

Chapter 2

Historical Insight into the Directions and Limitations of Recent Research on Hopewell

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The nature of “Hopewell” has not easily been defined through archaeological study and discussion. The term, “Hopewell”, has been used professionally in multiple ways over the last century, and this remains the case today, even as Americanist archaeology has become more systematic and sensitive in applying sociocultural anthropological concepts to archaeological patterns. Modern anthropological archaeologists have sought to identify and understand Hopewell in the wide sharing of certain material traits and cultural practices over eastern North America (e.g., Caldwell 1964; Seeman 1995; Struever 1964), in their local cultural manifestations (e.g., Greber 1976, 1997; Pacheco 1996), and in the local and interregional ecological–evolutionary foundations of Middle Woodland cultures (e.g., Braun 1986; Dancey 1996a; Ford 1974; Struever 1964:96–105; Wymer 1987a). The most basic issue of whether Hopewell was an interregional, a local, or a multiscalar phenomenon has yet to be settled, let alone its specific sociocultural features and the particular cultural, historical, and natural factors that led to it.

Although a consensus on what constitutes Hopewell remains at a distance, in recent

decades, one professional view of it has become especially popular. In that view, Hopewell is seen as the practices, ideas, and material–symbolic representations, especially religious and social ones, that were shared widely among Middle Woodland societies of eastern North America. These widely distributed cultural forms are contrasted with more variable, local secular and domestic cultural traditions. The dichotomy is rooted historically in Caldwell’s (1964) and Struever’s (1964, 1965) definition of Hopewell as an interregional, religious or socioreligious phenomenon apart from local cultural ways, especially subsistence and settlement practices.

Significantly, by conceiving of Hopewell in interregional terms, and as different in kind from local culture, modern archaeologists have often inadvertently constrained the scope of Hopewellian research. Three trends are apparent. (1) There has been a tendency to *decontextualize* Hopewell—to take it out of its local contexts. (2) There has been a stronger trend to *impersonalize* Hopewell—to remove it from the social actors and roles that produced it at given locales. (3) As a consequence of both of the first two constraints, the ability of archaeologists to *generate*

panregional Hopewell from local dynamics, and to understand it in a bottom-up fashion, has been diminished.

This chapter has two goals. First is to provide a conceptually broad, historical review of what has been said about the nature of Hopewell in anthropological terms in recent decades. This review serves as a backdrop to the chapter's second goal: to delineate some research issues in Hopewell archaeology that remain largely unexplored and that seem fundamental today. Especially key here are topics that locally contextualize and personalize Hopewell and that generate its interregional manifestations from local scenes. Both discussions, of historical viewpoints and of current fundamental issues, provide a context for understanding why the studies presented in this book have been undertaken and their significance.

This chapter begins by expanding the currently popular definition of Hopewell to include not only interregional socioreligious practices, ideas, and material forms, but also their local socioreligious counterparts and variant expressions. An "interregional Hopewell" and a "local Hopewell" are defined, and significantly so as to overlap in their cultural characteristics rather than be qualitatively distinct. This inclusion of certain local socioreligious ways within the concept of Hopewell is reasonable when one realizes that the specific means by which Hopewellian practices, ideas, and symbols came to be disseminated across multiple traditions—possibly through pilgrimage, travel to buy ceremonial rites from distant peoples, and intermarriage, to name a few—by definition were aspects of local cultural practices as much as they were interregional forms of interaction, and involved persons who were motivated by local cultural ideas, practices, and natural conditions. A conceptual framework that acknowledges both the local and the interregional faces of Hopewellian ways also naturally encourages the investigation of local peoples originating, following, and/or modifying interregionally known practices and beliefs—the active generation of interregional Hopewellian patterns from local cultural contexts.

In light of this revised, locally sensitive conceptualization of Hopewell, previous under-

standings of it are then reviewed for whether they have been personalized with actors in roles, have contextualized Hopewell in local society, culture, and history, and have generated Hopewell in its interregional guise from local human needs and motives. The review shows that although some research over the last 40 years has contextualized Hopewell in local practices and ideas, rarely has it been personalized with social actors in known roles, relations, and numbers, and seldom have interregional cultural distributions been explained with reference to actors and motivations at the local level, other than generalized ecological matters like subsistence risk (Braun 1986; Ford 1974; Hall 1973) and surplus (Struever 1964). For example, absent or rare from the literature are attempts to empirically establish the particular roles of Hopewellian leaders in ceremonial and secular affairs; the gender, totemic group, community, or rank group affiliations of leaders; the social compositions of ceremonial gatherings; or the social, political, religious, and/or personal agendas of those individuals who, by one means or another, came to spread Hopewellian goods, practices, and ideas interregionally. Such omissions in the personalizing and generating of Hopewell cannot be attributed to a silent archaeological record, for Hopewellian mortuary, architectural, and artifactual stylistic data are ripe with sociological details. Instead, these kinds of lacunae can be shown to have originated in Caldwell's and Struever's influential definition of Hopewell as an interregional phenomenon separate from local culture.

At the same time, certain modern studies are found here to have given Hopewell local expression, and these help to identify key topics for further work through which a locally contextualized, personalized, and generated "Hopewell" can be explored. The studies include ones by Buikstra, Carr, Charles, Greber, Griffin, Pacheco, Prufer, Smith, and Wymer. The fruitful topics to which their works point are local community organization, local social organization, ceremonies and other activities that were performed within and around ceremonial centers, the nature of ceremonies in the daily domestic sphere and their relationships to those in the corporate sphere, the organizational diversity of Hopewellian societies

over the Eastern Woodlands, and the religious basis for the spread of Hopewellian ideas and practices across the Woodlands. An additional subject that is suggested here for future study is the worldviews and more specific religious beliefs of local Hopewellian traditions, and the elements of these that were or were not shared across the Woodlands. All of these topics are the focus of the remaining chapters of this book, where fine-grained reconstructions of local and interregional Hopewellian ways are assembled.

Let me be clear at the outset that the review provided here is not intended as a criticism of the agendas, fieldwork, and/or ideas of specific individuals or traditions of past archaeological research. It is a suite of observations, presented instead as a heuristic means for searching out topics of inquiry on Hopewell that are now wanting and through which the discipline can grow. Sciences typically move from one topic of active investigation to another, and seldom are holistic, integrative, and complete in their viewpoint at any single point in time. One would naturally expect that the anthropological archaeological exploration of Hopewell would follow this general pattern, and that varying topics would be emphasized or left unexplored during specific eras of research. This chapter is offered in the spirit that growth in an academic discipline is encouraged by its self-reflection and the bringing of its perspectives, their strengths, and their limitations to consciousness.

My observations on Joseph Caldwell's and Stuart Struever's concepts of Hopewell and the Hopewell Interaction Sphere, in particular, which are central to this chapter, are offered in this light. Midwestern archaeologists owe a special debt to Caldwell and Struever, whose thoughts about Hopewell have stimulated and guided a tremendous amount of work on the subject across Eastern North America for forty years.

A PERSPECTIVE ON DEFINITIONS OF HOPEWELL

“Interregional Hopewell” and “Local Hopewell” Defined

To understand the nature of Caldwell's and Struever's definition of Hopewell and its role

in guiding recent research, it is first necessary to make a formal, heuristic distinction between, what I call here, interregional Hopewell and local Hopewell. *Interregional Hopewell* is defined here to have been comprised of the cultural practices (especially social and ritual), the ideas or meta-ideas (especially social and religious), and their material-symbolic representations that are generally similar and were shared among two or more Middle Woodland traditions across the midcontinent. In contrast, *local Hopewell* was the local counterpart or particular variant of expression of some of those widely spread cultural practices, ideas, and forms. In some cases, local Hopewellian practices, ideas, and forms were one and the same as those constituting interregional Hopewell. In most cases, however, as shall be shown in this book, they were local interpretations or expressions of practices, ideas, and forms obtained from other regional cultural traditions (see especially Chapters 10, 11, and 17 through 20). Commonly, local Hopewell was a reworking of only select elements of a set of practices, ideas, and/or forms from one or more other regional traditions into a local form; and the reworking was sometimes quite intensive, and the resulting practices, ideas, and/or forms were sometimes similar to their ancestral ones in only a superficial and most general way (e.g., Chapter 18).

In this view, which is empirically supported by the studies in this book and cited literature, interregional Hopewell was a composite of multiple, diverse kinds of practices, ideas, and symbols, which had their origins in multiple, differing regional traditions and were shared or operated at multiple, different supraregional scales (e.g., Seeman 1995). Interregional Hopewell was not a single, coherent entity (contra Caldwell 1964; Struever 1964; Struever and Houart 1972). In contrast, local Hopewellian practices, ideas, and symbols within a single regional tradition probably meshed together more closely. Although they may have had diverse culture historical origins, they were culturally selected relative to local culture and each other within an operating, local cultural system.

