Chapter **12**

Scioto Hopewell Ritual Gatherings

A Review and Discussion of Previous Interpretations and Data

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From the late 1800s through the 1950s, professional opinion held that Hopewell earthwork–mound complexes in the Scioto valley, and in Ohio more generally, had villages within them and immediately surrounding them (L. H. Morgan 1881; R. G. Morgan 1946, 1952; Moorehead 1892:509; Shetrone and Greenman 1931:359). This view was challenged when Olaf Prufer (1964a, 1964b) put forth his "vacant center–dispersed hamlet" hypothesis. Prufer posed that Ohio Hopewell peoples lived instead in dispersed communities of households that surrounded the earthwork–mound centers. Each center had at most only a small resident population of religious practitioners and site caretakers, and was visited by parts or all of the dispersed community only periodically for mortuary and other rituals.

Prufer's hypothesis set the stage for two lines of archaeological research on Ohio Hopewell that have continued to this day and that remain essential. The first and dominant line of work has involved archaeological surveys and excavations to determine whether earthwork–mound complexes contained or lacked villages within them (J. A. Brown 1982; Burks and Pederson 1999, 2000; Burks et al 2002; Pederson and Burks 2000; Seeman 1981b; see also Kellar 1979; Ruby 1997e) and whether domestic debris outside of the earthworks took the form of small, scattered settlements or larger villages (J. A. Brown 1982; Burks and Pederson 1999; Burks et al. 2002; Dancey 1991; Dancey and Pacheco 1997a, 1997b; Greber 1995; Pacheco 1988, 1993, 1996; Pacheco and Dancey n.d.; Prufer 1967; Ruby 1996, 1997b:2; Ruby and Troy 1997; B. D. Smith 1992). The data obtained from these field projects have supported the basic tenets of Prufer's vacant center–dispersed hamlet hypothesis, and are summarized and integrated into a broader model of Scioto Hopewell community organization by Ruby et al., in Chapter 4. A recent reiteration of the village interpretation by Griffin (1996) is now empirically out of date. The more subtle issue of the duration of occupation of dispersed hamlets and the mobility of Scioto Hopewell peoples is being worked out empirically only now (Ruby et al., Chapter 4; Carr and Haas 1996; Rainey 2003; see also Yerkes 1988, 1990).

The second and less explored line of research set in motion by Prufer's ideas concerns the nature of the supposedly periodic gatherings of social groups at the earthwork–mound centers. Attention has been given primarily to the

activities of those who gathered at the centers: mortuary-related rituals (J. A. Brown 1979; Greber 1996) and nonmortuary activities (DeBoer 1997; Seeman 1979b; B. D. Smith 1992). The particular sizes and social compositions of the groups who gathered have scarcely been considered (but see Seeman 1979b) and are the subject of this and the other chapters in Part III of this book.

This chapter sets the historical and conceptual groundwork for the remaining chapters of Part III by systematizing past ideas and data about social gatherings at Hopewell ceremonial centers. It then introduces the other chapters. Eight models of Hopewell social gatherings, in addition to Prufer's initial idea that the mounds and earthworks were "vacant" religious centers of congregation, are reviewed or built. In brief, the eight models are as follows. Baby and Langlois qualified Prufer's hypothesis by documenting that craft production occurred in the centers and proposing that craftspersons resided in them for substantial periods of time. Seeman's analyses focused on faunal remains within the centers and concluded that large-scale feasts were had within them as a means for redistributing meat—a food resource he argued to be limiting in the midwestern United States. Smith systematized previous interpretations, envisioning mortuary programs, corporate labor projects, the manufacturing of ceremonial items, and redistributive feasting as multifaceted aspects of Hopewell gatherings in the centers. Smith tied these activities to very specific kinds of archaeological correlates within the centers. DeBoer and Pacheco each summarized thought-provoking ethnographic analogs from South America (the Chachi and Mapuche) as a basis for proposing that many kinds of activities occurred within the earthworks—mortuary rituals, feasts, weddings, courting and renewal of kinship ties, races, games, dances, gambling—but cited little archaeological evidence to link these propositions to Ohio Hopewell cases. Greber envisioned ceremonial gatherings of several different purposes, sizes, and temporal frequencies, from small and presumably common ones to very large ones every two or three generations, based on her observation of ceremonial deposits of different kinds within mounds. Her general idea of a spectrum of ceremonies of various kinds is credible; her more specific reconstructions are questionable because the types of deposits defined are sometimes internally heterogeneous, overlap in character, mask considerable material variation, and/or are assigned group gathering sizes inconsistently. Hall concluded that Hopewell mortuary ceremonies in Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were carried out as reenactments of the mud-diver creation myth and as world renewal ceremonies, which may have intertwined rites of initiation of youngsters into adulthood. Corpse treatment, tomb layouts, mound stratigraphy, and common Historic Woodland myths served as bases for his inferences. Romain extended Hall's interpretive framework of world renewal to Ohio Hopewell gatherings, basing his arguments on the shapes and flood plain locations of the earthworks in Ohio. Finally, following Callender's (1979) lead, I construct an analogy between the protohistoric and historic Algonkian and Huron Feasts of the Dead and Ohio Hopewell mortuary gatherings. The analogy is supported by six features shared between the Algonkian–Huron and the Hopewell cases: a dispersed settlement pattern, the combining of mortuary rituals with feasting that involved large numbers of persons, the large distances from which some participants came, a three-phase burial program, possibly the synchronous transport of many bodily remains from dispersed residences to certain burial sites, and mortuary rites specifically designed to create alliances among communities through the burial of their dead together in a single cemetery. Archaeological evidence for these features in the Hopewell case is presented. The three-stage burial programs of the Algonkians, Hurons, and Ohio Hopewell are related to each other using van Gennep's tripartite discrimination of rites of separation, liminality, and reincorporation. In total, the various models and evidence of gatherings within earthwork–mound centers suggest that the gatherings were quite diverse in their functions and sizes.

In this literature review, attention is focused on evidence from sites in the Scioto valley, with applicability to the Licking–Muskingum drainage implied. The occupancy and nature of

ceremonies at Turner, Fort Ancient, Stubbs, and other sites within the Miami drainage are not taken up here because community patterning and social organization in this part of Ohio seem distinct from those in central and eastern Ohio in several important ways (Ruby et al., Chapter 4; Field et al., Chapter 9; Rodrigues, Chapter 10; Keller and Carr, Chapter 11; Cowan et al. 2002; Lazazzera 2002), and to some extent more akin to lifeways in the Mann phase of Indiana.[1]

PRUFER'S, BABY'S AND LANGLOIS'S IDEAS

Prufer's (1964a:71, 1964b:94) original conception of Ohio Hopewell community patterning posed that earthwork–mound complexes were largely vacant religious centers. These were built and used periodically for mortuary and other ceremonies by peoples who lived in the surrounding territory in dispersed hamlets. The hamlets were thought to have had "little permanence" (Prufer 1964a:71)—about a generation, in the case of the exemplary McGraw site (Prufer et al. 1965:137)—inasmuch as Hopewell economy was taken to have been based on swidden agriculture of corn and other crops (Prufer 1964a:71).[2] Prufer's model of Ohio Hopewell settlement was inspired by the then-popular reconstructions of the vacant religious centers, dispersed communities, and swidden agricultural systems of lowland Mesoamerican Formative and Classic period civilizations (e.g., Bullard 1962; Willey 1956).

