Chapter 16

Rethinking Interregional Hopewellian "Interaction"

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Fascination with Hopewellian peoples relates considerably to their movement of raw materials and, less frequently, finished artifacts over many hundreds of miles over North America. Conch shells from coastal Florida and along the Gulf of Mexico were brought as far north as Michigan and New York (Seeman 1977a:appendix B), and silver from Cobalt, Ontario, was taken as far south as Georgia and Mississippi (Spence and Fryer, Chapter 20). How did Hopewellian peoples succeed in these translocations, and equally tantalizing, who did so and why?

This chapter introduces Part IV, which addresses such questions about the movement of materials, artifacts, and styles over the Woodlands, and the kinds of cultural connections among distant peoples and places implied by these geographic linkages. Like introductory Chapters 3 and 12, this one reviews anthropological theory and ethnographic analogs that are relevant and necessary background to the chapters that follow. Also, past understandings and analyses that complement the studies of interregional Hopewellian activity presented in this book are summarized, in order to help place the latter in context and highlight their significance.

The chapter begins with the observation that Hopewellian activities at the interregional scale, which involved movements of raw materials, artifacts, styles, mortuary and other ceremonial practices, and ideas across the Eastern Woodlands, have often been interpreted as manifestations of some unitary kind of phenomenon. Examples include a trade network, a mortuary cult, a shared religion, and a network of peer polities. These and other previous, singular interpretations of interregional Hopewell are reviewed. An alternative, interpretive perspective is then offered, which sees interregional Hopewell as having been comprised instead of many distinct kinds of activities that led to varying geographic distributions of Hopewellian features of the same or different kinds. In this view, interregional Hopewell can be defined and understood only when it is resolved into its many component aspects.

The chapter goes on to introduce ten seldom or never cited possible forms of interregional activity. Many of these mechanisms are ceremonial and religious in nature, such as vision-power questing, pilgrimage to places in nature or to ceremonial centers, buying and selling of ceremonial prerogatives, and travels of rising social leaders to centers of learning to obtain esoteric, sacred knowledge and power. Other mechanisms are social, sociopolitical, or political–economic, sometimes with religious components, such as intermarriage or adoption across cultural lines, valuables exchange among elite, and elite-orchestrated transference of religious cults. These distributive mechanisms are described in a grounded manner, in terms of social actors with personal and local motives. Ethnographic examples of each of the ten kinds of interregional activity are described to help understand their potential relevance to Hopewellian cases and to build a model of their discriminating material–archaeological correlates. Many kinds of interregional Hopewellian material patterns, expressed within chemical sourcing, distributional, and stylistic data, and coming from previous studies and those made in chapters in this book, are then systematized and sifted for their fit with the modeled forms of interregional activity. The most concrete result of this study is a listing of specific cases of particular means by which particular kinds of Hopewellian raw materials, artifacts, styles, practices, and ideas came to be spread and shared among regional traditions across the Woodlands—a deconstruction of the Hopewell Interaction Sphere into its diverse operational-level, cultural practices and historical events. The entire process of determining the archaeological correlates of particular kinds of activity, applying them to specific interregional Hopewell remains, and resolving interregional Hopewell into its many constituent kinds of practices and events is made possible by envisioning social actors with ethnologically known kinds of motives—that is, by taking the personalized, locally contextualized, and generative approach to understanding interregional Hopewell that is defined in Chapter 1.

Following this development of the interpretive framework and its application, and in light of them, the chapters in this part of the book are summarized for their particular contributions to deconstructing and reinterpreting interregional Hopewell. Seven contributions are highlighted, including: (1) the origins of Hopewellian ways in regional traditions other than the supposed Hopewellian core area, Ohio; (2) the distinct distributions of different "Hopewell Interaction Sphere" items in relation to their roles in different kinds and scales of interregional communication; (3) uniformity and variation across the Woodlands in the ideological meanings of artifact classes, (4) in the social roles in which they were used, and (5) in their ritual uses; (6) the degree to which finished artifacts, in contrast to raw materials, were transported across the Woodlands; and (7) variation over the Woodlands in the means of transport of even singular kinds of Hopewellian materials and artifact classes.

The chapter ends with an enumeration of some of the more important, singular kinds of phenomena that Interregional Hopewell has been posited to be, a summary of the empirical evidence that firmly contradicts these inferences, and a concluding reinterpretation of what Interregional Hopewell can be said to have been. The concluding view of Interregional Hopewell is multifaceted rather than unitary, historical, personalized with motivated actors in social roles, emphasizes local context, and generates interregional Hopewell from local concerns.

PERSPECTIVES ON INTERREGIONAL HOPEWELLIAN TRAVEL, PROCUREMENT, AND INTERACTION, AND THEIR ANALYSIS

Historically, a broad range of phenomena has been equated with interregional Hopewell. Earlier in the 20th Century, interregional Hopewell was envisioned as a single culture that had spread from Ohio by conquest or diffusion (Shetrone 1931:304–306, 322), a biological stock of long-headed people (Hooton 1922; Neumann 1950, 1952; Prufer 1961a; for a summary see Buikstra 1979), a series of cultures that had developed alike from a common ancestral culture in the Southeastern United States through intercultural contacts (Seltzer 1933:6–7), and a "loose confederation" of contemporaneous, "cooperating" peoples tied together by trade, genealogy, and colonization from Ohio (Deuel 1952:255–256). Today, these interpretations are no longer held, but the range of opinions on the identity of interregional Hopewell is still very wide. Hopewell has recently been called, and is still discussed in conversation as:

- a wide network of *trade* of raw materials and exchange of ideas (Struever 1964; Struever and Houart 1972; see Griffin 1965 and Seeman 1979a for rebuttals).

- a specific *mortuary cult* (Prufer 1964b; see Caldwell 1964 and Struever 1964 for rebuttals).
- a shared *religion* (Caldwell 1964; Maxwell 1947:25).
- a *worldview* (Carr 1998, 1999b, 2000a; Carr and Case 1996; Romain 2000).
- a *Sprachbund* (Seeman 1995).
- a multiregional *artistic style* (Prufer 1968; Willey 1971).
- a *Great Tradition* of religious-based interaction and innovation (Caldwell 1964).
- a *social organization* of a complex kind interwoven with a symbol–ideological system for marking and claiming leadership and prestige (Seeman 1995).
- a network of *peer polities* involved in competitive display (Braun 1986; Dancey and Pacheco 1997a:9–10, Pacheco and Dancey n.d.).
- an *ecological adaptation* (Braun 1986; Dancey 1996a).

Historically, most of these ideas have been presented as satisfactory explanations of interregional Hopewell in and of themselves. Typically this has been done without reference to the alternatives or serious evaluation of the relative merits or complementarity of the alternatives (but see Struever 1964:88). Thus, attempts have been made to explain the entire expanse and content of interregional Hopewell by some single phenomenon.

Deconstructing Interregional Hopewell

The position taken here, and in the other chapters of this book, is that interregional Hopewell is a multidimensional and composite phenomenon, and can be understood only when it is resolved or “deconstructed”[1] into its diverse aspects and causes. There are at least two levels of deconstruction that are required. At the broadest level, it is essential to realize that the concept of interregional Hopewell, as defined here, and the related concept of the Hopewell Interaction Sphere, as found in archaeological literature, embrace three closely intertwined subjects. These subjects are: (1) the cultural and material content shared across regions of the Woodlands, including raw materials, classes of artifacts, artifact styles, mortuary and other cultural practices, and ideas; (2) the geographic regions over which these things were shared to varying degrees; and (3) the cultural mechanisms by which these things came to be widely distributed (see Hall [1997:156] for a similar partitioning). From this viewpoint, it can be seen that the understandings of interregional Hopewell listed above are not equivalent in nature. Some are shared cultural content (e.g., religion, art style), one is a geographic distribution (i.e., a *Sprachbund*), and some are mechanisms of interaction (e.g., trade, competitive display). In this regard, certain of the above interpretations are logically and phenomenalogically alternative and complementary rather than competing. Such complementary interpretations, depending on their empirical veracity, could be integrated into a multidimensional understanding of interregional Hopewell. In fact, explanatory completeness would demand this.

A second, narrower level of deconstruction applies to each of the above-listed understandings of interregional Hopewell individually. It is necessary to entertain the possibility that the one kind of cultural content or one geographic area or one kind of distributing mechanism thought to comprise interregional Hopewell might itself be heterogeneous. Consider the subject of geographic area. Struever (1964:88) postulated the existence over the Eastern United States of an interregional logistics network, within which raw materials, stylistic concepts, and their ideological rationalizations had moved. This network over this whole area was initially implied by him to be of a single kind: “The Hopewell Interaction Sphere simply refers to relations of a still to be determined *nature*” (Struever, p. 88; emphasis added). However, through time, empirically detailed distributional studies (Seeman 1979a; Struever and Houart 1972), raw material sourcing analyses (e.g., Spence and Fryer, Chapter 20; Carr and Sears 1985; Goad 1978, 1979; Hatch et al. 1990; Walthall 1981; Walthall et al. 1979, 1980), and stylistic analyses (e.g., Seeman 1979a:379) have shown that this network was really many different networks within which the same or different raw materials were distributed, different amounts of a raw materials were distributed, and different stylistic conventions and ideas were intercommunicated. The contrast between the Illinois–lower Mississippi valley connection and the Ohio–Tennessee–Georgia connection is a well-known example (e.g., Goad 1979:244–245; Jefferies 1979:170; Seeman 1979a:313, 385; B. A. Smith 1979:186; Toth 1979:196; Walthall et al. 1979:249–252; for summaries of these viewpoints, see Carr and Sears 1985:86). Struever and Houart (1972:74–77), themselves, came to define four geographically distinct northern Hopewellian interregional networks within which different raw materials or finished goods were thought to have been dispersed. The deconstruction of Hopewell as a geographic area is addressed in Chapters 11 and 20.

Another form of deconstruction of interregional Hopewell at the second level concerns its cultural content rather than its geographic expanse. An example is breaking apart the notion of interregional Hopewell as a complex kind of social organization that was interwoven with a symbol system that marked leadership and/or prestige and facilitated social interaction (Seeman 1995:123; Struever 1964:88). This kind of deconstruction is made at the pan-Woodlands scale in Chapter 18, by Turff and Carr, and at the smaller scale of Ohio in Chapter 9, by Field et al. In Chapter 18, one finds that widely dispersed over the East during the Middle Woodland were metal-jacketed panpipes, which might be supposed to represent some one form of important social role and its symbolic representation. However, Turff and Carr document that the role of the panpiper, which does appear to have been a key one, was instead combined fluidly with many other kinds of important social roles, including diverse shaman-like personae, one kind of community-wide leader, high achievers or members of two different prestigious sodalities, and important members of different clans. Also significant, the social roles with which that of panpiper was combined varied among regional traditions, and in a patterned way delimiting four, broader areas, each comprised of multiple traditions. (see Chapters That Follow, below, for details). These patterns imply the varying functions of panpipes, their use in varied social and ritual contexts by persons in different roles, and, in turn, varying forms of social and ceremonial organization and leadership symbolization across the East. The patterns do not evidence a single, panregional social–symbolic system, as Seeman (1995) envisioned. They also do not accord with Caldwell's (1964) and Prufer's (1964b) ideas that interregional Hopewell represents the spread of a specific set of religious beliefs, a ceremony, or a cult, such as the Ghost Dance or Midewiwin.

In a similar way, in Chapter 9, Field et al. document that shaman-like and other leadership roles, along with their richly symbolic artifact markers, were associated with different genders in different parts of Ohio. In northeastern Ohio, key social roles were filled only by males, suggesting a patrilineal kinship system like those found in historic Algonkian societies of the northern Woodlands. In southwestern Ohio, these roles and their markers were associated instead almost completely with females, suggesting a matrilineal system like those found in historic southeastern Woodland tribes. Geographically in between, in the central Scioto valley, the balance of males and females that filled such important roles is more equitable, with some male predominance (Field et al., Chapter 9:table 9.2). These different patterns among the three Hopewellian geographic areas do not accord with the idea of a unitary kind of social organization that was interwoven with a symbol system that marked leadership and/or prestige, as Struever and Seeman proposed.[2]

The final form of deconstruction of interregional Hopewell that is wanting at the second level involves recognizing and mapping the diverse mechanisms, as opposed to a singular mechanism, by which raw materials, classes of artifacts, artifact styles, mortuary and other cultural practices, and ideas came to be widely distributed over the East. Theoretically, one would expect, from the diversity of kinds of material items shared over the Eastern Woodlands, that several different mechanisms of dispersal might have been involved. Following the logic of Carr and Neitzel (1995c:389), "Different media can vary in their scale, visibility, rarity, durability, malleability, portability, and other qualities. In turn, these characteristics determine the contexts of artifact production and use, and affect an artifact class's potential role and articulation with society and individuals"—as well as its capacity to interrelate different societies and their members, I would now add. Thus, for example, one would want to inquire whether Hopewellian male-produced metallic symbols used in mortuary–ceremonial contexts and female-produced clay figurines used in largely domestic–ceremonial contexts interrelated Hopewellian societies in different ways, and were distributed interregionally by differerent cultural mechanisms (see Keller and Carr, Chapter 11).

Empirically, this form of deconstruction of interregional Hopewell is historically exemplified in the works of Carr and Sears (1985), Griffin (1965, 1973), and Seeman (1995). Griffin (1973) championed the idea, in contrast to Struever and Houart (1972), that not all Interaction Sphere items were traded across the midcontinent, but instead some were procured through long-distance logistical trips. In the case of obsidian, he posed that this raw material might have been obtained from Yellowstone by one or a few small canoe parties from the Hopewell earthwork community. Thus, multiple mechanisms of distribution—both trade and direct procurement—might have been involved in interregional Hopewell. Carr and Sears (1985:84–86, 89), through geographic and chemical analyses, found that meteoric iron was probably procured and distributed over the East by several means. These include the possible local collecting of meteoric iron by Copena peoples, probably regional or interregional exchange or long-distance logistical trips by Santa Rosa–Swift Creek and St. Johns peoples, almost certainly long-distance logistical trips to multiple meteorite falls by Illinois and Ohio Hopewellian groups, and possibly interregional exchange of meteoric iron from the Southeast to Ohio. Carr and Sears concluded that interregional Hopewell was a composite of diverse distributional mechanisms that were not necessarily integrated.

This view is also found in Seeman's (1995) communication perspective on Hopewell. He proposed, following a theoretical distinction drawn by Helms (1988), that interacting Hopewellian peoples might have classified each other into three categories by their geographic, linguistic, and cultural distances: normal people, close strangers, and outsiders. Initiating and maintaining relationships and communication among peoples in these three categories can be expected, according to ethnographic analogs cited by Seeman, to involve different cultural mechanisms. Whereas normal people can speak to each other using the same language, close strangers may employ bilingualism facilitated by out-of-group foster care and education, as well as marriage exchanges, pidgins, trade jargons, and ritualized behavioral response sequences. Outsiders can use very simple "foreigner talk" to ensure safe passage or to initiate basic trade, but more in line with Hopewellian material culture is the use of nonlinguistic, artistic communication in the form of iconography, music, and/or dance. Seeman went on to notice that Ross Barbed points, copper celts, and panpipes have increasingly wider geographic distributions and explained their different expanses as the result of different means of communication among normal people, close strangers, and outsiders, respectively. Thus, interregional Hopewell was resolved into three kinds of distributive mechanisms.

Additional Mechanisms of Dispersal of Hopewell

The range of mechanisms by which Hopewellian material culture, practices, and ideas came to be spread over the East can be expanded and/or refined considerably beyond the ones just described. Additional possibilities—some of which are discussed here in Part IV of this book—include:

- *vision and power questing* by medicine persons, headmen, male initiates, or those trying to bolster their social position in a competitive milieu.
- *pilgrimage to a place of power in nature* (Gill 1982).
- the *travels of medicine persons* to heal the sick or the travels of the sick to medicine persons.

- *long-distance buying and selling* and/or *learning of ceremonial rites* by medicine persons or others (Penney 1989).
- *spirit adoption* (Hall 1987, 1997).
- *interregional intermarriage.*
- *pilgrimage to a ceremonial center* (Gill 1982).
- *valuables exchange among distant elite* (e.g., Flannery 1967).
- *travel to a center of learning* to gain esoteric knowledge (Helms 1976, 1988, 1993).
- *elite-orchestrated transference of religious cults* among tribal segments in order to facilitate supralocal exchange (Wiessner and Tumu 1999).

Significantly, these mechanisms are more specific and personalized than the generalized notions of "procurement" and "exchange", in that they reference actors within particular cultural roles and with specific motives. By considering social actors, they open the possibility of generating interregional Hopewell from local and intraregional concerns. In addition, many of these mechanisms are essentially religious in their nature and/or motives, and contrast with the economic and socioeconomic views of the Hopewell Interaction Sphere that predominated in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g., Ford 1974; Hall 1973, 1980; Seeman 1979a; Struever and Houart 1972) and that are still reiterated today (e.g., Braun 1986; Fagan 1995b:408–410, 414–417; Seeman 1995:125, 138).

In the following sections, each of the above ten mechanisms of interaction is described in actor-based terms with ethnographic analogs, and their relevance to explaining various facets of interregional Hopewell is assessed with available archaeological data. Mechanisms of interaction at the long-distance, interregional scale of the midcontinent (hundreds of miles) are the focus of discussion, except in the section on valuables exchange. In this case, local, regional, and interregional means of valuables exchange are considered and contrasted, for the purpose of suggesting those particular means that are more or less likely to have occurred at specifically the interregional scale.

In order to systematize the logic by which any one or few of the above mechanisms of interregional interaction might be identified as the cause of a specific interregional distribution of Hopewellian raw materials or artifacts, Table 16.1 is offered. It lists some expectable material consequences of all but the last of the above mechanisms. The consequences include the raw or finished nature of the items, their function, their local or foreign raw material source and style, and their abundance. The reasons why the mechanisms have the material correlates that they do will become evident as the mechanisms are described below. The last mechanism listed above is not addressed in Table 16.1 because it is a composite of several of the first nine (see below).

Not all of the mechanisms listed in Table 16.1 are easily distinguished archaeologically; some pairs of mechanisms share many or all of their listed material correlates. However, five groups of mechanisms appear to be readily discernible. These groups are (1) vision/power questing and pilgrimage to a place in nature; (2) the travels of medicine persons or patients for healing; (3) the buying of religious prerogatives, spirit adoption, and intermarriage; and (4) pilgrimage to a ceremonial center, valuables exchange among elites, and travel to a center of learning. Contextual evidence possibly would allow finer distinctions to be drawn within those groups having multiple mechanisms.

MECHANISMS BASED ON SHAMAN-LIKE IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICES

Overview

Vision and power questing by medicine persons or others seeking spirit helpers and/or power from nature; more regular, periodic pilgrimage to places of power in nature; the travel of medicine persons or patients in the context of healing and being healed; and the travel of medicine persons or others to ceremonial practitioners to learn or buy ceremonial rites each imply shaman-like cosmologies, practices, artifacts, and/or raw materials. These suggested

Table 16.1. Material Consequences of Various Mechanisms of Interregional Interactions

	Material consequence				
Mechanism[a]	Raw material or finished good	Function of artifact	Material source	Visible and obscure style of finished goods	Quantity
Vision/power questing (deposit back home)	Raw materials of many kinds	Shamanic quality	Nonlocal	n/a	Little to much
Pilgrimage to a place in nature (deposit back home)	Raw material of one or a few kinds	Symbolic token	Nonlocal	n/a	Much
Travels of medicine persons or patients for healing; tokens of healing	Raw material or finished good	Shamanic quality, symbolic token	Nonlocal	Nonlocal	Little
Elite valuables exchange	Raw material or finished good	Fancy, symbolic	Nonlocal	Nonlocal	Little to much
Pilgrimage to a ceremonial center (deposit at center)	Raw material or finished good	Fancy and/or utilitarian	Nonlocal or local	Nonlocal	Little to much
Travel to a center of learning (deposit back home)	Raw material or finished good	Symbolic token of esoteric knowledge	Nonlocal	Nonlocal	Little
Buying of religious prerogatives ± spread locally back home	Finished good	Ceremonial paraphernelia	Local	Nonlocal	Little ± much
Spirit adoption ± spread locally	Finished good	Fancy and/or utilitarian	Local	Nonlocal	Little ± much
Intermarriage ± spread locally	Finished good	Fancy and/or utilitarian	Local	Nonlocal	Little ± much

[a] Each of these mechanisms would produce a nodal geographic distribution of the raw material or finished good of relevance. Dotted lines group mechanisms that are least distinguishable from each other in the archaeological record.

mechanisms for how Hopewellian material culture, practices, and ideas were spread over the Eastern Woodlands are reasonable in light of the clear shamanic orientation of Hopewellian material culture and symbology (Carr and Case, Chaper 5). Specifically, shaman-like animal impersonators of several kinds are known to have practiced in Ohio Hopewellian societies from their depictions in sculptures and carvings and from elements of their costumery (see Chapter 5, Table 5.2). They were the culmination of a shaman-like tradition that had been elaborating since at least the terminal Late Archaic.[3] Shamanic paraphernelia of many kinds are found in Ohio Hopewellian burials, including turtle-shell rattles, turtle-effigy rattles, deer antler tine tinklers, mushroom effigies, and smoking pipes, all suggesting trance induction; quartz and other crystals, a quartz disk, mica mirrors, and cones, all for divination; quartz and gem points used for war or hunt divination, spiritual warfare, and/or sending harmful power intrusions; turtle-shell and bird bone sucking tubes for healing; barracuda jaws historically used by ceremonial leaders for scratching and letting blood from participants in preparation for ceremonies; conch shells, which historically were closely associated with the distribution and use of the black drink in public ceremonies; and cosmological symbols for performing rituals that referenced the natural world (see also Carr and Case, Chapter 5, Table 5.4, for a much larger list).

