Chapter 6

The Question of Ranking in Havana Hopewellian Societies

A Retrospective in Light of Multi-cemetery Ceremonial Organization

CHRISTOPHER CARR

The search for whether Havana and Scioto Hopewellian societies in Illinois were organized in part by principles of ranking was undertaken by a number of researchers twenty-five years ago through the study of Hopewellian mortuary practices (Braun 1977, 1979; J. A. Brown 1981; Buikstra 1976; Tainter 1975a, 1977). Although these studies were thoughtfully executed for their time, and stand today as benchmark examples of some of the ways to proceed with mortuary analysis, in total they provided contradictory or ambiguous conclusions about whether Havana and Scioto Hopewellian societies had ranking. Buikstra and Tainter concluded that Havana societies of the lower Illinois valley were organized by principles of rank, and Brown did so in a qualified manner. Braun inferred that Havana societies did not exhibit ranking. These opposite conclusions were derived even though the core of the bioarchaeological information analyzed by these researchers came from the same site: the Klunk–Gibson cemetery in the lower Illinois valley (Perino 1968, 1970). Thus, today, the question of whether Havana societies were organized by principles of ranking still remains to be answered definitively.

This chapter reopens the issue of social ranking in Havana societies. It reveals four primary sources of the contradictory results obtained in the analyses cited above. The sources are: (1) the use of older, ethnological theory on ranking that does not document the diversity of ranking structures found among middle-range societies; (2) the conceptual confounding of social ranking with leadership based on ranking or achievement; (3) the use of some archaeological correlates of supposed ranking that pertain instead to leadership; and (4) the use of the cemetery as the unit of study rather than multiple, functionally differentiated cemeteries within a regionally integrated mortuary program. The studies by Buikstra, Tainter, Braun, and Brown vary in which of these difficulties they encompass.

This chapter corrects these four problems by assembling the empirical mortuary patterns found by each of the four researchers and sifting through the patterns for only those that are relevant to ranking. Broader ethnological theory about ranking, and refinements made here in archaeological theory about the material correlates of ranking and leadership, are used in conjunction with a regional approach to determine the relevance of the various Havana mortuary patterns to social ranking and to evaluate whether ranking was an aspect of Havana social organization. This analytical framework aligns with the focus of this book on contexutalizing Hopewellian remains intraregionally and personalizing them with social roles and actors.

The chapter begins by summarizing essential, modern ethnological concepts about social ranking, and presents and refines middle-range archaeological theory on the material correlates of social ranking. It proceeds with a brief history of early ideas about Havana Hopewell social organization. This is followed by a summary of the empirical, mortuary patterns found by each of Buikstra, Tainter, Brown, and Braun in their studies of the Klunk–Gibson, Peisker, and/or Kamp mound groups, and a critique of their interpretive arguments. A revised picture of Havana Hopewellian society in contemporary theoretical terms is then developed, including whether it exhibited ranking and the nature of Havana leadership positions. Reanalysis strongly suggests that Havana Hopewell societies of the lower Illinois valley were rank in organization. Ranking was coarse, distinguishing only a few grades of persons rather than a fine continuum, and weak in the degree of distinction among ranks, though pyramidal to a degree. Leadership roles were not centralized, and it is unknown whether leaders were recruited fully by personal achievement or in part by their rank. A two-level hierarchy of leadership positions may have existed.

It is important to give well-deserved credit at the very beginning of this chapter to Jane Buikstra, Joseph Tainter, James Brown, and David Braun for the mortuary data that they systematized, the solid archaeological patterns they revealed, and the insightful interpretations they raised in their previous analyses of Havana and Scioto Hopewell mortuary remains. Without the foundations provided by their work, the analyses and global view presented in this chapter would not have been realized.

THEORY

The investigation of whether a prehistoric society was organized by ranking has dominated American archaeological studies of social organization in both theory and practice, including studies of Hopewellian societies (Braun 1979; J. A. Brown 1981; Buikstra 1979; Mitchell and Brunson-Hadley 2001; O'Shea 1981; Pearson 1999:72–94; Peebles 1971; Peebles and Kus 1977; Tainter 1975a, 1977). These endeavors have laid out most of the basic elements necessary to determine archaeologically whether a society embraced ranking. However, they confounded in concept and/or analytical application, to greater or lesser degrees, four distinct dimensions of vertical social differentiation. These four dimensions are social prestige, wealth, rank, and leadership. In the Havana Hopewellian studies examined here, rank was not adequately distinguished in concept and/or analysis from leadership based on ranking or leadership attained through achievement. A brief dissection of these several dimensions, their archaeological correlates, and the relationship of the correlates to past theoretical thinking about ranking is thus necessary as a prelude to an analysis of ranking in Hopewellian societies, specifically.

Ethnological Theory

Social ranking refers to the differential allocation of prestige (respect, evaluations of importance) to individuals of a society on the basis of criteria other than age, sex, or personal attributes. The mapping of prestige to individuals based on their age, sex, and personal qualities, alone, leads to a continuum of prestige distinctions, there being as many distinctions as individuals in the society. In contrast, principles of rank map to the members of a society differences in prestige associated with a limited number of social categories. The result is usually many fewer and qualitatively distinct positions or categories of rank than there are members of the society (Fried 1957:24, 1960:464–466), although there are exceptions where rank distinctions approach a continuum (Service 1962:149).

The rank of an individual is most commonly based on his or her family, lineage, or clan of birth. In some cultures, such as in Polynesia and on the Northwest Coast, the rank of an individual, a family, a lineage, or a clan is based on its known or mythological position in the descent of families, lineages, or clans from a human or nonhuman ancestor of importance. Conical clans and ramages are examples (Sahlins 1958). In other cases, as in the Eastern Woodlands, clans may be ranked but without reference to ancestor–descendent ties (Knight 1990a:5–9). In descent-based rank systems, the most common criterion for determining rank is birth order—the principles of primogeniture or ultimogeniture—although other arrangements are also found. For example, among the patrilineal, polygynous Swazi, the heir who gets the greatest share of the family property is the son of the main wife, who may not be the first wife of the father (Kuper 1950:98, in Fried 1957:14). Criteria for ranking may be used to define ranks finely, approaching a continuum, as with ranked individuals or lineages, or more coarsely, as with ranked clans. In some societies, rank is calculated down to the individual within the aristocratic clans that compete for leadership positions, while rank is assigned coarsely by clan alone for all lower ranking clans (Fried 1957:15).

The individuals, lineages, or clans in a society with social ranking may also be divided into what are called "conceptual classes"—very gross amalgamations of adjacent ranks, the boundaries between which are drawn by perception (Service 1962:149) and, occasionally, by geographic residence (e.g., Huntington and Metcalf 1979:157). Most frequently, conceptual classes number two or three. For example, in Tikopia, patrilineally related families called *patios* were ranked relative to one another and, in turn, grouped into *patios* of chiefs and two lower categories of *patios* (Firth 1936). Most historic tribes of the Eastern Woodlands had dual organizations, which divided clans into two categories of different character (e.g., war and peace). Commonly, one division was thought to be superior to the other, and ranking might be extended internally within each division to its clans (Knight 1990a:6). Cross-culturally, conceptual classes are accorded differences in prestige and may be marked by differences in required or forbidden food, drink, speech, song, and material symbols, but not economic privilege over resources that are critical to survival (Service 1962:149).

In some societies with social ranking, persons born of families, lineages, or clans of rank are not automatically afforded the prestige and social privilege of that unit or of their birth position within that unit. Rank is a latent quality, a potential, that must be "activated" through experience and deed. Schooling to learn esoteric knowledge, the making of dangerous journeys to distant lands to obtain esoteric knowledge and/or material resources of power, and public demonstrations of generosity, esoteric knowledge, supernatural powers, or other socially valued qualities, are among the accomplishments that may be required to realize one's rank and have it validated publically. Such was the case for securing titles of rank among the potlatching societies of the Northwest Coast (Rosman and Rubel 1971) and, similarly, for obtaining and retaining rank-based leadership in Polynesia (Firth 1940; Goldman 1970) and Contact-period and Historic-period Panama (Helms 1976:119, 137–139).

