

Chapter 13

Contextualizing Preanalyses of the Ohio Hopewell Mortuary Data, II: Associations of Artifact Classes across Burials

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The social and ritual lives of a past people can sometimes be known through the paraphernalia and symbols that individuals used in the course of their social relations and in performing their social roles. Ohio Hopewell diviners, for example, used mica mirrors, reflective galena cubes, transparent quartz and gem bifaces, and obsidian bifaces, individually and together in various combinations. Both the ceremonial functions of the individual artifact classes and the ceremonial use of multiple artifact classes as a set to accomplish particular ritual goals reveal the workings of diviners in Ohio Hopewell societies.

This chapter continues the contextualizing preanalyses that are needed by a researcher to reconstruct the social and ritual lives of Ohio Hopewell peoples and that were begun in Chapter 12. Here, patterns of association and dissociation of many kinds of Ohio Hopewell ritual paraphernalia and symbols of social roles are documented across burials from multiple ceremonial centers. The associations and dissociations are useful to archaeologists in two

ways. First, they can help to identify and confirm the ritual functions and social role associations of the artifact classes. A piece of ritual paraphernalia or a social role marker, by its symbolic nature, may not have a function or role association that is obvious from its form and material composition. Also, an individual kind of Ohio Hopewell paraphernalia or role marker may have historic Woodland Native American analogs that had a wide diversity of uses and role associations and that consequently do not give clear insight into the specific function(s) and role association(s) that the Hopewell artifact class might have had. This situation is very much evident in Table 11.3 and Appendix 11.8. However, if an archaeologist can suggest a range of possible functions of an artifact class from ethnohistoric analogs and/or archaeological hints, and if the artifact class associates systematically in burials with another class of a known specific function, then the range of possible functions of the unknown class can be narrowed to ones equivalent to or complementary to that of the known

artifact class. The presumption in this case is that the two artifact classes were used together by people in some one kind of ritual or social role, or set of closely related roles. Similarly, if each of a suite of artifact classes can be identified for its function only generally, and if the different artifact classes associate regularly with one another across burials, then the likely function of each artifact class can be narrowed to the one(s) that the artifact classes share in common. Again, it is presumed that the suite of artifact classes were used together by people in some one kind of ritual or social role or set of closely related roles. Both kinds of preanalyses, by contextualizing artifact classes in relation to one another, allow the researcher to bootstrap him or herself through a maze of possible functions and role associations of a set of artifact classes to clearer identifications of their probable function(s) and role association(s). As mentioned in Chapter 11, this strategy is close to Turner's (1969) idea of constructing the "positional meaning" of a symbol within a suite of associated symbols and their meanings.

The second way in which patterns of association and dissociation among ritual paraphernalia and social symbols of various kinds can be useful is in laying the foundation for analyses of social organization – in particular, by defining the basic social roles that constituted a past society's operations. A social role – as a suite of rights, duties, and the tasks or actions implied by them – can be identified archaeologically by the artifact class(es) used in the course of carrying it out. The artifacts may be utilitarian tools, ritual paraphernalia, symbols of the social role, and/or symbols of the prestige of the role. When a role uses multiple artifact classes, an association among them archaeologically, and their dissociation from other artifact classes, can help to reveal the role. When a role uses only one artifact class, its dissociation from all other classes helps to reveal that role. Once the basic roles within a past society have been identified, then more interesting questions can be asked, such as what roles were bundled or not together in defining social positions, whether roles tended to be centralized within a few social positions or segregated among

many social positions, the degree of synergy or conflict among the roles embodied in a social position and how conflicts in their goals were resolved, the criteria by which personnel were recruited into social roles, the degree to which social roles were institutionalized, the social scheduling/cycling of operation and quiescence of social roles over a year, changing patterns of role organization over longer periods of time, and how these aspects of social organization relate to other cultural and environmental matters (e.g., Carr and Case 2005b).

This chapter is intended to help researchers in their efforts to identify the ritual functions and social role associations of Ohio Hopewell artifact classes, and to define the basic social roles within Ohio Hopewell societies. The chapter does so by presenting a number of preanalyses that document various patterns of association and dissociation among classes of ritual paraphernalia and symbols of social roles.