Prufer was unclear about whether he thought religious practitioners or site caretakers lived within Ohio Hopewell earthwork–mound complexes. Nor did he address the occurrence of utilitarian living debris found within the open areas, embankments, and mound fill of various earthwork–mound complexes, which are now well confirmed (J. A. Brown 1982; Griffin 1996) and had once prompted archaeologists to posit the occurrence of villages within the works (L. H. Morgan 1881; R. G. Morgan 1946; Moorehead 1892:509; Shetrone and Greenman 1931:359).

Some insight on these issues was obtained by Raymond Baby and Suzanne Langois's six field seasons of work at Seip, which revealed a foot-thick midden of utilitarian living debris and 7 to 10 square or rectangular buildings located halfway between the large, central mound and the embankment. The buildings all lacked hearths, contained large numbers of bladelets, and had mica fragments—in one building, worked and partially worked geometric forms. The buildings were architecturally similar to the subrectangular, single and double-post walled charnel houses revealed at Mound City (J. A. Brown 1979:213–125), but their subfloor features were structurally unique and apparently specialized in function. None of the buildings evidenced cremation or manipulation of the human skeleton. Baby and Langois interpreted these and other data as evidence of specialized craft workshops involved in the production of mica ornaments, shell beads, and textiles or basketry used in Hopewellian rituals. They concluded that Seip was occupied by "specialized craftsmen who, by their status, by the role of their products in the Hopewell ritual system, and possibly by hereditary position, were privileged to practice their arts, and to occupy structures, within the sacred precincts of the earthworks enclosure" (Baby and Langlois 1977:11; see also 1979). Although some of Baby and Langlois's specific conclusions may be unwarranted, their general inference that Seip was not a fully vacant center (Baby and Langlois 1979:18), and that craftpersons resided there long enough to have produced fairly substantial midden deposits, appears to be essentially correct and deserves investigation at other Ohio Hopewell earthwork–mound complexes.

Since Prufer's, and Baby and Langlois's, development of the vacant ceremonial center model for interpreting Ohio Hopewell earthwork–mound complexes, six other important interpretive models have been offered in print. These models address more directly the subject of gatherings of dispersed community members, and perhaps other visitors, for mortuary and nonmortuary ceremonies within the centers. Each of these models goes further in explaining the occurrence of utilitarian living debris within the confines of Ohio Hopewell earthwork–mound complexes. The six models, by B. D. Smith, DeBoer, Pacheco, Seeman, Greber, and Hall and Romain, are summarized now. A seventh,

popularly discussed but unpublished one, drawing on the historic Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead, is formalized.

SMITH'S IDEAS

The most general of these models is B. D. Smith's (1992:209–243). Smith translated Prufer's vacant ceremonial center–dispersed hamlet model into a distinction between what he terms the "corporate–ceremonial" sphere of activities within earthwork–mound complexes and the everyday "domestic" sphere of activities within farming settlements of one to three households. Within the corporate–ceremonial sphere, Smith (1992:figure 5) included four classes of activities: (1) mortuary programs, evidenced by cremation basins, burials, and charnel houses; (2) corporate labor building projects, evidenced by the earthworks, burial mounds, and large corporate mortuary structures; (3) production of ceremonial items for burial and exchange, evidenced by the structures at Seip found by Baby and Langlois, raw materials, and utilized broken bladelets; and (4) possibly redistributive feasting, evidenced by limited food species and meat cuts and an absence of storage facilities. Although feasting was modeled by Smith as having occurred proximal to the earthwork–mound complexes rather than within them, no specific justification for this was provided.

Smith followed Greber (1983:26–27, 92) in emphasizing that the big charnel houses under some Ohio Hopewell mounds (e.g., Edwin Harness, Seip–Pricer, Hopewell Mound 25) were probably used for a broad range of civic, ceremonial, and religious activities beyond funerary ones. This appears reasonable from ethnographic hints: among the Shawnee, for example, the word *m'šikamekwi*, which literally means "big house", was also used for "ceremonial house" and "stomp dance ground".

The four above-cited classes of activities defined by Smith have implications for the nature of gatherings at ceremonial centers. Redistributive feasting could have involved large gatherings of persons. Building projects involving corporate labor could have involved groups of a broad range of sizes. Greber (1997:209, 221) favored groups of moderately small size (four to eight contemporaneous households) who compiled the earthworks in stages over many generations. Manufacturing of ritual items probably did not involve sizable aggregations of persons directly, although it might have been done in the context of large mortuary rituals or feasts. The various steps within Hopewell mortuary programs could have involved a few to many persons, with differing ranges of roles, and these ceremonial conditions could have varied with the social roles of the deceased. Other ceremonial activities associated with Big Houses, at sites where they occurred, also could also have involved gatherings of varying sizes. The large size and gridded pattern of the posts that form the Big House at Edwin Harness suggest the possibility that this building had a second-story floor or platform area (Greber 1983:27), which could have served to stage public civic or ceremonial events (J. A. Brown, personal communication, 1995). Such staged events could have had a large number of participants and/or a large audience, in contrast to possibly more private mortuary activities that would have occurred below it. Elevated decks for public aspects of mortuary ceremonies also seem to have characterized the smaller charnel houses at Mound City (J. A. Brown 1979:213). These proposed stages are at home within a broader pattern of possible earthen stages on top of platform mounds found within mortuary sites throughout the Hopewell world: in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana.[3]

DeBOER'S IDEAS

DeBoer (1997) has interpreted Ohio Hopewell earthwork–mound contexts similarly to Smith. He saw the earthwork–mound complexes as ceremonial centers that housed a variety of activities, including mortuary rituals, feasts, causeway-directed foot races, games, dances, and gambling. His interpretation is based on an analogy to a distant cultural tradition—the Chachi of Ecuador, South America—who have a vacant center–dispersed hamlet settlement pattern

formally similar to that posited for the Ohio Hopewell. DeBoer noted that Chachi centers are places for gatherings of a variety of sizes: large aggregations for Christmas and Easter and smaller get-togethers for weddings and funerals.

DeBoer also described how the centers have guest houses for members of the communities who come together at the centers, and a plaza for their various activities such as feasting. Although DeBoer did not specifically consider whether Ohio Hopewell centers were temporarily lived in like Chachi centers, Greber (1997:218) did make this connection, and used it to explain the utilitarian living debris found within Hopewell centers (see below)—specifically the Seip works: "Groups of different sizes did live at Seip for different periods of time and in living quarters whose locations are not yet clear." Greber's conclusion differ's from Smith's view, that feasting and such occurred outside of the walls of earthwork–mound complexes.

Unlike Smith, DeBoer did not offer archaeological evidence for the activities he hypothesized to have occurred in Hopewell centers. DeBoer's approach to ethnographic analogy is based on the simple, formal resemblance of settlement patterns and, in this regard, is similar to Prufer's (1964a, 1964b).

PACHECO'S IDEAS

Pacheco (1996:22–24) summarized an ethnographic analogy similar to DeBoer's, which helps one to visualize the nature of gatherings within Ohio Hopewell earthworks. Pacheco's inspirations were drawn from the Peruvian Mapuche (Dillehay 1990, 1992), who have a dispersed settlement pattern and vacant centers that are used in manners similar those of the Chachi. Gatherings occur in centers for scheduled festivals, religious events, and burial rites. A key contribution of Pacheco's analogy is the emphasis he placed, following Dillehay, on the creation and reconstitution of marriage and kinship ties that could have occurred among lineages from different territorial groups during festivals within the centers.

The Mapuche, like the Chachi, reside temporarily within their centers when gathering there (Dillehay 1990). However, Pacheco did not draw upon this element of Mapuche settlement to explain the utilitarian living debris found within Hopewell earthwork–mound complexes.

