

Chapter 11

The Functions and Meanings of Ohio Hopewell Ceremonial Artifacts in Ethnohistorical Perspective

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Clear projectile points knapped from quartz crystals. Five-tone, cane panpipes sheathed in silver and copper. Shiny hemispheres of copper, schist, or chlorite, sometimes hollow, sometimes solid. Alligator teeth, real and copper effigies. Plummets made of shell too light to have served as net sinkers. Barracuda jaws. These and other fantastic artifacts were socially and spiritually loud-spoken in the ceremonies and lives of Ohio Hopewell people. What are Western archaeologists to make of them, today, removed 2000 years and many cultural forms from Ohio Hopewell societies? In earlier days of the formation of Americanist social archaeology, such items were simply called “socio-technic” items, “symbols of status”, “symbols of rank”, or “symbols of authority” and interpreted in contentless, social-structural terms to describe societal complexity (e.g., Binford 1964b; Braun 1979:67–68, 70; Brown 1981:29–30; Peebles 1971:69; Peebles and Kus 1977:438, figure 3; Struever 1964:88; 1965:213; but see O’Shea 1981; Struever and Houart 1972:49). Clearly there are culturally richer and more Hopewell-specific understandings that can be derived from these items.

An essential aspect of the “thick prehistory” approach to understanding past peoples is defining the culture-specific uses, symbolic meanings, and social role associations of the artifacts and features that the people used. The connection between thick prehistory and identifying artifact functions and meanings is a linear, logical one, mediated through the concept of the social role. Specifically, the goal of thick prehistory is to develop knowledge about a past people that is particularly sensitive to their ways. Arriving at an authentic understanding of a past people is accomplished in part by personalizing the past with people in their active, on-the-ground, sociocultural roles. A role is a suite of rights and duties that a person has relative to another in a given social context and considering their social identities/positions. The rights and duties of a role in turn define its domain and forms of action, and encourage and facilitate choices to act or not, and actions themselves. Those actions may be carried out using artifacts or architectural facilities, which to be effective must be relevant in their functions and meanings. Thus, by identifying the culture-specific uses and meanings of the

classes of material culture used by a past people, and the social roles implied by those uses and meanings, an empirical foundation is formed for personalizing the past with active people and for learning about their lives in their terms. Further, when local conditions, demands, historical contingencies, and consequent needs of past people are considered alongside the actions, rights, and duties of a social role that is known archaeologically through its supporting material culture, then insights can also be gained into the motivations behind the choices for action that people make. This chain of logic can be summarized as follows:



Within this larger theoretical and analytical framework, this chapter aims at providing insights into the ceremonial and utilitarian functions, symbolic meanings, and role associations likely had by 51 kinds of Ohio Hopewellian ceremonial paraphernalia and raw materials that are recorded in the HOPEBIOARCH data base (Chapter 8). Ranges of possible functions, meanings, and role associations are listed for each of the 51 classes of Hopewellian items based on a systematic documentation of the uses, meanings, and role associations of analogous items employed by historic Native Americans of the Eastern Woodlands, the Prairies, the Plains, and the Subarctic. The ethnohistoric information was assembled from a large number of sources included in the *eHRAF Collection of Ethnography* and in comprehensive works by John R. Swanton, James Mooney, and Henry R. Schoolcraft.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS SURVEY

It is fair to say that Woodland archaeologists generally have a limited understanding of the ceremonial uses, spiritual meanings, and social

role associations of religious artifacts, features, and materials such as those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Much more is known about the subsistence, settlement patterns, and political organizations of prehistoric Woodland Native Americans than their spiritual and social-ceremonial lives. Current seminal syntheses of the archaeology of eastern North America, found within the Smithsonian encyclopedic series, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Demallie 2001; Fogelson 2004; Helm 1981; Trigger 1978), highlight this bias. Only very recently in modern American archaeology have

studies of ancient religious life become paradigmatically acceptable and begun to deepen our appreciation of it (Brown 1997; Insoll 2004; Renfrew 1994; Whitley and Keyser 2003).

Of previous studies of prehistoric Woodland ceremonial artifacts and architecture, the works of Robert Hall are perhaps best known and respected (Fowler 2003a; Goldstein 2003). Hall has shed light on the possible ceremonial uses and spiritual meanings of a number of kinds of prehistoric Woodland artifacts and artistic motifs: long bones and crania perforated to the marrow to release souls (1976a, 1979), Hopewellian panpipes associated with fertility and used for courting (1979), certain Ohio Hopewellian mica and copper cutouts shaped to represent atlats (1977), Hopewellian platform pipes as atlatl-pipe composite calumets used in meeting rituals to create peaceful interactions among distant peoples (1977, 1979, 1983a, 1987, 2000), Red Ocher turkey tail knives used as bullroarers in weather magic and other ways (1983b), Glacial Kame sandal-sole gorgets as a representation of the constellation Orion (1983b), bone skewers that fastened hide and fabric coverings over graves as representing water spirits at the four corners of the earth, Adena circular embankment ceremonial

centers constructed as water-collecting ghost barriers (1976b), the unique Bedford Mound 8 copper cutout as a composite caiman-raptor creature (2006), Hopewellian burial mounds constructed to recall earth diver myths and facilitate in ceremonies aimed at the recreation of the cosmos (1979), the eye-in-hand motif in Adena, Hopewell, and Mississippian art as a representation of a soul of a person (1979), and early Mississippian Long-nose God shell and copper maskette earrings as representations of the Winnebago and Iowa supernatural He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings (Red Horn, He-who-is-hit-with-deer-lungs), who might have been symbolically essential in rituals for creating fictive kinship between leaders of large polities and clients in outlying areas (1997).

Other insightful interpretations of prehistoric ceremonial paraphernalia and motifs have also been posed, more so for Mississippian societies than Hopewellian ones. Examples include: atlatl weights, embossed copper plates, rock-art, temple statuary and other stone figurines, carved shell cups and gorgets, maskettes, smoking pipes, shell trade beads, shiny raw materials, birdmen, thunderbirds, pileated woodpeckers, turkey cocks, owls, copper and clay bears, underground or underwater panthers, various serpents and snakes, frogs, otters, trees, motifs of military strength and war, representations of mortuary treatment of corpses, symbols of death and the journey to an afterlife, symbols of the four directions and the *axis mundi*, other beings of the above and below realms of the cosmos, sun signs, floating islands, the weeping eye, the eye-in-hand motif, and ogees (e.g., Aftandilian 2007; Berres et al. 2004; Brain et al. 1996; Brose et al. 1985; Cleland 1985; Cobb et al. 1999; Diaz-Granados et al. 2001; Duncan and Diaz-Granados 2000; Dye 2001; Emerson et al. 2000, 2003; Fitzgerald et al. 1998; Fox 2004; Galloway 1989; Knight 1986, 2004; Knight et al. 2001; Hamell 1983, 1987, 1998; Lepper and Frolking 2003; Lovis 2001; Perino 1971; Phillips and Brown 1978, 1984; Power 2004; Reilly and Garber 2007; Sampson 1988; Smith and Smith 1989; Townsend et al. 2004). More attention has been given to the religious meanings of

motifs than to the specific functions of artifact classes in ceremonies.

In these examples and others, ethnohistoric analogy is the strategy that has been used most commonly to interpret the socio-religious dimensions of prehistoric material culture. Contextual, formal, stylistic, and technological studies have provided supporting argumentation (e.g., Brain et al. 1996; Carr 2005e; Carr et al. 2002; Emerson 1989; Hoffman 1997; Muller 1966, 1979; Phillips and Brown 1978, 1984; Spence and Fryer 2005).

Although such approaches have certainly enriched our pictures of past Woodland Native American ceremony and spiritual thought, the methods used and the credibility of the interpretations wrought can be improved. Previous studies have, in general, been wanting in three ways.

First, they have tended to be piecemeal, focusing on *individual* classes of material culture or motifs rather than encompassing whole, integrated cultural assemblages of ceremonial items of diverse kinds (e.g., see the above list of studies). Yet, it is through integrated analysis of functionally and/or conceptually related ceremonial paraphernalia, features, and materials that the range of possible ceremonial uses and religious meanings assignable to each is constrained to a few coherent and most reasonable interpretations. The ceremonial and meaningful contexts of a given item and its position within them, as expressed by its associations with and disassociations from other ceremonial items, provide multiple corroborating lines of evidence for deducing its meaning and uses.

