Chapter 4

Social and Ritual Organization

CHRISTOPHER CARR

Hopewell residential groups, spread over the forested terraces and bottomlands of the Scioto and Paint Creek valleys, were nonetheless integrated with one another in many ways. Two important kinds of ties were their mutual participation in a larger, local symbolic community and a yet broader, sustainable community. Within the context of these communities, members of different residential groups, separated by varying geographic and social distances, established and renewed essential relationships with one another by building earthworks together, performing rites together within the earthworks, negotiating marriages and marrying, forming ritual exchange partnerships with one another, and exchanging foods and other material resources. Members of different residential groups were also integrated through their participation in a rich array of other social groups and relationships within and across local symbolic communities. The activities of clans, clan-specific ceremonial societies, sodalities, and phratries, and the complementary roles of leaders and genders of varying categories, brought members of different residential communities together in a variety of combinations for a variety of purposes, creating a dense network of meaningful connections among people of the Scioto and Paint Creek valleys. Through clans, clan-specific ceremonial societies, sodalities with shaman-like roles, and phratries were undertaken many of the material and spiritual activities that were fundamental to individuals, residential groups, these other social units, and the creation and maintenance of Scioto Hopewell life as a whole. Some likely examples, considering archaeological evidence and/or ethnohistoric analogies, include ensuring the well being and success of clan members through ceremonies, obtaining personal power and blessings from personal spirit power animals, diagnosing personal ailments and healing the sick, naming children and performing rites of passage of youths into adulthood and uninitiated persons into sodality members, divining to reveal guilty parties, and readying corpses for burial and guiding souls of the deceased to an afterlife. Leaders who orchestrated public gatherings, ceremonies, and other activities were of a wide diversity of kinds and played specialized and complementary roles in such affairs. These persons were drawn fluidly from many different residential groups and clans, and sometimes from women and a third gender as well as men, creating many social interdependencies. The rites that the leaders organized drew together the residential groups of a local symbolic community or a larger sustainable community for many purposes, such as ensuring the fertility and well-being of the world by re-creating it through re-enactments

and recountings of primordial mythic events or sequences, celebrating first fruits, removing disease or misfortune from an entire community and renewing its health, wiping the social slate clean of social wrongdoings and pardoning crimes, instructing community members in moral behavior and traditional culture, cleaning and renewing a ceremonial center, and playing games, socializing, and having fun. In these many kinds of social groups, relationships, and activities that brought together members of different residential communities, Scioto Hopewellian society was quite complex, although constructed horizontally of groups and individuals of roughly equivalent prestige and power.

This chapter documents many of the above-named aspects of the social, political, and ritual organization of Scioto Hopewell people. Leadership roles of diverse kinds, clans and clan organization, sodalities and ceremonial societies, gender relations, kinship structure, and ritual gatherings and alliances are each described. The major forms of evidence that are used here to gain insight into these topics include the probable ceremonial functions of various kinds of artifacts, patterns in their distribution among deceased persons in cemeteries, and artistic renderings of individuals.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the concept of the "social role", which is a primary analytical unit used here to resolve and reconstruct Scioto Hopewell social life. The active quality of a social role, in comparison to the static and structural nature of the concept of "social identity" or "social position", is emphasized. Next, the nature of Scioto Hopewell leadership is reconstructed. Shamanic qualities that run pervasively through the material record of Scioto Hopewell peoples are documented, but it is shown that classic shaman generalists who drew their powers from nature and used soul-flight were actually rare. Most leaders are found to have been shaman-like specialists who harnessed the powers of nature but used trance states other than soul flight. Also identified are a small number of leaders who employed the common symbolism of a community-shared, shamanic world view but did not perform shamanic tasks, and who apparently obtained their positions by secular achievements. Organizational aspects of Scioto Hopewell leadership are then explored: the degree to which leadership roles were centralized within a few social positions or segregated among many, changes in the centralization/segregation of roles over time, the degree to which roles were institutionalized, patterns of recruitment of leaders from different clans and genders, the geographic expanse of the domains of power of leadership roles, and changes in their domains of power over time. The question of whether priest-chiefs evolved from shaman-like practitioners as roles became segregated over time in Scioto Hopewellian communities is evaluated.

The chapter proceeds to describe the animal-associated clans and clan organization of Scioto Hopewell people. Nine clans are identified from the claws, talons, teeth, and jaws of animals of various species buried with individuals. Subjects addressed include the sizes of clans, their distribution among local symbolic communities, their relative wealth and social connectedness, which clans tended to be recruited for which social roles, the relative degrees of access that various clans had to roles of social importance generally, the determinants of that access, whether clans were linked as phratries in relationships of reciprocal obligation, and an increase in the number of clans over the Middle Woodland period.

Sodalities that crosscut clan and residence groups and ceremonial societies that were clan-specific are considered next. Six explicit archaeological criteria for identifying sodalities are enumerated. Several sodalities and clan-based ceremonial societies are identified, including ones marked by earspools, breastplates, platform smoking pipes, and bear canines, and perhaps ones marked by mica mirors, galena cubes, and canine, fox, elk, or raccoon power parts. The social functions of some of these sodalities and ceremonial societies are inferred from their ritual paraphernalia. Sodalities are shown to have been present at the very beginning of the Middle Woodland period, and their growth in number and size over the period is documented.

The chapter continues with the identification of three genders in Scioto Hopewell societies: masculine and feminine, and a rare gender associated with shamanic roles. Men are shown to have dominated the arena of social leadership through shaman-like roles and sodalities, although women did have more equal access to two important community-wide and/or public ceremonial positions and four other important roles, and clearly were not depreciated culturally. The pattern of male dominance and its continuity over the entirety of the Middle Woodland period is used to argue that Scioto Hopewell peoples probably reckoned kin relationships patrilineally.

The chapter concludes by integrating the reconstructions of Scioto Hopewell leaders, clans, sodalities, and ceremonial societies in relation to the ritual gatherings they attended at ceremonial centers. A typology of ritual gatherings is constructed, based on their sizes and social compositions. Most gatherings are found to have been small, with fewer than 25 gift givers, and/or to have been predominated by one or a few social roles, such as specialized shaman-like practitioners of a kind, nonshamanic leaders of a kind, members of a particular sodality, or members of one kind of clan-specific ceremonial society. The gatherings that were role-homogeneous suggest the collective rites of professional ceremonial societies for the integration, initiation, and/or training of their members. Much rarer were large gatherings of more than 90 gift givers, who were comprised by persons in one or a few social roles or a great diversity of social roles. These large gatherings clearly involved the participation of multiple local symbolic communities. Differences in the proportions of shaman-like leaders, nonshaman-like leaders, and commoners who gave gifts at ceremonial gatherings are found to have depended in part on the sizes of gatherings and consequently varying needs for ordering crowds. Finally changes in the sizes and social compositions of gatherings are tracked over the course of the Middle Woodland period and shown to reflect shifts in the strategies used to create alliances among people from different local symbolic communities and changes in the number of allied communities.

In total, the chapter demonstrates that Scioto Hopewell social, political, and ritual organization was relatively nonhierarchical and decentralized. Horizontal relationships among rough equals, and the sharing of power by multiple, complementary groups, were emphasized over dominant–subordinate relationships and the concentrating of power in the hands of a few.

THE CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL ROLE

Throughout this chapter, an essential concept that is used and that needs some introduction is that of the *social role*. Social roles will be used here to describe qualities of leaders, clans, sodalities, genders, social gatherings, and other social categories.

A social role is an informal or institutionalized cultural model that guides the actions and interactions of persons in particular positions within a social field by defining or suggesting the mutual rights, duties, actions, responses, and tasks of those persons in a given social context. Roles can vary in their quality from rigid to very free-form (Turner 1991:410–471) across cultures, and within a culture by social situation. At one end of the spectrum are "structural roles", where individuals are envisioned as players in a theater and must conform to the duties and norms of behavior of their roles. Individual practice and human interaction are highly structured by the script of the actor's role, the scripts of the roles of other actors, and that of a responsive audience (e.g., Linton 1936; Mead 1934; Nadel 1957:11, 21). At the other end of variation are processual roles, where the individual is seen as a largely free player who consciously chooses various social strategies in acting and interacting. Roles in this viewpoint are very "general configurations of responses that people negotiate as they form and reform social relationships (e.g., Goffman 1959, 1969; Nadel 1957:26, 35, 41; J. Turner 1991:426; R. Turner 1962). In between these two extremes,

roles can be thought of as "media" that facilitate creative social expression, action, and interaction through both their broad constraints and the room they offer for social experimentation and play.

A social role is distinct from a *social identity* or, equivalently, *social position*. A social role is a suite of rights and duties and the actions and tasks they imply that is attributable to the one or more social identities that a person has relative to another in a given social context (Goodenough 1965:324; Linton 1936:113–114). The rights and duties of a role define its domain and forms of action and potentially lead to action (Goodenough 1965:312; Nadel 1957:28, 29) in a normative or negotiated manner. In this way, a role has a dynamic quality, similar to Gidden's (1984:219) concept of agency as a "capability", but at a level of abstraction above the individual and more archaeologically resolvable. Roles are also dynamic in that, as suites of rights and duties that are negotiable, they are a potential locus of social organizational change over time. In contrast, the concept of the social identity, or social position, is structural and static. A social identity or position is a social category, one of a set of "hats" that a person wears in a given social context relative to the social identities of others. A social identity is related to social action only indirectly, through the rights and duties (i.e., roles) associated with it. It is possible to describe and analyze the identities of people in a society in an entirely structural and impersonal way, in order to measure societal characteristics such as complexity, hierarchy, segmentation, connectivity, and contradition. Studies with this purpose lead to a typological categorization of a society's nature at large, rather than a focus on individuals and their actions.

My focus in this chapter on the social and ritual roles of Scioto Hopewell peoples, rather than their social identities, aligns with its aim, and the rationale for presenting the bioarchaeological data base in this book: to personalize our understanding of the Scioto Hopewell with on-the-ground people in action. Archaeologically identifying and defining the social and ritual roles of Scioto Hopewell people provides social substance and dynamism to their material legacy, and at an archaeologically resolvable level of detail.

LEADERSHIP

The nature of leadership in Hopewellian communities in the Scioto-Paint Creek can be defined archaeologically for seven of its aspects that are also key topics in general anthropology. These facets are: (1) the range of *roles* that leaders had, especially their duties, tasks, and domains of action, such as overseeing public community rituals or managing subsistence operations and schedules; (2) the nature of the *power bases* of leaders, including ties to sacred powers and secular advantages obtained through kinship relations, achievements in physical violence, and material wealth; (3) the degree to which leadership roles were *centralized or segregated* among persons; (4) the degree to which leadership roles were *institutionalized*, i.e., standardized in their constellation of rights, duties, tasks, domains of action, and symbolism; (5) the *geographic expanse* of the domain of power of leaders, including the hamlet or residential community, the local symbolic community, or the regional sustainable community; (6) the means of *recruitment* of leaders, including achievement in some domain, or ascription by kinship, residence, or sodality; and (7) how supralocal, institutionalized leadership *arose* and solidified.

In the Scioto-Paint Creek area, leaders were highly diversified in their nature and changed in their characteristics over the course of the Middle Woodland period. Leaders included a mix of a few classic shaman who met a wide range of human needs by sacred means; many shaman-like practitioners who specialized in a narrow range of shamanic tasks; some other practitioners who used sacred but not necessarily shamanic symbolism; and a few individuals who had secular or mixed secular-sacred sources of power. Classic shaman appear to have existed only in the early Middle Woodland period. Table 4.1 inventories the various kinds of leadership roles, with focus on their tasks, that are known for Scioto

Table 4.1. Paraphernalia Probably Used in Shaman-Like and Nonshaman-Like Leadership Roles and Found in Ohio Hopewell Burial Contexts

Shamanic Paraphernalia
War[a] *and/or Hunt Divination, or Sending or Pulling Power Intrusions*
points made of quartz, other translucent gems, obsidian, cannel coal, aventurine ("goldstone")
effigy point forms of copper, mica
Other Divination
quartz crystals, raw or worked
mica mirrors, sheets
cones and hemispheres, quartz or other stones
boatstones (with or without pebbles), quartz or other stones
discs, quartz
cups, quartz
pebbles, quartz or brightly colored stones
marbles
copper balls
fossils and concretions
plummets
owl or owl-eye effigies, including pipes, boatstones
Philosopher
geometrics of copper, mica, tortoise shell, shell, bone, in forms symbolic of the cosmos and directions – rings, annuli, circles, pinwheel designs, star shapes, four-armed shapes, swastika, grid of bosses on a circle, flying human
Healer
small, triangular wands of dark or light color with snake crosshatching on the shaft, topped with a pearl.
possibly small points made of quartz, other translucent gems, obsidian, cannel coal, micaceous schist ("goldstone"), copper, and mica
Body Processor and/or Psychopomp
awls of bone (not antler)
Public Ceremonial Leader
headplates with animal parts – antler stubs, antler rack, feline paw cutout, feather form, deer ears or hummingbird wings
copper effigy antlers without preserved headplate
barracuda jaw scratchers
shark teeth possible scratchers
ocean shell containers, with or without shell spoons
large batons of human or bear femur, antler, horn, or copper rods
large baton in shape of a hallucinogenic mushroom (*Amanita muscaria*)
big, community (Copena) smoking pipes
Manufacture with "Transformative" Materials[b]
raw copper, mica, galena, meteoric iron, silver, gold, pyrite, graphite, cannel coal, obsidian, micaceous schist, hematite, red ochre, malachite, tortoise shell, pearl
flake knives and blades of translucent stones (quartz chalcedony) for working materials
Items Used in Trancing and Ceremony, Including Musical Instruments and Painting Equipment
rattles and tinklers of tortoise shell and copper
small mushroom effigy
effigies of a flying human – pipe and copper geometric

(*Continued*)

Table 4.1. (*continued*)

Shamanic Paraphernalia (*continued*)

copper nostrils (suggesting breath)
fan effigies (suggesting smudging)
dish of mica schist
cup and pestle
pallettes and tablets of stone and tortoise shell
spoon with paint
spatula of tortoise shell
panpipes
flutes
whistle made of a human radius
tubes of unknown function (music or sucking)
[Smoking pipes are excluded because they appear to have belonged to a wide range of persons who were members of a sodality rather than to primarily shaman-like practitioners; see Chapter 4, Sodalities and Ceremonial Societies.]

Possible Shamanic Equipment Used for Unknown Tasks

tortoise shell pendants, scrolls
alligator teeth, real, some drilled, some copper effigy
frog effigy copper cutout
animal and human effigies of copper and mica: hand, raptor claws, birds, bear
tortoise shell swan
human bone carved with animals, creatures, designs
animal bone carved with designs
effigy composite creatures and supernaturals

Paraphernalia Not Clearly Shamanic

War[a] *Leadership*
trophy skulls and jaws and effigy fingers, ears, and hands of cannel coal, leather, copper, and mica
weapons – a mace, effigy atlatls of copper, mica

Positions of Leadership or High Prestige Marked by Symbols
headplates without animal parts
celts, adzes, and axes of copper, meteoric iron, and cannel coal
reel-shaped gorgets of copper, shell, calcite
crescents of mica, copper
tear-drop and other forms of pendants and gorgets of copper and mica
teaspoon shaped pendants of shell, cannel coal, and calcite
geometrics of copper, mica, and shell having forms other than of the cosmos or directions: pear-shaped eyes, G-clefs, keyholes, strips, and flowers

Prestigious Clan Roles Marked Largely by Metal/Mica Effigy Power Parts
effigy power parts (jaws, teeth, claws, talons) of raptors, deer, fox, bear, feline, canine, raccoon, elk, beaver, and opossum, made of copper or mica

Sodality Membership and/or Achievement Rather than Leadership
breastplates of copper, copper and silver, and iron
earspools of copper, copper and silver, and meteoric iron

[a] Whether projectile points and weapons made of fancy materials and supposed trophy jaws, skulls, and effigy human parts indicate warfare is unclear. The forms, themselves, of these artifacts suggest the possibility of persons marked for their leadership or achievement in warfare. However, two facts suggest otherwise. First, the fancy points and weapons, as potential implements of warfare, do not associate in burials or ceremonial deposits with the takings of war–supposed trophy human parts. Second, osteological and forensic studies of supposed trophy jaws and skulls (Johnston 2002:105–113) indicate that few, if any, were trophies of war and, instead, suggest the revering of ancestors and probably other cultural practices. The alternative possible functions listed for fancy projectile points and weapons–hunt divination, sending of power intrusions, spiritual-level fighting among individual shaman-like practitioners, and the removing of power intrusions–seem more likely at this time.

[b] For explanations the materials' transformative properties, see the text and Carr and Case (2005b:200, table 5.3).

Hopewellian societies, and the kinds of artifacts that indicate the roles.

Leadership was decentralized: there were many kinds of leaders with complementary roles and arenas of action. Leadership positions were institutionalized to only a moderate degree and changed in the roles they encompassed over time. The domain of power of most leaders was limited to the local symbolic community, and analogous leaders occurred in each local symbolic community. Important persons within clans, which were only weakly localized, and within sodalities, which were nonlocalized, probably had some supralocal influence, but not over multiple local symbolic communities as wholes. However, by at least the end of the Middle Woodland period, at least two leadership roles did come to span multiple local symbolic communities as wholes, which were bound together by alliance into a sustainable community. Leaders in the two supralocal roles were not always drawn from the same local symbolic community, either synchronically or over time. Nor were they affiliated with any one particular sodality. Almost all kinds of leadership roles were each recruited from a wide spectrum of clans, although some clans more commonly held some particular leadership roles (see below, Clan Organization).

In characterizing Scioto Hopewellian leadership, care must be taken to distinguish among three kinds of social personae, whose archaeological remains may surficially look similar. The *classic shaman* is a generalized magico-religious practitioners who employs soul flight and the powers of nature to perform a wide diversity of community-wide and individual client-oriented tasks in the service of society (Eliade 1964:4–5; Harner 1988; Wallace 1966:86, 126, 145). Shaman are found in small-scale societies that subsist by hunting, gathering, and/or fishing, and occasionally in pastoral and simple horticultural societies (Winkelman 1989, 1990, 1992). *Shaman-like practitioners* are specialized magico-religious practitioners of multiple kinds who each perform only one or a few roles of the classic shaman and have different roles from one another. These practitioners evolve and differentiate from classic shaman as a society becomes larger and more complex. They continue to harness power and information from nature to achieve their ends, and retain elements of the basic cosmology of classic shaman defined by Eliade (1964: 259–287), but use trance states other than soul flight in the harnessing process (Winkelman 1989, 1990, 1992). Finally, the *broader community* that a shaman or shaman-like practitioner serves may follow religious beliefs and practices and use religious symbols that have a shamanic tone, but usually these are more diverse and more variable than the esoteric, private beliefs, practices, and symbols of a shaman or shaman-like practitioner (Eliade 1964:7–8, 12–13). I use the adjective, *shamanic*, to refer to classic shaman, and the term, *shaman-like*, to refer to more specialized practitioners.

Shaman-Like Aspects of the Scioto Hopewell Material Record

Looking at the Scioto Hopewell material record at a glance, one sees many apparent shamanic features that run pervasively through it, and one might conclude that Scioto Hopewell societies were led by classic shaman. First is a great variety of equipment for performing specific classic shamanic tasks. Mirrors and cones for divination, sucking tubes for healing, projectile points made of fancy materials for hunt divination or for sending and/or extracting power intrusions, rattles and tinklers for trancing, and effigies of hallucinogenic mushrooms all recall the classic shaman at work. Table 4.1 lists a full range of these kinds of paraphernalia. Many of these are illustrated in Figure 4.1.

A second feature that is suggestive of shamanism is a large number of smoking pipes, many carved with an animal effigy that faces the smoker (Figure 4.2).The pipes are close analogs to historic Woodland smoking pipes that bore effigies of personal power animal spirit helpers and that were used to induce a trance so that the smoker's "dream soul" or "free soul" could call forth his or her personal power animal or travel in the spirit world to it, and be guided by and sometimes merge with it to share in its

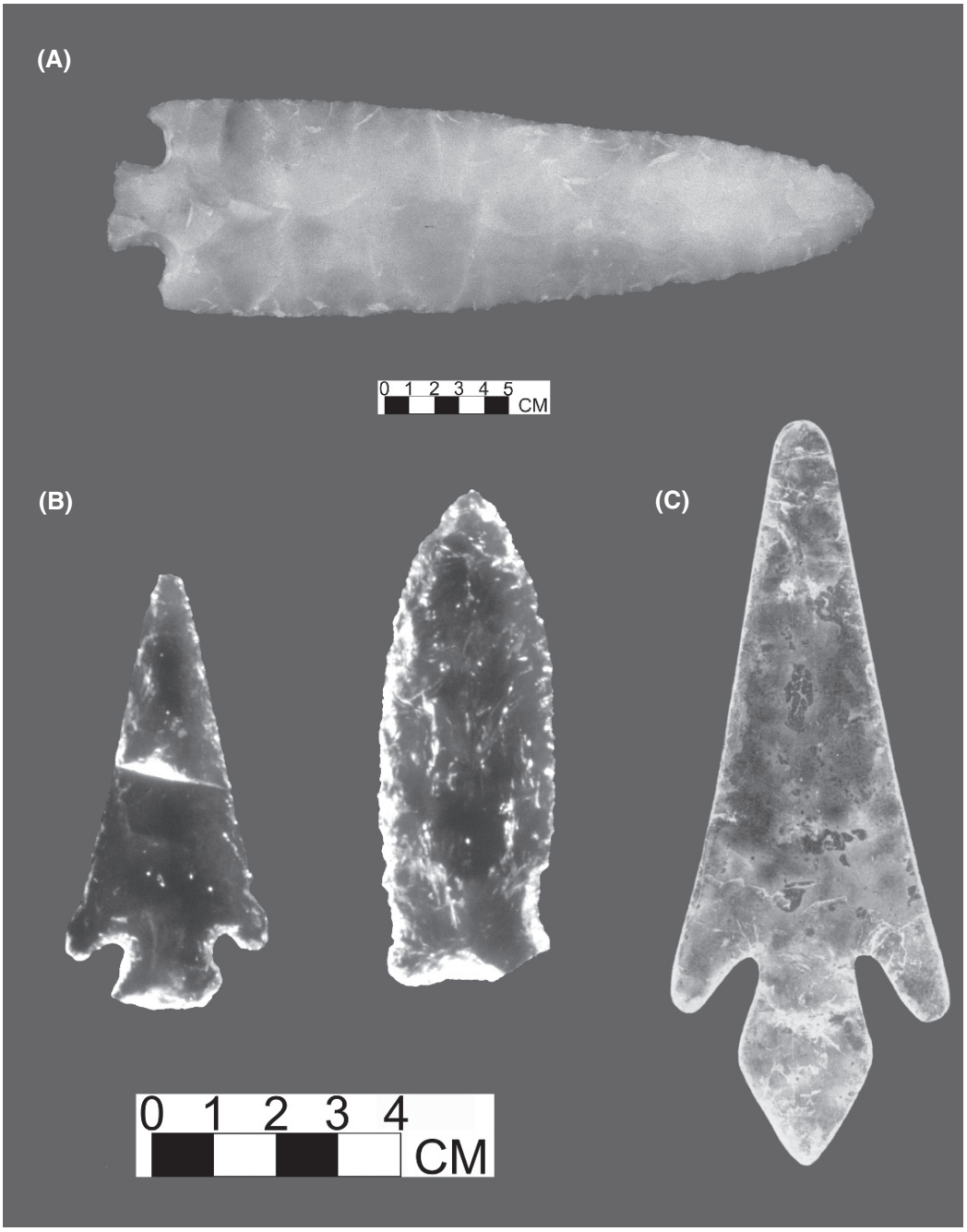


Figure 4.1. Many kinds of Scioto Hopewell ceremonial paraphernalia were useful for performing particular kinds of classic shamanic tasks, which are listed in Table 4.1. However, in most cases, these items were used by shaman-like practitioners, who were specialized in their roles and used trance states other than soul flight, rather than classic shaman generalists who employed soul flight. (A) Ceremonial spear made of novaculite, a grainy, translucent white, milky-quartz-like stone, 12 inches long, from a mound near Painesville, Ohio. Very similar, long, novaculite spears are known from the Seip and Fort Ancient earthworks (Converse 2003:298, figures A, B, C). (B) Quartz crystal projectile point from the Eugene Powell Cache, Fort Ancient earthwork. (C) Mica effigy projectile point from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Burial 34. When rotated 180°, the item takes the form of a human with hands raised

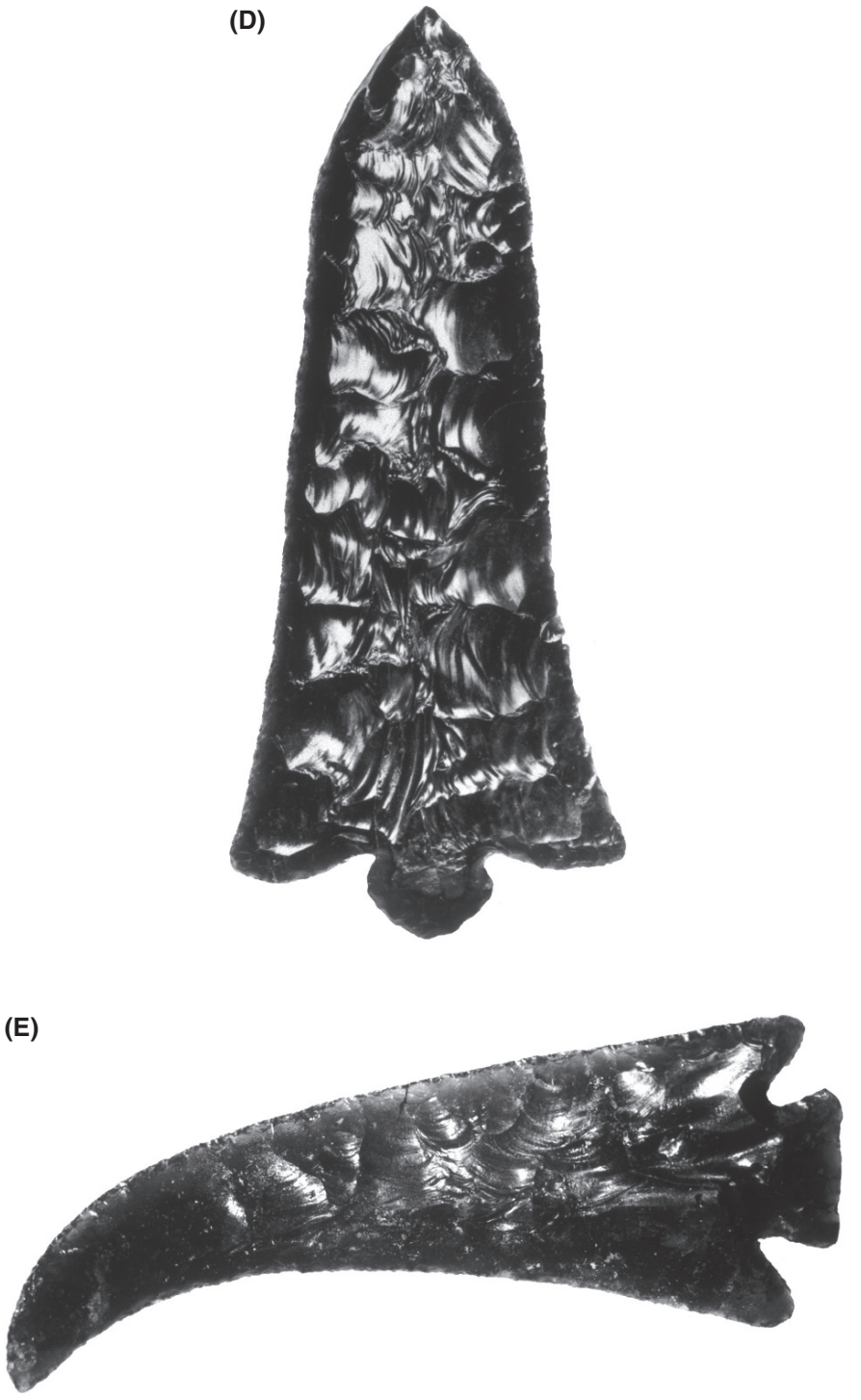
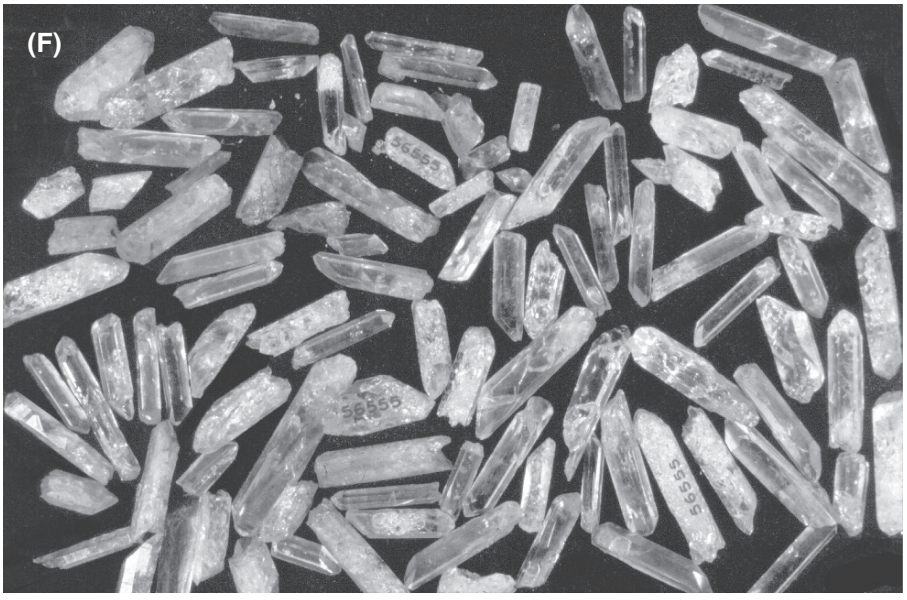


Figure 4.1. ***(continued)*** **and wearing a triangular cap, similar to ones depicted on Scioto Hopewell patinated copper breastplates and occasionally on historic Ojibwa, Midewiwin-related birch bark scrolls (e.g., Dewdeny 1975:18, 49, 66, 102, 120, 139, 146, 149). (D) Obsidian Ross Barbed style ceremonial spear from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 17. (E) Obsidian ceremonial knife in the form**



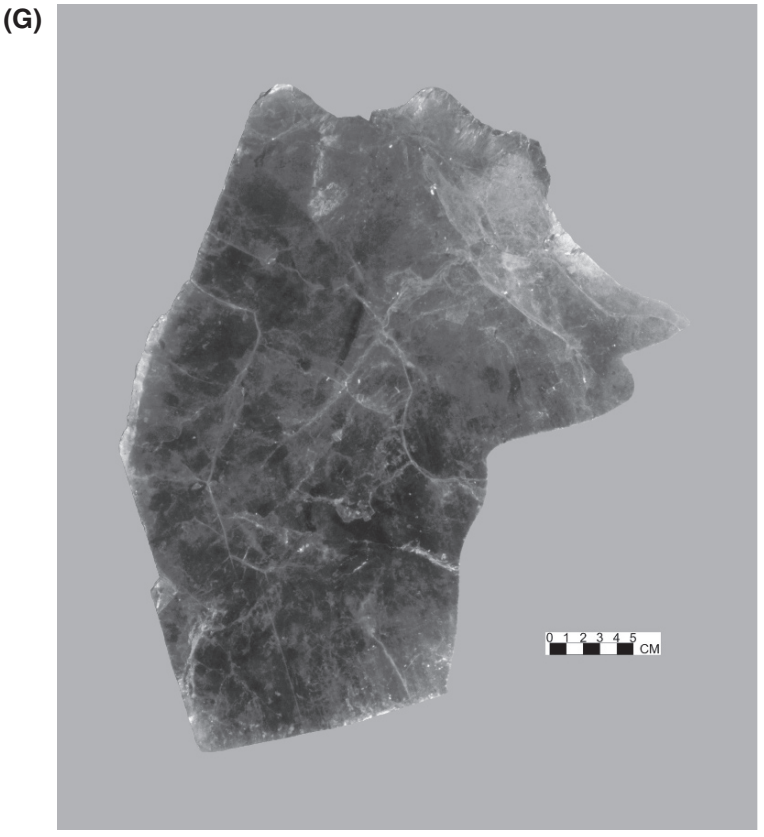


Figure 4.1. ***(continued)*** **of a bird head and beak, from the Seip earthwork, Pricer mound, Burial 58. (F) Quartz crystals from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Altar 1. (G) Mica mirror cut out into the form of a human with a bird nose and ears of a cat or mammal, as in Figure 4.8A. From the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25. (H) Cones, copper and hollow, milky quartz and hollow, limestone**

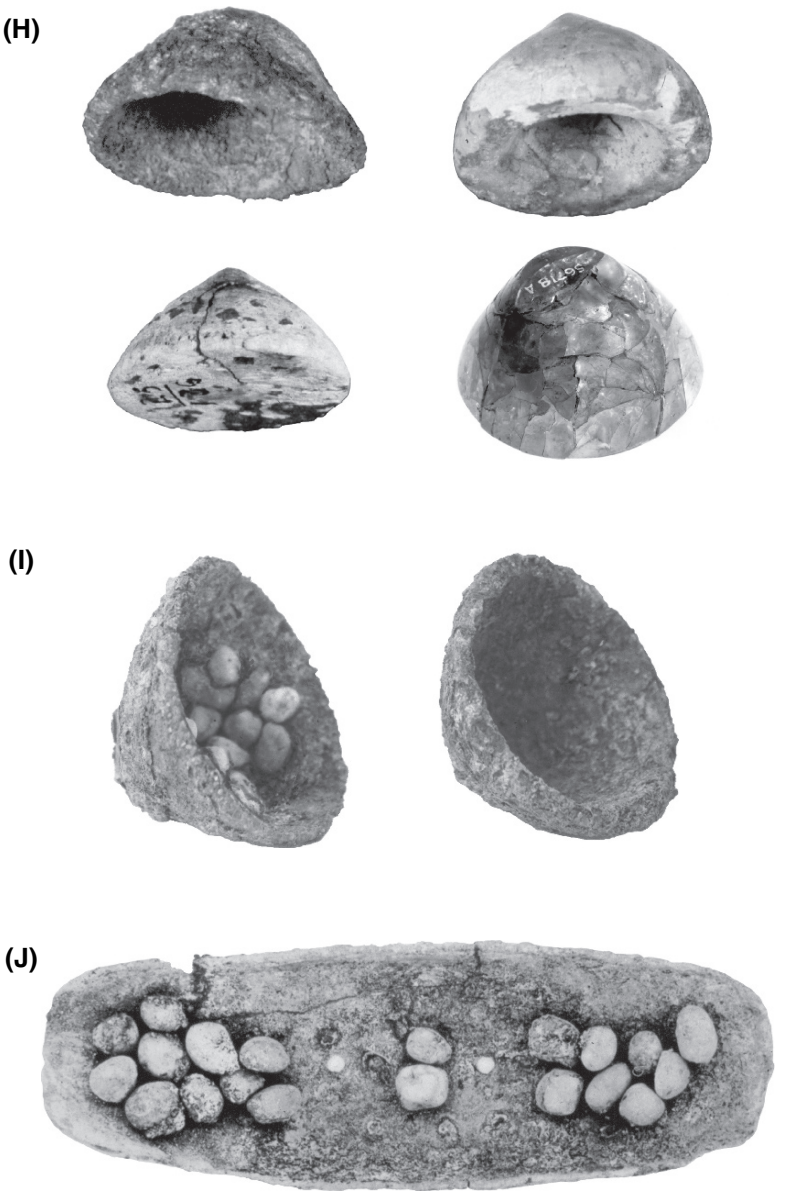


Figure 4.1. ***(continued)*** **and solid, quartz crystal and solid. Three on the top and lower left are from the Tremper mound, the Great Cache. One on the lower right is from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, internal provenience unknown. (I) Copper cone filled with pink and white pebbles, from the Tremper mound, the Great Cache. (J) Copper boatstone filled with white and pink quartz pebbles from the Tremper mound, Great Cache. (K) Steatite marbles and layout of designs engraved on them, from the Seip earthwork, Pricer mound, Burnt Offering adjacent to Burial 13. (L) Quartz marble from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, internal provenience unknown. (M, N) Fossil ornaments resembling caterpillars or pupae, respectively from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Altar 1 and Skeleton 278. (O) Slate effigy of a pupa from the Seip Earthwork, Pricer Mound, Burnt Offering. (P) Plummet of shell useful for divining, not as a net weight, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Altar 2. (Q) Owl effigy of steatite, hollow. From the Seip earthwork, Pricer Mound, Burnt Offering. (R) Owl effigy smoking pipe of steatite. From the Seip earthwork, Pricer mound, ceremonial deposit three**

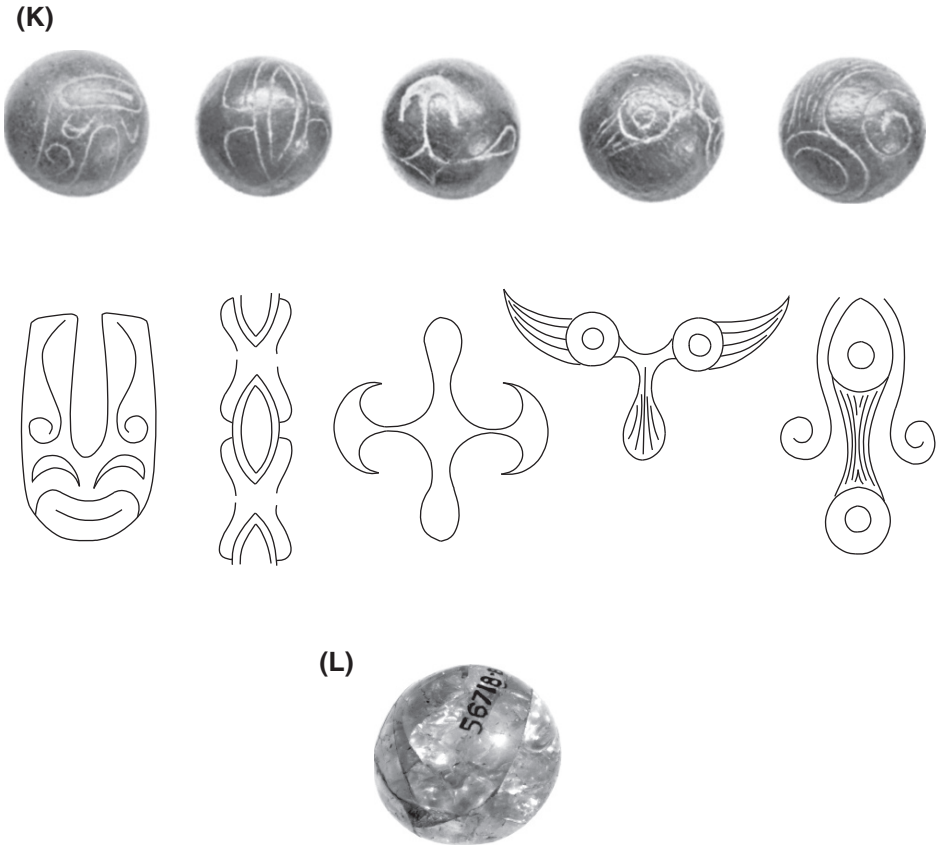


Figure 4.1. (*continued*) feet above the Great Multiple Burial. (S) Copper geometric cutout of a snake head, embedded with two raptor talons, owl eyes, a bear's head, duck heads, the four cardinal directions, and the circle-cosmos, when viewed with different sides up. From the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Copper Deposit. (T) Triangular wands of bone, dark with pearl on top and light, respectively from the Hopewell earthwork and Turner earthwork. (U) Sucking/blowing tube made of formed turtle shell, from the Seip earthwork, Pricer mound. (V) Set of deer metacarpal skewers used to peg down the fabric canopy over the Great Multiple Burial, Pricer Mound, Seip earthwork. (W) Six of a set of eight deer metacarpal skewers in situ, buried along the side of a shaman-like practitioner with a copper headplate with copper and mica effigy wings of a shimmering, flying creature (insect?, cicada?, hummingbird?) and/or effigy deer ears, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Burial 11. See Shetrone (1926a:70, figure 26) for the original excavation photograph of the grave. (X) Barracuda jaw scratchers from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Burial 25. (Y) Copper effigy, possibly of a scratcher made from alligator, caimin, shark, or other reptile or fish teeth in the jaw or set in a holder. From the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Copper Deposit. (Z) Sharks teeth possible scratchers/pendants from the Liberty earthwork, Edwin Harness mound. (AA) Ocean shell container, decommissioned to form head of a long-beaked bird with cutout eye, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25. (BB) Antler baton carved with a human head, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25. (CC) Baton or sucking/blowing tube made from human or bear femur, inscribed with a bear paw. From the Hopewell site, Mound 25, Burial 281. (DD) Large, communal, "Copena style" smoking pipe effigy of a bird resembling a whippoorwill, carved from steatite. One of five communal pipes found in the Seip earthwork, Pricer mound, above the Great Multiple Burial. (EE) Copper effigy turtle carapace rattle, one of 18 sewn on a leather belt, each with 12 holes in the four semicardinal directions, from the Mound City earthwork, Mound 7, Burial 12. (FF) Immature bear canine tinklers from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25. (GG) Copper effigy mushroom, of the hallucinogenic *Amanitas* genus, from the Mound City earthwork, Mound 7, Burial 9. (HH) Stone carving of a mushroom, from the Fort Ancient, earthwork, Middle Woodland component. (II) Copper nostril inserts in a skull, Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Burial 6. See Shetrone (1926a:65, figure 24, left, for photograph of the original human remains. See Shetrone (1926a:63–66, figure 24, right) and Shetrone and Greenman (1931:374–375, 408–410, figure 33) for two other examples

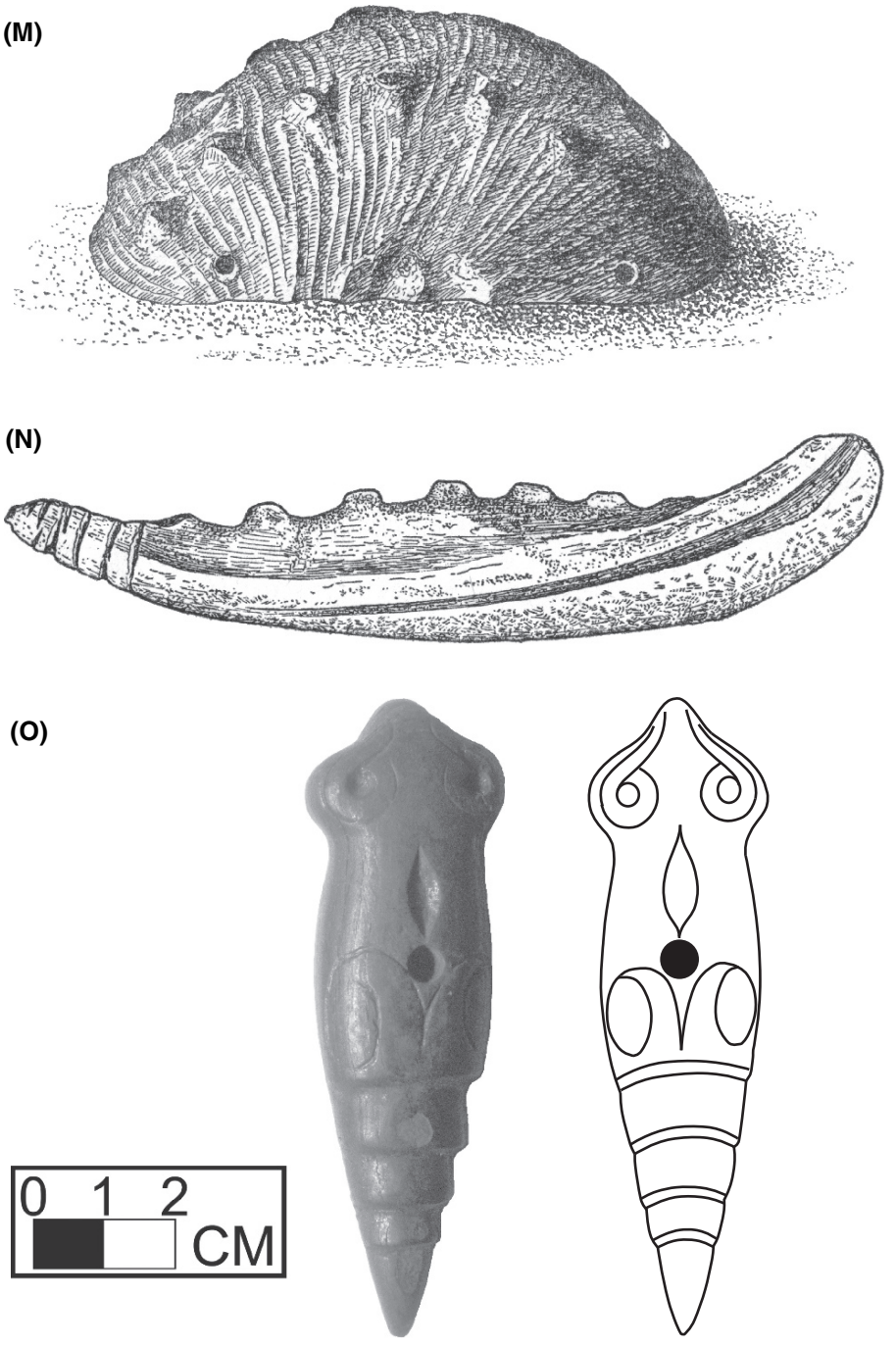
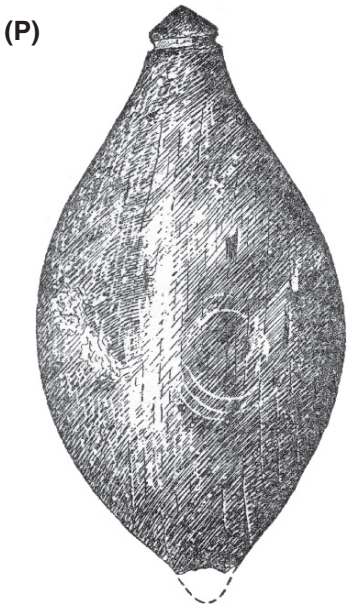


Figure 4.1. (*continued*) from the Hopewell and Seip earthworks. (JJ) Copper-sheathed panpipe from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 20, Burial 1. Left, obverse side. Right, reverse side. (KK) Copper-sheathed whistle or flute from the Rockhold mound, Burial 1. (LL) Whistle made of a human radius bone with copper ends and incised with a curvilinear design of a masked human head facing left (bottom fifth) with a headdress (top four-fifths), from the Bourneville mound. The headdress is similar in its great height to ones depicted on some Scioto Hopewell copper celts and breastplates. (MM) Mica effigy bird-tail fan from the Liberty earthwork, Edwin Harness mound. (NN) Chlorite stone effigy bird tail (fan?). From the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 17, Deposit 2. See credits.



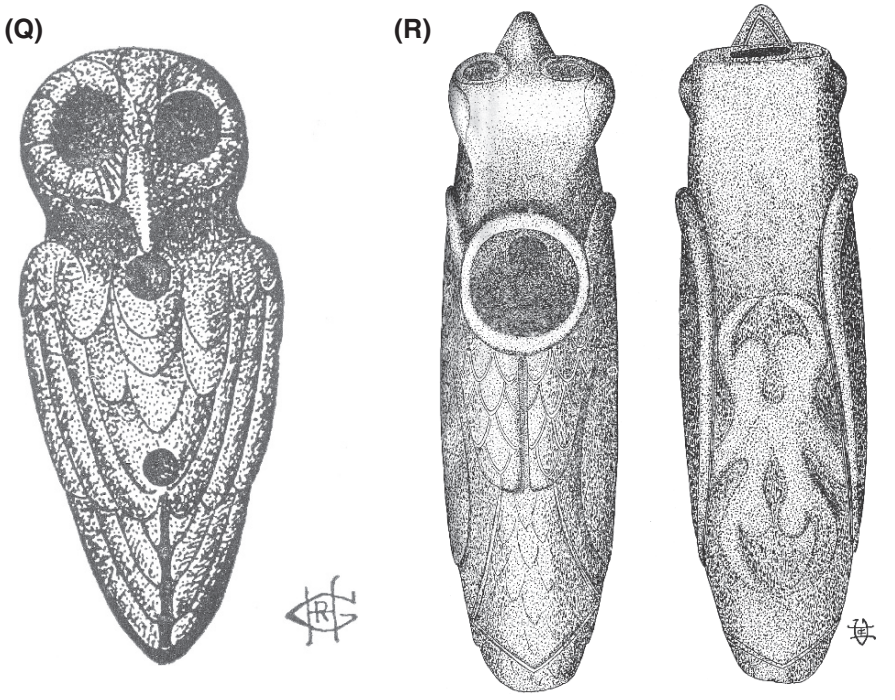


Figure 4.1. (*continued*)

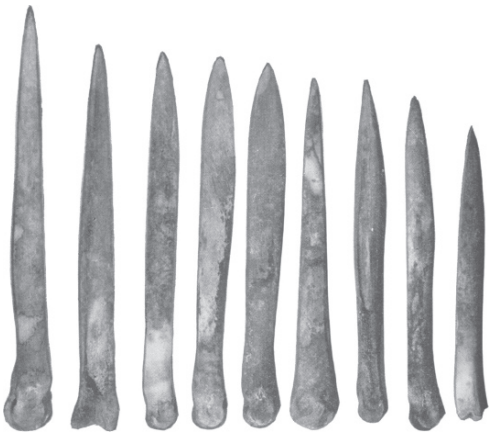
(S)

Figure 4.1. (*continued*)

power (von Gernet and Timmins 1987:39–40; Harner 1980:73–88; Hultkrantz 1953:39–40; Grim 1983:144; Mails 1979:50–51, 57). The consistent positioning of the effigy animals facing the smoker, and the great diversity of depicted species (29+; Otto 1984, 1992:5), each with its own talents, reinforce the identity of the carvings as personal power animals.