SEEMAN'S IDEAS

Another model that addresses the topic of gatherings within earthwork–mound complexes is Seeman's (1979b) study of possible archaeological remains of feasts within the works. Seeman's essay has two strengths that remain relevant, today. First, it summarizes the characteristics of a large number of archaeological deposits of animal bones and one cache of hickory nuts within 17 Ohio Hopewell mound or earthwork–mound sites. The cited cases include several kinds of depositional contexts that, unfortunately, vary in their relevance as evidence of meals and feasting: submound charnel house floors scattered with largely unbroken bone, a submound charnel house floor scattered with minute pieces of broken animal bone, refuse pits originating within submound charnel house floors and within a cemetery area, a cache pit originating within a submound charnel house floor, refuse pits outside of charnel houses, a midden adjacent to the possible craft workshops at Seip, mound strata including both ash beds and general fill, postmold fill, and embankment fill. However, the general picture emerges that: (1) considerable amounts of animal products were processed and consumed at most Ohio earthwork–mound complexes, both within and outside of the charnel houses; and (2) to extend Seeman's inferences, the amounts of animal products processed varied widely by the occasion, pointing to gatherings of varying size and/or duration. The quantities of animal bones in some deposits numerically exceed those reported for the McGraw site—the one apparent Scioto Hopewell homestead having preserved fauna (Parmalee 1965:117). Other faunal deposits are much smaller.

Complementary reports summarized by Griffin (1996), as well as cases presented by Greber (1997:214) and J. A. Brown (1982:9–10), support this picture. Griffin enumerated locations of large and small areal scatters of lithic and

ceramic debris that might represent midden deposits within and surrounding earthwork–mound complexes, as well as debris within mound fill that may have derived from such areas. Greber estimated that the amount of midden redeposited in the large mound at the Seip works was 15–20 times that of the midden excavated at McGraw. Brown reported a rich sheet midden under a part of the embankment at Mound City and refuse elsewhere at the site.[4]

Finally, more precise activity reconstruction is possible following Seeman's (1979b:40) report that the faunal assemblage excavated by Baby and Brown (1966) from Mound 13, the embankment adjacent to Mound 10, and other locations at Mound City had an unexpected preponderance of deer rib fragments relative to other elements. This fact suggests meals and/or funerary offerings comprised of choice cuts of meat (Brown and Baby 1966:appendix II).

The possibility that feasting occurred outside and nearby the earthworks, as opposed to just inside them, was not considered by Seeman. However, this possibility is not out of accord with certain observations of "village site debris" adjacent to some earthworks (e.g., Turner, in Griffin 1996). In addition, it appears that some small sites outside of the earthworks possibly were used as locations for ritual activities and artifact manufacture, in preparation for mortuary activites within the earthworks (Burks and Pederson 1999; Burks et al. 2002; Coughlin and Seeman 1997:237–238; Geber 1995; Ruby 1996, 1997:2).

The second strength of Seeman's essay is its summary of the many functions of charnel houses described in ethnographic literature for historic Native Americans of the southeastern United States. These uses include: as a display and burial place for commoners and/or high-ranking individuals; as a structure for processing the dead for burial there or elsewhere; as a place for connecting with the deceased through food offerings; as a general location for having a feast in honor of the defleshing of the deceased; as a storage place for important ritual objects, weapons, and war trophies; and/or as the location of the sacred fire of the community (see also J. A. Brown 1979:212). This list provides a suite of hypotheses about how Ohio Hopewell charnel houses might have been used and about the various functions and sizes of gatherings that may have been associated with them. However, the analogy warrants caution, because the simple to complex chiefdoms in the southeastern United States are distant from Ohio Hopewell societies in time, space, and social complexity.

Seeman interpreted the faunal and floral depositional data he assembled as evidence for chiefly regulated redistribution of limited meat resources through feasting—a now unpopular view in light of recent trends to see Ohio Hopewell social organization as less hierarchical and less centralized (Carr and Case, Chapter 5; Carr, Chapter 7; Braun 1979, 1986; Ford 1974; B. D. Smith 1986). However, his ideas about feasts within the earthwork–mound centers and their ties to mortuary rituals can easily be worked out within the context of socially simple ethnographic analogs: in particular, the "Feasts of the Dead" of the Algonkian tribes, the Huron, and other Iroquoian tribes in southern Ontario.

FEAST OF THE DEAD

The protohistoric and historic Huron Feast of the Dead (Heidenreich 1978:374–375; Trigger 1969:106–112) and its historic Algonkian version (Hickerson 1960) provide yet another model for the nature of gatherings within Ohio Hopewell earthwork–mound complexes. The analogy has been discussed informally by at least several Hopewell archaeologists and mentioned in passing in print as relevant to Hopewellian traditions across the Woodlands generally (Calender 1979:257), and to the Duck's Nest sector of the Pinson Mounds site, specifically (Mainfort 1986:46). The analogy has never been formalized, however. The strength of the analogy lies in its clarifying the form and function of Hopewell gatherings, with the recognition that the particular historical circumstances underlying Huron and Hopewellian gatherings were different.

The Huron Feast of the Dead was a ceremony held approximately once every 8 to 12 years, or apparently each time a large village changed locations in order to develop new

swidden horticultural plots. The Feast involved disintering all persons of that village and satellite villages who had died during this period, and reburying them in a large ossuary. Sometimes persons of neighboring villages who had wished to be reburied with friends, as well as the deceased of allied tribes and perhaps a few persons from tribes outside of the Huron confederacy, were also buried in the ossuaries. The numbers of people who gathered for the feasts was not reported. However, the largest ossuaries contained the bones of about 1,000 persons, and at one large feast, over 1,200 presents were given (Trigger 1969:107). These figures would suggest attendances of over 1,000 persons.

Importantly, the Huron Feast of the Dead involved seven or eight days of feasting, dancing, and game-playing for prizes before the reburial of the dead. During this time, kinship ties were renewed, and clan segments displayed their wealth in a socially acceptable manner. Feasting together and burying of the dead together helped to unite the Huron, who were spread over a territory of about two or three days' walk (20 × 35 miles)—about the size of Ross County, Ohio. The Huron who buried their dead together felt obliged to live in peace and support of each other because the bones and souls of their deceased relatives and ancestors were co-mingled and unified. The ceremony created a logic similar to, "We are allies always, because our ancestors in spirit are allies always."

The Algonkian Feast of the Dead (Hickerson 1960) was similar to the Huron counterpart from which it was derived and reworked. However, it was more of an intertribal, regional affair, having involved seven or eight distinct Algonkian-speaking peoples (e.g., the Saulteur, Nipissing, Achiligouan) between northern Lake Huron and eastern Lake Superior. In addition, members of more distant tribes with whom these Algonkians wished to establish trade relations were invited: the Memoninee, Dakota, Cree, and, perhaps, Ottawa. The feast was an annual event, with the role of host alternating among the Algonkian groups. The number of attendees ranged between 1,000 and 1,600, which required the host group to build a huge cabin for entertaining and perhaps lodging the guests. Guest houses similar to a Plains camp circle may also have been constructed. It appears that only the host group reburied their dead in an ossuary. All attendees, however, participated in feasts, dances, displays of warrior agility, singing, contests for prizes, and gift-giving according to the strength of alliance. Intertribal marriages were encouraged to initiate and solidify alliances. The Algonkian version of the Feast of the Dead also involved a resurrection ceremony, when the name of an honored deceased chief was transferred to a son or important tribal member.

