

Chapter 17

Hopewellian Copper Celts from Eastern North America

Their Social and Symbolic Significance

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Archaeological sites containing diagnostic, Hopewellian raw materials and finished goods are found in regional traditions spread over a wide area of almost 500,000 square kilometers. This area includes the states of Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida and parts of Ontario and Quebec. The fact that visually impressive Hopewellian artifacts were distributed across groups that must have differed considerably in language, local histories, and adaptations to local environments has sparked archaeological interest for over a century. Anthropologically, this distribution has been interpreted as the material expression of a culture, race, people, or civilization (see summaries in Fowke 1902; Shetrone 1936; Wiley and Sabloff 1980), an interaction sphere in which religious ideas and objects were exchanged (Caldwell 1964), a cult (Prufer 1964b), an economic exchange system (Struever and Houart 1972), a material–stylistic means of adaptation to increasing subsistence risks related to population increases (Braun 1986), and a *lingua franca* for overcoming increasing difficulties

in interregional communication as dialects and languages developed with increasing sedentism (Seeman 1995).

Recent interpretive research on Hopewell has emphasized the multidimensional ways in which leadership roles were expanding and societies were changing in the Middle Woodland period, and the roles of Hopewellian ritual, ideology, symbolism, and material exchange in the cooperation, competition, and interaction among leaders (e.g., Carr and Case, Chapter 5; Carr, Chapter 7; Carr et al., Chapter 13; Seeman 1995). This multidimensional perspective has permitted varying rather than unitary explanations for different regional Hopewellian manifestations. It also has encouraged archaeologists to evaluate Hopewellian artifact classes individually, rather than treating all goods as functionally equivalent in their messages and roles (e.g., Carr and Case, Chapter 5; Carr, Chapter 7; Thomas et al., Chapter 8; Turff and Carr, Chapter 18; Ruhl, Chapter 19; Carr and Maslowski 1995). There is increasing recognition that artifact classes differ in the availability of the raw materials from which they were made, their degree of elaboration and standardization, their visibility and

communication potentials, their durability, their portability, and the areas over which they are found. These differences in turn determine or reflect the contexts of artifact production and use and their potential roles in society (Carr and Neitzel 1995:389–390; Morse 1995). Different Hopewellian artifact classes likely reflected varying kinds of interactions among different sets of actors and segments of a society, and among different societies. Particular kinds of artifacts were probably used to reproduce, bolster, and/or modify particular kinds of social and economic relations.

In this light, this chapter focuses on one diagnostic kind of Hopewellian artifact—copper celts. We consider particularly their variability in size, in order to clarify the roles they played in Hopewellian societies. In contrast to the thin, geometric and zoomorphic art and ornaments into which Hopewellian artisans often hammered and cut copper, copper celts appear to have functioned as *masses* of an exotic material, the value of which was easy to appraise visually by its size. In this sense, copper in celt form may have represented what has been called a “store of value (wealth)” (Winters 1981:22).

This chapter begins with an introduction to the nature, geographic distribution, archaeological associations, and social contexts of Hopewellian copper celts. We inventory 217 of 332 celts from 47 sites spread over five northern and midsouthern regional traditions in the Eastern Woodland. Celts are found to have been owned by individuals, typically one per person, rather than by communities, with the possible exception of two extraordinarily large celts from the Hopewell and Seip sites, Ohio. From the predominantly adult male age and sex distributions of those buried with celts, it is inferred that they marked social positions of leadership or achievement. Next, we consider the means by which copper was procured from distant resources. From four kinds of empirical patterning, it is concluded that copper used to make celts was acquired primarily by long-distance journeys undertaken by individuals to the upper Great Lakes, rather than by nodal exchange or down-the-line exchange. Ethnographic analogs suggest that the journeys

were probably ritualized and aimed at power acquisition. In this context, we then discuss the economic and ideological values of celts. Recognizing the importance of establishing a theory of value in order to understand the operation of a socioeconomic system (*sensu* Marx 1954), and drawing upon inspirations from M. Helms, R. Rappaport, and M. Seeman, we attempt to reconstruct the particular emic logic that was used in the past to assign value to copper celts. We propose that copper celts had two dimensions of worth: (1) as symbols and transmitters of canonical (immutable, unfalsifiable) messages of an ideological nature, concerning the principles of Hopewellian society and philosophy–religion; and (2) as transmitters of indexical (situation-varying) messages of a practical, operational nature, concerning the relative power and prestige of celt owners. The first dimension is indicated empirically by the formal similarity of celts across the eastern United States; the second, by their varying size. Celts formally may have referred to canoe building, long-distance journeying to powerful peoples and sources of raw materials, the felling of trees to make earthworks and ritual wooden architecture, the journey of souls to an afterlife, and institutionalized leadership roles involved in these activities. In contrast, variation in the sizes of celts expressed the differential prestige of individuals—specifically, their varying abilities to acquire copper, which was socially, sociopolitically, and economically costly to obtain from distant sources in the upper Great Lakes. Finally, quantitative analyses are made of celt sizes and numbers across and within various Hopewellian regional traditions in order to clarify how copper celts specifically expressed and augmented the prestige and power of individuals. Our inference that copper for making celts was obtained largely by direct, long-distance procurement from its upper Great Lakes source, rather than by exchange, is bolstered by the similar range and variability in celt sizes found among regional traditions, implying their autonomy in copper acquisition. The many celts found with Burials 260 and 261 at the Hopewell site are taken to indicate the gathering of many celt owners and the gifting of celts, and are used to estimate the probable number of celt owners

(40–62) who congregated for a mortuary ceremony. Numerical evaluation suggests that some of these individuals probably came from outside the Scioto region. In addition, both the Scioto and the Mann regions are found to be distinctive in having certain single sites with very large numbers of celts, in contrast to the Havana region, in which no site has a concentration of celts. This difference echoes previous observations suggesting the greater sociopolitical complexity of Scioto Hopewellian societies than Havana ones.

COPPER CELTS AND THEIR ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

Copper celts are ax and adze-shaped masses (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:404). None show evidence of having been hafted, use-wear on the bit, or any other signs of their having been used as a tool. In this manner, they differ from Copena greenstone celts, which do show evidence of use (L. A. Beck, personal communication, 1998), are commonly found in habitation sites (Walthal 1980:128), and are not considered here. The bodies of copper celts vary from long narrow forms to short fat forms, with concave or convex lateral edges, but all share a basic morphology (Figure 17.1A). Winters (1981), in a stylistic analysis of celts from Ohio and Illinois, found no consistent differences in their shapes among regions. All of these characteristics indicate that copper celts were not utilitarian items but were, instead, important for their symbolic meaning(s) at an inter-regional scale.

Geographic Distribution

Copper celts are distributed across the northern half of the Eastern Woodlands, in the Scioto,

Havana, Point Peninsula, and Crab Orchard regions, as well as the Southern Appalachian (Copena) region (Figure 17.2). They are not found in the Deep Southern Hopewellian traditions of Marksville, Miller–Porter, Santa Rosa–Swift Creek, St. Johns, or Crystal River. The regional traditions over which copper celts are distributed cover an area of the order of about 50,000 square kilometers.

Seeman (1995) suggests that the geographic scale of distribution of copper celts across the Middle Woodland landscape, in contrast with the smaller and larger scales at which other Hopewellian artifacts are found, represents groups of people who would classify each other as “close strangers.” Such groups fall between the emic categories of “normal people” and “outsiders” (Helms 1988). They lie outside the range of neighboring lineages, but not so far away that they fall outside the cosmological construction of known reality, for which they would be classified as dangerous, supernatural, and/or powerful. Seeman (1995:135) suggests that the area encompassed by the distribution of copper celts “may have been a *Sprachbund*, an area of shared understandings of the universe and what to talk about.” In this regard, the massed, undifferentiated form of celts is important. It may have been a form with a meaning(s) that transcended local ideological and linguistic expressions.

Technology

Copper celts, and all Hopewellian copper artifacts, were produced by cold and/or heated hammering, probably with some annealing (e.g., Goad 1978). These production techniques require relatively little specialized knowledge. The most difficult aspect of producing a copper celt was probably acquiring enough copper to make

Figure 17.1. A copper celt from the Seip earthwork, Ohio. (A) The celt’s surface is covered with fabric in some areas and layers of feathers possibly appended to a fabric of a different weave in another area. Photograph of object by permission of the Ohio Historical Society, accession No. 957/—. (B) The celt’s surface materials are differentiated by digital enhancement (red band \times inverse of blue band; no green band). (C) Linework shows the fabric and feathers to be a mosaic forming a human face in profile, facing right, with a headdress composed of three layers and a large earspool. The headdress and earspool are made of the fabric, oriented vertically; the face is made of the feathers, oriented at a 45-degree angle. Ethnohistorically in the Eastern Woodlands, cloth turbans were worn by societal leaders (e.g., Carr, Chapter 1, Figure 1.4f; Paterek 1994:31, 71, 114–115; Trigger 1978:641–642, 665, 679, 683, 749).

