TEMPORAL VARIATION IN QUALLA POTTERY AT COWEETA CREEK

by

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Abstract

The archaeological manifestation of protohistoric and historic Cherokee material culture and settlements in southwestern North Carolina is known as the Qualla phase. This phase, and the Qualla ceramic series, has generally been dated from A.D. 1450 to 1838. This paper reconstructs temporal trends in Qualla pottery based on quantitative analyses of sherd assemblages from several independently dated contexts at the Coweeta Creek site. Results of these analyses enable us to differentiate Middle Qualla (A.D. 1500–1700) and Late Qualla (A.D. 1700–1838) pottery, and they also enable us to propose at least an outline of the major characteristics of Early Qualla pottery, which is provisionally dated from A.D. 1300 to 1500. This proposed Qualla ceramic chronology—which should be tested with data from other sites and revised as necessary—enables us to assign dates to sherd assemblages, and the sites and proveniences from which they are derived, with greater precision than has been possible in the past. The characteristics of and the dates of Early Qualla pottery from Coweeta Creek also encourage us to reconsider our understanding of the relationship between the Pisgah and Qualla phases in southwestern North Carolina.

The material culture, architecture, settlements, and lifeways of protohistoric and historic Cherokee groups in southwestern North Carolina are typically attributed to the Qualla phase, which is conventionally dated from A.D. 1450 to 1838 (Cable and Reed 2000:112–124; Dickens 1976:200–201, 206–214, 1978:118–119, 1979:22–27; Keel 1976:214–216; Purrington 1983:148–151; Ward and Davis 1999:178–190, 267–272; Williams and Thompson 1999:97–99). This article considers evidence about temporal variation in Qualla pottery from selected and independently dated contexts at the Coweeta Creek site, and it outlines the major characteristics of Early Qualla (A.D. 1300 to 1500), Middle Qualla (A.D. 1500 to 1700), and Late Qualla (A.D. 1700 to 1838) pottery from this Middle Cherokee settlement in the upper Little Tennessee Valley (Rodning 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2004, 2007; Riggs and Rodning 2002; Schroedl 2000a, 2001; Ward and Davis 1999:183–189; Wilson and Rodning 2002).

Quantitative analyses of ceramic attribute data from the Coweeta Creek site enable us to differentiate assemblages that can be dated to these periods. The provisional model of temporal trends in Qualla pottery proposed here can be applied as an analytical framework to assign dates to assemblages of sherds from late prehistoric and post-contact Cherokee settlements in southwestern North Carolina.

Here, I review the major characteristics of Qualla pottery. I then discuss the Coweeta Creek site and the contexts with sherd assemblages being considered, and I propose an outline of attribute variation within Early Qualla, Middle Qualla, and Late Qualla pottery. I conclude with comments about the relationship between Qualla and Pisgah ceramics in western North Carolina, and the relationship between Qualla and Lamar ceramics in the greater southern Appalachians.

The Qualla Phase and the Qualla Ceramic Series

Qualla ceramics were first formally described and labeled as such in the 1960s and 1970s, and the general outlines of Qualla pottery and the Qualla phase developed then are largely intact today (Dickens 1976, 1978, 1979, 1986; B. Egloff 1967; Greene 1996; Keel 1976; Keel et al. 2002; Purrington 1983; Williams and Thompson 1999:97–99). Qualla ceramics are present at sites associated with the Valley, Out, and Middle Cherokee towns in the cultural and natural province in southwestern North Carolina known as the Appalachian Summit (Riggs and Rodning 2002:37–38) (Figure 1). Qualla vessel forms (Figure 2) include globular jars with folded/pinched rim strips (Figure 3), carinated bowls (Figure 4) and bottles (Figure 5), and restricted-rim bowls (Figure 6) (Ward and Davis 1999:181–183). These vessel types are represented both by vessel sections and by rimsherds diagnostic of particular vessel forms (Figure 7). Ceramic paste is typically tempered with grit.[1] Interior surfaces are burnished or polished. Complicated stamping is the predominant exterior surface treatment (Figures 8 and 9); corncob impressing, net impressing, fabric impressing, and cordmarking also occur in small percentages. Incised motifs are present on carinated, or cazuela, vessels (Figures 10 and 11). Incised motifs are present near the rims of cazuelas, between the lip and shoulder, with complicated stamped motifs often seen below the shoulder of those carinated vessels (Figure 5).

Qualla pottery is different in many respects from Overhill Cherokee ceramics from eighteenth-century sites in eastern Tennessee (Baden

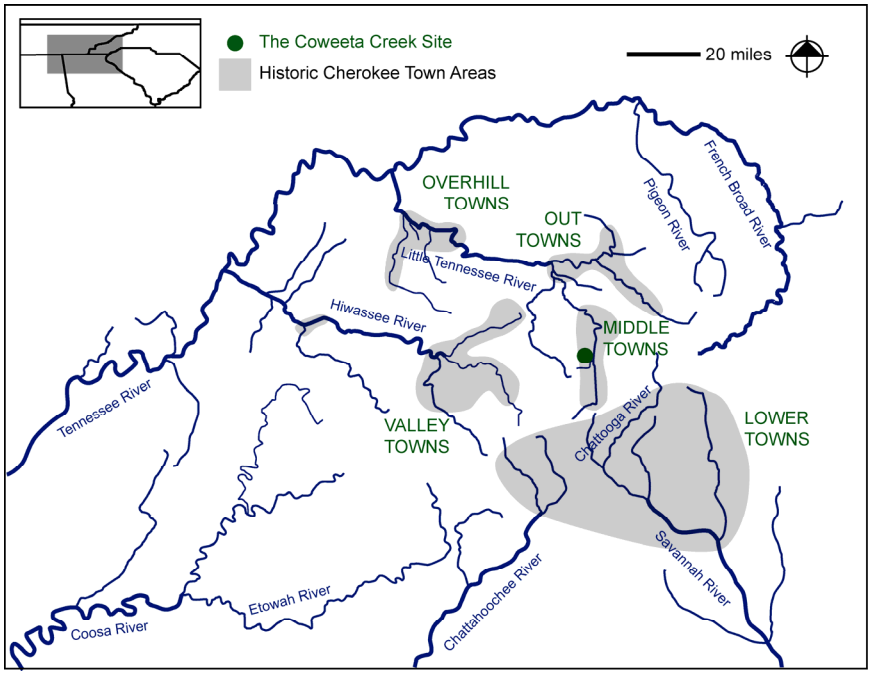

Figure 1. Historic Cherokee town areas in the southern Appalachians.

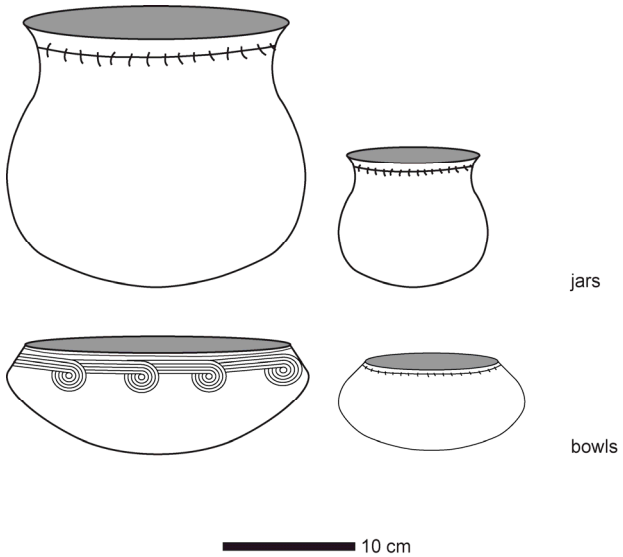

Figure 2. Qualla vessel types from Coweeta Creek.

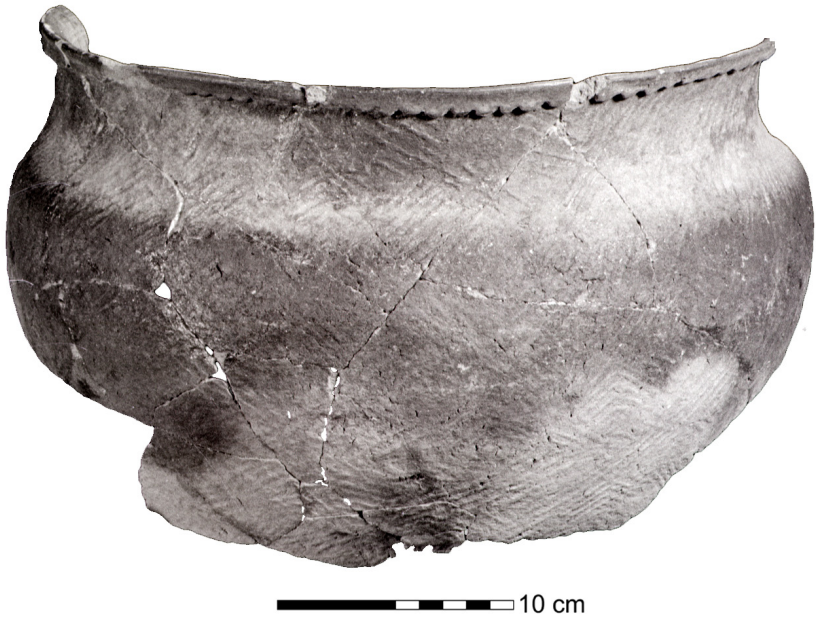

Figure 3. Globular jar from Coweeta Creek (photograph by Christopher B. Rodning and Gregory D. Wilson).

Figure 4. Carinated bowl from Coweeta Creek (photograph by Christopher B. Rodning and Gregory D. Wilson).

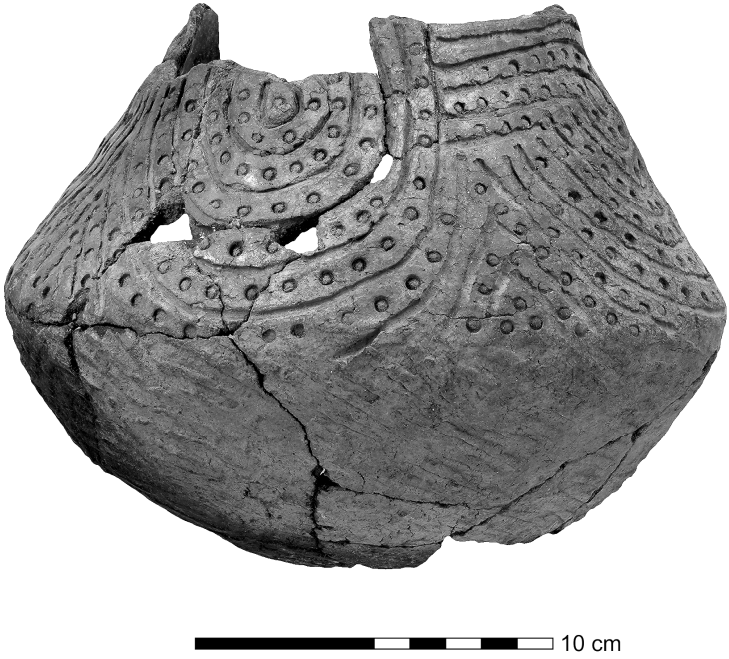

Figure 5. Carinated bottle from Coweeta Creek (photograph by Christopher B. Rodning and Gregory D. Wilson).

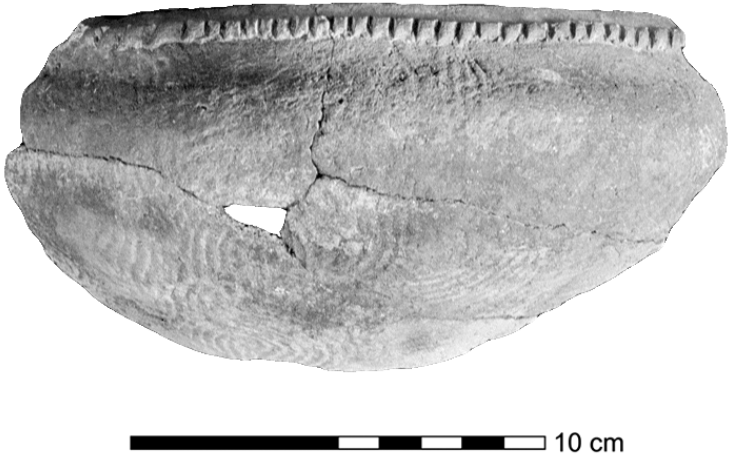

Figure 6. Restricted rim bowl from Coweeta Creek (photograph by Christopher B. Rodning and Gregory D. Wilson).

