

## Chapter 6

# Soul Concepts of Scioto Hopewell Communities

## The Ontological Foundation of Their Tripartite Ceremonial Alliance

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**T**oward the end of the Middle Woodland Period, between approximately AD 275 and 350 uncalibrated radiocarbon time, Native Americans in the central Scioto drainage organized themselves into three communities: one in the main Scioto Valley, a second in main Paint Creek Valley, and a third in the North Fork of Paint Creek (Carr 2005a, 2008a). The communities were closely allied through their mutual participation in rituals of diverse kinds performed within earthen ceremonial centers of primarily tripartite geometry that they had built together in each of the three valleys. Among these rituals, and of central relevance here, was their burying their dead together within adjoining rooms of a single charnel building or within close, adjacent charnel buildings, and then their burning and/or deconstructing the building(s) and covering them under one earthen mound.

I have inferred elsewhere (Carr 2005a:296; 2005b:468–473), based on many lines of archaeological and bioarchaeological evidence, that the communities' practice of burying their dead together was capable of forming a strong alliance among the communities because it involved some of the same potent logic used by historic Huron and Algonquian Indians of the Lower and Upper Great Lakes

to create intercommunity alliances through joint ossuary burial (Heidenreich 1978:374–375; Hickerson 1960; Trigger 1969:106–112), and intertwined other historic Woodland Indian metaphors of interpersonal cooperation. Central to the strategy was the image of gathering together and perhaps blending together the souls of the deceased from the different communities, creating eternal ties of cooperation and alliance among them—a sacred contract—which then served as a template for cooperative behavior among the living from those communities. Thus, intercommunity alliance formation was most fundamentally a spiritual process rather than a political or economic one in native logic.

The validity and likelihood of this soul-oriented view becomes clear in cross-cultural perspective. For small-scale band and tribal societies around the world analogous to Scioto Hopewell peoples, a core motivating concern is the soul or souls that comprise an individual. For historic Woodland and Plains Native Americans, one's souls and those of other persons, human or otherwise, were key to one's health, social power and success, hunting success, planting and harvesting, sexual relations, intergroup warfare, community well-being, ecological rejuvenation, and birth, maturation, marriage, aging, and death, to name a few domains. Rituals of healing, hunting, warfare, world renewal, and others all centered around souls (Rafidi and Carr 2019; Rafidi et al. 2019; Carr 2019, many references therein; Carr and Case 2005:182–184; Hall 1997; Harner 1990; Winkelman 1989, 1990, 1992).

The emphasis placed on souls in small-scale societies derives from their world views and rituals resting on shaman-like principles and practices (Winkelman 1989; 1990; 1992), which attend foremost to souls: protecting one's soul, nurturing one's soul, stealing souls, removing bad power intrusions from one's soul, sending power intrusions into an enemy's soul, blending souls as in love magic and community strengthening, and journeying through soul flight to accomplish many tasks (e.g., Harner 1990; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1964, 1965:56, 90; Vitebsky 1995; Winkelman 1989, 1990, 1992).

This chapter attempts to bring greater understanding of Scioto Hopewell peoples, their material and social creations, and their motivations behind their works by documenting their native ontological ideas and logic about souls. Today, archaeologists and lay persons experience ornate Scioto Hopewell earthworks, art forms, and mortuary layouts from a time and world view different than those of the native peoples who created them. We wonder, “What on earth was in the minds and hearts of the people who made these things?” “Why did they take such effort and care?” “What were they trying to do?” The soul concepts of Scioto Hopewell

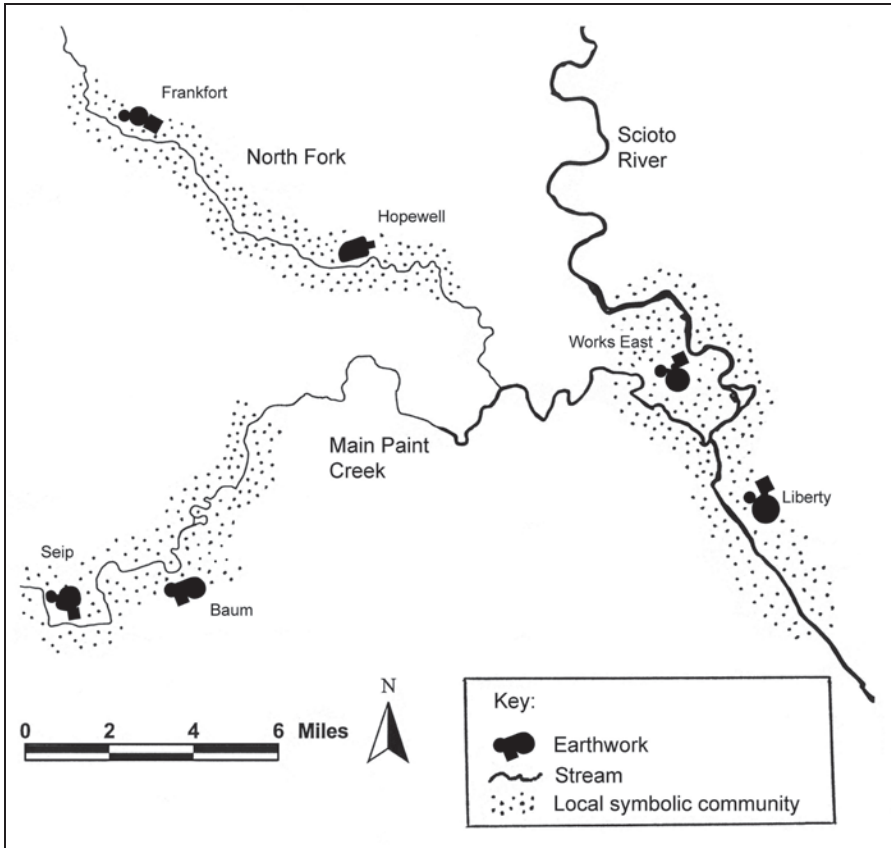
peoples tell us what was of immediate, vital concern to them and what personally and experientially motivated their impressive social and material accomplishments—from their native viewpoints, and in a way that more distant, etc, environmental, demographic, sociological, and political-economic factors and frameworks cannot.

This chapter begins by summarizing the organization of central Scioto Hopewell peoples into three communities and the diverse archaeological evidence of the social-spiritual alliance that bound them together, including their tripartite earthworks and charnel houses. We then inventory the many kinds of supra-household to community-scale ceremonies that likely occurred within their earthworks and that centered on their souls in aim and methods, in consideration of historic Woodland and Plains Indian multi-household ceremonies. Within this context of the large, soul-oriented ceremonies that Scioto Hopewell peoples held, we next clarify three soul-focused cultural metaphors of social cooperation that were likely involved in the three Scioto Hopewell communities' burying their dead together and in thereby creating a spiritual-social alliance among themselves. The cultural metaphors are found in historic Huron, Algonquian, and Cherokee mortuary and communal ceremonies of similar purpose and in broader, historic Woodland Indian ceremonial symbolism. Finally, we show that several very specific soul concepts upon which the three cultural metaphors are based were, indeed, a part of the native ontology and logic of Scioto Hopewell peoples and were applied in their mortuary practices.

#### **SCIOTO HOPEWELL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND THE TRIPARTITE CEREMONIAL ALLIANCE**

Between approximately AD 275 and 350, the central Scioto drainage was home to three localized communities of Hopewellian peoples. One community lay in the Scioto Valley, a second in main Paint Creek Valley, and a third in the North Fork of Paint Creek (Figure 1; Carr 2005a; 2008a).

Each community was comprised of households of one or two extended-families, each with 5 to 25 persons (Dancey and Pacheco 1997; Pacheco 1993, 1996; Pacheco and Dancey 2006; Pacheco et al. 2005) who subsisted through a mixture of foraging, fishing, and farming (Brown 2005:114; Pacheco et al. 2005; Prufer et al. 1965; Smith 2006:501–502; Wymer 1987, 1988, 1992, 1996, 1997). Households were dispersed fair distances from one another over the land (Coughlin and Seeman 1997; Prufer 1967), and the three communities were about a day's walk from one another (Ruby et al. 2005). An individual spent most of one's time alone or in small work groups of close relatives in nature and around one's homestead.



