Chapter 1

The Gathering of Hopewell

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It is through finding and richly describing *people* in an archaeological landscape
that we come to know a people and their culture—
and perhaps,
begin to understand them
and to realize archaeology as both a science and one of the humanities.

Hopewellian geometric earthworks, burial mounds, and fine artworks of the North American midcontinent, which date to the beginning of the first millennium A.D., have fascinated both the public and academic archaeologists since these works were first discovered by early travelers and settlers more than three centuries ago. The truly monumental nature of Hopewellian earthworks and some mounds, the beautiful designs and minerals that Hopewellian artists mastered, and the wide distribution of these remains across the Eastern Woodlands have each caused a deep curiosity about who the Hopewell were, how they lived, and how they achieved and spread their material legacy.

Yet despite the richness of Hopewellian archaeological records and their goodly excavation, and for all the modern, scientific studies that have been made of them, we still do not know much about Hopewellian society, those who constituted it, and their social and ritual lives. For example, a number of Ohio Hopewellian artworks depict elite, their costumery, marks of social positions, and sometimes their activities (e.g., Dragoo and Wray 1964; Fowke 1902:592; Moorehead 1922:128; Shetrone 1936:122; Willoughby and Hooton 1922:plate 15). Representations such as these have been described individually or in various subsets but have never been evaluated as a whole corpus to compose an integrated picture of the social personae, roles, and groups within Ohio Hopewell communities. Likewise, the Hopewellian mortuary records of Ohio and Illinois are plentiful, very telling of social roles, and well documented, yet in the past 30 years, these remains have been systematically explored for merely one aspect of Hopewell social life—whether or not Hopewell societies were organized by principles of rank (e.g., Braun 1979; J. A. Brown 1981; Buikstra 1976; Greber 1976, 1979a). Little has been inferred from either the art or the mortuary records of Hopewellian peoples about their leaders and other persons of influence—their sacred, economic, and/or demographic power bases, their specific roles in public functions and more intimate, client-oriented rituals, the formality or centralization of their roles, and whether their domains of power were limited to a local community or spanned multiple communities. Nothing of which we are aware has been written about gender relations in Hopewell society—differential prestige, the roles open or closed to genders, or whether third genders were recognized. What clans, phratries, moieties, sodalities, or other possible horizontal social divisions may have constituted Hopewellian

societies remain unknown empirically and the subject of speculation (e.g., Byers 1996; DeBoer 1997). The sizes and social constitutions of ritual gatherings at Hopewellian mound and earthwork centers, and the distances from which participants came, have been very roughly suggested from the sizes of burial populations, the scale of earthworks, and the diversity of artifact styles within mounds (e.g., Buikstra and Charles 1999), but not formally estimated. There has been little systematic reconstruction of Hopewellian ritual beyond disposal of the dead (e.g., Baby 1954; J. A. Brown 1979; Magrath 1945; Mills 1916), although shamanic and other ritual paraphernalia from which specific Hopewellian ritual practices might be inferred (e.g., crystals, mirrors, rattles, conch shells for drink, panpipes) abound and are well contextualized in burial assemblages across the Eastern Woodlands. Topics such as these must be addressed if "Hopewell" is to be more than a faceless enumeration of the material accomplishments of past peoples, whether for professional anthropologists or the lay public.

The impetus for this book on Hopewell comes from three sources. First is our goal to humanize the Hopewellian material record, accompanied by our realization that the material records of many Hopewellian societies are quite adequate for reconstructing their personnel and ceremonial activities in detail. In this book, systematic, empirically based, scientific attempts are made to begin to reveal aspects of Hopewellian social and ritual life such as those just mentioned, and which have captured the imagination of western European Americans over the centuries. We do so by consciously following three guiding approaches to research. First is to *personalize* Hopewell with social actors in active, on-the-ground, social and ritual roles (Firth 1951; Goffman 1959, 1969; Goodenough 1965; Linton 1936; Nadel 1957:26, 35, 41; J. Turner 1991:426; R. Turner 1962)—to provide Hopewell a social substance beyond its known material expressions. Thus, the authors of this book discuss Hopewell women and men; leaders in roles of various kinds; ritual gatherings of a diversity of sizes, role compositions, and goals; and rites of passage, to name a few topics. Dynamic views of social "organization" in operation in daily life and special ceremonial occasions (see references just cited)—the action and interaction of individuals and groups within roles—serve as the framework for the research of this book, rather than static, structural, normative models (e.g., Blau 1970; Evans-Pritchard 1940; Murdock 1949a:1–112; Radcliffe-Brown 1952a; Radcliffe-Brown and Forde 1950), which can be quite removed from social content, practice, and meaning, as well as from the individual social and personal actor (e.g., Greber 1976, 1979a).

The second research approach used here is to *contextualize* that which is Hopewell by focusing on the "thick description" of *local* society (social personae, groups, roles, and relations), local culture (practices and ideas), and local history, as a first phase of research. This is done prior to interregional comparison and the study of

Figure 1.1. Terra cotta figurines of a woman and man from the Havana Hopewellian tradition, Illinois. From Mound C°8, Knight site, Illinois (Griffin et al. 1970:71–88, plates 69, 73); casts at the Newark Earthworks Museum, Ohio, from originals at the Milwaukee Public Museum, Wisconsin. (A) The woman has hair topknots and earspools, marking high prestige, and holds two "foot-like" (McKern et al. 1945) items—foot trophies or grinding stones? (B) The man has earspools and shaved hair around the ears, marking high prestige. He rests his head on an atlatl, has his eyes closed, and sits in thought or trance. Photo by permission of Pictures of Record.

interregional procurement and social interaction, but with an eye toward these most common subjects of Hopewell archaeology. Our concern with local society and culture contrasts with the strong emphasis that has often been placed academically on interregional Hopewellian interaction and its evidence in material similarities and sources across the Eastern Woodlands. We would argue, filling out the more partial views of some of our predecessors (e.g., Ford, 1974; Struever 1964), that the causes of interregional Hopewellian interaction are to be found in localized ideas and practices, and localized conditions, needs, and idiosyncratic events. Thus, socially, culturally, and historically rich reconstructions of multiple local pasts are needed as a basis for understanding the interregional dimensions of Hopewell. Such local reconstructions seem reasonably feasible, given the vocality of Hopewellian material records (e.g., Buikstra and Charles 1999).

The third approach taken by the authors of this book is to *generate* interregional Hopewellian interaction and material similarities from local scenes—in particular, from the actions and practices of social actors in social roles, who were motivated by local conditions, local social demands, and individual needs to travel afar for materials, knowledge, ceremonial rights, power, and such and to engage socially with others interregionally. Thus, in this book, broad-scale interaction is described and understood in a grounded manner, in terms of motivated social persons such as power and vision questers, pilgrims, those seeking to buy prerogatives to ceremonies, and burgeoning local leaders wishing to learn esoteric knowledge from prestigeous leader–teachers afar. These descriptions place Hopewellian interaction in the hands of people and provide substance to more removed, structural descriptions (e.g., Seeman 1979a; Struever and Houart 1972) and ecological–functional (e.g., Ford 1974) and neo-Darwinian (e.g., Braun 1986; Dancey 1996a) interpretations, as much as these views are informative and a part of the picture.

In all, we call our personalized, contextualized, and generative approach to exploring archaeological records *thick prehistory*. Our approach attempts to create a "thick," detailed view of past societies, constituent social actors, and their motives at the local level, with implications for broader regional and interregional organization and change over time.

The second impetus for this book is our realization that headway on fine-grained topics of the locally contextualized and personalized kinds mentioned cannot be made without the assembly of relatively large and systematic data sets that pertain to the social roles and actions of a good sample of individuals who comprise a society. For example, to evaluate the nature of leadership roles in a society, the degree to which they were centralized, and which particular roles were regularly combined (i.e., institutionalized) requires more than a single or a few elaborate burials in log tombs. Many instances of leaders, spanning multiple generations and buried in the multiple mounds used by a society synchronically and diachronically, are required. Interregional comparisons of leadership roles require even larger data sets. Fortunately, in recent years, comprehensive data sets relevant to fine-grained social reconstruction have been assembled and studied by a number of the researchers of Hopewell archaeology. The fruits of the descriptive and analytical labors of many of these researchers are reported in the chapters in this book.

The third rationale for this book is the longstanding belief of ours and others that anthropology, including archaeology, has the potential to be a science, a humanity, and a historical discipline, and is at its best when it combines the goals and viewpoints of these disciplines (see also Carr and Neitzel 1995a:10, 15; Flannery 1972:409; Hall 1977, 1997; Hawkes 1968:255, 260–262; Hodder 1987; Hogarth 1972:304; Wheeler 1950:128–129). The locally contextualized, personalized, and generative approach advocated and used here for reconstructing and understanding past Hopewellian peoples, their practices, their ideas, and their material remains helps to define an intersection of the scientific, humanistic, and historical viewpoints. By hinging especially on social roles in local context, our approach encourages the study of persons and motivations, as do the humanities, but within local and more broadly shared cultural and natural conditions and demands, and the structural and

processual regularities that those conditions and demands may produce, as studied by scientific method. The approach also affords the opportunity to see historical change as generated through personal actions and motives that are constrained by and interact with local factors. In these ways, the approach balances and integrates the ends and values of the humanities, science, and history.

TOPICAL AND EMPIRICAL SCOPE

Local Hopewell

The chapters in this book address Hopewell in both its local and its interregional guises. Local societies, rituals, and ritual interaction within primarily four northern Hopewellian regional traditions are discussed: the Scioto and Miami traditions of Ohio, the Mann phase of the Crab Orchard tradition in Indiana, and the Havana tradition in the lower Illinois valley. Seven core aspects of society and ritual are explored for one or more of these regions. First, the ceremonial–spatial organization of Hopewellian communities is examined. By this is meant the system of multiple ceremonial sites of differentiated ritual functions used by a community and situated over its landscape, as well as the use of certain special ceremonial sites by multiple communities. This differentiated form of community organization, documented here, contrasts with some previously offered models that envisioned single communities focused on single ceremonial centers (e.g., Dancey and Pacheco 1997a; Prufer 1964a). In addition, differences in the scale and ceremonial–spatial complexity of Hopewellian communities in different regions, the various degrees to which these communities segregated domestic and public ceremonial spaces, and diffences in sedentism are related to fundamental contrasts in the biotic richness and spatial structure of the regions' natural environments. Chapters 3, 4, 7, and 13 address various facets of these topics.

Second, the nature of Hopewellian leadership is investigated. Many features of leadership are revealed, including the range of roles played by leaders, the sacred or secular nature of their power base and especially their development from classical shamanism, the degree to which leadership roles were centralized in the hands of one or a few persons or segregated among many, changes in role segregation and power bases over time, the extent to which such roles were institutionalized, the recruitment of leaders of various kinds from specific clans, and the differential access of men and women to leadership roles of particular kinds. These subjects are discussed in Chapters 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 11.

Third, the question of whether Illinois and/or Ohio Hopewellian societies were organized by principles of ranking is rethought in Chapters 6 and 7. Although this issue was investigated heavily 20 to 30 years ago (e.g., Braun 1979; J. A. Brown 1981; Buikstra 1976; Greber 1976, 1979a; Tainter 1975a, 1977), contradictory conclusions were reached by different researchers. The topic is more tractable today, in light of recent advances in archaeological theory on the determinants of mortuary patterning, which are used here. Other seminal frameworks that are harnessed to solve the problem are ethnological theory that acknowledges the diverse range of ranking structures found in societies of midlevel complexity; conceptual disaggregaton of ranking, achieved leadership, ascribed leadership, wealth, and achieved prestige as distinct social dimensions and separation of their archaeological correlates; and a regional rather than site-specific analytical approach, which recognizes that different segments of a community may be buried in different cemeteries rather than just one. Chapters 6 and 7 deal with these issues.

Fourth, the animal-totemic clans of Hopewell societies in Ohio are reconstructed. The aspects of clan organization that are covered include the eponyms of most if not all clans that had animal totems; regional variation in clan composition; the lack of institutionalized geographic localization of specific clans; the access that members of different clans had to key roles of leadership and social importance; differences among clans in their wealth, degree of social networking through sodalities, and size; and the dependence of a clan's success in recruitment to key social roles upon its wealth and degree of social networking. These topics are taken up in Chapter 8.