Just as social rank may not guarantee social prestige and privilege, so it may not guarantee sociopolitical power. This, too, can depend on the actions of the individual. For example, the power attributed to chiefs of Polynesia relative to each other did not depend in the final calculation on their relative ranks, but on their success in war, their finesse in extracting tribute, and their effectiveness in other political arenas (Kirsch 1980).

Social ranking, by definition, does not depend on or support differences in wealth or control over access to strategic resources (Fried 1957:24). When adult members of a society differ in their access to critical resources, the society is called "stratified."

Ranking is a vertical dimension of social differentiation that is analytically distinct from offices of leadership. Recruitment into leadership positions in a society with ranking may or may not be based on rank. Leadership in a rank society may be achieved based on an individual's socially valued qualities, rather than ascribed by rank, and even when ascribed by rank, leadership is typically qualified by individual competence and culture-specific values

(Fried 1960:466, 1967). In a rank society where leadership roles are not centralized within one apical leadership position, some of a society's leaders may be selected by ranking, and others by achievement. Achievement is used to fill leadership positions that require a very special talent, such as leading war or accomplishing shaman-like spiritual tasks such as controlling weather, ensuring crop production, and overseeing mortuary rites. Ranking and/or achievement may be used for recruitment into other kinds of positions. For example, in Creek societies of the Southeast United States, war chiefs achieved their positions of leadership, while peace chiefs were selected for their positions based on their clan, clans having been ranked or at least having had terminologically dominant–subordinate relationships (Lankford 1992:55, 57, 61–62; see also Hudson 1976:194, 196, 236; Knight 1990a). In simple societies that divide leadership roles among shaman-like sacred positions and secular ones, those positions that interface with the supernatural are more prone to be filled according to the predispositions of individuals for working with the spiritual and their personal awe or fear-inspiring qualities (Netting 1972). Such positions may tend to run in family lines, but are seldom contingent upon family rank. In contrast, secular leadership positions that are not as obviously constrained in specialized talent requirements may be filled primarily according to rank. In general, in middle-range societies, as the leadership roles become more centralized in a single position, social rank is used as the primary criterion to recruit leaders.

Archaeological Theory

To determine from a prehistoric society's mortuary remains whether it was organized by principles of ranking, and the magnitude of differences in prestige among ranks, requires an explicit, rigorous method. Table 6.1 summarizes a sequence of procedures for doing so. The method is a composite of various logical principles derived from ethnological generalizations about ranking (above), as well as regularities found cross-culturally in the material correlates of ranking. Some of these guiding principles and regularities have been published before, others are the reworking of previously published ones in light of qualifications presented below, and others are new.

The first step in evaluating whether a past society exhibited social ranking (Table 6.1) is to determine whether the sample of burials available for study is a representative crosssection of an entire society, with all of its social categories (Peebles 1977:126). Rank societies may appear more egalitarian, or the observed magnitude of rank distinctions may be attenuated, if certain rank levels are missing from the mortuary sample. This is a very real problem because, cross-culturally, prestige distinctions, including rank distinctions, are very commonly symbolized by differences in grave location within a cemetery or across multiple cemeteries (Carr 1995b:162–163, 181–182; see also Peebles 1971), and the analyst's sample may come from only some of these locations. To determine whether a sample of burials is representative of a society, it is necessary to explore the issue from multiple perspectives. The age–sex distribution of the sample can be compared to that expected from a whole, living population of similar ecology (Weiss 1973). This will not, however, ensure that all rank groups in a society are represented, because each rank group by itself, if large enough, should approximate the normal demographic condition. Considering the percentage of the cemetery's area that has been excavated, and whether there are other neighboring cemeteries that might have received a portion of the society, is an important step. Finally, contextual evidence can be revealing. For example, in the Seip–Pricer mound, the percentage of individuals with very prestigious goods is too high for an entire society. The burial population was concluded by Carr (Chapter 7) to comprise a skewed sample, biased toward important individuals within the society, even though the population's age–sex distribution fell within the range that might be generated by a whole, living community (Konigsberg 1985).

The second step for determining whether a past society was organized through ranking (Table 6.1) is to select a suite of mortuary traits for analysis that have strong potential for having symbolized vertical differences in social position, including possibly achieved prestige,

Table 6.1. Determining Archaeologically Whether a Past Society Was Organized by Principles of Rank

1. Determine whether the sample of burials to be analyzed constitutes a representative cross section of the deceased from an entire society, with all of its social categories (Peebles 1977:126). Methods:
   (a) Compare the age–sex distribution of the sample to that expected for a living society of similar cultural ecology (Weiss 1973).
   (b) Consider the percentage of the cemetery excavated.
   (c) Look for contextual evidence that only certain social categories of persons or social groups were buried in the cemetery (e.g., Carr, Chapter 7).
   (d) Include burials from multiple cemeteries if there is evidence that different segments of society were buried in different cemeteries (e.g., Buikstra 1976).

2. Select those mortuary traits for study that most likely indicate vertical differentiation in general, i.e., achieved prestige, ranking, achieved leadership, leadership ascribed by rank, or wealth of a person or family. Likely traits, evaluated cross-culturally for their significance and summarized by Carr (1995a:178–182), include
   (a) overall energy expenditure (Tainter 1975a, 1978:121), as measured by labor investment, workmanship, and/or distance of a material's source (McGuire 1988) for tomb or grave construction, kind (but not quantity) of grave goods, and body preparation and treatment (Tainter 1975, 1978:121);
   (b) cultural value, as measured by the rarity (inverse of frequency) of an item or trait (McGuire 1988; Winters 1968), context of deposition such as in burials only or also in middens (Braun 1979), and extraordinary symbolic flamboyance (e.g., a star-shaped tomb);
   (c) grave location, including segregation of tomb space regionally, within a community's settlement and cemetery space, and within a cemetery (Binford 1971; J. A. Brown 1971; Peebles 1971).

3. Of those burial traits that probably reflect vertical differentiation, distinguish among those that indicate achieved prestige, ranking, achieved leadership, leadership ascribed by rank, and family or personal wealth.

   A symbol of achieved prestige:
   - Found largely with mature adults, not the young and not the old beyond their prime (curve of a person's power over their lifetime)
   - Often sex-linked, with different domains of achievement for males and females
   - Found with persons with physical predispositions to power (e.g., tall, robust, deformed)
   - May be frequent or infrequent in the archaeological record, depending on how easy it is to achieve the particular form of prestige
   - One kind of symbol reflecting each single domain of achievement (e.g., fancy arrowheads for being a fine hunter)
   - Quantitative distinctions in number, size, or workmanship among occurrences of the symbol
   - Continuous distribution of quantitative distinctions in the burial trait among persons according to their level of achievement, vs. a pyramidal distribution

   A symbol of rank or class:
   - Found with persons of all ages beyond puberty, not necessarily with children
   - Found with both sexes
   - Found with persons of all physical predispositions to power or not (e.g., height, robustness, deformities)
   - Demographic categories having the symbol will approximate those generated by a whole living population, except for subadults, children, and infants.
   - One kind of symbol reflecting each rank, for at least the highest ranks
   - Frequency common for at least the middle-rank level(s); frequency may be common to rare for higher-rank levels (see "A pyramidal distributions," below); lowest rank level(s) may not be marked.
   - Qualitative distinctions in form or material among symbols of different rank
   - A pyramidal distribution of qualitative distinctions among persons of different rank and their symbols may occur where ranks are calculated finely, but not necessarily where they are calculated coarsely (e.g., ranked moieties, dual divisions, clans, sodalities, communities)

(*Continued*)

Table 6.1. (*continued*)