**Figure 1.** Three local communities in the central Scioto Valley, main Paint Creek Valley, and North Fork of Paint Creek Valley, between about AD 275 and AD 350, built and used the ritually complementary pairs of sites Liberty and Works East, Seip and Baum, and Hopewell and Old Town (Frankfort). *Credit: Drawing by Christopher Carr.*

To counterbalance the physical and social isolation of their households and to meet their many human needs, Scioto Hopewell peoples richly wove their lives together through social, political, ritual, and spiritual means into larger groups of a variety of kinds, geographic scales, social compositions, and functions. These groups included the three local communities that resided in different valleys, and other corporate groups that spanned and crosscut the communities, including clans, clan-specific ceremonial societies, sodalities, possibly a phratry, and a social-spiritual alliance among the three communities. Diverse, complementary leader-

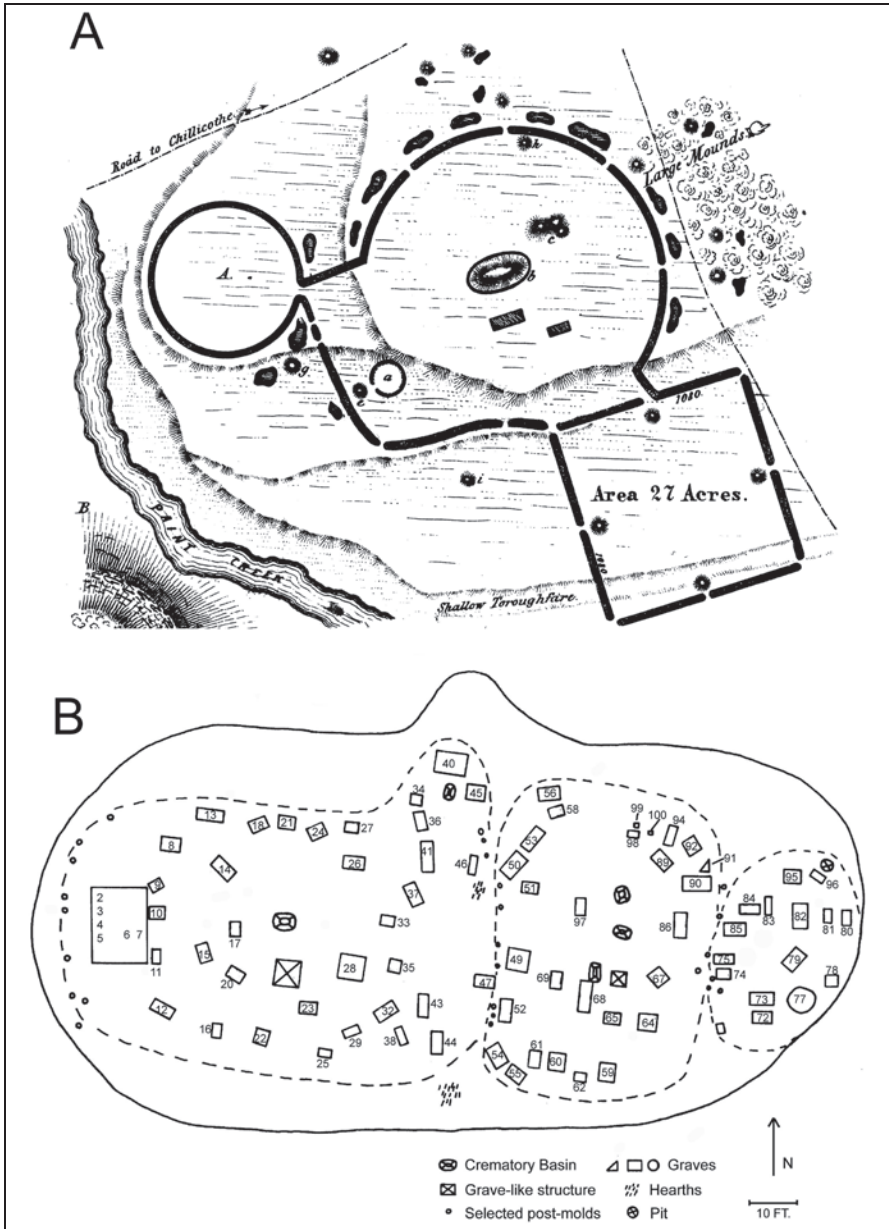
ship positions drawn from different communities and clans also tied multiple households and communities together (Carr 2005a; 2008a; Thomas et al. 2005).

It is the regional, social-spiritual alliance among the three communities and its foundation in soul concepts and practices that were shared among the communities that is relevant here. We describe the alliance, beginning with its most obvious and well-known activities and material manifestations, and then turn to its ideological aspects.

The alliance among the three communities is most evident in a tripartite symbolism that represented the three communities and their bonds and that was expressed at multiple geographic scales: the three valleys in which the communities resided; the three communities, themselves; three-part geometric earthen ceremonial centers within each valley and community; charnel facilities, each with three rooms, within some of the tripartite earthworks in each valley and community; and the three spatial clusters of a dozen to several dozen burials each that were placed in the three rooms of a charnel facility (Figure 2).

At each geographic scale, both separation of units and their ties were expressed. The three valleys of the main Scioto, main Paint Creek, and its North Fork are distinct but connected. The three local communities in these valleys appear to have been separated by buffer zones about the size of communities, themselves (Ruby et al. 2005) but were integrated by the crosscutting social groups and complementary leadership roles mentioned above. Each tripartite geometric earthwork was composed of three spaces that were distinct in their shape and/or size—a square and two circles of different diameters—but that abutted to one another. Each charnel facility was built as one structure with three separate rooms interconnected by passages, or as two or three closely adjacent structures with a total of three separate rooms easily available to one another. These charnel room layouts suggest the possibility of multi-stage rituals that progressed from room to room (e.g., as in Midewiwin ceremonies of the Ojibwa and Menominee; Dewdney 1975; Hoffman 1891), interconnecting the separate spaces. The three spatial clusters of burials in the three rooms of each charnel facility were also separate from one another but adjacent and available. The repeated organization of three separate but interconnected units at five different scales hints at the workings of a core, native, cultural metaphor—an element of the world view of Scioto Hopewell peoples that was unique to them at that time and in that place.

The earthworks with a tripartite form are Liberty and Works East in the Scioto valley, Seip and Baum in main Paint Creek valley, and Old Town in the North Fork



**Figure 2.** The tripartite earthen ceremonial center, Seip (A), contained a mounded charnel house with three rooms (B), which each contained a cluster of burials (B). Credits: (A) Squier and Davis 1848:plate XXI, no. 2. (B) Modified from Greber (1979a:58).

of Paint Creek valley (Figure 1). The Hopewell site, also in the North Fork, had an embankment that combined a circle-rectangle and a square, reflecting the center's greater time depth and the building of its embankments likely both prior to and at the time of the tripartite alliance. The tripartite charnel facilities were those covered by the Pricer mound at Seip; the Conjoined mound at Seip; the Edwin Harness mound at Liberty; the conjoined Porter Mounds 15, 38, and one other at Old Town; and Mound 25 at the Hopewell site.

Current research suggests that residents from all three communities joined hands to build each of the tripartite earthworks, and possibly the tripartite charnel facilities within them, corroborating the multi-community alliance interpretation. The geographic catchment from which laborers would have had to have been drawn to supply the effort needed to build any given tripartite earthwork overlapped extensively with the labor catchments for each of the other tripartite earthworks (45%–80% areal overlap; Bernardini 1999, 2004). Several other forms of evidence also indicate the close relations of the three communities and their probable formalized alliance rather than casual interaction. First, details of the geometric and area relationships that constitute the tripartite earthworks and that are shared among works in different valleys, and the precision with which such details were carried out across earthworks (Romain 1996, 2000:46–54), indicate the sharing of fairly sophisticated geometric principles among communities, probably through ritual specialists who planned and coordinated earthwork building. Second, the strong architectural similarities in the shape and size of the charnel houses under the Seip-Pricer and Edwin Harness mounds likewise suggest the sharing of planning among community leaders (Carr 2008b:128). Third, the complementary celestial orientations of all of the tripartite earthworks (Romain 2004:204, Table 6.1; 2005:Appendix 3.1; see also Carr 2005c:86–87) suggest the possibility that residents from all three communities gathered together at one another's earthworks, each at a different season of the year, perhaps to hold ceremonies of different purposes. No one community contained the whole of the annual ceremonial calendar within its earthwork architectural repertoire, indicating each community's dependence on the other two for its ritual and spiritual completeness. The purposeful creating of this interdependence by the communities implies their alliance. Fourth, stylistic analysis of mortuary ritual fabrics (e.g., shrouds, a canopy) from the charnel houses at Seip, Liberty, Hopewell, and other sites in the three valleys shows the exchange of these fabrics among communities, intermarriage among the communities, and/or burial of individuals from multiple communities in the same charnel facilities (Carr and Maslowski 1995:328–339).



Fifth, extensive mortuary analyses (Carr 2005a:286–311) indicate that the set of three clusters of burials within each of the tripartite charnel facilities of Seip-Pricer, Edwin Harness, and Hopewell Mound 25 likely symbolized the set of three communities, represented by their dead. Each cluster of individuals has the demographic characteristics and social-role diversity and composition of a community; and the three clusters do not partition individuals by rank, age, gender, clan, sodality, or the particular afterlife to which they might have been bound (grave orientation). Thus, it is likely that the three communities repeatedly buried their dead together within a common charnel facility, but in separate rooms, suggesting the retention of community distinctions but a common sense of identity among communities, i.e., a formal alliance. Sixth, at the Seip-Pricer and Edwin Harness mounds, both the retention of community distinctions and the expression of pan-community identity evident in the charnel rooms and burial clusters were reiterated by the capping of each decommissioned charnel room with its own, primary earthen mound, followed by the capping of all three primaries by a unifying mantle of earth. Finally, in the Seip-Pricer charnel house, at least, all of the deceased, in all three community clusters, were laid to rest on the same, continuous sand floor (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:364). The three clusters of burials were conjoined both above and below.