METHODS

Patterns of association and dissociation among artifact classes are presented here for two different kinds of archaeological deposits: burials, and ceremonial deposits that lack human remains. Ohio Hopewell burials and ceremonial deposits have different cultural origins and are useful for revealing different aspects of Ohio Hopewell societies (Chapter 4). Artifact patterning across burials can be used to identify in great detail a wide range of roles that constituted Ohio Hopewell societies: leadership roles, other prestigious roles, gender roles, age-specific roles, and roles defined by membership in sodalities, clan-based ceremonial societies, and specialized shaman-like professional societies. The roles had by specific individuals can also be identified. (See Table 4.2 for a listing of leadership roles and some others.) Fine-grained resolution of the roles in Ohio Hopewell societies is possible with burial data because an Ohio Hopewell burial commonly allows the analytic isolation of an individual and the accoutrements of some of his or her particular social roles. Roles of multiple

individuals are sometimes, but not overwhelmingly, confounded in a single Ohio Hopewell burial through mourners having placed artifacts that marked their own social roles in the grave of the deceased person (Carr et al. 2005).

Artifact patterning across Ohio Hopewell ceremonial deposits that lack human remains is predisposed to identifying a more limited range of social roles and tends to be less clear in the roles that it does reveal. Ohio Hopewell ceremonial deposits were commonly produced by the gathering of a sodality, a clan-based society, or a shaman-like professional society that held a ceremony and then decommissioned the paraphernalia and/or role symbols of its members together in a deposit. Social roles in one or another of these three kinds of social units are the roles most commonly represented by artifacts in ceremonial deposits; other social roles are less well represented (Chapter 4, *Sodalities and Ceremonial Societies; Ritual Gatherings and Alliances: The Diverse Sociocultural Contexts of Gatherings*). In addition, patterns of association among artifact classes across deposits tend to muddle social roles because deposits frequently contain some paraphernalia or social role markers that are extraneous to the sodality, clan-based society, or shaman-like professional society that gathered, celebrated, and decommissioned their ceremonial artifacts together (Chapter 4, Table 4.8; Carr et al. 2005:490–494, Table 13.3). The extraneous artifact classes may represent additional social roles that sodality or ceremonial society members had, or the actual participation of additional persons who had roles outside that of the sodality or ceremonial society. Further, two Ohio Hopewell ceremonial deposits were extraordinarily diverse in the artifact classes and social roles that they encompassed, representing the gathering and celebrating of many people of many roles from multiple local symbolic communities (Altar 1 under Mound 25 at the Hopewell earthwork; the Central Altar under Mound 3 at the Turner earthwork). These two ceremonial deposits have little utility in clearly defining individual social roles through association analysis. In general, patterns of association and dissociation among

ritual paraphernalia and social role markers found within ceremonial deposits are better suited to exploring the nature, social composition, and organization of ritual gatherings (e.g., Carr et al. 2005) once social roles have been already identified through the analysis of burials, than the patterns are to identifying social roles from scratch.

There are a small number of kinds of Ohio Hopewell ceremonial paraphernalia and social role markers that apparently were placed only in ceremonial deposits, not burials. These artifact classes include: a quartz cup, a quartz disk, quartz cones, knapped quartz debris, marbles, copper and mica atlatl/owl effigies, other owl effigies, plummet, one or two small triangular wands, copper and stone effigy fans, large “Copena-style” smoking pipes, real alligator teeth (in contrast to effigy ones), raw pyrite, and raw cannel coal. For these artifact classes, patterns of association and dissociation among them and other classes across ceremonial deposits are among the few kinds of contextual evidence available for gaining insight into or corroborating the social roles that they represent. Consequently, the patterns have a special potential importance. However, for the associations and dissociations to be useful in this manner, it is necessary to carefully focus analysis on those ceremonial deposits that are fairly homogeneous in the social roles that are represented by them, in order to minimize the muddling of social roles. This cannot always be attained, because these artifact classes are rare and the selection of ceremonial deposits with them is limited. The infrequency of ceremonial deposits with these artifact classes also poses the problem of finding chance associations and dissociations rather than culturally stable ones. Caution is warranted in deciding whether to place more weight on the form and material nature of these artifact classes or on their patterns of association or dissociation with other artifact classes when trying to identify their functions and the social roles that they indicate.

The measure that is used here to document the degree of association or dissociation among classes of paraphernalia and social role markers

is the Jaccard similarity coefficient. The coefficient has the form:

$$J_{xy} = a/(b + c)$$

where a is the counts of positive matches and b and c are counts of mismatches of two artifact classes x and y in a four cell, two-way contingency table of counts of burials or ceremonial deposits that share and do not share the two artifact classes. This coefficient is chosen because it eliminates negative matches from consideration (the d cell of a four cell, two-way contingency table). Thus, a pair of artifact classes is not considered strongly associated when both are absent from the same burials or ceremonial deposits.

