor of this last stage of Structure 7 are consistent with this date. Similarities in architectural designs and ceramics from floor deposits suggest that structures 7 and 9 are contemporaneous with each other. These structures, and the burials and other pits associated with them, are associated with an Early Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek that dates sometime between AD 1300 and 1500.

If these proposed temporal relationships between structures are correct, then we can compare and contrast the general characteristics of Early Qualla and Middle Qualla houses at Coweeta Creek. Middle Qualla houses, such as Structure 6, are spaced closely together, and they are positioned within an overarching alignment that guides the placement of both these dwellings and the townhouse. These houses resemble those of other late prehistoric and protohistoric houses in the southern Appalachians (Dickens 1978; Hally 2002; Polhemus 1990; Schroedl 1998; Sullivan 1987; Ward and Davis 1999). Early Qualla houses, such as Structure 7, are more rounded and somewhat larger than their Middle Qualla counterparts, and they apparently predate the Coweeta Creek townhouse.

If structures 7 and 9 predate structures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8, then it can also be concluded that different patterns of house rebuilding were practiced at different points during the history of settlement at Coweeta Creek. Early Qualla houses, such as Structure 7, were rebuilt in an offset pattern; that is, they were moved slightly from one stage to another; and a new hearth was built when a new house was built. Middle Qualla houses, such as Structure 6, were rebuilt in place, creating superimposed series of hearths and doorways. The former rebuilding pattern probably corresponds to a settlement in which there was enough space between houses for them to "move" somewhat from stage to stage, as they were rebuilt. The latter suggests a more compact settlement plan in which dwellings, and the groups of people housed in them, were more closely "anchored" to specific points within the community, perhaps in part because neighboring houses and households were situated very close to each other, and perhaps because they were enclosed by a log stockade. This pattern of rebuilding houses in place is seen at several native towns in the greater southern Appalachians that date

to between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries (Hally and Kelly 1998; Schroedl 1998; Sullivan 1987).

This proposed placement of structures at Coweeta Creek within discrete periods of settlement does not account for the burials and other features found at the site. The following section sorts burials, pits, and basins into early, middle, and late episodes in the history of this settlement. In so doing it sheds additional light on changes in its settlement plan during late prehistory and protohistory.

Burials and Other Pit Features

Intact archaeological features inside and beside structures at Coweeta Creek include burials, hearths, firepits, and pits or basins that probably represent facilities designed for storage and for other household activities. Some features in the mound represent concentrations of daub, rocks, clay, and other materials related to the townhouse. Some features in the village represent debris from the roofs or walls of houses, preserved sections of floors, and fill deposits put down to flatten out uneven surfaces inside houses. Several features can be dated—at least roughly—through their associations with public and domestic structures. The chronological placement of other features and burials can be suggested with reference to radiocarbon dates and through considerations of artifacts found in them. Here, I note which burials and features can be associated with specific structures, and where they can be placed within a sequence of settlement at the Coweeta Creek site. Then, I sort pits outside structures into this temporal sequence through a consideration of the Qualla potsherds and European artifacts found in these contexts.

Several features (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 13) represent deposits of daub and clay that are associated with the last stage of the townhouse (Table 8.4). These features can therefore be associated with Late Qualla stages of the townhouse at Coweeta Creek, as can Feature 8, the hearth associated with two latest known stages of the townhouse. Not only is this hearth clearly associated with late townhouses at Coweeta Creek, but the presence in Feature 8 of rimsherds with notched fillets, and dozens of glass beads, supports its Late Qualla identification.

Burials are not associated with late manifestations of the townhouse, but several are present in its early stages, and several are also present in the ramada beside the townhouse (Table 8.4). Burials inside the early stages of the townhouse are clearly related to the Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek (burials 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33). Those underneath the townhouse ramada, outside the doorway, are not so easily associated with any specific manifestation of the townhouse (burials 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 39). However, burials in the townhouse ramada area all originate within deposits of architectural debris, underneath what are probably the remnants of later townhouse ramadas. Moreover, there is no evidence of burials inside the last four stages of the townhouse, nor in the last stage of the ramada, and it therefore seems likely that burials in the townhouse ramada are contemporaneous with early stages of the townhouse. I thus assign burials in the townhouse ramada to the Middle Qualla settlement at the site. I consider this chronological placement consistent with the presence of complicated stamped and incised sherds—which could be identified as Middle Qualla ceramics—in these burial pits.

Several hearths, burials, pits, and deposits of material from collapsed roofs and walls are associated with houses in the village area south and southeast of the plaza (Table 8.5). I

consider every burial and feature inside the posthole pattern representing a house to be associated with, and therefore to be contemporaneous with, that structure. None of these burials or other features is intrusive into structural debris, and, therefore, there is no evidence that any of these pits postdate the structures in which they are located. Every burial and other pit feature that is not inside a structure is considered independently of the temporal placement of structures themselves. I make several exceptions to these rules.

Features 85 and 87 are fill deposits near the western and southern edges of Structure 3. Postholes and burials associated with this house intrude these deposits of mottled clay. These deposits were probably put down to create an even surface on which Structure 3 was then placed. They probably include several sherds that had been lying on or near the ground surface for some time before Structure 3 was built. I have suggested that Structure 3 dates to the Middle Qualla phase based on its architectural similarities to other Middle Qualla dwellings. I would expect features 85 and 87 to include sherds with Early Qualla characteristics, even though these features are associated with a house that dates to the Middle Qualla phase, and such is the case, as seen later in this chapter.

Features 98 and 99 are close to the northeastern edge of the posthole pattern representing Structure 3. It is difficult to know if they are inside or just outside of the house itself. They are therefore, for purposes of discussion here, considered independently of the structure itself.

Feature 96 is also close to, but probably outside of, the posthole pattern representing Structure 5, which I have assigned to the Middle Qualla phase because of its architectural similarities to others that presumably date to this stage of settlement at Coweeta Creek. The proximity of Feature 96 and this dwelling indicates that Feature 96 was probably dug and

used by the household living in Structure 5. The contents of Feature 96 are probably related to domestic activities in and around the house, but for purposes of this chronological discussion, Feature 96 is considered separately from Structure 5.

Feature 67 is clearly the central hearth in the last stage of Structure 7, which I have attributed to the Early Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek. As noted in Chapter 5, features 64 and 69 probably represent hearths in earlier stages of Structure 7, and burials 51, 52, 54, and 55 are probably associated with these successive manifestations of this Early Qualla house. As has also been noted in Chapter 5, features 57 and 63 probably represent the hearths of two different stages of Structure 9, another Early Qualla structure. These hearths are therefore attributable to the Early Qualla settlement at the Coweeta Creek site, as is Feature 58, a section of the floor in Structure 9, and Feature 56, a large posthole that probably represents one of the roof supports in Structure 9.

I have associated Burial 83 with Structure 4. Strictly speaking, this grave is outside the doorway to this house. However, the burial's proximity to the structure's entryway suggests that the grave is probably contemporaneous with the house itself.

I have decided, on the other hand, not to include Burial 84 with Structure 5. It is close to but clearly outside the cloud of postholes representing this house. Furthermore, the line of postholes west of Burial 84 may represent a screen of some kind relating Burial 84 not with Structure 5, but with some other structure or outdoor space east of Structure 5, beyond the limits of excavations.

Several burials and other pits are present in the area along the southeastern edge of the plaza, where I have argued that several ramadas were present, paralleling the placement of the townhouse ramada along the northwestern side of the plaza. Because the early stages

of the townhouse are associated with the Middle Qualla settlement here, and because several dwellings south and east of the plaza also date to the Middle Qualla phase, it seems likely that the ramadas themselves represent part of the Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek. Many of the pits in this area may also be attributable to the Middle Qualla phase, but, here, their chronological placement will be considered independently of that of other structures.

Many more burials and pit features are located southwest of the townhouse, and north of the townhouse, and I will also consider their temporal placement independently of that of structures. Radiocarbon dates, European artifacts, and Qualla ceramics from these deposits are clues to their absolute and relative dates. The same kind of incidence matrix composed for structure floors can be created from the characteristics of Qualla pottery, European artifacts, and radiocarbon dates from these burials and other pits. Table 8.4 lists the burials and other pit features associated with different manifestations of the townhouse, and Table 8.5 lists those associated with specific domestic structures. Table 8.6 is a list of burials and other pit features that are not directly associated with structures, and Table 8.7 is a checklist summarizing the ceramics and other chronologically diagnostic characteristics of these contexts.

Contexts shown in Table 8.7, like the structure floors included in Table 8.3, are sorted into one of three segments of a chronological sequence according to the presence of European artifacts, the characteristics of Qualla potsherds found in these pits, and radiocarbon dates, where applicable. This incidence matrix does not include numbered features—designated as such in the field—that refer to modern disturbances, individual vessel sections, or architectural material such as charred thatch or cane. It includes only

Table 8.4. Burials and Other Pit Features in the Coweeta Creek Townhouse

Last 2 Townhouses (floors 1-2)		First 4 Townhouses (floors 3-6)		Townhouse Ramada		Town Plaza	
Features	Burials	Features	Burials	Features	Burials	Features	Burials
1		19	20		9		29
2			21		10		
4			23		11		
5			24		12		
6			25		13		
7			27		14		
8			28		15		
9			29		16		
10			30		17		
11			31		18		
13			32		19		
			33		39		

Table 8.5. Burials and Other Pit Features in the Coweeta Creek Village

Structure	Features	Burials	Period
Structure 3	82	75	Middle Qualla
	84	76	
	86	78	
	92	79	
	94		
	95		
Structure 4	88	83	Middle Qualla
	89		
	90		
	91		
	92		
	101		
	102		
Structure 5	97	80	Middle Qualla
	100	81	
	103	82	
	104		
	105		
	106		
Structure 6	66		Middle Qualla
	68		
Structure 8	60	35	Middle Qualla
	61	50	
	62	53	
		62	
		63	
		64	
Structure 7	64	51	Early Qualla
	67	52	
	69	54	
		55	
Structure 9	56	42	Early Qualla
	57	43	
	58	44	
	63	45	

Table 8.6. Burials and Other Features Not Directly Associated with Structures

Features		Burials	
14	50	1	49
15	51	2	56
16	52	3	57
18	53	4	58
29	54	5	59
30	55	6	60
31	65	7	61
32	70	8	66
33	71	22	67
34	72	26	68
35	73	34	69
36	74	35	70
37	75	36	71
38	76	37	72
39	77	38	73
40	78	40	74
41	79	41	76
42	80	46	77
43	81	47	84
44	83	48	
45	85		
46	87		
47	96		
48	107		
49			

Table 8.7. Sequence of Pits at Coweeta Creek

	Context	Collared and Incised Rims > 1%	Rims with Sawtooth Notches > 1%	Red Filming >2%	Coarse Plain >5%	Diamond Check Stamped >1%	Plain Rims >1%	Pinched Rims > Notched Fillets	1-10 European Artifacts	Rectangular Check Stamped >1%	Notched Fillets > Pinched Rims	10+ European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Date
Late	Feature 72									X	X	X	cal AD 1670
	Feature 74										X	X	
	Feature 71								X	X	X		
	Feature 73						X		X		X		
	Feature 76										X		
	Feature 47										X		
Middle	Burial 84								X				
	Feature 38								X				
	Feature 41						X	X	X				
	Feature 51							X	X				
	Feature 96							X					cal AD 1640
	Burial 2							X					
	Burial 3							X					
	Feature 31							X					
	Feature 34							X					
	Feature 35							X					
	Feature 46							X					
	Feature 48							X					
	Feature 75							X					
	Feature 77							X					
	Feature 78							X					
	Feature 79							X					
	Feature 80							X					
	Feature 81							X					
	Feature 107							X					
Early	Feature 18						X	X					
	Feature 70						X	X					
	Feature 15				X		X	X					
	Feature 36						X						
	Feature 37						X	X	X				

Table 8.7. Sequence of Pits at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

	Context	Collared and Incised Rims > 1%	Rims with Sawtooth Notches > 1%	Red Filming >2%	Coarse Plain >5%	Diamond Check Stamped >1%	Plain Rims >1%	Pinched Rims > Notched Fillets	1-10 European Artifacts	Rectangular Check Stamped >1%	Notched Fillets > Pinched Rims	10+ European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Date
Early	Feature 39						X						
	Burial 78						X						
	Burial 8				X		X						
	Feature 98				X								
	Burial 49				X								
	Feature 85							X					
	Feature 44			X				X					
	Feature 87			X		X	X						
	Burial 57				X	X	X						
	Burial 58	X			X	X	X						
	Feature 54					X							
	Feature 99		X				X	X					
	Feature 32		X					X					
	Burial 59		X	X	X	X	X						
	Burial 37				X	X	X						
	Feature 65	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					cal AD 1270

burials and other pits and basins in which sherds with chronologically diagnostic characteristics are present. The incidence matrix in Table 8.7 associates each context with the stage of settlement that best fits available chronological evidence, including the Qualla ceramics present in these contexts, but there is inherently some degree of uncertainty in these chronological assignments for two reasons. First, some ceramic characteristics are present in assemblages from early and middle, middle and late, or all three segments of the sequence. Second, sherds can be redeposited in feature contexts after they had been lying on or near the ground surface for several years, decades, or even centuries. Even with these problems in mind, the placement of contexts in the sequence represented in Table 8.7 can still offer some insights into the relative dates of burials and other pit features. The exact order of contexts shown in Table 8.7 is not especially important. What is important is whether they fit into the upper (Late Qualla), middle (Middle Qualla), or lower (Early Qualla) segments of the sequence, which are demarcated by horizontal lines in Table 8.7 separating these segments.

I differentiate "late" and "middle" ceramics mainly by the relative numbers of pinched rims or rims with notched fillets, and by the presence or absence of rectangular check stamping. Several Late Qualla contexts have more than ten European artifacts, and lesser numbers of European trade goods are present in some Middle Qualla contexts. Although not noted in this table, sherds with complicated stamping and incising are present in contexts dating to each period.

I differentiate "early" from "middle" contexts on the presence of plain rims, diamond check stamping, coarse plain or red-filmed surface finishes, and sawtooth-notched rim strips. Of course, chronological assignments based on potsherds are *terminus post quem* dates. Burials are probably filled with the dirt that was dug out of them in the first place, and

whatever sherds were at or near the ground surface when the burial was dug would be included in its sherd assemblage. Examples of this phenomenon are discussed shortly (burials 56, 57, 58, 59, and 60, for example). Some burials with Early Qualla sherds nevertheless do seem to date to the Early Qualla phase (burials 37, 42, 43, 44, and 45, for example).

Only one of the burials at Coweeta Creek can be definitively attributed to the Late Qualla settlement on the basis of ceramics. One rectangular check stamped sherd has been identified from the fill of this grave, Burial 41, although it is possible that this sherd was included in burial pit fill through an intrusive posthole at a later date. Several postholes do intrude the burial pit, but this sherd is associated with burial pit fill, and the burial is therefore attributed to the Late Qualla phase. There are no rims with notched fillets in any burial pits, although there are several examples of pinched rims, sherds from incised cazuelas, and plain rims in these contexts. European artifacts are present in only one burial, Burial 84, indicating that this burial of a child postdates European contact. These four opaque blue beads may date to the 1700s (Late Qualla), but they could date to the early seventeenth century or even to the 1500s (Middle Qualla) (Smith 1987). European artifacts are found in some seventeenth-century burials in the Southeast, although the numbers and diversity of European trade goods in eighteenth-century burials is far greater (Smith 1987). Therefore, Burial 84 is attributed to the Middle Qualla settlement at the Coweeta Creek site. Furthermore, Burial 84 is close to a Middle Qualla house, and although proximity to this dwelling is not necessarily an indication that it is a Middle Qualla burial, it seems a likely possibility in this case.

Several burials at Coweeta Creek include Early Qualla sherds. In and of itself, the presence of these sherds does not necessarily mean the burials themselves date to the Early

Qualla phase. That said, the presence of Early Qualla pottery in the fill of several burial pits, the virtual lack of Late Qualla pottery in burial pit fill, and the spatial association of these burials with Early Qualla houses such as structures 7 and 9 all indicate that some burials date to this early period.

Examples of burials with Early Qualla sherds that probably do not date to the Early Qualla phase are the burials that intrude Feature 65, including burials 56, 57, 58, 59, and 60. Each of these graves cut through Feature 65 when they were first dug, and, therefore, sherds from Feature 65 likely were deposited in the fill of these burial pits. Ceramics from these burials include sherds with plain rims, diamond check stamping, sawtooth-notched rim strips, red-filmed surface treatments, and coarse plain surface finishes, all of which are present in the Feature 65 assemblage. These burials are probably associated not with Feature 65, but rather with Structure 4, the nearest domestic house. They form a line that parallels the southwestern wall of Structure 4, and, furthermore, they are aligned parallel to an axis that runs from the original townhouse entryway and through the space between structures 4 and 6. This placement and alignment suggests these burials are probably associated with the Middle Qualla settlement, when both the townhouse and several dwellings were present, rather than the Early Qualla timeframe indicated by sherds in the fill of these burial pits. Structures 4 and 6 may have been placed on the southern and northern edges of Feature 65 on purpose, if it coincided with some kind of landmark within the town, but ceramics and radiocarbon evidence from Feature 65 clearly indicate that it predates these houses and the burials beside them.

It is interesting to note here the overwhelming similarities in sherd assemblages from Feature 65 and Burial 37, in the area southwest of the plaza, near the center of Structure 11

(Figure 8.1). Ceramics from both contexts demonstrate relatively high percentages of coarse plain surface treatments and plain rims, both of which are markers of Early Qualla assemblages. My interpretation of these similarities is that Burial 37 and Feature 65 are roughly contemporaneous, and, therefore, that Burial 37 and Structure 11 should both be attributed to the Early Qualla settlement at the site. Feature 40 is therefore assigned to this period as well. Feature 40 is located inside Structure 11 close to Burial 37.

The dates of pits and burials in the area southwest of Structure 11, and southeast of Feature 37, are difficult to discern (Figure 8.1). There is a posthole pattern here associated with Structure 10, but this structure itself is also problematic, as there are no archaeological traces of a hearth or roof support posts. One plain rim from Feature 39 suggests an Early or Middle Qualla date. There are two plain rims from Feature 41, but also several pinched rims and sherds from incised cazuelas, and this assemblage suggests that it dates to the Middle or Late Qualla phase. One metal knife blade from Feature 38 indicates that this feature dates to the Middle Qualla or Late Qualla phase. Feature 38 intrudes Burial 36 and therefore postdates the burial. Burial 38 is adjacent to Burial 36, and they may be contemporaneous with each other, but there are no temporally diagnostic sherds from these burials with which to date them with greater precision.

Features 85 and 87, at the western and southern edges of Structure 3, include sherds with Early Qualla characteristics, including plain rims and coarse plain outer surfaces. This point seems at odds with other indications that Structure 3 is part of the Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek. However, both features represent fill deposits that predate Structure 3, and both were probably put down to create an even surface on which to place this house. Therefore, it is likely that these deposits would include some Early Qualla sherds,

scooped up from the surrounding ground surface and deposited on the surface on which this Middle Qualla structure was then built. I therefore posit that features 85 and 87 date to the Middle Qualla phase.

Features 98 and 99, near the northeastern corner of Structure 3, likewise include some sherds with Early Qualla characteristics. Ceramics from features 98 and 99 also demonstrate characteristics normally associated with Middle Qualla pottery—including pinched rims, complicated stamping, and cazuelas with geometric incised motifs—spatial proximity and ceramic evidence thus suggest that these pits and Structure 3 are probably associated with and contemporaneous with each other. I therefore suggest that features 98 and 99 are related to the Middle Qualla settlement at this site.

Several pits in the area around the outer edge of the townhouse probably also date to the Middle Qualla phase. Sherds from Feature 18 demonstrate characteristics of Early Qualla (plain rims) and Middle Qualla (pinched rims) pottery, which makes sense, as the top of this pit is associated with early deposits at the edge of the mound, and it is probably associated with an early stage of the townhouse ramada which would date to the Middle Qualla phase. The complicated stamping and pinched rims seen on sherds from Feature 15 are consistent with its Middle Qualla placement, and I suggest that this pit is probably associated with early stages of the townhouse. Features 14, 16, 32, and 33 are also located in the area near the northeastern end of the ramada, and I associate these pits with the Middle Qualla stages of the townhouse as well. Features 32 and 33—northeast of the townhouse—may represent receptacles for debris from the townhouse hearth, given the abundance of ash and charcoal in them, and given their placement beside the townhouse. Features 34 and 35—southwest of the townhouse but very similar to features 32 and 33 in contents—may also represent such

deposits. Ceramics from features 34 and 35 include pinched rims, and sherds with complicated stamping, meaning that both probably date to the Middle Qualla phase or later.

Most of the pits beside and inside the ramadas at the southwestern edge of the plaza are here dated to the Middle Qualla phase. Feature 47 is an exception, in that it probably dates to the Late Qualla phase. However, thirteen others in this area include ceramics that display Middle Qualla characteristics. Therefore, it would seem that the ramadas themselves also are associated with the Middle Qualla settlement. Feature 79 likewise includes Middle Qualla sherds, and therefore it and the three burials intrusive into it are probably also associated with the Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek.

Other pits southwest of the townhouse mound are clearly Late Qualla features. European artifacts from features 71, 72, 73, and 74 are consistent with their placement in the late seventeenth or very early eighteenth century, as is the single radiocarbon date from Feature 72. Ceramics from these pits include sherds with notched and filleted rims, rectangular check stamping, and in the case of Feature 72, greater amounts of rectilinear versus curvilinear complicated stamping.

Structure 14 is also located in this area of the site, southwest of the townhouse. The hearth of this structure is Feature 52, which is surrounded by an arrangement of deep postholes that may represent a set of roof support posts. The edges of Structure 14 are difficult to identify, but the cloud of postholes around Feature 52 probably represents a structure of some kind. Brett Riggs (personal communication, 2003) has suggested that Structure 14 is an example of an *asi*, the type of winter house seen at Cherokee settlements in southwestern North Carolina dating to the late 1600s and 1700s. This structure postdates Feature 37, which almost certainly dates to a much earlier period.

Feature 37 includes several segments of a discontinuous trench, other sections of which are probably represented by features 36, 49, 53, and 54, and the ceramics from these features are consistent with the attribution of this ditch to the Early Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek. The semicircular ditch formed by Feature 37 is comparable in its dimensions to similar features at the Town Creek (E. A. Boudreaux, personal communication, 2004) and Cullowhee Valley School (D. G. Moore, personal communication, 2004) sites, where they are associated with Uwharrie and Woodland-period Napier-series ceramics, respectively. The fill in Feature 37 is the same as the premound humus seen underneath the earliest stage of the townhouse, suggesting that Feature 37 was filled at or before the point when the townhouse was first built. Ceramics from Feature 37 include sherds with complicated stamping, pinched rims, plain rims, and incising, consistent with an assignment to either the Early Qualla or Middle Qualla phase. There is no hearth in the area enclosed by Feature 37, although a shallow pit designated Feature 50 is located here. Sherds from Feature 50 are not helpful in dating this pit, but its ceramics are not inconsistent with the Early Qualla date suggested for Feature 37. It must be acknowledged here that two glass beads are associated with Feature 37. One was recovered while troweling the surrounding area, which does include several pit features with glass beads and kaolin pipe stems, and one from the top of the ditch, which again may represent later disturbance and contamination of Feature 37. All things considered—including the ceramics, fill characteristics, and tantalizing if poorly understood similarities between Feature 37 with other prehistoric ditch features—it seems that Feature 37 probably dates early in the history of this settlement. Brett Riggs (personal communication, 2004) has suggested that Feature 37 may have been covered by a low mound, one not detected archaeologically, but one that

formed a landmark within the Cherokee town at Coweeta Creek throughout its history. This early landmark may have guided the placement and alignment of the townhouse during the Middle Qualla phase, and the location of an *asi* during the Late Qualla phase.

Table 8.8 lists the burials and other pits that have not been attributed to an Early, Middle, or Late Qualla episode of settlement at Coweeta Creek on the basis of ceramics or other evidence. I speculate that Burial 40 dates to the Late Qualla phase, simply because it is adjacent to Feature 47 and Burial 41, both of which are dated to the late end of settlement on ceramic grounds. I hesitate to put Feature 55 in any particular chronological category, as it is close to Feature 37 (Early Qualla), it is close to the cloud of postholes associated with Structure 14 (Late Qualla), and it is close to the townhouse, the early stages of which date to the Middle Qualla phase. Likewise, I hesitate to propose dates for several of the burials listed here. Burials 36 and 38 are located in the area between Feature 37 and Structure 10, and their chronological placement is also unclear. Burials 66, 67, and 68 are close to several pit features from which European trade goods have been found, but the few sherds from the fill of these burials include coarse plain sherds, an early characteristic. Burials 46, 47, and 48 may be related somehow to activities that took place in the area around Feature 37, but they could also be related to Structure 14, which, again, was presumably built much later. Burials 22 and 26 are located north of the townhouse, and their temporal placement is unclear. Near burials 22 and 26, north of the townhouse, are features 29 and 30, which are both firepits. The handful of sherds from features 29 and 30 preclude definitive conclusions about the dates of these pits. Therefore, I consider the chronological placement of these burials and features, for our purposes here, as indeterminate.

Table 8.8. Burials and Other Pit Features Not Placed in Sequence

Features	Burials
29	22
30	26
50	36
55	38
	46
	47
	48
	69
	70
	71

Tables 8.9, 8.10, and 8.11 list the structures and pits at Coweeta Creek that I have assigned to the Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, or Late Qualla phases, and also the kinds of data with which I have made these attributions. Referring to these tables, I draw schematic maps depicting the settlement at these points in its development. Acknowledging the uncertainties surrounding the precise temporal placement of these pits and structures, I am interested in the broad trends in the layout of this settlement revealed by comparing and contrasting these schematic maps. It is difficult to know for sure where to fit some individual pits into the sequence. The schematic maps nevertheless provide snapshots of the built environment of this settlement at three different stages in its history.

Continuity and Change in the Settlement Layout at Coweeta Creek

Schematic maps included here show contexts at Coweeta Creek that have been assigned to different episodes of the settlement, with indeterminate contexts shown on each map and marked as such with question marks. Figure 8.1 shows all the structures, burials, hearths, and other pit features at the Coweeta Creek site (see also Figure 1.2). Figure 8.3 shows only those which have been attributed to the Early Qualla phase (see also Table 8.9). This stage of the settlement is represented by at least three structures, and the burials and hearths inside them, a large oval pit, a series of ditch segments, and several other pit features scattered across the site. Houses were rebuilt in an offset pattern; that is, they were kept in the same general location but were shifted slightly from one stage to another. One doorway to Structure 7 opens towards the southeast, but another stage of the entryway to Structure 7 may

Table 8.9. Early Qualla Structures and Pits at Coweeta Creek

Structures						Burials						Other Pit Features					
Structure Number	Stratigraphic Association	Associated Features	Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates	Burial Number	Structure Association	Associated Features	Qualla Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates	Feature Number	Structure Association	Associated Features	Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates
7	X	X	X		X	34		X				36		X			
9	X	X	X			37			X			37		X	X		
11		X	X			42						39		X	X		
12		X				43						40	X				
13		X				44						49		X			
						45						53		X			
						49			X			54		X			
						51	X					56	X				
						52	X					57	X				
						54	X					58	X				
						55	X					63	X				
												64	X				
												65			X		X
												67	X		X		
												69	X				
												70			X		

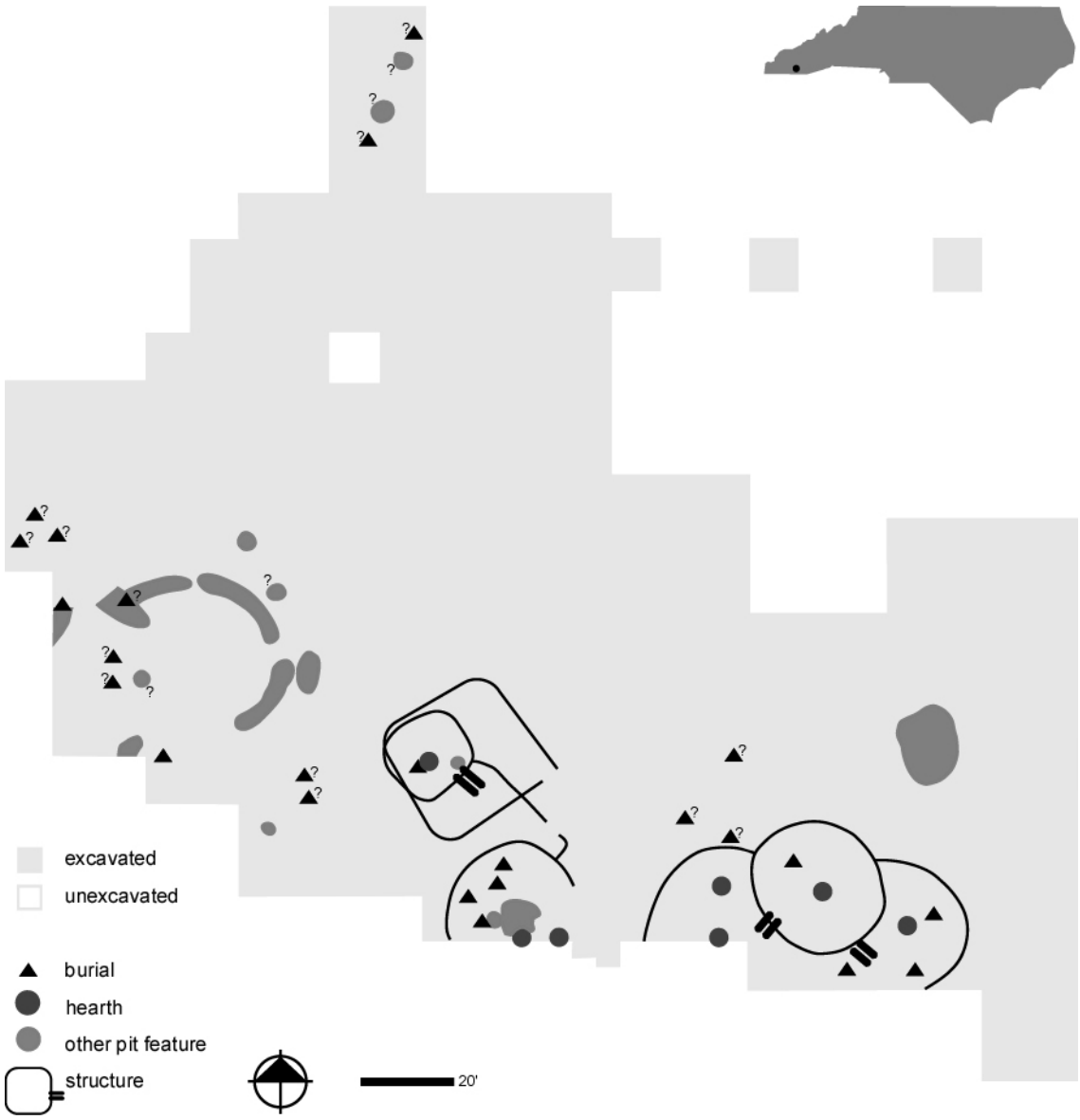


Figure 8.3. Schematic map of the Early Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek.

open towards the southwest, in contrast to the southeasterly alignment of later dwellings and the townhouse. This early settlement predates the townhouse.