Power/Vision Questing and Pilgrimage to a Sacred Place in Nature

Journeying to a place in nature that, by its geological, hydrologic, historic, or other qualities, was thought to have much power was a very common practice among historic Native Americans generally (Gill 1982:97).[4] Certain spots in nature were believed to be the home of powerful supernatural beings or, more generally, to be full with energy—for example, "where the Creator's heart beats more strongly" (Swan 1988:152). Waterfalls, springs, deep pools, caves, mountain passes, and outcrops of fascinating raw materials are common examples of the power places cited by Eastern Woodland Native Americans (e.g., Hudson 1976:130–131, 145; Bacon 1993). At such places, power was sought internally in the form of visions induced by exposure, fasting, chanting, prayer, and other means. Power was also obtained externally through the collecting of special minerals, pigments, medicinal plants, and such. The vision quests and rock-painting ventures of Ojibwa and other Algonquin persons at isolated spots on Lake Superior and other northern bodies of water (e.g., Dewdney 1970:22; Gill 1982:98–99) are classic examples and especially relevant to the Hopewell case, considering the Hopewellian acquisition of copper from this area. Journeys were taken by Eastern Woodland youths (usual males) as part of their initiation into adulthood, sometimes to obtain an animal guardian spirit; by ordinary persons seeking an animal guardian spirit to bring them power and bolster their social position in a competitive social milieu; and by prospective medicine persons seeking tutelary animal, plant, and humanlike spirits and specific procedures to help them in many shamanic tasks (e.g., Eliade 1964; Gill 1982:97–101; Halifax 1979:87–91; Harner 1980:54, 81–83; Mails 1979:49–54, 86, 154–155, 181–185; Parker 1923:27–28; Swan 1988; Walsh 1990:53–54). A long-distance journey thus was a means of social and internal transformation for an individual. It was a "rite of passage" from one personal and social state to another, and fits well the cross-cultural norm for rites of passage to involve a territorial passage (van Gennep 1960:192). Commonly, journeys for power and visions in the Woodlands and Plains involved an element of danger, which was instrumental in the process of transformation (see above references; also Turff and Carr, Chapter 18, and Spielmann 2002:199–200 for broader, world-wide examples).

A pilgrimage to a sacred place in nature is like a vision quest in most of the above respects. However, a pilgrimage takes a person to a traditionally visited spot, and one visited by many persons, whereas a power or vision quest often does not. In addition, a pilgrimage may be made as a group venture, whereas a vision or power quest is an individual affair. In the process of multiple persons sharing the pilgrimage ritual, group identity is strengthened (Turner 1969; see also Mack 2000), bolstering the personal and social transformation of the individual.

An excellent Native American example of a pilgrimage to a power place was the trip made annually by Papago youths and men from their desert Arizona homeland to the Gulf of California, about 200 miles away, beyond their territory of ordinary activities (Gill 1982:101–105). The ocean was seen as a place of power—the source of much needed monsoon rains in the desert and also salt, which was thought powerful, gathered from deposits, and brought back home, to be distributed as substance and power among the community. The trip was difficult and dangerous, and required adherence to a number of special rules and restrictions. Pilgrims had visions along the way and collected examples of objects seen in their visions. These they kept for themselves.

Upon coming back to the community, the journeyer had to remain isolated from the rest of the community for days, because the power acquired at the ocean was too great for others to be safely near. The trip was made 10 or more times by a person, beginning at age 16 or 17, and transformed a youth of religious naiveté into a vision-guided man, and one of a group of men of vision.

The idea that Hopewell Interaction Sphere raw materials were brought back home from afar in the course of long-distance power/vision quests or pilgrimages to sacred places in nature is directly implied by the combination of the materials' distant sources and their likely spiritual qualities in the native's eye. A canoe trip to Lake Superior sources of copper from the central Scioto area in Ohio and back, as one example, would have taken many months and required considerable endurance and demonstration of power (Little 1987). As for spiritual qualities, mica, copper, silver, meteoric iron, obsidian, galena, and other Hopewell Interaction Sphere materials each either have the capacity to be transformed from light to dark or shiny to dull, and vice versa, or simultaneously exhibit a light/shiny quality and a dark/dull quality (Carr and Case, Chapter 5; 1996; Carr 1998). In addition, quartz and translucent gemstones, as well as materials like mica that can reflect one's image, imply the ability to see within, through, or beyond. In shamanic worldviews, both transformation and seeing are qualities that are equated with power (Harner 1980:28–29). Thus, many Hopewell Interaction Sphere raw materials would likely have been perceived as powerful. The combination of a long journey and a spiritually extraordinary end point logically suggests the possibility that shaman-like practitioners, initiates to adulthood, or others seeking power went on long-distance power/vision quests or pilgrimages to the potent places in which these materials were found in bulk (e.g., Obsidian Cliff, Wyoming the Brenham Fall, Kansas; Isle Royale in Lake Superior; the Keweenaw Peninsula of Michigan; Cobalt, Ontario) and that they brought back these materials as evidence of the spirits and/or power they had witnessed and acquired there. Archaeological example tokens of such successful journeys include the books of mica, large raw copper nodules, and large galena cubes found in some Ohio sites; the large silver nuggets and relatively expansive sheets of silver found at the LeVesconte site, Ontario, and the Converse site, Michigan; and the multiple but small silver nuggets and masses from the Hopewell site, Mound 25, Burial 260–261, and from the Snake Den site, Ohio (Spence and Fryer, Chapter 20; Spence and Fryer 1990, 1996).

The image of Hopewellian vision quests resulting in the acquisition of power and powerful materials is perhaps most easily visualized for the case of obsidian from the Yellowstone region. There, dualities—which preoccupied the Hopewell—abound naturally. The obsidian veins of Obsidian Cliff are black but sparkle on and off with abundant white reflections of sunlight as one walks below the cliff. The Firehole river runs cold just feet away from warm pools, affording the possibility of sweat baths followed by cold emersion—a natural precipitate of trance states. Hot gysers also erupt just feet from the river. The colors that predominate in Hopewell art and earthen architecture, and that historically symbolized the Directions among Woodland peoples, are found closely juxtaposed in the hot pools—white carbonates, red algae, yellow algae, black basalt and algae, and blue–green waters. Good candidates for referents to beings of a Lower World abound in Yellowstone: gysers that erupt vocally and unpredictably, steam from vents, bubbling pools, and Roaring Mountain's steaming and vocal slope, just four miles from Obsidian Cliff, and occasionally heard from there. Redundant images of the axis mundi are found at Gyser Basin, where large mounds have built up around the gyser entrances, from the centers of which smoke rises and water plumes. Several animals whose power parts, effigies of them, or artistic images were a part of Hopewellian ritual paraphernalia occur at Yellowstone: bear, elk, goat, trumpeter swan, and raptors. We do not know how the Hopewell may have used the Yellowstone landscape ritually or what specific symbolism they might have attributed to its natural wonders. However, the power of the place and image of persons journeying there for spiritual power, powerful materials, visions, and initiation or transformation are easily grasped by those who have walked in Yellowstone.

Likewise, the austerity, raw natural power, and eerie qualities of the Lake Superior basin, the magical properties of copper and silver that Hopewellian peoples obtained there, and its remote location all conform well to the picture of long journeys taken by Hopewellian people to extraordinary places for vision and power. The rugged relief, steep bluffs, dense maple–birch–hemlock forests with interwoven masses of foliage that prohibit the noonday sun, pendant mosses, and cedar swamps of the Trap range in the Keweenah peninsula and of Isle Royale are forbidding to overland travel. Lake Superior is equally dangerous for travelers, with its unpredictable dense fogs, violent windstorms, and shoreline seiches, waterspouts, and whirlpools, which historic Native Americans attributed to the Horned Serpent–Underwater Panther and other powerful underwater beings. The atmosphere of the region is unreal. The horizon is falsely luminous and colored on a clear day on the Keweenah peninsula, from the great mass of water that surrounds it. Disorienting and dynamically changing mirages and disproportionate, enlarged reflections of the terrain suspend in the air above Lake Superior or float on its waters as a result of strong differences in air and water temperatures. Massive and quickly changing cloud formations dominate the day sky. At night, streaks of orange and blue light of the aurora flash up from the horizon, sometimes to the zenith, in rapid pulses. (Foster and Whitney 1850:55–57, 81; Martin 1999:36–42, 202; Schoolcraft 1970:168–169, 178). The many unreal, transformational, powerful, and dangerous qualities of the place would have provided an ideal setting for journeys and rituals of personal and social transformation and empowerment for the Hopewellian people who traveled there.

The argument that the exotic and transformative raw materials found in Hopewellian sites evidence power/vision quests or pilgrimages is implicated in Chapter 18 by Turff and Carr. They review the detailed symbolic meanings of copper for various historic Great Lakes and Midwest–Riverine Native Americans, and distill some of copper's most probable, fundamental meanings for Hopewellian peoples. They conclude that copper would have evoked the notion of power as related to supernatural Upper and Lower World creatures, but also the power required by humans to make a long-distance journey to a copper source and the power attained by having successfully done so. The argument is further supported in the case of copper by Bernardini and Carr (Chapter 17), who show the likelihood that copper used to make the celts found over the Midwest and Midsouth was normally obtained directly by long-distance journeying to Upper Great Lakes sources rather than indirectly by down-the line exchange. The random geographic distribution of celts of varying sizes over the Midwest, rather than their clinal decrease in size away from the upper Great Lakes, is used by the authors to make their case. Bernardini and Carr also point out that copper celts, analogous to stone celts used to manufacture dugout canoes, would have been ideal representations of the long journeys made to acquire power in areas of copper deposits. Finally, the authors extend the long-distance journey interpretation to alligator teeth, barracuda jaws, obsidian, and meteoric iron, each of which have qualities implying power. Items of these kinds concentrate geographically in Ohio Hopewell sites and occur at very low densities or not at all between Ohio and their distant sources, suggesting that they arrived in Ohio by long-distance journeying rather than down-the-line exchange.

Geochemical sourcing, distributional data, and/or evidence of the working of exotic raw materials at a site indicate, with very high probability, the following instances of direct, long-distance acquisition rather than nodal exchange or down-the-line exchange: obsidian found in several Ohio Hopewell sites from Obsidian Cliff, Wyoming, a nearby Yellowstone source, and the Camas–Dry Creek formation in Idaho and, much less likely, obsidian found in Illinois Havana Hopewell sites from these sources (Griffin 1965; Hatch et al 1990; Hughes 2000; Hughes and Fortier 1997; Wiant 2000);[5] galena at several Ohio Hopewell sites and/or galena at a number of Tennessee Copena sites from the upper Mississippi valley source (Walthal 1981:41); galena at six Illinois Havana Hopewell sites from a central

Missouri source and at additional Havana sites from the Potosi deposit in southeastern Missouri (Walthal 1981:37); silver at the LeVesconte site in Ontario, the Converse site in Michigan, and the Tunnacunhee and Mandeville sites in Georgia, all from Cobalt, Ontario; silver at the Hopewell and Turner sites in southern Ohio from the Keweenaw peninsula of Michigan, where it occurs in the form of erratic inclusions within raw copper (Spence and Frye, Chapter 20; Spence and Fryer 1990, 1996);[6] meteoric iron at the Turner and Hopewell sites, Ohio, from the Brenham fall in Kansas (Wasson and Sedwick 1969); meteoric iron at the Havana site, Illinois from a Minnesota, a Kentucky, or an unknown source (Kimberlin and Wasson 1976); and one instance of river mussel shell at Naples–Russell Mound 8, Illinois, from southeastern Georgia (Farnsworth and Atwell 2001:74). Distant sources of other Hopewell Interaction Sphere raw materials have been documented to have been used (e.g., copper from the Keweenaw Peninsula, Isle Royale, Green Bay, and the Ducktown Appalachian ore band), but the mechanism(s) of interregional dispersal is(are) not so certain (compare Bernardini and Carr, Chapter 17; Turff and Carr, Chapter 18; Spence and Fryer, Chapter 20; Goad 1978, 1979; Griffin 1961b; Levine 1999; Seeman 1979a:292–293; Winters 1968).

Long-distance power questing and vision questing must have been given high value in Hopewellian societies. This is seen in part in the abundance of fancy, exotic raw materials found in Hopewellian cemeteries, sometimes in the form of very large ceremonial deposits of a single material (e.g., the 8,000+ disks of Dongola chert in Hopewell Mound 2, the 160 pounds of galena found in Hopewell Mound 29, and the 300 pounds of obsidian found in Hopewell Mound 11; see other examples in Carr et al., Chapter 13, Tables 13.2 and 13.3). The value placed on long-distance journeying is also seen in the flaunting of exotic materials crafted into the form of ceremonial items that probably were displayed in public events. Examples include large obsidian bifaces, large copper geometric symbols that apparently decorated costumes, a large mushroom-effigy staff sheathed with copper, deer antler headresses of copper, and large mica mirrors cut out and painted in the form of human heads wearing headgear (Carr, personal observation, Field Museum of Natural History). The high value that Hopewellian societies placed on long-distance acquisition of raw materials is also seen in the juxtaposition of materials from different, far-away places in the same deposits. For example, DeBoer (2000:36) pointed out that single bladelets of each of obsidian, Knife River flint, Upper Mercer flint, and Harrison County chert were placed in a pit in Russell Brown Mound 3, of the Libery Works, Ohio (Seeman and Soday 1980). Similarly, in Pete Klunk Mound 2 in Illinois, three marine shell cups were recovered, each a different species from different sections of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts (Perino 1968:51).

Long-Distance Travels of Medicine Persons or Patients for Healing

Native American medicine persons today and in the past, as well as shaman cross-culturally, are well known for the long distances they have traveled and, frequently so, in the course of following their spiritual calling to help individuals. Likewise, patients needing healing traditionally have traveled to distant medicine persons of reputation to be healed (e.g., Halifax 1979; Mails 1979:186–189; 1991:141, 169–176; Neihardt 1932). These travels have the potential for spreading material goods. Specifically, after healing ceremonies, many Native American medicine persons traditionally have given their patients a material remembrance of the vital and protective power(s) that had been brought back to them in place of what had ailed them—for example, a tie of tobacco, a crystal, an animal power part, imagery, and such (see references above). In the end, whether the medicine person or patient did the traveling, the given token is spread far from its original source in nature where the medicine person collected it. It is possible that certain, token-like Hopewell Interactions Sphere items, such as pieces of mica, copper, meteoric iron, and galena, were spread in small numbers from their sources in this way. Small caches of token-like materials in the graves of persons who have shamanic paraphernalia and probably were medicine persons, or lone tokens in the graves of ordinary persons who may have been patients (Appendix 16.1), might indicate this mechanism of dispersal. The single river mussel that was carved with a shaman-like broad-beaked duck–raptor combination and was found in Naples–Russell Mound 8 in Illinois, but that originated from southeastern Georgia (Farnsworth and Atwell 2001:74), may be another example.

Long-Distance Buying and Selling, and/or Learning of Ceremonial Rites

The notion that interregional distributions of Interaction Sphere goods reflect the long-distance travels of medicine persons or others to buy rights to perform powerful ceremonies and to make the paraphernalia used in those ceremonies is an elaboration of a contribution made by Penney (1989:159–229). Penney examined Hopewellian smoking pipes, clay figurines, and bird-effigy pots spread across the Eastern Woodlands for their raw materials, stylistic details of the kind that reflect the producing artist, and more visible stylistic conventions and image content. From these data, he was able to show that objects that are remarkably similar in their stylistic conventions and image content and that were found in distant regional traditions are nevertheless clearly not examples of interregional trade[7] (see also Farnsworth 1997; Hughes et al. 1998; Wisseman et al. 2002). As an alternative explanation, Penny offered that it was the styles and images that were spread, and that this dispersion can be attributed to persons who traveled distances in order to buy or exchange prerogatives (i.e., rights) to the performance of particular ceremonies and the production of the ritual equipment required for those ceremonies. Purchase and exchange would have involved a period of tutelage in the ways of the ceremony and the manufacture of its equipment.

The parties involved might have been ritual trading partners, or less formally tied members of communities who met at interregional social and religious gatherings. The spread of medicine pipes among the historic Crow, Hidatsa, Blackfeet, Sarsi, and Gros Ventura, and the spread of the Dream Drum and Dream Drum cult among Eastern Siouan and Great Lakes Algonquin speakers are ethnographic examples involving these two kinds of parties, respectively. To the list of participants that Penney suggested can be added medicine persons who traveled distances to learn from each other—a common North American and global practice (e.g., Gill 1982:165; Harner 1980; Helms 1976:109–143; Mails 1979:156–161). The spread of the Ghost Dance from the prophet Wovoka (Jack Wilson)—a gifted healer among the Nevada Paviotso—across the Plains tribes through medicine persons and others who came to learn from him is an example (Gill 1982:164–167). Male bachelors who, as part of their initiation into manhood, journeyed to distant societies of power to purchase sacred objects and learn the rites connected with them, is another possibility, to follow the case of the *Sangai* bachelors' rites of the Enga in New Guinea (Wiessner and Tumu 1999:19; see below). There, male initiates from the most prosperous clans were identified by the tribe and sent in secret to purchase sacred objects and ceremonies from a distant society. The voyages were recorded in lengthy poems, which also described the physical transformation of the initiate into a man.

Penney's idea of long-distance buying and selling of religious prerogatives is very significant, because it provides an explicit mechanism for the spread of the "mortuary–ceremonial system," "ceremonial idea system," "cult," or "religion" that Caldwell (1964), Prufer (1964b), and Struever (1964) thought interregional Hopewell to have been. Prufer (1961a:725–726, Prufer et al. 1965:133) had suggested the less convincing idea, without ethnographic analog, that the Hopewell cult was spread by ceremonial and craft specialists who migrated interregionally (in particular, from Illinois to Ohio). The alternative mechanism of spread of religious cults documented ethnographically by Wiessner and Tumu (1999) and described below (see Big Man Orchestrated Transference of Religious Cults) would have worked well at the within-tradition scale of Hopewell, but probably would have been too cumbersome at the interregional scale of Hopewell.

SPIRIT ADOPTION AND INTERMARRIAGE

The practice of spirit adoption and its proposed application to explaining the interregional distribution of some Hopewellian practices and ideas have been presented by Hall (1987, 1997:42–47, 155–157). Spirit adoption was a historic, Great Lakes, Prairie, and Plains Native American ritual for releasing the soul of dead tribespersons and ending the period of mourning for them (e.g., Callender 1979:256). It involved the replacement of the deceased by a close relative, a fellow tribesman, a captive enemy, or a friend or prominent individual from a neighboring tribe, who took on the deceased's identity—commonly his or her name and/or clothes. If not previously a member of the tribe, the person was adopted into it. This replacement allowed the soul of the deceased (or one of his souls) to move on permanently to an afterlife and have a happy existence there. Because spirit adoption created fictive kinship relationships, it could be used to solidify alliances among individuals, villages or bands of a tribe, or neighboring tribes. In the latter case, a notable person from the foreign tribe was honored by being ceremonially made into a resurrection of a dead chief of the adopting tribe, and by becoming a chief of that nation.

Spirit adoption, with its tie to the mortuary realm, has an obvious potential for explaining the spread of Hopewellian mortuary and other practices and ideas in a down-the-line fashion, which Hall (1997:157) pointed out. His idea is strengthened by his proposal (Hall 1987) that the historically widespread Plains and Woodlands calumet pipe ceremony had its origin in spirit adoption ceremony. The calumet ceremony served to allow safe passage for travelers through potentially dangerous regions and to create alliances between potential or actual enemies. Hall's (1977:504–505; 1983:48, 52; 2000:115–116, 120) more specific ideas, that historic Plains and Woodlands Hako-type calumet ceremonialism had an analog during the Middle Woodland period in Hopewellian platform pipe ceremonialism, and that spirit adoption was a component of Hopewellian pipe ceremonialism, is not supported by archaeological evidence of several kinds (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18). However, his broader concept of spirit adoption as a fundamental ritual of social intercourse among neighboring or close parties in the Woodlands (Hall 1997:161; 1989:255–256; personal communication, 2004; see also 1987; 1997:57), and as extending back in time well before the Middle Woodland period (Hall 1987:39), remains reasonable.

Intermarriage among those neighboring villages, bands, and tribal nations in the Eastern Woodlands who might share or compete for hunting or fishing grounds, quarries, or sources of other goods was fairly common historically (e.g., Callender 1979:256). Intermarriage naturally had the potential for going hand-in-hand with spirit adoption among tribes: An adoptee might marry within the adopting tribe. Thus, intermarriage at the scale of neighboring groups could have been a significant factor in the down-the-line spread of Hopewellian practices and ideas. Distinguishing the relative contributions of intermarriage and spirit adoption to the spread of Hopewellian ways within a locale or region would be difficult.

In contrast to local and regional-scale intermarriage and spirit adoption, interregional intermarriage and spirit adoption were probably very rare historically. They are unlikely candidates for explaining much of the interregional distribution of common Hopewellian ways across the Eastern Woodlands. They may, however, very well explain certain specific cases of very striking resemblances among Hopewellian objects found in distant sites. For example, four clay figurines from Mounds A and B of the Mandeville site in Georgia resemble clay figurines from the Knight mound, Illinois, in the details of their body form, posture, clothing, and painting, but are not items of exchange because they have a micaceous temper like the local Mandeville pottery (Keller and Carr, Chapter 11; Kellar et al. 1962:344, 351). Another example is found in three pairs of copper earspools that are apparently unique over the Woodlands in having "white" metal—silver or meteoric iron—overlays in only their central depressions. These earspools are from the Esch site in northwestern Ohio (silver), Bedford Mound 4 in Illinois (silver), and Tunacunnhee in Georgia (iron) (Ruhl, Chapter 19). All of these cases suggest the local manufacture of items by one or a few persons who came from a far-away stylistic tradition. Long-distance intermarriage and spirit adoption would be consistent with these cases; however, also possible would be the long-distance buying of ceremonial prerogatives.