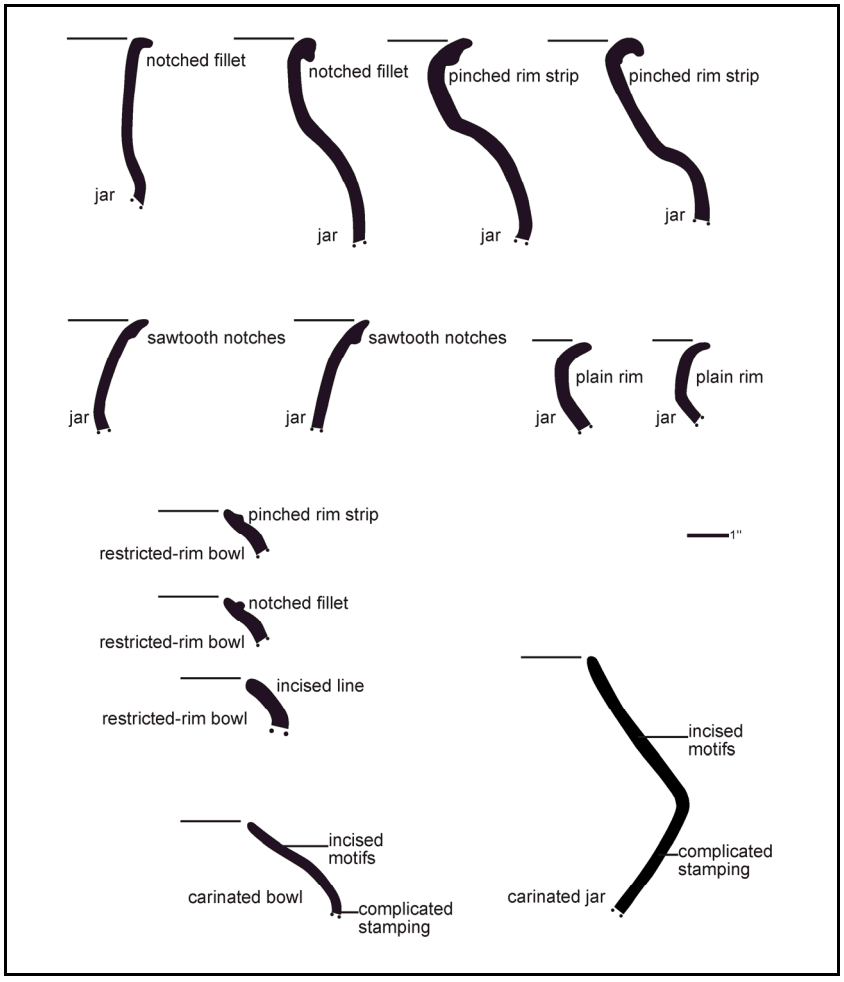

Figure 7. Qualla rims from Coweeta Creek.

1983; Chapman 1985; King 1977; Russ and Chapman 1983; Schroedl 1986a, 1986b, 2000a, 2001). Overhill ceramics are typically made with shell-tempered pastes, and they have burnished surface finishes, incised and engraved design motifs, and some complicated stamping. Vessel types include globular jars, restricted-rim bowls, and pans.

Given the differences between Overhill and Qualla pottery, archaeologists have been able to recognize some amounts of Qualla pottery at Overhill settlements in eastern Tennessee (Schroedl 1986a,

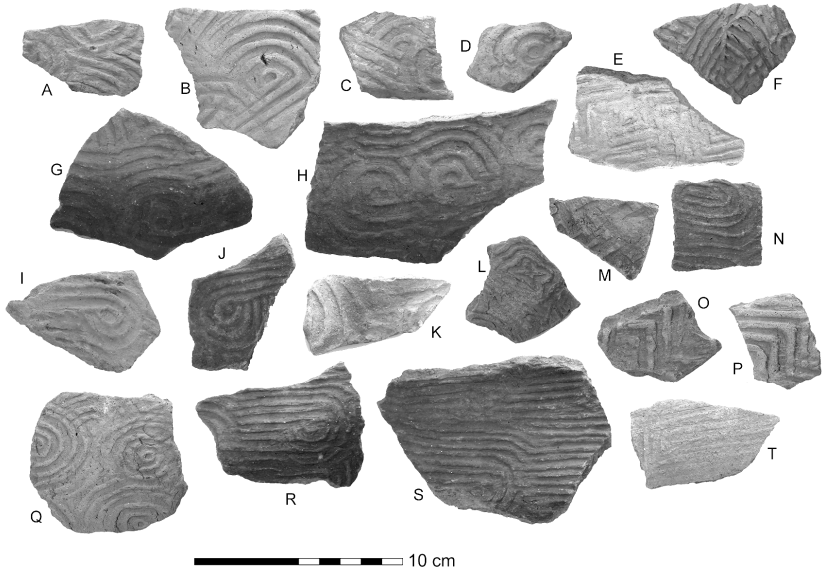

Figure 8. Qualla complicated stamped sherds from Coweeta Creek.

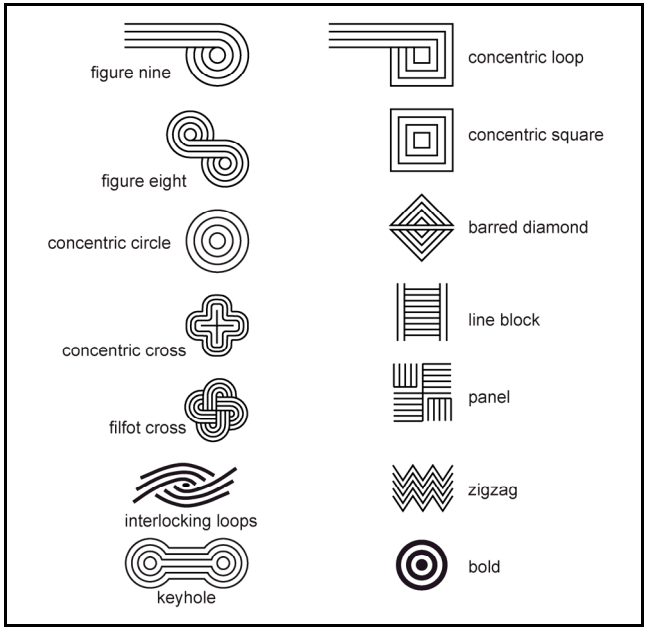

Figure 9. Complicated stamp motifs on Qualla pottery from Coweeta Creek (compare with Hally 1986b:105).

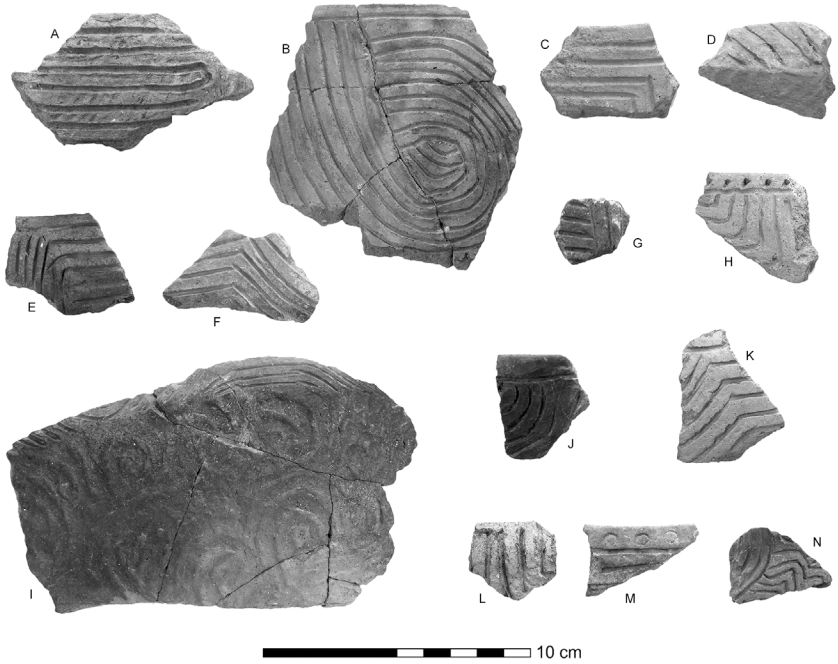

Figure 10. Qualla incised sherds from Coweeta Creek.

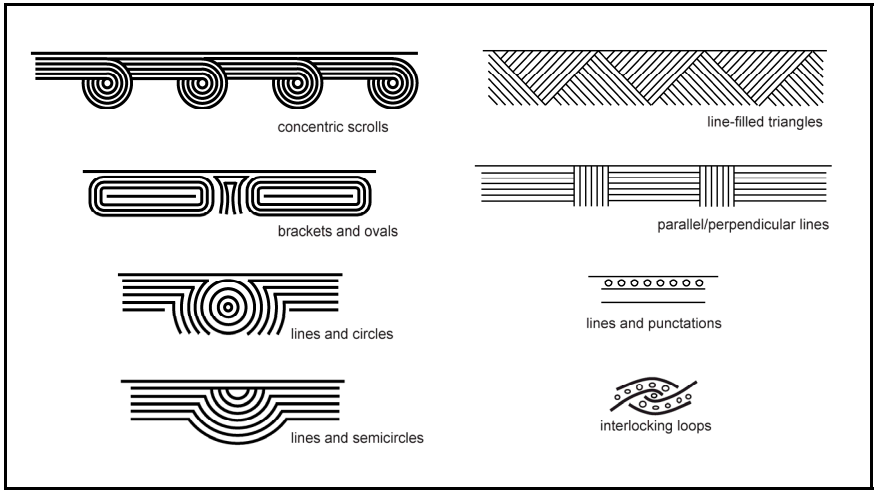

Figure 11. Bold incised motifs on Qualla pottery from Coweeta Creek (compare with Hally 1986b:103).

1986b). The presence of Qualla pottery at these sites probably represents the movement of some Cherokee households and towns from the western Carolinas to the Overhill settlements during the late 1600s and 1700s (Goodwin 1977; Smith 1979). These movements were, in part, responses to encroachment by European traders and settlers in the southern Appalachians and the general pattern of geopolitical destabilization in the colonial Southeast created during early stages of the deerskin and hide trade, the slave trade, and the new kinds of conflict and warfare spurred by these developments (Ethridge 2006; Gallay 2002; Harmon 1986; Marcoux 2008; Martin 1994; Hatley 1993; Smith 1992, 1994, 2002).

Qualla ceramics from sites in southwestern North Carolina are closely comparable to ceramics from Lower Cherokee settlements in northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina (Cable and Reed 2000; Caldwell 1955; Dickens 1979; Hally 1986a, 1986b, 1994; Heye et al. 1918; Kelly and de Baillou 1960; Kelly and Neitzel 1961; Riggs and Rodning 2002; Schroedl 1994; Sears 1955; Smith 1992; Smith et al. 1988; Wauchope 1948, 1950, 1966; Williams and Thompson 1999:68–72, 97–99; 128–129; Wynn 1990). These ceramics are attributable to the Tugalo (A.D. 1450–1600) and Estatoe (A.D. 1650–1750) phases, as seen in ceramic assemblages from the Chauga, Estatoe, Tugalo, and Chattooga sites, and in the Little Brasstown Valley (Anderson 1994; Cable and Reed 2000; Hally and Langford 1988; Hally 1986a, 1986b; Schroedl 1994, 2000a, 2000b, 2001). Tugalo series ceramics are characterized by grit temper, complicated stamping on exterior surfaces, burnished interior surfaces, bold incised motifs on carinated vessels, and folded/pinched rim strips on globular jars and restricted-rim bowls. Estatoe series ceramics demonstrate the same characteristics of temper, surface finish, and vessel form as seen in the Tugalo series, although check stamping is also present in Estatoe pottery, and rim strips commonly have fillet strips (also known as applique strips) rather than fingernail or fingertip notches placed along the bottoms of rim strips. These two ceramic series are associated with the broader Lamar tradition in the greater southern Appalachians, with roots in the preceding Etowah, Savannah, and Wilbanks phases (Dickens 1979; Hally 1994; Hally and Rudolph 1986; Wauchope 1966; Williams and Shapiro 1990).

Although archaeologists have long acknowledged the influence of Lamar pottery in the development of the Qualla series, the Pisgah series in western North Carolina has often been considered the major late

prehistoric source from which Qualla pottery was derived in western North Carolina (Dickens 1978, 1979). For example, the temporal sequence of Pisgah and Qualla pottery has been recognized at the Garden Creek mounds, where Pisgah pottery is present in mound deposits predating mound layers that contain Qualla ceramics (Dickens 1978). And whereas Qualla sherd assemblages are commonly present at sites known to date to the 1600s and 1700s—such as Tuckasegee, Alarka, and Coweeta Creek (Dickens 1976:14–15; Keel 1976:40–45; Ward 2002)—sites with Pisgah pottery such as Warren Wilson clearly predate European contact in the Southeast.