Table 8.10 and Figure 8.4 show the structures, hearths, burials, and other pits represented by the Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek, during the 1500s and early 1600s. This stage of the settlement is a nucleated town with distinct public and domestic spaces. An overarching town plan guides the placement and alignment of houses and the townhouse, as seen in this schematic map. The doorways of houses and the townhouse open towards the southeast, and structures are consistently situated at the same angles relative to the cardinal directions. Concentrations of graves, and in some cases rows of burials, are present inside and beside several structures—inside the townhouse and also under the townhouse ramada, between structures 4 and 6, inside structures 3 and 8, and in an arrangement that encircles the townhouse mound. This patterned placement of graves indicates that decisions about where to bury the dead were guided, at least in part, by the arrangement of public and domestic architecture at this town. Hearths and houses were rebuilt in place, and although some doorways shifted slightly, they always opened toward the southeast. Several ramadas are situated along the southeastern edge of the plaza. The long axis of the plaza parallels the townhouse ramada, and this axis is perpendicular to the axis formed by doorways to the townhouse and also by the alignment of household dwellings in the village area.

It is possible that Coweeta Creek was abandoned during the interval between the Early Qualla and Middle Qualla stages of settlement as they are outlined here. There are detectable differences between Early Qualla and Middle Qualla ceramics that could represent an interval of one or more generations when the Coweeta Creek site itself was unoccupied.

Table 8.10. Middle Qualla Structures and Pits at Coweeta Creek

Structures						Burials						Other Pit Features					
Structure Number	Stratigraphic Association	Architectural Similarities	Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates	Burial Number	Structure Association	Stratigraphic Association	Qualla Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates	Feature Number	Structure Association	Associated Features	Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates
THF3	X		X	X	X	1	X					14		X			
THF4	X		X	X		2	X		X			15		X	X		
THF5	X		X	X		3	X		X			16		X			
THF6	X		X	X	X	4	X					18	X		X		
3		X				5	X					19				X	
4		X				6	X					31			X		
5		X				7	X					32			X		
6	X	X	X	X		8	X					33		X			
8	X	X				9	X	X				34			X		
10		X				10	X	X				35			X		
15		X				11	X	X				38			X		
16		X				12	X	X				41			X	X	
						13	X	X				42		X			
						14	X	X				43		X			
						15	X	X				44		X			
						16	X	X				45		X			
						17	X	X				46			X		
						18	X	X				48			X		
						19	X	X				51			X	X	

Table 8.10. Middle Qualla Structures and Pits at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Structures						Burials						Other Pit Features					
Structure Number	Stratigraphic Association	Architectural Similarities	Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates	Burial Number	Structure Association	Stratigraphic Association	Qualla Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates	Feature Number	Structure Association	Associated Features	Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates
						20	X	X				60	X				
						21	X	X				61	X				
						23	X	X				62	X				
						24	X	X				66	X				
						25	X	X				68	X			X	
						27	X	X				75			X		
						28	X	X				77			X		
						29	X	X				78			X		
						30	X	X				79			X		
						31	X	X				80			X		
						32	X	X				81			X		
						33	X	X				82	X				
						35	X					83	X				
						39	X	X				84	X				
						50	X					85	X				
						53	X					86	X				
						57	X					87	X				
						58	X					88	X				
						59	X					89	X				

Table 8.10. Middle Qualla Structures and Pits at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Structures						Burials						Other Pit Features					
Structure Number	Stratigraphic Association	Architectural Similarities	Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates	Burial Number	Structure Association	Stratigraphic Association	Qualla Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates	Feature Number	Structure Association	Associated Features	Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates
						60	X					90	X				
						61	X					91	X				
						62	X					92	X				
						63	X					93	X				
						64	X					94	X				
						72	X					95	X				
						73	X					96			X		X
						74	X					97	X				
						75	X					98	X		X		
						76	X					99	X		X		
						77	X					100	X				
						78	X					101	X				
						79	X					102	X				
						80	X					103	X				
						81	X					104	X				
						82	X					105	X				
						83	X					106	X				
						84	X			X		107			X		

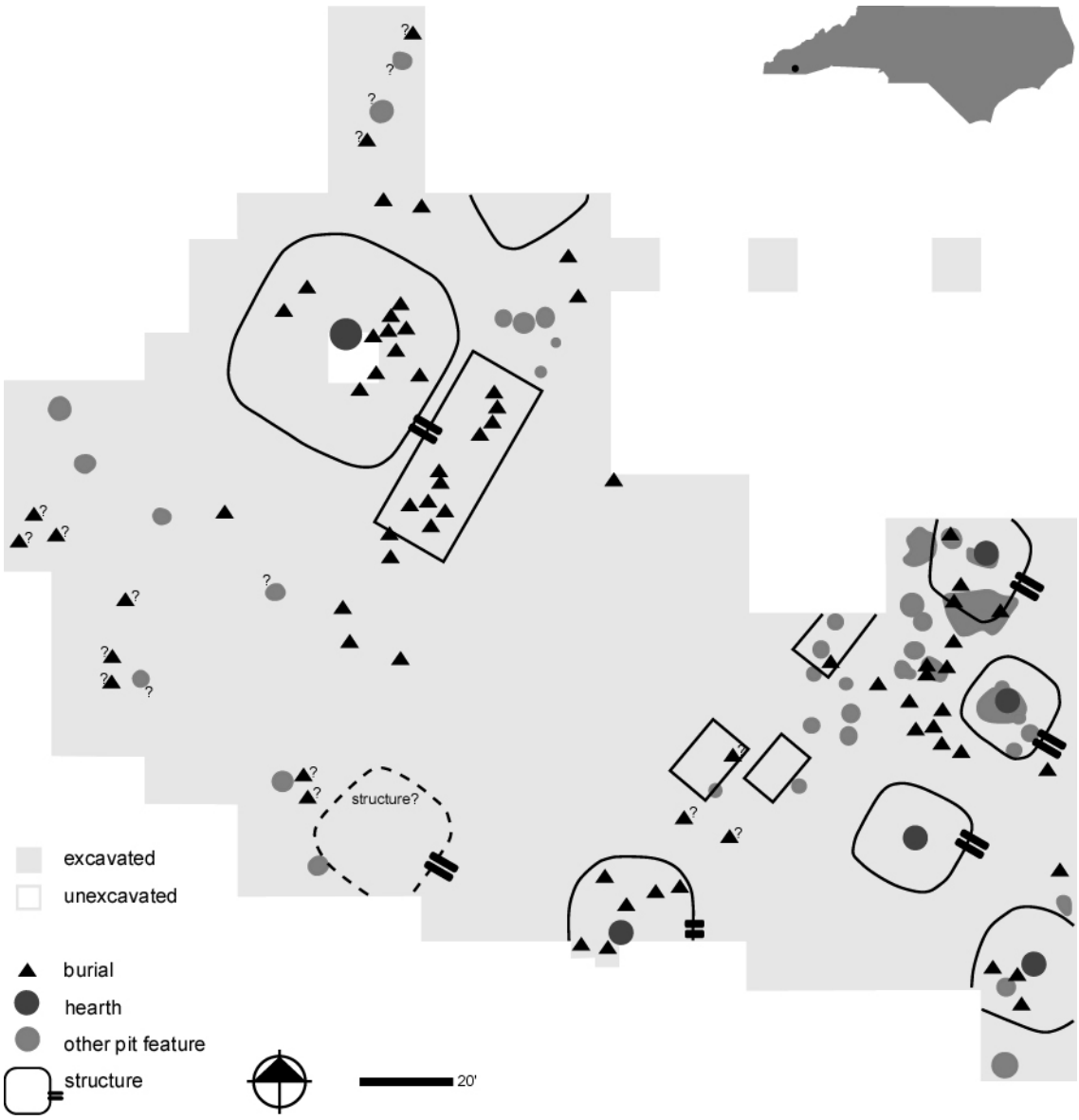


Figure 8.4. Schematic map of the Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek.

Although the Early Qualla and Middle Qualla settlements at Coweeta Creek share the same general southeasterly alignment, these alignments are slightly offset from each other. There may have been remnants of abandoned structures, and perhaps formal landmarks, that marked the alignment and arrangement of Early Qualla houses when the Middle Qualla town was built. This slight offset, the apparent overlap between the placement of Middle Qualla (structures 6 and 8) and some Early Qualla (structures 7 and 9) houses, and the differences between the built environment of the Early Qualla village and the Middle Qualla town, may reflect the abandonment of this place for an interval lasting for several years, if not several generations, after which it was resettled.

The Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek represents its most dense concentration of architecture, and, presumably, people, with dwellings clustered within the compact village adjacent to the townhouse and plaza. Direct archaeological evidence of a stockade has not been identified, but such an enclosure may have been present, given the very compact arrangement of public and domestic architecture in the town. At least five Middle Qualla dwellings, presumably representing five households, have been identified in the excavated part of the site south and east of the plaza. These proposed Middle Qualla houses are all located in an area of roughly one third of an acre, with another third of an acre covered by the townhouse, the plaza, and the area southwest of the townhouse mound. How many more Middle Qualla houses may have been present at the Coweeta Creek site? Artifacts were collected from the ground surface at the Coweeta Creek site across an area of roughly three acres. If the Middle Qualla settlement covered the entire three acres, and if the density of houses was comparable to that seen in the area southeast of the plaza, then there may have been as many as 20 to 30 more houses at Coweeta Creek during the Middle Qualla

phase than those uncovered during excavations of the site. If that were the case, and assuming an average of six people per household, the town as a whole may have numbered between 120 and 180 people at its peak, an estimate that places Coweeta Creek near the middle of the range of population sizes of historic Cherokee towns in southern Appalachia during to the eighteenth century (Schroedl 2000).

Table 8.11 and Figure 8.5 show structures and pits associated with the Late Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek, during the late 1600s and early 1700s. The townhouse and plaza are still present, but the houses in the village area southeast of the plaza have been abandoned by this point. Presumably, households rearranged themselves in a more dispersed pattern even though they kept the townhouse in the same spot as its predecessors. The structure southwest of the townhouse probably also dates to the eighteenth century, but it is currently unclear whether it is contemporaneous with or later than the last townhouse. There are very few burials at Coweeta Creek that date to the Late Qualla phase. It seems likely that many people would have been buried close to the houses in which they lived, and during the Late Qualla phase, houses were probably located farther away from the townhouse than the edges of excavation areas. In contrast to the burial of several people in early manifestations of the townhouse, there are no burials associated with its late stages, either because there were no longer any members of the community deemed fit for burial here, or because people were buried in different settings than they would have been in earlier times, or perhaps for some combination of both reasons. Nevertheless, the townhouse itself continued to replicate its earlier stages, it preserved the alignment of its earlier manifestations, and it continued to mark the spatial axes and alignments that had shaped the arrangement of public and domestic architecture in the Middle Qualla town at Coweeta Creek. Although households had moved

Table 8.11. Late Qualla Structures and Pits at Coweeta Creek

Structures						Burials						Other Pit Features					
Structure Number	Stratigraphic Association	Associated Features	Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates	Burial Number	Structure Association	Associated Features	Qualla Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates	Feature Number	Structure Association	Associated Features	Ceramics	European Artifacts	Radiocarbon Dates
THF1	X		X	X	X	40		X				1	X				
THF2	X		X	X		41			X			2	X				
14		X										4	X				
												5	X				
												6	X				
												7	X				
												8	X				
												9	X				
												10	X				
												11	X				
												41				X	
												47			X	X	
												51			X	X	
												52	X				
												71			X	X	
												72			X	X	X
												73			X	X	
												74			X	X	
												76			X		

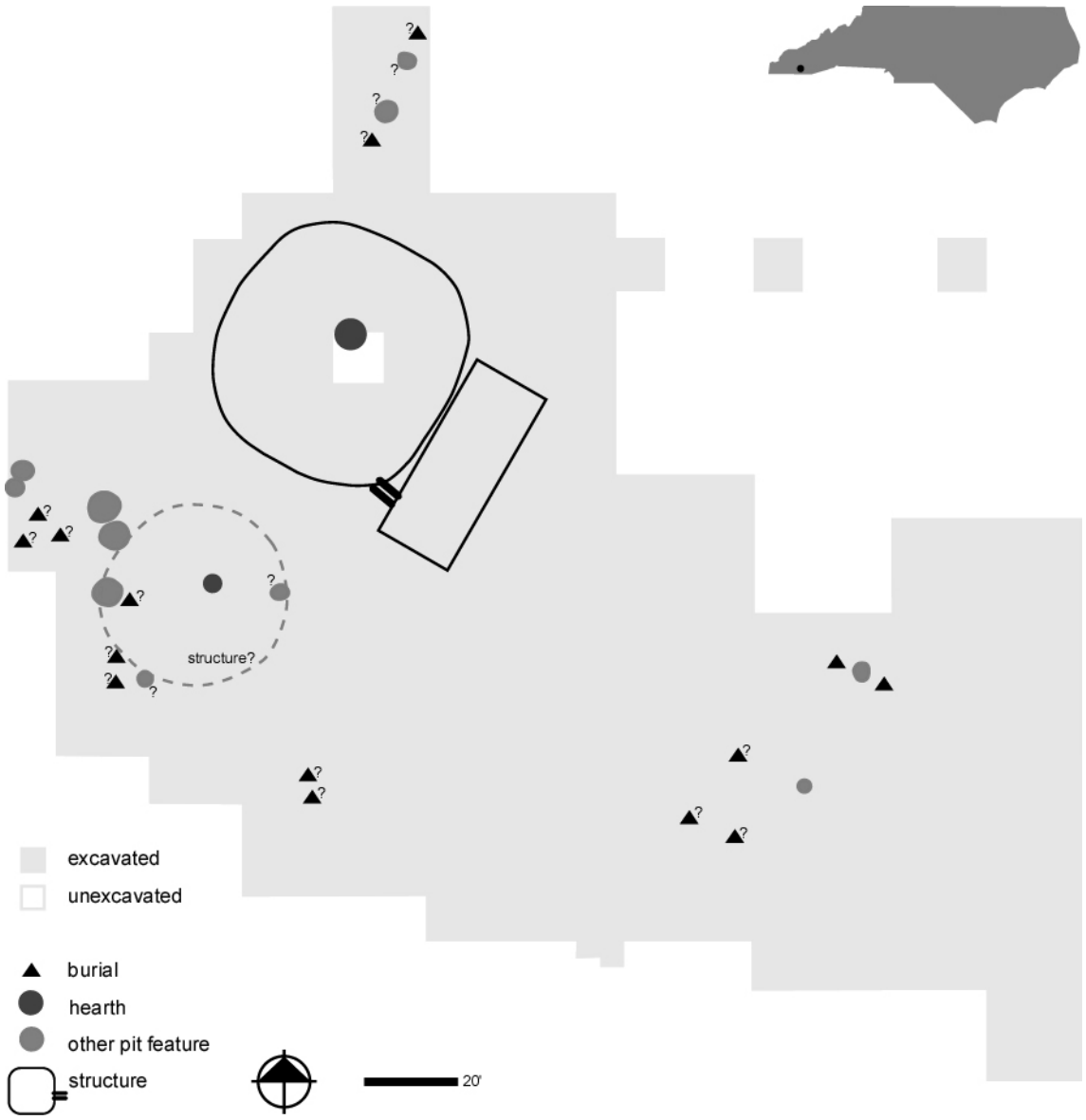


Figure 8.5. Schematic map of the Late Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek.

away from the area immediately surrounding the townhouse and plaza, this architectural space probably still held symbolic and sacred meanings to members of the town attached to it, and, furthermore, it continued to serve as a public space and the hub of public life within a town.

It does not seem that there were any gaps in the sequence of Coweeta Creek townhouses, that is, hiatuses of several years or several generations between burying a townhouse and rebuilding a successor. The very precise consistency in the placement and alignment of each manifestation of the townhouse indicates that there were no breaks in the series of townhouses preserved in the mound. Further study of ceramics from and the stratigraphy of the townhouse mound may reveal such hiatuses, but at this point, there are not data demonstrating any breaks in the sequence of townhouses.

The Late Qualla settlement associated with the last stage of the townhouse probably includes houses and domestic activity areas located farther away from the townhouse than those associated with Middle Qualla houses. Where are these dwellings? Early eighteenth-century houses may have been present at the Coweeta Creek site, just outside the edges of excavation areas. Other eighteenth-century houses, associated with the Coweeta Creek townhouse, may have been present at other sites in the vicinity. Surface surveys have identified several sites with Qualla ceramics located one mile or less away from the Coweeta Creek site and on both sides of the Little Tennessee River. Little is known about these sites, but it is possible that they represent farmsteads whose households were members of the community centered within the townhouse at Coweeta Creek (Baker 1982).

The schematic maps in this chapter capture broad trends in the Coweeta Creek settlement plan, as it changed from a late prehistoric village, to a compact protohistoric town,

to a townhouse within a spatially dispersed community. Improvements in our understanding of temporal variation in Qualla ceramics may suggest revisions in the chronological placements of structures and pits at Coweeta Creek that are suggested here. Further study of specific houses and townhouse stages would yield additional insight into how often structures were rebuilt, and how different stages of the townhouse and dwellings fit into the history of the Cherokee town at the Coweeta Creek site.

At this point, it is reasonable to conclude that some houses and pits were present at Coweeta Creek in late prehistory, probably during the fifteenth century. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the town at Coweeta Creek included a townhouse and a formally planned town, in which dwellings were closely spaced, and rebuilt in place, preserving the overarching town plan from one generation of each structure to another. The townhouse was still present even after these houses were abandoned sometime in the late 1600s, and the townhouse itself was probably abandoned during the early 1700s.

CHAPTER 9

MORTUARY PATTERNS

This chapter reconstructs the spatial relationships between people and architectural spaces within the Coweeta Creek community as they are reflected through the placement of burials within the built environment of the town. The series of maps in the preceding chapter shows that some burials at Coweeta Creek date to the Early Qualla phase, most to the Middle Qualla phase, and only two to the Late Qualla phase. Here, I summarize data about where men, women, and children were buried within the changing built environment of the town (Figure 9.1). Then, I compare and contrast the grave goods present in burials in the townhouse and in the village area, and I compare and contrast the material culture buried with women, men, and children (Figure 9.2). Patterns in these data offer insights into some of the statuses, social identities, and ideologies that were marked through mortuary ritual, and also into the ways that the resting places of the dead were embedded within the built environment of the living community.

My focus in this chapter is the relationship between mortuary practices, social organization, and spatial organization of the community at Coweeta Creek (Rodning 2001a; Sullivan and Rodning 2001). Archaeologists have interpreted mortuary patterns in

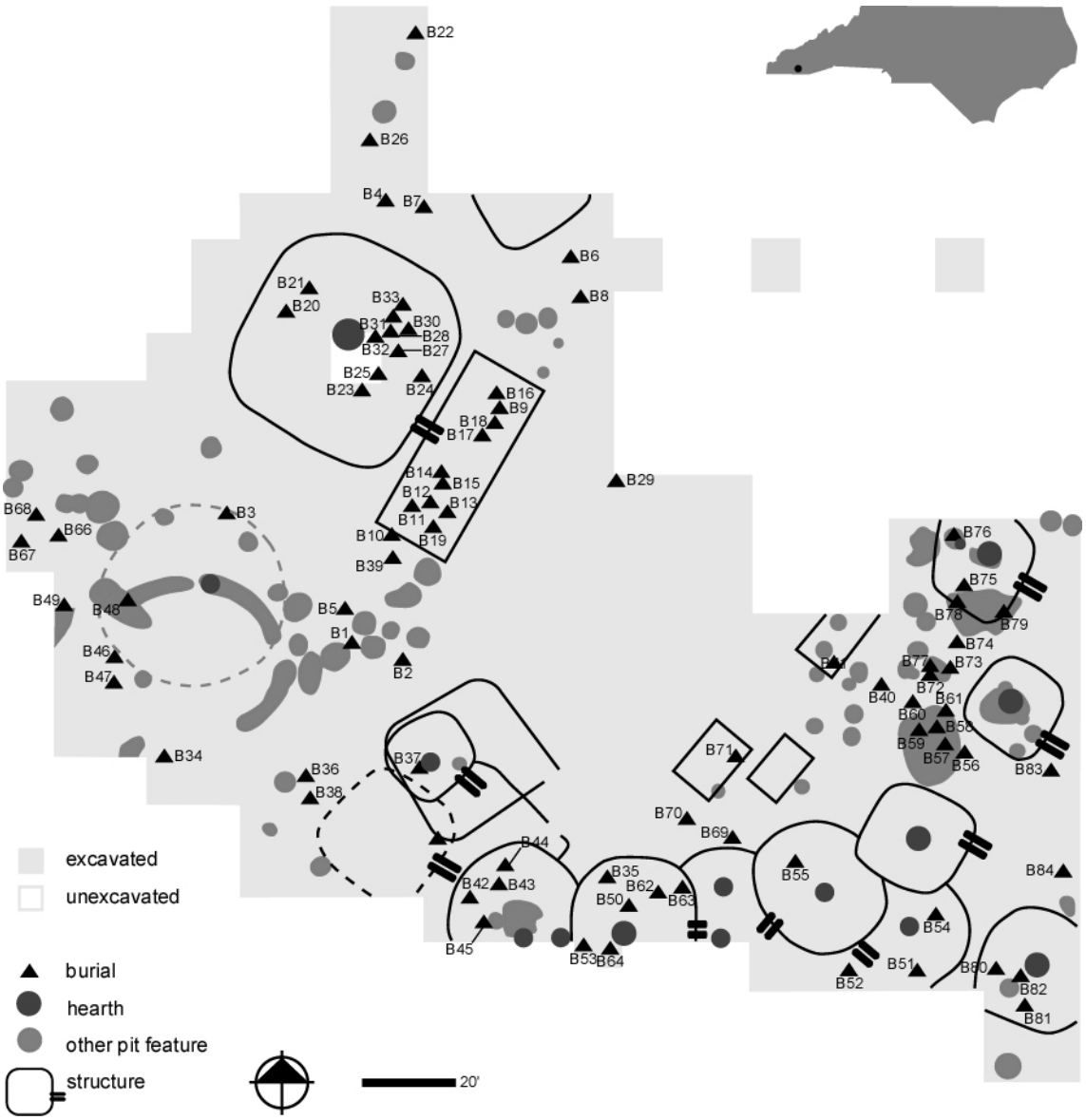


Figure 9.1. Burials at Coweeta Creek.

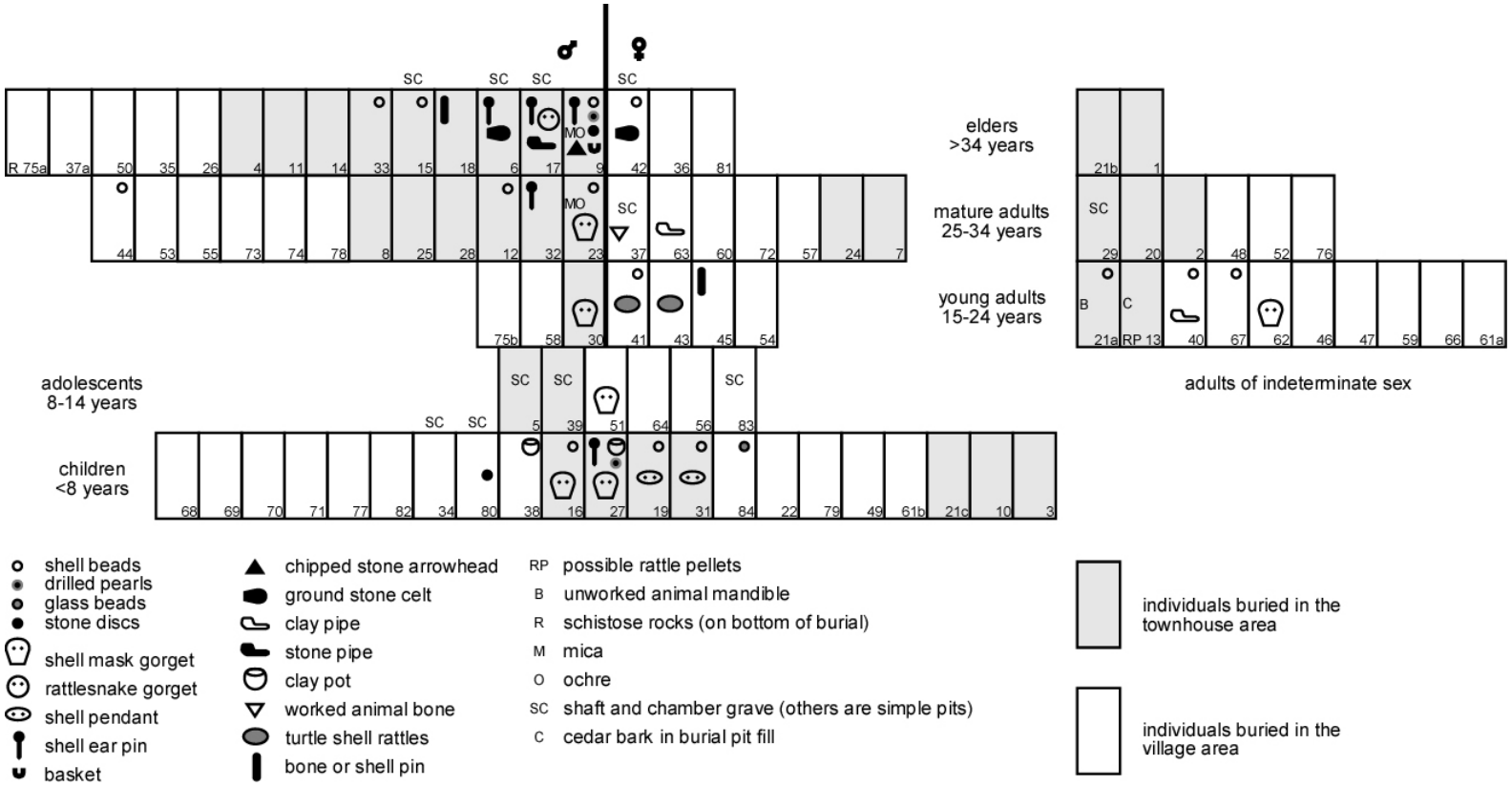


Figure 9.2. Grave goods from burials at Coweeta Creek.

many different ways—either as reflecting the structure of past societies or masking status and other social differences within communities, for example—but the treatment of the dead is necessarily guided by the relationships between the deceased and surviving members of their households and communities (see Bartel 1982; Binford 1971; Cannon 1989; Hodder 1984; Morris 1989; Parker Pearson 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1982). Burials found at Coweeta Creek and any other archaeological site often, but not always, represent the last event in the treatment of the dead (see Bradley 1995; Curry 1995; Hollimon 2001; Parker Pearson 1999; Ward 1987). A variety of public or private events—including feasts, mourning rituals, preparation of individuals and their material accoutrements for burial, and digging graves—may have preceded the actual burial of people themselves. I am interested here in what can be learned from decisions that were made by the Coweeta Creek community about where to bury individuals and what material culture to bury with them.

As is the case at Mississippian and protohistoric settlements in the southern Appalachians in general, many burials at Coweeta Creek are situated inside or beside the townhouse and household dwellings in the village, close to the spaces where the events and activities of everyday life within the community took place (Dickens 1976; Hally and Kelly 1995; Hatch 1974, 1976a, 1976b; Polhemus 1990; Rodning 2001a; Schroedl 1989, 1998; Sullivan 1987, 1989, 1995, 2001). Several anthropologists have demonstrated meaningful relationships between the placement of burials and the organization and belief systems of past societies (Bloch 1971; Buikstra 1976; Carr 1995; Chesson 2001a, 2001b; Gillespie 2002; Goldstein 1980, 1981, 1995; Howell 1995; Howell and Kintigh 1996; Joyce 2001; Kroeber 1927; Kuijt 2001; Mainfort 1985; Parker Pearson 1992, 1993, 2002; Seeman 1979; Vehik 1983). Such relationships have been detected through the study of spatial

relationships between graves and structures at specific sites, and at broader scales, such as the placement of tombs and mortuary monuments within regional landscapes (Arnold 2002; Barrett 1990, 1996; Beck 1995; Brown 1995a, 1995b; Buikstra and Charles 1999; Chapman 1981, 1995; Charles 1992, 1995; Charles and Buikstra 1983; Dillehay 1990, 1995; Parker Pearson 1999; Tilley 1984, 1994, 1996). I discuss the kinds of burials and grave goods present at Coweeta Creek later in this chapter, but I am especially interested here in where people are buried within the town. I cannot prove it, but I strongly suspect that the act of placing burials in these architectural spaces at Coweeta Creek effectively attached memories of the dead to the built environment of the community.

My treatment of Coweeta Creek mortuary data is guided by two premises that are rooted in the archaeological literature about the relationship between mortuary practices and social organization of past societies, the first of which is that burials are an outcome of several decisions about how deceased individuals should be treated after death, where the dead should be buried, and also what should be buried with them (Metcalf and Huntington 1991; O'Shea 1981). Death creates social crises, both because of the severed social relationships between living community members and people who have died, and because of the loss of people who served specific roles within the life of a community. These crises, and the relationship between the deceased and surviving members of a community, affect responses to the deaths of different individuals. Material remnants of burials, often the last event in the treatment of the dead, are therefore shaped in part by the roles and identities that deceased individuals had adopted during their lifetimes, whether through inheritance or their own achievements.