In regard to their piecemeal focus, recent archaeological studies differ significantly from synthetic ethnological attempts to summarize historic eastern Native American religious thought and material culture. The comprehensive works by art historian Christian Feest (1986) on the Northeastern Woodlands, by ethnohistorians Hudson (1976, 1984) and Swanton (1946, 1952) on the Southeast, and by religious studies scholar Åke Hultkrantz (1973) and anthropologist Alice Kehoe (1989) on the Plains are notable here. More broadly, the multi-artifact class, contextualizing strategy

preferred here for assigning ceremonial uses and religious meanings to an artifact class is very similar to Turner's (1969) concept of the "positional meaning" of a symbol within a suite of associated symbols and their meanings. The strategy is also equivalent to that used for assigning functions, meanings, and social role associations to artifact classes by their spatial associations within and among sites—a strategy discussed further in Chapter 13.

The second difficulty with previous ethnohistorical-analogic reconstructions of the ceremonial uses, spiritual meanings, and social role associations of ancient Woodlands religious items is that the studies do not make explicit the *range* of uses, meanings and roles that are suggested by varying ethnohistoric sources and cultures for a given class of material culture. Nor are the uses, meanings, and roles that were culled through before arriving at the proposed interpretation of the class reported. It is difficult to evaluate the credibility of an interpretation from its supporting data and argumentation, alone, without a discussion of alternative interpretations and counter data suggested by the same or other ethnohistoric sources.

Finally, in most ethnohistorical-analogic studies of ancient Woodland religious material culture, methodology is not specified. What ethnohistoric sources were searched and not, and why? Which found ceremonial uses and meanings of a class of material culture were discarded? Why were they discarded and others kept? An interpretation is only as convincing as the credibility of the methods and data used to reach it. Evaluation of methods and data necessitates that they be reported.

If we really are to attempt to understand Hopewell peoples and their ways in their own terms, then a more holistic, systematic, explicit approach to making ethnohistoric analogies is needed. Minimally, such an approach includes surveying and reporting the full range of Woodland uses and meanings documented for each of a suite of functionally and/or conceptually related ceremonial paraphernalia, features, and materials. In addition, an explicit statement of the ethnohistoric sources and cultures surveyed, the methods used to locate

analogs, and the reasoning used to whittle down analogs to a most probable set of interpretations should be provided. Part of this reasoning will pertain to corroborating lines of evidence found within the ethnohistoric sources, part to reinforcing lines of evidence found for functionally and/or conceptually related ceremonial items, and part to archaeologically specific contextual information.

It is in this light that the following systematic inventory of the ethnohistoric uses, meanings, and role associations of Woodland ceremonial artifacts gains its significance. The survey provides a complement and balance to the common, more piecemeal and idiosyncratic approach of searching certain sources for insightful analogs and following out possible leads. The survey reveals many alternative interpretations for given classes of ceremonial artifacts and raw materials. It also encompasses a very broad array of kinds of ceremonial artifacts and raw materials compared to those that have previously been studied. Some of these classes of items are functionally and/or conceptually interrelated in Hopewell ceremonialism and, together, the associated classes provide corroborating lines of evidence in favor of certain interpretations of Hopewellian uses and meanings over alternative ones (see Chapter 13 for associations among Hopewellian artifact classes). Finally, the bibliographic sources and methods of the survey reported here are explicit and can be extended later as needed.

With the primary ethnohistoric information systematized here, it is possible for researchers to explore the ceremonial uses, spiritual meanings, and social role associations of many kinds of Woodland ceremonial artifacts and raw materials that have yet to be studied. It is also possible to evaluate the productive and provocative interpretations of Hopewell artifacts and raw materials that have previously been offered through more particularistic and opportunistic approaches. The information presented here is useful not only to Hopewell archaeologists, but also to archaeologists and ethnohistorians studying other prehistoric and historic Woodland Native American groups.

ETHNOHISTORIC SOURCES

Six collections of ethnohistoric sources for the Eastern Woodlands, the Prairies, the Great Plains, and the Subarctic were searched for the functions, meanings, and social role associations of artifact classes analogous to Ohio Hopewellian ceremonial paraphernalia. These sources are:

- (1) the *eHRAF* © 1997 *Collection of Ethnography*, which is maintained by the Human Relations Area Files, Inc. at Yale University (www.yale.edu/hraf/);
- (2) Henry R. Schoolcraft's (1860) *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, including a modern index to it by Francis S. Nichols (1954), all reproduced by the Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., in their © 1997 *The American Indian CD-ROM* (www.guildpress.com);
- (3, 4) John R. Swanton's (1946, 1928) *Indians of the Southeastern United States* and *Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians*; and
- (5, 6) James Mooney's (1891a, 1900a) *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees* and *Myths of the Cherokee*.

The first two collections provided coverage of tribes in the northern Woodlands, the Prairies, the Plains, and the Subarctic, whereas the remainder were selected for their complementary coverage of southeastern Woodland tribes.

The eHRAF Collection of Ethnography

The *eHRAF Collection of Ethnography* is an electronic data base of full-text sources that are amenable to exact word searches. The data

base provides descriptive information on many aspects of cultural and social life for various ethnic groups around the world. For this study, we focused on information from ethnological documents on all nine Eastern Woodlands, Prairies, Great Plains, and Subarctic tribes that are covered in the data base.

The nine tribes are diverse in culture, belonging to six language families (Table 11.1). There are 300 documents in total on the nine tribes in the *eHRAF*. Over one-third of the documents are for Algonquian-speaking tribes. The other five language families, including the Athabascan, Caddoan, Iroquoian, Muskogean, and Siouan, each are represented by less than one-fifth of the total documents.

Schoolcraft and His Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge

Schoolcraft's *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge* (AOAK) are among a suite of many important early historical and ethnological documents on native North Americans that are electronically reproduced in full text on *The American Indian CD-ROM*. The texts can be searched for exact words. Most of the documents on the CD are not found in eHRAF, particularly Schoolcraft's.

To give the reader a sense of the kinds and quality of information in Schoolcraft's AOAK, we summarize his history as an ethnologist. The most concise statement of Schoolcraft's life and works is presented by Tanner (1999). Excellent book-length biographies on Schoolcraft have been written by Bremer (1987) and Osborn and Osborn (1942). Osborn and Osborn (1942) have also compiled the only complete, published bibliography of Schoolcraft's works. Bieder (1986),

Table 11.1. Woodlands, Prairie, Plains, and Subarctic Native American Tribes Covered in the eHRAF and Included in the Survey of Artifacts and Raw Materials

Algonquian	Athabascan	Caddoan	Iroquoian	Muskogean	Siouan	Total
Blackfoot 34	Chipewyan 57	Pawnee 18	Iroquois 51	Seminole 38	Assiniboine 19	
Delaware 20					Stoney 8	
Ojibwa 55						
TOTALS 109	57	18	51	38	27	300

n = 9 tribes, 6 language families, 300 ethnohistorical documents

Michaelsen (1999), and Clements (1990) provide important discussions of Schoolcraft's role in the development of early American anthropology.

Schoolcraft lived from 1793 to 1864. He was a key historical figure to the foundation of professional ethnology, particularly in the eastern United States. Among ethnologists of the early nineteenth-century, he was unique for having lived closely with Native Americans for a long time. He served the Office of Indian Affairs for nineteen years at remote agencies on the northwestern American frontier. Subsequently, he directed federal research and lectured widely on Native American ethnology. Between 1821 and 1857, he contributed numerous articles and monographs, which ultimately shaped popular colonial opinion regarding American Indians.

The major theoretical and methodological influences on Schoolcraft were the works of five scholars, including William Robertson (1777), Comte de Volney (1822), Thomas Jefferson (1788), Albert Gallatin (1836), and Lewis Cass (1823). Robertson's and Volney's writings unfortunately predisposed Schoolcraft to view American Indians in a rather lowly position of cultural development. Robertson and Volney asserted an erroneous model of hierarchical cultural evolution from savagery to civilization. Nevertheless, Schoolcraft did make substantial contributions to Native American ethnology, especially in the field of linguistics and in documenting oral traditions. His emphasis on the importance of language and culture were likely inspired by Jefferson and Gallatin. The greatest scholarly influence on Schoolcraft, however, was probably Cass. Schoolcraft worked directly with Governor Cass between 1819 and 1831 in the northwestern territories. Schoolcraft's methods of designing research and gathering data are easily traced to previous work by Cass.