The Coweeta Creek Site in the Upper Little Tennessee Valley

The Coweeta Creek site (31Ma34) was excavated by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology (RLA) at the University of North Carolina (UNC) in the 1960s and early 1970s as part of its Cherokee Archaeological Project (Coe 1961; Dickens 1967, 1976:14–15, 100, 132; K. Egloff 1971; Keel 1976:15–16, 2002; Keel et al. 2002; Rodning 2001a, 2001b, 2002c, 2004, 2007; Schroedl 2000a, 2001; Ward 2002; Ward and Davis 1999:138–139). This regional project focused on the origins and long-term development of Cherokee culture in western North Carolina. The abundance of Qualla potsherds on the ground surface at the Coweeta Creek site made it a good candidate for investigation as part of a project that included excavations at late prehistoric sites such as Warren Wilson and Garden Creek, and eighteenth-century sites such as Tuckasegee and Townson, and it was thought that Coweeta Creek would date to the period between late prehistory and the eighteenth century.[2]

Excavations were conducted at Coweeta Creek from 1965 to 1971 (Figure 12). Several structures—and successive stages of many structures—were uncovered, along with dozens of hearths, pit features, burials, and thousands of postholes. Including all the potsherds, several hundred thousand artifacts were recovered from the site. These are curated by the RLA and have been housed on the UNC campus since they were removed from the ground.

Upon first glance, the most recognizable pattern on the Coweeta Creek site map is the arrangement of the townhouse, the town plaza, and the domestic structures and activity areas around the plaza (Figure 12). This community pattern was in place during the 1600s, but by the early 1700s, most of the domestic houses nearby had been abandoned, even

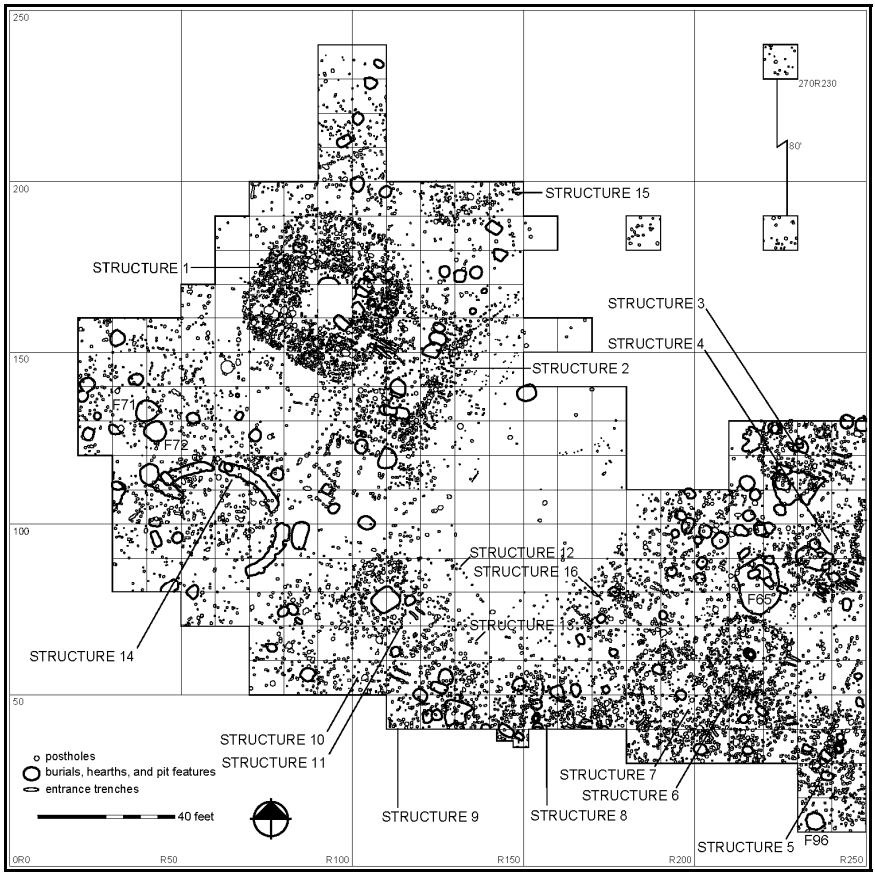

Figure 12. The Coweeta Creek site in southwestern North Carolina.

though late stages of the townhouse were placed atop the burned and buried remnants of its early stages (Rodning 2007). Only one excavated domestic structure and a few pit features appear to date to the 1700s, while a few other features date as early as the 1400s, if not earlier (Rodning 2004). The development of the Coweeta Creek community plan is an interesting and important topic in its own right. Here, my focus is simply to identify the similarities and differences in the Qualla pottery associated with independently dated contexts at the Coweeta Creek site, for the purposes of reconstructing the history of settlement at the site and advancing our understanding of temporal variation in Qualla ceramics more generally.

Table 1. Radiocarbon Dates from Coweeta Creek.[1]

Context	Measured Radiocarbon Age	Conventional Radiocarbon Age	Intercept	13C/12C	1-sigma (68% probability)	2-sigma (95% probability)	Sample
Feature 72	220 ± 60 BP	200 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1670	-25.9	cal AD 1930-1950 cal AD 1730-1810 cal AD 1650-1680	cal AD 1630-1950 cal AD 1530-1560	Beta-167072
Structure 1F	220 ± 50 BP	210 ± 50 BP	cal AD 1660	-25.9	cal AD 1930-1950 cal AD 1740-1800 cal AD 1650-1680	cal AD 1920-1950 cal AD 1840-1880 cal AD 1720-1820 cal AD 1630-1700 cal AD 1530-1550	Beta-167067
Structure 1D	230 ± 60 BP	210 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1660	-26.2	cal AD 1930-1950 cal AD 1740-1810 cal AD 1650-1680	cal AD 1910-1950 cal AD 1630-1890 cal AD 1520-1580	Beta-167068
Structure 7D	280 ± 60 BP	250 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1650	-26.8	cal AD 1780-1800 cal AD 1630-1670 cal AD 1530-1550	cal AD 1920-1950 cal AD 1730-1810 cal AD 1490-1690	Beta-175805
Feature 96	300 ± 40 BP	290 ± 40 BP	cal AD 1640	-25.8	cal AD 1630-1650 cal AD 1520-1580	cal AD 1490-1660	Beta-167073
Structure 1A	350 ± 40 BP	340 ± 40 BP	cal AD 1620 cal AD 1590 cal AD 1520	-25.7	cal AD 1470-1640	cal AD 1450-1650	Beta-243960 (AMS)
Structure 1A	360 ± 40 BP	380 ± 40 BP	cal AD 1470	-24	cal AD 1590-1620 cal AD 1450-1520	cal AD 1440-1640	Beta-243961 (AMS)
Structure 1A	410 ± 60 BP	390 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1470	-26.1	cal AD 1580-1630 cal AD 1440-1520	cal AD 1420-1650	Beta-167069
Structure 7D	390 ± 60 BP	370 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1490	-26.1	cal AD 1550-1630 cal AD 1450-1530	cal AD 1430-1650	Beta-175804
Structure 7D	450 ± 60 BP	450 ± 60 BP	cal AD 1440	-25.1	cal AD 1420-1470	cal AD 1580-1630 cal AD 1400-1520	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 1370-1380 cal AD 1180-1310	Beta-167071

[1] All charcoal samples listed here were taken from the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and radiocarbon determinations were made by Beta Analytic, Laboratories, Incorporated, in Miami, Florida.

Charcoal samples from selected pit features and structure floors at Coweeta Creek have recently been radiocarbon dated (Table 1). Each of these charcoal samples, and the corresponding radiocarbon determinations, are associated with large numbers of potsherds

attributable to the Qualla series. These different sherd assemblages therefore give us snapshots of the general characteristics of Qualla pottery at different points in time.

The presence of artifacts acquired from European colonists, such as glass beads, kaolin pipes, brass items, and peach pits, are additional temporal markers for later pit features and structure floors at the Coweeta Creek site (Table 2). Generally, the types of glass beads from the site are typical for assemblages dating to the late 1600s or early 1700s (Rodning 2004:205–217; Smith 1987). Meanwhile, the pipe stem date estimates for kaolin pipe fragments from the site fall within the early eighteenth century (Binford 1972; Rodning 2004:217–224). European trade goods are clearly associated with late stages of the townhouse, and perhaps associated with all stages of the townhouse. Meanwhile, they are also present in several pit features in the area near the townhouse and in deposits of clay and sand covering the plaza. However, they are not present, or present in only small numbers, in domestic structures at the site and in nearby pit features. The structures to the south and east of the plaza must have been abandoned prior to the last stages of the townhouse and other contexts that, by virtue of the presence of European trade goods, probably date to the late 1600s or early 1700s.

Sherd Samples

The following discussion compares and contrasts the characteristics of ceramics — focusing primarily on surface treatments (Table 3) and rim modes (Table 4) — from five structure floors (1A, 1D, 1F, 6B, and 7D) and four pit features (65, 71, 72, and 96) at Coweeta Creek for which we have radiocarbon dates and, in some cases, European trade goods (Table 5). Each of these assemblages includes a large number of sherds, enough to demonstrate a substantial amount of the variation in rim form, surface finish, and temper and paste characteristics that were present at these different points in time. Structures 1A, 1D, and 1F are the first, fourth, and sixth stages, respectively, of the townhouse (Rodning 2004:113–128). Structure 6B, likewise, is the second (and last) known stage of Structure 6 (Rodning 2004:168–169). Structure 7D is the fourth and last stage of Structure 7 (Rodning 2004:168–172). Structures 6 and 7 overlap, and from spatial and stratigraphic relationships between them, it is clear that Structure 7 predates Structure 6. With the exception of Feature 71 and Structure 6B, all of these

Table 2. European Trade Goods from Coweeta Creek[1].

	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
Structure 1F	2691	46				1		1			1		2			1
Structure 1E	269	1														1
Structure 1D	716	4		2		1										
Structure 1C	210				1											2
Structure 1B	324	4		1	1						2					2
Structure 1A	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															
Area Southwest of Mound																
Surface and Plow Zone	12	18							1				1	4		
Plaza																
Surface and Plow Zone	26	44								1			1	6	1	
Sand Covering the Plaza	7	5												1		
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

[1] All artifacts enumerated here part of the collections of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Table 3. 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		

contexts are radiocarbon dated, but there are independent temporal markers from Feature 71 in the form of glass beads and kaolin pipe fragments. Furthermore, Feature 71 is located in close proximity to Feature 72.[3]

Features 71 and 72 are located southwest of the townhouse. Both of these circular basins have gently sloping sides and rounded bottoms (Figure 13), and they are adjacent to one another (Figure 14). The major surface treatment seen on sherds from Feature 72 is rectilinear complicated stamping (Figure 15), although curvilinear complicated stamping is present, as is check stamping. The most common jar rim

Table 4. 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

Table 5. Selected Sherd Assemblages from Coweeta Creek.

	Sherds	Radiocarbon Dates	Stratigraphy	European Trade Goods
Structure 1F	1340	1	X	X
Feature 72	2034	1		X
Feature 71	840			X
Structure 1D	2896	1	X	X
Feature 96	1703	1		
Structure 6B	299		X	
Structure 1A	385	1	X	
Structure 7D	291	4	X	
Feature 65	1315	1	X	

type has notched fillet strips (Figure 16). Most everted jar rims at Coweeta Creek have some form of notched rim strips. Some everted jars have rim strips that are formed by folding and pinching the clay rim strips, and on these rimsherds, the "notching" is visible as fingernail or fingertip impressions. Other everted jar rims (like many of those from Features 71 and 72) display notching on clay beads that are added to the rim strips, either at the lip of the rim or in the middle of the rim strip. Rims with notched fillets at the lip sometimes have been referred to as "L-shaped-rims." Those with notched fillets in the middle of rim strips,

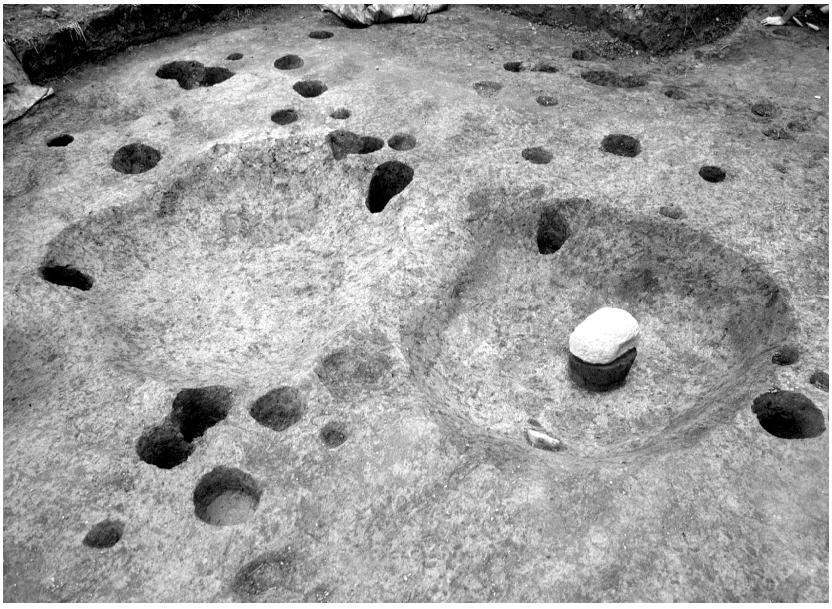

Figure 13. Photograph of Features 71 (left) and 72 (right) (courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology).