Fifth, gender distinctions from local Hopewellian perspectives are defined and used

Figure 1.2. The Pricer mound within the Seip earthwork, Ohio. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois Hopewellian earthwork and mound sites varied widely in their scales and ceremonial functions, and served single to multiple communities of varying sociopolitical composition. Photo by permission of the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

as windows to explore a variety of sociological features. These matters include similarities and differences in the range of day-to-day, utilitarian tasks undertaken by men and women; the kinds of social and sociopolitical roles to which men or women did or did not have access, including many shaman-like and other forms of leadership; access to sodality membership; rights to manufacture certain kinds of ritual paraphernalia and to participate in graveside rituals; variations in personal prestige; what gender patterns tell about the reckoning of kinship; the possibility of third genders related to shaman-like practices; differences in these sociological features among regions; and the definition of ethnic distinctions across regions based on such differences in gender patterns. Additional, biological topics that are investigated are the health, overall workloads, and specific physical stresses of men and women, and the degree to which men and women in important social positions were sheltered from diseases and strenuous work. These topics are introduced to Hopewellian studies in Chapters 9, 10, 11, and 18.

Sixth, the nature of ritual gatherings at Hopewellian ceremonial centers is explored. The sizes of such assemblies, the social roles of those who congregated, the social segments with which local participants were affiliated (e.g., lineages, clans, dual divisions), and the distances and regional cultural traditions from which external participants came (e.g., traditions in the deep Southeast) are estimated. Gatherings of different nature and functions are defined, considering whether they were focused on the deceased; if so, whether rites of separation or liminality (van Gennep 1960) are suggested; whether the gatherings were predominated by a homogeneous or

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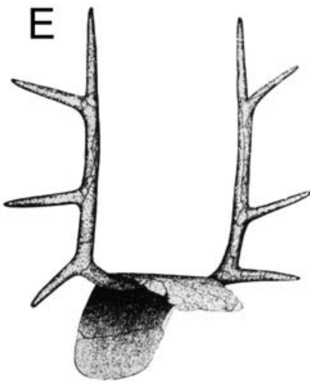
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heterogeneous set of social roles; and the particular spectrum of roles represented. Chapters 12 through 15 are devoted to these topics.

Seventh, the nature of alliances among neighboring Ohio Hopewellian communities is investigated. Studies of both the spatial–ceremonial organization of Hopewellian communities and the nature of their ritual gatherings contribute to defining the nature of the alliances. Mechanisms of alliance, including economic and social forms of exchange among individual dyads from different communities; multicommunity cooperative and/or competitive ceremonial gift-giving and display orchestrated through local leaders; burial of the dead from multiple communities together in each other's charnel houses; and the involvement of increasing numbers of communities in such joint burial ceremonies are each documented and tracked as a sequence of development through time. These shifts in how alliances were achieved among communities are shown to correlate with the social roles—personal roles, shaman-like leadership, and more secular leadership—around which mortuary ceremonial gatherings were focused and the overall size of the gatherings, which changed through time. These studies are presented in Chapters 3, 4, 7, 13, and 14.

Interregional Hopewell

At the interregional scale of the Eastern Woodlands, Hopewellian travel, procurement, and social and ritual interaction are considered for three topics. Each pertains to the relation of such interregional activity to local conditions and the personal and social motivations they may foster. First, the specific social and religious forms in which interregional travel, procurement, and interaction took place are identified and discussed. The forms were many and varied in the geographic scales at which they operated. They include vision and power questing, pilgrimage to a place in nature, travels of medicine persons or patients for healing, elite exchange of valuables, pilgrimage to a ceremonial center, travel to a ceremonial center of learning, buying and spreading of religious prerogatives, spirit adoption, and intermarriage. These mechanisms, and the personal, social, and sociopolitical motives and ideologies that they imply, are quite distinct from earlier views of interregional Hopewellian interaction as material exchange in some form and based primarily in local subsistence and/or demands for social status markers. The mechanisms are defined in Chapter 16, and specific instances of their occurrence are inferred and documented there and in Chapters 11, 15, and 17 through 20.

Second, the receptivity of certain local traditions to extralocal ideas, practices, and raw materials is documented. If ideas, practices, and raw materials obtained from other societies or natural environments through long-distance travels were to become important in a local society, spread throughout it, and made archaeologically visible, that society must have been open to cultural innovation, and the imported features must have been valued or made valuable by some of the society's members and coordinated with other

Figure 1.3. Images and headgear of shaman-like Hopewellian leaders that impersonated animals. (A) Copper headplate in the form of a bird's feather (Shetrone 1926:37, 176, fig. 104). From an unnumbered burial, Mound 7, the Hopewell earthwork, Ohio. (B) Mica cutout of a bird impersonator (note nose/beak) with a three-layered, turban-like headdress (Willoughby 1922:plate 15). From the Central Altar, Mound 3, Turner earthwork, Ohio. Object courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, acc. no. 30002. (C) Stone carving of a cat impersonator (Shetrone 1936:122, fig. 66; Squire and Davis 1848:244, fig. 142). From the altar, Mound 8, Mound City earthwork, Ohio. (D) Copper headplate with cutout of a cat's paw and claws (Shetrone 1926:176, fig. 105). From Burial 4, Mound 25, Hopewell earthwork, Ohio. The paw design is possibly comprised of a pair of bird heads as typically stylized in the Adena tablets and Ohio Hopewell art (Webb and Baby 1957:83–101). (E) Copper headplate with elk antlers (Willoughby 1916:489–500, plate 4a; Moorehead 1922:107–108, plate XLIX; see also Greber and Ruhl 1989:99). From Burial 248, Mound 25, Hopewell earthwork, Ohio. (F) Copper deer racks for attachment to a headdress (Mills 1922:545). From Burial 4, Mound 13, Mound City earthwork. Photographed objects by permission of (A, D) the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, OH; and (B) the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. Photographed by Christopher Carr.

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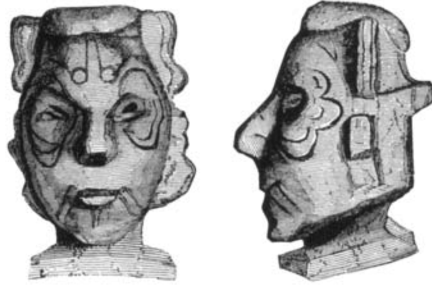

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of their ideas and practices. Such susceptibilities and values are reconstructed here for some local Hopewellian societies by investigating the stylistic diversity or homogeneity of certain artifact classes within those societies, and the distributions of the styles across regional traditions. Also telling are the varying sources from which certain raw materials were or were not systematically obtained, sometimes despite higher economic costs. Chapters 11 and 20 examine these issues.

Third, the similar or different social and philosophical–religious meanings given to raw materials and ceremonial paraphernalia in different regional Hopewellian traditions and in different local societies are teased out. Hopewellian artifact classes with wide, interregional distributions, such as panpipes, earspools, and celts, are argued to have been useful for metaphorically communicating very basic social and/or religious principles and meanings among distant peoples who wished to interact, yet spoke mutually unintelligible languages and probably considered each other something other than human and/or dangerous, if cross-cultural tendencies apply (Helms 1976, 1988; Seeman 1995). The meanings include the humanness and sentience of individuals revealed through multinote panpipes that resembled the human voice in song and speech; an individual's personal access to power in possessing an artifact of copper, power being copper's most basic common denominator semantically over the historic Woodlands; and the dark and light duality of the cosmos, expressed in the ringlike highlights and shadows of earspools with undulating profiles. These fundamental, interregional Hopewellian concepts contrast with the more specific social and philosophical–religious meanings that were attached to panpipes, earspools, and celts within regional Hopewellian traditions and that varied among traditions. Such semantic variations are evident in the different social roles, ages, and sexes with which each of the artifact classes were associated across traditions and in certain stylistic dissimilarities in these artifacts across regions. In the case of silver, the difference in sources (Cobalt, Keweenaw) used by different regional traditions is shown not to depend on the least-effort factor of geographic distance from source; instead, it is suggested to relate to the natural, singular occurrence of silver or its combination with copper at these sources, the varying ritual acceptability of these two forms of silver, and the differing potentials they had for being interwoven with stories of personal long journeys to acquire silver and with a concept of the personhood of silver. Finally, the ethnographically unlikely proposal that breastplates varied in their sociological meaning among the closely neighboring communities in the Scioto Hopewell tradition (Greber 1979a) is refuted. This is done in part by tying differences in breastplate frequencies and artifact associations among ceremonial centers and burials not to sociologically distinct meanings but, rather, to differences in cemetery function, variations in community material wealth and prestige, and the use of breastplates to mark sodality membership for persons varying in other social roles and prestige. These

Figure 1.4. Images and costumery of non-shaman-like Hopewellian leaders and elite. (A) Human head with face painting, tattooing, or scarification, carved on a pipe bowl (Greber 1983:33). From the Edwin Harness mound, Liberty earthwork, Ohio. (B) Human head with face painting, tattooing, or scarification, carved on a pipe bowl (Squire and Davis 1848:244, fig. 143). From Mound 8, Mound City earthwork, Ohio. (C) Human head with face painting, tattooing, or scarification; terra cotta. From the village area of the Mann earthwork, Indiana. (D) Wild cat jaw pendant painted black, white, and yellow, probably worn by a clansperson or clan leader (see Thomas et al., Chapter 8). From Burial 10, the Pricer Mound, Seip earthwork, Ohio (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:382–383, 346, fig. 60a). (E) Bear claws from a necklace, effigy carving of wood, probably worn by a clansperson or clan leader (see Thomas et al., Chapter 8). From the Conjoined Mound, Seip earthwork, Ohio (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:382–383). (F) Fox chief and member of the bear clan (left), and interpreter dressed in Fox style (right), about 1899. Note bear claw necklaces on both and the interpreter's turban (as in Figure 1.3B). Photographed objects by permission of (C) Mr. Charles Lacer, Evansville, IN, and (D, E) the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, OH, acc. nos. 957/44 and957/283, respectively. Photographs by Christopher Carr. (F) Photograph by permission of the University of Oklahoma Library, Western Historical Collection, Norman, OK.

issues of sociological and religious meaning are addressed in Chapters 7 and 17 through 20.

Historical Perspectives, Ethnological Theory, and Ethnographic Analogs

Historical reviews of the contributions made by previous researchers of the Hopewell material record to the above topics of inquiry—when they have been investigated—are presented in Chapters 2, 3, 12, and 16. These chapters consider studies of both local Hopewellian expressions and interregional travel, procurement, and interaction.

Ethnological theory is neither built nor tested in this book. It did, however, play a key role in guiding the range of questions we asked of the Hopewellian archaeological record. Because ethnological theory is, among other things, a concise summary of cultural features and processes across many societies, it, along with ethnographic analogs from the historic Eastern Woodlands, provided insights into the specific kinds of sociological phenomena one might find in middle-range societies like those of Hopewell peoples, and prompted our search for whether such phenomena were aspects of Hopewellian societies. The anthropological theories that were especially critical in these ways concern the social and ideological definition of communities, including residential, sustainable, and symbolic communities, and the natures of their organization (e.g., Mahoney 2000; Murdock 1949a; Preucel 2000; Varien 1999) (Chapter 4); the nature of the classical shaman and the differentiation and development of supralocal leadership roles from local shamanic positions (e.g., Netting 1972; Winkelman 1989, 1990, 1992) (Chapter 5); cross-cultural variations in principles of social ranking (e.g., Fried 1957, 1960; Rosman and Rubel 1971) (Chapter 6); regularities in the sequential development of alliances among communities in "tribal" societies (e.g., Carr 1992a; Slobodkin and Rapoport 1974) (Chapters 7, 13, and 14); the relationship among the social dominance of males or females, their roles in religious systems, and kinship configurations (e.g., Sered 1994) (Chapter 10;); the seminal, functional position of gender variance in shamanism and shaman-like spiritual traditions (e.g., Nanda 2000) (Chapter 10); and the relationships among long-distance traveling, power, and the sacred in societies of middle-range complexity (e.g., Helms 1976, 1988) (Chapters 16 and 20). Ethnographic information from the historic Eastern Woodlands was particularly useful to us in determining the characteristics of Hopewellian clans and sodalities (Chapters 7 and 8), the possible social and sociopolitical roles filled by Hopewellian women and their relative prestige (Chapters 9 through 11), the credibility of our estimates of the sizes of Hopewellian gatherings at ceremonial centers and our inferences about participants from afar (Chapters 13 and 14), the sociological roles in which many kinds of Hopewellian ceremonial paraphernalia and elite items were used (Chapters 5, 17, and 18), and the philosophical–religious meanings of copper and silver (Chapter 18).