Following Cass, Schoolcraft began his most important ethnological work in 1847. The purpose of the work was to improve policy regarding federal relations with American Indian tribes in the United States. The project was sponsored by an act of Congress and administered through the Office of Indian Affairs.

Under Schoolcraft's direction, a lengthy census and ethnological questionnaire was distributed to all agents, mission school administrators, and missionaries who were affiliated with the tribes. This was the first official attempt at a national census and an ethnological survey of all American Indian tribes that maintained relationships with the U.S. government.

From the survey, Schoolcraft acquired the aggregate census data for 23,497 Indians and partial results on another 8,893. There are substantial ethnological data within the text on sixteen tribes in the Eastern Woodlands, Prairies, and Great Plains, including the Algonquian Fox, Kickapoo, Miami, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomie, and Sauk; the Siouan Dakota, Omaha, Oto, and Winnebago; the Muskogean Chickasaw and Creek; the Iroquois and Cherokee; and the Caddoan Pawnee. The work was supplemented by library research and by Schoolcraft's own observations from having lived over 30 years with the Ojibwa. His primary Ojibwa informants included Catherine Wabose, Chingwauk, Chusco, and Schoolcraft's first wife Jane Johnston.

The results of Schoolcraft's federal census and ethnological survey are reported in *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*. The first three volumes have been reviewed briefly in an article by Bowen (1853) and extensively in the biography by Bremer (1987:293–346). The publication remains a standard reference on early Native American ethnology, including five volumes, 3,200 pages, and 300 illustrations. There is also a sixth volume that summarizes the study. J.B. Lippincott consecutively printed volumes one through six between 1851 and 1857 in Philadelphia. Most of the illustrations were reproduced from the engravings of the highly acclaimed artist of frontier life, Seth Eastman (Boehme et al. 1995; McDermott 1961). In 1860, the set was reprinted as the *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge* (AOAK), after Schoolcraft had obtained the copyright from Congress. A seventh volume, which is a modern index of the AOAK and which was compiled by

Francis S. Nichols (1954) for the U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, is also included on *The American Indian CD-ROM*.

As with all early anthropological and lay sources of information on Native American life, Schoolcraft's must be read with a critical eye for biases of the time and writer. In addition to his unilineal, cultural evolutionary perspective, from which he assumed his and Westerners' superior position to native peoples (see above), Schoolcraft also often romanticized and exaggerated his findings (e.g., Mallery 1888 cited in Hoffman 1891:156). He has also been criticized for not adequately acknowledging his sources of information, including the works of contemporaries and his Ojibwa wife, Jane Johnston (Angel 2002:29, 89; Michaelsen 1999).

The *eHRAF* and Schoolcraft's works complement each other well. The *eHRAF* is constituted by more sources of information, whereas Schoolcraft's works offers examples from more tribes. Together, both databases provide much ethnological and historical information on Native American tribes in the Eastern Woodlands, Prairies, Great Plains, and Subarctic, especially north of the 35th Parallel.

Neither the *eHRAF Collection of Ethnography* nor *The American Indian CD-ROM* data bases report much information on Native American tribes in southeastern North America. The *eHRAF* covers only one tribe, the Seminole, in the southeastern Woodlands. To compensate for these biases, the four key texts by Swanton (1928,1946) and Mooney (1891a, 1900a) and cited above were consulted. All four of these texts are considered foundational to southeastern ethnological studies by many anthropologists.

Swanton and His Works

Biographical notes on John Swanton appear in three articles, by Steward (1960), Dorson (1980), and Lonergan (1999), in two introductory chapters by Kroeber (1940) and Lankford (1995), and in an obituary by Fenton (1959). The largest bibliographies of Swanton's publications were compiled by Nichols (1940)

and Fenton (1959). Judd (1967) presented the highlights of Swanton's professional career with the Bureau of American Ethnology from 1900 to 1944.

Swanton lived from 1873 to 1958. He was educated in anthropology at Harvard University in the 1890s. While studying there under archaeologists Frederick W. Putnam and Charles C. Willoughby, he conducted excavations in Maine, New Jersey, and Ohio with Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. In 1898, when working for the American Museum of Natural History, he began conducting ethnographic fieldwork among the Indians of the northwest Pacific Coast under the tutelage Franz Boas. From his Pacific Coast fieldwork, he earned a Ph.D. in 1900. Subsequently, Swanton gained a position at the Bureau of American Ethnology, where he remained until his retirement in 1944.

Swanton is chiefly remembered for his anthropological work in the southeastern United States. Among anthropologists, "mention of the area automatically brings to all of us the association of his name" (Kroeber 1940:2).

For Swanton and his contemporaries, the Southeast seemed rather hopeless for salvaging much ethnography on American Indian cultures. The southeastern Indians had been despoiled by nearly four centuries of colonialism, assimilation, and genocide. Moreover, the majority of the surviving populace had resided in Oklahoma for generations, far from their traditional homelands. By many accounts, the Southeast appeared to be the most acculturated of all cultural areas in North America.

Nevertheless, Swanton rose to the occasion with an innovative approach. He proposed that southeastern Indian cultures could be reconstructed from the descriptions of early observers, explorers, soldiers, travelers, and missionaries. Indeed, he was the first to make substantial use of historical documents to sketch the ethnology of southeastern Indians. Although he did not use the term, the fruits of his labors eventually matured into the field of "ethnohistory."

Modern ethnohistorical methodology requires evaluation of the authenticity,

completeness, and biases of early documents. Swanton, however, was seldom very critical of his sources. He instead preferred to collect, organize, and present ethnological information, allowing the historical texts to simply speak for themselves.

The most comprehensive of Swanton's works is his 1946 *Indians of the Southeastern United States*. Although supplemented by summaries of ethnographic fieldwork by Swanton and others among southeastern tribes residing in Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Texas, most of the information in the report was drawn from numerous early historical documents (Swanton 1946:827–856). The work contains 943 pages of ethnohistorical information complemented by 106 illustrations. Furthermore, it covers 177 tribes from 7 language families, including Algonquian, Caddoan, Iroquoian, Muskogean, Siouan, Tunican, and Uchean. See Swanton's table 1 (1946:10–11) for a complete list of the tribes according to their respective language families. Over half of the tribes are Muskogean speakers, among which the largest is the Muscogee, or Creek. The monograph was reviewed positively by Alden (1947) and Haas (1948).

Swanton's (1928) *Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians* was selected in order to further examine Muskogean-speaking tribes. The majority of the information reported by Swanton was derived from the works of early observers, including James Adair (1775), William Bartram (1792, 1853), Benjamin Hawkins and William Hodgson (1848), Clay MacCauley (1887), and Caleb Swan (1856). Beyond these ethnohistorical records, the source of some of the data was Swanton's own ethnographic fieldwork in Oklahoma and Texas around 1912. His primary informants included Zachariah Cook, Big Jack, Silas Jefferson, Jackson Lewis, Caley Proctor, and Watt Sam, although he also obtained information from Charlie Adams, Sanger Beaver, Wiley Buckner, Ellis Childers, David Cummings, G. W. Grayson, Jackson Knight, William McCombs and many others who remained anonymous. The text includes

199 pages of detailed information on ceremonial artifacts, features, and raw materials and seven illustrations of artifacts. The report was reviewed in an article by Abernethy (1928).

Swanton was especially sensitive to ethnohistorical data that had become pertinent in archaeological studies. In fact, he was the first scholar to identify from ethnohistorical descriptions the likely presence of medicine bags in the archaeological record (Swanton 1920:33), which led to the discovery of many other prehistoric cases in the Eastern Woodlands (for a summary, see Fox and Molto 1994: 31–32). Furthermore, he devoted a large portion of *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Swanton 1946:242–629) to identifying numerous kinds of material culture that were used historically by Native Americans in the Southeast (Haas 1948:90). Swanton (1946:827) concluded his magnum opus by saying, “the future study of the Southeastern Indians rests mainly with the archaeologists”.

Mooney and His Works

A great deal of biographical information is available on James Mooney. Detailed biographies include a Ph.D. dissertation by Colby (1977), a book by Moses (1984), and an introductory chapter by Ellison (1992). Articles by both King (1982) and Moses (1999) offer succinct biographies. Interesting notes on Mooney's life and personality appear in a dedication to his posthumous publication edited by Olbrechts (1932) and in an obituary by Swanton (1922). An inventory of Mooney's publications and manuscripts is provided by Colby (1977) and Moses (1984).