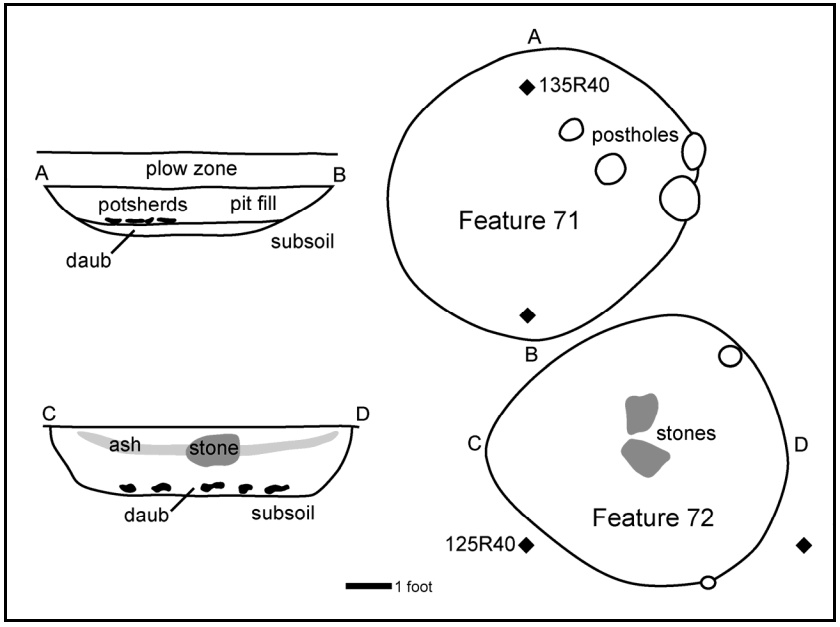

Figure 14. Plan views and profile views of Features 71 and 72.

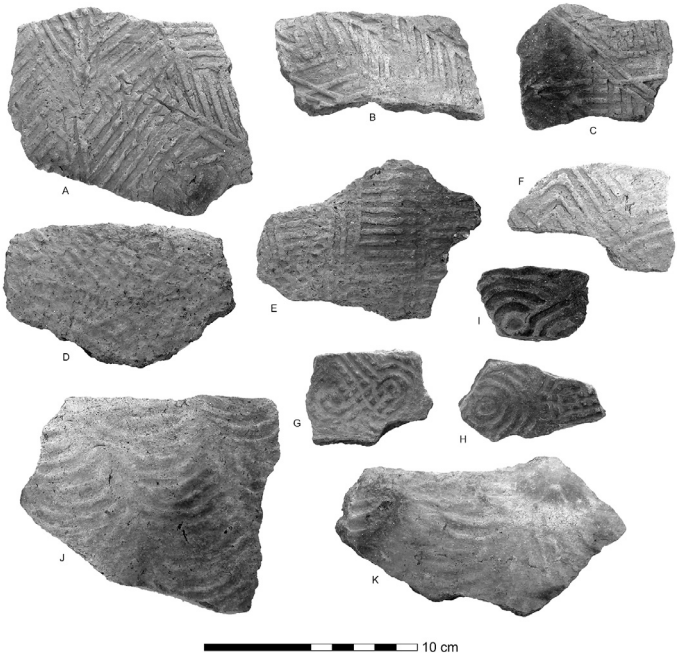

Figure 15. Potsherds from Feature 72.

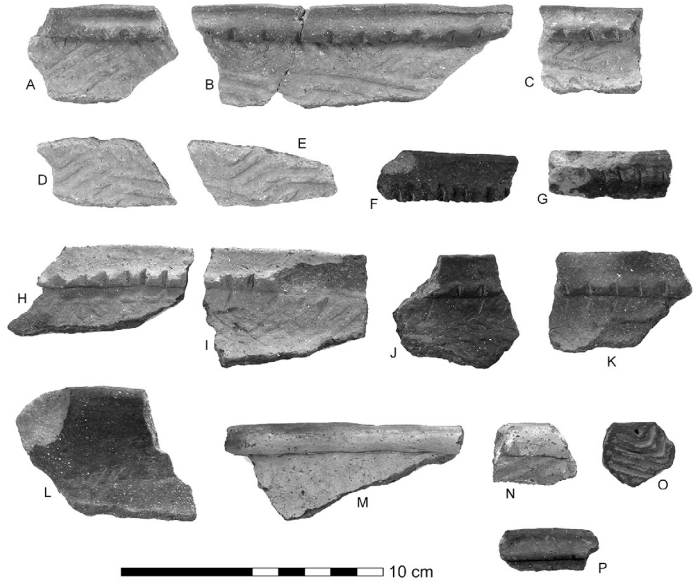

Figure 16. Rimsherds from Feature 72.

midway between the lip and the bottom of the rim strip, are sometimes identified as having rims with an "L-below the rim."

Thousands of sherds were recovered from the townhouse mound, and the analyses here focus only on those sherds associated with the floors of three of six stages of the townhouse, and not on the large numbers of sherds present in layers of architectural rubble between floors. European trade goods were found in all stages of the townhouse, although very few are directly associated with the floor of the first stage of this structure. Trade goods such as glass beads and kaolin pipes could have moved "up" and "down" through postholes cutting through multiple floors in the townhouse mound. Relatively few sherds are directly associated with the first stage of the townhouse, but sizable numbers are associated with the last (Figure 17) and fourth (Figure 18) of its six stages.

Feature 96 is located close to one of the domestic structures (Figures 19 and 20). European trade goods are absent from this feature, and unlike Feature 72, the predominant surface treatment is *curvilinear* rather than *rectilinear* complicated stamping (Figure 21). Unlike the prevalence in Feature 72 of jar rims with notched fillet strips, the most common jar rim type in Feature 96 has folded and pinched rim strips (Figure 22).

Feature 65 is located southeast of the plaza between two domestic structures (Figure 23). The pottery from Feature 65 (Figure 24) closely resembles the assemblage from Structure 7D (Figure 25).[4] These assemblages include: sherds with dark, compact, sandy paste; everted jar rims with sawtooth notching; everted jar rim sherds without any form of pinching, notching, or fillet strip; sherds with check stamping and elongated complicated stamping (Figure 26); sherds with coarse plain surfaces; and sherds from small red-filmed restricted-rim bowls. All of these characteristics differentiate the Feature 65 assemblage from those in Feature 72, Feature 96, Structure 1, and Structure 6 (Figure 27).[5] Complicated stamped motifs on sherds from Feature 65 and from the Structure 7D assemblage are more lightly impressed than those seen on sherds from the townhouse and from Features 96 and 72, and sherds exhibit elongated complicated stamping or perhaps linear stamp motifs. While there are some general similarities between sherds from Feature 65 and Structure 7D with those from other contexts at the site, the visual differences are both noticeable and noteworthy.

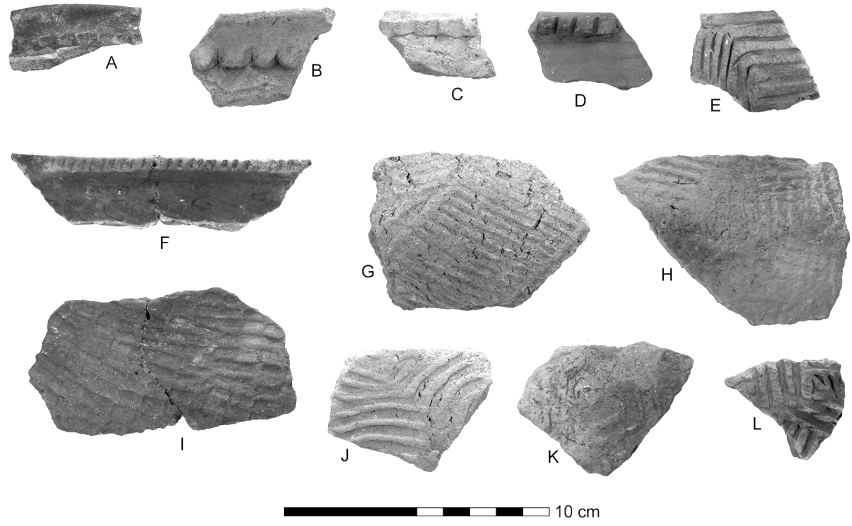

Figure 17. Sherds from Structure 1F.

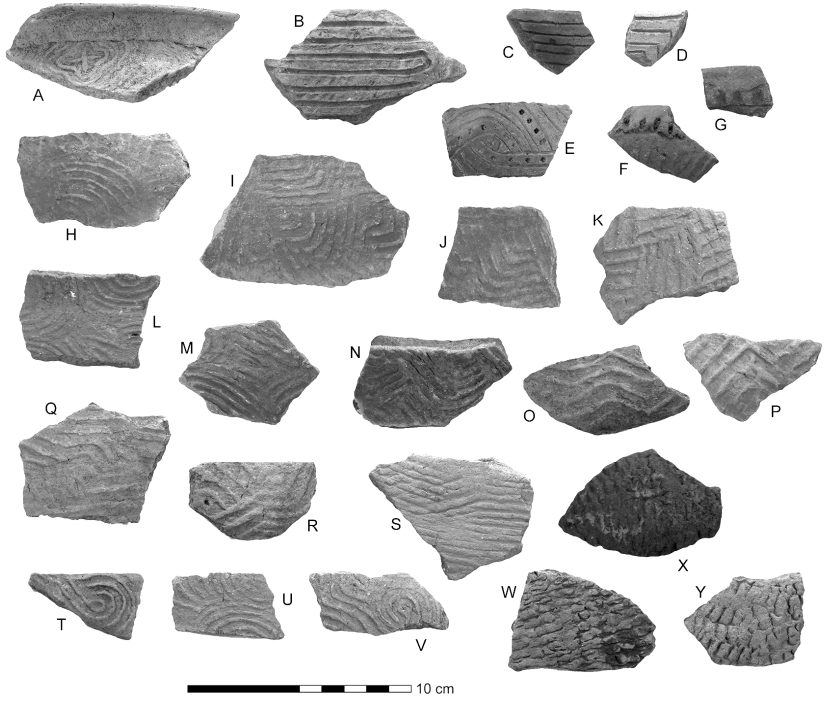

Figure 18. Sherds from Structure 1D.

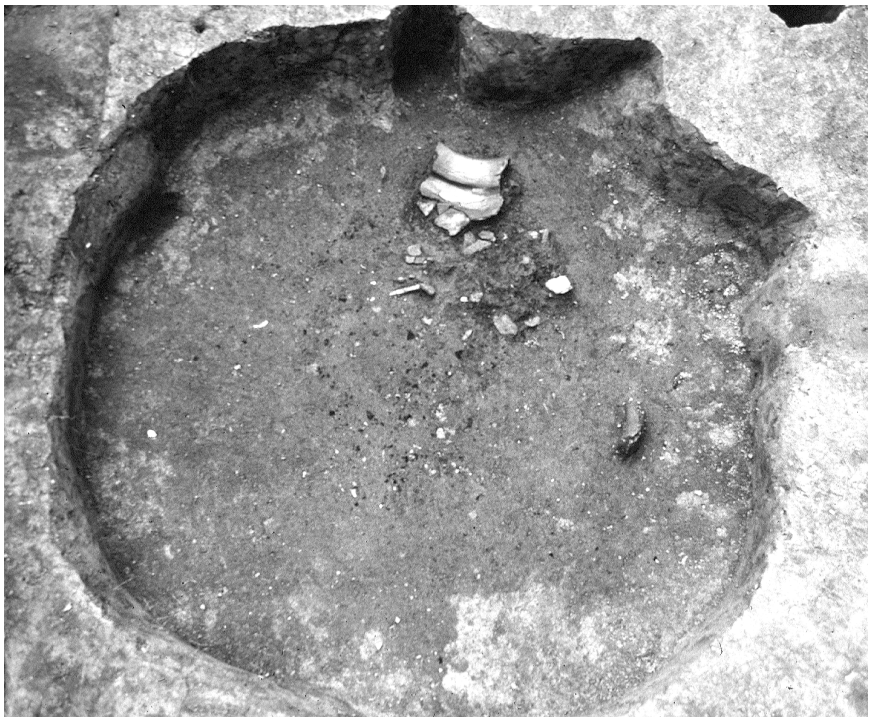

Figure 19. Feature 96 (courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology).

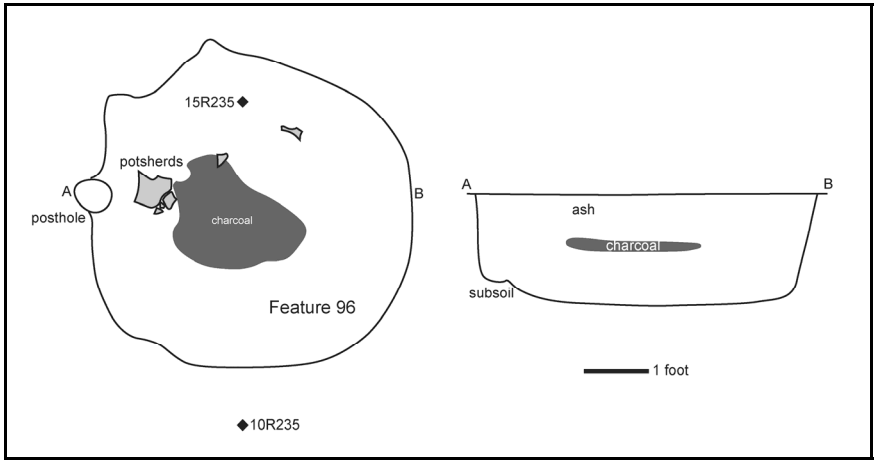

Figure 20. Plan and profile views of Feature 96.