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Figure 1.5. Parphernalia of Hopewellian shaman and shaman-like practitioners. (A) Copper effigy turtle carapace rattle, one of eighteen sewn on a leather belt, each with twelve holes in the four semicardinal or solstice directions. Ethnohistorically, turtle shell rattles and other kinds of rattles were used in ceremony and to induce trance. From Burial 12, Mound 7, Mound City (Mills 1922:494–496, 549–552, figure 74). (B) One of two known Hopewellian effigies of mushrooms, which may have been ingested to induce trance. From the Middle Woodland component of the Fort Ancient earthwork, Ohio.The second mushroom effigy is from Burial 9, Mound 7, Mound City (Mills 1922:489–491, 547–548, figures 31, 32, 71; Romain 2000:212–216). (C) Quartz crystals, used ethnohistorically in divination and healing. From Altar 1, Mound 25, the Hopewell earthwork, Ohio (Moorehead 1922:113). (D) Mica mirror, useful for divination. From the Mound City earthwork. (E) Copper boatstone filled with white and pink quartz pebbles, useful in divination and/or gambling (Mills 1916:285, 366–367, figure 96). From the Great Cache in the Tremper mound, Ohio. (F) Cones, copper and hollow, milky quartz and solid, limestone and solid, similar to ones used ethnohistorically in divination and gambling. From the Great Cache in the Tremper mound, Ohio (Mills 1916:285, 367–368). Photographed objects by permission of (A, D) Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, National Park Service, Chillicothe, OH, acc. nos.2687 and 1927; (B, F) the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, OH, acc. nos. 1039/, 125/, 125/125, 125/136; and (C) the Field Museum of Natural History, acc. no. 56555. Photographs by Christopher Carr.

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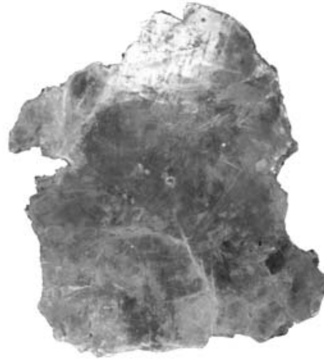

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Diverse Media

Social and ritual aspects of local and interregional Hopewell are addressed in this book through the description and analysis of a great variety of material media. The media that dominate discussion include earthworks and mounds, burial artifactual assemblages, human skeletal remains, smoking pipes, ceramic vessels, terra cotta figurines, other artistic representations of Hopewell people and supernaturals, the power parts of animals that symbolized clans, metallic celts, panpipes, and earspools, and silver in raw and artifactual form. The technologies, styles, frequencies, contexts of deposition, material associations, geographic sources of acquisition or manufacture, and/or local and regional distributions of these artifact classes and raw materials are evaluated. In addition, information on the geographic sources and distribution of a number of other "Interaction Sphere" raw materials beyond silver is systematized and interpreted.

Exploring multiple material media is vital to personalizing the Hopewellian material record and was considered so from the inception of planning this book. This is the case because different media are employed in the different roles played out by the members of a society or a broader social network and, thereby, give insight into those roles and various sociocultural and other processes. Media differ in their functions, visibility, rarity and accessibility, aesthetic features, malleability, durability, and portability and many other qualities that affect how they are used socially and ritually and by whom (Carr 1995a:249).

Regarding interregional Hopewell, many kinds of artifacts and raw materials have been identified as being somehow essential to a material definition of it (e.g., Seeman 1979a; Struever and Houart 1972). Following the above logic, these different media can be expected to reveal different specific and multiple forms of interregional Hopewellian ritual interaction. In order to investigate the diverse mechanisms of interregional Hopewellian interaction, this book focuses on metallic panpipes, earspools, and celts, terra cotta figurines, and raw silver. These media have been selected because they are fairly widely to very widely distributed across Hopewellian traditions over the Eastern Woodlands, and they vary in their geographic scales of distribution and the forms of interaction they possibly reflect. Panpipes, earspools, celts, figurines, and raw silver have been found in five to all eight of the regional Hopewellian traditions of the Eastern Woodlands studied by Seeman (1979a), and the first three classes are known from a great many sites compared to other interregionally distributed Hopewellian artifact and raw material classes. At the same time, panpipes, earspools, figurines, and, to some extent, celts are technologically and stylistically complex enough, and differ enough in these regards across space, to provide sociologically significant insights. Terra cotta figurines, although limited in the number of Middle Woodland sites from which they are known, have the additional advantage of directly depicting persons, often with role markers. Also, they, along with Hopewell ware, are the only preserved Hopewell Interaction Sphere items that were made of plastic media and, by ethnographic analogy, were likely produced by women rather than men. All other Interaction Sphere goods are made of hard media more likely worked by men (Keller and Carr, Chapter 11; Murdock and Provost 1973). Figurine styles thus are used here to reveal patterns and kinds of gender-specific interaction at the local and interregional scales. Two other raw materials—copper and galena—have been found in many Middle Woodland sites and have broad geographic distributions, which have been defined and reported previously (Goad 1978, 1979; Walthall 1981; Walthall et al. 1979, 1980). Their distributions are reinterpreted here sociologically, in Chapter 16.[1]

New, Comprehensive, Well-Focused Empirical Foundations

To address the detailed, on-the-ground issues that are the subjects of this book has required more than a change in conceptual orientation to local context, social actors, and their local and interregional affairs. It has also required the collection, systematization, and analysis of very large data sets on very specific, socially relevant kinds of material remains from individual local

Hopewellian expressions and across multiple regional traditions over significant space. Our past views of local and interregional Hopewell have remained generalized to a considerable degree for the lack of assembly of the detailed local and geographically wide-ranging data necessary to answer questions about the topics enumerated above. Where great strides have previously been made in understanding Hopewell, such as Buikstra and Charles's (1999) reconstruction of the dichotomous ceremonial organization of lower Illinois valley peoples, or Seeman's (1979a) inquiry into the structure of the Hopewell Interaction Sphere, deep and wide empirical coverage has stood at the foundation. Many of the chapters in this book offer such coverage as well.

The empirical contributions of this book are of three kinds. First is the *systematization* of vast amounts of data on material remains that were collected from Hopewellian sites in primarily the 19th and early 20th Centuries over eastern North America. This effort has involved extensive work by several of the authors with archaeological collections, museum catalogs, field notes, and older publications in an attempt to inventory and provenience archaeological remains, in preparation for their social analysis. Resolving conflicting information and associating particular objects with particular reports of them were major, time-consuming tasks that took many field seasons. The data sets that have resulted from this work, and the chapters in the book that analyze them and that reference appendices with the data sets, are as follows. (1) The grave good associations and tomb forms of almost all exhumed Hopewellian skeletal remains in Ohio for which records exist, along with their ages and sexes where determined, numbering 854 individuals in 33 sites (Case and Carr n.d.), are investigated in Chapters 5, 7, 8, 10, and 13. (2) Nearly all ceremonial deposits of artifacts excavated from mounds in Ohio, numbering 65 from 14 sites (Case and Carr n.d.), are analyzed in Chapters 8 and 13. (3) The site and/or intrasite proveniences, raw materials, and stylistic characteristics of almost all Hopewellian metal-jacketed panpipes in eastern North America, totaling 105 panpipes from 55 sites (Turff 1997), are studied in Chapter 18. (4) The site and/or intrasite proveniences, lengths, and widths of Hopewellian copper celts in eastern North America, totaling 217 of 332 celts from 47 sites, are considered in Chapter 17. (5) The site proveniences and artifact morphologies of the majority of extant copper earspools, numbering 686 from 64 sites in the northern Scioto, Havana, Goodall, Crab Orchard, and Trempeleau Hopewellian traditions and the southern Copena, Miller–Porter, and Marksville traditions (Carr and King n.d.; Ruhl 1996) are studied for their styles and technologies in Chapter 19. (6) The site and/or intrasite proveniences and stylistic traits of most whole or largely whole terra cotta figurines from the Havana, Mann, and Scioto regions, numbering 148 figurines from 10 sites, are analyzed in Chapter 11.

Summary tabulations of these data sets are provided in the texts of the chapters, while the raw data themselves are reported in the compact disk appendices to the book for all but the Ohio Hopewell burial assemblages and ceremonial deposits. The latter, very bulky information is being fully documented for the benefit of other researchers in a separate monograph, currently in preparation (Case and Carr n.d.). Parallel efforts to systematize old data on Hopewell, but not reported in this book, include Lane Beck's (1990) compilation of Depression-era excavations of mortuary sites in the Tennessee Copena region and Seeman and Branch's (n.d.) mapping and comparison of the distributions of Adena and Hopewell mounds in the central Scioto.[2]

The second kind of empirical contribution made by this book is the reporting of detailed laboratory analyses of artifacts and human skeletal remains. (1) Spark source mass spectrometry, flame atomic absorption spectrophotometry, and inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry determinations of the geological sources of raw and artifactual silver from most Hopewellian sites over eastern North America that have yielded silver, totaling 54 specimens from 25 sites, are investigated in Chapter 20. (2) Instrumental neutron activation analytic determinations of the geological sources of the pipestones used to manufacture some of the smoking pipes found at the Tremper earthwork, Ohio

(Penney and Carriveau 1983, 1985) are studied in Chapter 14. (3) Petrological, x-ray diffraction, and scanning electron microscopic determinations of the geological sources of some of the clays and tempers used to manufacture utilitarian and fancy ceramics at the Mann earthwork, Indiana, are analyzed in Chapter 15 (see also Ruby 1997). (4) Osteological determinations of the ages, sexes, health, and activity stresses of individuals buried at the Turner site, Ohio, are made and interpreted in Chapter 10.

The third form of empirical contribution made here is the documenting of newly completed field excavations and surveys. (1) Excavations of habitation locales, neighboring and distant to earthwork ceremonial centers in the Scioto–Paint Creek area of Ohio, are summarized in Chapter 4. (2) Field measurements and mathematical assessments of the astronomical orientations of earthwork architecture in Ohio, which are pertinent to the organization and historical development of ritual landscapes, are reported in Chapter 3.

The assembling of data sets with the local detail and geographic breadth presented in this book is essential if the nature of Hopewell societies, their rituals, and their ritual interconnections are to be understood. Local detail is required, if on-the-ground actors, individually and as groups, are to be identified and defined for their social positions, roles, actions, and relationships. Geographic breadth is necessary because some of those same actors ventured out to neighbors and more distant lands and peoples and steered the courses of their own societies and local practices in light of what they experienced and brought home. To take a locally contextualized, personalized, and generative approach to understanding Hopewell requires information at the very scales at which Hopewellian societies once operated.

The title of this book, *Gathering Hopewell*, encapsulates this view. The title reflects not only our topical emphasis on the social–ceremonial life, gatherings, and other social interactions of Hopewellian peoples, but also the comprehensive gathering and systematizing of data on Hopewellian remains that have allowed such interpretations. The title embraces both a humanized, peopled view of Hopewell and an empirical, scientific one.

POINT OF VIEW: THICK PREHISTORY, AGENCY, PRACTICE, AND ROLES

This book is foremost about past Hopewellian peoples and the rich archaeological data by which one can come to know them today. However, to better understand the goals and nature of the chapters to come, some words about our theoretical approach are necessary, and specifically its logical place relative to contemporary anthropological and archaeological theory.

The personalized, locally contextualized, and generative approach to the archaeological record that is taken in this book, which we call thick prehistory, follows broad trends in Anglo-American archaeology over the past 20 years to invest views of the past with people, to evoke their intentions and decisions from material remains, and to explore the richness of the content of particular cultures contextually and historically (e.g., Conkey and Spector 1984; Dobres and Robb 2000b; Gillespie 2001; Hodder 1982a, 2000; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Miller and Tilley 1984; Pauketat 2000, 2001a, 2001d; Robb 1999; Tringham 1991). Like other current attempts to humanize the archaeological record, thick prehistory is an active counterbalance to the attention given in earlier decades to formulating abstract, functional, and/or structural models of cultural systems comprised of mathematical variables and relationships among them (e.g., Clarke 1968; Flannery 1972; Hassan 1977; Keene 1981; Redman 1977; Thomas 1972), to classifying prehistoric cultures into homogenizing evolutionary–societal types and exploring system-level development from one type to another (e.g., Braun 1977; J. A. Brown 1981; Clay 1992; Flannery 1972; Ford 1974; Voss 1980), and occasionally to openly ridding archaeological interpretations of human actors and intentionality by applying some narrow brands of neo-Darwinian selectionist logic (e.g., Braun 1995).[3]

At the same time, we wish to clarify that our thick prehistory viewpoint contrasts in

fundamental ways from some recent, popular, humanizing approaches in archaeology that fall in the spectrum of studies focused on "action," "agency," "practice," and "praxis" (e.g., Dobres and Robb 2000a, Dornan 2002; Pauketat 2001a, Ortner 1984; and references therein). The primary lines of difference in approach are in both goals and foundational assumptions. These are discussed below. Differences in goals involve: (1) the balance of emphasis placed on identification in distinction to interpretation; and (2) the diversity of anthropological topics addressed and the range of interpretive theoretical frameworks harnessed. Differences in assumptions include: (3) the degree to which competition is seen as intrinsic to human nature and social life; (4) the concept of the self; (5) the place of culturally defined "persons" beyond living humans, such as the deceased and spiritual beings, in sociological interpretation; and (6) the nature of social roles and the utility of the role concept in social analysis. The thrust of our discussion is that while the thick prehistory approach and action–agency–practice–praxis framewoks all attempt to personalize the past, thick prehistory logically *precedes* the other frameworks in the analytic process, and also is *broader* and more robust in its goals and assumptions.