These two definitions have several important implications. First, notice that *both* interregional and local Hopewell are conceived of as

being similar in nature—social, religious, and symbolic—rather than qualitatively distinct. For example, interregional Hopewell included the ritual procurement or trade of various raw materials (Brose 1990; Seaman 1979), and may have involved the buying and selling of rites to ceremonies and paraphernalia among different peoples (Penney 1989), the practices of spirit adoption (Hall 1997), pilgrimage (Ruby and Shriener Chapter 15), and/or other mechanisms of interregional interaction. Yet each of these socioreligious interregional practices would also have had local socioreligious, (i.e., “local Hopewellian”) manifestations, because they originated from or occurred within local social and ritual contexts. For example, the traveling of a person a great distance to buy and learn a ceremonial rite and how to make ceremonial paraphernalia in a prescribed style (e.g., Hopewell ware) from a member of another society would constitute “interregional Hopewell” in the sense of a process of socioreligious interaction of two distant parties as well as the resultant sharing of ceremony and paraphernalia by them. At the same time, the ceremonies and paraphernalia would have been used locally, within local sociocultural contexts, by both parties, constituting “local Hopewell”. It would be illogical, then, to define a social, religious, and symbolic “Hopewell” at only the interregional scale, without local counterparts and qualitatively distinct from local culture. This conclusion is very relevant to, and in contrast with, how Caldwell (1964) and Struever (1964, 1965) defined Hopewell—as an interregional-scale phenomenon different in kind from and apart from local culture—as described below.

Second, local Hopewell is defined here as a local “variant” of an interregionally distributed practice/idea/form or as a “counterpart” of an interregional practice/idea/form. The concept of variants is easy to understand. For example, metal-jacketed panpipes are a widespread, interregional Hopewellian form, but they appear to have served somewhat different ceremonial roles in different Hopewellian traditions (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18). The concept of the counterpart is less obvious. It suggests that certain local practices are impossible to separate operationally from their interregional counterparts, and that the concept of local variants is ir-

relevant to them. For example, persons who may have traveled to far-off ceremonial centers on interregional pilgrimages—a potential form of interregional interaction that is recognized by archaeologists as “Hopewellian” from an interregional perspective—would have taken their pilgrimages in accord with local social and religious ideas about pilgrimage and as a part of local cultural practice. The practice of taking a pilgrimage interregionally *was* a local practice. For this and some other kinds of interregional interaction, it is not possible to isolate the interregional from the local—they are virtually the same activity. If the practice is termed “Hopewellian” from an interregional perspective, then a local Hopewell must also exist. As we will see, this equivalency of interregional and local Hopewell in some situations was not envisioned by Caldwell (1964) and Struever (1964, 1965) when they defined Hopewell from an interregional view.

Finally, in locating Hopewell both locally and interregionally, it is also essential to see various facets of it having had a place in both the local corporate ceremonial sphere and the local domestic domain. The occurrence of some standardly recognized interregional “Hopewell Interactions Sphere” items in both mortuary and domestic sites calls our attention to interregional Hopewellian concepts and ceremonies having had expression not only in local corporate-ceremonial centers, but also in local settlements. Examples of items found in both domains include mica, copper, obsidian, galena, bear canines, figurines, fancy pottery, and pipes in Illinois (Carr 1982a:229-236; Stafford and Sant 1985:175); mica, copper, galena, figurines, and fancy pottery in Indiana (Keller and Carr, Chapter 11; Kellar 1979:105-106); and mica, copper, ornaments of mica and copper, bear canines, figurines, and fancy pottery in Ohio (Dancey and Pacheco 1997b, esp. Kozarek 1997:138 therein; Pruffer et al. 1965). Likewise, the finding of tobacco seeds at the Smiling Dan settlement in Illinois (Asch and Asch 1985a:384-386) and of smoking pipes in corporate ceremonial and mortuary contexts reinforces the view of Hopewellian ritual in the local domestic sphere. In this book, the roles of terra cotta figurines in both domestic rituals and corporate ceremonial ones are considered

(Keller and Carr, Chapter 11). One can ponder the degree to which other interregionally similar Hopewellian concepts, rituals, and symbols in corporate ceremonial contexts were played out in local domestic and “utilitarian” contexts: for example, as expressed in the isomorphism between copper celts placed in burials and mortuary caches of northern Hopewellian traditions, stone celts used in clearing forests to build earthwork or mound centers and their extensive wooden architecture, and stone celts used in clearing the swidden garden plots of dispersed Ohio Hopewell hamlets (Bernardini and Carr, Chapter 17). Native American philosophical-religious ideas and meta-ideas, some shared widely over broad parts of the continent (Gill 1982), historically were woven into the fabric of both corporate and domestic social, economic, political, and technological practices. It is reasonable to envision the same for Hopewellian life, particularly in light of archaeological evidence of the kinds just mentioned.

In sum, it seems appropriate conceptually and empirically to define both an interregional and a local Hopewell, and to define them so as to share cultural characteristics rather than being qualitatively distinct. By doing so, one can very naturally explore a local people originating, following, and/or modifying interregionally distributed and more or less similar practices and beliefs. In this way, interregional Hopewell can be contextualized, personalized, and generated in relation to local Hopewell.

Caldwell and Struever’s Definitions of Hopewell

Historically, the characteristics of interregional Hopewell and local Hopewell as defined above were not made by Caldwell (1964:138) and Struever (1964:88, 1965:216–218) in their definition of a Hopewell Interaction Sphere. Both Caldwell and Struever defined the Hopewell Interaction Sphere at the interregional level *apart* from more local cultural traditions and practices. In particular, they separated “religious,” “mortuary–ceremonial,” and “logistical” or “exchange” practices that were shared interregionally among peoples from local “secular,” “domestic,” and societal matters (especially

subsistence and settlement) that differed among peoples:

Having pondered some time the nature of the historical situation represented by Hopewellian materials, it seemed to me that the salient features were two: striking regional differences in the secular, domestic, and non-mortuary aspects of the widespread Hopewellian remains; and an interesting, if short, list of exact similarities in funerary usages and mortuary artifacts over great distances. Secular regional differences fitted the idea that there were a number of regional traditions (culture areas in depth) involved in the situation. . . . Exact similarities in mortuary materials which held a significant number of instances seemed to fit, on the other hand, a conception of various societies in interaction. The shared items, which indicate the interactions, are principally mortuary-ceremonial or ‘religious.’ Whatever the exact nature of the connections established among these societies, they were of a mortuary-ceremonial or religious kind. (Caldwell 1964:138)

It has been noted that certain Middle Woodland complexes share what are termed Hopewellian items. . . . These distinctive artifacts appear to have functioned primarily in a social subsystem in which they were associated with high-status positions. Significantly, however, artifacts associated with subsistence activities often differ stylistically between these same regional expressions. . . . These riverine groups . . . participated in a system of exchange by means of which the diagnostic Hopewellian forms circulated among them. The term “Hopewellian interaction sphere” was coined to describe this phenomenon. (Struever 1965:216–218)

Thus, the definition of “Hopewell” offered by Caldwell and Struever contrasts distinctly from the definitions offered here. The concept of Hopewell as a religious, social, and material symbolic phenomenon was associated by Caldwell and Struever with the interregional scale, did not explicitly give a conceptual place to Hopewellian socioreligious ideas, practices, and symbols at the local level, and did not envision the equivalency of some interregional-scale practices with local cultural behavior (e.g., the pilgrimage case of “counterparts”, above).

Caldwell’s and Struever’s characterizations of the formal organization of similarities and

differences among Middle Woodland archaeological records were influential because they gave archaeologists a clear format for describing the record in its multidimensional and multiscalar complexity and for interpreting it. However, by defining an interregional Hopewell (religious or economic) that was different in *kind* from local culture, they also inadvertently took interregional Hopewell out of its local context (i.e., decontextualized it) and removed it from local social actors and roles (i.e., impersonalized it). Their envisioning interregional Hopewell as qualitatively distinct from local societies has also made it logically difficult to generate interregional Hopewell from local dynamics, bottom-up.