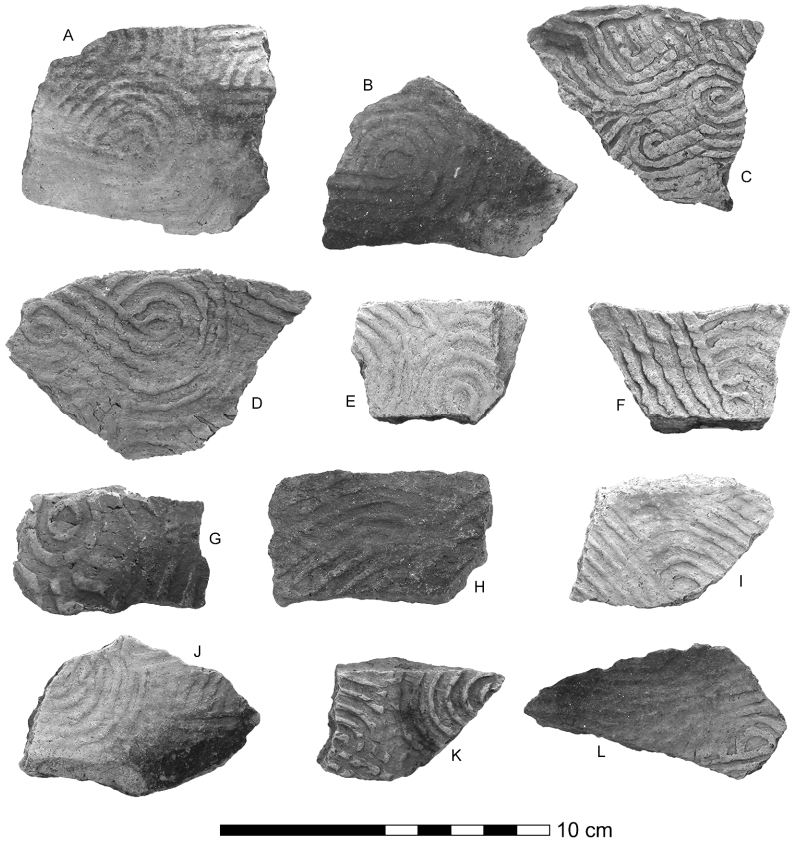

Figure 21. Potsherds from Feature 96.

Temporal Trends

Similarities and differences in the pottery assemblages from these contexts at Coweeta Creek can also be demonstrated quantitatively, in bar charts documenting the relative frequencies of surface treatments (Figure 28) and rim modes (Figure 29) seen in these respective assemblages when they are ordered chronologically. For these analyses, I include observations on body sherds greater than four centimeters long, and rim sherds greater than two centimeters long, simply because the characteristics of sherds smaller than these thresholds are often difficult to discern. In coding my observations on these sherds, I recorded information about sherd size, sherd thickness, temper, interior surface treatment, exterior surface treatment, decoration, rim mode, and vessel

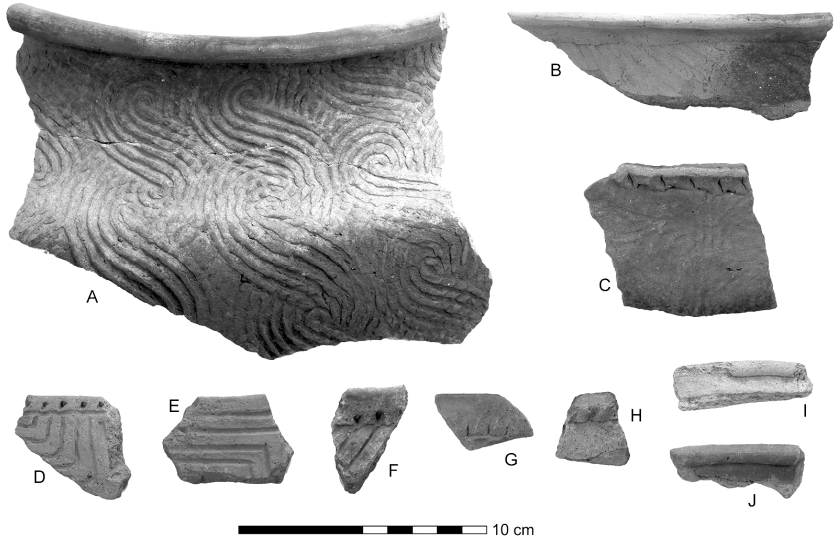

Figure 22. Rimsherds from Feature 96.

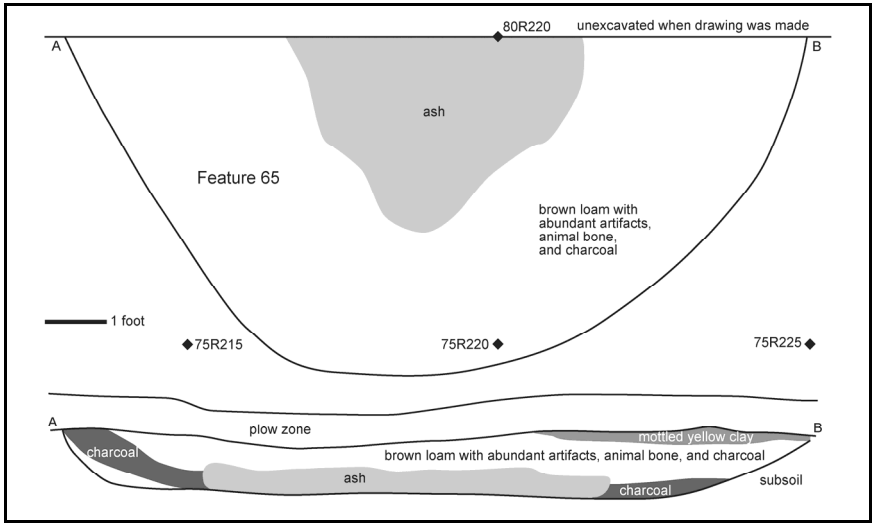

Figure 23. Feature 65.

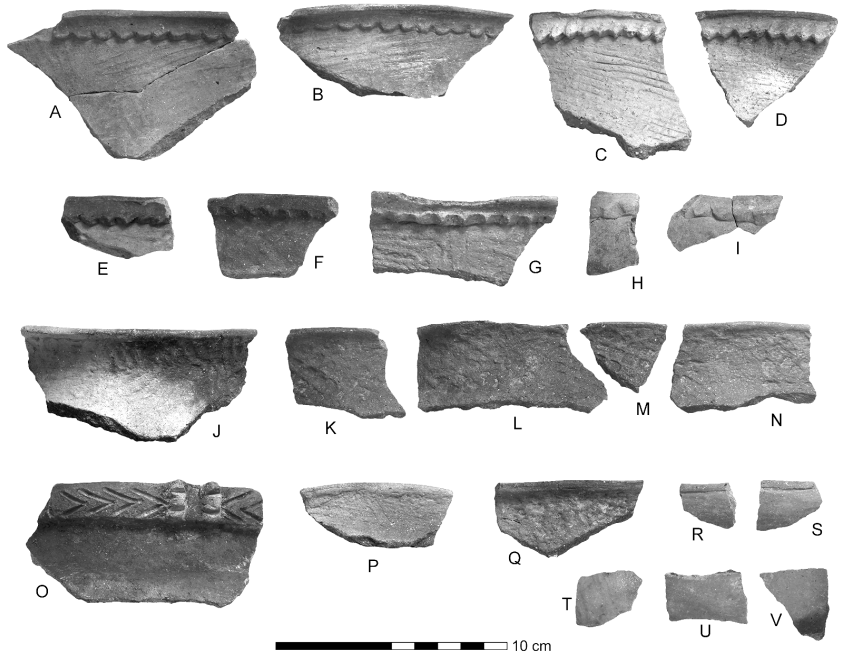

Figure 24. Potsherds from Feature 65.

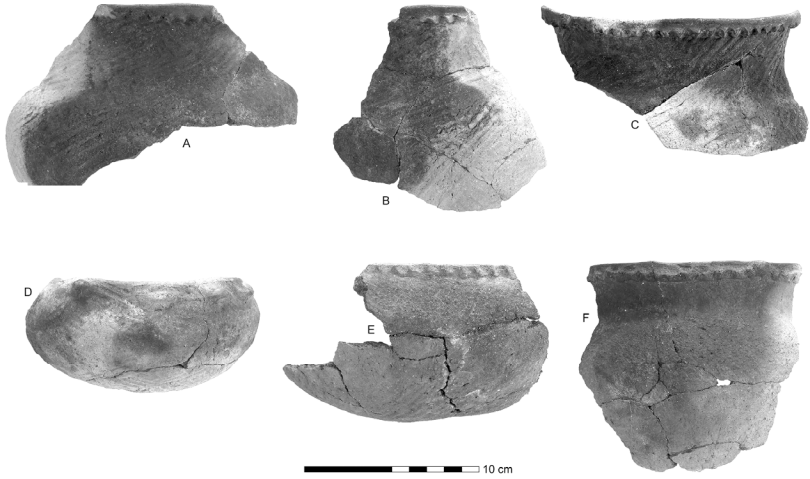

Figure 25. Vessel sections and sherds from Structure 7D.

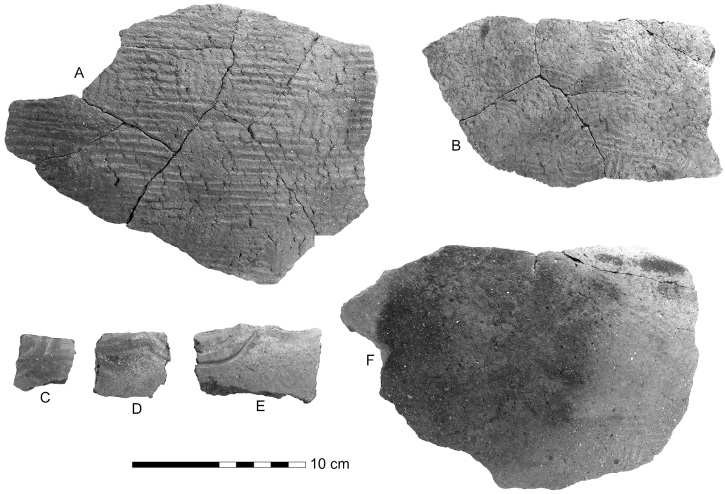

Figure 26. Vessel sections and sherds from Structure 7D.

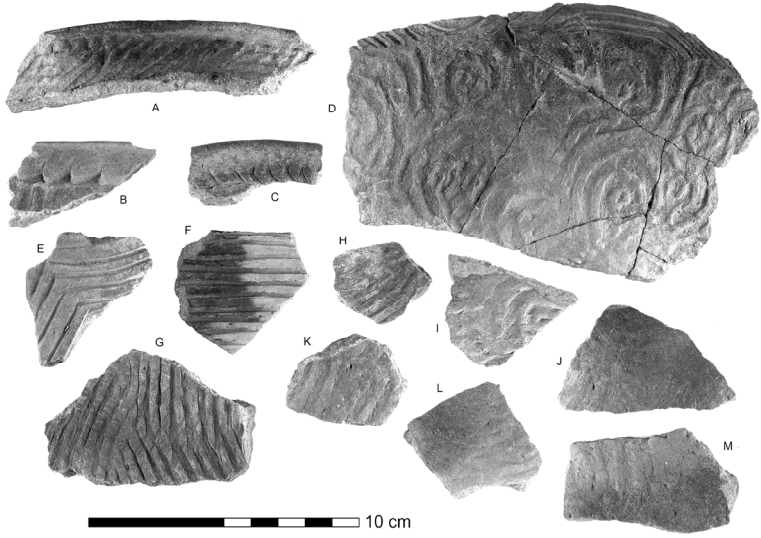

Figure 27. Potsherds from Structure 6B.

type, but the variables displaying meaningful temporal variation in this case are exterior surface treatment (Table 6) and rim modes (Table 7).[6]

Figure 28 illustrates temporal differences in exterior surface treatments. Complicated stamping is present throughout this sequence, although there are some differences in the kinds of complicated stamping seen in different assemblages. Coarse plain outer surfaces are relatively common early in the sequence, but not later. A form of check stamping referred to here as "diamond check stamping" occurs in assemblages from Feature 65 and Structure 7D (Figure 24). A different form of check stamping, "rectangular check stamping", is seen in the assemblages from Feature 72 and Structure 1F (Figure 17). Incised sherds are present throughout this sequence. Those associated with Feature 65 and Structure 7D are different than those seen in later contexts. For example, incised motifs seen in Features 72 and 96, and in the townhouse mound, are multilinear geometric motifs like those shown in Figure 11. Incised sherds from Feature 65 and Structure 7D, conversely, have only single incised lines, and they do not exhibit the motifs shown in Figure 11.