In all, nine matrices of Jaccard coefficients of association among classes of paraphernalia and social role markers are presented, in Appendices 13.3, 13.4, 13.5B, 13.6B, 13.7B, 13.8B, 13.9B, 13.10B, and 13.11B. The matrices were calculated in SYSTAT 7.0. from the matrix of burials, ceremonial deposits, and their artifact classes, as given in Appendix 13.1. The Jaccard matrices differ from one another in whether they consider burials or ceremonial deposits, in the selection of variables they encompass, and in the ceremonial centers to which they pertain. Details are as follows.

Appendix 13.1 is an occurrence matrix (presence-absence values) of 81 classes of artifacts found in 782 burials in 16 Ohio Hopewell ceremonial sites and 57 ceremonial deposits in 11 Ohio Hopewell ceremonial sites. The matrix is a subset of the HOPEBIOARCH data base presented in Chapter 6 (Appendix 6.1) and provides information as it had been assembled by March, 2002, when the Jaccard similarity matrices were calculated. The sites and artifact classes included in the matrix are listed in Appendix 13.1. Correspondences and not between the smaller matrix in Appendix 13.1 and the larger HOPEBIOARCH data base in Appendix 6.1 are of the same kinds discussed in Chapter 12 (Documentation Methods, and Note 2). The matrices of Jaccard coefficients presented in Appendices 13.3–13.10 were all derived from the matrix in Appendix 13.1 or various subsets of it.

Appendix 13.2 lists the abbreviated names of all of the variables (artifact classes) in Appendix 13.1 and their correspondences to variables and variable states (artifact classes and class states) in the HOPEBIOARCH data base. Appendix 13.2 shows that some variables in Appendix 13.1 are combinations of others and quantitatively redundant with them. For example, the variable MUSIC is the presence of either a panpipe or a flute, and is redundant with the variable PANPIPE and the variable FLUTE. When analyzing associations among artifact classes through multidimensional scaling, cluster analysis, or other grouping routines, only one of a suite of redundant variables should be selected (e.g., just MUSIC, or PANPIPE and FLUTE, or PANPIPE, or FLUTE, but not MUSIC and PANPIPE, or MUSIC and FLUTE, or MUSIC and PANPIPE and FLUTE). To include redundant variables in a grouping analysis will undesirably give that suite of variables more influence over grouping results than other variables.

Appendix 13.3 is a matrix of Jaccard similarity coefficients derived from a subset of the matrix in Appendix 13.1, using only burials (observations 2–783), not ceremonial deposits (observations 784–840). Appendix 13.4 is a matrix of Jaccard similarity coefficients derived from a subset of the matrix in Appendix 13.1, using only ceremonial deposits (observations 784–840), not burials (observations 2–783). Redundant variables are included in both Appendix 13.3 and 13.4. Redundancies should be removed in one fashion or another, and in accord with research goals, before analyzing either matrix with a grouping routine.

Appendix 13.5B is a matrix of Jaccard similarity coefficients derived from a subset of the matrix in Appendix 13.1, using only artifact types that occur in two or more burials. A total of 41 artifact types meet this criterion. Appendix 13.6B is a matrix of Jaccard similarity coefficients derived from a subset of the matrix in Appendix 13.1, using only artifact types that occur in two or more ceremonial deposits. A total of 21 artifact types meet this criterion. By focusing on artifact

types that occur in two or more burials or two or more caches, these Jaccard matrices possibly reflect more stable patterns of association among artifact types than the patterns in Appendices 13.3 and 13.4. Redundant variables have been eliminated in both Appendices 13.5B and 13.6B. The occurrence matrices from which Appendices 13.5B and 13.6B were derived are given in Appendices 13.5A and 13.6A, respectively. Appendix 13.5A contains information on 767 burials at 15 ceremonial centers. These proveniences and the 41 artifact classes are listed in the matrix. Appendix 13.6A contains information on 56 ceremonial deposits at 11 ceremonial centers. These proveniences and the 21 artifact classes are listed in the matrix.