Occasional long-distance intermarriage may have helped to solidify ritual ties between the Mann community in Indiana and communities in the Georgian Piedmont and/or Gulf Coastal Plain. Kellar (1979:186) noted the strong resemblance between complicated stamped vessels at the Mann site, Indiana, and early Swift Creek complicated stamped pottery in vessel shape, rim shape, and stamping. He concluded that more than trade was involved in this relationship, given the relatively high frequency of complicated stamped sherds at Mann compared to their rare occurrence in Scioto Hopewell sites. Complicated stamped sherds constitute about 2% of the ceramic assemblage from the Mann site and complicated stamping is the second most common form of ceramic decoration found at Mann (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15; Ruby 1997e:6). To explain this frequency of vessels of foreign style, Keller suggested a northward movement of people to Mann, perhaps by intermarriage. However, ethnographic parallels in the Woodlands for such long-distance, repeated intermarriage are wanting.

A different tack to the problem is taken by Ruby and Shriner (Chapter 15) in this book. Through petrographic, x-ray diffraction, and scanning electron microscopic analyses of pottery from the Mann site and local clays, they find that all of the Swift Creek-like complicated stamped sherds from Mann that they tested for location of production were made locally at the site, rather than imported from the Georgian Piedmont and/or Gulf Coastal Plain. On this basis, they ruled out the presence of complicated stamped pottery at Mann as due to power questing or elite valuables exchange. In addition, because complicated stamped pottery is relatively frequent at Mann, they conclude that its presence cannot be attributed to small numbers of pilgrims who might have regularly come to Mann and made their own pottery there. The pilgrimage interpretation is also not supported by the occurrence of complicated stamped pottery on a number of Mann phase habitation sites in the neighborhood of the Mann ceremonial center, rather than their restriction to the center (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15; Ruby 1997e:8). As an alternative explanation, Ruby and Shriner suggest that people of the Mann phase hosted regular ceremonies attended by good numbers of persons from the Georgian Piedmont and/or Gulf Coastal Plain. At the Mann site, and that this practice continued over a long time, leading to the frequency of complicated stamped pottery at Mann. The long-term stability of this tradition is attributed by Ruby and Shriner to the cementing of intercommunity relationships through some marriage and/or adoption. Note that interregional intermarriage, itself, is not thought to be responsible for the bulk of the complicated vessels at Mann. Ruby and Shriner also suggest that complicated stamped pottery at Mann might be attributable to residents at Mann having bought the rights from Southeastern groups to produce complicated stamped pottery and to enact ceremonies associated with it; pottery production and ceremonial performance might then have spread within the Mann community.

Intermarriage between the Havana and Scioto tradition peoples has been an ongoing topic in Hopewellian studies, beginning in physical anthropology and spreading to archaeology. Dixon (1923, in Buikstra 1979) saw resemblances between Illinois valley skeletons from Hopewell mounds and the skeletal series at Turner, Ohio. Neumann (1950, 1952, 1970, in Buikstra 1979) saw Illinois and Ohio Hopewellian populations as having been quite similar and derived from the same (Otamid) stock. His work was based first on a detailed, cranial–morphological typology that he developed in the style of descriptive anthropometry, in order to trace the racial history of North American Native Americans, and then on a discriminant function analysis of craniometric data. Following Neumann's conclusions and considering the similarities between the Havana and Scioto Hopewellian archaeological records and their chronological positions, Prufer (1961a:725–726, 1964a:55–59; 1964b:97; Prufer et al. 1965:133) posed that Ohio Hopewellian culture had its roots in Illinois Hopewellian culture. He specifically thought that ceremonial and craft specialists of the Hopewell cult had migrated from Illinois to Ohio and intermarried there. Subsequent metric and nonmetric cranial analyses (Jamison 1971; Reichs 1974) of Illinois and Ohio Hopewellian skeletal populations have not firmly supported or denied the migration and intermarriage hypothesis (Buikstra 1979:228).

Frequent marriage exchange of women among Havana, Mann, and Scioto Hopewellian communities is pretty firmly refuted by stylistic studies done by Keller and Carr (Chapter 11) on clay figurines found in these areas. The authors argue that clay figurines were produced by women, based on very strong worldwide and Eastern Woodlands ethnographic associations between females and manufacture with soft, pliable materials, including clay (Driver 1969; Murdock and Provost 1973). The authors also find support for this position in the natural style of the figurines, unelaborated with the ceremonial face marking and costumery found on human images carved from hard materials, and in the production and frequent deposition of figurines in domestic rather than ceremonial sites in the Havana and Mann regions. Lack of interregional exchange of female producers of figurines, as well as a lack of exchange of figurines themselves, is indicated by marked variation among the three regional traditions in the less visible, facial stylistic attributes of their figurines, which theoretically should be sensitive to learning among close kin/artisans (Carr 1995a). Lack of interregional exchange of females and figurines is also evidenced in the idiosyncratic sharing of different stylistic attributes among different pairs of the three regions, rather than the interregional spread of the covarying bundles of stylistic traits that would be produced by artisans of frequently intermarrying societies.[8]

PILGRIMAGE TO CEREMONIAL CENTERS

Long-distance pilgrimage to a sacred ceremonial center has a cultural logic behind it closely similar to long-distance pilgrimage to a sacred place in nature. In both cases, personal and/or social transformation of the individual are the goals, traveling a distance is equated with approaching the sacred or supernatural (Helms 1976:133, 136, 176), and the pilgrimage point is a place of power. Moreover, ceremonial centers have commonly been built in places in nature that were thought to be powerful. For example, the site of Delphi, Greece, was selected to erect the famous shrine in honor of the earth goddess, Gaia, because the location was experienced as having a stronger earth-force or "plenum", thus favoring prophecy (Swan 1988:153).

Hopewellian ceremonial centers may have been places of pilgrimage not only because religious specialists and community members gathered there periodically to perform sacred rites, but also because they were located in places in nature thought powerful. For example, in Ohio, the Seip earthwork is located immediately northwest of white florescences of alum—an astringent—in the 300-foot-high black shale cliff of Copperas Mountain, along Paint Creek (Seeman and Branch n.d.), and very close to outcrops of red ocher (Romain 2000:29) that would have been useful for making paint.[9] The Glenford hilltop enclosure, within a few miles of the Newark Earthworks, is situated on a hill bearing outcrops of a rare white sandstone that today is sought out commercially for its abnormally high silica content (Romain 2001). Tremper mound was located strategically across the Scioto River from pipestone quarries in Feurt Hill (Mills 1916:265), which was use to manufacture some of the smoking pipes deposited in the mound (Weets et al., Chapter 14; Emerson et al. 2002). The Hopewell earthwork is located immediately adjacent to a series of springs, and the McKittrick earthwork is less than a half-mile from brine springs used historically to make salt (the Old Scioto Salt Lick [Romain 2000:30]). More broadly, the great concentration of earthworks at the interface of the Appalachian Plateau and the Till Plain provinces in Ross County, Ohio, may well reflect the perceptions that Ohio Hopewellian peoples had of the abrupt rising of the Appalachian Plateau above the relatively flat Till Plain in this area, and/or the closed-in versus open nature of these two provinces, respectively.[10] The Old Stone Fort hilltop enclosure in Tennessee was located between the two deep gorges of the Duck and Little Duck rivers, and had seven major waterfalls with plunge pools and a multiple-entrance cave nearby it. The closest Middle Woodland enclosure to Old Stone Fort—Desota Falls, near Ft. Payne, Alabama—also has water falls, a plunge pool, and a multiple-entrance cave by it (Bacon 1993:246, 249, 260). Thus, the distinction between Hopewellian pilgrimages to places in nature and pilgrimages to ceremonial centers could have been largely insignificant in Hopewellian cultural logic.

Regarding archaeological correlates, pilgrims may manufacture utilitarian and ceremonial artifacts at sacred sites in their nonlocal styles out of local materials. The foreign-style specimens may be rare to frequent at the sites, depending on pilgrimage rates. Unfortunately, these same material consequences can result from long-distance intermarriage and spirit adoption, and from the long-distance buying of religious prerogatives. In these cases, foreign practices may be accepted by the local community and spread within it to varying degrees (Table 16.1). Alternatively, pilgrims may bring along their own utilitarian and ceremonial artifacts to a sacred site, for use there or for exchange with local residents, with the possibility of breakage and deposition at the sacred site. In these cases, the deposited artifacts will have been made of nonlocal materials. Pilgrimage can then be distinguished from long-distance intermarriage, spirit adoption, and the buying of religious prerogatives, but may be indistinguishable from elite valuables exchange or travel to a distant center of learning (Table 16.1).

Pilgrimage where foreign style artifacts are made of local materials is probably exemplified at the Pinson ceremonial center, Tennessee (Mainfort et al. 1997; see also Mainfort 1996:387). At Pinson are found vessels produced of local clays but in multiple nonlocal styles from distant Hopewellian traditions in the Marksville, Santa Rosa–Swift Creek, Tennessee valley, and Mobile Bay areas (Mainfort 1980, 1988b:168; Mainfort et al. 1997; but see Stoltman and Mainfort 1999 and 2002:16 for qualifications). Foreign-style vessels have been found in "virtually every tested locality" at Pinson (Mainfort 1996: 386), but are not found in surrounding Middle Woodland habitation or other sites (Mainfort et al. 1997:44). These data suggest a long-term pattern of pilgrimage of peoples from afar to Pinson for ceremonies, without intermarriage or spirit adoption with local residents—practices that would have spread foreign styles to local residents and their habitations. Buying of religious prerogatives by local residents in order to manufacture the foreign-style vessels is unlikely for the same logic. The multiplicity of foreign styles and their restriction to the Pinson center distinguish this example from the case of, complicated stamped pottery at the Mann site (see Spirit Adoption and Intermarriage, above). The few known examples at Pinson Mounds of foreign-style vessels that were actually produced at distance from the site (Stoltman and Mainfort 1999, 2002:16) could indicate pilgrimage, or the long-distance travel of aspiring leaders to Pinson Mounds for training under important teachers there, or symmetrical valuables exchange among elite (see below, Interregional, Asymmetric Exchange of Valuables, on Helm's model).

Pilgrimage where foreign-style artifacts made of nonlocal materials are brought to a ceremonial center by pilgrims may be represented at the Mann site, Indiana (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15). This mechanism can account for the rare occurrences of foreign-made, Southeastern-style, fine-spaced, simple stamped pottery vessels at Mann. The authors reason that peoples from the Appalachian Summit may have been attracted to visit the great Hopewellian ceremonial earthworks of the north, upon hearing tales of them, and may have made pilgrimages to them as rites of passage, somewhat akin to the pilgrimages or power quests that Southeasterners seem to have made to the copper-bearing power places of the upper Great Lakes (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18; see also Goad 1978, 1979). With them, the Southeasterners would have brought their simple stamped pottery. In turn, residents at Mann could have placed value on the pottery, by virtue of its foreign origin and unusual designs, and exchanged gifts for the vessels and possibly their contents. The allure of northern ceremonial earthworks generally, as envisioned in Ruby and Shriner's scenario, finds support in the continued use of some of these earthworks locally for burial of persons in simplified mounds long after the major events of Big House use and earthwork and large mound construction were complete.^{11} Alternatively, the fine, simple stamped pottery at Mann could be explained by long-distance travel to a center of learning or long-distance elite exchange, which have archaeological correlates similar to pilgrimage to a ceremonial center (Table 16.1). It is not likely that residents of Mann phase sites made pilgrimages or power quests to the Appalachian Summit and brought back simple stamped pottery from communities there, because such pottery does not occur in habitations around the Mann site, based on surface surveys (Ruby 1997e).

A case similar to that at Mann, but with its own twist, seems to be evidenced in the rare occurrences of simple stamped pottery with sand temper (Turner Simple Stamped B [Prufer 1968]) in southern Ohio. Specimens of this kind of pottery from several Ohio ceremonial centers have been identified petrographically to have come from the Appalachian highlands, especially in North Carolina and Tennessee, and from the Gulf Coastal Plain (Stoltman 2000; see also J. A. Brown 1994:186–188; Chapman 1973; Chapman and Keel 1979; Griffin 1983; Keel 1976). However, the pottery type is also known occasionally from residential sites away from ceremonial centers (Dancey 1991:63; Prufer 1968; Prufer et al. 1965:25). This situation leaves open the possibility that southern Ohioans made pilgrimages to the Southeast, not simply vice versa. Again, long-distance travel to a center of learning or long-distance elite exchange are viable, alternative interpretations.

LONG-DISTANCE EXCHANGE OF VALUABLES AMONG ELITES

The nodally concentrated distributions of certain Hopewellian fancy artifact classes and raw materials across the East suggested to Struever (1964:88, 105; Struever and Houart 1972:49) some form of exchange of goods that was tied to "selected persons who occupied status positions" (Struever 1964;105) within societies that were widely separated. The goods, themselves, were thought to "communicate" social prestige or to be "paraphernalia used in the ritual reinforcement" of prestige (Struever and Houart 1972:49). Goad (1978:201–204, 1979:245–246) went on to characterize the presumed exchange of copper, in particular, as "reciprocal" and "hierarchical," with reciprocal exchange among unspecified persons at major "regional transaction centers" and, again, between these "pooling areas" and smaller, surrounding sites of a region. Modern anthropology, simplified, would rewrite these interpretations as the symmetric exchange of valuables and sumptuary items among the elite (chiefs, chief-priests, big men, and/or ritual leaders of a kind) of approximate "peer polities" (Renfrew 1986). One purpose of the exchange would be seen as the opportunity for elite to have materially demonstrated their power and knowledge, and their efficacy in accessing these, especially supernatural forms of power and knowledge (Earl 1997; Helms 1976; Renfrew 1986; Service 1962:147, 150). A complementary view offered by the neo-Marxist based "prestige goods economy" model (Brown et al. 1990; Clark and Blake 1994; Earl 1982; Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Friedman and Rowlands 1977; Hayden 1995; Meillassoux 1978) would suggest that "individual aggrandizing" or "competitive accumulating" emerging elite co-opted the production and circulation of material valuables necessary for social payments of debt, damages, bride-price, ceremonial functions, and other forms of social reproduction; used the valuables to create debts and obligate others in their society to them; and augmented their power by building alliances with other elite of the region through the exchange of the valuables with them, or what has been called a "network strategy" for political action (Blanton et al. 1996; Feinman 1995, 2000).

This section begins by summarizing current archaeological evidence of the kinds of Hopewellian items, and specific examples of them, that actually were and were not physically moved long distances among Hopewellian traditions. Thus, candidates for elite valuables exchange are identified, although other cultural means of movement of the items must also be entertained. The section proceeds to describe several different ethnologically known forms of valuables exchange—among elite, aspiring elite, or commoners—at three distinct geographic scales, thereby widening the simplified idea of "elite valuables exchange" to a spectrum of behaviors, which should be distinguished anthropologically and archaeologically. Finally, for each of the several defined kinds of valuables exchange, instances of Hopewellian movements of goods that probably or possibly represent the form of exchange are identified.

Archaeological Evidence for the Long-Distance Movement of Valuables among Hopewellian Regional Traditions

Two empirical questions have historically been fundamental to the topic of the movement of Hopewellian Interaction Sphere goods among regions. First is whether finished artifact classes, or only ideas related to their styles, were transfered among regions. Second is whether raw materials were moved among regions through some kind of network or, instead, procured directly from their sources by each region separately.

Struever (1964:88) initially held the position that "primarily raw materials . . . not finished goods" had moved through an interregional network. This he concluded from the "considerable local reinterpretation of diagnostic Hopewell artifact forms." Eight years later, Struever modified his position, holding that a wide variety of both raw material and artifact forms had moved through the network (Struever and Houart 1972:48, 74), including such artifacts as copper earspools, celts, and breastplates, pipes, figurines, and Hopewell ware. Within this paradigm, the results of sourcing studies of copper (Goad 1978, 1979) and galena (Walthall 1981; Walthall et al. 1979) were interpreted to reflect interregional "exchange" and "trade" rather than direct procurement by several regions. For example, Goad (1978:201–204, 1979:245) interpreted the nodal distribution of copper in large sites across the East as evidence for reciprocal exchange among regional centers, as described above. She adopted Struever and Houart's (1972) terms of "regional transaction center" and "local transaction center." Goad left the specific mechanism of center-to-center exchange undefined, although she ruled out long-distance traders and other options that she thought unlikely. She did not entertain the possibility of direct acquisition of copper from its sources independently by persons from different sites. In contrast to the above authors, Griffin (1965, 1971:242, 1973, 1979:278) consistently saw little evidence of interregional-scale exchange of either raw materials or finished artifacts, but did envision local-scale exchange of Hopewell diagnostics. The distant sources of many Hopewellian raw materials, along with their massive deposition in restricted numbers of sites, were taken by Griffin (1971:242) to indicate their direct "acquisition" and "local ceremonial consumption" and exchange. This view was reiterated by Griffin's student, Braun (1986:121).[12]

A cautious approach to the issues of artifact or stylistic exchange, and of exchange or direct procurement of raw materials, requires that each kind of item be assessed for itself, and that the potential for different modes of distribution in different parts of the Eastern Woodlands for the same kind of item be recognized. The unique geographic distributions of different raw material and artifact classes across the East (Seeman 1979a, 1995; Struever and Houart 1972), as well as the geographically differentiated distributional patterns documented for each of meteoric iron (Carr and Sears 1985) and copper (Goad 1979) across the East, affirm this methodology.

A number of kinds of Hopewellian valuables that have been thought possibly to have been moved interregionally can be taken off the list of candidates, based on recent studies. In this book, clay figurines in northern Hopewellian societies, earspools from Ohio and the Southeast, and metal-jacketed panpipes across the entire East are analyzed in detail stylistically for indications of whether they were moved across regions (Keller and Carr, Chapter 11; Turff and Carr, Chapter 18; and Ruhl, Chapter 19, respectively). Local production, use, and burial, without interregional movement, is concluded for all three classes of artifacts. Likewise, stylistic analyses of bird-effigy Hopewell ware vessels, platform pipes, and again, clay figurines over the East, by Penney (1989), do not indicate their interregional transport. Griffin (1971:238) did not see any stylistic evidence of Illinois Hopewell ceramics having been moved to Ohio at any time during the Middle Woodland. Source analyses of Hopewell ware pottery from Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15; Fie 2000; Stoltman 2000) indicate little or no long-distance movement of these items. None of 21 Hopewell ware vessels and 20 Baehr vessels from six habitation and mortuary sites in the lower Illinois valley analyzed by Fie (2000:462–466) were found to have been made outside of the area, and only 6 had circulated within that region. Only 2 (8%) of 24 Hopewell wares from the Mann site analyzed by Ruby and Shriner (Chapter 15) were made of nonlocal clays and rock temper (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15). None of 42 Hopewell Series wares from seven southern Ohio sites studied petrographically by Stoltman (2000) had paste compositions or temper types that would indicate foreign manufacture. Illinois Havana Hopewellian platform pipes, commonly thought to have been made from Ohio flint clays and moved long distance into Illinois, are now known from mineralogical analyses to have been made of northwestern Illinois berthiorine-rich flint clays within the Illinois Havana stylistic region (Farnsworth 1997; Hughes et al. 1998; Wisseman et al. 2002). Copper celts from Northern and Midsouthern Hopewellian traditions do not have the size differences over space that one would expect for the interregional exchange of either raw copper or celts through a network of ceremonial centers (Bernardini and Carr, Chapter 17). The absence of alligator teeth and barracuda jaws, and the sparsity of obsidian, between their sources and their deposits in Ohio mortuary sites make their exchange through an interregional network of centers also unlikely (Bernardini and Carr, Chapter 17; Griffin 1965).

The most convincing cases for the movement of valuable artifacts and/or raw materials among regional traditions—which may or may not have constituted elite exchange—are those for which some information on interregional variation in item density is available, and that entail associations among several kinds of foreign items. Galena is one such case. Galena cubes in Ohio Hopewellian mounds and more southerly sites source almost completely to the upper Mississippi valley (Walthall1981:37, 41). Galena is found at the highest density in the Ohio Hopewellian sites and at lower density nodes as one moves south, to Copena sites in the Tennessee valley, and then to Mandeville (Santa Rosa–Swift Creek tradition) and McQuorquodale (Miller tradition) closer to the Gulf (Walthall et al. 1979). In contrast, galena from Havana sites, which fall geographically between the Ohio sites and the upper Mississippi valley source, were obtained from other, closer sources (southeastern and central Missouri). These patterns suggested to Walthall et al. (1979:249, fig. 31.2) that Ohio Hopewellian peoples probably obtained galena by direct procurement from the upper Mississippi valley, rather than through exchange with Havana communities, and that from Ohio, galena was exchanged southward among centers, in decreasing amounts. The possibility that Copena peoples exchanged galena to persons at Mandeville and McQuorquodale, rather than the latter two having directly procured galena from the upper Mississippi valley, is bolstered by the association of galena with Copena-like stone celts and a greenstone spade in one cremation at Mandeville and with a Copena-like greenstone celt on the surface of the primary mound comprising McQuorquodale. A similar but somewhat weaker case can be made for movement of meteoric iron northward from/through the Copena region to the Seip earthwork community in Ohio.[13] Although these instances of the interregional movement of valuables among regional centers are good candidates for elite valuables exchange, the alternatives of pilgrimage to a ceremonial center and travel to a center of learning cannot be ruled out (Table 16.1).

Perhaps the strongest case for interregional valuables exchange among Hopewellian elite is the burial of a complete articulated skeleton of a roseate spoonbill duck with the skeleton of an adult male and a child in a subfloor crypt of Gibson Mound 3 (Burials 17, 18) of the lower Illinois valley (Buikstra 1976:31). The duck had to have been brought alive to Illinois from a Gulf Coast location. The spoonbill currently lives year-round along only the Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and Mexico Gulf coasts and has a somewhat broader spring-through-summer breeding range along the entire Gulf Coast and inland only about 50 miles (National Geographic Society 1983:56). Cross-culturally, exotic, live animals are not uncommon gifts among leaders of polities (Renfrew and Bahn 1991b:311), and the spoonbill would have had the requisite symbolic value for Middle Woodland leaders in the Southeast and Midwest, if historic thought on the animal is relevant. Specifically, the spoonbill is an aquatic, filter-feeding bird that, because of these characteristics, is considered in contemporary Creek thought (Dan Penton, personal communication, 1996) to be an anomalous (powerful) animal—a transformer that connects the Upper and Lower Worlds. Thus, it is a pointed symbol of cosmological beliefs. The spoonbill also has brilliant pink feathers unlike any bird native to the Midwest. As in the cases of galena and meteoric iron, the alternative explanations of pilgrimage to a ceremonial center and travel to a center of learning cannot be eliminated.