Different types of complicated stamping are present to varying degrees in these assemblages. As seen in Table 8, the ratio of rectilinear to curvilinear complicated stamped sherds increases dramatically toward the end of the sequence. As is also apparent from Table 8, elongated complicated stamping, which is present on sherds from Feature 65 (Figure 24) and Structure 7D (Figure 25), is common early in the sequence but entirely absent later. Sherds with elongated complicated stamping probably reflect the presence of much larger wooden paddle stamps and perhaps different techniques of stamping than those associated with later forms of complicated stamping. It is possible that some sherds identified as "elongated complicated stamped" are actually "simple" or "linear" stamped, but several large sherds and vessel sections from Feature 65 and Structure 7D are reminders that large sections of those pots would "look" like linear stamping, given the long spacing between the right angles of lands and grooves.

Figure 29 illustrates trends in rim modes seen in sherd assemblages from Coweeta Creek. Plain rims are relatively common early in the sequence but are much less common, or even absent, in later contexts. Sawtooth notching is the most common form of notching along the bottoms of rim strips early in the sequence (Figure 30), and some

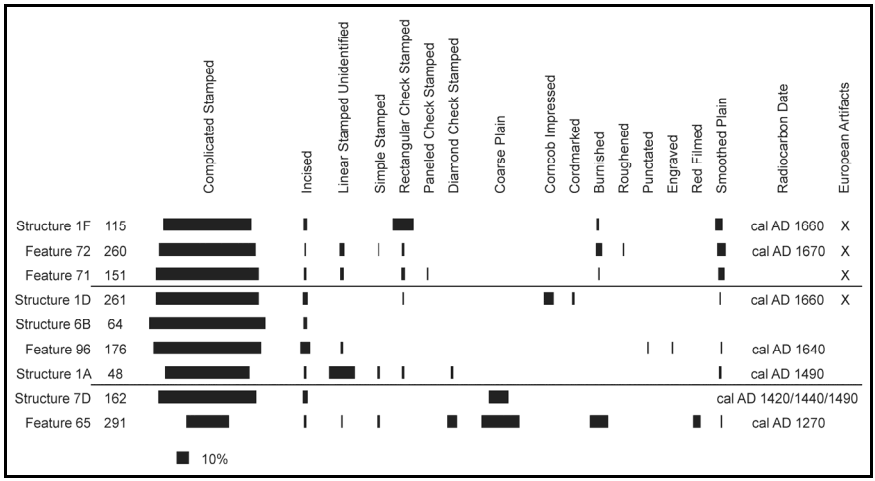

Figure 28. Relative frequencies of surface treatments in selected sherd assemblages from Coweeta Creek.

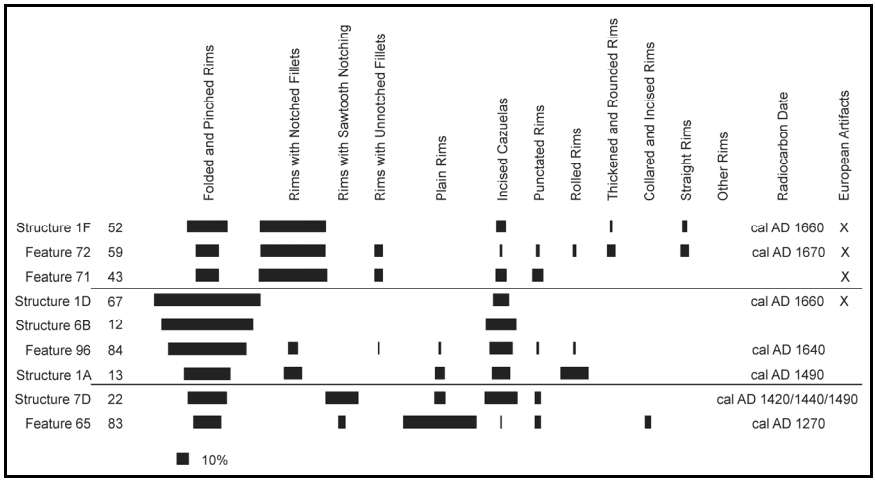

Figure 29. Relative frequencies of rim modes in selected sherd assemblages from Coweeta Creek.

Table 6. Frequencies of Surface Treatments from Selected Assemblages at 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
Structure 1F	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%		
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 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%		
Structure 1D	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%		
Structure 6B	61	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	64	299
	95%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
Structure 1A	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	101	6	2	6	0	0	22	89	0	0	41	0	0	0	22	2	291	1315
	35%	2%	1%	2%	0%	0%	8%	31%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%	8%	1%		

Table 7. Frequencies of Rim Modes from Selected Assemblages at 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
Structure 1F	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%			
Feature 72	31	11	0	4	0	1	2	2	4	0	4	59	36	95
	53%	19%	0%	7%	0%	2%	3%	3%	7%	0%	7%			
Feature 71	27	6	0	3	0	3	0	1	2	0	0	42	8	50
	64%	14%	0%	7%	0%	7%	0%	2%	5%	0%	0%			
Structure 1D	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%			
Feature 96	7	54	0	1	2	16	2	2	0	0	0	84	13	97
	8%	64%	0%	1%	2%	19%	2%	2%	0%	0%	0%			
Structure 6B	0	9	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	12
	0%	75%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%			
Structure 1A	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%			
Structure 7D	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%			
Feature 65	0	19	5	0	50	1	4	0	0	4	0	83	14	97
	0%	23%	6%	0%	60%	1%	5%	0%	0%	5%	0%			

Table 8. Complicated Stamping at Coweeta Creek.

	Elongated Complicated Stamped	Curvilinear Complicated Stamped	Rectilinear Complicated Stamped	Subtotal	Indeterminate Complicated Stamped	Rectilinear:Curvilinear
Structure 1F	0	68	9	77	8	0.13
	0%	88%	12%			
Feature 72	0	26	53	79	127	2.04
	0%	33%	67%			
Feature 71	0	73	7	80	55	0.10
	0%	91%	9%			
Structure 1D	0	210	7	217	3	0.03
	0%	97%	3%			
Feature 96	0	96	3	99	56	0.03
	0%	97%	3%			
Structure 6B	0	20	1	21	40	0.05
	0%	95%	5%			
Structure 1A	0	12	2	14	21	0.17
	0%	86%	14%			
Structure 7D	39	7	0	46	84	0.00
	85%	15%	0%			
Feature 65	16	3	4	23	83	1.33
	70%	13%	17%			

collared rims with slash incisions (typical of Pisgah pottery in western North Carolina) also occur in early assemblages from Coweeta Creek (Figure 24). Folded and pinched rims are prevalent in the middle of the sequence (Figure 18), and rims with notched fillet strips are prevalent late in the sequence (Figure 17). Thickened and rounded rims, without any notching, are never very common, but they are most frequent in late assemblages.

Not only can we differentiate “rectangular” and “diamond” check stamping in these sherd assemblages (Figure 31), but these forms of check stamping are typically seen on different types of rims (Figure 32), and they are also typically associated with different paste characteristics. “Diamond” check stamping, characterized by thin lines and shallow cells

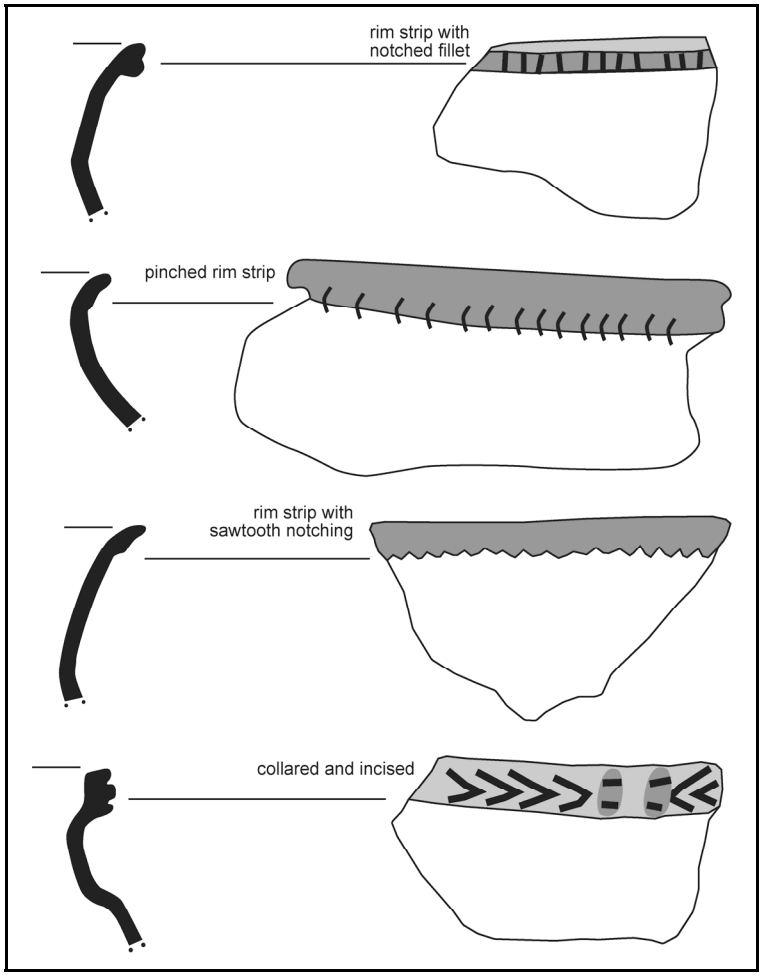

Figure 30. Different kinds of rim strips in assemblages from Coweeta Creek.

between them, is seen on sherds with compact, dark, sandy clay paste and on plain jar rims without any form of notching or other decoration, and this form of check stamping dates early in this sequence. Check stamping is absent from the middle of the Coweeta Creek sequence, and similarly, it is absent from Tugalo phase assemblages dating to the 1500s and early 1600s in northwestern South Carolina and northeastern Georgia (Hally 1986b:111). "Rectangular" check stamping, characterized by bold lines and deep cells between them, is seen on sherds with grit temper and on rim sherds with notched fillet strips. This

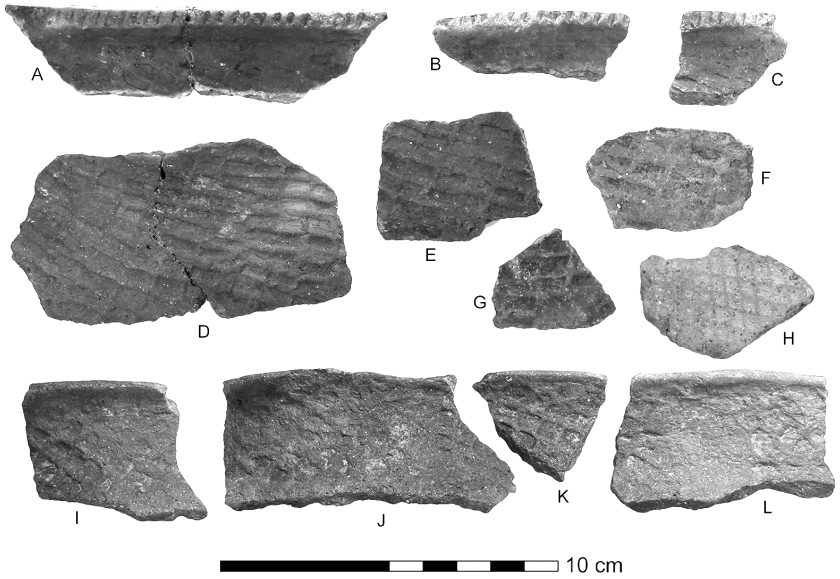

Figure 31. Qualla check stamped sherds from Coweeta Creek: Late Qualla "rectangular" check stamped (A–G); Early Qualla "diamond" check stamped (H–L).

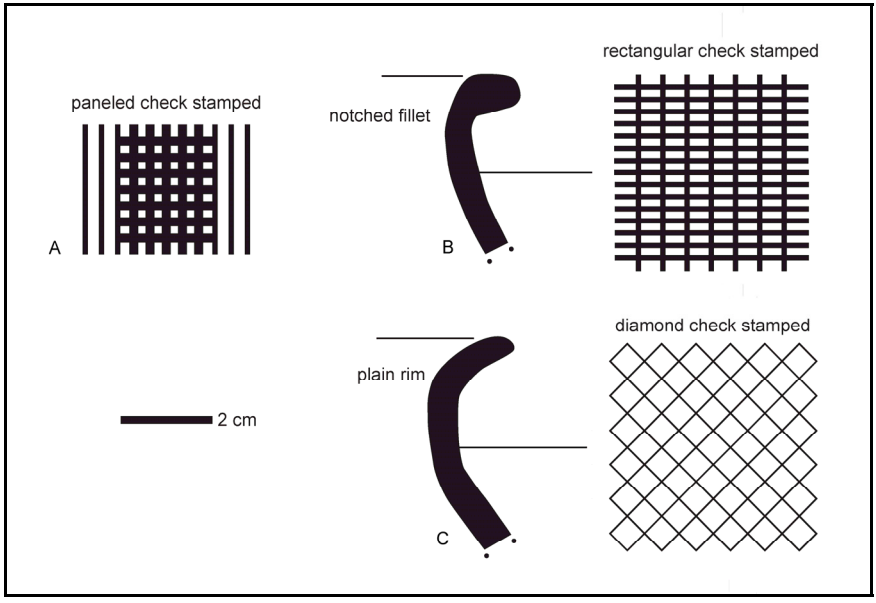

Figure 32. Late Qualla (A–B) and Early Qualla (C) check stamp motifs and rims.

form of check stamping apparently dates late in the sequence at Coweeta Creek. Similar check stamping is present in eighteenth-century Estatoe series assemblages from northwestern South Carolina and northeastern Georgia (Hally 1986b:107).