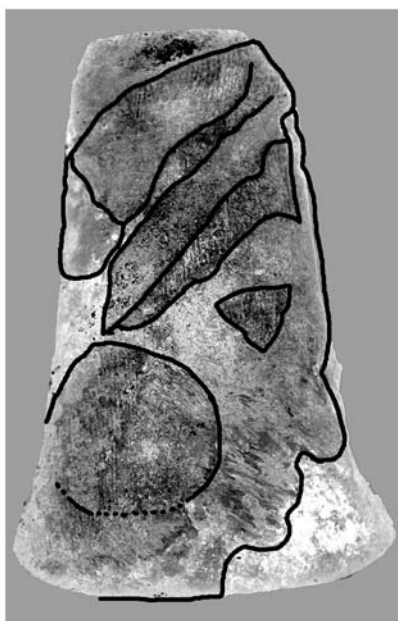
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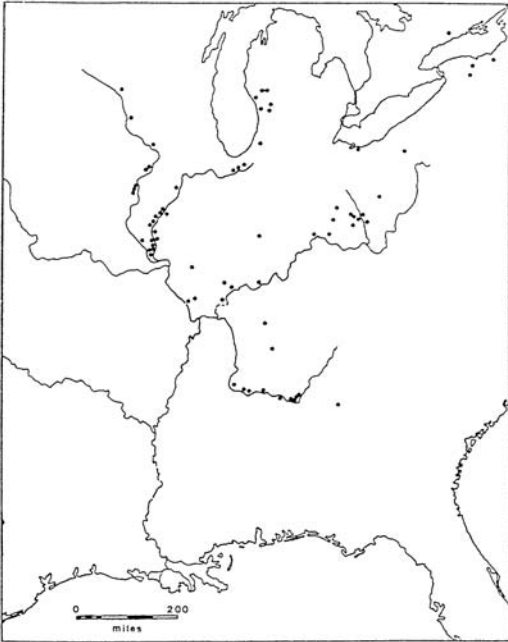


Figure 17.2. Geographic distribution of Hopewellian sites with copper celts. From Seeman (1979a:351) by permission of the author.

one and the travels necessary to do so—one dimension of its value (see below).

Mass, Frequency, and Value

The amount of copper used to make a celt is at least twice as much as was used to make any other kind of Hopewellian copper artifact. The average weight of a copper celt in the sample analyzed here, excluding the two enormous celts at Hopewell and Seip, is about 1 pound (0.47 kilograms). This mass of copper is about twice the weight of the average breastplate (Seeman 1979a:316), the next most sizable Hopewellian copper object after celts, and about three times that of the average headplate. It is about 11 times the weight of the average copper earspool (Seeman, p. 315), the most common Hopewellian copper object. Thus, on a weight basis, and given the travel costs involved in obtaining copper, celts had more *economic* value than breastplates, headplates, and earspools to Hopewellian peoples. In addition, celts are much less frequent than copper earspools, somewhat less frequent than copper breastplates, and more frequent than cop-

per headplates. This suggests that celts probably had a *social* value greater than those of earspools and breastplates and less than that of headplates.

Combining both the economic and the social dimensions of values of celts, one finds that the hundreds of copper celts excavated in Hopewellian sites represent well over 200 pounds (91 kilograms) of copper, compared to 88 pounds of copper represented by all known Hopewellian breastplates and 43 pounds of copper represented by all known Hopewellian earspools (Seeman 1979a). With one exception, the amount of copper contained in the celts from any one site, and the combined socioeconomic value of celts, would have been many times more than that contained in all other copper artifacts combined. The exception is the Turner Site, which in its excavated sections, contained over 91 earspools but only two celts.

Contexts of Deposition, Ownership, and Social Roles

Copper celts are found in both burials and caches, but the great majority of excavated archaeological deposits with celts are burials. At the Ohio sites of Hopewell, Seip, and Ater, celts occur with only 5% to 12% of the burials and 25–26% of the ceremonial deposits, suggesting the restricted access to and high social value of celts.

In the sample of celts analyzed here, across eastern North America, most persons buried with celts were buried with only one (Table 17.1). It was also relatively common for a single individual to have been buried with multiple celts: between two and five, with a median of three. Much less frequently, multiple individuals were buried with multiple celts, multiple people were buried with a single celt, or celts were placed in ceremonial deposits without associated burials. These patterns in celt contexts are relatively consistent across Middle Woodland regions, although patterns are unclear in some regions where sample sizes are small (Tables 17.2–17.6).

We interpret the predominance of the one-celt-per-person pattern to indicate that celts were typically individual possessions. In contrast, examples of individuals buried with multiple celts could imply mortuary rites that were attended by

Table 17.1. Contexts of Burial of Celts in All Regions

Burial context	Number of cases
1 person, 1 celt	41
1 person, multiple celts	17
Multiple people, multiple celts	7
Multiple people, 1 celt	6
Ceremonial deposit	4

Table 17.2. Contexts of Burial of Celts in the Havana Region

Burial context	Number of cases
1 person, 1 celt	10
1 person, multiple celts	7
Multiple people, multiple celts	7
Multiple people, 1 celt	3
Ceremonial deposit	0

Table 17.3. Contexts of Burial of Celts in the Scioto Region

Burial context	Number of cases
1 person, 1 celt	23
1 person, multiple celts	6
Multiple people, multiple celts	0
Multiple people, 1 celt	2
Ceremonial deposit	4

a handful of persons of the social identity represented by celts, who gave these items as gifts to the deceased (see Weets et al., Chapter 14). The most telling probable example of the latter depositional process is the unique lot of 63 celts laid over Skeletons 260 and 261 in Mound 25 of the Hopewell site (see discussion below).

Our interpretation that celts generally were individual possessions, which is based on a pan-regional quantitative patterning, differs from J. A. Brown's (1979:212) interesting suggestion that Havana Hopewell burial crypts were corporately owned facilities in which a corporate group's valuable property (e.g., artifacts of exotic raw materials, like copper celts) could be stored, and in which individuals and their possessions were not well distinguished. At this time, we do not find evidence for the idea of community ownership of celts in the Havana region. The pattern of one or a few celts per burial facility that occurs

Table 17.4. Contexts of Burial of Celts in the Crab Orchard Region

Burial context	Number of cases
1 person, 1 celt	3
1 person, multiple celts	2

Table 17.5. Contexts of Burial of Celts in the Southern Appalachian Region

Burial context	Number of cases
1 person, 1 celt	4
1 person, multiple celts	2

Table 17.6. Contexts of Burial of Celts in the Point Peninsula Region

Burial context	Number of cases
1 person, 1 celt	1
Multiple people, 1 celt	1

across the eastern United States, generally, holds well for the Havana region.

There are, however, two more convincing possible exceptions to the idea that a celt was the property of an individual. Two celts, one from Hopewell Mound 25, Skeletons 260 and 261, and a second from the Seip-Pricer mound, are extremely large relative to others. They are 60 and 58 centimeters long, respectively, in contrast to the modal celt length of 14 centimeters (see details below). It is possible to argue on the basis of their size, alone, that these two celts may have been community property rather than individual property, perhaps symbolizing some community-wide, institutionalized leadership position. An analog would be the very large animal-effigy "Copena"-style pipes found at the Seip-Pricer mound and Esch Mound 1, which have been thought of as community-owned pipes, in contrast to the much smaller and more frequent platform pipes of plain and animal-effigy styles. Significantly, the Copena pipes at Seip were found in a ceremonial deposit above six burials, and the large pipe from Esch was an isolated find above a burial. In contrast, smaller pipes are found in both burials and ceremonial deposits, and when found in graves, usually occur one per individual.

Table 17.7. Ages of Individuals Associated with Celts, in All Regions

Age class	Number of cases
Old adult	3
Adult	30
Child	7
Infant	1

Of 19 individuals identified to sex or probable sex and associated with celts in the Scioto and Havana traditions, 14 were male and 5 were female (Appendix 17.1). The Scioto and Havana traditions do not differ in their distribution of celts by sex. No information is available from the other Hopewellian traditions.

Of the 41 individuals with celts who could be assigned to age categories, 33 were adults and 8 were infants or children (Table 17.7). Adults with celts were noted in sites of the Scioto, Havana, Crab Orchard, and Southern Appalachian traditions. The adults were a wide spectrum of ages, or of unknown adult age, except in the Scioto tradition, where they were more often young adults (five of nine persons). Children with celts were noted in sites of the Scioto, Havana, and Crab Orchard traditions. No information on the age of persons buried with celts could be gotten for the other Hopewellian regions.

By traditional archaeological models (e.g., Braun 1979; Peebles 1971), this distribution of celts, which crosscuts the dimensions of age and sex, and which includes persons too young to have been social leaders, in the infant and child age classes, could be argued to indicate social ranking by inheritance, residence, or some other criterion of ascription. Celts would have been a symbol of rank. However, the strong bias for celts to occur with adult males suggests, instead, that they indicated social prestige that was obtained by achievement and/or leadership roles that were filled preferentially by males. The case for copper celts having marked a leadership role, and one that complemented a leadership role symbolized by copper head plates, is made strongly with archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence presented by Carr in Chapter 7 and Thomas et al. in Chapter 8, with support from Carr and Case in Chapter 5 (Table 5.5) Celt accompaniment with children

could have related to a second, independent factor—the value of children (e.g., for labor) in an increasingly horticultural society, and gifting to children upon their death. In these ways, celts are similar to copper headplates, breastplates, and crescents, and most kinds of shamanic paraphenelia, which in the Scioto tradition sites of Hopewell, Seip, and Ater are also found primarily with adult males (Carr and Case, Chapter 5).

Copper celts are found above, below, and to the side of burials, from the head to the feet. No common location of burial could be found for those celts for which position was documented at the Ohio sites of Hopewell, Seip, Turner, and North Benton.

Recent research using digital photography, microscopy, and chemical analytical methods has revealed that at least some copper celts, breastplates, headplates, and other copper items from 14 Scioto-tradition sites served as the ground for artistic compositions. The compositions were made by patination, by applying fabrics, feathers, bark, other plant items, hide, sand, and other materials, as mosaics, and, occasionally, by painting (Figures 17.1A–C) (Carr et al. 2000, 2002; Carr and Lydecker 1998). The compositions on the celts most frequently picture the face and torso of a single human who wears an animal mask–headdress (e.g., bird, canine) or a geometric or layered headdress, analogous to the animal mask–headdresses worn by shaman-like medicine persons and the layered turbans worn by societal leaders ethnohistorically in the Eastern Woodlands (e.g., Paterek 1994:31, 71, 114–115; Trigger 1978:230, 641–642, 665, 679, 683, 749). Copper breastplates and headplates also were rendered with human and animal-impersonator figures of these kinds, but the compositions are usually more complex, with multiple figures. Studies of the life histories of these artifacts indicate in a few cases that the compositions were made after the ceremonial killing of an artifact.¹ In these cases, the compositions may have been produced as an aspect of the mortuary rites involving their final deposition with the deceased, rather than having been an integral part of their function in ceremonies during the owner's life. However, in most cases, the time of production within the use-life of the artifacts is

unclear, and it remains possible that the compositions contributed to the meaning(s) and value of celts during their use in life.