Interregional movements of fancy decorated ceramic vessels other than bird effigy Hopewell ware were apparently rare over the Woodlands. Such vessels might or might not have been considered "valuables" by Hopewellian peoples, although their contents, if any, might have been. Two rocker-stamped vessels from the Connestee phase Icehouse Bottom site in eastern Tennessee (Chapman 1973; Chapman and Keel 1979) have been sourced petrographically to southern Ohio (Stoltman 1999), and thirty-five simple-stamped, Connestee-like vessels from several mound sites in southern Ohio (Shetrone and Greenman 1931), have vice versa been sourced petrographically to the vicinity of Icehouse Bottom (Stoltman 1999, 2000). Likewise, rare, finely spaced, simple-stamped, Connestee-like vessels from the Mann site, Indiana, appear to have been manufactured in the Appalachian Summit (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15; see also above, Pilgrimage to Ceremonial Centers). Only 134 Connestee-like simple stamped sherds are known from eight Ohio mound sites, and only about 200 such sherds have been found at the Mann site (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15). At the Pinson mound site in western Tennessee, at least some foreign-style vessels buried there were manufactured in the regions of origin of their styles rather than locally (Stoltman and Mainfort 1999, 2002:16; compare with above, Pilgrimage to Ceremonial Centers). All of these cases of interregional movement of vessels could indicate the exchange of valuables among elites, but also pilgrimage to a ceremonial center or travel to a center of learning.

For the great majority of foreign Hopewellian raw materials, it is unknown whether they were moved across regions by direct procurement, exchange, or other means. Likewise, for most foreign Hopewellian finished materials, it is unclear whether they were moved interregionally by exchange or one of the alternative mechanisms listed in Table 16.1.

Multiple Scales of Valuables Exchange

If long-distance exchange of valuables among the elite of Hopewellian societies did occur, its nature is best understood in the larger framework of valuables exchange among elite or others at three distinct geographic scales: local, regional, and interregional or, in Helm's (1988) terms, areas of "normal people," "close strangers," and "foreigners" (see also Seeman 1995). Valuables exchange at these different scales can vary in the social roles of the persons involved (e.g., elite, ordinary persons), in the nature of the relationships among them (e.g., equal or unequal in prestige), and in purpose (e.g., to secure subsistence needs, to increase one's prestige). Exchange activities at the three scales are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and it is likely that the material–distributional correlates of the Hopewell Interaction Sphere are the composite result of several of such kinds of activities.

In the multiscalar framework of exchange to be described, the terms local, regional, and interregional exchange are used here to describe cultural processes that approximately sort out by geographic scale, but not sharply.[14] The sizes of the geographic areas over which distinct processes manifest overlap, cross-culturally. As approximate points of reference in the Hopewellian world, *local* is used here to describe communities that were situated within a single river valley or very close river valleys and that would have been very similar culturally—"normal people." Examples include communities in the lower and central Scioto valley, the lower and central Little and Great Miami valleys, the lower and central Illinois valley, and the middle Tennessee valley. River distances are about 50 miles or less. The term *regional* is applied here to communities of the order of 50 to a couple hundred miles apart, who would be "close strangers." Some adjacent Hopewellian traditions, such as the Scioto and Mann phase Hopewell, the Mann phase and lower Illinois valley Havana Hopewell, and the Copena and Porter Hopewell, could have been connected by regional exchange processes. The term *interregional* is used for communities that were separated by larger distances and would have considered themselves "foreigners," such as those in the Havana and Scioto areas, the Scioto and Copena areas, or more distant traditions.

Local, Symmetric Exchange of Valuables

Exchange of valuables at the local level is addressed in Hall's (1973, 1980) model of Hopewellian interaction. He proposed that local exchange of valuables among neighboring groups had the benefit of regularly renewing and keeping open ties of mutual friendship and obligation that, in occasional years of subsistence scarcity and need, could then be more easily called upon for obtaining staples. A similar interpretation was offered by Ford (1974). However, Ford envisioned valuables and subsistence items as directly exchangeable for each other, whereas Hall more realistically assumed a multicentric economic organization, in which staples and valuables have different prestige and moral value and belong to distinct spheres of exchange (Bohannan 1955). To Hall's and Ford's models can be added the possibility that regularized, local exchange of valuables may have kept alive alliances that had as their goals security from conflict and/or the exchange of mates. Both Hall and Ford envisioned interregional Hopewellian exchange and procurement as mechanisms for feeding local exchange and alliance systems.

Cross-culturally, valuables exchange at the local level, either within a polity or among adjacent polities, can occur among ordinary persons seeking to raise their prestige with the items they receive and give, among leaders who are Big Men or chiefs and likewise seek to improve their status, or both. Melanesian kula trading partners within and among island societies (Malinowski 1922b) were both commoners and leaders. Cross-culturally, the parties involved in local valuables exchange are usually roughly equivalent in prestige and give roughly equivalent gifts, that is, exchange is symmetric. This need not be the case at the interregional level (see below). Local valuables exchange among trading partners may be more or less ritualized and institutionalized, in part depending on the social distance of the parties. Sometimes, trading partnerships may be inherited across generations, as in the cases of the kula (Malinowski 1922b) and historic Plain-Rio Grande Pueblo exchange of ceramics and staples (Leonard 2000).

The only two examples of Hopewellian local exchange that have been documented firmly through artifact chemical or physical signatures, and that might have involved valuables, of which I am aware, are the coordinated study by Carr and Komorowski (1995) and Yeatts (1990) on the exchange of fancy and ordinary ceramics within Ohio (see also Carr, Chapter 2) and a parallel study by Fie (2000, n.d.) for the lower Illinois valley. Carr, Komorowski, and Yeatts found that, at the McGraw site, Ohio, finely decorated vessels of the kind that were used in mortuary and probably domestic ceremonial contexts and that might represent valuables, as well as coarse, utilitarian, cordmarked vessels, were manufactured up to 25 kilometers away from McGraw and most probably were brought into the site by exchange. McGraw was a small, undistinguished habitation. If the finely decorated vessels were specially valued by Hopewellian peoples, then the case would constitute local valuables exchange, most probably among ordinary persons of roughly equivalent prestige. The persons would have been from the same and/or close local symbolic communities and sustainable communities (Carr and Komorowski 1995:741), given what is known about Hopewellian community and mating network sizes,[15] and would have considered each other "normal people" in Helms' terms. In addition, because both utilitarian and fancy foreign-made vessels at McGraw were sometimes produced from very similar clays and tempering materials, and likely were made in the same foreign location, the case suggests that lines of valuables exchange were paralleled by lines of utilitarian exchange. This would support Hall's position (see above) that local valuables exchange helped to maintain local alliances and utilitarian exchange, specifically the exchange of staples, especially if food had been contained in the vessels brought to McGraw. The case does not address the issue of whether utilitarian and valuables exchange occurred at the same or different times and places and constituted distinct spheres of exchange.

Fie (2000:498–502) chemically analyzed 304 Middle Woodland coarse and fine ware sherds from four bluff-base habitations and two flood plain mound centers well distributed along the lower 40 miles of the Illinois valley. Twenty-eight (9.2%) of the sherds—six of which were fine ceremonial wares (Hopewell, Grigsby rockered, and Baehr styles)—were found to have been manufactured in all probability at locations in the lower Illinois valley other than the sites where they were discarded. Because three of the six fine ware vessels occurred in habitation sites, not simply in flood plain mound centers where local and extralocal peoples gathered for ceremony and may have used and discarded only their own ceramics (Buikstra and Charles 1999; Charles 1995), it can be inferred that the three vessels actually exchanged hands between persons of neighboring groups within the lower Illinois valley. The three vessels can be interpreted as cases of local valuables exchange, if their fineness set them apart as valuables for lower Illinois valley Hopewell peoples. This is probably true, because Hopewell, Baehr, and Grigsby rockered styles are found much more commonly in mortuary contexts than domestic ones. In addition, Fie's (2000:447) data show that coarse and fine wares were traded in parallel, from the same originating habitation site to the same destination habitation site, for two pairs of sites in the lower Illinois valley.[16] Again, this supports Hall's position that local valuables exchange helped to maintain local alliances and utilitarian exchange, possibly including the exchange of staples in vessels.[17]

Indirect evidence of local valuables exchange can be found in chemical sourcing data on galena (Walthall 1981). Of the 121 archaeological samples of galena from across the East that have been chemically sourced, only 8 came from central Missouri deposits, and all of these were found in sites in the lower Illinois valley. The rarity and spatially limited distribution of the Missouri galena suggested to Walthall (p. 37) that it was procured in one shot and then dispersed through trade partners among nearby communities. Additionally, Walthall (1981:41) argued that upper Mississippi valley galena cubes found in Copena sites are so geochemically homogeneous that they probably were gotten from one specific place within the source district, possibly in one or a very few procurement trips. Subsequently, the galena would have been spread through trade partners among Copena communities. Additional indirect evidence of local valuables exchange in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois can be envisioned in the foreign, fancy raw materials besides galena that are found in small quantities in small habitation sites. These are listed and referenced by Carr (Chapter 2, Interregional and Local Hopewell).

All of the above-cited literature and examples of local valuables exchange focus on ceremonial exchanges that had as their purpose the establishing and reinforcing of alliances. A second form of local valuables exchange—competitive exchange—aims instead at settling prestige rivalries among elite or among ordinary persons and their kin (Dalton 1968, 1977). This is accomplished through the giving-away of valuables in such quantity and quality that they cannot be reciprocated and the receiving party is embarrassed. Food surpluses and other staples commonly exchange hands along with valuables, which may help to overcome temporary local shortages and extralocal differentials in the staples of life, similar to the case of cooperative alliance formation defined by Hall (see above). The potlatch of Northwest Coast Native Americans is a well-known example of competitive valuables and staples exchange among elites who held their position by inheritance or achievement, supported by their kin and/or communities (Piddocke 1969; Rosman and Rubel 1971; Suttles 1960). These events were tied to the acquisition of titles of prestige.

Competitive exchange among common persons and their kin are found in societies of many levels of complexity around the world in the form of bridewealth give-aways; less common dowry give-aways; and give-aways associated with puberty rites, marriages, funerals, and other rites of passage. The bridewealth exchanges of historic Great Plains Native Americans (e.g., Collier and Rosaldo 1991:278–279; Driver 1969:224–225, 342; Hoebel 1966:349) are examples. Among other purposes, these aimed at prestige building. Another fine example of competitive exchange among common persons is the contemporary Apache female puberty ceremony, which openly involves competitive giving of massive amounts of gifts, raw food, and cooked food between the young woman's matrilineal clan and the matrilineal clan of her Godmother. Hundreds of persons are fed for a period of four days. The ceremony is followed immediately afterward and one year later by give-aways by each clan to those who helped amass the valuables and food (Elizabeth Brandt, personal communication, 2001). On the Great Plains, the Give-Away Ceremony among the Arapaho was competitive, but less openly so in the short run. It was and is held by families who wished to honor a family member who had achieved or experienced something good, such as being selected for a position or title of importance, participating in the Sun Dance, or returning home from military duty. The ceremony was also held at funerals. Cloth bolts, clothing, pots, horses, saddles, and such were given to a variety of persons, from close friends to visitors from other bands or tribes—in general to those with whom one had some kind of relationship of reciprocity—rather than to a specific social unit of competition. However, the items given were noticed and talked about (Weist 1973; Peter Welsh, personal communication, 2001).

In the Hopewell world, competitive exchange and the gathering of large numbers of people for this purpose have been inferred explicitly for Havana flood plain mound complexes from the quantity and diversity of prestigious items found in the mounds and surrounding midden deposits (Buikstra and Charles 1999; Charles 1995; Charles and Buikstra 2002; see Carr, Chapter 2, Buikstra and Charles). Competitive exchange has also been used to interpret the flamboyance of Hopewellian mortuary remains across the East generally (Braun 1986:121). However, other ritual practices are probably responsible for the large ceremonial deposits of valuable artifacts within the "altars" (cremation basins) and some burials in Ohio Hopewell mounds, especially those deposits comprised of many artifacts or raw materials of one or two kinds (e.g., breastplates, celts, pipes, copper geometric symbols, ovate stone disks, quartz, galena, obsidian) (Carr et al., Chapter 13; Greber 1996).

A final variant on local valuables exchange is that involved in the making of a Big Man, as described ethnographically for Melanesian societies and modeled by Sahlins (1972). Here, the upcoming leader gains prestige and power by giving away valuables and/or staples to the persons he is attempting to draw into debt to him and in support of him. The valuables or staples commonly are needed by those persons to fulfill social obligations of a kind (e.g., bridewealth, blood money, feasts, and give-aways at rites of passage). It is not difficult to imagine a Hopewell person who aspires to be socially important acquiring specimens of a potent mineral, herb, "medicine", or other natural product through travel to its source or through trade partners and then ceremonially "giving" them away[18] to others, thereby increasing his or her prestige, but also spreading the valuables through the society. The distribution of central Missouri galena in lower Illinois valley sites and upper Mississippi valley galena in Copena sites (Walthall 1981), as described above, could easily be explained in this way or by the other forms of local exchange.

Regional, Symmetric Exchange of Valuables

Valuables exchange at a regional level, involving "close strangers", has been modeled by Flannery (1967). He was concerned with explaining material similarities between Formative-period communities in the valley of Oaxaca, Mexico, and the central highlands generally, and the Olmec communities in coastal Veracruz and Tabasco. The similarities include both concepts expressed in nonportable material culture (ceremonial architecture, iconography) and portable prestige raw materials and finished items, as in the Hopewell case. Early and Middle Formative ceremonial architecture and iconography in Oaxaca incorporated elements found among Olmec sites, but not vice versa. Oaxacan sites have yielded Gulf Coast mussel shell, turtle shell, and a crocodile mandible, while Olmec centers have borne magnetite and ilmenite that was concentrated and worked in quantity in one Oaxacan site, and obsidian and greenstone from the highlands (Flannery 1967:68; Grove 1997:84–85).

To explain these distributions, Flannery built a model of regional valuables exchange among elite through ethnographic analogy to the fur "trade" of the coastal Tlingit and inland Athabascan groups in the Pacific Northwest, and to the jade and food "trade" of the valley Shan and highland Kachin in Burma. The regional scales of all three exchange systems are roughly similar to each other and to certain interaction spheres in the Hopewell world. From the valley of Oaxaca to Gulf Olmec centers it is about 175 miles. The Tlingit–Athabascan and Shan–Kachin exchange systems spanned about 50 to 100 miles. These distances equate, at most, to those between adjacent northern Hopewellian phases, such as Scioto Hopewell and Mann phase Hopewell, the latter and lower Illinois valley. Hopewell, or Scioto Hopewell and the Goodall focus, but not to the distances between these northern traditions and ones of the mid Southeast and deep Southeast (e.g., Copena, Marksville, Santa Rosa–Swift Creek, Porter, Miller). Also relevant to the analogy is that the interacting Pacific Northwest and Burmese groups spoke different languages, i.e., were "close strangers," which was true of the Native American tribes that historically were spread over the territories of the above-named northern Hopewellian traditions.

The Northwest Coast and Burmese exchange systems worked as follows. The Athabascans were egalitarian groups, and the Kachin egalitarian and simple rank societies. Both groups lived in highland territories having valuable raw materials (furs in the first case; jade, amber, tortoise shell, gold, and silver in the latter). These goods were coveted by the elite of the stratified lowland Tlingit and Shan societies for use as symbols of prestige, for competitive display, and, in the Tlingit case, also for give-away and destruction through potlatching. In both exchange systems, headmen or chiefs from highland groups and nobles or princes from lowland groups entered into gift-giving partnerships, which were cemented by the exchange of daughters for marriage. The Burmese system also involved the Shan elite, who had agricultural surpluses, gifting rice and sometimes valley-bottom rice land to the Kachin elite, who had more marginal subsistence yields.

Flannery's model of regional exchange, based on these two ethnographic analogs, has characteristics beyond scale that are both different from and similar to the models of local exchange described above. First, regional exchange and display of exchanged prestige goods are exclusively or largely restricted to the upper eschelons of the exchanging societies rather than potentially open to persons of all levels of prestige in any frequency (Dalton 1977, in Renfrew and Bahn 1991b:311; Flannery 1967:81). Local exchange is typically more open. Second, although the exchanges of gifts and daughters in regional exchanges are symmetric and the parties involved are structurally equivalent as social elite, their prestige differs. This encourages emulation of the cultural ways and status symbols of the more prestigious elite (e.g., Tlingit, Shan) by the less prestigious elite (e.g., Athabascans, Kachin), some practices of which may then filter down to the remainder of the society. Third, regional exchange may involve simply the exchange of items or persons of value, without parallel exchanges of food or utilitarian items, as in the Tlingit–Athabascan case. Regional valuables exchange among elite can be motivated simply by their desire to raise their prestige and bolster their leadership positions within their own communities with the foreign status items they receive. In contrast, local valuables exchange is typically paralleled by utilitarian exchange, formally or informally.[19] Fourth, because the parties involved in regional valuables exchange are "strangers" and may speak different languages, the practices of exchange are typically heavily ritualized (see Seeman 1995).

To these characteristics of regional valuables exchange can be added a qualification of Helms (1976:133, 136, 176), which is based on ethnohistoric and ethnographic analogy to interaction among Panamanian chiefdoms. Helms posed that leaders in rank societies, to be effective, must evidence knowledge of the supernatural, upon which their claims to leadership in part are typically built. She also notes that to travel beyond a circle of neighboring tribes to unknown territories inhabited by unknown peoples/beings is tantamount in some non-Western societies to traveling to little-known supernatural worlds of the cosmos. The near–far axis and the ordinary–supernatural axis may be confounded philosophically (but see Huntington and Metcalf 1979; also Eliade 1964).[20] Thus, elite who travel in the course of obtaining and exchanging valuables bolster their status not only with rare material symbols of rank, but also with esoteric knowledge and experience of supernatural worlds obtained in their journeys, as evidenced by those symbols. This same logic applies to traveling elite in egalitarian and emerging rank societies (Netting 1972). Helm's qualification may not apply to regional-level valuables exchange among groups who are culturally and linguistically different yet know a fair amount about each other, such as the Shan and Kachin, who knew enough to dislike each other. The interpretation is more likely to apply as the distance of regional valuables exchange increases, such as between highland and lowland Mesoamerica, or between adjacent northern Hopewellian traditions, where the average community member might know little about the distant lands.

Archaeological evidence for regional valuables exchange among Hopewellian societies that is in line with the above-described characteristics is reasonable to explore, at least considering a broad perspective on the nature of Hopewell. First, differences in sociopolitical complexity of the kind found between the Tlingit and the Athabascans may have occurred among Havana, Mann phase, and Scioto Hopewell societies (Braun 1979; J. A. Brown 1979:219; Struever 1965; but see Buikstra 1976), and between southern Havana or Scioto Hopewell and Goodall focus Hopewell. The organizational differences among these Hopewellian communities, if real, would have afforded a motivation for valuables exchange and leadership emulation and would suggest the applicability of Flannery's model. It is true that firm statements about differentials in sociopolitical complexity among these traditions cannot yet be made, because mortuary analyses of their social organization have not been made or have generally been site-specific rather than regional in scope (e.g., Braun 1979; Brown 1981; Greber 1979; Tainter 1975a, 1977; see also Carr, Chapter 2, Buikstra and Charles; Carr, Chapter 3, Community Ceremonial–Spatial Organization; and Carr, Chapters 6 and 7, for exceptions). However, differences in the amounts and ranges of material symbols accumulated in the above-compared Hopewellian traditions, and in their earthmoving endeavors, are clearly evident and substantial,[21] and these visible conditions may be more directly relevant to the question of applicability of Flannery's *emulation* argument than social complexity per se—which was the variable he emphasized.

A second aspect of Hopewell that invites us to explore the applicability of Flannery's model is found in a conclusion of Struever's (1964:88). He held that fancy Hopewellian artifacts and raw materials deposited in mortuary contexts were not specifically mortuary ceremonial goods but, instead, were status markers used by elite persons in rituals and social contexts within community life generally. This he surmised from the occurrence of such items, to some extent, in domestic contexts as well as in burials. Flannery's model deals specifically with the exchange of fancy items as status markers.

Finally, note that Flannery's model of regional valuables exchange stands distinct from both Renfrew's (1986) concept of "peer polity interaction" and the "prestige goods economy" model summarized above, and appears more applicable to regional-scale Hopewellian interaction than the latter two. Flannery's model poses significant differences among the exchanging polities in their socio-political organizational complexity and the positional security and institutionalizing of their elite, whereas Renfrew's construct does not. Such organizational differences appear to distinguish Hopewellian societies in certain different, neighboring regional traditions, as just mentioned, and give priority to Flannery's model. Also, Flannery's ideas pertain to the exchange and emulation of specifically elite status items, not valuable items that were used locally as currency by non-elites in making critical social payments and that were monopolized by rising elite, as posited in the prestige goods economic model. The restricted distributions of Hopewellian interaction items to a minority of burials within Hopewellian cemeteries over the Woodlands again suggests the greater relevance of Flannery's model to the Hopewellian case.