Figure 4.1. (*continued*)

(V)



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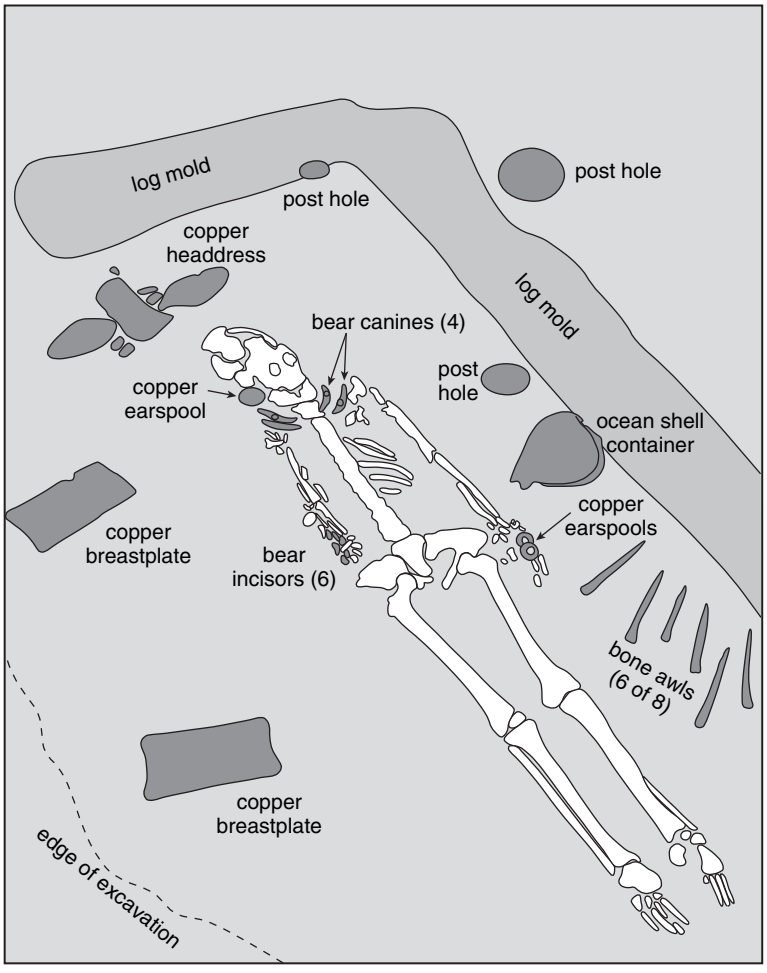

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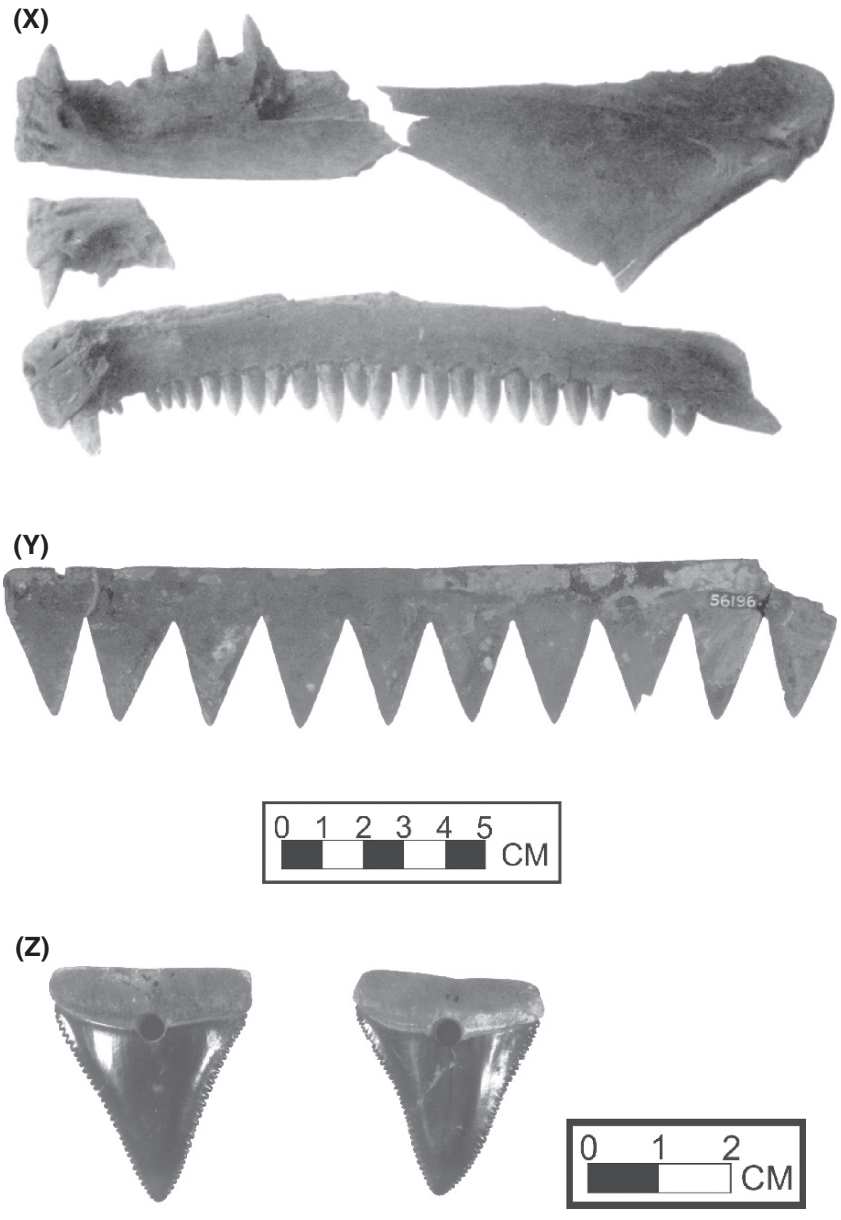
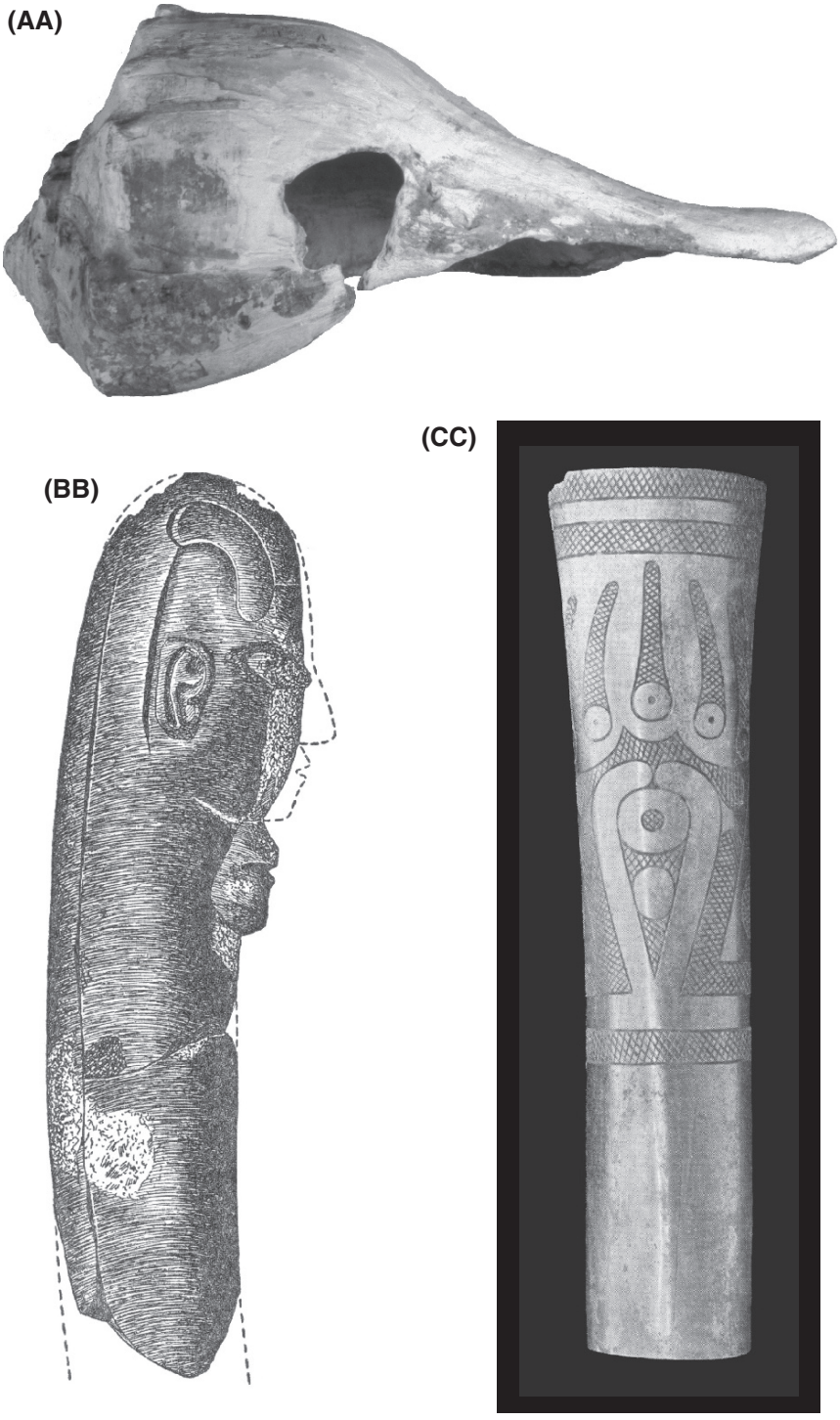


Figure 4.1. (*continued*)

A third common characteristic of the Scioto Hopewell material record that suggests shamanism is the use of raw materials with a transformative quality to manufacture most public and elite artifacts. Transformation is a core quality intrinsic to classic shamanic tasks: the sick person is cured, the lost object is divined and found, and the soul of the deceased is guided from the world of the living to a land of the dead. The materials of Hopewell ceremonial paraphernalia and elite items mimic such transformation in three ways: by changing from light and shiny to dark and dull and back again, by simultaneously displaying both



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(DD)

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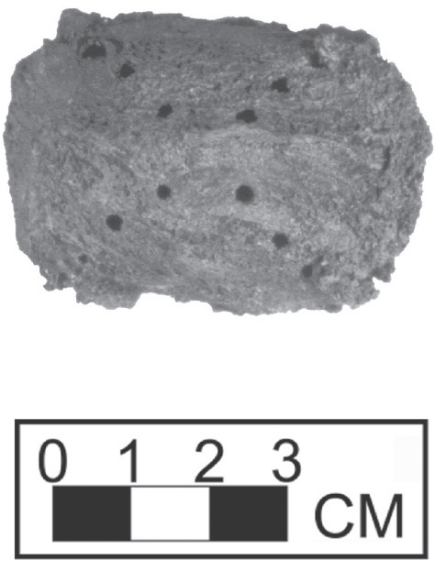

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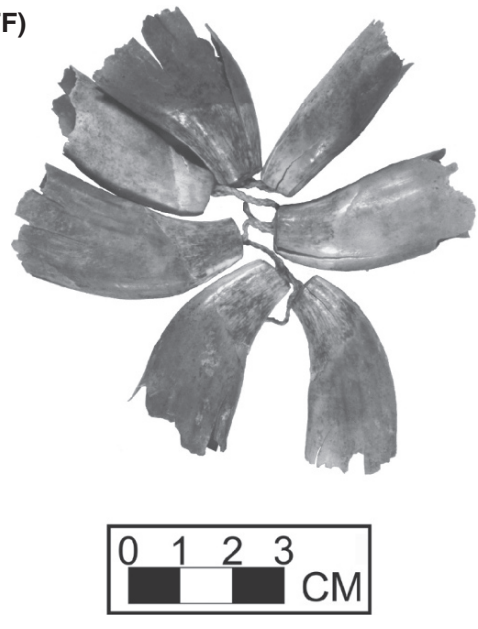

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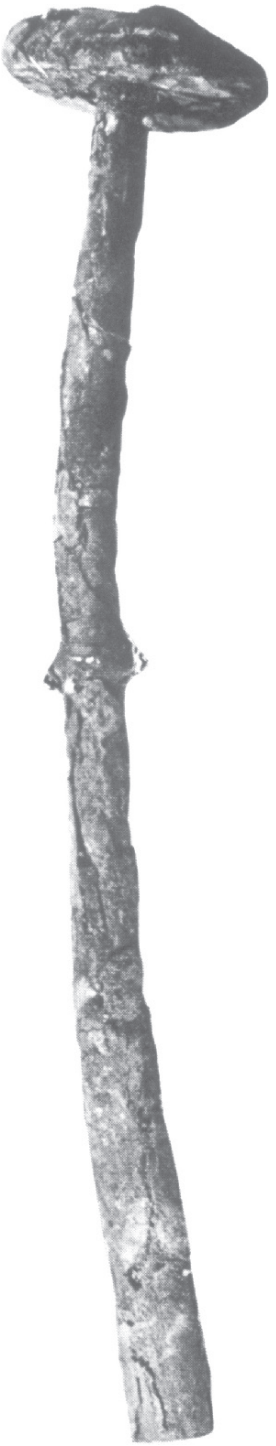

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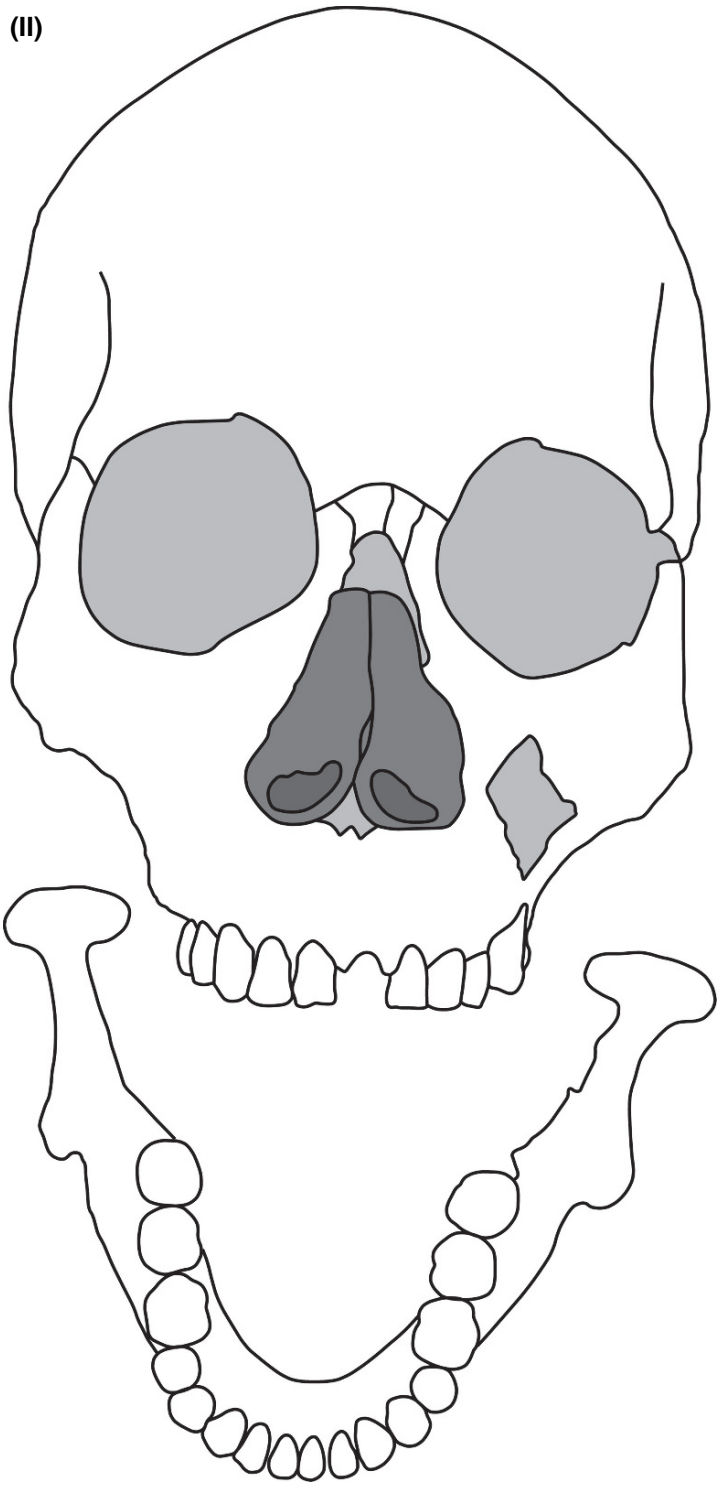

Figure 4.1. (*continued*)

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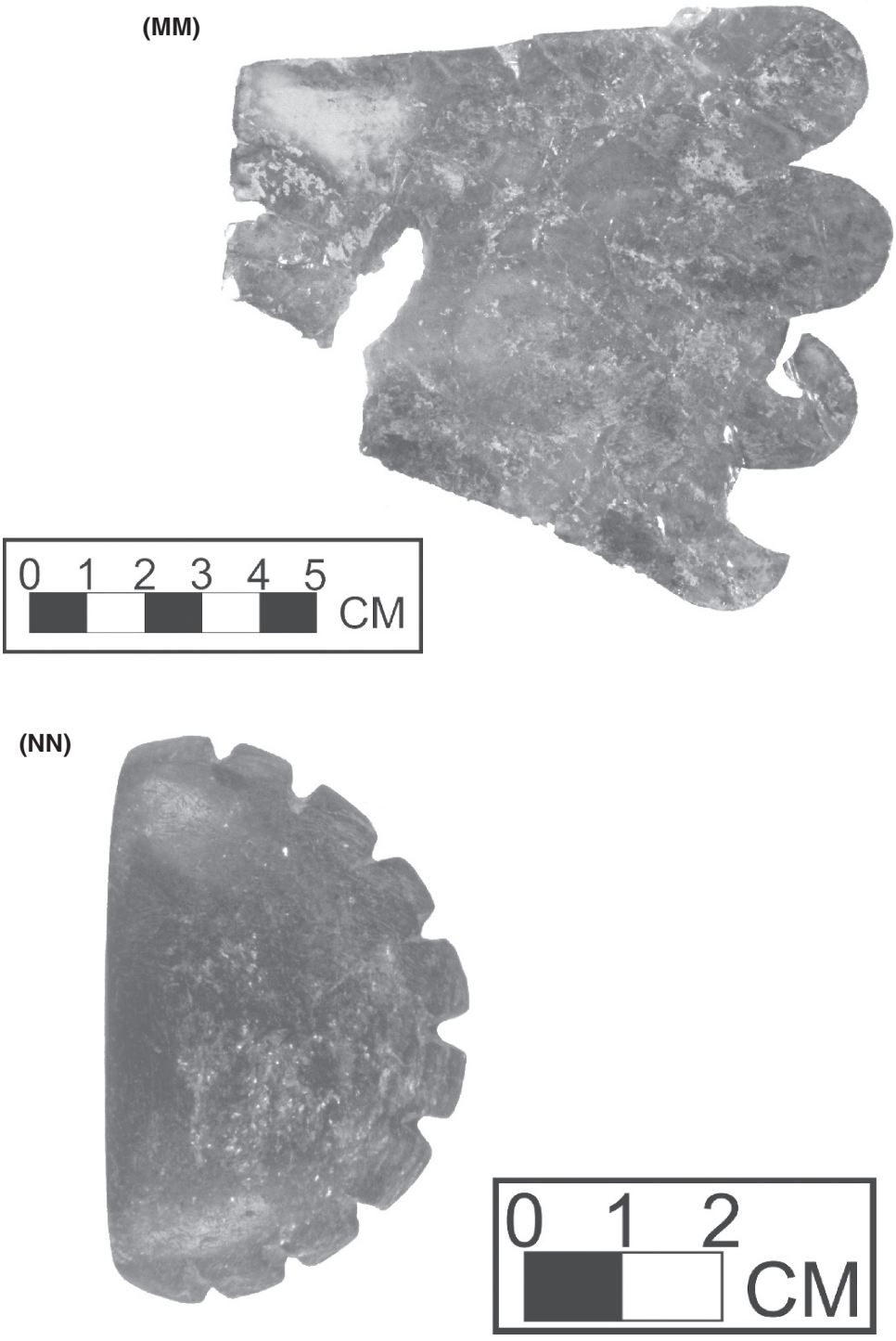

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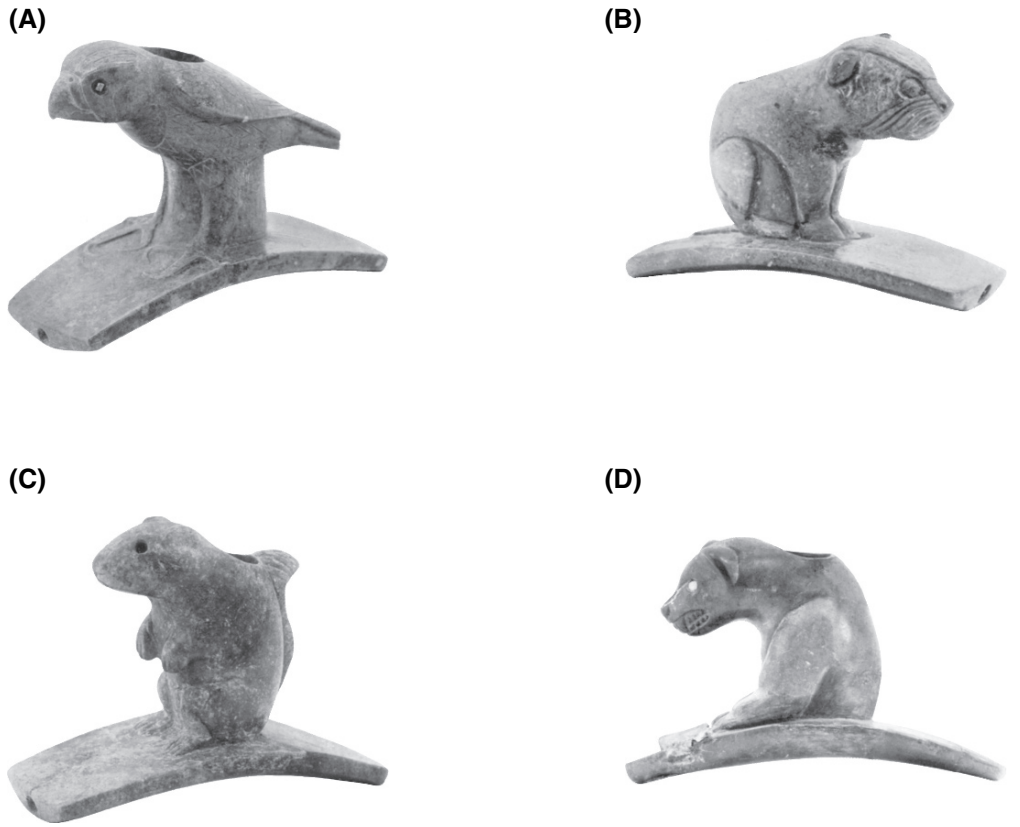


Figure 4.2. Smoking pipes with sculpted animal effigies from the Tremper earthwork, the Great Cache. (A) Hawk. (B) Wild cat. (C) Squirrel. (D) Black bear. See also Figure 4.19A–D. See credits.

the light/shiny and the dark/dull poles, and by the placement of light/shiny and dark/dull materials in complementary positions within graves, ceremonial deposits, and earthworks. A wide variety of the materials used by Scioto Hopewell peoples have these transformative qualities, such as copper, silver, meteoric iron, mica, steatite, chlorite, clay for pottery, human bone, obsidian, Flint Ridge flint, shell, and pearls (Carr and Case 2005b:199–201, table 5.3). Thus, for example, shiny copper corrodes but can be polished and made shiny again. Obsidian is simultaneously shiny yet dark (Figure 4.1D, E). Certain cherts that are comprised simultaneously of patches of dark and light colors were used to make ceremonial artifacts (Figure 4.3A). A few light quartz projectile points were buried as a contrast to hundreds of dark obsidian projectile points in Alter 2 of Hopewell Mound 25 (Figure 4.1B, D–E). Similarly, elaborately carved bone in both a light, unburnt state and a dark, burnt and polished state were buried in quantity in Mound 1 of the Hopewell earthwork (Figure 4.3B, C). Significantly, color ambiguity is associated with shamanism crossculturally (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978; Roe 1995:67).

The transformative nature of copper, in particular, was harnessed by Scioto Hopewell artists with a shamanic cast. On copper breastplates, celts, and headplates, artists depicted and memorialized their leaders through a patination process (Carr 2000c, d, 2005e; Carr and Lydecker 1998; Carr et al. 2002). To shiny, orange copper were applied mild, natural acids and salts, transforming its surface over the course of a few weeks into pictures of ceremonial leaders formed by the brilliant colors of deep blue azurite, green malachite, aqua turquoise, light blue chrysocolla, and red cuprite (Figure 4.4).

Fourth, many of the raw materials from which public ceremonial and elite artifacts were made evoke the idea of the shaman's

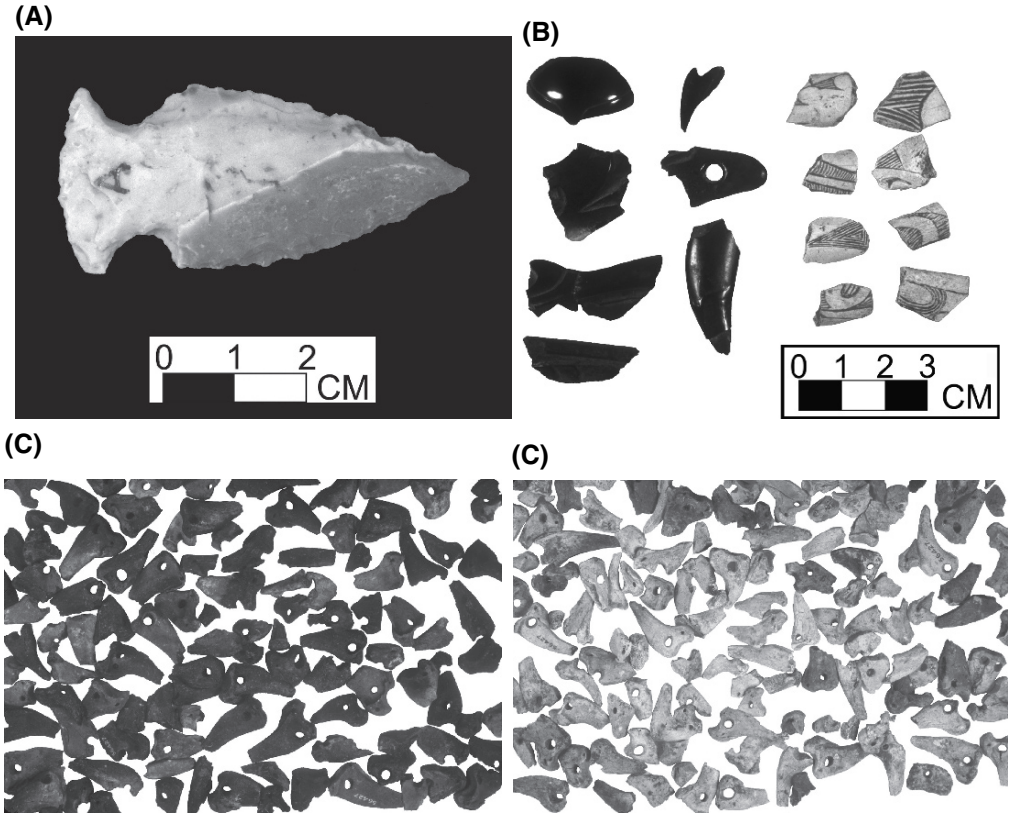


Figure 4.3. Transformation, which is a core characteristic of shamanic tasks, was expressed pervasively in Scioto Hopewell art, ceremony, and daily life. The theme is seen in the use of materials that are at once dark and light and in the ceremonial placement together of light and dark materials. (A) A Lowe Flared Base projectile point made from half dark and half light chert. From the vicinity of the Liberty earthwork. (B) Light, unburnt carved bone and dark, burnt and polished carved bone buried together in the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 1. (C) Dark, burnt bear claws and light, unburnt bear claws buried together in the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Altar 1. See credits.

power to see within, through, or beyond (Halifax 1979; Harner 1980:27–31). A shaman has the ability, through soul flight, to see and "bring into light" nonordinary realities that otherwise would remain unknown and "in darkness", such as various layers of the cosmos. A shaman can also see, with his or her "strong eye", the nonordinary aspects of this world, including spiritual representations of diseases, ghosts, and lies within the dishonest. These talents of a shaman are implied in the Scioto Hopewell case by shiny materials that reflect an image and can be gazed into (e.g., thick sheet mica, galena, silver, meteoric iron), translucent materials that let light through their darkness (e.g., chalcedony, Knife River flint), and transparent materials that are conceived in some cultures to be solidified light or water (e.g., quartz, novaculite, thin sheets of mica, thinned obsidian, amethyst, fluorite; Harner 1980:29 and references therein).

Finally, the broad spread through Scioto Hopewellian elite art of a curvilinear style characterized by "positive–negative play" (e.g., Figure 4.5A–J) suggests the pervasiveness of shamanic thought, practices, and leaders in Scioto Hopewellian society. Positive–negative play is the capacity of an artistic rendering to shift visual attention back and forth between two aspects of the work, seeing one part as figure and the other as background, but also the latter as figure and the former as background (Roe 1995:64). The result of this visual uncertainty is a sense of change of one thing into another,

Figure 4.4. (*Top*) A copper breastplate patinated with the image of a duck-human with spread wings, and (*Bottom*) a tracing of the image. From the Fortney mound, Burial 5. Copper minerals forming the composition are: deep blue azurite, pine-to-olive green malachite, sea-foam green chrysocolla, and possibly a power blue colored chrysocolla-azurite mixture or turquoise. See Figure 4.4 in the Appendix on the CD-ROM for better definition of the image and to see the patina colors. Minerological identifications by petrological reflected-light microscopy, X-ray diffraction, and electron microprobe. See credits.

or transformation – a core theme of shamanism. Indeed, positive–negative play is associated crossculturally with animistic shamanism and trancing (Cordy-Collins 1980; Roe 1995:68; see also Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1987).[1]

The pervasiveness of these five shamanic qualities in the Scioto Hopewellian material record certainly indicates the religious beliefs, practices, and symbols of broad communities that shaman or shaman-like leaders served. The five qualities do not, however, directly address whether leaders in Scioto Hopewellian societies were classic shaman generalists or diverse specialized shaman-like practitioners, whether other kinds of leaders may have existed as well, and the relative frequency of different kinds of leaders. To answer these questions, one must turn to depictions of leaders, themselves, consider their costumery and other symbols of position, and analyze the distribution of shamanic roles and other roles among leaders to determine whether the roles were bundled together in single practitioners or dispersed among many specialists.

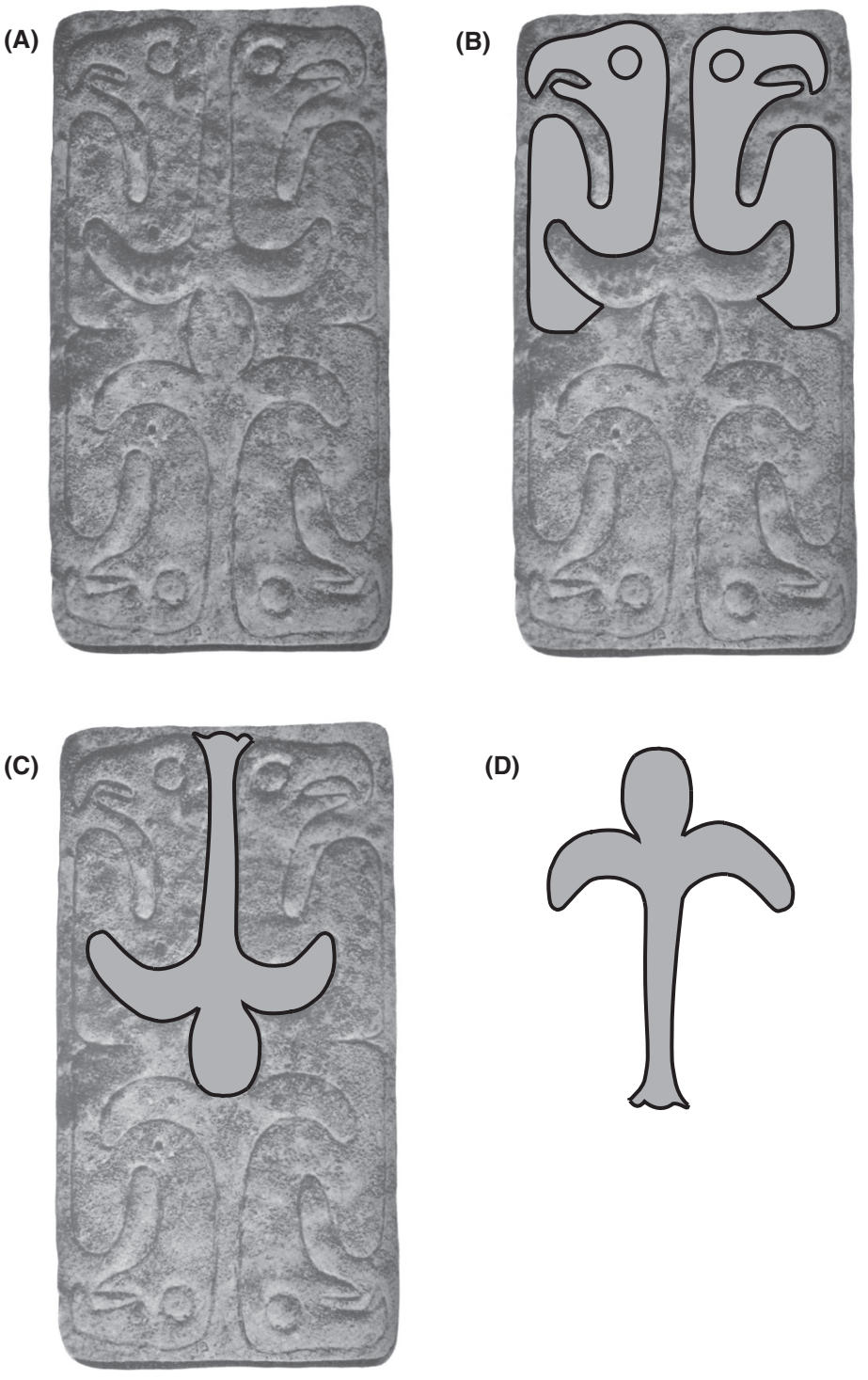


Figure 4.5. (A) Positive-negative play through the ambiguity of line-work on a copper repousse breastplate from the Mound City earthwork, Mound 7, Burial 9. (B) Two raptors. (C) A human or emergent plant form upside down. The entire central "column" running vertically on the plate is a rendition

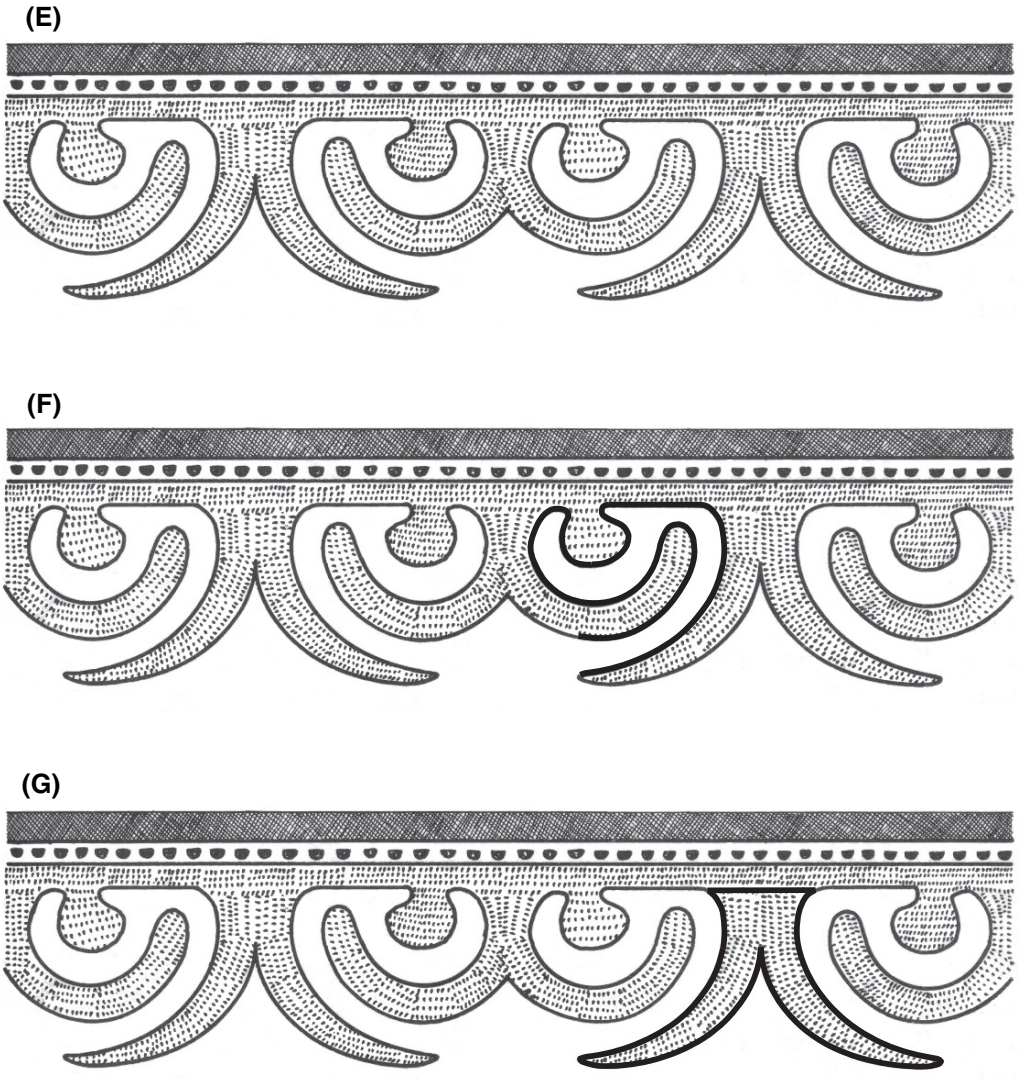
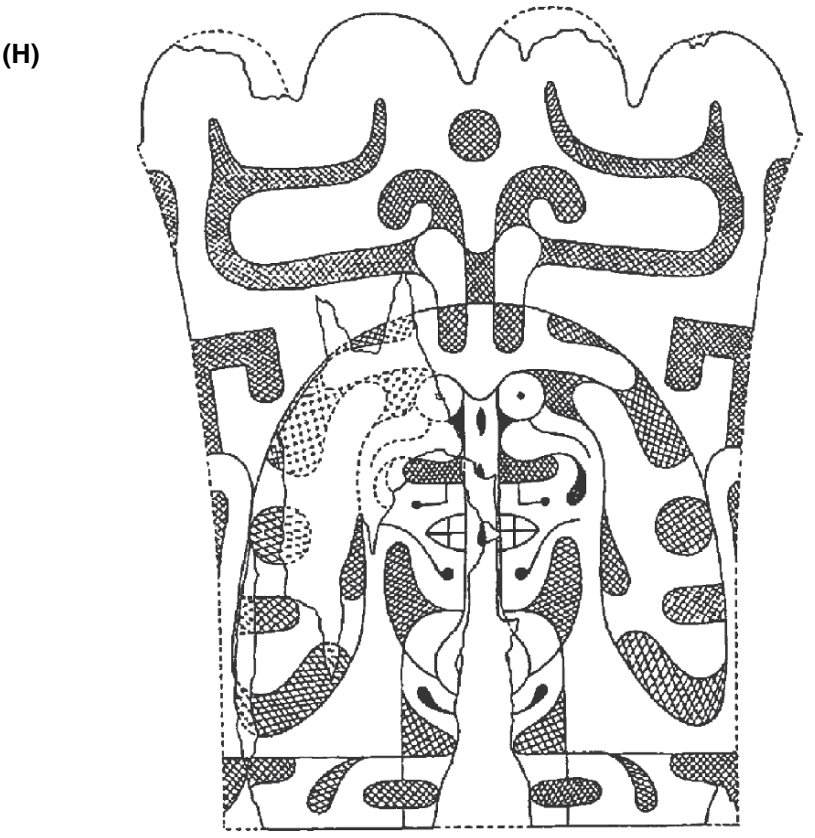
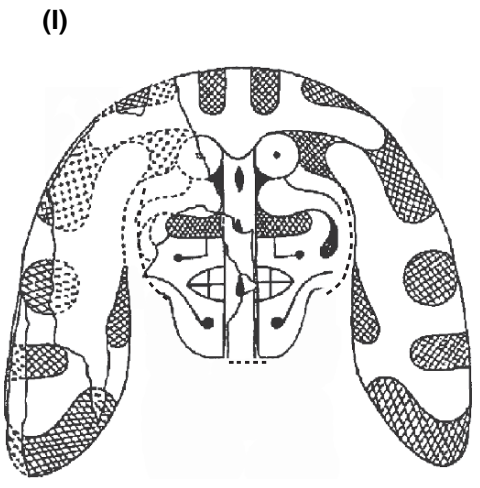


Figure 4.5. (*continued*) of the *axis mundi*, analogous to its representation and position on five to seven of the fourteen know Adena tablets. (D) The human or emergent plant form rotated right side up. (E) Positive-negative play through the ambiguity of dark and light on a Havana Hopewell zone-incised, dentate-stamped ceramic pot from the Klunk cemetery, Mound 1, Tomb B in the lower Illinois valley. (F) Stylized bird tail in light/shiny/polished surface. (G) Forked snake tongue in dark/dull/stamped surface. (H) Positive-negative play through the ambiguity of dark and light, on an incised human or bear femur, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25. (I) Human face with drooping headdress in dark. (J) Masked human face in light. See credits.

Depictions, Costumery, and Symbols of Position of Leaders

The very small number of Scioto Hopewell depictions of persons in the state of soul flight and using the powers of nature – the hallmarks of the classic shaman – suggests that classic shaman were infrequent among Hopewell peoples in the Scioto-Paint Creek area. Only two such depictions are know there. One is a pipe excavated by Squier and Davis (1848:247; Fowke 1902:592) from the Mound City earthworks (Figure 4.6A). It depicts a bird-man: a man's head with the body of a bird. The bird-man appears to be in flight, because





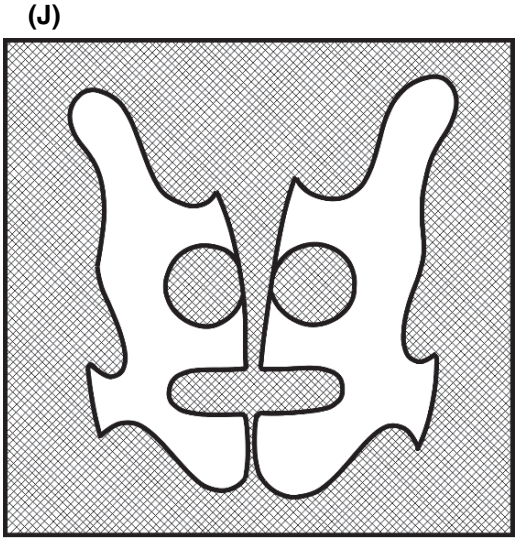


Figure 4.5. (***continued***)

Figure 4.6. (A) A bird-man in flight. Smoking pipe from the Mound City site, Ohio. (B) A bear shaman. The "Wray" figurine, limonite and schist, from the Newark site. See credits.

when the pipe is held for smoking, the bird's body is oriented fully horizontally rather than in a perched position, and the head of the man faces forward as would the head of a bird in flight rather than perched. This is a convincing case because soul flight is most commonly experienced as one being transformed into a bird that flies or being carried by a flying bird (e.g., Eliade 1964:474–482; Halifax 1979:16–18). Significantly, the depiction is on a pipe – an implement for inducing trance states in which soul flight can be experience.

A second rendering less certainly shows a classic shaman in soul flight and using the powers of nature. It is a stone sculpture from the Cherry Valley mound group of the Newark site in the neighboring Licking valley (Figure 4.6B; Dragoo and Wray 1964; Lepper 2004:77–78). The sculpture depicts a human largely enveloped by the image of a bear. The hands and arms of the man are fully transformed and at one with the paws and forelegs of the bear. The man's feet have a clawlike appearance (Dragoo and Wray, p. 197). The sculpture could be depicting the coming of a bear spirit from behind to merge with the body of the man, the man wearing a bear skin costume, or both. Merging with a power animal and "becoming" it is an essential practice in the shamanic arts of many traditions around the world (e.g., Harner 1980:73–88; Halifax 1979). The man is in trance, indicated by his closed eyes and drooped mouth, as expectable for a shaman in the process of transforming into an animal spirit helper or a costumed shaman at work. The hard-to-hold, asymmetric positioning of the bear-man's arms is similar to postures that are meant to help induce trance and are known around the globe (Goodman 1990). The human head with extended hair on the lap of the bear-man could depict his soul in the process of leaving his abdomen at the initiation of soul flight. Four aspects of the figurine mutually reinforce the identification of the human head as the bear-man's departing soul. First, the abdomen is one of several common locations of soul departure from a body that is spoken of crossculturally. Second, the head has earspools that echo the earspools and identity of the man in trance. Third, the head's eyes are open, which would be true of a soul disembodying and in contrast to the closed eyes of the man in trance. Fourth, unlike the rest of the figurine, which is round and fully realistic, the head has been rendered flat. This flat form recalls how one sees oneself reflected in a mirror or still water. Significantly, such flat, reflected images are commonly thought in premodern societies to be the soul of the person who is gazing into the mirror or water (Hall 1976b:361). In this interpretation, the sculpture depicts a person in soul flight. The person could be either a classic shaman whose tutelary spirit was the bear, or a shaman-like specialist bear doctor and member of a bear doctoring society, like those commonly found in the historic Eastern Woodlands (see below, A Clan-Specific Ceremonial Society). The identification of the person as a bear doctor is less probable, because historic Woodlands bear doctors did not typically use soul flight to heal their patients.[2]

An alternative interpretation of the head on the bear-man's lap is that it represents the severed head of a war victum, or of a community member whose skull is being prepared for curation or for breaking apart before cremation or burial – practices that are known from bioarchaeological remains and studies (Baby 1954; Magrath 1945). In this interpretation, the bear-man would be a shaman-like war leader and/or body processor and psychopomp (see also Dragoo and Wray 1964:198).

Beyond the bird-man from Mound City and the bear-man from Newark, there are three other artifacts that may (or may not) indicate soul flight. All three, not coincidentally, are from the Mound City site. One is a hollow stump of a tree that was used as a burial container to hold the cremated remains of a person (Mound 7, Burial 5; Mills 1922:487, figure 30). This absolutely unique burial in the Scioto Hopewell world may represent a shaman in the trunk of the World Tree – a vehicle used by classic shaman bird-men for soul flight during the Early Woodland period (see immediately below). The second two artifacts possibly indicating soul flight are two copper breastplates that each depict raptors at their four corners and a central, vertical column that probably represents the World Tree (Mound 7, Burial 9; Mills 1922:489–491, 534–535, figures 62 and 63). One of these breastplates is illustrated above in Figure 4.5A. The breastplates have the same format of birds at their corners and a vertical central column as some Adena tablets that more realistically render the central column as the World Tree with bird impersonators who have traveled up it (Figure 4.7 A–E).[3]

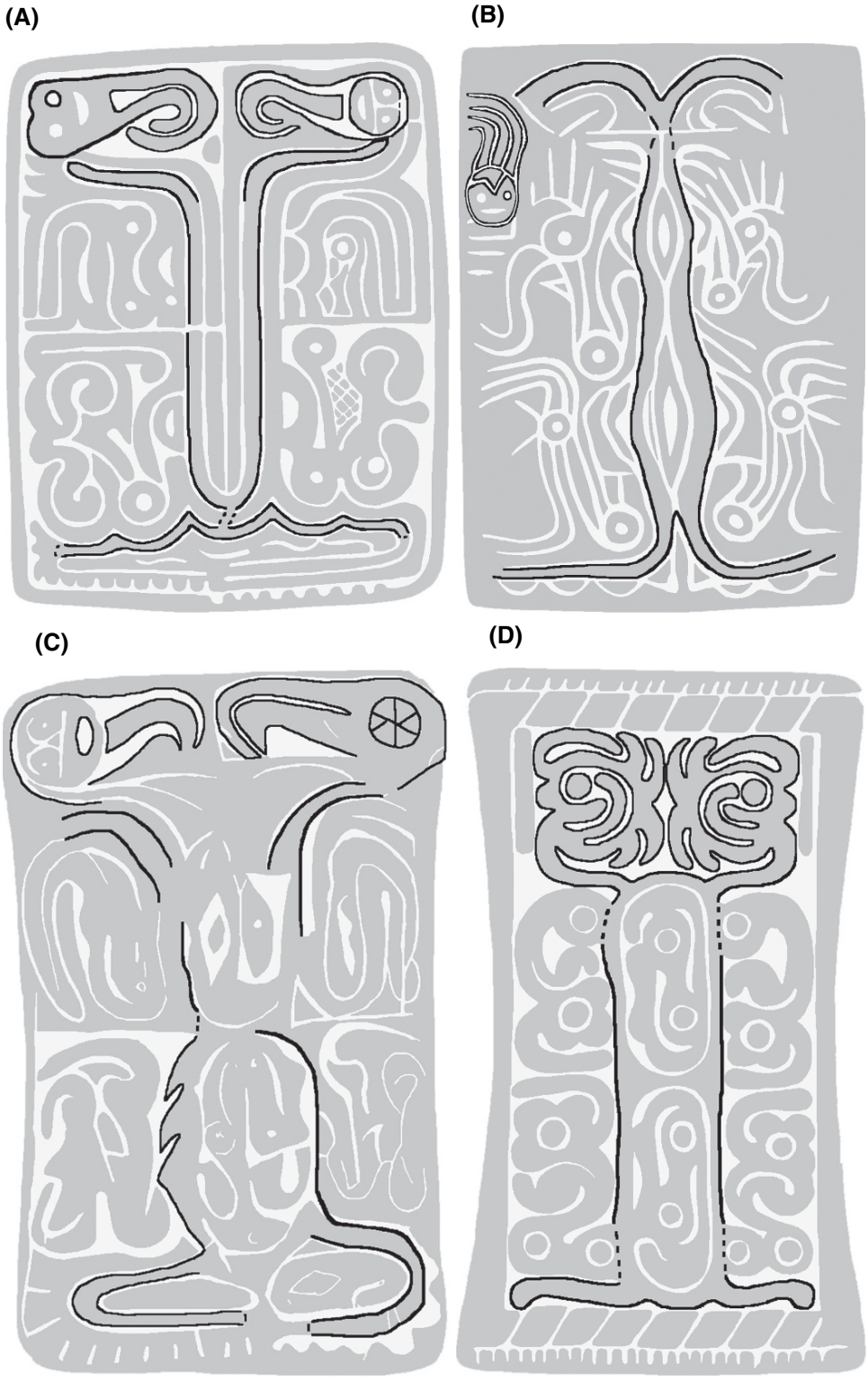


Figure 4.7. (*continued*)

Figure 4.7. (*continued*)

There is a clear decrease in the frequency of artistic renderings of classic shaman and presumably in the commonality of their presence from the late Early Woodland through the early Middle Woodland, and perhaps none thereafter, in the greater Scioto-Paint Creek area. In the late Early Woodland, 5–7 of the 14 Adena tablet carvings (Figure 4.7; Otto 1975; Penney 1980; Webb and Baby 1957), a large smoking pipe carving (Mills 1902:474–479), and perhaps a blocked-end tubular pipe (Smith 1964) show bird-men in soul flight. Such references to soul flight are less common in the early Middle Woodland, limited to the bird-man pipe, and possibly the stump burial and two breastplates, all from the Mound City earthwork, which dates to early in the Middle Woodland period (Ruby et al. 2005:161, Figure 4.6). The artistic theme of the bird-man in soul flight does not appear to have continued into the later Middle Woodland period, although depictions of bird-men in general and symbolic references to them do (see below, Figure 4.8H; Carr 2000c, 2005e; see also Note 3).

The decrease in artistic renderings of classic shaman from the Early through Middle Woodland periods accords well with Winkelman's (1989, 1990, 1992) crosscultural model of change in the forms of magico-religious practitioners as a society grows in size and overall complexity. Whereas classic shaman who use soul flight are common around the globe in very small-scale societies that rely on hunting, gathering, and/or fishing, they are rare in agricultural societies that lack much political integration beyond the local community – a characterization that roughly fits Scioto Hopewell societies.

In contrast to classic shaman, specialized shaman-like practitioners of multiple varieties appear to have been much more common in Scioto Hopewell societies. Shaman-like practitioners who used the powers of nature and who impersonated animals, retaining the practice of "becoming" one's power animal but not necessarily of soul flight, are represented by both ceremonial headdresses and depictions of persons in headdresses. The animals that were impersonated include deer, elk, bear, cat, dog, bird, perhaps hummingbird, and a composite creature with deer, spoonbill, and perhaps snake elements (Figure 4.8). In addition, one person was buried with a deer tooth replacement for a human tooth in the lower jaw (Figure 4.8F). These shaman-like specialists each performed only one or a few of the roles of the classic shaman generalist, and each used only a limited range of the kinds of shaman-like paraphernalia shown in Figure 4.1 (see below, The Nature and Organization of Leadership Roles).

Leaders who did not use shamanic methods and symbolism seem to have been less common than shaman-like practitioners in Scioto Hopewellian societies. Three art works show

Figure 4.7. Engraved clay or stone Adena tablets showing the World Tree with bird impersonators and/or birds on top of it, or making their way up its trunk. (A) The Wilmington tablet. (B) The Lakin A tablet. (C) The Meigs tablet. (D) The Cincinnati tablet. (E) The Gaitskill tablet.

Figure 4.8. Depictions of persons in ceremonial headdresses, and ceremonial headdresses themselves, that imply shaman-like practitioners who used the powers of nature, impersonated animals, and practiced "becoming" one's power animal but not necessarily soul flight. (A) Cat impersonator carved in stone, from the Mound City earthwork, Mound 8, the altar. (B) Copper headplate with cutout of a cat's paw and claws, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Burial 4. The paw design is possibly comprised of a pair of bird heads as typically stylized in the Adena tablets and Scioto Hopewell art. (C) Copper headdress effigy of a "dog"-like creature, from Mound City, Mound 13, Burial 3. (D) Copper effigy deer racks for attachment to a headdress, from the Mound City earthwork, Mound 13, Burial 4. (E) Copper headdress with copper covered, wooden, new deer antlers, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Skeletons 260 and 261. (F) Deer tooth replacement for a human tooth (I 26) in the mandible of a human, from the Liberty earthwork, Edwin Harness mound. Deer tooth shown as a photograph, human teeth as line drawing. (G) Copper headplate with effigy elk antlers, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Burial 248.

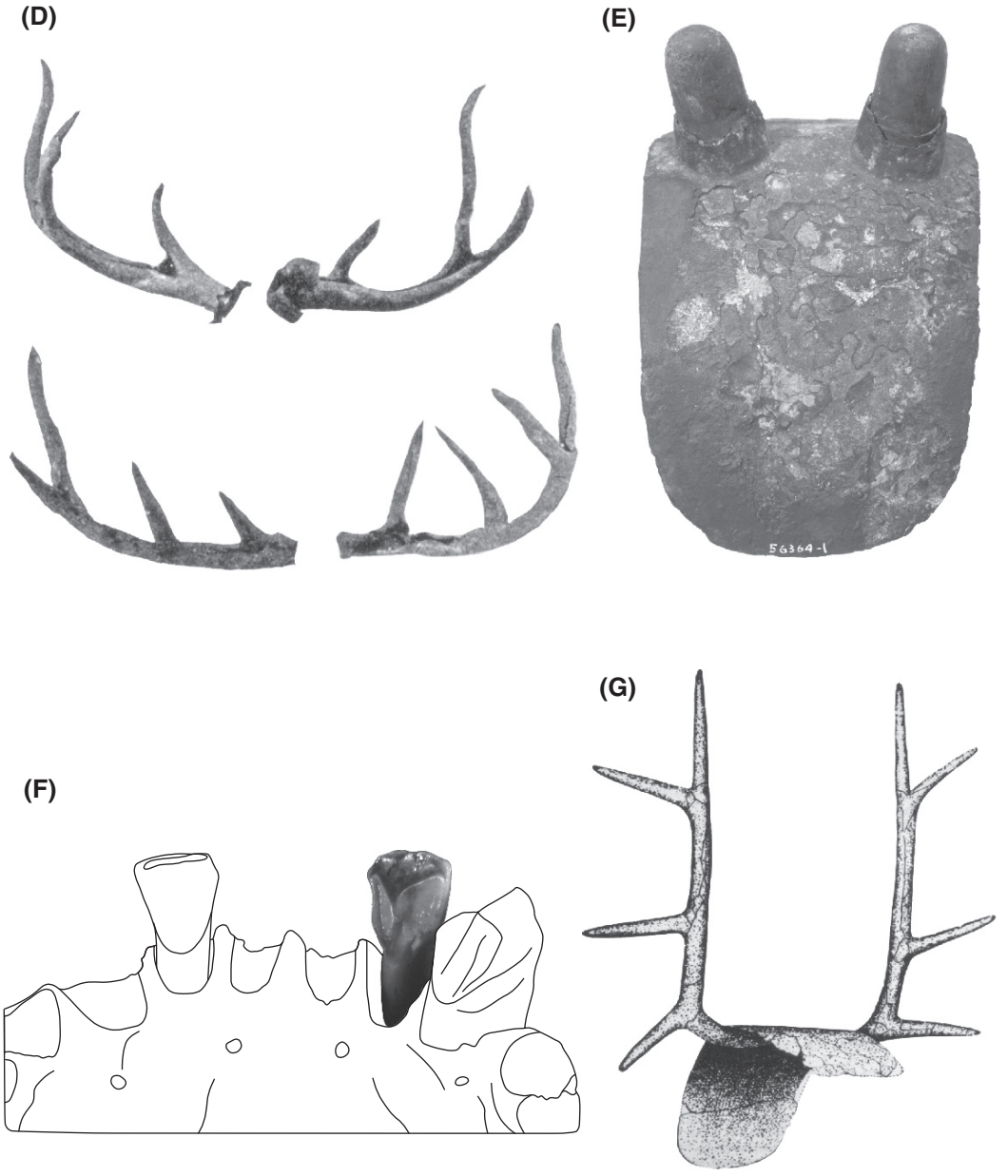


Figure 4.8. (*continued*) **(H) Copper headplate in the form of a bird's feather, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 7, unnumbered burial. (I) Bird impersonator (note nose/beak) with a three-layered turban-like headdress cut from mica, from the Turner earthwork, Mound 3, Central Altar in the Little Miami valley, Ohio. (J) Copper headplate with copper and mica effigy wings of a shimmering, flying creature (insect?, cicada?, hummingbird?) and/or effigy deer ears, from the Hopewell site, Mound 25, Burial 11. (K, *left*) Nonutilitarian copper celt with appliqué depiction of a human face and torso in profile facing right. The person has a bird's nose and wears a tall raptor headdress, i.e., is a raptor impersonator. For better definition of the raptor impersonator, see the color enhancement, Figure 4.8K in the Appendix on the CD-ROM. From the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25. (K, *right*) Line drawing of the raptor impersonator. (L, *left*) Black-and-white rendition of a false-color image enhancement of a nonutilitarian copper celt patinated with a human face and torso facing right and analogous to K. The person wears a tall raptor headdress, i.e., is a raptor impersonator. For better definition of the raptor impersonator, see the false-color enhancement,**

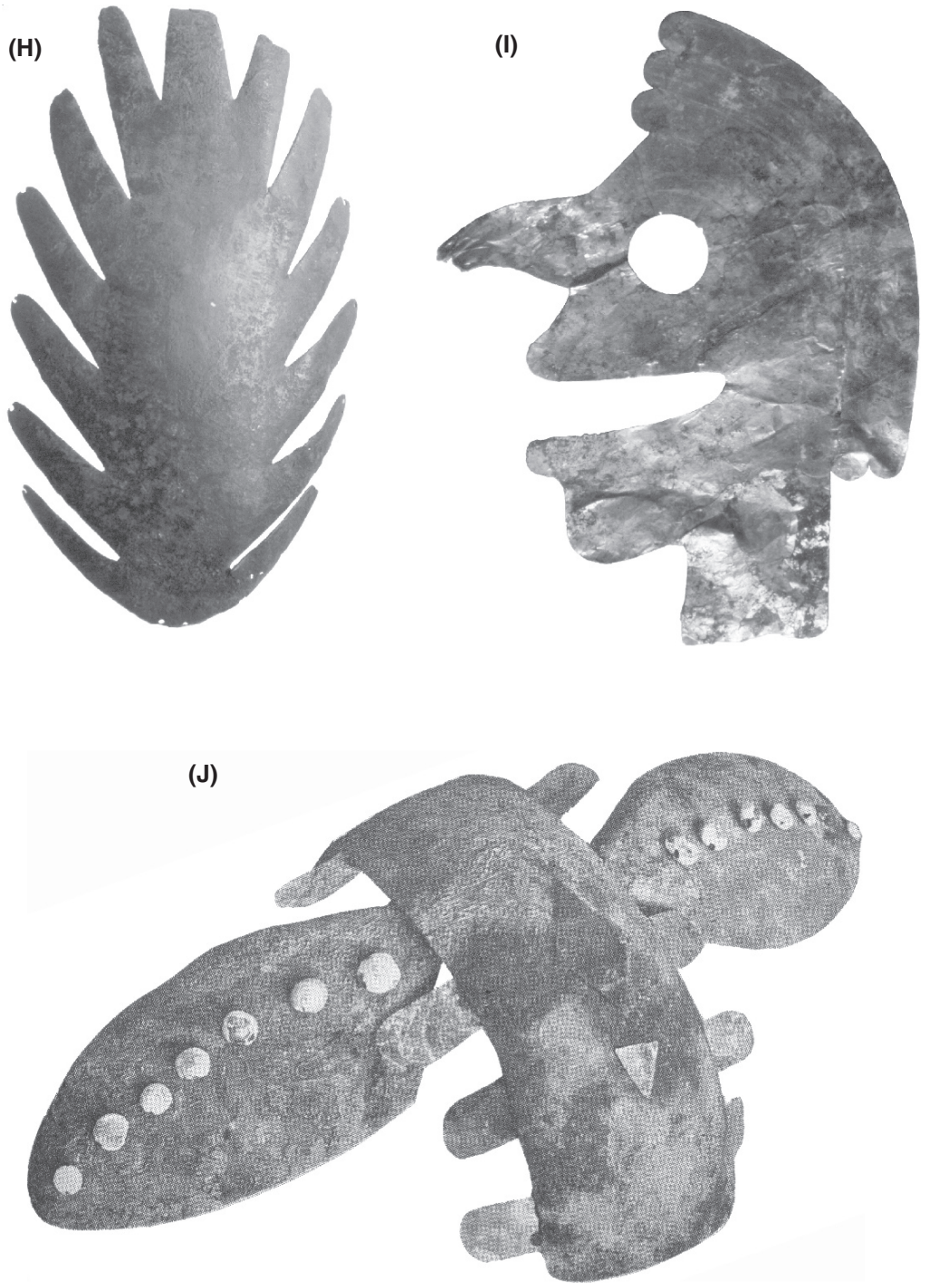


Figure 4.8. (*continued*) Figure 4.8L, in the Appendix on the CD-ROM. From the Edwards mound group, Mound 4, Skeleton 20, Anderson Township, Hamilton County, Ohio (33HA7) (Metz 1878:125; 1881:295; Putnam and Metz 1884:374). (L, *right*) Line drawing of the raptor impersonator. Both raptor impersonators in K and L are engulfed by the raptor headdress that they wear or by a raptor spirit, much like the bear impersonator shown in Figure 4.6B