#### **A DIVERSITY OF CEREMONIES OF SOULS WITHIN THE EARTHWORKS**

The centrality of Scioto Hopewell peoples' notions of souls to their forming a spiritual-social alliance among their communities, which we discuss below, is understood more easily if it is contextualized in the broader fabric of their soul-centered ceremonial life within their earthworks. We describe this broader ceremonial context now.

It is well established that within the tripartite earthworks, Scioto Hopewell peoples held a great diversity of rites and other events with a very wide range of goals and formats, and with participants and audiences of very diverse sizes and social compositions. Archaeologically, this ceremonial diversity is seen in many ways: in differences among the tripartite earthworks in whether they included burial mounds or not (e.g., Seip versus Baum, Liberty versus Works East, respectively); in differences in the valley, lower world locations or hilltop, upper world locations of the earthworks (e.g., Seip and Baum versus Spruce Hill, respectively; Carr 2005c:84–85); in the complementary celestial orientations of the earthworks (Romain 2004:204, table 6.1; 2005:Appendix 3.1; see also Carr 2005c:86–87); in differences in the age and sex distributions of individuals buried in the key charnel facilities within different earthworks (e.g., a strong bias toward adult males in



Hopewell Mounds 25 and 23 versus expectable male:female and adult:subadult ratios in Seip-Pricer; Carr 2005a:278–280; 2005c:89); in the wide diversity of non-burial ritual deposits of varying sizes and ceremonial artifact compositions (e.g., Carr, Goldstein, et al. 2005; Greber 1996); in the very diverse sizes and social role compositions of social gatherings inferred from the ritual deposits (Carr et al. 2005); and in varying and plentiful off-mound buildings and ceremonial activity areas within the earthworks (Baby and Langlois 1979; Pederson Weinberger 2009; Komp et al., this volume; Ruby, this volume).<sup>1</sup>

Insight into the many kinds of ceremonies that these archaeological remains might reflect, and into specifically the soul-centered goals and methods of the ceremonies, can be found in the diverse, soul-oriented, supra-household to community-wide ceremonies that were perennial to historic Woodland and Plains Native American life. Some examples of historic, multi-household to community-wide ceremonies to which working with souls was core include:

1. separating souls of the newly deceased from the living and transitioning them to an afterlife;
2. soul requickening, adoption, and reincarnation;
3. separating mourners from the rest of society and reincorporating mourners back into society, which is both a physical and metaphysical matter;
4. communing with, divining with, gaining advice from, and beseeching help from the souls of deceased ancestors;
5. calling in the deceased to be present at ceremonies of diverse kinds;
6. healing individuals and groups, removing disease or misfortune from an entire community, purifying a whole community, and protecting a whole community, all involving shaman-like soul methods;
7. going-to-water ceremonies as one format for healing and purifying individuals, groups, and communities;
8. wiping the social slate clean of all social wrongdoings and pardoning crimes within a community, sometimes carried out as healing;
9. unifying all of the communities and/or clans of a tribe into a whole;
10. rites of passage involving soul transformation, including coming-of-age rites, naming children and adults, installing leaders, and sodality initiations;
11. petitioning for the reincarnation of animal souls for successful hunting and for health of crops;

12. offering thanks to and communing with nonhuman spiritual beings of the cosmos;
13. playing sacred games.

Extensive bibliographic references for supra-household to community-wide ceremonies with these functions, and their focus on souls in achieving their goals, are given by Carr (2008a:260–261, Table 4.11; see also Carr and McCord 2013:35–37).

An especially vivid example of community-wide soul work done for a purpose other than transitioning souls of the newly deceased or communing with the transitioned deceased, which are the kinds known best by most researchers, is the Cherokee *Foundation of Life* national ritual, E:lohi Ga:ghusdv:d(i) (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1964). It is a symbolic “taking them to the water” of the entire Cherokee tribe, performed at times of grave tribal crisis in order to spiritually unify and reassure the nation, that all might cooperate and stand together against some difficulty that menaces its life. Its purpose in spiritual unification of the whole tribe bears strong relevance to the soul-focused rites of intercommunity alliance creation and maintenance that the three Scioto Hopewell communities appear to have performed.

A representative of each of the seven Cherokee clans would meet at a river’s edge, and each would place tobacco that he had brought into a common pile. At midnight, each representative would face east (the river), and pronounce the text of the rite four times over the tobacco. In the recited sacred formula, the participant envisions himself and the six other clan representatives blending with the same powerful beings until their joined selves (bodies and souls) “live(d) everywhere on earth” and they were “released everywhere into the Light of the Sunland,” i.e., until all the clan representatives and their clan members were intimately associated with one another on the earth and in the Sunland. Then each representative would smoke a pipe of the blended tobacco, walking in a circle counterclockwise, the direction of right thinking and action, blowing smoke in each of the four directions, beginning facing east. The participants of the ceremony were not formally required to be shamanistic practitioners, but only such individuals have the knowledge of the proper performance steps, the mental imaging steps and capabilities, and the familiarity with soul work to properly do the rite. The rite was performed seven times in immediate succession, rather than the typical single enactment of Cherokee ceremonies, given its great importance. After the ceremony, the remaining tobacco, mixed from the seven clans and now infused with the unifying power of the ceremony, was distributed to each clan representative to be smoked later,

likely at dawn, midmorning, midafternoon, and dusk, with the circling movement described, for each of four or seven successive days.

The Cherokee Foundation of Life ceremony illustrates a soul-focused ceremony, one other than those that center on souls of the dead, and one that specifically aims at tribal unification and is thus relevant to the Scioto Hopewell process of intercommunity alliance formation. The ceremony also illustrates the common shamanic method, and apparently also common Woodland cultural practice, of “blending” souls together, which we discuss below in the Scioto Hopewell case.

In sum, it is likely that Scioto Hopewell peoples performed in their earthworks a wide variety of ceremonies that involved social groups of supra-household to community-scale and that centered on souls in their aims and methods. These kinds of rites among historic Woodland and Plains Indians extended beyond the most obviously performed ceremonies aimed at helping souls of the newly deceased to transition to an afterlife or elsewhere, or communing with souls of the deceased. The historic rites specifically included ones for unifying whole, multi-community and multi-clan tribes. In this cultural context, it is reasonable to propose that the ceremonies that Scioto Hopewell peoples employed to create an alliance between their three communities also relied fundamentally on soul work and their notions of souls.

#### **THE FOUNDATION OF THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE IN SOUL CONCEPTS AND METAPHORS OF INTERPERSONAL COOPERATION**

The three Hopewellian communities in the Scioto Valley, main Paint Creek Valley, and the North Fork of Paint Creek Valley created and nurtured an alliance among themselves by several means with archaeologically knowable, material evidence. They joined hands to build tripartite-shaped earthen ceremonial centers and wooden charnel facilities (Bernardini 2004); probably gathered together for diverse, multi-community ceremonies in earthworks in each other’s home valleys on a rotational basis tied to the cycling of complementary celestial events (Carr 2005c:86–87; Romain 2005:Appendix 3.1); certainly exchanged utilitarian and valuable material goods and probably food (Carr and Komorowski 1995); probably intermarried (Carr and Maslowski 1995); formed ceremonial sodalities that cross-cut community and clan in membership (Carr 2005a:283–285, 2008:226–236); and repeatedly buried their dead together within shared charnel facilities as an expression of intercommunity ties and identity (Carr 2005a:286–311).

Of these several strategies for forming an intercommunity alliance, the most intimate, personal, potentially dangerous, and irreversible was burying the bodily

remains and souls of deceased loved ones from multiple communities together, forever, within a common charnel house and burial mound. The power and potency of this practice arose from it entailing three soul-focused, conceptual principles and cultural metaphors of cooperation: spatially associating souls, blending souls, and the house and household as the exemplar of ethical, familial ties of cooperation and mutual support. All three principles are ontological in addressing the nature of being. All three were common to widespread among historic Woodland and Plains Native Americans.

#### *SPATIALLY ASSOCIATING SOULS*

The notion of spatially associating the souls of the deceased from different communities in the course of burying those individuals together and for the purpose of creating a multi-community alliance is best documented ethnographically in the Eastern Woodlands for the protohistoric and historic Huron Feast of the Dead (Heidenreich 1978:374–375; Trigger 1969:106–112) and its historic Algonquian version (Hickerson 1960). The historic Huron were a confederacy of five tribes, each with multiple villages. The Huron Feast of the Dead was a ceremony held approximately once every eight to twelve years, or apparently each time a large village changed locations in order to develop new swidden horticultural plots. The Feast involved disinterring all persons of that village and satellite villages who had died during this period and reburying them together in a large ossuary. Sometimes persons of neighboring villages within the tribe who had wished to be reburied with friends, as well as the deceased of allied tribes within the confederacy, and perhaps a few persons from tribes outside of the confederacy, were also buried in the ossuaries. The numbers of people who gathered for the Feasts were not reported by Western observers. However, the largest ossuaries contained the bones of about 1000 persons, and at one large feast, over 1200 presents were given (Trigger 1969:107). These figures would suggest attendances of over 1000 persons.