- *A symbol of achieved leadership:*
  - Found with mature adults, not the young and not the old beyond their prime
  - Found with persons of the culturally prescribed sex(es) for the given leadership position
  - Found with persons with physical predispositions to power (e.g., tall, robust)
  - Very infrequent—a few leaders, lots of followers
  - Quantitative distinctions in number, size, or workmanship among multiple occurrences of the symbol with leaders of a kind
  - Sets of symbols indicating multiple roles of a leader (if roles are centralized)
  - Variation in symbols across multiple examples of a leadership position within a society, indicating lack of an institutionalized office
  - Variation in symbols across multiple examples of a leadership position within a society over time, indicating lack of an institutionalized office
  - No covariation among multiple symbols, indicating an inconsistent set of multiple roles across multiple examples of a leadership position within a society and over time
  - No continuous or pyramidal distribution of symbols among persons; the symbols are rare
- *A symbol of leadership ascribed by rank, class:*
  - Found with mature adults to elderly
  - Found with persons of the culturally prescribed sex(es) for the given leadership position
  - Found with persons of all physical predispositions to power or not
  - Very infrequent—a few leaders, lots of followers
  - Qualitative distinctions in form or material among occurrences of symbols representing different kinds of leadership; similarity among leaders of one kind
  - Sets of symbols indicating multiple roles of a leader (if roles are centralized)
  - Standardization of symbols across multiple examples of a leadership position within a society, indicating an institutionalized office
  - Standardization of symbols across multiple examples of a leadership position within a society over time, indicating an institutionalized office
  - Covariation among multiple symbols, indicating a consistent set of multiple roles across multiple examples of a leadership position within a society and over time
  - No continuous or pyramidal distribution of symbols among persons; the symbols are rare
- *A symbol of wealth:*
  - Quantities of utilitarian goods, food, or personal ornamentation (e.g., number of strands of pearls in a necklace)
  - May be found in societies with achieved prestige or ranking, achieved leadership or ascribed leadership

ranking, achieved leadership, leadership ascribed by rank, and family/lineage wealth. Cross-cultural surveys of mortuary practices (Binford 1971; Carr 1995b:178–182; Tainter 1975a, 1978:121) indicate that these traits include the overall energy expended on the burial, far above all others, as well as the energy invested through labor, workmanship, and materials acquisition on specifically tomb construction, the kind (but not quantity) of grave goods, and body preparation and treatment. Segregated grave locations within a community space and within a cemetery also are common indicators of vertical social differentiation. The overall amount of energy expended on mortuary practices for an individual is a critical variable because it reflects, to some degree, the number of mourners who participated in funerary and disposal activities. In turn, this number is thought to equate to the number of persons duty-bound to the deceased and his or her prestige (Binford 1971). The number of mourners also depends on the centrality of the deceased to society and, thus, the level of social disruption caused by his or her death and the consequent degree of fear of the corpse that needs to be ameliorated through mortuary activity (Hertz 1907, 1960). Vertical social differentiation can also be expressed through the relative cultural value attached to alternative mortuary traits. Highly valued mortuary traits include those that are simultaneously energy-expensive and rare (McGuire 1988; Winters 1968). Cultural value can also be revealed contextually. For example, Braun (1979) eliminated from his study of the Havana Hopewellian Klunk–Gibson cemetery those artifact classes that had been thrown away commonly in habitation middens in the Havana region, and that thus were not likely to have been culturally valued symbols of rank or prestige.

Third, the selected suite of mortuary variables must be further sifted for any that indicate ranking specifically, in contrast to achieved prestige, achieved leadership, leadership ascribed by rank, and family/lineage wealth, which are other possible dimensions of vertical social distinction (Table 6.1). Distinguishing social ranking from these other dimensions of vertical distinction is critical sociologically because rank, political power, and economic wealth need not correlate, for historical, circumstantial reasons (Kirch 1980; see also Bloch 1978).

To make these finer discriminations, demographic, frequency, and material–formal criteria are useful. Symbols of rank will stand out for the most part from symbols of the other dimensions in that they will be distributed across persons of all categories of age, sex, and physical predispositions to power (especially height, robusticity, and deformities), by Fried's (1960:466) definition of rank. With a large enough burial population, the frequencies of corpses in these categories will approximate those expected from a comparable living population (Weiss 1973). In contrast, symbols of achieved prestige will usually be found only or largely with mature adults, whose age, experience, and physical capabilities make them capable of extraordinary feats. Infants, children, and those beyond their prime are less prone to receiving symbols of achieved prestige, although there are circumstances that can encourage this (see qualifications, below). Likewise, symbols of achieved leadership and leadership ascribed by rank will be found primarily with mature adults of leadership age and with the sex(es) culturally prescribed for the given leadership position (Peebles and Kus 1977:431).

In addition, symbols of rank can also sometimes be distinguished from symbols of achieved or ascribed leadership by their frequency. Symbols of middle-level rank(s), and of low ones if they are marked (e.g., a low-ranking dual division, clan, sodality), will be numerous, in correspondence to the numbers of individuals in those ranks, whereas the number of leaders in a society is limited. Symbols of high-level ranks can be frequent, as in the case of a highly ranked dual division, clan, or sodality, and likewise be separated from rarer symbols of leadership by frequency. However, when ranks are calculated finely and/or distributed pyramidally, symbols of rare high ranks may be just as infrequent as symbols of leadership and indistinguishable from them.

Mortuary variables that indicate ranking rather than achieved prestige, achieved leadership, or family/lineage wealth can be determined by their material and/or formal nature. Symbols that distinguish different rank levels of a society will be qualitatively distinct rather than quantitatively different (Braun 1979:67; Peebles 1974:431, 438–439), unless the quantitative differences are large, constituting modal distinctions (e.g., O'Shea 1981). For example, symbols of rank might be a red headdress in contrast to a white cape, rather than a four-stringed necklace in contrast to a three-stringed necklace. The rationale for this argument is not found in the mortuary literature but is understandable from stylistic theory (Carr 1995a; Voss and Young 1995). Qualitative distinctions and modal quantitative distinctions are usually more visible than continuously varying quantitative ones. Qualitative and modal distinctions thus have the potential to be seen at greater distances and to be seen by larger audiences, making the distinctions better candidates for expressing social messages of very high priority, such as ranking. In contrast, continuously varying, quantitative differences (e.g., house size, automobile elaboration) more easily map to continuously varying social differences gained by achievement, including achieved prestige, achieved leadership, and family/lineage wealth. In addition, indicators of achieved prestige, achieved leadership, and family/lineage wealth will have in part been pruned from analysis earlier, by eliminating quantities of grave goods from consideration and by focusing on only kinds of grave goods (Carr 1995b:180). Finally, the qualitatively distinct nature of symbols of rank does not separate them from symbols of leadership ascribed by rank or inheritance, though this equivalence was not recognized by earlier mortuary analysts (Braun 1979; Peebles 1974). Demographic and frequency criteria come in handy for making this discrimination (see above).

The final step for assessing whether a past society was organized by principles of rank (Table 6.1) is to compare the relative frequencies of persons found to occupy distinct rank levels, as evidenced by their distinct symbols of rank. If the number of persons per postulated rank level increases as rank decreases—that is, persons are distributed pyramidally by rank—then the interpretation of ranking is supported more strongly (Buikstra 1976:32). Pyramidal distributions of rank are found in simple rank through complex chiefdom-level societies (e.g., O'Shea 1981; Peebles and Kus 1977). It is an essential characteristic of classic chiefdoms (e.g., Polynesia, the Historic Southeastern United States). However, the lack of such a pyramidal distribution cannot be taken as evidence against ranking, particularly in small-scale societies having a few, coarse rank levels. These societies may have moieties, dual divisions, clans, sodalities, or communities that differ in prestige institutionally, but that do not differ much in their numbers of individuals.

Several qualifications or extensions to the above archaeological correlates of social ranking, and to others that have been published, are in order. First, archaeological identifications of ranking that center on "symbols of authority" (Braun 1979:67; Peebles and Kus 1977:431) confound the symbolization of leadership positions tied to rank levels with the symbolization of the rank social levels, themselves. This mixing of distinct social dimensions and their symbols can only cause interpretive ambiguity or error sociologically. For example, when a rank society has leaders that are chosen first by their high rank, and secondarily by age, sex, and achievement (e.g., a successful mature male), defining symbols of leadership as symbols of rank can give mortuary data an apparent "egalitarian" bent, as in the misleading case presented by Blakely (1977:58). Also, when a society is organized by principles of rank, yet symbols of leadership (tied to rank or not) are evaluated in order to determine whether they meet the criteria for symbols of rank or symbols of only achieved prestige, then the false conclusion may be drawn that the society lacked social ranking (e.g., Braun 1979; see below). The same age–sex distributions that characterize symbols of leadership and symbols of achieved prestige (Table 6.1) will cause this misconclusion. These kinds of confusions are unnecessary, given that symbols of rank and symbols of leadership differ in their age–sex distributions, their correlation with persons physically predisposed to power, and sometimes their frequency in a society, and thus can be separated archaeologically. The two different dimensions of social differentiation should be kept distinct conceptually, analytically, and terminologically.