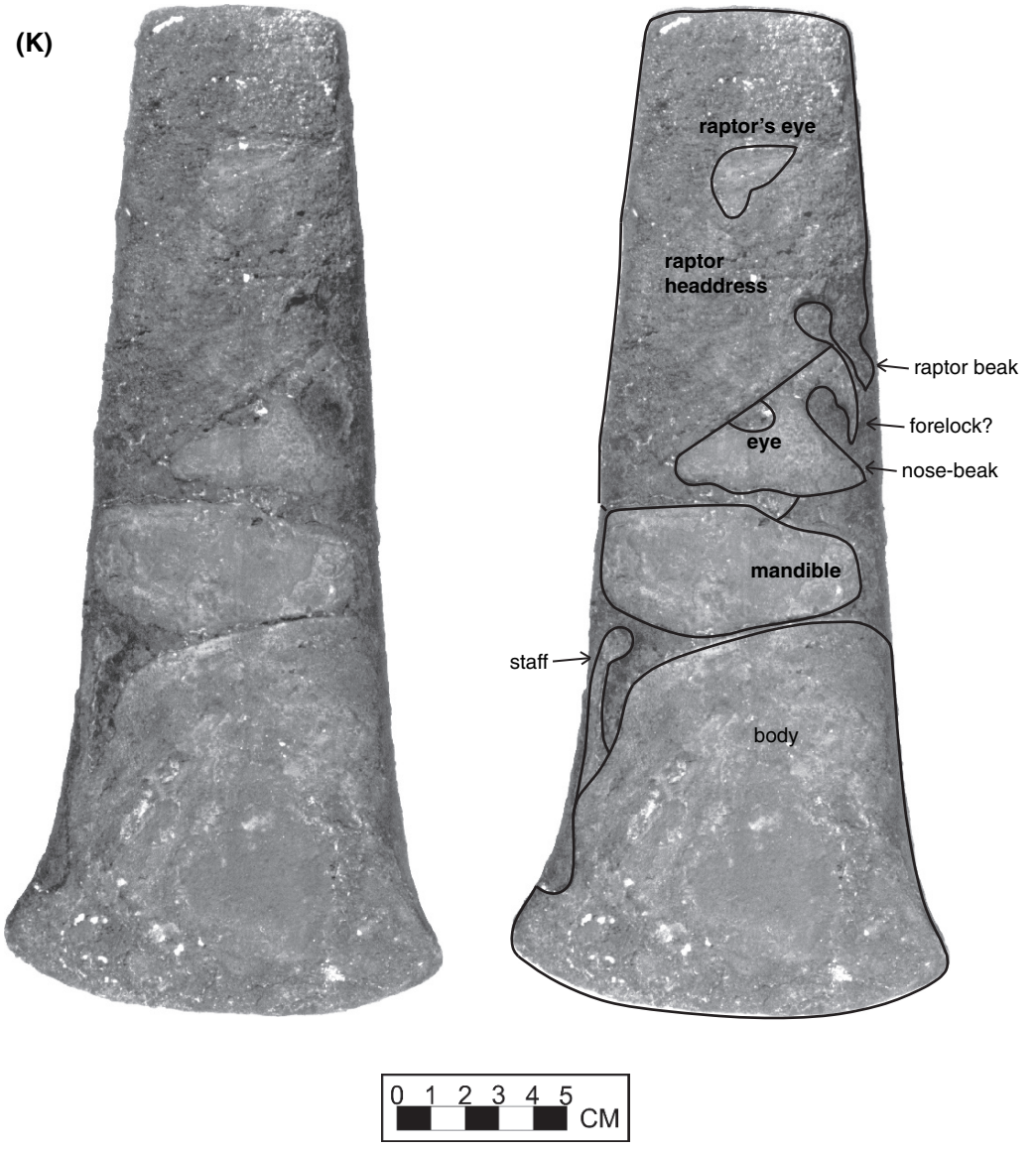


Figure 4.8. (*continued*) is engulfed by a bear headdress and costume or a bear spirit. For other depictions of shaman-like animal impersonators, see Figure 4.5H – a-composite creature with deer, spoonbill duck, and perhaps snake elements (cf. Webb and Baby 1957:94, Figure 45), carved on a human or bear femur, from the Hopewell site, Mound 25, Burial 278. See credits.

individuals with curvilinear facial decorations – either tattooing, scarification, or face painting (Figure 4.9A–C). Two are effigy pipe bowls, from the Edwin Harness Mound in the Liberty earthwork (Greber 1983:33) and Mound 8 in the Mound City earthwork (Squier and Davis 1848:244, figure 143). The third is a carved ivory or shell baton from Hopewell Mound 25 (Moorehead 1922:166). The precise roles that these sculpted individuals played is unknown. However, in the Southeastern United States at the time of contact, tattooing marked leadership positions of several kinds, earned titles, and achievement in warfare (Hudson 1976:30, 230, 328–333). Leadership or achievement in warfare in Scioto Hopewell communities also may have

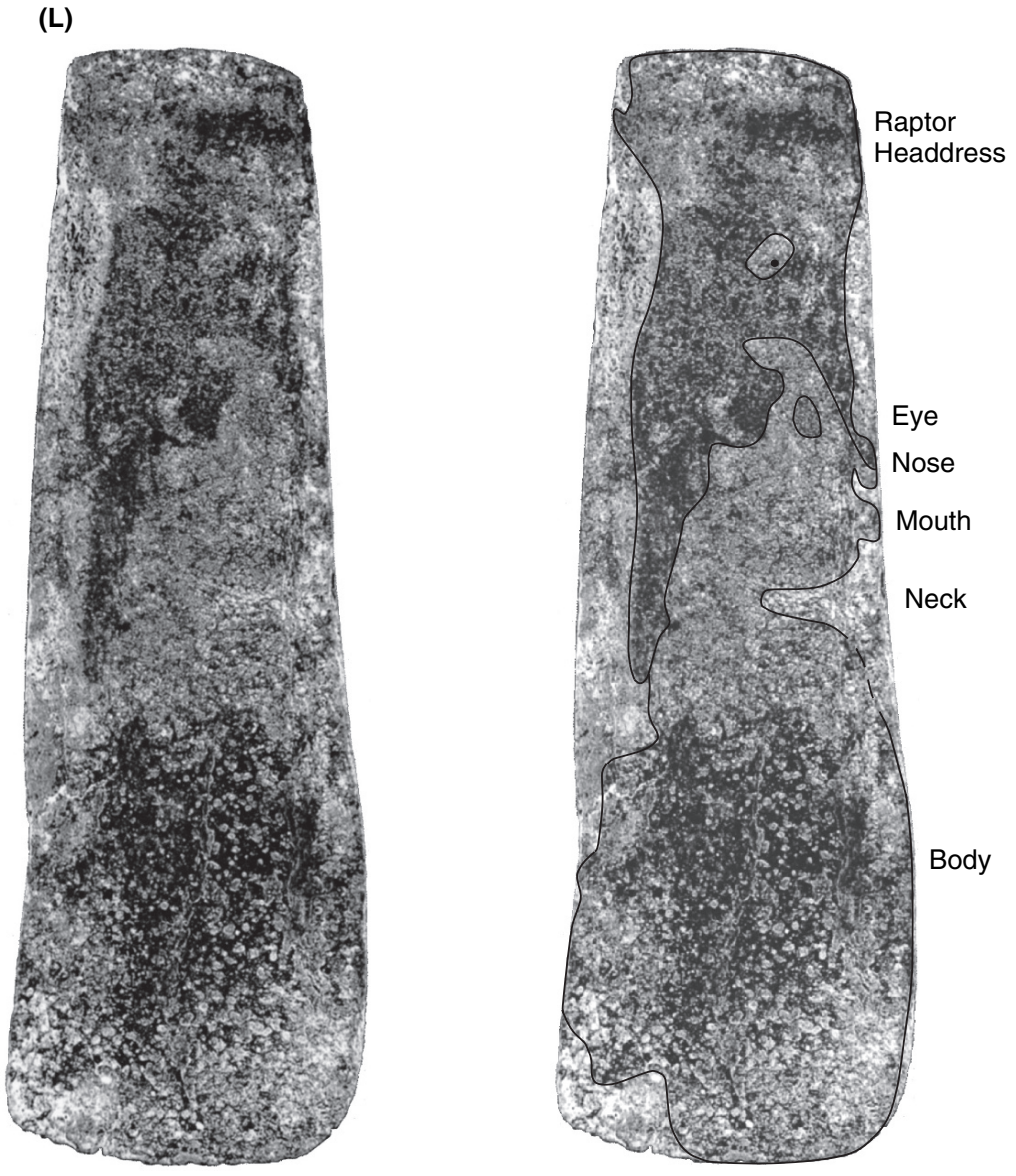


Figure 4.8. (*continued*)

been displayed by some, but not all, of several dozen "trophy" skulls (Johnston 2002; Seeman 1988), a drilled human digit, six effigy human trophy body parts, a large stone mace, and three copper and mica effigy atlatls identified by Hall (1977:503, figure 1) (Figure 4.9D–H), although alternative interpretations exist for these items (see Table 15.3 for proveniences, references, and interpretations). Leadership of unknown duties, but not obviously shaman-like ones, is depicted by a copper cutout of a human, possibly with a high feather headdress (Figure 4.9I).

Some costumery and symbols of position made of copper or mica give no indication of the tasks of classic shaman or shaman-like practitioners, but do imply a religious world view inspired by shamanism and its themes of transformation and seeing, evidenced in the materials of which they were made (Table 4.1).

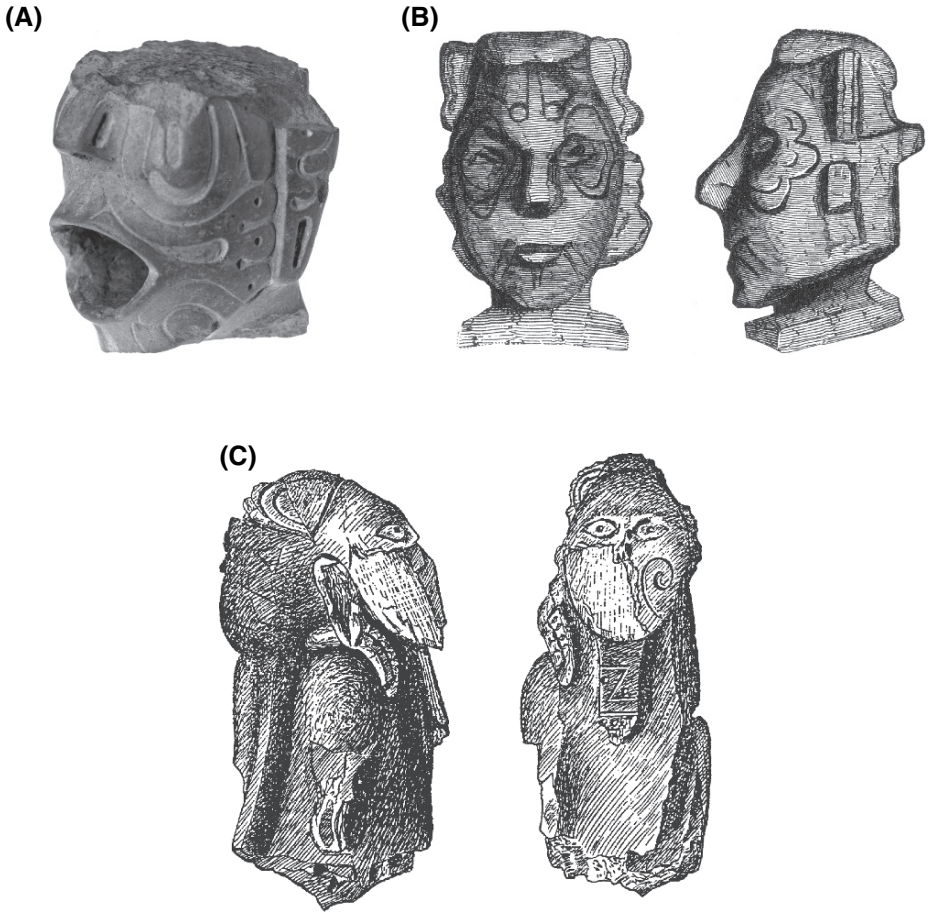


Figure 4.9. Depictions of persons in ceremonial headdresses, and ceremonial headdresses and paraphernalia, that do not directly imply shaman-like practitioners who used the powers of nature, impersonated animals, and practiced "becoming" ones power animal. (A) Human head with face painting, tattooing, or scarification, carved on a pipe bowl. From the Liberty earthwork, Edwin Harness mound. For another view, see Carr and Case (2005b:209, figure 5.8A) and Greber (1983:33). (B) Human head with face painting, tattooing, or scarification, carved on a pipe bowl from the Mound City earthwork, Mound 8. (C) Human head with face painting, tattooing, or scarification, carved on the end of an ivory or shell baton, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25. (D) Cannel coal effigy of a human thumb, possible trophy, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Skeleton 278. (E) Copper effigy of a human ear, possible trophy, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 17. (F) Copper effigy of human missing head and legs and perhaps with hands tied behind back, from the Mound City earthwork, Mound 13, Burial 11. (G) Stone mace from the Hopewell earthwork. (H) Two mica effigy atlatls and a copper effigy atlatl from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Altar 1 and the Copper Deposit, respectively. (I) Copper cutout of a human head, possibly with a high, feather headdress, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Burial 35. (J) Plain copper headplates. *Left:* From the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 2, Burial 5. *Right:* From the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Skeleton 243. (K) Nonutilitarian copper celt depicting in fabric and feather mosaic a human face in profile, facing right, wearing a headdress composed of multiple layers and a large earspool, from the Seip earthwork. (L) Unused, ceremonial stone celts, whole (*top*) and decommissioned by breaking (*bottom*). Top 17.5 inches long. Bottom 11.4 inches long. From the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 17. (M, *top*) Copper reel-shaped gorget from the Hazlett mound. (M, *middle*) Elaborate, copper reel-shaped gorget from the Hopewell earthwork, Copper Deposit. (M, *bottom*) Simple, copper reel-shaped gorget from the Tremper mound, Great Cache. (N) Copper crescent from the Liberty earthwork, Edwin Harness mound. (O) Copper elongated pendant from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Copper Deposit. (P) Copper spoon-shaped pendant worn in the opposite orientation of the

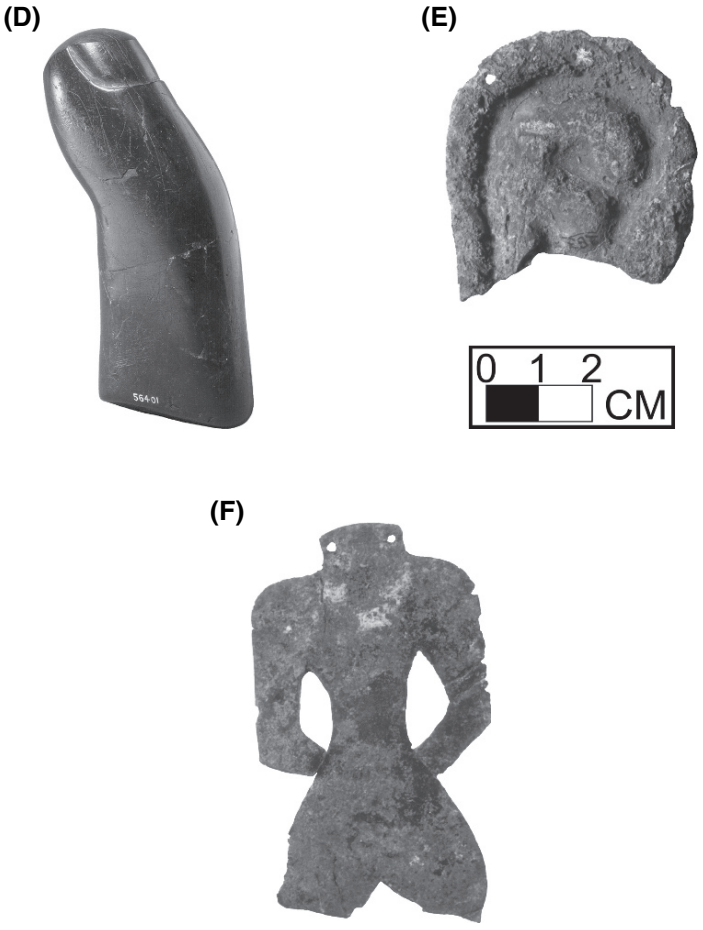


Figure 4.9. ***(continued)*** **elongated pendant shown in Figure 4.9 O. From the Mound City earthwork. Not shown are copper pendants in the form of the "bowl of a teaspoon" (Q) Copper eye-shaped pendant from the Turner earthwork, Mound 3, Altar. (R) Copper eye-shaped pendant with hole possibly representing pupil. From the Turner earthwork, Mound 3, Altar. (S) Copper eye-shaped pendant with gold foil overlay, from the Turner earthwork, Mound 3, Altar. (T) Copper expanding sided pendant with center hole, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25. (U) Copper geometric cutout without obvious reference to cosmological concepts by its shape, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Copper Deposit. See credits.**

Here, recall that the religious knowledge, beliefs, and symbols of a community having shaman or shaman-like practitioners is not synonymous with the shaman or shaman-like practitioner's knowledge, beliefs, and symbols (see above). Thus, for example, copper headplates that lack animal parts symbolized a community-wide leadership role without implying shamanic or shaman-like tasks (Figure 4.9J; Carr 2005a:280–283). Nonutilitarian copper celts likewise symbolized community-wide leadership, but could have been used in either nonshamanic or shamanic ritual tasks (see below, Table 4.2, Role Bundle 4; Carr 2005a:280–283; Bernardini and Carr 2005:635–637). Copper celts were commonly decorated with depictions of either persons in nonshamanic regalia (Figure 4.9K) or persons costumed as animals (Figure 4.8L). Later in the Woodlands, copper celts symbolized high

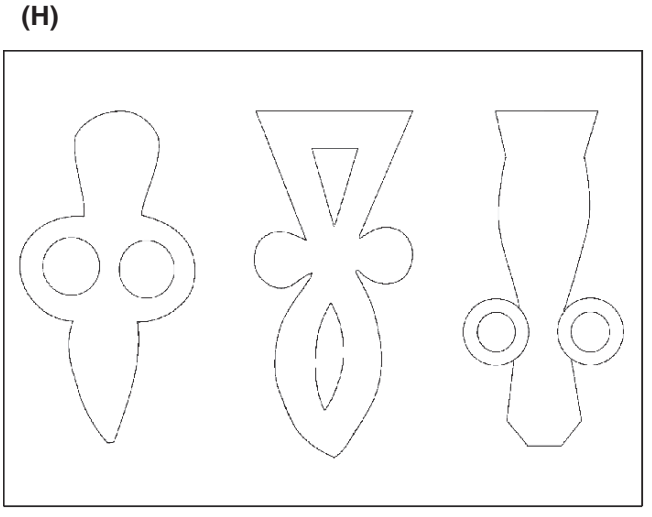


Figure 4.9. (***continued***)

offices and achievement in warfare.[4] Large, nonutilitarian ground stone celts, like their copper analogs, also appear to have marked community-wide leadership (Figure 4.9L; see below, Table 4.2, Role Bundle 2) and could have symbolized either nonshamanic or shamanic tasks. Copper and mica effigy power parts of clan totems or eponyms may

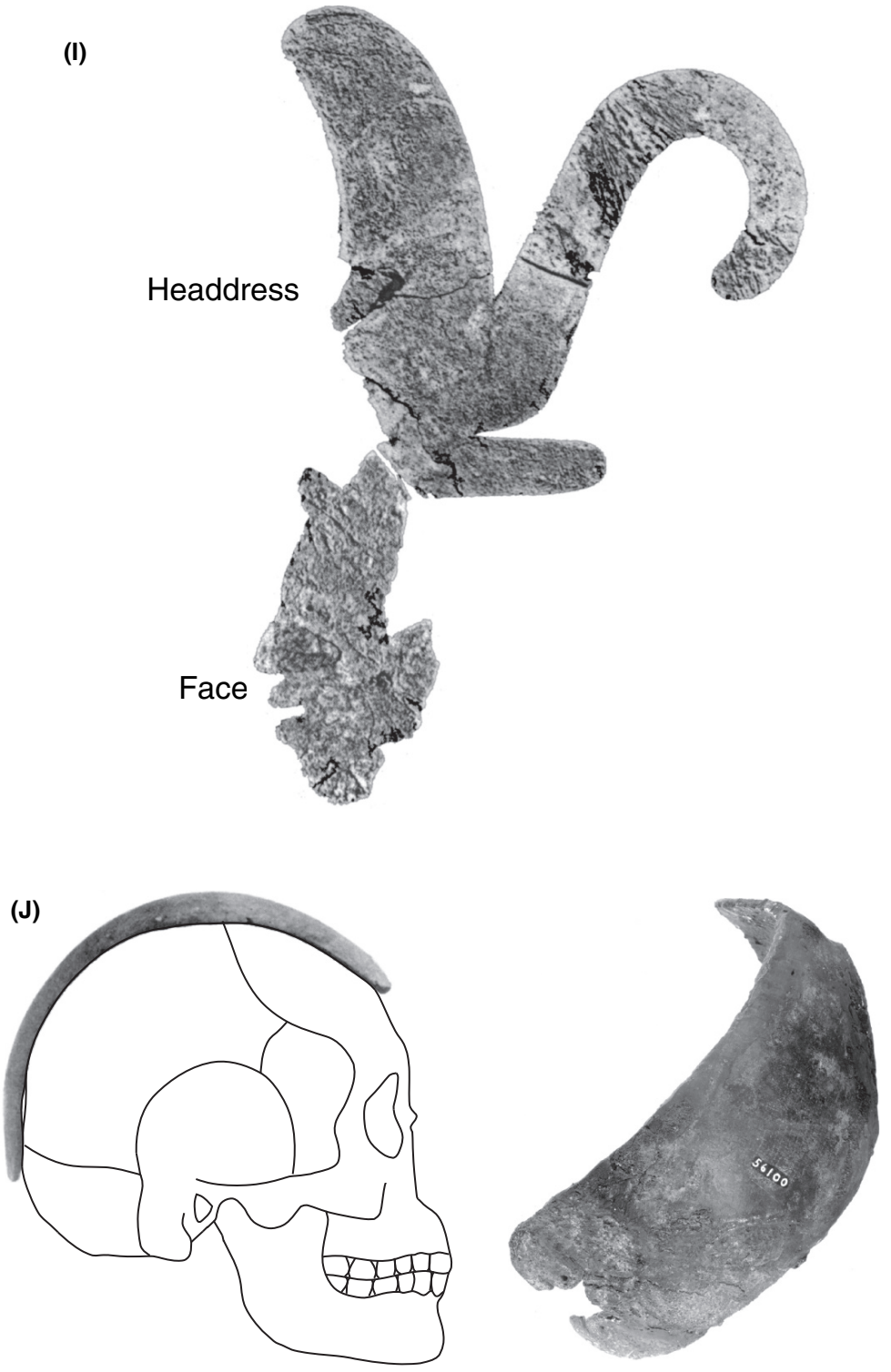
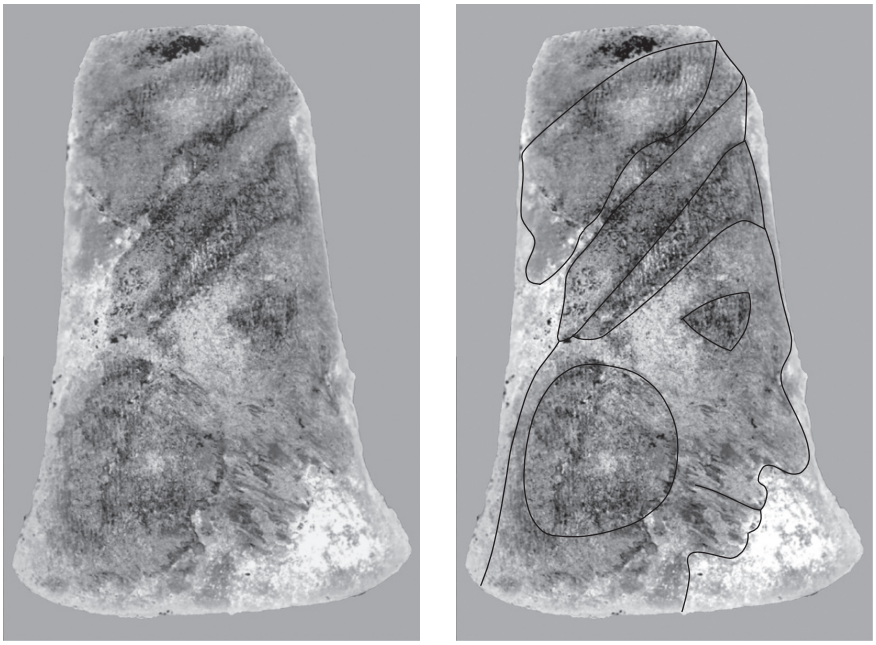


Figure 4.9. (*continued*)

(K)



(L)

Figure 4.9. (*continued*)

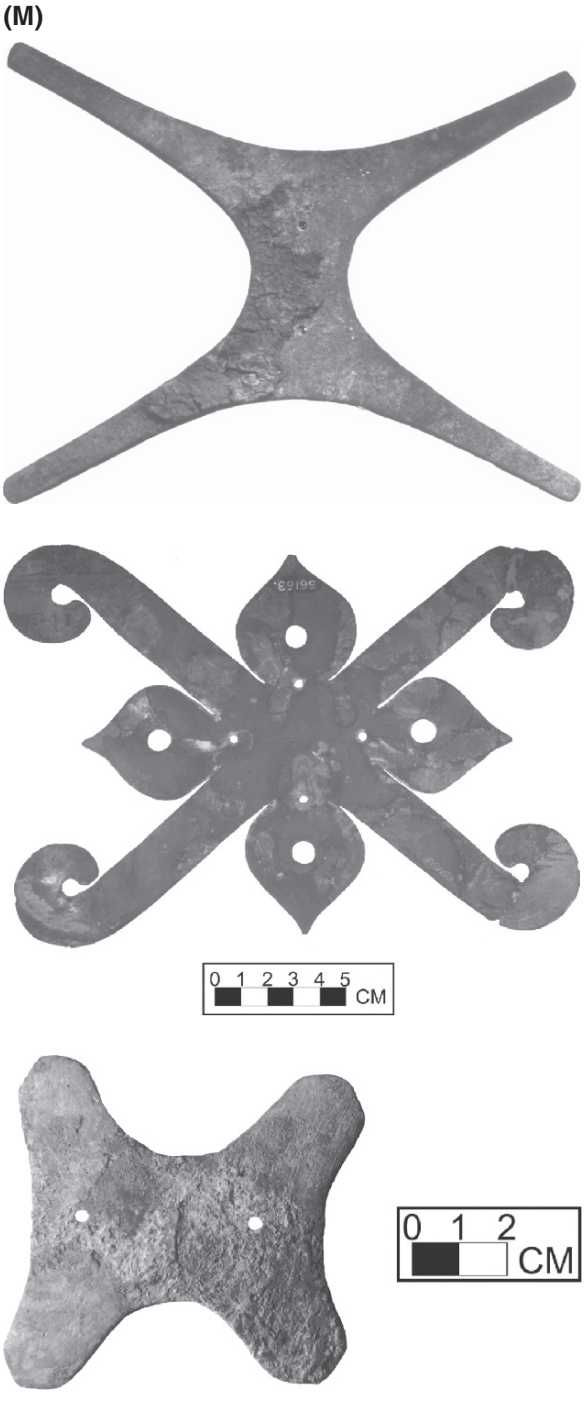


Figure 4.9. (*continued*)

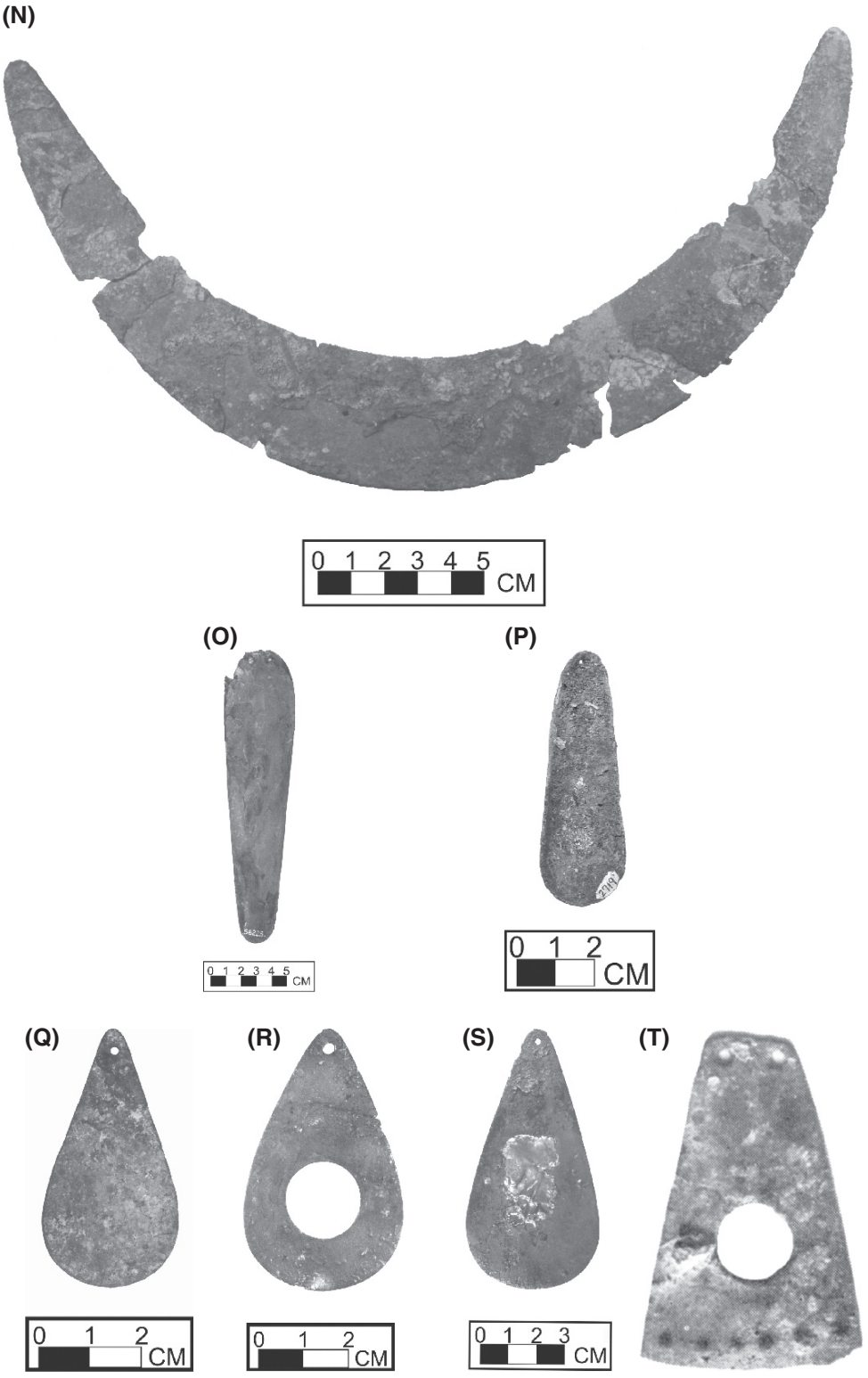


Figure 4.9. (*continued*)

Figure 4.9. (*continued*)

have marked clan leadership (see below, Figure 4.12B, C). These artifacts are rare compared to real animal power parts (Thomas et al. 2005). Other elements of costumery and symbols of position that were made of copper and imply a shamanic world view but not shamanic or shaman-like tasks include rare, reel-shaped gorgets, crescents, teardrop shaped pendants, teaspoon-shaped pendants, and geometric cutouts without cosmological referents (Figure 4.9M–U).

Some elements of dress made of copper or mica again reveal a religious world view inspired by shamanism, but more probably reflect the prestige and wealth of an individual and his or her clan rather than a particular position of leadership. Mica covered bead necklaces, copper bead necklaces, and copper and silver covered buttons are examples (Figure 4.10).

In sum, the shamanic qualities that run deep through Scioto Hopewell material assemblages reflect societies that were led predominately by complementary, specialized shaman-like practitioners and that had a broad, shamanic, cultural world view within which those practitioners operated. A few classic shaman were significant leaders early in the Middle Woodland period, and a variety of

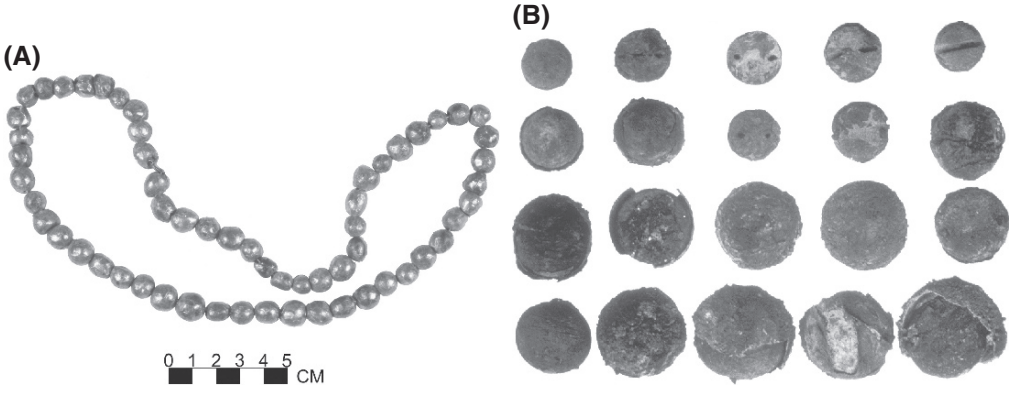


Figure 4.10. Costumery that probably reflects the prestige and wealth of an individual and his or her clan, rather than a position of leadership. (A) Mica covered bead necklace from the Liberty earthwork, Edwin Harness mound. (B) Buttons of wood, clay, and stone, covered with copper and/or silver, from the Hopewell earthwork. See credits.

leaders who apparently did not use shamanic or shaman-like methods were important socially throughout the Middle Woodland period.

Proportion of Shamanic and Shaman-Like Leaders to Nonshaman-Like Leaders

The great predominance of classic shaman and shaman-like leaders over leaders who did not use shaman-like methods and symbolism in the Scioto-Paint Creek area is vividly expressed by the contents of the large ceremonial deposits in the Mound City and Hopewell sites (Carr, Goldstein et al., 2005:490–494, Table 13.3) These two sites were locations of burial of a disproportionately high number of leaders compared to commoners (Chapter 3, Local Symbolic Communities; Carr 2005a; Carr, Goldstein et al. 2005) and, consequently, provide a good view of the spectrum of leaders in Scioto Hopewellian societies. Of 13 large ceremonial deposits that contained primarily the paraphernalia of leaders, 12 were comprised mainly of artifacts associated with classic shaman or shaman-like practitioners. Obsidian points, quartz points, copper geometrics with cosmological references, mica geometrics, mica mirrors, chlorite and pyrite cones/hemispheres, chlorite disks, raw Indiana hornstone disks, raw galena cubes, and raw obsidian dominated these 12 deposits. Only one deposit contained largely paraphernalia that might indicate nonshaman-like leaders. It had a large number of copper celts, which could have marked either shaman-like or nonshaman-like roles (see above). None of the deposits were dominated by items that more likely marked nonshaman-like leaders, such as copper and mica effigy power parts, reel-shaped gorgets, crescents, teardrop and teaspoon-shaped pendants, or geometric cutouts without cosmological referents.[5]

The sheer quantities of shamanic or shaman-like artifacts that were placed in these deposits give some sense of the numbers and/or importance of shamanic or shaman-like leaders in Scioto Hopewellian societies. The deposits included: several hundred obsidian points, more than a bushel of quartz points, 50–100 limpid quartz points, 109+ copper geometric cutouts, about 200 mica geometric cutouts, hundreds of mica mirrors, an 8×4 feet rectangular area covered by mica mirrors, a 7×6.5 feet area of mica sheets/mirrors, 80 cones and hemispheres of chlorite and pyrite, 30–40 chlorite disks, 8,000 ovate preforms of Indiana hornstone, 30 pounds of galena in 2-ounce to 3-pound pieces, 25 pounds of galena crystals, 12 galena cubes of 12–15 pounds each, 300 pounds of obsidian debitage, and dozens of quartz crystals. There are no corresponding accumulations of artifacts that would indicated nonshaman-like leaders in plenty in the Scioto-Paint Creek area.

The Nature and Organization of Leadership Roles

In the Scioto Hopewell record, depictions of leaders, costumery, and other symbols of leadership positions provide good detail on the sacred and secular nature of the power bases of leaders. Patterns of association and dissociation of artifactual markers of leadership that were placed in graves give further insight into this topic, as well as whether or not leadership roles were centralized in the hands of a few individuals, institutionalized, and/or supralocal in their domains of power.

Using a sample of 767 burials from 60 mounds in 15 large and small mounds across Ohio, and 55 artifact classes that indicate leadership roles and/or other roles of importance (e.g., Table 4.1, above), Carr and Case (2005b) were able to find those artifact role markers that repeatedly occurred together in burials, indicating a given role or bundle of roles, and those artifact role markers that seldom or never occurred together, indicating role segregation. In all, 21 sets of artifacts could be defined (Table 4.2). The large sample used in this analysis helped to ensure statistically significant and stable results. The analysis was then repeated on grave goods within each of four cemeteries in the Scioto-Paint Creek area, alone: Mound City, Hopewell Mound 25, Seip-Pricer mound, and Ater mound. These cemeteries form a chronological sequence and allowed changes in leadership characteristics to be described over the Middle Woodland period. For each

Table 4.2. Global Organization of Roles at 15 Ohio Hopewell Ceremonial Centers[1]

Abbrevation for Artifact Class[2]	Artifact Class
Role 1: Shaman-Like Public Ceremonial Leadership (Median Jaccard = 0.181; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 2–3 burials)	
headsham	headplate, copper with shaman-like-animal referents
copcutsham	cutout, copper with shaman-like-cosmos symbolism (shared)
cutother	cutout, copper and mica with unknown symbolism
baton	baton of bone, antler, or copper (shared)
ironraw	iron, raw (shared)
silverraw	silver, raw (shared)
copraw	copper, raw (shared)
Role Bundle 2: Nonshaman-Like (?) and Shaman-Like Public Ceremonial Leadership (Median Jaccard = 0.182; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 2–3 burials)	
headlead	headplate, copper, without shaman-like animal referents
baton	baton of bone, antler, or copper (shared)
celtstone	celt, stone
copcutsham	cutout, copper with shaman-like-cosmos symbolism (shared)
ironraw	iron, raw (shared)
silverraw	silver, raw (shared)
copraw	copper, raw (shared)
Role 3: Public Ceremonial Leadership (Median Jaccard = 0.095; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 4–5 burials)	
conch	conch shell (shared)
spoon	spoon, shell
Role Bundle 4: Sodality Achievement and Nonshaman-Like Leadership Recruitment (Median Jaccard = 0.102; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 4–5 burials)	
breastpl	breastplate, copper (shared)
earspother	earspool, copper, placed elsewhere than in hand (shared?)
celtmetal	celt of copper or iron
conch	conch shell (shared)
Role Bundle 5: Sodality and Possibly War Achievement (Median Jaccard = 0.078; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 6 burials)	
breastpl	breastplate, copper (shared)
earsphand	earspool, copper, placed in the hands (shared?)
trophyjwsk	trophy jaw or skull, human
gemprism	prismatic blade, gem (shared)
Role Bundle 6: Hunt or War Divination or Sending or Pulling Power Intrusions, Other Divination, and Nonshaman-Like (?) Public Ceremonial Leadership (Median Jaccard = 0.170; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 2–3 burials)	
obsidbiface	biface, obsidian
qzgembiface	biface, quartz or gem
galena	galena, raw
micasheet	mica sheet
sharktooth	shark tooth

(*continued*)

Table 4.2. (*continued*)

Abbrevation for Artifact Class[2]	Artifact Class
headlead	headplate, copper, without shaman-like animal referents
copraw	copper, raw (shared)
pyriteraw	pyrite, raw (from analysis of caches)
owleffigy	owl effigy (from analysis of caches) (shared)
marble	marble (from analysis of caches) (shared)
Role 7: Divination (Median Jaccard = 0.091; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 5 burials)	
boatstone	boatstones, any material
conehemi	cones and hemispheres, any material
barracuda	barracuda jaw
crescent	crescent, copper (shared)
nosecopper	nose insert, copper
tortshorn	ornament, tortoise shell
button	buttons, copper
qzcup	cup, quartz (from analysis of caches)
owleffigy	owl effigy (from analysis of caches) (shared)
marble	marble (from analysis of caches) (shared)
Role 8: Body Processor and Possibly Psychopomp (Median Jaccard = 0.113; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 4 burials)	
awl	awl.
pipesmall	pipe, small
Role 9: Healing, Sucking Energies, and Possibly Sending Energies (Median Jaccard = 0.200; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 2 burials)	
tubefuncunkn	tube, function unknown
alligtooth	alligator tooth
Role 10: Healing, and Sending and/or Removing Energies (Median Jaccard = 0.060; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 7–8 burials)	
fancypoint	fancy points, copper, mica, or schist
panpipe	panipe
crescent	crescent (shared)
tortraw	tortoise shell, raw
plummet	plummet (from analysis of caches)
Role Bundle 11: Shaman-Like Leadership: Philosophy, Divination, and Possibly War Achievement (Median Jaccard = 0.100; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 4–5 burials)	
copcutsham	cutout, copper with shaman-like-cosmos symbolism (shared)
micacutsham	cutout, mica with shaman-like-cosmos symbolism
conehemi	cones and hemispheres, any materials (shared)
trophy	trophy parts, effigy human finger or hand, of mica, copper, or stone
Role 12: Unknown Kind (Median Jaccard = 0.125; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 3–4 burials)	
painttablet	painting equipment (cup, pestle, ochre, grinder) and/or tablet of stone
fancypot	pottery, fancy surface treatment and decoration

(*continued*)

Table 4.2. (*continued*)

Abbrevation for Artifact Class[2]	Artifact Class
Role 13: Divination? (Median Jaccard = 0.167; median pairwise co-occurrence = 1 in 2–3 burials)	
copball	balls, copper
gemprism	prismatic blade, gem (shared)
Roles 14–21: Independently Distributed Artifact Classes	
reelgorget	reel-shaped gorgets
flute	flute
qzcolpebbles	pebbles, quartz and colored
fossconcret	fossils and concretions
othertranslpt	points, translucent but not quartz or gem
obsidprism	prismatic blade, obsidian
obsidraw	obsidian, raw
fan	fan of feathers, effigy of copper or stone

[1]The 15 ceremonial centers and 60 of their mounds upon which the analysis is based are: Ater; Bourneville; Circleville; Esch Mounds 1 and 2; Hopewell Mounds 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30; Liberty's Edwin Harness Mound and Russell Brown Mounds 1, 2, and 3; McKenzie Mounds A, B, and C; Mound City Mounds 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9,10, 12, 13, 15, 18, 20, 23, 24; North Benton; Rockhold Mounds 1, 2, 3; Seip-Pricer; Shilder; Tremper; Turner Mounds 1, 2, 3, 11, 12, Enclosure, and Turner-Marriot; and West.
[2]Items in this column are the abbreviated names of the artifact classes listed here. The abbreviations are used in Table 4.3.

cemetery, artifact sets similar to those found in the pan-Ohio analysis were defined, but the sets were bundled differently than in the pan-Ohio analysis, and also varied from site to site (Table 4.3).

The leadership roles revealed by the two analyses include shaman-like leaders of public ceremony, nonshaman-like leaders of public ceremony, hunt and/or war diviners or those who sent and/or extracted power intrusions, other kinds of diviners, corpse processors and possibly psychopomps, healers, high achievers in perhaps warfare, high achievers in sodalities, and several unknown kinds of roles.

Power Bases of Leadership

The power bases of these kinds of leaders can be distinguished into three kinds: shaman-like; other sacred roles indicated by artifact classes that are not obviously shaman-like in nature and that may reference community religious beliefs, to follow Eliade's (1964) distinction (see above); and secular roles indicated by artifact classes that have no apparent religious overtones in their functions or in the materials from which they are made. Most of the roles and role bundles defined in the pan-Ohio analysis are fully or primarily shaman-like, or occasionally sacred but nonshaman-like, in their foundations of power. None of the roles or role bundles having multiple artifact classes are comprised of solely secular ones. Specifically, of the 21 roles or role bundles defined across Ohio, 11 are fully or largely shaman-like, 2 are fully or largely of another sacred nature, 4 are either shaman-like or otherwise sacred, 1 is equally both, and only 3 are secular combined with shaman-like or other sacred roles.

Segregation of Leadership Roles

Leadership roles in Hopewellian societies across Ohio and in the Scioto-Paint Creek area were highly segregated from one another rather than centralized, and increased in their degree of segregation over the course of the Middle Woodland period. In particular, artifact classes that mark roles of leadership or other importance across Ohio divide into 21 different, dissociated sets, rather than one or a few sets. Roles concerned with leading public ceremonies,

Table 4.3. Presence and Organization of Roles Through Time at Four Scioto Ohio Hopewell Ceremonial Centers[1]

Mound City	Hopewell Mound 25	Seip-Pricer Mound	Ater Mound
Role 1: Shamanic Public Ceremonial Leader	**Roles 1 and 3 Combined: Shaman-Like and Undefined Public Ceremonial Leader**	**Roles 1 and 12 Combined: Shaman-Like Public Ceremonial Leader and Unknown Role**	**Role 1: Shaman-Like Public Ceremonial Leader**
headsham	headsham	cutother	cutother
cutother	copcutsham	painttab	
	baton		
	celtstone		
	celtmetal		
	conch		
	ironraw		
	silverraw		
	copraw		
Roles 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 Combined: Nonshaman-Like (?) Public Ceremonial Leader, Sodality and War (?) Achievement, Hunt or War Divination or Sending or Pulling Power Intrusions, Body Processor/Psychopomp, Healer	**Role 2: Nonshaman-Like (?) Public Ceremonial Leader**	**Role 2: Nonshaman-Like (?) Public Ceremonial Leader**	**Role 2: Nonshaman-Like (?) Ceremonial Leader**
headlead	headlead	headlead	headlead
breastplate	baton	celtstone	
earspool	celtstone	tortshorn	
obsidbiface	celtmetal		
qzgembiface	copcutsham		
sharktooth	ironraw		
micasheet	silverraw		
galena	copraw		
copraw			
button			
awl			
smallpipe			
alligator			
copcutsham			
trophy			
celtstone			

(*continued*)

Table 4.3. (*continued*)

Mound City	Hopewell Mound 25	Seip-Pricer Mound	Ater Mound
Roles 3, 4, 17: Ceremonial Leadership, Nonshaman-Like Leadership, Divination	**Role 3: Ceremonial Leadership**	**Role 3: Ceremonial Leadership**	**Role 3: Ceremonial Leadership**
conch celtmetal fossconcret	combined with Role 1, above	not present	conch spoon
Role 4: Sodality Achievement and Ceremonial Leadership	**Role 4: Sodality Achievement and Ceremonial Leadership**	**Role 4: Sodality Achievement and Nonshaman-Like Leadership**	**Roles 4 and 10: Sodality Achievement, Nonshaman-Like Leadership, and Healing**
combined with Roles 3, 17, above	earother conch	breastplate earother celtmetal conch	breastplate earother earhand celtmetal fancypoint panpipe crescent tortraw
Role 5: Sodality and War (?) Achievement	**Role 5: War (?) Achievement**	**Role 5: Sodality and War (?) Achievement**	**Role 5: Sodality and War (?) Achievement**
not present	trophyjwsk cutother	not present	breastplate earhand earhother trophyjwsk
Role 6: Hunt or War Divination or Sending or Pulling Power Intrusions, Other Divination, and Nonshaman-Like (?) Public Ceremonial Leadership	**Role 6: Hunt or War Divination or Sending or Pulling Power Intrusions, Other Divination, and Nonshaman-Like (?) Public Ceremonial Leadership**	**Role 6: Hunt or War Divination or Sending or Pulling Power Intrusions, Other Divination, and Nonshaman-Like (?) Public Ceremonial Leadership**	**Role 6: Hunt or War Divination or Sending or Pulling Power Intrusions, Other Divination, and Nonshaman-Like (?) Public Ceremonial Leadership**
combined with Roles 2, 4, 8, 9, 11, above	galena micasheet pipesmall qzgembiface cutother pipesmall	obsidian biface button galena micasheet celtmetal sharktooth	not present

(*continued*)

Table 4.3. *(continued)*

Mound City	Hopewell Mound 25	Seip-Pricer Mound	Ater Mound
Role 7: Divination	**Roles 7, 10: Divination, Healing**	**Role 7: Divination**	**Role 7: Divination**
not present	boatstone nosecopper crescent conehemi button barracuda panpipe torshorn fancypoint	boatstone boatstone conehemi nosecopper crescent button baton tortshorn	not present
Role 8: Body Processor/Psychopomp	**Role 8: Body Processor/Psychopomp**	**Role 8: Body Processor/Psychopomp**	**Role 8: Body Processor/Psychopomp**
combined with Roles 2, 4, 6, 9, 11, above	awl sharktooth	awl pipesmall painttab	awl pipesmall
Role 9: Healing	**Role 9: Healing**	**Role 9: Healing**	**Role 9: Healing**
tubefuncunkn segregated from alligtooth , above	not present	tubefuncunkn alligtooth	not present
Role 10: Healing	**Role 10: Healing**	**Role 10: Healing**	**Role 10: Healing**
not present	combined with Role 7, above	not present	combined with Role 4, above
Role 11: Shaman-Like Leadership, Philosophy, and Divination; and War Achievement (?)	**Role 11: Shaman-Like Leadership, Philosophy, and Divination; and War Achievement (?)**	**Role 11: Shaman-Like Leadership, Philosophy, and Divination; and War Achievement (?)**	**Role 11: Shaman-Like Leadership, Philosophy, and Divination; and War Achievement (?)**
combined with Roles 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, above	micacutsham trophy	micacutsham copcutsham	not present
Role 12: Unknown	**Role 12: Unknown**	**Role 12: Unknown**	**Role 12: Unknown**
fancypott	not present	fancypot micasheet	not present
Role 13: Divination (?)	**Role 13: Divination (?)**	**Role 13: Divination (?)**	**Role 13: Divination (?)**
not present	copball	not present	not present
Roles 14–21: Independently Distributed Artifact Classes	**Roles 14–21: Independently Distributed Artifact Classes**	**Roles 14–21: Independently Distributed Artifact Classes**	**Roles 14–21: Independently Distributed Artifact Classes**
fossconcret	flute qzcolpebbles othertranlpt torshorn	not present	qzcolpebbles othertranslpt

hunt or war divination and/or sending and extracting power intrusions, other kinds of divination, corpse processing, healing, possibly war achievement, sodality achievement, and other unidentified roles were largely distinguished from one another in their grave distributions and presumably were in Ohio Hopewellian social-ceremonial life. The classic shaman, who is a generalist who encompasses many social roles within his or her social persona, is not evidenced. In addition, of 272 individuals that had at least some artifacts marking leadership or importance, 65% had only one role as defined in Table 4.2 and 91% had only one or two roles. No individual had more than four roles. Strong segregation of leadership roles is indicated.

A particularly significant segregation of leadership roles is that between community-wide leaders marked by copper headplates and community-wide leaders marked by copper celts. The community-wide scope of power of leaders in these positions is indicated by their rarity: only 2.6% ($n = 15$ of 575) of the individuals buried in the Seip-Pricer, Edwin Harness, and Ater mounds and at the Hopewell site were accompanied by headplates; only 5.2% ($n = 30$ of 575) were accompanied by copper celts. These percentages are reasonable for the proportion of leaders compared to the general populace within a society. These two forms of leadership were almost never combined within one social position occupied by one person. Only 1 of the 44 individuals buried with a headplate or copper celt at the four sites had both. In addition, persons recruited into the two kinds of positions were usually members of different clans, and had different sex-distributions. Leaders marked by headplates most commonly were Canine and Raccoon clansmen, whereas leaders symbolized by copper celts were most often Raptor and Nonraptorial Bird clanspersons (see below, Clan Organization). Leaders marked by headplates were exclusively male, whereas leaders symbolized by celts were female as frequently as male (see below, Gender, Gender Relations, and Kinship Structure).

This segregation of leadership duties could indicate a distinction between leaders with intrasocietal responsibilities who were marked by headplates and leaders with external intersocietal responsibilities who were marked by celts, analogous to the "peace chiefs" and "war chiefs" of historic Native American tribes in the northeastern Woodlands (Callender 1978a:640; 1978b:610; 1978c:627; 1978d:649; Calender et al. 1978:661; Howard 1981:96; Miller 1955:283–284; Spindler 1978:693) and southeastern Woodlands (Hudson 1976:234; Lankford 1992). Most Great Lakes-Riverine tribes had a dual political structure comprised of parallel organizations and leaders for peace and war (Callender 1978b:610). In line with this interpretation of headplates and celts, celts were strongly associated with warfare later in Mississippian iconography of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (Brown 1976:126; Phillips and Brown 1978:13, 18–19; 1984:plate 104; Waring and Holder 1945:10–11, 15). Celts also may have been associated with the building of dugout canoes and long-distance (i.e., external) travel to sources of fancy raw materials, power in nature, and knowledge available in foreign societies (Bernardini and Carr 2005:635, 636). At the same time, the characteristics of the animal totems or eponyms of the clans associated with headplates versus celts, and ethnohistorical information on which clans in the Woodlands filled the roles of peace chiefs and war chiefs (Thomas et al. 2005:369–370), do not add support to the interpretation of internal/peace versus external/war leaders in Scioto Hopewell societies. Also, the equal access of women and men to the community-wide position possibly concerned with external relations but the restriction of the position possibly concerned with internal relations to men (see below, Gender, Gender Relations, and Kinship Structure) is opposite the historic pattern and superficially does not seem to support the interpretation. Most archaeological evidence suggests that long-distance, intersocietal Hopewellian interaction across the northern Woodlands was undertaken by men, not women (Keller and Carr 2005:437, 440, 446, 456, 458). However, among the historic Shawnee, mothers, sisters, and close female relatives of male

war and peace chiefs sometimes held those positions (Howard 1981:109, 126; Trowbridge 1939:12–13), giving those positions the same mixed male and female recruitment distribution found in the Scioto Hopewell case of leaders marked by copper celts. Shawnee men and women also both filled the role of the priest-shaman, who divined the outcome of war parties and accompanied them to war (Howard 1981:117). Both men and women served as warriors (Howard 1981:112). (Further data and thoughts on the social role(s) indicated by celts are presented in Chapter 15, Metallic Celts.)

The Process of Segregation of Leadership Roles Over Time

Looking over the span of the Middle Woodland period within the Scioto-Paint Creek area, increasing role segregation as a process is evident. At the earliest of the sites analyzed individually – Mound City – roles that were defined as separate across Ohio, as a time-averaged picture, are often combined into larger bundles, indicating less segregation at that early time (e.g., in Table 4.3, Roles 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 form two bundles; Roles 3, 4, 17 form one bundle). In later sites, these roles become segregated, indicating their performance by different individuals. In the later cemeteries of Hopewell Mound 25, Seip-Pricer, and Ater, roles that were defined as separate across Ohio, as a time-averaged picture, become partitioned into multiple, yet smaller roles, each with fewer artifact classes (e.g., Table 4.3, Role 6). Over time, the number of pan-Ohio defined roles that are combined into larger bundles within individual cemeteries drops from nine to four to two and then remains at two (Table 4.4, top row; Figure 4.11). The number of globally defined roles that become divided into smaller roles within individual cemeteries increases from one role divided into two parts to three roles divided into six parts to three roles divided into seven parts, followed by one role divided into two parts (Table 4.4, bottom row). (Role partitioning decreases at the tail end of the sequence because of the small number of roles represented at the Ater mound.) In addition, from Mound City to Hopewell Mound 25 to Seip-Pricer to Ater, the percentage of individuals buried with artifacts marking only one or two roles increases from 73.1% to 88.9% to 97.4% to 100%. The clear trend is for greater and greater role segregation over the course of the Middle Woodland period.

This temporal pattern of segregation is precisely what one would expect from Winkelman's (1989, 1990, 1992) crosscultural model of segregation in the roles of magico-religious practitioners as societal size and overall complexity increase, and from the middling place of Scioto Hopewellian societies in that model.

The pattern of segregation of shaman-like leadership roles among more and more kinds of specialized practitioners over time was complemented in the Scioto-Paint Creek area by increases in the number and sizes of ceremonial societies who performed shaman-like tasks. In all, the archaeological evidence from the Early and Middle Woodland periods there suggest that the multiple roles bundled within the classic shaman became increasingly divided over time among not only specialized individual practitioners, but also specialized ceremonial societies (see below, The Development of Sodalities and Ceremonial Societies over Time). Some of these societies were true sodalities, with memberships that crosscut clan and community. Others were clan-specific.