Mooney lived from 1861 to 1921. In 1879, he began his professional career first as a secondary school teacher and then as a newspaper reporter with the *Richmond Palladium* in Indiana. Through the media, he quickly learned about the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnography that had been recently established to study American Indians. Fascinated by Indians, Mooney applied three times for a job at the Bureau. In 1885, he was finally awarded a volunteer position after

a chance meeting with the director, John W. Powell. He impressed Powell with his depth of knowledge on Indian history and with the scope of his independent research on the synonymy of tribal names. He was officially hired in the fall of 1886, where he worked until his untimely death at age 61. Under the supervision of senior ethnologists Albert Gatschet and Washington Matthews, he was granted his first field assignment among the Eastern Band of Cherokee residing in the Great Smoky Mountains of western North Carolina. He conducted intermittent ethnographic fieldwork with the Eastern Cherokee from 1887 to 1890. In subsequent field studies on Plains Indians, he investigated the Ghost Dance, Peyote Religion, and picture-writing. He did not do further ethnographic field work in the Eastern Woodlands.

Mooney's (1891a, 1900a) *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees* and *Myths of the Cherokee* were selected here for their detailed and extensive ethnographic data on the Iroquoian-speaking Cherokee. *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees* includes 96 pages of textual information and four illustrations. The text presents 28 sacred formulas of 600 that were gathered by Mooney from seven Cherokees in western North Carolina between 1887 and 1888. The collection of sacred formulas consists of various ritual manuscripts that were transcribed in the Cherokee language. In the monograph, Mooney provides translations and explanations of the texts. Half of the sacred formulas in the report were acquired from Mooney's primary informant, A'yûñ'iní, or "Swimmer". The rest were obtained from A'wanita, Ayâsta, Inâli, Takwtihi, Tsiskwa, and Wilnoti.

Myths of the Cherokee contains 573 pages of text and 22 illustrations. The text includes an ethnohistorical sketch, notes on the narrators of the myths, parallels with the stories of other tribes, and a glossary. Much of the ethnohistorical information in it comes from the accounts of early observers, especially James Adair (1775), William Bartram (1853), Daniel S. Buttrick (1884), John Haywood (1823), John H. Payne (1849, 1862), and Ephraim G. Squier (1851) (see Churchill 2000). Mooney's

major contribution to the report was his ethnographic fieldwork among the eastern Cherokee between 1887 and 1890. Some information, however, was obtained later from the Oklahoma Cherokee, particularly James D. Wafford. The monograph presents over 100 myths, of which approximately 75 percent obtained were from Swimmer. The remainder were acquired from Ayâsta, James and David Blythe, Ităgû'năhî, Salâ'lı, Nimrod J. Smith, Suyeta, Ta'gwădihî, and Tsësa'nî. Concise reviews of the *Myths of the Cherokee* appear in articles by Beddoe (1903) and Chamberlain (1903).

Mooney has been criticized for having retained the same naïve realism and ethnocentrism of his predecessors, Adair, Buttrick, and Squier, when interpreting Cherokee ceremonial life (Churchill 2000; cf., Hudson 2000). The works of Adair, Buttrick, and Squier were particularly flawed by the belief that the Cherokees had originated from the lost tribes of Israel, a prevalent notion of the time eventually dispelled through the archaeological investigations of burial mounds by Cyrus Thomas (Silverberg 1968). While Mooney was not committed to Semitic origins for the Cherokee, he did continue to inadvertently describe them as though they conceptualized the world much like the ancient Hebrews.

In addition, Mooney's works commonly make analogies between notions of the Cherokee and those of Judeo-Christians (e.g., his opening statements to the "Cherokee River Cult" [Mooney 1900b]) and sometimes even those of Celtic Druids (e.g., Mooney 1891a:309). Mooney was an Irish Catholic, was actively thinking and writing about his Gaelic roots, and was clearly writing for a Christian audience. Mooney, by his own admission, also edited out many parts of myths that were considered vulgar by Judeo-Christian standards, especially parts that explicitly described aspects of sexuality.

A point of frustration to scholars who have worked with Mooney's *Myths of the Cherokee* is that he reports them only in English translation, without their Cherokee originals. This has prevented evaluation of the closeness and cultural sensitivity of the translations.

Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees provides both English and Cherokee renditions. Scholarly concern over content and wording also derives from Mooney having idiosyncratically joined translated statements from separate informants, Swimmer and John Axe, into a single text for the cosmogonic myth, “How the World was Made”, without distinguishing who said what, or justifying why the two accounts belong together in a single narrative.

Despite these shortcomings of Mooney’s works, the information on Cherokee thought and ceremony that he preserved remains central to contemporary southeastern Woodlands ethnohistory and anthropology. As one of Mooney’s biographers has aptly noted, “no greater testimonial can be offered to Mooney than the reliance placed on his work by anthropologists” (Ellison 1992:1). Both the *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees* and the *Myths of the Cherokee* heavily influenced Charles Hudson’s (1976) seminal synthesis, *The Southeastern Indians*. Hudson’s work, in turn, as been one of the main ethnohistorical sources of inspiration for archaeologists who have attempted to reconstruct Mississippian social and religious life in the Eastern Woodlands (e.g., Reilly and Garber 2007).

Modern, Critical Perspectives

The works of Schoolcraft, Swanton, and Mooney are generally assumed to be among some of the most reliable sources of ethnological information available on Eastern Woodland Indians prior to significant acculturation. Yet, it must be remembered that their texts were written in cultural and academic contexts not yet self-critical of their Judeo-Christian biased and English language-biased world view assumptions. Moreover, their works were produced for a largely Judeo-Christian readership. Consequently, the writings of Schoolcraft, Swanton, and Mooney implicitly impose Judeo-Christian concepts and perspectives in reporting the ceremonial uses, religious meanings, and perhaps the social role associations of ritual paraphernalia, other artifacts, and raw material classes, such as those surveyed

here. Some of the quotations from Schoolcraft’s, Swanton’s, and Mooney’s works reproduced in this chapter probably give at best a partial and filtered understanding of the functions and religious meanings of these items for historic Native American peoples and, by analogy, for prehistoric Ohio Hopewell peoples. For example, nuances of the functions and symbolic meanings of artifacts reported to have been used for “purification”, “sacrifice”, “worship”, “obtaining supernatural power”, and such are likely off-center (Churchill 2000; Hallowell 1960; Morrison 1984, 2000; Miller 1955). This kind of interpretive problem has only recently begun to be addressed through critical anthropological studies (Churchill 2000; Kehoe 1989; Mann 2003; Morrison 2002). Interpretations of Hopewellian ceremonialism based on the presented quotations could be improved by taking the critical vantage of such modern studies, as well as through continued dialogue with contemporary Native American communities.

OHIO HOPEWELLIAN ARTIFACT CLASSES AND RAW MATERIALS

The six collections of ethnohistoric works discussed above were searched for information on the ceremonial and utilitarian functions, symbolic meanings, and role associations of 51 classes of fancy artifacts and raw materials. The items are formally equivalent or analogous to ones found in Ohio Hopewell burials and ceremonial centers and are recorded in the HOPEBIOARCH data base. The 51 classes and the multiple keywords for each that were used to make the searches are listed in Table 11.2.