The ceramic assemblage from the floor of Structure 6B (Figure 27) very closely resembles those from Feature 96 (Figures 21 and 22) and from early to middle stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse (Figure 18). Curvilinear complicated stamping is the prevalent surface treatment, and there are fragments from at least one carinated bowl with geometric incised motifs above the shoulder, and curvilinear complicated stamping below the shoulder. Jar rims from this structure floor have folded and pinched rim strips. In all these respects, the Structure 6B assemblage fits neatly into the middle of the general sequence outlined here. For stratigraphic reasons, it is clear that Structure 6 postdates Structure 7, and the differences in these respective ceramic assemblages are consistent with that conclusion.

The major characteristics of Early Qualla (Figure 33), Middle Qualla (Figure 34), and Late Qualla (Figure 35) ceramics are summarized as follows:

1. Early Qualla pottery is characterized by: dark and compact clay pastes, tempered with sand and grit; coarse plain exterior surface treatments, and polished or burnished interior surfaces; complicated stamping, including elongated complicated stamping; “diamond” check stamping; plain jar rims and jar rims with sawtooth notching; and small red-filmed, restricted-rim bowls.

2. Middle Qualla pottery is characterized by: grit temper; burnished interior surfaces; complicated stamping as the predominant exterior surface treatment; carinated vessels with incised motifs; and globular jars and restricted-rim bowls with folded and pinched rim strips. In addition to complicated stamping, other exterior surface treatments on Middle Qualla pottery include corncob impressing, fabric impressing, and cordmarking. Curvilinear complicated stamping is more common than rectilinear complicated stamping. Plain rims are rare or absent, and folded and pinched rims are the most common rim forms. Many jar rims have sharply angled inflection points at their shoulders.

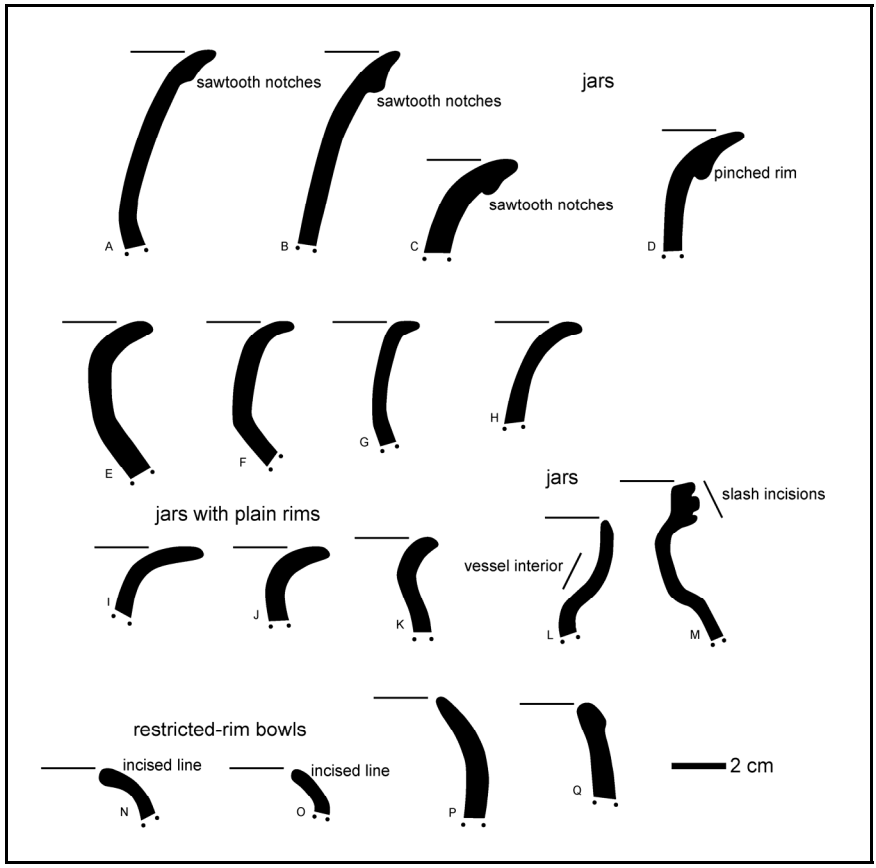

Figure 33. Early Qualla rims from the Coweeta Creek site: jar rim strips with sawtooth notching (A–C); pinched jar rim strip with fingernail notching (D); plain jar rims (E–L), collared jar rim with slash incisions (M); restricted-rim bowls with single incised lines (N–O); restricted-rim bowls (P–Q).

3. Late Qualla pottery is characterized by: grit temper; burnished interior surfaces; complicated stamping; "rectangular" check stamping; incised cazuelas; and globular jars and restricted-rim bowls with either folded and pinched rim strips, or rim strips with notched fillets. Rectilinear complicated stamping is more common than in Middle Qualla pottery, and in some cases it may even be more prevalent than curvilinear complicated stamping. Rims with notched fillet strips include examples with fillets placed at the lip as well as in the middle of rim strips. In addition to rims with notched fillet strips, thickened and rounded rims (which have no notching)

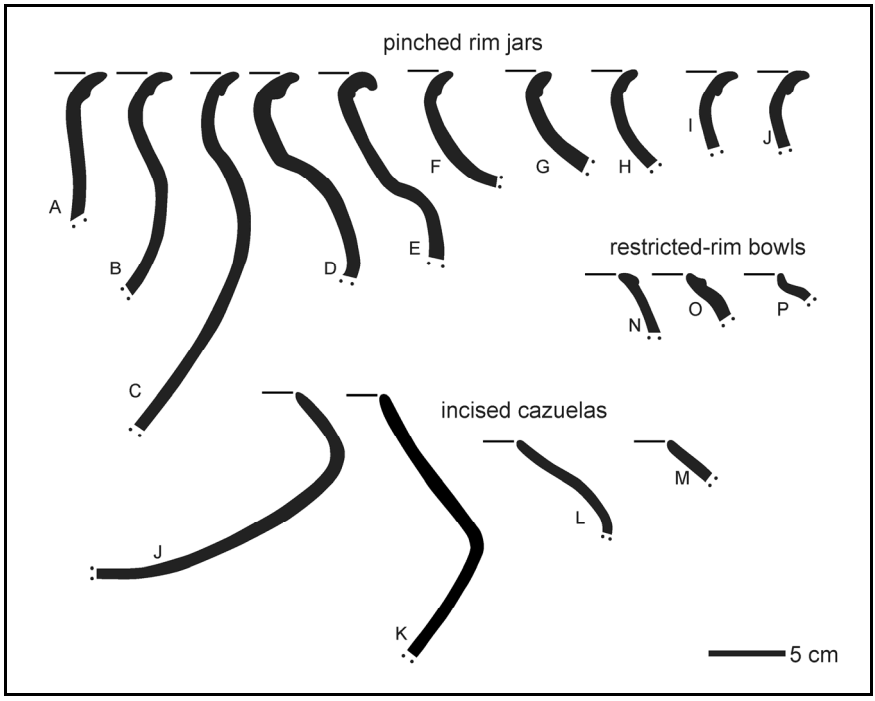

Figure 34. Middle Qualla rims from the Coweeta Creek site (compare with Hally 1986a:274): pinched jar rim strips with fingernail and fingertip notching (A–J); restricted-rim bowls (N–P); carinated vessels with geometric incised motifs (J–M).

may also be diagnostic of this stage in the ceramic sequence. Unlike the sharply defined necks seen in Middle Qualla jars (Figure 34), the curvature from rim to shoulder on Late Qualla vessels is more gradual (Figure 35).

Based on the Coweeta Creek radiocarbon dates, the presence or absence of European trade goods, and similarities with the Tugalo and Estatoe ceramic series (which have known date ranges and which are part of the broader Lamar cultural tradition), my proposed dates for Early, Middle, and Late Qualla ceramics, respectively, are as follows:

1. Early Qualla, A.D. 1300–1500, which, therefore, overlaps the late end of the Pisgah phase in the Appalachian Summit.

2. Middle Qualla, A.D. 1500–1700, roughly contemporaneous with the Tugalo phase along the headwaters of the Savannah River.

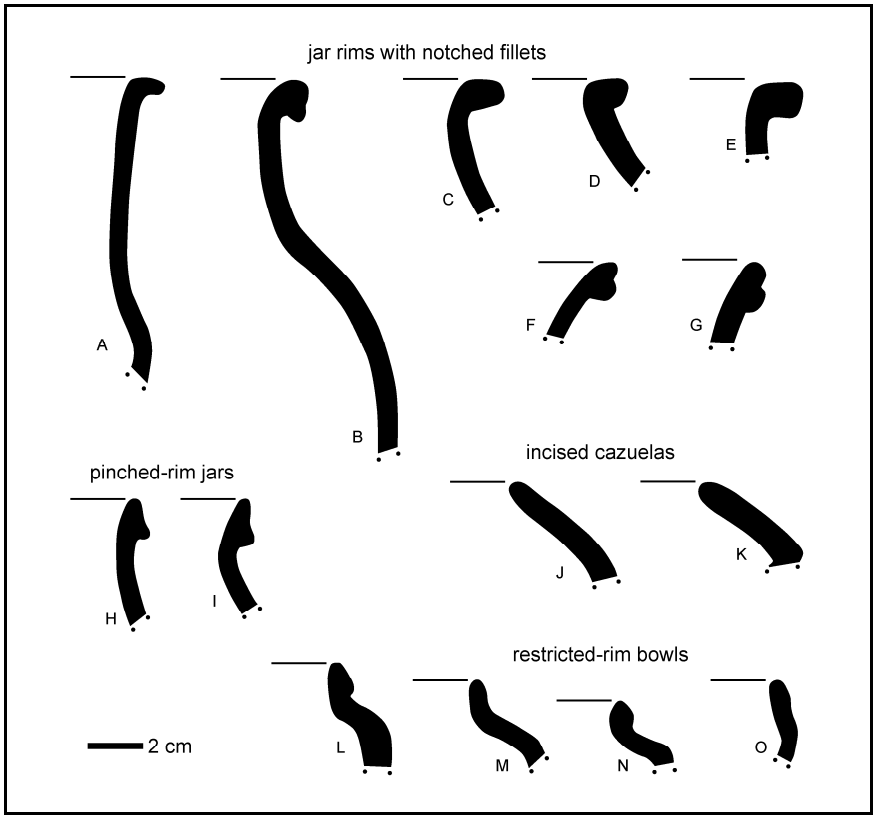

Figure 35. Late Qualla rims from the Coweeta Creek site (compare with Hally 1986b:102): jar rim strips with notched fillets (A–G); pinched jar rim strips with fingernail and fingertip notching (H–I); carinated bowls with geometric incised motifs (J–K); restricted rim bowls (L–O).

3. Late Qualla, A.D. 1700–1838, roughly contemporaneous with the Estatoe phase along the headwaters of the Savannah River.

These distinctions in the characteristics and dates of Early, Middle, and Late Qualla pottery at Coweeta Creek are potentially applicable to southwestern North Carolina more generally. This proposed ceramic sequence will be greatly improved by additional analyses of ceramic data from other sites in the Appalachian Summit, including Alarka (Shumate et al. 2003, 2005), the Brasstown Valley sites in northeastern Georgia (Cable and Reed 2000), the Ravensford sites (Benyshek and Webb 2008), and the Spikebuck mound and village site in the upper Hiwassee

Valley (Eastman 2006, 2007; Morse and Morse 2001; Rogers and Brown 1995). In my view, the approach taken here toward quantifying relative frequencies of specific ceramic attribute states — especially characteristics of rims and surface treatments — is a good step toward the broader goal of outlining a robust chronological framework with which we can propose dates for assemblages of sherds from structures, pit features, or entire sites.