Second, care must be taken to distinguish symbols of achieved leadership from those of rank. If a society lacks ranking, taking symbols of achieved leadership to be markers of rank not only will lead to the false conclusion that ranking existed, but also may lead to the analytical construction of a false pyramidal distribution of symbols of rank and rank levels. The pyramidal distribution will misleadingly corroborate the interpretation of ranking based on erroneous identification of the leadership symbols as ones of rank.

Third, symbols of rank need not occur in "covarying," "redundant" sets (contra Braun 1979:67; Peebles 1974:46–47, 54–57, 181–190; Peebles and Kus 1977:431). Why, for example, should a ranked lineage or clan be expected to have more than one crest? The occurrence of a set of symbols of prestige that covary and are redundant is, instead, the expectable material correlate of centralized and institutionalized leadership roles. When leadership roles are centralized in one or a few social positions, the different roles and domains of power of a leadership position may be marked by different symbols that thus co-occur. When centralized leadership is institutionalized as an office having continuity over generations of leaders, the established set of symbols of that office will be repeatedly used over time, perhaps in the burials of those leaders, constituting covarying (i.e., repeatedly co-occurring) symbols. Such symbols of centralized, institutionalized leadership are not indicators of ranking per se; the leaders may or may not be recruited on the basis of rank.

Fourth, burials of children with symbols of prestige do not constitute firm evidence for social ranking (Braun 1979:68; J. A. Brown 1981:30; Peebles and Kus 1977:43; contra Blakely 1977:46; Flannery 1972:403; Saxe 1970:8; Tainter 1975a:155). The proposed correlation between social ranking and child burials with symbols of prestige was based on the assumption that a child would not have had the time to accumulate prestige by achievement, and that his or her prestige thus must have been ascribed by a principle of ranking. However, the archaeological correlation can also be produced by parents or other relatives of achieved importance having gifted prestige goods to their child upon death, or by ecological–demographic circumstances that place a heavy cultural value on children and their death in general. For example, one or both of these factors seems to have operated in Late Archaic through Early Woodland burials in the midwestern United States, where otherwise "egalitarian", largely hunting-and-gathering peoples disposed of prestige goods more commonly with child burials than adults (e.g., Winters 1968).

Fifth, a lack of material symbols of rank in the mortuary domain does not necessarily imply a lack of social ranking. Social ranking may be symbolized behaviorally and linguistically rather than materially in funerary rites. The length of time between death and a funeral; the duration of a funeral; funeral oratory, song, and dance; the spatial layout of persons in funerary activities; and various specialized funerary activities may each distinguish the funerals of persons of differing rank within a society (e.g., Haberstein and Lamers 1960:329–343). Cross-cultural surveys of mortuary practices (Carr 1995b:179; Tainter 1975a, 1978) demonstrate the commonality of these expressions of rank.

Sixth, not all rank distinctions recognized within a society may be symbolized materially, particularly when rank distinctions are fine-grained and approach a continuum. A good mapping between symbols of rank and rank distinctions is more likely when they are coarse-grained, as in societies that have ranked clans or conceptual classes.

Seventh, whether or not indications of ranking are found in a mortuary sample, the particular structure of ranking revealed and the specific individuals vested with symbols of rank should not automatically be assumed to directly and passively reflect a past living society's organization or a person's position within it. Postprocessual critiques and ethnoarchaeological and ethnohistoric studies (e.g., Hodder 1982a, 1982b; Pearson 1982) emphasize that mortuary practices are symbolic in nature, are subject to choice, and thus can be actively selected and constructed with regard to the goals of social and personal political strategies rather than the faithful representation of the social personae and social relations of the deceased. Social personae and relations may be idealized, altered in character through naturalization or mystification, masked, or inverted in their mortuary representations (Cannon 1989; Hodder 1982a:200; Little et al. 1992; Pearson 1982:110, 112). To this now-standard argument can be added that the motivations for such manipulations may be religious, ethical, culturally artistic, etc., rather than simply political and focused on power (Carr 1995b:111; Pearson 1999:84). Beyond the indirectness with which mortuary records may reflect social conditions among the living is another twist: the social prestige and some roles of a person are commonly not fixed throughout life and death but, rather, are actively constructed, contested, and negotiated moment by moment (Pearson 1999:84). Funeral and mortuary rites are one of a series of opportunities for such reworking of social standing, roles, and relations (Morris 1991). Further, the change in the most basic status of a person from living to dead (van Gennep 1909, 1960) and from a resident with the living to a resident with the dead may systematically correlate with shifts in social personae (e.g., death levels all to the same persona), although often social organization among the living is mirrored by social organization in the afterlife (Firth 1955). Finally, mortuary practices and records in general reflect not simply the social identities of the deceased, but the relationships of mourners, the corpse, and the soul to each other (Hertz 1907, 1960). Issues involved in these relationships, such as gift exchanges with the deceased, gift exchanges among the mourners, inheritance and debts, placating and equipping the soul for travel to an afterlife (e.g., Huntington and Metcalf 1979:85–94), all have varied implications for mortuary presentation beyond the symbolization of a person's social identities.

Currently, there is no way to predict a priori for a given past society the likelihood and degree to which its mortuary records have been affected by any of these multiple, complicating factors listed under the fifth, sixth, and seventh points above. Case-by-base, contextual analysis is required. Searches for inconsistencies among the mortuary records of a society, as well as for inconsistencies between regularities in the mortuary record and those in other domains of culture, are the primary avenues for uncovering these pitfalls to sociological reconstruction. As a very simple example, a symbolic artifact of a given kind might be found most commonly one per buried person, indicating that it likely marked a specific social role, and the social role of the deceased (e.g., copper headplates, celts, or breastplates in Scioto Hopewell graves). Rarer graves with many instances of the artifact might then be interpreted as examples of the giving of gifts by persons in that role to the deceased, who also held that role, rather than the additional role differentiation or wealth of the deceased (Carr et al., Chapter 13).

It is fair to say that the diverse nature of rank organization cross-culturally and the complexities of the archaeological correlates of ranking just described were not fully considered in most, if not all, assessments of the organization of Hopewellian societies made during the 1970s. This situation is understandable because archaeological theory about social organization was just being developed then. In addition, the emphases at the time on social organization from a systems or overall structural view (e.g., Tainter 1975a, 1977, 1978), and on the equating of past societies with Fried's (1960) and Service's (1962) social typologies, steered analysis away from a personalized, role-oriented view of the archaeological record. This made it easy to confound the dimensions of ranking and leadership. Although these limitations of past studies in their assumptions about social ranking are understandable and are not criticized here, it is essential that they be brought to light. This is necessary if the question of ranking in Hopewellian societies is to be revisited and answered, and so that broader interpretations about Hopewellian ideas and practices are not influenced by false conclusions about whether Hopewell societies exhibited ranking.

HAVANA HOPEWELL SOCIETY AND MORTUARY PRACTICES

Formative thoughts on the vertical complexity of Hopewellian societies in Illinois have varied in their conclusions. Deuel (1952:254–258) saw evidence for two "castes" or "social classes", one ruling and the other subordinate, in the placement of "insignia of rank," "authority," and "high birth, position and wealth" within a small number of skeletons in log and stone tombs. Struever (1965:212–214) compared diverse aspects of the Illinois and Ohio Hopewell records to each other in light of Service's (1962) characterization of tribal and chiefdom social organizations and concluded that Havana Hopewellian societies were tribal and unranked, whereas Ohio Hopewellian societies were chiefdoms with ranking. The characteristics that Struever considered include: the large numbers (hundreds) of bodies given preferential treatment in Ohio charnel houses compared to the fewer numbers so treated in Illinois mound groups (25 to 60); the formal diversity of high-status graves in Ohio compared to the similar style of high-status log crib tombs in Illinois; the many times greater number of artifacts interpreted as symbols of social status in Ohio mortuaries than in Illinois ones; the much greater labor investment witnessed in Ohio earthwork centers than in Illinois mound groups; the much greater numbers and kinds of superiorly crafted items found in Ohio than in Illinois, thought to indicate craft specialization in Ohio, alone; and the clustered distribution and large size of Ohio earthworks, taken to indicate political integration, in contrast to the continuously distributed, smaller mound groups spread down the Illinois valley, taken to indicate smaller political units. Struever also pointed out that close, parallel microecological zones of the Illinois valley were not an example of the widely spaced, patchy environmental structure that can encourage the development of social ranking and a redistributive economy (Sahlins 1958). Struever did not assess environmental structure in Ohio. Griffin et al. (1970:188) interpreted the distinction between central tombs with fancy objects and other burials at the Knight and Norton mound groups as a "simple division of labor, with some emphasis of males as those concerned with supernatural affairs. . . . [In] neither mound group is it clearly a case of politically or socially dominant males with families and/or 'retainers' buried with them."