Certain but not all elements of this ethnographic analogy may be relevant to and help explain some features of Hopewellian ceremonial sites in Ohio, of the Mann site in Indiana, and of the Pinson Mound site in Tennessee. Relevant Huron and Algonkian elements include: (1) a dispersed social unit that required unification; (2) the combining of mortuary rituals with feasting that involved large numbers of persons and that afforded opportunities for the renewal and creation of intratribal kinship and marriage ties and intertribal alliances; (3) the large distances from which some participants came to celebrate; (4) the three-phase burial program that involved initial burial of corpses (in cemeteries) near their respective villages, followed by the exhumation and reburial of these corpses at a more distant, common community location (ossuary); (5) the synchronous transport of many bodily remains from dispersed residences within and outside of a community to the burial site; and (6) a mortuary rite specifically designed, through the burial together of the skeletons of ancestors of multiple communities, to encourage peace and alliance among communities.

Regarding the relevance of these elements, archaeological evidence for the Ohio Hopewell having had dispersed communities and for their having feasted during mortuary activities has been summarized above. The extralocal and/or extraregional distances from which some participants came to celebrate within Scioto and Mann-phase Hopewellian earthworks are documented respectively in Chapter 14 by Weets et al. and in Chapter 15 by Ruby and Shriner. The latter study concludes that persons as far away as the Appalachian Piedmont of Georgia and/or the Gulf

Coastal Plain participated in ceremonies at the Mann site, Indiana. The remaining three elements require greater explanation.

The Huron and Algonkian three-phase mortuary program, with synchronous transport of corpses to a final burial place, is best understood in the context of Turner's (1969) and van Gennep's (1960) concepts of rites of passage. In their views, rites of passage of a person from one social status to another (e.g., a member of the living to a member of the dead in an afterlife) is a process rather than an event, and involves a sequence of rites of "separation," rites of "liminality," and rites of "reincorporation." In the Huron case, a first funeral was held for the deceased at his or her village and village cemetery, constituting a rite of separation. The deceased remained in a liminal period while stored as a burial in the cemetery. During this time, the body soul of the deceased remained with the corpse, while the free soul of the deceased wandered in misery and caused mischief, unable to proceed to the Land of the Dead. The Feast of the Dead, with the exhumation of, caring for, and ossuary burial of the bones of the deceased, constituted a rite of reincorporation. With ossuary burial, the free soul of the deceased was able to pass on to the Land of the Dead, west of Huronia, and join the free souls of other deceased persons. Reincorporation involved all liminal, deceased persons from a community at one time, simultaneously, as well as some members of other communities. The body soul of the deceased person remained with the body in the ossuary, co-mingled with the body souls of others, just as the bones were co-mingled. This joining of souls provided the spiritual basis for creating and maintaining alliances among the Huron communities and others.

In the Ohio Hopewell case, at least some persons were processed through a three-phase burial program of the sort generalized by van Gennep and Turner and, thus, paralleling the Huron and Algonkian pattern. The process began with the burial of the deceased under a primary mound or within a log tomb in cremated or intact form, within a charnel house. This constituted a rite of separation. This rite must have been held at least in part within the charnel house, but may have been staged as well outside the charnel house, within the earthwork complex. Few to many living persons could have been involved in the rite of separation, either within or outside the charnel house. Some charnel houses, like those under the Tremper, Seip–Pricer, Seip–Conjoined, and Edwin Harness mounds, were very large and could have accommodated many persons. Next, the remains of the deceased lay in storage within the charnel house for an unspecified period of time, defining a liminal period. In the case of burial within a log tomb, the tomb may have been opened periodically to add offerings. Remains of other deceased persons from the community in which the burial ground was situated, and sometimes from closely neighboring, allied communities (Carr, Chapter 7; Weets et al., chapter 14), were added to the assemblage within the charnel house as new deaths occurred. Finally, all of these liminal, deceased persons were simultaneously given a rite of reincorporation. This was achieved through the dismantling and/or burning of the charnel house and the building of a large mound over all of the individual primary mounds. It is conceivable that additional community members who were bundled or cremated and stored elsewhere, and bundled or cremated members of neighboring communities or distant societies with whom alliances were being maintained or sought, were brought into the community's charnel house before its dismantling or burning and included in the rite of reincorporation. It is possible that building one mound over all of these many individuals served to tie them together spiritually, much as did the Huron process of burying many individuals together within one ossuary. This could have facilitated stable alliances and peace among the descendants of the deceased from various social groups within the community, from other communities, and perhaps from far-off societies.

Three-staged burial programs of this kind are evidenced in several Ohio Hopewell mounds. These include: the Tremper, Seip–Pricer, Seip–Conjoined, Edwin Harness, Hopewell 25, and Ater mounds and multiple mounds at Mound City (J. A. Brown 1979; Greber 1979a,1979b, 1997:215; Greber and Ruhl 1983:41, Mills 1907b, 1909, 1916, 1922; Shetrone 1926; Shetrone and Greenman 1931).

Evidence for the fifth element of the Feast of the Dead—the synchronous transport of many bodily remains from remote areas to the charnel house—is mixed. Some mounds, like Seip–Pricer, Seip–Conjoined, Ater, those at Mound City, and Edwin Harness, contain largely or only cremations. Logically, these could represent any combination of three possibilities: (1) corpses of newly deceased persons that were dismembered and cremated in-the-flesh within crematory basins at these sites; (2) bundle burials that were brought to the ceremonial centers over a period of time or synchronously for cremation within the charnel houses; and/or (3) cremations that were brought over a period of time or synchronously for deposit in the charnel houses. Available contextual and osteological information does not allow a sorting-out of these options. J. A. Brown (1979:213) reminds us that Mills (1922:562) found pieces of cremation basins in a few cremations that had been laid to rest elsewhere at Mound City. This could have resulted from in-the-flesh cremation within crematory basins at Mound City or the cremation there of bundle burials (possibility 1 or 2, above). Baby (1954) examined 128 cremations from Seip, Ater, Mound City, and Edwin Harness. Correspondences between burning patterns in the osteological assemblage and an experimentally cremated cadaver led him to conclude that most cremations were a product of in-the-flesh dismemberment and burning rather than the burning of dry bones of a bundle burial. This result would accord with in-the-flesh cremation within cremation basins at the sites or the bringing-in of cremations from elsewhere to the sites for final deposition (possibility 1 or 3, above). At the same time, Baby (1954:1–2) noted that almost a third ($n = 40$ of 128) of the cremations were composed of only fragments of skulls and long bones and that ribs were absent from most of the cremations. This may indicate the selection of body parts for cremation, the selection of cremated body parts for final disposition, or the bringing-in of cremations from elsewhere to the sites for final disposal (possibility 1 or 3, above). An additional relevant piece of evidence is that most of the cremations in the Seip–Pricer, Seip–Conjoined, Ater, and Edwin Harness mounds, and those at Mound City, were laid to rest in features or on surfaces other than crematory basins, and do not indicate whether they were processed at these ceremonial centers. Finally, bundle burials were found at several Scioto Hopewell mortuary sites. These offer no clue as to whether they represent corpses defleshed at the sites or corpses processed elsewhere and brought to the sites for final disposition as bundle burials. In sum, current archaeological evidence leaves open the possibility that up to many cremations and some bundle burials from neighboring communities and distant societies were transported to Scioto Hopewell charnel houses for secondary burial, as in the Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead.[5]

The exceptions to this possibility are Hopewell Mounds 25 and 23, which contain largely inhumations. These cemeteries suggest a more gradual accumulation of bodies within the charnel structures at different times of death and prior to final mound building. Radiocarbon and other chronometric assays from Mound 25 floor contexts (Carr, Chapter 7; Greber 2003) reinforce but do not clinch this view. This slow accumulation is not in line with the Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead model of synchronous, final burial.