Appendices 13.7B–13.10B are matrices of Jaccard similarity coefficients that pertain to four different ceremonial centers or mounds that differ in their age and patterns of association among artifact classes (Chapter 4, *The Process of Segregation of Leadership Roles over Time*, Tables 4.3, 4.4). The four centers are: Mound City (Appendix 13.7B), Hopewell Mound 25 (Appendix 13.8B), Seip-Pricer mound (Appendix 13.9B), and Ater mound (Appendix 13.10B). Each matrix has the same 45 artifact classes, which occur at one or more of the four ceremonial centers. Each matrix includes only artifact types that occur in two or more burials at one center or another. Redundant variables have been excluded from all of the matrices. These matrices allow the examination of changing patterns of association among artifact classes over time. The occurrence matrices from which Appendices 13.7B–13.10B were derived are given in Appendices 13.7A–13.10A, respectively. These appendices contain information on 106, 102, 123, and 60 burials, respectively, at the four ceremonial centers. The burials and centers are listed in the matrices.

The global analysis of the organization of social roles at 15 Ohio Hopewell ceremonial centers, which is reported in this book in Table 4.2 and in *Gathering Hopewell* in Table 5.5 (Carr and Case 2005b:216–218), is based on a multidimensional scaling of the

Jaccard matrix in Appendix 13.5B for artifact classes found in burials, supplemented by a multidimensional scaling of the Jaccard matrix in Appendix 13.6B for artifact classes found only in ceremonial deposits.¹ The site-specific analyses of the organization of social roles at each of Mound City, Hopewell Mound 25, the Seip-Pricer mound, and the Ater mound, which are reported in this book in Table 4.3 and in *Gathering Hopewell* in Table 5.7 (Carr and Case 2005b:225–227), are based on multidimensional scalings of the matrices in Appendices 13.7B, 13.8B, 13.9B, and 13.10B for artifact classes found in burials.

Appendices 13.11A and 13.11B concern the association of artifact markers of clans with other kinds of artifacts. They are useful for examining the particular social roles associated with particular clans, and with prestigious clan members in contrast to less prestigious ones. Appendix 13.11A lists the occurrences of 15 classes of clan markers or possible clan markers and 48 other artifact classes among 786 burials at 16 ceremonial centers. The proveniences and artifact classes are listed in the matrix. Clan markers are broken down into two kinds: prestigious ones that are animal power-part effigies made of copper, mica, or occasionally stone, bone, or antler; and ones that perhaps indicated less prestige and that are real animal power parts. The 48 other artifact classes are ones that could be organized by their associations (Appendices 13.5B, 13.6B) across burials within 15 ceremonial centers into sets that marked various social roles (Table 4.2). Appendix 13.11B is a matrix of Jaccard similarity coefficients among the clan markers and other artifact classes and is derived from the occurrence matrix in Appendix 13.11A.

The study of the different social roles into which various Ohio Hopewell clans were recruited, as presented in this book in Chapter 4 (Clan Organization, Table 4.6) and in *Gathering Hopewell* in Table 8.14 (Thomas et al. 2005:372–373), is based on a multidimensional scaling of the Jaccard matrix in Appendix 13.11B.²

NOTES

1. The global analysis includes only 15 sites, rather than the 16 sites in the matrix in Appendix 13.1, from which the matrix in Appendix 13.5B was derived. This is the case because the burials at one site, the Westenhaver site, in the matrix in Appendix 13.1 had no artifacts, other than clan markers. Practically in the global analysis, it is as if the Westenhaver site were excluded, leaving only 15 sites.
2. Thomas et al. (2005:371) report that 767 burials from 15 ceremonial centers were used in their analysis

of the social roles of clans. In actuality, the 782 burials from the 16 ceremonial centers reported in Appendix 13.11A were analyzed. Thomas et al. mistakenly did not report the use of burials from the Westenhaver site. However, because burials at the Westenhaver site had no artifacts, other than clan markers, its makes no contribution to the analysis of associations between clan markers and other artifacts. This is good, because the Westenhaver site dates to the Early Woodland period rather than the Middle Woodland, and should not have been included in the analysis.