Agency and Practice

In anthropology and sociology, recent agency and practice approaches to studying humankind are part of a long historical stream of Western thought concerned with the individual and the collective, their interrelationships and formation, and social transformation. Various social scientists and schools of thought, as noted in detail,[4] have emphasized the individual/actor/agent/micro or the collective/system/structure/macro or their intrinsic interrelationships in determining the nature of social life and social change; and the theoretical pendulum has swung among these alternative viewpoints multiple times (Ortner 1984; Ritzer and Gindoff 1994; Turner 1991). Agency and practice frameworks today in anthropology and archaeology encompass a very diverse array of individual-oriented and integrative viewpoints that derive from these streams of thought (Dobres and Robb 2000a:9, table 1.1; Dornan 2002; Ortner 1984:127, 144, 146).

An especially significant variation in contemporary agency and practice frameworks that is significant here is the contrast between agents who produce social effects that largely are consciously intended, strategic, and based in self-interest, and agents who produce social effects that are primarily unintended through their unconscious, routinized, or habitual actions. Self-interested agents tend to be modeled as "somewhat aggressive, rational, pragmatic" and sometimes "maximizing" individuals who "rationally go after what they want, and what they want is what is materially and politically useful for them within the context of their cultural and historical situations" (Ortner 1984:151). This view has been the dominant approach taken in archaeology and anthropology to studying political behavior and the development and reproduction of social inequity (Dobres and Robb 2000a:6, 8, 10), but also very common generally in archaeology and anthropology (Gillespie 2001:74; Ortner 1984:151; Saitta 1994:203), in works both explicitly Marxist and not (e.g., Blanton et al. 1996; Boehm 1993:239; Clark 2000; Earle 1997; Hodder 1982a, 1982c; Johnson 2000; Joyce 2000; Joyce and Winter 1996; Leone 1986; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Miller and Tilley 1984; Pauketat 2001b:12–13; Price and Feinman 1995; Saitta 1994; Sahlins 1968, 1972; Spriggs 1984; Tilley 1982). In Hopewell research, the viewpoint is found in the works of James Brown (1981:36) and Buikstra and Charles (1999:205, 215), who spoke of "ostentatious, competitive displays" of social wealth and power among groups "vying with each other for highest prestige," as well as Seeman (1995:138), who perceived "increased competition for leadership roles, [which] seems to have fostered a greater demand for distant valuables. . . ." The stance emphasizing the largely unconscious, routinized, or habitual nature of the actions of agents and the unintended consequences of those actions are the views of Bourdieu (1977, 1990) and Giddens (1984). For Bourdieu, institutions, relationships of power and domination, and beliefs beyond the conscious awareness or direct control of agents are

both created by them and structure them through taken-for-granted daily routines, which he calls *habitus*, and in light of practical, nondiscursive knowledge, which he calls *doxa*. For Giddens, structure is reproduced by day-to-day routines of interaction, which ensure trust in others at an unconscious level, and is transformed through the largely unintended consequences of people's actions. In the case of both authors, structure is internal to the agent and is both constraining and enabling. Faithful archaeological uses of Bourdieu's and Giddens's frameworks are rare (Gillespie 2001:79) and perhaps most successfully exemplied in Pauketat's (2001a, 2001c) attempts to explain the making and changing of cultural traditions.

In the following discussion, the goals of our thick prehistory approach are compared to the general goal of agency and practice frameworks at large, while the assumptions behind the thick prehistory approach are necessarily compared to those of the more particular variants of agency and practice frameworks, which differ from one another in their conceptual foundations.

Differences in Goals

Thick prehistory and archaeological applications of practice and agency approaches, which share their concern for personalizing archaeological records, nevertheless differ substantially from each other in their basic goals. Thick prehistory aims most essentially at *identifying* aspects of the past as a precursor to *explaining* or *interpreting* them, whether explanation or interpretation be in light of practice, agency, or other generalizing frameworks. Thick prehistory answers the basic questions who, what, where, and when in great detail, and only then turns to consider how and why. Who were the players, including both individuals, to the extent knowable, and social groups? What social roles did they fill and recreate? What events happened, and when and where did they occur? What beliefs and basic philosophies did the players have? Thick prehistory has the goal of making fine-grained descriptions of past societies and cultures over relatively short time spans, approaching ethnographic and historical description. Thus, for example, this book documents for Ohio Hopewellian societies the names of clans, their relative sizes, the social roles that each fulfilled, and their degree of localization. Two or more sodalities and a wide array of leadership roles are identified. Ritual gatherings of varying specific social compositions, sizes, and purposes are defined. In contrast, practice and agency frameworks, coming primarily from sociology and psychology, start with the assumption that such players and aspects of social "structure" are already observable and identified, and focus more directly on the perennial sociological and anthropological issues of the relationship of the individual to the collective, and how social continuity and change occur. Thus, a thick approach to prehistory encompasses both the explicit resolution of past social actors, groups, events, and ideas—the development of basic sociological, cultural, and historical data—and their interpretation in some way that involves the individual, whereas practice and agency frameworks deal more narrowly with interpretation and explanation.

The most basic aim of thick prehistory, to identify past persons, groups, events, and ideas, is achieved with the full arsenal of contemporary archaeological theories, methods, and techniques that are now available: middle-range theories, taphonomy, forensics, specific ethnographic analogy, the direct historical approach to analogy, cross-cultural regularities, material science techniques, and such. In this book, one finds the use of middle-range theories about artifact style and mortuary practices (Chapters 6, 7, 9, 11, and 17 through 19), depositional studies of domestic sites (Chapter 4), the identification of ritual artifact functions through specific ethnographic analogy (Chapters 5, 7, 8, 17, and 18), the determination of religious meanings of shamanic art and artifacts with cross-cultural near-universals (Chapter 5), petrography (Chapter 15), and neutron activation analysis (Chapters 13 and 20), to name a few of the tools we have used to identify persons, social groups, events, and ideas. However, tying these tools together are two overriding concerns: one for the *context* of archaeological remains and contextual relationships, and the second for the *local* scene, *within* a society. These foci, of course, were stressed by Taylor (1948) in his "conjunctive" approach to archaeology, which he contrasted with approaches that sought

to understand the archaeological record in terms of external relationships among societies. Focus on the local and the within when developing thick prehistories is deserving of emphasis, particularly in the case of Hopewell archaeology, which was heavily invested from the 1960s through the 1980s in trying to understand the nature of external relationships among Hopewellian societies across the Woodlands (Carr, Chapter 2).

The fundamental goal of thick prehistory—to form a foundation of rich, ethnographic-like and historical-like information on who the players were and what they did and believed when and where—points out a recurring problem with some recent archaeological applications of practice and agency frameworks, particularly those applications of Bourdieu and Giddens. These theories are psychologically and sociologically sophisticated and detailed, and require fine-grained sociological, cultural, and historical reconstructions of past people, groups, events, and ideas to be employed even approximately. Too commonly in archaeology, such fine-grained identifications are not or cannot practically be filled out adequately prior to applying practice and agency frameworks to make an interpretation. These empirical deficiencies, of course, lead to surficial, generalized, homogenizing, and rote applications of the frameworks, and to interpretations that gloss over cultural and historical uniqueness, variability, and richness—pictures of the past assembled with terms and phrases such as agency, practice, resistance, negotiation, contestation, domination, power, fields of struggle, masked social tension, consensual co-optation, symbolic capital, strategies, practical consciousness, unconscious motivation, rationalization of action, habitus, routinization, reflexivity, the unintended consequences of intentional actions, and so forth, but without definitive empirical evidence of these (e.g., Pauketat 2000:122, 124; 2001a:81–86; Sassaman 2000:161–163; but see Joyce 2000). This is the error of laying a theoretical viewpoint upon data rather than deriving interpretations from data in light of many possible theories (see Dobres and Robb [2000a:3, 4, 13] and Gillespie [2001:88] for their same concern)[5] and does not bring the researcher closer to knowing and understanding a past people (Carr 1991; see also the quote beginning this chapter). Practice and agency approaches demand not only very rich archaeological data, as Pauketat (2001c:253, 255) and Sassaman (2000:164) have emphasized, but also rich ethnographic-like and historical-like *identification* of the past players and events prior to the application of theory—the thrust of doing thick prehistory.[6]

A second distinction in the goals of the thick prehistory approach applied in this book from those of practice and agency frameworks is that, when the questions of how and why are confronted, explanation or interpretation is not sought in light of one theoretical arena. In this book, a broad range of ethnological theories, cross-cultural generalizations, and specific ethnographic or ethnohistoric analogies is employed to shed light on the details of Hopewellian people, their lives, and their societies (see Historical Perspectives, Ethnological Theory, and Ethnographic Analogs, above). A close fit of the interpretive vehicle and its assumptions to the archaeological data and reconstructions at hand is emphasized over the single-focused application of any one perspective, for example, one particular form of practice or agency theory. Further, thick prehistory uses diverse theories, generalizations, and analogs, with their diverse assumptions about humans, in an *exploratory* manner to generate insights into past human situations (Hanson 1972; Tukey 1980:23–24; Tukey and Wilk 1970:371, 376, 386; see also Carr 1985:30–35, 1991; G. A. Clark 1982:250,258; Hartwig and Dearing 1979:9–13,77; Tukey 1977:vii) and to *guide* in their interpretation, rather than one conceptual framework that makes a limited set of assumptions about humans and that may constrain interpretation and color our view of past peoples. Our flexibility and eclecticism in interpretation align with current, modal practice in Americanist archaeology to take multiple viewpoints (Hegmon 2003:216–230); with the multiscalar and multidimensional qualities of culture, society, and people, which require varying explanatory frameworks to understand reasonably well; and with the vast diversity of cultural worldviews, concepts of the self or person, demographic milieux, etc., across societies.

The variety of interpretive vehicles used in thick prehistory reflects the much wider range of topics that it addresses compared to

practice and agency approaches in archaeology, despite their shared interest in personalizing the past. As summarized above, practice and agency frameworks deal most fundamentally with the topics of how individuals relate to the collective, and vice versa, and how social continuity and change are effected. The domain of practice and agency frameworks is the social person, social relations, and aspects of individual psychology that impinge on social relations. Thick prehistory, on the other hand, embraces the social person, the biological individual, the individual mind at large, and the relationship of the social, biological, and psychological person to others, the natural environment, and the supernatural. This broader domain of thick prehistory leads in this book to a consideration of a great diversity of topics concerned with people and the local situation, which fall outside the traditional scope of practice and agency approaches. Examples at the level of the individual include the nature of personhood (Chapter 18); personal and household rituals (Chapter 11); individual health and workloads relative to social role and prestige (Chapter 10); the role of the shaman as healer and possibly guide of souls to a land of the dead (Chapter 5); shamanic trance, soul flight, and human–animal transformation (Chapter 5); and the long-distance journeys of persons during power quests to sacred places in nature, pilgrimages to ceremonial centers, and ventures to distant and sacred centers of learning (Chapters 15–18 and 20). Examples at the level of the social group include how essential roles in society are bundled and how bundling reflects and changes with demography, historical factors, and social values (Chapter 5); how residential communities and yet broader symbolic and ecologically sustainable communities interrelate (Chapters 3 and 4); the fluidity of community membership and community territoriality relative to local natural environmental content and structure and population levels (Chapter 4); and how strategies of intercommunity alliance evolve in regular ways based, in part, on group psychology and religious belief (Chapters 7, 13, and 14). At the same time, the thick prehistory approach applied in this book also encompasses classic subjects of practice and agency frameworks as applied in archaeology: relations of differential dominance and prestige among the sexes (Chapters 9–11); the power bases of leadership and how institutionalized, supralocal leadership positions arise through the actions of individuals (Chapters 5 and 13); social ranking (Chapters 6 and 7); and prestige and power differentials among clans (Chapter 8). Clearly, a thick approach to prehistory, focused on people and the local scene, includes the concerns of practice and agency approaches, and much more. There are many ways to personalize the archaeological past.

Differences in Assumptions

Like the goals of the thick prehistory approach to archaeology, its assumptions are broader and more robust than those of practice and agency frameworks. To explore these differences, it is necessary to carefully separate in discussion those practice and agency frameworks that emphasize the self-interested motives and actions of agents from the theories of Bourdieu and Giddens. The assumptions that we examine pertain to human competitiveness and social competition, the nature of the self, and the concept of personhood.