Burying together the dead from multiple villages within a Huron tribe was explicitly seen by the villagers as a means for integrating and allying themselves with one another. Neither village nor tribe nor the confederacy had a centralized leader, each having been run by a council of clan-segment war and civil chiefs. The burial of the different groups' deceased relatives together in one place created, in the Hurons' eyes, the eternal cooperation of the souls of the deceased with one another—a sacred contract. In turn, this cooperation at the spiritual level served as a model for behavior among the living, with potential consequences from deceased elders for

those living descendants who violated the contract. Co-burial, from the vantage of the living, created a logic and evoked an ethic something like, “We are allies, always, because the souls of our ancestors and relations are allies, always.”

This means for creating alliances among the deceased and among the living in turn depended on the Huron belief that an individual’s bones housed one or more of the person’s multiple souls, and that burial of bones of multiple deceased together in one ossuary pit intermingled their souls (Trigger 1969:103). The Huron emphasized this metaphor by actually physically stirring together the bones of the multiple deceased into a homogeneous mass as they were deposited in the ossuary pit. Five or six men stationed at the bottom of the pit used long poles to intermix the bones of the deceased (Trigger 1969:111).

Specifically, the Huron knew an individual to have at least two souls, and probably five or more (Steckley 1978). The “free soul,” in the terminology of anthropologists of Native American religions (e.g., Hultkrantz 1953), was capable of leaving the body during the “twilight states” of sleep, vision, trance, illness, and near death, and of traveling in this earthly realm and others. The various experiences had by the traveling free soul were thought by the Huron to be responsible for the mental images and emotions the individual had in these mental states. The free soul was also considered the essence that departed the body at death and traveled to an afterlife, which was west of Huronia. The free soul was said to be seated in the head. An individual’s remaining souls, which anthropologists of Native American religions (e.g., Hultkrantz 1953) call “body souls,” were thought to reside in the bones. They did not journey from the body during life, and probably were thought to give the body its physical life functions. The Huron term for body souls, *atiskan*, also means bones (Brébeuf in Thwaites 1896–1901, 10:140; Le Jeune in Thwaites 1896–1901, 10:285–287; James 1927:344).

The Huron held two rites of passage for the deceased individual. Shortly after death, a funeral was held for the deceased at his or her village and village cemetery, constituting a rite of separation of the deceased from the living. The free soul of the deceased remained in a liminal period while the deceased’s body was stored as a burial in the cemetery, unable to fully interrelate with the living and unable to proceed to a Land of the Dead. During this time, the free soul wandered in misery and caused mischief for the living. The body souls of the deceased remained with the corpse. The Feast of the Dead, which involved the exhuming, caring for, and ossuary burial of the bones of the deceased, constituted a rite of reincorporation. It enabled the free souls of all deceased from all participating communities to pass on to the Land of the Dead and join the free souls of other deceased Huron. On

the other hand, most or all of the body souls of the deceased individual remained bound to their bones in the ossuary, commingled with the body souls of others, just as their bones were commingled. This intermixing of souls provided the spiritual basis for creating and maintaining alliances among the Huron communities and others. Occasionally, one of the body souls of an individual might reincarnate.

The three Scioto Hopewell communities' practices of burying their dead within the same charnel house, under one mound mantle, and sometimes on the same prepared floor, resembles the Huron Feast of the Dead ossuary burial formally. In both ceremonies, the dead from multiple allying communities were encapsulated together—spatially associated with one another—within a single mortuary facility. In both ceremonies, this action created relationships among the deceased from multiple communities. The resemblance suggests that Scioto Hopewell peoples may have also employed a logic and created an ethic similar to those of the Huron: "We are allies, always, because the souls of our deceased ancestors and relations are buried together and thus are allies, always."

The Scioto Hopewell cases differ from the Huron's Feast of the Dead in that bodily remains of the deceased from different communities, despite having been housed together in one charnel facility, were nonetheless also spatially separated from one another in different rooms of the facility. The bones of individuals from different communities were not intermixed as in the Huron case; i.e., the spatial association of bones of individuals from different communities was not as strong as in the Huron case. This pattern of association yet separation was repeated at the Seip-Pricer, Edwin Harness, and Porter mounds and at Hopewell Mound 25. However, both the Huron and Hopewell practices of encapsulating and associating bones and souls of the dead similarly express the most basic process of creating relationships among souls of the dead with one another in order to create an alliance among them and among their living descendants.

#### *BLENDING SOULS*

A second conceptual principle and cultural metaphor of cooperation used by historic Woodland Indians, and by which the three Scioto communities may have fostered an alliance among themselves, is blending souls. The idea goes beyond that of simply placing souls of individuals in spatial association with one another; souls are thought to merge. For historic Woodland and Plains Native Americans, the principle is best documented in the case of the Cherokee Foundation of Life ceremony, which blended together the bodies and souls of all members of the seven clans of the Cherokee nation in order to facilitate their cooperating with one another (see above).

A similar logic and practice was also followed by some Munsee-Delaware, who would begin a meeting by smoking together and blending their smoke in order to unify their minds and souls in preparation for cooperative discussion: “See, our smoke has now filled the room; first it was in streaks and your smoke and my smoke moved about that way, but now it is *all mixed up into one. That is like our minds and spirits too*, when we must talk. We are now ready, for we will understand one another better” (Speck 1945:xiii; italics added). The concept of blending souls also has historically deep and widespread roots in the transformational practices of *merging with* and *becoming* that shaman and shaman-like practitioners have used for millennia in small-scale societies around the globe. To perform his healing, divining, psychopomp, and other tasks, a shamanic practitioner needs and employs the extraordinary power and capabilities of his spirit “power animal” or “tutelary animal.” He can access these powers by forming and maintaining a close relationship with his power animal, which he does by envisioning his body and soul merging with the body and soul of his power animal and by becoming his power animal periodically. Commonly, the shaman’s mental, emotional, and bodily experience of becoming his power animal is accompanied by him dancing it—mimicking its movements and sounds (Harner 1980:78-80, 85; see also Halifax 1979:16; von Gernet and Timmins 1987:39). Because Scioto Hopewell world view and symbolism had a strong shaman-like cast (Carr and Case 2005:191–208), as did historic Woodland Native American world views generally (Hallowell 1960), it is not unexpected that Scioto Hopewell peoples would employ the technique of blending, nor that they would apply it in a way formally similar to how the Cherokee and Munsee-Delaware applied it and for a similar purpose.

In the case of the three Scioto Hopewell communities, the concept of blending the souls of the communities’ members seems to be evinced in their particular means for closing major ceremonies that likely involved multiple communities and for decommissioning the paraphernalia used in the ceremonies. On repeated occasions, very large numbers of people and ritual leaders who represented them, likely from multiple communities, physically placed together their ceremonial paraphernalia and personal adornments in one pile and literally blended the items by burning them in intense fires. The practice is formally equivalent to Cherokee clan representatives physically putting their tobaccos together in one pile and further blending them by burning them when smoking them. The Cherokee practice of blending tobacco and smoking the blended tobacco were seen as having the effect of blending together the souls of the clans’ representatives and members on earth and in the Sunland and facilitating their cooperating together. Analogously,



the Scioto Hopewell practice of blending ceremonial paraphernalia and personal adornments from multiple communities could have been seen as having the effect of blending together the souls of the communities' ritual leaders and members and of aiding their cooperating with one another.

Specifically, in the western and central Charnel Rooms E and D under Mound 25 of the Hopewell earthwork, many ceremonial paraphernalia of a great diversity of kinds were gathered together, broken, and placed in the formal clay basins, Altar 1 and Altar 2 (Moorehead 1922; Shetrone 1926). The basins were provisioned with firewood, doused with some kind of highly inflammable fuel such as pitch or animal fat, burned intensely, and covered with a small primary mound. The fires in the altars were so intense that "much of the copper was melted and run together" (Moorehead 1922:113), copper earspools that had been bundled together were fused (Greber and Ruhl 1989:76, 149, Figure 4.63), and fragments of obsidian artifacts were melted and transformed into a light grey pumice stone, i.e., blending. Similarly, in a large, irregularly oval depression in the western charnel room under the Pricer mound at the Seip earthwork (Shetrone and Greenman 1931:377–379), many diverse ceremonial items were placed on top of a mass of vegetable matter and intensely burned. A pile of largely plummets made from seashells was fused by the heat. The melting and fusing together of artifacts in these three events could have been seen by the ritual leaders and other participants as having blended together their souls as well as the souls of their communities' other members, like the souls of the representatives and members of the seven Cherokee clans were envisioned as being merged by the clan representatives burning their tobaccos together. Significantly, the items burned and blended in the Scioto Hopewell case included not only the paraphernalia of specialized shaman-like ritual leaders who would have represented their communities or cross-community sodalities (e.g., obsidian bifaces, crystals, mica mirrors, a fossil, a boatstone, a panpipe, sharks teeth; see Carr and Case 2005 for their functions and social role associations), but also plentiful elements of dress of community members and cross-community sodality members, themselves: over 250 pairs of copper earspools, 100,000 pearl and shell beads, another 19,000 pearl beads, copper buttons, bear canine and claw pendants, panther teeth, tortoise shell pendants, and cloth. These intermixed and fused items imply the blending of the souls of very many individuals from multiple communities.<sup>2</sup>

Approximately 300 years earlier (ca. 50 BC) and down the Scioto Valley 72 km, Hopewellian peoples employed the same strategy of blending souls to build an alliance among multiple communities but with stronger medicine. There, cremated

human remains of the communities' members themselves, rather than ceremonial paraphernalia representing the communities, were blended. Within the Hopewellian charnel facility under the Tremper mound (Mills 1916), multiple Hopewellian communities laid to rest the cremated remains of about 280 individuals, together and commingled in a single depository. Another 95 cremations were commingled in three other depositories. It is unknown whether the blending of the ashes of these individuals was accentuated by physically stirring the ashes, analogous to the Huron practice of physically intermixing skeletal elements of the deceased. However, the ashed state of the individuals would not have allowed the integrity of individuals to have been maintained, and they naturally would have intermingled.