The second premise underyling my consideration of mortuary evidence from Coweeta Creek is that decisions about where to bury individuals, and what to bury with them, are generally related to at least some of the social roles and identities that people adopted during their lifetimes (Binford 1971; Braun 1977, 1982; Brown 1971; Chapman and Randsborg 1981; O'Shea 1984; Saxe 1970, 1971; Tainter 1978). "Roles" include the positions of leadership and authority that people held—and the tasks performed by specific individuals—within kin groups, households, and towns or villages. "Identities" refer to the personal relationships—as parents, children, siblings, friends, and individuals—by which people recognized themselves, and were recognized by others, as members of the communities in which they lived. Not every social role or identity an individual developed during his or her lifetime would have been marked by the design or placement of a burial nor materialized by burial with a specific type or set of grave goods, but the social roles and identities of the deceased undoubtedly shaped the way they were treated after death.

Temporal and Spatial Patterns

An earlier paper argues that burial practices at Coweeta Creek reflect the traditional gender distinctions between leadership of "towns" (see Gearing 1962; Persico 1979) and "clans" (see Gilbert 1943; Perdue 1998) within Cherokee communities of the eighteenth century (Rodning 2001a). Most of the people buried in the Coweeta Creek townhouse, in the townhouse ramada, and in the one known grave in the plaza are adult males, and many are relatively old men, although women and children are also buried in these spaces. Most of the adult women identified in Coweeta Creek burials—including women who are associated with

shell beads and turtle shell rattles—are buried in and around houses in the village. I have interpreted this pattern to reflect a gender ideology in which women and men had access to different kinds of social roles and statuses that entitled some of them to burial (or required peers to bury them) in public or domestic spaces. I have further suggested that this gender distinction reflects the presence of complementary paths to prestige and public status for women and men at Coweeta Creek and other protohistoric Cherokee towns in western North Carolina, as Sullivan (2001) has noted in her study of mortuary practices at Mississippian and postcontact towns in eastern Tennessee. Generally, I am still convinced that gender distinctions are reflected in mortuary patterns at Coweeta Creek, and that gendered leadership roles probably were marked through burial practices at this and other native towns in North Carolina, and in surrounding areas (see Eastman 2001; Hally and Kelly 1998; Sullivan and Rodning 2001; Sullivan 1987, 1995, 2001). However, I would like to reconsider the relationship between burial practices and social organization within the community situated at this site, given recent reassessments of its settlement history, and the presence of burials dating to different points within this history (see Riggs and Rodning 2002:38-45; Ward and Davis 1999:185-187). Here, I summarize which burials date to the early, middle, and late stages of this settlement. Then, I examine spatial patterns in the burial of men, women, and children in different architectural spaces within the town.

Table 9.1 lists the burials attributed to the Early, Middle, and Late Qualla stages of the Coweeta Creek settlement (see tables in Appendix D). Several burials are associated with Early Qualla houses (Figure 8.3). Many more are associated with Middle Qualla houses (Figure 8.4). Burials in the townhouse, and in the ramada between the townhouse and plaza, date to the first two or three stages of the townhouse itself (compare figures 4.4-4.8). Far

Table 9.1. Burials and Periods of Settlement at Coweeta Creek

Early	Middle	Late	Indeterminate
34	1 23 62	40	22
37	2 24 63	41	26
37a	3 25 64		46
42	4 27 66		47
43	5 28 72		48
44	6 29 73		67
45	7 30 74		68
49	8 31 75a		69
51	9 32 75b		70
52	10 33 76		71
54	11 35 77		
55	12 36 78		
	13 38 79		
	14 39 80		
	15 50 81		
	16 53 82		
	17 56 83		
	18 57 84		
	19 58		
	20 59		
	21a 60		
	21b 61a		
	21c 61b		

fewer burials can be confidently associated with the Late Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek (compare figures 8.3-8.5).

Figure 9.2 groups individuals in the burial population into several age categories, it indicates the types of graves in which each individual was buried, and it shows the kinds of mortuary goods buried with each individual (see tables in Appendix D). Each rectangle in this diagram represents one individual (see also Monahan Driscoll et al. 2001; Rodning 2001a; Sherratt 1982). Shaded rectangles represent burials in the townhouse, its ramada, the plaza, and the perimeter surrounding the outer edge of the mound (see also Rodning 1999). Here, I am primarily interested in where people were buried relative to architecture and other spaces within the settlement. Later, I discuss data about the types of graves and mortuary goods present in burials at the site.

The burial population includes elders (more than 35 years), mature adults (26-35 years), young adults (16-25 years), adolescents (8-15 years), and children (less than 7 years). These age groups are somewhat arbitrary, but they correspond roughly to age thresholds that may have marked significant social thresholds during the lives of people in this community. Potentially more problematic is the way I have assigned individuals identified as "older than" or "younger than" specific ages at death to specific age groups and the way I have assigned individuals whose estimated age ranges span more than one of my age groups.

Age and sex data for the burial population at Coweeta Creek were recorded by Patricia Lambert during her NAGPRA inventory of skeletal material in the UNC archaeological collections (Davis et al. 1996; Lambert 2000, 2001, 2002). She recorded sex only for adults; that is, individuals above roughly 16 to 18 years of age. She often estimated an age range for individuals (for example, 25 $\pm$ 5 years), and in some cases, depending on

preservation, could only estimate age at death as "older than" or "younger than" specific ages (for example, >21 years). I have grouped individuals here according to the "midpoint" or "threshold" of these age estimates. I would categorize an individual whose estimated age at death is 30 $\pm$ 6 years as a mature adult, for example, and an individual whose estimated age at death is >19 years as a young adult. An actual example of this practice is Burial 1, an indeterminate adult greater than 40 years of age at death—it is easy identify this individual as an elder. Another less straightforward example is Burial 7, an adult female greater than 30 years of age at death—this individual is here grouped into the mature adult category, although she may have actually been older than 35 or even 40 years old, in which case she should actually be considered an elder. I want to acknowledge these uncertainties surrounding age and sex identifications (which are inherent in all such skeletal datasets) and my categorization of these individuals (which, admittedly, is even more prone to interpretive errors). Indeed, some individuals may be incorrectly categorized here. Furthermore, my age thresholds may or may not correspond closely to significant points in the social lives of the people in this community. I am only using these thresholds as heuristic devices to capture broad patterns in the treatment of adults and subadults, and men and women, whose deaths occurred at different stages of their lives.

Figure 9.1 shows the burials at the site by burial number. The following series of maps show specific characteristics of these burials, including the age group of individuals in these graves, the sex of these individuals, the numbers of grave goods associated with them, and the structures that date to roughly the same period as the burials themselves. Some maps concentrate on the corresponding age groups of buried individuals and others on the sex of adults in these burials.

Figure 9.3 shows the individuals in Early Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek. Several are concentrated inside structures 7 and 9, and one inside Structure 11, whose hearth was built on top of this grave. Other burials whose dates are indeterminate are also shown here, including several in the area near Feature 37, which dates early in the history of the settlement.

Figure 9.4 shows individuals in Middle Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek. Many of these burials are situated inside and beside dwellings, and in discrete areas inside and beside the townhouse. Several burials are spaced around the townhouse, perhaps purposefully paralleling the outer perimeter of the townhouse and the embankment around it. An adult is buried in the plaza near the northeastern corner of the ramada. Other graves are located close to the ramadas at the edge of the village area along the southeastern edge of the plaza.

Burials in the townhouse date to the first two or three stages of this public structure (see Chapter 4). The individuals buried here include adults and subadults, men and women, and people with and without grave goods. However, adults buried in this space outnumber the subadults ten to three, two of those subadults are less than one year of age, and the other is roughly five years old. Furthermore, of the seven identifiable adults in this group of burials, six are adult males, and only one is an adult female. The numbers of adult males in townhouse burials, compared to the numbers of women and children, suggests that burial in this architectural space was primarily, although not solely, reserved for men. My interpretation of this pattern is that burial in the townhouse must have been related to roles within the community to which men had privileged access, including the roles of warriors, town council members, and priests. The young adult woman who was buried in the townhouse may have adopted the same role and may have had the same status as her male

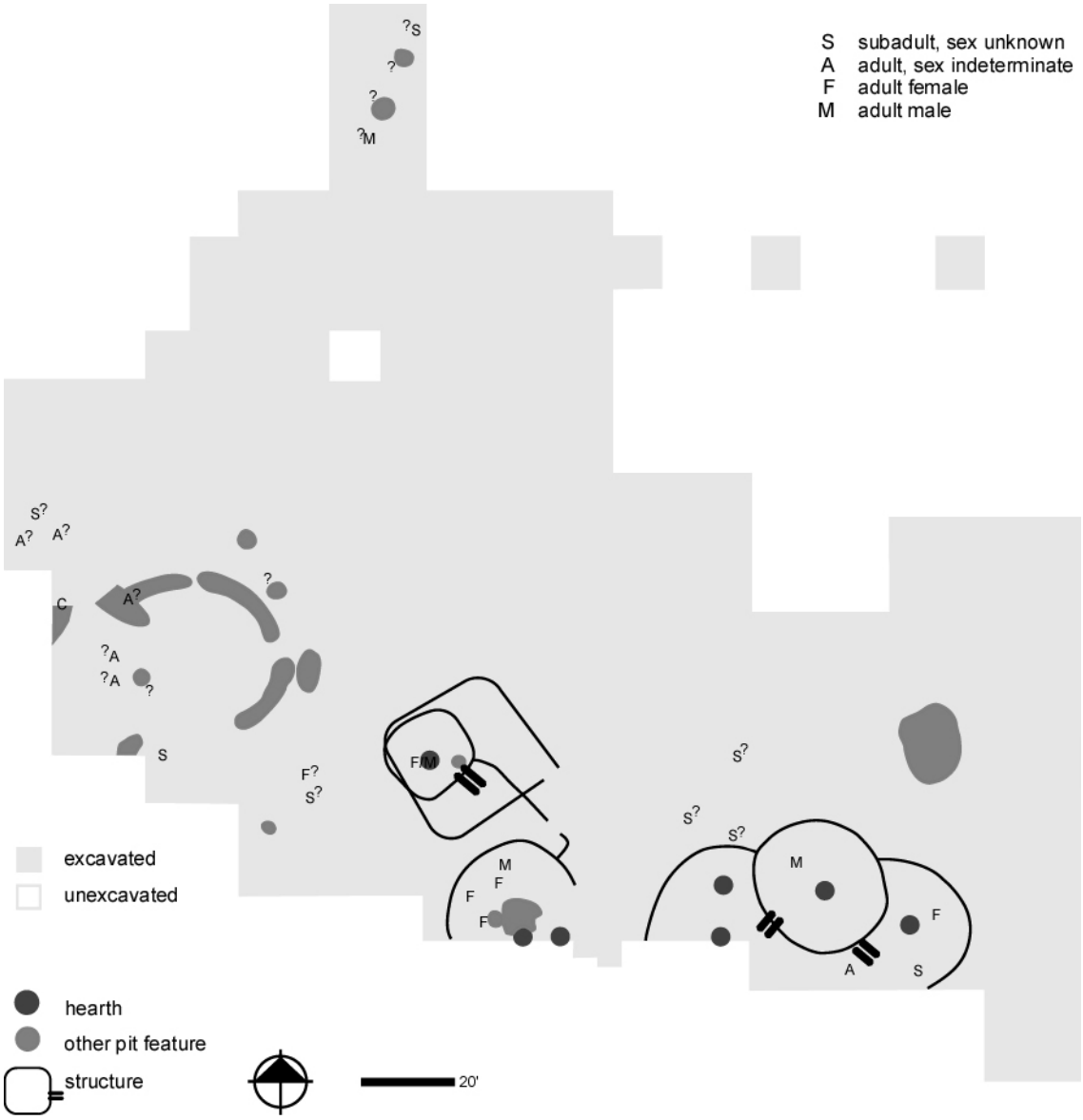


Figure 9.3. Age and sex of Early Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek.

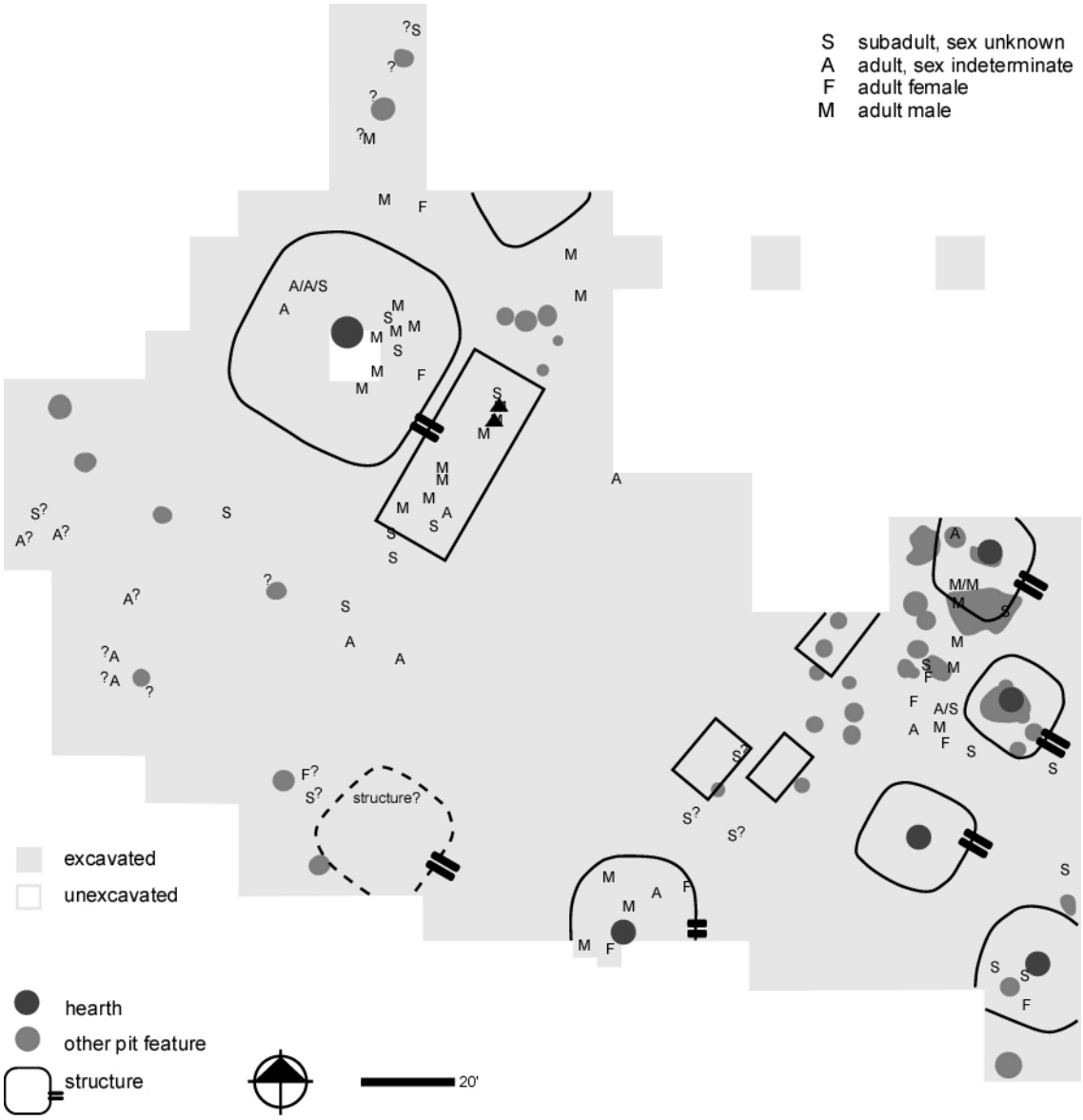


Figure 9.4. Age and sex of Middle Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek.

counterparts buried here. Children buried in the townhouse would not have had the chance to achieve status in their own rights before they died. They may have been related by kinship to women or men who did have the public prestige that would entitle these adults, and children related to them, to burial within the townhouse.

Burials in the townhouse ramada also probably date to the early stages of the townhouse (see Chapter 4). Groups of burials are situated on both sides of the doorway to the first stage of the townhouse (burials 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18). They seem to have been placed along a path across the ramada between the townhouse doorway and the plaza, or, alternatively, maybe they created this path in the first place (see Figure 4.4). Other concentrations of burials are present in the southwestern area of the townhouse ramada (burials 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, and 39). They represent burials placed beside the entryway into the second and later stages of the townhouse, and, perhaps, they represent burials that bordered the path from plaza, through the ramada, and up to the doorway at the southernmost corner of the townhouse in its later manifestations (see Figure 4.5).

Although adult males are more common than women and children in burials in the townhouse and also in the townhouse ramada, there is an interesting contrast between the ages of the adult males buried in these different spaces. Of the six adult males buried inside the townhouse, three are young adults (50%), two are mature adults (33%), and one is an elder. Of the seven adult males who are buried in the townhouse ramada, six are male elders (86%), and one is an adult aged between 25 and 35 years (14%), but none are young adults. I suggest from these data that burial inside the townhouse itself was reserved primarily for younger adult males and that burial underneath the townhouse ramada was reserved primarily for old adult males. I would speculate further that males buried beneath the Coweeta Creek

townhouse ramada may represent people comparable in status and prestige to the elders in historic Cherokee societies known as Beloved Men (Gearing 1962; Persico 1979; Sattler 1995).

Several burials are spaced around the townhouse, as if they encircled the townhouse itself (Figure 9.4). Unfortunately, none can be temporally related to specific stages of the townhouse on ceramic or stratigraphic grounds. However, given the highly structured organization of space within this stage of the settlement as a whole, it seems plausible that a series of burials may have been placed outside the perimeter around the townhouse itself. These individuals (burials 1-8) include one adult female, three adult males, two indeterminate adults, one child, and one adolescent. The adults include three mature adults (26-35 years) and three elders. It is interesting to note that 75% (6 of 8) of them are adults, and that 75% (3 of 4) of the identifiable adults are males. If these burials are indeed associated with the townhouse, then it would seem that burial around the edge of the townhouse was reserved primarily for relatively old men.

Most of the burials that are here attributed to the Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek are located in the village, often inside or beside dwellings (Figure 9.4). Presumably, people buried inside domestic structures were members of the households that lived in these dwellings. Additionally, people buried in the area beside houses were probably also members of the corresponding household.

Nine adult women are included in the burials attributable to the Middle Qualla settlement at the Coweeta Creek site. One is buried in the townhouse and another in the area around the outer perimeter of the townhouse mound. Seven others are buried inside or beside domestic houses in the village southeast of the plaza.

Whereas burial in and around the townhouse seems to have been reserved primarily for adult males, most adult women seem to have been buried in the village. A total of five women were buried inside Early Qualla structures at Coweeta Creek. One of these women, in Burial 37, was buried with several animal bones, perhaps part of a shamanic toolkit (Figure 9.2). Atop her grave was built a hearth, near the middle of Structure 11, and it seems likely that this woman was a prominent participant in the ritual or domestic activities housed in this space (Figure 3.14). A similar association between women and houses in the village area can be seen in several other Middle Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek. Burials 57 and 60 are located in the row of graves beside Structure 4. Burials 63 and 64 are located inside Structure 8. Burial 72 is located beside the westernmost corner of Structure 4. Burial 81 is located near the hearth of Structure 5. I suggest that women who achieved prominence as leaders of households, and perhaps leadership roles within their clans too, may have been acknowledged as such through burial close to or within the houses with which they were associated. During the eighteenth century, Cherokee households were matrilocal residence groups, and clans were matrilineal kin groups. It is likely that matrilineal clans and matrilocal households were also present in many native communities of southern Appalachia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I therefore suggest that burial inside and beside houses at Coweeta Creek may have, in at least some cases, manifested the status and prestige of women in the social domain housed within the domestic sphere, and that some of the women buried in this area may have been accorded status comparable to those known in historic Cherokee towns as Beloved Women (Perdue 1998; Sattler 1995; Williams 1927).

That is not to say that adult males were not buried in the village inside and beside Middle Qualla structures at this settlement. Indeed, at least eight adult males were buried in

the village. However, seventeen adult males have been identified in townhouse burials, more than twice as many as those found in the village, and only one adult male in the village was buried with any nonperishable grave goods—shell beads—as will be seen presently. If mortuary goods are related in some way to the number of social roles and identities, or the public status and prestige, held by these individuals when they were alive, then adult males buried in the townhouse do seem to outrank those buried in the village. The lives of men in this community—and involvement in warfare, hunting, trading, and diplomacy—may have been closely associated with events and activities held in and around the townhouse. Conversely, the lives of women may have been closely connected to the architectural spaces formed by houses and the social domains manifested in them. However, some women did achieve the status that entitled people in this community to burial within the townhouse.

If burial in the townhouse was entirely reserved for adults who had achieved prestige and public prominence through contributions to the community, then we would expect to find few, if any, children buried in or beside this public architectural space. Such is not the case. Eighteen burials of children and adolescents can be attributed to the Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek. Nine of these burials are located in the townhouse and in its ramada, or in the area around the edge of the townhouse mound, and the other nine of course are located in and around dwellings in the village area. Those buried in the townhouse probably inherited whatever status entitled them to such treatment through kin relations, since they did not live long enough to develop their own social identities within the community, apart from relationships with parents and with other relatives. Such relationships may account for some of the children buried in and beside the townhouse. For example, the child in Burial 19 was buried close to two male elders, and the child in Burial

18 was buried close to three male elders. Several other children and adolescents were, like adults, buried inside and beside dwellings in the village. It seems likely that, like adults, individuals who died as children or adolescents were buried inside or beside the dwellings in which they lived as young members of the corresponding households.

Figure 9.5 shows individuals in burials attributed to the Late Qualla settlement, including two beside or beneath ramadas in the area along the southeastern edge of the plaza, the only two burials at Coweeta Creek associated with this late stage in the history of this settlement, given the presence of ceramics with rectangular check stamping. A young adult female was buried in Burial 41, with two dozen cut shell beads and fragments from one or more turtle shell rattles. A young adult whose sex is indeterminate was buried in Burial 40, with two cut shell beads and one clay pipe. I suggest that the individual in Burial 40 is probably a young woman. I make this speculation simply because Burial 41 can be identified as a young woman buried nearby in this area of the site. These individuals both died as young adults. Both were buried with material culture that may have been used during dances and other public events that took place on the town plaza. If that were the case, and if these burials are indeed associated with the Late Qualla settlement at the Coweeta Creek site, then it may also be the case that some ramadas were still present along the edge of the plaza even after dwellings in the nearby village area at Coweeta Creek had been abandoned. Perhaps these young adults—at least one of whom was a woman—were active participants in public events and activities that were still a major part of the public life of the community associated with the Coweeta Creek townhouse and plaza. The other three burials (69, 70, 71) in this area cannot be attributed to any particular episode of settlement. All three of the individuals in these burials are children.

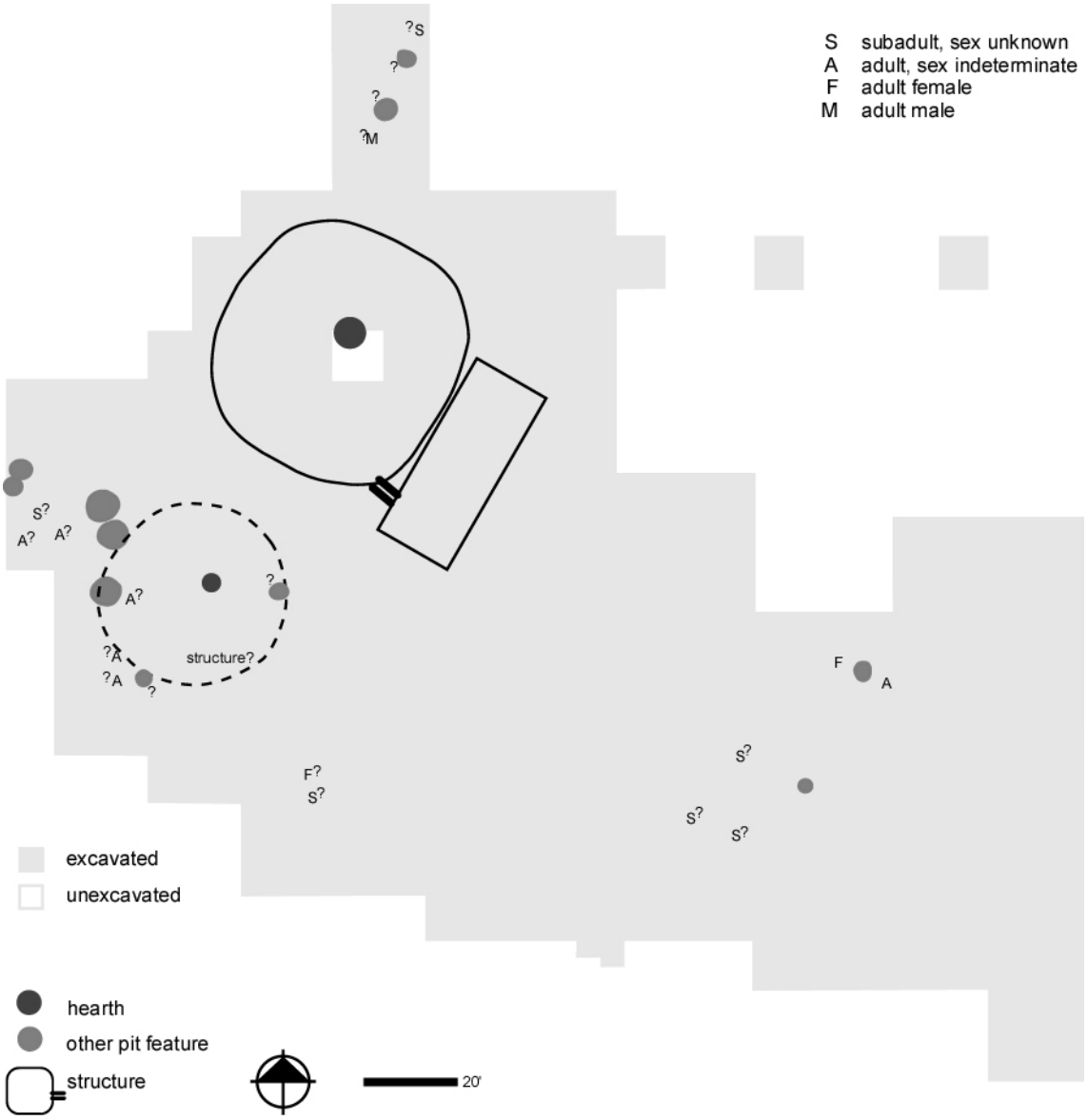


Figure 9.5. Age and sex of Late Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek.

Individuals in several other burials that cannot be attributed to one or another episode in the history of this settlement are children, indeterminate young adults, and in two cases, an elder and another relatively old adult. Burials 46, 47, and 48—all near the northern end of Feature 37—include two young adults and one mature adult. Burials 66, 67, and 68—all northwest of Feature 37—include two children and one young adult. Perhaps the spatial relationship among burials in these clusters reflects close social relationships between them, or between these individuals and activities that took place in these areas, and perhaps they are related in some way to Feature 37 or to Structure 14. These issues cannot be resolved here.

Further study of the Coweeta Creek settlement plan and settlement history, and of the timing of building and rebuilding specific domestic structures, will improve our knowledge of the spatial and temporal relationships among burials and this site, and the relationships between burials and structures. At this point, however, the following conclusions can be made. First, several burials are associated with the Early Qualla settlement here, including several located inside houses. Second, most of the burials at Coweeta Creek are probably associated with the Middle Qualla settlement, and they are commonly placed inside and beside both the Coweeta Creek townhouse and domestic houses in the village. Several burials, furthermore, are situated underneath the townhouse ramada beside pathways between the plaza and the doorway to the townhouse itself, and other arrangements of burials reference nearby structures. Third, there are no burials associated with late stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse—all the burials in and beside the townhouse are probably associated with its first two or three manifestations. Fourth, there are only two burials associated with the Late Qualla settlement—both in the area were ramadas were placed between the plaza and village.

The built environment at Coweeta Creek housed the living community—households lived in dwellings across the plaza from the townhouse, the townhouse symbolized the collective identity of these households as a town, and the plaza itself served as a setting for many different events and activities that were part of public life within the community—but architecture within the town also guided the placement of the dead, inasmuch as burials were situated inside and beside both the townhouse and domestic houses. During the Early Qualla and Middle Qualla stages of settlement at Coweeta Creek, many people were buried inside and beside structures. It seems likely that one outcome of this practice would have been that memories of these people, and the social roles and identities they adopted during their lives, were attached to the structures in which, or beside which, they were buried. During the late 1600s and early 1700s, very few people were buried close to the Coweeta Creek townhouse and plaza. People were probably buried close to the houses in which they lived, as had often been the case during earlier stages in the history of the town. By that point in the history of the town, however, households were probably loosely scattered, farther apart and farther away from the townhouse than was the case during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Very few people were buried in public areas within the town, although the community continued to keep its townhouse close to the resting places of some of its ancestors, and, indeed, directly on top of the buried remnants of several earlier townhouses and the people buried in them.

Burials and Grave Goods

Spatial patterning in the placement of graves at Coweeta Creek sheds light on the social structure of this community, and the consideration of other characteristics of burials at this site adds to our knowledge of social organization within this town (Rodning 2001a). The following section reviews the kinds of burials present at Coweeta Creek and the grave goods present in them. My comments here compare and contrast the kinds of burials and grave goods present in the Coweeta Creek townhouse with those in the village. These comparisons group all burials in and near the townhouse into one category. All others are grouped into the village category. For my purposes here, the burial in the plaza, those underneath the townhouse ramada, and the burials situated around the outer edge of the mound are all considered to be "townhouse" burials. All burials in other parts of the site, including those inside and beside domestic houses, and also those in the area southwest of the townhouse, are here considered to be "village" burials. I first consider evidence of the design of the graves themselves. I then describe the abundance and diversity of mortuary goods found in burials in the townhouse and village areas.