The Scioto Hopewell *and Their Neighbors*

Bioarchaeological Documentation and Cultural Understanding

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Cover Design Acknowledgment: Digital painting, “On the Way”, by Christopher Carr, based on portraits of three ceremonial leaders rendered on three copper celts by anonymous Ohio Hopewell artists, compositions of processions of persons rendered on copper breastplates by anonymous Ohio Hopewell artists, and an early photograph of a virgin hardwood forest in the Allegheny Plateau province of Ohio. The three celts bearing the portraits of leaders, from left to right, are: Carr no. C023 Side A, from the Hopewell earthwork, possibly Mound 25, Skeletons 260–261, curated at the Ohio Historical Society, cat. no. 283/351B; Carr no. C301 Side A, from the Edwards Mound Group, 33HA7, curated at the Harvard Peabody Museum, cat. no. 84-6-10/32346; and Carr no. C011 Side A, from the Seip earthwork, curated at the Ohio Historical Society, cat. no. 957/-. Example depictions of processions of ceremonial leaders are found on breastplates Carr B061 Side B, from the Liberty earthwork, curated at the Ohio Historical Society, cat. nos. 7/1.007 and 13716; and Carr B025 Side A, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Burial 6, curated at the Ohio Historical Society, cat. no. 283/83C. The portraits and processions were revealed by color and near-infrared digital photography, hybrid color-near-infrared image display, and image contrast enhancement. The full forest photograph is published by Gordon (1969:Frontispiece). Top and bottom border designs are, respectively, a snake-skin design incised on the top of a pottery vessel and a rocker-stamped bird feather design placed on the body of the same vessel, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Altar 1 (Moorehead 1922:171, Figure 70). Cover layout by Christopher Carr and Deann Gates.

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Contents

I. RATIONALE AND FRAMEWORK

- 1. Documenting the Lives of Ohio Hopewell People:
A Philosophical and Empirical Foundation..... 3**
Christopher Carr and D. Troy Case

II. THE SCIOTO HOPEWELL: LAND, PEOPLE, CULTURE, AND HISTORY

- 2. Environmental Setting, Natural Symbols, and Subsistence..... 41**
Christopher Carr
- 3. Settlement and Communities 101**
Christopher Carr
- 4. Social and Ritual Organization 151**
Christopher Carr
- 5. World View and the Dynamics of Change:
The Beginning and the End of Scioto Hopewell Culture and Lifeways ... 289**
Christopher Carr

III. INVENTORY AND DOCUMENTATION

- 6. Documenting the Ohio Hopewell Mortuary Record:
The Bioarchaeological Data Base 335**
D. Troy Case and Christopher Carr
- 7. Ceremonial Site Locations, Descriptions, and Bibliography 343**
D. Troy Case and Christopher Carr

8. Definition of Variables and Variable States	419
<i>D. Troy Case, Christopher Carr, and Ashley E. Evans</i>	
9. Evaluating the Consistency of Age and Sex Assessments of Ohio Hopewell Human Remains by Previous Investigators.....	465
<i>D. Troy Case</i>	
10. Aging and Sexing Human Remains from the Hopewell Site	485
<i>Cheryl A. Johnston</i>	
11. The Functions and Meanings of Ohio Hopewell Ceremonial Artifacts in Ethnohistorical Perspective	501
<i>Christopher Carr, Rex Weeks, and Mark Bahti</i>	
12. Contextualizing Preatalyses of the Ohio Hopewell Mortuary Data, I: Age, Sex, Burial-Deposit, and Intraburial Artifact Count Distributions	523
<i>Christopher Carr, Beau J. Goldstein, and D. Troy Case</i>	
13. Contextualizing Preatalyses of the Ohio Hopewell Mortuary Data, II: Associations of Artifact Classes across Burials	569
<i>Christopher Carr</i>	
14. Data Accuracy and Precision: A Comparison of the HOPEBIOARCH Data Base to N. Greber's and T. Lloyd's Data Bases.....	575
<i>Christopher Carr, Beau J. Goldstein, and D. Troy Case</i>	
IV. FUTURE DIRECTIONS	
15. Coming to Know Ohio Hopewell Peoples Better: Topics for Future Research, Masters' Theses, and Doctoral Dissertations.....	603
<i>Christopher Carr</i>	
References Cited.....	691
Tables.....	733
Figures.....	737
Figure Credits.....	741
Appendices on Compact Disk	747
Author Index.....	751
Subject Index.....	759
Coda	775

Compact Disk of Appendices..... Inside Cover

Bioarchaeological Data Base

D. Troy Case, Christopher Carr, Ashley E. Evans, and Beau J. Goldstein

Data Base of Intrasite Layouts

Christopher Carr and Rebekah A. Zinser

Regional Geographic Data Base

Christopher Carr and Rebekah A. Zinser

Ethnohistorical Data Base

Christopher Carr, Rex Weeks, and Mark Bahti

Figures

Christopher Carr and Rebekah A. Zinser

Other Appendices

Christopher Carr, D. Troy Case, Beau J. Goldstein, and Cheryl A. Johnston

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