COPPER PROCUREMENT COSTS AND STRATEGIES, AND THE VALUE OF COPPER

Copper was a valued raw material that had circulated among societies of the eastern United States prior to the Middle Woodland and continued to be important into historic times (e.g., Goad 1978; Griffin 1961a; Quimby 1960; Winters 1968). More copper appears to have been consumed during the Middle Woodland than at any other point in eastern prehistory (Seeman 1979a; Trevelyan 1987). Moreover, copper is by far the most commonly used metal and fancy raw material found in Hopewellian sites. It was used to make a variety of nonutilitarian objects including breastplates, headplates, earspools, cutouts, staffs and wands, cones, balls, rattles, panpipes, gorgets and pendants, effigy animal power parts, beads for necklaces, bracelets, buttons, and pins, in addition to two kinds of tools—awls and needles. The common use of copper for personal adornment, and to depict publically viewed zoomorphic and geometric symbols for ritual, suggests that its value was widely appreciated among peoples within Hopewellian communities.

The source of the vast majority of copper found in Middle Woodland sites across the northeastern United States is the series of mines and exposures in the Upper Great Lakes: the Keweenaw Peninsula of upper Michigan, Isle Royale in north-central Lake Superior, and Green Bay, Wisconsin. Small amounts of copper from free nuggets of Wisconsin and pre-Wisconsin-age glacial drift in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, which originated largely from the Lake Superior sources, may also have been used (Goad 1978, 1979; Seeman 1979a:293). In the southeastern United States, Middle Woodland communities used copper from both the Great Lakes and the southern Appalachian mountains in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia (Goad 1978, 1979). The relative amounts of copper used from the Great Lakes and Appalachians apparently varied from one region to another in the Southeast. In the

Copena area, where copper celts are found, most of the copper artifacts that Goad (1979:241) assayed chemically were found to have been made of copper from Great Lakes sources; the remainder were made of copper from the ore band in southeastern Tennessee, northeastern Georgia, and northwestern North Carolina.² What is critical to our arguments here is that Great Lakes copper appears to have been used exclusively or in large proportions by Middle Woodland peoples in the eastern United States who made copper celts.

For sites in any of these Middle Woodland regions, the Lake Superior copper source is a great distance away. It is about 600 linear miles from the largest sites in the Scioto, Point Peninsula, Havana, and Crab Orchard regions, and about 900 linear miles from the largest site in the Southern Appalachian region (Seeman 1979a). Canoe trips from these regions to the Lake Superior copper sources would have taken many months (Little 1987). The Appalachian copper ore band that was used by Copena societies was separated from them by about 100 to 400 linear miles.

The great distances that were involved in obtaining copper, if it was gotten directly through logistical trips (see below), and the practical aspects of preparing for, funding, and manning such an expedition, mean that copper had a high procurement cost. This fact alone helps to account for its social and economic values in Hopewellian societies. In addition, the nonlocal source of copper may have increased its *ideological* value. Mary Helms (1976, 1988) suggests that in traditional societies, spatially distant people and areas are often viewed as unknown, powerful, dangerous and/or supernatural in the same ways as are philosophical-religious mysteries such as death. Her review of the ethnographic literature indicates that people who can become familiar with spatially distant areas are often accorded the same kind of prestige as shaman, priests, and other kinds of religious officials. (For the bridging logic, see Eliade [1972:482–485] on the “difficult passage”, and Carr, Chapter 16: Note 20.) Long-distance travel often requires extensive ritual preparation. In this view, distance is a resource that, expressed in either knowledge or material goods, is not equally accessible

to all members of a population. If most copper used in Hopewellian societies was obtained by long-distance journeys, then the ideological value of copper, in addition to its economic value, would have been great. Likewise, the social prestige of those who journeyed and successfully retrieved copper would have been great—not simply as the possessors of copper, but as persons who made the journey and came back to tell of it.

The relevance of Helm's position to the ideological value of Middle Woodland copper depends on whether or not the distant Great Lakes copper that was used to make celts was typically obtained by persons *directly* through long-distance logistical trips. It is possible that, instead, copper was procured *indirectly*, through down-the-line regional exchange. Likewise, it may have been gotten indirectly through "nodal" regional exchange among leaders of "peer polities" or leaders of a formal or informal hierarchy of regional and local exchange centers. Chemical sourcing of copper artifacts does not discriminate among these options.

Indirect procurement by one form or another of regional nodal exchange has been favored by Goad (1978, 1979:245) and Struever and Houart (1972). In contrast, we suggest that direct, long-distance procurement was common, for four reasons.

(1) *The geographic distributional nature of Hopewellian ritual raw material sources, generally.* It appears that, to make their ritual objects, Hopewellian communities often deliberately sought raw materials that were somehow "difficult" to obtain, and that long-distance journeying was a common correlate of difficulty. For example, alligator teeth and barracuda jaws are available only from the Florida Gulf Coast. They have been found at the sites of Hopewell, Turner, Seip, and Mound City—all within Ohio (Seeman 1979a:table 23)—but none has been found in any of the excavated sites between Ohio and the Gulf Coast. This geographic distribution suggests that they were obtained by long-distance logistical trips, rather than regional exchange. Clearly, these objects were incorporated into Hopewellian ceremonialism only when they were perceived by the local population to

be hard to procure, as a consequence of their distance.

Obsidian is the classic example of a Hopewellian raw material that was obtained apparently in part because of its distant source and difficult acquisition. All of the Hopewellian obsidian that has been chemically sourced has been shown to have come from either Obsidian Cliff in what is now Yellowstone National Park, or the Camas–Dry Creek outcrop in Idaho (Griffin et al. 1969; Hatch et al. 1990; Hughes and Fortier 1997). Both sources are some 1200 miles away from the Ohio Hopewell sites where obsidian is most frequent. It is reasonably certain that obsidian was procured directly by logistical trips rather than by trade (Griffin 1965:146–147, contra W. C. Mills). No Hopewellian exchange artifact has been found in the Wyoming and Idaho areas, and only a few flakes and formal tools of obsidian have been excavated from Middle Woodland-age sites geographically intermediary between the Rockies and Havana Hopewell sites.³

Meteoric iron found in Ohio and Illinois Hopewell sites also appears to have been obtained through long-distance logistical expeditions (Carr and Sears 1985). In West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and northern Missouri, documented meteorite falls are scarce and small; in contrast, meteoric iron artifacts within Ohio and Illinois Hopewell sites are numerous, implying procurement from a distance. Indeed, specimens from the Turner and Hopewell sites in Ohio have been sourced to the Brenham fall in south-central Kansas (Wasson and Sedwick 1969). Direct procurement of meteoric iron by Illinois and Ohio Hopewellian persons, rather than indirect exchange for this raw material, seems likely because Kansas City Hopewell sites lack meteoric iron artifacts (Carr and Sears 1985:84).

The predisposition of participants in Hopewellian rituals to seek out particularly those raw materials that were distant and hard to procure can be argued more precisely from Brose's (1990) study of the travel costs involved in obtaining various raw materials from various regions of Hopewellian florescence. Brose's method goes beyond considering the simple, linear distances between raw material sources

and Hopewellian sites. It is based, more realistically, on both water and overland trail distances between two points, and on the number of changes in the mode of transport (e.g., portaging, river vs. lake transport) required to travel between them. Brose considered 26 raw materials, from six resource catchments over North America. Using this approach, Brose (1990:117, table 3) found that Scioto Hopewell sites, which contain the greatest diversity and quantity of exotic raw materials, are not located centrally with respect to the sources of Hopewellian raw materials; i.e., the sites are not located where travel costs to raw material sources would have been minimized. Rather, the average procurement costs for the raw materials deposited in Scioto Hopewell sites is higher than for any other Middle Woodland cultural region. In other words, raw materials that were difficult to procure, in being distant, were emphasized in Scioto Hopewell ritual. This circumstance suggests the importance of distance in material selection and acquisition and, by implication, long-distance travel to raw material sources.

We do not mean to imply that all ritually and ideologically significant Hopewellian raw materials, or even all those that were obtained from a distance, were always obtained by direct procurement. For example, Carr and Sears (1985:85) have argued from distributional and sourcing data that meteoric iron was probably obtained by Hopewellian communities by several different means, including local collecting, regional exchange, and long-distance logistical trips, depending on the regional tradition. However, we do suggest that a primary thrust of Hopewellian raw material procurement was toward materials that were somehow difficult to obtain, and that long-distance journeying to a material's source was a common and ideologically important expression of difficulty.

(2) *A pattern of accumulation of raw materials within sites.* Two researchers have indicated or implied the improbability of down-the-line exchange and nodal regional exchange models of raw material procurement for Hopewellian societies, considering how raw materials were centripetally brought to and accumulated within

key sites rather than distributed or exchanged from them to outlying sites. Otto (1979:12) noted that "the Hopewellian trade network . . . is most clearly seen in terms of the items that the Ohio Hopewell *imported* from outlying localities" (emphasis in original) and deposited in their sites, rather than exchanged among localities. Braun (1986:121) suggested that the distribution and "movement of most exotic materials, in fact, appears to be accounted for most easily by the idea that deliberate expeditions were undertaken by a few residents of the core areas for the purpose of obtaining 'fuel' for local exchange activity back home." An interregional exchange network seemed unlikely to Braun.⁴

(3) *Variation in celt sizes over the eastern United States.* Empirical data presented below do not indicate that celt sizes are typically larger in any one or a few key regions (e.g., the Scioto Hopewell area) that might have served as centers for distributing raw copper or copper celts over eastern North America. Thus, it does not appear that raw copper or celts were acquired and distributed by nodal exchange (Goad 1978, 1979; Struever and Houart 1972). Further, the sizes of celts over eastern North America are not an inverse function of their distances from Great Lakes sources, suggesting that raw copper or celts were not distributed from there by down-the-line exchange (Renfrew and Bahn 1991b:307–338). The data accord, instead, with the idea that copper was procured directly from the Great Lakes through logistical trips taken independently by persons from different regional traditions (see below, *Patterning Indicating the Procurement of Copper for Celts*).