What were the shapes and dimensions of burials themselves? The simple pit burials and shaft and chamber graves at Coweeta Creek are similar to graves found at other Mississippian settlements in western North Carolina and surrounding areas (see Appendix D; Dickens 1976; Lewis, Lewis, and Sullivan 1995). Eighty-seven percent (N=72) of the burials at Coweeta Creek were simple oval pits. They ranged from roughly one to six feet long (3.6 feet on average), roughly one to five feet wide (2.6 feet on average), and from 0.4 to 4.5 feet deep (1.9 feet on average)—an example of a simple pit burial is Burial 9, shown in Figure 9.6. Thirteen percent (N=11) were shaft and chamber burials, whose shafts resembled those

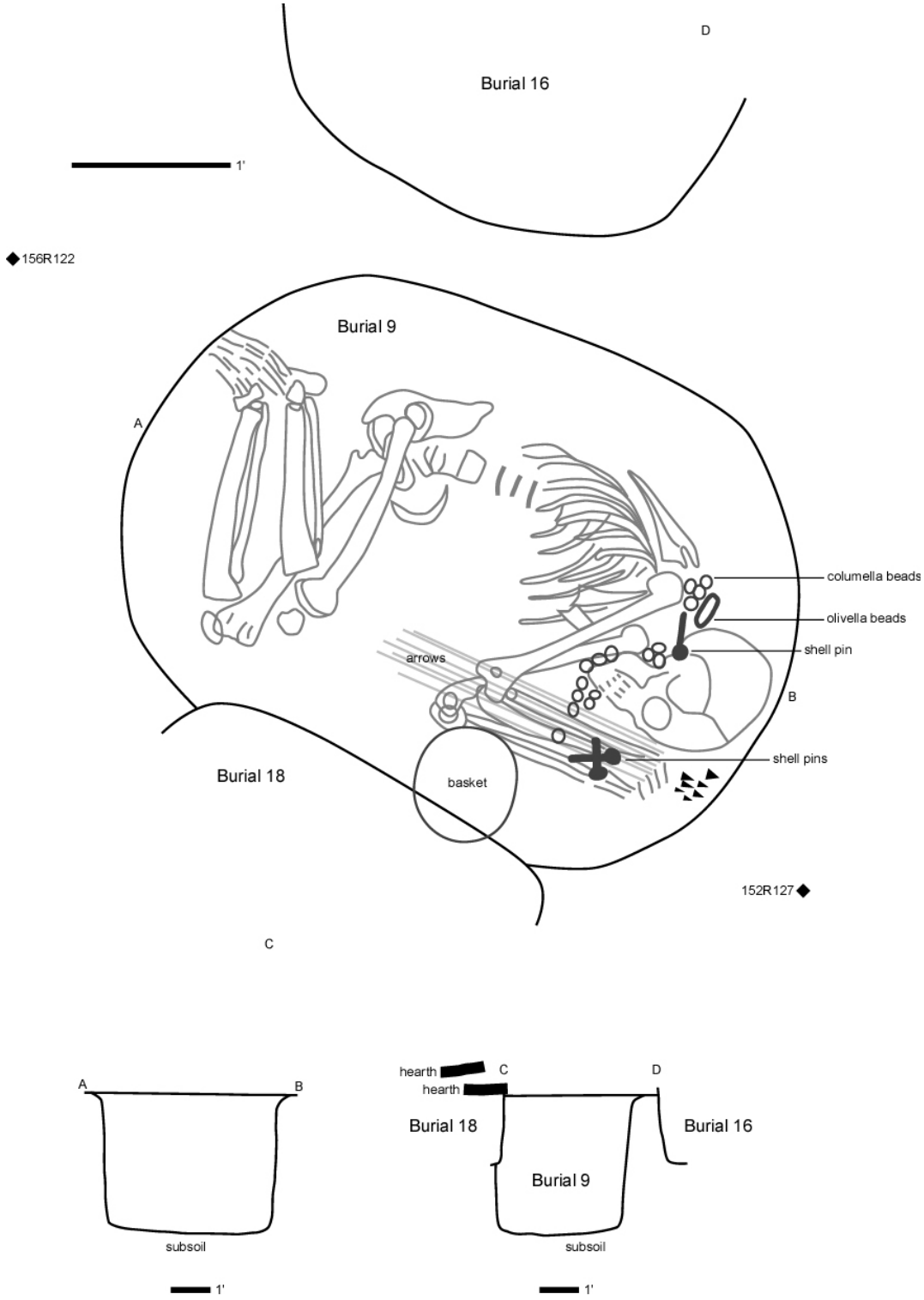


Figure 9.6. Burial 9, a simple pit burial at Coweeta Creek.

of simple pit burials, but which included an additional chamber that was dug off to one side of the shaft. The chambers of these burials ranged from 0.25 to 2.75 feet deep (1.0 foot on average)—an example is Burial 6, shown in Figure 9.7. Nine other shaft and chamber burials resemble Burial 6, with chambers off to one side of the burial shafts. The only exception is Burial 37, whose chamber was dug directly downward through the bottom of the burial shaft, forming a central chamber, rather than a side chamber.

Archaeologists have noted that the energy and resources expended in burying an individual—as evident in the dimensions and designs of graves and artifacts placed in them—generally reflect at least some of the social roles and identities of the deceased (Braun 1982; Brown 1971; Larson 1971; Peebles and Kus 1977; O'Shea 1984; Parker Pearson 2002:72-77, 193-197; Shennan 1975; Tainter 1975, 1977, 1978, 1980). Relatively egalitarian communities with minimal social differentiation between people may not mark status distinctions through the kinds of graves in which they bury the dead. On the other hand, societies in which there are significant differences in power, wealth, and status between groups of people may mark these distinctions in the amount of effort invested in burying leaders, rulers, and commoners, respectively. Such differences may be archaeologically visible at Coweeta Creek and other late prehistoric and protohistoric settlements in western North Carolina as differences between people buried in simple or shaft and chamber graves, in addition to any distinctions made through the amount and kinds of material culture buried with individuals. Digging any pit with sticks and other aboriginal digging tools probably was not an easy task, but digging a burial with a shaft and separate chamber would have demanded more energy and effort than digging a simple pit, simply because a chamber required more digging by whatever design considerations it entailed. If people buried in the

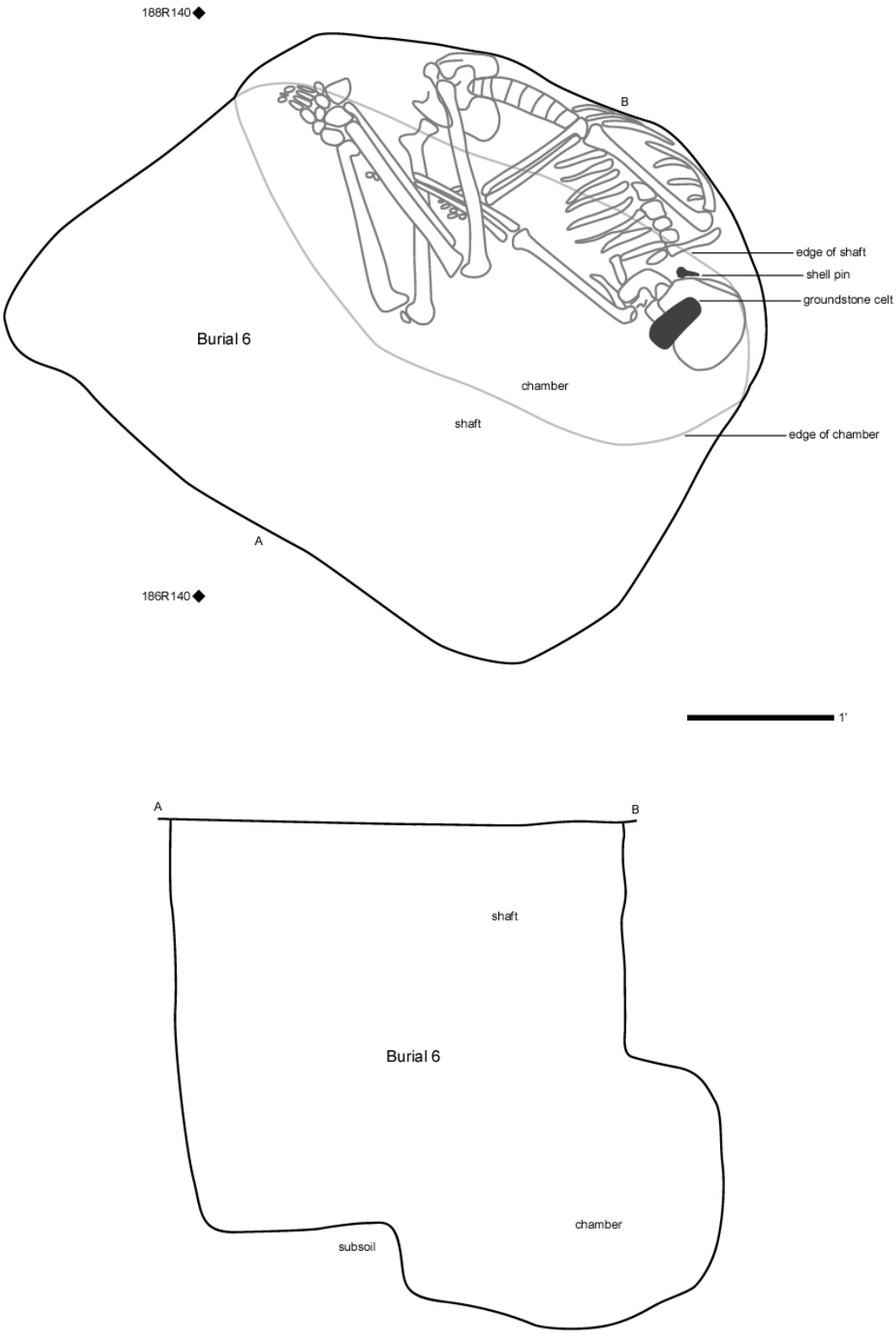


Figure 9.7. Burial 6, a shaft and chamber burial at Coweeta Creek.

townhouse at Coweeta Creek could claim higher status than their counterparts in the village, then we may see shaft and chamber graves concentrated in and around the townhouse. If one household at Coweeta Creek outranked others, then we may see shaft and chamber graves concentrated in and around one dwelling in the village. The following series of maps consider these possibilities. I first map all the graves at the Coweeta Creek site. I then examine the types of graves associated with the Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla settlement, respectively.

Figure 9.8 shows all the burials at the site. Several shaft and chamber burials are present in the area near the townhouse, including one in the plaza, and five in and near the townhouse ramada. However, most of the graves in the townhouse are simple pit burials, as is the case in other parts of the site. Several shaft and chamber burials are also present in the village. Clearly, shaft and chamber graves are not exclusively associated with the townhouse. Of course, the townhouse was not part of the Early Qualla settlement. Several of the Early Qualla burials are in fact shaft and chamber graves.

Figure 9.9 shows the Early Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek. Burial 42 is one shaft and chamber grave—in it was buried an adult woman, between 35 and 45 years of age. This woman was buried with shell beads and a ground stone celt. Her grave is one of several inside a house. Burial 37 is another shaft and chamber grave in another house—in it was buried the adult woman with animal bone fragments, noted above. Given the unique nature of this assemblage of grave goods, the unique design of this central chamber burial, and the placement of a hearth above this grave, it would seem that the woman buried here held a significant role within her household or within the community as a whole. The other shaft and chamber grave in the Early Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek is Burial 34, which is

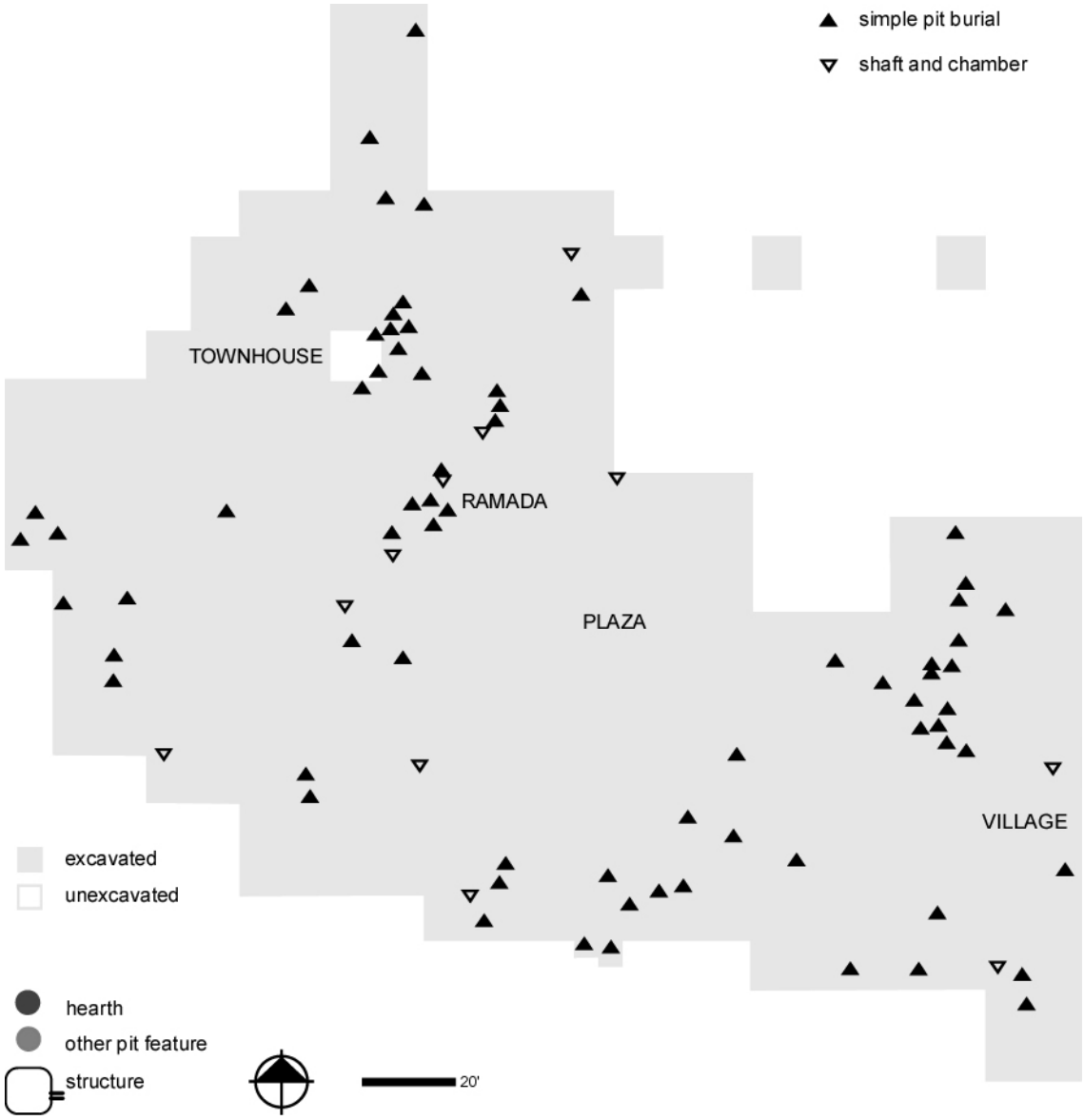


Figure 9.8. Types of graves at Coweeta Creek.

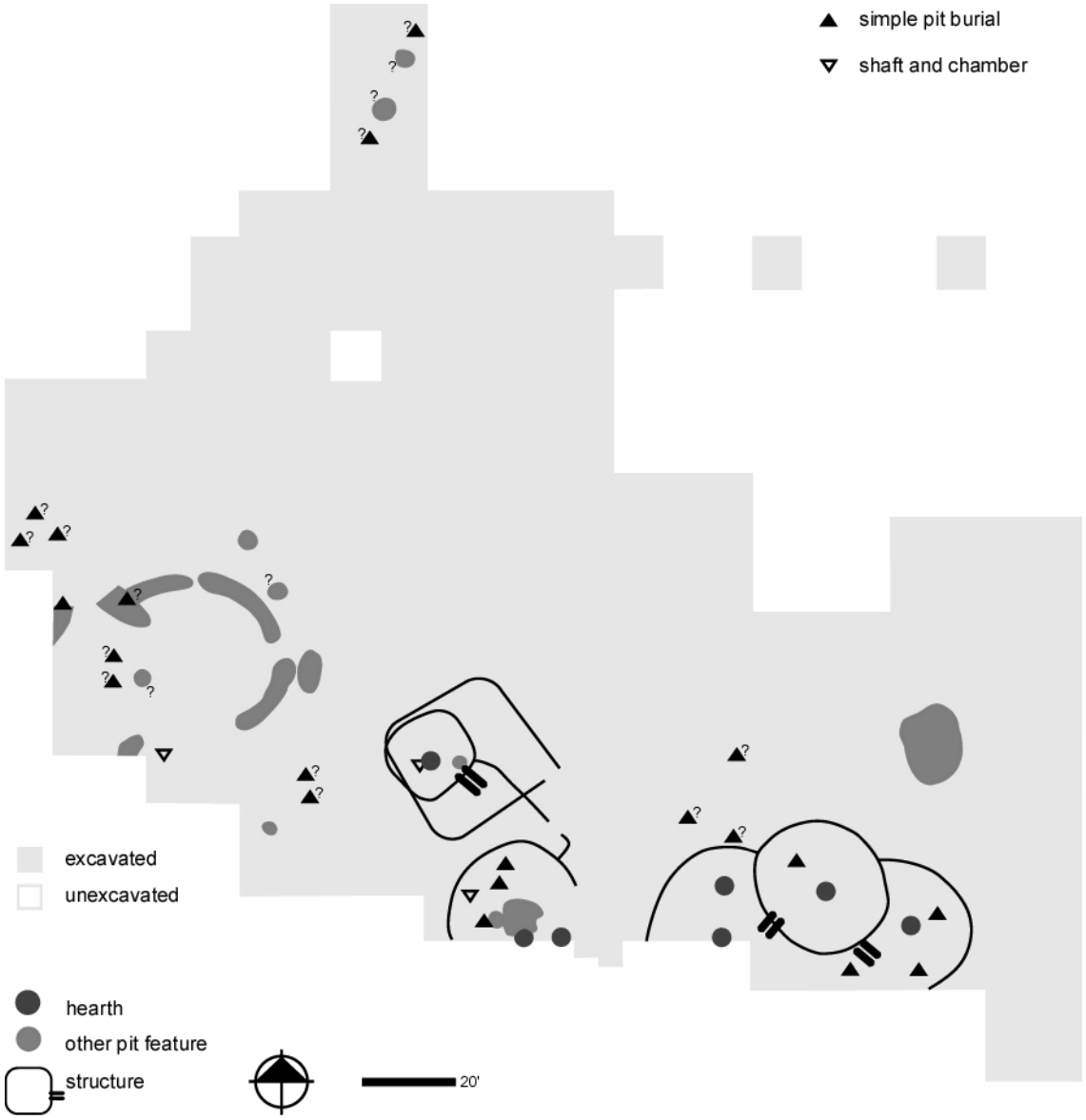


Figure 9.9. Early Qualla graves at Coweeta Creek.

near Feature 37. The other Early Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek are simple pits. These include seven inside structures 7 and 9 and one near features 37 and 54.

Figure 9.10 shows the Middle Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek. There are five shaft and chamber burials in the townhouse ramada and the area around the townhouse, but 27 of the 32 townhouse burials are simple pit burials. Fifteen percent (5 of 32) of townhouse burials are shaft and chamber graves, and that proportion is only minimally greater than the ten percent (3 of 29) of the village burials which are shaft and chamber graves. Shaft and chamber burials are not much more densely concentrated in the townhouse area than in the village area after all. I am not sure what social or cosmological rules may have determined which people were buried in simple pits or in shaft and chamber graves. I can conclude that burial in the townhouse or village did not determine the kind of grave in which an individual was buried.

Given the deeply symbolic nature of mortuary ritual in general, there must have been specific reasons why some people were buried in simple pits and others in shaft and chamber graves. Not all burials in and around the townhouse are shaft and chamber graves, and not all individuals buried in this form of burial are associated with grave goods. Adults and subadults were both buried in each type of grave, as were both men and women. I therefore conclude that burial type was not closely correlated with gender, nor with the status of individuals, inasmuch as status was reflected by the presence of nonperishable grave goods. I suggest that gender and status may have been one factor, but that there were probably also additional factors that determined the types of graves in which people were buried.

Figure 9.11 shows the Late Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek. Both of the graves associated with this stage of the settlement are simple pit burials. Both individuals in these

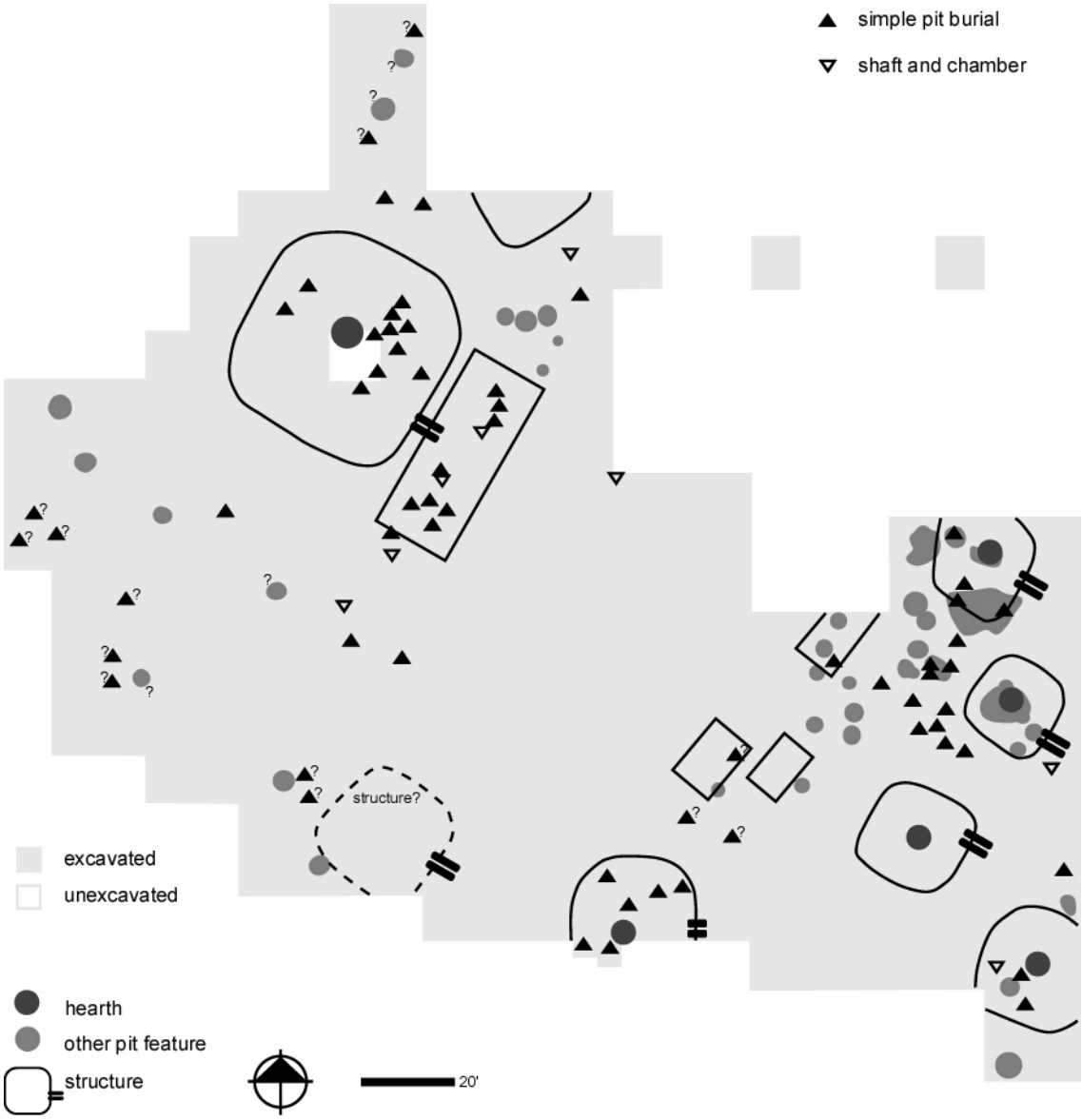


Figure 9.10. Middle Qualla graves at Coweeta Creek.

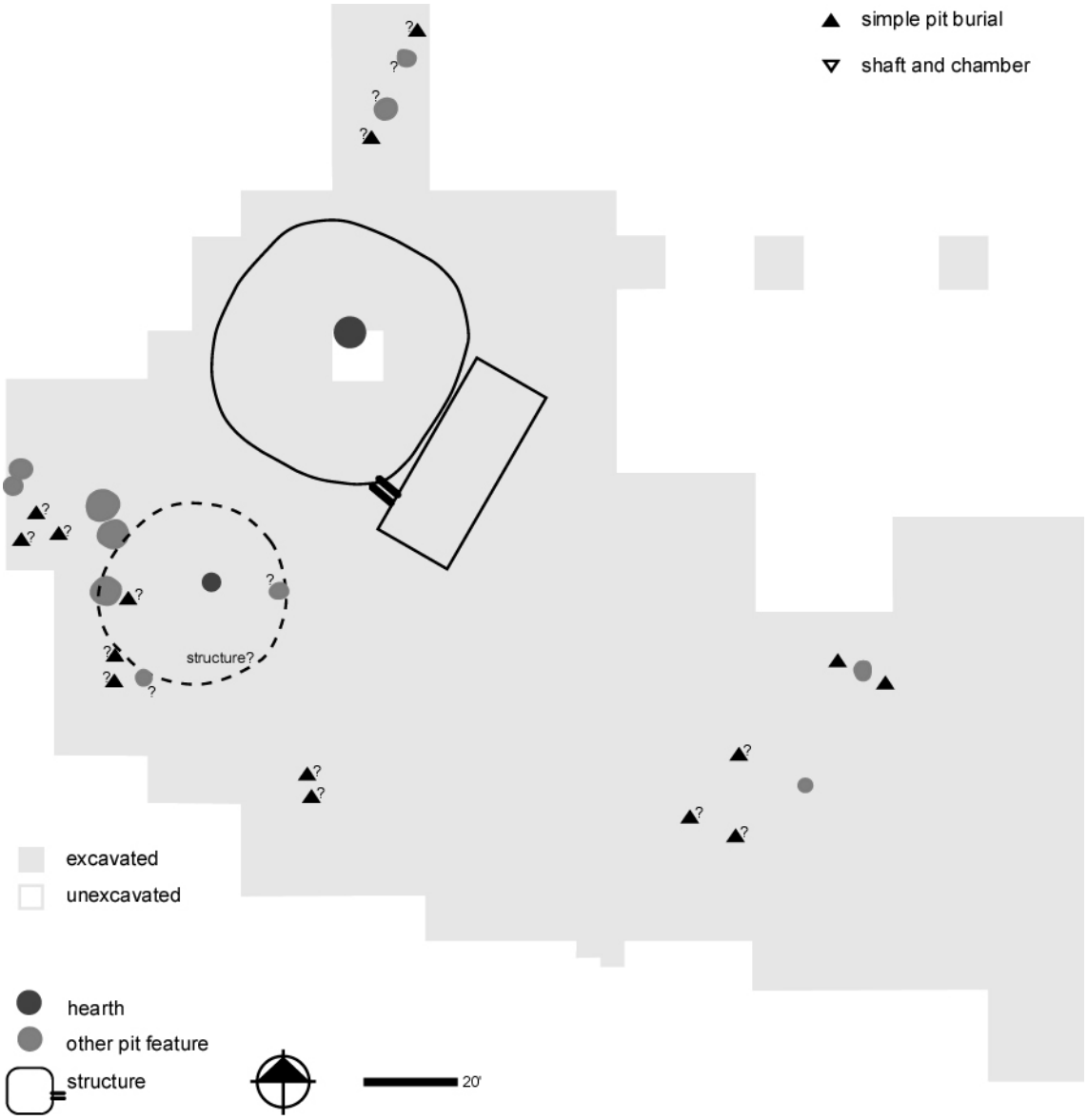


Figure 9.11. Late Qualla graves at Coweeta Creek.

burials are young adults, and it may be significant that no young adults at the site, from any period, are buried in shaft and chamber graves. At least one individual from all other age groups at Coweeta Creek is buried in a shaft and chamber grave. It seems unlikely that young adults were entirely excluded from burial in a shaft and chamber grave merely because of age, and it seems unlikely that the practice of burying some people in this type of grave was abruptly discontinued during the Late Qualla phase, but both are possibilities.

Just as shaft and chamber burials are no more concentrated in the townhouse than in other parts of the site, there is also no necessary relationship between grave type and the presence of nonperishable grave goods. Of the eleven shaft and chamber burials at the entire site, mortuary items are present in six, or 55%. By comparison, grave goods are present in 25 of 72 simple pit burials, or 35%. Therefore, grave goods are more commonly associated with shaft and chamber than with simple pit burials (Figure 9.2). However, the single grave with the most abundant and most diverse set of mortuary goods at the site is a simple pit burial, rather than a shaft and chamber grave, and there are many other examples of simple pit burials with several nonperishable items in them (Figure 9.2).

What was buried with people in these graves? The range of grave goods present at Coweeta Creek is broadly comparable to that seen at other Mississippian settlements in western North Carolina and surrounding areas (see Appendix D; Dickens 1976; Lewis, Lewis, and Sullivan 1995). Thirty-one (37%) of the 83 burials at the site include nonperishable grave goods. Nineteen (62%) of these 31 burials include only one kind of artifact, seven (23%) have two types of mortuary items, two (6%) have three types, two (6%) burials inside the townhouse have four types, and one in the townhouse ramada (Burial 9) is an outlier with nine different types of grave goods.

Although the symbolic meanings attached to specific grave goods often cannot be detected archaeologically, the abundance and diversity of artifacts in burials likely is related in some way to the diversity of social roles and identities that an individual had adopted during his or her lifetime—either through his or her own accomplishments, through relations and contacts with other people, or both—and the ways that these roles and identities are remembered by surviving members of the community who are, after all, the ones who bury the dead (Brown 1971; Chapman 1981, 1995; Larson 1971; Metcalf and Huntington 1991; O'Shea 1984; Parker Pearson 1999:78-79, 83-84; Shennan 1975). Some individuals at Coweeta Creek, such as the male elder in the townhouse in Burial 17, are buried with shell gorgets or shell mask gorgets that may reflect status as prominent warriors, traders, hunters, or ritual specialists (see Brain and Phillips 1996; Muller 1966, 1989; Phillips and Brown 1975; Smith and Smith 1989). Other individuals at Coweeta Creek, such as the adult woman in Burial 42, are buried with turtle shell rattles that may reflect status as leaders of dances or other ritual events during which such rattles were worn. However, the specific meanings of most artifacts in burials—shell beads, clay and stone smoking pipes, stone discs, shell pins, pots, and others—are more difficult to discern (but see also Eastman 2001; Thomas 1996). Therefore, my comments here concentrate more on the diversity of artifact types associated with buried individuals than on the specific kinds of artifacts found in these graves.