The particular kinds of items that were selected for search include almost all that we thought were used or possibly used in shamanic or shaman-like ceremonies, given our a priori knowledge of ethnohistoric literatures and archaeological contextual information. We also chose most classes of items that we thought represented leadership in communities, leadership or membership in ceremonial societies, and high prestige. The artifact classes

Table 11.2. Ohio Hopewell Artifact Classes and Corresponding Terms Searched in Ethnographic Literature

	Terms Searched in Ethnographic Literature	Searched in HRAF?	Searched in Schoelcraft (American Indian CD)?	Searched in Swanton (1928, 1946) and Mooney (1891a, 1900a)?	Found in HRAF?	Found in Schoelcraft?	Found in Swanton (1928)?	Found in Swanton (1946)?	Found in Mooney (1891a)?	Found in Mooney (1900a)?
<i>Shaman-like Practitioners' Paraphernalia, Definite or Likely</i>										
projectile points of quartz, obsidian, other gems, translucent stones, copper, mica, cannel coal	point(s), projectile(s), projectile point(s), arrow(s), arrowhead(s), spear(s), spearhead(s), lance(s), knife, knives, blade(s), quartz, obsidian, gem(s), amethyst, translucent, copper, mica	x		x	y		y	y	y	y
mica mirrors	mirror(s), tablet(s)	x			y					
cones, hemispheres	cone(s), cup(s), hemisphere(s)	x			y					
boatstones	boatstone(s), trough(s)	x			n					
marbles	marble(s), pebble(s), ball(s), sphere(s), spheroid(s)	x	x		y	y	n	y	y	y
plummetts, pendula	plummet(s), pendulum(s), pendula	x	x		y	n	n	n	y	n
crystals of quartz or other stones	crystal(s), gem(s)	x	x		y	n	y	y	y	y
fossils, concretions	fossil(s), concretion(s)	x	x		y	n	n	n	n	n
sucking and blowing tubes	tube(s), blowing tube(s)	x			y	y	y	y	y	y
wands, small	wand(s), rod(s)	x	x		y	y	y	y	y	y
awls	awl(s), skewer(s)	x			y	n	n	y	n	y
conch shell cups	conch(s), shell cup(s), shell vessel(s)	x			y					
cutouts of copper, mica	cutout(s), fenestration(s)	x			y					
barracuda jaw scratchers	barracuda jaw(s), scratcher(s)	x	x		y	y	y	y	y	y
shark teeth	shark, shark teeth, shark tooth, shark's teeth, shark's tooth	x	x		y	n	n	n	n	n
alligator teeth	alligator teeth, alligator tooth	x	x		y	n	n	n	n	n
fans	fan(s)	x			y					
tinklers and rattlers	tinkler(s), rattler(s), jingler(s), bell(s)	x			y	y	y	y	y	y
smoking pipes	pipe(s)	x			y					
<i>Possible Shaman-like Practitioners' Paraphernalia</i>										
panpipes	panpipe(s), flute(s), whistle(s)	x	x		y	y	y	y	n	y
incised tablets	tablet(s), palette(s)	x			y		n	y	n	n
figurines	figurine(s), effigy, effigies, doll(s), idol(s), fetish(es)	x			y		y	y	n	y
owl	owl(s)	x			y					

(Continued)

Table 11.2. (continued)

Ohio Hopewell Artifact Class and a priori Identification of Its Function	Terms Searched in Ethnographic Literature	Searched in HRAF?	Searched in Schoolcraft (American Indian CD)?	Searched in Swanton (1928), Schoolcraft?	Found in HRAF?	Searched in Swanton (1928), Schoolcraft?	Found in Swanton (1946)?	Found in Mooney (1891a)?	Found in Mooney (1900a)?
<i>Paraphernalia of Nonshamanic Leaders, Sodality Members, Roles of Social Importance</i>									
headplates	headplate(s), head plate(s), head dress(es), headdress(es), headgear, head gear, head ornaments, hat(s)	x			y	y	y	n	y
batons	baton(s), staff(s), rod(s), mace(s)	x			y	y	y	y	y
breasplates	breasplate(s)	x	x		n	y	y	n	n
earspools	earspool(s), ear spool(s), ear ornament(s)	x			y	y	y	n	y
crescents	crecent(s)	x	x		y	n	y	n	n
gorgets, pendants	gorget(s), pendant(s), reel	x			y	y	n	n	y
"trophy" skulls, jaws, ears, fingers	trophy, trophies, mandible(s), maxilla(e), jaw(s)	x			y	y	y	n	y
celt	celt, axe, hatchet, tomahawk	x			y	y	y	n	y
atlatl	atlatl, spear thrower					n	y	n	n
<i>Raw Materials of Multiple or Uncertain Social Role Associations</i>									
amethyst	amethyst	x			n	n	n	n	n
cannel coal	cannel coal, lignite, hard coal	x	x		n	n	n	n	n
copper	copper	x	x		y	y	y	n	y
fluorite	fluorite	x			n				
galena	galena	x			n				
gold	gold				n	n	y	n	y
graphite	graphite	x			y	y	n	n	n
hematite	hematite	x			y	y	y	y	y
malachite	malachite	x			n				
meteoric iron	meteor, meteorite, meteoric, meteoritic	x			n	y	n	n	y
mica	mica	x			y	n	n	n	n
micaceous schist (goldstone)	micaceous schist, goldstone	x			n	n	n	n	y
obsidian	obsidian	x			n	n	n	n	n
ochre (red and yellow),	ochre, vermilion, red paint, cinnabar	x	x		y	y	n	n	n
pearls	pearl(s)	x			y		y	y	y
pyrite	pyrite	x			y	n	n	n	y
quartz	quartz	x			y	y	y	y	y
sandstone	sandstone	x			y				
shell	shell(s)	x							
silver	silver	x	x		y	y	n	n	y
tortoise and turtle shell	tortoise shell, turtle shell, terrapin	x			y	y	y	n	y
translucent stone	translucent	x	x		n	y	n	n	n

of these kinds that we did not choose for search were limited to a small number for which we could not figure out sound keywords—words that described the classes precisely and would not generate a huge number of irrelevant “hits”, and words that were not jargon particular to Hopewell archaeological literature. These unselected classes are disks, cups, and dishes of fancy materials, copper rods, and boatstones. We also excluded items that were rare and idiosyncratic to Hopewell material culture: a mushroom effigy copper staff, copper effigy deer antlers, and copper nostril inserts. Images of animal-human impersonators (e.g., a bird-man, a bear-man) were not chosen for search because they are already known well to represent shamanic or shaman-like leadership roles (Chapter 4, Depictions, Costumery, and Symbols of Position of Leaders; Carr and Case 2005b).

We systematically did not select artifact classes that, based on contextual analysis (Thomas et al. 2005), are already known to have marked prestigious or ordinary clan roles (metallic and mica effigy animal power parts, ordinary animal power parts). We also did not search the literatures for items that probably reflected only personal prestige and/or wealth (e.g., necklaces, bracelets and anklets of metallic beads; hair skewers and buttons of copper) or that were for personal adornment (e.g., nonmetallic buttons, necklaces, bracelets, anklets) or that were used in utilitarian subsistence and material processing activities (e.g., containers, hammerstones, drills, knives, celts, and points, all made of mundane materials). These personal and utilitarian items were not chosen for search because they would have generated unmanageably large numbers of “hits” in the literature, probably with little return on ceremonial uses.

All 51 classes of items chosen for study were searched in the *eHRAF*. Smaller numbers of classes of items were searched in the *American Indian CD-ROM* and the works by Swanton and Mooney (Table 11.2), given a shortage of manpower and the difficulties of searching non-electronic, hard-copy literatures.

SEARCH PROCEDURES

Searches in the *eHRAF* and the *American Indian CD-ROM* were made using the keywords listed in Table 11.2. Plural and singular terms were searched, as were synonyms for an item. Technical aspects of the searches are described in Appendix 11.1. Examples of searches are also given there. The analog texts by Swanton and Mooney were searched by reading each of the 1,811 pages of the texts. The indices included with these works were helpful in making the searches, but are incomplete and could not be relied upon to guide full searches of the texts. An example of this situation is given in Appendix 11.1.

Not all search hits were informative or relevant to the intended search category. These hits are not reproduced here. For example, sometimes the found reference to an artifact class was simply its name among a larger set of classes mentioned for some obtuse reason. Sometimes the found keyword referred to a thing having the same name as the searched artifact class but different in nature. For instance, the search for “pebbles”, which were used among Woodland Native Americans for divining, also brought up pebbles as constituents of natural landscapes. Such hits were discarded while the search was ongoing.

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

Searches in the *eHRAF* and the works of Schoolcraft, Swanton, and Mooney for information on the 51 artifact and raw material classes led to more than one thousand informative and relevant quotations. The quotations, their indices, and bibliography total over 10 MB. The full set of quotations are given in Appendices 11.2–11.7, each appendix allocated to one of the six major ethnohistoric sources (i.e., *eHRAF*, Schoolcraft’s texts, Swanton 1928, 1946; and Mooney 1891a, 1900a).