Four modern, formal studies (Braun 1979; J. A. Brown 1981; Buikstra 1976; Tainter 1975a, 1977) have addressed whether Havana Hopewellian societies were organized by principles of rank or achieved prestige. Buikstra and Tainter concluded that Havana Hopewellian societies were organized by a ranking principle, Brown wavered in his argumentation, and Braun concluded that prestige was achieved. Only one of these studies (Buikstra 1976) took the region as the unit of mortuary analysis, and none of them, being early studies of social organization with mortuary data, used a full suite of ethnological and archaeological understandings of ranking, as summarized above. Especially important to the Havana Hopewell case is that none of these studies considered the distinction among ranking, achieved leadership, and leadership ascribed by rank, or the possibility that various leaders in a rank society might be recruited by achievement or rank or both.

Buikstra's Analysis

Buikstra (1976) analyzed mortuary remains from two bluff-crest cemeteries (Klunk–Gibson, Bedford) and two flood plain cemeteries (Peisker, Kamp) in the lower Illinois valley (Figure 6.1). She precociously saw the possibility that different segments of a Middle Woodland society might be buried in different cemeteries, and the necessity of studying representatives of all of a society's various kinds of cemeteries to infer its social organization. Specifically, she noted that the demographic profiles of Peisker and Kamp were significantly short on females

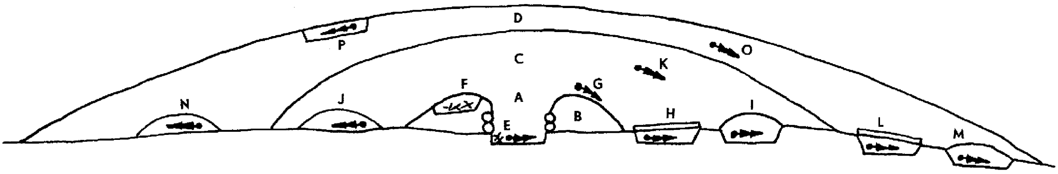

Figure 6.1. A generalized model of variability in burial forms within Havana Hopewell mounds. (A) Central crypt; log-lined, limestone elements, and/or plain shaft. (B) Ramps of the central crypt. (C) Primary mound. (D) Secondary mound. (E) Articulated extended skeleton and disarticulated skeletal remains in the central crypt. (F) Disarticulated remains from the central crypt displaced to an earth-filled pit in a ramp, a log-covered or limestone-covered pit in a ramp, or the ramp's surface. (G) Extended skeleton in an earth-filled pit in a ramp, in a log-covered pit in a ramp, or on the ramp's surface. (H) Extended skeleton in a log-covered subfloor pit below the primary mound. (I) Extended skeleton in an earth-filled, subfloor pit below the primary mound. (J) Extended skeleton placed on the original ground surface, below the primary mound. (K) Extended skeleton within the primary mound fill. (L) Extended skeleton in a log-covered subfloor pit below the secondary mound. (M) Extended skeleton in an earth-filled, subfloor pit below the secondary mound. (N) Extended skeleton place on the original ground surface, below the secondary mound. (O) Extended skeleton within the secondary mound full. (P) Extended skeleton intrusive into the secondary mound. Limestone slabs may occur as building elements of central crypts, ramp pits, and subfloor pits. Not all of these alternative forms of burial are found in any single Havana Hopewell mound, although they are within the single Klunk Mounds cemetery (Perino 1968).

and subadults, and concluded that bluff-crest and flood plain cemeteries constituted two different burial tracks within a single mortuary program (Buikstra, p. 43).

The criteria by which Buikstra (1976) identified social ranking at the four sites were multiple: (1) the occurrence of several discrete tracks for processing apparently differently ranked segments of a society, (2) the admission of all ages and both sexes to each track, (3) the pyramidally distributed frequencies of individuals processed among the tracks, (4) increased energy expenditure on the least accessible tracks of the program (Buikstra, p. 32), (5) the exclusive right of males to certain social positions (Buikstra, p. 29, 33), and (6) the elaborate burial of children and infants (Buikstra, p. 38). The first, second, and fourth criteria are correct by the contemporary understanding of ranking presented above. However, the pyramidal distribution of persons among tracks is not required of simple societies of coarse rank—the approximate level of complexity expectable for mixed hunter–gatherer–horticulturalists like Hopewellian societies. The criterion of exclusive rights for males to certain social positions is an example of confounding social ranking with leadership, as described above (it is also gender stereotyped). The use of elaborate infant and child burials to infer social ranking errs in ways discussed above.

Buikstra found evidence for all six of her criteria for identifying social ranking, the following of which remain convincing of rank social organization. First, when combining burial counts for the Klunk and Gibson cemetery areas, three sets of burials can be defined by grave location, each set of which contains both sexes in approximately equivalent proportions and subadults as well as adults. These three sets are: burials in mound fill, burials placed on the original ground surface, and burials in subfloor pits peripheral to the central tomb (Buikstra 1976:34, 40). Second, burials within subfloor pits can be subdivided into two sets—those with limestone or log construction and those without. Both sexes and both subadults and adults are found in the two sets approximately equivalently (Buikstra, p. 34, 45). The four sets of burials that are defined by nesting these two burial traits not only are age–sex independent, but also define a sequence in the energy expended on burial. From least to most energy, the sequence is: ground surface burials, burials in unelaborated pits, and burials in limestone and log enhanced pits. (The place of scattered bones in mound fill in this sequence is unclear.) This patterning is in accord with social ranking. Buikstra did not define this total sequence, but did conclude ranking from the distinction in effort between unelaborated pit burials and limestone and log pit burials.[1]

Two other burial locations—central features and ramps—are predominated by males. Females and children in central features always occur with males, apparently by some socially defined relationship (Buikstra 1976:44). Central features, of all burial forms, were given the most energy in mortuary treatment, commonly having log or limestone construction and holding a very high percentage of all artifacts that were foreign in origin and/or were not found in village middens (but see J. A. Brown 1981:36 for a qualification). Conveniently, central feature burials and ramp burials are known from archaeological evidence to have constituted a single burial track, with central feature burials eventually having been moved to ramp locations (J. A. Brown 1981:218; Buikstra 1972:33–34). This process constituted additional energy expenditure on burial.

Buikstra (1976:33, 36) used the greatly disproportionate number of males associated with high-energy, central feature burial, and the access of only a small percentage of all males to these treatments, to argue that central males held a special social position, constituting their rank and making Havana society organized by rank. This logic, following her fifth criterion for ranking, above, clearly runs against the definition of symbols of rank crosscutting age and sex categories. The position taken here is that the central burial–ramp burial track symbolized, instead, some form(s) of leadership, and that Buikstra confounded symbols of rank (mound fill, surface, unelaborated pit, and limestone and log pit burials) with symbols of leadership (central features and perhaps foreign goods) in making her full argument. The small number of central feature and ramp burials at Klunk–Gibson compared to the total excavated burial population (30 of 505), further minus the tenuously associated females and subadults, is in line with the interpretation of these important adult male burials as leaders. So, too, are the copper celts, earspools, and panpipe and the conch shells, galena cubes, mica mirror, and roseate spoonbill that were found exclusively in central crypts. These objects made of foreign raw materials could indicate the roles of local leaders in external political, religious, or spiritual matters (Carr, Chapter 16; also Buikstra 1976:44). Finally, the celts and conch shell dippers found with some centrally buried adult males were objects that, later in time, during the Mississippian and Historic periods, were associated with leadership (J. A. Brown 1976:126; Phillips and Brown1978:13, 18–19; 1984:plate 204; Waring and Holder 1954:10–11, 15). This situation gives additional reason for thinking that these items marked leadership during the Middle Woodland. Thus, from several lines of evidence, it appears that central crypt burial indicated leadership, or kinship or other ties to leaders, rather than ranking per se.