Struever came closer than did Caldwell to defining a locally contextualized Hopewell in some places:

It is clear from the evidence that considerable local reinterpretation of diagnostic Hopewell artifact forms and ideological concepts (as reflected chiefly in the structure of burial) occurred. (Struever 1964:88)

And again,

It tends to be overlooked that, while final disposition of Hopewell items was usually in the graves of selected dead, this neither makes these specifically mortuary goods nor indicates that *the various local expressions* were part of any pan-regional burial complex or cult. There is ample evidence . . . that typical Hopewell finished goods and raw materials were *kept and utilized in the community* where they were frequently lost. In short, the artifacts and materials circulated within the Hopewell Interaction Sphere were not mortuary items per se. It is better to conceive of them as status-specific objects which *functioned in various ritual and social contexts within community life*. (Struever 1964:88; emphases added)

In addition, Struever (1968a:307–308) recognized the place of both “regional exchange centers” (e.g., Mound House site) and “mortuary camps” for specialized, burial mound-focused activities (e.g., Peisker site) within the Havana subsistence-settlement system. He attempted to articulate regional and local aspects of Hopewell in this way. At the same time, however, the pri-

mary thrust of Struever’s (1964, 1965) view was that a Hopewell Interaction Sphere, at first undefined in nature by him and then seen by him as an exchange system, was distinct from and spanned local cultures of markedly different social organization and social practices.

In their later work on the Hopewell Interaction Sphere, Struever and Houart (1972) gave more attention to local Hopewell and to connecting local Hopewellian practices and interaction with interregional Hopewellian interaction. This was done in two ways. First, they described differences among local traditions in the kinds of Interaction Sphere raw materials that were accumulated and worked in them (Struever and Houart, p. 57, table 1). Within Ohio, they used this kind of evidence to posit the specialized production of artifacts made of different raw materials by different earthwork centers (Struever and Houart, p. 68–73). Second, Struever and Houart proposed a hierarchical network of raw material exchange that ranged in scale from the interregional through the interlocal to the intralocal. Hypothetical regional transaction centers, local transaction centers, and supporting local settlements were identified (Struever and Houart, p. 64). However, the point of these discussions was not to detail local Hopewellian exchange and cultural life (i.e., to place Hopewell in a local context), but to suggest how interregional distributions of interaction sphere goods had come to be. This emphasis of Struever and Houart’s on the interregional is evidenced in the framing, introductory, and concluding statements of their article and the bulk of attention given in it to interregional-scale patterning.

Immediate Impacts of Caldwell’s and Struever’s Views

Caldwell’s and Struever’s interregional-focused definition of Hopewell had a strong role in setting the agenda of research on Hopewell thereafter. This can be seen in two broad, historical trends. First is the great array of studies after 1964 that focused on interregional Hopewellian “exchange” of raw materials (Brose 1990; Carr and Sears 1985; Goad 1978, 1979; Hatch et al. 1990; Hughes 2000; Spence and Fryer 1990,

1996; Struever and Houart 1972; Walthall 1981; Walthall et al. 1979, 1980), as well as artifacts and ideas (Penney 1989; Smith 1979; Toth 1979). Considerable effort was dedicated in the benchmark conference on Hopewell at Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1978, to “external relationships”, as evidenced in paper titles such as “The Hopewell Connection in Southwest Georgia” and “The Marksville Connection”. Debate over the cultural nature of Caldwell’s and Struever’s interregional Hopewell Interaction Sphere (Griffin 1965; Hatch et al. 1900; Seeman 1979a; Struever and Houart 1972) was a dominant topic for more than fifteen years, and remains strong today (e.g., Hughes 2000; Stoltman 2000; Wiant n.d.). In all of these studies, emphasis was placed on linkages between specific, distant cultural complexes or the overall structure of the network of “interactions,” rather than on the local practices and conditions that led to the wide distributions of cultural similarities. That which was Hopewell was, to a considerable degree, decontextualized, impersonalized, and not derived from within local societies.

The identification of “Hopewell” with the interregional scale, and specifically with interregional interaction, from 1964 onward, was well expressed by Seeman (1979a):

The Hopewell phenomenon is seen currently by many archaeologists as a series of “interaction spheres. . . .” (Seeman, p. 237)

“. . . There has been an increased tendency to view Hopewell sites and complexes as comprising a closely integrated system centering on interregional trade. The current picture is one of a highly complex trading system existing among cultural units with different adaptations, but roughly equivalent levels of cultural development. (Seeman, p. 247–248)

The influence of Caldwell’s and Struever’s interregional definition of Hopewell on the thrust of archaeological research can be seen in a second historical trend. Since 1964, and especially in Illinois, a subtle but significant shift occurred in the terminology and research orientation of archaeologists, from “Hopewell” at the local level to “Middle Woodland” at the local level. “Hopewell” was relegated to an interregional

phenomenon and removed from local culture: “a distinction exists between the Middle Woodland regional traditions and Hopewell” (Struever and Houart 1972:49). This change was not simply one of referring to local Hopewellian societies by time period rather than cultural affiliation, but a more fundamental, practical narrowing of research on local cultural systems from whole systems to subsistence and settlement. For example, whereas Deuel (1952) and colleagues investigated “Hopewellian communities” in Illinois, including many aspects of their culture in both the domestic and the mortuary realms (see also Griffin 1952b:358–361; Morgan 1952), Struever (1968a) came to focus more narrowly on [Middle] “Woodland subsistence-settlement systems” apart from religious, mortuary–ceremonial, and other aspects of local culture.¹ Subsequent archaeological research in the lower Illinois valley has largely followed suit (e.g., Farnsworth 1973; Farnsworth and Koski 1985; Parmalee et al. 1972; Stafford and Sant 1985; Styles 1981; Zawacki and Hausfater 1969; but see McGimsey and Wiant 1986 and the efforts of Buikstra and Charles discussed below). This change in research orientation derived directly from Caldwell and Struever’s definition of Hopewell as an interregional phenomenon distinct from local culture and the equation of the latter with secular, domestic, and nonmortuary activity, especially subsistence and settlement. In this research trend, that which was Hopewell was not decontextualized and impersonalized as much as it was set aside paradigmatically. This book attempts, in part, to return Hopewell to local domestic contexts and communities.

For greater detail on the history of definitions and concepts of Hopewell by other, earlier researchers and a justification of the new terms, interregional Hopewell and local Hopewell, used here, see Note 2.

HOPEWELL ARCHAEOLOGY AFTER CALDWELL AND STRUEVER

Not all archaeologists of Hopewellian records were heavily influenced by Caldwell’s and Struever’s interregional definition and view of

Hopewell. In the remainder of this historical review, the conceptualization of Hopewell and the research topics of a number of archaeologists who have given Hopewell local expression are presented. These discussions will suggest avenues by which a contextualized, personalized, and generated “Hopewell” can be explored and will evoke some key topics for future work. The suggested topics are summarized at the end of the chapter.

Griffin and Smith

In his later years, Griffin (1967:183–186) clearly defined Hopewell as a local phenomenon, emphasizing local societies, cultural traditions, and their unique and shared ways. For example, Ohio and Illinois Hopewell were seen as “two regional developments [that] followed parallel but distinctive paths, with diffusion of ideas and practices between them” (Griffin 1967:184). Even early in his synthesizing career, he characterized various regional Middle Woodland traditions as Hopewellian or not based on the similarity of their material culture and cultural practices to those of the local Ohio Hopewell tradition (Griffin 1946:72, 1952b:358), not on their having traits that were widely distributed per se. Griffin did not embrace the construct of a Hopewell Interaction Sphere as a reified entity, or tie his definition of Hopewell to it. Griffin also saw the distribution of Hopewellian traits over the Woodlands as attributable to multiple processes that varied among regional traditions, not to a singular, pan-Woodland mechanism. For example, Hopewellian traits in northwestern Indiana and southwestern Michigan were thought to have resulted from a population expansion in the Illinois valley and movement into these areas, whereas Hopewellian traits in the Allegheny valley, New York, and Ontario were considered to reflect either population movements or influence. Exotic raw materials were seen as having been obtained by multiple regional traditions independently of one another, while some finished goods were thought to have been traded from Ohio to distant regional traditions (Griffin 1967:184, 186). In all these ways, Griffin kept Hopewell in its local context.

Two specific examples of Griffin’s ideas show well how he saw Hopewell as a local phenomenon and interregional patterning as derived from local-level practices. First, he took a strong stance that fancy Hopewell ware was not a mortuary-specific ware used solely in mortuary–Interaction Sphere contexts. He repeatedly pointed out the use and deposition of Hopewell ware in domestic areas, as well as its placement in burial mounds with other Interaction Sphere artifact classes (e.g., Griffin 1952a:114–115, 1967:186). The logical correlate of this archaeological distribution is that ceremonies or other cultural practices with an identifiable Hopewellian element occurred locally in both domestic and mortuary–Interaction Sphere contexts—a situation that Griffin directly addressed:

Since the 1840s when Squire and Davis dug in the famous Ohio Hopewell sites, this pottery [Hopewell ware] has been recognized as one of the finest products of the prehistoric potters of the eastern United States. As time went on and additional excavations were made in the Hopewell mound groups, this style of pottery was regarded as *the* typical Hopewell [across the East], because it was associated with burials as part of the funerary deposit. . . . Village site and mound excavations and collections from Illinois in the past twenty years have helped to provide a more acceptable interpretation. As a result of this work, it is perfectly clear that for a period during the life of the Illinois Hopewell culture . . . this pottery style was made not only for use with burials, but also was extensively employed in non-burial facets of the culture. There can be no question but what these carefully made vessels were of more than ordinary significance. They were not, however, limited to a single role in community life. (Griffin 1952a:114–115)

Thus, Griffin linked the funerary with the domestic and bridged a marker of interregional Hopewell as defined here to local Hopewell. (See also Struever 1964:88, quoted above.)