Competition

Practice and agency frameworks that motivate people with self-interest, which are the most commonly applied in anthropology and archaeology (Dobres and Robb 2001a:6, 8,10; Gillespie 2001:74; Ortner 1984:151), make the narrow assumption that human nature and society are intrinsically competitive, through the self-interest of individuals, and that human intents and actions have a heavy political component that focuses on domination. Thus, Dobres and Robb (2000a:13) sum up the common threads among recent agency approaches in archaeology with: "Agency is a political concept." Ortner (1984:149) concurs: ". . . The study of practice is after all the study of all forms of human action, but from a particular—political—angle." Pauketat's practice view of tradition-making illustrates the characterization: "Politics and tradition are quite inseparable. . . . Tradition [is a] process shot through with contestation, defiance, and contrary

practice" (Pauketat 2001b:12–13). Likewise in this vein, Dornan (2002:318) sees in contemporary archaeology " the common equation of agency with resistance . . . to inequity." Noting that the dominant view of actor motivation in practice anthropology comes from self-interest theory, Ortner (1984:151) goes on to acknowledge and criticize this viewpoint: "The idea that actors are always pressing claims, pursuing goals, advancing purposes, and the like may simply be an overly energetic (and overly political) view of how and why people act" (p. 151; parenthetical phrase in original). And again,

> I close this final section with two reservations. . . . The first concerns the centrality of domination within the contemporary practice framework. . . . I am persuaded as many of the authors that to penetrate into the workings of asymmetrical social relations is to penetrate to the heart of much of what is going on in any given system. I am equally convinced, however, that such an enterprise, taken by itself, is one-sided. Patterns of *cooperation, reciprocity,* and *solidarity* constitute the other side of the coin of social being . . . a Hobbesian view of social life is surely as biased as one that harks back to Rousseau. (Ortner, p. 157; emphasis added)

In contrast, the thick prehistory approach, applied in this book to personalize archaeological records, makes no assumption about the degree to which societies and humankind are naturally competitive. We attempt to understand specific societies with regard to *their own* activities, values, ideologies, worldviews, and ethos, along a spectrum of variation ranging from more cooperative to more competitive.

The common focus of contemporary practice and agency studies on competition and domination as a means for understanding human actions and interactions derives in part from the long-standing intellectual relationship that anthropology has had with the writings of Karl Marx, who was concerned with how patterns of inequality in power and wealth found in capitalist class societies are reproduced and change through conflict (J. H. Turner 1991:181–189, 490–491). More fundamentally, the focus on competition is an assumption inherited from the broad sweep of Western intellectual development during the 18th and 19th Centuries, which spanned philosophies of government, economics, biology, and demography, and which had individualism, competition, self-interest, and struggle among their central tenets.[7] Given the "fascination" of the Western world with the autonomous, egocentric individual (Gillespie 2001:75) over the collectively oriented social person, it is little wonder that the deep-seated assumptions of competition, struggle, conflict, domination, and such would be hard to untangle from general theory on humanity and society (but see Mauss's [1985] concept of *personnage*).

In contrast to self-interest forms of practice and agency frameworks, the theoretical constructs of Bourdieu (1977, 1990) and Giddens (1984) are only tangentially concerned with intentional action and do not explicitly assume the predominantly competitive nature of society and humankind. Bourdieu's and Giddens's concern for routinized, less-than-conscious behavior and Giddens's focus on the unintended effects of people's actions take precedence in their works. At the same time, the assumption of competitive humans and society lies latent in their theories. The primary subject of inquiry for both Bourdieu and Giddens is Western class society (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, 1979; Giddens 1984:xvii; J. H. Turner 1991:512–517), with domination as a central feature of it and the reproduction of patterns of domination as a central theoretical concern (Dornan 2002:305; Ortner 1984:147).[8] For Giddens, domination is a core, theoretical primitive (J. H. Turner 1991:525), and for Bourdieu, Weberian politics of class domination is a primary building block (J. H. Turner, p. 512). "'Domination' and 'power' . . . are inherent in social association (or, I would say, in human action as such)" (Giddens 1984:31–32; see also Mahar et al. 1990:8–10, 13, on Bourdieu's concept of fields of "struggle" for position). Because domination has its origin in response to individual or group competition, which domination attempts to regularize and subdue, it is clear that the competitive nature of humans and society underlies Bourdieu's and Giddens's framework implicitly. Modeling the reproduction and change of dominant–subordinate social relations as a largely

unconscious, unintended, routinized, and/or habitualized process does not exclude competition or the capacity for competition from the foundations of social life implicit in Bourdieu's and Giddens's frameworks. As Bourdieu (1977:190) clarifies,

> Once a system of mechanisms has been constituted capable of objectively ensuring the reproduction of the established order by its own motion . . . the dominant class has only to let the system they dominate take its own course in order to exercise their domination; but until such a system exists, they have to work directly, daily, personally, to produce and reproduce conditions of domination . . . they are obliged to resort to the elementary forms of domination, in other words, the direct domination of one person by another. . . .[9]

In distinction, our thick prehistory approach makes no such assumption that humans are naturally competitive and obliged to try to dominate one another.

The Nature of the Self

In practice and agency frameworks that take actors to be primarily motivated by self-interest, the assumption that social life and humankind are by nature competitive is logically preceded by two more basic tenets. These are the individual self separable from society and the restriction of personhood to living human beings. Because these ways of experiencing oneself and the world are not uniform across cultures, their assumption in self-interest brands of practice and agency frameworks reveals the questionable applicability of such frameworks unconditionally to all cultures and societies. An invitation is thus offered to develop a more robust, thick prehistory approach to persons and local scenes of the past—one that explores past cultures and societies in terms of their own notions of self, worldviews, and beliefs.

In the modern Western world, the self is defined as an individual separable from society, material in nature, and vitalized by ego. The problem with assuming this one view of the self uniformly in sociological theory and analysis is made evident by looking cross-culturally. Modern Western individualism lies at the extreme of a cross-cultural spectrum in which notions of the self, or "person," range from the largely individual to the largely social.[10] For example, so socially and relationally oriented is the Kaliai (New Guinea) idea of the self, that a person is not conceptualized as dead *(antu)* until all his or her social obligations to others and rights in others have been balanced (Counts 1979); the person is a social person more than a material, physical individual. Creek Native Americans have a continuous concept of the self: a human being is connected through his or her heart to a pervasive energy continuum *(boea fikcha/puyvfekcv)* of which all beings and things are a part and, together, comprise the sacred All (*Ibofanga*) (Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri 2001:2, 24; for other examples see Carithers et al. 1985; Dornan 2002:315–316; Wilber 1979, 1993).[11] Worldviews that hold to such relational and continuous notions of the self, and that are more holistic, do not lay the groundwork for interpersonal competition or an ideology of domination in the way that the Western, separable notion of self does. Competition becomes decreasingly logical as "other" is seen increasingly as an aspect of "oneself."[12]

The Kaliai and Creek examples of relational and continuous concepts of the self are not rare exceptions to how cultures around the world construct and define the self but, rather, are part of a spectrum of individualistic to collective notions of the self that has been well documented crossculturally by psychologists and social-psychologists since the mid 1980s (Carithers et al. 1985; Marsella et al. 1985; Shweder and Levine 1984; see Triandis 1989 for extensive citations) and that requires sincere consideration in social analysis and prehistory. Crosscultural differences are frequent enough and strong enough that Triandis (1989) has been able to define suites of characteristics that distinguish cultures with more individualistic notions of the self from those with more collectivist notions, and to specify some underlying determinants of these characteristics. Cultures with more individualistic concepts of the self define it as coterminous with the body and give priority to personal goals over collective ones. Child rearing patterns emphasize self-reliance, independence,

and creativity. Cultures with more collectivist notions of the self define it as coterminous with some group, like a family, village, or polity, and may make no distinctions between personal and collective goals, or if they do, subordinate personal goals to collective ones. Child rearing practices focus on obedience, reliability, and proper behavior (Triandis 1989:507, 509, 510). In addition, persons in societies with collectivist notions are more likely to be concerned with the effects of their actions on other members of their group, to share resources within their group, to feel interdependent with them, and to feel involved in the lives of others in their group. Role relationships within societies having collectivist concepts of the self are perceived as more nurturing, respectful, and intimate than they are in societies emphasizing the individual. Exchange relations within societies with collectivist concepts of the self tend to show concern for the other person's needs versus a concern for equity, focus on harmonizing one's emotional state with others versus staying emotionally detached, and do not envision the benefits of an exchange as comparable versus calculate the comparative benefits of an exchange (Triandis, p. 509). These systematic, crosscultural variations in personal experiential states, perceptions, and behaviors associated with collectivist versus individualist notions of the self clearly make questionable the theoretical assumption that competition and domination are intrinsic qualities of social life.

Differences among cultures with individualistic concepts of the self and collectivist ones are strongly enough defined globally that some of the determinants of these variations have been recognized. Individualistic notions of the self are encouraged by larger numbers of in-groups within a society, affluence, mobility, and lower numbers and densities of persons; collective concepts of the self are typically formed in the opposite conditions (Triandis 1989:510, 513). In the contemporary world, cultures with individualistic notions are documented to be most common in North America and Northern and Western Europe, especially in urban settings, while cultures with collectivist concepts are most common in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, especially in traditional rural settings (Hofstede 1980).

Recognizing in social analysis this now well-documented crosscultural variation in notions of the self, with their differing implications for interpersonal competition and domination, is essential to an anthropology and archaeology truly interested in other peoples. In line with this stance, a thick prehistory approach to archaeology makes no constraining assumptions about a past society's concept of the self and whether a society and its people are intrinsically competitive or dominating. Thick prehistory is concerned with people and societies in the light of their own cultural ideas and experiences, and encourages the exploration of their position along the known, cultural spectrum of self concepts.

Personhood

A second, problematic, basic tenet of practice and agency frameworks that logically precedes their assumption that social life and humankind are naturally competitive pertains to both self-interest oriented frameworks and the theories of Bourdieu and Giddens, and again is avoided by thick prehistory. In practice and agency approaches, the social "fields" of relationships of power (Bourdieu 1983; Mahar et al. 1990:8–10) or the "contextualities of interaction" (Giddens 1984:86) that are studied are Western in quality, in being limited to the living and to human beings when, in fact, members of many non-Western societies readily also include in their social fields deceased ancestors, ghosts, nonhuman spirits, deities, animals, plants, inanimate objects, and/or places as powerful things to be dealt with. This broader arena of action, interaction, and potential competition can bring its own special twist to relations among living persons, who may cooperate rather than compete with each other in fear of, out of respect for, or in reaction to nonhumans within their social field. The issue has several variations, which we address in detail because they have relevance to Hopewellian peoples and their archaeological records.

First, many non-Western societies, especially ones of middle-range complexity, envision society as encompassing both the living and their dead ancestors (Bloch 1971; Firth 1955; Service 1962:162). Public ceremonies, warfare, agriculture, and other communal activities may

begin with seeking the approval of, honoring, or calling-in the ancestors to witness and/or participate in the activities (e.g., Mails 1978:87, 90, 91; Malinowski 1954:179–182; esp. Radin 1945; Rappaport 1968:147, 166, 175, 1971:254; Trigger 1969:105), directly involve the ancestors (e.g., Malinowski 1954:182–185; Radin 1945; Rappaport 1968), and end with thanks or repayment to the ancestors and their release or expulsion (e.g., Malinowski 1954:182, 185–186; Rappaport 1968:180, 205–206, 210–213, 216, 1971:258–261). Ancestors may vibrantly watch over the living and their territory (e.g., Chief Seattle's lament, in Nerburn 1994; Rappaport 1968:144, 171, 1971:255, 259). Significantly, the living may cooperate with each other because the ancestors require it, and to do otherwise would be disrespectful and might evoke harmful repercussions. This ethic stood at the foundation of the Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead, through which alliances were built among villages within tribes and among tribes (Carr, Chapter 7; Trigger 1969:103, 108, 111) and the Maring *kaiko*, which fostered alliances among neighboring tribes (Rappaport 1968:166–218, 1971:260–261). In the Trobriand Islands, the ethic precipitated careful observance of sociability and social graces within a community during the *milamala* harvest celebration (e.g., Malinowski 1954:184–185). Among the Enga of New Guinea, relationships of the living with ancestor spirits cemented clans, were a cultural arena in which men by definition cooperated through the ethos of ancestral cults, were open to all members of a clan equally, and were a key factor in maintaining an egalitarian social structure and thwarting any aggrandizing and material appropriating efforts of individuals as Enga economy became more productive and wealthy with the introduction of the sweet potato (Wiessner and Tumu 2002:249, 251).