Supplementing this potent means for securing cooperation among individuals from different communities, nearly all of the ceremonial artifacts found at Tremper, totaling about 500 items and including 136 smoking pipes, were each broken (Mills 1916:284) and then placed together in a single ceremonial deposit—the Great Cache—near the large deposit of cremations. Chemical sourcing and stylistic data indicate that the pipes were manufactured by multiple social groups, who procured pipestone or pipes from different and widely separated sources, had different social networks, and, thus, probably represent multiple, distinct communities (Emerson et al. 2005; Weets et al. 2005). Because all of the paraphernalia were broken, it is possible that they were physically intermixed as were human bones in the Huron Feast of the Dead. However, the deposit of paraphernalia was not engulfed in a fire as were the ceremonial items placed in Altars 1 and 2 at the Hopewell site. Only the metaphor of spatially associating souls, not blending souls, is suggested by artifacts deposited in the Great Cache.

Although all signs of identity of the multiple communities that gathered for ceremony at Tremper were erased by the process of blending the ashes of individuals and placing together and/or mixing the paraphernalia of the ceremonial participants, clan and phratry affiliations were not. The four, spatially segregated depositories of cremations very likely were created by and identified the four clans that celebrated within the Tremper charnel house: Bear, Wolf-Coyote, Puma, and Bobcat (Weets et al. 2005:544–545). The four clans are known by jaws of these four kinds of animals that were deposited in the Great Cache, that were the only such animal jaws placed in the cache, and that can be identified as clan animal eponyms from multiple lines of evidence (Thomas et al. 2005). Two phratries of complementary clans are indicated by the puma and bobcat jaws having all been mandibles, while the bear and wolf-coyote jaws were almost fully maxillae (Johnston et al. 1997; Thew 1997).

Comparison of the rituals for associating souls and blending souls performed by the communities that gathered at Tremper, the three Scioto-Point Creek communities, and the historic Cherokee illustrate that these metaphors of building cooperation were fluidly applied in the Woodlands to social units of a variety of kinds, and not tied to any particular organizational form of decentralized, tribal society. At Tremper, the identities of local communities were fully erased while clan identities were retained (the four depositories of ashes) and alliance of the clans was expressed by their burial within the same charnel house under the same mound and by their depositing their ceremonial paraphernalia together in one Great Cache. In the Scioto-Point Creek case, clan identities were largely erased save a modest number of individuals who were buried with clan markers, while local community identities were retained (the three clusters of burials in each charnel facility) and alliance among the communities was expressed by their burial within the same charnel house under the same mound and by their burning and blending together their ceremonial paraphernalia and personal items of dress. In the historic Cherokee Foundation of Life ritual, the community identities of the leaders who performed the ceremony were never expressed, their clan identities were explicitly specified, but then clan distinctions of the leaders and the clanspersons they represented were fully erased and their alliance was emphasized through their blending their tobaccos, smoking their blended tobaccos, and reciting the oral text of the rite, which merged their souls.

The northern Woodland tradition of blending souls of the deceased to forge alliances among their living descendants extended back at least into the Late Archaic. In northern Ohio in the southwestern Lake Erie basin, hunter-gatherers who were spread widely over the area in small local bands of several households each, which are known from their base camps, gathered periodically in large numbers at the Williams Cemetery to inter their dead together in ossuaries for some seven centuries (ca. 1125–360 BC; Stothers and Abel 1993). The cemetery, located on the lower Maumee River near Toledo, Ohio, contained 20 mass burial pits with between 656 and 1000 individuals in total and 1 to 100 individuals per pit. Most of the individuals were cremations or bundles, likely having been brought to the site in these conditions for burial; no evidence of *in situ* burning was found at the site. Most of the ossuaries held unstratified ashes and bones. The homogeneous deposits recall the Tremper depository and the blending-of-souls metaphor it apparently expressed. In contrast, six ossuaries contained multiple discrete layers of burials separated by thin layers of fine river sand, suggesting different social units (local bands?) but not likely different episodes of burial. These ossuar-

ies resemble the Seip, Harness, and Hopewell charnel houses where the deceased from different communities were segregated from one another (in different rooms) yet encapsulated (in one charnel facility and mantling mound), in line with an association-of-souls metaphor. Closely neighboring ossuary pits in the cemetery may also have expressed this metaphor.

#### HOUSES AND FAMILIAL TIES OF COOPERATION

The third conceptual principle and cultural metaphor of cooperation that historic Woodland Indian groups and the three Scioto communities used to create alliances among themselves pertains directly to several architectural forms but in application to social relationships, including relationships among souls. Historic Woodland Indians drew an equation between the domestic dwelling, on the one hand, and a large ceremonial building, a mound, a ceremonial dance ground, a whole ceremonial center, or an intertribal confederacy, on the other. In turn, these correspondences equated the family with the community, a multi-community cooperative unit, a confederacy, or the cosmos at large, and implied the appropriateness of family-like ties and cooperation at these broader social scales. For example, in the Shawnee language, the word for a ceremonial building or stomp ground, *m'šikamekwi*, means “Big House” (Greber 1979b:28; 1983:26–27). The eighteenth century and later Creek made the same equation, calling their ceremonial Square Ground “the big house,” *Tcoko-thlako*, and referring to the seats around the Square Ground by the same term as the benches or beds, *intupa*, along the walls of a square domicile (Waring 1968:54–55; see also King 2010:62–63). In turn, the big house Square Ground was, in all likelihood, the descendant of an actual big house—a large, rectangular communal building with wall benches (the “chief’s dwelling”) built on top of a rectangular mound (Waring 1968:56). In the eighteenth-century Muskogee language of the Creek in Alabama and Georgia, domestic dwelling and mound were equated (Knight 1989:280). The historic Ojibwa-Chippewa of Wisconsin built their Midē'-wegân ceremonial lodges in the style of their domestic dwellings (Landes 1968:plate 5b). Among Muskogee, Yuchi, Iroquoian, Siouan, Caddoan, and Algonkian speakers, the domestic dwelling was likened to the entire village or a congregation of bands or tribal segments (DeBoer 1997:229). At a larger scale, the tribes within the historic League of the Iroquois envisioned their confederacy as a large longhouse, calling their confederacy, or it being called by neighboring tribes “the people of the longhouse,” “they are of the extended lodge,” “our extended house,” “the completed lodge,” and “(house of) five fires” (Fenton 1978:320).

Significant here, the equation of a domicile with a large, communal ceremonial building and mound, and these with the family and familial cooperation and alli-

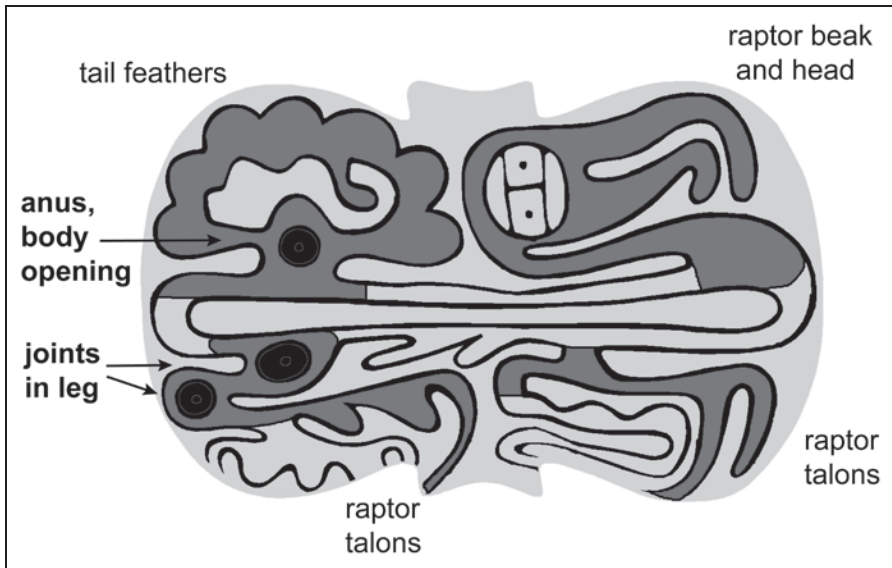
ance at larger social scales pertained, in Woodland cultures not only to the domain of life and the living, but also to the arena of death and souls of the dead. A clear report comes from the historic Choctaw. They allowed only the bones of relatives from one's village to be placed in the village bone house, because they thought it "irreligious to mix the bones of a relation with those of a stranger, as bone of bone, and flesh of the same flesh, should be always joined together; and much less will they thrust the body of their beloved kinsman into the abominable tomb of a hateful enemy" (Adair 2005 [1775]:213; see also Galloway and Kidwell 2004:508, citing Swanton 1931:170–194). Souls of deceased persons stored in a large ceremonial building by definition were souls of "family" in the broad sense.