Buikstra (1976:43, 44) went on to observe that the principle that associated males with central burial and foreign artifacts in the bluff-crest mounds was repeated in the flood plain mounds, but with a stronger bias toward male burial and more energy expenditure. This pattern, too, she argued to indicate social ranking, whereas I would rewrite it as the symbolization of leadership positions, given that symbols of rank crosscut age and sex categories. If central crypt burial within bluff-crest mounds and burial within flood plain mounds do represent leadership, and given the significant energy distinction between these two modes of burial, it is possible that at least a two-level hierarchy of leadership positions is indicated. The distinction may also, however, simply reflect the difference between local corporate group burial rites in bluff-crest mound groups and supralocal, intercommunity aggregation and burial rites with greater cooperative and/or competitive display in flood plain mound groups (Ruby et al., Chapter 4; Buikstra and Charles 1999). In the end, I agree with Buikstra that Havana Hopewell societies of the lower Illinois valley were organized by ranking, but for somewhat different logical and empirical reasons.

Tainter's Analysis

Tainter (1975a, 1977) approached the seeking of rank at Klunk–Gibson differently than Buikstra did in logic and method. Tainter argued, correctly, that ranking is indicated by formally distinct sets of burials that differ in the ritual energy spent on them and that are composed of persons of all ages and both sexes. He used cluster analysis to define sets of burials that were internally similar and externally dissimilar in several aspects of their burial treatment, placement, and grave furniture. Most of the descriptive variables enlisted by Tainter distinguished more energy-expensive from less energy-expensive mortuary behaviors in their state.[2] The resulting clusters were grouped into six larger classes, each reflecting a different level of energy expenditure. The six classes of burials were then ordered by energy expenditure and identified as rank levels within Klunk–Gibson society.

The six classes that Tainter identified as rank levels largely correspond to distinctions found by Buikstra by inspection, and are vindicated, despite harsh methodological criticism by Braun (1981). Tainter's six classes are: individuals in large central tombs with nearly all imported materials and those persons processed through and moved out of these tombs; persons in smaller, peripheral, log-covered tombs; persons in peripheral limestone-made tombs; individuals with locally produced fancy items; persons buried in simple subfloor pits; and those buried in mound fill. Tainter observed that all but one of these classes had individuals of all age grades and both sexes. However, he did not examine, as Buikstra had, whether the relative frequencies of subadults and adults, and males and females, in each class were those that would be expected from a relevant living population. Especially significant is the lack of attention he gave to the disproportionately very large number of adult males found in central log tombs. Tainter also did not notice, as Buikstra had, that females and subadults were buried in central log tombs only when accompanied by an adult male. Finally, Buikstra included flood plain mounds in her study, trying to represent all segments of a Hopewellian society, and thus had the opportunity to see the pattern of central tomb adult males in even stronger contrast in these sites, whereas Tainter did not. In these three ways, Tainter missed empirical patterning that could have led him, by his correct criteria for identifying ranking, to distinguish between symbols of rank and symbols of leadership, between levels of rank and leadership roles, and between persons of various rank and leaders—all with regard to the peripheral burial/central tomb distinction. Thus, whereas Buikstra confounded rank and leadership explicitly in concept and empirically, Tainter confounded them implicitly through his empirical analysis.

Tainter (1975a, 1977) did not consider in his theoretical discussions of ranking or his analysis whether a pyramidal distribution of levels of prestige is an essential feature of rank organization. However, he did tabulate this information (Tainter 1977:81, 92). If one focuses on those of his rank levels that are based on tomb form and that do not include central tombs, an approximate pyramidal distribution is apparent. Peripheral burials with log coverings or limestone slabs, which involved a moderate energy expenditure, were much less frequent than burials made in simple subfloor pits with small mounds over them, which involved little energy expenditure ($n = 69$ and 241, respectively). At the same time, log-covered burials, which were posited by Tainter to have been more energy-expensive to build than limestone slab burials, outnumbered the latter ($n = 58$ and 11, respectively). It may be that log and limestone tombs actually did not differ much in energy expenditure, that they had other than social significance, and that Tainter overdrew the tomb and rank-level distinctions at Klunk–Gibson. James Brown (1981:36) believed so. This position seems reasonable because mortuary variability typically reflects more than sociological factors (Carr 1995b), and these other possible dimensions of variation were not explored by Tainter.

In sum, by combining the work of Buikstra and Tainter, the conclusion that Havana Hopewellian societies allocated prestige in part by a principle of rank is strong. How complex the ranking was, in terms of the number of levels of rank, remains a question.

Brown's Analysis

J. A. Brown's (1981) study of the Klunk–Gibson mound groups refined Buikstra's and Tainter's presentations in certain theoretical and empirical ways. He (J. A. Brown, pp. 29–30) summarized (1) that social ranking is indicated by grades of burials that are distinct in the energy expended on them, and (2) that each grade contains all ages and both sexes. He went on to suggest that, in contrast to ranking, "inherited authority"—a term that he leaves undefined but presumably refers to inherited leadership positions and/or to the highest ranks—is to be found in (3) "symbols of authority" that crosscut age, sex, and physical predispositions to power, and (4) the disproportionately small number of persons of highest, "ruling" elite. Brown did not discriminate between the achieved and the inherited authority of institutionalized leadership positions, or the possibility of occurrence of social ranking with either or both forms of leadership within a society (see above). Brown also noted (5) that inherited authority—and to this can be added social ranking—is not indicated by child graves with wealth. He also posed (6) that grading of wealth among burials without symbols of authority—and to this can be added without symbols of rank—characterizes the acquisition of prestige and social positions through competition among equals, that is, achieved prestige.

Brown's analysis of Klunk–Gibson differs from Buikstra's and Tainter's in his emphasizing only the distinction between two burial tracks: the central tomb and ramp track, which involved the energy of disarticulating, bundling, and moving the skeleton; and the peripheral burial track, which involved no postmortem energy-expensive handling beyond primary burial. He noted the distinction between lined graves with extended and flexed burials and unlined graves with only flexed burials, but did not give weight to these distinctions, or to the difference between log and limestone linings, in defining rank distinctions as did Tainter and Buikstra. Brown also noted the occurrence of objects of foreign origin in only central tombs, and several classes of locally available items in only the peripheral burials, compounding the difference in energy expenditure between the two burial tracks. However, he gave reasons for concluding that this difference is minimal and was exaggerated by Tainter. Brown used this position to argue that prestige in the Klunk–Gibson society might have been allocated primarily by achievement, or that it was vested in one segment of the community (i.e., social ranking), but that inherited authority was lacking. His interpretation that prestige might have been allocated by achievement is logical in light of the small energy costs he attributes to different tomb forms. In this scenario, the peripheral tombs would represent the largely undifferentiated population and the central tomb–ramp burial track would represent largely adult male leaders who won their position by achievement. Brown's alternative interpretation of social ranking is thus not supported by his own, stated read of the data.

Brown did not provide any criterion for assessing whether authority (i.e., leadership) was achieved or inherited. He only stated his opinion that the fancy artifacts found in the central tombs—including copper celts, a panpipe, and conch shells—were not symbols of authority (i.e., leadership), which eliminates the possibility that they represented inherited authority. His stance that the artifacts do not denote leadership is unconvincing. It ignores the association of celts and conch shell dippers with leadership in later Mississippian and Historic times, the foreign source of these and several other artifact classes, which may have indicated the role of leaders in external cultural affairs, and the association of predominantly mature males of leadership age with these items in the central tombs. Brown also ignored Buikstra's (1976) observation that the association of adult males with fancy items was yet stronger in flood plain mounds.

