

## Chapter 13



# Prestige Artifacts at Keatley Creek

*Brian Hayden*



### Formation Processes

This chapter describes prestige objects recovered from Keatley Creek in order to assess socioeconomic inequalities between residents of the prehistoric community. Of all the classes of artifacts, prestige items are certainly the most directly related to socioeconomic status differences. Yet, in transegalitarian societies, the analysis of such objects and the interpretation of the socioeconomic standing of various domestic groups using prestige objects is not always straightforward. Part of the problem in using prestige objects to interpret individual domestic group socioeconomic status is due to the relatively modest socioeconomic differences between most domestic groups in most transegalitarian societies. Another factor is the relative rarity of prestige items in *domestic* deposits (a phenomenon that Cunliffe (1986:151) and Bradley (1984:126,161) remarked on as well for the much more complex Celtic chiefdom-level prehistoric societies of Europe). Indeed, as in chiefdoms most prestige items in transegalitarian societies appear to end up as grave goods or at least in depositional contexts far removed from domestic structures. I suggest that the burial of prestige items with their owners was probably promoted by many aggrandizers in order to obligate surviving offspring to indent themselves in order to acquire prestige items necessary for the attainment of their own aggrandizer roles. This explanation stands in contrast to others that view the burial or destruction of wealth as a means of preventing inflation in prestige values (Winters

1968:209). Indebting others is, above all, the major strategy aggrandizers use to obtain power and ensure the production (and surrender) of surpluses (see Hayden 1995).

In addition, wealth would have been difficult to manage and pass on via inheritance in seasonally sedentary societies compared to more fully sedentary societies. Not only is it difficult to carry or store many items of wealth during seasons of high mobility (unless one owns pack dogs or slaves), but those who inherit wealth items may not have the means of transporting much wealth or of supporting the infrastructure needed for their transport (maintaining dogs or slaves) or their use (lack of ability to host feasts or reciprocate in exchanges). Because of these constraints, large amounts of wealth may have been destroyed upon the death of owners (dogs were killed, canoes broken, slaves killed), and accumulations of prestige items may never have been very large or very frequent among Interior Salish individuals or families.

Ultimately, whatever the reason, only items that were broken or lost or hidden (and subsequently forgotten, or remained hidden due to the death of the owner), seem to have been deposited in domestic contexts. In addition, after breakage, prestige items were undoubtedly also subject to lateral displacement due to retrieval and play behavior by children, an aspect of prestige assemblage formation processes that

was documented by the Coxoh Ethnoarchaeological Project among the Highland Maya (Hayden and Cannon 1983). Many items were undoubtedly broken or lost during use, i.e., during visits to others households or during dances and energetic displays in which individuals moved widely about a house interior and were not confined to any specific domestic area.

In addition to the above factors, the interpretation of domestic group status on the basis of associated prestige items may be difficult because many kinds of prestige items appear to be widespread among community domestic groups. This occurs when aggrandizers try to involve as many community members as possible in their surplus-generating schemes. By making pipe-smoking, the wearing of dentalium beads, or other prestige displays a part of required etiquette for engaging in feasts, or borrowing, or other aggrandizive activities, aggrandizers are able to make participating domestic groups use surpluses for the acquisition of prestige items necessary for "entry-level" participation in these activities.

Thus, given the very low frequency of prestige items, the widespread use of some of the items, and chance breakage or loss determining the final resting place of many items, we have not generally relied on the spatial distribution of prestige items to identify high status households. The best arguments that can be made at Keatley Creek for differential status based on prestige items are: that the residents of HP 9 were of unexpectedly high status, especially given the small size of that housepit (prestige objects were unusually numerous and diverse in that housepit, as described in Vol. II, Chap. 1; Vol. III, Chaps. 2 & 7); and that some of the residents of HP 7 were of elite status, especially those on the west half of the house floor where almost all of the most important prestige objects in floor contexts were found (i.e., the copper bead, nephrite knife fragment, marble maul tip, the complete andesite maul) see Vol. II, Chap. 1; Vol. III, Chap. 5). Higher than normal diversity of prestige objects is probably especially reliable as an indicator of high status, since it is more resistant to random perturbations of material patterning (Cannon 1983). However, absolute and relative frequencies are also useful.

Despite these limitations on the utility of prestige objects for identifying the socioeconomic status of *specific* domestic groups in most transegalitarian societies, prestige objects are nevertheless of great importance in documenting the *overall* production and control of surpluses in communities such as Keatley Creek. They also help document regional interaction networks (Hayden and Schulting 1997) and may reveal important specific aspects of prehistoric aggrandizer social structure or even social rituals such as the use of shell rattles, the prestige roles of dogs (Vol. II, Chap.

10), the underwriting of craft specialization and perhaps even slavery, shamanistic practices involving bowls (Hannah 1996) or animal parts, as well as costumed dances and pipe smoking etiquette. Thus, it is worth describing in some detail the archaeological items from Keatley Creek that were most likely to have been used as prestige items.

## Keatley Creek Prestige Items

The prestige items at Keatley Creek exist in a wider Plateau culture context as recently discussed by Schulting and myself (Schulting 1995; Hayden and Schulting 1997). Diana Alexander provides many ethnographic descriptions of the items to be discussed below as prestige items (Vol. II, Chap. 2, Appendix II). Some of the more notable finds of prestige items in the Lillooet region include a remarkable series of bone and stone carvings plus marine shells from a burial at the Bell site including a club carved from whale bone (Stryd 1981); bone and steatite carvings and nephrite adzes from burials at Texas Creek (Sanger 1968a); decorative bone from Cache Creek (Pokotylo et al. 1987); eccentrics, shells, nephrite, carved clubs, and carved seated figurine bowls from Lytton (Smith 1900; Baker 1970), a small carved zoomorphic bowl from Shalalth (Oleman 1986), and several loosely provenienced figurine bowls, nephrite, and shell items (Duff 1975; Darwent 1996), including one burial from Lillooet reported to me that contained over ten meters of strung shell disk beads. In the Simon Fraser University Museum, there are also donated collections from The Moha (at the confluence of the Bridge and Yalacom Rivers near Lillooet) containing marine shells, and in particular dentalia and abalone shells associated with an adult burial. Other burials at Cayoosh Creek contained nephrite adzes. In the private collections around Lillooet, there are many examples of nephrite celts, and Bert Lehman has recovered examples of quartz and amethyst crystals from his garden at the Lochnore-Nesikep locality (see Sanger [1970] for other items such as shells, carved bone and stone, copper, pipes and nephrite from this site). Very recently, a small elaborate, highly polished stone club was found at the Six Mile fishing location (now curated at the Upper Statimc Language, Culture and Education Society).

At Keatley Creek, almost all prestige items are either faunal or lithic. One exception is a piece of coiled basketry found on the floor of HP 104, dating to about 250 BP. I argue that coiled basketry was probably a prestige item because of its rarity and high value in early ethnographic times (Teit 1900:87; 1906:205-7; 1909:477) and because of the high labor investment

involved in making these baskets especially when compared to bark baskets. In fact, this is the only archaeological example of coiled basketry that has thus far been recovered from the Interior, while only one other example has been recovered on the Coast of British Columbia.