Second, Griffin (1965, 1973) argued directly against Struever’s idea that an interregional exchange system, distinct from local cultures and cultural practices, was responsible for the

occurrence of all kinds of exotic raw materials within Hopewellian mortuary centers. Griffin pointed out that the great majority of obsidian in the Midwest was found in one burial in Ohio, was not redistributed within or outside of Ohio in an exchange network to any significant extent, and more likely was obtained in one or a very few logistical canoe trips from Ohio to the Yellowstone region and back. In this way, the interregional distribution of obsidian away from its sources (interregional Hopewell) was attributed by Griffin to the ceremonial–social actions of individuals at the local level (i.e., local Hopewell) within Ohio. To some degree, Hopewell was contextualized and interregional Hopewell was generated from local Hopewell.

Bruce Smith followed his mentor, James B. Griffin, in retaining a place for Hopewell at the local level, in contextualizing it, and in attempting to derive it from local cultural practices; he also personalized it. Smith (1992) explicitly spoke of “Hopewell society” (Smith, p. 243) at the local level and provided a model of its organization. He divided Hopewellian societies into two spheres: a corporate–ceremonial sphere, represented by earthwork–mound complexes and their features, and a domestic sphere, constituted by small farming settlements around the earthwork–mound centers. Instead of associating the earthwork–mound complexes with an interregional Hopewell Interaction Sphere and the farming settlements with regional Middle Woodland traditions, Smith envisioned both earthworks and domestic sites a part of whole, local Hopewellian societies and called both “Hopewell.” Thus, he spoke of “Hopewellian farming settlements” (Smith, p. 210, 240); “Hopewellian domestic life” (Smith, p. 213). “Hopewellian farming economies” (Smith, p. 215), and “Hopewellian farmers of Eastern North America” (Smith, p. 201). In these ways, Hopewell was contextualized. Smith (Smith, p. 210–211) also enumerated four kinds of ceremonial activities undertaken in local corporate–ceremonial spheres: mortuary programs, corporate labor, production of ceremonial items for burial and exchange, and redistribution/feasting. By focusing on local ceremonial activities, a more personalized view of

Hopewell was presented. Finally, Smith (Smith, p. 211, 213) provided a linkage between the corporate–ceremonial and the domestic spheres of Hopewell societies and allowed the derivation of the corporate from the domestic. For example, he pointed out that the small, single-wall-post, circular building that is a part of the Big House under the Edwin Harness mound, as well as other simple corporate–ceremonial buildings, resemble domestic buildings outside of the earthworks in their general form and/or size.

Ohio Archaeologists and Archaeology

Another intellectual tradition that continued to explore local Hopewell, despite Caldwell’s and Struever’s guiding viewpoints, is comprised of many Ohio archaeologists from the 1960s to the present. In general, it has been easier for Ohio archaeologists than others to remain focused on local Hopewell and to keep the concept of Hopewell contextualized, in contrast to emphasizing the external, interregional side of Hopewell. This has been the case because the elaborate Ohio archaeological record has long served as a benchmark to which other local traditions were compared when classifying them as Hopewellian, rather than vice versa.

The emphasis of Ohio archaeologists on local Hopewell, and their contextual study of Hopewell, is well illustrated by the works of Olaf Prufer, who was writing at the same time as Struever and Caldwell. Prufer studied all aspects of Ohio Hopewell life as a cultural whole: material culture (artifacts, mounds, earthworks), subsistence, settlement, social organization, religion, various culture-specific practices (e.g., mortuary practices), and physical anthropology. Beginning in his dissertation with a broad comparative study of ceremonial–mortuary remains in Ohio (Prufer 1961a), Prufer (1967) went on to make ground surveys for settlement pattern information on domestic sites, excavated one domestic site, which resulted in a view of subsistence and site function (Prufer et al. 1965), and came full circle to describe the integration of the domestic and ceremonial spheres in what he called the “vacant ceremonial center–dispersed agricultural hamlet” pattern of settlement (Prufer 1964a,

1964b; Prufer et al. 1965). External relationships to other Hopewellian phases and trade were a small part of his studies (Prufer 1961a:714–724, 744–747).

Prufer (1964b:93; Prufer et al. 1965:131) concluded, like Caldwell (1964) and Struever (1964), that interregionally shared mortuary practices and material culture during the Middle Woodland evidenced a “ceremonial idea system” or “cult” that “spread independently, or at least largely so, of other cultural elements.” He went on to add that interregional exchange was a means by which the religion was spread and vitalized (Prufer 1964b:94, 98; Prufer et al. 1965:132). However, rather than contrasting an interregional Hopewell with local Middle Woodland subsistence-settlement practices, as had Caldwell and Struever, Prufer envisioned the interregionally shared religion operating *within* the local Ohio cultural system. He spoke of “the Ohio Hopewell people” (Prufer 1964b:95) and “Hopewell habitation sites” in Ohio (Prufer, p. 95). For Prufer (1961a:725–726, 1964a:55–59, 1964b:97; Prufer et al. 1965, 133; contra Griffin 1971:239), the local socio-cultural system was composed of indigenous Ohio peoples as well as ceremonial and craft specialists of the Hopewell cult, who had probably migrated from Illinois, both groups of which were thought to have depended on each other.³

Prufer’s integrated, contextually rich view of the local side of Hopewell has been carried on and refined by Paul Pacheco (1993, 1996; Pacheco and Dancey n.d.). Pacheco made a ground survey of one cluster or “community” of dispersed settlements around the small Granville earthworks in the central Muskingum valley, described two similar clusters with associated minor earthworks in the Dresden and Upper Jonathan Creek areas of the Muskingum, and integrated this information with excavation views of several settlements within these clusters and elsewhere (e.g., Dancey 1991; Morton and Carskadden 1987). The three communities occurred around the massive Newark earthworks, enabling Pacheco to propose a model Newark polity comprised of multiple dispersed communities and minor earthworks and comple-

mentary to other major earthwork centers in the Scioto valley, i.e., peer polities (Renfrew 1986). Pacheco (1993:45–53) further contextualized Hopewell in the local scene by relating the dispersal of Ohio communities to spatial structuring of the natural Ohio environment and to their generalized niche as swidden horticulturalists–hunters–gatherers.

Pacheco (1993:40–45, 1996:22–24) made his view of local Ohio Hopewell dispersed communities more personal by suggesting their analogy to ethnographically described Mapuche (Dillehay 1990) and Chachi (DeBoer and Blitz 1991) dispersed communities. He noted that the Mapuche’s local lineages were tied to defined territories and organized through marriage alliances, and pointed out the variety of social, economic, and religious activities (marriages, burials, other rites of passage, ancestor worship, feasting, dancing) that occur in Mapuche and/or Chachi centers and help to integrate the dispersed populations. In attempting to understand the kinds of activities that occurred at Hopewell ceremonial centers and their linkage to those who lived in surrounding, dispersed settlements, Pacheco’s efforts to personalize and contextualize local Hopewell are similar to Bruce Smith’s (1992; see above). Pacheco has not tried to link local Ohio Hopewell to interregional interaction as did Prufer.

William Dancey, the close colleague and mentor of Pacheco’s, was the first to excavate the layout of an Ohio Hopewell settlement (Dancey 1991) and fruitfully oriented Pacheco toward a community organization approach to the Ohio record (Dancey and Pacheco 1997b). Unlike Pacheco’s interests and efforts, however, Dancey’s have focused almost completely on issues of domestic settlements and their change from a dispersed, Middle Woodland pattern to an aggregated, early Late Woodland pattern (Dancey 1988, 1992, 1996a). He has not published on the linkage between the corporate–ceremonial and the domestic spheres of local Hopewell or attempted to contextualize it in this way, as have Pacheco, Prufer, and Smith. Nor has Dancey personalized the local Ohio Hopewell record with ethnographic analogs or a consideration of social roles. Dancey’s research

efforts and his approach to archaeology stem from his strongly neo-Darwinian viewpoint (e.g., Dancey 1996a; Pacheco and Dancey n.d.), which was championed by his mentor, Robert Dunning (1980, 1989), coupled with classic settlement pattern and subsistence-settlement system methodology (Binford 1964a; Struever 1968a; Winters 1969). Neo-Darwinian approaches have no place for motivated social actors, nor does Dancey's. In his words, "Understanding the complexity of local culture histories does not require . . . creating ethnographic-like archaeological cultures" (Dancey 1996a:398).