The sixth element of the Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead that has relevance in explaining the Scioto Hopewell archaeological record is the burial together of skeletons of ancestors from different communities in order to facilitate alliances among them. Chapter 7, by Carr, presents many lines of evidence that the major clusters of burials under each of the Seip–Pricer, Seip–Conjoined, Edwin Harness, Hopewell 25, and Ater mounds represent portions of communities who buried their dead together in order to create and maintain alliances among the communities. Three communities were defined: one in main Paint Creek valley, one in its North Fork, and one in adjacent portions of the Scioto valley. The accumulation of human remains from these communities under these mounds may have been a slow process, over years and decades, unlike the Feast of the Dead, or a quick event, similar to the Feast of the Dead. In either case, the final dismantling and/or burning of each charnel house and the building of a mound over all of

the dead from all of the communities could have been done in the course of days, like the act of secondary burial in the Feast of the Dead.

The most convincing case of an Ohio Hopewellian center that might indicate a ceremony similar to the historic Feast of the Dead is the Tremper mound (Weets et al., Chapter 14), early in the Ohio Hopewell cultural sequence. There, approximately 280 cremations were laid to rest together, co-mingled in a single depository, and another 95 cremations were placed in three other depositories, much as bones and cremated remains of persons were mixed together in a single pit in the historic Feasts of the Dead. In addition, nearly all of the ceremonial artifacts found at the site, totaling about 500 items and including 136 smoking pipes, were placed together in a ceremonial deposit near the large deposit of cremations, reiterating the theme of burial of human remains together. Chemical sourcing and stylistic data indicate that the pipes were manufactured by multiple social groups, some from significant distances from Tremper and probably representing multiple, distinct communities. In all, the archaeological remains indicate the assembly of several hundreds of individuals, the exact number depending on the number of mourners per deceased and the duration over which cremated remains were accumulated. Gatherings approaching the size of the historic Feasts of the Dead (1,000 to 1,600 persons) seem unlikely.

Later Ohio Hopewell charnel houses, including Hopewell Mound 25, Seip–Pricer, Edwin Harness, and Seip–Conjoined, do not exhibit the co-mingling of cremations and appear to have fewer deceased within their walls. In Chapter 13, by Carr et al., these differences are attributed to changes in alliance strategies over time: from economic and social relations among individual agents to economic, social, and political activities funneled through leaders. Earlier in time, social integration among groups within a community and among communities was achieved by co-mingling the remains of many individuals who, in total (and no few of which), represented those groups or communities. Later in time, integration among these social units was accomplished by gift-giving among leaders, cooperative and/or competitive gift giving to the deceased by leaders, and joint burial of leaders as representatives of multiple intracommunity groups and multiple communities. These alliance mechanisms produced smaller burial populations without an emphasis on co-mingling the deceased.

Farther afield, the burial together of skeletons of people from multiple communities appears to be evidenced at the Duck's Nest Sector of the Pinson Mounds site, in western Tennessee. There, a 20+ centimeter thick midden at least 100 square meters in area was found to have been liberally dispersed with calcined bone inferred to be human cremations, sandstone which was used primarily with crematory basins at the site, broken bifaces thought to have been used in mortuary tasks, and broken, local and foreign ceramic vessels that might have been funerary offerings and/or used to transport cremated remains to the site. The foreign vessels had decorative styles and technologies produced in the Marksville region of Mississippi, the Porter region of Alabama (lower Tombigbee river), the Swift Creek area of northern Florida, as well as the Tennessee valley and western and eastern Tennessee (Mainfort 1986:31, 35, 46; 1988:167–168). Mainfort (1986:46, 82; 1988:167; see also Stoltman and Mainfort 2002: 11, 16) interpreted the deposit to represent the ceremonial co-mingling of cremations of persons and pottery from these distant geographic regions, and the result of a single ceremony. A similar but smaller and secondary ceremonial deposit with numerous fragments of calcined bone, ash, and stylistically diverse ceramic vessels was found at the moderately close, Middle Woodland site of Helena Crossing, Arkansas (Pottery Deposit 6, Mound C; Ford 1963:33–38; Mainfort 1988:46). Vessels from near the mouth of the Mississippi river, the southern Lower Mississippi Valley province, the Apalachicola area of Florida, perhaps the St. Johns area of Florida, and perhaps Minnesota, along with several varieties of more local, Marksville ceramics, occurred in the deposit.

A precursor to Hopewellian cases of burying the deceased from multiple, neighboring communities and more distant societies together in one cemetery is possibly found in northern Ohio in the southwestern Lake Erie basin during

the Late Archaic through the Early Woodland. The Williams Cemetery on the lower Maumee river near Toledo, Ohio contained 20 mass burial pits with between 656 and about 1000 individuals in total, and one to 100 individuals per pit. The great majority of the individuals had been cremated within the flesh elsewhere (no in situ burning) or bundled. This excavated record constituted only one quarter of the site, so the full number of individuals interred at the site could total a couple thousand or more. Six of the burial pits had between two and four discrete layers of burials within them separated by thin layers of fine river sand, representing different social units but not likely different episodes of burial. Immediately across the river, the Sidecut Crematory site with its several clusters of burned limestone slabs and calcined bone fragments probably served as the place of cremation of some of the deceased buried at the Williams Cemetery (Stothers and Abel 1993:63). The two-site, massive and regionally unique mortuary complex has been interpreted by a number of archaeologists (references in Stothers and Abel 1993:73) as an interaction center where autonomous, dispersed local bands from the entire western Lake Erie basin, for some seven centuries (ca. 1125–360 B.C.), periodically gathered together as one or more coherent, regional bands to bury their dead, exchange gifts, trade, feast, and reaffirm their social ties. The interpretation makes good sense in light of domestic settlement patterns in the basin: no large habitation site that singly might have produced the Williams-Sidecut mortuary complex is known from its locale or the wider, western Lake Erie basin; only small base camps, each of several households that probably comprised a local band, and nuclear family hunting and collecting camps have been recorded (Stothers and Abel 1993:50–64). In addition, two small cemeteries (Hickory Island No. 2 and Marblehead) had mass burial pits with 3 to 32 cremated or bundled individuals, like the individual pits at Williams, and can be interpreted as the cemeteries of local bands of the kinds that gathered at Williams (Stothers and Abel, pp. 73, 75).

In all, the evidence from the Williams-Sidecut mortuary complex, Tremper mound, Pinson mounds, and Helena Crossing suggest a great time depth to regional-scale mortuary ceremonies and alliance-building strategies similar to the historic Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead in the Eastern Woodlands. Lineal relationships of continuity in these practices, however cannot yet be demonstrated.[6]

GREBER'S IDEAS

A final model that addresses the topic of gatherings within earthwork–mound complexes has been offered by Greber (1996). She defined several kinds of deposits that recur in several major earthwork–mound complexes, or that are unique. She related the varying sizes, contents, and locations of the several types to different kinds of hypothetical rituals that had varying functions, that involved varying numbers of people, and that occurred at different frequencies or periodicities within a grand ritual cycle conjectured by her to have lasted two or three human generations. Greber's work provides substance to the more general models of B. Smith, DeBoer, Pacheco, and Seeman (above), who also each conclude or imply that multiple kinds of activities, involving social gatherings of varing sizes, took place within the earthwork–mound complexes.

The types of deposits defined by Greber, and the size and nature of gatherings thought to be associated with them, are as follows.