(4) *Native American ethnographic analogs.* The suggestion that individuals frequently journeyed long distances to the sources of exotic raw materials to obtain them, based on archaeological and geographic data, is supported by analogies to common historic Native American rites of pilgrimage to powerful raw material sources. The annual pilgrimage of Papago men and youths from Arizona to the sacred Pacific Ocean and back to gather salt (a powerful substance), other power objects, and visions, is a well-known example (Carr, Chapter 16; Gill

1982:101–105). In addition, Native American pilgrimage analogs fit well with Helms's (1988) ideas about the power and prestige attributed to persons who are able to return safely from long travels and about the ideological value given to tokens of long travel, here applied to copper. (See Turff and Carr, Chapter 18, for specific historic Woodland Native American religious concepts and rites that involved copper and that bridge the pilgrimage analog and Helms's concepts for copper.)

Considering all the above lines of evidence, we suggest that most Great Lakes copper used by Hopewellian peoples was probably obtained directly from its source by long-distance journeys, rather than procured through regional exchange or obtained locally (in the southeastern United States). Thus, copper would have had high economic and social values. In addition, the ideological value of copper would have been great because its possession typically would have involved taking trips to unknown, dangerous, and powerful places and peoples, following Helms (1988).

Finally, we note that, whether copper was procured by regional exchange or long-distance journeys, it was among the most economically expensive, if not the most economically expensive, of Hopewellian raw materials in the travel costs of procurement it entailed, according to Brose's (1990:124) model. This appears to be the situation for every Hopewellian regional tradition, save Point Peninsula. Of the various Hopewellian raw materials, copper may well have had the highest economic, social, and ideological values in the greatest number of regional traditions—at least from the perspective of travel costs and the potential dangers involved in making long journeys. Copper celts would have been widely understood as to their high economic, social, and ideological values within a Hopewellian *Sprachbund*.

SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC VIEWS ON VALUE

To appreciate the functional implications of the economic, social, and ideological dimensions of copper in the workings of Hopewellian soci-

eties, it is necessary to consider certain social-scientific, theoretical perspectives on value. The views of Karl Marx and Roy Rappaport are especially pertinent.

An important insight of Marx was that an understanding of an economic system is founded on an understanding of the way in which a society assigns value to objects. Capitalist economies, according to Marx, are based on the labor theory of value. This theory holds that items have value insofar as they have labor invested in them; the labor that produced an item, rather than any inherent usefulness the item might possess, is the primary determinant of its worth. Conceptualizing this basic rule of capitalist economies was essential before Marx could disentangle the relationships between producers, employers, and consumers.

Marx's labor theory of value was developed specifically to explain modern capitalist economies; it was not designed to account for the workings of prehistoric economic systems. Consequently, it is necessary to develop different sets of basic rules to characterize various prehistoric productive systems (cf. Gosden 1989; Gregory 1982).

One possible basis for a logic of value for Hopewellian copper celts can be found in Rappaport's (1979) writings on ritual. Rappaport proposed that a ritual communicates two kinds of messages about it and its performers: canonical and indexical. *Canonical* messages contain more or less invariant information about enduring aspects of nature, society, and the cosmos. These messages refer to entities and processes outside the immediate ritual context and, as such, are relatively immutable and unfalsifiable by the performers. *Indexical* messages, in contrast, pertain to the immediate conditions of and relationships between performers and, as such, are a source of variability in ritual. Even the most invariant ritual ceremony allows for numerical variation. For example, in the Tsembaga *kaiko* ritual,

What is not specified by liturgy, but is of great importance to all concerned, is the order in which the names of allies are called out. He who is called first is most honored. He who is

called last may well feel dishonored. (Rappaport 1979:183)

Likewise, the quantity of goods involved in a ritual may vary—for example, in the number of pigs slaughtered at a Tsembaga feast. Thus, the variability that can be expressed through the indexical messages of a ritual can be used to communicate information about the relative social distinction and prestige of the performers.

The concepts of canonical and indexical messages can profitably be extended to consider the roles and values of particular objects within a ritual system. Specifically, we suggest that copper celts expressed both canonical and indexical messages in Hopewellian societies. The consistent morphology of the celts and their raw material would have conveyed important canonical messages about invariant principles of Hopewellian society and philosophical–religious beliefs shared (i.e., ideology) within a *Sprachbund*. However, altering the indexical aspect of the celts, namely, their size, could have changed the relative power of these messages and, hence, the relative importance of celts and the relative distinction and prestige brought to their owners. Larger celts had more copper—a raw material that was both economically and socially expensive to procure. In sum, in this light, the value of a celt can be decomposed into its canonical and indexical dimensions. The former is ideological in nature, at once concerned with social and philosophical–religious principles. The latter is practical, operational, and behavioral in nature, simultaneously pertaining to economic, social relational, and sociopolitical actions and costs. It would be inappropriate to assess the value of celts solely in terms of their labor-based economic worth.

In the following section, we consider several possible canonical messages that might have been invoked by copper celts. We then turn to their indexical messages as a function of their size.

CANONICAL MESSAGES OF COPPER CELTS

The canonical messages expressed by copper celts may have concerned three fundamental as-

pects of Hopewellian society and philosophical–religious beliefs. The first two stem from the fact that copper celts are a nonutilitarian representation of an actual tool important in Hopewellian societies. Ungrooved celts made of ground stone are common on Middle Woodland sites across the eastern United States (Griffin 1955:41; Struever 1964:91). Unlike copper celts, stone ones show much evidence of having been used as chopping tools, including extensive wear on the bit, broken-off bits, and possible resharpening patterns (Beck 1990; Carr 1982b:247; Cole and Deuel 1937:plate 31; McGregor 1958:98; Wray and MacNeish 1961:43). In an analysis of one Middle Woodland domestic site in Illinois, ungrooved stone celts were found to associate spatially with tools used to work hardwoods (Carr 1982b:249). Middle Woodland ungrooved celts have also been found in their original wooden handles in bogs in Pennsylvania, showing that some were used as axes (Witthoft 1955:16). Historically in eastern North America, ground stone celts were used by Native Americans for both the heavy-duty task of felling trees and lighter-duty tasks such as working and shaping wood (Carr 1982b:248).

Ground stone celts were likely used by Hopewellian societies in at least two socially and philosophically–religiously charged events: canoe making and construction of earthworks and wooden ritual facilities. The dugout canoe, as a vehicle for long-distance travel (Brose 1990), would have been an important symbol of potential contact with unknown and powerful people and places afar, including the human and geographic sources of valued raw materials such as copper. A celt made of copper, analogous to stone celts used to manufacture canoes, would have been an ideal representation of such an adventure, as well as the resources that had to be mustered for it and the raw material and power retrieved.

It is also possible that an association of celts with canoes made another, or an additional, metaphorical reference: to the “spirit canoes” or “soul boats” that shamanic practitioners commonly have used cross-culturally to make their journeys to Lower or Upper Worlds or across the Middle World (Eliade 1972:164, 172,

356–357; Harner 1990:71). The derivation of copper from underground deposits of the Lower World, and the archaeological association of copper with clear Lower World referents in some Ohio Hopewell sites (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18; Penney 1983), are relevant here. A celt of copper could have been a natural referent to journeying to the Lower World and the power it entailed.

Both ideas—of the physical journey to copper and the spirit journey to the Lower World—may well have been intertwined. In band and tribal societies, shaman or shaman-like practitioners often are the persons who travel widely, across social boundaries, to power places such as the sources of exotic raw materials (e.g., Halifax 1979:87–91; Mails 1979:49–54, 181–185; Park 1938:27–28).

The second socially and philosophically—religiously charged kind of event in which ground stone celts were most likely used is the construction of earthworks and wooden ritual facilities. Stone celts would have been used in clearing trees preceding the construction of geometric earthworks in wooded environments. For example, the Scioto valley during the Woodland Period appears to have been primarily a forested environment, with occasional patches of prairie. Some Scioto-tradition earthworks, such as Hopewell and Liberty, appear to have been built in forests.⁵ It is possible that copper celts referred to the clearing of land and the building of earthworks.

Related to this association, ground stone celts would have been used to cut down trees to make charnel houses, other ritual buildings, log tombs, and coffins. Log tombs were a common mode of burial in the Scioto region (e.g., Shetrone 1936; Shetrone and Greenman 1931), and were a rarer and prestigious kind of entombment facility in other regions of Hopewellian ritual in the midwestern and southeastern United States (e.g., J. A. Brown 1979; Jenkins 1979; Walthall 1979). Charnel houses were constructed in only the Scioto region (e.g., Greber 1983; Mills 1916; Shetrone and Greenman 1931), but rituals there were sometimes attended by persons from other regional traditions (Stoltman 2000; see also Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15). A celt of copper would have been a reasonably direct

way of symbolizing the cutting of trees for mortuary and other ritual facilities in eastern North America.

The ideas of both earthwork construction and construction of ritual facilities may, in some Hopewellian traditions, have been intertwined. It is possible that earthworks, charnel houses, tombs, and coffins were all thought of as equivalent, in involving logs and providing a container for the deceased. The similar (subrectangular) shapes of the earthwork embankment, the submound charnel houses, and the Great Mica Grave at Mound City attest to the occurrence of this metaphor in at least the Scioto region (J. A. Brown 1979). A more general, cross-culturally common metaphor that might have linked these several kinds of facilities to each other and the shamanic-rooted concept of the World Axis is summarized by Carr (Chapter 7, *The Burial Clusters as Communities*).