## Fauna

Faunal items that are suggested as prestige items include unmodified animal parts that were probably used as parts of costumes, prestige clothing, or in other display contexts. Due to its relative rarity and importance in tool making, even unmodified cervid antler may also have been considered a prestige item (Romanoff 1992). Animal remains thought to have been used in status displays and their distribution by housepit are present in Table 1. Some of these species such as the marine shells and moose antler must have been traded into the Lillooet region from sources hundreds of kilometers away. Reimer (2000:36–39) has argued that mountain goats were hunted as important prestige animals. Dog remains probably also represent a special class of prestige animals. I have suggested (Hayden 1997) that dogs were probably domesticated as elite display animals, similar in function to slaves. The display use of dogs may have taken a number of forms such as: protective animals, sources of warmth, sacrificial animals, feasting animals, hunting aids, or transport aids.

With a few exceptions, such as bone awls and fishing bipoints, which are easily made, I would like to suggest that most modified bone and antler artifacts probably represent prestige items. Bone, and especially antler would have been comparatively rare given the low ungulate densities and

killing rates estimated for the Keatley Creek community exploitation range (Alexander 1992). Moreover, most bone artifacts can be much more easily manufactured out of hard woods. For instance, Desmond Peters Senior (personal communication) told me that digging stick handles were easily made from wood and that antler (and perhaps ocean spray wood) were harder to work and were probably frequently obtained by trade. He thought only families of hunters and traders might have had antler digging stick handles. Teit (1909:660) also remarked that “spearhead” harpoons (presumably



Figure 1. Prestige antler pieces from HP 9 included a bevel-tipped bark peeler that had been halved longitudinally and straightened (left), a piece of unfinished adzed antler (center), and an antler digging stick handle (right).

Table 1: NISP of Faunal Remains Regarded as Prestige Items at Keatley Creek

Species	HP 1	HP 3	HP 7	HP 8	HP 9	HP 11	HP 12	HP 19	HP 47	HP 58	HP 101	HP 109	HP 110	Total
Eagle					1									1
Hawk		2	2											4
Loon					4									4
Perching Birds			4	1										5
Moose			1											1
Bear			1											1
Dog		48	1,320		6		3					9	52	1,438
Mountain Goats										1				
Fox			2											2
Lynx			1											1
Fisher			2											2
Freshwater Shellfish	2	11	63	2	18	3			2	2	2			105
Dentalia			3		4								1	8
Whelk			1											1
Scallop			1											1
Dogwinkle			1											1
Total	2	61	1,402	3	33	3	3	0	2	2	2	10	52	1,574

Table 2: Distribution of Bone Artifacts Considered to be Prestige Items

Prestige Item	HP 3	HP 4	HP 6	HP 7	HP 8	HP 9	HP 11	HP 12	HP 47	HP 58	HP 101	HP 105	HP 109	HP 110	Total
Bead:															
Bone/Shell	1			2		4			1			1			9
Blanket Pin				1											1
Bracelet: Shell				1											1
Handle:															
Antler						1									1
Needle												1 (netneedle)			1
Pendant:															
Bone/ Tooth Rectangular	1			1		2						1 (bullroarer)			5
Button												72			72
Triangle:															
Decoration				1											1
Tube:															
Drinking/ Whistle						1									1
Antler:															
Worked	1			2		3		1			1				8
Dentalium				3		4							1		8
Shell					1										1
Tooth				1		1									2
Bone:															
Barbed Point	1														1
Bone: Beveled/ Perforated				1											1
Bone: Incised	1	1		7		19				4					32
Bone: Incised/ Polished				1										1	2
Bone: Perforated	2		1	1											4
Bone: Polished	3			5				2							10
Bone: Polished/ Worked				1				1							2
Bone: Polished/ Striated				1											1
Total	9	1	1	29	1	35	0	4	1	4	2	73	1	1	162

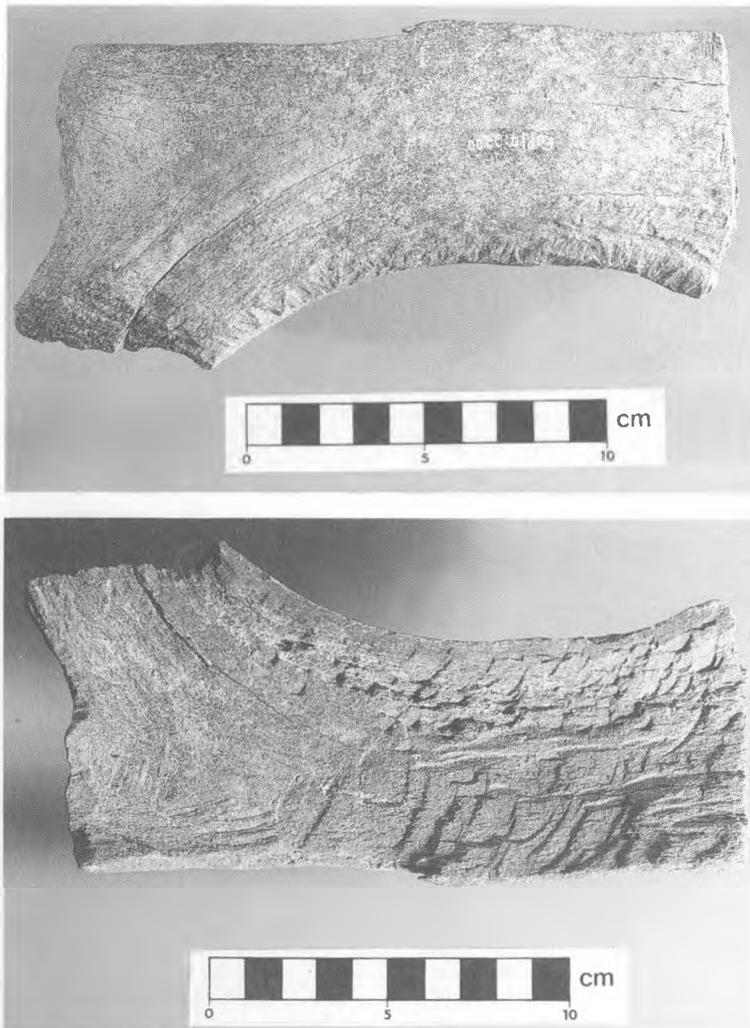


Figure 2. A piece of split and hollowed out moose antler from HP 7 early rim deposits. This represents a trade item since moose do not appear to have ranged farther south than Prince George prehistorically. The item was perhaps part of a container for fragile items.

made of bone or antler) were especially valuable. Antler billets, too, may have been prestige items. Only two antler billets (Vol. III, Chap. 2) were recovered from Keatley Creek, despite the copious evidence for soft hammer work everywhere at the site (both in the form of bifaces and billet flakes). Antler billets are even more rare archaeologically elsewhere in North America (Hayden and Hutchings 1989). On the basis of this evidence, it is worth considering that most billets may have been made of hardwoods.