Table 4.4. Segregation of Roles of Leadership and Importance over Time

	Time 1: Mound City	Time 2: Hopewell Mound 25	Time 3: Seip-Pricer Mound	Time 4: Ater Mound
Compared to Globally Defined Sets	9 roles merged,	4 roles merged	2 roles merged,	2 roles merged,
	1 role in 2 parts	3 roles in 6 parts	3 roles in 7 parts	1 role in 2 parts

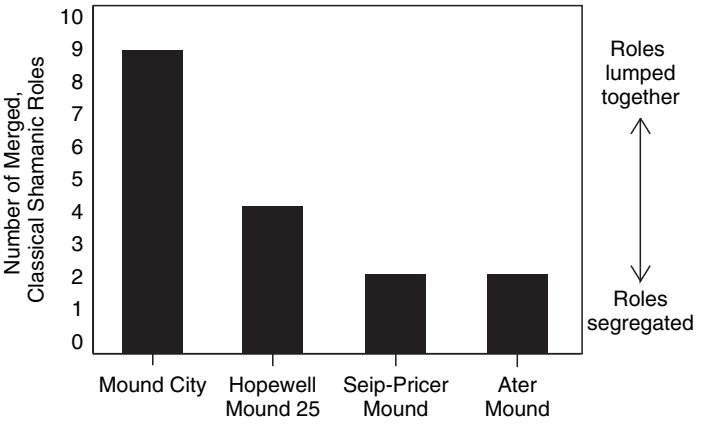


Figure 4.11. The process of role segregation over the Middle Woodland period. Over the time span defined by the sequence of cemeteries including Mound City, Hopewell Mound 25, Seip-Pricer, and Ater, the number of pan-Ohio defined shaman-like roles that were merged into larger bundles steadily decreases.

Over the course of the Early through Middle Woodland periods arose a sodality marked by smoking pipes and with the aim of facilitating relationships of individuals with their personal power animals; a sodality marked by copper breastplates perhaps used in divination; two possible sodalities marked by mica mirrors and galena cubes, both involved in divination; a Bear clan-specific ceremonial society marked by bear canine pendants and involved in corpse processing, possibly guiding souls of the deceased to an afterlife, and/or doctoring; and three other possible ceremonial societies marked respectively by large obsidian bifaces and quartz bifaces used for hunt divination and/or sending and extracting of power intrusions and by cones and hemispheres used for divination in general. Other ceremonial societies also arose, including ones marked by metallic earspools and canine, fox, elk, and raccoon teeth pendants and neckaces; however, it is unclear whether these societies and possible societies were concerned with classic shaman-like tasks. Metallic panpipes, mica and copper crescents, and chlorite disks each may indicate ceremonial societies, but might also represent individuals who played similar roles but were not organized into societies; it is also unclear whether their social roles were shaman-like in nature. All of these social developments are described below (see below, Sodalities and Ceremonial Societies).

Institutionalized Roles

Leadership roles in Hopewellian societies across Ohio and in the Scioto-Paint Creek area were only moderately to weakly institutionalized. The degree to which a role has been institutionalized can be measured by whether the multiple kinds of artifact classes that indicate that role form a consistent set across multiple examples of practitioners, and also form a consistent set across multiple practitioners over time. Across Ohio Hopewell societies, there are 13 defined roles that employed multiple artifact classes (Table 4.2). In the case of the role that was most strongly institutionalized (Role 9), only half of the burials with one artifact class employed in the role also had a given second artifact class employed in that role, considering and averaging all class pairs. In the weakest case (Role 10), only one in seven or eight burials with one artifact class employed in the role had a given second artifact class employed in that role, considering all class pairs. The median situation for the 13 defined roles was for one in four burials with a given artifact class used in a role to have a second artifact class used in that role.

Looking over time within the Scioto-Paint Creek area, in very few cases do roles show consistency in the artifact classes that define them across multiple cemeteries spanning two or three centuries (Table 4.3). The role of public ceremonial leader was marked by headplates without animal referents and by stone celts and their association (Role 2) at both Hopewell Mound 25 and Seip-Pricer mound, but not earlier at Mound City or later at Ater. The role of diviner was marked by mica sheets and galena and their association (Role 6) at each of Mound City, Hopewell Mound 25, and the Seip-Pricer mound, but not later at Ater. Another role of diviner was marked by boatstones, cones/hemispheres, copper noses, and copper buttons and their association (Role 7) at Hopewell Mound 25 and Seip-Pricer mound, but again, not earlier at Mound City or later at Ater. The role of body processor and/or psychopomp was defined by awls and sharks teeth and their association (Role 8) at Mound City and Hopewell Mound 25, while awls and platform pipes identify this role at the Seip-Pricer mound and Ater mound. Beyond these cases, the artifact classes that marked roles varied among temporally distinct cemeteries and, thus, do not indicate leadership roles that were institutionalized for many generations.

The particular roles that were institutionalized more or less, as measured by differences among them in how strongly their artifact markers were associated (Table 4.2), follow expectation. Three of the four most institutionalized roles (Roles 2, 1, 6) focused on public ceremonial leadership marked by a copper headplate or combined public ceremonial leadership with hunt or war divination, marked by a copper headplate and obsidian, quartz, or other gem bifaces. The public, community-wide or multicommunity nature of these roles would have encouraged their becoming institutionalized. Six of the nine least institutionalized roles (13, 12, 8, 4, 11, 3, 7, 5, 10) did not focus on public ceremonial leadership marked by a headplate, a celt, or a conch-shell spool set. Instead, the roles involved divination, healing, body processing and possibly psychopomp work, and sodality achievement. Significantly, divination, healing, body processing, and psychopomp work are each roles that are found crossculturally with shaman-like practitioners who work as individuals serving individual or family clients and whose methods tend to be idiosyncratic and vision-inspired rather than institutionalized (Winkelman 1989, 1990, 1992).

The moderate to weak consistency of artifact classes within roles and of institutionalizing of roles may be too low an estimate, to some extent. Some inconsistencies in artifact markers of a role may reflect instances where only a part of a role practitioner's paraphernalia was buried with him or her, for any number of cultural reasons, but especially because it was passed on to the next individual who filled that role.

Geographic Domains of Power of Leadership Roles

Essential leadership roles with domains of power beyond the local symbolic community, which one would expect to be few, number two. The first is Role 2, a combination of nonshaman-like and shaman-like public ceremonial leadership tasks that are marked in part by copper headplates without animal referents and stone celts. The second is Role 3, a kind of ceremonial leadership apparently responsible for serving important drink with conch shell dippers and shell spoons. The supralocal expanse of power of these two roles is know from the distribution of their artifact markers within the multiroom charnel buildings under the Seip-Pricer mound and Ater mound. In both of these charnel buildings, different rooms were burial places for members of different local symbolic communities (Chapter 3, Local Symbolic Communities, Sustainable Communities). For each role, the artifacts that indicate it occur in only one of the rooms within the Seip-Pricer charnel house and/or one of the rooms within the Ater charnel house, suggesting that only one community was the source of persons who filled the role and that the other communities represented in the charnel house fell under the domain of operation of those in that role, i.e., supralocal power. Had

the domains of power of the two roles been only local, then as essential roles, they should have been recruited within each community, and markers of the roles should have been present in each room of the charnel houses. This is not the case.

The strength of political and/or religious power of these two supralocal leadership roles was not great. This is evident by a lack of elite residences in the Scioto Hopewell archaeological record, the burial of persons who filled the two roles in cemeteries (Ater, Seip-Pricer) that were not geographically central to the three local symbolic communities that the roles served, the fact that persons in the two roles shared their power with many other kinds of leaders who had complementary functions, the weak institutionalizing of the two roles as seen in the modest degree of association of the artifact accoutrements of each role across burials, and the recruitment of persons into the two roles from not one clan or local symbolic community over time but different ones (Chapter 3, Centralized Leadership, Identity, and Alliance; above, Segregation of Leadership Roles; Institutionalized Roles; below, Clan Organization; and Thomas et al. 2005:372–373, table 8.14).

Recruitment into Leadership Roles

Recruitment of each of the two kinds of leaders with supralocal domains of power apparently was not tied to local symbolic community, sodality affiliation, or clan affiliation, but was tied to gender, from what data has been analyzed to date. Regarding community, it can be inferred which room in the charnel house under the Seip-Pricer mound corresponds to which room under the Ater mound in representing the same local symbolic community (Carr 2005a:310–311; Thomas et al. 2005:364). Neither plain headplates from Role 2 nor conch shells and spoons from Role 3 occurred in a charnel house room at Seip-Pricer and a charnel house room at Ater that represent the same local symbolic community.[6] The community from which each role was recruited changed over the few decades separating the time of use of the Seip-Pricer charnel house and the time of use of the Ater charnel house. Regarding sodalities, persons who filled Role 2 and were buried with plain copper headplates at the Hopewell site were members of both a sodality symbolized by breastplates and one symbolized by earspools, with equal frequency. This pattern also is found at the Seip-Pricer mound. Likewise, persons who were recruited into Role 3 and were buried with conch shell cups at the Hopewell site and in the Seip-Pricer and Ater mounds were members of both the sodality marked by breastplates and that marked by earpools, with equal frequency.[7] A diversity of animal-totemic clans had members who were recruited into Roles 2 and 3. Persons who filled Role 2 marked by plain headplates were most frequently members of the Canine and Raccoon clans, but also the Feline, Beaver, and Bear clans. Persons recruited into Role 3 marked by conch shell cups and shell spoons were affiliated with the Raptor, Feline, Canine, Beaver, and Bear clans (Thomas et al. 2005:372, table 8.14). Regarding gender, in the Scioto-Paint Creek area, Role 2 marked by plain headplates was recruited only from males, and Role 3 marked by conch shell cups was recruited somewhat more commonly from males than females, 3 to 2 (see below, Gender, Gender Relations, and Kinship Structure).

Other kinds of leadership roles in the Scioto-Paint Creek area were recruited in a fairly fluid manner from varying clans. All 12 of the leadership roles that were defined by multiple artifact classes (Table 4.2) and for which the clans of persons filling those roles are known were each recruited from multiple clans. Different roles were recruited from different suites of multiple clans in a partially complementary, partially overlapping manner. However, some clans were more successful than others in their access to leadership roles. The more successful clans were those that were wealthier and those that were more widely networked socially through sodalities, where wealth is indicated by items of wealth (e.g., necklaces, bracelets) in the graves of persons with clan markers and social networking is measured by the occurrence of sodality markers (breastplates or earspools) in the graves of

persons with clan markers. The size of a clan appears to have had little effect on its success in attaining leadership positions (see below, Clan Organization, and Table 4.6, Figure 4.15).

Leadership roles in the broad in the Scioto-Paint Creek area were recruited more commonly from males than females, but different roles had different gender distributions. Roles that were filled more frequently by males include: hunt or war divination or sending or extracting of power intrusions, as indicated by gem projectile points; possibly war achievement, which may be indicated by "trophy" skulls; corpse processing and/or psychopomp work, as indicated by awls; and public ceremonial leadership, as indicated by copper animal effigy headplates, barracuda jaws, and batons. These male-oriented roles suggest recruitment by achievement rather than inheritance, or else specific cultural-conceptual associations between gender and task. At the same time, other roles were filled more equitably by males and females: divination for other than the hunt or warfare, as indicated by mica mirrors, cones, quartz and colored pebbles, and boatstones; public ceremonial leadership indicated by conch shell cups as oppose to the above, male associated objects; and community-wide leadership symbolized by copper celts. The latter were also found with small children, potentially signaling an inherited position.

The Question of Priest-Chiefs

The endpoint of Winkelman's (1989, 1990, 1992) model of differentiation of magico-religious practitioners is a society with a priest or priest-chief-like personage, whose role is well segregated from those of a series of complementary, individual client-oriented practitioners. A priest is a magico-religious specialist who is a centralized political, legislative, judicial, military, and/or economic authority. A priest has a supralocal domain of power, serving an entire community, primarily through public ritual rather than individual clients in private, and without using altered states of consciousness. A priest's power comes from communion with deities, spirits, and/or ancestors rather than the spiritual essences of animals of nature. Priestly practices are typically well institutionalized and standardized compared to those of the classic shaman or shaman-like practitioner because priests are trained through formally organized groups rather than through their individual experiences with the spirit world (Winkelman 1989, 1990:344–347, 1992:69–74).

Scioto Hopewell societies were moving toward this priestly endpoint in Winkelman's model of segregation, but did not reached it by the end of the Middle Woodland period and Hopewellian ways of life. Two roles of public ceremonial leadership that began to take on some priestly characteristics formed over the course of the Middle Woodland. One role was marked by plain copper headplates, which referenced sacred concepts through their copper, but not the power of animals of nature that analogous headplates of animal impersonators did. As shown in Table 4.3, under Role 2, this role was integrated with a variety of shaman-like roles at the Mound City site, early in the Middle Woodland period. It became increasingly more divorced from these other roles at Hopewell Mound 25 and then the Pricer mound. At the latest site, Ater mound, it had become fully segregated from other shaman-like and nonshaman-like roles. It also had a domain of power over multiple local symbolic communities (see above). The second role that came to take on some priestly attributes was marked by conch shell cups and shell spoons. These items again had sacred connotations but did not reference the power of the kinds of animals normally evoked by shaman. Early in the Middle Woodland period, this role (Table 4.3, Role 3) was integrated with other shaman-like roles at the Mound City site and Hopewell Mound 25. By the end of the Middle Woodland, at the site of Ater, it had become fully segregated from these shaman-like roles and also had a domain of power over multiple local symbolic communities (see above).

The roles marked by plain headplates and by conch shell cups and shell spoons were not those of the priest as defined by Winkelman (see above) or the classic chief-priest as defined by Service (1962), Peebles and Kus (1977) or Earle (1997), for several reasons. First, cross-culturally, where priests occur in the same

society as shaman-like practitioners, the social prestige and social power of the latter are depreciated (Winkelman 1990:334, 338, 1992:56). In contrast, in Scioto Hopewell societies, specialized shaman-like practitioners had much social power. Their ceremonial paraphernalia were made of visually flamboyant materials that were difficult to obtain, and they orchestrated large public ceremonies evidenced in the large ceremonial deposits within the charnel houses of Mound City, Hopewell Mound 25, and Seip-Pricer. The lack of any such deposits of paraphernalia within the charnel house under the later, Ater mound may indicate the beginning of a process of depreciation of shaman-like practitioners, or alternatively, the winding down of large intercommunity gatherings as an intercommunity alliance began to disintegrate (see below, Changes in the Number of Allied, Local Symbolic Communities; and Changes over Time in the Sizes and Social Compositions of Gatherings). Second, across cultures, priests almost always lead ancestor worship rites (Winkelman 1990:70; see also Service 1962:162). Contrary, Scioto Hopewell charnel houses and mound construction show little evidence for ancestor worship in the form of transgenerational, frequently repeated tomb visitation or mound capping (Carr 2005c:468–473; Greber 1979a:41; 1979b:28, 32; 1983:89–90, 1997:215; Konigsberg 1985:131). Finally, the Scioto Hopewell archaeological record lacks artistic and artifactual evidence for powerful priests or priest-chiefs. The Mississippian archaeological record, with its abundant images of chief-priests (e.g., Phillips and Brown 1978, 1984), provides an archetypal contrast. It would be most accurate to describe the two roles marked by plain copper headplates and by conch shell cups and shell spoons as "incipient priests", given their partial demonstration of some priestly characteristics.

The sociopolitical power of the individuals who filled the two "incipient priest" roles probably was not much greater than the power of other important Scioto Hopewell leaders. The power of the two roles was compromised by the complementarity of their responsibilities with those of other kinds of specialized leaders who worked within local symbolic communities. The power of the two roles was also limited by the recruitment of both of them from different clans and different local symbolic communities over time. Power did not concentrate, or was not allowed to concentrate, in the hands of a single clan or community.

As with the other characteristics mentioned above for leadership in Scioto Hopewellian societies, the sequence of development of incipient priests over the Middle Woodland shows that the members of these societies were actively transforming the organization of their social lives.

Summary

Each of the seven, essential dimensions of leadership that are discussed in general anthropological theory and that were enumerated at the beginning of this section are known for Hopewell communities in the Scioto-Paint Creek area. The power base of the great majority of leaders was sacred rather than secular, and was embedded in the widely pervasive shaman-like world view of Scioto Hopewell peoples. That world view is evident in the Scioto Hopewell material record in the great variety and quantities of ceremonial paraphernalia for performing shaman-like tasks, large numbers of smoking pipes for trancing and communing with personal power animal spirit helpers, raw materials that mimic transformation or can be used to see into, and positive–negative play in the curvilinear style of Scioto Hopewell art. Whereas classic shaman generalists who employed soul flight and the powers of nature are known from only one or two sculptures of them, shaman-like specialists who impersonated and "became" animals to tap into their power are plentifully documented by animal ceremonial headdresses. Some leaders had costumes and symbols of position that give no indication of the performance of shaman-like tasks but that do imply the generalized, Scioto Hopewell shaman-like world view that provided the context for some of their power. Plain copper headplates, celts, reel-shaped gorgets, crescents, and other forms, and mica effigy clan totem or eponym power parts, exemplify leaders with this power

base. Leaders with a more secular power base are indicated by a few sculptures of individuals with facial tattooing, scarification, or face painting analogous to that which marked persons having earned titles and achievements in warfare in the historic Southeastern United States. However, patterning in grave good distributions shows that no leadership position had solely secular roles.

The roles played by Scioto Hopewell leaders were many. They include: shaman-like public ceremonial leadership marked by copper animal effigy headplates, nonshaman-like public ceremonial leadership of two kinds indicated by plain copper headplates and copper celts, hunt or war divination or sending or pulling power intrusions, several other forms of divination, processing of corpses and probably psychopomp work, healing of several forms, keeping of cosmological knowledge and myths, perhaps war leadership, and other marked but unidentified roles. Almost all of these roles involved shaman-like activities or imply a shaman-like world view, and most leaders played these roles, rather than more secular ones, as evidenced by the relative quantities of paraphernalia of various kinds found in the archaeological record.

These social and ceremonial leadership roles were segregated from one another among different individuals who specialized in their duties; the roles were not centralized within one or a few social positions. Over the course of the Early and Middle Woodland periods, roles that were initially bundled together within the hands of individual, classic shaman became more segregated from one another and distributed among multiple kinds of more specialized, shaman-like leaders. The roles also became distributed among newly developing sodalities and other ceremonial societies. Leadership roles were only moderately to weakly institutionalized. Different persons in the same leadership role used somewhat different but overlapping suites of paraphernalia, and the suites varied somewhat over time rather than remained consistent.

The geographic domains of power of leaders were limited to within the local symbolic community until the very end of the Middle Woodland period, when two positions with some supralocal responsibilities arose. These were marked by plain copper headplates and by conch shell cups and spoons. The two positions are best characterized as "incipient priests". They were not strong leaders: their claims on sociopolitical power were shared with those of many different kinds of local shaman-like specialists. Further, neither position was always filled by persons from the same local symbolic community, clan, or sodality; thus, social power was not consolidated within any single social unit.

Leaders of other kinds were likewise recruited fairly fluidly from varying clans. Each kind of leadership role was commonly filled by members from several different clans, and different leadership roles were filled by members of somewhat different but overlapping sets of clans. Most leadership roles were filled by men, although some were recruited more equally from men and women.

In all, these characteristics of leadership clearly indicate that Scioto Hopewell societies were in transition, organizationally. The path of change that they were following is well described by Winkelman's (1989, 1990, 1992) crosscultural socioreligious model of the segregation of the roles of the classic shaman among multiple, specialized, shaman-like practitioners as a society grows in size over time. The endpoint of Winkelman's model, where a society is led by a priest or priest-chief with centralized political, legislative, judicial, and/or economic public authority, and where other shaman-like practitioners are depreciated in their sociopolitical powers and attend to individual client needs in private, was not reached.

Leadership in Scioto Hopewell societies was similar in its most basic qualities to leadership in the historic Central Algonkian tribes of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. In the best known of these tribes, the Fox, leadership roles were decentralized among multiple and complementary social positions, including the village peace chief, leaders of war parties, a village ceremonial leader, and the headmen of each extended family who formed a village council. The power of each particular

leadership role was situationally contingent and temporary, and relevant to a narrow set of domains of life rather than widely spread over many domains. None of the leadership roles involved directive authority over other tribal members, i.e., relations of domination, subordination, and hierarchy. Instead, leading was accomplished by suggesting actions. The basis of power of a Fox leader was spiritual, called *manitu*. Manitu was conceived of as a spiritual essence that is universally and equally available to all, that exists when a person is successful and demonstrates it, and that is lost when he or she fails. Fox leadership roles were not strongly institutionalized in format. The persons who filled given leadership roles typically changed over time as their demonstrated power, i.e., *manitu*, rose and declined, with the form of demonstration varying from person to person. Thus, most roles were achieved, and open to multiple clans. Only the position of the village peace chief was inherited (through the Bear clan) and permanent, and to this extent, institutionalized (Miller 1955).

From a broad, ecological perspective, the organization of the leadership system of Scioto Hopewell local symbolic communities was an essential strategy for integrating and overcoming the social isolation of residential communities that were spatially dispersed over the land, small in size, and fairly sedentary. Decentralized leadership, and specialization and complementarity of leaders in their roles, spread leadership roles and sociopolitical power across multiple individuals from multiple residential communities, and created social dependencies among leaders and many residential communities. Further, because different leadership positions tended to be recruited from different suites of clans, clans and the residential communities that in part comprised them became integrated by relationships of complementarity and mutual interdependency. These patterns of social complementarity and integration of groups horizontally, and a lack of emphasis on vertical hierarchies, relations of domination and subordination, and centralization, are repeated in other aspects of Scioto Hopewell social and ritual organization (see below, Clan Organization; Sodalities and Ceremonial Societies).

CLAN ORGANIZATION

A good number of aspects of the clan organization of Scioto Hopewell people are knowable archaeologically: the animal totems or eponyms with which they identified themselves, their rough sizes, their distribution among local symbolic communities, the extent of formalized ties among them (i.e., phratry relationships), the social roles they filled, and their relative prestige (Thomas et al. 2005). These fine details of Scioto Hopewell social life are recognizable because Hopewell people buried some of their dead with markers of their clan affiliation, which can be named, counted, and examined for their spatial distributions and associations with one another and with other kinds of grave goods that indicate social roles and prestige. The clan markers are real or effigy power parts of animals of various species native to Ohio: the claws, talons, teeth, and jaws of animals. Effigy power parts were made of copper, mica, bone, and stone. Often the markers were drilled with a hole to hang as a pendant around the neck, singly or in numbers (Figures 1.8A and 4.12A–H).

That these animal power parts symbolized clan membership is almost certain, for seven strong reasons. First, they reference animal species, which were the most common kind of clan eponyms and totems historically in the Eastern Woodlands. Second, they reference the power of the species, which corresponds to the historic belief that a clan-associated animal species is a source of power, protection, health and longevity, information, and abundant fulfillment of earthly needs for its clan members. Third, the number of species of animal power parts found in Scioto Hopewell sites is about the same as the number of clans per historic tribe in the Woodlands. Fourth, the particular species of Hopewell animal power parts closely matches the most common clan eponyms of historic tribes across the Woodlands (80% match; Table 4.5). Fifth, the rank-order commonality of the represented species of animal power parts, measured by the number of deceased individuals buried with each species, correlates well with the rank order of commonality of clan eponym

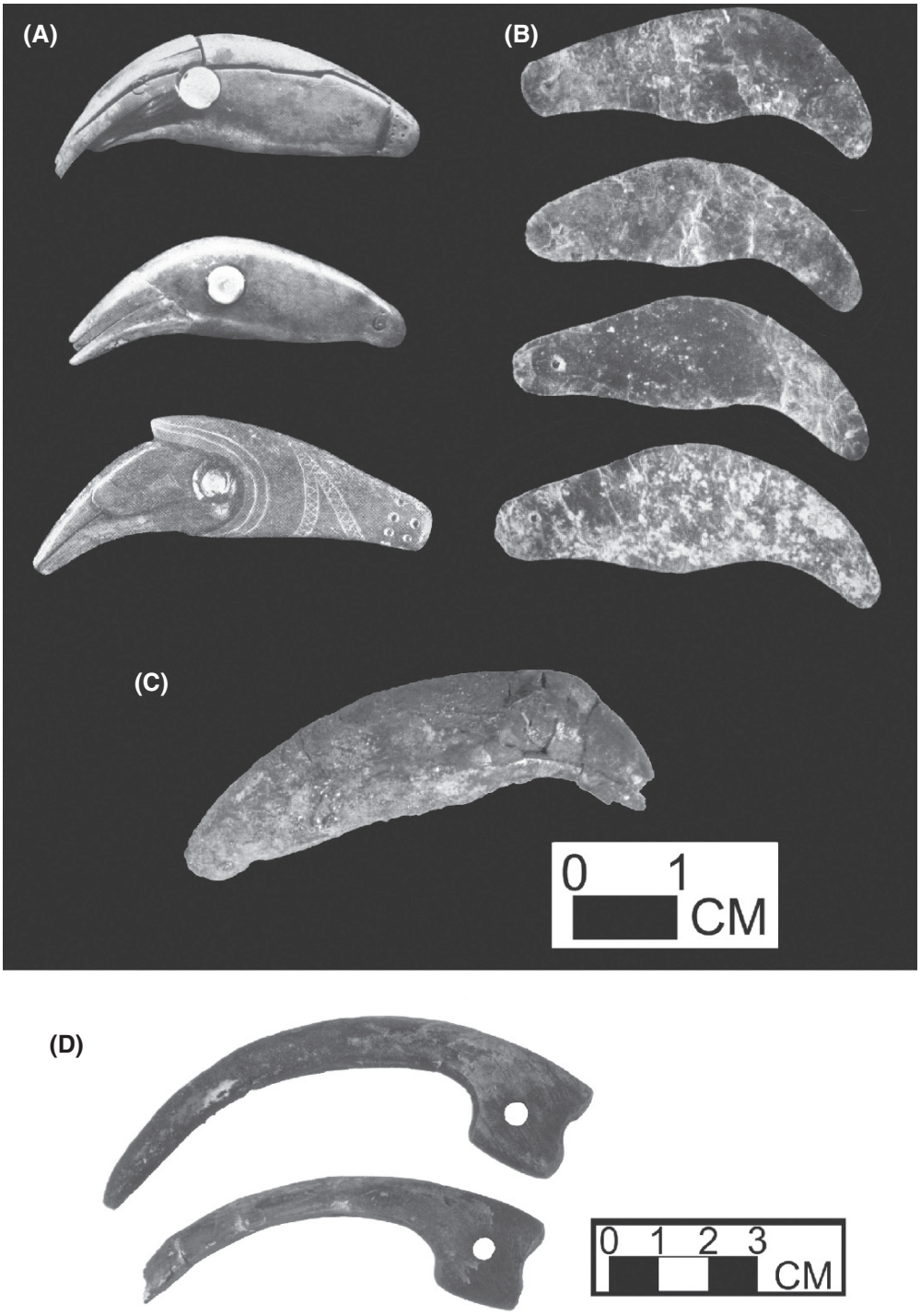


Figure 4.12. Power parts of the animal totems of Scioto Hopewell clans. (A) Bear canine pendants, cut, drilled, and inset with pearls, from the Hopewell earthwork. Note that a naturally vertical bear canine, when rotated horizontally, split, and inserted with a pearl, resembles a bird head and beak. The relationship of birds and bears

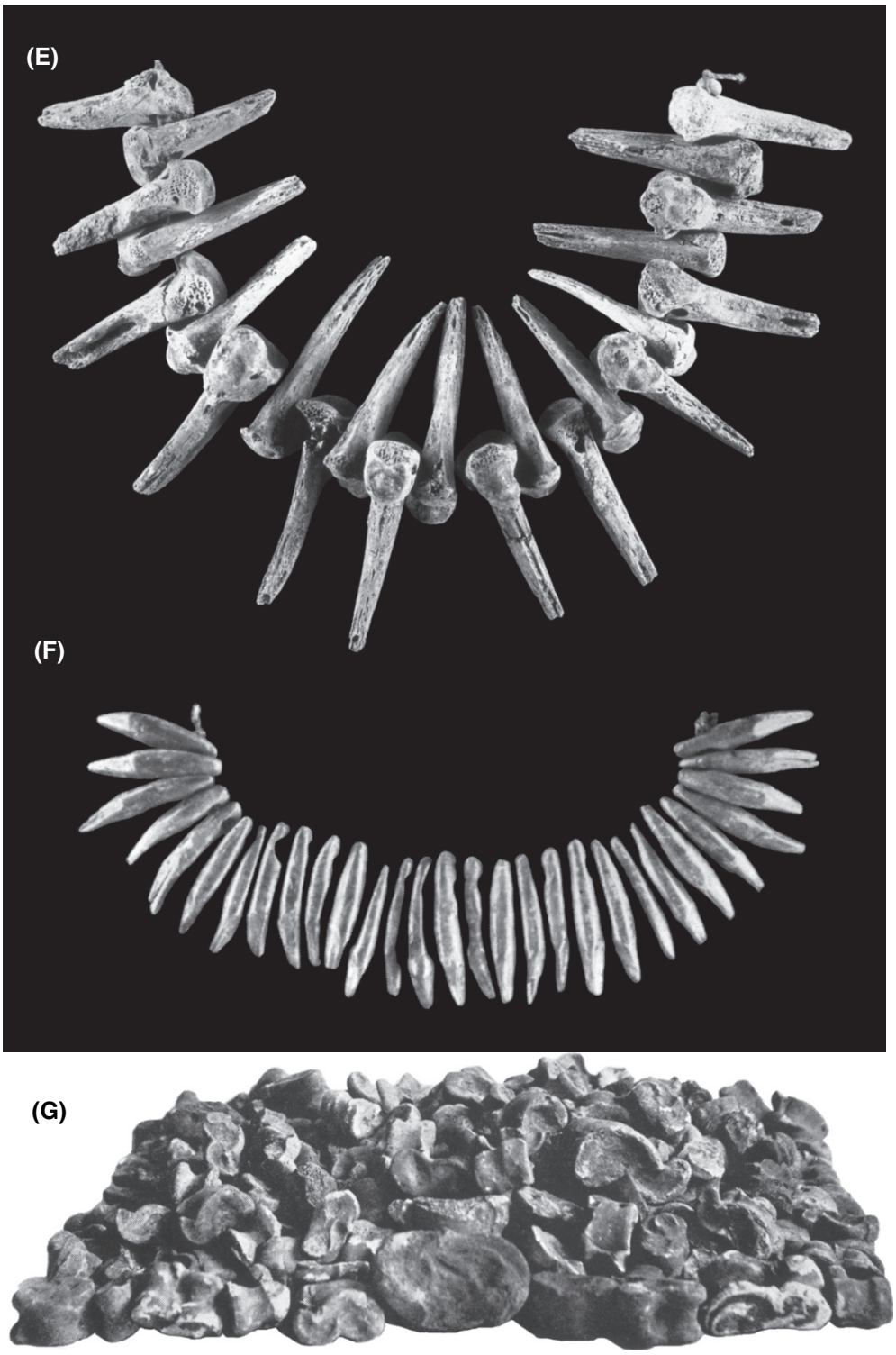


Figure 4.12. (*continued*) **to each other in Hopewell thought recalls the categorization of both as two-legged creatures by some historic Woodland Indians. It also recalls the complementarity of earth and sky, bears being associated with the earth and birds with the sky, in some historic Woodland world views. (B) Mica effigy bear**

Figure 4.12. (*continued*) canine pendants, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Burial 42. (C) Copper effigy bear canine, Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25. (D) Bone necklace pieces carved in the ambiguous form of a mammal's claw (proximal end) and a bird or reptile's talon or claw (distal end). From the Seip earthwork, Conjoined Mound. (E) Bear claw necklace, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Burial 41. (F) Raccoon teeth necklace, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25. (G) Deer and elk astragali (ankle bones), from the Turner earthwork, Mound 4, Altar 1. (H) Elaborately carved mandible of a wildcat from the Seip earthwork, Pricer Mound, Burial 28. See credits.

species across the Woodlands ($r = 0.43$; R^2 = 66%; Table 4.5). Sixth, the animal power parts are distributed widely among burials within cemeteries and across many cemetery sites and communities, as one would expect of clan markers; if Scioto Hopewell societies had clans, each person would have had a clan affiliation. Finally, among historic Woodlands tribes, animal power parts were sometimes drilled and made into pendants or necklaces, which marked the wearer's clan affiliation (Figure 4.13).

The features of Scioto Hopewell clan organization described here are based on an analysis of 85 individuals buried with clan markers in 16 cemeteries (Thomas et al. 2005). Of this sample, most individuals ($n = 76$; 89%) were buried in cemeteries in the Scioto drainage ($n = 10$). The remainder came from southwestern, northeast, and east-central Ohio; they add to the sample size and confidence of findings, and seem to recapitulate and strengthen patterns found in the Scioto drainage (Thomas et al. 2005:363, table 8.10). The sample shows a cultural selection biased toward the elite from each clan, rather than a proportionate sampling from each clan: the marked individuals constitute only about 12% of all documented Middle Woodland burials in Ohio, often (ca. 70%) held positions of leadership or importance, and were primarily adult males. As a result of these sampling biases, the relative sizes of the clans can be estimated only roughly. However, the other sociological topics listed above are well addressed by the sample.

Throughout this chapter, the phrase "animal-associated clans" is used rather than

Table 4.5. Comparison of Proposed Ohio Hopewellian Clan Eponyms to Clan Eponyms of the Historic Eastern Woodlands[1]

Number of Tribes	Clan
Northeast	
14	Canine
13	Bear
13	Deer/Elk/Moose
12	Raptor
9	Non-Raptorial Bird
9	Waterfowl
9	Turtle
7	Beaver
4	Raccoon
4	Fish
Great Lakes-Riverine	
7	Canine
7	Bear
7	Deer/Elk/Moose
7	Raptor
7	Waterfowl
4	Raccoon
4	Turtle
3	Non-Raptorial Bird
3	Turkey
3	Beaver
3	Fish
Southeast	
8	Canine
8	Bear
7	Deer/Elk/Moose
7	Non-Raptorial Bird
6	Raccoon
6	Beaver
5	Snake
5	Alligator
4	Turkey
4	Skunk
4	Fish
4	Otter
4	Raptor
Number of Clan-marked Burials	**Clan**
Ohio Hopewell	
68	Bear
20	Canine
15	Feline
11	Raptor
8	Raccoon
6	Elk
5	Beaver
4	Non-Raptorial Bird
2	Fox

[1]Historic eponyms are listed in descending order of prevalence. The top nine eponyms, along with all those tying for tenth are listed. See Thomas et al. (2005:Note 7) for qualifications regarding the comparability of the historic and prehistoric data.

Figure 4.13. Sauk and Mesquakie leader, Keokuk, dressed with a bear claw necklace. See credits.

"animal-totemic" clans. It is not known currently whether, among Scioto Hopewell peoples, a clan was a descent group comprised of actual or conceptually related lineages, and whether its members claimed descent from a totemic animal species or only a close spiritual relationship with an animal species through having its name, i.e., the species as an eponym. Clan systems of analogous, historic, nineteenth Century Central Algonkian tribes, including those of the Prairie (Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Potawatomi), Woodland (Menomini), and Ohio Valley (Shawnee, Miami, Illinois) tribes, differed from one another in these ways.

Animal-associated clans in the Scioto-Paint Creek area minimally numbered nine: Bear, Canine, Feline, Raptor, Raccoon, Elk, Beaver, Nonraptorial Bird, and Fox. Opossum may or may not have been an additional clan eponym. Opossum teeth were found in two ceremonial deposits, at the Seip and Turner sites, but were not found in burials. Although Deer was a very common clan eponym among historic tribes in the Woodlands (Table 4.5), it

does not seem to have been present among Ohio Hopewell peoples. Deer antler tine, teeth, and astragali power parts have not been found in Ohio Hopewell graves, save one deer incisor suggestive of shaman-like animal impersonation (Figure 4.8F), and astragali have been found only in bulk in one ceremonial deposit. Six copper deer antler headdresses and one deer antler effigy cutout known from four graves and one ceremonial deposit in Ohio might be thought to represent a Deer clan, but a variety of archaeological contextual evidence suggests otherwise (Thomas et al. 2005:359, 382).

The actual number of clans in the Scioto-Paint Creek area may have been greater than nine. Some clans might have had eponyms that were phenomena other than animals and not visible archaeologically. Historically in the Eastern Woodlands, some clans had eponyms such as natural forces, plants of various kinds, paint, arrow, and long hair (Thomas 2005:344–346, table 8.1). Also, some of the categories of Ohio Hopewell clans that we can recognize, such as Feline, Raptor, Nonraptorial Bird, may have been divided more finely by Hopewellian peoples (e.g., Bobcat versus Cougar; Falcon versus Eagle; Crane versus Crow, respectively). However, the nine animal-totemic clans identified for Ohio Hopewell peoples agrees well with the historic Woodland pattern for 8 to 10 collapsed clan categories, or 9 to 11 actual clans, per tribe (Thomas et al. 2005:343).

Clans in the Scioto-Paint Creek area varied in size. This is indicated roughly by the numbers of burials with markers of one clan or another (Table 4.5). The Raptor, Raccoon, Elk, Beaver, Nonraptorial Bird, and Fox clans were probably similar in size. The Feline clan was probably larger. The Bear and Canine clans may have been as well; however, the abundance of burials with Bear and Canine clan markers may reflect certain special roles that the Bear and Canine clans had in mortuary ceremony, and the placement of their totemic markers within the graves of persons they served. Several circumstances suggest this. First, individuals buried with bear power parts are disproportionately common compared to what one would expect for natural variations in clan size in a demographically healthy society. Second, bear and canine power parts co-occur frequently in burials with other animal power parts, which one would not expect for symbols that marked only clanship. Third, two sculptures appear to indicate the roles of the Bear and Canine clans in mortuary ceremony. The Wray figurine (Figure 4.6B, see above, Depictions, Costumery, and Symbols of Position of Leaders; Dragoo and Wray 1964) shows a bear impersonator – a man in a bearskin costume or with a bear spirit behind him – who has a possibly decapitated head on his lap. The Bear clan or certain of its members may have been responsible for processing corpses, and possibly psychopomp work, within the community. A large, Copena-style effigy pipe, deposited in the Seip-Pricer mound, depicts a dog eating a decapitated human head between his front paws (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:416, 418; figure 2.14). Again, corpse processing and possibly psychopomp work are implicated. The pipe was found with others that also potentially connoted psychopomp work.[8]

Clans were probably localized to a degree. The three major clusters of burials under Hopewell Mound 25, which were comprised by members of three different local symbolic communities (Chapter 3, Sustainable Communities), varied somewhat from one another in the species of clan markers present in them or in the proportions of species. The three clusters of burials under the Seip-Pricer mound, which also represented three local symbolic communities, likewise varied from one another in these ways (Thomas et al. 2005:364, Table 8.11). These differences may reflect simply informal variation in the frequencies and patterns of marriage exchanges among the three communities rather than institutionalized segregation of clans among communities. This pattern for only mild localization of clans aligns with that for historic tribes of the Eastern Woodlands (Thomas et al. 2005:347), and for tribal societies generally across cultures, in which cases clans serve as one kind of pan-tribal, nonresidential-base sodality.

Alternatively, it is possible that localization of some clans reflects their having moved into

the Scioto-Paint Creek area during the course of the early to middle Middle Woodland period from other sections of the Scioto drainage. Increases in the flamboyance of ceremonies in the Scioto-Paint Creek area may have attracted some new clans there (see below, Change over Time; also Chapter 5, Hopewellian Societies in Transition).

Roles of social, political, and religious leadership and importance in the Scioto-Paint Creek area were each recruited from a wide variety of clans rather than centralized in the hands of one or a few clans (Table 4.6). On average, half of the clans (4.2 of 8 analyzed clans) filled any one specific role of leadership or importance, such as diviner, public ceremonial leader, or community-wide leader marked by celts, considering ten such roles (Table 4.6, Footnote 2). Different suites of multiple clans were recruited into these different roles. Additionally, most clans filled many different, important social, political, and religious roles. The modal number of specific roles of leadership or importance filled by any one clan was 6 of 10 roles, considering eight clans (Table 4.6, Footnote 2). This overall pattern of relatively open recruitment of clans into roles of leadership and importance is similar to that found among historic Woodlands tribes (Thomas et al. 2005:347). The pattern is also found across the globe, generally, in societies of middle-range complexity having

Table 4.6. Clans That Most Commonly Filled Various Social Roles[1]

Role	Common Clans
Shamanic Roles	
War or hunt divination[2]	**Canine, Raptor, Raccoon**, Feline, Elk, Beaver, Nonraptorial Bird
Other divination[2]	**Raccoon**, Canine, Raptor, Elk, Nonraptorial Bird
Public ceremonial leadership[2]	**Nonraptorial Bird**, Canine, Feline, Raptor, Beaver
Body processor/psychopomp[2]	**Canine, Raccoon**, Feline, Elk
Philosopher[2]	**Nonraptorial Bird**, Feline, Raptor
Trancing/ceremony	**Raptor**, Canine, Feline, Beaver
Other possible shamanic equipment	**Raccoon, Nonraptorial Bird**, Canine, Feline, Raptor, Elk
Important Nonshamanic Roles	
Crescents[2]	Canine, Raptor, Beaver
Reel-shaped gorgets[2]	Canine
Trophy skulls, jaws, fingers, hands[2]	Feline, Raptor, Raccoon
Community-wide Leadership	
Headplates[2]	**Raccoon**, Canine, Feline, Raptor, Beaver, Nonraptorial Bird
Celts[2]	**Raptor, Nonraptorial Bird**, Canine, Feline, Beaver
Sodalities	
Breastplates	**Feline, Raccoon**, Nonraptorial Bird, Canine, Raptor, Beaver
Earspools	**Feline, Raptor**, Canine, Beaver, Nonraptorial Bird, Fox
Prestigious Personal Roles	
Metallic artifacts	**Canine, Raccoon, Elk, Beaver, Nonraptorial Bird**, Feline, Raptor
Nonmetallic artifacts	**Canine, Feline, Raptor, Raccoon, Beaver**, Elk, Nonraptorial Bird
Ordinary Personal Roles	Canine, Feline, Raptor, Raccoon, Elk, Beaver, Fox

[1]Bolded clans are those that filled the given social role in the case of more than 50% of the members of theirs marked with animal power parts in their graves. Also bolded are those clans the marked members of which filled the given social role 50% more frequently than expectation and two burial counts more than expectation, where expectation assumes a random distribution of roles among clans and is calculated from marginal totals of a 2×2 count table of clans versus roles. The Bear Clan has been excluded from analysis because it's clan markers do not appear to pinpoint it's social roles. It's markers seem to have been placed in the graves of many individuals, who had many roles, as a part of its social responsibility for processing bodies of the deceased and/or psychopomp work.

[2] These are the ten specific roles of leadership or importance discussed in the text.

multiple, differentiated, powerful shaman-like leaders but lacking powerful priests or priest-chiefs (Winkelman 1992), as was the case for Scioto Hopewell communities.

Not all clans, however, had equal access to all roles of leadership and importance. Members of the Raccoon clan were recruited with frequency (Table 4.6, bolded) into the greatest diversity of the ten specific roles of leadership and importance, followed by the Nonraptorial Bird, Canine, and Raptor clans. The Feline and Elk clans did not hold any of these important roles frequently, and there is no evidence that members of the Fox clan held any of these roles at all.

Clans that frequently filled particular social roles of leadership or importance (Table 4.6, bolded) typically had totems or eponyms with natural characteristics relevant to those roles, or were clans known historically among Woodland Native Americans to have filled those roles. Hunt or war diviners, who were marked in their graves by points made largely of quartz, translucent gems, obsidian, copper, and mica, were commonly recruited from the Canine, Raptor, and Raccoon clans. Both canines and raptors are predatory. The Wolf clan led war parties among the Shawnee (Callender 1978c:627), a position that required the gathering of information. The Winnebego Hawk clan also was specially charged with warfare (Lurie 1978:693). The Raccoon clan's association with warfare and with death as an aspect of it is expectable, given the raccoon's nocturnal nature, its apparent symbolic association with warfare in the Mississippian society of Spiro, Oklahoma (Phillips and Brown 1978:154), and its ties to trickery in the Historic Northeast (Gill and Sullivan 1992:19, 253). The Raccoon clan's association with divination of warfare is natural because the raccoon is a night animal capable of seeing through darkness, analogous to diviners who see through the darkness of the present into the future (Harner 1980:28).

Other divination activities using mica mirrors, cones, hemispheres, or boatstones were frequently carried out by the Raccoon clan. Again, the raccoon's piercing night vision makes it a natural symbol for divination.

The role of body processor and possibly psychopomp, like the role of hunt or war diviner, was frequently filled by members of the Canine and Raccoon clans. Both animals have natural associations with death, as just discussed. The role of the Canine clan in processing corpses may also indicated by a Copena-style effigy pipe sculpture of a dog eating a decapitated human head between his front paws, excavated from the Seip-Pricer mound (Figure 4.14; see also Shetrone and Greenman 1931:416, 418).

Both the roles of shamanic public ceremonial leader and shamanic philosopher were frequently recruited from the Nonraptorial Bird Clan. The association of the same one clan with both roles is not surprising, given the representation of both roles in certain same copper and mica geometric forms. For example, copper geometrics from the Copper Deposit under Mound 25 at the Hopewell site possibly decorated the clothing of public ceremonial leaders (Greber and Ruhl 1989) and, at the same time, denoted cosmological Hopewellian concepts and indicated the role of shamanic philosophers concerned with these matters. The association of a bird clan with the role of cosmologist-philosopher also follows a natural

Figure 4.14. Copena-style effigy pipe sculpture of a "dog" eating a decapitated human head between his front paws. From the Seip-Pricer mound, above the Great Multiple Burial. See credits.

logic: birds in flight have a broad view of the cosmos and its layout and come closest of all animals to the Above Beings as sources of knowledge (Grant 1994:119; Hudson 1976:129, 164; Mails 1978:149).

Unspecified shaman-like roles that involved trance, as indicated by ceremonial equipment for inducing trance or symbolic of it, were commonly filled by members of the Raptor clan. This association is logical, given that shamanic trancing is frequently experienced crossculturally as the flight of one's soul and becoming a bird in flight (Harner 1980:26). For many historic Woodland tribes, the eagle – a raptor – is the paramount bird in spiritual affairs, because it flies higher and closer to the Above Beings than any other bird (Grant 1994:119; Hudson 1976:129, 164; Mails 1978:149).

A community-wide leadership role marked by metallic headplates was commonly filled by members of the Raccoon clan. In contrast, another community-wide leadership role marked by metallic celts was frequently filled by the Raptor and Nonraptorial Bird clans. This segregated distribution of clans among community leadership roles follows the strong mortuary pattern, found across Ohio Hopewell societies, where headplates and celts were almost never buried together in the same grave (Carr 2005a:280–283). It is possible that this crisp division of roles and the analogous segregation of the clans that filled them reflects a distinction between "internal" leaders and "external" leaders, analogous to the peace chiefs and war chiefs of historic Native American tribes in the Eastern Woodlands. However, ethnohistoric and archaeological support for this interpretation are mixed (see above, Segregation of Leadership Roles; Thomas et al. 2005:369–370).

"Trophy" skulls, jaws, fingers, and hands, which may indicate achievement as a warrior (Seeman 1988; but see Johnston [2002]), are limited to deceased persons accompanied by markers of the Feline, Raccoon, and Raptor clans. The natural logic and ethnohistoric evidence for the association of the Raccoon and Raptor clans with warfare is summarized above. The tie of the Feline clan with warfare accords with the pattern of the historic Shawnee to fill the office of war chief with a member of the Great Lynx clan (Callender 1978c:627). The Panther clan of the historic Creeks was usually apart of the People of Different Speech division, which was responsible for warfare (Swanton 1928:167).

Distinct from the above shaman-like and nonshaman-like roles of leadership and importance were roles within two kinds of prestigious sodalities, marked by metallic breastplates and metallic earspools (Table 4.6; see also Carr 2005a:283–285). These items indicated either ordinary membership in a prestigious sodality or the achievement of a prestigious level in a sodality. Many clans participated in each of the sodalities – 6 of the 8 studied clans (not considering Bear), in contrast to the average of 4.2 of 8 studied clans that filled any one specific role of leadership or social importance (see above). The diversity of clans that participated in each of the two sodalities is expectable: a sodality by definition draws its members from multiple kinship and residence groups across a society (Service 1962:105–106; see Carr 2005a:285 for ethnographic examples). Only the Elk clan appears to have not had representatives in one or the other of the two sodalities.

Although recruitment of clans into the above roles of leadership, social importance, and/or prestigious sodality membership was relatively open, different clans did vary significantly in the number of such roles they filled (Figure 4.15). In this sense, they varied in their sociopolitical power. Members of the Raccoon clan were recruited commonly into twice the number of important social roles than the next most socially successful clans. The Nonraptorial Bird, Raptor, Canine, and Feline clans commonly were recruited into a moderate number of important roles, whereas the Beaver clan was commonly recruited into only one important role, and the Elk and Fox clans apparently into none at all.

The chance that a clan frequently filled any one socially important role correlates with the number of these important roles that the clan held – that is, the scope of the clan's sociopolitical power base. For example, community-wide leadership positions were held frequently

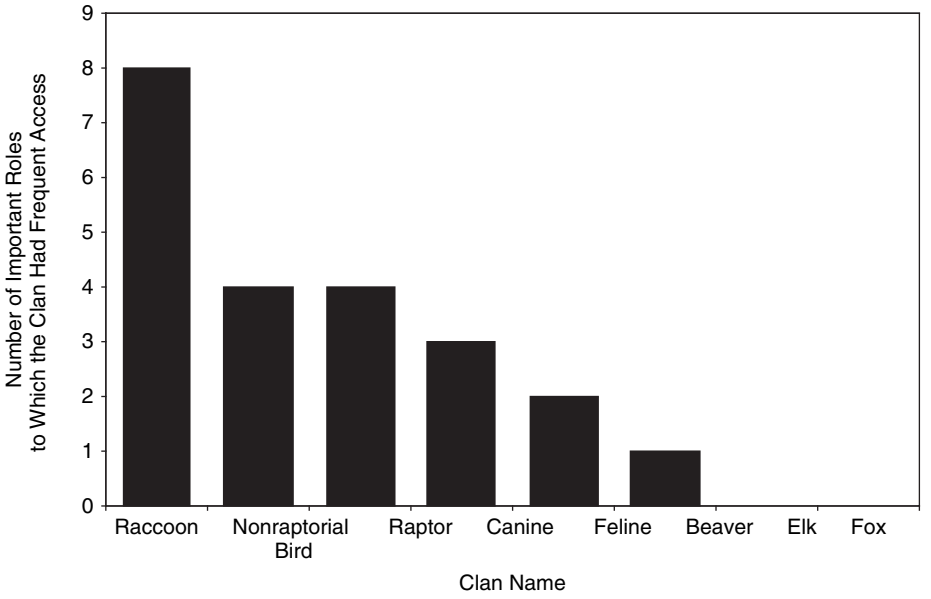


Figure 4.15. Number of important roles that various Scioto Hopewell clans commonly held, i.e., the scope of the clan's social power base.

by only those clans that filled three or more other roles of leadership, social importance, and/or prestigious sodality membership. The clans are the Raccoon, Nonraptorial Bird, and Raptor clans (Table 4.6). Likewise, public ceremonial leaders and shaman-like philosophers who wore clothes decorated with large copper or mica geometrics intended for a large audience were drawn from only the Nonraptorial Bird clan, which frequently filled three other socially important roles. Diviners of the hunt and/or warfare were recruited frequently from the Raccoon, Raptor, and Canine clans, the first two of which commonly filled three or more other important roles.

The scope of a clan's social power base and the chances of recruitment of its members into shaman-like roles, important nonshamanlike roles, or community-wide leadership roles, as enumerated in Table 4.6, depended most fundamentally on the wealth of its personnel and their membership in sodalities, which offered a person an opportunity to network with individuals of multiple kinship and residence groups. Clan size, as a potential basis for social power, shows little relationship to the success of a clan in having attained these important positions. These relationships were revealed by correlating a measure of clan wealth, a measure of clan networking through sodalities, and an approximation of clan size with the percentage of burials of a clan that attained shaman-like roles, important nonshamanlike roles, or community-wide leadership roles (Thomas et al. 2005:375–377, Table 8.15). Clan wealth was measured by the percentage of burials of a clan that had metallic and nonmetallic items of wealth, such as necklaces and bracelets. Clan networking was estimated by the percentage of burials of a clan that had breastplate or earspool markers of sodality membership or achievement. Clan size was approximated by the number of burials with markers of a clan (excluding the Bear Clan).

Although a clan's wealth and sodality networking did affect its degree of access to positions of leadership and social importance, most clans actually differed little from one another in wealth and sodality networking. Five of eight clans were moderately wealthy, in that 40% to 60% of the burials with their clan markers also had items of wealth. Six of eight clans were moderately networked socially, in that 40% to 60% of the burials with their

clan markers also had markers of sodality membership or achievement. No one or few clans monopolized wealth and social power in the Scioto-Paint Creek area.

The similarity of most clans in wealth relates in part to the weak localization of clans. Because each clan was distributed across multiple communities and natural environments within the Scioto-Paint Creek area, it was unlikely that one or a few clans would have been ecologically and materially advantaged relative to others.

Change over Time

It is likely that, over time, the number of clans within the Scioto-Paint Creek area increased. Within the very early, large charnel house of Tremper were placed the animal power parts of only three clan categories that probably constituted four clans: bear, wolf-coyote, puma, and bobcat. Later, within charnel houses in each of the Mound City, Hopewell, and Seip earthworks, animal power parts of six to eight different clans were buried (Table 4.7). This variation in the number of clans represented at the sites is not attributable to the sizes of the burial populations and sampling issues. The number of individuals laid to rest in the Tremper charnel house is two to three times greater than the number placed in each of the other sites. In addition, the clans not represented at Tremper but found in later sites include larger ones (e.g., Raptor, Raccoon) that would not have been as susceptible to the stochasticity of deaths of members of clans as would have the smaller clans. Thus, it is likely that the relatively large clans of Raptor and Raccoon, and perhaps the smaller ones of Elk, Beaver, Nonraptorial Bird, and Fox, were not present in the Scioto-Paint Creek area at the initiation of Hopewellian life there.

These new clans may have formed during local processes of social differentiation in the Scioto-Paint Creek area. They also may represent the immigration of people of new clans into the area during the time of use of the Mound City and Hopewell earthworks, as ceremonial flamboyance in the area increased and made it attractive to neighboring people (see above and Chapter 5, Hopewellian Societies in Transition).[9] In either case, the increase in number of clans in the Scioto-Paint Creek area over time may relate to and have encouraged the increase in ceremonial diversity there over time. Among North American Native American tribes generally (Tooker 1971:360), and among the Prairie Central Algonkians specifically (Callender 1962:31), clans commonly were responsible for the performance of ceremonies that they owned. The ceremonies concerned various aspects of community welfare and often were associated with a sacred bundle or fetish of a kind. Among the Ohio valley Algonkian tribes and the Menominee, however, clans did not serve this ritual function or own sacred bundles (Callender 1962:35–36, 41).

A Possible Phratry

The partnering of clans within a phratry, that is, formalized relationships of reciprocity and/or complementarity in duties among two or more clans, is suggested by archaeological

Table 4.7. Clans Indicated to be Present in the Scioto-Paint Creek Area over Time

Sites, "Youngest" to "Oldest"	Number of Clan Categories Present	Clans Indicated to be Present	Burial Population Size[1]
Ater	5	Bear Canine Raptor Elk Beaver	59+
Seip-Pricer	8	Bear Canine Feline Raptor Raccoon Beaver Nonraptorial Bird Fox	110
Hopewell	8	Bear Canine Feline Raptor Raccoon Beaver Nonraptorial Bird Fox	214+
Mound City	6	Bear Canine Feline Raptor Raccoon Elk	105+
Tremper	3	Bear Canine Feline	~375+

[1] Counts include only those individuals on the floor of mounds, not within mound mantels or intrusive into them.

evidence at only one site in the Scioto drainage: Tremper. And there, alternative interpretations are possible. Within the Great Cache of decommissioned items on the mortuary floor at Tremper were placed 110 pieces of animal jaws and animal jaw pendants attributable to bear, wolf/coyote, puma, and bobcat (Thew n.d.). These items were likely indicative of clans and their totems or eponyms, as were jaw pendants historically in the northeast Woodlands (e.g., Callender 1978a:641). The bear and wolf/coyote jaws were almost all maxilla, whereas the puma and bobcat jaws were all mandibles. The complementarity of the jaw elements suggests complementary social relationships between the Bear and Wolf/Coyote clans, on one hand, and the Puma and Bobcat clans on the other. A phratry, dual division, and/or moiety might be inferred from this archaeological pattern.

Beyond Tremper, there does not appear to be any other archaeological evidence to suggest that clans in the Scioto drainage were organized into phratries, The corresponding and complementary distributions of particular social roles among clans may indicate simply which clans were successful or not in gaining access to those roles. The number of burials with markers of multiple clans (excluding those of Bear), which might indicate clans that stood in a phratry relationship, are limited to 7 of 85 burials with clan markers, and the clans that co-occur do not do so consistently across the seven burials (Thomas et al. 2005:377–378, table 8.16).