In a final twist in Brown's essay, he recalled Buikstra's observation that those buried in central crypts had significantly better health than other persons. This suggested to him that persons of the two burial tracks had "differential access to critical resources at times of food shortage . . . a privilege that is understandable as an inherited right" (J. A. Brown 1981:36). This ultimately led Brown to conclude the inheritance of prestige, that is, ranking, within the Klunk–Gibson community, despite the opposite conclusion warranted by the theoretical principles and data he brought to bear on the issue.[3]

Braun's Analysis

Braun (1979:67) argued that social ranking is indicated by: (1) multiple, qualitative mortuary attributes that can be interpreted as symbols of authority; (2) the consistent co-occurrence of these symbols across burials; and (3) the lack of association of these distinctions with persons of certain ages, of one sex, or of special personal abilities. The requirement of qualitative distinctions derives from a literal reading of Fried (1960). The remaining criteria come from Peebles (1974; Peebles and Kus 1977). Braun's emphasis on symbols of authority rather than symbols of rank, as well as his requirement for ranking that multiple mortuary attributes covary, both confound leadership with ranking, as discussed in the section on archaealogical theory, above. This problem is apparent in his data analysis.

Braun, in good analytical form, limited the mortuary attributes he analyzed to those that might represent symbols of rank, based on the energy expenditure (labor) that they represented, their cultural value as inferred from whether they seldom or never were thrown away in village middens, and the insights of other researchers. He also argued for representation of an entire community in the Klunk–Gibson mounds, based on the demographic profile of burials, but unfortunately did not follow Buikstra's lead on the use of flood plain mounds by the same society. Finally, Braun (1979:68) noted the probable lack of organizational change during the history of use of the cemetery, based on the continuity in burial treatment across mounds. After these preliminaries, he used principal components analysis to extract from the data covarying sets of burial traits, in line with his requisite for social ranking, and cross-tabulated the original variables and derived principal components with age–sex categories, again to determine if ranking occurred.

Several patterns in the data led him to conclude that prestige in the Klunk–Gibson community was not allocated by rank categorization. (1) None of the selected attributes were distributed among all age–sex categories according to their proportional representation in the cemetery. Instead, the attributes seemed to Braun to represent social identities open to various age–sex classes, especially adult males. (2) Most of the attributes were not available to adolescents—at the very time around puberty when they would probably have been initiated into their adult identities. (3) The principal components analysis found three dimensions that encompassed a good amount of the variability of the data and that corresponded in some of their correlated attributes to those inferred by Buikstra (1976) and Tainter (1975a, 1977) to indicate rank social segments. However, few of the attributes in each of these three sets associated strongly with each other and, thus, did not indicate redundant symbols of rank. (4) None of the three components was independent of age and sex. (5) The clusters of burials identified by the principal components analysis did not differ from each other by the presence of a few specific artifact types or other mortuary variables that might be interpreted as symbols of the rank of persons in those clusters. (6) The clusters also were not composed of a cross section of ages and the sexes.

None of the six points made by Braun except perhaps number 2, above, are grounds for rejecting the idea that the Klunk–Gibson society had ranking, for empirical, methodological, and theoretical reasons now to be discussed, in the order of points just made.

(1) Braun's finding that age and/or sex determined all attributes is directly contradicted by Buikstra's findings of approximately equivalent representations of subadults and adults, and males and females, in burials in mound fill, on the original ground surface, in peripheral subfloor pits with limestone or log construction, and in peripheral subfloor pits without limestone or slab components. The difference between the findings of the two researchers relates to three factors. First, Braun did not segregate central tombs and peripheral burials on the basis of their location before looking at the age–sex distribution of construction techniques, whereas Buikstra did. The pattern of overrepresentation of adult males in central tombs thus bled into Braun's data on peripheral burials, but not into Buikstra's, enabling her to find relevant patterning that Braun did not. Second, the fact that Braun did not first separate central burials from peripheral burials before examining construction techniques for their age–sex distributions related to his confounding of the concepts of leadership and ranking, implicit in his focus on "symbols of authority." This confounding did not encourage Braun to consider whether persons buried within central tombs were leaders and their associates, whereas those buried peripherally were not, and whether separate age–sex distributions for these two kinds of burials should have been calculated. I would argue, as above, that symbolization of leadership at Klunk–Gibson was tied to central tomb burial, whereas ranking was manifested in other aspects of burial in peripheral locations, and therefore that separate age–sex distributions for these two categories of burials and others should have been calculated. Braun might have realized his confusion of leadership and ranking had he considered parallel and magnified patterning in flood plain Hopewell mounds, as Buikstra had. Third, Braun subdivided age data more finely than did Buikstra, into infants, children, adolescents, young adults, intermediate adults, and old adults, rather than simply adults and subadults. This commonly led to Braun's cross-tabulations of age against mortuary traits having few observations per average cell and some low marginal totals (Braun 1979:70), which are susceptible to both statistical problems and the vagaries of random circumstance and history. The thin data in Braun's cross-tabulations would have encouraged the association of mortuary traits with some age classes and not others. Fourth, societies differ cross-culturally in how finely they recognize differences in age as formal identities. The fact that Buikstra found equivalencies among age sets for some mortuary variables, whereas Braun did not, may imply that Braun's fine-grained, etic classification does not correspond as

well to Hopewellian age classification as does Buikstra's.

(2) Braun's (1976:21) observation that adolescents were underrepresented for many mortuary treatments seems, on the surface, to be a strong piece of evidence negating ranking, given that adolescents were nonetheless buried in the mounds at frequencies expectable by life tables. However, mortuary patterning is very rarely unidimensional in cause, cross-culturally (Carr 1995b). The almost-complete exclusion of adolescents from symbolic distinction suggests a strong cultural factor at work in addition to the ranking indicated by all other age classes. Taboos and proscriptions associated with the puberty transition, or the recognition of the coming-of-age in Havana culture after adolescence as defined by Braun (12–18 years), might have been involved.

(3) The lack of multiple, redundant mortuary symbols in the Klunk–Gibson mortuary record is significant not to the question of ranking but, instead, to the question of centralized and institutionalized leadership (see above). It is an expectation of ranking of Braun's (1979) and Peebles and Kus's (1977) that is unwarranted. In addition, the lack of strongly associating variables found by Braun on any one of the dimensions may well relate to his use of principal components analysis, which does not look for optimal correlation between input variables and extracted components (i.e., large positive and negative loadings). Factor analysis with varimax rotation is one method that would have been more appropriate for this task.

(4) Braun's finding that the first three principal components were not independent of age and/or sex relates to the same problems encompassed in his univariate assessments of age–sex distributions, as described in point 1, above. In addition, one need not expect all extracted components encompassing a high percentage of the variability in a mortuary data set to reflect rank; one component reflecting ranking would be more likely, with other components reflecting different social or other factors.

(5) The lack of distinction of the clusters of burials defined, through principal components analysis, by a few specific mortuary variables again very possibly relates to components not having been rotated. Factor analysis with a rotation that tightened the fit between the original data and the dimensionally reduced output data might have produced a clearer picture. Moreover, it is generally wise to use several multivariate techniques when searching complex data sets for patterning compared to expectations, in order to assess the various distortions produced by the techniques. Tainter (1975b) did this with the Klunk–Gibson data set and was able to discriminate between methods that produced sociologically cleaner pictures and those that created more confused ones. Buikstra and Brown found strong burial grouping by visual inspection, alone.

(6) The fact that the clusters of burials defined by Braun were not composed of a cross section of ages and the sexes again probably relates to the unclean definition of these clusters by principal components analysis, compared to what patterning factor analysis with rotation or other methods might have revealed. Tainter and Buikstra did find clear groups of burials that each had adults, subadults, males, and females, sometimes at their demographically expectable proportions.