(1) On the prepared floors within charnel houses and/or below mounds occurred thin, spatially restricted deposits comprised of burned materials and ash from small, nearby fires. The deposits contained animal bones, fragments of pottery, broken lithic tools, pieces of mica, and/or minor personal ornaments like beads, and seem to have lacked copper items. Greber concluded that the deposits represent events carried out by a small number of persons. To this interpretation can be added that the location of some of these deposits specifically within charnel houses (e.g., at Edwin Harness and Seip–Pricer mounds), and their multiple, spatially separated occurrences, suggests the possibility of periodic rituals performed for various subsets of the dead, or all of the dead, in the charnel house, who were buried under small mounds or stored in some manner

and who awaited final burial. These rituals might be interpreted as rites within the "liminal period" of a multistaged disposal process that was begun with a rite of "separation" (initial manipulation and/or burial of the body) and ended with a rite of "reincorporation" (destroying of the charnel house and burying all persons within the charnel house under a large mound) (Turner 1969; van Gennep 1960), as suggested above.

(2) On the prepared floors within charnel houses and/or below mounds also occurred pits filled with burned materials similar to the Type 1 deposits, above. These, too, seem to represent sweepings from a floor-level fire and could be interpreted like the Type 1 deposits.

(3) Other pits and/or reused postholes on prepared floors were filled with stones, river sand, apparently a dismantled clay basin, charcoal from a variety of woods, or stratified deposits of light and dark charcoal and ash. Greber (1996:158) lumped these features typologically with Type 2 deposits and holds that, because these are diverse in content and represent a range of activities, they imply a larger gathering than type 1 deposits. This interpretation seems to reflect her typological lumping more than what each specific deposit seems to imply about the size of gatherings. Each of the features she described could represent small rites within the "liminal period" of a multistage, ritual process.

(4) Greber's grouping of deposits that lie above the floor and within the mound have only their location in common. They range greatly in content and magnitude, from the Copper Deposit of more than 100 copper pieces at Hopewell Mound 25 to the 9 pipes in the small cache at Tremper, to a simple basin with one pipe fragment at Edwin Harness. Greber concluded that these deposits overall represent the "pageantry" of ritual gatherings larger than those implied by the subfloor pits. However, it is preferable to assess the content of each of these deposit individually, as below, and to suggest that they probably reflect gatherings of many different sizes and functions.

(5) Deposits found within or adjacent to a clay basin constitute Greber's fifth type. Almost all of the large deposits of items found within Ohio Hopewell earthwork–mound complexes have this context. Some of these large deposits, such as the approximately 200 pipes buried under Mound 8 at Mound City and the 8,000 chert bifaces under Mound 2 at the Hopewell site, could represent the offerings of a large gathering of persons. Other large deposits, by their nature, might represent only a few persons. For example, obsidian could have been quite restricted in the persons who were allowed to work it, and the approximately 300-pound obsidian deposit under Mound 11 at the Hopewell site could have been made by only a few individuals. Moreover, much smaller deposits also occur within or adjacent to basins, and these probably were generated by small gatherings. Again, Greber's approach to typology smooths over significant variation in the sizes of deposits and gatherings.

(6) Pairs of clay basins with complementary, contrasting soil fills or artifact contents are Greber's last type. Some of these basins lack artifacts, as is the case for at least four pairs under Mounds 5, 7, and 9 at the Turner site. One pair at Turner and two pairs at Hopewell have large numbers of artifacts or specific animal bone elements. Greber interpreted all of these paired deposits as representing the most major of Hopewell celebrations, which involved all members of a dispersed community and probably visitors. However, archaeological evidence for large aggregations is limited to only the one pair at Turner and the two at Hopewell. Greber claimed that the celebrations marked by paired basins were the ends of cycles that lasted two or three generations. It is unclear how she reached this conclusion from the empirical evidence presented.

In short, Greber's model is the most sophisticated offered to date for estimating the size of gatherings at Ohio Hopewell earthwork–mound complexes. At the same time, her analysis ran into difficulties in several ways: most of the types of deposits she defined do not form homogeneous classes, her typological approach tends to mask and simplify variation in the nature of deposits and the group sizes represented by them, and her assignments of group sizes to deposits of the same nature are sometimes inconsistent. The quantitative approach taken by Carr et al.

(Chapter 13) to estimate the sizes of gatherings is designed to overcome some of these difficulties.

HALL AND ROMAIN ON WORLD RENEWAL CEREMONIES

The likelihood that Hopewell mortuary ceremonies were intertwined with world renewal ceremonies was brought to the attention of archaeologists by Robert Hall (1979:259–261). Hall reviewed archaeological evidence from Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin and found a strong pattern for the puddling of marsh soils, marls, bottom clays, or blue or green spring clays on corpses within Hopewell mounds, or the periodic layering of these materials as a mound was built up. Following the lead of others, he suggested that these ceremonial rites might reference and be a part of a reenactment of the Earth Diver creation myth, which is common in the Northeastern Woodlands. In this myth, one creature or another dives to the bottom of the primordial ocean and eventually is successful in bringing up a small bit of earth. From this earth magically grows the land (or island) of the North American continent. This interpretation was thought by Hall to be supported by another Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio Hopewell practice—the temporary covering of a corpse with a hide or fabric that was held in place by four bone skewers, commonly deer metapodials. Hall related this practice, too, to creation mythology—in particular, the Winnebago belief that when the earth was first formed, it would not stop moving, until Earthmaker pierced the earth at each of its four corners with four large snakes or water spirits and secured them with four Island Anchors or Island Weights. Hall went on to note that initiation rituals for boys around the world often involve a reenactment of the myth of creation, as sacred lore is revealed. Thus, initiation rites as well as world renewal rites may have been intertwined in Hopewell mortuary ceremonialism. Hall (1979) closed the link among these three ceremonial themes by noting that "reenactment of creation for the purpose of initiation rites often calls for a symbolic return to the condition of chaos that prevailed before creation—the extinguishing of fires, the reversal of habitual behavior, *the return of the dead*—followed by the reinstatement of the proper condition of things..." (Hall, p. 261; italics added). In sum, some gatherings at Hopewell ceremonial centers may have occurred to renew the world and/or to initiate youngsters to adulthood, and these may have been integrated within mortuary ceremonies. The mortuary record, therefore, may bear on gatherings that were larger in purpose than simply caring for the dead.

It is possible that Hall's reconstruction is applicable to Ohio as well. The Seip–Pricer, Seip–Conjoined, and Edwin Harness mounds were each built initially with culturally sterile soil capped by gravel (Greber 1979b:28, 32), which has a water association, having come from the stream bottoms. At Seip–Pricer, this symbolic stratigraphy was replayed with a secondary cap of heavy clay soil followed by dark-brown midden and a gravel retaining wall (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:356–359). At Harness, the symbolism was repeated with a secondary cap of gravelly soil, a layer of course gravels, and a retaining wall of large, flat pieces of sandstone (Greber 1979b:28; Mills 1907b:122, 132). These repetitions have been interpreted by Greber (1997:219) as two parts of a calendric cycle, although a simple periodic rite of world renewal would also explain the data.

Others have elaborated on Hall's interpretations. Romain (2000:167–197) has argued from multiple perspectives that the squares of Ohio Hopewell earthworks represented the sky or Upper World and that circles represented the earth or This World. Romain found that many historic Native Americans across the Northeast and Southeast symbolized the earth with the circle. Most significant to earth renewal ceremonialism is the historic Iroquoisan belief that the earth was created when mud was spread on the approximately circular back of a turtle, which floated in a vast sea. In this symbolism, the circular walls of earthworks marked the boundary between the Earth Island/Turtle and the primordial sea, and burial mounds at the centers of some circular works (e.g., Seip, Liberty, Circleville, Marrietta,

Portsmouth) represented the bit of primal mud that had been brought up from the sea's bottom and made into land. Romain goes on to speculate that when the Scioto River flooded and covered earthworks, the first land to reappear would have been the central burial mounds and circles—a visual metaphor for the recreation of the Earth Island from a bit of primordial mud. Romain notes that 9 of 12 geometrically shaped earthworks in Ross County, Ohio, would have been inundated by flood waters periodically, based on historically known flood levels. By extension of these ideas, we would conclude that Scioto Hopewell earthworks would have been ideal locations for gatherings to celebrate world renewal.