DeeAnne Wymer, a close colleague of Pacheco's and a student of Dancey's, has focused on a line of research complementary to theirs, which has helped to contextualize Hopewell locally. Through detailed studies of the paleoethnobotanical records of five domestic Middle Woodland settlements and two domestic Early Late Woodland settlements in the Licking and Ohio River valleys, Wymer (1992, 1996, 1997) documented the largely stable pattern of use of plant foods over time in Ohio. In fact, contrary to the pattern in Illinois (Wymer 1992:199–205, 211–247), which has previously served to model subsistence change in the Midwest Riverine area (Ford 1974, 1979), usage of nut resources (nut shell density) in Ohio increased somewhat from the Middle to the Early Late Woodland, and reliance on seeds (seed density) decreased. Wymer (1992) used these data to argue that Hopewellian interaction at the local and interregional scales was not undertaken by local populations to buffer themselves from variability in subsistence resources but, instead, for other reasons, perhaps simply religious–ceremonial in nature.

Wymer's specific logic was as follows. Ford (1974, 1979:235–237) had posed that nuts were primary to the diet of Middle Archaic through Middle Woodland peoples because of the productivity of nuts in the environment and their relative ease of gathering; however, they also were unpredictable in their masts from year to year. As Archaic and Woodland peoples became more sedentary, as their populations grew for biological and social reasons, as their gathering territories shrank and they had fewer alternative nut groves within their lands, they were more

impacted by annual variation in nut mast production. Trade of food for valuables among neighboring communities, as well as increased cultivation and domestication of seedy plants as a supplement to nut resources, obviated the problem. One result was the development of Late Archaic, down-the-line exchange networks, their elaboration into an interregional Hopewell Interaction Sphere in the Middle Woodland—which symbolically and politically supported local leaders who had a knack for facilitating local trade and subsistence scheduling (Braun 1986:121; Ford 1974). A second result was increasing reliance on more work-intensive but predictable starchy seeds, as evidenced in paleoethnobotanical remains in Illinois. Wymer's paleoethnobotanical data from Ohio do not fit Ford's model, which was based on the Illinois record. This caused her to look beyond subsistence and demography for an understanding of Hopewellian interaction and the nature of Hopewell, and to suggest the importance of religious–ceremonial factors. Thus, Wymer's studies have opened the door to exploring Hopewell in its social, ceremonial, symbolic, and religious ideological guises at the local level.

Among the most contextualized recent studies and interpretations of Hopewell in northern Midwestern societies are those of N'omi Greber and Christopher Carr on Ohio Hopewell and Jane Buikstra and Douglas Charles on Illinois Hopewell. Greber was a doctoral student of David Brose, who was mentored by Griffin. Trained in an approach to Hopewellian archaeology that emphasized the integrity of regional traditions, Greber has produced a series of contextually rich studies, starting with her dissertation. This she entitled *Within Ohio Hopewell* (Greber 1976) specifically so as to contrast with the archaeological emphasis at the time on external, interregional relationships among Hopewellian traditions and the Hopewell Interaction Sphere.

Three topics of research undertaken by Greber over the last 20 years exemplify her concern for contextualizing local Hopewell. First are her reconstructions of local Ohio Hopewellian social structures through mortuary analyses of burial mounds at four sites: Seip, Ater, and Turner (Greber 1976, 1979a) and Hopewell

(Greber and Ruhl 1989). These studies identified two or three fundamental, spatially definable social segments within each mound, and documented differences and/or similarities in the artifact classes, age groups, and sex ratios among the social segments within each mound. The tripartite intramound organization at Seip was seen to echo the tripartite embankment architecture of Seip and four neighboring earthworks, giving a contextualized sense of a local social organizational and ceremonial tradition. Greber gave some attention to buried individuals with extraordinary accompaniments but did not go so far as to define specific kinds of social identities and roles, their relative prestige, principles of recruitment to social identities, or connections with local Hopewellian ceremonialism—one of the thrusts of this book. Instead, in line with paradigmatic goals of the time (J. A. Brown 1971, 1979), Greber attempted to describe the overall social structure and complexity of Hopewellian societies. Her approach to describing Hopewellian society was static, structural, and group-focused (Greber 1979a:37), in the mold of British and American social structural studies of Evans-Pritchard (1940) and Murdock (1949a), rather than dynamic, organizational, and individual-oriented, like the more modern works of Firth (1951), Goffman (1959, 1969), Goode-nough (1965), and Nadel (1957). Yet her work was clearly contextually rich. Greber's specific conclusions about whether Hopewellian societies were rank in structure, and their organizational diversity over space, are open to a number of criticisms and to debate (Carr, Chapter 7), but the topics that she addressed are in the range of the contextually sensitive ones considered in this book.

The second research topic of Greber's (1996) that has contextualized local Hopewell, and that also begins to personalize it, is the various kinds of deposits that recur in several earthwork-mound centers across Ohio, or that are unique. Considering the sizes, contents, and locations of the deposits led her to suggest their origin in rituals that were attended by varying numbers of people and scheduled with different periodicities within an overarching, cyclical ritual calendar. Importantly, the largest cycle was

thought by Greber to be evidenced in archaeological features (complementary pairings) that occur in the Miami, central Scioto, lower Muskingum, and Licking drainages, across Ohio, suggesting to her a coherent local and regionally distributed Ohio Hopewell worldview. Here one finds one of the most detailed yet also embracing reconstructions of local Hopewell yet assembled. Greber's qualitative, intuitive study is extended quantitatively, and with sociological information, in Chapter 13, by Carr, Goldstein, and Weets.

The final research topic of Greber's (1997) that has contextualized local Hopewell is her reconstruction of the history of domestic settlement and ceremonial building activities of apparently one local Hopewellian society, represented by the Seip and Baum earthworks. This study was also an explicit attempt by her to link the domestic and corporate-ceremonial spheres. Her arguments were made in four movements. First, she pointed out (Greber, p. 211–212), as did Griffin (see above), that a disjunction cannot be drawn simply between ceremonial and domestic artifacts. Some fancy artifacts such as bear canines, figurines, copper tools, fancy pottery, and cut mica are found in domestic debris in Ohio, as at the McGraw site (Prufer et al. 1965) and, we would add, in many other domestic contexts (see site reports in Dancey and Pacheco 1997b). In her words (Greber 1997, 211–212), “at least portions of the Hopewellian worldview [were] pervasive in the lives of the people.” Obversely, prismatic blades, which may have been used to work mica, pipestone, and bone, also are known from use-wear studies to have been applied to many ordinary materials for utilitarian purposes. Clusters of these tools within earthworks like Seip may simply indicate, in Greber's view, secular work areas within the earthworks. Second, through a study of the distribution of middens and artifact-free earths within the Seip-Pricer mound and the embankments at Seip, as well as an instance of reversed stratigraphy, Greber (p. 213–214) argued for considerable domestic activities within the earthworks—on the order of 15 to 20 times those represented by the McGraw site.⁴ She (Greber, p. 216) also speculated that once the circular embankment was built around the Seip-Pricer

mound, the enclosed area was no longer acceptable for settlement and domestic activities. Many clusters of domestic debris outside of the Seip enclosure were noted. Third, Greber (p. 215) proposed a 12 to 14-generation history of wooden and earthen construction and ceremony at Seip. She inferred variations through time in the numbers of extended families who were involved in these activities, making her reconstruction more personal. Finally, taking a broader geographic and temporal view, Greber (p. 216–220) speculated that the neighboring, similarly shaped, tripartite earthworks of Seip and Baum were the products of one society, which had domestic settlements throughout the area and moved its ceremonial center and corporate rituals from Seip to Baum, nine kilometers down Paint Creek valley.⁵ The move was suggested by Greber (p. 219) to relate to a multigenerational, two-part calendrical cycle, which is also indicated in her eyes by the pairing of other, similarly shaped earthworks in the North Fork and Scioto valleys. Three pairings of earthworks, the calendrical cycle thought to be indicated by them, and the similar, tripartite shapes of five of them, suggested to Greber (p. 220) the existence of overarching design principles and, we would add, a shared worldview. In sum, the fabric that results from the different threads of evidence and argument brought forward by Greber (1997) richly contextualizes local Hopewell, links both its domestic and its corporate–ceremonial sides in terms of settlement and activities, and personalizes it with estimates of the changing numbers of extended families involved in the both the domestic and the ceremonial activities at Seip.