Reinterpretation

A composite picture of lower Illinois valley Havana Hopewell social organization can be assembled from the four above-cited studies of the Klunk–Gibson burial mounds. When a clean picture is had of the diversity of ranking–leadership organizations cross-culturally, when the derivation of archaeological correlates of ranking is tied to this diversity, when appropriate quantitative methods have been used, and when data have been sifted for their relevance to ranking, an image of Havana society emerges. In all probablility, it was organized by principles of ranking, though weakly. This is evidenced by relatively small differences in the labor expended on burying individuals on original ground surfaces versus in peripheral subfloor pits lacking limestone and/or log construction versus in peripheral subfloor pits elaborated with limestone and/or logs. Subadults, adults, and both sexes comprise each of these burial categories approximately equally, as one would find in a rank group. Also, persons of apparently greater prestige in the peripheral log or limestone-constructed subfloor pits are much less frequent than persons of apparently lesser prestige in peripheral unelaborated subfloor pits, defining a pyramidal distribution of prestige that is found in some middle-range societies with ranking. Several rank levels may have been recognized socially, but the exact number is not known. Other distinctions in burial form need to be examined for their age–sex associations and relative frequencies (see Figure 6.1 and Note 1). What ranking that was expressed materially was apparently defined coarsely rather than as a fine continuum. Havana society seems to have had leadership positions that were filled by adult males by achievement or ranking or both. This is indicated by the largely adult males who were buried in fairly elaborately constructed central tombs that contained most of the highly valued artifacts—those that were not found in village middens, that had foreign or local sources, and that in some cases are known to have been symbols of leadership in later Mississippian and Historic period societies. In addition, these individuals were afforded more postmortem handling (bundling, removal to ramps) than persons buried in floor and subfloor peripheral locations. The small number of adult males buried in central tombs and ramps at Klunk–Gibson is also in line with their interpretation as leaders. If leaders were recruited from one or more rank groups, it is not known from which rank group or groups the posited leaders were recruited; there are no unambiguous symbolic associations between the adult males buried in the central tombs and persons buried in peripheral burials of different kinds—nor would this necessarily be expected, given the economy of symbolism and the prioritizing of symboled social dimensions in mortuary rites. Leadership was probably not centralized, as evidenced by a lack of clear covariation among mortuary traits that, by their represented labor and association with adults of leadership age, might have symbolized multiple, integrated leadership roles. However, there was possibly a two-level hierarchy of leadership positions, witnessed in the dichotomous burial of leaders in simpler bluff-crest mounds and more elaborate flood plain mound–theater complexes. Leaders buried in both locations may have played important roles in external political, religious, or spiritual matters, as indicated by the Hopewell Interaction Sphere items with which some of them were buried. It is not known whether recruitment to these two possible levels of leadership was from two different rank groups or based on other criteria. Infants and children were not necessarily especially valued, their significant association with foreign artifacts of value apparently having been tied to their burial with adult males in central tombs. This represents a distinct shift from the handling of infants and children by Late Archaic peoples of the Woodlands, among whom these age categories received sizable quantities, if not the majority, of most kinds of fancy items (e.g., Nagy 2000; Rothschild 1979:664, table 6.1; Winters 1968:192–194, 196, 202–204). Adolescents were consistently not shown attention in materially visible mortuary practices, evidencing some strong cultural principle of unknown specifics but perhaps tied to puberty and/or the definition of adulthood. No firm statements can be made at this time about the distribution of wealth among rank groups or groups represented by burial in different bluff-crest mounds. Information on the distribution of quantitities of grave goods and other continuously varying mortuary traits among the burials at the Klunk–Gibson, Bedford, Peisker, and Kamp mound groups was not specifically analyzed and reported by Buikstra, Tainter, Brown, and Braun. Finally, I wish to emphasize, again, that most of these inferences could not have been made without the strong intellectual and empirical contributions made by Buikstra, Tainter, Brown, and Braun.

CONCLUSION

Over thirty-five years ago, Struever (1965:212–214) pointed to a large and wide suite of artifactual, architectural, site distributional, demographic, and ecological characteristics that differed between the Havana Hopewell and the Scioto Hopewell archaeological records and natural environments. This suggested to him that Havana societies were tribal in complexity, while Scioto Hopewell societies were chiefdoms, in Service's (1962) terms. His characterization also implied that Havana Hopewell societies were not organized by principles of rank. Griffin et al. (1970) came to similar but less detailed conclusions.

Anthropologists now know that sociopolitical organizational diversity does not fall neatly into packets like tribes and chiefdoms and that different dimensions of organization can vary semi-independently of one another. For example, social ranking, supralocal leadership, centralized leadership, and recruitment of leaders through inheritance need not go hand in hand. J. A. Brown (1981:26) started archaeologists thinking about decoupling some of these dimensions when he defined "petty hierarchical societies"—those societies that had ranking yet lacked centralized leadership with institutionalized authority (e.g., chiefdoms). He pointed out that ranking and centralized authority have different root causes, the first in competition over marriage mates and wealth, the second in ensuring and controlling access to critical material resources and political security. In addition, Braun and Plog (1982) and Voss (1977) have separated the processes of formation of horizontal, tribal organizations (sodalities, other networks), which are focused on overcoming localized subsistence risks, from the issues of leadership type and recruitment.

The reassessment of Havana Hopewell social organization presented here suggests that it cannot be characterized as tribe or chiefdom in Service's, Struever's, or Griffin's frameworks. A detailed mapping of its various individual dimensions of organization is necessary, and also is feasible. While Havana Hopewell societies of the lower Illinois valley in all probability were organized by principles of rank, no evidence was found here for centralized leadership roles. Ranking was coarse, distinguishing only a few grades of persons, as is common among simple rank societies cross-culturally, and in contrast to the finer series of distinctions well known to anthropologists in the highly complex Polynesian chiefdoms. At the same time, a touch of complexity in ranking in the Havana case is found in the pyramidal distribution of certain rank levels and the greater inequity that this indicates. It is not known whether leaders were recruited by their fully personal achievements or by their rank, perhaps with an achieved component. However, there may have been two levels of leadership, which could well have been tied to rank distinctions.

Taken together, all of these facets of Havana Hopewell ranking and leadership are much richer than what might be captured with a simple dicotomy between "tribes" and "chiefdoms." Also, the detail obtained here on various features of Havana Hopewell society bears better potential for being related meaningfully to other aspects of Havana culture and life than a broad typological designation. In particular, with a clearer picture of the relations of prestige and power within Havana societies and the nature of leadership founded on these, it should be possible to develop more personalized reconstructions of the interactions of local Havana groups with each other during their gatherings in flood plain mound complexes and with peoples of other Hopewellian regional traditions.

Throughout this book, the fullness of reconstruction of Hopewellian societies that can be had by taking a personalized and contextualized approach to studying their archaeological records is emphasized. A beginning along this path is also made in this chapter. By taking a personalized approach that conceptually disaggregated several social roles and dimensions, especially social ranking and leadership, it was possible to reveal the confounding of rank and leadership by Buikstra, Tainter, Brown, and Braun conceptually, analytically, and/or empirically in their studies of the Klunk–Gibson cemetery. This insight paved the way for reassessing their analyses, which were not in agreement, and for making a solid determination that Havana Hopewellian societies were organized by principles of ranking. Personalizing the Hopewellian archaeological record through the identification of specific leaders and their symbols of leadership, in contrast to rank segments and their symbols of rank, was an essential part of the inferential process. Further, by taking the region rather than the site as the unit of mortuary analysis, and by placing site-specific mortuary patterning in the context of regional patterning, the inference that persons buried in central tombs in bluff-top cemeteries were social leaders rather than a rank group was strengthened. These findings illustrate that, in mortuary studies, and in prehistory generally, "thick," contextualized, and personalized descriptions of a society can be essential to simply the basic accuracy of social reconstruction, let alone subsequent anthropological interpretation or explanation.

NOTES

1. It is also possible that other burial distinctions that vary in energy expenditure, beyond those defined by Buikstra and here and as shown in Figure 6.1 (e.g., disarticulated skeletal remains found in ramps in pits with or without log or limestone coverings, or on the ramps' surface; extended skeletons found in ramps in pits with or without log or limestone coverings, or on the ramps' surface) are age–sex independent and reference differences in rank. However, these possibilities were not explored by Buikstra. Other distinctions, such as whether a subfloor pit was located below a primary or a secondary mound, more likely relate to the historical nature of mound accumulation.
2. Two variables that Tainter used in his cluster analysis but that might not have been relevant to energy expenditure in mortuary activity are the presence–absence of technomic items and the presence–absence of animal bone. These constitute potential sources of "noise" in Tainter's analytical search for ranking, but are only a small percentage of the 18 variables he used. They did not overwhelm the socially significant patterning in tomb form and location revealed by his cluster analysis.
3. Brown's logic here is unclear in another way, as well. Fried (1960) generalized that, cross-culturally, differential access to critical resources at times of food shortage is a characteristic of stratified societies, not rank ones as Brown would have it.

Gathering Hopewell

Society, Ritual, and Ritual Interaction

Edited by

CHRISTOPHER CARR

Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona

and

D. TROY CASE

North Carolina State University
Raleigh, North Carolina

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