Second, fields of power relationships in non-Western societies usually include nonhuman spirits and/or deities, with whom humans may interact by cooperating with each other. A society may unite in ceremony to praise, thank, beseech, placate, or ward off supernatural forces. For example, traditionally, multiple shaman in a Salish community would gather to form a unified spirit canoe and together, with the support of the community, help recover the lost guardian animal spirit of a sick person through a dangerous journey to the Lower World (Harner 1980:90–91). Here, social cooperation among the living, not competition, is the logical and natural choice, and this display of intracommunity unity cannot be explained in reference to social relationships among the living alone. The field of play is larger.

The mythology of historic Native Americans of the Woodlands is replete with tales of how humans united to defeat harmful supernatural beings who were personified. A Cherokee myth tells of seven villages that united to bring illness to and defeat the supernatural being, Stonecoat, who brought evil things (witches, other monsters, etc.) into the world (Lankford 1987:131–132). A mythological cycle of the Winnebago relates how the human–deity Redhorn led teams of humans to fight against supernatural giants (Radin 1948:115–136).[13] Such myths served as templates for cooperative human interaction in ordinary reality. A good example of the essential place of the spiritual world in social fields of power and how individual human practice is affected is the particular manner in which a shaman performs his arts, especially healing. The healing practice of a shaman reflects not just the historical tradition in his culture and negotiations with community clients as they are served, but also the methodological demands of the spirits that call him to practice. During "initiatory illnesses" in which spirits are said to call a shaman, he learns that he must serve as a healer to become well himself, and is given the particulars of the techniques to heal himself and others (Eliade 1964:33–45; Halifax 1979:10–13). The particular manner in which a given shaman carries out a specific ceremony may also be changed from performance to performance, spontaneously, in response to the wishes of spirits (Mails 1991:50, 53, 54, 56, 60, 78, 86). A social field of competitive and power relationships among shaman, and among shaman and community members, would be insufficient to understand the specific medical practices of a particular shaman or variations in these from performance to performance.

The critical place of the supernatural in sociological interpretation was formalized analytically by Durkheim's student, Robert Hertz (1907,

1960a). As a heuristic for analyzing and interpreting mortuary rites, Hertz proposed a triangle of relationships: among living mourners, the corpse of the decease, and the soul of the deceased. The model suggested to Hertz three distinct answers to the question of why the corpse is feared by the Berewan in Borneo, one answer for each pair of relationships. Metcalf and Huntington (1991:85–96) extended the framework to explain the Berewan practice of secondary burial and, in particular, why a Berewan community will gather together for very extensive and expensive secondary burial rites (*nulang*). The authors (Metcalf and Huntington, p.83,85) also note that the triangle of relationships can be extended to analyze any aspect of funerary rites. We take this orientation further, noticing that the broad field of relationships among humans, the ancestors, newly deceased, ghosts, nonhuman spirits, and deities is a fertile research universe for understanding diverse forms of action of humans and interactions among them, either cooperative or competitive (e.g., Carr, Chapters 12 and 16). The assumptions made explicitly or implicitly by agency and practice frameworks, that society is comprised only of human beings and is intrinsically competitive, are too narrow to explain a good many social practices.

Whether spiritual beings are a subtle part of objective reality or projections of imaginations of the unconscious mind onto objective reality does not matter. In either case, the person experiencing the spiritual being acts in relation to it and other humans as though it were real.

Just as the social field of power of a people may extend to nonhuman spirits and/or deities, so it may encompass the natural environment. Some components of the natural environment may be attributed sentience (i.e., consciousness) and personhood (i.e., capable of social relations), and humans may cooperate with each other relative to the powers and actions of the "persons" of nature. Hallowell (1960) demonstrated, through the analysis of language, myth, and behavior, how the historic Ojibwa conceived of certain categories of plants, animals, inanimate materials, as well as extraordinary spiritual analogs to animals and humans, as persons (see also Martin 1999:200–201, 211).[14] Historic Native Americans of the Southeastern Woodlands attributed personhood to all species of plants and animals and attributed them power and social organization equivalent to those of humans (Hudson 1976:157–160). A Caddo myth tells how humans joined together against the animals to stop them from bringing death into the world (Gill 1983:114–115). Another relates how humans and personified animals of various species, along with the anthropomorphized Morning Star chief, united to slay all monsters by burning the earth (Dorsey 1905:48–50). Among historic hunter–gatherers of the northern latitudes, bears were commonly treated as persons and with great respect, and the hunting and killing of a bear demanded prescribed ceremonies of butchery, eating, and disposal, usually as part of a communal feast (Hallowell 1926:145–146). The personalities and histories of places can also affect people's practices (Basso 1996).

In Hallowell's (1960) words,

> The study of social organization, defined as human relations of a certain kind, is perfectly intelligible as an objective approach to the study of this subject in any culture. But if, in the world view of a people, "persons" as a class include entities other than human beings, then our objective approach is not adequate for presenting an accurate description of "the way a man, in a particular society, sees himself in relation to all else." A different perspective is required for this purpose. It may be argued, in fact, that a thoroughgoing "objective" approach to the study of cultures cannot be achieved solely by projecting upon those cultures categorical abstractions derived from Western thought. For, in a broad sense, the latter are a reflection of *our* cultural subjectivity. A higher order of objectivity may be sought by adopting a perspective which includes an analysis of the outlook of the people themselves as a complementary procedure. . . . Recognition must be given to the culturally constituted meaning of "social" and "social relations" if we are to understand the nature of the Ojibwa world and the living entities in it. (Hallowell, pp. 21, 23; emphasis in original)

The thick approach to prehistory makes no *a priori* assumptions about the worldviews of past peoples and the phenomenological expanse of their fields of social relations. By having room for

the above-enumerated, diverse views of personhood in social analysis and attempting to study people and societies from the stance of their own beliefs to the extent knowable, thick prehistory is open to and much more capable of explaining both the cooperative and the competitive aspects of human actions and interactions. Practice and agency frameworks, in focusing narrowly on the human–human social field, are more prone to emphasize competition.

Hopewell and the Assumption of Intrinsic Social Competition

Our efforts to define a thick approach to prehistory—one free of a limited paradigmatic agenda of the competitive kind expressed explicitly or implicitly in agency and practice frameworks—stem only in part from our above observations of how non-Western peoples may conceive of themselves and their world and thus act. Our chosen approach also derives from our noticing certain aspects of Hopewellian archaeological records that would be hard to explain with an agency or practice framework that emphasizes the competitive nature of humankind and society and the self-interested qualities of people. Most critical in this regard is the long-recognized *Pax Hopewelliana*—a socially cooperative period of about four centuries when bioarchaeological indications of lethal violence are almost completely lacking in Illinois and Ohio Hopewellian societies, which are known best, and that contrast with the preceding Late Archaic and subsequent Late Woodland periods, when social violence is well documented (Buikstra 1977:80; Johnston 2002:105–113; Milner 1995:232, 234–235; 1999:120–122). The abundant material evidence for relatively unimpeded movement of Hopewellian peoples over long distances across the Woodlands and the gathering together of distant peoples for ceremony (Ruby, Chapter 15; Carr, Chapter 16; Spence, Chapter 20; Stoltman and Mainfort 2002) also support a view of Hopewellian, human-to-human social relations focused around cooperation. Further indication of a peaceful, human-to-human social milieu in Ohio is found in evidence for deep intercommunity alliances that were maintained by multiple communities repeatedly burying their dead together, especially their leaders, in single charnel houses (Carr, Chapter 7), by their jointly planning and/or building those facilities (Carr, Chapter 7), and by their mutually participating in large ceremonies associated with the deceased (Carr, Chapter 12; Carr et al., Chapter 13; Weets et al., Chapter 14). Also, the paucity of fancy artifacts and art dedicated to the symbolism of human conflict (Carr, Chapter 7, Table 7.2) compared to other social and religious themes (Carr 1998, 2000a, 2000b; Carr and Case 1995, 1996) is significant evidence of societal peace and cooperation. Finally, in light of these four independent kinds of data suggesting a largely cooperative cultural milieu, it is debatable whether the large deposits of decommissioned ceremonial paraphernalia found in altars and with burials in Ohio and Illinois Hopewell sites can be interpreted as the remains of "ostentatious, competitive displays" of social wealth and power among local groups that were "vying with each other for highest prestige" (J. A. Brown 1981:36; Buikstra and Charles 1999:205, 215). Only the great elaboration of ceremony can be directly inferred from the deposits, leaving open whether they are more accurately interpreted as the remains of primarily cooperation, largely competition, or both interwoven.

The focus of northern Hopewell societies around human-to-human cooperation, and the anomalous character of this situation in the greater history of social relations over the Woodland period, is difficult to understand within agency and practice frameworks that emphasize social competition and dominance and that limit their field of studied relations to the living, human components of societies. If, however, the social field of persons and power is widened to include deceased ancestors, ghosts, nonhuman spirits, deities, animals, plants, inanimate objects, and/or places that are attributed personhood, as is so common in non-Western societies, then an understanding of the *Pax Hopewelliana* is more easily drawn. Specifically, northern Hopewellian peoples made large investments of time, labor, and materials acquisition into ritual paraphernalia, ritual architecture, sacred travels, and ceremony relevant to the spiritual constituents of their societies and cosmos. Many of these acts involved whole or large segments of communities,

or persons from multiple communities, near and far. These acts of cooperation can be seen as a response of the living to the spiritual persons and beings that shared in the society and world of living humans and that required attention, honor, thanks, appeasement, containment, and such, perhaps out of fear of them for their more subtle and esoteric qualities and unknowable intents, and perhaps also out of respect for their seniority or gratitude for their care. Thus, human-to-human Hopewellian cooperation is easily understandable and expectable as the outcome of the logical choices that individuals made within a broad social and cosmological field of persons, beings, and relationships that extended beyond humans. Further, the temporal limitation of cultural emphasis on cooperation and physical nonviolence to the Middle Woodland period becomes understandable through recognizing that it was during this time, and not the preceding or subsequent, that ceremony oriented toward the spiritual was most elaborated and human–spiritual relations appear to have been of greatest concern. In our view, it was with respect to the spiritual that broad human-to-human cooperation developed. An agency or practice analytical framework that is restricted to human-to-human sociological interactions is not capable of capturing this cultural logic and, thus, the timing of the *Pax Hopewelliana*.

The great attention given by Hopewellian people to the spiritual components of their societies and cosmos and their cooperation in relation to those beings are key, explicit elements of the sociological interpretations made in Chapters 7 and 12 through 14, which discuss local social–spiritual alliances and gatherings, and are assumptions that underlie Chapters 15 through 20, on interregional Hopewellian ritual connections. The reasonableness of this take on Hopewellian social interaction is readily suggested by the *Pax Hopewelliana*, its defining evidence, and its timing, as discussed above, but is made especially clear here by two poignant archaeological examples, as well as by the overall spiritual–symbolic orientation of Hopewellian material culture. These subjects will also give the uninitiated reader of Hopewellian archaeology a flavor of the symbolic intensity of Hopewellian life and material culture.

The first example is the ceremonial deposit of items found in the central altar of Mound 4 at the Turner site, Ohio (Willoughby and Hooton 1922:63–74). The altar contained the cremations of a number of persons; at least 11 clay figurines of men and women in various stances in life and perhaps prone in death; a carving of a Lower World monster with bull-like horns, four limbs like an aquatic mammal, and a rattlesnake's tail; and a second Lower World water creature of a kind with four legs. All of these were overlain by a large mica cutout of a horned snake that probably was analogous to the Lower World horned serpent in historic Algonkian, Iroquoian, and Siouan belief (Barbeau 1952; Hammel 1986/1987:79, 1987:76; Howard 1960:217; Martin 1999:202; Skinner 1915:162–186, 263, 1923). The ritual deposit appears to represent a group of individuals that had been cremated, their journey to a land of the dead, and perhaps a petition to the creatures of the Lower World for their safe passage. In historic Ojibwa lore and near-death experiences, this journey required the deceased's soul to cross over a rushing river on an unstable or rising and falling log, which turns out upon crossing to be a serpent. If a soul lost its footing and fell in the river, it was lost (Barnouw 1977:18–19, 136; Kinietz 1947:145; Kohl 1860:218–219, 222–223; see also Penney 1983). Significantly, this ritual deposit and the drama it portrayed were the product of the cooperative efforts of a broad community of living persons who were relating to the spiritual persons and beings represented. Accompanying the above items were more than 2,000 animal teeth, about 600 phalanges of small mammals, and over 200 raw pearls, which would have required many persons to obtain by hunting and collecting over a good deal of time. A wide social field of humans and nonhuman persons and beings, with humans cooperating with each other relative to the latter, is necessary analytically to make sense of the human acts entailed in this ceremony.