Two studies by Carr and colleagues (Carr and Komorowski 1995; Carr and Maslowski 1995; Hinkle 1984; Yeatts 1990) complement those of Greber in exploring ceremonial interrelations among Hopewellian communities locally in the Scioto drainage in Ohio. Both studies deal with the issues of exchange and alliance formation—one using ceramics from a domestic site, the other using fabrics from earthwork–mound centers. Carr’s study of local community interrelations was a natural outgrowth of the similar interests of his mentor, Richard Ford (1974; see above).

Carr and Komorowski (1995) and Yeatts (1990) documented with electron microprobe and petrographic sourcing methods that a significant percentage (up to ca. 15%) of the coarse utilitarian ceramic vessels and finer, probably ceremonial vessels found at the McGraw settlement was exchanged into the site from other households, some in different valleys and as far as 25 kilometers away and clearly within different earthwork-centered communities. The similarities of both the tempers and the clays of some nonlocally produced, coarse and fine vessels, along with geological patterning, suggested that coarse and fine vessels were sometimes exchanged together and that local utilitarian and valuables exchange sometimes went hand-in-hand, rather than occurred separately in sacred corporate–ceremonial versus profane domestic spheres.

The second study of Carr’s (Carr and Maslowski 1995; Hinkle 1984) examined similarities and differences in the styles of fabrics found in seven mound and/or earthwork sites in the adjacent Scioto, Paint Creek, and North Fork drainages in Ohio. The fabrics may have been part of burial shrouds or clothing, and some from one site (Seip) were part of the structure of a tomb. The analytical results suggest that although social/ethnic distinctions among mound/earthwork “communities” in different drainages were expressed stylistically, these distinctions were secondary in visibility and importance to the marking of regionally recognized distinctions within communities, probably different social strata. In particular, stylistic attributes indicating social/ethnic differences were less visible than those probably indicating social strata. This finding in turn suggests that competition among communities probably was not fierce and continuously negotiated by temporary behavioral strategies such as material exchange, political agreements among elite, and stylistic signaling during intraregional gatherings. Instead, it likely was dampened through more permanent and structural alliance mechanisms such as marriage exchange among communities or their burying their dead together in common cemeteries in a shared Hopewellian, ceremonial way. Also consistent empirically with this conclusion

is the occurrence of some fabrics of one community's style within the burial mounds of another community, for several pairings of sites. However, this pattern could also have resulted from simply intercommunity exchange of fabrics. Both of the studies by Carr and his colleagues attempted to richly contextualize ceremonial aspects of Hopewell at the local level.

Taking a broad look at the works by Prufer, Pacheco, Greber, Carr, and Wymer in Ohio, each has taken a different tack to exploring local Hopewell. Prufer contextualized it and integrated its domestic and corporate-ceremonial spheres by freely moving back and forth in his research among the many facets of the cultural and biological life of Ohio Hopewellian peoples. Pacheco contextualized and integrated the corporate-ceremonial and domestic spheres of local Hopewell from the vantage of domestic settlement patterns, and Greber has done so starting with the earthworks. Carr's works contextualized local Hopewell in both the corporate-ceremonial and the domestic domains but did not interrelate them. All four researchers have provided, in their own way, a closer understanding of local Hopewell. Greber's work has, in addition, gone farthest in personalizing local Hopewell. Only Wymer has argued directly from evidence on local Hopewellian practices to the functioning of interregional Hopewell.

Buikstra and Charles

Coming full circle to Illinois archaeology, Jane Buikstra and Douglas Charles did not conceptualize Hopewell in Caldwell's and Struever's terms, unlike many of their contemporaries. Rather, Buikstra and Charles have given Hopewell local expression and integrated its corporate-ceremonial and domestic spheres. These interpretive results were achieved through the eyes of burial mounds. Specifically, the intraregional-scale, multisite mortuary studies by Buikstra and Charles in the lower Illinois valley have documented local Hopewellian ritual practices and systematically placed them within the context of mobility and settlement patterns, regional population densities and histories of movement, and religious ideology.

Buikstra (1976) and Charles (1995; Buikstra and Charles 1999) noted, as had Struever (1968b; Struever and Houart 1972:61), that Middle Woodland populations in the lower Illinois valley built two kinds of burial places in two different locations. Clusters of conical mounds ($n = 11$) were built on bluff crests, separated from habitation sites. Habitations were often situated at the bluff base below the mounds. These cemeteries lack internal spatial organization. Equally common ($n = 12$) are mound groups on the flood plain, with habitation areas adjacent to them. Half of these mound groups ($n = 6$), however, are unique in being dominated by one or two large, loaf-shaped mounds. In addition, some of the latter groups were organized around a "plaza."⁶

Through her mortuary analyses of the bluff-crest Klunk and Gibson mound groups and the flood plain Peisker and Kamp mound groups, Buikstra (1976:41-44) contextualized Hopewell socially at the local scale. She concluded that mounds of both kinds were used by single societies, and that a limited number of prestigious, perhaps high-ranking individuals from a society were buried in a flood plain mound, while most of the society were buried in bluff-crest mounds. Rules of mortuary treatment; the degree of elaboration of the burials; the ages, sexes, and numbers of burials in the mounds; and biological differences supported her inference. Buikstra also entertained the possibility (Buikstra, p. 44) that those buried in flood plain mounds might have been persons influential in intercommunity relations and the Hopewell Interaction Sphere; she thereby related local Hopewell to regional Hopewell.

More recently, Buikstra and Charles (1999; Charles 1995) have interpreted the dichotomy in cemetery types in explicit ideological and ceremonial terms. Following Gluckman (1937) and Morris (1991), they distinguished two kinds of rituals: ancestor cults and mortuary rituals. Ancestor cults attempt to maintain continuity of the living with the deceased in an afterlife, are internal-group focused in that they emphasize lineage unity and shared property, and reaffirm existing social hierarchies and power relationships. Mortuary rituals, being rites of passage, separate the living from the dead, may involve

one or multiple groups and consequently do not necessarily emphasize group unity, and are the locus of disputes over power arrangements among the living. Both kinds of rituals may be intertwined in a mortuary context. Buikstra and Charles (1999:206–215) associated the Illinois bluff-crest cemeteries with single-group ancestor cults and the flood plain cemeteries with multiple-group mortuary rituals of competitive display “ostensibly dedicated to the ancestors but also deeply involved in negotiations for influence among the living” (Charles, p. 208). Unfortunately, these associations were made primarily on the basis of the Middle Woodland bluff-crest versus flood plain mounds having been analogous in location to Middle Archaic cemeteries (Charles, p. 207–209, 215) that do evidence ritual differences clearly in the content, amount, extralocal sources (Charles 1995:84–85), and caching patterns (Charles and Buikstra 1999:209) of their artifacts. More recently, Charles and Buikstra (2002:12) have pointed to the “continual construction and modification” of the flood plain Mound House site and the low numbers of persons generally buried in flood plain mounds as evidence that political activities of display took precedence over burial of lineage members and ancestor worship in these locations.

Charles (1995:87–89) placed this interpretation in a historical framework of population movement and changing density. From habitation and cemetery distributions, he reconstructed that the lower Illinois valley was settled in the Middle Woodland from north to south after having been largely abandoned in late Early Woodland times. As immigration continued and population densities and competition increased through time, mortuary programs at the bluff-crest cemeteries became more complex (two tracks versus one), possibly separating dominant, original immigrant lineages from subordinate, later-arriving lineages. The ultimate result of this process may have been the establishment of flood plain mound centers by dominant lineages for the burial of their elite and for hosting multicompany earth renewal ceremonies (Buikstra and Charles 1999:215; Buikstra et al. 1998:88; Hall 1979) in which social dominance and competition was played out. In these terms, Hopewell was

contextualized in social and historical processes at the local scale.

Although the studies by Greber and by Buikstra and Charles firmly contextualize Hopewell locally, these researchers focused on the corporate ceremonial sphere, to the near-exclusion of the domestic domain. Greber (1997) did emphasize the overlap between the two spheres (see above), but used domestic remains to reconstruct the architectural history of an earthwork and changing locations of apparent settlement relative to it (Greber, p. 213–214, 216) rather than to infer Hopewellian practices and ideas within settlements. Chapter 11, by Keller and Carr, also attempts to link ritual in the corporate–ceremonial and domestic domains, but with artifactual data.

A VISION FOR NEW DIRECTIONS IN RESEARCH ON HOPEWELL

The above examination of how Hopewell has been defined and consequently researched in recent decades reveals that a locally contextualized, actor-based, and generative approach to investigating it has not often been taken in full. Although local cultural ways have been explored to various degrees, local Hopewellian societies have not been personalized through the definition of social roles occupied by motivated social actors, nor have interregional travel, procurement, and interaction been understood through the eyes of local peoples motivated by local human needs and concerns. Yet a personalized, locally contextualized, and generative approach to Hopewellian material records is logically required if Hopewell is recognized to have been certain local cultural practices, ideas, and material–symbolic representations as much as it was their spread over the midcontinent. Moreover, the specific means by which Hopewellian practices, ideas, and symbols came to be disseminated across multiple traditions—possibly pilgrimage, travel to buy ceremonial rites from distant peoples, and intermarriage, for example—by definition were aspects of local cultural practices as much as they were interregional forms of interaction, and involved persons

who were motivated by local cultural ideas, ways, and natural conditions.