Unambiguous cases of specific artifacts or artifact classes that were exchanged at a regional scale are few. Seeman (1979a:330) and Struever and Houart (1972:74) agreed that platform pipes were exchanged from Scioto Hopewell communities west into those of the Crab Orchard and Havana traditions. However, Penney's (1989:174–191) stylistic analysis of 117 effigy platform pipes from the Scioto, Havana, Crab Orchard, and other traditions disclosed only 2 as having likely been made by the same hand yet buried in different cultural areas—those from the Rutherford mound in the Crab Orchard area and the Bedford mound in the Havana area (Penney, p. 185). Mineralogical analyses of Havana platform pipes by Farnsworth (1997), Hughes et al. (1998), and Wisseman et al. (2002) support Penney's finding (see above). Hopewell ware pottery, including bird-effigy vessels, from the Havana, Crab Orchard, and Scioto traditions, bears strong resemblances that Struever and Houart (1972:74) interpreted to represent regional exchange. Griffin et al. (1969:1) thought that limestone-tempered Hopewell ware made in the lower Illinois valley was traded or carried into central and northern Illinois and western Michigan. Of these Hopewell ware pots, only the one from the Newcastle site, Indiana, which resembles pots from the Steuben, Knight, and Norton sites in Illinois (Swartz 1971:4, in Seeman 1979a:379), and the vessel from the Esch mound group, Ohio, which resembles Havana Hopewell vessels (Prufer 1961a:476), were assessed by Seeman (1979a:378–379) to have possibly been exchanged. Only a rare few Hopewell ware vessels from the Mann site have been shown, through compositional analysis, to have been foreign to this site (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15). Compositional analyses of Hopewell ware from southern Illinois and Ohio (Fie 2000; Stoltman 2000; both summarized above) and a stylistic analysis of specifically bird-effigy vessels from the two regions (Penney 1989:207–225) have not revealed any foreign Hopwell ware vessels there. Copper celts and clay figurines were once thought to have been exchanged among Ohio, Indiana, and/or Illinois Hopewellian peoples (Struever and Houart 1972:74), but these conclusions are not consistent with stylistic and distribution studies (Keller and Carr, Chapter 11; Bernardini and Carr, Chapter 17).

The possibility that obsidian was obtained from the Rocky Mountains by Ohio and/or Indiana Hopewell peoples and exchanged from one or both of these communities to Havana peoples in Illinois (Struever and Houart 1972:74) remains a reasonable but still tentative interpretation, considering the smaller amounts and sizes and the lesser formality of obsidian specimens in Havana sites than those at the Hopewell site, Ohio, and the Mt. Vernon site, Indiana (Note 5; Wiant 2000). The similarity of Illinois and Ohio specimens in their percentages from various obsidian sources supports this interpretation over the idea of independent acquisition of obsidian by Havana and Scioto Hopewell peoples. Alternatively, this case may represent an example of the travel of aspiring social leaders from Illinois to centers of learning in Indiana or Ohio, and/or from Indiana to centers of learning in Ohio (see the following section).

The possibility of regional-scale exchange remains open for most classes of Hopewell Interaction Sphere items, which have not been studied.

Interregional, Asymmetric Exchange of Valuables

Exchange of valuables interregionally among "foreigners" has been modeled and explained by Helms (1976; see also 1988, 1993). Her ideas applied to this geographic-scale complement those of Flannery's for regional-scale valuables exchange, although she did not make this scalar distinction herself.

The interregional expanse of the exchanges that Helms addresses is on the order of hundreds of linear miles, typically making impractical the parallel exchange of utilitarian and subsistence goods found in local valuables exchange systems and some regional valuables exchange systems (see above). Thus, the impetus for interregional exchange in Helm's view is not directly material but, rather, sociopolitical: to augment and validate the authority of leaders with esoteric knowledge, ceremonial practices, and material symbols of knowledge and power sought out from foreign (i.e., supernatural) realms. As in regional valuables exchange, long-distance exchange is undertaken only by leaders of societies or those aspiring to become leaders. However, the form of exchange among leaders differs from that in regional exchange: It is *asymmetric*. Leaders travel afar to study under and to learn esoteric matters from more prestigious leaders, providing their teachers with gifts and perhaps receiving ceremonial paraphernelia or other valuables that symbolize and prove their acquisition of knowledge. Leaders who serve as teachers are perceived as powerful because of their geographic distance from the homelands of their student-leaders, the greater sociopolitical complexity and perceived power of their polities, and the greater elaboration of the religious practices, concepts, and oral literature over which they have command, according to Helms (1976:129–143, 177).

Helms (1976) based her ideas on the learning networks of high chiefs (*quevis, nelas*) and shaman-like practitioners (*tequinas*) of the Cuna in Panama. In Cuna culture, a high value is placed generally on knowing about things, particularly their origins, as a means for controlling things (Helms, p. 120). In chiefdomship and shamanic leadership, "an understanding of the powers of nature and of the origins and history of human society and its relationship with the natural–supernatural realms legitimized chiefly rule" [and shamanic practice] (Helms, p. 127). Chiefs and shaman were admired for their displays of traditional esoteric knowledge and held status challenges with other chiefs and shaman of similar position to show their control over "secrets" and the hidden essences of things (*purba*) (Helms, pp. 73, 126). The specialized ceremonial languages and metaphors used by chiefs (Helms, pp. 124–125), their abilities to creatively use traditional cultural metaphors (Helms, p. 125), and apparently in prehistoric times the zoomorphic, gold symbols of their education in distant capitals of learning in Columbia (Helms, p. 119) each demonstrated their knowledge and power. Cuna chiefs and shaman in the late 19th and 20th Centuries traveled to eastern Panama and into Columbia to traditionally known places of learning to study with teachers (Helms, pp. 129–131), sometimes for years and with regular trips back to their teachers afterward.

Making one or several educational journeys or "knowledge quests" (Helms 1976:140) to one or several different teachers was essential to the making of a chief in the Cuna world. Helms argued that those Cuna who were born of a high-status chiefly line and were thought to inherently have great potential for power (*niga, kurgin* [Helms 1976: 74]) nonetheless had to activate it—through their educational stays in foreign places associated with the unfamiliar and supernatural, through their journeys in trance to mystic levels of the Upper and Lower Worlds of the cosmos, and through ritual practice. Her conclusion is based on a 20th-Century example of a Cuna leader and by way of analogy to Polynesian chiefs (Helms, pp. 71–72, 119, 137–139).

In Helm's theoretical perspective, and in light of the Cuna analogy, to say that interregional valuables exchange had as its goal the acquisition of fancy items for a leader to evidence his or her power would be to miss the point. The commodity sought in Helms's view is esoteric knowledge, which could be used in public ceremonial displays to extend the reputation and sphere of influence of a chief, to outcompete rivals, and to impress and maintain the support of followers within the chiefdom (Helms 1976: 109). Esoteric knowledge was a more fundamental "scarce resource" (Helms, pp. 175–176) than material symbols of it. Moreover, Helms challenges us to replace the picture of symmetric exchange between foreign leaders in some ritualized gift-giving context, as discussed in the previous section, with an asymmetric one: the image of a student-leader learning from a renowned leader in a foreign land and paying in valuables and labor, with the return of perhaps a few elite, material symbols of schooling. In my thinking, in light of ethnographic analogs, these two views of elite valuables exchange are not competing, as Helms (pp. 172–175) seems to argue, but differ in their probability of occurrence according to geographic scale and modes of travel. With greater distances and travel times among polities, asymmetrical valuables exchange among elite becomes more probable, and symmetrical exchange less so.

Helms's idea of leaders traveling long distances to learn esoteric knowledge, including how to perform religious ceremonies, recall's Penney's (1989) notion of medicine persons or others journeying afar to learn powerful ceremonies and buy the rights to perform them, as documented ethnographically among Plains and Woodlands Native Americans. However, in Penney's framework, those who bought religious prerogatives were not specifically community leaders, but any individuals, with varying degrees of community recognition, who were seeking power in general or power to control specific things. Moreover, buying of religious prerogatives in historic North America did not involve the long periods of learning documented for Cuna leaders.

Helms's interpretive framework has potential for helping us to understand the interregional distribution of at least some Hopewellian valuables and concepts, when taking a broad view of them. It is true that we do not know the value system of Hopewellian peoples, and whether it emphasized the learning of esoteric knowledge to control life or would have encouraged long-distance travel to leader-teachers of esoteric knowledge. However, the heavily shaman-like nature of Hopewellian ceremonial paraphernalia and leadership symbols, and the visual complexity of their art system, both suggest a rich ideology that could have been supported by such a value system.

Examining specific Hopewellian artifact classes, it is clear that Helms's interpretive framework is not useful for explaining the distributions of several distantly moved Hopewellian material exotica because their sources were in sparsely populated territories without ceremonial centers of learning. Obsidian brought from the Rocky Mountains, copper from the upper Great Lakes and the Ducktown, Tennessee area, and mica from the southern Appalachians, for example, do not fit the model. However, conch shells, barracuda jaws, shark teeth, and alligator teeth, which were buried in Scioto Hopewell sites but are not found in other sites between Ohio and their Gulf/Atlantic coast sources, may well be explained by Helms's ideas. Conch shells, barracuda jaws, and shark teeth were specifically used in religious ceremonies in the Southeast, the first for serving the black drink (Hudson 1976:229, 373, 398), and the last two for scratching persons (to let blood as a sacred offering) in preparation for participation in ceremonies. Moreover, the items are fairly rare to very rare in Scioto Hopewellian sites, much as the gold zoomorphic artifacts that Helms concludes were gifts from Columbian teacher-leaders to Panamanian student-leaders. Conchs, barracuda jaws, and shark and alligator teeth could logically have been either gifts made to Ohio teacher-leaders by Southeastern student-leaders or symbols of acquired knowledge given by Southeastern teacher-leaders to Ohio student-leaders; the geographic distribution of the items does not discriminate the two possibilities. Other reasonable interpretations for the northward movement of these four Southeastern items include Scioto Hopewell peoples having bought religious prerogatives and these items from Southeastern persons and the direct procurement of these items at their Southeastern sources by Scioto Hopewell persons who journeyed afar in the course of vision and power quests. Long-distance symmetrical valuables exchange among elite seems less likely, given the relatively modest value that these four artifact types would have had to peoples and leaders of the Southeast, where the items are common.

The southward movement of galena from its concentrating area in Scioto Hopewell centers to Copena sites (about 325 miles) and then to Mandeville and McQuorquodale (about 250 miles), as described above (see Archaeological Evidence for Long Distance Exchange), could indicate the travel of leaders seeking training and teacher-student gift/token-giving over a string of learning centers. Again, the travel of students to foreign centers could logically have been in either direction. An equally plausible interpretation of this movement of galena would be the long-distance symmetric exchange of valuables among elite. Galena is rare in both the Midwest and the Southeast, and would likely have been seen as valuable/powerful to peoples in both regions. Another alternative interpretation—pilgrimage to a ceremonial center—must also be considered.

It is possible that Havana Hopewell aspiring leaders from Illinois ventured to Ohio and/or Indiana to be trained in esoteric issues by mentors there and were given small, token gifts of obsidian to bring back with them. This interpretation is supported by an apparent westward movement of obsidian from centers in Ohio and/or Indiana—at least the former of which directly procured it in the Rocky Mountains—to Illinois communities. That movement is indicated by the much smaller amounts and sizes and the lesser formality of obsidian in Illinois sites than at the Hopewell site, Ohio, and the Mt. Vernon site, Indiana (Note 5; Wiant 2000). Also supporting the interpretation of Havana rising leaders traveling to Ohio or Indiana for training, and weakening the case for independent acquisition of obsidian by Havana and Scioto Hopewellian peoples from the Rocky Mountains directly, is the similarity of Illinois and Ohio obsidian specimens in their proportions from various obsidian sources (Note 5). Alternatively, the data could reflect elite exchange between Havana Hopewell communities and Ohio and/or Indiana communities, with obsidian having moved westward and other items eastward. Neither the Helms model of student-leader traveling to a distant mentor nor the elite exchange scenario, however, accord with the wide, largely sparse, distribution of obsidian among dozens of village sites in Illinois along the Illinois and Mississippi river valleys (Wiant 2000). This distribution suggests relatively open access to obsidian in Illinois, rather than its restriction to elites and to elite training or exchange. If either the traveling student-leader or elite exchange situation apply to the Illinois case, this activity was followed by local exchange of obsidian within Illinois.

The case of the roseate spoonbill brought alive from the Southeast to Illinois (see Archaeological Evidence of Long-Distance Exchange, above) could represent long-distance asymmetric valuables exchange of the kind envisioned by Helms, instead of the long-distance symmetric exchange of valuables among elites. The spoonbill could have been either a token symbol of acquired knowledge given by a Southeastern teacher-leader to a Midwestern student-leader, or a gift-payment to a Midwestern teacher-leader by a Southeastern student-leader. Again, the alternative explanation of pilgrimage to a ceremonial center, either in the Southeast or in Illinois, also remains a possibility.

Finally, the several kinds of fancy, decorated, foreign-made vessels found at the Pinson Mounds site, Tennessee (Stolman and Mainfort 2002:16) could indicate the travel of rising leaders from various portions of the Southeastern United States to Pinson—the premier Hopewellian center in the Southeast—for training. Santa Rosa-Swift Creek vessels from the greater northern Florida area, a Larto Red vessel from the southern Lower Mississippi valley, and check marked vessels and a fabric impressed vessel, all identified petrographically to have been produced elsewhere than Pinson Mounds, are telling. These vessels, and/or their contents, could represent gifts to important teachers at Pinson. Other possible interpretations of these foreign-made vessels include pilgrimage and symmetrical valuables exchange among elite. The great bulk of foreign-style vessels found at Pinson, which were made locally (Mainfort et al. 1997), are more in line with the practice of pilgrimage, given their substantial quantity there (see Pilgrimage to Ceremonial Centers, above). Other foreign style or foreign-made vessels found in the Duck's Nest Sector of the site (Mainfort 1986:31, 35, 46; 1988:167–168) are much more readily interpreted as the remains of a ceremonial gathering analogous to the historic Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead (Carr, Chapter 12; Mainfort 1986:46).

Helms's (1976) model informs us of not only the possibility of aspiring Hopewellian leaders having traveled far in their quest for esoteric knowledge, with accompanying gift giving and the interregional spread of ritual items. The model also suggests, in this context, the possible nature and roles of Hopewellian ceremonial centers. A great Panamanian Cuna chief-teacher might have as many as 20 to 50 student chiefs who studied with him (Helms, p. 132). These persons constituted for the chief a "fund of power" and a source of prestige (Sahlins 1972) in their ritual and mundane labor for the chief, and in the ritual gifts they gave to him, during the course of their studies. It is possible that some or all of the clusters of domestic debris (apparent residences) and the wooden buildings used for manufacturing ritual items within the confines of the Seip earthworks, Ohio (Baby and Langlois 1979; Greber 1997:216), indicate, among other interpretations, the areas of tutelage, ritual practice, payment in the form of ritual manufacture, and temporary residence of local and foreign students of one or more renowned Ohio Hopewellian leader-teachers. A similar interpretation might apply to some of the clusters of domestic debris within the Mann site (Ruby 1997e). Only further excavation and artifact analysis can bear out or refute these and alternative propositions.

ELITE-ORCHESTRATED TRANSFERENCE OF RELIGIOUS CULTS

A final means by which Hopewellian material culture, ideas, and practices may have been disseminated over the Eastern Woodlands is through the transference of religious cults among clans or other tribal segments, which in turn was orchestrated by competing Big Men to facilitate supralocal exchange and local wealth and prestige. This mechanism is suggested by way of analogy to the Enga regional system of ceremonial exchange and the spreading of cults in highland Papau, New Guinea, as described by Wiessner and Tumu (1999). The introduction of the sweet potato to the highlands, perhaps not unlike the dramatically increased productivity of cultivation of Eastern Agricultural Complex plants in the Midwestern United States during the Woodland Period (Wymer and Johannessen 2002), afforded the possibility of local Big Men to generate larger local food surpluses. In New Guinea, such surpluses were used locally and supralocally to compete for brides and allies in warfare through the payment of bridewealth and war reparations, while Big Men who helped to finance their followers in these matters gained in prestige. The surpluses were accumulated not simply within networks of kin locally, but also through two potent networks of ceremonial regional exchange—the Tee cycle and the Great Ceremonial Wars exchange festivities—which greatly expanded geographically and in the generation of wealth after the sweet potato was introduced. These two networks eventually came to connect more than 355 clans over a distance of about 85 kilometers (55 miles). In the Tee cycle, which came to replace the Ceremonial Wars, initiatory gifts moved down the chain of clans, main gifts of pigs, utilitarian goods, and valuables were reciprocated in the opposite direction, and then large kills of pigs and festive distributions of pork moved in the first direction, repaying those who had given the main gifts.

Organizing a clan to generate wealth for ceremonial exchange and articulating neighboring tribal segments and tribes in a milieu of increasing wealth, competition, and new and wider social relations were difficult for clans and their Big Men. So too, were setting agreed-upon times for the different stages and ceremonies of the Tee and Ceremonial Wars, and maintaining a spirit of cooperation among all exchange participants over the course of a ritual exchange cycle. These difficulties were overcome by the conscious crafting, innovation, and circulation of ritual cults, which integrated the necessary parties. The cults involved sacred objects, rites, and spells, which were intended to improve individual and clan prosperity. One cult—the bachelor's cult—involved young men making voyages to purchase sacred objects from another clan, as a part of their social transformation into adult men integrated with a broader community. Cults were exchanged for wealth and, once bought, could be altered by the purchaser and sold to others. Thus, cults were traded and reworked like material objects, without restriction by any centralized religious authority, and in accord with local needs of the moment and management by local leaders.

The buying and selling of cults that occurred in New Guinea are similar to the buying and selling of ritual prerogatives that occurred in North America, as posed by Penney (1989; see above) to explain interregional Hopewell, but involved an entire clan, which was led in its decisions by a Big Man, rather than the efforts of one individual.

The Enga system of ceremonial exchange and cults is instructive when considering how Hopewellian ideas, ways, and materials might have spread because it shows how several of the mechanisms enumerated above may *combine* to form a regional system of interaction. The Enga case encompassed the spread of cults, buying and selling of ceremonial prerogatives, local valuables exchange, intermarriage across community lines, Big Man-orchestrated competitive displays (e.g., Tee feasts, the Ceremonial Wars), and personally transformative journeys to obtain sacred objects.

The Enga system is not a reasonable analog for Hopewellian interaction among regional traditions across the East, given differences in scale, language diversity, and community distribution between the Enga and Hopewellian cases. The Enga system spanned a linear distance much smaller than the Eastern Woodlands and, instead, approximated the expanse of a single Hopewellian tradition, such as the lower Illinois valley Havana Hopewell, the Scioto Hopewell, or the Tennessee valley Copena Hopewell. While the Enga spoke dialects of one language, and would fall within Helms's category of "normal people," interregional Hopewell spanned Helms's "normal people," "close strangers," and "foreigners" (see above). Finally, while the Tee Cycle, the Great Ceremonial Wars, and specific cults connected a near-spatial continuum (i.e., cline) of communities, the communities that participated in Hopewellian ideas and practices had a patchy (i.e., nodal) distribution over the East, possibly restricted to areas of high resource potential (Struever 1964:89, 95–96, 99–105). These distinctions imply significant differences in the nature of intercommunity social interaction in the two cases, with regard to social distance, formality, bridging symbolism, and perhaps the frequency of interaction.

The Enga case may, however, give insight into Hopewellian interaction within regional traditions. It is not hard to envision ceremonial events functionally like the Enga Great Ceremonial Wars having occurred at various prescribed earthworks and times in Ross County, Ohio, bringing together communities from several tens of miles away in competitive displays, exchange, and alliance creation. One can also easily imagine a string of communities along the lower Illinois valley, each focused on a flood plain mound center, having been tied together in a cycle of exchange like the Enga Tee. Finally, the dynamic innovation and spread of cults to keep such exchange systems going among the Enga may have characterized Hopewellian intraregional exchange, as well. The diverse nature of the large ceremonial deposits of copper symbols, copper earspools, copper breastplates and celts, smoking pipes, mica sheets, obsidian, galena, and quartz crystals found in different Scioto Hopewell mounds (Carr et al. Chapter 13) may evidence the active innovation, spread, and short life of various cults that helped to organize and schedule Scioto Hopewellian exchange systems and keep up a spirit of cooperation among widespread participating communities.

Speaking against this analogy of Hopewell corporate ceremonialism to Enga ceremonial cycles, at least in the Ohio case, are Clay's (1992:79–80) criticisms of the interpretation of pre-Hopewellian Adena societies as Big Man societies, which also hold for Ohio Hopewell societies (see Carr and Case, Chapter 5). Clay rightly pointed out that the power of Melanesian Big Men, and we would add their ability specifically to fuel corporate ceremonialism of the Enga type, is based on their capability to amass large surpluses. In contrast, the rarity of storage pits in Ohio Hopewell habitation sites suggests subsistence productivity at the level of family consumption alone, although recent paleoethnobotanical syntheses for the Havana and Ohio Hopewell traditions (Wymer and Johannessen 2002) may place this in debate. Second, Clay notes that the ceremonies administered by Melanesian Big Men are staged near their own houses, creating an essential identification among the Big Man, place, and power. The dispersed settlement pattern of Ohio Hopewell communities and the use of Ohio earthwork ceremonial centers by leaders from multiple communities do not indicate this key symbolism. The Enga case is perhaps more instructive in showing how competitive displays, the spreading of cults, buying and selling of ceremonial prerogatives, local valuables exchange, and intermarriage among communities may have been combined in Hopewell life and in the spread of practices, ideas, and material forms within a regional tradition than it is in epitomizing the nature of Hopewellian leadership. Archaeological evidence for the primarily shaman-like rather than Big Man-like nature of Ohio Hopewellian leaders (Carr and Case Chapter 5) supports this conclusion.

SOCIAL RECEPTIVITY TO FOREIGN WAYS

Of the many mechanisms enumerated above by which Hopewellian raw materials, artifacts, practices, and ideas came to be spread across the Eastern Woodlands, some require, in addition, that local communities were receptive to and accepting of such foreign elements, so that they gained in popularity in their new cultural setting. Intermarriage, spirit adoption, buying of religious prerogatives, and emulation involved in regional-scale, elite valuables exchange each offer the opportunity for the spread of a foreign idea or practice within a local community, but contingent upon local receptivity.