Buikstra and Charles (1999:214–215, 2000) have interpreted the morphology of Havana Hopewellian mounds, with their elevated ramps and sunken central tombs, as stages that represented a three-layered cosmos of Upper World, This World, and Lower World. Mortuary rites that moved the dead over ramps and into central tombs are seen as having emphasized this cosmic order and celebrated and recreated it . This ceremonialism is thought to have been especially significant in flood plain mound complexes, which archaeological evidence suggests were locations of large, multicommunity gatherings. Significantly, at least one flood plain mound—Mound House, Mound 1—stood alone as an island in water like the re-created world when the Illinois River flooded historically, before being canalized (Buikstra et al. 1998:iv, 16).

SUMMARY

The models and evidence that have been described above point to the conclusion that Ohio Hopewell earthwork–mound complexes were probably the locations of gatherings that were diverse in their sizes and functions. Small numbers of ritual specialists and/or kin may have come together to cremate, offer grave goods, and/or bury a newly deceased within a charnel house as a rite of separation; to perform periodic, liminal-stage rites of passage or rites of ancestor worship; and/or to manufacture ceremonial items. Seasonal, annual, or longer-cycle liminal-stage rites could also have occurred and involved larger social segments or the whole of a community or multiple communities. Final rites of reincorporation, which involved the destruction of a charnel house and the building of a mound over it, and which would have occurred more rarely (once every one to three generations?), probably included all of a dispersed community and/or the multiple communities buried within a charnel house, possibly along with other visitors. This would naturally have been a time for feasting, dancing, playing games, renewing and creating kinship and marriage ties, creating intracommunity and intercommunity alliances, displaying group wealth, and/or exchanging goods and ceremonial prerogatives. Subsequent acts of capping a mound with more earth and/or placing a cache on it (e.g., the upper pipe cache in Tremper mound, the Copper Deposit in Hopewell Mound 25) could have been an integral part of a multistage rite of reincorporation that began with the first episode of mound building, or an example of periodic ancestor worship. Capping a mound, and building and maintaining other earthwork features and charnel houses, could have involved the whole of a community or multiple communities, or major social segments of them. Again, these times of gathering could have involved feasting and other nonmortuary forms of celebration and relationship. Any of the mortuary ceremonies that involved rites of reincorporation or ancestor worship on a large scale could have had world renewal rites and group (age-set) initiation rites intertwined with them.

THE CHAPTERS THAT FOLLOW

Previous studies of Ohio Hopewell ritual gatherings, as summarized in this chapter, form a rich foundation of ideas and methods. The three remaining chapters in this part of the book extend some of these concepts and approaches to explore the topic of ritual gatherings in greater detail. New directions are also taken.

In Chapter 13, Carr et al. follow Greber's lead in using the sizes and contents of deposits within mounds to estimate the sizes and social compositions of gatherings. The authors extend the approach by considering burial assemblages

in addition to ceremonial deposits, by making quantitative estimates of the numbers of persons who gave artifactual gifts at ceremonies rather than qualitative assessments of the sizes of gatherings, and by focusing on continuous variation in the size and nature of deposits across sites and over time, in addition to developing a typology of deposits and inferred gatherings. The authors also use a much larger corpus of deposits, including 403 buried individuals and 55 ceremonial deposits from 22 large and small sites. The authors' quantitative approach allows many key inferences: that most ceremonial gatherings were very small; that major intercommunity and intracommunity, cooperative and/or competitive displays were not a regular aspect of Ohio Hopewellian ceremonial life, yearly or every few years; that even the largest gatherings were much smaller (about two or three times smaller) than the historic Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead; that gatherings shifted in size and composition over time in accord with how, cross-culturally, intercommunity alliances tend to develop in societies of middle-range complexity; and that changes in the social compositions of gatherings over time were in line with certain anthropological theories of the religious, specifically shamanic, basis for the rise of supralocal leadership positions. Regarding the last two points, earlier gatherings were comparatively small and were dominated by gift-giving by ordinary persons who apparently built their alliances as dyads of individual agents through primarily economic means, perhaps often outside the context of ceremonial centers. Later, the sizes of gatherings grew and gift-giving became dominated by leaders, indicating more intense alliance building efforts, which were consolidated and made efficient in the hands of leaders through ritualized cooperative and/or competitive displays. Eventually, these displays among leaders waned as religious mechanisms of alliance were perfected—specifically the burial of persons from multiple communities in a shared cemetery. At the end of the Middle Woodland period, a breakdown of alliances in the Scioto valley is evidenced by a return to smaller gatherings focused on gift-giving among commoners more so than among leaders. Throughout this sequence, the proportion of leaders who gave gifts and were shamanic in nature steadily decreased, and the proportion of nonshamanic leaders increased, marking the decline of idiosyncratic shamanic leadership styles and the rise of more institutionalized forms of leadership.

Chapter 14, by Weets et al., examines ritual gatherings at the beginning of this developmental sequence, as evidenced at the Tremper site in the Scioto valley. The authors use chemical sourcing data from pipes, the layout of the cemetery, the species and kinds of faunal remains deposited in the cemetery, estimates of the number of deceased buried at the site, and artifactual estimates of the numbers of gift-givers represented at mortuary ceremonies. In combination, these pieces of evidence suggest that probably four social groups, who had access to chemically distinctive forms of pipestone, assembled at Tremper to cremate their dead. The four groups probably were clans who identified themselves with different animal species (see Thomas et al., Chapter 8), and in turn were composed of 12 lineages, cognatic groups, or communities, and were organized into two phratries, dual divisions, or moieties, to judge by the cemetery layout of crematories and combined deposits of cremations. In total, the evidence weighs toward the interpretation that the mortuary gathering(s) at Tremper was closely analogous to the historic Algonkian and Huron Feasts of the Dead. It appears that multiple communities on a regional scale assembled at Tremper, cremated and memorialized their dead, and forged spiritual and material alliances by co-mingling the cremation remains of their kin and by depositing together their ceremonial paraphernalia used at the site. The large set of smoking pipes decommissioned and placed together in one deposit at Tremper indicates alliance making through dyads of ordinary persons as individual agents, in contrast to alliance making at later Scioto Hopewell ceremonial centers, which was much more centralized through community-wide and smaller-scale leaders, as reconstructed in Chapter 13. In this interpretation, and given the chronometrically and stylistically determined early date of Tremper, the site would mark the first large and archaeologically known ceremonial center in the

Scioto valley where multiple communities gathered on a regional scale, and a disjunction from earlier Adena burial mounds and ritual enclosures, which probably were built by one or a few adjacent, small, local residential groups to bury their own kin, to reaffirm intragroup ties, and perhaps to renew relationships with close neighbors.