The second example of the emphasis that Hopewellian peoples placed on the spiritual participants within their wide, social–cosmological field of relationships, and the cooperation of Hopewellian peoples in response to those spiritual beings, is the Ohio Hopewellian practice of

constructing burials and mounds with ghost water barriers (Carr 1998, 1999a, 2000a, 2000b). Historic Native Americans of the Woodlands and Plains widely had a fear of ghosts and believed that water could repel a ghost (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:591; Hewitt 1894:114–115; McClintock 1935; see Hall 1976). Hall (p. 362) suggested that the circular ditches that often surround Adena mounds collected water naturally and acted as water barriers that separated the souls of the dead from the living. In this way, the living would have thought themselves protected from illness, tricks, or vengence that ghosts of those buried in the mounds might cause. In addition, such water circles may have represented the world axis in cross section, as the circle did historically among Woodland and Plains Native Americans, and may have served to guide souls first upward or downward, rather than across territories of the living, in their journey to a land of the dead (Carr 1998, 1999a, 2000a, 2000b). The Adena practice of constructing water barriers appears to be evidenced in Ohio Hopewell burials and earthworks, but with material symbols of water having replaced water, itself, as the encircling barrier. Ohio Hopewell peoples surrounded the deceased and edged their graves at times with pearls, shells, mica, galena, and river-worn limestone and other light-colored cobbles.[15] All of these materials are like water, particularly its reflective surface, in being silvery or white in color and reflective or transparent; and some of the materials are derived from water. In addition, at a larger scale, Hopewell peoples from multiple communities joined together to construct water barriers around the charnel houses and mounds that held their dead. Mound construction typically began by stripping off the sod and top soil in a circle or oval and then, within the depression, laying down a pavement or building a wall of water-worn cobbles and/or gravel.[16] Collecting and transporting these building materials to these sites represented substantial labor investments by many people. These practices of Ohio Hopewell peoples are most easily fathomed within a conceptual–analytical framework that admits the essential place of cooperation, in addition to competition, in human-to-human relationships, and a wide social field that includes the deceased as well as living persons.

These two potent illustrations of Hopewellian practices that required cooperation among many persons in response to a social field wider than living human communities occur in the context of a broad material record that suggests the overriding concern of Hopewellian peoples with the supernatural and their organization with respect to it—especially Ohio Hopewellian peoples. In particular, pervading Ohio Hopewellian material culture are artistic representations of shaman-like practitioners in trance; depictions of animal–human transformation; raw materials that, through their simultaneous light/shiny and dark/dull characteristics, embodied the shamanic theme of transformation; raw materials that, by their reflective, transparent, or translucent nature, suggest the shamanic theme of seeing; raw materials of distant origins that equate to the sacred or supernatural (Helms 1976:133, 136, 176); and an artistic style filled with figure–ground reversals and perceptual ambiguity that evoke a sense of transformation and that associate cross-culturally with shamanism and trancing (Cordy-Collins 1980; Roe 1995:68). Indeed, most identifiable leaders in Ohio Hopewell societies have a shaman-like cast to them (Carr and Case, Chapter 5; Carr et al., Chapter 13). The motivations and intentions of Hopewellian peoples appear from this record to have been focused primarily on relationships with spiritual beings more than on human-to-human competition and domination. In this cultural context, it makes little sense to try to understand the practices of Hopewellian people by examining human-to-human interaction, alone. Here, a broad, thick prehistory approach to understanding the past, which has a place for supernatural persons and beings in social fields of interaction and power, is more compatible with the cultural record than practice and agency approaches that universally ignore and trivialize perceived spiritual beings and their effects on human motivation, decision making, and action.

We agree with Geertz (1973,1975) that developing an understanding of a people and their culture depends on studying them from the

actor's point of view, to the extent feasible. As Ortner (1984:13) summarized, "This does not imply that we must get 'into people's heads. What it means, very simply, is that culture is a product of acting social beings trying to make sense of the world in which they find themselves, and if *we* are to make sense of a culture, we must situate ourselves in the position from which it was constructed" (emphasis in original). Thick, detailed descriptions of a people and their culture set the heuristic milieu for doing precisely that situating of the researcher, as the above sketches of Hopewellian rituals, material culture, and spiritual life begin to illustrate.

The Nature of Social Roles and the Utility of the Role Concept in Studies of Society

The thick prehistory viewpoint that we take in this book contrasts with the practice and agency approaches popular in archaeology today, and with the works of Bourdieu and Giddens, in particular, in a final, key way: in the reliance placed on social roles when making social reconstructions and interpretations, which in turn relates to how social roles are conceived. Practice and agency frameworks in archaeology attempt to create a dynamic and personalized past by focusing on the individual as an agent: one who exerts power through acting in one way rather than another (i.e., practice) and produces an effect, whether or not the specific outcome is intended (Giddens 1984:9). In contrast, thick prehistory brings dynamism and personalities to archaeological records by focusing primarily on social roles: informal or institutionalized cultural models that guide 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. The specific individual as an agent and as a perpetrator of social patterns and change, as well as the events produced by an individual, is of course of interest in a thick prehistory approach, but in almost all prehistoric settings, this is beyond the resolution of archaeological records. Even in the very rich and socially telling mortuary records of Hopewellian peoples in Ohio, where close to a thousand individuals and the symbols of their social identities have been unearthed (Case and Carr n.d.), specific individuals cannot yet be tied to specific social outcomes. Thus, the thick prehistory approach moves the analytical unit up one level of generality, to the social role in a particular local cultural context. To the extent that multiple individuals who filled a role over time and across a local area are known, redundant patterning in the archaeological record can be used to an advantage to link a set of individuals to the role they filled and the effects they produced.

Role concepts in anthropology and sociology are very diverse (Turner 1991:410–471). 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 from this viewpoint are highly structured by the script associated with the role, the scripts of the roles of other actors, and a responsive social audience (e.g., Linton 1936; Mead 1934; Nadel 1957:11, 21). At the other end are processual roles, where the individual is conceived to be a largely free player who consciously chooses various social strategies in acting and interacting. Roles from this view are very "general configurations of responses that people negotiate as they form social relationships" (e.g., Goffman 1959, 1969; Nadel 1957:26, 35, 41; J. Turner 1991:426; R. Turner 1962), and the impact of cultural institutions and structure on actions and interactions is minimized. Between these two extreme views, roles may be envisioned as "media" that facilitate creative social expression, action, and interaction through both their broad constraints/guidelines and the space for social experimentation and play that they offer. The analog, here, is artistic media and artistic expression and creativity through, yet constrained by, those media (Roe 1995:44). Additionally, roles and the actions of those who fill them can have a recursively developmental quality.

In the thick prehistory approach of this book, both the normative and the creative aspects of human actions linked to roles are acknowledged, admitting a theoretically unconstrained spectrum of variation in the character of roles.

Here, roles are commonly identified in the archaeological record by mortuary patterning: by artifact classes that repeatedly associate across multiple individuals and that were used to accomplish particular social tasks or outcomes (e.g., mica mirrors, galena, and quartz items used in divination). However, the associations are allowed to be loose, accommodating individual reinterpretations of roles synchronically, and to be changeable in content and breadth over time, to the extent that they are (e.g., Carr and Case, Chapter 5; Field et al., Chapter 9; Turff and Carr, Chapter 18). We do not agree with Giddens (1984:84), who tends to see roles in all of the above sociological frameworks to be of "given" character and scripted, and consequently suspect, or with Bourdieu (1977), who fully ignores the role concept as a bridge between the individual and the sociocultural structure.

Our focus here on "social roles" also complements the past four decades of literature on the archaeological analysis of mortuary remains, where "social identities" or, equivalently, "social positions," have been the unit of study (e.g., Akins 2001; Beck 1990, 1995a; Binford 1971:17; Braun 1979:67; J. A. Brown 1981:28; Hohmann 2001; Loendorf 2001). The distinction between role and identity is a significant one (Goodenough 1965) with regard to our concern to personalize archaeological records. A role is the suite of rights and duties—informal or institutionalized, negotiated or structurally constrained—that are 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 of action and forms of action, and potentially lead to action (Goodenough 1965:312; Nadel 1957:28, 29) in either a normative or a negotiated manner, giving the role a close connection to the social action of an individual and a similarity to the concept of agency as a "capability" for action (Giddens 1984:219), but at a level of abstraction above the individual and more archaeologically resolvable. In addition, the roles that an individual performs, if they have longevity, become incorporated psychologically into that person's sense of self through the performance process and, in this way, become a basis for the person's further action. Also, roles as suites of rights and duties that are negotiable are a potential locus of social organizational change over time. The role concept concerns social dynamics and performance (Goodenough 1965:312; Nadel 1957:29). In contrast, a social identity or social 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 or position is a structural and static concept, only indirectly related to social action through the rights and duties (i.e, roles) associated with it. It is possible to analyze the identities of the people in a society in a fully structural and impersonal way in order to measure social complexity, hierarchy, segmentation, connectivity, contradictions, and other structural qualities. This has been the approach popularly taken in those mortuary studies since the 1970s that have sought to determine whether a society was structured according to principles of ranking (e.g., Braun 1979; J. A. Brown 1981; Mitchell and Brunson-Hadley 2001; Tainter 1975a, 1978). Such studies lead to a typological categorization of a society's nature at large rather than a focus on individuals and their acts.[17] They are useful in providing a general understanding of the social context of individuals and their deeds, but an analysis of roles is necessary to personalize an archaeological record with individuals in action. In the thick approach to prehistory applied in this book, structural studies of Hopewellian societies (Chapters 6 and 7) are extended with role analyses (Chapters 5 through 11, 13, and 17 through 19) that reveal people, their actions, and their social, historical, and material effects.

Summary

In our belief that archaeology reaches its fullest potential when it is done at once as a humanity, a science, and a historical discipline, we attempt in this book to reach understandings of past Hopewellian societies through the approach we call thick prehistory. Thick prehistory aims most basically at making detailed and personalized descriptions of the past by identifying

individuals, groups, events, ideas, and their interrelationships within a local context—answers to the questions of who, what, when, and where. When answering how and why, thick prehistory is a very broad and flexible approach, open to and appreciative of the diversity of worldviews, beliefs, values, and ethos of different cultures to the extent knowable, including their different concepts of the self, personhood, and the social–cosmological field of relationships among beings. Thick prehistory respects this diversity by encompassing a wide range of theories with varying assumptions about humanness, society, and a people's beliefs and values, by exploring a detailed, constructed, sociological, cultural, and historical description of the past with these multiple interpretive vehicles, and by seeking ultimately a close fit between a particular interpretive framework, its assumptions, and the interpretation it suggests, on the one hand, and the thick description that has been made, on the other. In this way, thick prehistory encourages the understanding of a society and culture in terms of its own worldview, values, beliefs, and ethos. Additionally, a thick description of a past people and their culture helps to situate the researcher in their sociocultural milieu and to see it from their point of view, facilitating a faithful rendering and interpretation. Thus, thick prehistory as a personalizing approach to archaeological records differs considerably from the agency and practice frameworks popular in Anglo-American archaeology today, which make Western assumptions about the nature of the self, personhood, and society, and extend these uniformly to other peoples and societies. Thick prehistory also is interested in a much broader array of topics than the perennial sociological concern for how individuals relate to the collective and how social continuity and change occur in light of that relationship; thick prehistory addresses the social, biological, and psychological person. In addition, a thick approach to prehistory is practical, in emphasizing the analysis of social personalities, actions, and outcomes at the level of the role, which is usually more in line with the grain of archaeological records than is the specific individual as agent and the specific events produced by him or her. As a result, a thick approach to prehistory is less susceptible to the error of laying a theoretical viewpoint onto archaeological data and a past society rather than deriving understanding from the data and the society. And it is that understanding, as free as possible from mirroring the researcher's own culture and personal beliefs, for which the academic hopes. Finally, it is in the context of these richly drawn descriptions and understandings of past local peoples that their intentions and motivations can be sought and their interrelations on broader geographic scales can be generated and understood. The issues of thick description, personalizing the past, sensitivity to a local culture when making sociological interpretations of it, and deriving global interaction from local processes—all of which are wrapped up in the concept of thick prehistory—are especially relevant to local Hopewellian records, which speak with rich material voices.