Summary

Hopewell people of the Scioto-Paint Creek area divided themselves minimally into nine animal-associated clans: Bear, Canine, Feline, Raptor, Raccoon, Elk, Beaver, Nonraptorial Bird, and Fox. Subdivisions of some of these, a possible Opposum clan, and clans characterized by things other than animals may have augmented the number. The clans were probably mildly localized, as a result of informal variation in frequencies and patterns of intermarriage among local symbolic communities. Leadership roles were not centralized in the hands of one or a few clans: multiple clans were recruited into each kind of leadership role, and different suites of clans were recruited into different roles. On average, half of the Scioto Hopewell clans filled any one particular role of leadership or importance, and any one clan filled about half of such roles. The clans that filled a leadership role typically were those with animal totemic or eponym species having characteristics most relevant to the task at hand. For example, the fine night vision of raccoons made Raccoon clan members a natural choice for leadership roles involving divination. Most clans differed little from one another in their wealth, degree of social networking through memberships in sodalities, and size. The Feline clan was probably larger than most, and the Bear and Canine clans may have been, also. Clans did, however, differ in the scope of their social power, as measured by the number of leadership roles and other important social roles into which they were recruited. Members of the Raccoon clan filled double or more the number of such prestigious roles than other clans, whereas the Elk and Fox clans apparently held none. The scope of social power of a clan depended moderately to strongly on its wealth and the richness of its social linkages through sodalities. It's size apparently mattered little.

Clan organization was a key means by which residential communities of Hopewell people were able to remain integrated with one another in the face isolating factors, including their spatial dispersion, small size, and fair degree of sedentism. Weak localization of clans meant that households over large areas were interconnected by clan ties. Because different suites of multiple clans were recruited into different essential social roles in a partially complementary, partially overlapping manner, members of different clans depended on one another to meet their daily and long-term social, ritual, and material needs. Had all clans filled most important social roles, or one clan filled most of them, clan organization in the area would not have been as effective in integrating residential communities.

Finally, the roughly similar size, wealth, and social connectedness of most clans, and their fairly equitable recruitment into roles of

leadership and other importance, were expressions of the larger Scioto Hopewellian social pattern for predominately equitable, horizontal, crosscutting, and complementary relationships among social groups. Vertical relationships of domination–subordination among groups and centralization of roles were de-emphasized.

SODALITIES AND CEREMONIAL SOCIETIES

A sodality is a corporate group with members who come from multiple residential units and multiple kinship groups. Fraternities, sororities, clubs, ceremonial societies, and some age grades and work groups are examples of sodalities. Sodalities occur in a wide range of societies, from tribal to state in complexity. In tribal societies, sodalities are the broadest mechanism of social integration and, thus, are critical to defining the geographic scope of a tribe and tribal organization generally (Service 1962:105–106; see also Braun and Plog 1982; Fried 1968; Voss 1980, 1982). As a corporate group, a sodality has an explicit purpose and is capable of united decision making and action relative to that purpose (Befu and Plotnicov 1962). In these two regards, its members have a sense of shared identity. More generally, sodalities also integrate and/or regulate the members of a tribe and can be vehicles for buffering localized residential groups and localized kinship groups from various kinds of localized risks. By bringing together persons from multiple residential and kin units, a sodality integrates individuals who might not otherwise normally cross paths in life. Multiple crosscutting sodalities can create a rich network of connections that define a society practically. These social connections have the potential for serving as conduits for mutual aid among residential or kin units in subsistence, economic, social, and/or political affairs. Sodalities also may have pan-societal regulatory functions, such as scheduling planting and harvesting through the timing of ceremonies they perform, maintaining social order, protecting the society from external violence, and providing spiritual healing and well being for the society at large.

In the Great Lakes-Riverine region of Eastern North America, sodalities were not very common or well documented among historic Native American tribes. For the Central Algonkians, tribal-wide integration and organization appears to have been achieved primarily through clans and phratries based on patrilineal descent, and sometimes through moieties, and only secondarily through special societies that crosscut kinship and residence. Spiritual and ritual matters focused on visions and "sacred packs", which were most commonly made and owned by the individual and inherited within his lineage (Callender 1962:26, 31, 65, 77), as well as on the eponynmous relationship, the totemic relationship, and/or naming, which were associated with the lineage or clan (Callender, pp. 29–31; see also Radin [1945:68] for the Siouan Winnebago). The best known sodalities in the region were the Midewiwin or Medicine Lodge, and more recently the Dream Drum or Dream Dance cult and Peyote cult. Other, less well documented sodalities included certain sacred pack organizations for healing individuals, healing the whole community, sorcery, warfare, hunting, those blessed by the same spirit, or dance cults; ritual societies of persons who shared some common supernatural experience; and dual divisions that competed in games, especially la crosse, and for war honors, and that organized dances and rituals.[10] Most historic Great Lakes-Riverine tribes had only a few sodalities at most, in contrast to the half dozen to two dozen sodalities that operated in many historic Puebloan tribes of the American Southwest (Carr 2005a:332, Note 15).

Given the occurrence but infrequency of sodalities among historic tribes of the Great Lakes-Riverine area, and the secondary importance of sodalities compared to clans among the Central Algonkians, one might expect Scioto Hopewellian societies to have had some sodalities but not many, and perhaps none at all, depending on the pace of population growth and development of tribal organization in the region over the millennia (e.g., Braun 1977, 1986: 123–125).

At the same time, a crosscultural correlation between the rise of sodalities and

the development of segregated leadership role organization like that which occurred in Scioto Hopewell societies (see above, Leadership) would suggest the likelihood that they did have sodalities. Specifically, in the transition from hunting-gathering to horticultural life, as the centralized roles of the classic shamanic practitioner become divided among multiple, more specialized, shaman-like practitioners, the mode of training of these practitioners shifts from individual spiritual experiences to formalized teaching and initiation into full status by institutionalized, professional groups with their own collective ceremonies (Winkelman 1989; 1990:335, 338; 1992:58, 61, 65, 71). Early in this role-segregation process, members of such professional groups are recruited from multiple clans (Winkelman 1992:58). In Service's (1962) terms, these professional groups are sodalities. Because Hopewellian leadership in the Scioto-Paint Creek area was comprised in the main by multiple, role-differentiated, shaman-like practitioners (see above, Leadership), one would expect that Hopewellian societies there had such professional groups/sodalities. The fact that each kind of specialized, shaman-like Hopewellian leader was recruited from multiple clans (see above, Clan Organization) also fits the crosscultural pattern of social settings in which professional groups/sodalities operate.

A fundamental feature of the Scioto Hopewell archaeological record that hints at shaman-like professional groups and other sodalities is the occurrence in some charnel houses of large ceremonial deposits comprised of tens to hundreds of examples of primarily one kind of ceremonial paraphernalia or element of costumery used by one kind of shaman-like practitioner (e.g., mica mirrors; Figures 1.9 and 4.16). These deposits suggest the ceremonial assembly of many more practitioners of one kind than a single local community would

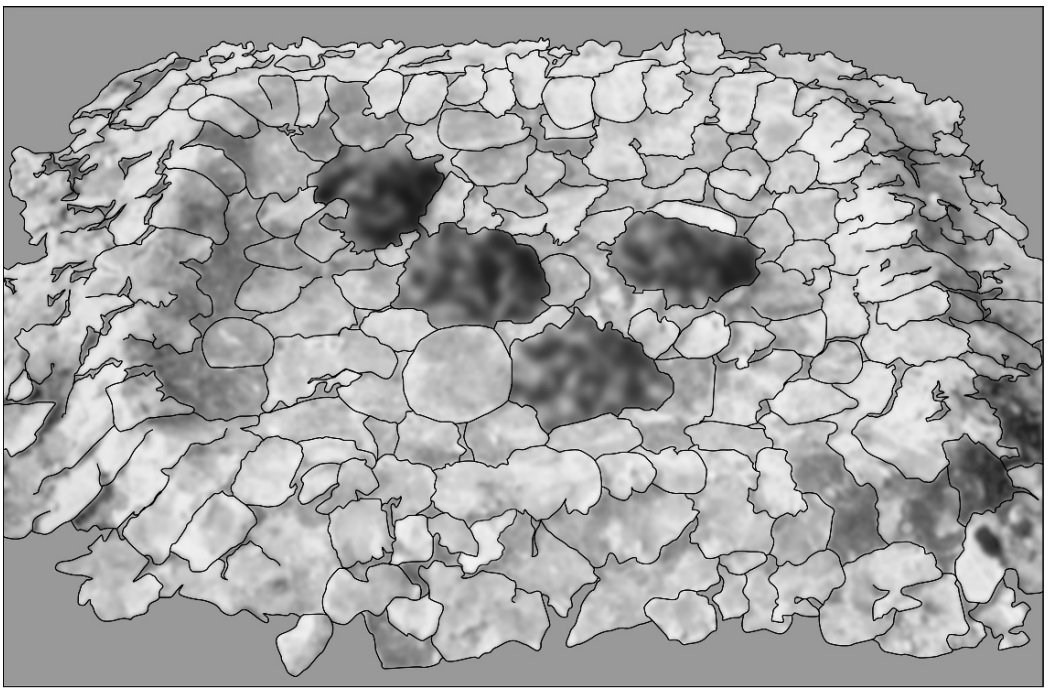


Figure 4.16. Over 100 mica mirrors and pieces of mica were arranged in a 7× 6.5 foot area to create a tomb floor, upon which 4 piles of cremations were placed (number of individuals unknown), forming the Great Mica Grave (Burial 1) in Mound 13 of the Mound City earthwork. Many of the mirrors are round to subrectangular and have been placed overlapping one another like fish scales. The deposit possibly indicates a collective ritual of a ceremonial society concerned with divination using mica mirrors. See Mills (1922:450, figure 11) for the original excavation photograph of the grave. See credits.

have supported, and could reflect the collective ceremonies of professional, multicommunity groups. Other abundant deposits are comprised of artifact classes that probably do not indicate the workings of shaman-like practitioners but, instead, sodalities that, like Scioto Hopewell communities at large, embraced a shamanic-rooted world view and symbolism (e.g., copper, silver, and iron earspools). Large deposits of primarily a single kind of artifact occur at the sites of Tremper, Mound City, Hopewell, Seip, Liberty, and Ater, with smaller, analogous deposits in some smaller sites. The list of artifact classes deposited in this manner define a starting point in the search for whether sodalities existed in Scioto Hopewellian societies. The artifact classes number 19 and include: mica mirrors, galena cubes, quartz crystal bifaces, obsidian bifaces, cones/hemispheres, quartz crystals, chlorite disks, smoking pipes, copper breastplates, metallic earspools, mica and copper crescents, metallic panpipes, bear canines, bear claws, elk canines, wolf teeth, fox teeth, raccoon teeth, and copper effigy alligator teeth (Appendix 4.1; Carr et al. 2005:486–488, table 13.2).[11]

Six criteria are helpful in identifying the existence of a sodality archaeologically with mortuary remains, given the definition of a sodality and certain of their characteristics in historic tribes of the Eastern Woodlands, as well as in tribes of the American Southwest, where sodalities are documented better. (1) If a sodality symbolizes its shared identity by an artifact marker, such as an item used in the task it performs, and if that marker is placed in the burials of its members at their death, then the marker should occur in multiple community cemeteries across the region integrated by the sodality. This criterion follows directly from the definition of a sodality as crosscutting residence units. (2) The individuals buried with the marker of a sodality should be affiliated with multiple kinship units – clans with different animal totems or eponyms, in the Scioto Hopewell case – rather than only one kinship unit. This criterion also follows directly from the definition of a sodality. (3) Within a community cemetery, burials with a sodality's marker should be more numerous than the few burials with artifacts marking community-wide leadership. Burials with sodality markers may range from moderately low to high percentages of a burial population, considering historic Eastern Woodlands and Southwestern analogs.[12] (4) Individuals buried with a sodality marker should be exclusively or largely adults – those capable of carrying out the task of the sodality. This was the case historically among Eastern Woodlands and American Southwestern tribes.[13] (5) Individuals buried with a sodality marker will more likely be exclusively males or largely males, although a mix of males and females with emphasis on males is possible. Algonkian and Puebloan sodalities follow this pattern.[14] (6) The different artifact markers of different sodalities may indicate the sodalities' varying social power and prestige. Such social distinctions are common among Algonkian and Puebloan sodalities.[15] Characteristics of the artifact markers that may express differences in power and prestige include variations in raw materials, workmanship, relative frequency, and/or other qualities.

In the Scioto Hopewell case, artifact classes that meet most or all of these six criteria could represent sodalities that had members from multiple residential communities within a single local symbolic community or sodalities that had members from multiple residential and local symbolic communities within a larger sustainable community (Chapter 3). Distinguishing these two situations is accomplished with context-specific evidence in the cases presented below.

Three sodalities can be identified with good certainty in Scioto Hopewellian societies using these six criteria. They were marked by metallic earspools, copper breastplates, and platform smoking pipes. The sodality marked by earspools, as expressed by the shiny spools themselves, drew upon the shaman-like world view and symbolism of Scioto Hopewellian communities, but was not involved in any obvious shaman-like tasks and appears to have not been comprised of shaman-like practitioners. The sodalities marked by breastplates and platform pipes may have had shaman-like duties and been composed of shaman-like practitioners. Another two sodalities may

have existed but are indicated by fewer of the above six criteria. These possible sodalities were marked by mica mirrors and galena cubes, which suggest shaman-like tasks and professional groups of shaman-like practitioners. A clear ceremonial society, but one with members from only a single clan and thus not strictly a sodality, was marked by bear canines. Its members probably had one or more shaman-like duties and comprised a shaman-like professional society. Three other clan-specific ceremonial societies may have existed, marked by wolf, fox, and elk teeth. The remainder of the 19 artifact classes listed above as potential sodality markers do not hold well to the criteria for identifying sodalities and/or cannot be assessed for lack of sufficient data.

Earspools and Breastplates as Sodality Markers

Earspools and breastplates are the clearest markers of sodalities in Scioto Hopewell societies (Figure 4.17A–G). Both kinds of items were placed in large numbers in ceremonial deposits at the Hopewell site (Table 4.8), probably indicating the collective ceremonies of two sodalities. Also, each of the six criteria for identifying sodalities is met by earspools and breastplates.[16] The case for a sodality marked by earspools and its collective ceremonies is strengthened by the deposit of earspools in Altar 1 of Hopewell Mound 25. The deposit contained a large group of earspools bound together in a bundle with a heavy cord, suggesting a group offering rather than individual contributions to the deposit (Figure 4.18; Greber and Ruhl 1989:149–150, figure 4.63; Ruhl 2005:709). Precedence of a sodality over the individual may also be indicated by the generally more refined quality of earspools placed in mass deposits than those placed in the burials of individuals (Ruhl 2005:709).

The specific corporate purposes of the sodalities marked by earspools and breastplates are not known currently. The flat, polished, reflective surface of a copper breastplate is analogous to that of mica and suitable as a mirror for shaman-like "gazing into" the past, the future, or a soul during divination. A professional society of shaman-like diviners may be implied. It may be significant that one breastplate was found placed like a mask over the skull of a deceased person, with the two holes of the plate positioned over the person's eyes and the lower center of the plate broken out in a subconoidal form to accomodate the nose (Moorehead 1890:60–61, plate 37). The metaphor of "gazing" is accentuated in this case.[17] There is also some evidence that the common, sub-trapezoidal shape of breastplates from the Hopewell and Seip sites were meant to reference bear heads.[18]

No specific shaman-like task is suggested by earspools. Both earspools and breastplates, usually being made of copper, reference transformation as a shamanic-derived world view concept that was widespread through Scioto Hopewellian society and not specifically attached to shaman-like practitioners (see above, Leadership). Also, both kinds of items were commonly patinated with various imagery – a transformative process (Carr 2000c, d, 2005e; Carr and Lydecker 1998; Carr et al. 2002). The format of earspools, with an outer convex annulus and a central concave depression, created a dark-to-light contrasting and transforming visual effect (Ruhl 2005) – again a shaman-like theme that occurs broadly throughout Scioto Hopewellian material culture and is not necessarily indicative of shaman-like practitioners (Carr and Case 2005b:200, Table 5.3). The circular and rectangular shapes of earspools and breastplates also probably referenced cosmological concepts that circulated widely among Scioto Hopewellian people. Indeed, one elaborate set of earspools found in the Copper Deposit under Hopewell Mound 25 was impressed with four radial lines and drilled with four holes, implying the Cardinal and the Semi-cardinal Directions of the cosmos (Figure 4.17B).

The sodalities marked by metallic earspools and breastplates most probably began in the middle portion of the Middle Woodland period. In Early Woodland Adena mounds, metallic earspools and breastplates have seldom been found (Otto 1970; Webb and Snow 1974:156, 212–213 chart). Later, during the beginning of the Middle Woodland period,

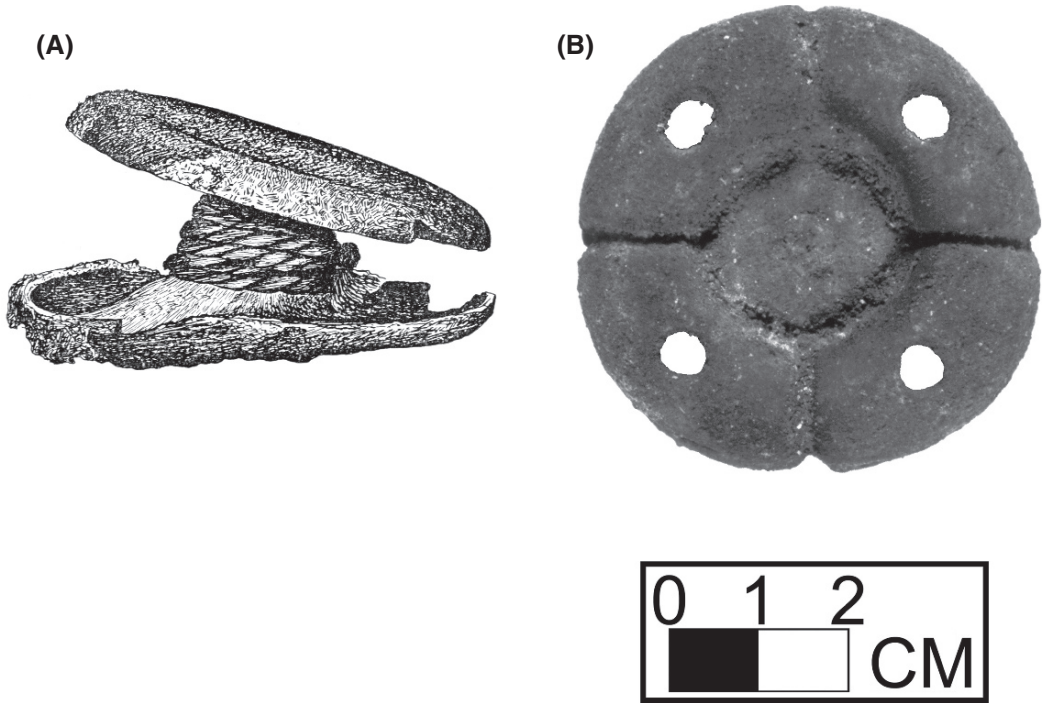
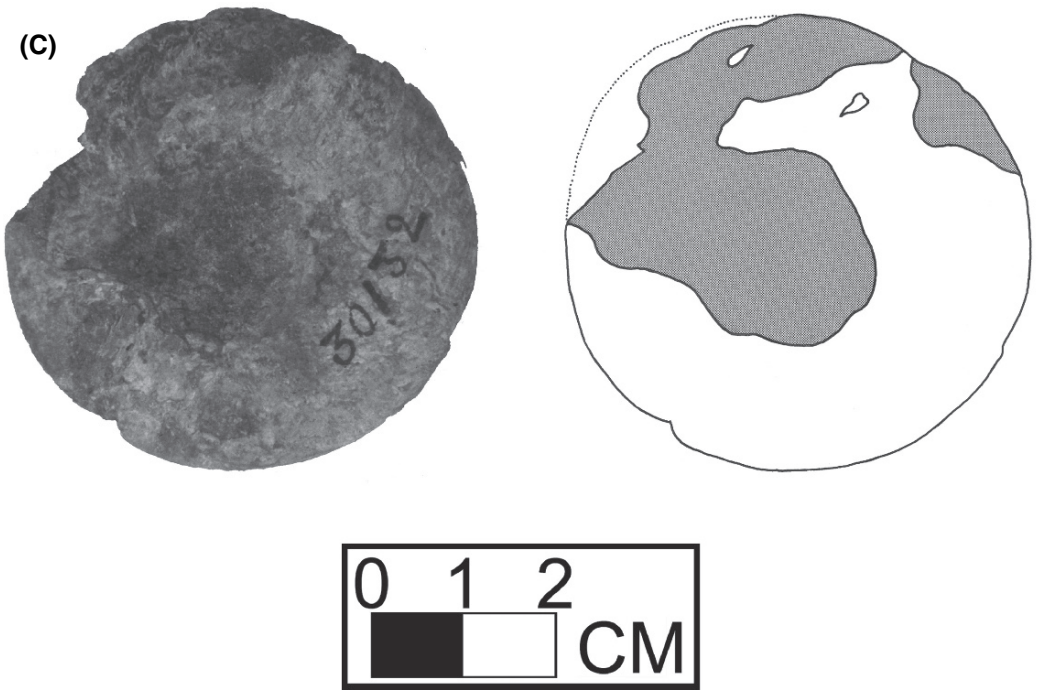


Figure 4.17. (A) Copper earspools of common form, from the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, internal provenience unknown. (B) Copper earspool with lines and holes indicating the four Cardinal Directions, four Semi-cardinal Directions, and four Quarters of the circular cosmos. From the Hopewell earthwork, Copper Deposit. (C, *left*) Copper earspool with organic covering depicting two intertwined birds, light and dark, circling in opposite directions, and (C, *right*) corresponding line drawing. From the Turner earthwork, Mound 12. For better definition of the two intertwined birds, see the color enhancement, Figure 4.17C, in the Appendix on the CD-ROM. (D, *left*) Copper earspool with silver covering molded to depict a hummingbird circling counterclockwise, and (D, *right*) corresponding line drawing. From the Mt. Vernon mound, Indiana. For better definition of the hummingbird, see the image, Figure 4.17D, in the Appendix on the CD-ROM. (E) A copper breastplate of common form, from the Hopewell earthwork, unknown internal provenience. (F) Copper breastplate with four raptor talon cutouts in the four Semi-cardinal or Solstice Directions. From the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 26, Ceremonial Offering. (G) Copper breastplate cutout and embossed effigy of a human head, from the Seip earthworks, Conjoined mound. The face is in profile, with its lips and a hairlock facing left and three hairbuns are on the right. The eye is one of the two holes of the plate. The two holes can also be envisioned as two eyes of a face looking forward. The plate can be rotated 180° creating a face that faces right, with the same lips and mirrored hairlock. A similar person of importance with a forward hanging hairlock is shown on the Meigs Adena tablet, Figure 4.7C, far lower left block of the of the tablet's composition, head facing left. See credits.

very few metallic earspools were buried at the Tremper site ($n = 4$), but more were recovered from the slightly later Mound City site ($n = 23$) (Ruhl 1992:67, table 1). Breastplates were absent from the Tremper site and occurred in small numbers at Mound City ($n \sim 9$). At Mound City, earspools and breastplates were found with only 5.7% ($n = 6$) and 4.7% ($n = 5$) of all burials (Appendix 4.1). It is uncertain whether earspools and breastplates in these sparse numbers at Tremper and/or Mound City indicate sodalities as did earspools and breastplates found in plenty later in time. If the sodalities did exist, it is also unknown whether their members came from multiple residential communities within a single local symbolic community or from multiple local symbolic communities. However, by the middle Middle Woodland period, sodalities marked by earspools and breastplates had clearly formed, were very popular, and drew their members from multiple local symbolic communities.



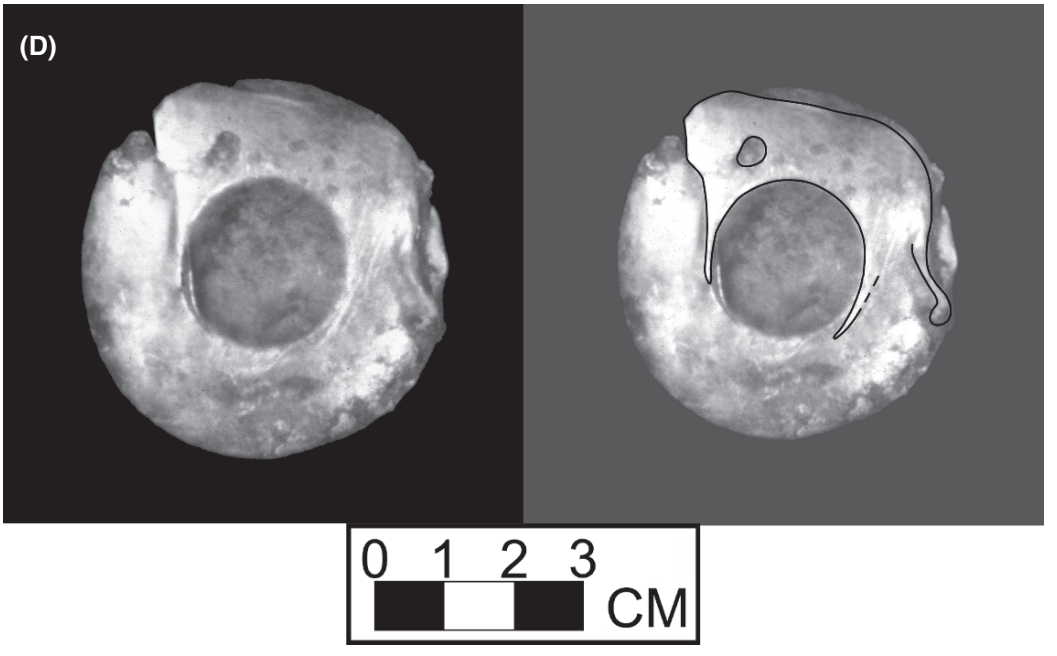


Figure 4.17. (*continued*)

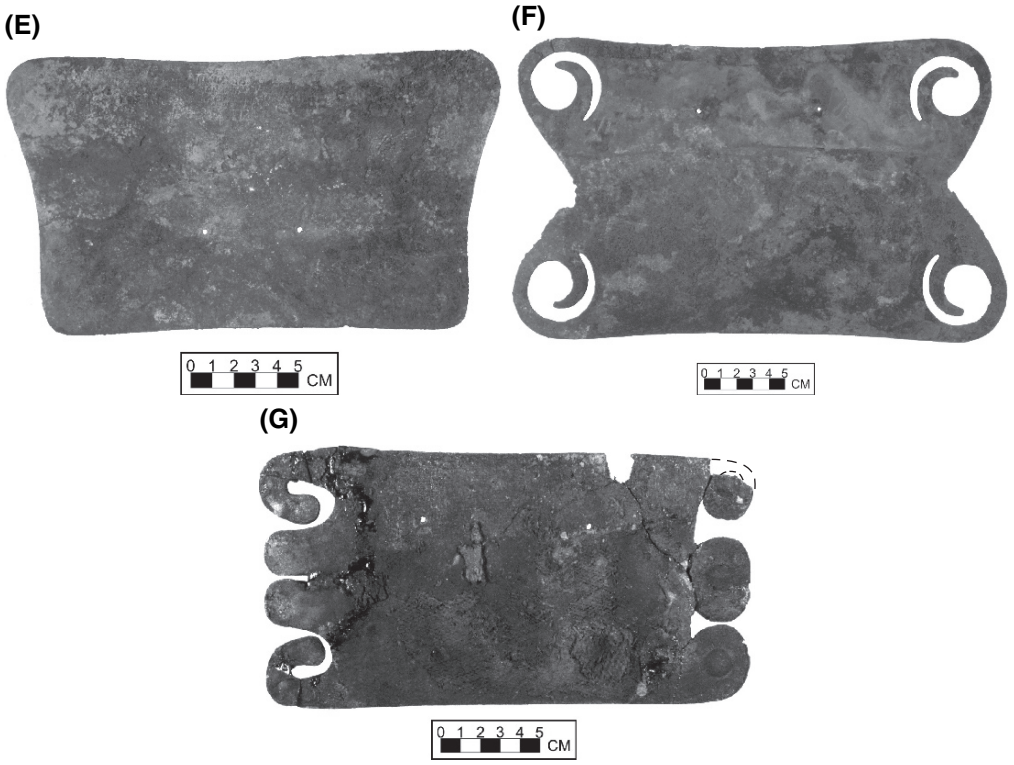


Figure 4.17. (*continued*)

These conditions are evidenced by the large numbers of earspools and breastplates found in Hopewell Mound 25 and the Seip-Pricer mound, by the presence of these items in multiple burial chambers dedicated to distinct local symbolic communities within the charnel houses under those mounds, and by the actual pooling of large numbers of earspools and breastplates in single deposits under Hopewell Mound 25 (Carr 2005a:288–291, table 7.1).[19] At Hopewell, a site functionally analogous to and comparable to Mound City as a place for burial of

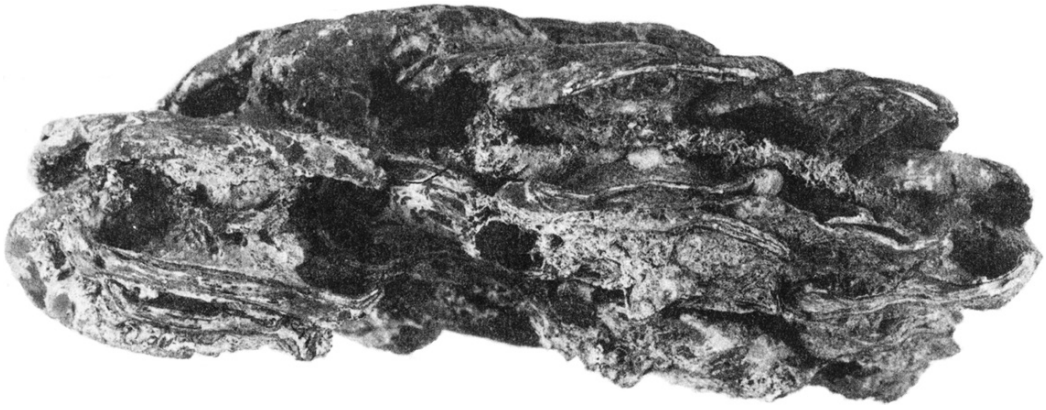


Figure 4.18. Copper earspools bound together by a heavy cord and deposited with a large suite of other kinds of offerings in an altar, not in a grave, suggesting the collective offering of a sodality. From the Hopewell earthwork, Mound 25, Altar 1. See credits.

primarily select, important people, earspools and breastplates were respectively found in 22.4% ($n = 48$) and 14.1% ($n = 30$) of all burials (Appendix 4.1). Ceremonial deposits at Hopewell contained 500–1,000 earpools, 60 earspools, 50 earspools, and 94–95 breastplates.

At face value, the shift over time in the numbers and depositional contexts of earspools and breastplates would suggest a widening of the geographic expanse of the two sodalities marked by them in addition to an increase in their popularity. The solidification of tribal life with pan-tribal sodalities by the second half of the Middle Woodland period is one reasonable interpretation. This evidence runs counter to Braun's (1977, 1986:123–125) idea that the end of Scioto Hopewellian ceremonial life was tied to the origin of pan-tribal, economically and politically based sodalities, which made ceremonially flamboyant means of integration superfluous.

Smoking Pipes as a Sodality Marker

There is strong evidence that platform smoking pipes, with and without animal effigies carved on them, were markers of a sodality. Platform pipes were ceremonially decommissioned in large numbers in a deposit at the Tremper site and in another at the Mound City site (Table 4.8). The two deposits could indicate sequential, climactic collective ceremonies within a long-term cycle of ceremonies of a sodality. The six criteria for identifying the existence of a sodality archaeologically are all met well by the platform pipes from Tremper and Mound City.[20]

The idea that the platform pipes from Tremper and Mound City marked a single sodality is reinforced by the tight contents and styles of the pipes. All of the effigy pipes and most of the platform pipes are closely similar in size and morphology. The effigy pipes all depict animal species in a naturalistic style with incredible attention to details of the species' characteristics (Figure 4.19A–D). Pairs and triplets of pipes with effigies of the same species show them in the same postures (e.g., crouching felines, standing squirrels) and doing the same things (e.g., a heron arching its head to the ground to eat a fish carved in relief on the pipe's platform). The two collections from Tremper and Mound City overlap 80% in the species represented. A small number of less-than-masterful productions occur in both collections, and the Mound City specimens tend to be abbreviated in detail (Penney 1989:175–178; see also Otto 1984:24, 1992:5). These extraordinary similarities with minor variations imply manufacture by relatively few artists who worked very closely together and learned from each other while carving. It appears that many people came to these artists to obtain pipes and possibly the rights to perform ceremonies for which the pipes were designed (Penney 1989:159–229), and then maintained contact with each other as a regularly meeting sodality. The latter ensured the deposition of their pipes together at Tremper and Mound City years to decades after their manufacture. The pipes at Tremper and Mound City would have taken 22 and 38 man-years, respectively, to carve with close to full-time work (Otto 1992:5), implying that an institutionalized mechanism kept integrated those who obtained, used, and ultimately decommissioned together their smoking pipes.

If platform pipes marked a sodality, as they appear to, its immediate corporate purpose would have been to facilitate individuals in their relationships with their personal power animals. In the historic Eastern Woodlands, pipes with animal effigies carved on them were smoked by individuals to go into a trance state and commune with and/or merge with their personal power animals (see above, Leadership). Those connections to power would then have been used for any number of ultimate individual or corporate purposes. The harnessing of power from personal power animals for a corporate purpose is a reasonable possible interpretation, recalling the crosscultural practice of multiple shaman with diverse power animals assembling to accomplish some especially difficult shamanic task, such as psychopomp work (Harner 1980:90–91). The possible Hopewellian practice of multiple sodality members working with their individual sources of spiritual power toward a corporate goal is distinct from the practices of Algonkian sodalities comprised of people blessed by the same

Table 4.8. Large Deposits of Artifacts Indicating Sodalities and Other Ceremonial Societies

Large Deposits Indicating Sodalities

Metallic earspools and *breastplates* are the clearest markers of sodalities in Scioto Hopewell societies. Metallic earspools were deposited in large numbers in Altar 1 of Mound 25 at the Hopewell site ($n = 250$–500 pairs; Greber and Ruhl 1989:134; Moorehead 1922:113) and Burial 7 of Mound 25 ($n = 30$ pairs; Shetrone 1926a:65–66). Copper breastplates were deposited abundantly with Skeletons 260–261 in Hopewell Mound 25 ($n = 94$–95; Shetrone 1926a:75–76). These deposits could indicate the collective ceremonies of two sodalities. A smaller deposit of copper breastplates ($n = 12$) was placed in the Ceremonial Cache of the Seip-Pricer mound.

Platform pipes were ceremonially decommissioned in large numbers in the Lower Cache under the Tremper mound ($n = 136$ pipes; Mills 1916:285) and the Central Altar and Depository Bag under Mound 8 at the Mound City site ($n = 226$ pipes; Brown 2004:15; Mills 1916:285; Shetrone 1926a:44–45). The two deposits could indicate sequential, climactic collective ceremonies within a long-term cycle of ceremonies of a sodality.

Large Deposits Indicating Clan-Specific Ceremonial Societies

Bear canines were amassed and buried in significant numbers in Cremation Basin 1 under the Seip-Pricer mound ($n = 30$ canines; Shetrone and Greenman 1931:366), in Burial 34 under Mound 25 at the Hopewell site ($n = 26$; Shetrone 1926a:87–89), and with a cremation in the Edwin Harness mound at the Liberty site ($n = 20$; Mills 1907:168–169). *Bear claws* were placed in large numbers in Deposit 2 under Mound 17 at the Hopewell site ($n = 10$; Shetrone 1926a:49), Burial 41B under Mound 25 at the Hopewell site ($n = 35$; Shetrone 1926a:93), and Burial 58 under the Pricer Mound at the Seip site ($n = 18$; Shetrone and Greenman 1931:394). *Bear jaws* were deposited in unknown numbers in deposit ShetroneField 7-9A under Mound 25 of the Hopewell site (Shetrone field notes 7-9-1929) . These several deposits of canines, claws, and jaws could reflect the repeated, collective ceremonies of a Bear society drawn from the Bear clan. Bear jaws were also placed in large, unspecified numbers in the Great Cache under the Tremper mound (Mills 1916:285, Thew, n.d.), but these may have marked Bear clan members, in general, and their phratry relationships to one or more other clans (Chapter 4, Phratries) rather than a Bear ceremonial society.

Large Deposits Possibly Indicating Sodalities[1]

Mica mirrors were deposited in large numbers to form a slightly curved rectangle covering an area 8 by 4 feet adjacent to Burial 9 under Mound 7 at the Mound City site (Mills 1922:492; Squier and Davis 1848:473), over a 7×6.5 foot area adjacent to Burial 1 in Mound 13 at the Mound City site (Mills 1922:448–451), and with Burial 1 under Mound 23 at the Mound City site (Mills 1922:461).

Galena cubes were decommissioned in large numbers under Shetrone's Mound 29 (Moorehead's Mound 17) at the Hopewell site (Moorehead 1922:91), in the Altar under Mound 5 at the Mound City site (Squier and Davis 1848:149), and within the ridge of soil surrounding Burial 1 under Mound 13 at the Mound City site (Mills 1922:448–451).

Large Deposits Possibly Indicating Clan-Specific Ceremonial Societies

Wolf and fox canines were deposited with Skeleton 207 under Mound 23 at the Hopewell site ($n = 506$; Moorehead 1922:98).

Elk teeth were placed in Burial 3 under Mound 8 at the Mound City site ($n = 150+$; Mills 1922:434; Mound City artifact catalog), in Burial 2 of the same mound ($n \sim 100$; Mills 1922:434), in Burial 16 under Mound 2 ($n = 35$; Mills 1922:445–446), and in Deposit 5 under Mound 13 (Mills 1922:452–453).

Raccoon teeth were deposited in Burial 41 under Mound 25 at the Hopewell site ($n = 30$; Shetrone 1926a:92–93).

[1] Other large deposits of artifacts that do not appear to indicate sodalities or other ceremonial societies, or for which evidence is ambiguous or lacking, are listed in Carr, Goldstein, et al. (2005:486–488, table 13.2).

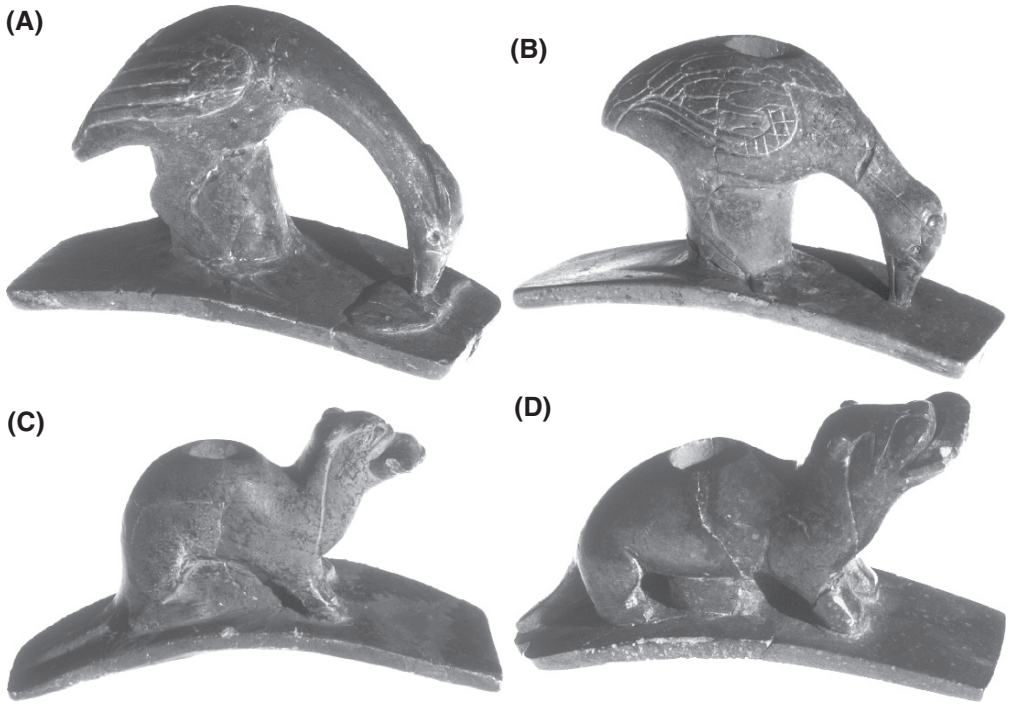


Figure 4.19. Smoking pipes from the Tremper earthwork, the Great Cache. (A) Effigy of a great blue heron. (B) Effigy of a sandhill crane in similar posture and act. (C) Effigy of an otter. (D) Effigy of an otter in similar position and act. See credits.

spirit or people who associated themselves with the same sacred pack and its powers (Callender 1962:31, 35; Skinner 1915; Tax 1937:267).

The sodality marked by platform smoking pipes had its origin at least at the beginning of the Middle Woodland period, and probably somewhat earlier. The site of Tremper marks the beginning of Hopewellian-style ceremonialism in the Scioto drainage, and was followed shortly thereafter by the Mound City site. The fact that the pipes found at Tremper and Mound City occurred in large numbers ($n = 136, \sim 226$ pipes, respectively; Table 4.8) and already had a mature artistic style suggests the development of the sodality somewhat earlier. Indeed, a deposit of 32 tubular smoking pipes, foreshadowing the deposits at Tremper and Mound City, was found in the Beech Bottom Mound in West Virginia (Webb and Snow 1974:85–86). Adena tubular smoking pipes, although not embellished with animal effigies, are relatively common in the Scioto drainage and upper Ohio valley (Webb and Snow 1974:86).

The earliest platform pipe in the Scioto drainage, and also in the Midwest, was excavated from the Adena-style Toephner mound, near Columbus (Norris 1985), and dates to no later than 250 B.C. It's smoke-stack style bowl and other attributes anticipate the smoke-stack platform pipes found in the Tremper site (Seeman 1977b:53) and imply a long (if uncommon) tradition of platform pipe manufacture in the Scioto drainage (see Chapter 5, Note 10). The platform nature of the pipe, in contrast to the tubular form of earlier pipes, suggests the possibility of a qualitative difference in how smoking was coming to be conceived and experienced, and its spiritual purpose. The single pipe does not reflect upon the social-ritual organization of smoking and the timing of development of a sodality marked by platform smoking pipes.

It is likely that the members of the sodality marked by smoking pipes at Tremper and Mound City came from multiple local symbolic communities within a sustainable community.

The large numbers of pipes deposited at each of these two sites, the pooled placing of the pipes in single deposits, and the association of the Tremper pipes with the cremated remains of some 375 individuals who would have come from multiple local symbolic communities within a sustainable community (Chapter 3, A Second Example of a Sustainable Community) point to a sodality of broad, regional scope.

A Clan-Specific Ceremonial Society

A clear ceremonial society, but one with members drawn from a single clan and thus not strictly a sodality, was marked by bear canines (Figure 4.12A–C, above). Bear canines were amassed and buried in significant numbers in one ceremonial deposit and two burials at the sites of Hopewell, Seip, and Liberty (Table 4.8). The three large assemblages could reflect the repeated, collective ceremonies of the Bear clan, or of a Bear ceremonial society composed of select Bear clan members. Bear claws and jaws, much less frequent than canines in the Scioto Hopewell record, may also have represented this clan or ceremonial society. Bear claws were placed in significant numbers in one ceremonial deposit and two burials at the Hopewell and Seip sites. Bear jaws were placed in large numbers in two ceremonial deposits in the Tremper and Hopewell sites.

Bear canines, like other animal power parts placed in burials in the Scioto drainage, can strongly be argued to have symbolized clan membership, for five reasons given above (see above, Clan Organization). However, bear canines appear in burials 3–34 times more frequently than the power parts of other clan totems. This inequity suggests a role of the Bear clan or a Bear society in mortuary ceremonies and in placing bear canines within the graves of the deceased persons they served. A mortuary role for the Bear clan or a Bear society is also indicated by the frequent co-occurrence of bear canines in burials with the power parts of other clan-associated animals, when a person normally would belong to only one clan and would be buried with only one clan marker. This pattern is unique to bear canines; totemic or eponym markers of clans other than Bear and different from one another are seldom found together in a burial. Finally, the sculpture from the Newark earthworks, of a bear impersonator possibly with a decapitated human head in his lap (Figure 4.6B, above; Dragoo and Wray 1964), could evidence the role of the Bear clan or a Bear society in processing corpses for burial and perhaps in the psychopomp work of guiding souls of the deceased to an afterlife.

A Bear clan or Bear society concerned with the arena of death makes sense in light of beliefs and practices of historic Native Americans of the northeastern Woodlands. Historic Algonkian Menominee, Chippewa, and Cree identified the bear with the Below realm because the bear hibernates in a den within the earth (Gill and Sullivan 1992:23). In turn, the Below realm was connected with death, in two ways. The Chippewa believed that a journey through the Below realm was necessary to reach the Land of the Dead (Barnouw 1977:18–19, 136). The Iroquois believed the Below realm to be the Land of the Dead, itself (Barbeau 1914:290–294). Also, a natural symbolic tie between the bear and death is found in the bear's habit of hibernating (i.e., apparently dying) in winter. In line with such beliefs, in the Woodlands, bear meat was commonly the food of choice for offering the dead (Zeisberger 1910:140).

A complementary interpretation is that bear canines identified a Bear clan or Bear society concerned with doctoring in addition to, or instead of, corpse processing and/or psychopomp work. The inclusions of canines in graves would represent gifts of medicine from the Bear clan or medicine society members to the deceased for their journey to an afterlife and in an afterlife. Medicines may have been placed in the canines, themselves, which often were split to expose the pulp cavity, reassembled, and decorated (Figure 4.20; Zurel 2002). Bear doctors and bear medicine societies are common across the northern Woodlands, Plains, and the Northwest Coast (Berres et al. 2004:16–17; Catlin 1860:77; Gill and Sullivan 1992:24–25; Kurath 1964:70). Huron medicine dancers dressed in bearskin costumes during curing ceremonies (Kinietz 1940:140–141;

Figure 4.20. Bear canines, split to expose the pulp cavity and reassembled, may have been filled with medicines by bear doctors, to heal the living and/or for use by the deceased in an afterlife or on their journey to it. See credits.

Kurath 1964:70; Smith 1985:111) and Munsee Delaware in Ontario wore bearskin or deerskin costumes to drive out diseases from houses (Speck 1950:56). The Iroquois believed in a Great Bear Spirit, who could cause and cure illnesses (Kurath 1964:13, 67). The bear played a significant spiritual role in the Great Lakes Midewiwin Medicine Society (Ritzenthaler 1978:756), and black bear paws were used to make the medicine bags of the Midewiwin (Casagrande 1952:113; Driver 1969:355). Dried mukopin or "bear potatoes" were stored in the medicine bundle of the Prairie Potowatomie Bear clan and used to doctor wounds (Skinner 1924:144).[21]

Four of the six criteria for identifying sodalities seem to be met by bear canines and imply the workings of the Bear clan or a Bear society across residential units. However, the strength of fit is difficult to specify because bear canines appear to have been buried not only with members of the Bear clan or Bear society that they identified, but also with deceased persons that the clan or society members processed. Consequently, the geographic, age, and sex distributions of burials with bear canines present mixed signatures. Bear claws meet two of the criteria for identifying sodalities. They pose the same problem as bear canines for evaluating their geographic, age, and sex distributions. They also occurred in too few a number of burials to effectively apply the criteria. A bear jaw was found with only one burial and does not allow evaluation by any of the criteria.[22]

It is more likely that bear canines and claws symbolized a Bear society, as a select portion of the Bear clan, than they did the entire Bear clan. Bear canines are limited in their age and sex distributions almost entirely to adults and males, where age and/or sex are known. Bear claws are limited to adults, with no information on their sex associations. Further, one would expect only adults to be members in a society that had the task of processing the dead or working with their souls. Souls of the recently dead can be dangerous (e.g., Harner 1980; Ingerman 1991) and children are commonly thought to be especially vulnerable to the spirit world (Senior 1994).

If bear canines and claws did symbolize a Bear society, it may have formed early in the Middle Woodland period and certainly was extant by the middle portion of the Middle Woodland. Cut and drilled bear canines isolated from the jaw are very rare to nonexistent in Early Woodland, Adena mounds generally (Webb and Snow 1974:97, 155, 212–213 chart). In the Scioto valley, no cut and drilled bear canines were recovered from the very early Hopewellian ceremonial center of Tremper. However, drilled bear molars and several drilled bear or wolf/coyote canines were recovered from the site (Thew n.d.). Drilled bear canines are first recorded definitely at the slightly later center of Mound City. Their frequency there is low (3.8% of burials, Appendix 4.1). Later, during the middle Middle Woodland, at the functionally similar ceremonial center of Hopewell, the frequency of bear canines was much greater (11.6% of burials, Appendix 4.1), and one burial under Mound 25 had an accumulation of 26 bear canines (Table 4.8). Somewhat

later, under the late Middle Woodland mound of Seip-Pricer, which contained fewer elite deceased than at Mound City and Hopewell, bear canines were buried with less frequency (4.8% of burials, Appendix 4.1), but also were decommissioned in a large ceremonial deposit with 30 canines (Table 4.8). Allowing for the lower proportion of elite persons buried at Seip-Pricer gives the impression of the healthy continuation of the Bear society from the middle through late Middle Woodland period.[23]

Members of the probable Bear society likely came from multiple local symbolic communities. Bear canines were found with burials in multiple burial chambers dedicated to distinct local symbolic communities within the charnel houses under the Hopewell 25, Seip-Pricer, and Ater mounds. Moreover, clans in general in the Scioto-Paint Creek area were not localized (Thomas et al. 2005:363–365). However, none of the three, large deposits of bear canines, within and separate from graves, contained so many bear canines as to necessarily represent the collective ceremonies of much or all of a Bear society that spanned multiple local symbolic communities (Table 4.8).[24] The same is true for deposits of bear claws within and separate from graves (Table 4.8).

Other Clan-Specific Ceremonial Societies?

Four clans besides the Bear clan placed markers of their animal totems or eponyms in substantial ceremonial deposits within charnel houses in the Scioto-Paint Creek region: the Canine, Fox, Elk, and Raccoon clans (Table 4.8). The deposits occur at the sites of Mound City (Elk), early in the Middle Woodland period, and at Hopewell (Canine, Fox, Raccoon) during the middle of the Middle Woodland period. These remains indicate the ceremonies of either entire clans, or clan-specific societies whose members included only certain persons from a clan. Other criteria for identifying sodalities also suggest these two possible interpretations, but they cannot be distinguished for lack of enough burials with age and sex information.[25]

Other Artifact Classes Placed in Large Deposits

Of the remaining 11 of the 19 artifact classes that were placed in large deposits in Scioto Hopewell sites and that were listed above as potential sodality markers for this reason, two – mica mirrors and galena cubes – might indicate sodalities. Their signatures are not as strong as those of earspools, breastplates, and platform pipes.[26] Because both mica mirrors and galena cubes would have been used in shaman-like tasks, they may represent two professional sodalities of shaman-like practitioners. A less likely interpretation is that mica mirrors and galena cubes represent two kinds of shaman-like leaders, both of which were found in multiple local symbolic communities but neither of which were organized socially into formal groups. Mica mirrors would have been used to divine information, for any of a variety of purposes, and galena cubes might have been used in either divination or activities involving paint.

If mica mirrors and galena cubes do represent sodalities, these organizations were well formed by the early Middle Woodland. Large gatherings of both groups at the early Middle Woodland site of Mound City are indicated there by three large ceremonial deposits of mica mirrors and two of galena cubes (Table 4.8). Smaller accumulations of mica mirrors and galena crystals formed into cones were found in the somewhat earlier Tremper site in the Great Cache (Mills 1916:285), but not as deposits separate from other decommissioned paraphernalia. No such deposits are currently known from earlier times during the Early Woodland period in the broader region, although mica was worked then into cutouts and galena into hemispheres (Webb and Snow 1974:89, 101, 155–156), and galena/barite was mined and worked heavily at the Kentucky Adena site of Peter "Village" (Clay 1987:50).

A third artifact class – obsidian bifaces – meets a couple criteria suggestive of sodalities.[27] It might mark a sodality or a professional society of shaman-like practitioners from multiple local symbolic commu-

nities but of uncertain clan affiliation(s). Less probably, obsidian bifaces might represent similar shaman-like leaders affiliated with a few different local symbolic communities but not organized as a group. Obsidian bifaces could have been used in hunt or war divination, or to pull out or send power intrusions.

The antiquity of a ceremonial society that used obsidian bifaces extends back in time at least to the middle Middle Woodland period. A large deposit of obsidian debris (about136 kilograms) from the production of many large obsidian bifaces was buried under Mound 11 at the Hopewell site (Cowan and Greber 2002; Shetrone 1922). The mound appears to date between about A.D. 185 and A.D. 230 uncalibrated radiocarbon time, by two radiocarbon dates (Cowan and Greber 2002; see also Hatch et al. 1990:476, table 7; Stevenson et al. 2004). Obsidian bifaces (n∼10) and fragments of them were also found in dispersed burials and one small deposit at the early Mound City site. Obsidian bifaces were not recovered from the Tremper site, which constitutes the beginning of Hopewellian style ceremonialism in the Scioto-Paint area, and are unknown from Early Woodland Adena sites. The largest assemblage of obsidian bifaces (several hundred) was found at the Hopewell earthwork in Mound 25, Altar 2 (Moorehead 1922:114), which dates most likely toward the end of the Middle Woodland period (Chapter 15, Chronology and Its Implications for Defining Communities and Community Organization).

Eight artifact classes (quartz crystal bifaces, quartz crystals, chlorite disks, metallic panpipes, cones/hemispheres, mica and copper crescents, bear claws independent of bear canines, copper effigy alligator teeth) do not seem to have represented sodalities, given that they have been found in few sites and few or no burials.[28] However, the large sizes of two deposits of quartz bifaces and one of cones/hemispheres do suggest the collective ceremonies of professional societies of shaman-like practitioners from multiple local symbolic communities. Whether the society members also came from multiple clans, and which clans those might have been, cannot be determined with current archaeological evidence.

Overlap in Membership Among Sodalities and Grades of Achievement

Membership in the sodalities marked by earspools and breastplates, and in the possible sodalities marked by mica mirrors and galena cubes, was overlapping. A person who belonged to any one sodality could belong to any of the other three. This pattern is inferred from burials that had markers of more than one sodality within them. The pattern follows the historic Central Algonkian practice of a person being able to join multiple sodalities (Callender 1962; Skinner 1920). The amount of overlap between pairs of sodalities in their membership was significant to substantial, ranging most commonly between 4% and 44%. The sharing of members among sodalities, like sodalities having members from multiple residential communities and clans, provided additional lines of integration among households in the Scioto-Paint Creek area.[29]

For no pair of sodalities was overlap fully asymmetrical, in that a person had to be a member of one sodality in order to be a member of another. In this regard, the four sodalities and possible sodalities were not placed on a single scale of prestige. However, the sodalities marked by earspools, breastplates, and bear power parts may have each had internal, ladder-like grades of achievement within them, indicated by material variations in the items. Metallic earspools were usually made of just copper, but some copper spools were fancier in that they were covered by a silver foil, or rarer yet, a meteoric iron foil. Two pairs of earspools were unique in having embossed or cutout designs (Moorehead 1922:plate 56, p. 121). Earspools of a single time plane did not, however, vary much in their size (Ruhl 1992; Ruhl and Seeman 1998). Breastplates were almost always made of copper in the Scioto-Paint Creek area, but two or three of meteoric iron are known.[30] In addition, copper breastplates differ substantially in area and thickness. Most bear power parts that symbolized a Bear ceremonial society or the Bear clan were canines, usually drilled and/or cut. However, rarer claws and jaws also were used. These three different forms of bear power parts appear to

have had different meanings to Scioto Hopewell peoples, because they were placed separately from each other in different major ceremonial deposits.

Sodalities, Societies, and Ceremonial Complementarity?

Beyond their own unique ceremonial purposes, it is possible that some sodalities and ceremonial societies coordinated their efforts and played complementary roles in performing a joint ceremony. Sodalities and ceremonial societies also might have taken their turns over time in performing a sequence of ceremonies that comprised an annual or other ceremonial cycle. Both kinds of cooperation among ceremonial societies are found crossculturally – for example, among Puebloan societies of the American Southwest. However, cooperation among sodalities in producing a ceremony or a ceremonial cycle is not documented for the historic Central Algonkians (Callender 1962) or historic tribes of the Great Lakes-Riverine region generally (Trigger 1978).

Scioto Hopewell sustainable communities appear to have occasionally had ceremonies that involved the complementary efforts and roles of multiple sodalities and/or ceremonial societies. The ceremonial deposits within Altar I and Altar II in Mound 25 of the Hopewell site each were comprised of huge numbers of items of multiple classes of ceremonial paraphernalia and prestigious personal items (Moorehead 1922:113, 114). Altar I contained, among other artifacts, 500+ earspools, 167 perforated bear claws, and 110 small mammal foot bones. The artifact assemblage suggests the joint participation of the sodality marked by earspools, the Bear clan-specific ceremonial society marked by bear claws, and one or more other clan-specific ceremonial societies marked by mammal foot bones. Altar II included, among other artifacts, 128 bear claws, 690 small animal foot bones, mica books in unknown quantity, and 150 obsidian projectile points. This accumulation suggests the combined ceremonial efforts of the Bear clan-specific ceremonial society marked by bear claws, one or more other clan-specific ceremonial societies marked by mammal foot bones, a possible sodality marked by mica mirrors, and a possible sodality marked by obsidian projectile points.