Figure 9.12 shows the numbers of different types of grave goods in each burial at the Coweeta Creek site (see Appendix D). This and the following series of maps show an index of the diversity of grave goods in burials at the site. For example, a burial with any number of shell beads has a diversity score of "1," a burial with beads and a pipe is scored at "2," and a burial with no grave goods of course receives a score of zero. Sixteen of 32 (50%) burials

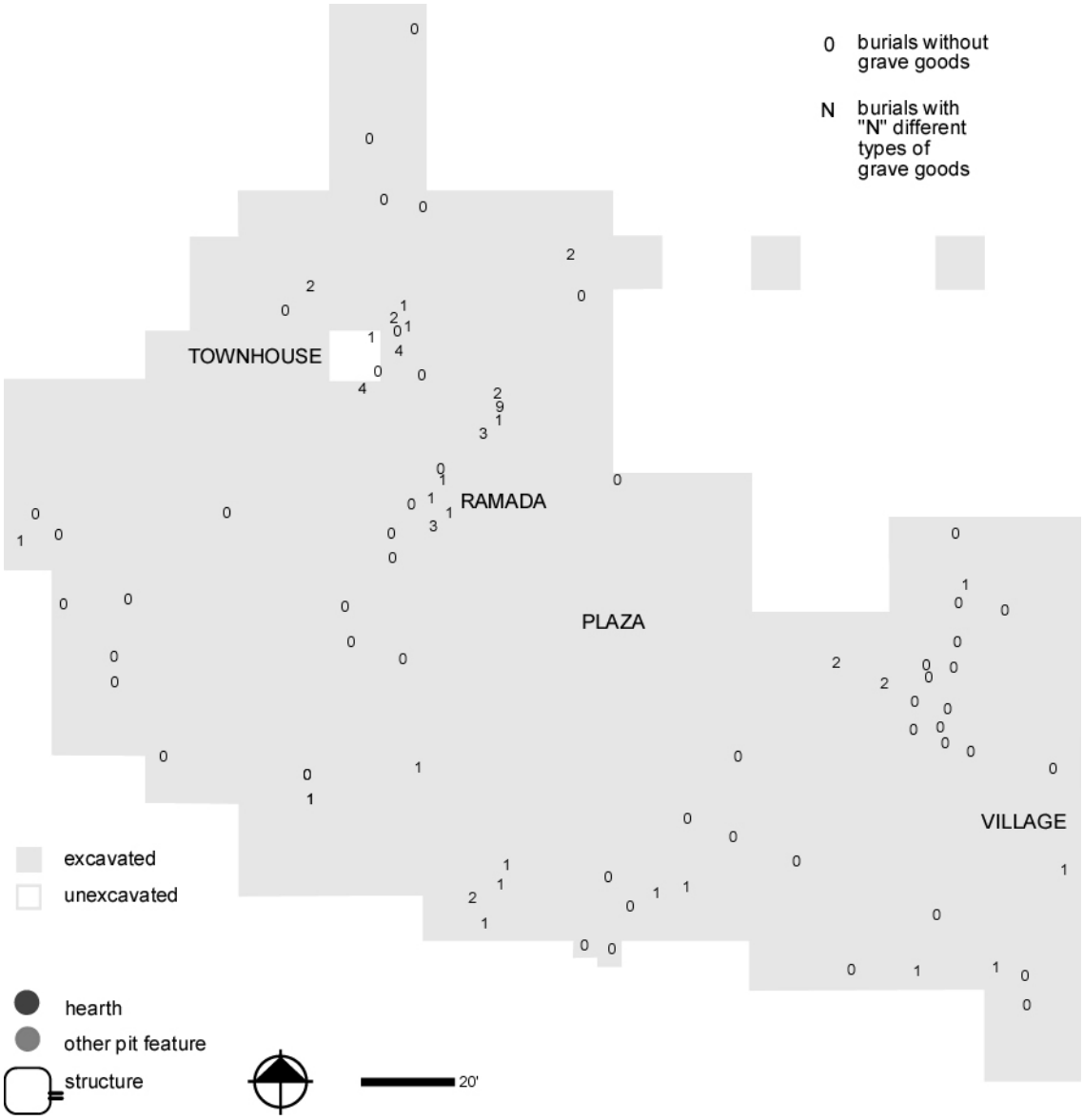


Figure 9.12. Diversity of types of grave goods in burials at Coweeta Creek.

in the townhouse include grave goods. Fifteen of 51 (29%) burials in the village include mortuary items. The five graves with the highest diversity scores (from 3 to 9) are all located in the townhouse and townhouse ramada. The other burials with 1 or 2 types of grave goods are relatively evenly split between the townhouse and village, with 11 in the former, and 15 in the latter. Burials with the most diverse sets of grave goods are clearly concentrated in and around the townhouse (Figure 9.2).

Figure 9.13 (see Appendix D) shows the variety of grave goods associated with Early Qualla burials at the site. All four burials inside Structure 9 have grave goods—including turtle shell rattles, shell beads, and one ground stone celt. Only one of the four burials in Structure 7 includes any nonperishable mortuary items—one shell mask gorget buried with an adolescent. The grave underneath the hearth of Structure 11, designated Burial 37, is the grave of the adult woman buried with animal bone fragments (Figure 9.2).

Figure 9.14 (see Appendix D) shows the diversity of grave goods in Middle Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek. Most of the burials in the village area have no mortuary items. Burials with grave goods, and several different types of them, are concentrated in the townhouse and townhouse ramada. My interpretation of this pattern is that people who were buried in the townhouse had, generally, adopted, or inherited, a broader range of social roles and identities than people who were buried in the village. The diversity of social roles and identities of these people was marked through burial in the townhouse, and, in many cases, burial with a broad range of material culture.

Figure 9.15 shows the diversity scores of mortuary items in Late Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek (see Appendix D). One burial included shell beads and a clay pipe buried with a young adult (Burial 40). Another included shell beads and a turtle shell rattle buried

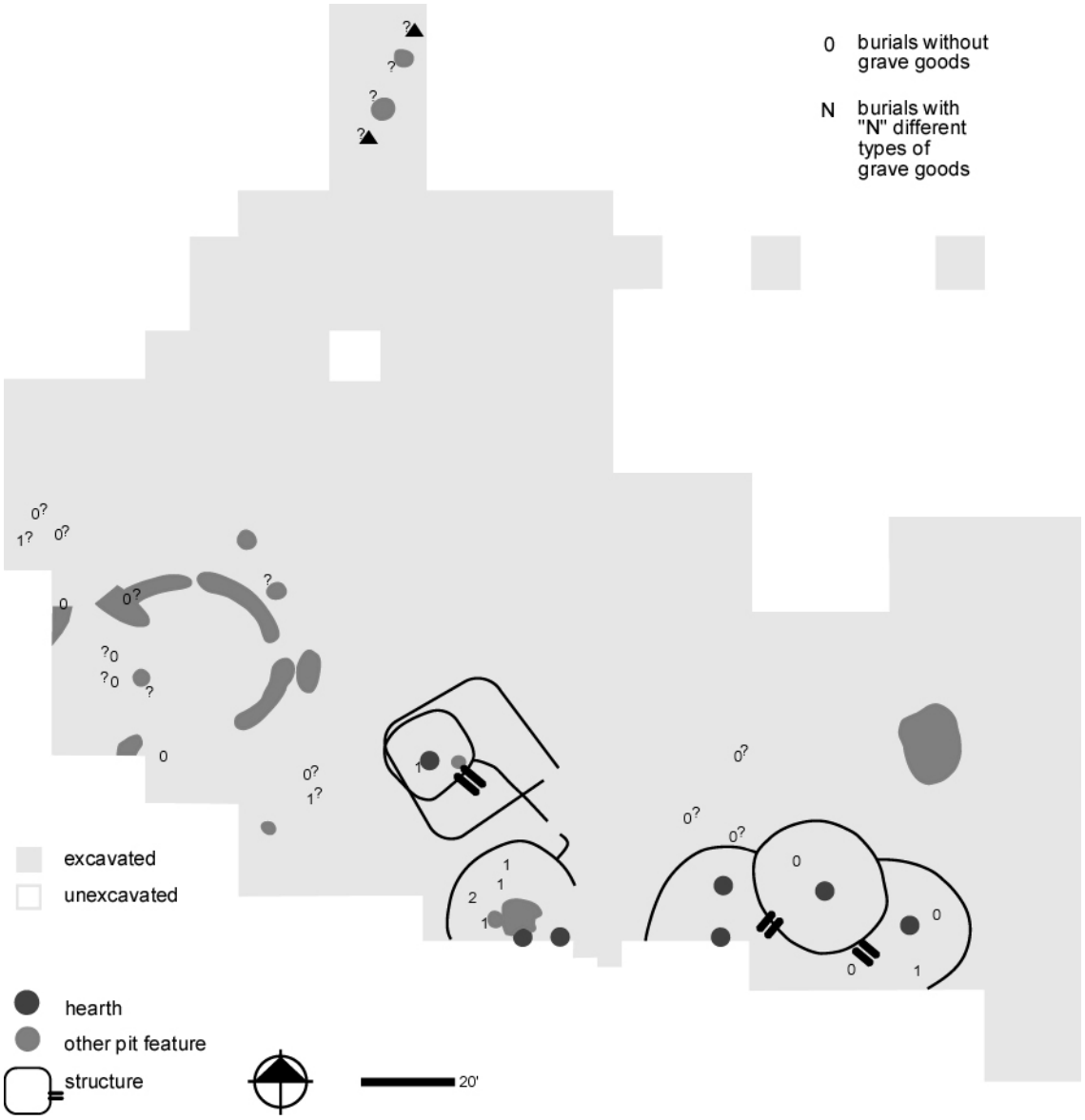


Figure 9.13. Diversity of types of grave goods in Early Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek.

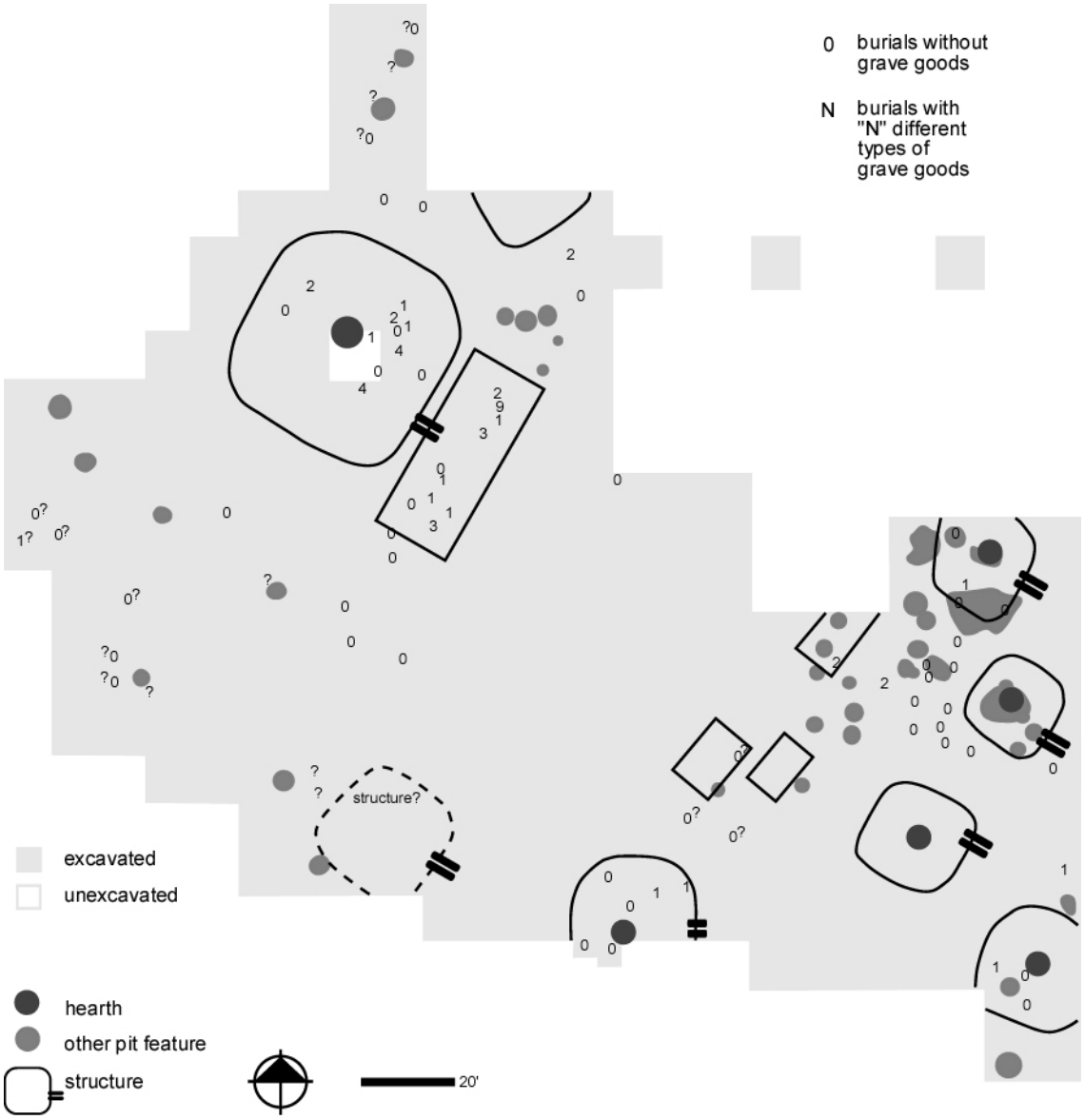


Figure 9.14. Diversity of types of grave goods in Middle Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek.

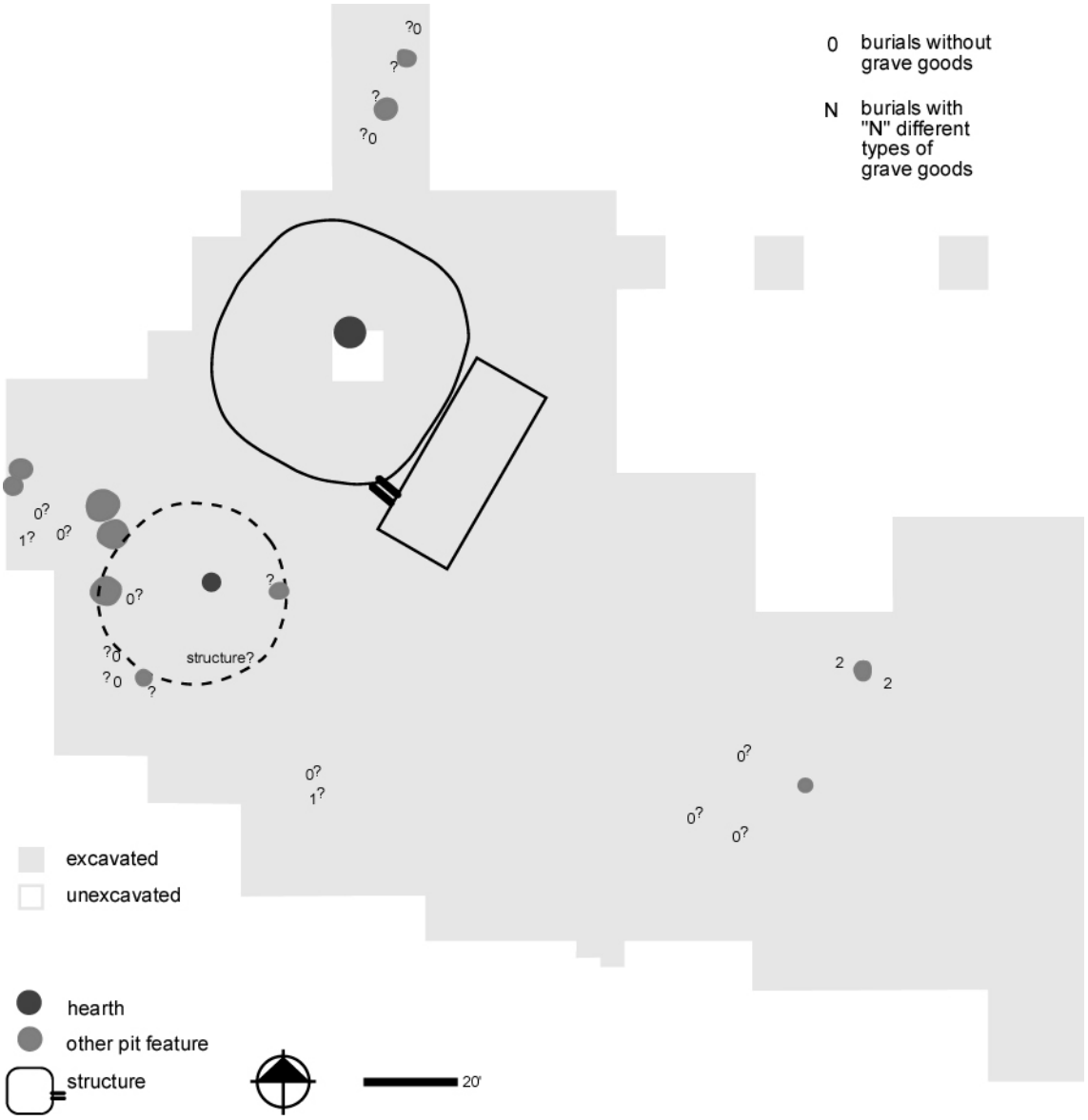


Figure 9.15. Diversity of types of grave goods in Late Qualla burials at Coweeta Creek.

with a young adult woman (Burial 41). At this point in the history of this settlement, the townhouse and plaza were still present, but dwellings in the village area had been abandoned. If these burials are indeed associated with the Late Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek, and perhaps with ramadas that were still situated at the edge of the plaza, then the artifacts in them may relate to the roles these young adults played in public events that took place on the town plaza.

One of the most easily identifiable patterns in these maps, and in Figure 9.2, is the concentration of burials with the most diverse sets of grave goods in the townhouse and townhouse ramada at Coweeta Creek. Another noteworthy pattern is the general similarity in the kinds and diversity of grave goods in burials associated with different houses in the village. Graves inside and beside each house may include one or two burials with one or two types of mortuary items, but none have more than two types of grave goods, and most burials include no nonperishable items. Burials inside or beside houses probably represent members of the households associated with these dwellings. There are no pronounced distinctions between households in the diversity of grave goods in associated burials, and, therefore, there probably would not have been great differences in status and wealth among households within the community.

Burial in a public space such as the townhouse and townhouse ramada was probably reserved primarily for people who possessed a variety of publicly acknowledged social roles and identities. Such individuals would have been members of a clan, and of a household within the community, but they probably also achieved (in the case of adults) or inherited (in the case of children) status within the public life of the town as a whole, thus entitling them to burial in a public space. There probably were no great distinctions in wealth and power

between people who were buried in the townhouse and townhouse ramada and those who were buried in the village, given that many townhouse burials have no grave goods at all, and many of the same types of grave goods are found in burials in both townhouse and village areas. The specific meanings of all the types of grave goods from this site cannot be identified here, but we can conclude that burials with the most diverse sets of grave goods at Coweeta Creek are located in and beside the townhouse. My interpretation of this pattern is that the numbers of types of grave goods (shell pins, shell pendants, smoking pipes, and others) in burials at Coweeta Creek are generally related to the number of social roles and identities possessed by individuals during their lifetimes. Every individual would have developed many social identities and different kinds of roles within the community during their lives, and only some of them many have been materialized through the placement of a burial in a particular space or a burial with a specific set of grave goods. It is likely that those buried in the townhouse and townhouse ramada tended to have a broader range of community-wide and publicly-acknowledged roles and identities within the community than those buried in other parts of the site.

As noted, the symbolic meanings of specific kinds of material culture in these graves can be difficult to discern in many cases, but some artifacts may be identifiable. For example, turtle shell rattles like those found in burials 40 and 41, and perhaps in Burial 13, probably represent rattles worn during dances performed by those individuals. The seven arrowheads found in Burial 9, with linear stains from the arrow shafts themselves, may represent a quiver of seven arrows that, in this mortuary context, represent the accomplishments of this male elder as a war chief, warrior, hunter, or all of these roles put together.

Patterns in the association of grave goods with specific individuals, as depicted in Figure 9.2, may also offer insight into the significance of some types of these mortuary offerings at Coweeta Creek. Knobbed shell pins—which are generally found near the neck or ears of individuals—are commonly associated with adult males, and they may therefore reflect social roles or identities more accessible to men than to women. Celts are only found with two elders, one male, and one female. Pots are only found with two children, one in the townhouse and one in the village. Only one circular shell gorget is present in the assemblage of grave goods from the site. This gorget, bearing an engraved rattlesnake motif, is an example of the Citico style, seen at late prehistoric and protohistoric sites in the greater southern Appalachians—the burial of such a gorget with a male elder at Coweeta Creek may reflect his participation in prestige goods networks through which such items circulated (Brain and Phillips 1996; Muller 1966; Smith 1989b; Ward and Davis 1999:188). Shell mask gorgets, often associated with young adult males at other Mississippian sites in southern Appalachia, are here associated with children or adult males in Coweeta Creek burials—the engraved iconography on shell masks may be related to war and hunting (Smith and Smith 1989; Ward and Davis 1999:188). It is tempting to conclude that the unsexed subadults with shell masks are also males, but this suggestion is speculative. The specific meanings of all these artifacts are probably related in some way to the age and gender of individuals, and the selected personal characteristics that differentiated them from other individuals in the community.

Spatial Patterns in the Placement of Burials at Coweeta Creek

My primary interest in this chapter has been the placement of the dead within public and domestic spaces in the Coweeta Creek settlement, at different points in its history. Spatial patterns in these mortuary data can be considered clues about the social structure of the Coweeta Creek community and also about the conceptual relationship between people and place at this town. Burials represent only the last stage of mortuary treatment, of course, but they are the places where the dead are housed, and presumably would be carefully chosen, and graves at Coweeta Creek are situated within public and domestic areas where people lived their everyday lives. I interpret the burial of the dead in these spaces to mean that architecture referenced the dead, and the memory of deceased members of the community, even as it formed venues for the practice of public and domestic life. People lived within dwellings that also housed—both metaphorically and literally—deceased members of those households. And just as old townhouses were burned and buried, so too were selected members of the community buried in this space, probably including people who were prominent town leaders during their lifetimes and also some children related to them through kin networks. I consider the spatial relationships between burials and architecture to reflect the connections between the activities and events housed in those spaces and the people buried in them. Burial within and beside the townhouse was reserved primarily, though not solely, for adult males whose lives may have been focused on diplomacy, warfare, exchange, and other activities—pursued outside the realm of domestic life—related to leadership within towns and interactions with other towns. As the lives and accomplishments of men in the community were connected to the townhouse, the publicly acknowledged roles of women

within matrilocal households and matrilineal clans may have been commemorated by the burial of adult women inside and beside houses in the village.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

The native town at Coweeta Creek dates to the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods. During the 1400s, a settlement of several houses was present at this site. During the 1500s, a more formal town plan was put in place, including a townhouse and public plaza, surrounded by domestic houses that were spaced closely together in a compact village area. Sometime during the 1600s, most if not all of the dwellings close to the plaza were abandoned, and households presumably moved farther away from this public center of the community, dispersing into the surrounding countryside. The townhouse was kept in place until the early 1700s, but the Coweeta Creek site was not included on maps of Middle Cherokee towns, nor was it recorded as a town in journals by English visitors to the southern Appalachians during the eighteenth century. This concluding chapter relates the history of the built environment at Coweeta Creek to the social history of the Cherokee community situated at this locality in the upper Little Tennessee Valley. First, I summarize the main conclusions drawn in these chapters about what the settlement at Coweeta Creek looked like at different points in its history. Then, I place Coweeta Creek in regional and temporal perspective.

The Native Town at Coweeta Creek

During the eighteenth century, dozens of Cherokee towns dotted the landscape of southern Appalachia. Towns were, first and foremost, social and political entities, composed of matrilocal households, whose members belonged to one of seven matrilineal clans, except for husbands who were members of different clans and who had married into any particular household. The spatial layouts of towns varied according to the contours of local landscapes and the numbers of households and houses present within them. A town, nevertheless, was always manifested as a place that was marked by a townhouse and an adjacent plaza. A townhouse, and, more specifically, the hearth at the center of a townhouse, attached the surrounding community to a single spot within the landscape, just as dwellings anchored households to specific points within towns. Archaeological evidence from Coweeta Creek offers one example of how these kinds of relationships between people and place were materialized at one town. Patterns in the arrangement and alignment of architecture at Coweeta Creek were preserved in successive stages of both public and domestic structures. Through building and rebuilding the town, and adhering to these patterns, the Coweeta Creek community acknowledged the spatial arrangements and alignments that were set in place early in the history of the settlement.

A quick glance at the Coweeta Creek site map is enough to identify a townhouse and plaza, and several dwellings situated in a compact village (see chapters 4 and 5). The houses themselves are comparable to the post-in-ground wattle-and-daub structures seen at other Mississippian towns and villages in the Appalachian Summit and surrounding areas, and both dwellings and the townhouse are comparable to each other in architectural design (Dickens 1978; Hally 2002; Hally and Kelly 1998; Polhemus 1990; Sullivan 1995; Ward and Davis

1999). The layout of the settlement closely resembles the Mississippian town at the Ledford Island site, with distinct public and domestic spaces (Schroedl 1998:84-85; Sullivan 1987). There is no direct archaeological evidence of a log stockade enclosing the Coweeta Creek settlement. The compact arrangement of the Coweeta Creek townhouse, plaza, and dwellings, however, suggests that a log stockade surrounded the town.

A variety of evidence from Coweeta Creek offers clues about the dates of this town, and changes in its layout during different episodes of its settlement history (see chapters 6 and 7). Diagnostic projectile points recovered from the ground surface at Coweta Creek reflect aboriginal cultural activity in this part of the upper Little Tennessee Valley for several thousand years. This study has concentrated on the Mississippian and protohistoric town at the Coweeta Creek site, dating from either the 1300s or 1400s through the early eighteenth century. This timeframe is derived from radiocarbon dates on charcoal from several pits and structures at the Coweeta Creek site. European artifacts from some pits, and from late stages of the townhouse, indicate that the Coweeta Creek settlement was not entirely abandoned until the eighteenth century.

Aboriginal ceramics are another source of clues about the absolute dates of the Coweeta Creek settlement, and the relative dates of different structures and pits at the site (see Chapter 8). Archaeologists have long attributed the pottery from Coweeta Creek to the Qualla series, which represents late prehistoric and historic Cherokee pottery in southwestern North Carolina (Dickens 1976, 1978, 1979; Keel 1976). I have identified differences in the relative frequencies of specific characteristics of Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla ceramics from independently dated contexts at the site. I have then attributed structures and pits to early, middle, and late stages in the history of settlement at Coweeta

Creek based on ceramics and other chronological clues. This effort gives us a series of maps of what the town at Coweeta Creek looked like at different points from late prehistory through the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it outlines a model of temporal variation in Qualla pottery that can and should be tested, and also revised as needed, through further study of Qualla ceramics from this and other sites in southwestern North Carolina (Riggs and Rodning 2002; Wilson and Rodning 2002).

Nearly all of the burials at Coweeta Creek date to early or middle stages in the history of this settlement, whereas few if any date to the late 1600s or early 1700s (see Chapter 9). Many people were buried inside and beside houses. I interpret the spatial relationship between burials and nearby houses as an indication that the buried individuals were members of the households that lived in these dwellings. Some people were buried inside and beside the townhouse. I interpret the placement of graves within this public space as evidence that these particular individuals played significant roles in the practice of leadership and public life within the town. Burials connected the dead, and memories of them, to specific spaces within the built environment of the town. Architecture housed the living members of the community, and many of the activities that were part of public and domestic life, and it guided the placement of the dead as well. Some people, primarily adult males, achieved public statuses that entitled them to burial inside the townhouse or under the townhouse ramada. Most people were buried inside and beside houses in the village area, and it does not seem that differences in wealth and status between households were expressed through the types of graves in which the dead were buried nor the grave goods that were buried with them.

During the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, most or all of the domestic houses beside the plaza at Coweeta Creek were abandoned (Dickens 1978:13; Ward and Davis 1999:185-187). The townhouse and plaza still served as an architectural center for the town, but households within the community no longer lived in the compact village area beside the plaza itself. People presumably rearranged themselves in a pattern of spatially dispersed houses in the area surrounding the old town. People were no longer buried in the townhouse, and neither were they buried in the ramada or plaza beside it. By that point, the dead were probably buried close to the domestic areas where they lived, although it may also have been the case that people no longer considered town leaders worthy of burial in a public space such as a townhouse.

The first major change in the layout of the Coweeta Creek settlement, as identified in this study, is the development of the formally planned town, with distinct public and domestic areas. The townhouse and domestic houses in the Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek both fit within an overarching alignment, as did the burial of people within both public and domestic spaces, and successive stages of the townhouse and houses preserved these patterns. The built environment of this place manifested the status of local households as a town, especially in the form of a townhouse that served as a landmark and that housed the town as a whole. The formal town plan at Coweeta Creek took shape during the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. This period follows the onset of the Little Ice Age and cycles of abandonment and resettlement in the Savannah River Valley and other areas within the greater southern Appalachians (see Anderson 1994; Dickens 1978; Hally 1994a; Little 2003; Whyte 2003). Log stockades enclosed many Mississippian towns and villages dating to this period, implying an enduring threat of conflict and perhaps competition for

access to resources, including arable land (see Ashcraft 1996; Moore 2002b; Ward 1985). Such conditions may have encouraged towns to attach themselves to specific points within the landscape, and to stake claims to places through arrangements of public and domestic architecture, like the built environment set in place at Coweeta Creek at this point in its history. The arrangement and alignment of architecture and outdoor space in the formally planned settlement at Coweeta Creek anchored the town to this place. Towns could move from place to place, and they often did, but towns would have attached themselves to new places through architecture, just as the Coweeta Creek townhouse connected the surrounding community to this locality.