PLAN

The chapters of this book fall into five parts. Part I introduces the reader to the personalized, locally contextualized, and generative approach to Hopewell taken by the authors, and situates their studies in relation to a history of other recent research on Hopewell. Part II reconstructs the varying local social and political organizations of Hopewellian peoples in several culturally distinct units of the northern Woodlands: the Scioto valley, Miami valleys, and northeastern portion of Ohio; the Mann phase in southwestern Indiana; and the Havana tradition in the lower Illinois valley. The aspects of the societies in these regions that are investigated include the spatial organization of their ceremonial sites, habitations, and mortuary programs together as functioning communities; leadership and its development from classical shamanism; whether principles of ranking served to structure the societies; their animal-totemic clans; gender roles and relations; and mechanisms of intercommunity alliance. Part III documents the sizes and role compositions of social gatherings in ceremonial centers in the Scioto valley, Ohio, changes in these features of gatherings over time, and the long-distance cultural affiliations of the

participants in gatherings at the Tremper site in the Scioto valley and the Mann site in southwestern Indiana. These reconstructions continue the discussion of intercommunity alliances and alliance mechanisms begun in Part II. Part IV shifts attention from local expressions of "Hopewell" to its interregional face across the Eastern Woodlands. Specific, diverse social and religious forms of interregional travel, procurement, and interaction are inferred, helping to explain the wide distribution of Hopewellian ideas, practices, material styles, raw materials, and occasionally finished goods over eastern North America. In addition, the pan-Eastern and locally distinctive social and philosophical–religious meanings attributed to ceremonial paraphernalia and raw materials are described. The related issue of the openness of certain local traditions to extralocal ideas, practices, and raw materials is also addressed. These are the major divisions and the flow of this book by subject matter, although some chapters address topics from multiple sections and draw upon other chapters extensively in order to integrate our view of the Hopewell world (see chapter listings in Topical and Empirical Scope, above).

Each of the four parts of this book begins with an introductory essay (Chapters 2, 3, 12, and 16). These chapters provide historical summaries and discussions of previous archaeological studies and key concepts from anthropological theory, all of which serve as foundations for the chapters to come. The introductory essays also highlight some of the important findings of the chapters in this book and relate them to each other, to previous studies of Hopewell, and to basic anthropological frameworks. More detailed summaries of each chapter are given in their extended introductory and concluding sections.

Enjoy! We have.

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NOTES

1. Panpipes and earspools occurred in 33 sites and 58 sites, respectively, in all eight of the regional traditions of the Eastern Woodlands, according to the tallies of Seeman (1979a:380–381). Panpipes and earspools are surpassed in site counts only by mica mirrors, conch shell vessels, and copper beads, which are recorded for 86, 84, and 76 sites, respectively, in all eight regions (Seeman, pp. 380–381). However, the latter classes are technologically and stylistically simple and, thus, sociologically less telling. Copper celts were found at 69 sites in five northern and midsouthern regional traditions, but not in the deep Southeast, by Seeman's (pp. 380–381) records. Raw and partially processed silver is known from 32 sites in seven regions. Six other kinds of Interaction Sphere items are fairly numerous and widespread, some of which are technologically and stylistically complex enough to warrant study in the future. They include platform pipes at 38 sites in five regions, crescent-shaped gorgets at 14 sites in five regions, bear canine ornaments at 57 sites in six regions, metallic awls at 34 sites in six regions, shell beads at 73 sites in seven regions, and pearl beads at 51 sites in seven regions. Terra cotta figurines are reported by Seeman (p. 373) to have been found at five sites in four regions, to which can be added the Mann site in a fifth region. Raw and partially processed copper and galena are each distributed among eight regions, at 167 and 63 sites, respectively (Seeman, pp. 304–305).
2. Major efforts at compilation and analysis that support those in this book but that do not pertain as directly to the topic of Hopewell society, ritual, and interaction include Dancey and Pacheco's (1997a; Dancey 1991; Pacheco 1989, 1993, 1996, 1997) excavations, surveys, and assembling of comparative data on the internal nature and regional densities and distributions of Ohio Hopewell habitation sites, which shed light on community organization. In addition, Carr and Haas (1996) have radiocarbon dated, and gathered old radiocarbon dates on, a large number of Woodland habitation sites in the Scioto Valley, providing a refined temporal sequence.
3. See a critique of Braun's viewpoint in Carr and Neitzel (1995b:441–447).
4. Emphasis on the individual in social theory crystallized in 18th and 19th-Century thought anchored in John

Locke's (1690) treatise on individual freedom and government; the concepts of economic freedom, free competition, laissez-faire, self interest, and the supply–demand relationship in the classical economics of Jeremy Bentham (1789), John Stuart Mill (1848, 1863), David Ricardo (1817), and Adam Smith (1776); and the utilitarian theory of Hume (1752), upon which classical economics was based. In sociology and anthropology, the individual has been core to the interactionist and phenomenological schools of Mead (1934) and Goffman (1959), Geertz's (1973, 1975) symbolic anthropology focusing on the actor's point of view, and recent approaches that motivate actors through self-interest (Ortner 1984:151). In contrast, the collective and structure are dominant in the works of Durkheim (1947a, 1947b), Levi-Strauss (1969–1981), Marx (1954), Parsons (1949), and Victor Turner (1969), and in general systems theory (e.g., Rappaport 1968, 1971, 1979). The intrinsic interweaving of the individual and the collective are the focus of works by Mauss (1985), Linton (1936:113), Bourdieu (1977, 1990), and Giddens (1984).

5. Dobres and Robb (2000a) describe this circumstance as "simply slapping agency onto the past like a fresh coat of paint" (Dobres and Robb, p. 4) and as "*ad hoc* appeals to the concept [of agency] to make sense of a particular problem or situation" (Dobres and Robb, p. 3). In fairness, we note that a similar situation arose in some systems interpretations that mechanically and loosely applied concepts such as positive and negative feedback, equilibrium, coevolution, and so on, to archaeological records several decades ago.
6. One of the key strengths of Bourdieu's and Giddens' agency frameworks is their integration of the psyche in the process of social action and reproduction. Giddens bases social action in part in unconscious, diffuse motives and pressures that are realized through a "practical consciousness"—a body of seldom discussed knowledge that one uses to interpret the actions of others and to respond. Responses are then "rationalized" relative to motives through a "discursive consciousness" (Dornan 2002:307; Turner 1991:531–532). Bourdieu bases social action and reproduction of the social order more simply in unconsciously acted daily routines, or *habitus*, that have been internalized from the social environment (Dornan 2002:306; Turner 1991:516). Unfortunately, these unconscious and semi-conscious kinds of psychological content and dynamics can seldom be identified and distinguished from each other archaeologically at the level of the individual. Occasionally, this is possible through detailed stylistic analysis (e.g., Pryor and Carr 1995; see also Carr 1995:11–14, 174–178, 438–439). More accessible archaeologically are the results of such psychological content and processes in the form of group behavioral patterning beyond the individual (e.g., Rosenthal 1995), which are the more fundamental, creative contributions of the theories.
7. This stream of 18th and 19th-Century thought was anchored in John Locke's (1690) treatise on individual freedom and government; the concepts of economic freedom, free competition, laissez-faire, self-interest, the supply–demand relationship in the classical economics of Jeremy Bentham (1789), John Stuart Mill (1848, 1863), David Ricardo (1817), and Adam Smith (1776); the utilitarian theory of Hume (1752) upon which classical economics was based; Darwin's (1859, 1871) concepts of selection and competition among individuals in biological evolution; and Mathus's (1798) theory of population growth and diminishing returns.
8. Speaking of Giddens's and Bourdieu's newer practice frameworks in contrast to earlier symbolic interactionism and transactionalism, Ortner (1984:147) writes, "Marxist influence is to be seen in the assumption that the most important forms of action or interaction for analytic purposes are those which take place in asymmetrical or dominated relations, that it is these forms of action or interaction that best explain the shape of any given system at any given time . . . the approach tends to highlight social asymmetry as the most important dimension of both action and structure." Bourdieu's and Giddens's focus on domination derived from their reading of Marx and Marxist anthropologists, though both Bourdieu and Giddens broke from Marx in other substantial ways (Giddens 1984; Mahar 1990:4–6).
9. Bourdieu's (1970:190) distinction between domination that is systemic, established, and reproduced largely unconsciously through the habitus and domination that is effected by the direct power of one person over another is paralleled by Wolf's (1990, 1999:5–6) contrast between "structural power" (his fourth kind of power) and "the power of an ego to impose its will on an alter" (his second kind of power).
10. Strathern (1981:168) notes that the individual is a "particular cultural type [of person] rather than a self-evident analytical category". See also Dornan (2002:315) and references therein.
11. "The Creek entities—'all my relations'—male, female, human and non-human, known and unknown, are all part of a continuum of energy [*boea fikcha*/*puyvfekcv*] that is at the heart of the universe" (Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri 2001:2). "*Ibofanga* is above us all and is the unifying principle in the entire energy field which is existence. The field includes links between various entities. . . . Very traditional Creeks will talk about *figi*/*feke*, the heart, which provided the terminal for exchange of *boea fikcha*/*puyvfekcv* energy in the field of energy that belongs to *thakko boea fikcha*, the grand energy or spirit, which is ultimately*Ibofanga*, which is the sacred name and not even mentioned. It is all-pervasive and invincible." (Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri, p. 24)

    Even in the European tradition, during the Early Middle Ages, prior to the concept of a Last Judgment, the idea of the individual as an independent being was more muted (Ariès 1981; Despelder and Strickland 1983:58–63).
12. Closely related to, but conceptually distinct from, relational and continuous notions of the self is the ethos

of egalitarianism, in which others are seen on a par with oneself and a close extension of oneself through the ethic and demonstration of generalized reciprocity. In egalitarian societies, personal welfare is viewed in terms of group welfare. Generalized reciprocity, in turn, discourages interpersonal competition for personal gain, personal material accumulation, and self-aggrandizement. These ends are shunned and thwarted in societies with an egalitarian ethos through a variety of leveling mechanisms and cultural institutions (e.g., Boehm 1993; Flanagan 1989), and cooperation is instead emphasized. Wiessner (2002:251) summarizes that among the San and Hadza, children are enculturated to avoid competition and to be cooperative through the depreciation of competitive games (Konner 1972; Marshall 1976; Sbrezny 1976), and adult competition is suppressed through cultural institutions and leveling actions (Lee 1993; Marshall 1976). In other societies with egalitarian outlooks, such as the Enga of New Guinea, competition among individuals is permitted in certain restricted arenas but aligned with the goal of group welfare and channeled through it (Wiessner 2002:249, 250).

13. See also Lankford 1987:61–63 for the Cherokee myth, the Daughter of the Sun, in which two heros are selected from among humans to kill the personified Sun deity, who is causing humanity problems.
14. Historic Native Americans of the Upper Great Lakes believed in manitous—powerful heroic, tricky, or menacing spirits that transformed themselves into animals, plants, elements of the landscape, and humans to disguise themselves from each other and from humans. Manitous were equated with these physical forms but also attributed human characteristics. Through ritual offerings, they were treated as human trading partners, because they behaved like them—they were haughty, insatiable, and unpredictable (S. R. Martin 1999:200–201, 211).
15. Hundreds of pearl beads were used to encircle each of Burials 2, 3, 4, and 5 under Mound 1 at Seip (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:374–376, figures 12, 13), and several thousands were placed around Burial 7 under Mound 25 at the Hopewell site (Shetrone 1926:64). Mica mirrors were put below Burials 1A–1D under Mound 13 at Mound City, and around these burials a ridge of soil containing many galena cubes and pearl and shell beads was constructed and covered with mica mirrors (Mills 1922:448–452, figure 11). Huge mica sheets were placed on top of Burial 9 under Mound 7 at Mound City (Mills 1922:489–494, figures 31, 32). Seven conch shells were placed around the perimeter of Burial 13 under Mound 7 at Mound City. Light-colored stones were placed in a circle around the crematory basin, cremation remains, and obsidian deposit under Mound 11 at the Hopewell site (Shetrone 1926:39–43, figure 10) and around Burial 1 under Mound 20 at Hopewell (Shetrone 1926:52–53, figure 17). A minimum of 66 burials of 854 at 33 sites in Ohio had water barriers, most commonly made of light-colored stones (Case and Carr n.d.).
16. Water barriers of gravel and cobbles were a part of Mounds 1 and 2 at Seip (Greber 1979a:figures 1, 7), the Edwin Harness Mound at Liberty (Greber 1983:figure 1.1), and Mounds 1, 3 through 7, 9, 12, and 14 at the Turner site (Willoughby and Hooton 1922:31, 33, 36, 64, 77, 78, 81, 84, figures 13, 15, 17, 28, 36, 37, 39, 41).
17. Very few archaeological mortuary analyses have aimed at defining in detail the roles that a society encompasses—for example, various kinds of leadership in warfare, the hunt, ceremony, and other domains; curing; rainmaking; and such (but see Howell 1995). Instead, focus has historically been on measuring the relative prestige of individuals (e.g., McGuire 1988; Pearson 1999:78–79; Tainter 1978). Materially, emphasis has been on "symbols of status, rank, or authority" (e.g., J. A. Brown 1981; Binford 1971:23) rather than symbols of specific roles. The one area of significant exception is the search for gender roles (e.g., Howell 1995; Pearson 1999:95–110; Rothschild 1979).

Gathering Hopewell

Society, Ritual, and Ritual Interaction

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