In general, the strikingly low frequency of all bone artifacts at Keatley Creek (Table 2) indicates that bone tools were not employed by every domestic group for most daily tasks. The strongest arguments for bone artifacts as prestige items can clearly be made for beads, bracelets, pendants, blanket pins, antler headdresses, bullroarers, net needles, buttons, and incised, polished, carved, or decorated pieces. However, strong arguments can also be made for antler digging stick handles, bark

peelers (Fig. 1), and "L" shaped awls as prestige items (Hayden and Schulting 1997). For detailed descriptions and illustrations of the artifact types listed in Table 2, see Volume III, Chapter 2. Of particular note is a large segment of moose antler from a Shuswap Horizon context in HP 7 (Fig. 2). This piece was cut in half and hollowed out as if it were half of a container for delicate objects such as feathers or dentalia. This appears to be a unique specimen in the archaeological literature. However, hollowed out antler containers for dentalia have been recorded for aboriginal groups at the mouth of the Rogue River in Oregon (Miller and Seaburg 1990: 584). According to the archaeological distribution of moose, this antler must have originated at least from the Prince George area in Shuswap times, some 300 km to the north of Keatley Creek.

Other unique or extremely rare items for the Interior include part of a purple hinged rock scallop bracelet, a mussel shell adze blade, a bullroarer, a probable bone net needle, as well as loon and hawk remains (Fig. 3). In addition, the canid and bone button assemblages are the largest from any site in the Interior. Both of these are characterized by deposits in the bottoms of large storage pits (Vol. II, Chap. 10; Vol. III, Chap. 10.14).

The 72 bone buttons in the bottom of a large storage pit in HP 105 all appeared to have been oriented with the convex surface facing up and were most likely attached to some form of garment or blanket as design elements, probably the first documented button blanket in the Northwest. A curious thin, ovate-tipped spatula with a cross engraved on it was also recovered from a pit in HP 104 (possibly used for skin working), together with a fragment of a gaming piece. One bone fragment has an eye carved in a fashion reminiscent of Coastal styles (Fig. 2).

## Lithics

Lithic prestige items can also be divided into minimally modified prestige raw materials and worked artifacts. Among the relatively unmodified prestige materials at Keatley Creek, is a single piece of

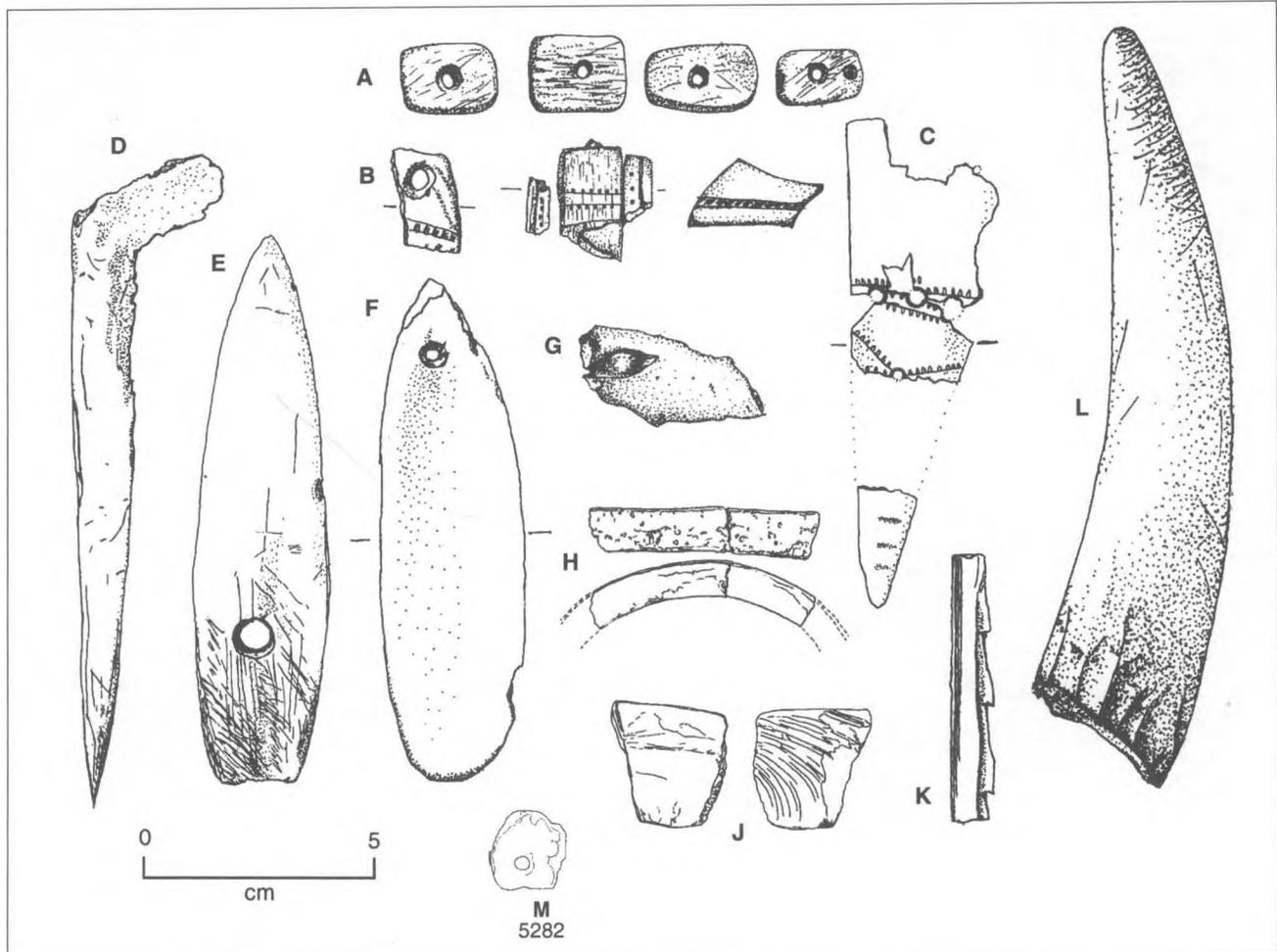


Figure 3. A selection of bone items that were probably considered prestige objects at Keatley Creek. (A) bone buttons; (B and C) incised and shaped pieces of flat bone; (D) "L" or scapula awls; (E) a probable bone net needle; (F) a probable bull-roarer; (G) a Coastal style sculpted eye on a long bone; (H) pieces of a probable shell bracelet made from purple-hinged rock scallop from the coast; (J) part of a mussel shell adze from the Coast; (K) part of a barbed bone point; (L) an antler with a shaped based probably for insertion into a headpiece or mask; (M) an unprovenienced piece of drilled shell from HP 3. For additional examples of bone prestige items such as antler digging stick handles or antler bark peelers, and detailed proveniences, see Vol. III, Chap. 2.

graphite from HP 3 (Fig. 4A), and small bits of mica, soapstone, nephrite, and obsidian debitage. Obsidian and mica flakes, as well as quartz crystal, lead ore, and gypsum were also recovered from the nearby Bell site (Stryd 1973:46, 34-8, 404, Table 6, Table 34; Stryd 1971:202). Stryd sourced many pieces of obsidian and found that most came from Anaheim Lake, about 300 km to the northwest. Reimer (2000:203-4) has argued that obsidian was an important prehistoric prestige material in the Northwest. Mica flakes, pendants, 14 gypsum crystals, and about 200 dentalia shells were recovered from a grave bundle at the Bell site, indicating that all these items were treated as prestige objects. Smith (1900) also records mica pieces from his excavations in Lytton. Although many of the pieces of mica that we recovered were small, there is a clear reference to their use on Shuswap breastplates (Teit

1909:650), presumably for decorative or ritual purposes. In recent excavations, Bill Prentiss (Prentiss et al. 2000:242) recovered a drilled piece of mica and four stone beads from the rim deposits of HP 7. Apparently the only source of gypsum crystals in the Interior (perhaps the only source) is reported to be located by local rock enthusiasts at Monty Lake rodeo near Armstrong, between Vernon and Kamloops. A piece of chert identified by Ed Bakewell as Hosamine chert from the Ross Lake area of Washington State might also be considered a prestige material, as well as some of the larger and finer pieces of chert-like materials, however, most exotic pieces of chert are difficult to source or assess at this point.