Households abandoned dwellings situated in the village area beside the Coweeta Creek townhouse and plaza sometime during the late seventeenth century, although the placement of the townhouse itself continued to reference the layout of the old town. This apparent dispersal of households in the Coweeta Creek community may be attributable to both environmental and social factors. The presence of several houses and households in a compact settlement probably created a variety of problems related to having so many people living so close to each other—social conflicts, the effects of weathering on houses, the accumulation of debris from the practices of everyday life. After several generations of the community had lived here, or at least after several generations of the structures that housed them had been rebuilt and abandoned, moving somewhere else may have been a desirable or even a necessary step in the life of the town—either moving as a whole town or in a less formalized dispersal of households according to their own individual needs and interests. Furthermore, the concentration of people in nucleated settlements like Coweeta Creek may have led to the depletion of natural resources in the areas around them, making it necessary

for towns to rearrange themselves across the landscape periodically. Meanwhile, the presence of European colonists in eastern North America in the 1500s and 1600s may have encouraged, or even favored, settlements that were less compact than the Mississippian towns that dotted the greater southern Appalachians during the 1400s and 1500s. This spatial dispersal may have contributed to the social dispersal of native communities in the long run, and to the diminishing salience of membership in towns as an element of group and individual identity, but building and keeping townhouses like those at Coweeta Creek did help people preserve a shared identity as a town by connecting them to specific places and the memory of earlier generations manifested in them.

The Coweeta Creek site does not correspond to any of the historically known Middle Cherokee settlements in southwestern North Carolina, but its location in the Little Tennessee Valley and the presence of Qualla ceramics at the site are clear evidence that the Coweeta Creek community is an ancestral Middle Cherokee town. At least some of the descendants of the people who lived at Coweeta Creek may have lived nearby in the Middle Cherokee village known as Echoee or at sites along Tessentee Creek, the latter of which may represent an eighteenth-century form of the Coweeta Creek town. These and several other Middle Cherokee villages and towns are noted on eighteenth-century maps, and although archaeologists have recorded sites in areas where these settlements were located, they know relatively little about what towns in the upper Little Tennessee Valley looked like after Coweeta Creek was abandoned.

Expectations of what the Coweeta Creek community looked like during the late 1600s and early 1700s can be drawn from archaeological evidence of the architecture and layout of eighteenth-century Overhill Cherokee towns in southeastern Tennessee and the eighteenth-

century Lower Cherokee town of Chattooga, the latter located in an area of northwestern South Carolina that is less than twenty miles away from the Coweeta Creek site itself (Schroedl 1986b, 2000, 2001). These towns were spatially dispersed settlements. Townhouses and plazas were present at these places, forming the architectural centers of these towns, and dwellings and domestic activity areas were widely spread across several acres at these sites. Scattered arrangements of houses and outbuildings at these sprawling eighteenth-century Cherokee settlements are different than the more compact towns that dotted the southern Appalachians during the 1500s and early 1600s. The settlement at Coweeta Creek was probably one of many such nucleated towns in southwestern North Carolina and surrounding areas. This type of settlement gave way to spatially dispersed towns sometime during the 1600s or early 1700s. Not only did eighteenth-century Cherokee towns experience the challenges of trade and warfare with European colonists, and corresponding changes in the social fabric of Cherokee communities, but they also experienced dramatic changes in the built environment of places in the Cherokee landscape.

During the middle and late 1700s, from a regional perspective, native people in the upper Little Tennessee Valley may have been concentrated around major mound centers such as Nequassee and Cowee, both of which were thriving towns throughout much of the 1700s, and which drew in European trade goods and Europeans themselves (King and Evans 1977; Waselkov and Braund 1995). Houses at settlements dating to this period, however, were probably not concentrated as closely together as they had been during earlier eras. Native settlement may have been concentrated in fewer and larger towns during the eighteenth century, but, in local perspective, these towns were neither as carefully planned nor as

compact as towns like Coweeta Creek and others in southwestern North Carolina dating to the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods.

Given the similarities between the architecture and layout of the Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek and those of other late prehistoric and protohistoric towns and villages in western North Carolina, northern Georgia, and eastern Tennessee, it would seem that Coweeta Creek is broadly applicable as a snapshot of the kinds of places where many people lived during this period (Hally and Kelly 1998; Schroedl 2000, 2001; Sullivan 1987, 1995; Ward and Davis 1999). Such compact and formally planned settlements were widely abandoned during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, probably for many different reasons in different places. Townhouses and plazas, and the earthen mounds present at some settlements, probably still formed prominent landmarks, even as households moved farther and farther away from these spaces, and farther apart from each other (Pillsbury 1983; Wilms 1974, 1990). The spatial unraveling of native towns in the greater southern Appalachians must have had dramatic effects on the lives of native people, in addition to other changes wrought by European contact in the social fabric and geopolitics of native communities (Goodwin 1977; Hatley 1989, 1991, 1995). As membership within towns—as social entities tied to places—changed or even diminished, people may have sought new ways to create communities, and they may have accentuated other aspects of personal and group identity.

The Middle Qualla settlement at Coweeta Creek represents the settlement of a community in which a shared town identity is clearly manifested. The town at Coweeta Creek demonstrates very precise community planning, and adherence to rules about the placement and alignment of the townhouse, the plaza, and domestic houses. Dwellings were spaced closely together, in the compact village area, in an arrangement indicating there

would have been close contact between households on an everyday basis. Houses were situated adjacent to the townhouse and plaza, meaning that public events and activities always took place close to domestic areas within the town. Some aspects of this spatial arrangement were preserved even at the end of the town's history, when the townhouse was still situated atop the buried remnants of its predecessors, but when households within the community had spread out away from the townhouse and plaza, spaces which still formed the hub of the town's public life. The relationship between the town at Coweeta Creek and the place where this community was housed had changed. Those changes notwithstanding, the townhouse continued to connect the community to its past, as it marked the placement of earlier townhouses and the alignments of architecture and outdoor spaces from earlier episodes in the history of the town.

People form attachments to places, including natural landmarks, and the architecture and outdoor spaces that form the places where people live (Basso 1996a). People often attach local knowledge, sacred and other symbolic meanings, and memories of past generations to places. Rather than just the backdrop to the lives of people and the public lives of whole communities, places are part of the identity of the people who make them and who live in them. Archaeology at Coweeta Creek demonstrates that the architecture in this town referenced the placement of graves and the placement of earlier stages of domestic houses and public spaces. The past was always present in the built environment of the Coweeta Creek settlement.

Native Towns in Southwestern North Carolina

From the late prehistoric period through the early eighteenth century, many people in southwestern North Carolina probably lived in towns comparable to Coweeta Creek. Archaeology at this site therefore sheds light on what many native towns in the southern Appalachians may have looked like just before European contact, at the historical moments when European colonists and native people in the Southeast first encountered each other, and at the point when native groups in the southern Appalachians first gained access to European trade goods. The settlement at Coweeta Creek was present when the Spanish began exploring the Southeast, although neither the Soto nor Pardo expeditions during the sixteenth century visited Cherokee towns themselves (Beck 1997; Hudson 1990, 1997, 2002; Moore 2002a). Late stages of the townhouse date to the beginning of trade between the Cherokee and English colonists from South Carolina, during the late 1600s and early 1700s (Gallay 2002; Goodwin 1977; Harmon 1986; Hatley 1995; Rodning 2002c). There is very little documentary evidence about native lifeways in southwestern North Carolina from the sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries, and, moreover, the archaeological study of places like Coweeta Creek offers us the chance to compare and contrast what towns looked like before and after European contact.

The settlement at the Coweeta Creek site, larger than a farmstead but not as large as a major mound center, lends insight into the kind of place in which most people in this area lived their everyday lives. Early in the history of settlement that has been reconstructed here, Coweeta Creek was probably a village composed of several households. Sometime during the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, Coweeta Creek was a formally planned town with discrete public and domestic areas. Similarities in the design and materials of the

public townhouse and of domestic dwellings in the town indicate that they were architectural manifestations of the same concept, but at different spatial and social scales. Dwellings housed the households that together formed a town, and the townhouse housed the community as a whole. All of the houses were similar to each other in design and dimensions, and, therefore, there are no architectural indications of hierarchical differences between households within the community. Events during which townhouses were built or rebuilt, renovated, dismantled and burned, and buried would have demanded the participation of all households within the community, which probably contributed to the consistency in the placement and alignment of every manifestation of the townhouse, the ramada beside it, and probably also the plaza, all of which were kept in place even after houses in the surrounding village area had been abandoned.

Coweeta Creek probably was neither the largest nor the most prominent town in the upper Little Tennessee Valley. There likely were many more households at towns such as Nequassee and Cowee than at the Coweeta Creek site (Figure 10.1). Earthen mounds were present at both of these Middle Cherokee settlements, located seven and twelve miles downstream from, or north of, the Coweeta Creek site, respectively, and townhouses were placed on the summits of these and other earthen mounds during the eighteenth century (Duncan and Riggs 2003; King and Evans 1977; Waselkov and Braund 1995:84-85). The presence of pyramidal platform mounds marked them as larger towns, and, perhaps, older towns than that at the Coweeta Creek site (Duncan and Riggs 2003:146-147, 151-155, 172-173). The mound at Coweeta Creek was formed as several stages of a townhouse were built, burned, buried, and rebuilt, rather than having been built as a platform mound.

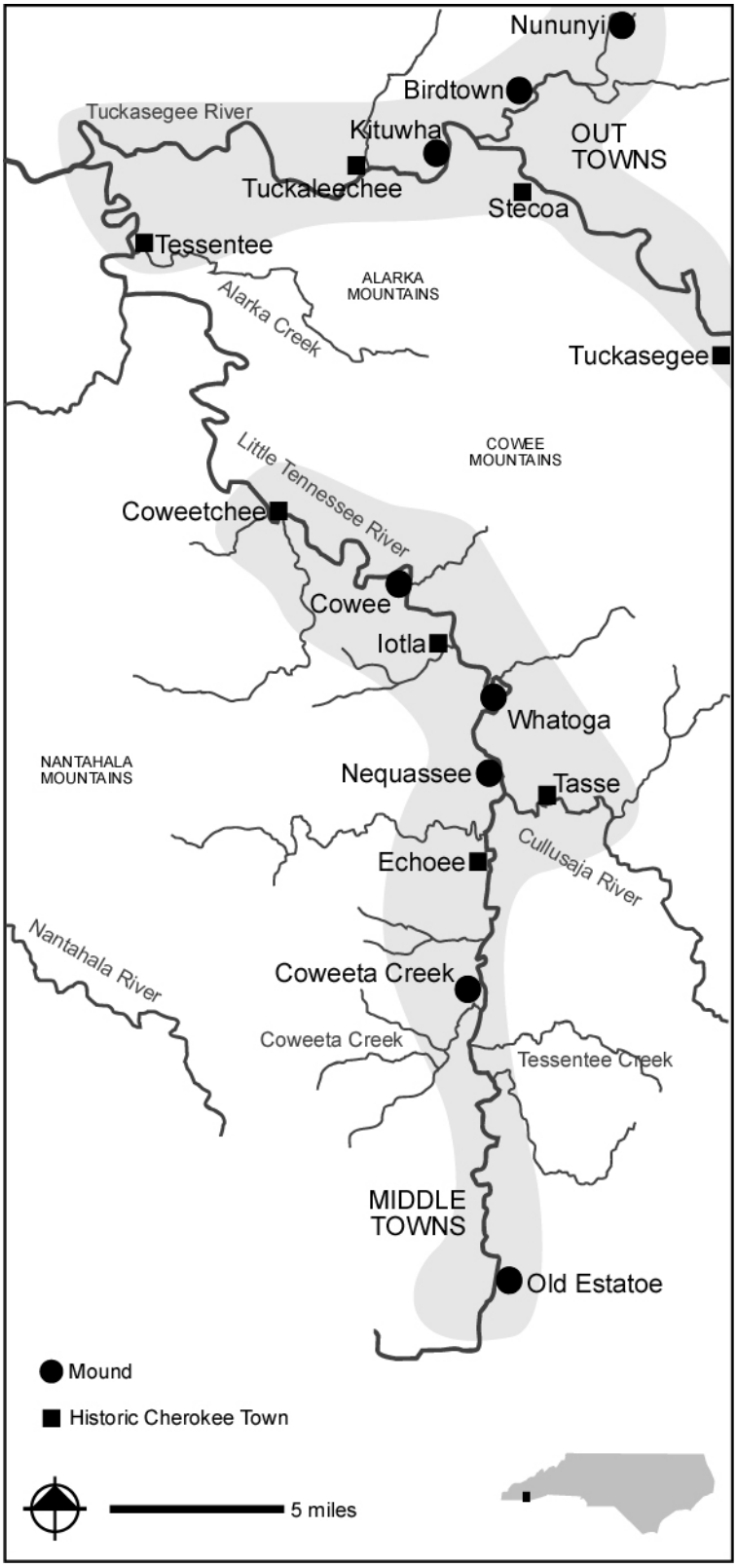


Figure 10.1. Coweeta Creek and other settlements in southwestern North Carolina (see also Duncan and Riggs 2003:17; Egloff 1967; Goodwin 1977; Schroedl 2000; Smith 1979).

Coweeta Creek may have been one of several comparable towns in the upper Little Tennessee Valley. Similar settlements could have been situated at several places in bottomlands along the Little Tennessee River itself (Figure 10.1). Excavations at Macon County Industrial Park have revealed posthole patterns from a settlement that may have been a contemporary of the Coweeta Creek site (D. G. Moore, personal communication 2004). The mound at Coweeta Creek was not recognized as such until excavations had cut into the layercake of townhouses that formed this slight rise in the field (B. J. Egloff 1967; K. T. Egloff 1971; Keel, Egloff, and Egloff 2002). Townhouses and compact towns may have been present at several sites in the Little Tennessee Valley that are currently known only from surface surveys and test excavations. More extensive excavations at these sites may uncover remnants of late prehistoric and protohistoric Cherokee townhouses and dwellings comparable to those seen at Coweeta Creek. It would also be interesting to compare Coweeta Creek to the towns present in other river valleys in southwestern North Carolina, northwestern South Carolina, and northeastern Georgia.

My reconstruction of settlement history at Coweeta Creek may not fit every pit and every structure in precisely the right place within the sequence, and there may also be additional structures that have not yet been identified, but I am confident that I have captured the broad outlines of the history of this town. I hope this effort contributes to continuing interests in the archaeology of Coweeta Creek and other places in the upper Little Tennessee Valley. I hope it lives up to the great amount of energy and expertise expended during fieldwork conducted at Coweeta Creek as part the Cherokee Archaeological Project in the 1960s and 1970s. One reason Coweeta Creek is so significant is that it dates to that period when native peoples of the Southeast and European colonists first encountered each other,

and when native towns in the southern Appalachians first developed interests in and access to European trade goods. Another reason is that it is one of the most extensively excavated native towns in all of western North Carolina, and the vast archaeological collections from the site deserve much more consideration than can fit into one dissertation. Further study of the pottery from this and other sites in southwestern North Carolina will clarify the model of temporal variation in Qualla ceramics that has been outlined here. Further study of other archaeological materials from Coweeta Creek will also shed considerable light onto the practice of public and domestic life in this late prehistoric and protohistoric Cherokee town.

APPENDIX A

EXCAVATED BURIALS AT COWEETA CREEK

The following table is a catalog of all of the burials that were identified and excavated at the Coweeta Creek site, including information about the dimensions and location of each burial, and the placement of deceased individuals within them. Excavations of 83 burials uncovered the remnants of 88 individuals, some of which were not identified in the field, but which were identified during the inventory of RLA collections mandated by NAGPRA (Davis et al. 1996). The age and sex identifications listed here were compiled by Patricia Lambert during her inventory of skeletal material from Coweeta Creek and other archaeological sites in North Carolina as part of this NAGPRA inventory at UNC (Davis et al. 1996). A pit at grid point 60R112 was thought to represent a possible burial whose skeletal material may have been entirely decomposed. I have not included this possible empty burial at 60R112 as a burial in my consideration of graves and mortuary patterns at the site.

Table A.1. Excavated Burials at Coweeta Creek

Burial	Location	Space[1]	Type[2]	Length[3]	Width[3]	Shaft[4]	Chamber[4]	Volume[3]	Sherds[5]
1	105R95	MA	P	3.35	2.52	2.30		19.42	0
2	101R95	MA	P	4.10	2.40	1.50		14.76	90
3	131R67	MA	P	2.50	2.10	0.04		0.21	3
4	195R101	MA	P	4.00	3.70	2.73		40.40	2
5	112R093	MA	SC	3.80	3.70	?	?	14.06	2
6	189R142	MA	SC	4.00	3.20	2.75	0.50	35.33	10
7	198R110	MA	P	4.00	3.40	1.85		25.16	3
8	181R143	MA	P	2.95	3.45	4.20		42.75	26
9	155R125	TR	P	4.50	3.00	3.50		47.25	106
10	105R103	TR	P	3.00	1.90	0.20		1.14	7
11	132R113	TR	P	4.80	3.30	1.10		17.42	41
12	132R111	TR	P	3.40	2.80	2.37		22.56	76
13	134R110	TR	P	3.30	2.60	2.90		24.88	20
14	141R113	TR	P	5.00	2.60	2.42		31.46	44
15	139R113	TR	SC	5.00	2.50	2.18	?	27.25	16
16	158R125	TR	P	3.20	2.20	2.20		15.49	48
17	150R123	TR	SC	4.50	2.50	1.10	2.75	33.17	170
18	152R125	TR	P	3.60	2.00	1.50		10.80	72
19	130R112	TR	P	2.00	1.20	0.65		1.56	0
20	181R84	T	P	3.90	2.45	2.22		21.21	7
21a	176R80	T	P	3.40	2.20	2.70		20.20	18
21b		T							
21c		T							
22	235R109	V	P	2.85	1.95	1.30		7.22	4
23	159R96	T	P	4.80	2.80	3.53		47.44	36
24	160R108	T	P	4.10	3.55	2.55		37.12	17
25	161R099	T	P	3.10	2.50	3.10		24.03	26
26	212R98	V	P	4.50	3.00	2.55		34.43	1
27	164R107	T	P	2.40	1.50	2.00		7.20	0
28	169R103	T	P	3.90	2.75	2.09		22.42	5
29	141R152	P	SC	3.70	2.70	3.57	0.43	35.74	2
30	170R102	T	P	4.40	2.00	2.90		25.52	4
31	172R104	T	P	2.10	0.65	0.90		1.23	0
32	168R100	T	P	3.75	2.25	4.25		35.86	2
33	172R104	T	P	3.45	2.30	2.73		21.66	14

[1] T = townhouse, TR = townhouse ramada, MA = mound area, P = plaza, V = village.
[2] P = simple oval pit, SC = shaft and side chamber, CC = shaft and central chamber.
[3] Feet and cubic feet.
[4] Depth of burial shaft and, when present, burial chamber.
[5] Total number of potsherds in burial pit fill.

Table A.1. Excavated Burials at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Sample[6]	Body	Side	Facing	Heading	Age[7]	Sex[8]	Group[9]	Diversity[10]	Burial
0	flexed	right	SE	SW	>40	I	E	0	1
13	flexed	right	N	E	>30	I	MA	0	2
1	flexed	left	SE	NE	6.5 ± 2	U	C	0	3
0	flexed	left	SE	NE	>35	M	E	0	4
0	flexed	left	S	E	8.5 +/- 2	U	A	0	5
1	flexed	left	SW	SE	42 +/-5	M	E	2	6
0	flexed	right	SE	SW	>30	F	MA	0	7
10	flexed	left	SW	SE	30 +/- 5	M	MA	0	8
8	flexed	left	SW	SE	37 +/- 6	M	E	9	9
2	flexed	back	S	E	5 +/- 1.3	U	C	0	10
4	flexed	right	N	E	50 +/- 10	M	E	0	11
11	flexed	right	N	E	30 +/- 5	M	MA	1	12
2	flexed	left	S	E	19 +/- 3	I	YA	1	13
6	flexed	left	S	E	37 +/- 5	M	E	0	14
2	flexed	right	N	E	37 +/- 5	M	E	1	15
4	flexed	right	down	SE	5 +/- 1.3	U	C	2	16
30	flexed	right	N	E	44 +/- 5	M	E	3	17
4	flexed	left	SW	SE	40 +/- 10	M	E	1	18
0	flexed	?	?	E	1 +/- 0.3	U	C	3	19
0	flexed	right	N	E	>30	I	MA	0	20
3	flexed	right	NE	SE	>18	I	YA	2	21a
					>40	I	E		21b
					1 +/- 0.3	U	C		21c
2	?	?	?	SE	2 +/- 0.7	U	C	0	22
13	flexed	right	NE	SE	25 +/- 5	M?	MA	4	23
2	flexed	right	N	E	32 +/- 5	F	MA	0	24
3	flexed	right	NE	SE	27 +/- 6	M	MA	0	25
0	flexed	left	NE	NW	43 +/- 9	M?	E	0	26
0	flexed	right	NE	SE	4.5 +/- 1.2	U	C	4	27
0	flexed	left	SW	SE	30 +/- 10	M?	MA	0	28
0	flexed	left	S	E	>30	I	MA	0	29
1	flexed	right	NE	SE	23 +/- 3	M	YA	1	30
0	extndd	left	SW	SE	0.25 +/- 0.2	U	C	2	31
0	flexed	right	SE	SW	25 +/- 4	M	MA	1	32
4	flexed	right	NE	SE	35 +/- 5	M	E	1	33

[6] Rim sherds > 2 cm and body sherds > 4 cm in length.
[7] Cardinal direction in which head and face are oriented.
[8] Estimated age at death and error range.
[9] I = indeterminate adult, U = unknown subadult, F = female adult, M = male adult.
[10] C = < 7, A = 8-15, YA = 16-24, MA = 25-34, E = > 35.
[11] Number of different types of grave goods.

Table A.1. Excavated Burials at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Burial	Location	Space[1]	Type[2]	Length[3]	Width[3]	Shaft[4]	Chamber[4]	Volume[3]	Sherds[5]
34	81R55	V	SC	3.50	2.50	0.71	0.25	6.23	0
35	53R148	V	P	3.90	3.50	2.55		34.81	3
36	76R82	V	P	3.20	2.70	1.20		10.37	6
37	77R108	V	CC	7.50	6.00	2.50	2.75	133.30	107
37a		V							
38	72R083	V	P	2.10	1.10	1.18		2.73	7
39	71R102	TR	SC	3.00	2.75	1.23	0.69	10.48	19
40	96R207	V	P	4.70	4.20	2.55		50.34	8
41	100R209	V	P	4.80	3.90	2.40		44.93	8
42	50R120	V	SC	4.00	3.25	2.31	0.49	30.15	30
43	52R126	V	P	4.75	2.75	1.30		16.98	200
44	55R127	V	P	4.25	3.50	2.52		37.49	24
45	44R122	V	P	3.60	3.10	2.40		26.78	0
46	101R42	V	P	3.00	2.50	0.24		1.80	0
47	96R43	V	P	0.75	2.50	4.50		8.44	0
48	114R45	V	P	?	?	0.59		?	0
49	111R32	V	P	3.60	2.20	0.77		6.10	3
50	47R154	V	P	4.10	3.00	3.33		40.96	7
51	33R215	V	P	2.80	2.20	1.83		11.27	40
52	34R201	V	P	3.10	3.00	1.83		17.02	40
53	40R145	V	P	4.25	2.75	1.42		16.60	96
54	45R220	V	P	3.15	2.30	1.10		7.97	117
55	57R188	V	P	3.40	2.60	1.81		16.00	1
56	81R226	V	P	2.60	1.65	2.75		11.80	0
57	84R222	V	P	3.20	1.90	2.69		16.36	24
58	87R221	V	P	5.30	3.00	2.32		36.89	139
59	86R217	V	P	3.00	2.25	1.57		10.60	93
60	92R216	V	P	3.60	1.90	2.33		15.94	0
61a	90R223	V	P	2.80	2.20	1.88		11.58	5
61b		V							
62	52R159	V	P	3.50	2.25	0.39		3.07	35
63	52R165	V	P	3.40	2.30	1.28		10.01	71
64	38R148	V	P	2.75	1.51	1.61		6.69	21
66	127R31	V	P	3.60	2.50	1.32		11.88	0
67	126R24	V	P	3.51	3.55	0.78		9.72	28

[1] T = townhouse, TR = townhouse ramada, MA = mound area, P = plaza, V = village.
[2] P = simple oval pit, SC = shaft and side chamber, CC = shaft and central chamber.
[3] Feet and cubic feet.
[4] Depth of burial shaft and, when present, burial chamber.
[5] Total number of potsherds in burial pit fill.

Table A.1. Excavated Burials at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Sample[6]	Body	Side	Facing	Heading	Age[7]	Sex[8]	Group[9]	Diversity[10]	Burial
0	flexed	right	NE	SE	3 +/- 1	U	C	0	34
0	flexed	left	SE	NE	>40	M	E	0	35
2	flexed	left	SW	SE	39 +/- 5	F	E	0	36
26	flexed	back	up	NE	>30	F	MA	1	37
					35 +/- 5	M	E		37a
0	flexed	right	NE	SE	7 +/- 2	U	C	1	38
2	flexed	back	SE	SE	13 +/- 2.5	U	A	0	39
1	flexed	right	SE	SW	>18	I	YA	2	40
1	flexed	left	SW	SW	23 +/- 3	F	YA	2	41
10	flexed	left	SW	SE	40 +/- 5	F	E	2	42
19	flexed	left	S	E	17 +/- 3	F	YA	1	43
5	flexed	back	up	N	30 +/- 5	M	MA	1	44
0	flexed	left	NW	SE	20 +/- 3	F	YA	1	45
0	flexed	left	N	W	16 +/- 3	I	YA	0	46
0	flexed	right	SW	SW	19 +/- 3	I	YA	0	47
0	flexed	left	N	W	>30	I	MA	0	48
3	?	?	?	E	3 +/- 1	U	C	0	49
2	flexed	left	S	E	41 +/- 5	M	E	0	50
8	flexed	right	N	E	10 +/- 2.5	U	A	1	51
7	flexed	right	N	E	32 +/- 7	I	MA	0	52
21	flexed	left	SW	SE	30 +/- 5	M	MA	0	53
17	flexed	left	N	W	18 +/- 3	F	YA	0	54
1	flexed	right	N	E	30 +/- 10	M	MA	0	55
0	flexed	right	NE	SE	8 +/- 2	U	A	0	56
7	flexed	left	SW	SE	27 +/- 5	F	MA	0	57
35	flexed	back	up	NW	21 +/- 3	M	YA	0	58
58	flexed	back	up	E	16.5 +/- 2	I	YA	0	59
0	flexed	left	NW	SW	>30	F?	MA	0	60
0	flexed	left	S	E	>21	I	YA	0	61a
					0.75 +/- 0.25	U	C		61b
0	flexed	left	S	E	16 +/- 3	I	YA	1	62
13	flexed	back	up	S	>30	F?	MA	1	63
2	flexed	left	SW	SE	14 +/- 3	F?	A	0	64
0	flexed	left	SW	SE	>21	I	YA	0	66
6	flexed	right	W	N	17 +/- 3	I	YA	1	67

[6] Rim sherds > 2 cm and body sherds > 4 cm in length.
[7] Cardinal direction in which head and face are oriented.
[8] Estimated age at death and error range.
[9] I = indeterminate adult, U = unknown subadult, F = female adult, M = male adult.
[10] C = < 7, A = 8-15, YA = 16-24, MA = 25-34, E = > 35.
[11] Number of different types of grave goods.

Table A.1. Excavated Burials at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Burial	Location	Space[1]	Type[2]	Length[3]	Width[3]	Shaft[4]	Chamber[4]	Volume[3]	Sherds[5]
68	132R25	V	P	2.20	2.10	0.70		3.23	15
69	62R177	V	P	2.50	2.10	2.15		11.29	15
70	66R167	V	P	2.90	2.30	2.20		14.67	3
71	80R177	V	P	2.40	1.80	1.36		5.88	10
72	100R219	V	P	4.80	3.10	1.82		27.08	0
73	97R222	V	P	4.10	2.00	1.17		9.59	0
74	104R226	V	P	3.70	3.50	1.07		13.86	2
75a	116R226	V	P	4.30	2.65	3.30		37.60	14
75b		V							
76	128R224	V	P	4.30	3.00	3.00		38.70	8
77	99R217	V	P	2.70	1.00	1.38		3.73	0
78	112R225	V	P	4.55	2.60	1.97		23.31	12
79	110R235	V	P	1.65	1.25	0.80		1.65	1
80	35R233	V	SC	2.80	2.50	0.45	0.55	3.32	87
81	17R240	V	P	6.20	4.90	1.70		51.65	100
82	32R238	V	P	2.50	2.15	0.10		0.54	36
83	72R244	V	SC	3.60	3.00	2.25	0.40	24.36	116
84	55R247	V	P	2.25	1.25	0.45		1.27	0

[1] T = townhouse, TR = townhouse ramada, MA = mound area, P = plaza, V = village.
[2] P = simple oval pit, SC = shaft and side chamber, CC = shaft and central chamber.
[3] Feet and cubic feet.
[4] Depth of burial shaft and, when present, burial chamber.
[5] Total number of potsherds in burial pit fill.

Table A.1. Excavated Burials at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Sample[6]	Body	Side	Facing	Heading	Age[7]	Sex[8]	Group[9]	Diversity[10]	Burial
0	flexed	left	SE	NW	3 +/- 1	U	C	0	68
0	flexed	back	up	E	4 +/- 1	U	C	0	69
1	flexed	?	?	NW	1.5 +/- 0.5	U	C	0	70
1	flexed	?	?	SE	7 +/- 2	U	C	0	71
0	flexed	left	S	E	>30	F?	MA	0	72
0	flexed	right	SE	NE	>30	M	MA	0	73
0	flexed	left	NE	W	>30	M	MA	0	74
3	flexed	right	NE	SE	35 +/- 5	M	E	1	75a
					>18	M	YA		75b
0	flexed	left	SW	SE	25 +/- 5	I	MA	0	76
0	flexed	right	SE	SE	2.5 +/- 0.8	U	C	0	77
1	flexed	left	W	S	>30	M	MA	0	78
1	flexed	?	?	SE	>0	U	C	0	79
11	flexed	left	SW	SE	4.5 +/- 1	U	C	1	80
5	flexed	right	S	W	38 +/- 5	F	E	0	81
5	flexed	left	SW	SE	3 +/- 1	U	C	0	82
7	?	?	?	?	7.5 +/- 2	U	A	0	83
0	flexed	left	SW	SE	>0	U	C	1	84

[6] Rim sherds > 2 cm and body sherds > 4 cm in length.
[7] Cardinal direction in which head and face are oriented.
[8] Estimated age at death and error range.
[9] I = indeterminate adult, U = unknown subadult, F = female adult, M = male adult.
[10] C = < 7, A = 8-15, YA = 16-24, MA = 25-34, E = > 35.
[11] Number of different types of grave goods.