Evidence for Scioto Hopewell sodalities and/or ceremonial societies having taken turns in performing a sequence of ceremonies within a cycle is lacking. Single ceremonial centers, and also temporally nearly synchronous ceremonial centers, very rarely contain multiple examples of ceremonial deposits or burials with the same artifact compositions, which would indicate the repetition of a ceremonial cycle (Carr et al. 2005:499–500). Multiple, unique ceremonial deposits of different artifact contents placed within a ceremonial center and representing different sodalities or ceremonial societies could indicate one "cycle" that was never repeated, but corroborating evidence is currently lacking.

The Development of Sodalities and Ceremonial Societies over Time

Sodalities and ceremonial societies crystalized and rose in kinds and size over a long duration, spanning the late Early Woodland and Middle Woodland periods, in the Scioto-Paint Creek area and the broader upper Ohio valley region. Integrating the temporal information given above for sodality paraphernalia, it appears that sodalities of the kind marked by smoking pipes were the first to form. Their beginnings can be traced to sometime in the Early Woodland period in the upper Ohio valley, including the Scioto-Paint Creek area. In the latter area, the peak membership size of the sodality marked by smoking pipes occurred during the very early Middle Woodland period, as seen at the Tremper and Mound City sites. Thereafter, the sodality waned in membership, which is indicated at the sites of Hopewell and Seip.

The two probable sodalities marked by mica mirrors and galena cubes also were well formed by the early Middle Woodland and reached the height of their popularity then, as evidenced by large accumulations of these items at the Mound City site. Somewhat earlier, in the Great Cache of the Tremper site, mica mirrors and galena cubes were deposited in only

smaller numbers, and their distributions among Early Woodland Adena sites are equally sparse. During the middle to late Middle Woodland period, membership in the two probable sodalities dropped to moderate levels relative to their peak expression, which is seen at the sites of Hopewell and Seip.

The sodalities marked by metallic earspools and copper breastplates most likely developed later than ones marked by smoking pipes, mica mirrors, and galena cubes. The origins of the sodalities represented by earspools and breastplates may go back to the early Middle Woodland period, but these items were infrequent then at the sites of Tremper and Mound City. By the middle portion of the Middle Woodland period, however, the sodality indicated by breastplates had a membership as large as those of each of the three sodalities that had preceded it, and the sodality marked by earspools was substantially bigger. The popularity of the earspool and breastplate sodalities is evident at the sites of Hopewell and Seip.

The ceremonial society represented by drilled and cut bear canines formed sometime between the early and middle Middle Woodland period. The items are absent to low in frequency in late Early Woodland Adena mounds and the early Middle Woodland Hopewellian mound of Tremper, but then became quickly popular during the middle Middle Woodland period, as seen at the Hopewell site. The Bear society appears to have continued with a solid membership until the end of the Middle Woodland period.

Most if not all of these well-defined sodalities and ceremonial societies had shaman-like functions: facilitating relationships of individuals with their personal power animals for personal and perhaps corporate sodality or community-wide purposes (smoking pipes), divination in various forms (mica mirrors, galena cubes, copper breastplates?), and psychopomp work or doctoring (bear canines). Other possible but not certain sodalities or ceremonial societies (marked by large obsidian bifaces, quartz bifaces, cones and hemispheres) also focused on shaman-like activities: hunt or war divination and/or sending and extracting of power intrusions, and divination in general.

The consistency of the correlation of shaman-like functions with these sodalities, possible sodalities, and ceremonial societies, and their very development, directly reflect and were a part of the larger process of redistribution of shaman-like social, political, and religious roles from single classical shaman to multiple kinds of specialized shaman-like leaders and ceremonial groups within the Scioto-Paint Creek area (see above, The Process of Segregation of Leadership Roles over Time). The process also probably involved changes in the manner of recruitment, training, and initiation of important community-serving persons from individualized means such as being called by spirits, vision questing, and directly communing with tutelary spirits to oversight by the sodalities and ceremonial societies as formal professional groups, if the Scioto Hopewell case aligns with crosscultural patterns (Winkelman 1989; 1990:335, 338, 1992:58, 61, 65, 71). At the least, collective ceremonies of these groups are indicated in the Scioto Hopewell record by the large and frequent homogeneous archaeological deposits of their decommissioned paraphernalia (Carr, Goldstein et al. 2005:486–488, table 13.2). The broad process of social differentiation, formation of shaman-like specialists and professional societies, and reallocation of roles began late in the Early Woodland period in the context of Adena ceremonialism, to judge from the evidence provided by smoking pipes, and accelerated quickly thereafter in the early Middle Woodland as communities grew in size and overall complexity and as Hopewellian ceremonialism emerged.

Sodalities and Gender

Most of the sodalities and clan-specific ceremonial societies that developed earliest in the Scioto-Paint Creek area appear to have had exclusively male members. The sodality marked by smoking pipes, the clan specific ceremonial society marked by bear canines, and the possible clan-specific society marked by elk teeth each developed sometime between the late Early Woodland and early Middle Woodland periods. The possible clan-specific societies

symbolized by wolf, fox, and raccoon teeth developed somewhat later, in the early to middle Middle Woodland period (Carr, Goldstein et al. 2005:486–488, table 13.2). The markers of all of these sodalities, clan-specific societies, and possible clan-specific societies are found exclusively with males when the markers occur in graves. Only the possible sodality that employed mica mirrors was established early in the Middle Woodland period and may have had roughly similar numbers of male and female members, to judge from their inclusions in graves (small sample size; Field et al. 2005:393, table 9.2).

By the middle of the Middle Woodland period, females played a significant, although still minority, role in sodalities. The apparently exclusively male sodality that used smoking pipes and the possible clan-specific society marked by elk teeth waned in their memberships, while large gains were made in the popularity of the two sodalities marked by metallic breastplates and earspools (Carr et al. 2005:486–488, table 13.2). In these latter two sodalities, females appear to have constituted respectively about a quarter and two-fifths of the members, to estimate from burial inclusions (Field et al. 2005:393, table 9.2).

The strong bias for most of the earliest sodalities and clan-specific ceremonial societies to have had exclusively male members is expectable. Some, if not most or all of these organizations, performed tasks that once had been fulfilled by classic, general-purpose shaman earlier in the Woodland and Archaic periods, prior to the segregation of classic shamanic roles. These earlier practitioners were probably largely male in the Ohio area (Converse 1979) – a strong crosscultural and Native North American tendency for shaman in societies lacking intensive agriculture (Driver 1969; Eliade 1964; Grim 1983; Harner 1980).

Summary

Three sodalities and at least one clan-specific ceremonial society were instrumental in integrating Scioto Hopewell people socially and in structuring their ceremonial life. Two sodalities, marked by breastplates and platform pipes, as well as the clan based ceremonial society marked by bear canines, may have had varying shaman-like duties: divination, harnessing the power of personal power animals for some corporate purpose, and corpse processing, psychopomp work, or healing, respectively. A third sodality, marked by earspools, was inspired by the shaman-like world view that was widespread in Scioto Hopewellian thought and employed some of its symbolism, but does not seem to have been involved with shaman-like tasks. The four organizations, with complementary ceremonial functions, also differed in their gender orientations. The society marked by bear canines apparently had exclusively male members, and the sodality marked by smoking pipes may have, as well (small sample size). The sodalities marked by earspools and breastplates had both male and female members, with a bias for males.

Six other possible sodalities or clan-specific societies may also have existed and been important in Scioto Hopewell societies: a sodality indicated by mica mirrors that likely were used in divination, a sodality marked by galena cubes that might have been used in divination, and four clan-specific ceremonial societies symbolized by canine, fox, elk, and raccoon power parts. The possible mica mirror sodality had both male and female practitioners, with a possible bias for females (small sample size).

Rarely, multiple sodalities and/or ceremonial societies appear to have joined together to perform a ceremony at the large gathering of a sustainable community, with different sodalities or societies having played different, complementary roles in the ceremony. However, there is no corroborated evidence currently for sodalities and ceremonial societies having sequentially performed their unique rites as part of a larger ceremonial cycle.

Sodalities were a part of Scioto Hopewellian life from its beginning, evidenced by large deposits of smoking pipes at Tremper and Mound City, a deposit of some mica mirrors at Tremper and large deposits of them

at Mound City, large deposits of galena cubes at Mound City, a few earspools at Tremper and Mound City, and a few breastplates at Mound City. The clan-specific organization marked by bear canines also probably arose during this early time. Over the Middle Woodland period, the two sodalities symbolized by earspools and breastplates became much more popular, and apparently more widely spread among local symbolic communities. The clan-specific ceremonial society marked by bear canines also became more popular and widespread. At the same time, the sodality indicated by smoking pipes and the possible sodalities that used mica mirrors and galena cubes saw reductions in their memberships.

Most of the sodalities and clan-specific ceremonial societies, and possible ones, that arose late in the Early Woodland period or early in the Middle Woodland period in the Scioto-Paint Creek area had exclusively male members. A somewhat more equitable number of sodalities and clan-specific ceremonial societies that had largely men and some women, compared to only men, characterizes the middle Middle Woodland period.

The rise of sodalities and ceremonial societies in the Scioto-Paint Creek area was a part of a broader cultural process in which shaman-like social, political, and religious roles were reallocated from single classical shaman to multiple kinds of specialized shaman-like leaders and ceremonial groups. The ceremonial groups likely served as formal professional groups that recruited, trained, initiated, and oversaw their members in their practices.

The appearance of sodalities at the initiation of the Middle Woodland period in the Scioto-Paint Creek area coincided there with the change of burial sites from vertical accretional mounds to horizontal charnel structures (Chapter 5; Greber 1991), and with the beginning of burying members from multiple local symbolic communities together in large numbers under single mounds or within single earthworks to create and solidify alliances among these groups (Chapter 5; Weets et al. 2005:549–550). The development of these new practices, and the increasing popularity and apparently geographic expanse of sodalities over time, suggest the solidification of tribal life with pan-tribal sodalities and other horizontal means of integration by the second half of the Middle Woodland period. This record does not support Braun's (1977, 1986:123–125) proposal that the end of Scioto Hopewellian ceremonial life resulted from the origin then of pan-tribal, economically and politically based sodalities, which made ceremonially flamboyant means of integration unnecessary. Instead, the development of sodalities added to the ceremonial flamboyance of Scioto Hopewellian life and material culture.

Like nonlocalized clans, nonlocalized sodalities and ceremonial societies were important means of social integration and communication. At least three sodalities, identified by metallic earspools, copper breastplates, and stone pipes, each drew together as their members people from multiple, spatially dispersed residential communities within a local symbolic community and from multiple local symbolic communities within the broader Scioto-Paint Creek area. One clan-based ceremonial society marked by bear canines minimally had members from multiple residential communities within a local symbolic community, and might have had a membership that spanned multiple local symbolic communities. Overlapping memberships among all four of these ceremonial organizations provided additional channels of communication and support among geographically wide-spread households. As in historic Central Algonkian societies, sodalities were fewer than clans and possible clan-based organizations, and played a supplemental role to them in integrating Scioto Hopewellian people.

There is no evidence that sodalities and ceremonial societies in the Scioto-Paint Creek area were ranked, nor of vertical relationships of domination–subordination among them.

The appearance and rising popularity of sodalities, with their apparently similar degrees of prestige, overlapping memberships, and differentiated purposes, fit the characteristic Scioto Hopewellian pattern of social relations that were largely equitable, horizontal, cross-cutting, and complementary.

GENDER, GENDER RELATIONS, AND KINSHIP STRUCTURE

In the context of anthropology, gender is defined as the culturally constructed and interpreted categories of personhood that frequently, but not always, are tied to differences in biological sex, age, and/or labor (Claassen and Joyce 1997:2–5). Scioto Hopewell peoples recognized two genders and possibly a third: a masculine gender associated with certain social roles, a feminine gender associated with other social roles that sometimes overlapped those performed by men, and possibly a transitional gender that combined roles and personal qualities of the two. The arena of social leadership was dominated by men more so than women. Women did not have access to the most powerful position of leadership, but were considered for some positions of leadership or importance, commonly at a lower rate than men, and occasionally at an equal rate. Over the course of much of the Middle Woodland period, the contribution of women and men to sociopolitical and ritual life remained approximately the same, despite increases in the size and complexity of Scioto Hopewell societies. At the very end of the period, however, women came to play many fewer, key sociopolitical and ritual roles. In general, the gender system of Scioto Hopewell societies did not show the complementarity in the distribution of social and ritual roles that the clan, sodality, and leadership systems did. How roles in subsistence activities were distributed among genders is unknown at this time.

Genders and gender relations in Scioto Hopewell societies are known from patterns of association in graves between artifact classes that indicate particular social roles and the sexes and ages of deceased individuals. A total of 95 adult sexed individuals (53 males and 42 females) and 45 children and subadults from five large ceremonial centers and one small one in the Scioto-Paint Creek area have been analyzed for such patterns (Field et al. 2005) and are summarized here. Table 4.9 presents the key associations that have been found.

The overall pattern was one of male dominance in the sociopolitical and ritual realms, with equivalence among the genders in personal forms of prestige and/or wealth. Males exclusively held the highest leadership position – one of community-wide leadership marked by copper headplates (11% of all Male burials). Specialized, shaman-like leadership positions in general were held more commonly by males than females (47% of Males, 29% of Females, 18% of Subadults). Shaman-like practitioners involved in body processing and perhaps psychopomp work, marked by sets of bone awls, and diviners of the hunt or warfare, marked by projectile points of quartz, gems, or obsidian, or effigy points of mica, were almost always males (body processors: 15% of M, 2% of F; diviners: 10% of M, 2% of F). The few excavated barracuda jaw scratchers used by shaman-like, public ceremonial leaders in the Scioto-Paint Creek area were found with males. Prestigious clan positions symbolized by the power parts of totemic or eponymous animal species were filled almost entirely by males (38% of M, 2% of F, 7% of S). Persons buried with "trophy skulls", which sometimes might have indicated prowess in warfare but may suggest other important social roles (Johnston 2002), were more commonly found in male burials (15% of M, 5% of F). The clan-specific ceremonial society symbolized by bear canines apparently had exclusively male members (see Note 22). The sodality marked by smoking pipes may have as well, but the sample size is too small to evaluate firmly (see Note 20). High achievers and/or members of sodalities marked by breastplates and earspools were more frequently men than women (breastplates: 55% of M, 24% of F; earspools: 83% of M, 20% of F).

The general pattern of men filling the bulk of important sociopolitical and ritual roles, as seen in the mortuary records of Scioto Hopewell peoples, is repeated and corroborated in their artistic output. All known formal depictions of Scioto Hopewell people of social importance (Carr and Case 2005b:198, table 5.2) are either male, or of undeterminable sex because their ritual ornamentation obscures it. Only one clear image of a female exists to our knowledge, and it is an artwork made impromptu in the process

Table 4.9. Distribution of Artifact Classes among the Sexes

Artifact Class	M+[a]	F+	M−	F−	χ^2	P value	Fisher's Exact P value	$2\hat{I}$	P value
Scioto-Paint Creek Area[c]									
Mica sheet	2	2	51	40	0.057	0.812	1.000	0.056	0.813
All other divination	4	4	49	38	0.119	0.730	0.729	0.118	0.731
Awl	7*	1	46	41	3.561	0.059	0.073	4.073	0.044
Conch	9	5	44	37	0.481	0.488	0.569	0.488	0.485
All public ceremonial	15*	5	38	37	3.790	0.052	0.075	3.969	0.046
War divination	5*	1	48	41	1.970	0.160	0.223	2.186	0.139
All shamanic leadership	26*	12	27	30	4.097	0.043	0.058	4.163	0.041
Breastplate	19*	8	34	34	3.251	0.071	0.108	3.338	0.068
Earspool (metal only)	24*	7	29	35	8.728	0.003	0.004	9.144	0.002
Celt	4	3	49	39	0.006	0.940	1.000	0.006	0.938
Headplate	6*	0	47	42	5.075	0.024	0.032	7.322[b]	0.007
"Trophy" skull	7*	2	46	40	1.949	0.163	0.290	2.084	0.149
All nonshamanic leadership/high prestige	37*	14	16	28	12.540	< 0.001	< 0.001	12.794	< 0.001
Clan	20*	1	33	41	17.010	< 0.001	< 0.001	20.662	<0.001
Personal prestige	6	4	47	38	0.080	0.777	1.000	0.081	0.776
Southwestern Ohio[d]									
Mica sheet	0	1	14	5	2.456	0.117	0.300	2.534[b]	0.111
All other divination	0	1	14	5	2.456	0.117	0.300	2.534[b]	0.111
Awl	2	1	12	5	0.019	0.891	1.000	0.018	0.893
Conch	0	3*	14	3	8.235	0.004	0.018	8.591[b]	0.003
All public ceremonial leader	0	3*	14	3	8.235	0.004	0.018	8.591[b]	0.003
War divination	0	1	14	5	2.456	0.117	0.300	2.534[b]	0.111
All shamanic leadership	2	3*	12	3	2.857	0.091	0.131	2.692	0.101
Earspool	1	2*	13	4	14.001	< 0.001	< 0.001	2.065	0.151
All nonshamanic leadership and/or high prestige	1	2*	13	4	2.260	0.133	0.202	2.065	0.151
Clan	1	1	13	5	0.423	0.515	0.521	0.392	0.531
Personal prestige	0	1	14	5	2.456	0.117	0.300	2.534[b]	0.111
Northeastern Ohio[e]									
Mica sheet	1	0	8	5	0.598	0.439	1.000	0.926[b]	0.336
All public ceremonial leader	1	0	8	5	0.598	0.439	1.000	0.926[b]	0.336
War divination	2	0	7	5	1.296	0.255	0.505	1.949[b]	0.163
All shamanic leadership	3*	0	6	5	2.121	0.145	0.258	3.091[b]	0.079
Breastplate	1	0	8	5	0.598	0.439	1.000	0.926[b]	0.336
Earspool (metal only)	1	0	8	5	0.598	0.439	1.000	0.926[b]	0.336
"Trophy" skull	1	0	8	5	0.598	0.439	1.000	0.926[b]	0.336
All nonshamanic leadership and/or high prestige	1	0	8	5	0.598	0.439	1.000	0.926[b]	0.336
Clan	1	0	8	5	0.598	0.439	1.000	0.926[b]	0.336
Personal prestige	2	0	7	5	1.296	0.255	0.505	1.949[b]	0.163

[a]A plus indicates that the artifact type is present for males and probable males, or females and probable females. A minus indicates, conversely, that the artifact type is absent for these sexes.
[b]This value is an approximation of $2\hat{I}$, using ln(0) = 0 for cells with counts of zero.
[c]The ceremonial centers upon which these statistics are based include Hopewell, Seip, Liberty, Ater, Rockhold, and Hopeton.
[d]The ceremonial center upon which these statistics are based is Turner.
[e]The ceremonial centers upon which these statistics are based include Esch, Martin, and North Benton.
*Indicates a sex with which an artifact type or set of artifact types is positively associated, strongly to moderately.

of decommissioning and breaking apart a larger copper artifact before burial (Figure 4.21). The woman in the image does not wear any items or carry any paraphernalia indicating importance. Further, her hair is straight rather than tied in a topknot or backknot, in contrast to the hair styles of some apparent elite males and females depicted on elaborate figurines recovered from the Turner earthwork in southwestern Ohio and the Knight and Schuyler mounds in Illinois (Griffin 1970:plates 69 and 70–73, and 83–84; Willoughby and Hooton 1922:plates 20 and 21; see Keller and Carr 2005:430–431, table 11.1 for an inventory of these figurines and their depicted hair styles and sex).

Scioto Hopewell women were recruited with frequency, according to mortuary records, into six kinds of sociopolitical and ritual roles, certain of which were core to Scioto Hopewell societies. (1) Community-wide leaders marked by copper celts, which were almost always different persons from community-wide leaders symbolized by copper headplates (see above, Segregation of Leadership Roles; Carr 2005a: 283, 332), were women as often as men (8% of M, 7% of F, 9% of S). The position marked by copper celts may have dealt with external societal relations, such as warfare and long-distance interactions, analogous to "war chiefs" of historic Woodland tribes (see above, Segregation of Leadership Roles). (2) Women also were recruited frequently into an essential public ceremonial role that employed conch shell dippers (20% of M, 14% of F). This role appears to have gained a domain of power beyond the level of the local symbolic community by the late Middle Woodland period (see above, Geographic Domains of Power of Leadership Roles). (3, 4) Women as commonly as men were specialized, shaman-like diviners who used mica mirrors (4% of M, 5% of F), or boatstones and quartz or colored pebbles (8% of M, 11% of F). Those diviners who used mica mirrors may have been members of a sodality with responsibility for divination about concerns other than the hunt and warfare, for which other paraphernalia were used (see above). That Scioto Hopewell diviners were women as well as men fits the crosscultural pattern for women or men to be diviners in agricultural societies with supralocal forms of sociopolitical integration and professional societies (e.g., sodalities) of specialized, shaman-like practitioners (Winkelman 1989, 1992:60–61, 64–65). Women play an increasing role in certain shaman-like activities as a society becomes larger and more complex, and as the multiple roles of the classic shaman become decentralized among several different kinds of specialists (Winkelman 1989, 1992). In sodalities other than that possibly indicated by mica mirrors, specifically those marked by breastplates and earspools, members were men rather than women two to four times more frequently (see above). (5) Women also partook with men in a very rare (shaman-like?) role symbolized by copper nose inserts. (6) Blown musical instruments – flutes and panpipes – were placed in the graves of women more often than men (2% of M, 5% of F), although the sample of sexed burials with blown instruments is small.

Thus, although women were not channels of sociopolitical and ritual power nearly as frequently as men, women were not depreciated either, and had a share in social management. In addition, personal prestige and/or wealth, indicated by metallic pins, bracelets, buttons and necklaces, as well as hair skewers and smoking pipes, were distributed equitably among the sexes (11% of M, 10% of F, 2% of S). The gender theory, that women may seek out religious roles, especially as spirit-possessed mediums, as the only refuges of power and prestige available to them in male-dominated societies (Lewis 1971; see also Winkelman 1989, 1990, 1992) does not appear applicable to the Scioto Hopewell case.

Over the Middle Woodland period, the contribution of women to the sociopolitical and ritual realms appears to have increased somewhat, and then declined abruptly at the tail end of the period. The trend for an increase in the importance of women is attributable to the rise of sodalities, and of sodalities that admitted both men and women as members. The earliest sodality to develop and accumulate a large membership, at the very beginning of the Middle Woodland period, was marked

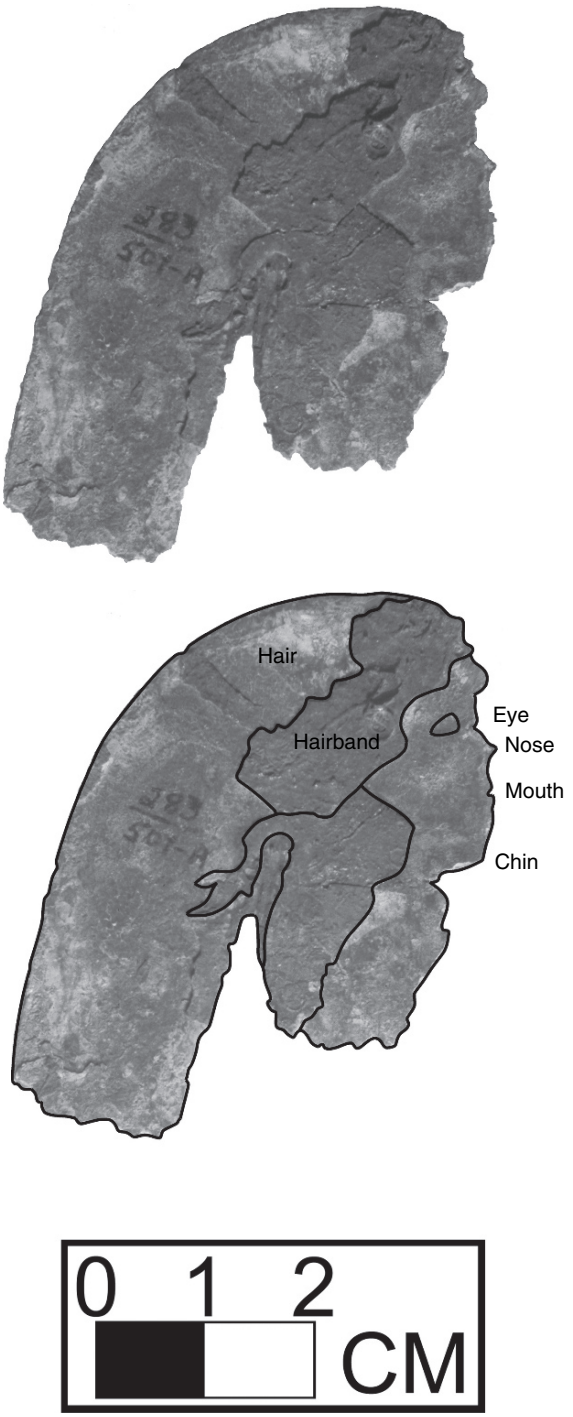


Figure 4.21. ***Top:*** **Copper effigy of a woman's head in profile, facing left,** ***Bottom:*** **Corresponding line drawing. From the Hopewell site. Created from a large sheet copper artifact as part of the ritual process by which it was decommissioned and broken into pieces in preparation for burial. Decommissioned Scioto Hopewell ceremonial artifacts were commonly broken into life forms, especially birds. See credits.**

by smoking pipes. It may have had exclusively male members. A bit later in the early Middle Woodland, the sodalities marked by earspools and then breastplates formed. These blossomed in popularity in the middle and late portions of the Middle Woodland period. Significantly, both sodalities admitted both men and women as members, giving women more roles of sociopolitical and ritual importance at that time than they had enjoyed earlier. In line with this apparent trend, the sodality marked by breastplates, which developed somewhat later than the sodality marked by earspools, had a membership with a higher proportion of women than that of the sodality marked by earspools.[31] Women were not depreciated as Scioto Hopewell societies became larger, more complex, and more interrelated, unlike the broad crosscultural trend for greater gender inequality with societal growth and elaboration (Brettel and Sargent 2001).

At the tail end of the Middle Woodland period, there appears to have been a marked decline in the participation of women in the sociopolitical and ritual realms. There were several roles that women shared somewhat to equally with men (see above) during the both the middle and late portions of the Middle Woodland period, as indicated at the sites of Hopewell, and then Seip and Liberty. However, at the very end of the Middle Woodland period, at the site of Ater, of the four of these several roles evidenced there, which were marked by conch shell dippers, metallic celts, breastplates, and earspools, all were filled by males, alone (albeit, a small sample size). This apparent gender shift in the distribution of sociopolitical and ritual power corresponds in time to the breakdown of the three-community alliance in the area, and may reflect this historical event.

The generally moderate to strong dominance of males over females in filling most roles of sociopolitical and ritual importance in Scioto Hopewell societies over the Middle Woodland period indicates a male-focused ethic consistent with patrilineal kinship. This was the form of kinship found historically among Algonkian speakers of the Great Lakes-Riverine area.[32] Hopewellian traditions in northern Ohio were also androcentric, but more strongly. There, only males were buried with grave goods marking social stature, including artifacts indicating their apparently exclusive roles as shaman-like leaders and practitioners, prestigious clansmen, sodality members or high achievers, and perhaps "trophy" takers (Table 4.9; Field et al. 2005). In contrast, in the Little and Great Miami drainages of southwestern Ohio, Hopewellian traditions appear to have been matrilineal, based on artifactual and osteological mortuary evidence, although the numbers of individuals is small (Table 4.9; Field et al. 2005; Rodrigues 2005). Women there predominated in the arenas of shaman-like leadership and practices, clan prestige, and sodality membership or achievement (Field et al. 2005). Women also participated in maintenance and subsistence activities more commonly done by Native American men (Murdock and Provost 1973), including flint knapping and running possibly involved in hunting (Lee and Vickery 1972; Rodrigues 2005). Inversely, men shared in processing plant foods, stereotypically associated with women. These conclusions for southwestern Ohio Hopewell societies are expectable, given Hopewellian ceramic ties of the area to the southeastern Woodlands, where matrilineality was the rule among historic Native American tribes (Hudson 1976).

The symbolic meanings, philosophical categories, and personal attributes associated with the masculine and feminine genders in Scioto Hopewell societies are largely unknown. However, males do appear to have been associated with death and the life-death contrast or transition. Largely males were recruited into the roles of body processor and/or psychopomp, and hunt or war diviner. "Trophy" skulls were buried primarily with males.

Evidence for a third gender, transitional between the masculine and the feminine, is rare for Scioto Hopewellian societies, and is restricted to the very end of the Middle Woodland period at the Ater site. A transitional gender can be inferred when shaman-like paraphernalia usually associated with one sex occur occasionally in burials of the

opposite sex. Shaman-like paraphernalia are useful in this way because gender variance is primarily associated with persons of spiritual power in most Native American societies (Nanda 2000:19; see also Fulton and Anderson 1992:609; Halifax 1979; Hollimon 2001:128; Ivanov 1978; Roscoe 1998:8, 26). At Ater, a male who was interred with shaman-like hunt or war divination items (three mica effigy projectile points), which were almost always buried in the Scioto-Paint Creek area with males (see above), was also buried with a metallic panpipe, which along with flutes were otherwise buried only with females in the Scioto area. A female was buried with a shaman-like hunt or war divination item (quartz biface), which otherwise were buried only with males in the area. The woman was in her teens, and was not an instance of a senior woman who had changed status and taken on a man's role after menopause – a historic Native American pattern (Crown and Fish 1996), and one found specifically among the Shawnee (Howard 1981:109, 117).[33] These two findings of possibly gender-variant individuals within a Scioto Hopewell society are expectable. Records of French explorers in North America provide much evidence showing the presence of multiple genders there historically (Lahontan 1905; Roscoe 1998), and in particular among tribes that surrounded the Scioto Hopewell area. These tribes include the Illinois, Miami, Potawatomi, Winnebago, Fox, and Sauk (Hauser 2000; Roscoe 1998).

Summary

In the Scioto-Paint Creek area, men dominated much of sociopolitical and ritual life. Men exclusively held the highest, community-wide leadership position, membership in the Bear clan-specific society that processed the dead and/or doctored, and possibly a sodality for connecting with one's personal power animal via smoking. Predominately men filled specialized shaman-like leadership positions, prestigious clan positions, position(s) associated with possible trophy skulls, and memberships in the two largest sodalities, marked by earspools and breastplates. Women, however, were not depreciated. Women were recruited equally with men into a community-wide leadership position marked by copper celts, shaman-like divination roles of several distinct kinds, and rarer roles marked by copper nose inserts, flutes, and panpipes. Women, somewhat less than men, also filled an essential leadership role marked by conch shell dippers, which had a domain of power across multiple local symbolic communities by the late Middle Woodland period. Women also had a place in the large sodalities marked by earspools and breastplates. In addition, women wore markers of personal prestige and wealth as commonly as did men. This overall balance of the masculine and feminine in their relative contributions to the sociopolitical and ritual realms changed modestly over the course of the Middle Woodland period, as women became more active through sodalities that emerged and became popular and that admitted both men and women. At the very end of the Middle Woodland period, a number of roles previously held by men and women equally became filled instead by men, alone. This situation arose when a major alliance among three local symbolic communities in the area began to dissolve.

Three genders have been identified in Scioto Hopewellian socieites: masculine and feminine, as just summarized, and a rare transitional gender associated with shamanic roles. The transitional gender role was filled by individuals of both sexes.

Unlike the clan, sodality, and leadership systems of Scioto Hopewell societies, their gender system did not exhibit as strong a complementarity in the distribution of sociopolitical and ritual roles and power among social categories. Whereas different suites of clans filled different leadership roles, and different sodalities and clan-specific societies had different ceremonial roles, which they occasionally blended in complement for large gatherings of a sustainable community, men much more so than women were recruited into positions of sociopolitical and ritual importance. Further, the organization of clans, sodalities, clan-based ceremonial societies, and leadership

roles in Scioto Hopewell societies had a markedly horizontal character, whereas their gender system had a good degree of verticality to it. Although male domination was a feature of Scioto Hopewell social life, extensive female depreciation was not the result.

The gender system of Scioto Hopewell societies was not an essential means for integrating residential communities or local symbolic communities with each other through its expression in the domains of sociopolitical leadership and ceremony. However, through marriage exchanges and the division of subsistence and public construction labor, its contribution to social integration must have been fundamental, even though this has not yet been documented.

RITUAL GATHERINGS AND ALLIANCES

Scioto Hopewell mound groups and earthen enclosures were ceremonial centers where many categories of people gathered for rituals: shaman-like specialized practitioners and nonshaman-like leaders, elite and ordinary people, clans and clan-based societies with diverse animal associations, sodalities of several kinds, and men and women. The fabric of Scioto Hopewell societies was woven during these ritual occasions, when different numbers and sets of people in different social groups and combinations of social groups assembled for varied purposes. This social fabric, although always balancing the dispersed settlement strategy of Scioto Hopewellian people, changed in substantial ways over the course of the Middle Woodland period.

Gatherings within the ceremonial centers of the Scioto-Paint Creek area varied in many ways among ceremonial centers and over time: the number of participants, the kinds of social roles the participants filled, the diversity of social roles of the participants, and their purposes for mortuary rites of separation, mortuary rites of liminality (van Gennep 1909, 1960) or for ceremonies not focused specifically on the deceased. In turn, these variations in the nature of gatherings were related to whether a ceremonial center serviced only a segment of a local symbolic community or one or more local symbolic communities, whether the center was a place of burial of primarily leaders and other important persons or a cemetery for a fuller spectrum of society, whether the alliance strategies that people of different local symbolic communities used to interrelate with one another at the time were founded on dyads of individuals or funneled through the hands of leaders, and the number of local symbolic communities that were allied. These differences in the contexts of ceremonial gatherings in the Scioto-Paint Creek area must be understood first before exploring the nature and variation of the gatherings, themselves.

This section on gatherings and alliances begins by describing four key characteristics of the sociocultural contexts in which Scioto Hopewell ceremonial gatherings occurred that varied among ceremonial centers and over the Middle Woodland period. The diverse nature of the gatherings, which reflect these different contexts, is then introduced and summarized with a natural typology of gatherings. The typology was constructed considering the funerary or nonfunerary purposes of the gatherings, their numbers of participants, and the homogeneity or diversity in the roles of the participants. This overview of the gatherings is followed by more detailed discussions of their sizes, social compositions, and changes through time in size and composition, and the cultural situations to which these variations pertain.

The Diverse Sociocultural Contexts of Gatherings

Local Symbolic Community Representation at Ceremonial Centers

Small mound groups without earthen enclosures, including Bourneville, McKenzie, Rockhold, and West, appear to have served only a few residential communities – portions of local symbolic communities – given their small burial populations, sparse grave offerings, general lack of grave goods indicating important

community-wide leadership roles, and the small amount of labor required to build them. In contrast, large mound groups and earthen enclosures, including Tremper, Mound City, Hopewell, Seip, Liberty, and Ater, were places for the assembly of persons from multiple local symbolic communities – sometimes most or all persons in these communities, and sometimes only moderately sized to very small segments of one or more communities. The wide scope of the social groups that large ceremonial centers served is indicated by their large burial populations, abundant grave offerings and special ceremonial deposits, many grave goods that marked community-wide leadership roles, the large amounts of labor that their construction entailed, and their partitioned or separate charnel houses where different local symbolic communities separately prepared their dead for burial and laid them to rest (Chapter 3, An Example of a Sustainable Community, A Second Example of a Sustainable Community). Differences in the range of residential units that used ceremonial centers directly impacted the size and social composition of gatherings at them.

Select Social Statuses of the Individuals Buried at Ceremonial Centers

The sites of Hopewell and Mound City contrast from Seip, Liberty, and Ater in having been burial grounds for largely select individuals who played key social roles of leadership and responsibility, as opposed to cemeteries for a somewhat broader yet still prestige-biased spectrum of persons. In turn, these five sites are distinguishable from Tremper, where apparently all or most persons from several local symbolic communities who died within a period were cremated and buried. Multiple lines of archaeological evidence support these characterizations (Chapter 3, An Example of A Sustainable Community, A Second Example of a Sustainable Community). These functional differences among ceremonial centers affected the sizes and social compositions of ceremonial gatherings at them.

Changes in Alliance Strategies

The strategies that Scioto Hopewellian people in different local symbolic communities used in order to create alliances with one another changed over time and also affected the nature of gatherings at ceremonial centers. During the early Middle Woodland time of use of the Tremper site, alliances appear to have been worked out largely through the economic and social relations of *individual* commoners as dyads in nonmortuary contexts. These relationships were then solidified through mortuary ritual at Tremper. Later in the Middle Woodland period, when the sites of Hopewell, Seip, and Liberty were used, alliance negotiations seem to have been funneled through leaders who were *representative* of their local symbolic communities and who may have dealt with inter-community matters primarily at the ceremonial centers, themselves.

Five forms of evidence suggest this change in alliance strategies over time. First is whether artifacts of ordinary individuals from different communities or artifacts of leaders were deposited together ceremonially to express alliance. In the Tremper mound, the Great Cache of items that were decommissioned at the end of the site's use was predominated by smoking pipes, which were sculpted to reflect the personal trance experiences of individuals and which were thus owned individually. The pipes were very plentiful and would have been owned by many socially ordinary persons, not just a limited number of leaders or important persons. Alliance created by dyadic relationships among ordinary individuals, reinforced by their membership together in a sodality concerned with personal trance experiences (see above, Smoking Pipes as a Sodality Marker), was symbolized by the depositing of these personally owned artifacts together in the Great Cache. In contrast, in the Hopewell 25, Seip-Pricer, and Seip-Conjoined mounds, almost all ceremonial deposits were comprised primarily of items used by leaders or other socially important persons, who seem to have represented their communities in ceremony (Carr et. al. 2005:486–488, table 13.2). Alliance created through the relationships of leaders and

important persons in behalf of their communities was symbolized by the decommissioning of the paraphernalia of those important persons together.

A second and closely related indication of the change in alliance strategies is that leaders and important persons were not singled out for attention in mortuary rituals at Tremper, while they were at later sites. At Tremper, the paraphernalia of leaders and important persons in many different social roles, as well as many items of ordinary persons, were placed together in the one Great Cache. In contrast, at Hopewell 25, Seip-Pricer, and Seip-Conjoined, the role-symbolic paraphernalia of leaders and important persons were usually deposited separately by role, and apart from the goods of ordinary persons, calling attention to those roles and the alliance-making efforts that those important persons had in life.

A third indication of the change in alliance strategies is that the Tremper mound and charnel house contained two to four times the number of deceased persons than each of the Hopewell 25, Seip-Pricer, and Edwin Harness mounds and charnel houses (see below, Table 4.13). At Tremper, alliance of local symbolic communities was symbolized by the burial together of all or most persons from those communities who died over a period of time. At Hopewell 25, Seip-Pricer, and Edwin Harness, alliance among local symbolic communities was symbolized by the joint burial of select leaders and socially important representatives from those communities, some persons of whom probably had been essential to intercommunity alliance building during their lives.

A fourth sign of how alliance strategies changed over time in the Scioto drainage is a change in the disposition of deceased persons. At Tremper, the cremated remains of persons from different local symbolic communities were placed together and intermingled in the same depositories, directly symbolizing their dyadic relationships in life. At Hopewell 25, Seip-Pricer, Seip-Conjoined, and Edwin Harness, the remains of persons from different local symbolic communities were placed separately from one another in different charnel house rooms. Only leaders and other important persons from different communities were symbolized for their strategic relationships in life, and this was done through the decommissioning of their paraphernalia together in ceremonial deposits.

A fifth kind of evidence of the change in alliance strategies is the different layout of human remains at Tremper compared to the later sites. At Tremper, the cremated remains of persons were placed in four, spatially separated depositories, apparently dividing persons by clan affiliation (Chapter 3, A Second Example of a Sustainable Community). This layout emphasized the social and economic relationships among individual kinsmen–commoners and more important persons alike, and regardless of local symbolic community affiliation. In contrast, at each of Hopewell 25, Seip-Pricer, Seip-Conjoined, and Edwin Harness, the deceased were placed in three or more separated chambers of a charnel house or separated charnel buildings, divided by community (Chapter 3, An Example of a Sustainable Community). The deceased of all communities were then buried, ultimately, under a single earthen mound. These spatial divisions and their common mantling symbolized the relationships of local symbolic communities to one another as wholes.

The development of a community basis for cemetery organization in the Scioto-Paint Creek area was a gradual one, over more than two centuries. After the Tremper site, at Mound City, connections among communities were built by their burying some of their dead together within the walls of a single earthwork enclosure, but in multiple, different small mounds. It is unclear whether persons from more than one community were buried in a single charnel house under a single mound, but large numbers of persons from different communities were not buried in one charnel structure, spatially segregated by community. This pattern of building multiple small mounds within an earthwork enclosure was continued at the Hopewell site. Later, under Hopewell Mound 25, large numbers of persons from multiple communities were buried on one

prepared ceremonial floor, in adjacent charnel buildings and adjacent rooms of one of the charnel buildings, all of which eventually came to be mantled by one large mound. Finally, the means by which communities allied with one another through mortuary rites were perfected. At each of the Seip, Liberty, and probably Old Town earthworks, large numbers of persons were buried on one prepared floor in one charnel house, separated by community among the building's rooms. The entire charnel house was eventually mantled by one large mound.

Changes in the Number of Allied, Local Symbolic Communities

The sizes and social compositions of gatherings at ceremonial centers in the Scioto-Paint Creek area were related to one last contextual matter. This is the number of local symbolic communities that were allied and formed a sustainable community in the area, which varied through time. Specifics are most clear for the last third of the Middle Woodland period. Between approximately A.D. 250 and A.D. 320 radiocarbon time, three local symbolic communities, which were situated in the main Paint Creek valley, the North Fork of Paint Creek valley, and an adjacent section of the Scioto valley, were closely allied and comprised a sustainable community with a sense of self-identity. Settlement pattern analysis, the similar sizes and morphologies of the communities' earthen enclosures and charnel houses, mortuary patterning within the charnel houses, stylistic analysis of the communities' fabrics, and a labor analysis all support this reconstruction (Chapter 3, Sustainable Communities). Sometime shortly after A.D. 320, the local symbolic community in the Scioto valley discontinued or was discontinued from its participation in the alliance, and the alliance was reduced to the two communities in main Paint Creek valley and its North Fork. This smaller alliance continued afterwards for only a few decades. Ceremonial gatherings in the Scioto-Paint Creek area reflect this change.

Evidence for this historical reconstruction is found in the charnel houses under the Seip-Pricer, Seip-Conjoined, and Ater mounds. These charnel houses were built and used sequentially (Greber 1979b:37; 1997:215; Prufer 1961a; 1964a; Ruhl 1996; Ruhl and Seeman 1998). The charnel house under the Seip-Pricer mound had three rooms, each filled with deceased persons (Figure 3.9A). The three sets of burials represented and consisted of members of the three local symbolic communities in main Paint Creek valley, its North Fork, and the Scioto valley. The placing of these burials under one roof expressed the family-like ties of cooperation and alliance of the three communities with one another (Chapter 3, An Example of A Sustainable Community). After the charnel house was decommissioned, three mounds were constructed over its three rooms, and these were then capped to form a single mound, again expressing the unity of the three local symbolic communities. This metaphor for the three-way alliance was continued with the building of the charnel house under the Seip-Conjoined mound (Figure 3.9B). It, too, had three rooms. However, burials were placed in only two of them. Mounds were then built over each of the rooms, but a cap uniting the mounds was not constructed. It appears that the Seip-Conjoined charnel house was built by all three local symbolic communities with the intention of their burying their dead together in its three chambers to express their alliance, as they had done at Seip-Pricer, but that this event was not fully realized. One community ended or had ended its alliance with the other two, and the two proceeded alone with burying their dead together. This residual, two-community alliance was continued for a while and materialized again at the site of Ater. There, a two-room charnel house was built and deceased from the two local symbolic communities were placed in its two rooms (Figure 4.22). It was then decommissioned and a single mound was built over the two rooms, expressing close ties between the two communities. Unlike at each of Seip, Liberty, and Old Town, where a tripartite earthen enclosure had earlier been built, reiterating the metaphor of the three-way alliance expressed in a three-chambered charnel house, no earthen enclosure was built around Ater. Nor was an enclosure built around any Hopewell

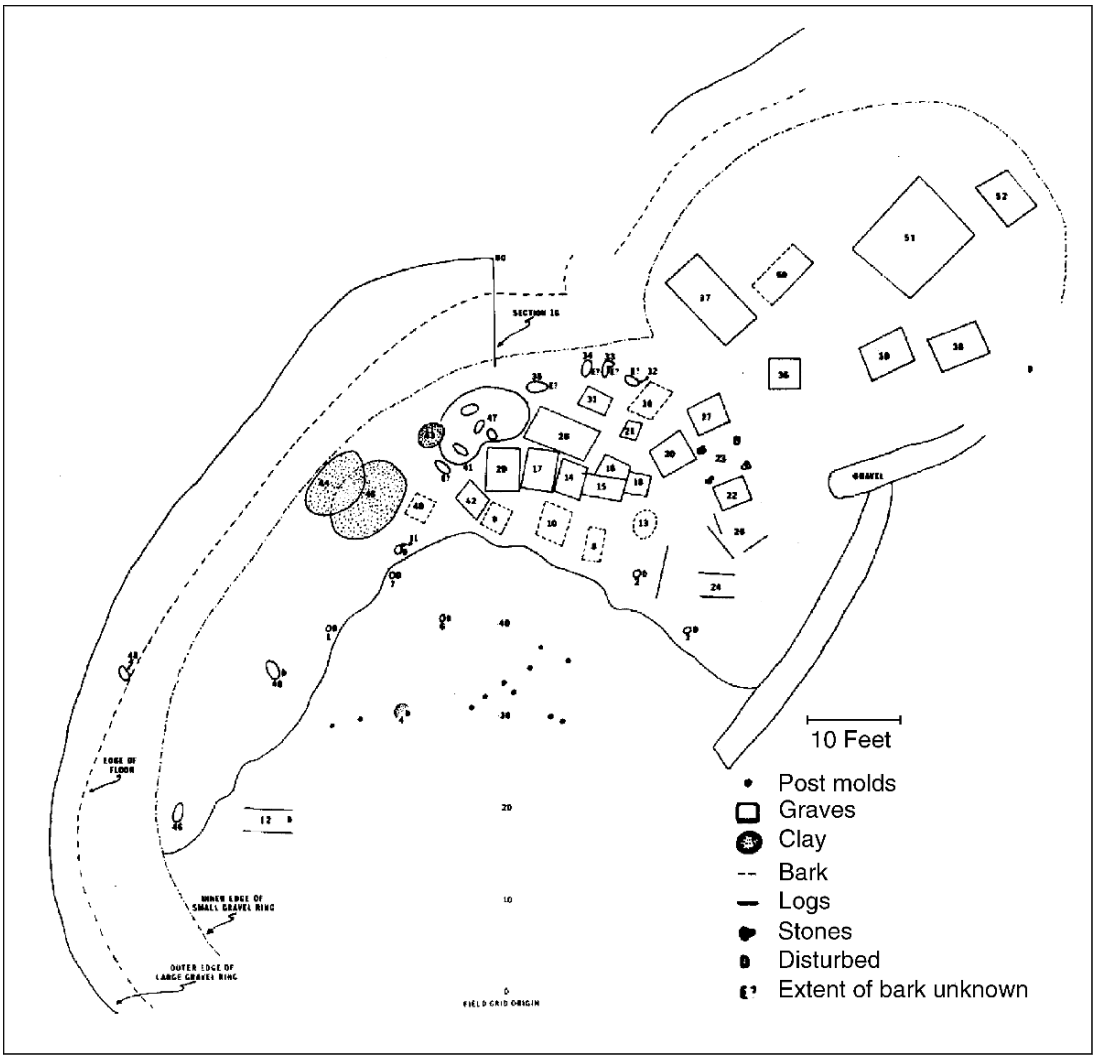


Figure 4.22. Floor plan of the charnel house under the Ater mound. See credits.

mound group in the Scioto-Paint Creek area thereafter. Waning efforts at alliance creation and the contraction of labor pools for building enclosures that symbolized alliance explain the ending of Hopewellian earthwork construction in the Scioto-Paint Creek area.

The local symbolic community that withdrew or was removed from the three-way alliance was the one located in the main Scioto valley. This can be inferred from three pieces of evidence. First, the two charnel houses with only two burial clusters – under the Seip-Conjoined and Ater mounds – are located in main Paint Creek valley and the North Fork of Paint Creek valley, respectively. This arrangement implies the continuation of the mortuary alliance by the local symbolic communities in these two valleys, and the splitting off of the local symbolic community in the Scioto valley. Second, the two communities thought to have retained their alliance, in Paint Creek valley and its North Fork, are sensibly the ones that are closest to each other geographically. The more distant community in the Scioto valley is the one thought to have parted ways. Finally, the chamber of the charnel

building under the Seip-Conjoined mound that was empty of burials and that indicates the local symbolic community that departed the alliance is the smallest chamber. This room can be tied to the local symbolic community in the Scioto valley by material patterning in the tripartite charnel houses in the three river valleys.[34]

As a result of these changes over time in the number of local symbolic communities that were allied in the Scioto-Paint Creek area, ritual gatherings at the Seip-Pricer and Ater mounds differed considerably from each other in their sizes and social compositions.

A Typology of Gatherings

Ritual gatherings at mounds and earthen enclosures in the Scioto-Paint Creek area varied in three fundamental ways that can be detected archaeologically. First is the distinction between ceremonies that were concerned directly with the recent dead and social adjustment and that were necessarily tied to the mortuary setting versus ceremonies that had other purposes such as world renewal, initiation, and thanksgiving yet were enacted in mortuary settings. The latter kinds of ceremonies were choreographed in charnel houses or near burial mounds perhaps to enhance their potency, or to ensure inclusion of the dead as well as the living members of the society in the ceremony.

Ceremonies focused on the deceased in the Scioto drainage are reflected in artifact assemblages directly associated with the deceased. An assemblage found within a grave points to either rites of separation of the deceased from society, or rites of liminality for helping the deceased's soul(s) to an afterlife, or both (van Gennep 1909, 1960). The log tombs with removable and replaceable covers that were used in many Scioto Hopewellian charnel houses and mounds indicate periodic visitations to the deceased and repeated openings and closing of these crypts for rites of separation and liminality (Brown 1979). Some artifacts within these graves, as well perishable food, water, and/or medicines, may have been placed within the graves at these later times rather than at the time of initial interment. An artifact assemblage found on top of a primary mound covering a permanently closed grave more likely suggests a rite of liminality than a rite of separation. In contrast to these two kinds of rites focused on the deceased, ceremonies that were not specifically dedicated to the deceased and that had other purposes are indicated by artifact assemblages that were placed not within or on top of burials but, rather, on or above mound floors or in cremation basins empty of human remains.

Ritual gatherings varied in a second essential way: whether they involved only a segment of a local symbolic community, all of a community, or multiple local symbolic communities. These distinctions can be defined approximately by estimating the overall sizes of gatherings and the numbers of attendees who had specific roles that were rare within a local symbolic community. Attendance of a very large number of persons, and of many who had a rare, community-wide role, implies the involvement of multiple communities in the ceremony.

The minimum size of a gathering and minimum number of attendees of given roles at a gathering can be estimated for both a grave assemblage and a ceremonial deposit not within a grave. The estimate can be made by noting the number of artifacts within the grave or ceremonial deposit that are indicative of each social role and that are redundantly repeated within the feature. This figure suggests the number of persons who contributed gifts to the deceased's grave or the ceremonial deposit. For example, a ceremonial deposit with 25 pairs of earspools would indicate the attendance of 25 persons who were members of the sodality marked by earspools and who placed earspools in the deposit. A grave with 25 pairs of spools might indicate 25 or 24 persons who placed gifts in the deceased's grave, depending on whether the deceased was also a member of the sodality and one of the pairs of earspools belonged to him or her. This method gives only a minimum estimate of the numbers of persons who attended a ceremony because it does not count other persons who may have attended but who did not give gifts.

The third essential way in which Scioto Hopewell ritual gatherings varied is in whether

they were socially homogeneous, involving primarily one social role or a closely related sets of roles, or whether they were socially diverse, involving many kinds of social roles. Some socially homogeneous ceremonies were attended primarily by members of one sodality or one clan, both of which having not been localized imply attendees from multiple local symbolic communities when the ceremonies were of moderate to large size. Other socially homogeneous ceremonies were each attended by primarily leaders of one kind – too many for one local symbolic community and again implying attendees from multiple local symbolic communities in the case of ceremonies of moderate to large size. Socially diverse ceremonies were each attended by persons of the many kinds of social roles that would be found in a local symbolic community or a sustainable community and typically were very large in size. Their diverse social compositions and large sizes imply attendance by multiple local symbolic communities. Socially homogeneous and socially diverse ceremonies are evidenced archaeologically by grave assemblages or ceremonial deposits comprised of artifact classes indicating, respectively, largely one kind of social role or many kinds of social roles.

To create a typology of ritual gatherings, their sizes and the spectrum of social roles of those who participated in them were characterized from the artifact assemblages in each of 358 graves with 403 individuals and each of 55 ceremonial deposits not tied to graves, in a total of 22 Hopewellian mound and/or earthwork ceremonial centers distributed across Ohio (Carr, Goldstein, et al. 2005:506–513). The number of gatherings characterized sums to a maximum of 458. The method of "number of gift givers", described above, was used to estimate the size of each gathering and the frequencies of attendees in various social roles from the artifact assemblages. Social roles were lumped into four general categories: shaman-like leaders, nonshaman-like leaders, clan roles, and personal roles. The artifact classes that define these four general categories of social roles and that were used to count the numbers of gift givers in each category are summarized in Appendix 4.2. Once counts of gift givers of the four general social categories had been calculated for each of the 458 gatherings, classes of gatherings of particular size ranges and general social role compositions were determined. The gatherings were then further sorted into ones focused on the deceased or not by whether the artifact assemblages were found in graves or whether they were recovered from non-grave ceremonial deposits on or above mound floors or from cremation basins cleaned of human remains. Gatherings focused on graves of deceased persons were then characterized for whether they had assembled for rites of separation or rites of liminality or both, based on tomb form and the locations of grave goods (see above). Graves, deposits, and gatherings from the Scioto-Paint Creek area dominate the sample (373 of 458 gatherings; 16 of 22 ceremonial centers). However, the results do reflect to a degree the variations in gatherings sizes and social compositions in other areas of Ohio.

Crosscutting the three dimensions of variation in Scioto Hopewell ritual gatherings led to the typology of gatherings shown in Table 4.10. The table provides examples of graves and ceremonial deposits produced by each kind of ritual gathering, lists the total numbers of persons who made offerings to each of the example graves and ceremonial deposits, and shows the social composition of each example gathering in terms of the numbers of nonshaman-like leaders, shaman-like leaders, clan members, and individuals in personal roles who gave offerings to the grave or ceremonial deposit. The typology is a natural one, reflecting social patterns in Scioto Hopewellian ceremony, because the dimensions are derived out of archaeological patterning rather than imposed a priori upon the data, and because only certain combinations of dimensional states manifest rather than a full paradigm of states.

The largest and rarest gathering in the Scioto-Paint Creek area (Class IA) occurred once – on the floor of Hopewell Mound 25. It had more than 500 gift givers. This ceremony was not directly associated with the deceased

Table 4.10. A Typology of Scioto Hopewell Ceremonial Gatherings

I. Moderate to large, cooperative and/or competitive ritual displays involving multiple communities Not directly associated with the dead.

A. Gift givers of diverse social roles. Nonshaman-like leaders emphasized over shamanic leaders.

Hopewell Mound 25, Altar 1. Total: 514 gift givers.[a] Social composition[b]: **463** : 32 : 12.5 : 3
Ater, B51A,B. Total: 36 gift givers. Social composition: **18** : 6 : 3 : 2
(see also Turner Mound 3, Central Altar. Total: 441 gift givers. Social composition: **337** : 77 : 7 : 16)[c]

B. Gift givers of a specialized social role. Shaman-like leaders predominate.

1. Shaman-like war diviners predominate.
   Hopewell, Mound 25, Altar 2. Total: 52 gift givers. Social composition: 7.5 : **27** : 12.5 : 2
   Mound City, Mound 3, Altar. Total: 31 gift givers. Social composition: 0 : **24** : 4: 0
   Mound City, Mound 13, Deposit 5. Total: 24 gift givers. Social composition: 3 : **13** : 6 : 2
2. Shaman-like diviner in general.
   Hopewell, Mound 17, Deposit 2. Total: 111 gift givers. Social composition: 13 : **90** : 7 : 1
   Seip-Pricer, Burnt Offering. Total: 29 gift givers. Social composition: 4 : **14** : 3 : 7
3. Shaman-like philosopher/cosmologist predominate.
   Hopewell, Mound 25, Copper Deposit. Total 127 gift givers. Social composition: 11 : **114** : 2 : 1
4. Shaman-like practitioners of unknown roles, associated with bulk fancy raw materials.
   Mound City, Mound 5, Altar. Total: unknown. 30 lbs. of galena in 2 oz −3lb pieces.
   Hopewell, Mound 1. Total: unknown. 30–40 chlorite disks.
5. Shaman-like practitioners of several specializations.
   (See also Turner, Mound 4, Central Altar. Total: 67 gift givers. Social composition: 0 : **64** : 2 : 0)[c]

C. Gift givers of specialized social role. Role of nonshaman-like leader predominates.

Tremper, Sandstone Grave. Total: 12 gift givers. Social composition: **9** : 0 : 1 : 0
(See also Turner, Mound 15, Cache. Total: 27 gift givers. Social composition: **25** : 0 : 2 : 0)[c]

D. Gift givers of specialized social role. Role of the individual (prestigious?) predominates.

Tremper, Lower Cache. Total 172 gift givers. 3 : 17 : **147** : 5
Hopewell, Mound 17, Offering 1. Total 113 gift givers. 5 : 30 : **75** : 0
Hopewell, Mound 26, Crematory Basin. Total: unknown. 5000+ shell and bone beads.
Hopewell, Mound 28, Crematory Basin. Total: unknown. 1800 shell or bone beads.