By analogy to the above historic cases, the two Scioto Hopewell practices of the three communities burying their dead together in one charnel facility or "Big House," and mantling it with layers of earth to create one loaf-shaped mound, would have fashioned among the communities' deceased and living members their common social identity as one big household, and their family-like cooperation with one another. Although the deceased from different communities were laid out in different spatial clusters in different charnel house rooms at the Seip-Pricer and Edwin Harness mounds and at Hopewell Mound 25, and although these burial clusters were distinguished from one another by their own primary mounds or other features, ultimately all of the deceased were unified within one charnel facility and one mound. Priority in symbolism was given to the communities' shared social identity as one big family and to ethical, familial ties of cooperation and mutual support among them over differences in local community affiliation.

In sum, the three conceptual principles and cultural metaphors of spatially associating souls, of blending souls, and of domicile-equated facilities implying familial bonds of cooperation played foundational roles in creating and nurturing alliances among various kinds of social units of varying scale for historic Woodland Native Americans. The workings of these same three metaphors are apparent in the three Scioto Hopewell communities' efforts to forge an alliance among themselves through their burying their dead together within common charnel facilities, blending their ceremonial paraphernalia through intense burning, and earlier in time, through their blending the cremation ashes of their deceased.

#### **SPECIFIC SOUL CONCEPTS OF SCIOTO HOPEWELL PEOPLES**

The native logic by which soul concepts were harnessed by the three Scioto Hopewell communities to form an alliance among themselves, as reconstructed above, involves their having had certain very specific ideas about souls:

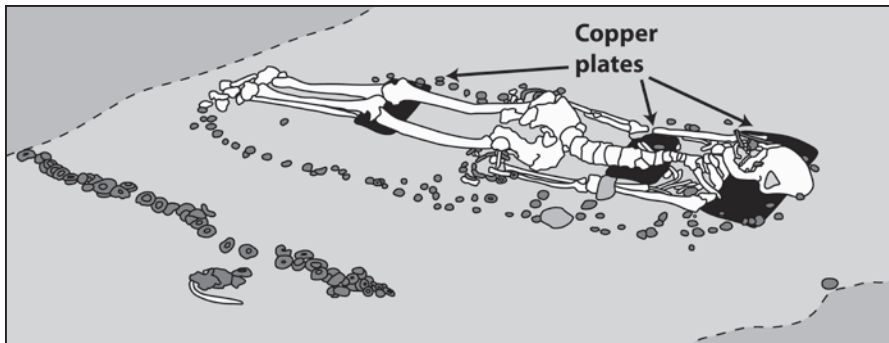


**Figure 3.** The Berlin tablet, a late Adena carved stone tablet from a mound in Jackson County, Ohio. Depicted is a raptorial-beaked bird with a masked, probably human face (identified from other, like tablets) within the raptor’s eye, i.e., a bird-human composite, likely representing a human transformed into a bird. Note the three dot-in-circle soul motifs at two joints in the rear leg and at the anus. *Credit: Adapted from Webb and Baby (1957:85, Figure 33) by Christopher Carr.*

1. An individual has multiple souls.
2. The multiple souls of an individual include a “free soul” and one or more “body souls.”
3. An individual’s free soul departed the body after death to journey to an afterlife.
4. At least some of an individual’s body souls remained with the body after death, to be spatially associated or blended by the living to interrelate these souls and ally the living.
5. These ideas were shared by all three communities, providing the common conceptual foundation needed for their soul-oriented means for creating an alliance among themselves.

Did Scioto Hopewell peoples have these ideas and share them in common?

Here, we summarize only these most basic topics and provide only a glimpse of the empirical evidence from a much larger archaeological study of the soul concepts



**Figure 4.** Human skeleton with copper breastplates under its head, chest, and knees. Burial 7, Mound 25, Hopewell earthwork. *Credit: Drawing by Rebekah Zinser and Christopher Carr.*

of Scioto Hopewell and other Ohio Hopewell peoples (Carr and Smyth 2019a, 2019b). The native-held ideas about souls considered in the broader study include: their number; bodily locations of residence; correspondence in location to anatomical pulse points, joints, and body openings; which souls depart the body after death and which remain with it; their locations and directions of departure after death; the necessity of aiding souls in departing the body through placing certain artifacts at the souls' bodily locations; and the functions and qualities of souls beyond departing the body at death. These topics are addressed for the Scioto Hopewell population at large; for age, gender, and community-specific categories of individuals; and for multiple, different Hopewellian regional traditions across Ohio.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICALLY IDENTIFYING THE ANATOMICAL LOCATIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF SOULS RECOGNIZED BY SCIOTO HOPEWELL PEOPLES

We found promise in documenting the concepts that Scioto Hopewell peoples had about souls through two observations. First is Robert Hall's (1979) insight that the dot-within-circle motifs that pre-Hopewell, Adena artists used to depict the joints and body openings of birds and bird impersonators represented their multiple souls at those locations (Figure 3).

Hall likened this iconography to the notions and art of Northwest Coast, Southwestern, and west Mexican Native Americans who thought that an individual has multiple souls that reside in one's joints, in body openings, and/or in locations where the pulse can be felt. These active locations reveal life given by those souls (Hultkrantz 1953; Rafidi and Carr 2019; Rafidi et al. 2019). Second, we noticed that,



in like manner, Hopewell peoples in the Scioto Valley commonly put mirror-like copper plates at analogous anatomical positions of their deceased: under the head, chest, hips, and knees—that is, at pulse points and joints (Figure 4). We hypothesized that Scioto Hopewell peoples thought souls to reside at these locations and placed mirrors there to portal, guide, or deflect departing souls, just as mirrors are used in shaman-like rites (e.g., Carr et al. 2008; Hall 1976, references therein).

#### SOURCE MATERIALS AND METHODS

To investigate the above-listed topics, we drew on data in the HOPEBIO-ARCH database of Ohio Hopewell burials and ceremonial deposits (Case and Carr 2008:Appendix 6). Analysis was restricted to sites in the central Scioto drainage having inhumations that were accompanied by artifacts likely used in working with souls in various ways and for which the bodily positions of such artifacts were reported. Inhumations here include unmodified skeletons, partially cremated skeletons, charred skeletons, and probably charred skeletons. Of the 14 sites with 704 excavated inhumations and full cremations in the central Scioto area, 7 sites had 86 excavated inhumations with the relevant artifacts in known body positions (Table 1). Almost all of the inhumations come from the Hopewell, Seip, and Old Town earthworks when the tripartite ceremonial alliance was extant.

**Table 1. Central Scioto-Paint Creek Sites and Inhumations Included in Analysis.**

Excavated Hopewellian Mortuary-Ceremonial Sites in the Central Scioto/Paint Creek Area	Total Number of Inhumations and Cremations	Total Number of Inhumations	Total Number of Inhumations with Power Artifacts	Total Number of Inhumations with Power Artifacts at Known Body Positions
Ater	60	17	5	5
Bourneville	11	10	2	2
Circleville	2	0	0	0
Hopeton	2	2	1	1
Hopewell	216	173	63	61
Liberty	87	19	1	1
McKenzie	10	9	0	0
Mound City	117	0	0	0

Excavated Hopewellian Mortuary-Ceremonial Sites in the Central Scioto/Paint Creek Area	Total Number of Inhumations and Cremations	Total Number of Inhumations	Total Number of Inhumations with Power Artifacts	Total Number of Inhumations with Power Artifacts at Known Body Positions
Old Town (Frankfort)	49	30	8	8
Rockhold	5	1	0	0
Seip-Pricer	125	17	8	8
Silder	1	1	1	0
Snake Den	9	8	0	0
West	10	2	0	0
<i>Total</i>	704	289	89	86

A total of 32 artifact classes with soul-related functions were selected for examining their anatomical positions in the burials. The artifacts' functions include: serving as a portal or path for a soul to leave the body; serving to guide or deflect a soul in a particular direction as it leaves the body; aiding travel to an afterlife; communing between the living, dead, and other spirits; divining; healing, including medicines; and acquiring, receiving, and/or conveying the soul power of one's clan eponym or totem. Some items that had these soul-related functions also marked social positions—membership in sodalities and clans, and leadership—that were active in fulfilling the previous functions (Table 2).

Assignments of the above functions are based on ethnographic analogs derived from historic Woodland and Plains Native Americans (Carr et al. 2008:Table 11.3, Appendices 11.2–11.7; Carr and Smyth 2019a) and on detailed archaeological contextual studies of the artifact classes' associations with one another (Carr and Case 2005:199–208, 214–218, 224–228, Tables 5.3–5.5, 5.7; Thomas et al. 2005:365–374, Tables 8.12–8.14). Many of the artifact classes have shamanic, soul-related functions, some found broadly across cultures globally (Eliade 1964; Harner 1990; Vitebsky 1995), and/or are made of the materials that have shamanic, soul-related symbolic overtones (Carr and Case 2005:199–205) that helped in identifying the artifact classes' soul-related functions. Examples include mirrors used to guide souls, to divine with them, and to commune with

them; reflective pieces of metals and mica that might have served as soul guides or as tokens for passage along the route to an afterlife; pieces of copper said historically by Woodland Indians to be scales of the Horned Serpent and useful for healing and gaining power; and small gem points for extracting power intrusions from souls and for divining. We call such soul-related artifacts *power artifacts* because they afforded power to the living to work with souls of the deceased.