APPENDIX B

EXCAVATED FEATURES AT THE COWEETA CREEK SITE

The following table is a catalog of all the features identified during excavations of the Coweeta Creek site. Designated features at Coweeta Creek include concentrations of daub, thatch, rocks, and other architectural material; pits and basins dug for storage, or for cooking and processing activities, or as borrow pits; indoor hearths; outdoor firepits; whole pots; fill deposits; and trenches or ditches. Hearths are present at the top of burials 17 and 37, although they were not given formal feature designations in the field, and another hearth is present at grid point 40R173.

Table B.1. Excavated Features at Coweeta Creek

Feature	Location	Profile[1]	Shape[2]	Type	Length[3]	Width[3]	Depth[3]	Volume[3]
1	115R85		irregular	daub concentration	16.00	4.35	0.25	
2	124R97		irregular	daub concentration	14.00	3.20	0.50	
3	155R117			recent disturbance	6.60	4.50	2.75	81.68
4	110R115		irregular	rock concentration	15.00	?	1.00	
5	206R104		irregular	daub concentration	?	0.31	0.45	
6	187R63		irregular	daub concentration	?	?	0.42	
7	200R73		irregular	daub concentration	?	0.80	0.45	
8	171R94	pit	circular	hearth	7.50	7.50	1.50	66.23
9	168R128		irregular	daub concentration	?	?	?	
10	182R131		irregular	clay deposit	?	?	?	
11	182R131		irregular	pot	?	?	?	
12	170R140			recent disturbance	4.45	2.40	0.75	8.01
13	173R138		irregular	daub concentration	?	?	?	
14	173R136	basin		basin	3.50	3.35	0.20	1.84
15	173R128	basin		basin	3.40	2.80	0.60	4.53
16	171R131	basin		basin	3.50	3.00	0.35	2.90
17	174R081			thatch	?	?	?	
18	120R110	pit	circular	pit	6.35	5.65	2.45	69.24
19	169R97	pit	circular	hearth	5.60	5.60	?	
20	?			thatch	?	?	?	
22	178R104			pot	?	?	?	
23	173R112			pot	?	?	?	
24	151R85		irregular	rock concentration	1.90	1.50	0.15	
25	159R86		irregular	rock concentration	1.20	1.20	0.50	
26	181R86		irregular	rock concentration	1.75	1.25	0.50	
27	162R103			pot	?	?	?	
28	175R102			thatch	?	?	?	
29	229R106		irregular	rock concentration	3.60	3.20	0.50	
30	219R102	pit	circular	firepit	3.55	2.50	0.28	2.01
31	154R32	pit	circular	firepit	4.20	4.00	0.65	8.58
32	168R139	pit	circular	pit	1.75	1.70	0.60	1.40
33	162R135	pit	circular	pit	1.70	1.70	0.45	1.02
34	142R37	basin	circular	pit	4.10	3.20	1.10	11.50
35	131R54	basin	circular	pit	3.10	2.40	1.07	6.35
36	98R85	trench	linear	trench	9.00	5.00	0.50	22.50
37	100R80	trench	linear	trench	20.00	4.30	0.65	55.90
38	75R80	pit	circular	firepit	2.15	2.15	0.25	0.91
39	60R72	pit	circular	pit	2.75	2.45	0.65	3.45
40	78R117		circular	pit	3.10	2.90	0.65	4.59

[1] Pits have clear breaks between sidewalls and bottoms, whereas basins have gently sloping profiles (see also Gleeson 1970, 1971; Schroedl 1986b:43-47).

[2] General shape at the top of each feature in plan view, before excavation (compare with Gleeson 1970, 1971; Schroedl 1986b:43-47).

[3] Feet and cubic feet.

Table B.1. Excavated Features at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Sherds[4]	Sample[5]	Comment	Associations	Feature
739	187		associated with Floor 1?	1
81	30		associated with Floor 1?	2
594	100	kaolin pipe fragment		3
0	0		part of ramp beside townhouse	4
71	14		associated with Floor 1?	5
2	1		associated with Floor 1?	6
0	0		associated with Floor 1?	7
203	52	glass beads and kaolin	Townhouse Floors 1-2	8
136	51		associated with Floor 1?	9
250	88		part of ramp beside townhouse	10
184	72		part of ramp beside townhouse	11
65	15			12
6	0		associated with Floor 1?	13
4	0	ash and charcoal	near townhouse ramada	14
16	5	ash and charcoal	near townhouse ramada	15
27	2	ash and charcoal	near townhouse ramada	16
0	0			17
261	64		near townhouse ramada	18
108	18	glass beads	Townhouse Floors 3-6	19
4	1			20
76	49		Townhouse Floor 4	22
224	77		Townhouse Floor 4	23
7	7		townhouse	24
2	2		townhouse	25
5	0	glass beads	townhouse	26
12	12		Townhouse Floor 6	27
0	0		Townhouse Floor 6	28
16	2		north of townhouse	29
1	1		north of townhouse	30
54	5		southwest of townhouse	31
38	38		near townhouse ramada	32
49	13		near townhouse ramada	33
38	8		southwest of townhouse	34
22	8		southwest of townhouse	35
25	9		southwest of townhouse	36
138	23	glass beads at top	southwest of townhouse	37
1	0	metal knife blade at top	south of townhouse	38
11	1		south of townhouse	39
0	0		south of townhouse	40

[4] Total number of potsherds collected from feature.
[5] Rim sherds > 2 cm and body sherds > 4 cm in length.

Table B.1. Excavated Features at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Feature	Location	Profile[1]	Shape[2]	Type	Length[3]	Width[3]	Depth[3]	Volume[3]
41	56R87	basin	circular	pit	4.25	3.98	0.55	7.31
42	89R202	pit	circular	pit	3.70	3.35	1.63	15.90
43	84R202	pit	circular	pit	3.20	3.10	0.49	3.82
44	97R194	pit	circular	pit	2.40	2.30	0.60	2.60
45	97R201	pit	circular	pit	2.40	2.30	0.90	3.90
46	99R198	pit	circular	pit	2.40	2.30	0.60	2.60
47	98R203	pit	circular	pit	3.60	3.60	0.66	6.71
48	102R196	pit	circular	pit	3.50	2.80	1.10	8.57
49	82R47	trench	linear	trench	6.10	3.90	0.60	11.78
50	96R49	pit	circular	pit	3.15	2.60	0.40	2.60
51	114R41	pit	circular	pit	5.60	5.90	1.05	27.25
52	117R64	pit	circular	hearth	1.80	1.70	0.43	1.03
53	111R46	trench	linear	trench	9.10	4.50	0.44	18.02
54	108R31	trench	linear	trench	8.90	3.95	0.26	9.14
55	115R78	pit	circular	pit	3.70	3.30	0.75	7.21
56	44R125	pit	circular	large posthole	2.90	2.60	2.37	14.07
57	45R130	pit	circular	hearth	3.45	3.45	0.57	5.33
58	45R130		irregular	roof fall on floor	9.00	7.80	0.27	
59	57R194			pot	?	?	?	
60	43R154	pit	circular	hearth	2.05	2.05	0.60	1.98
61	41R154	pit	circular	hearth	3.10	3.10	0.36	2.72
62	44R154	pit	circular	hearth	1.20	1.20	0.21	0.24
63	41R139	pit	circular	hearth	2.50	1.40	1.09	3.25
64	43R215	pit	circular	hearth	2.70	2.30	0.56	2.75
65	80R220	basin	oval	roasting/feasting?	16.00	12.00	1.54	295.68
66	62R216	pit	circular	hearth	3.05	3.05	0.46	3.36
67	50R196	pit	circular	hearth	4.00	3.50	0.44	4.86
68	62R215	pit	circular	hearth	2.80	2.60	0.65	3.72
69	52R177	pit	circular	hearth	1.60	1.60	0.48	0.96
70	126R72	pit	circular	pit	3.40	3.20	0.91	7.78
71	131R40	pit	circular	pit	6.60	6.00	1.00	31.16
72	126R41	pit	circular	pit	6.60	2.90	0.75	13.28
73	140R24	basin	circular	basin	4.20	4.20	0.70	9.69
74	139R23	basin	circular	basin	3.40	3.20	0.40	3.42
75	72R173	pit	circular	pit	2.65	2.20	0.45	2.08
76	73R191	pit	circular	pit	2.50	2.20	0.30	1.30
77	86R193	pit	circular	pit	2.95	2.60	0.39	2.36
78	98R213	pit	circular	pit	4.15	3.10	1.19	12.28
79	98R221		irregular	fill deposit	6.10	4.20	0.88	

[1] Pits have clear breaks between sidewalls and bottoms, whereas basins have gently sloping profiles (see also Gleeson 1970, 1971; Schroedl 1986b:43-47).
[2] General shape at the top of each feature in plan view, before excavation (compare with Gleeson 1970, 1971; Schroedl 1986b:43-47).
[3] Feet and cubic feet.

Table B.1. Excavated Features at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Sherds[4]	Sample[5]	Comment	Associations	Feature
253	30	glass beads	ramadas in village beside plaza	41
13	3		ramadas in village beside plaza	42
9	3		ramadas in village beside plaza	43
10	5		ramadas in village beside plaza	44
4	0		ramadas in village beside plaza	45
19	6		ramadas in village beside plaza	46
34	3		ramadas in village beside plaza	47
49	4		ramadas in village beside plaza	48
0	0		ramadas in village beside plaza	49
21	12		southwest of townhouse	50
200	22	glass beads	southwest of townhouse	51
0	0		Feature 37 > 52	52
8	0		southwest of townhouse	53
1	1		southwest of townhouse	54
29	3		southwest of townhouse	55
25	5			56
37	9		Feature 57 > 63	57
56	16		domestic structure	58
0	0		pot inside Feature 67	59
0	0		Feature 62 > 60 > 61	60
0	0		Feature 62 > 60 > 61	61
0	0		Feature 62 > 60 > 61	62
1	1		Feature 57 > 63	63
7	2			64
1295	303		earliest radiocarbon date	65
4	1		Feature 68 > 66	66
8	7		location of Feature 59	67
22	3	wrought iron nail at base	Feature 68 > 66	68
13	3			69
32	16		southwest of townhouse	70
840	179	kaolin pipe fragments	southwest of townhouse	71
2034	324	glass/brass/kaolin	southwest of townhouse	72
125	25	kaolin pipe fragments	southwest of townhouse	73
112	22	glass/brass/kaolin	southwest of townhouse	74
90	10		ramadas in village beside plaza	75
29	2		ramadas in village beside plaza	76
18	4		ramadas in village beside plaza	77
83	13		ramadas in village beside plaza	78
91	17		near domestic structure	79

[4] Total number of potsherds collected from feature.
[5] Rim sherds > 2 cm and body sherds > 4 cm in length.

Table B.1. Excavated Features at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Feature	Location	Profile[1]	Shape[2]	Type	Length[3]	Width[3]	Depth[3]	Volume[3]
80	103R216	pit	circular	pit	3.50	3.05	0.99	8.34
81	109R218	basin	circular	pit	3.20	3.10	0.63	4.91
82	124R231	pit	circular	hearth	1.50	1.50	0.68	1.20
83	112R216	pit	circular	pit	4.30	4.30	1.28	18.58
84	122R229		irregular	roof fall on floor	8.90	5.80	0.27	
85	125R227		irregular	fill deposit	8.30	6.70	0.10	
86	127R224		irregular	fill deposit	2.95	2.40	0.40	
87	110R230		irregular	fill deposit	15.75	9.00	0.55	
88	90R240	pit	circular	pit	3.40	3.30	0.30	2.64
89	90R235		irregular	roof fall on floor	12.00	7.00	0.10	
90	91R237	pit	circular	hearth	2.30	2.20	0.14	0.56
91	81R238	basin	circular	basin	3.10	2.70	0.31	2.05
92	127R225	pit	circular	hearth	1.00	1.00	0.10	0.08
93	87R239	basin	circular	basin	2.50	2.30	0.60	2.71
94	123R230	pit	circular	hearth	1.90	2.00	0.31	0.93
95	123R231	pit	circular	hearth	1.60	1.20	0.42	0.65
96	13R235	pit	circular	pit	4.90	4.90	1.72	32.42
97	30R235		irregular	wall fall from house	2.40	2.00	0.10	
98	130R244	pit	circular	pit	3.90	3.70	0.36	4.08
99	129R249	pit	circular	pit	3.90	3.90	0.37	4.42
100	34R242	pit	circular	hearth	2.90	2.80	0.23	1.47
101	91R237	pit	circular	hearth	2.90	2.80	0.45	2.87
102	85R241	pit	circular	pit	2.70	2.30	1.43	7.02
103	34R242	pit	circular	hearth	1.55	1.30	0.01	0.02
104	36R243	pit	circular	hearth	1.40	1.30	0.17	0.24
105	38R243	pit	circular	hearth	1.90	1.80	0.30	0.81
106	37R244	pit	circular	hearth	1.60	1.40	0.55	0.97
107	49R249	pit	circular	large posthole	1.60	1.10	1.10	1.57
Bur 18			circular	hearth				
Bur 37			circular	hearth				

[1] Pits have clear breaks between sidewalls and bottoms, whereas basins have gently sloping profiles (see also Gleeson 1970, 1971; Schroedl 1986b:43-47).

[2] General shape at the top of each feature in plan view, before excavation (compare with Gleeson 1970, 1971; Schroedl 1986b:43-47).

[3] Feet and cubic feet.

Table B.1. Excavated Features at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Sherds[4]	Sample[5]	Comment	Associations	Feature
73	12		near domestic structure	80
23	5		near domestic structure	81
4	2		Feature 95 > 94 > 82 > 84	82
122	6	glass bead at top	near domestic structure	83
4	0		Feature 95 > 94 > 82 > 84	84
44	8		Feature 85 / 87	85
10	2		Burial 76 > Feature 86 > Feature 92	86
168	38		Burial 79 > Feature 87 > Burial 74	87
28	9		inside domestic structure	88
3	0		Feature 88 > 89 / 93	89
0	0		Feature 101 > 90	90
35	6		inside domestic structure	91
0	0		Feature 86 > 92	92
54	6		Feature 88 > 89 / 93	93
0	0		Feature 95 > 94 > 82 > 84	94
2	0		Feature 95 > 94 > 82 > 84	95
1703	243		near domestic structure	96
0	0		inside domestic structure	97
31	4		near domestic structure	98
61	11		near domestic structure	99
11	5		Feature 105/104 > 106 > 103/100	100
3	1		Feature 101 > 90	101
160	37		inside domestic structure	102
0	0		Feature 105/104 > 106 > 103/100	103
0	0		Feature 105/104 > 106 > 103/100	104
14	3		Feature 105/104 > 106 > 103/100	105
4	1		Feature 105/104 > 106 > 103/100	106
36	4		near domestic structure	107
			hearth on top of Burial 18	Bur 18
			hearth on top of Burial 37	Bur 37

[4] Total number of potsherds collected from feature.
[5] Rim sherds > 2 cm and body sherds > 4 cm in length.

APPENDIX C

CERAMIC DATA FROM COWEETA CREEK

Chapter 7 identifies differences between Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla ceramics at the Coweeta Creek site. Tables and graphics in that chapter are drawn from the tables of ceramic data included in this appendix. Tables C.1 through C.4 list the relative frequencies of temper types in sherds from townhouse floors, domestic structures, and all features and burials. Tables C.5 through C.8 list the relative frequencies of interior surface treatments on sherds from these same four sets of excavation contexts. Exterior surface treatment data are listed in tables C.9 through C.12. Rim data are catalogued in tables C.13 through C.16. I have recorded surface treatment data only on body sherds greater than four centimeters in length and on rim sherds greater than two centimeters in length. I have counted sherds less than two centimeters in length and have recorded temper data for sherds from burials and other pit features that are smaller than that size threshold.

Table C.1. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Townhouse Floors

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Townhouse Floor 1	113 60%	75 40%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	188	1340
Townhouse Floor 2	10 91%	0 0%	0 0%	1 9%	0 0%	0 0%	11	68
Townhouse Floor 3	324 98%	3 1%	0 0%	3 1%	0 0%	0 0%	330	2896
Townhouse Floor 4[1]	887 99%	2 0%	0 0%	3 0%	0 0%	0 0%	892	3245
Townhouse Floor 5	61 80%	15 20%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	76	553
Townhouse Floor 6[2]	46 79%	11 19%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 2%	58	385
Totals	1441 93%	106 7%	0 0%	7 0%	0 0%	1 0%	1555	8487

[1] Includes Features 22 and 23.
[2] Includes Features 27 and 28.

Table C.2. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Domestic Structures

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Structure 3[1]	2 50%	1 25%	1 25%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	4	4
Structure 4[2]	3 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	3	3
Structure 5	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0
Structure 6	50 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	50	50
Structure 7[3]	225 77%	15 5%	51 18%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	291	553
Structure 8	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0
Structure 9[4]	53 95%	3 5%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	56	56
Totals	333 82%	19 5%	52 13%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	404	666

[1] Includes Feature 84.
[2] Includes Feature 89.
[3] Includes Feature 59.
[4] Includes Feature 58.

Table C.3. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 1	712	10	17	0	0	0	739	739
	96%	1%	2%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 2	76	2	3	0	0	0	81	81
	94%	2%	4%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 3	407	84	101	0	0	2	594	594
	69%	14%	17%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 5	63	3	5	0	0	0	71	71
	89%	4%	7%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 6	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 8	156	41	3	0	0	0	200	200
	78%	21%	2%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 9	108	19	9	0	0	0	136	136
	79%	14%	7%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 10	219	20	11	0	0	0	250	250
	88%	8%	4%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 11	164	8	11	1	0	0	184	184
	89%	4%	6%	1%	0%	0%		
Feature 12	59	3	3	0	0	0	65	65
	91%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 13	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 14	1	1	2	0	0	0	4	4
	25%	25%	50%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 15	7	5	4	0	0	0	16	16
	44%	31%	25%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 16	21	5	1	0	0	0	27	27
	78%	19%	4%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 18	310	28	21	0	0	2	361	361
	86%	8%	6%	0%	0%	1%		
Feature 19	31	72	5	0	0	0	108	108
	29%	67%	5%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 20	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.3. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 22	75	2	0	0	0	0	77	77
	97%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 23	224	0	0	0	0	0	224	224
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 24	5	2	0	0	0	0	7	7
	71%	29%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 25	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 26	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 27	12	0	0	0	0	0	12	12
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 29	14	2	0	0	0	0	16	16
	88%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 30	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 31	48	4	2	0	0	0	54	54
	89%	7%	4%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 32	8	3	0	0	0	0	11	11
	73%	27%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 33	48	0	1	0	0	0	49	49
	98%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 34	30	4	4	0	0	0	38	38
	79%	11%	11%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 35	19	2	1	0	0	0	22	22
	86%	9%	5%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 36	18	7	0	0	0	0	25	25
	72%	28%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 37	118	10	5	5	0	0	138	138
	86%	7%	4%	4%	0%	0%		
Feature 38	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 39	7	2	2	0	0	0	11	11
	64%	18%	18%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 41	234	11	5	0	0	3	253	253
	92%	4%	2%	0%	0%	1%		

Table C.3. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 42	11	2	0	0	0	0	13	13
	85%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 43	7	2	0	0	0	0	9	9
	78%	22%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 44	6	2	1	1	0	0	10	10
	60%	20%	10%	10%	0%	0%		
Feature 45	2	1	1	0	0	0	4	4
	50%	25%	25%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 46	14	3	2	0	0	0	19	19
	74%	16%	11%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 47	32	1	1	0	0	0	34	34
	94%	3%	3%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 48	39	5	4	1	0	0	49	49
	80%	10%	8%	2%	0%	0%		
Feature 49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 50	20	1	0	0	0	0	21	21
	95%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 51	186	11	3	0	0	0	200	200
	93%	6%	2%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 53	8	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 54	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 55	23	5	1	0	0	0	29	29
	79%	17%	3%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 56	23	1	1	0	0	0	25	25
	92%	4%	4%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 57	37	0	0	0	0	0	37	37
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 58	53	0	3	0	0	0	56	56
	95%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 59	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.3. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 63	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 64	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 65	1149	86	54	2	0	1	1292	1292
	89%	7%	4%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 66	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 67	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 68	22	0	0	0	0	0	22	22
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 69	13	0	0	0	0	0	13	13
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 70	30	2	0	0	0	0	32	32
	94%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 71	736	91	13	0	0	0	840	840
	88%	11%	2%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 72	1970	49	15	0	0	0	2034	2034
	97%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 73	101	8	14	2	0	0	125	125
	81%	6%	11%	2%	0%	0%		
Feature 74	94	15	3	0	0	0	112	112
	84%	13%	3%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 75	85	2	3	0	0	0	90	90
	94%	2%	3%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 76	27	1	1	0	0	0	29	29
	93%	3%	3%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 77	17	1	0	0	0	0	18	18
	94%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 78	60	14	7	2	0	0	83	83
	72%	17%	8%	2%	0%	0%		
Feature 79	78	8	3	2	0	0	91	91
	86%	9%	3%	2%	0%	0%		
Feature 80	60	5	5	3	0	0	73	73
	82%	7%	7%	4%	0%	0%		
Feature 81	11	10	2	0	0	0	23	23
	48%	43%	9%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.3. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 82	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 83	97	5	12	8	0	0	122	122
	80%	4%	10%	7%	0%	0%		
Feature 84	2	1	1	0	0	0	4	4
	50%	25%	25%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 85	34	9	1	0	0	0	44	44
	77%	20%	2%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 86	5	4	1	0	0	0	10	10
	50%	40%	10%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 87	131	12	23	0	2	0	168	168
	78%	7%	14%	0%	1%	0%		
Feature 88	24	3	1	0	0	0	28	28
	86%	11%	4%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 89	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 90	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 91	28	7	0	0	0	0	35	35
	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 92	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 93	51	2	1	0	0	0	54	54
	94%	4%	2%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 94	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 95	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 96	1674	7	22	0	0	0	1703	1703
	98%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 97	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 98	26	3	2	0	0	0	31	31
	84%	10%	6%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 99	53	2	6	0	0	0	61	61
	87%	3%	10%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 100	7	3	1	0	0	0	11	11
	64%	27%	9%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 101	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.3. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 102	139	8	11	2	0	0	160	160
	87%	5%	7%	1%	0%	0%		
Feature 103	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 104	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 105	10	4	0	0	0	0	14	14
	71%	29%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 106	3	1	0	0	0	0	4	4
	75%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 107	36	0	0	0	0	0	36	36
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Totals	10,480	749	435	29	2	8	11,703	11,703
	90%	6%	4%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.4. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 2	77	2	11	0	0	0	90	90
	86%	2%	12%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 3	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	3
	67%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 4	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	2
	50%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 5	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 6	4	2	4	0	0	0	10	10
	40%	20%	40%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 7	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 8	10	5	11	0	0	0	26	26
	38%	19%	42%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 9	96	8	2	0	0	0	106	106
	91%	8%	2%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 10	0	0	7	0	0	0	7	7
	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 11	36	2	3	0	0	0	41	41
	88%	5%	7%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 12	65	5	5	0	0	1	76	76
	86%	7%	7%	0%	0%	1%		
Burial 13	12	3	5	0	0	0	20	20
	60%	15%	25%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 14	31	4	9	0	0	0	44	44
	70%	9%	20%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 15	11	3	2	0	0	0	16	16
	69%	19%	13%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 16	41	2	5	0	0	0	48	48
	85%	4%	10%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 17	158	2	10	0	0	0	170	170
	93%	1%	6%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 18	64	4	4	0	0	0	72	72
	89%	6%	6%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 20	1	3	3	0	0	0	7	7
	14%	43%	43%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.4. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 21	13	0	5	0	0	0	18	18
	72%	0%	28%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 22	1	0	3	0	0	0	4	4
	25%	0%	75%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 23	33	0	3	0	0	0	36	36
	92%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 24	8	3	6	0	0	0	17	17
	47%	18%	35%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 25	20	2	3	1	0	0	26	26
	77%	8%	12%	4%	0%	0%		
Burial 26	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 28	3	0	2	0	0	0	5	5
	60%	0%	40%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 29	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 30	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	4
	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 32	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	2
	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 33	9	3	2	0	0	0	14	14
	64%	21%	14%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 35	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	3
	33%	33%	33%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 36	5	0	1	0	0	0	6	6
	83%	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 37	81	5	19	0	2	0	107	107
	76%	5%	18%	0%	2%	0%		
Burial 38	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 39	13	1	5	0	0	0	19	19
	68%	5%	26%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 40	8	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.4. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 41	7	0	1	0	0	0	8	8
	88%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 42	17	2	11	0	0	0	30	30
	57%	7%	37%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 43	170	13	17	0	0	0	200	200
	85%	7%	9%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 44	9	1	14	0	0	0	24	24
	38%	4%	58%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 49	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	3
	33%	0%	67%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 50	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 51	28	5	7	0	0	0	40	40
	70%	13%	18%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 52	18	16	6	0	0	0	40	40
	45%	40%	15%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 53	82	9	5	0	0	0	96	96
	85%	9%	5%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 54	102	6	9	0	0	0	117	117
	87%	5%	8%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 55	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 57	9	2	9	0	0	4	24	24
	38%	8%	38%	0%	0%	17%		
Burial 58	86	5	48	0	0	0	139	139
	62%	4%	35%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 59	76	3	14	0	0	0	93	93
	82%	3%	15%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.4. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 61	3	2	0	0	0	0	5	5
	60%	40%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 62	20	5	10	0	0	0	35	35
	57%	14%	29%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 63	55	4	12	0	0	0	71	71
	77%	6%	17%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 64	20	1	0	0	0	0	21	21
	95%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 67	27	0	1	0	0	0	28	28
	96%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 68	12	0	3	0	0	0	15	15
	80%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 69	11	4	0	0	0	0	15	15
	73%	27%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 70	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 71	10	0	0	0	0	0	10	10
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 74	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 75	12	1	1	0	0	0	14	14
	86%	7%	7%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 76	2	1	5	0	0	0	8	8
	25%	13%	63%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 78	4	1	7	0	0	0	12	12
	33%	8%	58%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 79	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 80	64	5	18	0	0	0	87	87
	74%	6%	21%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 81	71	19	10	0	0	0	100	100
	71%	19%	10%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.4. Temper of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Fine Grit	Coarse Grit	Sand	Quartz	Limestone	Shell	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 82	24	9	3	0	0	0	36	36
	67%	25%	8%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 83	96	6	14	0	0	0	116	116
	83%	5%	12%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Totals	1866	186	363	1	2	5	2423	2423

Table C.5. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Townhouse Floors

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Townhouse Floor 1	163 90%	14 8%	5 3%	0 0%	182	1340
Townhouse Floor 2	9 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	9	68
Townhouse Floor 3	303 94%	10 3%	6 2%	3 1%	322	2896
Townhouse Floor 4[1]	687 97%	9 1%	5 1%	4 1%	705	3245
Townhouse Floor 5	70 95%	1 1%	3 4%	0 0%	74	553
Townhouse Floor 6[2]	49 89%	1 2%	4 7%	1 2%	55	385
Totals	1281 95%	35 3%	23 2%	8 1%	1347	8487

[1] Includes Features 22 and 23.
[2] Includes Features 27 and 28.

Table C.6. Interior Surfaces of Sherds Coweeta Creek Domestic Structures

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Structure 3[1]	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	4
Structure 4[2]	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	3
Structure 5	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0
Structure 6	30 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	30	50
Structure 7[3]	110 68%	52 32%	0 0%	0 0%	162	553
Structure 8	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0
Structure 9[4]	16 80%	4 20%	0 0%	0 0%	20	56
Totals	182 86%	76 36%	0 0%	0 0%	212	666

[1] Includes Feature 84.
[2] Includes Feature 89.
[3] Includes Feature 59.
[4] Includes Feature 58.