The rarer studies that have taken a locally contextualized approach to Hopewell, as reviewed above, provide leads on fruitful topics for future research on Hopewell. At least six topics can be identified, to be discussed, and each can be enriched in the study of local cultural ways with more personalized and generative viewpoints. While previous considerations of the six topics have, for the main, been fairly general in their anthropological reconstructions of Hopewellian life (but see Greber 1979a, 1996, 1997), finer-grained descriptions and understandings that approach the ethnographic and historical are feasible—what I call “thick prehistory” (Carr and Case, Chapter 1). It takes only a change in goals and the assembly of more comprehensive, relevant archaeological data sets to increase the resolution with which we see the past when a vibrant archaeological record is at hand, as the authors of this book demonstrate.

The first topic of inquiry suggested by previous studies of Hopewell is *local community organization*. Past works have considered the relationship of habitations to mound and/or earthwork ceremonial centers, the relationship of multiple ceremonial centers of the same community to each other historically, and the multisite burial programs of individual communities (Buikstra and Charles 1999; Carr and Maslowski 1995; Charles 1995; Greber 1997; Prufer 1964a, 1964b; B. D. Smith 1992). Such studies can be broadened to include the synchronic, functional differentiation of ceremonial centers within particular local communities, changes in the functions and functional diversity of ceremonial sites over time with changing sociopolitical and ritual organization, and the rise and fall of alliances among neighboring communities that met in each other’s ceremonial centers and participated together in mortuary and/or other rituals, to name a few elaborations. These additional subjects are explored in Chapters 4, 7, 13, and 14.

The second area of study suggested by past work on Hopewell is *local social organization* and the groups that comprised local societies. This topic was initiated by Greber (1976, 1979a;

Greber and Ruhl 1989) for Ohio Hopewell societies and by Braun (1979), J.A. Brown (1981), Buikstra (1976), and Tainter (1975a, 1977) for the Illinois Havana tradition, largely in relation to the question of whether Hopewellian societies were organized by principles of rank. The topic can easily be expanded, given the detail of Hopewellian mortuary records, to encompass questions about the nature and power bases of leadership, clans and their organization, other sodalities and their organization, gender distinctions and roles, the issue of recruitment to leadership and sodality positions, the relation of recruitment success to social conditions such as wealth, prestige, and size of support network, and changes in any of these local social features with regional intersocietal political factors and other conditions. Many of these additional topics are addressed in Chapters 5 through 11 and 14.

The third subject for future study is the nature of the *ceremonies and other activities that were performed within and around ceremonial centers*, as initiated very generally by Bruce Smith (1992) and in some greater detail by Greber (1996) and Seaman (1979b). This subject can be widened to include the varying sizes of ceremonial gatherings, the spectrum of social roles of participants, the geographically local or distant social affiliations of the participants, the functions of such rituals in local cultural terms (e.g., a local calendar of ceremonies) and more broadly in terms of anthropological characterizations of rituals as social processes (e.g., Gluckman 1937; Morris 1991; Turner 1969; van Gennep 1960), and changes in any of these social conditions over time with other aspects of local culture. These matters are discussed in Chapters 12–15.

The fourth topic that is only broached by previous studies of Hopewell but is central to understanding it is the nature of *ceremonies in the daily domestic sphere* and their similarities to, differences from, and relationships to ceremonies in the corporate sphere. Greber (1997) and Griffin (1952a, 1967) both emphasized this bridging of the domestic and corporate worlds but spoke little beyond the artifact classes shared in both arenas. Headway on this topic, in terms of detailed contextual analyses and cultural interpretations, is

made in Chapter 11 for one artifact class—human figurines. The topic is clearly difficult, for the scarcity of telling evidence of rituals in habitation sites. In Ohio, studies of mica, which is the most common fancy raw material in habitation sites there (see site reports in Dancey and Pacheco 1997a, b) and which also is plentiful in mounds and earthwork interiors, may also turn out to be fruitful.

Turning to the broader regional and interregional scales, the fifth subject for future consideration is the *organizational diversity* of Hopewellian societies in the Eastern Woodlands. Systematic investigations of this issue were begun by Struever (1965), in his comparison of Havana and Ohio Hopewell, and by Greber (1979a), in her examination of Hopewell in the Scioto and Little Miami valleys of Ohio and, more locally, within the Scioto valley itself. Here, organizational diversity is reexamined for the Illinois and Ohio comparison in Chapters 6 and 7, within Ohio in Chapters 7, 8, and 10, and broadly, over the entire Woodlands, in Chapter 18.

The final subject of inquiry suggested by past research on Hopewell is the *religious basis* for the spread of Hopewellian ideas and practices across the Woodlands. This possibility was first proposed by Caldwell (1964) from the wide distribution of similar religious artifacts across Hopewellian traditions in the Woodlands, and reiterated with greater specificity by Prufer (1964a), who spoke of a “Hopewell cult.” Later, the role of religion in the dispersal of Hopewell ideas and practices was concluded by Wymer (1992), who found little paleoethnobotanical evidence in the Ohio record for subsistence buffering and exchange as a foundation for such dispersal. In this book, the religious aspects of interregional Hopewell are spelled out more exactly, beginning with an enumeration of several kinds of socioreligious forms of interregional travel, procurement, and interaction that likely occurred across the East in the Middle Woodland period: power and vision quests, pilgrimages to a place in nature or a ceremonial center of spiritual learning, travels of medicine persons and patients, and long-distance buying and selling of religious prerogatives. A general anthro-

pological discussion of these subjects is given in Chapter 16, and examples are presented in Chapters 17 through 20.

Beyond these six areas of fruitful research into which archaeologists have ventured to varying degrees is another—one that is critical and difficult, and has only very recently begun to be tackled. This subject is the *worldviews and more specific religious beliefs* of local Hopewellian traditions and the elements of these that were or were not shared across the Woodlands. Reconstruction of a Hopewellian ideology was first undertaken by Hall (1979), but his approach to the issue has generally been very broad, couched within the larger goal of weaving together the flow of religious ideas across the cultures of the North and Middle American continent and over the millennia. Hall also concerned himself with tracing broad suites of related myths over time and space, rather than verifying specific worldview propositions (e.g., how the four directions were conceived) for a given local tradition. More locally sensitive reconstructions, which have focused on the Ohio material record and specific worldview propositions, have been made by Carr (1996, 1998, 1999b, 2000a) but remain unpublished. In Chapters 17 through 19 of this book, specific worldview propositions of panregional scope are inferred for several artifact forms and raw materials, based on their nature and ethnohistoric information. In Chapter 20, regional variation in the meanings of one kind of raw material—silver—is inferred from the differing characteristics of its sources and the geographic distributions of silver from those sources.

In sum, Hopewellian material remains, in their richness, hold forth great promise for making finer-grained, personalized reconstructions of local societies and cultures, and for understanding how interregional similarities in Hopewellian ways were generated from local needs and motivations. Previous studies that have been sensitive to and focused on local context point toward many potentially fruitful topics for future research, a good number of which are explored in the chapters in this book. Thick prehistories of Hopewell societies are at hand, if only

we take the time to build topically well-focused, locally detailed, and regionally broad data sets and think about them as would an ethnographer and a historian as well as an archaeologist.

CONCLUSION

Archaeologists of the midcontinent have been guided yet also limited in their recent explorations of Hopewell by the way in which it was defined by Caldwell and Struever. By associating the ideological, ceremonial, and material-symbolic dimensions of Hopewell with its interregional guise but not its local expression, and by focusing locally on subsistence and settlement patterns, Caldwell and Struever inadvertently took Hopewell out of its local context, that is, decontextualized it, and removed it from the social actors in social roles who produced it, that is, impersonalized it. Local Hopewellian cultural life as a whole, including its ideological, ceremonial, and material-symbolic aspects in both the corporate and the domestic spheres, and the homologies between these spheres, was thereafter deemphasized in the research of some archaeological circles. Documenting lines of interregional interaction through the styles, chemical sourcing, and distribution of Hopewell Interaction Sphere goods became a central concern.