Appendices 11.2 and 11.3 contain information from the *eHRAF* and Schoolcraft’s texts. The appendices provide quotations in a sequence arranged hierarchically, first by artifact and raw material class, then by language

group, and finally by tribe. Each artifact and raw material class has its own Word file of quotations. In a given file, for a given tribe, there may be from one to many quotations. Bibliographic citations for each quote are given at the end of each quote. The full bibliographic information for each cited source, along with summary information about the nature of each source, are presented at the end of each file of artifact and raw material classes.

Appendices 11.4 through 11.7 provide information from Swanton's and Mooney's four texts. Each appendix lists, in an index, the citations for each quotation, rather than the quotations, themselves, in the same sequence as Appendices 11.2 and 11.3, that is, arranged by artifact and raw material class, then by language group, and finally by tribe. Each index of citations is found in a Word file named "Index". The quotations, themselves, are given in a file named "Quotes", ordered by page number in the one book by Swanton or Mooney that pertains. In addition, plates, a glossary, and a table that come from Swanton's or Mooney's publications and that have relevant information are listed in the indices and are found in files named "Plates", "Glossary", and "Table 1".

To aid the reader in finding particular kinds of information, from one to four descriptors are listed in the headers for each tribe: "ritual", "use", "meaning", and/or "social category". These terms indicate the kinds of information to be found within the quotes given for that tribe:

- (1) Ritual. The rituals and purposes of the rituals in which the artifact class was used historically.
- (2) Use. The specific ritual use of the artifact class historically.
- (3) Meaning. The religious meaning attached to the artifact class historically.
- (4) Social category. The social categories of persons who used the artifact class historically (e.g., particular clans, ceremonial organizations, genders, age classes, leaders of various kinds).

Diacritical marks on Native American words are used in the *eHRAF* for most but not

all documents surveyed here and are retained in the Word files in Appendix 11.2. Schoolcraft's texts on the *American Indian CD* seldom use diacritical marks, and this convention is retained in the quotations that are drawn from it and reproduced in Appendix 11.3. The diacritical marks used by Swanton and Mooney in their texts are not retained in the Word files in Appendices 11.4–11.7, with the exception of Mooney's (1900a) glossary in Appendix 11.7. This is reproduced in .pdf format in order to allow full diacritical marking.

Table 11.3 summarizes the information in Appendices 11.2–11.7. The table lists each of the 51 artifact classes and its functions, meanings, and role associations in the tribes for which information about it was found. The functions, meanings, and role associations in this table are described in general categories (e.g., divination, war, dances), to give the reader an overview of the artifact class. More detailed descriptions of variations in the functions, meanings, and role associations of an artifact class across and within tribes, in terms closer to the original texts, are provided in Appendix 11.8. No attempt has been made to reinterpret Western descriptive terms, such as worship, evil, purity, and god, which are used in the original texts, into terms more in line with native knowledge.

To explore whether an artifact class had a particular function, meaning, or role association of interest historically and possibly among Ohio Hopewell peoples, and to track down quotations that support, or not, that function, meaning, or role association, the reader should begin with the summaries in Table 11.3. If promising information is found, the reader should proceed to the finer information provided in Appendix 11.8. This Appendix also lists the bibliographic source(s) (*eHRAF*, Schoolcraft, Swanton [1928, 1946], Mooney [1891a, 1900a]) of the finer information. If Appendix 11.8 bears fruit, then the reader can turn to the indices and quotations for the relevant bibliographic source(s) (Appendices 11.2–11.7) to obtain from them direct quotations and bibliographic citations.

Table 11.3. Summary of the Uses, Meanings, and Social Role Associations of Artifacts of Historic Native Americans in the Eastern Woodlands, Prairies, Plains, and Subarctic

Ohio Hopewell Artifact Class and a priori Identification of Its General Function	Summary of the Ceremonial or Utilitarian Uses, Social Role Associations, and Meaning Associations of Analogs Found in Ethnographic Literature
<i>Shaman-like Practitioners’ Paraphernalia, Definite or Likely</i>	
projectile points of quartz, obsidian, other gems, translucent stones, copper, mica, cannel coal	<i>Uses:</i> divination as a pendulum, finding a lost person by shooting method, medicinal scratching, scratching prior to a ceremony, spirit arrows/intrusions, ensure a good hunt, gaming, utilitarian points, other <i>Associations:</i> red (blood), not bears, cannibal spirits, a mischevious boy, a sky being, other
mica mirrors	<i>Uses:</i> divination, sun signaling, mirror for grooming, body ornamentation, flashing at a woman to attract her, customary grave offering, given as gifts, other <i>Associations:</i> a soul, cause of death, the dead
cones, hemispheres	<i>Uses:</i> divination, gaming, healing by sucking and cupping, work hides, crystallize maple syrup <i>Associations:</i> sky, Milky Way, sweat lodge
boatstones	no information
marbles	<i>Uses:</i> magical weather control, find lost objects, pendulum method of divining, evidence of a sucked out power intrusion, to contain a medicine man’s spirits, part of a ceremony to kill a person, children’s games, adult gaming, counters, placed inside rattles, ornaments, other <i>Associations:</i> shaman, “lower world” creatures and beings (Uktena, Spear-finger, others), the dead, high-level Mide’s powers
plummets, pendula	<i>Uses:</i> divination of the location of lost objects, divination of a sick person’s prognosis <i>Associations:</i> shaman
crystals of quartz or other stones	<i>Uses:</i> to see through opaque barriers, to see things far away, find lost objects, taken out of patients, to bring rain, bring success in many kinds of ventures, a medium of exchange, components of bundles of medicine men and warriors, other <i>Associations:</i> medicine men, warriors, Uktena, water, lightening, the Little People, the creation, sexual excitation
fossils, concretions	<i>Uses:</i> healing, antidote for poison, to bring prosperity, in prayer, for ornaments; contents of medicine pouches and war bundles, to make face paint <i>Associations:</i> meteorites, buffalo, power, women, leaders, common people
sucking, blowing, bubbling, and breathing tubes	<i>Uses:</i> to suck out a power intrusion or blood from a patient, blow medicine on a patient, blow prayers or spiritual essenses into a medicinal tea, allow a novice medicine man breath when “buried alive”, other <i>Associations:</i> medicine men, medicine bundles, birds and bird bone, cane, cattail
wands (wands, rods)	<i>Uses:</i> prayer, divination, gambling, “stick swallowing” by medicine men, leading dances, conducting singers, suspend scalps taken in war <i>Associations:</i> medicine men, dance leaders, chiefs, guards, warriors, the sun, birds (feathers), snakes, deer
awls	<i>Uses:</i> gaming, skewers to pierce the flesh in ceremonies or for ornamentation, utilitarian punches, basket weaving, other <i>Associations:</i> kingfisher, fishing spear, Spear-finger (witch), brides, utilitarian tasks

(Continued)

Table 11.3. (continued)

Ohio Hopewell Artifact Class and a priori Identification of Its General Function	Summary of the Ceremonial or Utilitarian Uses, Social Role Associations, and Meaning Associations of Analogs Found in Ethnographic Literature
conch shell cups	<i>Uses:</i> serve the black drink, grave offerings for a chief <i>Associations:</i> the black drink, chiefs
cutouts of copper, mica	<i>Uses:</i> to represent things in ceremonies and dances (horses, stars, items given away) <i>Associations:</i> medicine men, ritual lodges, dances
barracuda jaw scratchers (barracuda, scratcher)	<i>Uses:</i> in healing to let out "bad" blood, rub in medicine to bring it closer to blood, and/or remove power intrusions; mutual scratching in the exchange of promises; to prepare a person for a ceremony; to punish children, adults; to threaten animals with punishment; scratching with various sharp animal parts to give a person some quality of the animal or achieve some specific end related to the animal <i>Associations:</i> the ground squirrel, per a myth; scratchers can be made from jaws, teeth, pinchers, claws, arrowheads, flakes, briars, sharpened wood or bone
shark teeth	<i>Uses:</i> exchanged with inland groups for hides
alligator teeth	<i>Uses:</i> exchanged among tribes, necklaces
fans	<i>Uses:</i> by greeting parties, in processions preceding the chief, in war ceremonies, in dances, in cooking to fan fires <i>Associations:</i> chiefs, warriors
rattlers (gourd, not turtle shell)	<i>Uses:</i> ceremonies concerning peace-making, vegetation, crops; the busk <i>Associations:</i> plants, chiefs and leaders of ceremonies
tinkers	<i>Uses:</i> for sound in dances <i>Associations:</i> both men and women
smoking pipes	<i>Uses:</i> make treaties, oaths, pass around council meetings, expel humors to cure, blow as a medicine on or into a patient, reinvigorate the aged, keep harmful spirits away, with magical formulae, ceremonies to recount events of prestige, blow into the nostrils of a killed bear to appease it, transfers and trade, other <i>Associations:</i> medicine bundles, men (or men's pipes differentiated from women's), chief's and warrior's pipes differentiated, reckoning distance in terms of pipefuls of tobacco smoked, other
<i>Possible Shaman-like Practitioners' Paraphernalia</i>	
panpipes (flutes)	<i>Uses:</i> courting, welcome parties, ambassadors, warn a village of danger, accompany singing and dancing, other <i>Associations:</i> individuals, not collectives; the directions; other
panpipes (whistles)	<i>Uses:</i> in war, hunting, welcoming parties, processions within a polity, to gather people, infrequently in courting, prayer during curing, prayer by whole band, to prevent rain, the Sun Dance, many other ceremonies, to direct dances, frighten birds, to imitated the calls of diverse animals and beings, divination, courting rarely, other <i>Associations:</i> warriors (leader or all), medicine men, ceremonial societies (men's and women's), dance leaders, all members of dances, sacred bundles (medicine man's and personal), diverse animals, diverse mythical beings, bird bone, other
incised tablets	<i>Uses:</i> left in enemy territory by warriors to tell that they committed an act of war, or to warn an enemy of an impending attack