Except for the possible use of thin bifaces as prestige items there are far fewer substantially

Table 3. Lithic Prestige Items from Keatley Creek (EeR17)

	Housepit	Prestige Materials					Prestige Manufactured Items										Lithics Used to Make Prestige Items						Table Total		
		Obsidian Artifacts	Obsidian Debitage	Mica	Nephrite	Steatite	Stone Pendant	Stone Bead	Ground Nephrite	Pipe	Copper Bead/Pendant	Stone Maul	Celt	Crescent Biface	Paint Cup	Stage 4 Biface	End Scraper	Hide Polish	Polished Flake	Spall Tool	Retouched Spall Tool	Sandstone Saw		Drill	Arrow Shaft Straightener
1	Roof	1				5									6	1					1			14	
	Rim																						1	1	
	Pit													1									1	2	
	Floor														2	2	1						1	5	
2	Roof															1								1	
	Floor	1				1									3	1								6	
3	Roof	3	3		1	7	1		6	1		1			21	7	2		2	5		2		62	
	Rim														6									6	
	Floor	1	12												7	4	21	1	2	4				52	
4	Roof														1									1	
	Floor	1														1			2					4	
5	Roof					1									4	1	3							9	
	Rim		2												20	3	6					1		32	
	Pit														1									1	
	Floor														2									1	
6	Floor															1								1	
7	Roof	5	4		5	4			5		1				49	34	19	3	8	10		8		155	
	Rim		47			3									16	8	42	1	1	1	2			121	
	Pit					2				1					20	1			1	3	3			31	
	Floor	3	23		1	1*	1	1		1			1		20	27	11	3		11	1			104	
8	Roof														4									5	
	Rim																					1		1	
	Floor					1									2									3	
9	Roof	1		1	3	3	2		3		2				2	2	2		1			2		24	
	Floor				1	1					1				3	1	3	1						11	
12	Roof					1			1						1	1	2	1	1					8	
	Floor															2								2	
47	Roof																1							1	
58	Roof															1	1							1	
90	Roof			1											1	1	2							6	
	Pit																							1	
	Floor			6	1					1	1		1		2		1					1		14	
101	Roof			1											1							1		4	
	Floor			1											1		1	1						4	
105	Roof		138												3	1	4					1		147	
	Pit		76												2		1								
	Floor														3		1								
106	Roof															1	1							2	
	Pit											1								2				1	
	Floor															1	1							2	
108	Floor														1										
109	Roof		31												2									33	
	Pit		56																						
	Floor		2	1											1		1							5	
110	Roof															1								1	
	Pit															1								1	
	Floor		1												2	2						1		6	
EHPE 2	Roof																1								
EHPE 8	Roof	1																							
EHPE 9	Roof																1								
EHPE 11	Roof					1	1																		
EHPE 12	Roof															1									
<b>Totals</b>		16	395	11	7	16	20	2	1	15	2	3	5	1	3	208	107	126	11	19	40	1	25	1	1,035

\* Turtle pendant.

Unknown Strata and Potted Artifacts are included in the Roof Stratum

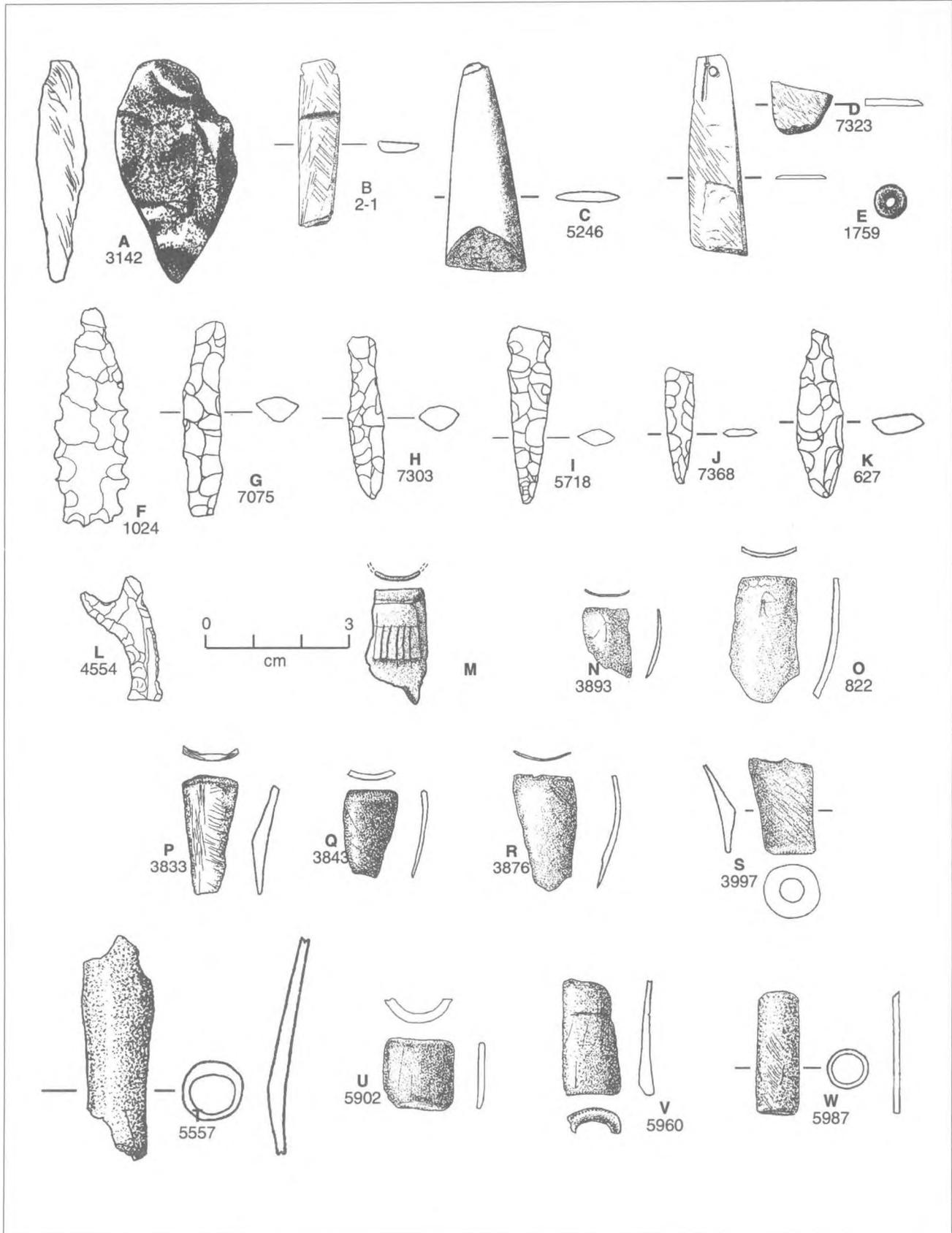


Figure 4. Smaller stone prestige items at Keatley Creek include: (A) a piece of graphite shaped into a "crayon" from HP 3; (B-L) ground stone and chipped stone pendants and eccentric chipped stone items; (E) a stone bead; and (M-W) pieces of soapstone pipes or tubes.