Some midcontinental archaeologists, most frequent in Ohio, have nevertheless continued to envision and explore local manifestations of Hopewell as a part of local cultural traditions. Very essential topics that they have addressed empirically, in more or less detail, include the organization of local earthwork-mound-settlement communities, local social organization, the activities that occurred within and around ceremonial centers, ceremonies in the domestic sphere, the organizational diversity of Hopewellian societies across the Woodlands, and religious bases for the spread of Hopewellian practices and ideas interregionally. Rarely, however, have such studies personalized local Hopewellian societies and interregional Hopewellian connections with motivated actors in social roles. Nor have interregional

Hopewellian travel, procurement, and interaction been derived from local needs and motivations. It is to the goal of bringing faces to the yet faceless concept of Hopewell that the chapters in this book are dedicated.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: I thank Jim Stoltman for his thoughts and bibliographic guidance on the early history of the Hopewell concept, prior to Caldwell's and Struever's, and for his prompting me to think about the terms, "interregional Hopewell" and "local Hopewell" in light of this literature and taxonomic practice. Note 2, in particular, stems from our discussions, for which I am most grateful.

NOTES

1. For a similar point of view on Struever's focusing of efforts on subsistence-settlement and ecological issues, see Buikstra et al. (1998:10).
2. Caldwell and Struever's dichotomy between a religious or economic interregional Hopewell and secular, domestic, and subsistence-oriented local cultures was a fundamental conceptual break from how Hopewell had been envisioned in prior decades. From the 1930s through the 1950s, the term Hopewell was used in two manners. On the one hand, researchers spoke of "the Hopewell Culture," "Hopewell Culture," "the Hopewellian culture," or "Hopewellian culture" over the span of the Eastern Woodlands (Cole and Deuel 1937:33; Deuel 1952:253; Griffin 1946:60, 1952a:95, 1952b:358, 1967:183; McKern 1931; Morgan 1952:89), or "the Hopewellian" or simply "Hopewellian" as a noun (Bennett 1944:336; Cole and Deuel 1937:199; Griffin 1946:60, 63, 69). This monolithic concept focused on similarities found in archaeological remains across the Woodlands, sometimes using the Ohio record as the standard of comparison (Deuel 1935:430; Griffin 1946:72, 1952b:358; Griffin et al. 1970:5) and sometimes making comparisons more generally among Woodland traditions. On the other hand, distinct, localized, "Hopewellian cultures" or "tribal groups" were recognized, sometimes in their own right (Griffin 1946:60-63, 74; 1952a:95, 1952b:358, 360-361, 1967:181; MacNeish 1944; McKern 1945; Maxwell 1947:26; Morgan 1952:88, 92) and sometimes as "variants" of Ohio Hopewell culture (Deuel 1935; Maxwell 1947:25). These two manners of speaking of Hopewell were formalized by some archaeologists in the terminology of the Midwestern Taxonomic System (McKern 1934, 1939) respectively as a Woodland-wide "Hopewellian Phase" and as various, more localized "Hopewellian Aspects" or "Foci" (Cole and Deuel 1937:203-205; Greenman 1938:327; Griffin 1952b:358; McKern 1946:34; Morgan 1952:88, 92; Quimby 1941;

Ritchie 1937:183). (The McKern system was developed in part to avoid the ambiguous use of the term, *culture* at many different geographic scales [Griffin 1959:382]. The system instead offered the terms *focus*, *aspect*, *phase*, and *pattern*.)

Unlike Caldwell and Struever's concepts, these interregional and more local definitions of Hopewell all encompassed the breadth of culture, rather than a subset of it. For example, Griffin (1952b:358–361), in summarizing “the Hopewellian phase” across the Woodlands, discussed the earthworks, villages, houses, leadership, religious beliefs and practices, ceremonial paraphernalia, clothing, hairstyles, and utilitarian pottery and projectile of Hopewell peoples, as well as their physical type and demography. Likewise, Richard Morgan (1952), reviewing the “Ohio Aspect of the Hopewellian Phase,” described the earthworks, villages, utilitarian tools, weapons, personal and ceremonial ornamentation, clothing, hairstyles, weaving, clans, subsistence, and sense of identity of Hopewellian peoples there. Hopewell culture was not partitioned into interregional and local forms that differed in kind and that encompassed different parts of the cultural spectrum, as Caldwell and Struever went on to do.

At the same time, these early workings with the concept of Hopewell, in covering the breadth of culture, did not emphasize the specific, select kinds of ideas, practices, and material forms that were shared or not shared among different regional traditions; the varying geographic scales over which different ideas, practices, and material forms were shared; their varying geographic origins; and the varying degrees to which they were reworked in different regional traditions. Ultimately, most early concepts of Hopewell directly posited either a unitary, pan-Woodland “Hopewell culture” or “Hopewellian Phase” that pertained to a full spectrum of cultural phenomena, or a more localized “Hopewellian Aspect” or “Hopewellian Focus” that again encompassed a full spectrum of cultural phenomena and that sometimes was related to the pan-Woodland concept. For example, for Deuel (1952), “the Hopewellian culture is known from Western New York to Kansas and Iowa and from Northern Wisconsin to Mississippi and Louisiana. . . . It seems more probable that the territory was divided up into small sovereign areas” (emphasis added). Again, for Griffin (1952b:360),

Ohio Hopewell was a very closely knit area culturally, with marked interchange of specific types made out of identical native or imported raw materials . . . it is possible to suggest that Ohio Hopewell people spoke a common language and probably constituted a tribal unit. . . . To the west . . . were closely related groups of the Hopewellian culture. . . . These groups, again, are so closely connected on the basis of their total cultural complex and have such marked distinctions in many of their materials from Ohio Hopewell that here too one might postulate that there was a sig-

nificant linguistic and tribal grouping. (emphasis added).

Thus, Hopewell at both the interregional and the local scales was culture in its totality, or to the extent observable archaeologically (but see Morgan 1946:74). In contrast, today it is clear that considering the specific and differing kinds of cultural traits that were shared or not shared by varying regional traditions, and the scale of distribution, origin, and reinterpretation of those cultural traits, is absolutely essential to a concept of Hopewell if the diverse behaviors and cultural processes that comprised it are to be unraveled and identified. These qualities are embraced in the concepts of interregional and local Hopewell defined above.

In this book, the fresh terms *interregional Hopewell* and *local Hopewell* are introduced and used in order to avoid the conceptual difficulties enmeshed in earlier definitions of Hopewell by Caldwell, Struever, and their predecessors and to help us to personalize, contextualize, and generate it. Summarizing the arguments made in this note and in the text, the term interregional Hopewell is used instead of Hopewell Interaction Sphere for three reasons: (1) to avoid a misleading placement of religious concepts, practices, and material representations at the interregional level, in contrast to and apart from local subsistence, settlement, and society; (2) to discuss the interregional distributions of Hopewellian elements without a heavy association with interregional material exchange and trade, which are now known to have played a minor role in creating those distributions; and (3) to consider the direct procurement of exotic raw materials by local peoples in addition to interactive mechanisms of raw material procurement, both of which appear from current data to have been equally important. The older terms, Hopewell Culture, Hopewellian culture, the Hopewellian, and such, are not used because they neglect the varying kinds of ideas, practices, and material forms that were shared differentially among regional traditions, that were distributed over varying geographic expanses over the Woodlands, that had different geographic origins, and that were reinterpreted locally in distinct ways. The term local Hopewell is introduced for three reasons: (1) to make clear that broadly spread Hopewellian ideas, practices, and material forms had counterparts in local societies; (2) to help personalize and contextualize Hopewellian ideas, practices, and material forms in local scenes; and (3) in light of these two points, to encourage, in archaeological interpretation, the generation of interregional patterning in Hopewellian ideas, practices, and material forms from their local sources. Finally, our definition of Hopewell at two geographic scales—both the local and the interregional—rather than simply at the latter scale, aids in bridging local processes and patterning to interregional ones.

Our introduction of the terms, interregional Hopewell and local Hopewell, is not intended to solve the taxonomic problems posed by Hopewellian material records in

the everyday workings of Hopewellian archaeology but, instead, addresses conceptual issues at the interpretive level.

3. The cranial typological evidence on which Prufer based this interpretation has been questioned through cranial metric (Jamison 1971) and nonmetric (Reichs 1975) studies, but not firmly refuted.
4. Prufer et al. (1965) estimated very roughly that the McGraw site represented the products of 35 to 45 persons for one generation. About a quarter of this usage would be more in line with modal Hopewellian occupations across the East (Smith 1992:214, 240), provide better estimates where house patterns of the numbers of persons who lived at a site.
5. Greber did not consider an equally strong alternative view, that the Seip and Baum were used simultaneously and had different ceremonial functions. Seip includes burial mounds, whereas Baum does not. This kind of alternative is evaluated in Chapter 4 by Ruby et al. and in Chapter 7 by Carr in this book.
6. Qualifications to this dichotomy are given by Charles et al. (1988:234–238). However, their clarifications are not given weight in their subsequent summaries of findings and anthropological interpretations, which are reviewed here.

Gathering Hopewell

Society, Ritual, and Ritual Interaction

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