Finally, it can be noted that the two broad possible symbolic referents of copper celts—canoe making and the construction of earthworks and ritual facilities—may themselves have been conjoined in Hopewellian thought in some regions. In the Copena site of Cramp's Cave, Alabama, burials in "canoe-shaped" coffins of wood were found (Walthall 1979:200). The travel of the dead to the afterlife by a soul boat, analogous or equivalent to that of the shaman's, is a fairly common motif, cross-culturally (e.g., Eliade 1972:355–358; Harner 1990:71; Huntington and Metcalf 1979:71). Celts of copper, again, could have represented the spirit canoe journey to an afterlife.

The possibility that ground stone celts and their copper effigies had some or all of these canonical meanings, and the closely related but distinct nature of these messages, accords well with Seeman's (1995) idea that certain Hopewellian manifestations at a middling distance from each other across the eastern United States comprised a *Sprachbund*. Various Hopewellian traditions may have conferred somewhat different but related sets of meanings to celts, thus making celts an ideal medium for nonverbal communication of broadly shared and approximately similar understandings of the cosmos among distant peoples. Using the

ideologically charged raw material of copper (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18) to represent utilitarian celts and their canonical meanings would have made this medium of regional communication and interaction all the more potent.

The third fundamental aspect of Hopewellian society and philosophical–religious beliefs that may have been communicated by copper celts is the institutionalized (achieved or ascribed) leadership role(s) involved in long-distance geographic journeying, spirit journeying, the construction of earthworks and wooden ritual facilities, and mortuary rites. This possibility is suggested by the artistic compositions that were rendered on at least some copper celts from Ohio, as introduced above (Figures 17.1A–C). Some compositions include bird impersonators, who conceivably could have been bonepickers responsible for processing corpses (Otto 1975), psychopomps who guided the soul of the deceased to an afterlife, and/or shaman-like journeyers, generally. Other Ohio copper celts depict humans in animal masks, who, along with the bird impersonators, could have been clan leaders in totemic costumes. Yet other compositions illustrate persons adorned with geometric or turbanlike, layered headdresses, who could have been other kinds of leaders perhaps not involved in shaman-like activities. These images accord well with Carr and Case’s (Chapter 5) finding, through the study of art and burials, of Ohio Hopewellian leaders of multiple kinds, including classic shaman, shaman-like leaders of more specialized forms, and leaders with less shaman-like casts. Although further work is necessary to confirm specific images on specific celts, in total, the collection of images suggests that copper celts symbolized the institutionalized roles of leaders who interceded for society—perhaps with the corpse and soul of the newly deceased, longer deceased ancestors, creatures of the Lower (and other?) Worlds, strangers in geographically distant societies, and/or other elements of the Hopewellian cosmos. This leadership symbology is not unexpected, given the use of copper celts in Mississippian societies as “badges of office” of the highest degree (Peebles and Kus 1977:441)⁶—albeit, offices that prob-

ably differed in recruitment and function from Hopewellian counterparts.⁷

THE INDEXICAL MESSAGE OF COPPER CELTS

Each of these more or less invariant canonical messages expressed by copper celts may have had corresponding indexical messages, which varied with the size, procurement cost, and/or perceived spiritual power of celts. Specifically, larger and smaller celts could have symbolized the relative prestige acquired by a person who made a long-distance journey, the amount of power entailed in a shaman’s journey to the Lower World, the amount of prestige had by leaders who were central in organizing the clearing of land for earthworks and the construction of wooden ceremonial architecture and tombs, and/or the degree of power of a psychopomp who was in charge of burial rites and facilitating the spirit canoe journey of the deceased to the afterlife. Through such indexical messages, copper celts were a means by which certain members of a Hopewellian community could acquire, store, or augment prestige.

Copper celts were an ideal medium for expressing the differential ability of persons to procure a distant raw material, and their varying power and prestige, for at least two reasons. First, celts, on the average, required more copper to make than any of the other Hopewellian artifact classes of copper. Second, it is likely that the indexical messages of relative prestige and power communicated by a large copper celt would have been appreciated in all regions within the Hopewellian *Sprachbund*. As discussed above, per Brose’s (1990) analysis, persons in all of these regions would have been aware of the economic costs, difficulty, and danger involved in making a journey to the Great Lakes sources of raw copper.

ANALYSIS

To explore the ideas presented above, we collected available information on the sizes, contexts of deposition, and concentration of copper

celts within each of the regional traditions in which celts have been found. All published archaeological reports of the Hopewellian sites listed by Seaman (1977a) as having had celts excavated from them were consulted. Some celt measurements were given in the text of reports; many had to be estimated from photographs. In addition, all Scioto Hopewell celts curated at the Chicago Field Museum and the Ohio Historical Center (Columbus) were measured directly. This information is reported in Appendix 17.1.

From these data, it was apparent that the most comprehensive analysis could be made if focus was placed on simply the length of celts, as one measure of their size. Various descriptive statistics and graphs for the whole population of celts and for subsets of them were then calculated. These empirical generalizations allowed us to investigate further the theoretical ideas we have developed here, and incidentally to make some culture-historical observations.

Patterns Indicating Canonical and Indexical Messages

Figure 17.3 shows the frequency distribution of the sizes of celts from all Hopewellian regional traditions. Its single mode, as well as the similar morphology of celts over this large territory, indicates that there was a shared, basic, ideal form for copper celts. That form probably communicated certain canonical information about Hopewellian society and philosophical-religious beliefs. The existence of very small copper celts, less than 5 centimeters (2 inches) long, and very large ones, about 60 centimeters (2 feet) long, indicates that celts were valued for the canonical messages they conveyed about Hopewellian society and beliefs, regardless of their size. Thus, in one sense, a small copper celt and a large one transmitted similar information.

However, the considerable variability around the median length of 11.5 centimeters (Figure 17.3) indicates that individuals also manipulated and elaborated the indexical aspect of the

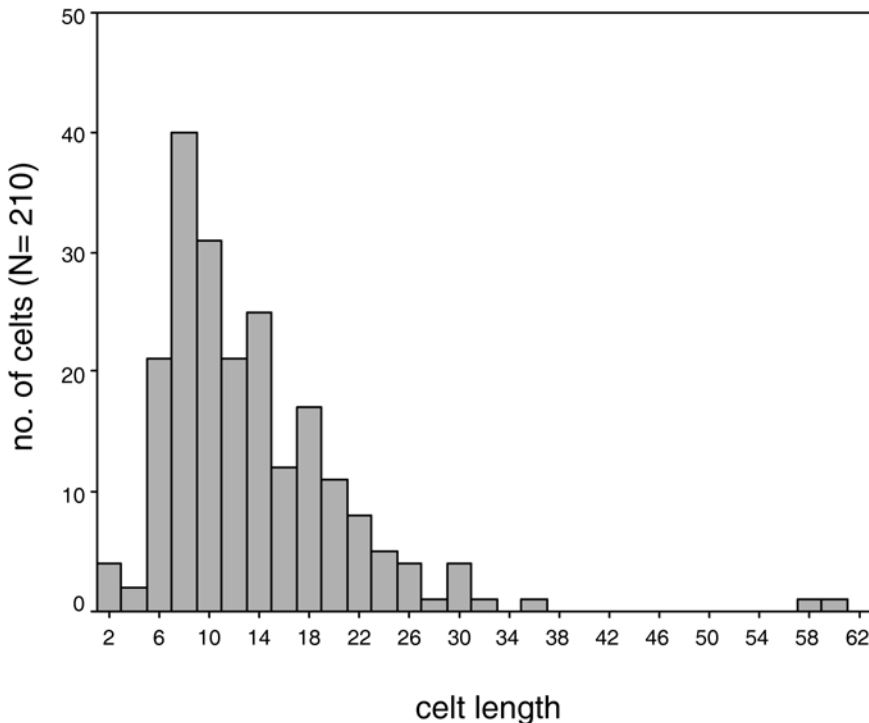


Figure 17.3. Frequency distribution of the sizes of celts from all Hopewellian regional traditions.

messages communicated by these objects, presumably to display and affect their social prestige and power. Some copper celts are quite large relative to the mean, even excluding the two largest celts, which might have been community or other corporate group property. The difference between average-sized celts and larger ones would have been readily apparent to anyone who viewed them. An individual who was able to acquire a large celt would have received social distinction not only from possessing a symbol of Hopewellian society and philosophical-religious beliefs, but also for having magnified the scale at which this symbol was represented. In this light, there was a hierarchy of distinction among "equals" of high prestige.

The use of celt size to display and increase the power and prestige of an individual, we would argue, is evident not only in the variability of celt size, but also in the extended tail of the size distribution to the right of its mode. This suggests that while all would-be celt owners aspired to having a large celt, most could only accumulate enough resources to acquire the copper needed to make a celt of only about 11.5 centimeter length (the median of the distribution). Only a few individuals could muster the resources required for copper procurement trips of long duration and copper mining time, frequent trips, and/or large procurement parties. Alternatively, or in addition, it is possible that the extended tail of the celt size distribution reflects the stochastic (Poisson-like) success that various individuals had at mining copper, upon making procurement trips.