modified prestige lithic artifact than there are unmodified lithic prestige items. Few are common, and some are unique. These items are listed in Table 3. The most common prestige items (Fig. 3) were stone pendants, obsidian artifacts, thin biface fragments, and steatite pipe fragments (only found in roof deposits). In addition to the pipes themselves, it is entirely possible that the materials smoked in the pipes were prestige items, especially if these materials were tobacco or similar to it. Since the implications for the presence of tobacco in the Interior during the Keatley Creek occupation would be far-reaching in terms of factors responsible for domestication, I had carbonized residues inside a number of the pipe bowls analyzed to see if their origin could be determined. Unfortunately, both the analysis conducted by Dr. B.M. Kapur of the Addiction Research Foundation in Toronto, and the analysis conducted by Wayne Jeffrey of the R.C.M.P. toxicology laboratory in Vancouver failed to result in the positive identification of any nicotine or its breakdown product, cotinine. Both laboratories used Gas Chromatography–Mass Spectrometry for their analysis. Both laboratories demonstrated that abundant

organic compounds were indeed present but that none contained alkaloids. Hydrocarbons such as decane, undecane, dodecane, hydrocarbon acids, fatty acids, sterols, and many unidentified compounds were all present. Other stones that we tested from the archaeological contexts produced no significant residues. Whether the residues from the pipes were so degraded that original alkaloids have completely disappeared, or whether no alkaloid containing plants were ever used for smoking in these pipes cannot be determined at this time. Today, a wide range of plant mixtures are used for smoking by local Natives, none of which include tobacco.

Thin bifaces (Stage 4 bifaces) are included among prestige items because of the high degree of skill required to make them, the high quality and larger size of stone material required for making thin bifaces, and the many ethnographic and archaeological contexts elsewhere that clearly show that large thin bifaces were used as prestige objects. Olausson (1998) has also argued that few people would have had the necessary aptitudes for making good thin bifaces. Despite these considerations,

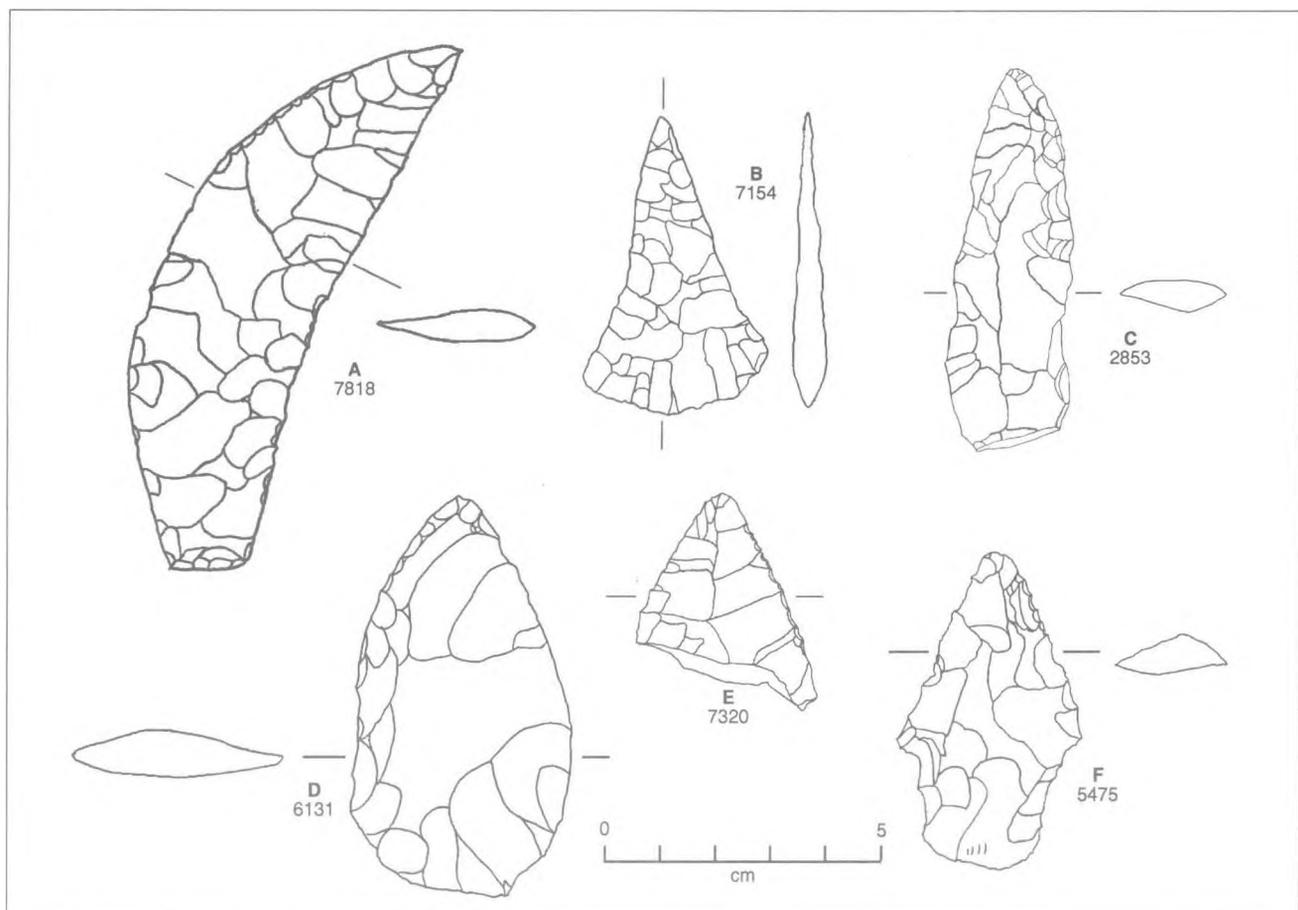


Figure 5. Finely made thin bifaces were probably also used as prestige objects. The most striking example (A) is a unique crescent-shaped thin biface laid horizontally at the bottom of a meat roasting pit under the rim of HP 106. Other examples include finely made fan-tailed bifaces (B); sinuous bifacial knives (C); and more typical leaf shaped bifaces (D,E), or bifaces with squared bases (F).