**Table 2. Soul-Related Functions of Power Artifact Classes, and Numbers and Percentages of Inhumations with Those Artifact Classes in Known Body Positions in the Scioto-Paint Creek Area.**

Artifact Class	Soul-Related Functional Roles of Artifact Class							Number of Inhumations with the Artifact Class at a Known Body Position, in Central Scioto Hopewell Sites	Percentage of Inhumations with the Artifact Class at a Known Body Position, in Central Scioto Hopewell Sites <sup>1</sup>
	Soul Leaves the Body (portal, path, guide soul)	Commune	Divine	Heal, Medicine	Power Acquisition and Conveyance	Social Role Marker	Celt, Leader <sup>2</sup>		
breastplate, metallic	S	C	D			R		37	12.8%
mica mirror	S	C	D			R		4	1.4%
copper scrap, raw	S			H	P			1	0.3%
mica scrap	S			H				1	0.3%
meteoric iron scrap, raw	S			H	P			0	0.0%
silver scrap, raw	S			H	P			0	0.0%
galena cube	S			H	P			1	0.3%
earspool	S					R		46	15.9%
small pipe	S			H		R		6	2.1%
copper nose	S				P			3	1.0%
quartz pebble		C	D					1	0.3%

Artifact Class	Soul-Related Functional Roles of Artifact Class						Number of Inhumations with the Artifact Class at a Known Body Position, in Central Scioto Hopewell Sites	Percentage of Inhumations with the Artifact Class at a Known Body Position, in Central Scioto Hopewell Sites <sup>1</sup>
	Soul Leaves the Body (portal, path, guide soul)	Commune	Divine	Heal, Medicine	Power Acquisition and Conveyance	Social Role Marker		
copper ball		C	D				2	0.7%
cone, hemisphere		C	D	H			1	0.3%
panpipe		C					1	0.3%
flute		C					1	0.3%
gem biface			D	H			5	1.7%
fancy point			D	H			1	0.3%
translucent biface			D	H			1	0.3%
bear canines not 4s				H			11	3.8%
tortoise shell ornament				H			3	1.0%
tortoise shell, raw				H			2	0.7%
ochre paint				H			2	0.7%
bear power part other than canines					P	R	3	1.0%
wolf/dog power part					P	R	6	2.1%
big cat power part					P	R	4	1.4%
raptor power part					P	R	3	1.0%

Artifact Class	Soul-Related Functional Roles of Artifact Class						Number of Inhumations with the Artifact Class at a Known Body Position, in Central Scioto Hopewell Sites	Percentage of Inhumations with the Artifact Class at a Known Body Position, in Central Scioto Hopewell Sites <sup>1</sup>
	Soul Leaves the Body (portal, path, guide soul)	Commune	Divine	Heal, Medicine	Power Acquisition and Conveyance	Social Role Marker		
beaver power part					P	R	2	0.7%
raccoon power part					P	R	2	0.7%
fox power part					P	R	0	0.0%
celt , copper						L	11	3.81%
celt, coal						L	1	0.35%
celt, iron						L	0	0.00%
<i>Additional artifact classes that were found in Central Scioto Hopewell sites and that would have been insightful to study but were absent from the inhumations analyzed and were present in only depository basins, cremation basins, or cremation burials:</i>								
quartz, raw	S			H	P			
pyrite, raw	S			H	P			
graphite, raw	S			H	P			
hematite, raw	S			H	P			
quartz crystals		C	D					
fossils, concretions		C	D					
marbles		C	D					
rattles		C	D	H				
quartz bifaces			D	H				

Artifact Class	Soul-Related Functional Roles of Artifact Class						Number of Inhumations with the Artifact Class at a Known Body Position, in Central Scioto Hopewell Sites	Percentage of Inhumations with the Artifact Class at a Known Body Position, in Central Scioto Hopewell Sites <sup>1</sup>
	Soul Leaves the Body (portal, path, guide soul)	Commune	Divine	Heal, Medicine	Power Acquisition and Conveyance	Social Role Marker		
obsidian bifaces			D	H				
plummets			D	H				
alligator teeth				H				
opossum power part					P	R		
deer power part					P	R		

<sup>1</sup>Percentage of the 289 inhumations in the Central Scioto area.

<sup>2</sup>Stone celts were probably used, among other things, in constructing dugouts in life. By association, metallic (copper, iron) and cannel coal celts might have been symbols and tools used by shaman-like leaders for making spirit dugouts and using them to transport the deceased to a land of the dead (Bernardini and Carr 2005:635-637, 644; see also Eliade 1972:335-358; Harner 1990:71; Metcalf and Huntington 1991:88).

The placement of an artifact in relation to a skeleton, as recorded in the HOPE-BIOARCH database, is described by the artifact's general position relative to the human remains (e.g., on, below, beside, or in the vicinity of the body); its placement relative to 18 kinds of anatomical areas (e.g., head, chest, arms, knees; Table 3); and the side(s) of the body on which the artifact was placed (right, left, both).

Results for the Scioto-Paint Creek Hopewellian population at large are as follows.

#### NUMBERS, BODILY LOCATIONS, AND KINDS OF SOULS

Table 3 lists the number of burials that had soul-relevant power artifacts of any of the thirty-two kinds placed at a given kind of body position. Taking the placement of a power artifact at a given anatomical position to indicate Scioto Hopewell

peoples' recognition of a soul there, it is clear that they knew an individual to have multiple souls. This finding aligns easily with the ontologies of historic Woodland and Plains Indian tribes, about half of whom thought an individual to have two or more souls, and half one soul (Rafidi et al. 2019a).

**Table 3. Relationship of Body Position to Number of Inhumations with Power Artifacts at Each Position.**

Position on the Body <sup>1</sup>	Number of Inhumations with Power Artifacts at a Given Position	Percentage of 173 Inhumation-Positions with Power Artifacts at a Given Position
<b>Head (HE)<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>50</b>	<b>28.9%</b>
<i>Hand (HA)</i>	32	18.5%
<i>Hips (HI)</i>	19	11.0%
<b>Neck (NE)</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>8.7%</b>
<b>Chest (CH)</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6.4%</b>
<i>Shoulder (SH)</i>	9	5.2%
<b>Wrist (WR)</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3.5%</b>
Abdomen (AB)	6	3.5%
<i>Foot (FT)</i>	4	2.3%
<i>Knee (KE)</i>	3	1.7%
Upper leg (LU)	3	1.7%
Lower arm (AL)	3	1.7%
<i>Elbow (EL)</i>	3	1.7%
Arm (AR)	3	1.7%
Nose (NS)	2	1.2%
<i>Ankle (AN)</i>	1	0.6%
<i>Upper arm (AU)</i>	1	0.6%
Leg (LE)	1	0.6%
Mouth (MT)	1	0.6%
Lower leg (LL)	0	0.0%

<sup>1</sup>Position categories are not mutually exclusive, i.e., a case (burial) can count in multiple position categories. The position categories are those reported in the HOPEBIOARCH database (Case and Carr 2008:Appendix 6).

<sup>2</sup>Items in bold reflect pulse points that are easily noticeable, while items in italics reflect all pulse points found in the human body.



The most likely number of souls that Scioto Hopewell peoples knew is at least 28. A total of 17 kinds of body positions were marked with power artifact, including 6 unpaired body positions, like the neck, and 11 paired body positions, like two hands or two knees, making for 28 separately marked body positions. The interpretation of 28 residences of souls in Scioto Hopewell thought is quite reasonable in comparison to the 38 bodily locations of souls and/or entrances to souls employed by historic Minnesota Midē'-wiwin medicine persons in healing sick patients (Landes 1968:138–139), the 15 and 13 souls depicted respectively by historic Northwest Coast Indians and prehistoric Adena peoples of Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia in their ceremonial art (Hall 1979:261–262; Webb and Baby 1957:83–101), and the complex numerological and cosmological systems of Scioto Hopewell peoples (Carr 2005c:85–88; 2008a:54, figure 2.8; Hively and Horn 1984; Romain 1991, 2004), which they expressed in their artworks, earthworks, and charnel house architecture.