Table C.7. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 1	169	18	0	0	187	739
	90%	10%	0%	0%		
Feature 2	23	7	0	0	30	81
	77%	23%	0%	0%		
Feature 3	43	55	1	0	99	594
	43%	56%	1%	0%		
Feature 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 5	12	2	0	0	14	71
	86%	14%	0%	0%		
Feature 6	1	0	0	0	1	2
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 7	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 8	31	22	0	0	53	200
	58%	42%	0%	0%		
Feature 9	40	11	0	0	51	136
	78%	22%	0%	0%		
Feature 10	74	13	1	0	88	250
	84%	15%	1%	0%		
Feature 11	68	2	0	0	70	184
	97%	3%	0%	0%		
Feature 12	7	8	0	0	15	65
	47%	53%	0%	0%		
Feature 13	0	0	0	0	0	6
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 14	0	0	0	0	0	4
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 15	3	2	0	0	5	16
	60%	40%	0%	0%		
Feature 16	2	0	0	0	2	27
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 17	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 18	45	12	0	1	58	361
	78%	21%	0%	2%		
Feature 19	10	7	0	0	17	108
	59%	41%	0%	0%		
Feature 20	1	0	0	0	1	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.7. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 22	49	0	0	0	49	77
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 23	77	0	0	0	77	224
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 24	7	0	0	0	7	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 25	2	0	0	0	2	2
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 26	0	0	0	0	0	5
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 27	12	0	0	0	12	12
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 28	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 29	2	0	0	0	2	16
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 30	1	0	0	0	1	1
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 31	3	2	0	0	5	54
	60%	40%	0%	0%		
Feature 32	4	0	0	0	4	11
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 33	10	0	0	0	10	49
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 34	7	1	0	0	8	38
	88%	13%	0%	0%		
Feature 35	7	1	0	0	8	22
	88%	13%	0%	0%		
Feature 36	9	0	0	0	9	25
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 37	17	6	0	0	23	138
	74%	26%	0%	0%		
Feature 38	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 39	1	0	0	0	1	11
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 40	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 41	19	10	0	0	29	253
	66%	34%	0%	0%		

Table C.7. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 42	1 33%	2 67%	0 0%	0 0%	3	13
Feature 43	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1	9
Feature 44	3 60%	2 40%	0 0%	0 0%	5	10
Feature 45	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	4
Feature 46	3 75%	1 25%	0 0%	0 0%	4	19
Feature 47	3 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	3	34
Feature 48	3 75%	1 25%	0 0%	0 0%	4	49
Feature 49	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0
Feature 50	9 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	9	21
Feature 51	12 55%	10 45%	0 0%	0 0%	22	200
Feature 52	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0
Feature 53	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	8
Feature 54	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1	1
Feature 55	3 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	3	29
Feature 56	2 50%	2 50%	0 0%	0 0%	4	25
Feature 57	9 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	9	37
Feature 58	12 75%	4 25%	0 0%	0 0%	16	56
Feature 59	7 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	7	7
Feature 60	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0
Feature 61	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0

Table C.7. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 62	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 63	1	0	0	0	1	1
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 64	2	0	0	0	2	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 65	226	55	0	18	299	1292
	76%	18%	0%	6%		
Feature 66	1	0	0	0	1	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 67	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 68	3	0	0	0	3	22
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 69	1	2	0	0	3	13
	33%	67%	0%	0%		
Feature 70	16	0	0	0	16	32
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 71	118	44	0	0	162	840
	73%	27%	0%	0%		
Feature 72	173	119	11	0	303	2034
	57%	39%	4%	0%		
Feature 73	12	10	1	0	23	125
	52%	43%	4%	0%		
Feature 74	13	9	0	0	22	112
	59%	41%	0%	0%		
Feature 75	6	4	0	0	10	90
	60%	40%	0%	0%		
Feature 76	2	0	0	0	2	29
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 77	4	0	0	0	4	18
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 78	2	11	0	0	13	83
	15%	85%	0%	0%		
Feature 79	8	9	0	0	17	91
	47%	53%	0%	0%		
Feature 80	73	4	0	0	77	73
	95%	5%	0%	0%		
Feature 81	5	0	0	0	5	23
	100%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.7. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 82	2	0	0	0	2	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 83	2	4	0	0	6	122
	33%	67%	0%	0%		
Feature 84	4	0	0	0	4	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 85	7	1	0	0	8	44
	88%	13%	0%	0%		
Feature 86	1	1	0	0	2	10
	50%	50%	0%	0%		
Feature 87	13	25	0	0	38	168
	34%	66%	0%	0%		
Feature 88	8	1	0	0	9	28
	89%	11%	0%	0%		
Feature 89	0	0	0	0	0	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 90	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 91	3	3	0	0	6	35
	50%	50%	0%	0%		
Feature 92	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 93	5	1	0	0	6	54
	83%	17%	0%	0%		
Feature 94	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 95	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 96	172	63	0	0	235	1703
	73%	27%	0%	0%		
Feature 97	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 98	3	1	0	0	4	31
	75%	25%	0%	0%		
Feature 99	4	7	0	0	11	61
	36%	64%	0%	0%		
Feature 100	2	3	0	0	5	11
	40%	60%	0%	0%		
Feature 101	1	0	0	0	1	3
	100%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.7. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 102	21 72%	7 24%	1 3%	0 0%	29	160
Feature 103	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0
Feature 104	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0
Feature 105	3 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	3	14
Feature 106	0 0%	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	1	4
Feature 107	4 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	4	36
Totals	1746 74%	586 25%	15 1%	19 1%	2366	11,703

Table C.8. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 2	9	4	0	0	13	90
	69%	31%	0%	0%		
Burial 3	1	0	0	0	1	3
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 4	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 5	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 6	0	1	0	0	1	10
	0%	100%	0%	0%		
Burial 7	0	0	0	0	0	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 8	9	1	0	0	10	26
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 9	4	4	0	0	8	106
	50%	50%	0%	0%		
Burial 10	2	0	0	0	2	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 11	4	0	0	0	4	41
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 12	11	0	0	0	11	76
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 13	2	0	0	0	2	20
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 14	6	0	0	0	6	44
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 15	2	0	0	0	2	16
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 16	4	0	0	0	4	48
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 17	25	4	0	0	29	170
	86%	14%	0%	0%		
Burial 18	4	0	0	0	4	72
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 19	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 20	0	0	0	0	0	7
	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.8. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 21	3	0	0	0	3	18
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 22	2	0	0	0	2	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 23	13	0	0	0	13	36
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 24	2	0	0	0	2	17
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 25	3	0	0	0	3	26
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 26	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 27	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 28	0	0	0	0	0	5
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 29	2	0	0	0	2	2
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 30	1	0	0	0	1	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 31	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 32	0	2	0	0	2	2
	0%	100%	0%	0%		
Burial 33	4	0	0	0	4	14
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 34	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 35	0	0	0	0	0	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 36	1	1	0	0	2	6
	50%	50%	0%	0%		
Burial 37	21	2	3	0	26	107
	81%	8%	12%	0%		
Burial 38	0	0	0	0	0	7
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 39	2	0	0	0	2	19
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 40	1	0	0	0	1	8
	100%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.8. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 41	1	0	0	0	1	8
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 42	9	1	0	0	10	30
	90%	10%	0%	0%		
Burial 43	19	0	0	0	19	200
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 44	4	1	0	0	5	24
	80%	20%	0%	0%		
Burial 45	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 46	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 47	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 48	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 49	1	2	0	0	3	3
	33%	67%	0%	0%		
Burial 50	2	0	0	0	2	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 51	7	1	0	0	8	40
	88%	13%	0%	0%		
Burial 52	5	2	0	0	7	40
	71%	29%	0%	0%		
Burial 53	20	1	0	0	21	96
	95%	5%	0%	0%		
Burial 54	15	2	0	0	17	117
	88%	12%	0%	0%		
Burial 55	1	0	0	0	1	1
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 56	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 57	3	4	0	0	7	24
	43%	57%	0%	0%		
Burial 58	29	6	0	0	35	139
	83%	17%	0%	0%		
Burial 59	17	1	1	0	19	93
	89%	5%	5%	0%		
Burial 60	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.8. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 61	0	0	0	0	0	5
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 62	0	0	0	0	0	35
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 63	9	4	0	0	13	71
	69%	31%	0%	0%		
Burial 64	0	1	0	0	1	21
	0%	100%	0%	0%		
Burial 66	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 67	3	2	0	0	5	28
	60%	40%	0%	0%		
Burial 68	0	0	0	0	0	15
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 69	0	0	0	0	0	15
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 70	0	1	0	0	1	3
	0%	100%	0%	0%		
Burial 71	0	1	0	0	1	10
	0%	100%	0%	0%		
Burial 72	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 73	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 74	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 75	2	1	0	0	3	14
	67%	33%	0%	0%		
Burial 76	0	0	0	0	0	8
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 77	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 78	1	0	0	0	1	12
	100%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 79	0	1	0	0	1	0
	0%	100%	0%	0%		
Burial 80	10	1	0	0	11	87
	91%	9%	0%	0%		
Burial 81	3	2	0	0	5	100
	60%	40%	0%	0%		

Table C.8. Interior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Burnished	Smoothed	Plain	Painted	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 82	5 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	5	36
Burial 83	5 71%	2 29%	0 0%	0 0%	7	116
Burial 84	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0	0
Totals	309 84%	56 15%	4 1%	0 0%	369	2422

Table C.9. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Townhouse Floors

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Townhouse Floor 1	83	4	0	0	19	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	7	115	1340
	72%	3%	0%	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%		
Townhouse Floor 2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	68
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Townhouse Floor 3	220	10	0	0	2	0	1	0	21	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	261	2896
	84%	4%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	8%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%		
Townhouse Floor 4[1]	608	6	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	624	3245
	97%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%		
Townhouse Floor 5	66	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	70	553
	94%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%		
Townhouse Floor 6[2]	33	1	10	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	48	385
	69%	2%	21%	2%	2%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%		
Totals	1019	24	13	3	22	0	2	0	21	4	2	0	0	0	1	16	1127	8487
	90%	2%	1%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%		

[1] Includes Features 22 and 23.
[2] Includes Features 27 and 28.

Table C.10. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Domestic Structures

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Structure 3[1]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Structure 4[2]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Structure 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Structure 6	24	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	50
	86%	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Structure 7[3]	130	6	0	0	0	0	0	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	162	291
	80%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	16%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Structure 8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Structure 9[4]	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	56
	46%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	46%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Totals	160	10	0	0	0	0	1	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	203	404
	79%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	16%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

[1] Includes Feature 84. [2] Includes Feature 89. [3] Includes Feature 59. [4] Includes Feature 58.

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 1	140	16	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	163	739
	86%	10%	3%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 2	23	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	81
	88%	4%	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 3	38	13	12	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	70	594
	54%	19%	17%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	4%		
Feature 4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 5	10	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	71
	71%	14%	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 8	24	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	37	200
	65%	5%	3%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	22%		
Feature 9	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	43	136
	95%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%		
Feature 10	58	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	64	250
	91%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%		

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 11	56	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	184
	93%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 12	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	65
	70%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%		
Feature 13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 15	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	16
	0%	0%	40%	0%	0%	0%	0%	60%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 16	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	27
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 18	32	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	13	55	361
	58%	11%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	24%		
Feature 19	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	108
	70%	30%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 22	43	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	77
	93%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 23	76	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	77	224
	99%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 24	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 25	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 27	3	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	12
	25%	0%	0%	75%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 29	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	16
	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%		
Feature 30	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 31	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	54
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 32	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	11
	50%	25%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 33	5	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	49
	38%	0%	0%	62%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 34	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	38
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 35	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	22
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 36	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	7	25
	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	86%		
Feature 37	15	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	138
	79%	16%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	11
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
Feature 40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 41	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	253
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 42	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	9
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
Feature 44	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	10
	75%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%		
Feature 45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 46	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	19
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 47	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	34
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 48	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	49
	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 50	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	21
	56%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	11%		
Feature 51	10	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	200
	53%	47%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 54	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 55	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	29
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 56	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	25
	75%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 57	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	37
	89%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 58	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	56
	46%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	46%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 59	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 63	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 64	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 65	95	6	2	6	0	0	22	89	0	0	41	0	0	0	17	2	280	1292
	34%	2%	1%	2%	0%	0%	8%	32%	0%	0%	15%	0%	0%	0%	6%	1%		
Feature 66	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 68	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	22
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 69	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13
	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 70	12	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16	32
	75%	0%	0%	19%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%		
Feature 71	127	3	5	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	151	840
	84%	2%	3%	0%	3%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%		

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 72	206	2	10	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	14	2	0	0	0	19	260	2034
	79%	1%	4%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	1%	0%	0%	0%	7%		
Feature 73	8	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	20	125
	40%	10%	0%	0%	0%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	35%		
Feature 74	4	3	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	112
	22%	17%	0%	61%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 75	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	90
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 76	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	29
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 77	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	18
	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 78	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	12	83
	50%	0%	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%		
Feature 79	12	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	17	91
	71%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	24%		
Feature 80	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	73
	33%	0%	56%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	11%		
Feature 81	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	23
	67%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 82	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 83	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	122
	67%	0%	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	17%		
Feature 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 85	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	44
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 86	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 87	5	0	0	2	0	0	14	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	1	5	32	168
	16%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	44%	0%	0%	0%	16%	0%	0%	0%	3%	16%		
Feature 88	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	28
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 90	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 91	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	35
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 92	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 93	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	54
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 94	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 95	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 96	155	14	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	176	1703
	88%	8%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%		
Feature 97	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	31
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 99	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8	61
	50%	25%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 100	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	11
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 101	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.11. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Feature 102	25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	160
	96%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 103	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 104	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 105	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	14
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 106	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Feature 107	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	36
	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Totals	1380	104	70	50	11	5	42	102	0	3	63	2	1	1	20	91	1945	11,703
	71%	5%	4%	3%	1%	0%	2%	5%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	1%	5%		

Table C.12. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	9	90
	67%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	22%	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 8	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	26
	63%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 9	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	106
	71%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	14%		
Burial 10	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7
	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.12. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 11	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	41
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 12	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	9	76
	22%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 13	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 14	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	44
	50%	25%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	48
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 17	13	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	170
	72%	28%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 18	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	72
	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.12. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 21	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	18
	67%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 22	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 23	7	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	36
	58%	25%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 24	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 25	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	26
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 29	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 30	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.12. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 33	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 36	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 37	9	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	25	107
	36%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	12%	28%	0%	0%	24%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 39	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	19
	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 40	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8
	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.12. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 41	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8
	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 42	6	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	30
	60%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 43	6	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	200
	55%	0%	0%	18%	9%	0%	9%	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 44	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	24
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	33%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 50	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.12. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 51	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	40
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 52	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	40
	80%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 53	12	1	1	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	96
	63%	5%	5%	11%	0%	0%	5%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 54	9	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	16	117
	56%	19%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 55	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 57	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	24
	0%	57%	0%	0%	0%	0%	14%	29%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 58	6	0	0	0	0	0	8	8	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	35	139
	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	23%	23%	0%	0%	37%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 59	6	0	1	1	0	0	1	6	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	19	93
	32%	0%	5%	5%	0%	0%	5%	32%	0%	0%	16%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%		
Burial 60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.12. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 63	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	71
	60%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 64	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	21
	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 67	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	28
	80%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%		
Burial 68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
Burial 71	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.12. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	14
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	67%		
Burial 76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 78	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12
	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 80	7	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	87
	78%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 81	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		

Table C.12. Exterior Surfaces of Sherds from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Complicated Stamped	Incised	Linear Stamped Unidentified	Simple Stamped	Rectangular Check Stamped	Paneled Check Stamped	Diamond Check Stamped	Coarse Plain	Corncob Impressed	Cordmarked	Burnished	Roughened	Punctated	Engraved	Red Filmed	Smoothed Plain	Sherd Sample	Total Sherds
Burial 82	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	36
	50%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 83	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	116
	50%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Burial 84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Totals	152	29	2	10	2	0	21	53	0	0	28	0	1	0	1	5	304	2423
	50%	10%	1%	3%	1%	0%	7%	17%	0%	0%	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%		

Table C.13. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Townhouse Floors

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Townhouse Floor 1	28	17	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	2	52	13	65
	54%	33%	0%	0%	0%	8%	0%	0%	2%	0%	4%			
Townhouse Floor 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%			
Townhouse Floor 3	0	58	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	67	8	75
	0%	87%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%			
Townhouse Floor 4[1]	0	112	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	116	4	120
	0%	97%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%			
Townhouse Floor 5	1	6	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	11	0	11
	9%	55%	0%	0%	0%	18%	0%	18%	0%	0%	0%			
Townhouse Floor 6[2]	2	5	0	0	1	2	0	3	0	0	0	13	0	13
	15%	38%	0%	0%	8%	15%	0%	23%	0%	0%	0%			
Totals	31	198	0	0	1	20	0	5	1	0	3	259	25	284
	12%	76%	0%	0%	0%	8%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%			

[1] Includes Features 22 and 23.
[2] Includes Features 27 and 28.

Table C.14. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Domestic Structures

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Structure 3[1]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%			
Structure 4[2]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%			
Structure 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%			
Structure 6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%			
Structure 7[3]	0	7	6	0	2	6	1	0	0	0	0	22	0	22
	0%	32%	27%	0%	9%	27%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%			
Structure 8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%			
Structure 9[4]	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%			
Totals	0	7	6	0	5	6	1	0	0	0	0	25	0	25
	0%	28%	24%	0%	20%	24%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%			

[1] Includes Feature 84. [2] Includes Feature 89. [3] Includes Feature 59. [4] Includes Feature 58.

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 1		28 80%			1 3%	6 17%						35		35
Feature 2		4 80%				1 20%						5		5
Feature 3	1 3%	27 77%			2 6%	3 9%	2 6%					35	4	39
Feature 4												0		0
Feature 5						1 100%						1		1
Feature 6												0		0
Feature 7												0		0
Feature 8	6 32%	4 21%		3 16%		3 16%	1 5%		2 11%			19	1	20
Feature 9		7 88%				1 13%						8	1	9
Feature 10	1 7%	11 73%				3 20%						15		15

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 11		7 70%				3 30%						10	1	11
Feature 12		5 100%										5		5
Feature 13												0		0
Feature 14												0		0
Feature 15		1 50%			1 50%							2		2
Feature 16												0		0
Feature 17												0		0
Feature 18	2 7%	15 50%			7 23%	5 17%	1 3%					30	1	31
Feature 19	6 86%					1 14%						7	2	9
Feature 20												0		0

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 22		5 100%										5		5
Feature 23		5 100%										5		5
Feature 24					1 100%							1		1
Feature 25												0		0
Feature 26												0		0
Feature 27												0		0
Feature 28												0		0
Feature 29	1 100%											1	1	2
Feature 30												0		0
Feature 31		2 100%										2		2

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 32		1 33%	2 67%									3		3
Feature 33												0		0
Feature 34		3 100%										3		3
Feature 35		2 100%										2		2
Feature 36					2 100%							2		2
Feature 37		3 27%			5 45%	3 27%						11		11
Feature 38												0		0
Feature 39					1 100%							1		1
Feature 40												0		0
Feature 41	1 7%	8 53%			2 13%	4 27%						15	2	17

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 42												0	1	1
Feature 43												0		0
Feature 44		1 100%										1		1
Feature 45												0		0
Feature 46		1 100%										1	2	3
Feature 47	1 100%											1		1
Feature 48		2 100%										2		2
Feature 49												0		0
Feature 50												0		0
Feature 51		2 50%		1 25%		1 25%						4		4

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 52												0		0
Feature 53												0		0
Feature 54												0		0
Feature 55												0		0
Feature 56												0	1	1
Feature 57												0		0
Feature 58					3 100%							3		3
Feature 59						1 100%						1		1
Feature 60												0		0
Feature 61												0		0

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 62												0		0
Feature 63												0		0
Feature 64												0		0
Feature 65		20 24%	5 6%		50 60%	3 4%	4 5%			2 2%		84		84
Feature 66												0		0
Feature 67												0		0
Feature 68					1 100%							1		1
Feature 69		1 33%				2 67%						3		3
Feature 70		2 67%			1 33%							3		3
Feature 71	27 64%	6 14%		3 7%		3 7%		1 2%	2 5%			42	8	50

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 72	31 57%	12 22%				1 2%		2 4%	4 7%		4 7%	54	39	93
Feature 73	4 50%	1 13%			1 13%	2 25%						8	1	9
Feature 74	3 43%	1 14%				3 43%						7	1	8
Feature 75	1 33%	2 67%										3	1	4
Feature 76	1 100%											1		1
Feature 77		1 50%				1 50%						2		2
Feature 78		3 100%										3		3
Feature 79		2 100%										2		2
Feature 80		3 100%										3		3
Feature 81	1 50%	1 50%										2		2

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 82												0		0
Feature 83		2 100%										2	1	3
Feature 84												0		0
Feature 85		3 100%										3	4	7
Feature 86		1 100%										1		1
Feature 87					10 91%			1 9%				11		11
Feature 88		1 100%										1		1
Feature 89												0		0
Feature 90												0		0
Feature 91	3 100%											3		3

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 92												0		0
Feature 93	2 100%											2		2
Feature 94												0		0
Feature 95												0		0
Feature 96	5 7%	54 79%				7 10%		2 3%				68	17	85
Feature 97												0		0
Feature 98												0		0
Feature 99		2 40%	1 20%		1 20%	1 20%						5		5
Feature 100		1 100%										1	1	2
Feature 101												0		0

Table C.15. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Features (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Feature 102		6 100%										6		6
Feature 103												0		0
Feature 104												0		0
Feature 105												0		0
Feature 106												0		0
Feature 107		3 75%				1 25%						4		4
Totals	97 17%	272 48%	8 1%	7 1%	89 16%	60 11%	8 1%	6 1%	8 1%	2 0%	4 1%	561	90	651

Table C.16. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Burials

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Burial 1												0		0
Burial 2		5 83%			1 17%							6		6
Burial 3		1 100%										1		1
Burial 4												0		0
Burial 5												0		0
Burial 6												0		0
Burial 7												0		0
Burial 8					1 50%	1 50%						2		2
Burial 9		2 100%										2	1	3
Burial 10		1 100%										1		1

Table C.16. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Burial 11			1 100%									1		1
Burial 12		1 33%				2 67%						3	1	4
Burial 13												0	1	1
Burial 14		1 100%										1		1
Burial 15		1 100%										1		1
Burial 16		2 67%				1 33%						3		3
Burial 17		12 86%				2 14%						14	2	16
Burial 18		2 100%										2		2
Burial 19												0		0
Burial 20												0		0

Table C.16. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Burial 21												0		0
Burial 22												0		0
Burial 23		2 67%				1 33%						3		3
Burial 24		1 100%										1		1
Burial 25												0		0
Burial 26												0		0
Burial 27												0		0
Burial 28												0		0
Burial 29												0		0
Burial 30												0		0

Table C.16. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Burial 31												0		0
Burial 32												0		0
Burial 33		1 50%				1 50%						2		2
Burial 34												0		0
Burial 35												0		0
Burial 36												0		0
Burial 37					7 100%							7		7
Burial 38												0		0
Burial 39					1 100%							1		1
Burial 40												0		0

Table C.16. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Burial 41												0		0
Burial 42												0	1	1
Burial 43		8 89%			1 11%							9		9
Burial 44												0		0
Burial 45												0		0
Burial 46												0		0
Burial 47												0		0
Burial 48												0		0
Burial 49												0		0
Burial 50												0		0

Table C.16. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Burial 51		1 100%										1	3	4
Burial 52		3 100%										3		3
Burial 53		5 83%			1 17%							6		6
Burial 54		3 75%	1 25%									4	1	5
Burial 55												0		0
Burial 56												0		0
Burial 57					1 100%							1		1
Burial 58					4 80%					1 20%		5		5
Burial 59			1 17%		5 83%							6		6
Burial 60												0		0

Table C.16. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Burial 61												0		0
Burial 62												0		0
Burial 63		2 40%	1 20%		1 20%	1 20%						5		5
Burial 64												0		0
Burial 66												0		0
Burial 67		1 100%										1		1
Burial 68												0		0
Burial 69												0		0
Burial 70												0		0
Burial 71						1 100%						1		1

Table C.16. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Burial 72												0		0
Burial 73												0		0
Burial 74												0		0
Burial 75						1 100%						1		1
Burial 76												0		0
Burial 77												0		0
Burial 78					1 100%							1		1
Burial 79												0		0
Burial 80		3 75%				1 25%						4		4
Burial 81		3 100%										3		3

Table C.16. Types of Rims from Coweeta Creek Burials (Continued)

	Rims with Notched Fillets	Folded and Pinched Rims	Rims with Sawtooth Notching	Rims with Unnotched Fillets	Plain Rims	Incised Cazuelas	Punctated Rims	Rolled Rims	Thickened and Rounded Rims	Collared and Incised Rims	Straight Rims	Subtotal	Indeterminate Rims	Total
Burial 82			2 100%									2		2
Burial 83		3 75%				1 25%						4		4
Burial 84												0		0
Totals	0 0%	64 59%	6 6%	0 0%	24 22%	13 12%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 1%	0 0%	108	10	118

APPENDIX D

MORTUARY DATA FROM COWEETA CREEK

Chapter 9 examines patterns in mortuary data from the Coweeta Creek site. Maps and tables in that chapter are drawn from the tables in appendices A and D. Table D.1 summarizes the numbers of different types of burials present, the spatial distribution of burials by age and sex, and the numbers of burials with grave goods in different areas of the Coweeta Creek site. Table D.2 catalogs the nonperishable artifacts found in burials at the Coweeta Creek site.

Table D.1. Burials in Different Areas at Coweeta Creek

	Townhouse/Ramada/Plaza		Other Site Areas		Totals	
Burial Type						
Simple Oval Pit	26	81%	46	90%	72	87%
Shaft And Chamber	6	19%	5	10%	11	13%
N=83	32		51		83	
Age						
Adults	25	74%	36	67%	61	69%
Subadults	9	26%	18	33%	27	31%
N=88	34		54		88	
Gender						
Men	16	47%	13	24%	29	33%
Women	2	6%	13	24%	15	17%
Indeterminate Adult	7	21%	11	20%	18	20%
Unknown Subadult	9	26%	17	31%	26	30%
N=88	34		54		88	
Grave Goods						
Present	16	50%	15	29%	31	37%
Absent	16	50%	36	71%	52	63%
N=83	32		51		83	

Table D.2. Nonperishable Artifacts in Burials at Coweeta Creek

Burial	Grave	Placement	Age	Sex	Cut Shell Beads	Columella Beads	Olivella Beads	Drilled Pearls	Shell Pins
1	simple oval pit	mound area	elder	indeterminate					
2	simple oval pit	mound area	mature adult	indeterminate					
3	simple oval pit	mound area	child	unknown					
4	simple oval pit	mound area	elder	male					
5	shaft and chamber	mound area	adolescent	unknown					
6	shaft and chamber	mound area	elder	male					2
7	simple oval pit	mound area	mature adult	female					
8	simple oval pit	mound area	mature adult	male					
9	simple oval pit	townhouse ramada	elder	male		95	11	14	4
10	simple oval pit	townhouse	child	unknown					
11	simple oval pit	townhouse	elder	male					
12	simple oval pit	townhouse	mature adult	male	32				
13	simple oval pit	townhouse	young adult	indeterminate					
14	simple oval pit	townhouse ramada	elder	male					
15	shaft and chamber	townhouse ramada	elder	male	6				
16	simple oval pit	townhouse ramada	child	unknown	8				
17	shaft and chamber	townhouse ramada	elder	male					2
18	simple oval pit	townhouse ramada	elder	male					
19	simple oval pit	townhouse ramada	child	unknown		4	5		
20	simple oval pit	townhouse	mature adult	indeterminate					
21a	simple oval pit	townhouse	young adult	indeterminate	1				
21b			elder	indeterminate					
21c			child	unknown					
22	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					
23	simple oval pit	townhouse	mature adult	male		2			
24	simple oval pit	townhouse	mature adult	female					
25	simple oval pit	townhouse	mature adult	male					
26	simple oval pit	village	elder	male					
27	simple oval pit	townhouse	child	unknown				14	2
28	simple oval pit	townhouse	mature adult	male					
29	shaft and chamber	plaza	mature adult	indeterminate					
30	simple oval pit	townhouse	young adult	male					
31	simple oval pit	townhouse	child	unknown		12			
32	simple oval pit	townhouse	mature adult	male					2
33	simple oval pit	townhouse	elder	male	2				

Table D.2. Nonperishable Artifacts in Burials at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Rattlesnake Gorgets	Shell Masks	Shell Pendants	Arrowheads	Basket	Ochre	Mica	Celts	Gaming Stones	Stone Pipes	Clay Pipes	Animal Bones	Bone Pin	Turtle Shell Rattles	Rattle Pebbles	Schistose Rocks	Glass Beads	Pots	Diversity	Burial
																		0	1
																		0	2
																		0	3
																		0	4
																		0	5
							1											2	6
																		0	7
																		0	8
			7	1	X	X		1										9	9
																		0	10
																		0	11
																		1	12
														X				1	13
																		0	14
																		1	15
	1																	2	16
1									1									3	17
												1						1	18
		3																3	19
																		0	20
											1							2	21a
																			21b
																			21c
																		0	22
	1				X	X												4	23
																		0	24
																		0	25
																		0	26
	1																1	4	27
																		0	28
																		0	29
	1																	1	30
		4																2	31
																		1	32
																		1	33

Table D.2. Nonperishable Artifacts in Burials at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Burial	Grave	Placement	Age	Sex	Cut Shell Beads	Columella Beads	Olivella Beads	Drilled Pearls	Shell Pins
34	shaft and chamber	village	child	unknown					
35	simple oval pit	village	elder	male					
36	simple oval pit	village	elder	female					
37	shaft and chamber	village	mature adult	female					
37a			elder	male					
38	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					
39	shaft and chamber	townhouse ramada	adolescent	unknown					
40	simple oval pit	village	young adult	indeterminate	2				
41	simple oval pit	village	young adult	female	24				
42	shaft and chamber	village	elder	female		75			
43	simple oval pit	village	young adult	female					
44	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	male		25			
45	simple oval pit	village	young adult	female					1
46	simple oval pit	village	young adult	indeterminate					
47	simple oval pit	village	young adult	indeterminate					
48	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	indeterminate					
49	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					
50	simple oval pit	village	elder	male					
51	simple oval pit	village	adolescent	unknown					
52	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	indeterminate					
53	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	male					
54	simple oval pit	village	young adult	female					
55	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	male					
56	simple oval pit	village	adolescent	unknown					
57	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	female					
58	simple oval pit	village	young adult	male					
59	simple oval pit	village	young adult	indeterminate					
60	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	female					
61a	simple oval pit	village	young adult	indeterminate					
61b			child	unknown					
62	simple oval pit	village	young adult	indeterminate					
63	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	female					
64	simple oval pit	village	adolescent	female					
66	simple oval pit	village	young adult	indeterminate					
67	simple oval pit	village	young adult	indeterminate	1				

Table D.2. Nonperishable Artifacts in Burials at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Rattlesnake Gorgets	Shell Masks	Shell Pendants	Arrowheads	Basket	Ochre	Mica	Celts	Gaming Stones	Stone Pipes	Clay Pipes	Animal Bones	Bone Pin	Turtle Shell Rattles	Rattle Pebbles	Schistose Rocks	Glass Beads	Pots	Diversity	Burial
																		0	34
																		0	35
																		0	36
											10							1	37
																			37a
																	1	1	38
																		0	39
										1								2	40
													1					2	41
							1											2	42
													2					1	43
																		1	44
																		1	45
																		0	46
																		0	47
																		0	48
																		0	49
																		0	50
	1																	1	51
																		0	52
																		0	53
																		0	54
																		0	55
																		0	56
																		0	57
																		0	58
																		0	59
																		0	60
																		0	61a
																			61b
	1																	1	62
										1								1	63
																		0	64
																		0	66
																		1	67

Table D.2. Nonperishable Artifacts in Burials at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Burial	Grave	Placement	Age	Sex	Cut Shell Beads	Columella Beads	Olivella Beads	Drilled Pearls	Shell Pins
68	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					
69	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					
70	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					
71	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					
72	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	female					
73	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	male					
74	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	male					
75a	simple oval pit	village	elder	male					
75b			young adult	male					
76	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	indeterminate					
77	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					
78	simple oval pit	village	mature adult	male					
79	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					
80	shaft and chamber	village	child	unknown					
81	simple oval pit	village	elder	female					
82	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					
83	shaft and chamber	village	adolescent	unknown					
84	simple oval pit	village	child	unknown					

Table D.2. Nonperishable Artifacts in Burials at Coweeta Creek (Continued)

Rattlesnake Gorgets	Shell Masks	Shell Pendants	Arrowheads	Basket	Ochre	Mica	Celts	Gaming Stones	Stone Pipes	Clay Pipes	Animal Bones	Bone Pin	Turtle Shell Rattles	Rattle Pebbles	Schistose Rocks	Glass Beads	Pots	Diversity	Burial
																		0	68
																		0	69
																		0	70
																		0	71
																		0	72
																		0	73
																		0	74
															X			1	75a
																			75b
																		0	76
																		0	77
																		0	78
																		0	79
								2										1	80
																		0	81
																		0	82
																		0	83
																4		1	84

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