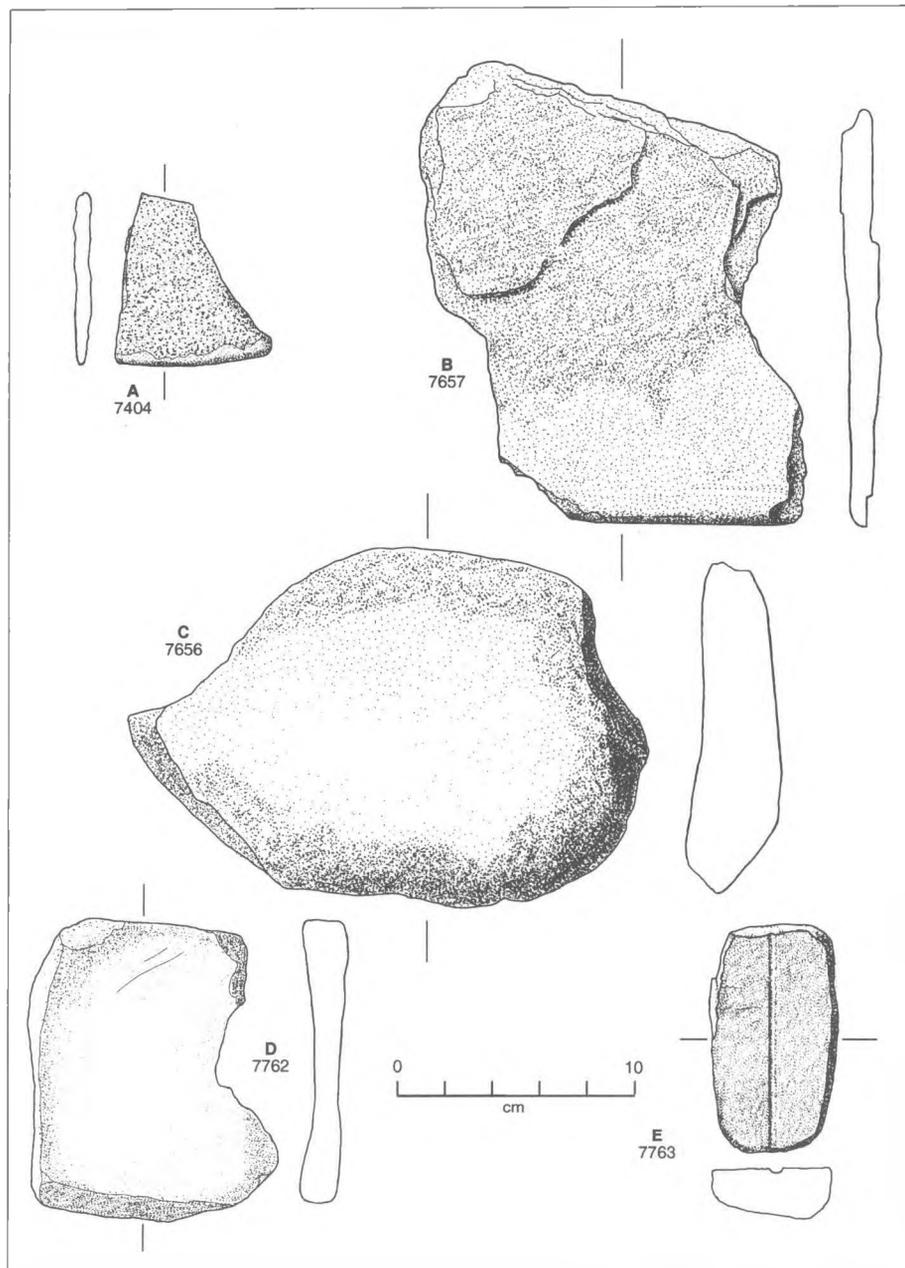


Figure 6. Ground stone items associated with prestige activities or with the manufacturing of prestige items included sandstone "saws" used to cut nephrite (A and B); large sandstone grinding stones (C) apparently used in conjunction with saws in the manufacturing of nephrite objects in HP 104; ochre stained "pallettes" (D is covered with ochre); and arrowshaft straighteners (E — see Vol. I, Chap. 3).

many bifaces may have been largely utilitarian tools. Although I am confident that the thinnest, largest, and best examples were prestige items, I am not completely certain that our classification of Stage 4 (thin) bifaces entirely corresponds to prestige bifaces with no inclusion of more prosaic utilitarian type bifaces. Similarly, when first introduced, bows and arrows (vs. atlatls and spears) may have largely been high status weapons (Vol. I, Chap. 3). The best example of a prestige biface from Keatley Creek is an unusual biface that was

recovered from the very bottom of a meat roasting pit under the rim of HP 106 (Fig. 5A). The finely crafted crescentic shape of this biface makes it unique for the Plateau, and arguably manufactured to represent some specialized role. It was carefully placed horizontally in the center of the bottom of the roasting pit, as though it was a prestige offering.

Table 3 also lists end-scrapers, flakes with probable hide polish, and spall tools (see Vol. III, Chap. 1) since these tools were probably used to produce buckskin. On the basis of Teit's observations as well as comparative accounts from elsewhere on the continent, I have argued that buckskin was a prestige item used to make prestige clothes (Hayden 1990). Similarly, I have included well made sandstone saws plus a sandstone grinding stone that were undoubtedly used for making nephrite adzes (Fig. 6A-C). Similarly, drills (Vol. III, Chap. 1) are included because they may well have been used for making prestige items such as beads. A few stone eccentrics (listed as pendants or ornaments) were also found (Fig. 4F,G,L). These are rare but widespread in the Plateau, even extending down into the Great Basin and up to Alaska (Tuohy 1986:237). Tuohy records their use in Alaska as hunters'

amulets. Specialized hunters were noted as wealthy people in Lillooet communities and probably belonged to elite families as a rule (Romanoff 1992). The "multi-notch" points of later Kamloops times may have served a similar function. A single example of a palette or "paint cup," crudely fashioned from a naturally concave piece of rock, but cached in a pit together with an antler billet, may have also been part of a prestige toolkit (Fig. 6D). Krieger (1928:10) reports similar paint cups from Wahluke in Washington State.

Of far greater value are the nephrite celts, or celt fragments, recovered from Keatley Creek (Fig. 7). They were probably the most valuable prestige items of the entire Plateau. Darwent (1998) estimates that it would have taken at least 110 hours of work simply to cut out the blanks for these adzes and argues that they were clearly prestige items traded over very great distances. In fact, they are so labor intensive to manufacture, and the work is so monotonous, that they may indicate the presence of slave, or at least servile, labor on the Plateau. The only complete celt (from HP 90) was apparently hidden under the sleeping platform where it was left, perhaps because its owner had died before he could retrieve it. It is damaged and of poor quality. The rarity of nephrite celts in winter village refuse undoubtedly reflects both the value of these items, their low frequency within the communities, and the tendency to bury these items with their owners. That Keatley

Creek is not unusual in reporting a low frequency of celts among domestic sites is evident when comparisons are made to other sites such as the Meier site, where Ames et al. (1992) recovered only two celts. A small fragment of what was probably a nephrite knife or ornament (Fig. 8C) was also recovered at Keatley Creek from a storage pit in the west side of HP 7. It is a unique specimen.