Chapter 15, by Ruby and Shriner, shifts attention to gatherings that occurred later in the Middle Woodland period, at the Mann site, Indiana. The authors used petrography, x-ray diffraction, and scanning electron microscopy to characterize the compositions of sherds of several styles at Mann and the natural clays around the site in order to determine which pots were manufactured locally and which were not. Assays show that complicated stamped pottery from Mann, which has paddle-impressed surface designs very similar to Early Swift Creek ceramics most common in the Georgia Piedmont and Gulf Coastal Plain, were not manufactured there but, instead, at the Mann site from local clays. In addition, pots with the Georgian designs comprise a very significant proportion of the Mann ceramic assemblage—over half of all decorated pots there. On these bases, the authors suggest that Swift Creek Hopewellian peoples came from their distant homeland to attend ritual gatherings hosted at the Mann site and, considering the large number of Swift Creek vessels, cemented their relationships with the Mann community through intermarriage and/or adoption. Swift Creek peoples may have continued to reside at the site and produce pottery of their styles there, and their styles may have spread through the community. The ceramic data can also be explained, however, if Mann phase potters traveled to the Swift Creek region, bought rights there to manufacture Swift Creek designs and to perform the ceremonies in which Swift Creek pots may have been involved, and made such pots and performances back at the Mann site as a demonstration of the esoteric knowledge they had acquired and to gain prestige and/or leadership—to follow the logic of Helms (1988) and Penney (1988). Then, local Mann phase people more widely would have been brought into the ceremonial and ceramic-manufacturing, following the ethnographic example of Wiessner (1998, 1999). Pottery with boughten Swift Creek designs might also have been helpful in building at Mann a social context that would have been understandable and predictable for Swift Creek visitors there and would have encouraged their regular visitation. The first interpretation, and possibly the second, would imply ritual gatherings at Mann that involved geographically, socially, and linguistically distant persons.

Contrasting with the locally manufactured Swift Creek pots at Mann are fine, simple-stamped vessels that, from the mineralogy of their tempers, were certainly imported from the Blue Ridge and southern Appalachian Summit provinces of eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina, and probably from the Connestee phase populations in the Appalachian Summit area. These vessels are four times less frequent than those with Swift Creek-like designs at Mann and suggest forms of interregional interaction different from those implied by the Swift Creek-like pots at Mann. Among the most convincing is long-distance travel by individuals from the Appalachian Summit to the Mann site in order to gain esoteric knowledge there and thus increase their prestige and/or validate claims on leadership at home. Connestee-like vessels, and perhaps their contents, would have been offered as gifts to their teachers at Mann, following the model of Helms (1976). The visitors might have participated in ritual gatherings there. Alternatively, members of the Mann community may have traveled to the Appalachian Summit for the same reasons and brought back vessels from there as tangible proof of their journeys and the knowledge they obtained. Thus, considering both the Swift Creek-like and the Connestee-like pots at Mann, it is possible that two different southeastern groups—from the Georgia Piedmont/Gulf Coastal Plain and from the Appalachian Summit—participated in ritual gatherings at the Mann site.

In Ohio Hopewellian ceremonial centers, where Connestee-like vessels are much rarer than at Mann, a more diverse array of mechanisms of interregional interaction is possible in Ruby and Shriner's view, including pilgrimage, long-distance travel to gain esoteric knowledge, and elite exchange. These mechanisms, and the rarity

of interaction between Hopewellian peoples in the Southeast and Ohio, have different implications for the nature of participation of Southeastern peoples in ritual gatherings in Ohio compared to those in Indiana.

The chapters in this part of this book clearly point to the diverse natures of Hopewellian ritual gatherings. They varied in their sizes, their social compositions, and the degrees to which very distant peoples possibly participated. These variations reflect, in part, differences in the purposes of rituals, such as mortuary ceremonies of separation, liminality, or reincorporation. They also reflect differences in the complexity of the cultural context of the rituals, such as earlier mortuary rituals in the Scioto valley among peoples who were creating alliances primarily through dyadic relationships among ordinary individuals versus later mortuary rituals among peoples who were creating alliances through centralized relationships among leaders. Finally, the nature of Hopewell ritual gatherings varied by regional tradition and the different kinds of interregional connections that different traditions had across the Woodlands. To homogenize this diversity within the context of any single theoretical framework, though perhaps useful ethnologically, would be to miss the cultural and historical richness of Hopewellian worlds.

NOTES

1. Information from Turner, Fort Ancient, and Stubbs within the Miami drainage currently suggests the possibility of a community pattern in which some Hopewellian peoples lived within earthwork–mound complexes, transitional to or similar to the pattern found in the neighboring Mann phase of the Wabash valley, Indiana, and distinct from the arguably largely "vacant" ceremonial centers in the Scioto valley. For example, Connolly (1992) and Cowan et al. (2001) have reported substantial structures, fire pits, limestone pavements, and midden deposits immediately east of the North Enclosure of Fort Ancient. Well-built structures, pits, and midden deposits have also been found outside the Stubbs earthwork (Cowan et al. 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2002). Similarly, Willoughby and Hooton (1922) reported an extensive amounts of utilitarian debris at Turner, under the wall of the Great Embankment, within the space enclosed by this embankment, and within the burial mounds. The number of sherds recovered from Turner was large for excavation and collection priorities at the time—over 6,000 (Griffin 1996:6)—although this still constitutes only about half of the sherd–count from the small, apparent homestead of McGraw.
2. This point was not understood by Dancey (1991:67; Dancey and Pacheco 1997a:6), who found Prufer's use of the term semi-permanent to be "confusing." Dancey unreasonably took the ephemeral remains at the Murphy site (e.g., 858 sherds, 1 hearth, 1 cylindrical pit, 3 shallow basins, and 9 earth ovens) to indicate about a century of occupation by a single household.
3. Middle Woodland platform mounds are found in Ohio in the Ginther mound and the Capitoleum and Quadranaou mounds of the Marietta earthworks (Shetrone 1925; Squire and Davis 1848:73–77); in Indiana in Mound 9 of the Mann site (Ruby 1997b); in Illinois in Mound 1 of the Mound House site (Buikstra and Charles 1999); in Tennessee in Mounds 5, 9, 10, 15, 28, and 29 at Pinson (Mainfort 1986) and at the Johnston site (Kwas and Mainfort 1986); in northeastern Mississippi at the Ingomar site (Rafferty 1983, 1987); in Alabama at the Walling site (Knight 1990b); in the Yazoo Basin at the Leist site (Phillips 1970:368–369); and in the Lower Mississippi Valley at the Marksville site (Toth 1974).
4. J. A. Brown (1982:9, 10) found a sheet midden under part of the embankment at Mound City and perhaps associated with an unmounded building of approximately the same size and subrectangular shape as the larger charnel houses at the site. The midden included pottery, lithics, mica waste, animal bone, fire-cracked rock, and broken-up crematory basins—debris from food preparation, craft production, and mortuary ritual. Piles of fire-cracked rock were also found near the upper charnel house of Mound 13. Considering all evidence, Brown (p. 14) concluded that the basic activity area unit at Mound City was the submound charnel house and its associated midden from mortuary and nonmortuary activities.
5. Most Ohio Hopewell charnel houses are not dated well enough to assess their duration of use and the relevance of the Huron Feast of the Dead model of synchronous burial from this perspective. The four radiocarbon dates from the charnel house under the Edwin Harness mound (Greber 1983:89, 91) and the three from Seip–Pricer (Greber 1983:92, 2000) could be used to argue for either extended or short-term use of these structures. The situation at Mound 25 of the Hopewell site is somewhat clearer (see below).
6. A hypothetical transition from a pre-Hopewellian mortuary complex like Williams-Sidecut, with its multiple mass burial pits, to a Hopewellian charnel house like that at the Tremper site, with its multiple rooms, mass cremation basins, and mass cremation depositories, would have been a small one in form and operation. Moreover, the two sites both are located in Ohio and differ in time by only two or three hundred years, making such developmental relationship logically possible. However, Adena burial practices, which were direct precursors to Scioto Hopewellian ones in many ways, do not seem to have involved the co-mingling of the dead from multiple communities in a single burial facility.

Gathering Hopewell

Society, Ritual, and Ritual Interaction

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