A society at large can be more or less receptive to outside contact, ideas, and practices for very many philosophical–religious, political–ideological, social organizational, technological, demographic–labor, and ecological reasons (Roe 1995:38–55). The very patchy distribution of Hopewellian material traits across the Eastern Woodlands during the Middle Woodland period (Struver 1964) reflects the lack of acceptance of Hopewellian ideas and practices by many Woodland societies at large. A well-documented example is the persistence of Adena ritual practices among communities in the Hocking and the central and lower Muskingum valleys (Black 1979; Carskadden and Morton 1996:320–321, 326–327), several centuries after their geographically close, Scioto valley neighbors had been heavily creating and investing in Hopewellian ways.

At a smaller scale, different segments and personae of a society—males and females, groups of different rank or wealth, leaders and followers—may vary from each other in their receptivity to foreign cultural elements for reasons as diverse as those pertaining to whole societies (e.g., Roe 1979; 1995; see also Cannon 1989). Thus, a well-grounded understanding of the spread of Hopewellian ideas and practices and the mechanisms of their dispersal requires the study of many different functional categories of material culture that were produced and used by different segments of society, which potentially varied in their openness to foreign culture. It is likely that the differing geographic distributions of various finished Hopewellian artifact classes over eastern North America (e.g., Seeman 1979a, 1995) reflects in part the differing receptivity of different social segments and personae in different regions to the ideas and practices enmeshed with those various artifact classes.[22]

The topic of the receptivity of a particular kind of social segment/persona to foreign Hopewellian ways, and its variation across regional traditions, is taken up in this book by Keller and Carr (Chapter 11). They document similarities and differences among three Hopewellian regional traditions in the style of terra cotta figurines, which in all probability were made by females,[23] and then infer the varying receptivity of female artisans in those different societies to foreign designs. Illinois Havana Hopewell, Indiana Mann phase Hopewell, and Ohio Scioto Hopewell are the regional traditions examined. The authors find that, in all three traditions, figurines were probably produced and used in open social–ceremonial contexts rather than closed, secretive ones. This would have allowed the free spread of visible stylistic traits—such as the natural style and clay medium of the figurines—across traditions, which is observed. At the same time, female producers of figurines in the three traditions differed in their acceptance of styles for rendering somewhat less visible, facial features such as the nose, eyes, mouth, and ears. Figurines from the Mann phase vary widely in the style of these features, sharing in some styles found in the other two regions. This suggests a wide network of "active interaction" of female artisans of this tradition with those of others, and the receptivity of Mann phase figurine makers to foreign styles. In contrast, Havana and Scioto Hopewell figurines are more uniform and limited in the style of their facial features. This implies a strong network of artisan interaction within each region, strong grammatical rules in form and production rather than family or individual-generated stylistic innovations, and little acceptance of extraregional styles. The greater receptivity of Mann phase females to foreign figurine styles is paralleled by their[24] acceptance and reproduction of Southeastern, Swift Creek, complicated stamped pottery decoration styles, vessels of which are common at Mann phase sites and were made locally, but very rare in Scioto Hopewell sites and apparently nonexistent in Havana Hopewell sites (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15).[25] In turn, the openness of Mann phase females to foreign styles and their greater interaction with neighboring groups may relate in part to the location of the Mann phase in a major riverine crossroads—near the conjunctions of the Wabash, Tennessee, and Cumberland rivers with the lower Ohio River.

A fruitful extension of Keller and Carr's study would be stylistic analyses of artifacts likely made by men, in order to infer their receptivity to foreign styles compared to that of women in each of the three regional traditions. Documenting the interregional spread of Hopewellian ideas and practices along multiple lines, possibly distinguished by gender or other dimensions of social segmentation, could prove useful in understanding the distinct geographic distributions of different Hopewellian material traits, and the social–ceremonial nature of Hopewell.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS ON INTERREGIONAL HOPEWELL

When an actor-based view of the spread of Hopewellian ideas and practices across the Eastern Woodlands is taken, and when ethnographic descriptions of long-distance human travel and interaction are considered, a wide diversity of mechanisms of dispersal and motives for dispersal of Hopewellian material culture are suggested as logical possibilities (Table 16.1). Cautious and systematic review of archaeological evidence relative to ethnographically derived expectations indicates that most of these mechanisms probably operated in Hopewellian times. The strongest examples are summarized in Table 16.2, following from the above discussion.

From this table, it can be seen that no single mechanism is a satisfactory explanation of much or all of the spreading of Hopewellian ideas, practices, and material culture. This finding is fully in accord with the great diversity of kinds of Hopewellian artifacts and raw materials, their wide range of religious, social, and other functions, their varying contexts of production and use (e.g., local, nonlocal, mortuary, domestic), and the diverse roles of the individuals who would have used them. *When one considers who was doing what and for what possible social or individual motives, instead of simply tracking the movement of objects over a landscape, the reasons for the distinct geographic distributions of different material classes become clearer.* One would not, for example, expect galena obtained by individual or small groups of medicine persons or aspiring leaders from multiple societies over the East during vision/power quests to be distributed geographically like ceremonial ceramics made by pilgrims at a single ceremonial center. By deconstructing the interregional Hopewellian archaeological record specifically through personalizing and contextualizing it with social roles and motives, interregional Hopewell is made more dynamic and understandable, and also is opened to being generated from local situations. This last task remains a challenge that has been addressed to date only in the most general of terms.

CHAPTERS THAT FOLLOW

The four chapters that follow each address interregional Hopewellian travel, procurement, and forms of interaction that led to the wide distribution of Hopewellian ideas, practices, material

Table 16.2. Mechanisms of Interregional and Regional Dispersal of Hopewellian Raw Materials and Finished Goods, with Strong Evidence

Raw material or finished good	Mechanism
Obsidian in Ohio and possibly Indiana	Vision/power questing or pilgrimage to a place in nature from Ohio and possibly Indiana
Obsidian in Illinois	Travel to Ohio or Indiana centers of learning, or elite valuables exchange between Ohio or Indiana and Illinois
Meteoric iron in Ohio and Illinois	Vision/power questing or pilgrimage to a place in nature from Ohio and Illinois sites
Copper for peoples within the distribution of copper celts in Northern and Midsouthern traditions	Vision/power questing or pilgrimage to a place in nature
Cobalt silver at LeVesconte, Ontario, the Converse site, Michigan, and the Tunnacunhee and Mandeville sites, GA	Vision/power questing or pilgrimage to a place in nature from these sites
Keweenaw peninsula silver at the Hopewell and Turner sites, OH, and possibly the Liverpool site, IL	Vision/power questing or pilgrimage to a place in nature from these sites
Galena in Ohio and Illinois	Vision/power questing or pilgrimage to a place in nature from Ohio and Illinois sites
Galena from Copena sites to Mandeville, GA, and McQuorquodale, AL	Long-distance elite exchange or travel to a center of learning
Conch shells, alligator teeth, barracuda jaws, shark teeth in Ohio sites from the Gulf Coast/Florida Atlantic area	Vision/power questing, pilgrimage to a place in nature, travel to a center of learning, buying of religious prerogatives
A carved river mussel shell in Naples-Russell Mound No. 8, IL, from southeastern GA	Vision/power questing or the travels of a medicine person
Effigy platform pipes in the Scioto, Havana, Crab Orchard, and Marksville areas	Buying of religious prerogatives or travel to a center of learning
A platform pipe at the Rutherford Mound (Crab Orchard area) and one at the Bedford Mound (Havana area)	Elite valuables exchange (chemical testing required)
Bird-effigy pots in the Marksville, Miller, Havana, Crab Orchard, and Scioto areas	Buying of religious prerogatives or travel to a center of learning
A Hopewell ware pottery vessel at the Newcastle site, IN, from the area of the Steuben/Knight/Norton Mounds, IL	Elite valuables exchange (chemical testing required)
A Hopewell ware pottery vessel at the Esch Mound (northeast OH) from the Havana area	Elite valuables exchange (chemical testing required)
Rocker-stamped vessels at the Connestee phase Ice House Bottom site, TN, from southern Ohio	Elite valuables exchange
Connestee-like, simple stamped vessels at several mounds in southern Ohio from the vicinity of the Ice House Bottom site, TN	Elite valuables exchange
Clay, painted figurines at the Mandeville site, GA, and the Knight mound, IL	Intermarriage, spirit adoption, or buying of religious prerogatives
“White metal” (silver, iron) overlaid in the central depressions, only, of copper earspools at the Esch Mound (northeast OH), Bedford Mound 4 (IL), and Tunacunnhee (GA)	Intermarriage, spirit adoption, or buying of religious prerogatives
Swift Creek-like complicated stamped pottery made locally at the Mann site, IN	Intermarriage, spirit adoption, or buying of religious prerogatives and their spread locally
Decorated ceramics made locally at the Pinson site, TN, similar in style to pottery from the Marksville, Santa Rosa–Swift Creek, Tennessee valley, and Mobile Bay areas	Pilgrimage to a ceremonial center
Decorated ceramics found at the Pinson site, TN, but produced nonlocally and similar to Santa Rosa-Swift Creek, Larto Red, check-marked, and fabric-impressed styles	Pilgrimage to a ceremonial center, travel to a center of learning, or elite exchange
Fine-spaced, simple stamped pottery found at the Mann site, IN, but produced nonlocally and similar in style to pottery from the Appalachian Summit	Pilgrimage to a ceremonial center, travel to a center of learning, or elite exchange
Roseate spoonbill in Gibson Mound 3, IL, from the Florida/Alabama Gulf Coast	Pilgrimage to a ceremonial center, travel to a center of learning, or elite exchange

styles, raw materials, and, occasionally, finished goods over the Eastern Woodlands. The chapters consider four different kinds of Hopewellian items: metallic celts, metallic panpipes, metallic earspools, and raw and worked silver. These vary interregionally in a number of their characteristics and allow interregional Hopewell to be resolved into some of its variant contents, geographic expanses, and distributional mechanisms, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The themes that the chapters address, in various combinations, include: (1) the geographic place(s) of origin of the styles of finished artifact classes, (2) the different geographic distributions of the four kinds of items and what this variation implies about differing forms of interregional communication, (3) the different or similar ideological meaning(s) of each kind of item across its own geographic distribution, (4) the fundamental issue of whether the finished items were exchanged across traditions, or whether Hopewellian peoples from each tradition procured their own raw materials and manufactured the items themselves, (5) the similar or different mechanisms by which each kind of item came to be distributed over the Woodlands, (6) the similar or different social roles of those who employed a given kind of item across its geographic distribution, and (7) the similar or different rituals in which a given kind of item was used across the Woodlands. The conclusions drawn about each of these seven topics in the four chapters that follow are now summarized and integrated.

Origins

Ohio has commonly been interpreted as the place of origin of Hopewellian ideas and practices, which spread from there over the East. The enormous concentration of certain Hopewellian artifact classes and the diversity of Hopewellian artifact classes in Ohio would suggest this interpretation if one indiscriminately accepted the simple logic that the area of origin of a cultural feature is that region with the greatest concentration and/or diversity of the feature—an extension of the old age–area hypothesis (Wissler 1926; see also Harris 1968:374–377). Although undemonstrated for most material aspects of Hopewell, one finds this assumption embedded in archaeological terminology used today, where Ohio is said to be the "core" of Hopewell (Pacheco 1996).

Two chapters in this book and other evidence refute this position. In Chapter 18, metallic panpipes are found through stylistic study to have had their origins most likely in the Upper Great Lakes Trempealeau region, not in Ohio. Chapter 19 indicates that earspools of early morphology occur as early in the Copena, Havana, and Goodall regions as in the Scioto area. Similarly, the style of Hopewell ware made its appearance earlier in the Havana region than in Ohio (Griffin 1967:184). These probable or possible extra-Ohio origins of some primary markers of Hopewell reinforce the view of Hopewell as an interaction sphere of co-evolving regional traditions (Griffin 1967:184) without one center of origin, and in this regard, not unlike the later Southeastern Ceremonial Complex of Mississippian societies (J. A. Brown 1976). Thus, interregional Hopewell is to be understood as having been generated in several different, local cultural contexts, and its study requires a locally contexualized and generativet approach.

Artifact Classes with Different Geographic Distributions

Metallic earspools, metallic panpipes, and raw and worked silver are each distributed across essentially all the major Hopewellian traditions in the Eastern Woodlands (Seeman 1979a:304, 381). In contrast, metallic celts are limited to Hopewellian traditions in the northern and mid-southern Woodlands. These different distributions suggest the possibility of different cultural mechanisms of interregional communication and imply the need to deconstruct interregional Hopewell geographically. Following Seeman's (1995) and Helms's (1988) lead (see Deconstructing Interregional Hopewell, above), the smaller distribution of metallic celts may indicate interactions among peoples who considered each other "close strangers" and who used bilingualism; out-of-group foster care, education, and marriage exchanges; pidgins; trade jargons; and ritualized behavioral response sequences to relate to each other. Seeman (1995:134–135) would equate this relatively small area of close strangers, who communicated through linguistic means, with a *Sprachbund*: an area of shared general understandings where people know what to talk about—in this case, Hopewellian society and philosophical–religious beliefs. In contrast, the much more widely distributed earpools, panpipes, and silver imply interactions among groups who considered each other "outsiders", spoke mutually unintelligible languages, and were limited to nonlinguistic, artistic forms of communication such as iconography, music, and dance. These persons probably would have considered each other to have been potentially dangerous yet, by their very unfamiliarity, also powerful and attractive to interact with (Helms 1988). All of these thoughts about the different forms of communication in which different classes of artifacts participated provide a solid groundwork for thinking about the ideological meanings of those artifacts, to which we now turn.

Uniformity and Variability of the Ideological Meanings of Artifact Classes across the Woodlands

Seeman's (1995) interpretation of the different geographic distributions of celts and panpipes posits only that the two artifact classes were involved in different kinds of interregional communication. He did not attempt to define what specific meanings celts and panpipes might have had to Hopewell peoples. This issue and the related one of whether the meaning of a given artifact class varied across regional traditions are taken up in each of the following chapters in Part IV.

The most theoretical of the four chapters in their discussions of artifact meanings is Chapter 17, by Bernardini and Carr. It provides a framework for understanding the social, symbolic, and semantic place of Hopewellian artifacts in local communities and their interregional relations, not simply for copper celts—its subject matter—but also for many other ritual artifact classes. The authors draw from social science distinctions made by Marx (1954), Rappaport (1979), and Helms (1988), and thoughts on Hopewell by Seeman (1995).

Bernardini and Carr argue that copper celts and other Hopewellian ceremonial artifact classes each had unique values and meanings, and thus articulated socially in local contexts in their own unique ways. The value and meanings of a particular specimen, they propose, were a composite of two independent dimensions: its "canonical" meaning(s) and its "indexical" meanings. Canonical meanings are basic worldview assumptions about the enduring aspects of nature, society, and the cosmos. In pertaining to things outside of a specific ritual or cultural context, they are immutable and unfalsifiable. Indexical meanings are more particular concepts that concern the immediate conditions and relations among people in a given ritual or cultural context. Being concerned with relationships and the immediate, they may vary from situation to situation. In the case of copper celts, their canonical meanings were indicated by their similar shape and material over the northeastern and midsouthern Woodlands. Across the Hopewellian traditions in these areas, celts may have uniformly referred to canoe building and long-distance journeying and power questing via canoe, the felling of trees to make earthworks and ritual architecture, the journey of souls to an afterlife, and/or the institutionalized leadership roles involved in these activities. Ethnographic and archaeological data suggest these interpretations. To own a copper celt thus communicated an attained level of prestige through achievement in one or more of these arenas. The more practical and variable indexical meanings of celts were indicated by their different sizes. Larger and smaller celts indicated the differing abilities of persons to acquire copper—a substance that was economically, socially, and politically costly, and ideologically charged and potentially dangerous—and, by extension, the prestige of a celt owner relative to others. This second meaning also would have been understood uniformly across the geographic areas where metallic celts have been found. That both meanings were shared across regions is argued by the authors finding little relationship between a celt's length and its distance from the upper Great Lakes copper source. The lack of correlation implies that each Hopewellian tradition with celts acquired copper from the upper Great Lakes independently of others, through long-distance journeying, rather than through interregional exchange of copper and/or celts. Thus, the various regional traditions would have shared experientially in the same mode of acquisition of copper for celts, with all its philosophical–religious, canonical implications listed above. In addition, people in each of the multiple regional traditions would have understood the expense of obtaining copper and the prestige differentials of copper celts of different sizes, that is, their indexical meanings. The interregional sharing of these two dimensions of the value and meaning of copper celts can be considered an example of a coherent *Sprachbund*.

In Chapter 18, Turff and Carr explore the possible meanings that panpipes may have communicated within regional Hopewellian traditions and among peoples from distant traditions who met. Like Bernardini and Carr (Chapter 17), Turff and Carr distinguish between the canonical and the indexical meanings of ceremonial artifacts. The authors point out that historic Native Americans in the northeastern and southeastern Woodlands attributed different sets of indexical meanings to copper, of which panpipes were made. In the Northeast, copper referenced creatures of both the Upper and the Lower Worlds, including the Horned Serpent, Underwater Panther, bear, and Thunderers. In the Southeast, copper apparently was associated with the sun deity, the sacred fire, blood, life and success, the colors red and/or brown, and the East and/or Upper World. All of these meanings, in not spanning the entire Woodlands, are too specific to explain the spread of panpipes across this area. More plausible candidates are some very general, canonical meanings that possibly were attributed to panpipes. One is power, attributed through the association of the copper of panpipes with powerful supernatural beings of one kind or another, through the linking of the copper, silver, and music of panpipes with magical transformation, and possibly through the tying of cedar or sumac, which may have been used in stuffing some panpipes, with purification. Other possible canonical meanings of panpipes include power obtained by long-distance journeying to copper and silver sources; the power of the panpiper in his/her ability to successfully make such a dangerous journey and to manage power; and/or humanness, personhood, and sentience, expressed in the multinote sounds of panpipes, which resembled the human voice in song and speech. Any of these canonical meanings would have fostered mutual respect among foreigners from different Hopewellian traditions who met, helped to smooth social interactions among them, and given the parties a motive for interacting. In being effective in aiding social interaction across the Woodlands, panpipes would have spread over this range. Turff and Carr go on to note that it would have been the musical qualities of panpipes associated with humanness, personhood, and sentience, rather than the symbolic referents of their copper, that were most fundamental to their wide distribution over the Woodlands. The association of panpipes with the meanings linked to copper, such as power, obtained power, and managed power, would have been true of other copper artifacts (e.g., breastplates, celts, headplates) as well, yet these have smaller geographic distributions. In addition, the message of humanness would have been particularly important to communicate among very distant foreigners because, not uncommonly, tribal societies consider others at a far distance to be nonhuman and thus dangerous or unworthy of interaction. Finally, Turff and Carr reject the notion that panpipes imitated specific bird calls or other animal sounds, even though animals figure importantly throughout Hopewell art, because panpipes in different regional traditions were different lengths and probably produced different notes.

A critical conclusion that Turff and Carr reach from their study of panpipes is that interregional Hopewell, or at least the aspect of it represented by panpipes, was not a single religion (contra Caldwell 1964), nor was it an ideological system interwoven with a social structure (contra Seeman 1995:123), nor was it a consistent set of material forms and practices in which uniform ideas might have been expressed. Instead, Turff and Carr pose that interregional Hopewell was fluid, material–ideological–mental projective process. Panpipes across the Woodlands were similar enough in their forms, materials, and tonal qualities to have allowed Hopewell peoples in different regional traditions to have projected *some* meaning(s)—canonical or indexical, more or less local—onto them, creating familiarity and some common basis for meeting. Upon meeting, persons from different regional traditions may have read somewhat different meanings into panpipes. They almost certainly were not able to appreciate all the specific, indexical connotations that panpipes of copper and their music had in each other's cultures, and they may not have been able to grasp even some core worldview assumptions that panpipes may have differentially expressed in the northeastern versus southeastern Woodlands. However, the roughly similar worldviews and beliefs across the Eastern Woodlands area, which were rooted in shamanic thought and practices, would have ensured that the projected meanings were similar enough to have formed an effective framework for interaction.

Like celts and panpipes, earspools appear to have communicated very general, shared Hopewellian concepts of a canonical kind when Hopewell peoples from distant regions met. The case for earspools is presented in Chapter 19 by Ruhl. There, Ruhl makes a stylistic–technological analysis of earspools across the Woodlands and finds an interesting contrast. On the one hand, poorly visible stylistic–technological traits provide strong evidence for the very localized production of earspools, localized design norms, and minimal exchange of earspools geographically. At the same time, visible aspects of earspool morphology form the same symbol across the East at large—a gleaming metallic ring of light offset from a dark center. Very significantly, Ruhl's chronological seriation of earspools enables her to show that the style of the ring symbol changed in parallel across the East over the Middle Woodland period. These time–space–form patterns in combination suggest a metaphorical, nonverbal form of interregional communication using a key material symbol—in line with Seeman's (1995) and Helms's (1988) model of communication among widely separated "foreigners". Symbolic communications of this kind, and across great distances, must have been fairly regular for the ring symbol to have followed the same stylistic trend across all regions over the centuries.

The specific canonical meaning(s) of the ring symbol are not discussed by Ruhl. However, it can be mentioned that the contrast between light and darkness seen in earspool design is just one example of a fundamental concern with light and darkness that fully permeates Hopewellian material culture—artifacts, and mound and earthwork soils, alike (see Carr and Case, Chapter 5, for many examples). The contrast most likely represents a basic worldview assumption of Hopewellian peoples in Ohio, where it has been studied in detail (Carr 1998; Carr and Case 1996; Greber and Ruhl 1989:275–284), and probably has its foundations in shaman-like ideologies (Carr and Case, Chapter 5) that would have been known across the Eastern Woodlands and more widely.