Contextual evidence also supports the idea that the size of a celt reflected the amount of power and prestige symbolized by it. The largest, 60-centimeter celt was found in an artifact deposit over Skeletons 260 and 261 in Mound 25 of the Hopewell site. This deposit contained many other practically and ideologically valuable items that expressed social standing and roles, including over 90 copper breastplates; a few meteoric iron breastplates; 62 other celts largely of copper but also meteoric iron; partially hammered nuggets of Algodonite, copper, meteoric iron, and silver; and over 16,000 pearl and shell beads (Greber and Ruhl 1989:90–100). Also included in the deposit were two items that suggest im-

portant leadership roles: a copper headplate with new deer antler growth and a femur baton carved with the image of an animal impersonator. The impersonator wears a headdress of old and new deer antler growth and appendages in the form of deer ears, rabbit ears, snake heads, and/or bird wings, and has the nose of a roseate spoonbill water bird. The large, 58-centimeter celt from the Seip-Pricer mound was found in a ceremonial artifact deposit placed on a large clay platform and covered with a reed mat and log structure. Like Burials 260 and 261, this deposit again included other artifactual expressions of high social standing: 12 copper breastplates, several large pearl beads, and three bear canines set with pearls (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:380). The large number of indicators of high prestige and key leadership roles found with the two big celts at Hopewell and Seip corroborates the high indexical dimension of their value based on their size.⁸

A final observation suggesting that the size of a celt reflected the prestige and power of its owner is the moderate, negative correlation ($r = -.63$; $R^2 = .40$) found between the average length of copper celts in a region and the travel cost-based value of copper for that region, as calculated by Brose (1990). This pattern suggests that although increasing distance from the Lake Superior copper source somewhat hindered would-be celt owners in, for example, the Southern Appalachian region from producing a large celt, celt size was determined more so by some factor(s) other than distance to copper deposits. One likely factor is the prestige and power of the owners of celts, which need not have varied systematically by region and distance from the Lake Superior source. In other words, individuals expressed and augmented their prestige and power independently in each different regional Hopewellian tradition.

Patterns Indicating the Procurement of Copper for Celts by Long-Distance Trips

In a previous section, we suggested that copper was probably procured commonly by direct, long-distance journeys to its sources, in contrast to down-the-line or nodal regional exchange.

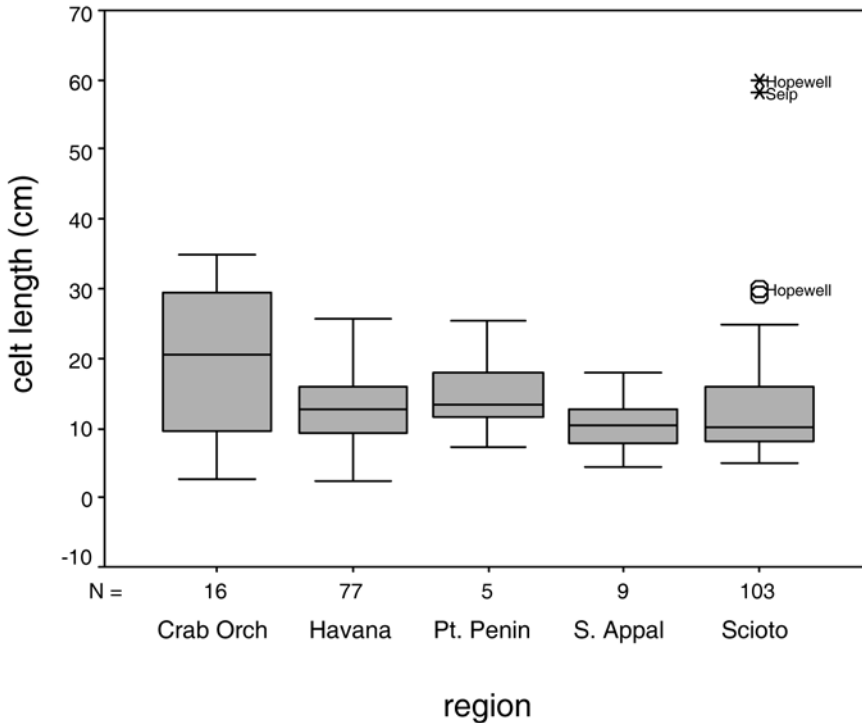


Figure 17.4. Box plots of the ranges and variability of celt sizes in each of five Hopewellian regional traditions show that most regions are generally similar in these regards, but that a few unusually large celts are found at the Hopewell and Seip sites in the Scioto region and at the Mount Vernon site (not shown) in the Crab Orchard tradition.

This idea is supported by comparing the amount of variation in celt sizes within different regional Hopewellian traditions. Figure 17.4 shows that most regions are characterized by a similar numeric range and level of variability in celt sizes. This suggests that within most regions, there were similar degrees of difference between individuals in their ability to obtain copper. In turn, this situation suggests the relative autonomy of each region in matters of copper procurement. In other words, copper to produce celts, and copper celts themselves, were probably not distributed or exchanged from a central location, such as the Scioto region, to elsewhere in the Eastern Woodlands, as would be the case in nodal exchange. Nor did access to copper diminish clinally away from Great Lakes sources, as would be the case in down-the-line exchange from that area (Renfrew and Bahn 1991b:307–338). The autonomy shown by each region in copper procurement and manufacture

accords, instead, with procurement by the direct, long-distance journeying of individuals from many regional traditions to copper sources.

The two notable exceptions to the similarity of regions in the size distribution of their celts are the two large, 60 and 58 centimeter-long celts from the Hopewell and Seip earthworks. Their sizes suggest access to copper and social prestige and power on a scale unmatched in the Hopewellian world. The two cases do not, however, speak to the mechanism by which copper was obtained.

The Size and Social Composition of a Ritual Gathering at the Hopewell Site

Another topic that the data on celt sizes address is the size of one social gathering at the Hopewell site. Deposited along with the 60-centimeter long celt above Skeletons 260 and 261 in Mound 25 of the Hopewell site were 62 smaller celts. If

each celt, or few celts, within the deposit was likely the possession of a single individual, then the number of celt owners who contributed to the ritual deposit over Skeletons 260 and 261 can be estimated. In the 58 cases in our database in which an individual was buried with one or more celts, the mean number of celts per individual is about 1.5. This would imply a gathering of about 41 celt owners to honor the two persons represented by Skeletons 260 and 261. If all persons with celts owned only one, the number of celt owners who gathered would be 62.

It is likely that the primary assumption made in this numerical estimation—that the 62 smaller celts deposited above Skeletons 260 and 261 belonged to many individuals, and not to Skeletons 260 and 261, alone—is correct. The frequency distribution of lengths of 42 of the small celts that were found with Skeletons 260 and 261 (Figure 17.5) and for which measurements are

available mirrors the primary mode of the total frequency distribution for all celts studied here (Figure 17.3). If the 62 celts found in the grave with Skeletons 260 and 261 were instead owned by those two individuals, who were highly prestigious, considering the other items associated with them, then one would expect the size distribution of the 62 celts (as a reflection of these two persons' prestige) to be different. It would have a mode farther to the right than that of the size distribution of all celts representing persons of many degrees of prestige. This is not the case.

Putting the estimate of 41 to 62 celt owners who gathered at Hopewell into context allows one to see that these celt owners probably included many persons who came from *outside* the Scioto region. Only 13 of the 38 excavated sites reported by Seeman (1979a:313) for the Scioto region contained any copper celts, and of the 8 sites for which published data are available, the

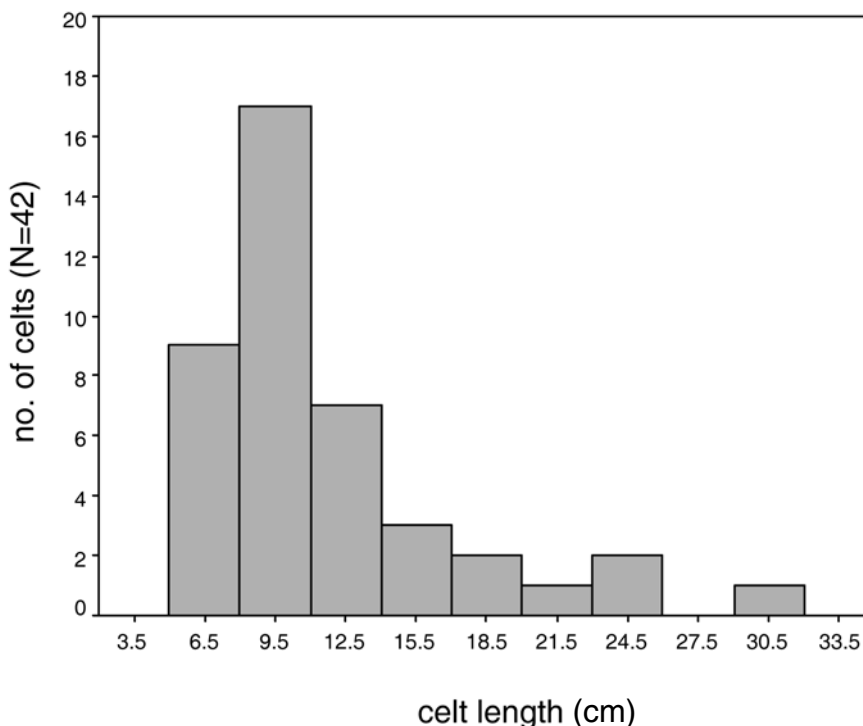


Figure 17.5. The frequency distribution of lengths of 42 of celts that were found with Skeletons 260 and 261 in Mound 25 of the Hopewell site, Ohio, that exclude the one, very large celt from this grave, and for which measurements are available, closely resembles the primary mode of the frequency distribution for all celts studied here (Figure 17.3).

median number of celt owners at these sites was two. Although we cannot know the exact, total number of celt owners who were buried at the 13 sites, using the median number of two per site suggests that the number of celt owners in the Scioto area was almost certainly less than the 41 to 62 celt owners who gathered to honor the two individuals represented by Skeletons 260 and 261. This would imply that celt owners from outside the Scioto area came to the ceremony for those two individuals. Considering that the 13 sites with celts span several hundred years and many generations, the number of celt owners within the Scioto region at any point in time was probably much less than 41 to 62, suggesting that the number of outsiders who gathered to honor the two persons represented by Skeletons 260 and 261 was significant in absolute numbers and in the proportion of celt owners at that ceremony.