(Continued)

Table 11.3. (continued)

Ohio Hopewell Artifact Class and a priori Identification of Its General Function	Summary of the Ceremonial or Utilitarian Uses, Social Role Associations, and Meaning Associations of Analogs Found in Ethnographic Literature
figurines (small)	<p><i>Uses:</i> Big House mortuary ceremony, grieving, grave offering, Midewiwin and Husk Face ceremonies, channel of communication to beings/deities, objects of power in themselves, by medicine man in healing a patient, to protect one from illness, to protect one's home, by whole families to guard against disease and rid disease, in the form of one's guardian spirit and worn, depict clan animals, made after a dream or important incident, in pairs in love magic, sympathetic hunting magic, to kill or apprehend a murderer within a society, carried to war, represent warrior enemies to act out aggression, carried by greeting parties, carried by dance leaders, children's play and learning of adult tasks, on top of ball game poles, other</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> sacred bundles, men, women, children, guardian spirit, clan animals, illness, whatever is depicted by the figurine, death, elements of headdresses, different figurines distinguish different grades of Midewiwin members, other</p>
idols (large)	<p><i>Uses:</i> protect a settlement; brought out and thanked at sowing and harvest time to provide good crops, health, peace, victory in war; given offerings (esp. necklaces); object of other ceremonies; embody or represent a deity; perpetuate the memory of a hero; placed around square ground or decorated buildings around the square, within dance house, on top of poles used in the ball game, by or within chief's house, by council house or decorating it, by and inside temple, protect the temple with animals or armed men or beings, on top of each mortuary house or coffin watching over bones of the dead, by corpses in temple; prayed to in temple by chief daily; in houses of individuals; carried to war and consulted; in fields to encourage men to work; in ceremonial grounds remote from village; other</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> chiefs, council, priests, the dead, crops, war, diverse kinds of animals and beings; other</p>
owl	<p><i>Uses:</i> head is part of the dress of chiefs, medicine lodge leader, warrior; part of the medicine bundle of a medicine man, a chief, an individual, a tribe, a sorcerer; helps in hunting; gives medicine man the power to cure; is a witch transformed to cause harm to a victim; is a dead person returned; claw used to scratch a patient; feather gives a person the ability to see when gaming; allows one to sneak up on prey at night or locate one's party; protects a person at night; prevents a witch from entering one's house; a bad omen for a person who sees one;</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> night, seeing extraordinarily, harm, the origin of black magic, chief, warrior, medicine man, sorcerer, the dead</p>
<p><i>Paraphernalia of Nonshamanic Leaders, Sodality Members, Roles of Social Importance</i></p>	
headplates	<p><i>Uses:</i> marked status of diverse elite persons (see below); sacred bundles with headdresses were taken to war; medicine men lured bison with them; camouflage a hunter; given to a killed bear; worn by a woman to show she is marriageable; given as gifts to honor someone; given to a person because of his or her dream; transferred between individuals, ceremonial societies, husband and wife, or fellow dancers; utilitarian hats; other</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> chief, priest, noble, elite warriors, ball players, medicine man, prophet, ceremonial society leader, all members of a ceremonial society, dance leader, distinguish genders, chief's war horse, medicine bundles of</p>

(Continued)

Table 11.3. (continued)

Ohio Hopewell Artifact Class and a priori Identification of Its General Function	Summary of the Ceremonial or Utilitarian Uses, Social Role Associations, and Meaning Associations of Analogs Found in Ethnographic Literature
ceremonial societies (men's and women's) and individuals, birds and their feathers, animal fur, animal head or horns, human hair, scalp (one headdress feather per scalp taken) plants (for women's headdresses), wampum, a star, distinguishes ceremonial societies, distinguishes warriors in different tribes, contrary to self-pride, other	<i>Uses:</i> in Big House ceremonies, the busk, in war as clubs, to punish public offenders, dances, other <i>Associations:</i> the axis mundi, the four quarters, war (in contrast to the rattle associated with peace) and warriors, the ball game likened to war, power, purity, leaders, a hero myth, sacrificers of children, other
batons (batons)	<i>Uses:</i> in dances, warfare, to display scalps taken, the busk, going to water, healing, Peyote rite, by medicine men to avert tornados, part of a medicine bundle, the center-post of the Big House, other <i>Associations:</i> dance leaders, warriors, chiefs, chief's bride's litter bearers, head(s) of a ceremonial society, all members of a ceremonial society, attendants of the Big House, magical power, the axis mundi, Stone Man (cannibal), other
batons (staves, rods)	<i>Uses:</i> in the busk at Tukabahchee, presented to the chief, buried with chiefs; worn by chief; armor in war; distinguishes men from women by form of the plate <i>Associations:</i> the chief, fire-maker in the busk, high priest
baton (mace)	<i>Uses:</i> worn in fancy dances, mark gender and class <i>Associations:</i> men or women or both; upper class or commoners or both
breastplates	<i>Uses:</i> the image, in medicine lodge ceremony and Sun Dance; painted on tipis, tipis of medicine women, shields, clothing; shape of altars of sweat tipis; crescent gorgets mark chiefs, important men, or men generally <i>Associations:</i> moon, doorway to Spirit World, rainbow, sweating
earspoons	<i>Uses:</i> contents of medicine bundle; worn by dancers, weather dancers, leaders, high priests, great warriors, <i>Associations:</i> medicine, dancing, leadership, sun or moon
crescents	<i>Uses:</i> taken in war to prove exploits; used in dances of returning warriors and of the busk; numbers determined prestige of a warrior; decorated entrances of temples and center of square ground, buried with adults, children, taker of the trophy, and not; placated souls of the dead; taken from persons who broke tribal law <i>Associations:</i> war and victory for takers, disgrace for those who have lost, the dead, turkey, eagle
gorgets, pendants	<i>Uses:</i> weapon in war, hunting <i>Associations:</i> war, hunting
"trophy" skulls, jaws, ears, fingers	<i>Uses:</i> weapon in war, hunting <i>Associations:</i> war, hunting
<i>Raw Materials of Multiple or Uncertain Social Role Associations</i>	
amethyst	no information
cannel coal	no information

(Continued)

Table 11.3. (continued)