Contrasting with the uniform, general, ideological meanings had by celts and earspools, and probably panpipes, across the Woodlands is the apparently dichotomous meaning of silver. In Chapter 20, Spence and Fryer document chemically that Hopewellian traditions across the Woodlands used only two sources of silver, in Cobalt, Ontario, where it occurs in pure veins, and in the Keweenaw peninsula of Michigan, where it is intermingled in small quantities with much more plentiful copper. Different traditions used one source or the other, exclusively, and the source used by a particular tradition was typically that closest or made available through neighboring traditions that used the source. However, this was not the case for Hopewellian peoples in the Scioto and Little Miami valleys, who used only the Keweenaw source, which was more distant than Cobalt silver available to them through neighboring Point Peninsula communities and which was less rich in silver. Spence and Fryer explain this anomaly, and the generally exclusive use of one kind of silver by each Hopewellian tradition, as resulting from the circulation of two concepts of silver among Hopewellian peoples in the Woodlands. In one view, silver was a ritually acceptable material in its own right and could be gotten from the pure silver Cobalt source. In the other view, silver was associated in some essential ideological way with copper and had to be obtained from the Keweenaw source to be ritually acceptable. Hopewellian peoples in the Scioto and Little Miami valleys would naturally have had the second concept of silver because they procured copper from the Keweenaw peninsula. Spence and Fryer also suggest that the plentifulness of silver at the Cobalt source may have encouraged its association with that place, and with personal stories about taking arduous journeys to that place to obtain it. The personalizing of Cobalt silver procurements could have limited their transfer among persons, including transfer to Hopewell peoples in the Scioto and Little Miami valleys from peoples in the Point Peninsula, Goodall, and northeastern Ohio regions. This limitation would not have pertained to Keweenaw silver, which was acquired as a byproduct of copper mining, and would explain the spread and common distribution of Keweenaw silver among sites within the Scioto valley. Thus, through several kinds of evidence and lines of thought, Spence and Fryer were able to resolve the Hopewellian geographic distribution of silver into two, apparently ideologically distinguished components.

Each of the following chapters in this part of the book, by giving ideological meanings to the whole of the geographic distribution of a raw material or artifact, or by discriminating ideologically different subareas within it, humanize interregional Hopewell. The chapters, along with what has been presented in this one, fill in the Hopewellian landscape with socially, politically, and religiously motivated people who met and interacted in social contexts of varying kinds and with beliefs both shared and distinct.

Whether Finished Artifacts Were Exchanged

The chapters on celts, panpipes, and earspools in Part IV, as well as an earlier one on terra cotta figurines in Part III, each conclude through stylistic studies that there was little or no interregional exchange of these finished goods (contra Struever and Houart 1972). Although celts, panpipes, and earspools were found at the highest frequency by far in the Scioto region, peoples of the Scioto were not normally exporters of these goods to peoples of other regional traditions, and Scioto burial sites were not typically the resting place of these goods imported or brought from afar. The Scioto concentration of celts, panpipes, and earspools is, instead, to be understood as a product of intense, local conspicuous consumption—cooperative and/or competitive—peculiar to this region. Part of the cultural context for this consumption was a three-community alliance and its periodic recreation in the Scioto–Paint Creek area, described in Chapter 7 by Carr.

Distribution Mechanisms

Chapter 20, by Spence and Fryer, resolves the distribution of raw and worked silver over the Woodlands into three possible mechanisms of its acquisition and dispersal, which occurred in different regions. Vision and power quests and/or pilgrimage directly from LeVesconte to Cobalt, Ontario, over 400 kilometers away, to obtain silver are implied by the silver items found at LeVesconte. The silver represents every stage in the technological sequence, from acquisition to processing: raw ore, derived nuggets, partially formed sheets, artifacts, and clippings left from their production. The authors conclude that the remains probably represent a single expedition to Cobalt. The evidence from the Converse site, Michigan, is similar, with raw nuggets and a partially formed sheet. These specimens also suggest direct procurement, or perhaps exchange through a few hands from Cobalt. In contrast, silver specimens from the Scioto Hopewell region suggest multiple expeditions and/or exchange. The specimens all come from the Keweenaw peninsula, where silver occurs infrequently as inclusions within copper, and would have been obtained fortuitously as a by-product of copper mining. One sheet of silver from the Hopewell site and silver overlays on buttons, earspools, and panpipes from the Hopewell, Mound City, and Seip sites in Ohio each are formed from multiple small pieces of silver blended together, and each may represent the accumulated results of several procurement trips or exchange episodes.

The clear conclusion from Spence and Fryer's chapter is that interregional Hopewell was constituted by multiple means of distribution, which varied situationally and, as reviewed above, probably with belief.

Uniformity and Variability in the Social Roles in Which Interaction Sphere Items Were Used

A further topic that helps to personalize interregional Hopewell and reveal its complexity through deconstruction is the social roles in which interaction sphere artifacts were used. In Chapter 18, Turff and Carr document that panpipes varied in their specific social and ritual functions and in the contexts in which they were used, both within and among Hopewellian societies across the Eastern Woodlands. These variations occur despite the fact that panpipes as a roughly similar artifact form were spread widely across the East. In order to reconstruct the uses of panpipes, the authors begin with the observation that panpipes were taken out of life only through burial in cemeteries, primarily in the graves of individuals rather than communal ritual deposits, and usually one panpipe per person, indicating that those buried with panpipes were typically their owners. Panpipes are found to have been buried alone with a person a quarter of the time, suggesting that the panpiper was a social role in its own right. The associations of panpipes with other kinds of grave goods and the social roles indicated by the goods give insight into the structural place of the panpiper in a system of social statuses, the roles with which that of the panpiper was bundled, and by extension, the activities in which panpipes were probably integral. The roles associated with the panpiper turn out to be very diverse, as well as fluid in their combinations. The roles encompassed community-wide leaders marked by celts; sodality members or high achievers marked by breastplates and/or earspools; clan leaders or members of import; and many kinds of shaman-like practitioners, including public ceremonial leaders, producers of ceremonial items from exotic raw materials, diviners in general, war or hunt diviners, healers, and keepers of cosmology and philosophy. Significantly, regional Hopewellian traditions differ distinctly from each other in the ranges of social roles with which that of panpiper was combined. For example, panpipers buried with shaman-like equipment occur most commonly in the Southeast, while panpipers in the central and northern Midwest rarely had such burial furniture. Considering all role associations, the authors find four broad regions of the Eastern Woodlands that were distinguished in their organization of social roles with that of the panpiper: the northern Midwest, the Northeast, the central Midwest, and the Southeast. These empirical findings clearly make questionable the notion that interregional Hopewell was a single, complex kind of social organization interwoven with a symbol system that marked leadership and/or prestige and that facilitated social interaction (contra Seeman 1995:123).

In Chapter 19, Ruhl infers that earspools in the Scioto and Little Miami valleys of Ohio had both personal and group aspects to their symbolism. They were typically found one pair per burial, suggesting individual use. At the same time, they also were deposited in large offerings, sometimes bundled together, suggesting a reference to some larger corporate group. Corporate group symbolism, and the precedence of the group over the individual, is also implied by the better workmanship of earspools found in large deposits than that of earspools placed in burials. Ruhl goes on to notice that earspools in Ohio were buried much more commonly with adult males than females, suggesting their representation of a corporate group of restricted membership. In Chapter 7, Carr uses this and other contextual evidence to conclude more specifically that earspools marked membership or achievement in a sodality. Interestingly, outside of the Scioto and Little Miami valleys, large ceremonial deposits of earspools do not exist, or at least are very rare (Ruhl, personal communication, 2003), suggesting differences in the nature of the social roles marked by earspools in Ohio than elsewhere, and the unlikelihood that interregional Hopewell was a unified social–symbolic system.

Chapter 17, by Bernardini and Carr, explores the social roles in which metallic celts may have been used. The authors suggest several possibilities, based on the known utilitarian functions of the stone counterparts of metallic celts. A metallic celt may have symbolized dugout canoe making, canoes, and the long water journeys that the celt's owner made or led to the sources of valued raw materials, such as the copper from which the celts were made, or to unknown and learned peoples. A metallic celt also may have referenced the spirit canoe that a shaman used to make a trance journey to another world, which is a common practice cross-culturally. Further, a metallic celt could have symbolized a person who was involved in or led the clearing of trees to make earthworks or the cutting-down of trees to make charnel houses, log tombs, and coffins, all of which served as containers for the deceased. Proven accomplishment and leadership in any of these domains may have been represented by a celt, especially given that, at least in Ohio, metallic celts were regularly decorated with images of important persons in regalia (Carr 2000c, 2000d; Carr et al. 2000).

It is generally unknown whether metallic celts marked different ones of these social roles in different Hopewellian traditions. However, Bernardini and Carr do note that canoe-shaped coffins, which also would have been constructed with celts and probably connotated the journey of the deceased to an afterlife, were unique to the Copena tradition. Further, earthworks and the social roles involved in managing their construction occurred in only some Hopewellian traditions. It seems likely that celts represented somewhat different social roles in different Hopewellian traditions and, again, that the idea of interregional Hopewell as a single, complex kind of social organization wedded with a unified symbol system that marked leadership is an oversimplification (contra Seeman 1995:123).

Uniformity and Variability in the Rituals in Which Interaction Sphere Items Were Used

Metallic panpipes, celts, and earspools each were used in rituals of varying kinds within and among Hopewellian regional traditions. In Chapter 18, Turff and Carr elucidate four fundamental ways in which rituals involving panpipes differed from each other. Rituals varied in whether they were directly or only indirectly related to mortuary tasks, as reflected in the contrast between panpipes buried in graves and panpipes buried in a ceremonial deposit lacking human remains. Rituals also differed in whether multiple panpipers gathered and gave gifts to the deceased, perhaps indicating whether a sodality of panpipers and a sodality-run ritual were involved. Rituals also varied in whether panpipes were buried with a mature adult or, much more rarely, a child, young adult, or very old person, the latter three suggesting age-related rites of passage such as naming, attainment of puberty, menopause, the passing into elderhood, and the death of persons at or nearing these ages. Finally, in the case of rituals that generated ceremonial deposits lacking human remains, the ceremonies differed dramatically in the number and role diversity of persons who attended. Most such gatherings over the Woodlands were very small and resulted in the decommissioning of only one panpipe, with no other or few other items. Focus was on the panpipe. On the other hand, two gatherings in Ohio were enormous, having involved hundreds of gift givers and gifts representing many kinds of roles and persons from multiple local communities. Attention was not on panpipes or the panpiper. Instances of rituals that were unique in one or more of these ways and very localized in their geographic distributions include rituals at LeVesconte and Cameron's Point, Ontario; Tunacunnhee, Georgia; and the Hopewell and Turner sites in Ohio. The varied and geographically delimited nature of rituals of these different kinds clearly shows that interregional Hopewell, or the aspect of it marked by panpipes, was not a single cult (contra Prufer 1964b).

Chapter 17, on celts, and Chapter 18, on earspools, likewise note that these artifacts were usually placed in burials, normally one celt or a pair of earspools per person, and were aspects of mortuary rites. However, the chapters also describe occasional large deposits of these items. In the case of earspools, Ruhl attributes one huge deposit of them to the gathering of a corporate group, which is identified earlier (Carr, Chapter 7) as a sodality. Ruhl notes that both the bundling of the earspools together with heavy cord and their higher quality than earspools placed in individual graves suggest emphasis on the group over the individual in this instance.

In sum, each of the four chapters in Part IV develop finer-grained understandings of interregional Hopewell by resolving it into its variant contents, geographic distributions, and distributional mechanisms. These kinds of discriminations are fostered heuristically by inhabiting Hopewellian landscapes with motivated people who filled a great variety of social roles and operated at both the local and the interregional scales. In this way, interregional Hopewell in its rich diversity of ideas, practices, material forms, and their distributions is generated from its human creators.

CODA: SO, WHAT WAS INTERREGIONAL HOPEWELL?

Hopewell in its interregional expression has commonly been defined in the past as some one kind of cultural and material content that was shared broadly across regions of the Woodlands and/or as some single kind of mechanism by which shared content came to be spread across regions (Hall, 1977:156). Attempts to find a simple understanding of Hopewell by assigning it one identity—be it ecological (Struever 1964), economic (Struever and Houart 1972), religious (Caldwell 1955), a form of symbolic communication (Seeman 1997:138), or other—have been a consistent aspect of Hopewell archaeology.

The chapters in this and other parts of this book, along with some previous publications, show empirically that interregional Hopewell cannot be so simply characterized as one form of content or distribution mechanism. By taking a humanizing perspective that personalizes the archaeological record with motivated actors in social roles, that explores the intricacies of local cultural context, and that is founded in deep and broad empirical data—by thickly describing the past—it has been possible to resolve interregional Hopewell into contents and distribution mechanisms of many different kinds and scales.

Let us step through the phenomena that empirical evidence firmly shows interregional Hopewell not to have been, and then assemble empirically what it was.

Interregional Hopewell was not a single, coherent, or high volume economic exchange system. Many of the artifact classes once thought by some to have been exchanged outward and interregionally from certain centers of production (Struever and Houart 1972; see also Seeman 1979) turn out to have been produced locally at multiple centers. Stylistic studies and/or material compositional analyses of copper celts, metallic panpipes, metallic earspools, ceramic figurines, bird effigy ceramic vessels, and platform pipes indicate little or no interregional transport of these items (Chapters 11, 15, 17, 18, and 19, and citations above). Likewise, raw materials once believed to have been procured by a particular society and then exchanged to others interregionally (Struever and Houart 1972) are now known from material compositional analyses to have frequently been procured directly from their natural sources by multiple Hopewellian societies across the Woodlands independent of one another. This is the case for copper, silver, obsidian, and probably meteoric iron, but only in part for galena (Chapters 17 and 20, and citations above). In addition, Seeman (1979a) showed that if some Hopewellian artifact classes and raw materials were traded, trade did not occur through a single, hierarchically structured network of sites, or regularly, as Struever and Houart (1972) had modeled. These conditions are indicated by weak correlations among the regional spatial distributions of artifact and raw material classes, as well as a lack of fit of these distributions to central-place, geographic models of exchange that focus on site size and the diversity of goods traded through a site.

Interregional Hopewell was not a single kind of social organization. Hopewellian societies across the Eastern Woodlands varied in the social roles they encompassed, as indicated by the different kinds of material social role markers found in them (Seeman 1979a:381, Table 13). Social roles were bundled into social positions in different combinations in different regional traditions. For example, the northern Midwest, the central Midwest, the Northeast, and the Southeast were distinguished from one another by the roles that were associated with that of the panpiper (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18). Role bundling also varied over time, over the Middle Woodland period. In Ohio, the multiple roles of the classic shaman became increasingly segregated among discrete specialists over time, and an incipient priest-like role marked by plain copper headplates seems to have emerged by the end of the period (Carr and Case, Chapter 5). Further, Hopewellian societies likely varied in their kinship structure (Field et al., Chapter 9). Even within the limited area of Ohio, strongly patrilineal, less strongly patrilineal, and matrilineal kinship systems are evident from multiple lines of evidence. Also, gender relations and the relative prestige given to men and women varied among Ohio Hopewellian societies (Field et al., Chapter 9; Rodrigues, Chapter 10).

Interregional Hopewell does not appear to have been a coherent cult, ritual, or ritual system, from what evidence has been analyzed in detail to date. Metallic panpipes perhaps give the best understanding of this (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18). They are one of only five Hopewellian social-ceremonial artifact classes (Seeman 1979a:381, Table 13)—panpipes, earspools, conch shell vessels, mica mirrors, and metallic beads—that are distributed across all eight of the major Hopewellian traditions of the Woodlands, and the only class that is restricted temporally to the Middle Woodland period. Nevertheless, peoples in different regions differed considerably in how they used panpipes ritually. Regions varied in the social and ceremonial roles associated with panpipes, in whether panpipes were used only for mortuary rites or also more broadly ritually, in the size and role diversity of gatherings that led to the burying of panpipes, perhaps in whether panpipers were organized into a local ceremonial society, in whether panpipes were used in age-related rites of passage, and in the age-sex distribution of those who were buried with and presumably owned panpipes. The Woodlands can be divided into four broad regions (listed above) that differed from one another in their ceremonial organization and content in these regards. Further, the different arrays of ceremonial artifacts and raw materials that characterize different regional Hopewellian traditions (Seeman 1979a:306–308; 382–384) do not indicate a single, pan-Woodlands cult or ritual system. The idea that interregional Hopewell was specifically a burial cult is negated by the great differences found in the sizes, layouts, and contents of mortuary facilities in Ohio compared to those in Illinois (J.A. Brown 1979; Struever 1965).

Interregional Hopewell was not a consistent symbolic-meaning system of shared, specific, indexical meanings. Ceremonial raw materials and religious concepts that have deep roots in time in the Eastern Woodlands, such as copper, raptorial birds, serpents, and bears, nevertheless had significantly different symbolic associations and indexical meanings in the historic northeastern and southeastern Woodlands (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18). This was probably the case during the Middle Woodland as well, to judge from extensive regional variations of the kinds just mentioned in ceremonial content and ceremonial role organization (Field et al., Chapter 9; Keller and Carr, Chapter 11; Turff and Carr, Chapter 18; Ruhl, Chapter 19). The two distinct meanings that seem to have been given to silver by Hopewellian peoples in different regional traditions (Spence and Fryer, Chapter 20) illustrate the conceptual diversity of interregional Hopewell.

Interregional Hopewell was not a single mechanism of dispersal of raw materials, artifacts, artifact styles, and cultural practices and ideas. Nine forms of interregional interaction and procurement, which have ethnohistoric analogs in the Eastern Woodlands or more broadly in North America, have some to substantial evidence that they operated among Hopewellian societies interregionally during the Middle Woodland. (Table 16.2). A minimum of four groups of these mechanisms are most readily distinguishable in their archaeological signatures (Table 16.1), and one or more mechanisms from three of the groups very likely occurred: (1) vision/power questing and pilgrimage to a place in nature; (2) perhaps the travels of medicine persons or patients for healing; (3) the buying of religious prerogatives to manufacture and use ceremonial items, spirit adoption, and intermarriage; and (4) pilgrimage to a ceremonial center, valuables exchange among elite, and travel to a center of learning for mentoring in esoteric knowledge and ceremony (Table 16.2). Interregional Hopewellian connections were a composite palimpsest of multiple kinds of discrete activities by socially different kinds of actors with different kinds of needs and motives.

Interregional Hopewell was not a phenomenon, of whatever kind, that originated in one place in the Eastern Woodlands—Ohio or elsewhere. Of the five Hopewellian social-ceremonial artifact classes that are essential archaeological markers of interregional Hopewell, in that they are distributed across all eight major Hopewellian traditions in the Woodlands (listed above and in Seeman 1979a:381, Table 13), at least three are now known to have had their origins of manufacture and social-ceremonial use in separate portions of the Woodlands, and not in Ohio. Copper earspools, as technologically complex forms, appeared earliest in the Havana and Copena traditions. They appeared later in Ohio, as fully realized forms, without obvious technological antecedents there (Ruhl, Chapter 19). Panpipes that are simplest in form and in the materials from which they are made, and that presumably were earliest, were concentrated in the Trempealeau tradition in the Upper Great Lakes area. Outward from there, the simple panpipe class decreased in its frequencies in central Midwestern traditions, and was almost entirely missing from southeastern Hopewellian traditions. Formally and materially more complex kinds of panpipes increased in frequency and complexity from north to south, with the most complex and presumably latest kinds having been most frequent in the Southeast and missing from the Trempealeau tradition and neighboring Goodall Focus (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18). Conch shell ceremonial vessels had their origins, obviously, in a third area of the Woodlands—along the Gulf Coast. A geographically more restricted yet still interregionally distributed artifact form, ceramic ware with bird designs, appeared earliest in the Marksville tradition (Penney 1989:111, 119; see also Griffin 1967:184; Prufer 1964a:58), not Ohio. In sum, important markers of interregional Hopewell had both northern and southern points of origin. The diverse geographic origins of "Hopewellian traits" was recognized early on by Griffin and some other archaeologists: "It is erroneous to speak of *an* origin for Ohio Hopewell, or for any Hopewellian focus. There were many origins for many different traits, and these were combined in the different areas into regional associations. These are isolable blocks of culture traits." (Griffin 1946:74; see also Maxwell 1947:26; R. Morgan 1952:92).

Although the Ohio Hopewell tradition is known for the most numerous examples, most stylistically elaborate examples, and/or the most diverse versions of many classes of interregionally distributed Hopewellian items, it does not necessarily follow that Ohio was the place of innovation of them, as some earlier researchers thought (e.g., Deuel 1935:430; 1952:264; Ritchie 1937:185). Some aspects of Ohio Hopewellian material culture, practices, and beliefs did have direct antecedents in earlier Adena ways in Ohio and adjacent locales. Yet, peoples of the Ohio Hopewellian tradition were also avid collectors of cultural practices and fancy artifact classes from distant places and peoples, just as they were avid collectors of exotic, fancy raw materials, for a variety of social, political, and religious reasons.

So, if interregional Hopewell was not a single kind of economic exchange system, social organization, cult or ritual system, indexical symbolic meaning system, or mechanism of dispersal of raw materials, artifacts, artifact styles, and cultural practices and ideas, what was it? The easiest answer to give is that the question, itself, is misleading, because it assumes that interregional Hopewell had some singular identity. The search for an interregional Hopewell of one nature derives historically from the attempt of Eastern Woodland archaeologists to fill the void created when it became evident that Hopewellian similarities across the Woodlands could no longer, with anthropological appropriateness, be interpreted and termed monolithically a "Hopewell Culture". The Midwestern Taxonomic System (McKern 1934, 1939), accompanied by McKern's critique of the improper use of the term "culture" in Woodlands archaeology, was a key intellectual development that helped to produce that void. Yet the taxonomic system also perpetuated the monolithic view of Hopewell, by recognizing both a Woodland-wide "Hopewellian Phase" and various more localized "Hopewellian Aspects" or "Foci". (A well referenced discussion of this history of concepts and terms is given in Chapter 2, Note 2). In this vein of thought, the right question to ask might be "What *is* interregional Hopewell", placing emphasis on the intellectual construct and its history of development, rather than on some empirically based, monolithic, cultural phenomenon of the past. Monolithic interregional Hopewell in this view, then, is a historical product of archaeological intellectual thought.