Carefully shaped and sculpted mauls must have also been prestige items. The only complete example was apparently hidden in a hole dug into the wall at the base of the northwestern rim (Fig. 7A). It too was probably lost because its owner never returned to recover it. The beautiful zoomorphic head (Fig. 7B) of the maul used as the cover illustration for this volume was borrowed from a private collection and was reported to have come from HP 93 which, in fact had been heavily looted. One further

example of a probable highly prestigious maul head was recovered from the west half of HP 7. Only the head is present, but it is made of white marble (Fig. 7C). The form resembles a zoomorph, but has only been roughed out. The piece is unique in the Northwest. The only other piece of stone sculpture recovered at the site is a small, serpentine, zoomorphic pendant in the form of a snake, or at least an animal with reptilian features (Fig. 8D). This was recovered from on top of wall deposits in HP 7 and was likely lost by one of the housepit children or their guests climbing on the walls, or it may have been lost while in storage along the wall. A carved steatite serpent is also reported by Sanger (1968b: 108) from Chase, but no illustration was published. It might also be recalled that one of the most remarkable bone figurines recovered at the Bell site was of a serpent woman with an exposed vagina. Stryd (1981) relates this to the widespread myth of a female serpent ogress who would kill men with her poison vagina and the teeth within it.

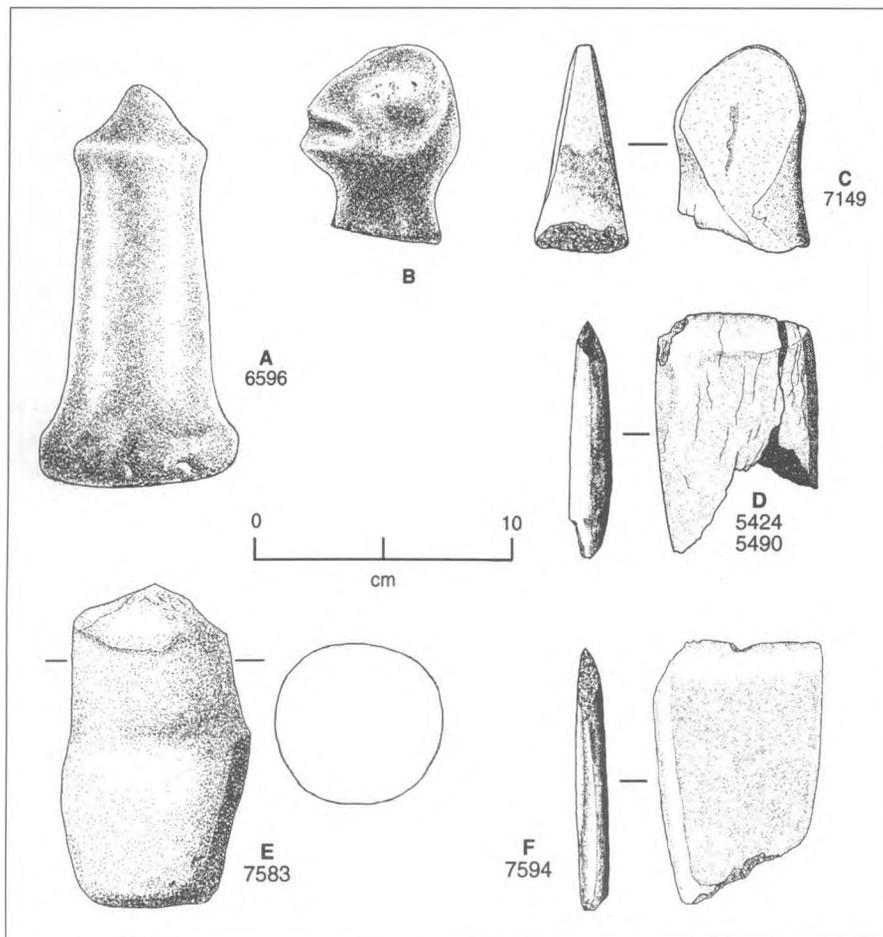


Figure 7. Large ground stone prestige tools included mauls with a range of shapes including nipple-topped mauls (A, from HP 7); zoomorphic-topped mauls (B, also shown on the volume cover); and indeterminate shapes (C, from HP 7). This last item (C) is unique in that it is made of marble and may never have been completed due to breakage, or it may have had a function other than that of a functional maul. Other mauls were so fragmentary that no determination of shape could be made such as the base from HP 90 (E). Nephrite adzes (E, from HP 9; and F, from HP 90) were probably the most valuable prestige objects of the region.

Finally, two pieces of copper were recovered at Keatley Creek (Fig. 8A,B). One was a fragment of a thin copper sheet with a definite small hole, probably for the attachment of the copper to a backing. This piece was found in wall or rim deposits in HP 3. A complete rolled, tubular copper bead, was recovered from a medium sized storage pit in the west half of HP 7. Stryd (1973: 405, Fig. 36) also recovered a few pieces of copper at the Bell site: a tubular bead and a pendant. Sources for the copper used in the Lillooet region may have been as close as the Bridge River where placer miners report finding nuggets in the gravel; however, this is not recorded as a source that was known or used by Natives. Alternatively, the copper may have come from some of the more distant sources actually reported to have been used by Natives ethnographically (see Hayden and Schulting 1997). There are many reasons for considering copper to have been an important prestige material (see Hayden 1998), including the intensive labor necessary to find and work it (Shimada and Griffin 1994), its attractive luster and sound, and its association with the sun or stars in the Interior (Teit 1917:44).

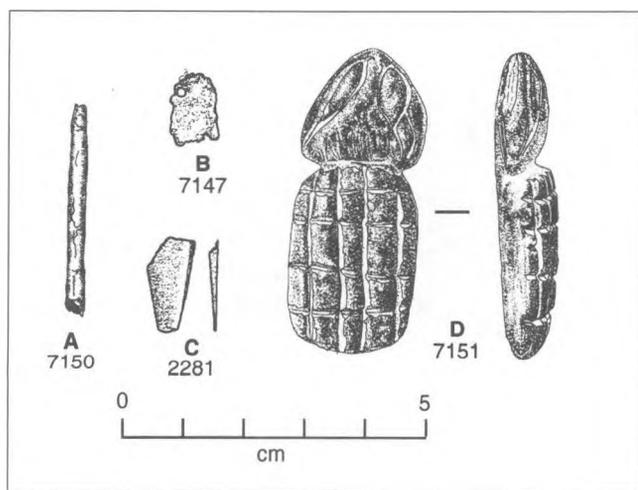


Figure 8. Among the most valued prestige ornaments at Keatley Creek were almost certainly: copper tubular beads (A); copper sheet ornaments (B); nephrite knife-like tools or ornaments (C); and zoomorphically sculpted serpentine objects (D).

## Conclusions

This completes the description of prestige items recovered at Keatley Creek. While the record is quite fragmentary and most prestige objects have undoubtedly been deposited in graves or other non-housepit contexts, these objects are sufficiently common to indicate that they functioned as a major part of the overall prehistoric economy. They represent the conversion of surplus food production into storable wealth which must have been used to create debts, broker important social relationships and alliances, and host impressive feasts. These items are, above all, display items indicating success. They are meant to impress and to make membership in specific groups attractive for ambitious aspiring individuals. The amount of surplus labor required to manufacture some of these items (e.g., nephrite adzes) or to acquire them from distant sources is considerable and is a general indicator of just how far the Classic Lillooet communities had come from the more rigid egalitarian and sharing communities of their ancestors. In fact, the mere existence of prestige items is a strong demonstration that private (or corporate) ownership had largely superseded the sharing ethics of generalized hunter/gatherers since it makes no sense to invest large amounts of labor in the production of flashy, non-utilitarian objects only to have them borrowed and never returned, as usually happens in generalized hunter/gatherer societies.