Ohio Hopewell Artifact Class and a priori Identification of Its General Function	Summary of the Ceremonial or Utilitarian Uses, Social Role Associations, and Meaning Associations of Analogs Found in Ethnographic Literature
copper	<p><i>Uses:</i> medicine man scratches a patient; part of the content of a medicine bag; a plate for tabulating family generations or for writing or drawing; given by chief to a warrior who served his people; mark person of high status; plaque precedes the chief in procession; buried with the chief; bridewealth; mark girls of good parentage; for many kinds of ornamentation and ceremonial paraphernalia; utilitarian hatchets; trading;</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> power, but less so than for shell and bird effigies; persons of high status; underwater manito</p>
fluorite	no information
galena	<i>Uses:</i> paint for one's face
gold	<i>Uses:</i> jewelry, tinklers, armor in war
graphite	<i>Uses:</i> charm in hunting and love; in emergencies, public speaking, war
hematite	<i>Uses:</i> medium of exchange
malachite	no information
meteoric iron	<p><i>Uses:</i> indicates the direction war comes from and goes, the direction of concealment of a fugitive; the direction of a woman's lover and trail of elopement; foretells the weather; brought animals the power to communicate with people; brought medicine men their bundles</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> excrement dropped by non-human beings; fire-panther, the spirit of war; war; a bad omen, bad luck, good luck; a buffalo holding up the sky on his back; Morning Star, his origin, his brother; Raven Mocker (witch); flint, projectile point, and scalp; the color, black; prairie puff balls; birds</p>
mica	<p><i>Uses:</i> temper in ceramics, traded</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> life forces, spiritual power, well being</p>
micaceous schist (goldstone)	no information
obsidian	<p><i>Uses:</i> utilitarian arrowheads, arrowheads hung from a medicine pipe</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> Smoking Star</p>
ocher (red and yellow)	<p><i>Uses:</i> decoratively paint the body, face, hair, clothing for ceremonies, dances, war, ball games; facial painting more elaborate by single men or women to attract the opposite sex; mixed with quartz powder as a love charm applied to the cheek; distinguish men and women by their facial painting; by traders to estimate the wealth of a person by the amount of their facial paint; mark a female adulterer by painting her whole body; different facial markings for a "loose woman"; color face of a corpse; face of the bereaved not colored; grave good; decorate the fur of a killed bear; sun screen; waterproof hides; component of medicine bundles; applied to ceremonial equipment; traded; remedy inflammations; hunting magic; other</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> men, women, unmarried, married, deceased, and living contrasted; clan name; ceremonial and spiritual matters; war (red); success; strength; protective powers; a cannibal; Stone Man; Redbird and Wolf; other</p>
pearls	<p><i>Uses:</i> given by chief to warrior who served his people, offerings to a deceased chief, marked women and girl of standing, medium of exchange</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> chief, prestige, wealth</p>
pyrite	<p><i>Uses:</i> put in warriors' bundles equivalent to a meteorite</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> meteorites</p>

(Continued)

Table 11.3. (continued)

Ohio Hopewell Artifact Class and a priori Identification of Its General Function	Summary of the Ceremonial or Utilitarian Uses, Social Role Associations, and Meaning Associations of Analogs Found in Ethnographic Literature
quartz	<p><i>Uses:</i> as pendula in divination, to repel an approaching thunderstorm, to protect and assist a warrior, in warrior bundles as an equivalent to meteorites, as a love charm mixed with vermillion as a rouge, to make a mortar to grind pigment, temper in pottery</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> meteorites, sky, power</p>
shell	<p><i>Uses:</i> trumpets (conchs); rattles (inside gourd); face masks; to mix ground pigments with oil or water; impromptu knife; drinking cup; medium of exchange; marker of prestige; wampum to mark treaties, as proof of the integrity of a message brought by an ambassador to an enemy tribe, as a means to record and hand down tribal traditions, to give to a killed bear, for hair and neck ornamentation; single shells as body jewelry; ornament clothes and hats; a horse's headgear; chief's grave offerings, sometimes stuffed in his body; elements of a medicine bundle; other</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> peace, integrity of word, Sun Dancers, Medicine Lodge members, medicine pipe holders, chiefs and others of high position</p>
silver	<p><i>Uses:</i> jewelry for everyday use and only at dances, jinglers, stakes in gambling, armor</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> shell</p>
tortoise and turtle shell	<p><i>Uses:</i> hand rattles used in diverse ceremonies (cure the sick, drive illness from a home, recite dreams, recount blessings), in dances to accompany singing, as a talking stick; kind of hand rattle distinguishes ceremonies and tribes; leg rattles used by dance leader or all or only women and girls; contents of a medicine bundle; scratch a patient; scutes used to ward off a tornado; prepare for war; protect a warrior; protect against snakes; containers; cups; platters; utensils; hoes; saws; other</p> <p><i>Associations:</i> medicine men, sodalities, dancers, women and girls, warriors, world-flood myth, earth-bearer, mother earth, persistence, patience, endurance, mischief, hunch back</p>
translucent stone	no information

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE WORK

Our search for the ceremonial uses, spiritual meanings, and social role associations of artifacts and raw material that were used by historic Woodland Native Americans and that are analogous to ones used by Ohio Hopewell people could be augmented in two basic ways. First is by considering earthen, stone, and wooden architecture, facilities, and features. Our survey encompassed only artifacts and raw materials. Some suggested search terms include: "altars", "burials", "caches", "cemeteries", "chapel houses", "crematoria", "crypts", "graves", "ossuaries", "earthworks",

"enclosures", "houses", "mounds", "shrines", and "temples".

Second, our studies could be extended by searching additional key sources of information for ceremonial materials, artifacts, and features. Full-text electronic documents are perhaps the most expedient means. Electronic resources can be found currently in three formats: on-line databases, CD-ROMs, and journals. Other key resources still remain only in printed format. In the following, we recommend and describe some of the more important potential resources.

There are, at this writing, two major on-line ethnohistoric data bases that contain enormous collections of searchable, full-text electronic documents. The largest is *Early*

Encounters in North America by the Alexander Street Press (www.alexanderstreet.com). This database includes many primary sources that date from 1534 to 1850, capturing the first impressions of traders, missionaries, explorers, soldiers, and officials as they encountered indigenous peoples. A second data base is *Southeastern Native American Documents 1730–1842*, which is available from the University of Georgia at Athens (www.galileo.peachnet.edu). This source contains approximately 2,000 documents on American Indians in the southeastern United States from the collections of the University of Georgia Libraries, the University of Tennessee at Knoxville Library, the Frank H. McClung Museum, the Tennessee State Library and Archives, the Tennessee State Museum, and the Museum of the Cherokee Indian.

Other important ethnohistorical resources are available in fully text searchable electronic documents on CD-ROM. Three are available from Quintin (www.quintinpublications.com). The largest is *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Thwaites 1896–1901), including 72 volumes with over 21,000 pages of information from the journals of the Jesuit missionaries from 1610 to 1791 in the original French, Latin, and Italian with translations and notes in English. Two other important resources are U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology references. One, the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Hodge 1907–1910), includes two volumes with 2193 pages on every known tribe in the U.S. and Canada. It also contains data on all kinds of materials, artifacts, and features used by American Indians. The second is *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Swanton 1952), which is a supplement to the handbook, offering an additional 732 pages of ethnohistorical information.

Also available on CD-ROM is *George Catlin: The Printed Works* from the University of Cincinnati Digital Press (www.ucdp.uc.edu).

The works of George Catlin are important primary sources on the ethnohistory of Woodlands and Plains Indians (Dippie 1990). Catlin was an artist and scholar, who sketched and painted over 600 scenes of native life. In his printed works, he illustrated and described the cultures of 48 tribes.

In addition to electronic data bases and CD-ROMs, a great deal of ethnological information may be gleaned from electronic journals. The *American Anthropologist* and the *Journal of American Folklore* are two of the longest-running academic serial publications that feature much information on the ethnology of American Indians from the late nineteenth-century to present times. The entireties of these serials are available in searchable full-text format from JSTOR (www.jstor.org), a nonprofit organization of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. JSTOR also provides the journals in high-resolution .pdf files as originally printed and illustrated.

Although electronic documents are increasing in number, there are still many significant sources of ethnohistorical information on eastern Native Americans that remain only in their original printed format. Some of the most important include: most of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology *Annual Reports* and *Bulletins*, the *Anthropological Papers* of the American Museum of Natural History, the Heye Foundation's *Indian Notes and Monographs*, Harvard University's *Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum*, and the *Fieldiana* anthropological series of the Chicago Field Museum of Natural History. Harding and Bolling (1938) have prepared an excellent bibliography from these sources and others on early ethnological studies of the uses and meanings of many types of materials, artifacts, and features, which are organized by culture area and American Indian tribe.

The Scioto Hopewell *and Their Neighbors*

Bioarchaeological Documentation and Cultural Understanding

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

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Data Base of Intrasite Layouts

Christopher Carr and Rebekah A. Zinser

Regional Geographic Data Base

Christopher Carr and Rebekah A. Zinser

Ethnohistorical Data Base

Christopher Carr, Rex Weeks, and Mark Bahti

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