Although this first answer is reasonable and historically correct, it by itself is not satisfying to me, and would not be satisfying to the scores of archaeologists who, familiar with the Hopewellian archaeological record, see similar cultural features that cluster in time during the Middle Woodland period and that are spread broadly in space across the Eastern Woodlands. So, again, what was interregional Hopewell?

Interregional Hopewell was an interaction sphere (Caldwell 1955), but not of one nature or scale. Varying combinations of localized peoples in different cultural traditions created connections with each other in different ways through a good diversity of means, and varyingly shared raw material classes, artifact classes, artifact styles, and cultural practices and ideas. Interregional Hopewell was a composite palimpsest in its contents, their geographic expanses, and in mechanisms of interaction, following Hall's (1977) trichotomous distinction.[26] The boundaries of expanse of interregional Hopewell are fuzzy rather than clear cut, from an archaeological viewpoint, because interactions were of multiple kinds that linked differing sets of peoples and places to varying degrees and with variation through time as localized conditions and needs changed (see also Seeman 1996:306, 312). The interactions were clothed almost completely in philosophical- religious concepts, symbols, and ceremonies (Tables 16.1, 16.2), but had local social, economic, political, religious, and demographic ramifications, more or less so, depending on the particular kind of interaction. In this regard, the interactions should probably not be labeled "religious" or "mortuary-religious", as Caldwell (1955:137, 139) did.

The differing geographic distributions of different Hopewellian raw materials, artifact classes, styles, cultural practices, and ideas that the Woodlands archaeological record exhibits reflects the different *roles* that these media played in the lives of different local peoples. It also reflects the differing localized conditions, needs, and preferences of peoples in different regional traditions and, thus, the kinds of interregional connections that peoples in one or another regional tradition did or did not search out, and the kinds of exotic practices and ideas that they did or did not accept. The different media (material, behavioral, and conceptual) had different qualities, such as size, visibility, rarity, durability, malleability, and portability, which determined their differential suitability to particular roles and their varying utility or desirability in different local contexts and in different forms and scales of interaction.

Despite all of the above-mentioned variations in interregional Hopewell, there is a fabric—a seeming gestalt—to its forms and ways that no well-familiarized archaeologist can deny. This quality of interregional Hopewell derives from some very basic, shared philosophical-religious concepts—canonical meanings—and their most essential symbolic expressions in material (and presumably ceremonial) forms that served as vehicles for and facilitators of interregional and local interactions and local lifeways. The concepts were shamanic world view assumptions and cosmological constructs that had deep and widespread roots in the Eastern Woodlands and that served as foundational elements for the more particular Woodlands Native American belief systems and religions built on them through prehistory and historically. Some of the most essential of these concepts include: transformation in a variety of guises, "seeing through", darkness versus light, the tripartite cosmos, the creatures and qualities of these realms, the four directions and solstices, and the axis mundi (Carr and Case, Chapter 5 and 1995; Carr 1997, 1998, 1999a, 199b, 2000a, 2000b). These widely shared, historically deep, foundational elements are seen in the raw materials, artifact classes, artifact styles, and cultural practices of Hopewellian peoples, and create the fabric of their cultural world that archaeologists intuitively sense as Hopewellian: the figure-ground reversal structure that runs through much of Hopewellian art; the directional symmetry that is common in Hopewellian art and earthen architecture; the zoned and tripartite structure of Middle Woodland ceramics, especially Hopewell ware; the creatures that commonly were rendered in Hopewellian art; the attention given to contrasts between darkness and light in Hopewellian art, artifacts, and earthen architecture; the shiny, reflective, translucent, and transparent raw materials that Hopewell peoples favored; raw materials that naturally, or with human manipulation, transform between shiny or light and dull or dark, and sometimes back again, or that are simultaneously shiny/light and dull/dark; the distant journeys that, as a metaphor for and facilitator of transformation, were required to obtain many Hopewellian raw materials; mortuary practices that emphasize staged processing of corpses, dismemberment, and cremation; burial mounds as axis mundi and earthworks that were aligned to solstices; and so on. The light and dark, ring-shaped image created by the form of copper earspools (Ruhl, Chapter 19), which occur in all the major Hopewellian regional traditions across the Eastern Woodlands, is one specific, shared expression of some of the foundational concepts and general kinds of materials that give interregional Hopewell its distinctive nature. So, too, is the panpipe, which is found in all Hopewellian regions and which, through its copper material, appears to have connoted power by reference to the creatures of the Upper and/or Lower Worlds (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18).

Cross-regional Hopewellian interactions were made possible by the essential, widely shared, shamanic concepts that some kinds of local material productions (e.g., earspools, panpipes), and perhaps some kinds of locally created ceremonies, embraced in vivid manners. The basic Woodland-shared, shamanic qualities that such material items and ceremonies effectively expressed allowed Hopewellian peoples in different regional traditions to project *some* meaning(s)—canonical or indexical, more or less local—onto them, creating familiarity and some common basis for meetings of interregional scope, and making such items and ceremonies attractive, leading potentially to their interregional spread. Foreign Hopewellian persons who met and gathered would not have known or understood all of the specific indexical meanings that such items or ceremonies had in each other's cultures. However, what meanings the parties projected onto the items or ceremonies, in sharing essential, Woodlands shamanic concepts, ofttimes appear to have been "close enough" to have served as an effective context for interaction and the cross-regional spread of those items or ceremonies.

The widely shared, historically deep, basic shamanic concepts and their generalized material and ceremonial expressions enumerated above became elaborated during the Middle Woodland as an aspect of and in support of increasing social complexity in select areas and cultural traditions of the Eastern Woodlands that we have come to call Hopewellian. At least some of the particular areas in which societies became more complex were characterized by one or more critical, natural environmental and ecological conditions that spurred on social change (Struever 1964; see also Ruby et al., Chapter 4). In some areas, social change was tied to increases in population sizes and densities, as in the expansion of central Illinois valley Havana peoples into the lower Illinois valley (Ruby et al., Chapter 4; Charles 1985, 1992, 1995; Farnsworth and Asch 1986; see also Styles 1981). In other areas, such as the Scioto valley, this may not have been the case (Wymer 1987a; see also Seeman and Branch, n.d.), and other environmental or sociocultural factors seem to have been important (Ruby et al., Chapter 4). Interregional Hopewell was generated from *local* sociocultural and natural environmental conditions and dynamics.

The cultural character of a given Hopewellian regional tradition was a product of several things: the previous history of its peoples in expressing and working out, in their own local ways, materially and ceremonially, the basic foundational shamanic concepts of the Woodlands (e.g., Adena material culture and practices in Ohio); the peoples' further, unique innovations and elaborations in expressing materially and ceremonially those shamanic concepts during the Middle Woodland as societies became more complex; and the peoples' emulation, resisting, and/or reworking of particular material and ceremonial expressions created by others in other Hopewellian regional traditions. In some instances, particular local material or ceremonial expressions of basic shamanic concepts came to have very wide distributions across the Woodlands, such as earspools and panpipes mentioned above; in other instances, the expressions spread only so far—all depending on the social roles that those material forms or ceremonies fulfilled, the utility or not of those roles in the context of the particular conditions and needs within other regional traditions, and how well the forms or ceremonies meshed with cultural ways and preferences within other traditions. The geographically diversified nature of interregional Hopewell in its content and distribution mechanisms, but also certain aspects of its definable, shared fabric, derived from local matters. It is in this light that this book has emphasized the linkages between interregional and local Hopewell, their common nature in addition to their distinctive qualities, and the generation of interregional Hopewell from local scenes (Carr, Chapter 2).

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NOTES

1. Our use of the term *deconstruct* has no linkage to the postmodern deconstructivist school of thought in the humanities and social sciences.
2. An analogous study in Chapter 11, by Keller and Carr, shows differences in the amount of prestige and the markers of prestige given to Hopewellian women in the Havana tradition in Illinois versus the Mann phase in Indiana versus the Scioto tradition in Ohio. However in this work, the specific nature of the differences in social organization among the three geographic areas is less clear than in the case presented by Field et al. in Chapter 9.
3. The roots of Ohio Hopewellian animal impersonation in earlier Glacial Kame and Adena practices is clearly evidenced in actual animals masks and medicine bags (Converse 1981; Webb and Baby 1957:61–76) and in the Adena engraved tablets (Carr 1999b; Webb and Baby 1957:83–101).
4. See Basso (1996) for a Native North American view of places that is broader and encompasses that presented here.
5. Obsidian from Ohio Hopewell sites has a high total weight—300 pounds was found in Mound 11 of the Hopewell site, alone. The obsidian occurs as large finished bifaces in a few sites, as well as smaller tools, core fragments, blades, and debitage (Hatch et al 1990:463). The large total amount of obsidian and the large size of some specimens suggest its direct acquisition from its source in the Wyoming–Idaho area. In contrast, obsidian from Illinois Hopewell sites has a very low total weight (about two kilograms), occurs as small specimens scattered over many sites with a few pieces each, and is largely debitage (Wiant 2000). The small total amount of obsidian and the small maximal size of specimens suggest indirect acquisition by some means. Only three unaltered obsidian nodules are known from Illinois—from the Albany mounds in northwest Illinois (Herald 1971; Wiant 2000). One large, 25-pound obsidian boulder supposedly from the Meridosha site, lower Illinois valley, cannot currently be confirmed for its provenience, antiquity, or source (Wiant 2000).

   Ohio Hopewell sites do not differ significantly from Illinois ones in the percentages of obsidian from Obsidian Cliff versus other sources like the Camas–Dry Creek formation. Tabulating specimens analyzed by Hatch et al. (1990), Griffin et al. (1969), and Hughes and Fortier (1997) reveals that 30 of 37 (81.1%) assayed specimens from Illinois came from Obsidian Cliff, Wyoming, while 48 of 54 (88.9%) assayed specimens from Ohio came from or possibly came from this source. The similarity of these two areas in their percentages of obsidian from different sources does not support the hypothesis that persons from both areas *independently* and directly acquired obsidian by long-distance travel to the Wyoming–Idaho area. Instead, it suggests acquisition by one of these areas and disperal to the second, leading to the similarity in percentages. The much larger specimens and much greater amounts of obsidian found in Ohio imply that it was Ohio Hopewellian persons who obtained obsidian directly from the Wyoming–Idaho area, while Illinois Hopewellian persons got it indirectly, through the hands of Ohio Hopewellian persons.

   Less is understood about obsidian found at the Mt. Vernon site, Indiana. Formal, large bifaces of the kinds found in Ohio, and ovate preforms, are known from the Mt. Vernon mound (Seeman 1995:129) and suggest access to large pieces of obsidian, through either direct long-distance travel to the Rocky Mountains or exchange with Ohio Hopewell peoples. The quantities of these specimens compared to those found in Ohio sites is unknown, given the incomplete and unsystematic excavation of Mt. Vernon. The ovate preforms suggest that obsidian was worked at Mt. Vernon and that formed points were not necessarily brought into the site from Ohio. The percentage (60%) of obsidian that sources to Obsidian Cliff, Wyoming, is lower than that found in

Ohio and Illinois sites, but the sample of assayed artifacts is small (total $n = 10$) and of unspecified formal types (Shackley 1997), prohibiting sound comparison.

6. Keweenah silver at the Liverpool site, Illinois, may have been acquired directly from the Keweenaw peninsula rather than through down-the-line or nodal exchange. The few silver specimens from Illinois that have been analyzed by Mauer et al. (1976) and Spence and Fryer (Chapter 20; 1990, 1996) all source to Cobalt, Ontario, save those from Liverpool. The silver at Liverpool thus may not have been obtained from communities within the region and may have been obtained from afar. However, in contrast to the strong cases for direct acquisition of silver that can be made for LeVesconte, Hopewell, and Turner, where silver manufacturing debris occurs, no such debris is reported from Liverpool. This leaves open the possibility that the silver at Liverpool was obtained in finished form from communities outside of the Havana region by other processes, rather than procured directly from the Keweenaw peninsula by the occupants of Liverpool. Logical alternatives to direct acquisition would be long-distance elite valuables exchange and travel to a center of learning. Stylistic analysis of panpipes across the Eastern Woodlands (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18) does not, in general, indicate the long-distance dispersal of finished panpipes, but the panpipe from Liverpool was not included in their study.
7. Especially convincing examples of similarity in artifact style and content are the raven pipes from Mound City, Ohio, and the Rutherford and Bedford mounds in Illinois, plus the fact that, of the 14 animal species represented on Illinois pipes, 13 are found on Ohio pipes (Penney 1989:183–185, 285–288).
8. The homogeneity of figurine styles in the Havana, and perhaps Scioto, regions is less definitive evidence of a lack of interregional exchange of female artisans and figurines. The homogeneity suggests the infrequency of exchange of female or figurines and/or the low receptivity of figurine producers in these traditions to styles from other traditions.
9. Copperas Mountain also is a source of pyrite nodules. Pyrite shaped into hemispheres that were probably used for divination were deposited at the Hopewell site (Shetrone 1926:190–191), which is not far from Copperas Mountain, but in a different branch of Paint Creek valley. However, no pyrite is reported from Seip (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:455–458, 509), which is directly adjacent to Copperas Mountain.
10. The closed-in nature of the Appalachian Plateau compared to the openness of the Till Plain province in Ross County may have been perceived by Hopewellian peoples as a dark/light dichotomy, or Lower World/Middle World dichotomy, given the commonality of these themes in their material culture generally (Carr and Case, Chapter 5; Carr 1998; Carr and Case, 1996).
11. A good example of this situation is the use and construction of Russell Brown Mound 3 at the Liberty earthworks, two or three centuries after the heyday of Liberty when the Big House of the Edwin Harness Mound was in operation. The Big House has a weighted-average, calibrated radiocarbon date of A.D. 309 ± 32 (Greber 1983:89), whereas three calibrated dates from Russell Brown Mound 3 have means that span the period of A.D. 490 to A.D. 665 (Seeman and Soday 1980:93).
12. Griffin (1958:7, Griffin et al. 1970:8; Braun et al. 1982:62–62) and Stoltman (1979:135) did think that some finely made Hopewell ware vessels in northern Illinois, southwestern Wisconsin, and Ohio had been traded there from their core area of occurrence in the lower Illinois valley.
13. Carr and Sears (1985:85) note that while meteorite falls—sources of iron—are much more common in the Southeast than the Northeast, meteoric iron in Hopewellian sites is more common in the Northeast than the Southeast. This complementarity suggests the possibility of systematic interregional exchange of meteoric iron from south to north. Concordant with this possibility is the co-occurrence of a variety of meteoric iron artifacts (Carr and Sears, p. 80) and Copena-style Big Pipes (Shetrone and Greenman 1931) at the Seip–Pricer mound.
14. The terms local, regional, and interregional, in referencing space rather than social relationships, are poor substitutes to Helms's descriptors, normal people, close strangers, and foreigners, which bridge more easily to kinds of valuables exchange. Nonetheless, the spatial terms are more easily used as adjectives and do reference archaeological landscapes well.
15. Ohio Hopewellian community and mating network sizes are known from the work of Pacheco (1996; Pacheco and Dancey n.d.), and Ruby et al. in Chapter 4. Pacheco's survey data on the central Muskingum valley, as analyzed by Ruby et al., indicate that local symbolic communities in the Dresden subregion and the upper Jonathan Creek subregion had catchment diameters of about 6 to 11 kilometers. A study of the distances among earthwork-mound centers in the Scioto valley–Paint Creek region by Ruby et al. (Chapter 4, Table 4. 6) indicates that local symbolic communities there had modal nearest-neighbor separations and diameters of about 8 to 10 kilometers. Sustainable communities (mating networks), also defined from earthwork-mound center distances, were separated from neighbors by and had diameters of 16 to 18 kilometers, or 21 kilometers, depending on the measure. These inter-community distances are all smaller than the approximately 25 kilometer maximum distance of origin of fine vessels brought into McGraw–a radius from McGraw that equates to a 50 kilometer diameter area. Together, these estimates imply that vessels at McGraw came from within its local symbolic and sustainable communities, and well as sometimes from outside of them, from up to two to three local symbolic communities away and from immediately adjacent sustainable communities.
16. Fie's (2000a) table 52 shows that one fine ware vessel and one coarse ware vessel both were probably manufactured

at the Macoupin habitation site and came to be deposited at the Sandy Creek Church habitation site. Similarly, two fine ware vessels and four coarse ware vessels were probably made at the Sandy Creek Church habitation site and ultimately were deposited in the Smiling Dan habitation site.

17. Unexpected relative to Hall’s model is Fie’s finding that some coarse wares ($n = 26$ of 304) in lower Illinois valley sites were derived from outside of the area, while no fine wares were. This pattern may indicate visitation by small family groups from adjacent regions (Fie n.d.) similar to that clearly evidenced at the Massey and Archie sites (Farnsworth and Koski 1985), rather than extralocal exchange of utilitarian vessels and staples, per se.
18. Given the common historic Native American view that power can be acquired only by exchange, it is unlikely that the items would simply be given away and received. They would probably be acquired by the recipient with a small exchange gift. Penney’s (1989) concept of buying of religious prerogatives is one manifestation of this thought process, as is the leaving of tobacco or other offerings in the place of any object removed from nature for use.
19. The emphasis placed here on the status-building motivation for regional exchange was not that preferred by Flannery (1967:81). He held on to the idea that regional exchange could have an underlying ecological purpose of distributing food from zones of agricultural surplus to less fortunate areas, in line with Sander’s (1956; Sanders and Price 1968:188–191) idea of regional Mesoamerican symbiosis.
20. The equation of greater geographic distance with a transition from the natural to the supernatural is complemented or contradicted in at least stratified societies by the notion of the kingdom as the cosmos, with the center—the capital and the king—being the most sacred part (Huntington and Metcalf 1979:123; see also Eliade 1964:264). In simpler societies with shamanic cosmologies, the idea of the omnipresent, sacred “Center of the World” or *axis mundi*, found in each person’s own self, own house, and own village (Eliade 1964:260–265; see also 259–274, 477–482, 487–494) also complements or contradicts the equation of distance with sacredness. More in line with Helms’s idea is the paradoxical equation of the vertical *axis mundi*, which connects this world and those above and below it, with a horizontal bridge or difficult horizontal passage (Eliade 1964:482–486).
21. Seeman (1979:391–397, Figure 36) reported the richness and sizes of Hopewellian sites across the Eastern Woodlands in terms of the total number of kinds of Interaction Sphere goods (finished items and raw materials) recovered from each site and the amount of moved earth encompassed in the mounds and embankments (if any) of each site. On these measures, the Ohio Hopewell tradition far outranks the Havana tradition, which in turn outranks the Mann phase and Goodall tradition. Two sites alone, both in Ohio, have 30+ kinds of Interaction Sphere goods and sizes of 672,000–1,8999,000 ft^3: Hopewell and Seip. Sites with 22–26 kinds of Interaction Sphere goods and sizes of 131,000–204,000 ft^3 include Turner, Liberty, and Mound City, all in Ohio. Sites with only 7 to 17 kinds of Interaction Sphere goods and sizes of 6,000 to 4,37,000 ft^3 include Knight, Bedford, Baehr, Montezuma, Naples, Havana, Ogden-Fettie, Rutherford, Davenport, Klunk, Gibson, Albany, and Norton in Illinois; Newcastle in Indiana; and Cincinnati, Esch, Ater, Tremper, and North Benton in Ohio. The Mann site in Indiana and Goodall site in Michigan fall in a group of 42 sites with only 5–10 kinds of Interaction Sphere goods and sizes of 1,000 to 157,000 ft^3. Only a few third-order sites occur in traditions outside of the Scioto, Havana, and Mann areas: Crystal River in Florida, Wilson in the Crab Orchard area of Illinois, and Tunacunnhee in Georgia. All other regional Hopewellian traditions have only fourth or fifth order sites in Seeman’s typology.

    Ruby (1997a:400) calculated the volume of the five largest Hopewellian mounds in the Eastern Woodlands and found them to be restricted to the Scioto and Mann areas: Hopewell Mound 25, Ohio (49,000 m^3), Mann mound IU9, Indiana (17,000 m^3), Seip-Pricer, Ohio (14,700 m^3), Mann mound IU1, Indiana (13,200 m^3) and the GE mound, Indiana (11,000 m^3).

    Walthal et al. (1979:202) calculated that the typical Ohio Hopewell burial mound required 50 times more labor than the typical Copena mound. In addition, Ohio Hopewell communities built massive earthworks, whereas Copena communities did not.
22. Geographic distributional differences in artifact classes could also reflect whether or not various social segments/personae existed in particular regions over the East.
23. There is a strong worldwide and North American cross-cultural trend for women to make pottery and work soft, pliable materials, while men work hard, tough-to-process materials (Driver 1969; Murdock and Provost 1973).
24. Here it is assumed that females also made the Southeastern complicated ceramic vessels, as in Note 23.
25. Swift Creek complicated stamped sherds were found at the Twenhofel site (Caldwell n.d.)—a Crab Orchard tradition site in Jackson County, Illinois, but apparently not in Havana sites in Illinois.
26. Here, as throughout this book, interregional Hopewell is defined in terms of *regional cultural traditions and societies* that shared practices, ideas, and material forms to various degrees, and the cultural interconnections and means of interconnection among these societies. Distant places in *nature* from which Hopewellian peoples procured raw materials (e.g., Obsidian Cliff, Wyoming, the Keweenaw peninsula, Michigan) are not included in the geographic expanse of interregional Hopewell, although the travels to such places for various purposes, as cultural practices and as practices more or less shared among traditions, are included in the concept of interregional Hopewell. From this perspective, then, interregional Hopewell can be spoken of as an “interaction sphere” rather than more broadly as a “sphere of interaction and procurement”.

Gathering Hopewell

Society, Ritual, and Ritual Interaction

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