The head was likely thought by Scioto Hopewell peoples to be the seat of a “free soul” that journeys out of the body during sleep, trance, visions, illness, near-death, and other unconscious mental states, that travels in this earthly realm and others during such states, and that proceeds to a land of the dead after death. This inference is grounded in the fact that the head is the body part of the deceased that Scioto Hopewell peoples marked most frequently with power artifacts, by far, and by analogy to historic Woodland and Plains Native American mortuary and healing rituals, which typically emphasized the seat of the free soul over the locations of body souls when multiple souls were known. In addition, the head was known as the seat of the free soul by the historic Micmac, Iroquois, and probably some of the seven other northeastern Woodland tribes who told of the character, Brain-Taker, who is met by the deceased on the journey to an afterlife. Further, the head/skull/brain and the hair/scalp were two among the four most common locations of souls cited by historic Woodland and Plains Indian tribes (Rafidi and Carr 2019; Rafidi et al. 2019). Finally, our finding agrees with a Scioto Hopewell burial arrangement that vividly depicts a soul (a translucent, mirror-like mica human effigy) emerging from the top of the head of a skeleton and presumably going toward an afterlife (Burial 35, Mound 25, Hopewell earthwork; Carr and Novotny 2015:Figure 5.1e, 2019) i.e., the departure of the free soul from the deceased.

The remaining 27 body locations at which Scioto Hopewell peoples placed power artifacts were probably envisioned as the seats of body souls, which historic Woodland and Plains Indians thought to remain with the body during life and to give it life, and after death to remain in the bones or certain organs, to stay close to the body as a grave ghost or wander more widely, often causing havoc, or to reincarnate or die.

The bodily locations where Scioto Hopewell peoples placed power artifacts and marked souls associate very strongly with locations of major arteries that would gush when cut (.88) and pulse points (.71), less so with joints and places of body movement (.59), and least commonly with natural body openings where souls might have been thought to enter and exit (.29). These associations, noted in parentheses, we determined with Jaccard similarity coefficients. In contrast, the Adena system for marking souls, evident in nine of the fourteen known engraved Adena tablets (e.g., Figure 3), placed more emphasis on joints and places of body movement and less emphasis on pulse points and major arteries.

#### *WHICH SOULS EXIT THE BODY AT DEATH AND WHICH SOULS REMAIN?*

These two questions can be answered, in contrast to the question of where Scioto Hopewell peoples thought souls to reside in the body, by focusing on the anatomical placement of only a specific subset of Scioto Hopewell power artifacts—those that functioned to aid souls of the deceased in leaving the body and/or journeying to an afterlife or other realms, and to protect the living from these souls. The artifacts include metallic breastplates, mica mirrors, mica scrap, galena, raw iron, raw silver, raw copper, earspools, small pipes, and copper noses (Table 2). These kinds of artifacts, which we call *soul-leaves-body* artifacts, likely served as portals that facilitated souls of the deceased in exiting the corpse and/or in making the passage to a land of the dead or other realms, or functioned to deflect and guide souls in particular directions favorable to them and/or the living, and possibly were tokens necessary for the passage to an afterlife or elsewhere.

Table 4 lists the number of burials that had soul-leaves-body artifacts of any of the ten kinds placed at a given kind of body position. A total of 11 kinds of anatomical positions constituted by 17 paired and unpaired positions were repeatedly marked, indicating that Scioto Hopewell peoples probably thought at least 17 souls to leave the body at death. Not unexpectedly, greatest attention was given to the head—the location of the free soul that journeys to an afterlife. Facilitating the departure of this soul through placing soul-leaves-body artifacts at its seat was probably emphasized because at stake was the well-being of the deceased on its journey to an afterlife and the protection of the living from potential harm from a lingering, liminal free soul. The remaining 16 souls at 10 body positions that also were marked repeatedly with soul-leaves-body artifacts are best understood as body souls that were thought to exit the body and linger by the grave, visit or haunt the living, or wander more widely, as commonly held by historic Woodland and

Plains Native Americans (Rafidi and Carr 2019; Rafidi et al. 2019). Least likely, one of these body souls might have been thought to proceed with the free soul on the journey to an afterlife partway, and then return to earth, as held by some Ojibwa (Jenness 1935:110). We were not surprised to find body souls marked for exit because historic Woodland and Plains Indians commonly attended in their funerary practices to both grave ghosts that remained on earth and the free soul that proceeded to an afterlife (Carr et al. 2019).

**Table 4. Frequency of Inhumations with Soul-Leaves-Body Artifacts by Body Position, for Those Positions Having Power Artifacts Indicating the Presence of a Soul.**

Body Position	Number of Inhumations with Soul-Leaves-Body Artifacts at a Given Position	Percentage of 116 Inhumation-Positions with Soul-Leaves-Body Artifacts at a Given Position
Head (HE)	44	37.9
Hand (HA)	17	14.7
Hip (HI)	15	12.9
Chest (CH)	9	7.8
Shoulder (SH)	8	6.9
Abdomen (AB)	5	4.3
Wrist (WR)	4	3.4
Neck (NE)	3	2.6
Leg, Upper (LU)	3	2.6
Elbow (EL)	3	2.6
Nose (NS)	2	1.7
Foot (FT)	1	0.9
Knee (KE)	1	0.9
Arm, Lower (AL)	1	0.9
Ankle (AN)	0	0
Arm, Upper (AU)	0	0
Mouth (MT)	0	0

A total of 6 kinds of paired and unpaired anatomical positions at which Scioto Hopewell Indians thought 11 body souls to reside were never or rarely marked with soul-leaves-body artifacts. Most or all of these souls probably were thought to

remain with the corpse after death. All but one of the positions are part of the legs or arms, not the body core.

Historic Woodland and Plains Indians who knew an individual to have more than one soul were divided in whether they understood the anatomical locations of pulses and joint movement to represent multiple, individual body souls or multiple manifestations of a single body soul-life force (Hultkrantz 1953:27, 108, 148, 150). Scioto Hopewell peoples probably recognized multiple, individual body souls, evidenced in three ways. First, body souls within single inhumations varied from one another in whether they were thought to leave the body or not at death, as indicated by their having been accompanied or not by artifacts for aiding soul departure. Second, within single burials, multiple body souls rather than just one were marked for departure. Finally, within single inhumations, soul-guiding artifacts were sometimes positioned on the locations of body souls so as to guide an individual's different body souls in different directions.

#### *INTERCOMMUNITY CONCORDANCE IN SOUL CONCEPTS*

The above kinds of analyses were repeated for each of the three Scioto Hopewell communities separate from one another, using the same data from Hopewell Mound 25 and the Seip-Pricer mound, but partitioned by the charnel house rooms used by each community: rooms E, D, and C under Mound 25 and the West, Middle, and East rooms under the Pricer mound. The analyses are too lengthy to report here, but we summarize the results for the five topics listed above.

All three communities shared the fundamental ontological premises that an individual has multiple souls, including a free soul resident in the head and marked with power artifacts more often than other anatomical positions, and many body souls. The partitioned data on power artifacts are consistent with all three communities having recognized the same 27 or more body souls identified in the population-wide analysis, but are too thin to conclude this with certainty. The partitioned data on soul-leaves-body artifacts indicate that all three communities knew the free soul in the head, as well as body souls resident in the chest, abdomen, and hips, to depart after death. A soul in the neck, and probably souls in the hands, at minimum, were thought to remain in the body.

#### *IMPLICATIONS FOR ALLIANCE FORMATION AMONG COMMUNITIES*

The specific notions about souls held by central Scioto Hopewell peoples between ca. AD 275 and 350, as documented in this section, provided them the

conceptual foundation for their soul-oriented means for creating an alliance among themselves by burying their dead together, decommissioning their ceremonial paraphernalia together, spatially associating souls of the deceased, blending souls of the deceased, and forging familial ties of cooperation among souls of the deceased in domicile-equated charnel facilities. All three communities of Scioto Hopewell peoples thought an individual to have multiple souls, including a free soul that journeyed to an afterlife upon death and one or more body souls, some of which departed the body and some of which remained with it after death. Those that remained were available to the living to be associated with one another spatially and blended together—as illustrated by the Huron and Algonquian Feasts of the Dead and the Cherokee Foundation of Life ceremony—and to create family-like bonds of cooperation among them. In turn, these bonds among souls of the dead modeled, encouraged, and perhaps demanded ethically proper relations of cooperation and alliance among the living in the three communities.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Understanding the motivations that lead humans to their meaningfully and culturally constituted social practices and material creations is one of the core missions of anthropology and the social sciences. Central Scioto Hopewell peoples' notions about their souls were core to how they saw themselves and to motivating their decisions and actions in ordinary and ceremonial realms, as are soul concepts in small-scale, decentralized, acephalous societies grounded in shaman-like world views, generally. The spectacular earthworks and wooden charnel houses of tripartite form that Scioto Hopewell peoples built and that have been curiosities to laypersons and scholars for more than two centuries become understandable when a native, Scioto Hopewell, soul-centered view is taken of their three-community alliance and the cultural metaphors of cooperation upon which it was founded.

## NOTES

1. For details on these several kinds of variation, see Carr 2005c:83–91.
2. The gathering of multiple communities for ceremonies in Charnel Rooms E and D under Mound 25 of the Hopewell earthwork is indicated respectively by Altar 1 and the Copper Deposit over Burials 260–261 as a ceremonial unit, and by Altar 2. Each deposit contained redundant, huge numbers of certain singular artifact classes and a great functional and symbolic diversity of artifact classes representing very many social roles (e.g., Carr et al. 2005:490, 492–493, Table 13.3).

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# Encountering Hopewell in the Twenty-first Century, Ohio and Beyond

*Volume One*  
Monuments  
and Ceremony

Edited by  
Brian G. Redmond,  
Bret J. Ruby,  
and Jarrod Burks



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