Regional Differences in Mortuary Site Differentiation and Social Complexity

The data compiled here (Appendix 17.1, Figure 17.3) show that some regions of the eastern United States (i.e., the Scioto and Crab Orchard) traditions have unique sites with very large celts and large concentrations of celts compared to those in other sites in the area. In contrast, other regions (i.e., the Havana, Point Peninsula, and Southern Appalachian traditions) have numerous sites that contained only medium-sized and small celts at moderate or low concentrations.⁹ These differences among regions in their degree of mortuary site differentiation suggest differences in forms of sociopolitical organization: in vertical status differentiation and/or horizontal, extralocal patterning and intensity.

It may be that in some regions, vertical status differences were more marked; in others, less. In particular, the large accumulations of copper celts at the Hopewell and Seip sites make up a large portion of all celts recovered from Ohio Hopewell sites, by number and weight (Figures 17.6 and 17.7). This pattern is duplicated in the Crab Orchard region, where Mount Vernon has produced the majority of celts found in sites of this area, by number and weight

(Figure 17.7). Although sample sizes are relatively small, most other sites in these two regions contain only one or two celts each. The Scioto and Crab Orchard regions stand in especial contrast to the Havana region, which, despite containing large numbers of Hopewellian sites with copper celts, lacks any single excavated site with an unusually large number of celts. Instead, the Havana region contains a number of sites with 5 to 12 celts each, in addition to sites with only a few celts (Figure 17.6).

The situation in the Havana region may reflect the particular sample of sites of various socio-political and ceremonial functions excavated there. Specifically, little archaeological excavation has been undertaken at possibly richer Hopewellian sites like Golden Eagle (Struever and Houart 1972)—the only Havana Hopewellian ceremonial center with a verified geometric earthwork—and the flood plain loaf-shaped mounds in the bottoms of the lower Illinois valley (Buikstra 1974; Struever and Houart 1972). However, taken at face value, the distribution of celts among sites suggests that prestigious individuals in the Havana area did not achieve the same level of social importance as did those at Hopewell, Seip, and Mount Vernon, who magnified the indexical messages of copper celts. In the Havana region, it appears that no one produced a symbol of Hopewellian social and philosophical-religious principles on a scale that distinguished them beyond all others.

This contrast between the Havana and the Scioto Hopewell traditions echoes Struever's (1965) earlier observation that they differed in social complexity—tribal and chiefdom organization, respectively, in his initial estimation from a great variety of material indicators. The pattern is also consistent with the differences noted by James Brown (1979:212–213, 219) between the potential of mortuary crypts in the Havana region to express status through burial and that possible through burial in a charnel house in the Scioto region. Specifically, Havana Hopewell burial crypts are small “storage houses” in which a few bodies were placed to decay and were covered over with logs and other materials instead of viewed. This suggests a relatively simple burial

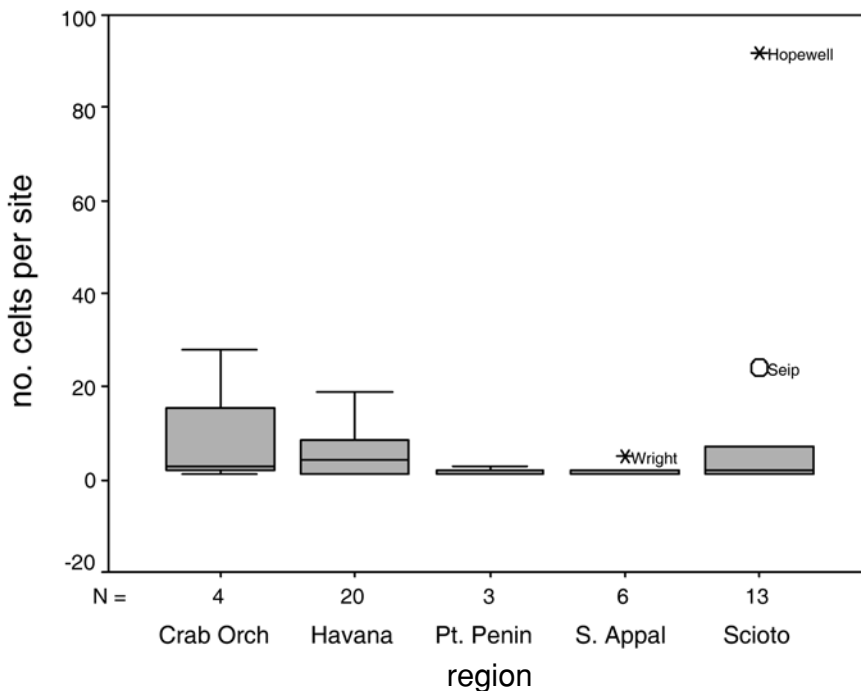


Figure 17.6. Box plots of the ranges and variability of numbers of celts found in each of five Hopewellian traditions indicate that large concentrations of celts at singular sites are found in the Scioto region (the Hopewell and Seip sites) and the Crab Orchard tradition (the Mount Vernon site).

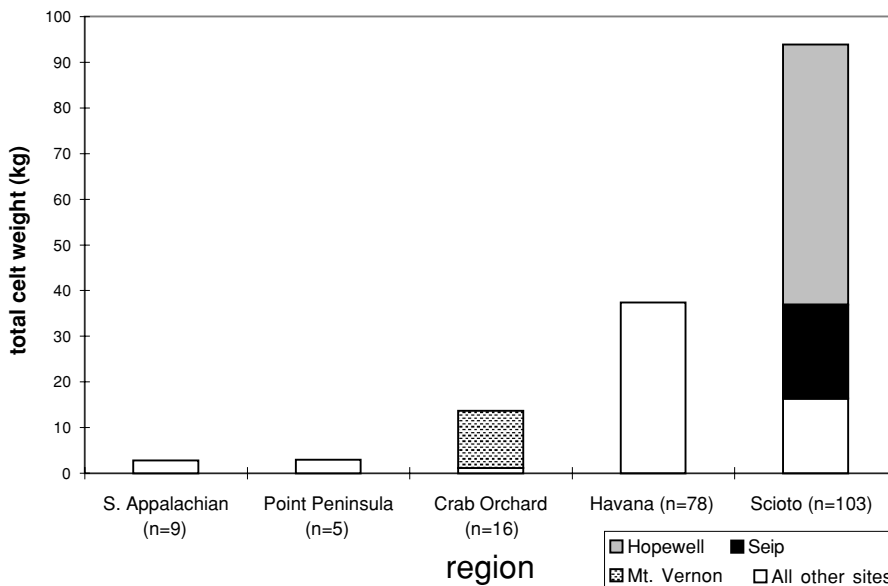


Figure 17.7. Bar chart of the total weight (kilograms) of the celts found in each of the five Hopewellian traditions, and the contributions to celt weight made by single sites (Hopewell, Seip, Mount Vernon) with many celts.

program that was not oriented toward the display of status, and a small funerary audience. These characteristics would imply, in traditional theoretical terms, a relatively simple social organization. In contrast, Scioto Hopewell charnel houses were large, house-like galleries in which sometimes many bodies were processed, rituals occurred periodically, and the prestige of the deceased may have been displayed to visitors. These conditions suggest a more complex burial program and a larger funerary audience. These features would imply a more complex social organization than that of Havana Hopewell. Thus, the contrast between the two regions in both their mortuary rites and their celt distributions points to Havana Hopewellian societies having been less vertically differentiated and complex than Scioto Hopewellian societies.

At the same time, it is wise to temper these contrasts between the Scioto, Crab Orchard, and Havana traditions with the understanding that the observed, different patterns of celt distribution among sites in these three regions may pertain as much or more so to differences in horizontal alliance patterning as it does to differences in vertical social complexity. In particular, Scioto Hopewellian peoples clearly placed more emphasis socially on building alliances among communities and materially symbolizing those alliances than did Havana peoples. This emphasis is evident in rich ceremonial deposits and grave assemblages that indicate large, cooperative and/or competitive ceremonial displays at the regionally special sites of Hopewell, Seip, and a few others in the Scioto area. Such displays explain, in part, the material flamboyance of these sites, including their large numbers and weights of celts. In addition, alliance networks appear to have encompassed more people in the Scioto region, in proportion to larger sustaining populations and community sizes, and in response to greater potential for subsistence risks there (see Carr, Chapter 7, *Social Complexity in the Scioto and Havana Region Compared*; and Carr et al., Chapter 13). The larger alliance networks again explain, in part, the great material richness, including celt numbers and weights, at Hopewell, Seip, and some other sites. Although the larger numbers of people integrated in the Scioto area

imply greater social complexity there, the particular balance of vertical versus horizontal complexity by which social integration was achieved remains unclear.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that the value of copper celts to Hopewellian peoples cannot be understood from a Western economic perspective, simply from celts having been made of a nonlocal material that was costly to obtain. A labor theory of value is not adequate here. Instead, the value of celts was the product of a particular logic used by their makers, involving two different dimensions. First, celts had worth as a symbol and transmitter of canonical (i.e., immutable, unfalsifiable) messages of an ideological nature, concerning the principles of Hopewellian society and philosophy–religion. Celts possibly referred to canoe building and, thus, to long-distance journeying to unknown and powerful peoples, places, and sources of spiritually charged raw materials, and/or to spirit canoe journeys to the Lower World—the source of copper and power more generally. Celts also may have referred to the felling of trees for constructing earthworks, charnel houses, other ritual structures, and log tombs and, by extension, to the journey of souls of the deceased to an afterlife. Finally, celts may have referred to the institutionalized leadership roles that involved these activities, as evidenced by images of leaders rendered on celts from Ohio, at least, and as supported by the strong association of celts with adults and men over the Woodlands. In these ways, copper celts communicated fundamental structural aspects of Hopewellian society and belief.