While these prestige objects may not have been frequent enough in the overall assemblage to make detailed distribution studies across housefloors very meaningful, the diversity and overall frequency of prestige items associated with individual housepits does seem to provide a good indication of the relative general economic standing of housepits in the community. In his analysis of the Bell site, Stryd (1973:89) also noted that "art objects" were more frequently associated with the large housepits. As Tables 1-3 shows, this parallels the case at Keatley Creek, with the exception of HP 9, which appears to be the residence of an elite-sponsored specialist such as a shaman or hunter.

## References

- Alexander, Diana  
1992 A Reconstruction of Prehistoric Land Use in the Mid-Fraser River Area Based on Ethnographic Data. In *A Complex Culture of the British Columbia Plateau*, edited by Brian Hayden, pp. 99–176. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver.
- Ames, Kenneth, D. Raetz, S. Hamilton, and C. McAfree  
1992 Household Archaeology of a Southern Northwest Coast Plank House. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 19:275–90.
- Baker, James  
1970 Archaeology of the Lytton-Lillooet Area. *BC Studies*, No. 6 and 7, pp. 46–53.
- Bradley, Richard  
1984 *The Social Foundations of Prehistoric Britain*. Longman, New York.
- Cannon, Aubrey  
1983 The Quantification of Artifactual Assemblages: Some Implications for Behavioral Inferences. *American Antiquity* 48:785–92.
- Cunliffe, Barry  
1986 *Danebury: Anatomy of an Iron Age Hillfort*. B.T. Batsford, London.
- Darwent, John  
1980 *The Prehistoric Use of Nephrite on the British Columbia Plateau*. Archaeology Press, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby.
- Duff, Wilson  
1975 *Images: Stone: B.C.* Hancock House Pub., Saanichton, British Columbia.
- Hannah, John  
1996 *Seated Human Figure Bowls: An Investigation of a Prehistoric Stone Carving Tradition from the Northwest Coast*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Archaeology Department, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.
- Hayden, Brian  
1990 The Right Rub: Hide Working in High Ranking Households. In *The Interpretive Possibilities of Microwear Studies*, edited by Bo Graslund, pp. 89–102. *Aun* 14. Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis, Uppsala, Sweden.
- Hayden, Brian  
1995 Pathways to Power: Principles for Creating Socio-economic Inequalities. In *Foundations of Social Inequality*, edited by T.D. Price and G. Feinman, pp. 15–85. Plenum Press, New York.
- Hayden, Brian  
1997 *The Pithouses of Keatley Creek*. Harcourt Brace, Fort Worth, Texas.
- Hayden, Brian  
1998 Practical and Prestige Technologies: The Evolution of Material Systems. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 5:1–55.
- Hayden, Brian, and Aubrey Cannon  
1983 Where the Garbage Goes: Refuse Disposal in the Maya Highlands. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 2:117–63.
- Hayden, Brian, and W. Karl Hutchings  
1989 Whither the Billet Flake? *Experiments in Lithic Technology*, In edited by Daniel Amick and Raymond Mauldin, pp. 235–57. BAR International Series 528.
- Hayden, Brian, and Rick Schulting  
1997 The Plateau Interaction Sphere and Late Prehistoric Cultural Complexity. *American Antiquity* 62:51–85.
- Krieger, Herbert W.  
1928 A Prehistoric Pit House Village Site on the Columbia River at Wahluke, Grant County, Washington. *Proceedings of the National Museum*, vol. 73, art. 11, no. 2732. 29 pp.
- Miller, Jay, and William R. Seaburg  
1990 Athapaskans of Southwestern Oregon. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7: Northwest Coast*, edited by Wayne Suttles, pp. 580–88. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
- Oleman, Tom  
1986 Our Frog. *Chalalth Wawa*. June, July, and August 1986. Seton Lake Indian Band.
- Olausson, Deborah  
1998 Different Strokes for Different Folks: Possible Reasons for Variation in Quality of Knapping. *Lithic Technology* 23:90–112.
- Pokotylo, David, Marian Binkley, and Joanne Curtin  
1987 The Cache Creek Burial Site (EeRh-1), British Columbia. *British Columbia Museum Contributions to Human History* No. 1.
- Prentiss, Bill, Michael Lenert, and Holly Stelton.  
2000 Report of the 1999 University of Montana Investigations at the Keatley Creek Site (EeRl 7). Anthropology Dept., University of Montana: Missoula.
- Reimer, Rudolf  
2000 Extreme Archaeology: The Results of Investigations at High Elevation Regions in the Northwest. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Archaeology Department, Simon Fraser University.
- Romanoff, Steven  
1992 The Cultural Ecology of Hunting and Potlatches Among the Lillooet Indians. In *A Complex Culture of the British Columbia Plateau*, edited by Brian Hayden, pp. 470–505. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver.
- Sanger, David  
1968a The Texas Creek Burial Assemblage, British Columbia. *National Museum of Canada, Anthropology Papers* 17. Ottawa.
- Sanger, David  
1968b The Chase Burial Site (EeQw-1), British Columbia. *National Museum of Canada, Contributions to Anthropology VI. Bulletin* 224, pp. 86–185. Ottawa.
- Sanger, David  
1970 The Archaeology of the Locknore-Nesikep Locality, B.C. *Syesis* (3), Supplement 1.
- Schulting, Rick  
1995 *Mortuary Variability and Status Differentiation on the Columbia-Fraser Plateau*. Archaeology Press, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby.
- Shimada, Izumi, and Jo Ann Griffin  
1994 Precious Metal Objects of the Middle Sican. *Scientific American* 270(4):82–89.
- Smith, Harlan I.  
1900 *Archaeology of the Thompson River Region, British Columbia*. American Museum of Natural History Memoirs, Volume 1, Part 6.
- Stryd, Arnoud  
1971 *Field Notes: EeRk-4 (The Bell Site)*. Notes on file at the Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria, B.C.
- Stryd, Arnoud  
1973 *The Later Prehistory of the Lillooet Area, British Columbia*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary, Calgary.

Stryd, Arnoud

- 1981 Prehistoric Sculptures from the Lillooet Area of British Columbia. *Datum* 6(1):9-15.

Teit, James

- 1900 The Thompson Indians of British Columbia. *Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History* 2(4).

Teit, James

- 1906 The Lillooet Indians. *Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History* 2(5):193-300.

Teit, James

- 1909 The Shuswap. *Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History* 2(7):447-789.

Teit, James

- 1917 *Folk-tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes*. American Folk-lore Society, New York.

Tuohy, Donald R.

- 1986 Portable Art Objects. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 11: Great Basin*, edited by W. d'Azevedo, pp. 227-237. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Winters, Howard

- 1968 Value Systems and Trade Cycles of the Late Archaic in the Midwest. In *New Perspectives in Archaeology*, edited by S. Binford and L. Binford, pp. 175-221. Aldine, Chicago.