Discussion

Although the Qualla ceramic sequence just proposed is based entirely on sherd assemblages from one site, these proposed distinctions among Early, Middle, and Late Qualla pottery do have implications for the archaeological phase sequence in the Appalachian Summit and for our understanding of the history and development of Cherokee culture in southwestern North Carolina. Conventionally, the Qualla phase has been dated from A.D. 1450 to 1838, which is a long period that encompasses major cultural changes among native peoples throughout the Southeast in the aftermath of European contact (Dickens 1976, 1978, 1979).[7] Here, the Qualla ceramic series is subdivided, and it outlines the major characteristics of Qualla pottery dating to the fifteenth century A.D., if not earlier. Importantly, this Early Qualla assemblage is different than the Pisgah pottery seen at other late prehistoric sites in western North Carolina (Figure 36).[8]

The archaeological literature from southwestern North Carolina has tended to emphasize the significance of the Pisgah phase, and the Pisgah ceramic series, as the main progenitor of and precursor to Qualla pottery and the Qualla phase (Dickens 1970, 1976, 1978; Keel 1976; Purrington 1983; Rodning 2001b). Archaeologists have recognized the influences of ceramic series associated with the Lamar tradition on the development of Qualla pottery, but, still, the phase sequence in southwestern North Carolina characterizes Pisgah as ancestral to Qualla. While some examples of collared rims, diagnostic of Pisgah pottery, can be found at the Coweeta Creek site, the Early Qualla ceramic assemblage at Coweeta Creek is different than the typical Pisgah pottery seen at sites like Warren Wilson and Garden Creek. Dickens (1976:186–192) identified geographic differences in the concentration of sites with Pisgah and Qualla sherds, with sites containing Pisgah pottery spread widely across the southern Appalachian landscape, but concentrated in areas near the Warren Wilson and Garden Creek sites. Dickens (1978:132–136)

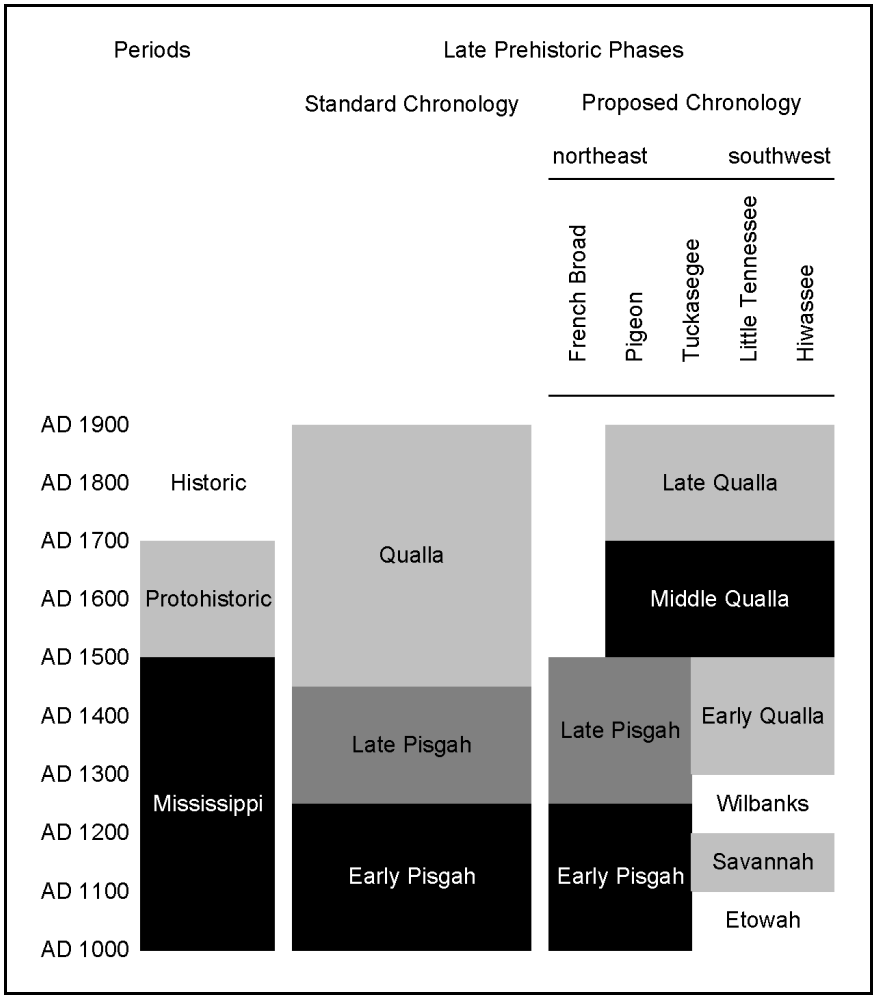

Figure 36. Late prehistoric and postcontact ceramic series in the southern Appalachians.

concluded from this spatial pattern that there must have been significant movement of people from areas where Pisgah sites are concentrated to the historic Cherokee town areas farther southwest, where Qualla sites are concentrated. In this perspective, there are direct and diachronic relationships between the Pisgah and Qualla phases, as late prehistoric and post-contact manifestations, respectively, of Cherokee culture in western North Carolina. From this viewpoint, moreover, the endpoint of the Pisgah phase precedes European contact in North America.

Alternatively, the regional differences in the concentrations of Pisgah and Qualla sites could be evidence of synchronic regional cultural diversity in the Appalachian Summit during the period just before and at European contact. At the Coweeta Creek site, pit features and structures with Early Qualla ceramic assemblages date to the fifteenth century, which places them within the timeframe associated with the late end of the Pisgah phase (Dickens 1976, 1978, 1979; Moore 1981, 2002b; Purrington 1983:142–148; Ward and Davis 1999:160–175). If it is more broadly true that some sites and features with Qualla ceramics are contemporaneous with some sites and features with Pisgah ceramics, then we should consider the possibility that the relationship between the Pisgah and Qualla phases is not as simple as the development of one phase and ceramic series into the other (Riggs et al. 1996, 1997; Ward and Davis 1999:178–181).

In my view, it is likely that there were settlements in southwestern North Carolina during late prehistory that are attributable to both the Pisgah and Early Qualla phases. As it is currently defined, the end date for the Pisgah phase precedes European contact in North America, and there are no known sites or contexts in which Pisgah pottery is associated with European trade goods. By contrast, sites and artifact assemblages attributed to the Qualla phase are clearly associated with European trade goods and other evidence of post-contact dates. What, then, happened to those groups and settlements represented archaeologically by the Pisgah phase? One possibility is that Pisgah folk became absorbed within those societies and settlements from the 1600s and 1700s that are recognizable archaeologically as the Qualla phase and as historic Cherokee towns (Brett Riggs, personal communication 2007).

This alternative perspective — that there is no simple developmental sequence from the Pisgah to Qualla ceramic series — is consistent with the fact that Qualla ceramics at sites like Coweeta Creek, especially those which are regarded here as Middle Qualla and Late Qualla ceramics, are essentially the same as the Tugalo (A.D. 1450–1600) and Estatoe (A.D. 1650–1750) pottery seen at sites along the Savannah headwaters (Hally 1986b, 1994; Hally and Langford 1988; Hally and Rudolph 1986; Schroedl 1994, 2000a, 2000b, 2001; Smith 1992; Wynn 1990). Although not labeled as such, ceramics with characteristics similar to, if not the same as, those of the Tugalo, Estatoe, and Qualla series are also seen at the Nacoochee mound on the headwaters of the Chattahoochee in Georgia (Heye et al. 1918), and at

the Peachtree mound in the upper Hiwassee Valley in North Carolina (Setzler and Jennings 1941). The genealogy of the Tugalo, Estatoe, and other regional manifestations of the Lamar ceramic tradition can be traced back in time to phases associated with the Savannah, Wilbanks, and Etowah periods, and this history, in my view, is the (pre)history of Qualla pottery in southwestern North Carolina (Dickens 1976:200–201; Riggs and Rodning 2002:38–39). Much of the Savannah and Etowah river valleys were abandoned during the 1400s and 1500s (Anderson 1994; Anderson et al. 1986; King 2003). It is worth considering the possibility that some people from those areas could have moved to the Appalachian Summit during this period, contributing to the absorption of groups associated with the "Pisgah" phase within the Cherokee communities manifested by sites attributed to the "Qualla" phase. Similar movements of people may have contributed to the emergence of the Burke phase in the upper Catawba Valley in western North Carolina, just east of the Appalachian Summit (Beck and Moore 2002; Moore 2002a). Lamar influences on the development of Qualla pottery in southwestern North Carolina have long been acknowledged, and I simply advocate giving those influences more emphasis in our understanding of the genealogy of Qualla pottery, and, perhaps, of the ancestral Cherokee communities associated with Qualla ceramics (Dickens 1979:24–27; Ward and Davis 1999:179–180; Ward and Rodning 1997; see also Boudreaux 2007, Moore 2002a).

I acknowledge that there are areas (including areas along the Pigeon River) and even particular sites (including Garden Creek) where there is some evidence that Pisgah pottery, and the Pisgah phase more generally, precedes Qualla pottery and the Qualla phase. I also recognize that some Pisgah sites clearly predate Qualla sites, and Pisgah sites certainly predate Middle and Late Qualla sites in western North Carolina. I simply think that some chronological overlap in sites associated with the Pisgah and Qualla phases exists, and that there is no simple nor direct developmental relationship between them.

I anticipate that, upon closer consideration, archaeologists in the Appalachian Summit will find increasing evidence of late prehistoric settlement in southwestern North Carolina that cannot be attributed to the Pisgah phase but that can be considered ancestral to the Qualla phase. Undoubtedly, the groups represented archaeologically by the Pisgah phase did contribute to the eventual development of historic Cherokee material culture and community in southwestern North Carolina.

However, there probably also are late prehistoric sites and assemblages in southwestern North Carolina that represent local manifestations of Lamar, Savannah, Wilbanks, and Etowah phases, and we should look for them, both in the field, and in extant collections and publications.

Conclusion

The main aim of this article has been to demonstrate temporal trends in Qualla ceramics as they are evident in sherd assemblages from the Coweeta Creek site in southwestern North Carolina. The general characteristics of Qualla pottery have been recognized for some time (Dickens 1976, 1978, 1979; Keel 1976), and this is not the first formal description of Qualla pottery as such (B. Egloff 1967). On the other hand, this article is one of the first analytical treatments of variation in Qualla ceramics since the original formal description of Qualla pottery was written (B. Egloff 1967), and it is part of a broader effort to realize the interpretive potential of archaeological collections made during surveys and excavations by the Cherokee Archaeological Project in the 1960s and early 1970s (Keel et al. 2002; Lambert 2002; Riggs and Rodning 2002; Rodning and VanDerwarker 2002; VanDerwarker and Detwiler 2000, 2002; Wilson and Rodning 2002). The chronological framework developed here is applicable (in this or a revised form) to reconstructing the occupational history at individual sites, including Coweeta Creek, and it also may be applicable as a chronological framework at a regional scale. This framework is best applied to ceramic assemblages, as it relies primarily on relative frequencies and ratios of different attribute states.

Notes

[1] For an excellent discussion of paste characteristics and temper in Cherokee pottery, and other aspects of Cherokee ceramics and ceramic analysis, see Marcoux 2008.

[2] Keel, Egloff, and Egloff (2002) note that other candidates for excavations by the Cherokee project were the Cowee mound and village, and sites along Iotla Creek representing the Middle Cherokee town of Joree. They were not granted access to Cowee, and known sites along Iotla Creek were not threatened at the time. These considerations, and abundance and variety of artifacts on the ground surface at Coweeta Creek, led to its selection as a site for an excavation that, at the beginning, was predicted to last for a single season.

[3] For further discussion, see Rodning 2004:101, 105, 179, 197.

[4] In addition to pottery, many other artifacts, including chipped stone tools, a pottery burnishing pebble, and a carved wooden pottery paddle, also are associated with the floor of Structure 7D, and it would be worthwhile to examine more closely the entire assemblage of domestic material culture found on the floor of this house, which is one of

relatively few archaeological examples of a late prehistoric domestic structure in western North Carolina.

[5] The sherds from Feature 65 and Structure 7D at the Coweeta Creek site do not fit neatly into the category of Qualla pottery, as it is currently understood by archaeologists in western North Carolina, nor do they compare closely to ceramics from northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina that would be attributed to the Tugalo and Estatoe series.

[6] For further discussion, see Rodning 2004:235–320.

[7] On the topic of subdividing the Qualla phase, Ward and Davis (1999:181) write that "Given the likelihood that a pre-1450 Qualla or Qualla-like phase will be identified, 'Early Qualla' as originally defined by Dickens is referred to here as the Middle Qualla phase, beginning around A.D. 1450. And because significant contacts between Cherokees and European traders did not begin until the eighteenth century, we prefer to extend the ending date of the Middle Qualla phase to A.D. 1700." I am in agreement, except that I would place the early date for Middle Qualla pottery at 1500, rather than 1450.

[8] On the topic of the relationship between the Pisgah and Qualla phases and its relevance to Cherokee archaeology, Ward and Davis (1999:181) write that "It is also possible that an Early Qualla phase will be recognized in other portions of the Appalachian Summit region. Regardless of what this Early Qualla phase material resembles, the view of a simple Pisgah–Qualla developmental sequence throughout the North Carolina mountains is no longer tenable. In fact, this sequence may be the exception rather than the rule and a historical consequence of which sites were chosen for excavation during the Cherokee project." I am in agreement with this viewpoint, although I also do think we do need to fit the Pisgah phase into the archaeological models we develop about the development of Cherokee culture in western North Carolina.

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