II. Moderate to large, cooperative and/or competitive ritual displays involving multiple communities. Directly associated with the dead.

A. Gift givers of diverse social roles.

1. Gifts in a grave. Rites of separation.
   Mound City, Mound 13, B1 Mica Grave. Total: 14+ gift givers. Social composition: 2 : 7 : 10 : 1
   Mound City, Mound 7, B9. Total: 12 gift givers. Social composition: 4 : 5 : 0 : 0
2. Gifts in a log tomb (which can be reopened) or on top of it or a primary mound. Rites of liminality.
   Seip-Pricer, B1. Total: 11 gift givers. Social composition: 6 : 2 : 1 : 0

B. Gift givers of one or two specialized social roles and closely related roles in lesser representation.

1. Gifts in a grave. Rites of separation.
   a. Shaman-like leaders or practitioners of a kind predominate.
      Hopewell, Mound 11, Crematory Basin. Total: unknown. 136 kg. of obsidian debitage.
      Hopewell, Mound 29, M1922:91A. Total: 11 gift givers. Social composition: 0 : **11** : 0 : 0
      Snake Den, Mound C, Cremation. Total: 17 gift givers. Social composition: 0 : **12** : 2 : 0
   b. Nonshaman-like leaders predominate.
      Mound City, Mound 2, B16. Total: 15 gift givers. Social composition: **9** : 0 : 1 : 0
   c. High achievers in a sodality (earspools or breastplates) predominate.
      Hopewell Mound 25, B7. Total: 38 gift givers. Social composition: **33** : 0 : 2 : 0
      Seip-Pricer, Ceremonial Cache? Total 15 gift givers. Social composition: **13** : 0 : 1 : 1
      (In a normal looking grave but no human remains. Memorial?)
   d. Role of the individual predominates.
      Mound City, Mound 8, Central Altar. Total: 209 gift givers. Social composition: 0 : 6 : **202** : 0
      (See also Esch, Mound 1, B1. Total: 14 gift givers. Social composition: 2 : 1 : **8** : 0)[d]
      (See also Esch, Mound 2, B13a. Total: 20 gift givers. Social composition: 1 : 0 : **14** : 1)[d]

(*continued*)

Table 4.10. (*continued*)

2. Gifts in log tomb (which can be reopened) or on top of it or a primary mound. Rites of liminality.
   a. Society-wide leaders (celts) and high achievers in a sodality (breastplates) predominate.
      Hopewell, Mound 25, Sk260-261. Total: 186 gift givers. Social composition: **163** : 11 : 0 : 0
      Mound City, Mound 7, B12. Total: 32 gift givers. Social composition: **22**? : 5 : 0 : 0

III. Small ceremonies (1–3 gift givers). Not directly associated with the dead.

A. Gift givers are nonshaman-like leaders but not shamanan-like leaders or individuals in personal roles.
B. Gift givers are shaman-like leaders but not nonshaman-like leaders or individuals in personal roles.
C. Gift givers are individuals in personal roles but not shaman-like or nonshaman-like leaders.
Classes A and B are of equal frequency. Classes A and B combined are equally as common as Class C.

IV. Small ceremonies (1–3 gift givers). Directly associated with the dead.

A. Gift givers are nonshaman-like leaders but not shaman-like leaders or individuals in personal roles.
B. Gift givers are shaman-like leaders but not nonshaman-like leaders or individuals in personal roles.
C. Gift givers are individuals in personal roles but not shaman-like or nonshaman-like leaders
Class A is more frequent than class B, 3:2. Classes A and B combined are more frequent than Class C, 2:1.

[a]This estimate assumes that the number of earspools deposited in Hopewell Mound 25, Alter 1, is 500 (250 pairs). If the number of earspools in the Altar was 750–1000 (Carr, Goldstein, et al 2005:488, table 13.2, footnote a), then the estimated size of gathering represented by this feature would be 643–768 persons.
[b]Social composition statistics for gift givers are given as follows: # nonshaman-like leaders : # shaman-like leaders : # prestigious or ordinary individuals in personal roles : # clan members. The total number of gift givers cited usually is more than the sum of the number of nonshaman-like leaders, shaman-like leaders, individuals in personal roles, and clan members because some artifacts in graves and ceremonial deposits represent roles of unknown kinds, which are not tabulated here.
[c]The Turner earthwork is located in the Little Miami River Valley.
[d]The Esch mound group is located in north-central Ohio near Lake Erie.

and involved gift givers in many different kinds of leadership, sodality, clan, and ordinary social roles. Nonshamanic-like leaders and sodality members were the most common attendees. The size of this gathering is larger than each of the largest burial mound populations in the Scioto drainage (Tremper, Hopewell Mound 25, Seip-Pricer, Seip-Conjoined, Edwin Harness, Ater), suggesting that it involved multiple local symbolic communities.

Intermediate to large-sized gatherings of about 24–172 gift givers (Classes IB, IC, ID) again were not focused on the deceased and were fairly rare. However, they were more socially homogeneous, having involved persons from predominately one social role. Shaman-like roles concerned with hunt or war divination, divination in general, philosophy and cosmology, and other unknown roles were the most commonly predominant roles at these occasions. Gatherings in this size range that emphasized nonshaman-like leaders of whole communities or community-wide sodalities, sodality members, clan members, certain other institutionalized roles, or individuals in their personal (prestigious?) roles were less frequent. Most ceremonial gatherings of intermediate size, like the largest one, must have involved representatives of multiple local symbolic communities, because the numbers of leaders that attended these gatherings were more than one would expect to have resided in a single local symbolic community at one time.

Moderately sized gatherings comprised of about 11–38 gift givers and focused on the deceased (Class II) were also infrequent. They were variable in their nature, sometimes attended by gift givers of diverse social roles, sometimes predominated by gift givers of one kind of social role. The socially homogeneous gatherings varied widely in the kinds of roles they featured: shaman-like leaders, nonshaman-like leaders, sodality members, and individuals in personal roles. Gatherings of this moderate size need not, by their empirical signatures, have involved persons from multiple communities, but they could have. Both rites of separation and rites of liminality may have been the focus of these gatherings, given the varying opportunities that different kinds of tombs afforded

for adding, subtracting, or rearranging grave goods, and given the varying placements of grave goods.

Very small gatherings of one to three gift givers (Classes III and IV) dominate the Scioto Hopewell record of ceremonial assemblies. These were sometimes centered on the deceased, sometimes not. Almost all were homogeneous in the kinds of social roles had by the gift givers who gathered. Gift givers at a single gathering were either only shaman-like leaders or only nonshaman-like leaders or only individuals in personal roles, in almost all cases. The ceremonies held at these gatherings most likely emphasized relationships with the deceased, including rites of separation and/or liminality, given the small number of attendees. The attendees, being few, probably came from only one local symbolic community.

In all, ritual gatherings in the Scioto-Paint Creek area must have had many different specific purposes, considering their great diversity in focus, size, and social compositions. Although the exact purposes of these different kinds of ceremonies have yet to be investigated systematically and are largely unknown at present, likely possibilities are suggested by the many goals of the various ceremonies that historic Native Americans of the Eastern Woodlands performed or by certain telling archaeological evidence. Large, public ceremonies of Scioto Hopewell people within their ceremonial centers probably had such goals as ensuring the fertility, balance, and well-being of the world by re-creating it through re-enactments and recountings of primordial mythic events or sequences; celebrating first fruits; offering thanks to important spiritual beings and ancestors for a variety of needs they provided and praying that these needs be met; divining for the hunt and other purposes; protecting crops; ensuring the well being and success of members of a specific clan or sodality through their ceremonies; obtaining personal power and blessings from personal spirit power animals through ceremonies of the sodality marked by platform smoking pipes; healing individuals; removing disease or misfortune from an entire community and renewing its health; purifying an entire community; wiping the social slate clean of social wrongdoings and pardoning crimes; settling serious crimes; instructing community members in moral behavior and traditional culture; cleaning and renewing a ceremonial center; performing rites of passage of youths into adulthood and uninitiated persons into sodality members; preparing corpses for burial and guiding souls of the deceased to an afterlife; disposing of powerful, decommissioned ritual paraphernalia of a group in a spiritually safe manner; and playing games, socializing, and having fun. Table 4.11 summarizes and provides bibliographic references for the purposes and components of large public ceremonies performed by historic Eastern Woodlands tribes.

Smaller public and private ceremonies that Scioto Hopewell peoples possibly held in their earthworks, and that have historic Woodland analogs or are indicated by archaeological evidence, had such purposes as ensuring the well being and success of clan or sodality members through ceremonies; obtaining personal power and blessings from personal spirit power animals; divining for the purposes of planning future actions, ensuring a productive hunt, diagnosing personal ailments, revealing guilty parties, and finding lost objects; healing the sick; performing rites of passage of youths into adulthood and uninitiated person into sodality members; arranging marriages across clan lines; readying corpses for burial and guiding souls of the deceased to an afterlife; disposing of powerful, decommissioned ritual paraphernalia of a group in a spiritually safe manner; exchanging staples among clans; reciprocally fulfilling social obligations to a linked clan; and organizing work groups for labor-intensive subsistence or building activities.

Ceremonies of some purposes probably involved gatherings that varied widely in their sizes, and in whether they were public or private. For example, among the historic Huron and Choctaw, healing an individual was undertaken most commonly in small, private ceremonies, yet also was a cause for calling together the community for a large feast (Swanton 1931:221; Trigger 1969:94, 96, 117–118).

Table 4.11. Supra-Household to Community-Wide Ceremonies Performed Historically by Woodlands and Plains Native Americans

Function[1]	Reference
to offer thanks	Callender 1978c:628; Callender 1978e:686; Howard 1981:224, 245; Hudson 1976:367; Mails 1972:158–175; Swanton 1928:574, 595; Trigger 1969:94
to cure one or more individuals	Callender 1978d:677; Grim 1983:68; Hoffman 1891:173; Swanton 1931:221; Trigger 1969:94, 96, 117–118
to remove disease and misfortune from an entire town	Driver 1969:357; Lurie 1978:696; Swanton 1928:535; 1946:769
to purify a community by all taking a medicine	Swanton 1928:568–569, 528
to purify a community by all bathing or fasting	Hudson 1976:324–325, 367, 374; Swanton 1928:553, 564, 582, 600–601, 603, 606
to renew a sacred pack/bundle, fire, or other object for community welfare	Callender 1962:31; Callender 1978a:643; Dillingham 1963:165–167; Hudson 1976:370–372; Swanton 1928:583, 591; 1946:771
to fast for a community's well-being	Driver 1961:415; Hudson 1976:369; Swanton 1928:546
to feast for a community's well-being	Trigger 1969:97
to renew and perpetuate the health of the community	Swanton 1928:546–547, 563, 1946:775
to pray for community wealfare, health, peace	Swanton 1946:758
to beseech ancestors for a long and happy life	Radin 1945:70
to beseech ancestors for one's return to earth after death with continuous consciousness	Radin 1945:7–8, 70–71
to pray to clan totems	Swanton 1928:549
to commune with powerful spirit-beings who can grant wishes	Hoffman 1891:151, 1896:78
to call in the deceased in preparation for a ceremony	Hoffman 1896:73, 78–79
to re-enact or recount a primordial, mythic event or sequence	Grim 1983:68, 70; Hoffman 1896:67, 87–89
to gather situationally to deal with some distress	Swanton 1928:548, 1946:747
to wipe the social slate clean of social wrongdoings, pardon crimes, forgive	Callender 1978c:629; Driver 1961:414–415; Hudson 1976:375; Swanton 1928:568, 595, 1946:759, 775
as a penance by a wrongdoer	Hoffman 1896:127
to renew peace	Swanton 1928:548
to affirm friendships	Swanton 1928:551
as a prelude to settling serious crimes	Hudson 1976:370
to instruct community members in moral behavior	Hudson 1976:372; Swanton 1928:582, 588, 596
to instruct adult sodality members in traditional culture	Grim 1983:68; Hoffman 1896:80
to instruct an initiate in the right way of life	Hoffman 1896:78, 96
to enculturate youths in cultural morals, mythology, tradition	Swanton 1946:756, 775
to "harden" children	Swanton 1946:709
to name children or title adults	Hudson 1976:325
to mark the passage of boys to manhood and girls to womanhood;	Callender 1978d:675; Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri 2001:53; Swanton 1928:570, 583
to encourage hard work and fighting among young men	Swanton 1946:756, 772
to marry a man and a woman	Swanton 1931:132–138; Swanton 1946:707
to bestow titles on adults or honor warriors	Callender 1978d:677; Hudson 1976:325; Swanton 1928:585, 1946:775
to initiate a community leader	Hudson 1976:326
to initiate a person or persons into a sodality	Hoffman 1891:187, 1896:67, 110
to raise the prestige of an individual	Trigger 1969:94
to demonstrate by deed the power of a person	Hoffman 1896:97–99
to offer a first born son as sacrifice to a chief	Swanton 1946:760

(*continued*)

Table 4.11. (*continued*)

Function[1]	Reference
to separate the dying or newly dead from the living and mourners from nonmourners	Callender 1978a:639, 1978c:626, 1978e:684; Swanton 1946:719, 722, 727–729, 755; Trigger 1969:49, 94, 106
to guide the deceased to a land of the dead or other liminal activities	Callender 1978d:676; Grim 1983:70–72; Hoffman 1896:67–68; Lurie 1978:696; Swanton 1931:171, 176, 179, 188; Swanton 1946:726–729
to reincorporate mourners with nonmourners and/or the deceased with the ancestors	Callender 1978c:626; Swanton 1931:174, 176–181, 183–185, 191–194; Swanton 1946:759, 726–727; Trigger 1969:106–112
for specifically an adoption ceremony that ended the mourning period	Callender 1978a:639, 1978d:684; Callender et al. 1978:659–660; Hall 1987
to pray for the reincarnation of spirits of dead animals who supply food	Swanton 1928:549
to bring rain for crops	Howard 1981:224
to protect a crop while it is growing	Swanton 1946:770
to ask for an abundant harvest	Callender 1978c:628; Swanton 1946:756, 758, 769
to celebrate a new moon and the fruits of the land at that time	Hudson 1976:365–366; Swanton 1928:550
to celebrate stages of growth of cultivated plants	Trigger 1969:96
to celebrate autumn harvest, including thanksgiving	Callender 1978c:629; Dillingham 1963:166; Hudson 1976:366–375; Swanton 1928:529, 534, 581; 1946:656, 681, 758, 770–771
to prepare a group of persons for hunting	Callender 1962:31
to celebrate a successful hunt	Driver 1961:415;
to prepare a group of persons for war[2]	Callender 1978c:628, 1978d:676, 1978e:685; Howard 1981:218; Lurie 1978:696; Ritzenthaler 1978:756; Ritzenthaler and Ritzenthaler 1970:92; Swanton 1931:162; Swanton 1946:756; 758, Trigger 1969:46, 94
to greet a successful, returning war party, celebrate their safe return, and/or distribute captives[2]	Callender 1978c:628, 1978a:642, 1978d:685
to offer thanks for success in hunting or in war, generally	Swanton 1928:580
to torture and kill a prisoner	Trigger 1969:50
to celebrate peace with an enemy town or tribe	Swanton 1946:756
for a local or regional council meeting or meeting of all men of a community	Driver 1961:415; Trigger 1969:72–78
for a sodality meeting with a public ceremonial component	Clifton 1978:734; Ritzenthaler 1978:754
to socialize, have fun, dance, and play competitive games between the sexes, communities, or other social divisions	Callender 1978c:629; Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri 2001:52; Feest and Feest 1978:777; Howard 1981:227, 263–267, 307–327; Ritzenthaler 1978:752; Swanton 1928:522–536, 556, 571, 586, 604, 606: 1931:142–144, 150, 221–223; 1946:674–682, 771, 775–778; Trigger 1969:100, 101, 106, 109
for a fair or market	Driver 1961:218
to welcome visitors subsequent to other ceremonies	Swanton 1928:585, 587
to lay out a new ceremonial grounds	Swanton 1928:544–546
to clean up and repair the ceremonial ground and buildings	Howard 1981:242; Hudson 1976:368
to erect temporary shelters for a long public cermony	Hudson 1976:367
to fast in preparation for a ceremony	Hudson 1976:369
to clean up a town/community of old and worn out items	Swanton 1928:580

[1]Multiple functions defined separately here may be combined in a single cerermonial gathering.
[2] One wonders whether Scioto Hopewell peoples might have had preparatory and celebratory feasts in their ceremonial centers for groups of persons who traveled to and returned from distant places for vision quests, initiations into adulthood, pilgrimages, gathering of powerful raw materials, and such.

Table 4.12. Numbers of Individual Burial Assemblages and Ceremonial Deposits that Represent Gatherings of Given Minimal Size Ranges, for 22 Ceremonial Centers Across Ohio[a]

Size of Gathering	Number of Individual Burial Assemblages and Ceremonial Deposits		Largest Burial Assemblages and Ceremonial Deposits	Size of Gathering
	Single[b]	*Multiple*[c]		
> 500	1	1	Hopewell Mound 25, Altar 1	514[d]
201–500	2	2	Turner, Mound 3, Central Altar	441
101–200	5	4	Mound City, Mound 8, Depository	209
51–100	2	3	Hopewell Mound 25, Sk. 260–261 together	186
26–50	6	6	Tremper, Lower Cache	172
11–25	24	21	Hopewell Mound 25, Copper Deposit	127
7–10	29	29	Hopewell Mound 17, Offering 1	113
4–6	57	65	Hopewell Mound 17, Offering 2	111
1–3	200	213	Hopewell Mound 25, Sk. 260 by itself	93
			Hopewell Mound 25, Sk. 261 by itself	93
Total	326	344	Turner, Mound 4, Central Altar	67
			Mound City, Mound 8, B2	58

[a]The ceremonial centers include: West mound, Turner, Boyle's Farm, Rutledge, Wright, Snake Den, Circleville, Rockhold, Seip, Ater, Bourneville, Hopewell, Mound City, Ginther, Shilder, Liberty, McKenzie, Tremper, Esch, Hazlett, Marietta, and North Benton.
[b]The number of gift givers represented by burial assemblages and ceremonial deposits, assuming that each multiple burial involved only a single gathering and episode of deposition.
[c]The number of gift givers represented by burial assemblages and ceremonial deposits, assuming that each multiple burial involved multiple gatherings and episodes of deposition.
[d]This estimate assumes that the number of earspools deposited in Hopewell Mound 25, Altar 1, is 500 (250 pairs). If the number of earspools in the Altar was 750–1000 (375–500 pairs), as estimated by Katharine Ruhl (personal communication, 2004; see also Carr, Goldstein, et al. 2005:488, table 13.2, footnote a), then the estimated size of gathering represented by this feature would be 643–768 persons.

The Sizes of Gatherings

The vast majority of the 458 gatherings analyzed were very small (Table 4.12), in contrast to the common mental image of large gatherings that the well-known, large earthen enclosures of the Scioto-Paint Creek area create. Over three-fourths (76.7%) of all gatherings involved zero to three gift givers, and nearly two-thirds (61%) involved one to three gift givers. The predominance of small gatherings characterizes both large earthen enclosures, like Hopewell, Seip, Liberty, and Ater, and small mound groups like McKenzie and West. Only eight burial assemblages and ceremonial deposits indicate gatherings of more than 90 gift givers, and only two suggest gatherings of more than 400 gift givers. Although one cannot know, from these estimates, the number of persons who attended ceremonies but did not offer gifts, the general picture is one of very few large gatherings that were attended by a whole local symbolic community or multiple whole, neighboring local symbolic communities. Such ceremonies would have involved several hundreds to many hundreds of people.

The sizes of the few, largest Ohio Hopewellian ceremonial gatherings estimated by the gift-giver method are on the order of a few hundred to five hundred gift givers (Table 4.12). This picture is supported by estimates made from the sizes of the largest burial populations in the Scioto-Paint Creek area (Table 4.13). Multiplying these populations by possibly one, two, three, or four ceremony attendees per deceased yields the gathering sizes shown. A maximum of four mourners per deceased person on the average appears to be a reasonable upper bound, if one considers that some deceased within these mounds were likely close relatives and had the same living relatives as their mourners. By this logic, ceremonial gatherings associated with all deceased within a large charnel house in the area would have ranged between about 200 and 700 persons – similar to the gift-giver estimate. Because not all of the dead on a charnel house floor died at once and were treated at the same time, these largest of ceremonial gatherings may have been somewhat smaller than the estimated range.

The exception to the above pattern is the 1,500+ maximum number of mourners

Table 4.13. Burial Populations and Possible Numbers of Mourners at Scioto Hopewell Earthworks and Mound Centers

Site and Mound	Burial Population	Times Number of Mourners per Deceased				Reference
		1	2	3	4	
Hopewell Mound 25, floor of charnel houses	98	98	196	294	392	Greber and Ruhl (1989:47–49)
Hopewell Mound 23 floor	52+	52+	104+	156+	208+	Shetrone (1926a:53–55)
Mounds 23 & 25 floors combined	150+	150+	300+	450+	600+	
Mounds 23 & 25 floors and above	154+	154+	308+	462+	616+	
All mounds at the Hopewell site	**218**+	218+	436+	654+	872+	Appendix 6.1 (data base)
Edwin Harness charnel house	176	176	352	528	704	Greber (1979a:34)
Russell Brown mounds	7+	7+	14+	21+	28+	Seeman and Soday (1980)
Edwin Harness & Russell Brown mounds	**183**+	183+	365+	549+	732+	
Seip-Pricer charnel house	110	110	220	330	440	Greber (1979a:34)
Seip-Conjoined, charnel house	43	43	86	129	172	Greber (1979a:34)
Seip-Pricer, Seip-Conjoined, & above-floor burials	171	171	342	513	684	Greber (1979a:34)
Ater Mound	**59**+	59+	118	177	236	Appendix 6.1 (data base)
Tremper Mound (co-mingled, cremated remains; count estimated by volume only)	375+?	375+?	750+?	1125+	1150+?	Mills (1916:280)
(Turner Great Burial Place)[a]	55+	55+	110	165	220	Greber (1979b:52)
(All burials at Turner)	**101**+	101+	202+	303+	404+	Greber (1979b:52)

[a]The Turner earthwork is located in the Little Miami valley.

estimated for the Tremper charnel house from its burial population (Table 4.13). This anomaly reflects the creation of alliances among local symbolic communities in the early Middle Woodland period, at the time Tremper was built, primarily through individual commoners as dyads rather than through leaders who represented their local symbolic communities. The latter strategy was used from the mid to last third of the Middle Woodland period, resulting in smaller burial populations and gatherings (see above, Changes in Alliance Strategies).

The burial of large numbers of deceased persons from multiple local symbolic communities under the roofs of single charnel houses in the Scioto valley, and the large numbers of living persons who occasionally assembled at those charnel buildings, had the purpose of creating and solidifying alliances among the communities. The logic of this strategy probably followed that of the historic Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead (Chapter 3, An Example of a Sustainable Community). However, Scioto Hopewell multicommunity ceremonies were considerably smaller than the Algonkian events, which drew 1,000–1,600 individuals (Hickerson 1960), and the largest of Huron events, which involved the bones of about 1,000 deceased persons and the giving of over 1,200 presents (Trigger 1969:107). From this perspective, those Scioto Hopewellian local symbolic communities of the middle to late Middle Woodland period that placed their dead together in a big charnel house, and that were integrated by nonlocalized clans, crosscutting sodalities, and alliances, might be considered to have been a small tribe by historic standards. Indeed, the geographic expanse of the Huron

tribe was close to the size of the Scioto-Paint Creek area (i.e., Ross County). The 200–700 hundred persons who are estimated to have attended the largest Scioto Hopewell gatherings corresponds to the minimum size of one–two breeding populations (Wobst 1974).

The Social Compositions of Gatherings

Ceremonial gatherings at the 22 Hopewellian mound and/or earthwork ceremonial centers that were studied can be characterized for the relative commonality of the social roles of participants. As a whole, the gatherings were overwhelmingly dominated by gift givers who were leaders or other prestigious individuals in contrast to persons of more ordinary roles (Table 4.14). This balance reflects the great number of sites and artifact assemblages in the sample that are of middle to late Middle Woodland age (e.g., Hopewell, Seip), when alliances were negotiated through leaders who were representative of their local symbolic communities, and the few sites and assemblages of early Middle Woodland age (Tremper, Mound City), when alliances were worked out largely through the relations of individual commoners as dyads. The data also show that leaders and other persons of high prestige who were marked by insignia not obviously tied to shaman-like roles, such as plain headplates, earspools, breastplates, and crescent pendants, gave gifts about twice as frequently as did persons in shaman-like roles. Thus, when considering the broad spectrum of means by which Scioto Hopewellian societies were regulated, including not just individual leaders but also sodalities, nonshamanic means were essential. In contrast, regulation by specifically individual leadership was tied strongly to shaman-like means, although not classic shamans (see above, Leadership).

Ceremonial gatherings of large size divide strongly into two kinds by their compositions: socially homogeneous gatherings that involved primarily one social role or a closely related sets of roles, and socially diverse gatherings that involved many kinds of social roles approaching the range that would be found in a local symbolic community or a sustainable community (Table 4.15). Socially homogeneous gatherings are evidenced by both large ceremonial deposits and large burial offerings. In contrast, socially diversified gatherings are reflected in only large ceremonial deposits.

Socially homogeneous gatherings were very common. Their predominating social roles included: (1) specialized, shaman-like practitioners marked by cones/hemispheres for divination, mica mirrors for divination, galena cubes possibly used in divination, quartz and obsidian project points for hunt and/or war divination, geometrics expressing cosmological concepts, or chlorite disks of unknown function; (2) prestigious sodality members marked by metal breastplates, earspools, or smoking pipes; (3) community-wide leaders symbolized by copper celts; (4) other nonshaman-like leaders marked by reel-shaped gorgets, crescent-shaped pendants, or other kinds of pendants; (5) a Bear society comprised of some Bear clan members and indicated by bear canines; (6) members of the elk, wolf, and fox clans symbolized by the power parts of their animal totems or eponyms; and (7) prestigious, personal roles indicated by masses of pearl and/or shell beads. In each such gathering, gift givers of one social role predominated, and were sometimes complemented by some gift givers in related roles and occasionally by a few persons in unrelated roles.

The systematic segregation of gift givers of these different social roles from one another in different socially homogeneous ceremonies suggests very fundamental and institutionalized differentiation of these roles in their spheres of action and of the functions of the ceremonies in which they predominated in Ohio Hopewellian societies. Focusing specifically on the roles of shaman-like practitioners, this pattern of segregation is fully expectable from crosscultural trends in the changing organization of roles of magico-religious practitioners as societal size and complexity increase (Winkelman 1989, 1990, 1992). In small-scale hunting and gathering societies and occasional horticultural societies, the shaman as a leader performs a great diversity of tasks for the

Table 4.14. Estimates of the Numbers of Gift Givers of Various Social Roles (Categorized), for 22 Ceremonial Centers in Ohio [1]

Social Category[2]	Nonshaman-like Leaders	Shaman-like Leaders	Prestigious Persons	Ordinary Persons	Prestigious Clanpersons	Ordinary Clanpersons	Total
Total Number of Gift Givers[3]	1389/1403	792/799	417/423	300/305	28/29	51/59	2977/3018
Percentage of Gift Givers	46.7/46.5%	26.6/26.5%	14.0/14.0%	10.1/10.1%	0.97/0.96%	1.71/1.95%	100/100%
Number of Gift Givers, without Two Largest Deposits[4]	589/603	656/663	404/410	281/286	19/20	39/47	1988/2029
Percentage of Gift Givers, without Two Largest Deposits	29.6/29.7%	33.0/32.7%	20.3/20.2%	14.1/14.1%	0.96/0.99%	1.96/2.32%	100/100%

[1] The 22 ceremonial centers are listed in Table 4.12 For each entry of this table, the number before the "/" is the number of gift givers of the social role indicated by a burial assemblage and/or ceremonial deposit, assuming a multiple burial to have been only a single gathering and episode of deposition. The number after the "/" is the number of gift givers of the social role indicated by a burial assemblage and/or ceremonial deposit, assuming a multiple burial to have been multiple gatherings and episodes of deposition. The same format holds for the percentages.

[2]The category, "shaman-like leaders", includes persons marked by equipment certainly or probably used in the crossculturally common shamanic tasks of war and/or hunt divination, other forms of divination, the keeping of mythology and cosmology, healing, processing corpses and/or guiding of souls to an afterlife, leading public ceremonies, working with facinating raw materials, and trance induction, as well as other unidentified activities. "Nonshaman-like leaders and persons of high prestige" include probable society-wide leaders marked by plain metallic headplates and celts, sodality members or high achievers marked by metallic breastplates and earspools, and other distinguished social roles indicated by copper and mica crescents, reel-shaped gorgets, large communal pipes, and effigy human "trophy" parts. "Prestigious clan leaders" and more "ordinary clan members" are respectively distinguished by metal or mica effigy animal power parts (e.g., jaws, teeth, talons) and by power parts of bone. "Prestigious personal roles" and "ordinary personal roles" are respectively taken to be marked by metallic items of personal adornment (e.g., necklaces, beads, buttons, hair skewer pins, bracelets) in contrast to their nonmetallic equivalents and utilitarian objects (e.g., hammerstones, atl-atl, stone celts). The definition of these social categories from their diagnostic artifact types is described in Table 4.1.

[3]The estimates includes all grave assemblages and ceremonial deposits listed in Carr, Goldstein, et al. (2005: Appendices 13.3 and 13.4).

[4]The estimates includes all grave assemblages and ceremonial deposits listed in Carr, Goldstein, et al. (2005: Appendices 13.3 and 13.4), excepting the two largest deposits: Hopewell Mound 25, Altar 1, and Turner, Mound 3, Central Altar, which are both heavily biased toward gift givers who were nonshaman-like leaders.

Table 4.15. Estimates of Numbers of Gift Givers of Various Social Roles (Categorized) Represented by Large Burial Assemblages and Ceremonial Deposits (> 15 Items), for 22 Ohio Hopewell Ceremonial Centers[a]

Provenience	Nonshaman-like Leaders	Shaman-like Leaders	Personal Roles Prestigious and Ordinary	Clan Roles Prestigious and Ordinary	Total Size of Gathering
Socially Homogeneous, Specialized Gatherings: Communal					
Communal Pipes					
Seip-Pricer, Pipe Cache					5 communities
Socially Homogeneous, Specialized Gatherings: Personal					
Individual, Platform Pipes					
Mound City, Md. 8, Central Altar & Depository Bag	0	6	**202**	0	209
Tremper, Lower Cache	3	17	**156**	5	172
*Hopewell, Shetrone's Md 17, Offering 1	5	30	**75**	0	113
Socially Homogeneous, Specialized Gatherings: Shaman-Like Leadership					
Cones/Hemispheres					
Hopewell, Shetrone's Md 17, Deposit 2	13	**90**	7	1	111
Points					
*Hopewell, Md. 25, Altar 2	7.5	**27**	12.5	2	52
Mound City, Md. 3, Altar & Crematory Basin	0	**24**	4	0	31
Geometrics					
Hopewell, Md. 25, Copper Deposit	11	**114**	2	1	127
Raw Materials					
*Hopewell, Shetrone's Md. 29, Moorehead Md. 17	not role-specific				
Mound City, Md. 7, mica crescent	0	**10**	0	0	10
*Mound City, Md. 13, B1	2	**7**	**10**	1	14
Mound City, Md. 23, B1	0	0	0	0	0
*Hopewell, Shetrone's Md. 29	not role-specific				

(*continued*)

Table 4.15. (*continued*)

Provenience	Nonshaman-like Leaders	Shaman-like Leaders	Personal Roles Prestigious and Ordinary	Clan Roles Prestigious and Ordinary	Total Size of Gathering
Mound City, Md 5, Altar	0	**1**	0	0	1
Hopewell Md. 2, Central Cache	**1**	**1**	0	0	2
Hopewell Md. 11, Crematory Basin	1	**3**	1	0	7
Hopewell Md. 1, Central Cache	0	**4**	0	0	4
Socially Homogeneous, Specialized Gatherings: Nonshaman-Like Leadership, Sodality Achievement					
Metal Breastplates, Celts, Earspools					
*Hopewell Md. 25, Sk260–261	**163**	11	0	0	186
*Hopewell Md. 25, B7	**33**	3	2	0	38
*Hopewell, Shetrone's Md. 17, Offering 1	5	30	**75**	0	113
Seip-Pricer, Ceremonial Cache	**13**	0	1	1	15
Reel-Shaped Gorgets, Crescents					
Turner, Md. 15, Cache	0	0	0	1	1
Tremper, Sandstone Grave	**9**	0	0	0	10
Pearl and Shell Beads (300 max per necklace)					
*Hopewell Md. 25, Altar 2	7.5	**27**	12.5	2	52
*Hopewell Md 25, Sk260–261	**163**	11	0	0	186
*Mound City, Md 13, Deposit 5	3	**13**	**6**	2	24
*Mound City, Md 13, B1	2	**7**	**10**	1	20
Hopewell Md. 26, Crematory Basin	**4**	0	2	0	6
Hopewell Md. 25, B6–7	**36**	0	3	0	46
Hopewell Md. 2, B3	**3**	0	0	0	5
Hopewell Md. 25, B248+249	**3**	1	0	0	13
Hopewell Md. 28, Crematory Basin	**3**	0	2	0	5
*Seip-Pricer, Burnt Offering	4	**14**	1	**7**	29
Rutledge Md. 1, B3	0	0	0	0	2
Hopewell Md. 26, Deposit	2	0	3	0	5

(*continued*)

Table 4.15. (*continued*)

Provenience	Nonshaman-like Leaders	Shaman-like Leaders	Personal Roles Prestigious and Ordinary	Clan Roles Prestigious and Ordinary	Total Size of Gathering
Socially Diversified Gatherings					
Hopewell, Md. 25, Altar 1	**463**[b]	32	12.5	3	514[b]
Turner, Md. 3, Central Altar	**337**	77	7	16	441
Socially Diversified Gatherings: Including Members of a Bear Society, Bear Clan, or Other Clan					
Bear Canines (4 max per necklace)					
Seip-Pricer, Cremation Basin 2	?				
*Seip-Pricer, Burnt Offering	4	**14**	1	**7**	29
Hopewell Md. 25, B34	**4**	0	0	**5**	14
Harness Md, Cremation	?				
Other Animal Teeth, Claws					
Hopewell Md. 23, Sk. 207	1	0	0	0	3
Mound City, Md. 8, B3	1	0	1	1	6
Mound City, Md. 8, B2	0	**49**	2	2	58
Mound City, Md. 2, B16	**9**	0	1	0	15
*Mound City, Md. 13, Deposit 5	3	**13**	6	2	24
Hopewell, Md. 25, B41A,B,C	2	1	0	0	16

[a] The number of gift givers indicated by burial assemblages and/or ceremonial deposits assumes that each multiple burial was only a single gathering and episode of deposition.
[b] This estimate assumes that the number of earspools deposited in Hopewell Mound 25, Altar 1, is 500 (250 pairs). See Table 4.10, Footnote a, and Carr, Goldstein, et al. (2005:488, table 13.2, footnote a), for a perspective on this estimate.
* An asterisk indicates a ceremonial deposit or grave assemblage with more than one kind of item in great frequency and, hence, listed more than once.

social group, such as divining, healing, managing hunting, keeping the cosmology and mythology of the people, and helping the dead to pass over. Roles are centralized in the shaman's one person. As the size and complexity of a society increases and agriculture becomes more important, as was the case for Scioto Hopewell peoples, the many roles of the shaman become segregated among multiple, more specialized magico-religious practitioners – what are called here "shaman-like practitioners" (see above, Leadership). These persons may operate independently as individuals or multiple persons in the same role may work together as a society or sodality of practitioners (see above, Sodalities and Ceremonial Societies). The segregation, in the Ohio case, of shaman-like roles among multiple, different kinds of practitioners and the segregation of these different kinds of practitioners from one another in their ceremonies fits the crosscultural pattern for societies transitioning to agricultural lifeways. In addition, each of the several kinds of homogeneous gatherings of shaman-like practitioners appears to exemplify the collective ceremonies that are held by specialized professional societies or sodalities of such practitioners and that are found across cultures. The segregation of the roles and ceremonies of the other nonshaman-like persona and social groups listed above is not an aspect of Winkelman's theory, but is consistent with Service's (1962) concept of the tribe organized through pan-tribal sodalities, with Braun and Plog's (1982) model of the origins of tribal organization, and with charted prehistoric sequences of sodality and tribal development in the American Southwest (e.g., Braun and Plog 1982) and Europe (Voss 1980, 1982).

Certain social roles are noticeably absent as core elements of the large, socially homogenous gatherings of Ohio Hopewell societies. The shaman-like healer's absence can probably be attributed to the power of this person in one-on-one or small group arenas rather than larger, public affairs. The shaman-like body processor and/or psychopomp and society-wide leaders marked by headplates, although both socially critical, were rare individuals and could not have constituted the numeric core of a large gathering. In addition, five of the nine known animal-associated clans (Feline, Raptor, Raccoon, Beaver, Nonraptorial Bird) did not predominate in any of the large, socially homogenous gatherings, even though some of these absent clans were larger or held more critical social roles than the four represented clans (see above, Clan Organization).

Large, socially diversified gatherings – the second fundamental kind of gathering in Ohio Hopewellian societies – were rare. These gatherings included persons who together spanned all or most of the roles encompassed in the separate, socially homogeneous gatherings. Both the large size and the broad spectrum of social roles that characterized socially diversified gatherings indicate that they involved multiple local symbolic communities or a whole sustainable community.

Expectedly, the gatherings that involved diverse social roles and whole sustainable communities were larger than the largest of socially homogeneous gatherings. The diversified gatherings evidenced by ceremonial deposits in Altar 1 of Hopewell Mound 25 and the Central Altar of Turner Mound 3, with 514 and 441 gift givers, respectively, were two to three times larger than the largest socially homogeneous gatherings, which were comprised primarily of persons who were members of sodalities marked by smoking pipes or breastplates and numbered 209 and 186 gift givers, respectively. The largest socially homogenous gatherings of specialized, shaman-like leaders, who were marked by copper geometrics with cosmological referents and cones/hemispheres for divination, were smaller yet, with 127 and 111 gift givers. Homogeneous gatherings of shaman-like hunt or war diviners indicated by quartz and/or obsidian points, important and rare social roles marked by crescent pendants and reel-shaped gorgets, and a Bear society and bear clan symbolized by bear canines were still smaller, with a maximum of 52 gift givers (Table 4.15).

The social compositions of small gatherings attended by three or fewer gift givers, whether at large ceremonial centers or small mound groups, fell strongly into three

types: gatherings where only nonshaman-like leaders gave gifts, gatherings where only shaman-like leaders gave gifts, and those where only ordinary or prestigious individuals in their personal roles made offerings. Ceremonies that mixed two of these social categories were very rare in burial settings and only slightly more common in contexts not focused on burial. The trimodal pattern reiterates the segregation of gift givers of different kinds of social roles among different large socially homogeneous gatherings that were evidenced by large ceremonial deposits and burial offerings. The separation of shaman-like leaders from nonshaman-like leaders in both small and large ceremonies of most kinds and in both burial and nonburial ceremonial contexts indicates the strongly institutionalized differentiation of these basic categories of social roles in their spheres of action and of the functions of the ceremonies in which they were dominant.

The Social Compositions of Gatherings Related to Their Sizes

The roles of persons who attended and gave gifts at Ohio Hopewell ceremonial gatherings varied systematically with their size, and in sociologically predictable manners. The ratio of leaders of shaman-like and nonshaman-like nature to individuals in personal roles who gave gifts at gatherings systematically increased with the size of the gatherings (Figure 4.23; Carr et al. 2005:522, table 13.16). This trend undoubtedly reflects the greater need for leadership when organizing large crowds than small gatherings.[35]

The proportion of shaman-like leaders to nonshaman-like leaders who gave gifts at gatherings differed little among gatherings of various sizes, with the exception of very large gatherings of 150–300 gift givers. At most gatherings, the proportion of shaman-like leaders to nonshaman-like leaders who participated through giving gifts ranged from approximately equal to double the number of nonshaman-like leaders. At very large gatherings, nonshaman-like leaders outnumbered shaman-like leaders by a ratio of 15:1

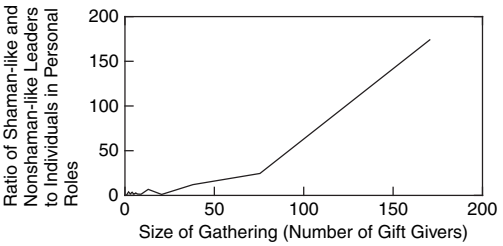


Figure 4.23. Ratio of leaders of shaman-like and nonshaman-like nature to individuals in personal roles who gave gifts at gatherings, as a function of the sizes of the gatherings.

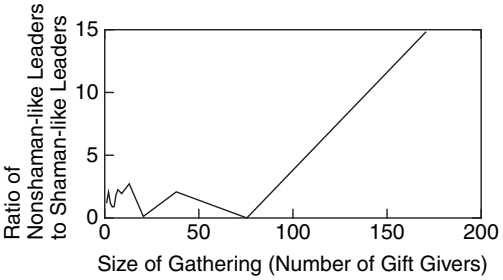


Figure 4.24. Ratio of nonshaman-like leaders to shaman-like leaders who gave gifts at gatherings, as a function of the sizes of gatherings.

(Figure 4.24; Carr et al. 2005:522, table 13.16). This pattern most likely reflects the need to control large crowds with the predictable means of institutionalized, nonshaman-like leadership in contrast to the often idiosyncratic ways of shaman-like practitioners.

The Sizes and Social Compositions of Gatherings at Sites of Different Function

In the Scioto-Paint Creek area, the ceremonial centers of Hopewell and Mound City both stand apart functionally from other large centers like Seip, Liberty, and Ater in having been burial places reserved primarily for leaders and other persons of much prestige. Tremper is unique functionally as a center where apparently most or all of the persons who comprised a sustainable community and who died during a given time interval were buried (Chapter 3, Local Symbolic Communities, Sustainable Communities). Not unexpectedly,

Hopewell, Mound City, and Tremper are the only sites in the area that had very large gatherings of 51 or more gift givers (see below, Table 4.16). In contrast, the large Pricer mound in the Seip earthwork and the large Ater mound had peak gatherings of only 29 and 35 gift givers, respectively. The paucity of fancy artifacts and artifacts in general in the Edwin Harness mound in the Liberty earthwork suggests small gatherings there, as well.

These differences in the sizes of gatherings among ceremonial centers of different functions are echoed in the social compositions of gatherings there. At Hopewell, a high 80.7% to 81.3% of all gift givers were leaders of a shaman-like or nonshaman-like nature, whereas only 18.7% to 19.3% were more ordinary persons. At Seip-Pricer, where a higher the proportion of ordinary persons were buried, nearly twice the percentage of gift givers were more ordinary persons – 31.3% – with leaders having comprised only 68.7%. At Tremper, where most or all community members were buried and more ordinary persons must have greatly outnumbered their leaders, the percentage of gift givers who were more ordinary persons was considerably higher – 84.3% – with leaders having made up only 15.7%.

In contrast to these large ceremonial centers, eight small Hopewellian mounds or mound clusters in the Scioto-Paint Creek area and the nearby Circleville area all had, expectedly, very small ceremonial gatherings, with at most 7–10 gift givers (Carr et al. 2005:509, table 13.8). The social compositions of gatherings at these small sites fall into two kinds. At some mound sites (Bourneville, Rockhold, Shilder, Snake Den, West), leaders of a shaman-like and nonshaman-like nature constituted most gift givers. At other mound sites (McKenzie, Circleville), more ordinary persons comprised most or all gift givers. Only one mound site (Ginther) had gatherings with roughly equal numbers of leaders and ordinary gift givers. In all, the size and compositions of gatherings at small sites suggests their use by one to a few residential communities, with some separation of leaders from ordinary persons among mounds at burial.

Changes over Time in the Sizes and Social Compositions of Gatherings

The sizes and social compositions of gatherings within the large earthen enclosures in the Scioto-Paint Creek area changed over time in relation to shifting strategies for forming and maintaining alliances between local symbolic communities. The sites of Tremper, Mound City, Hopewell, Seip, and Ater, which form a temporal sequence, can be used to trace these changes. Tremper, Mound City, and Hopewell can be compared to each other for the characteristics of their gatherings because they are alike functionally, having been regionally premier centers (see above). Seip and Ater also order temporally, appear to have been functionally analogous, and thus are useful for comparing gatherings.

Three changes occurred over time in the characteristics of gatherings at large ceremonial centers in the Scioto-Paint Creek area. (1) The frequency of large gatherings, with size measured in numbers of gift givers, increased multifold, from the early to middle Middle Woodland period, from Tremper to Mound City to Hopewell. The average size of large gatherings also increased. Then, during the late Middle Woodland, from Seip to Ater, the frequency of mid-sized gatherings (there were no large ones) and the average size of gatherings decreased (Figures 4.25A, 4.25B, Table 4.16). (2) The proportion of leaders of shaman-like and nonshaman-like kinds who gave gifts, compared to individuals in personal roles who gave gifts, rose from the early to middle Middle Woodland period, from Tremper to Mound City to Hopewell. The proportion then decreased from the middle to late Middle Woodland, from Hopewell to Seip to Ater (Figure 4.26, Table 4.17). (3) The proportion of nonshaman-like leaders to shaman-like leaders who gave gifts increased progressively over the entire Middle Woodland period, from Tremper and Mound City to Hopewell, to Seip, to Ater (Figure 4.27, Table 4.17).

Initial increases, during the early through middle Middle Woodland period, in the sizes of gatherings and the proportions of leaders

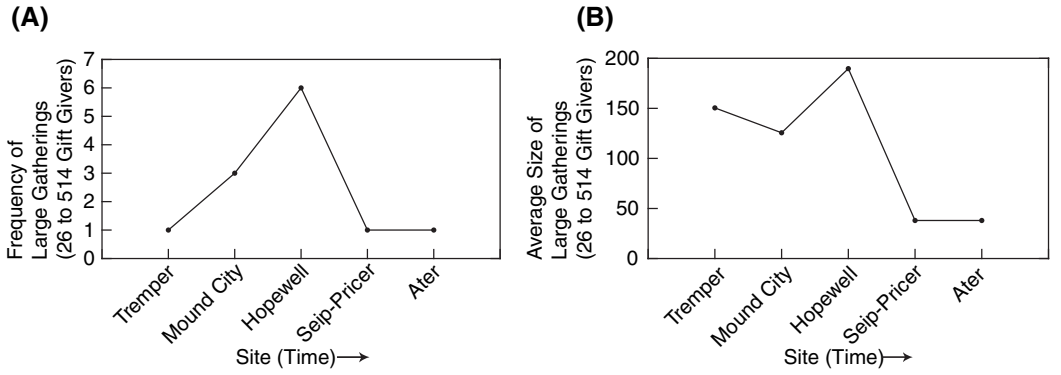


Figure 4.25. Change over time in (A) the frequencies of large gatherings and (B) the average size of large gatherings, measured in numbers of gift givers.

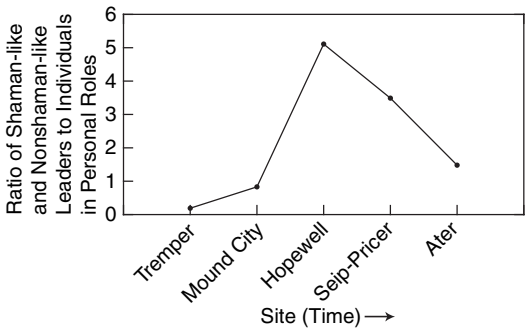


Figure 4.26. Change over time in the ratio of leaders of shaman-like and nonshaman-like kinds compared to individuals in personal roles who gave gifts at gatherings.

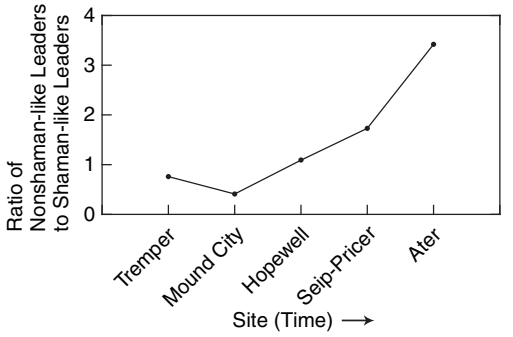


Figure 4.27. Change over time in the ratio of nonshaman-like leaders to shaman-like leaders who gave gifts at gatherings.

to ordinary individuals who were the focus of ceremony and gave gifts reflect changes in alliance strategies that occurred then. Means for making and maintaining alliances shifted from primarily economic and social relations among individual commoners as dyads in nonmortuary contexts, with buttressing in mortuary ceremonies, to negotiations that were placed in the hands of leaders who represented their local

Table 4.16. Numbers of Individual Burial Assemblages and Ceremonial Deposits that Represent Gatherings of Given Minimal Size Ranges, for Large Ceremonial Centers through Time

Sites: "Youngest" to "Oldest"	Size of Gathering[1]								
	1–3	4–6	7–10	11–25	26–50	51–100	101–200	201–500	> 500
Ater	19/20	1/1	2/2	0/0	1/1				
Seip	35/42	9/10	5/5	4/3	1/1				
Hopewell, All	59/63	25/25	10/10	9/9	1/1	0/2	4/3		1/1
Mound City	21/21	8/12	4/4	5/4	2/2	1/1	0/0	1/1	
Tremper	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/2	0/0	0/0	1/1		

[1]For each entry of this table, the number before the "/" is the number of burial assemblages and/or ceremonial deposits within the given size range of gatherings, assuming each multiple burial to have been only a single gathering and episode of deposition. The number after the "/" is the number of burial assemblages and/or ceremonial deposits within the given range of gatherings, assuming each multiple burial to have been multiple gatherings and episodes of deposition.

Table 4.17. Estimates of the Numbers of Gift Givers of Various Social Roles (Categorized) for Individual Large Ceremonial Centers through Time[1]

Ratio of Social Categories	% Nonshaman-like and Shaman-like Leaders to Personal Roles (Prestigious and Ordinary)	% Nonshaman-like Leaders to % Shaman-like Leaders
Sites, "Youngest" to "Oldest"		
Ater	57.4% to 38.9% = 1.48	44.4% to 13.0% = 3.42
	55.3% to 39.3% = 1.41	42.8% to 12.5% = 3.42
Seip	68.7% to 19.7% = 3.49	43.5% to 25.2% = 1.73
	68.7% to 20.4% = 3.37	43.9% to 24.8% = 1.77
Hopewell, All	81.3% to 15.9% = 5.11	42.4% to 38.9% = 1.09
	80.7% to 16.0% = 5.04	42.1% to 38.6% = 1.09
Mound City	44.9% to 53.8% = 0.83	13.0% to 31.9% = 0.41
	44.9% to 53.4% = 0.84	13.1% to 31.9% = 0.41
Tremper	15.7% to 81.68% = .19	6.81% to 8.90% = 0.76
	15.7% to 81.68% = .19	6.81% to 8.90% = 0.76

[1]The percentages in this table are drawn from Carr, Goldstein, et al. (2005:522, table 13.16), retaining all of their assumptions.
Note: For each ratio of social roles (column) for each site (two rows) of this table, the percentages and ratio on the top line pertain to gift givers of the social role indicated by burial assemblages and/or ceremonial deposits, assuming each multiple burial to have been only a single gathering and episode of deposition. The percentages and ratio on the bottom line pertain to gift givers of the social role indicated by burial assemblages and/or ceremonial deposits, assuming each multiple burial to have been multiple gatherings and episodes of deposition.

symbolic communities and that occurred largely at the ceremonial centers (see above, Changes in Alliance Strategies). During the early Middle Woodland, the numbers of gift givers at gatherings within earthworks were relatively small because alliance building occurred largely outside of the earthworks in economic and social forms and only secondarily within them through spiritual and religious means i.e., burying the dead from multiple local symbolic communities together with one another.[36] The proportions of leaders compared to ordinary persons who gave gifts at mortuary ceremonies within earthworks was low at this time because it was primarily the dyads of ordinary persons who were tied through economic relations, social relations, and especially clanship who came together in the earthworks and were engaged in processing the dead and placing gifts with them. The importance of individual dyads to alliance making is evident at Tremper and Mound City in their large ceremonial deposits of personal smoking pipes, and in several additional ways at Tremper (see above, Changes in Alliance Strategies).

Later, in the middle Middle Woodland period, at Hopewell Mounds 1, 17, 23, 25, 29 (Shetrone's), and perhaps 2, and others, the numbers of gift givers rose substantially because alliance building strategies shifted to ritualized cooperative and/or competitive material displays that were nested within mortuary rituals in the earthworks, themselves, in contrast to earlier social and economic alliance-forming activities that had occurred largely outside of the earthworks. The displays involved whole local symbolic communities orchestrated in relation to one another rather than dyads of individuals. Spiritual means of connecting local symbolic communities to one another as whole social units through mortuary-related rituals began to develop. These developments are seen in the charnel buildings under Mound 25, where three or more local symbolic communities buried their dead together by community on one ceremonial floor but in adjacent buildings or rooms. In contrast, at Tremper, the cremated remains of people from different local symbolic communities were intermingled with one another, without identifying communities and with emphasis on the

union of individuals, clanpersons, and clans rather than communities as wholes. In the middle Middle Woodland period, the proportion of leaders compared to ordinary persons who gave gifts rose because ceremonies in the earthworks and the alliance-building activities they encompassed came to be orchestrated by leaders and focused on leaders who represented their local symbolic communities more so than on ordinary persons in dyadic relationships.

The strategies for building alliances among communities that are evident at Hopewell Mound 25, including cooperative/competitive displays and displays focused on leaders as representatives of their communities, were foreshadowed at the somewhat earlier Mound City site. There, individuals from multiple local symbolic communities gathered and buried select dead within a single earthen enclosure, signifying their alliance, but in multiple small mounds rather than on one large ceremonial floor of the kind at Hopewell Mound 25. The number of gift givers and the proportion of leaders to other individuals who gave gifts at Mound City are somewhat larger than those at Tremper and less than those at Hopewell.[37]

In the late Middle Woodland, the spiritual means for alliance formation that had begun to develop and be expressed at the Mound City and Hopewell sites, and that involved local symbolic communities burying their dead together by community within one enclosure or on one ceremonial floor but in separate buildings, became perfected. At the Seip-Pricer and Edwin Harness mounds, and probably the Porter mound, portions of multiple local symbolic communities were buried in the same charnel houses in separate rooms. Different communities were clearly delineated spatially and related to one another as whole social units within each charnel house. As this spiritual strategy for creating and maintaining alliances matured, cooperative and/or competitive displays between local symbolic communities became less necessary and gift-giving decreased in frequency and flamboyance. The proportion of leaders compared to ordinary persons who gave gifts, however, remained high because mortuary rituals for alliance building remained in the hands of leaders.

At the end of the Middle Woodland period, the overall average number of gift givers at ceremonies decreased from Seip-Pricer to Ater: from 2.1 to 1.4 gift givers per deceased (Carr, Goldstein, et al. 2005:484, 508, tables 13.1,13.7). This change reflects the breakdown of an alliance in the Scioto-Paint Creek area from a network of three local symbolic communities to a network of two (see above, Changes in the Number of Allied, Local Symbolic Communities). The decrease from Seip-Pricer to Ater in the proportion of gift givers who where shaman-like or nonshaman-like leaders compared to individuals in personal roles (Figure 4.26) suggests an uncertainty in the ability or the lesser capability of community leaders to hold together alliances through spiritual means and mortuary rituals within earthworks, and indicates some reversion to personal, dyadic means of forming and maintaining intercommunity alliances, perhaps outside of ceremonial centers. Evidence at the McGraw site for frequent trade of utilitarian and domestic ceremonial ceramics within the Scioto-Paint Creek region (Carr and Komorowski 1995) supports this inference.[38]

In the above sequence, the absolute numbers of persons who gathered for ceremonies, in contrast to the numbers of persons who gave gifts, is not certain. The number of gift givers at a ceremony reflected both the number of persons who gathered for it and the alliance strategy that was used. However, there are two pieces of evidence that the absolute sizes of gatherings – both their maximal sizes and their average sizes – increased steadily through much of the Middle Woodland period, rather than increased and then decreased over time as one might initially conclude from the above trend in numbers of gift givers. First is the progressive increase in the size of earthworks over time. The apparently first Scioto Hopewellian enclosure, Tremper, was 1.4 hectares in area. Mound City, begun slightly later, and its contemporaneous adjacent complement, Hopeton, were 5.2 hectares and 16 hectares, respectively, for a total of 21 hectares. In the middle part of the Middle Woodland

period, the Hopewell subrectangular enclosure with 44 hectares was built. Later, its size was brought up to 51 hectares with the addition of a square enclosure (J. Burks, personal communication 2004; Greber 1997:220). During the late Middle Woodland period, five earthen enclosures of 31 hectares each were constructed, four of them in complementary pairs that totaled 62 hectares. These steady increases in earthwork sizes through time imply larger labor pools over time (Bernardini 2004) and probably larger ceremonial gatherings over time. At the tail end of the Middle Woodland period, the smaller charnel house and mound built at the Ater site compared to the Seip-Pricer and Edwin Harness charnel houses and mounds, and the lack of earthwork construction at Ater, imply a decrease in absolute sizes of gatherings then. The much smaller number of gift givers that assembled at Ater compared to Seip-Pricer also is a good estimate of this decrease, given that the alliance strategy used at these two sites was the same and is held constant in the comparison.