From this perspective, to own a copper celt connoted a particular level of prestige and power simply by association with the power-laden phenomena to which it referred. However, at the same time, the social prestige expressed by the possessor of a celt could be augmented, because copper celts also communicated a second, indexical (variable) message of a practical, operational, and behavioral nature: the varying sizes of celts communicated the differing abilities of individuals to access a raw material that

was economically, socially, and sociopolitically costly and ideologically charged. Specifically, varying sized celts symbolized the relative prestige and power acquired by a person who made a long-distance journey to a copper source, by a shaman who journeyed to the Lower World, by leaders who organized the construction of earthworks and tombs, and/or by shamanic psychopomps who facilitated the spirit canoe journeys of the deceased to the afterlife.

In each Hopewellian tradition with copper celts, there were individuals whose differential access to copper permitted them to achieve more or less prestige and power through the production and possession of a celt of a given size. Although all individuals who owned a celt received some prestige by association with its canonical meaning(s), there was also a hierarchy of prestige among these “equals” that was expressed through the sizes of celts—their indexical meaning.

Celts were an ideal medium for expressing the indexical message of prestige and power because they required more copper to make, on the average, than any other Hopewellian class of copper artifacts. In addition, this message would have been understood throughout the various Hopewellian regional traditions in the eastern United States, because all traditions were a great distance from the primary source of copper, in the upper Great Lakes.

Empirically, the canonical and indexical dimensions of Hopewellian celts are, respectively, evidenced in their unimodal size distribution and variability in size about the mode, including an extended tail to the right. The association of extremely large celts with large quantities of other fancy grave goods, and the lack of much relationship between celt length and distance from the Lake Superior copper source, also indicate the indexical message of prestige communicated by celts.

Following Seeman (1995), the geographic distribution of copper celts across the northern Hopewell regional traditions and the Copena area can be suggested to represent a *Sprachbund*—an area encompassing “close strangers” (Helms 1988) who broadly shared understandings about Hopewellian society and philosophical–religious beliefs, and what to talk about when they met.

Some social and philosophical–religious principles, and their nonverbal symbolization in and communication through copper celts, may have been generally shared and understood among Hopewellian traditions in a *Sprachbund* over the northeastern and midsouthern United States. This is particularly likely for the association of copper with the Lower World and power (see Turff and Carr, Chapter 18). Copper was the metal and fancy raw material used most often in ritual contexts by Hopewellian peoples over this area. In this way, copper celts were an ideal medium for the nonverbal communication of basic social and philosophical–religious ideas among societies who probably (Seeman 1995) spoke mutually unintelligible languages. Simultaneously, copper celts would have expressed, through their overall mass, the general degree of power and prestige of their owners, even if their particular social identities (e.g., journeyer, shaman, manager of earthwork construction, psychopomp) were left unspecified.

Reconstructing the logic used in Hopewellian societies to attribute value to copper celts, and examining pan-regional and interregional variation in celt size and value, reveals a number of additional insights. First, a copper celt was probably owned by an individual rather than a community at large, in most cases. Across the eastern United States, most individuals buried with a celt had only one. Cases of multiple celts per burial possibly represent the gifting of celts to a deceased celt owner by living celt owners. The two extraordinarily large celts at the Hopewell and Seip sites in Ohio may have been exceptional instances of celts that were community property, analogous to very large “Copena” smoking pipes.

Second, in the Scioto and Havana regions, celts apparently symbolized social prestige that was achieved rather than inherited, and/or leadership roles that were filled preferably by males. Most persons buried with celts in these regions were adult males.

Third, the extraordinarily large celt found with two persons (Skeletons 260 and 261) at the Hopewell site indicates that one or both of these individuals were able to acquire and display prestige and power to a greater degree than anyone else in the Hopewellian world. This would

have been the case whether the celt was individual or community-wide property. Supporting this interpretation is the cache of 62 smaller celts, 92 copper breastplates, and other fancy items placed above or with the skeletons in which the large celt was found.

Fourth, quantitative analysis suggests that the 62 celts associated with Skeletons 260 and 261 were probably not their possessions, but more likely were contributions from approximately 40 to 60 celt owners who gathered for a ritual to honor the two individuals represented by Skeletons 260 and 261. The number of celts contributed to these to individuals is much larger than the total number of other celts known from all other excavated Hopewellian sites in the Scioto valley. Most sites have only one or two celts. This pattern suggests that the social gathering in honor of the two persons represented by Skeletons 260 and 261 likely included celt owners from outside the Scioto area. Similar multicomunity gatherings may have characterized the Mount Vernon site, Indiana, where 28 celts were recovered from a limited area of digging. However, a lack of intrasite provenience information prevents a certain conclusion. Stylistic analysis of any artistic compositions that may have been applied to the celts from the Hopewell and Mount Vernon sites could help to corroborate or falsify these interpretations.

Fifth, the fact that variability in celt size is largely comparable across all of the Hopewellian regional traditions in which copper celts have been found suggests that each area was largely autonomous in its acquisition of copper from the upper Great Lakes. Thus, copper for celt production, and copper celts themselves, were not distributed or exchanged from any central location (e.g., the Scioto region), as once held by Struever and Houart (1972) and Goad (1978, 1979), nor was copper exchanged in a down-the-line fashion from Great Lakes sources across the Eastern Woodlands. These alternative mechanisms of copper movement would have produced regionally modal or clinal copper distributions, respectively, which do not occur. The autonomy of each region in copper procurement and manufacture argues, instead, for the common, direct, long-distance journeying of individuals from multi-

ple regions to copper sources. Thus, copper was procured similar to the way in which obsidian, alligator teeth, barracuda jaws, and some meteoric iron, at least, were likely acquired—by long-distance logistical trips.

Finally, Hopewellian regional traditions appear to differ in whether they have one site with a large number of celts and many sites with few, as in the Scioto and Crab Orchard areas, or have a number of sites with similar, moderate numbers of celts, as in the Havana area. This variation points to differences among these regions in their social complexity, probably both vertical and horizontal.

We began this chapter by noting the importance of analyzing single classes of artifacts. Each artifact class has its own, distinct properties that articulate it in unique ways with its social and cultural context. Differing kinds of artifacts may be used to reproduce differing kinds of social, economic, political, religious, and other kinds of relations. It is hoped that this chapter has illustrated the utility of detailed and contextual studies of single artifact classes. Similar studies of other fancy Hopewellian artifacts and raw materials with broad interregional distributions, such as metal panpipes (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18), metal earspools (Ruhl, Chapter 19), silver (Spence and Fryer, Chapter 20), mica mirrors, conch shell containers, galena lumps, and meteoric iron are and should be similarly revealing. Through such studies, the homogenized view of “Hopewellian Interaction” can be replaced with more culture-historically specific and sensitive understandings of many interesting forms of social interaction and many particular forms of logic for assigning meaning and value to artifacts.

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NOTES

1. In each of these cases, a composition is neatly laid out within the space available on a fragment of a celt. The break in the celt does not crosscut the composition, and the composition does not extend off the fragment.
2. Likewise, the majority of copper artifacts analyzed by Goad from the St. Johns complex in Florida are made of Great Lakes copper. In contrast, those artifacts analyzed by her from the Santa Rosa–Swift Creek area are made of both Great Lakes and Appalachian copper, at similar frequencies (Goad 1978:194, 1979:244). Copper celts are not found in any of these Hopewellian traditions, however.
3. Only one obsidian flake has been excavated from a Kansas City Hopewell site (Johnson 1979:90, 29; Wedel 1943:99, in Griffin 1965:140), which is between the Rockies and the Havana and Scioto Hopewell sites having a fair amount to a large amount of obsidian, and which is along the Missouri River—the probable mode of travel to the Rockies. Little obsidian has been found in Middle Woodland-age sites west of Kansas City. One late Hopewellian corner-notched obsidian point and one obsidian flake were excavated from the Weeping Water Mound Group in southeastern Nebraska (Strong 1935:200–202, plate 7, in Griffin 1965:141). One piece of worked obsidian was excavated from the probably Middle Woodland-age Boundary mound in North Dakota (Griffin 1965:141).
4. Seeman (1979a) demonstrated that the a “Hopewell Interaction Sphere” lacked the highly structured system of centralized redistributive exchange nodes envisioned by Struiver and Houart (1972). However, the analysis does not speak to whether raw material resources were more likely gotten by down-the-line exchange or direct procurement.
5. At Hopewell, this is indicated by historic forest distributions (e.g., Moorehead 1922:87); at Liberty, by the forest soil profiles found below the Edwin Harness mound and the forest soils constituting the mound strata, sub-mound features, and charnel house floor (Greber 1983:19, 23). Other earthworks, like High Banks (Greber 1983:23), Hopeton (Ruby 1997b), and the Great Circle of Newark (Lepper et al. 1992), were apparently built on prairie soils, as indicated by exposed soil profiles below sections of earthwork embankments.
6. At the Mississippian site of Moundville, Alabama, copper axes were found with the highest-ranking central burials in the mounds. They were not found with the highest-ranking individuals in minor ceremonial centers around Moundville.
7. Copper celts in specifically Mississippian societies are thought by J. A. Brown (1975:22–23, 1976:127) to have had their prototypes in war clubs and to have signaled leaders whose office and rank derived from military prowess or managerial effectiveness in warfare. Such war symbolism is common in Mississippian art and elite objects. It may occur in some Hopewellian artifacts (Carr, Chapter 7, Table 7.2), but only rarely. Most Hopewellian art and elite items have a heavy shaman-like loading, instead (Carr and Case, Chapter 5).
8. The relative power and prestige indicated by the two unusually large celts at Hopewell and Seip could have been that of two individuals who owned the celts or the pooled prestige and power of a community at large that owned the celt. Whether one situation or the other is true does not affect the argument that the large number of indicators of high prestige and key leadership roles found with the two celts corroborates the indexical dimension of their value based on their size.
9. This pattern of differences among regions in their degree of intersite variability in celt sizes and concentrations is distinct from their similar numeric ranges and variability in celt sizes.

Gathering Hopewell

Society, Ritual, and Ritual Interaction

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