The second kind of evidence that gathering sizes increased over much of the Middle Woodland period is the change in the size and style of earspools over time. Earspools became larger and contrasted more in their profile through time (Ruhl 2005), which would have improved their visibility by persons at a distance. In turn, this suggests, among other alternatives, that the ceremonies in which earspools were worn and displayed involved increasingly larger audiences, with greater wearer-to-viewer distances over time. No downturn in earspool size is documented at the end of the Middle Woodland, when the Ater charnel house was built, but this does not mean that large gatherings continued to assemble there as they had earlier at the Seip-Pricer and Edwin Harness charnel houses. The traditional, large earspools worn in ceremonies at Seip-Pricer and Edwin Harness would have been adequate at the smaller gatherings at Ater implied by its smaller earthen construction.

Both of these kinds of evidence for the increasing absolute size of ritual gatherings over most of the Middle Woodland period are consistent with grosser, settlement distribution data (Chapter , Ecological Setting; Seeman and Branch 2006). These data show an aggregation of people into the main trenches of the Scioto and Paint Creek area from small tributary valleys there, as well as from farther north and south along the Scioto valley, at the time of transition from the Early Woodland period to the Middle Woodland period. There is a potential for the numbers of people who came into the main trenches of the Scioto and Paint Creek valleys for habitation and/or participation in rituals at earthworks to have been substantial, up to a doubling of people, but a more detailed estimate cannot yet be made (Chapter , Ecological Setting and Figure 2.13).

In sum, throughout the Middle Woodland period in the Scioto-Paint Creek area, the numbers of persons who gave gifts at ceremonial gatherings and the proportions of leaders to ordinary people who gave gifts increased and decreased. These trends mark changes in both the sizes of ceremonial gatherings and the mechanisms by which alliances among local symbolic communities were formed and maintained. The absolute sizes of ceremonial gatherings in the area probably increased steadily from the beginning of the Middle Woodland to just before its end, when smaller gatherings occurred at the Ater charnel house

A third trend over the Middle Woodland period in the region was a progressive increase in the proportion of nonshaman-like leaders and other persons of high prestige who gave gifts compared to shaman-like leaders who gave gifts. Nonshaman-like leaders and other persons of high prestige include persons buried with headplates lacking animal symbolism, metallic celts, reel-shape gorgets, crescents, cutouts lacking cosmological symbolism, "trophy" skulls, and metallic breastplates and earspools. Shaman-like leaders include persons buried with any of the many kinds of artifact classes used in shamanic tasks (Appendix 4.2). The pattern over time indicates a change in the nature of leadership in local symbolic communities: specifically, the development of institutionalized community leadership roles and

behaviors and the waning of the more idiosyncratic ceremonial ways and leadership styles that characterize shaman-like practitioners (e.g., Halifax 1979; Harner 1980). This change would be expected as alliance networks in the region formalized and intensified, and as more predictable and standardized leadership behaviors became necessary for the effective communication of intentions at larger multicommunity ceremonies. One aspect of this trend over the Middle Woodland was the dissembedding of two community-wide leadership roles, marked by plain headplates and conch shell cups, from other shaman-like roles and the transformation of the two roles into incipient priest-like roles (see above, The Question of Priest-chiefs). The trend for increasing proportions of nonshaman-like leaders, which was continuous over the Middle Woodland period, aligns with the conclusion that absolute gathering sizes (in distinction from numbers of gift-givers) increased steadily over that duration. At the tail end of the Middle Woodland period, at the Ater site, the trend for greater proportions of nonshamanic leaders continued.

Summary

The large open spaces of the biggest and temporally latest Scioto Hopewellian earthen enclosures, the large, loaf-shaped mounds within them, the labor implied by these material works, and the hundreds of deceased persons who were laid to rest in the mounds have each created a picture of past social and ceremonial gatherings in the Scioto-Paint Creek area. The picture is homogenized and has emphasized large gatherings of regional social scope (e.g., Bernardini 2004; DeBoer 1997; Lepper 2004). Ethnographic analogies applied to Scioto Hopewell societies have bolstered this view (e.g., DeBoer 1997; Pacheco 1996).

To the contrary, Scioto Hopewell ritual gatherings within ceremonial centers varied greatly in their sizes, social compositions, and functions, and were most commonly small, predominated by a few gift givers. People gathered at ceremonial centers for many purposes: mortuary rites of separation and liminality as well as nonmortuary ceremonies such as those for ensuring the fertility of the world, renewing community health, and initiating persons into new social statuses, but probably not regularized ancestor worship. Gatherings ranged in size from a few gift givers who constituted a household or residential community to over 400 gift givers who comprised multiple local symbolic communities. Most gatherings of moderate to large size were predominated by one social role or a closely related set of roles, whereas only the largest of gatherings involved very diverse social roles. In both instances, the participants usually came from multiple local symbolic communities. Socially homogeneous gatherings varied in whether they emphasized specialized, shaman-like practitioners of any one of several kinds; prestigious sodality members of any one of three kinds; community and local leaders of any one of four or more kinds; a Bear society comprised of some Bear clan members; the Elk, Canine, or Fox clans; or prestigious individuals in personal roles. Small gatherings were strongly differentiated into ones where only nonshaman-like leaders gave gifts, others where only shaman-like leaders gave gifts, and those where only ordinary or prestigious individuals in their personal roles gave gifts. The strong and systematic segregation of gift givers of these many different social roles from one another in different ritual gatherings, both large and small, indicates fundamental and institutionalized differentiation of the roles in their spheres of action and of the functions of the ceremonies in which the roles predominated. This general pattern for social and ceremonial role differentiation involved, in part, specifically the increasing segregation of roles of the shaman among multiple, specialized shaman-like practitioners, and the rise and diversification of sodalities in Scioto Hopewell societies – social changes that occur generally around the globe in societies making a transition to agricultural, tribal lifeways.

Gatherings varied in social composition systematically with their size. The ratio of

leaders of shaman-like or nonshaman-like nature to individuals in personal roles who gave gifts increased with gathering size, reflecting the greater need for leadership in larger gatherings. The proportion of shaman-like to nonshaman-like leaders who gave gifts was roughly equal for gatherings of most sizes. However, for very large ones, nonshaman-like leaders heavily outnumbered shaman-like ones, reflecting the need for predictable, institutionalized styles of leadership, as opposed to idiosyncratic styles, to control large crowds.

Over the Scioto-Paint Creek region, gatherings differed in size and composition depending on whether a ceremonial center serviced a few residential communities or one or more local symbolic communities. Whether the center was a place of burial for primarily important persons or a broader spectrum of individuals also affected gathering sizes and compositions.

Gatherings also changed very fundamentally over the course of the Middle Woodland. The numbers of gift givers and the proportion of shaman-like and nonshaman-like leaders compared to individuals in personal roles increased from the early to middle Middle Woodland and then decreased. The proportion of nonshaman-like to shaman-like leaders rose progressively over the Middle Woodland period. These changes through time reflect a shift in how alliances were built among local symbolic communities, from primarily social and economic relationships among dyads of ordinary people and among clanspersons in nonmortuary contexts to spiritual connections forged and funneled in mortuary contexts through leaders who represented their local symbolic communities. The changes also resulted from the number of local symbolic communities that were allied and gathered together at any one time.

As a whole, gift givers at gatherings were overwhelmingly leaders or other prestigious individuals compared to persons in more ordinary roles. Leaders and prestigious individuals who were marked by insignia not clearly tied to shaman-like roles, including individuals in the breastplate and earspool sodalities, gave gifts at gatherings about twice as often as did leaders in shaman-like roles, suggesting the importance of nonshaman-like means of social regulation in Scioto Hopewellian communities. In contrast, regulation by individual leaders (excluding members of the breastplate and earspool sodalities) commonly involved shaman-like means.

All of these kinds of gatherings of people and the purposes of the ceremonies for which they assembled were critical means for interweaving geographically dispersed residential communities and local symbolic communities into a sustainable community in the Scioto-Paint Creek area. People assembled and connected sometimes as members of given residential communities, at small mound groups that held small burial populations and that lacked earthen enclosures. At enclosed sites with large burial populations, people gathered and interacted as members of specific local symbolic communities, at least by the middle portion of the Middle Woodland period. Social-spiritual alliances were created among multiple local symbolic communities through mortuary and other rites that the communities' members staged together, sometimes resulting in large and artifactually diverse ceremonial deposits. At the larger sites, people also gathered and connected as nonlocalized affiliates of a particular clan, sodality, or clan-based ceremonial society in order to perform ceremonies specific to the internal functioning of these groups (e.g., initiations, professional training, decommissioning of paraphernalia), which led to the creation of large ceremonial deposit of the paraphernalia of a specific clan, sodality, or clan-based ceremonial society. These same groups also performed rites for the benefit of others – a specific important individual or two (e.g., Burials 260 and 261, Mound 25, the Hopewell site) or many Hopewell people within multiple local symbolic communities that comprised a broad sustainable community. Both of these situations again resulted in large ceremonial deposits of the paraphernalia of one or a few specific clans, sodalities, or clan-based ceremonial societies.

Hopewell gatherings thus connected many different sets of individuals in different, cross-cutting social groups, holding together and coordinating people whose homes were physically separated from one another over the land. This rich diversity of Scioto Hopewell ceremonial life produced the amazingly diverse archaeological record of ceremonial artifacts and facilities that has always been integral to archaeologists' definition of Scioto Hopewell.

CONCLUSION: ESSENTIAL THEMES OF SCIOTO HOPEWELLIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

What culture-specific understandings can we distill from the spectacular art, architecture, and ceremonial paraphernalia that Scioto Hopewell people created in the course of living their lives? Smoking pipes carved into animals in all their natural detail, human bone engraved with the image of a human skull garbed in a deer and spoonbill duck headdress, shiny mica cut into sensuous curvilinear designs, ear ornaments of copper overlaid with silver, projectile points made of quartz and amethyst, huge earthworks beyond human scale and aligned to the rising and setting sun and moon, and charnel houses two-thirds the size of a football field built for deceased loved ones, persons of extraordinary power, and community neighbors. These impressive kinds of artifacts and architecture, in their aesthetics and grandeur, can lead us afield in our interpretations of Scioto Hopewell life if they are not considered within the local cultural context specific to Scioto Hopewell peoples.

Core to the lives of Scioto Hopewell people that led them to create these energetic forms were, first, their rich and evolving belief system and world view, and second, their rich interweaving of their social relations through which they expressed their beliefs. This chapter and the previous have presented the most essential elements of organization of Scioto Hopewell social relations. The next chapter touches upon some foundational Scioto Hopewell beliefs.

The cultural synergy aroused among Scioto Hopewell people who spent most of their lives alone in nature or in small family groups dispersed across heavily forested valleys was not forged by a centralized, regional-scale leadership with power in the hands of a few and through relations of political-economic domination. Neither chiefs nor chief-priests nor Big Men nor classic shaman crafted Scioto Hopewell society and culture, contrary to previous interpretations (*contra* Baby 1956; Braun 1986:118, 119, 121; Ford 1974:394, 402; Prufer 1964a:71, 73, 74; 1964b:94; Seeman 1979a:406–407; 1979b; Shetrone 1936:197; Smith 1986:43–50; Struever 1965:212–213). Rather, Scioto Hopewell social organization was almost fully decentralized and fairly flat, with multiple kinds of leaders, sodalities, ceremonial societies, and clans that were roughly equal in prestige and that complemented one another in their social, ritual, and political roles and responsibilities. Further, the complementarity and horizontal positioning of these social nodes were chartered and embedded in the spiritual beliefs of the people, which emphasized this horizontal earth-disk and horizontal social relations among the living, the deceased, and spirits across it - a point elaborated in Chapter 5. In these respects, Scioto Hopewellian societies were organized, led, and integrated much like the largely nonhierarchical, historic Central Algonkian tribes of the area were.

The rich social and spiritual connections that integrated and motivated Scioto Hopwell people and that provided the means for their group efforts and material accomplishments can be summarized abstractly in the form of fundamental organizational principles or themes. These themes are: (1) many kinds of social units that constituted many dimensions of organization and alternative ways for integrating and regulating people, (2) usually many social units of each kind, (3) complementarity of social units of a kind (e.g., clans of different names) in their roles and arenas of action, (4) rough equality of social units of a kind in their social prestige, wealth, and access to critical resources of life, (5) crosscutting memberships

among social units of the same and different kinds, (6) recruitment to positions of importance from many social units of a kind, (7) segregation rather than centralization of social roles, (8) opportunism in the definition of roles and their forms of action rather than rigid institutionalizing of these, and (9) limitation of most positions of importance in their geographic domains of power.

All of these themes have been revealed empirically in this chapter and the last. In culturally specific terms, regarding the first two themes, social relations among Scioto Hopewell people were organized and given meaning and purpose through a wide variety of kinds of social units and organizational dimensions: genders, age distinctions, extended families, patrifocal clans, sodalities, clan-specific ceremonial societies, phratries at least early in the Middle Woodland, leaders, local symbolic communities, and sustainable communities. In the Scioto-Paint Creek area, there were multiple examples of each of these kinds of social units: probably three genders, at least two age distinctions seen in burial patterning[39], at least nine clans, three to five or more sodalities, one to possibly five clan-specific ceremonial societies, one or more phratries, twenty-one partially segregated leadership roles, and three or so local symbolic communities, depending on the time. This great diversity of kinds and numbers of social units offered almost infinite potential for connecting individuals, and for connecting them in diverse combinations and flexible ways, when criteria for recruitment to groups and social positions and definition of their social roles were fluidly defined, as they were.

Particular expressions of the remaining enumerated themes of Scioto Hopewell social organization that created great potential for connecting individuals and that have been discussed in this chapter are numerous. Clans and clan-specific societies were nonlocalized and spread across multiple local symbolic communities, integrating these communities. Sodalities by definition had members from multiple clans and residential communities, and perhaps local symbolic communities, bridging these communities to each other. Sodalities overlapped in their memberships, creating paths of communication between their members, and the multiple residential and perhaps local symbolic communities to which they were affiliated. Sodalities and clan-specific societies complemented one another in the social and ceremonial roles that they fulfilled, with the consequence that they depended heavily on one another to meet the social and ceremonial requisites for their well being. Certain clans were coupled within phratries, at least early in the Middle Woodland period, and had reciprocal responsibilities to each other. Leadership roles were segregated among a diversity of kinds of shaman-like and nonshaman-like specialists who complemented one another in their social roles. This complementarity created social dependencies among leaders in managing Hopewellian social relations and in fulfilling the economic, social, political, and spiritual needs of Hopewellian life. The complementarity of leaders also created these same intermediate to long-term dependencies among clans, because different leadership positions tended to be filled by different suites of clans. Complementarity and dependencies among the genders was extended somewhat beyond the realms of family life, enculturation, and subsistence to ceremonial concerns because certain different ritual leadership positions were held by different genders. However, most leadership positions were held exclusively or largely by men and did not afford gender interdependencies. Complementarity in the social realm was just one expression of a more general concern of Scioto Hopewellian world view with complementarity. Expressions of that concern include the "positive–negative play" that runs through Scioto Hopewellian art forms, the square–circle distinction that predominates in the design of Scioto Hopewellian earthen enclosures, and contrasting ceremonial deposits of obsidian and quartz items, and copper and mica items, within single sites (Carr et al. 2005:486–488, table 13.2).

Considering the above social organizational themes further, one finds that clans, clan-based ceremonial societies, and sodalities

were roughly equivalent in their members' composite social prestige, wealth, and access to critical resources of life because the members of each such social group resided across multiple locations in the Scioto and/or Paint Creek valleys with a variety of natural environmental potentials. Rough equivalency among such groups in their prestige, wealth, and access to resources would have helped to maintain the balance in their mutual dependencies upon one another that were formed by their complementary social and ceremonial roles. The recruitment of each kind of leadership position from clans of approximate equivalency in prestige, wealth, and access to resources would have had a similar effect in keeping balanced the dependencies and complementarity among leadership positions. Opportunism in and weak institutionalizing of ceremonial leadership roles and their means of action gave those who filled those roles flexibility in bridging multiple social units with different needs, perspectives, and ways of doing things.

The single organizational theme that did not encourage the connecting, integrating, and regulating of individuals was the limitation of the geographic spans of power of most leadership positions to within the local symbolic community. This limitation was overcome by Scioto Hopewell people of different local symbolic communities creating close, social-spiritual alliances with one another. The alliances were based in the burial of the dead from different local symbolic communities in the same cemeteries, in the communities participating together in other kinds of ceremonies, and in the communities joining together to build their ceremonial centers for these rites. During their lifetimes, most adult Scioto Hopewell people probably helped to actually build earthen ceremonial centers within the lands of local symbolic communities other than their own, in addition to joining in ceremonies there. A labor catchment analysis and studies of the sizes of ritual gatherings bear out this conclusion. The development of alliances with these characteristics help to mark the beginning of Hopewellian social-ceremonial life in the Scioto valley (at the Tremper mound and probably the Carriage Factory/Miller mound) and their disappearance helps to mark its end (at the Ater mound) (Chapter 5). Alliances in the last third of the Middle Woodland period also may have involved an annual ceremonial calendar in which local symbolic communities joined together in earthworks in one another's lands sequentially, in different earthworks with different astronomical orientations at different seasons for ceremonies of varying purposes. Leadership roles that spanned multiple local symbolic communities emerged only at the tail end of the Middle Woodland period, evidenced by a process of role segregation that, over time, came to culminate at the Ater site. There, incipient priest-chiefs of two kinds are known from their plain copper headplates and conch shell cups and shell spoons. The power of these two social positions was compromised, however, by the complementarity of their roles with those of other kinds of leaders within local symbolic communities (see above, Table 4.3), and by the recruitment of both positions from a variety of clans and local symbolic communities over time. This recruitment pattern did not encourage the concentration of sociopolitical power in the hands of a single clan or community.

The plentiful and varied opportunities that Scioto Hopewell people had for connecting with one another, created by the nine essential themes of Scioto Hopewell social organization just described, provided them with a fertile social foundation for recruiting and organizing labor to build their expressive earthworks, and for creating and holding ceremonies of the very many kinds and purposes that their amazingly diverse material record implies. Scioto Hopewell people's capacity for social integration, augmented with their world view that emphasized horizontal social relations (Chapter 5), were also the driving engines behind their effervescent stylistic and artistic innovations, and key elements in their success at maintaining peaceful relations among themselves over a very long time – the well known *Pax Hopewelliana* (Chapter 15, Social Competition; Carr 2005a:324–327). Considering that societies so rich in social pathways for

interpersonal connections are relatively unusual crossculturally, it is not surprising that the Scioto Hopewell stand out for their spectacular art, architecture, ceremonies, and social peace.

NOTES

1. The crossculturally universal shamanic theme of transformation that is found commonly in the raw materials from which Scioto Hopewell peoples made their ceremonial equipment and in the positive–negative play in their artwork is also evident in a carving of an insect pupa found in the Seip-Pricer Mound (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:427), and in a worked fossil and a worked shell that may have represented, respectively, a caterpillar and a pupa and that were found in Hopewell Mound 25 (Figure 4.1M-O; Moorehead 1922:145, 170, figures 42 and 69).
2. Katharine Spielmann pointed out to me the fact that the head in the bear-man's lap is rendered flat, when it might have been rendered in the round, like the rest of the figurine.

   The Wray figurine does not sit stable on its buttocks by itself or when seated on a hard block or laid on a flat surface. It does sit stable when placed on its back, which has two bumps on it that, along with the buttocks, allow it to remain balanced. This may have been the orientation intended for displaying the figurine and the trance posture intended to be depicted.

   When the figurine is placed on its back, the head on the lap of the bear-man rises out of his abdomen and could represent his soul in the process of leaving his body there and taking flight upward (Rick Zurel, personal communication 2000). This direction of flight, and the placement of the bear-man on his back, however, is unnecessary for soul flight, itself, to have been depicted. The figurine could have been display upright, with the bear-man's soul flying downward. Traditional shamanic practitioners commonly take soul flights down to lower realms as well as upward to higher realms (e.g., Eliade 1964:259, 270–271; Grim 1983:77–81; Harner 1980:10, 90–92; Vitebsky 1995:16–17, 70, 72–73). A downward soul flight would be more in keeping with the man's bear spirit, because the bear is associated with the Below realms in the knowledge systems of historic Eastern Woodlands Native Americans. It is also possible that the figurine was meant to be handheld (Brad Lepper, personal communication 2005), with depiction of soul flight in both directions feasible by simply changing the figurine's position.
3. A fourth artifact, which does not seem indicate soul flight but, instead, the merger of a person and a bird, is a bone sculpture of a hawk, from Altar 2 under Mound 25 of the Hopewell site (Moorehead 1922:160, 166, figure 65; see also Greber and Ruhl 1989:206, figures 6.22 and 6.23). The hawk is in a sitting position rather than in flight. On its head is engraved a simple rendition of a human head and face.

   A fifth artifact that is very ambiguous as to whether it represents soul flight is a copper breastplate with a fabric cutout in the form of either a bird or a bird-man in flight. (Carr 2000c, d, 2005e; Carr and Lydecker 1998; Carr et al. 2002). This breastplate was found in the Seip earthwork under the Pricer mound, in an undocumented provenience (Ohio Historical Society catalog no. 976/2017; Carr no. B036 side A). Hopewellian copper breastplates that have artistic compositions embossed, painted, patinated, and mosaiced on them, and that emerged as an art form from Adena tablet engraving with similar compositions (e.g., Mills 1922:534, 535; see also 536, 537), commonly depict raptors, other birds, raptor impersonators, and other animal impersonators. None of the several hundred compositions, save possibly the one under discussion, shows a bird impersonator in flight.
4. At the Mississippian site of Moundville, Alabama, copper celts were badges of office of the highest degree (Peebles and Kus 1977:441). Celts were also strongly associated with achievement in warfare in some Mississippian iconography (Phillips and Brown 1978:177, 193), in which instances celts were coupled with trophy heads, and in historic Woodland practices (Feest 1978:259; Goddard 1978:227).
5. The thirteen ceremonial deposits are as follows. At the Mound City site: Mound 3, Altar and Crematory Basin; Mound 5, Altar; Mound 7, Mica Crescent; Mound 13, Burial 1, Mica Grave. At the Hopewell site: Mound 1, Central Cache; Mound 2, Central Cache; Mound 11, Crematory Basin; Shetrone's Mound 17, Deposit 2; Mound 25, Altar 1; Mound 25, Altar 2; Mound 25, Copper Deposit; Mound 25, Skeletons 260–261; Mound 29 (Carr, Goldstein, et al. 2005:490–494, table 13.3).
6. A plain headplate and a stone celt occurred together in a burial in the west room of the charnel house under the Seip-Pricer mound and two plain headplates occurred in the north room of the charnel house under the Ater mound. Conch shell cups and spoons occurred in the north room of the charnel house under the Ater mound and conch shell cups occurred in the west, middle, and east rooms of the charnel house under the Seip-Pricer mound.
7. Of 4 persons buried with plain headplates at the Hopewell site, 3 had copper earspools and 3 had breastplates. The one person buried with a plain headplate at the Seip-Pricer mound also was buried with a pair of copper earspools and a breastplate. Of 23 persons buried with conch shell cups at the Hopewell site, 10 had copper earspools and 10 had breastplates. Of 7 persons buried with conch shell cups at the Seip-Pricer mound, 2 had copper earspools and 3 had breastplates. Of 4 persons buried with conch shell cups at the Ater mound, 1 had both earspools and breastplates.

8. The pipe depicting a dog eating a human head is one of five that were deposited above the Great Multiple Burial in the Seip-Pricer mound (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:373–374, 416–423). The deposit also included a pipe effigy of an owl and possibly a nighthawk, both birds of the night, which is commonly associated with death in Woodlands cosmology.
9. There is some archaeological evidence that places the immigration hypothesis in question. At Tremper, essentially all of the animal parts placed in the charnel house were mandibles and maxillae (Thew n.d.). In contrast, at Mound City, Hopewell, and Seip, the animal power parts were primarily teeth. The simultaneity of the shift from jaws to teeth and from power parts of a few species of animals to many may signal a change that occurred in the roles of clans in mortuary-related ceremonies rather than a change in the number of clans who resided in the area. The specifics of such an alternative scenario are unclear.
10. The Midewiwin is described by Hoffman (1888, 1891) and Radin (1945). The Dream Drum and Peyote cults are described by Gill (1982:167–171), Ritzenthaler (1978:755–756), Skinner (1915, 1920); Spindler (1978:716), and Venum (1982). Members in these societies typically could come from any sector of a tribe, although Midewiwin membership was traditionally heavily screened and, for the Winnebago, was divided among five ceremonial bands that were responsible for different parts of rituals (Quimby 1960:142). The Central Algonkian Fox, Sauk, Kickapoo, and Prairie Potawatomi had "sacred pack" organizations that were formed for the purposes of healing individuals, healing the whole community, sorcery, warfare, hunting (especially buffalo), or relating those blessed by the same spirit. Membership in these organizations was voluntary, nonhereditary, and crosscut clans and lineages (Callender 1962:31; Tax 1937:267). The Menominee similarly had a sorcery organization and emerging Thunder and Buffalo dance cult groups of persons blessed by the same spirit (Callender 1962:35; Skinner 1915). The Shawnee had a Man-Eating society and probably associations of shaman (Callender 1962:41). Dual divisions that were not based on lineage or clan were found among the Fox, Sauk, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, and possibly Shawnee, whereas the Miami, the Menominee, and probably the Illini had true moieties based on clan affiliation (Callender 1978b:615–616; 1994; Tax 1937:268). Dual divisions divided a tribe into groups that competed in games and for war honors, and that organized rituals and dances (Callender 1962:32, 1978b:616). The Siouan Winnebago had a variety of ritual societies, each open to persons who shared some common supernatural experience, the most sacred of which was the Night-spirit society (Radin 1945:68–69).

    The Iroquois had a more elaborate suite of sodalities, which focused on curing. The Cayuga of Ontario had 19 medicine societies. Eleven allowed anyone to join whereas eight required a person to have had a dream or vision of a certain form and were more secretive. Each of the 19 societies led public ceremonies in the long house for the well being of all (Driver 1969:357–358).
11. Excluded from this list of 19 artifact classes are six others that also were placed in large deposits in Scioto Hopewell sites: metallic celts, copper geometrics, community smoking pipes, pearl and shell beads, and hornstone disks. These artifact classes are not likely to have been markers of an individual's membership in a sodality, for the following reasons. Metallic celts have been shown by archaeological criteria and ethnographic analogy to most probably be symbols of leadership (Carr 2005a:282–283). The copper geometrics found in large numbers in the Copper Deposit under Mound 25 in the Hopewell earthwork are of very diverse forms and had diverse religious referents. The five large smoking pipes found together in the Pricer mound in the Seip earthwork resemble large communal pipes of historic Woodlands peoples. Pearl and shell beads are very numerous and common across burials. They appear to have been means of personal ornamentation and/or display of personal wealth. The 8,185 hornstone disks found under Mound 2 at the Hopewell earthwork are much too numerous to represent the markers of individual sodality members – even if each member possessed 10 disks. Some other social-ceremonial phenomenon appears responsible for their deposition.
12. Among Western and Eastern Puebloan societies of the American Southwest, the sodalities of which are well documented ethnographically, sodalities most commonly divided a pueblo into 2 to 14 contrasting groups, that is, groups with 7% to 50% of the adult (male and/or female) population. Among Northern and Central Algonkian tribes, sacred pack organizations, the Midewiwin society, and other societies ranged widely in size, from few to many members of a tribe, and dual divisions encompassed all of a tribe (Carr 2005a:332–333, Note 15).
13. Among Puebloan peoples, membership in sodalities other than dual divisions is conferred primarily upon adults or older youths being initiated into adulthood. Algonkian pack organizations for warfare, healing individuals, healing the whole tribe, sorcery, and shamanism, and the traditional shamanic Midewiwin society, naturally had only or primarily adult members who could perform the societies' tasks (Carr 2005a:333, Note 16). The criterion of adult status distinguishes markers of sodalities from markers of social rank groups, which include persons of all ages (Brown 1981:30; Fried 1960:466).
14. Puebloan sodality membership, with the exception of tribal-wide dual and multipartite social divisions, is most commonly restricted to males, males with the support of their wives, or males and females but with males holding positions of leadership or high achievement. This gender bias occurs despite the Puebloan matrilineal kinship ethic. Algonkian Midewiwin societies varied among tribes and over time as to whether only men or both men and some women

were allowed membership (Carr 2005a:333, Note 17). In general, crossculturally, there is a strong correlation between sodalities and men (Hoebel 1966:393). The criterion of male or largely male status, like that of adult status, differentiates markers of sodalities from markers of social rank groups, which include persons of both sexes (Brown 1981:30; Fried 1960:466). However, the sex-based distinction is not as clear-cut as the age-based one.

15. In some Puebloan tribes, ceremonial societies vary in their prestige and power. The greater prestige and power of Mide shaman over other kinds of spiritual practitioners among Algonkian tribes is analogous (Carr 2005a:334, Note 19).
16. The six criteria that identify earspools and breastplates as symbols of two sodalities are as follows. (1) Both earspools and breastplates were buried in the cemeteries of multiple local symbolic communities by the middle to late Middle Woodland period (Appendix 4.1). They were found at Seip, Rockhold, and Bourneville within a local symbolic community in main Paint Creek valley, at Hopewell and later Ater within a local symbolic community in the North Fork of Paint Creek valley, and at Liberty within a local symbolic community in an adjacent section of the Scioto valley. On an earlier time plane, earspools and breastplates were recovered from the Mound City site, which was a burial place for multiple local symbolic communities. (2) Individuals who were buried with earspools and those buried with breastplates were both accompanied by artifact markers of seven of the nine animal-associated clans identified for Scioto Hopewell societies (see above, Clan Organization, Table 4.6). This indicates that membership in the social groups marked by earspools and breastplates crosscut clan affiliation. (3) Within community and multicommunity cemeteries, the proportions of individuals who were buried with earspools and with breastplates are substantial (Appendix 4.1), and too common to have indicated community-wide leadership positions. In the late Middle Woodland, adequately large burial populations have earspools with 12 % to 24% of their individuals and breastplates with 12% to 22% of their individuals. Earlier in the Middle Woodland, at Mound City, the proportions are less, but significant: 5.7% for earspools and 4.7% for breastplates. (4) Both earspools and breastplates were buried exclusively or almost completely with adults at sites where age information is available: Hopewell, Seip, Rockhold, Liberty, and Ater (Carr 2005a:Appendix 7.2). This characteristic of earspools and breastplates implies that they were not symbols of rank, in contrast to Greber's (1976, 1979a) assumption. (5) The sex of individuals buried with earspools and breastplates was more variable than their age, as is the sex of sodality members crossculturally. Earspools were found exclusively or largely with males at Hopewell, Liberty, and Ater, but approximately equally with males and females at Seip, and with one lone female at Rockhold. Breastplates were found exclusively or largely with males at Hopewell and Liberty, but approximately equally with males and females at Seip and Liberty. (6) The sodalities marked by earspools and breastplates probably differed in social prestige, as sodalities may. The sodality marked by breastplates was probably privileged. Breastplates are larger and more visible physically than earspools, suggesting their relative social presence. Also, most breastplates took more copper to make than a pair of earspools. Further, breastplates are far less numerous, and thus more distinguished, than earspools in the Scioto-Paint Creek area. In the eight mound and earthwork centers in the Scioto drainage that are known to have contained breastplates and/or earspools, the total number of breastplates is only 218+, whereas the total number of earspools is 1,103+. Finally, in these eight sites, the total number of individuals buried with breastplates is significantly fewer than the total number of persons buried with earspools: 78 in contrast to 96, respectively. The eight sites are: Ater, Bourneville, Hopewell, Liberty, Mound City, Rockhold, Seip, and Tremper.
17. Breastplates commonly, although not always, have two holes in them and create the impression of a trapezoidal-like or rectangular-like head with two eyes two-thirds up a face. The holes are sometimes spaced appropriately for looking through them and suggest the possible use of some as masks. The plate placed on top of a person's skull, mentioned in the text, was found by W. K. Moorehead in 1888 in a mound near the Fort Ancient site (Moorehead 1890:60–61, plate 37). K. Ruhl reports that the breastplate is curated at the Gilcrease Foundation, Tulsa, Oklahoma, with a note saying that it was found "circa 1898 near Fort Ancient" – a likely transcription error. Besides the two eye holes and nose cut-out, the top of the plate was folded over, perhaps to aid in attaching the plate to softer, unpreserved elements of a headdress. The conception of the two holes of a plate as eyes or eye holes is supported by patinated artworks on plates. The artworks almost always use one or both of the holes as the eye(s) of a human or animal (Carr 2000c, 2005e).
18. The great majority of the breastplates from the Hopewell and Seip earthworks have a curvilinear trapezoidal outline that, when "inverted", with the long side of their trapezoid on top, is suggestive of a face with rounded, side-protruding ears like a bear's. In most of the breastplates, two holes are positioned so as to suggest eyes (see Note 17). Inversion is commonly used in Ohio Hopewell art to express transformation, such as the shift of a human form to an animal, so the interpretation of a bear's face and ears fits well within Ohio Hopewell artistic practice.

    One breastplate emphasizes the rounded ear-like protrusions to an extreme, forming "Mickey Mouse" ears, and is very suggestive of the upper half of a bear's head. The plate was found with Skeletons 260 and 261 in Mound 25 of the Hopewell earthwork, presumably within the great mass of breastplates and celts arranged

above the two skeletons (Field Museum of Natural History catalog no.56337 and photographic negative no. A110007c; Carr no. B230). The two holes of the plate, which would have represented the eyes of the bear, are a reasonable distance apart (7.9 cm) for two eyes of a human to have peered through them. However, it is unlikely that the plate was the mask component of a headdress. The holes are small (1.1 mm in diameter) and the breastplate is unusually thick and weighty.

Following the idiom of shaping breastplates into bear head-like forms, at least five plates are patinated or made with organic collage into a bear's face looking forward, with a large, central nose. These specimens and their relevant sides are: Carr nos. B044A from Burial 2 of the Seip-Pricer mound, B078A from the Rockhold mound, B020A from the Hopewell site, B055B from the Edwin Harness Mound, and B079A from the Seip-Pricer or Seip Conjoined mound (Ohio Historical Society cat. nos. 957/26, 1020/-, 283/1002, 7/123, and 957/2025, respectively).

19. The large deposits of earspools and breastplates placed in Hopewell Mound 25, and the large numbers of earspools and breastplates found with burials in the Seip-Pricer mound, imply sodality members from multiple local symbolic communities (Table 4.8, Appendix 4.1). So, too, does the presence of earspools and breastplates each in multiple chambers dedicated to distinct local symbolic communities within the charnel house under Hopewell Mound 25 and again the charnel house under the Seip-Pricer mound (Carr 2005a:288–291, table 7.1). That earspools and breastplates each marked one formal ceremonial society that spanned several local symbolic communities, rather than multiple distinct ceremonial societies of one kind found in several local symbolic communities, is suggested by the placement of large numbers of earspools and breastplates in single deposits under Hopewell Mound 25 (Table 4.8).
20. The six criteria that can be used to identify a sodality archaeologically and that are met by platform pipes are as follows. (1) Platform pipes have been excavated from the cemeteries of multiple local symbolic communities distributed across the region during both of two different time-planes (Appendix 4.1). Early in the Middle Woodland period, pipes were buried at the site of Tremper in the southern reaches of the Scioto valley and at Mound City further north by Chillicothe. Later in the Middle Woodland period, pipes were buried at Seip in main Paint Creek valley, at Hopewell and then Ater in the North Fork of Paint Creek valley, and at Liberty in an adjacent section of the Scioto valley. Further, analyses of the diverse chemical compositions of the platform pipes found at Tremper (Weets et al. 2005; see also Emerson et al. 2002) indicate that their owners were affiliated with several different social groups – most likely different local symbolic communities – who obtained pipestone from at least four different and geographically widely separated sources (Chapter 3, A Second Example of a Sustainable Community). The interpretation that the owners of the pipes deposited at Tremper belonged to several different local symbolic communities is supported by the large numbers of persons cremated and buried at Tremper ($n = 375$) and estimates of the number of mourners (hundreds to over a thousand), which point to the gathering there of multiple local symbolic communities as a sustainable community (see text, Ritual Gatherings and Alliances). Finally, Mound City was also a gathering and burial grounds for multiple local symbolic communities. The numbers of leaders and important persons buried there are too numerous for a single, small, local symbolic community (see text, Ritual Gatherings and Alliances; Carr and Case 2005b:224). All these data suggest that the members of a social group marked by smoking pipes would have come from multiple local symbolic communities, as is true of a sodality. (2) Persons who were buried with platform pipes in the Scioto-Paint Creek area appear to have been affiliated with at least four or five of the nine animal-associated clans identified for the area, based on the clan markers found in their graves: Canine, Cat, Raccoon, Bear, and perhaps either Raptor or Elk. Thus, the membership of a social group marked by smoking pipes would have crosscut clan lines, in accord with the definition of a sodality. (3) Within the Edwin Harness mound in the Liberty earthwork, the proportion of individuals who were buried with platform pipes (5.8%, Appendix 4.1) is within reason for the proportion of sodality members within a community, and is probably too large for those persons to have been community-wide leaders. Edwin Harness was not a mound where leaders and important persons were selected in abundance for burial. At Tremper, the proportion of deceased persons whose pipes were deposited in the Lower Cache (44%), if the pipes belonged only to the deceased, again is reasonable for a sodality's proportion within a community. There were 165 pipes compared to about 375 persons buried below the Tremper mound. However, the same approach to estimating the proportion of a community constituted by a sodality cannot be applied to Mound City. Mound City was a burial grounds for primarily select leaders and important persons from a sustainable community, rather than all persons from a sustainable community. In contrast, the Tremper burial population appears to have been derived from an entire sustainable community. The greater number of pipes ($n \sim 226$) than persons ($n = 106$) buried at Mound City is telling of selective burial there. (4) Platform pipes were buried exclusively with adults at sites where age information is available: Hopewell, Seip, and Ater. This is the pattern one would expect for members of a sodality, but not of a rank group, which should include all ages and both sexes. (5) In the Scioto drainage, only two individuals buried with platform pipes have known sexes, both at the Hopewell site. Both were male, in agreement with expectation for a sodality and out of line for a rank group. However, the sample size is too small to use

this criterion to support or refute the idea that smoking pipes marked membership in a sodality.

21. A third but less likely, alternative interpretation would see the archaeological patterns as evidencing no formal Bear society and the responsibility of body processing falling on all adult males of the Bear clan. An analog is provided by the historic Huron, whose adult women were all responsible for processing corpses of their deceased relatives and carrying them to the location of the Feast of the Dead (Trigger 1969:108–109). However, Huron women were not involved further in funerary and psychopomp work.
22. Four of the criteria for identifying sodalities appear to hold for bear canines. (1) Bear canines were found in the cemeteries of multiple local symbolic communities during both the earlier and later portions of the Middle Woodland period (Appendix 4.1). They were found at Mound City, which was a cemetery where members from multiple communities were buried early in the Middle Woodland. Later, bear canines were buried at the Seip, Rockhold, and Bourneville sites within a local symbolic community in main Paint Creek valley, at the Hopewell site and later at Ater within a local symbolic community in the North Fork of Paint Creek valley, and at Liberty within a local symbolic community in an adjacent section of the Scioto valley. (2) Within community and multicommunity cemeteries, the proportions of individuals who were buried with bear canines are reasonable for the proportions of people in a clan or a ceremonial society, even if say half those buried with bear canines were the recipient of bear canines at death rather than members of the clan or society itself (Appendix 4.1). In adequately large burial populations, bear canines occurred with 5.0% to 13.1% of the individuals. In Mound 25 at the Hopewell site, 20.8% of all burials contained bear canines. These percentages are too high to indicate community or multicommunity leaders, and suggest a ceremonial society. (3, 4) Bear canines were found exclusively or almost entirely with adults, and only with males, at the sites of Hopewell, Seip, and Ater – the only sites where age information is available. Both the age and sex distributions of persons buried with bear canines show that canines did not symbolize a rank group.

    Bear claws likely represented membership in the same Bear clan society or clan as did bear canines, but perhaps symbolized different prestige than bear canines. Bear claws meet two of the criteria for identifying sodalities. (1) Bear claws were found in the cemeteries of multiple local symbolic communities, including ones at the Ater and Hopewell sites in the North Fork of Paint Creek valley, Seip in main Paint Creek valley, and Mound City on an earlier time plane in the Scioto valley. (2) Bear claws were found only with adults. The sex distribution of bear claws is largely unknown. However, of nine persons in eight graves who were buried with bear claws, one has been identified to sex and she was a female.
23. Cut and drilled, isolated bear canines have been found at one Early Woodland Adena mound – the Cemetery Mound in Ohio (Webb and Snow 1974:212–213 chart). No isolated bear canines were found at the Tremper site, which dates somewhat earlier than Mound City. However, the Great Cache at Tremper did contain cut and broken jaws of bears. Most of these were maxillae, and a large percentage contained the canine, along with premolars and molars. Most of the molars were drilled (Mills 1916:285; Thew n.d.). The Mound City site contained 12 real, isolated bear canines and 9+ effigy bear canines dispersed across 4 burials and 1 ceremonial deposit. The Hopewell site contained 89+ real, isolated bear canines and 4+ effigy bear canines, and probably significantly more of both of these kinds, distributed across 21 burials and 5 ceremonial deposits. Hopewell Mound 25 held 81+ real, isolated bear canines and 3+ effigy bear canines, and probably significant more of both of these forms, dispersed across 16 burials and 5 ceremonial deposits. The Seip-Pricer mound contained 53+ real, isolated bear canines and 1+ effigy bear canines distributed across 7 burials and 2 ceremonial deposits.
24. Bear canines were found within burials in seven burial clusters – A2, C, D1, E1, E3, F, and I1 – under Hopewell Mound 25. They were found with burials in the West, Middle, and East burial clusters under the Seip-Pricer Mound. At Ater, they were found within burials in the North and South burial clusters. The three large deposits of bear canines in the Scioto-Paint Creek area are listed in Table 4.8.
25. Three of the criteria for identifying sodalities can be examined for the totemic or eponym markers of the Canine, Fox, Elk, and Raccoon clans. (1) Markers of each of the four clans were excavated from cemeteries of multiple local symbolic communities (Appendix 4.1). Early in the Middle Woodland period, elk teeth were placed in deposits and burials repeatedly at Mound City, which was a cemetery for multiple local symbolic communities. Later in the Middle Woodland, wolf, fox, and raccoon teeth were each placed in burials at the sites of Hopewell, Seip, and/or Ater, which also were multicommunity cemeteries. Hopewell and Ater were located within the lands of a local symbolic community in the North Fork of Paint Creek valley, whereas Seip was located in the lands of a local symbolic community in main Paint Creek valley. (2, 3) Elk, wolf, and fox teeth are each limited almost exclusively to adults and males, which would suggest that the items symbolized clan-specific societies rather whole clans, if an adequate sample were in hand. Raccoon teeth were found with both an infant and old adults, and with a female, which would imply that raccoon teeth symbolized the whole Raccoon clan, if an adequate sample were available. However, sample sizes are small, and these more specific conclusions cannot be drawn with confidence.
26. Mica mirrors might indicate a sodality of shaman-like practitioners open largely to women. Mirrors

were found in four very large deposits, in Shetrone's Hopewell Mound 29 (Moorehead's Mound 17) and Mound City Mounds 7, 13, and 23 (Table 4.8; Carr et al. 2005:488, table 13.2). Both sites were used by multiple local symbolic communities, and the deposits there could indicate the collective ceremonies of a professional sodality of shaman-like practitioners. Most of the six criteria for identifying sodalities, described in the text, are met by mica mirrors. (1) Mirrors were found in the cemeteries of multiple local symbolic communities distributed across the Scioto-Paint Creek region: Mound City, Liberty, Shilder, Hopewell, Ater, Seip, Rockhold (Appendix 4.1). (2) Mica mirrors occur in burials that included clan markers of five of the nine of animal-associated clans identified for Scioto Hopewell societies (Wolf, Raccoon, Raptor, Elk, Bear). (4, 5) Mirrors were buried only with adults and largely with females, where age and/or sex information is available. However, (3) mirrors did not occur with a moderate to high proportion of individuals in most of the sites where they are found, in contrast to earspools and breastplates (Appendix 4.1). A shaman-like leadership position concerned with divination and found in multiple local symbolic communities might be indicated instead of a sodality. However, this alternative seems less likely, given the large number of mica mirrors, themselves, found in ceremonial deposits.

Galena cubes possibly marked a sodality of shaman-like practitioners. Galena occurred in three large deposits, in Shetrone's Hopewell Mound 29 (Moorehead's Mound 17) and in Mound City Mounds 5 and 13 (Table 4.8). Because both sites were used by multiple local symbolic communities, these deposits could be the remains of collective ceremonies of a professional sodality of shaman-like practitioners. Some of the six criteria for identifying sodalities archaeologically are met by galena cubes. (1) They were placed in the cemeteries of multiple local symbolic communities located across the Scioto-Paint Creek area: Mound City, Liberty, Hopewell, Ater, Seip, Rockhold, and Bourneville (Appendix 4.1). (2) They were associated in burials with clan markers of four of the nine animal-associated clans identified for Scioto Hopewell societies: Wolf, Raccoon, Raptor, and Bear. (4) Galena cubes were buried only with adults. At the same time, (3) galena cubes were buried with only low percentages of the individuals within each of the sites in which they were found (Appendix 4.1), and could represent a shaman-like leadership position found in multiple local symbolic communities rather than a sodality. However, the large number of galena cubes found in ceremonial deposits makes this interpretation less probable. (5) There is information on the sex of only one of the burials that contained galena; that individual was a female.

27. Obsidian bifaces have slight potential for having indicated a shaman-like sodality, but data are too sparse to assess their age and sex associations. They associate with the marker of the Elk clan in the Mound City earthwork, Mound 2, Burial 16, and possibly the marker(s) of the Wolf and/or Raccoon clan(s) in the Mound City earthwork, Mound 13, Burials 1A–D. However, linkage to the Wolf and/or Raccoon clan(s) is uncertain, because the clan markers and obsidian bifaces cannot be attributed firmly to one individual or another in this multi-individual burial. Obsidian bifaces occurred in two sites within two different local symbolic communities: Mound City and Hopewell (Appendix 4.1). However, they were found with a very low percentage of burials at both sites. Their placement in large numbers in one ceremonial deposit at Hopewell could represent the collective ceremonies of a professional society of shaman-like practitioners from multiple local symbolic communities but of unknown clan affiliation(s), or less likely a shaman-like leadership position found in multiple local symbolic communities.
28. Quartz crystal bifaces and chlorite disks each occurred in only one site, and in few or no burials respectively within that site (Appendix 4.1). Quartz crystal bifaces possibly associate with the marker(s) of the Wolf and/or Raccoon clan(s) in the Mound City earthwork, Mound 13, Burials 1A–D, but this affiliation is unclear because the clan markers and quartz bifaces cannot be attributed with certainty to one individual or another in this multi-individual burial. Metallic panpipes have been found only in the North Fork of Paint Creek valley at the Hopewell and Ater sites (Appendix 4.1). Panpipes, cones/hemispheres, and mica and copper crescents each occurred in very few burials at the sites where they were deposited (Appendix 4.1), and their age and sex associations cannot be determined. A copper crescent was found with a subadult. A panpipe possibly occurred with a marker of the Wolf clan. The clan associations of cone/hemispheres and crescents are unknown.
29. In eleven Hopewell sites in the Scioto-Paint Creek area (Ater, Bourneville, Hopeton, Hopewell, Liberty, McKenzie, Mound City, Rockhold, Seip, Tremper, West) there were 98 burials with earspools, 77 burials with breastplates, 22 burials with mica mirrors or sheets, and 9 burials with galena cubes. Earspools and breastplates were found together in 34 burials, earspools and mica mirrors or sheets in 5 burials, earspools and galena cubes in 4 burials, breastplates and mica mirrors or sheets in 5 burials, breastplates and galena cubes in 3 burials, and mica mirrors or sheets and galena cubes in 5 burials.
30. Two or three meteoric iron breastplates were among the many copper breastplates and celts placed above Burials 260–261 in Mound 25 of the Hopewell site (Greber and Ruhl 1989:93). An iron breastplate from the Circleville earthwork, north of the Scioto-Paint Creek area, has also been reported (Seeman 1977a:308).
31. Smoking pipes were placed in large ceremonial deposits at the very early Tremper earthwork and the slightly later but still early Mound City earthwork. The number of burials with both pipes and sex information

is too small to be confident that smoking pipes were used exclusively by males.

Only one earspool was recovered from Tremper, and a small percentage (5.6%) of burials at Mound City had them. Earspools became much more common later and were buried with a large percentage (22.4%) of individuals in the Hopewell earthwork and a moderate percentage (17.6%) of individuals in the Seip earthwork. Breastplates rose and peaked in popularity somewhat later than earspools. Breastplates were not found at all at Tremper and only a few were recovered from Mound City (4.7% of burials). Breastplates became common and were buried with a moderate proportion (14.1%) of individuals at the Hopewell earthwork and yet a higher proportion (21.6%) at the Seip earthwork.

This apparent trend for women to have increasingly taken on roles of importance in the sociopolitical and ritual arenas over the Middle Woodland period may not have been as pronounced as presented in the text. Women may have played an important role in one sodality early in the Middle Woodland period. Specifically, mica mirrors may have indicated a sodality that arose and became common early in the Middle Woodland period. If such a sodality existed, women appear to have been members as commonly as men, given the burial of mica mirrors with both sexes in similar proportions. This possible sodality, and its wide membership, is suggested by three large ceremonial deposits of mirrors or burials with mirrors in the Mound City earthwork.

The clan-specific ceremonial society marked by bear canines and a possible sodality marked by galena cubes formed fairly early in the Middle Woodland period. A large amount of galena was placed in the Great Cache in the Tremper earthwork, and two large ceremonial deposits of galena cubes were made in the Mound City earthwork. Bear canines were not recovered from Tremper, but occurred in a small percentage (3.8%) of the burials at the Mound City earthwork. Unfortunately, the sex distributions of the members of these two social groups, and whether women played important roles in them, are not known.

32. A mitochondrial DNA study of a small number of individuals buried in multiple burials at the Hopewell site provides no evidence of whether or not Scioto Hopewell peoples were matrilineal, contra the conclusion of Mills (2001:13). Mills held the expectation that if Scioto Hopewell peoples were matrilineal, then individuals buried together in multi-individual graves should have the same haplotype, apparently assuming that persons buried together were siblings, or mother and child or children. She found that individuals buried in each of two pairs and one triplet in Hopewell Mound 25 did have different haplotypes, and inferred that Scioto Hopewell peoples were not matrilineal. However, in the case of each pair and the triplet, the individuals buried together were very similar in age, identified as male and female in two of the groups, and of marriageable age. If these individuals were husbands and wives, to which the available evidence points, then one would expect them to have come from different groups and possibly to have had different haplotypes. Thus, the pattern of mixed haploid types found by Mills may relate to marriage rather than to principles of descent.
33. The Shawnee had senior women who took the roles of peace chief, war chief, and priest-shaman (Howard 1981:109,117). There is no record of their having been gender-variant individuals.
34. For both of the three-room charnel houses under the Seip-Pricer and Edwin Harness mounds, there is a trend for decreasing material richness from their largest burial cluster to their medium-sized burial cluster to their smallest burial cluster, i.e., from most to least deceased persons. The relative material richness of each burial cluster can be taken as an indicator of the relative general wealth of the local symbolic community that buried its dead there. Of the three communities that were part of the three-way alliance, the least wealthy appears to have been the one in the Scioto valley. The Edwin Harness mound, there, is noticeably poorer in its numbers, diversity, and qualities of fancy artifact classes than the Seip-Pricer mound in main Paint Creek valley and Hopewell Mound 25 in the North Fork of Paint Creek valley (Greber 1979b:33, 37). Thus, at each of Seip-Pricer and Edwin Harness, the smallest burial cluster, which was also poorest materially, probably represented the local symbolic community in the Scioto valley.

    At the Seip-Conjoined mound, there is also a trend for decreasing material richness from the largest burial cluster to the second largest burial cluster. By extrapolation, the smallest burial chamber with no burials would have contained the materially poorest burial cluster, had it been used. This extrapolation appears reasonable, given the patterning at the Seip-Pricer and Edwin Harness mounds. As the charnel room that would have been poorest materially, the empty chamber at Seip-Conjoined probably would have represented the local symbolic community in the Scioto valley, which was relatively poor.
35. For gatherings of 1 to 6 or 10 gift givers, the ratio of shaman-like and nonshaman-like leaders to ordinary persons is consistently low (generally 1–4). For larger gatherings with 7 or 11 to hundreds of gift givers, the ratio is larger (generally 7–32). In this latter range, the proportion of leaders to ordinary persons generally rises smoothly with gathering size.
36. The numbers of persons who gathered at one time at the Tremper site to cremate and place the dead was certainly large and implies the attendance of persons from multiple local symbolic communities. However, estimates by various methods are wide-ranging, between 191 and 1,125 (Chapter 3, A Second Example of a Sustainable Community). Gatherings on the high side of this range could have been as large as those that assembled at the Hopewell site, later in time.

What is clear and relevant here, however, is that the number of persons who gave gifts, in distinction from the number of persons who gathered, was smaller at Tremper than at later sites, including Hopewell. The difference between Tremper and later sites in the numbers of persons who gave gifts at them directly reflects the different means of forming alliances that were used at those different times. The actual numbers of people who gathered at Tremper and at later sites reflect, instead, the numbers and demographic sizes of local symbolic communities that were allied at those times. These latter two social conditions are not known currently with good enough probability for either Tremper or Hopewell to meaningfully compare the two sites. For the later sites of Seip and Ater, only the number of allied local symbolic communities that gathered together for ceremonies (3 and 2, respectively), and not the sizes of the communities, are currently known.

37. Whether the multiple individuals buried under some mounds and within some graves at the Mound City site represent persons from different local symbolic communities is unknown. For example, who were the four persons buried as cremations and laid within the subrectangular, charnel-house shaped Great Mica Grave under Mound 12? What is clear is that large numbers of persons from different communities were not buried within a single, large charnel house, those individuals having been spatially segregated by community – the pattern at Hopewell Mound 25, and later at the Pricer and Conjoined Mounds in the Seip earthwork, the Edwin Harness mound in the Liberty earthwork, and the perhaps Porter Mound 15 and its conjoined mounds in the Old Town earthwork.
38. The average number of gift givers per deceased – a measure that combines information on the sizes of gatherings and their frequencies – is as follows for each of the five sites under consideration: 193 gifts per ~375 individuals = *.51* gifts/deceased at Tremper; 531 gifts per 106 individuals = *5.01* gifts/deceased at Mound City; 580 gifts per 98 individuals = *5.92* gifts/deceased at Hopewell Mound 25 (999 gifts per 218 individuals = *4.58* gifts/deceased for all excavated mounds at the Hopewell site); 229 gifts per 110 individuals = *2.08* gifts/deceased at Seip-Pricer; and 80 gifts per 59 individuals = *1.36* gifts/deceased at Ater Mound. Data from Carr, Goldstein, et al. (2005:484, 508, tables 13.1, 13.7).

    The McGraw site was apparently used for a residence at least twice, once sometime between the first and third centuries A.D. and once in the fifth century A.D. (Carr and Haas 1996:29, 45, 48). The bulk of the ceramics from the site are probably attributable to the later occupation (Prufer et al. 1965:137).
39. Age distinctions are not discussed in this chapter, but are evident in the data presented in Chapter 12 in summary form in the text and in summary form and in detail in Appendix 12.1.

The Scioto Hopewell

and Their Neighbors

Bioarchaeological Documentation and Cultural Understanding

D. TROY CASE

North Carolina State University,
Raleigh, North Carolina

and

CHRISTOPHER CARR

Arizona State University,
Tempe, AZ, USA

with contributions by

Cheryl A. Johnston, Beau Goldstein, Rex Weeks, Mark Bahti,
Rebekah A. Zinser, and Ashley E. Evans

Springer

D. Troy Case
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, North Carolina
USA
dtcase@chass.ncsu.edu

Christopher Carr
Arizona State University
Tempe, AZ
USA
christopher.carr@asu.edu

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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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